CÆSAR'S LANDING-PLACE IN BRITAIN.[1]

By G. DOWKER, Esq., F.G.S.

THE subject of the landing place of Julius Cæsar has been so warmly contested by able writers, including classical scholars, astronomers, Emperors, and mathematicians, that it may appear very presumptuous in me to offer an opinion on the subject; but as those writers have arrived at different conclusions, I may, perhaps, be allowed as a geologist to put in a plea; knowing intimately the geological and physical features of Kent, and having studied the subject of the changes in its coast since the event in question. I can lay no claim to classical knowledge, and on that ground I could not demand attention; but I may mention that in determining a question of this nature most dependence may be placed on the indirect evidence afforded by the features of a country of which we have a narrative some two thousand years ago, and the evidence of those changes which have, and are taking place so slowly, though so surely, along our coasts. It appears to me that the question has very frequently been debated quite ignoring these facts, and the present, not the past aspect of the country has been taken as a guide. On reading most of the essays on the subject, I have been much struck with this fact, and Cæsar's plain narrative appears to have been strained to square with some favourite theory. By numerous writers all the classical evidence bearing on the subject has been brought together, and the value attached to each carefully weighed, though Cæsar's plain narrative (which from internal evidence is clear and accurate) must ever be our surest guide. Cæsar tells us[2]—"A small part of the summer remaining," (it was therefore autumn) "I resolved to proceed to Britain." He wished to learn particulars of the island over against Gaul, because he learned that in his Gallic wars succours were obtained from

[1] Read at the Canterbury Meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute, July 29th, 1875.

[2] Bell. Gall., l. iv. 20.

Reculver

NORTH FORELAND

ISLE OF THANET

Richbro'

Goodwin Island

CANTERBURY *12 Miles from Sandwich* SANDWICH

DEAL

SOUTH FORELAND

DOVER

Lympne

HYTHE

The Wall

ROMNEY MARSH

ROMNEY

DUNGENESS

Prevailing Currents

1st. Invasion

32 MILES FROM SANDWICH TO WISSANT

2nd. Invasion

N

Septentrio *Aquilo* *Subsolanus* *Vulturnus* *Auster* *Africus* *Favonius* *Corus*

Roman Compass Points

C. Blanc Nez

Sandbatte

CALAIS

Chalk Cliffs

C. Gris Nez

Wissant

Sandstone Cliffs

Andrecelles

Ambleteuse

BOULOGNE

DOVER STRAIT.

Reduced from the Admiralty Chart.

CÆSAR'S 1ST AND 2ND INVASION OF BRITAIN.

GD. 1875.

Standidge & Co Litho London. (801)

thence. He first interrogated the merchants who traded with Britain, from whom, it appears, he learnt but little. He wished to ascertain "what ports were proper for a multitude of the larger vessels." "Qui essent ad majorum navium multitudinem idonei portus."[3] "To ascertain these things he sends Caius Volusenus to explore, with a long vessel, ordering him to return as soon as possible," and then "he himself proceeds with all his forces to the Morini, because thence was the shortest passage to Britain." Volusenus returns in five days and delivers his report, but he was not able to land because of the enemy. "About eighty vessels of burden having been collected, which he considered sufficient for transporting two legions,[4] he distributed to the quæstors, lieutenants, and prefects what he had besides of long vessels; to these were added eighteen vessels of burden, which were detained 8000 paces from that place by the wind, so that they were not able to arrive at the same port."

From another part of his narrative we learn that these vessels were detained to the north of Cæsar's port, described —"ulteriorem portum."[5] "Having obtained proper weather for sailing, he loosed at the third watch." He himself about the fourth hour of the day reached Britain with the first ships, and beheld the armed forces of the enemy posted on all the hills, of which place this was the nature; the sea was confined so by close mountains that a dart might be hurled from the higher places upon the shore."[6] Cæsar proceeds:—"Having judged this by no means a proper place for disembarking, he waited at anchor to the ninth hour." Showing his lieutenants what he had learned from Volusenus, he gave them his orders, and, "having obtained both wind and tide favourable at one time," ("nactus et ventum et æstum secundum uno tempore") he weighed anchor, and proceeding about seven miles from that place, "stations his ships near an open and level shore."

So much for Cæsar's narrative, which in the following chapters gives full information respecting the nature of the shore and the attack on the Britons. In order that we may determine the landing place of Cæsar, we have to consider, firstly, his port of embarkation; secondly, the direction he took; and, thirdly, the distance he sailed. It is not easy at

[3] Bell. Gall., l. iv. 20.
[4] Bell. Gall., l. iv. 22.
[5] Bell. Gall., l. iv. 23.
[6] Bell. Gall., l. iv. 28.

this distance of time to get at all the data necessary for this determination, because great changes have taken place along the coasts of Britain and France during the 2000 years that have since elapsed. I purpose to state the evidence of these changes more especially in reference to the coast near Deal and Sandwich, where many able writers have fixed Cæsar's landing place. Deal is situate on a bank of recent beach which during many ages has been accumulating round the point of Kingsdown Cliff, and is even now travelling eastwards towards Sandown Castle. Beyond this point the shore is composed of sand, and is so level that the distance between the tide marks is very great. This sand is blown inland, and forms the sand hills or dunes. The direction of these dunes mark the successive advance of the shore. Thus the low land between Deal and Sandwich is protected from inundation by a natural embankment. The present river Stour winds through marshes between the high lands on either side of Canterbury towards Sarre, beyond Grove Ferry, where it turns at right angles, flowing by Stourmouth, where it is joined by the lesser Stour; then through the Minster Marshes, and making another right-angled turn, flows beneath the hill of Richborough and thence to Sandwich, turning round Stonar, and finally reaching the sea at Pegwell Bay, the present mouth being but little removed from Ramsgate harbour. The marsh land through which it flows is about three-quarters of a mile wide at Stourmouth, and from a mile-and-a-half to two miles at Richborough. Towards the centre of this marsh, the soil is composed of recent alluvial mud to a depth of twenty or thirty feet, shallowing on either side towards the older formations. We may learn from these data that the river was formerly much deeper and wider than at the present time, and, from the greater depth of recent alluvial mud, we learn that it flowed out to sea near Sandwich. The land composing the marsh is formed by the mud deposited for centuries on each overflow of the river. We have no evidence of any change of level in the land since Roman times, save that occasioned by silting up of an old channel. There are many facts which lead us to conclude that this silting up went on much more rapidly formerly than at present; since 1776, when the Commissioners of Sewers obtained an Act of Parliament to make a new cut at Stonar, the marsh has suffered less

from inundation. The history of Sandwich (formerly a chief and much frequented port) furnishes numerous historical data, whence we may trace the great changes which have taken place along the coast. These data carry us back 1000 years. The decay of Sandwich as a port was the result of the gradual decay of the haven. Thus in 1052 we find that Earl Godwin assembled his fleet at Sandwich, and, sailing up through the north mouth, spoiled Sheppy; and in 1046 the Danes landed at Sandwich with their fleet; not to mention numerous facts of later date which show that the town then stood at the mouth of the Wansum. A large channel flowed in at that place and out near Reculver, so that the Isle of Thanet was then a veritable "island," separated from the mainland by a considerable breadth of water, which must have been narrowed between Sandwich and Stonar (formerly a town of some importance).

I can find no evidence of the Wansum flowing out at Cliff's End; indeed, all the facts point the other way, and, whatever reliance may be placed on old maps, they all agree in placing the mouth of the Stour or Wansum much more westerly than at present. In Saxon and Danish times Sandwich was the chief port whence continental traffic was carried on.

If we contemplate the changes wrought by time during these one thousand years, it will not be too much to imagine as great a change in coast and river during the preceding 1000 years. We find frequent mention of the Rutupine coast by the earlier Roman writers, but in later times the great fortress is alluded to under the name of Rutupium, which has been almost universally ascribed to Richboro'. Mr. Roach Smith in his account of Richborough quotes Tacitus, in his "Life of Agricola," stating that the Roman fleet entered the Trutulesian harbour, by which, he supposes, was meant the Rutupine. It being certain that Richboro' was a port, we may consider how far it was removed from the sea. I have spoken of Stonar: it fronts Richboro' towards the east, and is situated on a great bank of sea beach which must have taken ages to accumulate, as it is now in some places 500 yards wide. It would appear that this and the other sea beaches along the coast have travelled from the west; the Stonar beach must have travelled from the cliff between Dover and Deal. The present town of Deal

is situated on a comparatively recent beach. I have evidence of the beach at the back of Deal containing mediæval remains. It is certain that when the sea swept the Stonar beach, Deal had no existence, and the map I here append would represent the probable line of coast. Beyond Walmer the cliff of chalk appears gradually increasing in height as we approach Dover, at St. Margaret's Bay, South Foreland, an indentation of the coastline forms the bay. The cliff between here and Dover is being gradually undermined by the sea, so that the promontory of cliff must formerly have presented a more indented bay, and the same may be said of Dover.[7]

Such are the coast changes towards the east of Kent. Westward, beyond the high land of Folkestone and Hythe, we come to the low land of Romney Marsh, and (though I do not attempt in this paper to trace the changes in this neighbourhood) still I will briefly allude to them, because many suppose Cæsar to have landed here. At Hythe the great escarpment of the Lower Green-sand, stretching inland towards Lymne, forms an abrupt and steep ascent; below this the military canal, once the channel of the Lymen, flows up to Appledore. This river, since called the Rother, once flowed out at Romney, but from some cause it shifted its channel. The tract of land between Hythe and Romney would now be covered by the sea at high tide were it not for artificial embankments. It seems probable, however, that most of these great changes may have been accomplished before Roman times, since Roman pottery has been found near Dunchurch in such position as to lead to the supposition that a Roman pottery existed there. But this much is evident, that at the period of Cæsar's invasion the marsh was little better than a swamp of mud, great part being under water at high tide.

Turning from the changes on land, we will now consider the changes in the Channel. The Goodwin Sands lie opposite Deal and Pegwell Bay; they are about ten miles long, and in some places three, and at others seven miles from the shore, and for a certain space they are laid bare at low water. That they are a remnant of the land, and not mere accumulations of sea sand, may be presumed from the

[7] The chalk cliffs south of Thanet had on an average lost three feet per annum during the ten years preceeding 1830.—Sir C. Lyell.

fact that, when the building of a light-house on this shoal was in contemplation by the Trinity Board in 1871, it was found by boring that the bank consisted of 15 feet of sand resting on blue clay. An obscure tradition says that the estates of Earl Godwin, father of Harold, who died in 1053, were situated here, and some have conjectured they were overwhelmed by the flood mentioned in the Saxon chronicle in the year 1097. The accumulations of shingle near Dungeness have, by the change of direction of velocity of the currents gathered to a great extent round the points, and Mr. Redman estimates an annual increase of nearly six yards. Mr. Drew (Geological Survey Memoirs) points out how the beach formerly near Rye had been swept away and redeposited in a different direction. These facts tend to prove that geological changes of coastline have altered the direction and velocity of the currents, and the size and height of the Goodwin Sands would materially affect the same.

Before I resume Cæsar's narrative, I would draw attention to his port of embarkation. I have not had the same opportunity of examining the French coast that I have of the English, and must, therefore, trust to the description given by others, but I would offer the caution not to accept too readily the present appearance of coast in our estimate of what existed two thousand years ago, as all projecting headlands of chalk are being cut back, and, in some cases, river beds or deep valleys silted up. I have availed myself of the facts collected touching the question by G. T. Lewin, Esq., M.A., who published his "Invasion of Britain by Cæsar" in 1859, and also of the writings of others who have come to a different conclusion from Mr. Lewin. Indeed, so much has been written, that I could not in the space of this memoir give even a summary of the arguments; but any careful reader of Cæsar's account can but arrive at the conclusion that he landed in Kent, and started from one of the ports nearest to Britain. Cæsar started from the country of the Morini, which probably occupied the coast from the river La Canche, on the west, to the Aa, at Gravelines, on the east. The greater number of writers regard Boulogne as the starting point, though Wissant has been advocated by some learned antiquarians. Mr. Lewin objects to Wissant as not a seaport. Ambleteuse might have been

the port, eight miles off, mentioned by Cæsar. I should rather rely on the authority of D'Anville, and place the starting point at or near Wissant ;[8] but in reality the exact spot would not affect the argument, except as regards the distance from Britain, and I know of no satisfactory reason why the port of embarkation should be considered as exactly thirty miles from Britain ; but, allowing this, it might have been Boulogne, though it seems to me that the nearest point to Dover Cliff would naturally be chosen. At Calais great accumulations of sand have much reduced the harbour. Probably in Roman times the sea flowed in at the mouth of the river and over the low lands beyond Calais.

Let us place ourselves in the position of Caius Volusenus, the emissary of Cæsar, and picture to ourselves what he must have seen. Starting, it may be, from Calais, in his war galley, he beholds in the distance the white cliffs of Albion about the South Foreland, and sails towards them ; he would probably cross a tide running in either an easterly or westerly direction. Assuming now that it turned eastwards, he would coast along the high cliff towards Walmer (having observed the bay formed by the projecting headlands each side of St. Margaret's). As he approaches Walmer, the high cliff terminates gradually, and a beach succeeds ; following this, he would see a low ridge of sand terminating opposite Sandwich, where the Wansum discharged its waters into the sea ; then, as now, the set of the tide would rather throw back the mouth of the river, leaving a promontory of low land ; he might sail round this promontory and enter the river, and, though the hostile attitude of the natives might forbid him to venture too near land, he would see that this river opened out beyond Sandwich to a considerable width ; on his right he would behold the Stonar beach, on his left the site of Sandwich, before him the hill on which Richborough now stands, the high land of the Isle of Thanet stretching away towards the right hand, and that of Woodnesborough towards the left.

Retracing his course, we will now follow him in a westerly direction. He had, probably, observed the Goodwin Sands stretching out as a long low island. Repassing the South Foreland, he arrived at Dover : the sea ran in towards

[8] Dr. Guest, "Archæological Journal," vol. xxi., p. 220, gives reasons for believing Wissant as the probable point whence Cæsar sailed.

Buckland, and both Shakespere's Cliff and the Castle Hill Cliff projected more seaward, he would find a deep narrow bay, surrounded by high cliffs; passing onward he would find a wall of cliff, only terminating towards Hythe. If we except Dover, no landing place would have been found suitable for an invading force (if opposed) between Hythe and Sandwich, and such must have been his report to Cæsar.

Portus Lemanis, afterwards a celebrated Roman port at the entrance of the river Lemana, has been advocated by some as Cæsar's landing place, most notably by G. M. Lewin, Esq.[9] Later Mr. F. Hobson Appach has supposed Appledore to have been the place, and that the whole of Romney Marsh was then occupied by the sea. I cannot, however, accept this conclusion; for though Romney Marsh has undoubtedly been covered by the sea at some remote period, yet the fact of Roman pottery having been found near Dunchurch forbids such a supposition. However, we cannot without doing violence to the plain meaning of Cæsar's narrative, accept the *dictum* that when off Dover (or probably the South Foreland) he took a westerly course. Mr. Lewin supposes the south-east wind which took him to Dover to have changed to the west. I am, however, anticipating—we will return to Cæsar. The calculations of astronomers have fixed the date of Cæsar's first invasion as Saturday the 26th of August; and a great amount of ingenious speculation has been hazarded respecting the course of the tide off Dover. He sailed at the third watch, *i. e.* about 12 o'clock at night, and arrived at Britain about 10 a.m. the next day, and he remained at anchor till the ninth hour, about 3 p.m. Cæsar tells us, "having obtained both wind and tide favourable at one time"—"et ventum, et æstum uno tempore nactus secundum, dato signo, et sublatis anchoris, circiter millia passuum VII., ab eo loco progressus aperto ac plano littore naves constituit."

It has been attempted to calculate by means of the present tide tables which way the tide set off Dover two thousand years ago. I would only remark, in reference to these tide tables, that even at the present time much difference is observed, caused by the force and direction of the wind; and though, in order to determine this question

[9] Mr. Lewin, "Cæsar's Invasion of Britain."

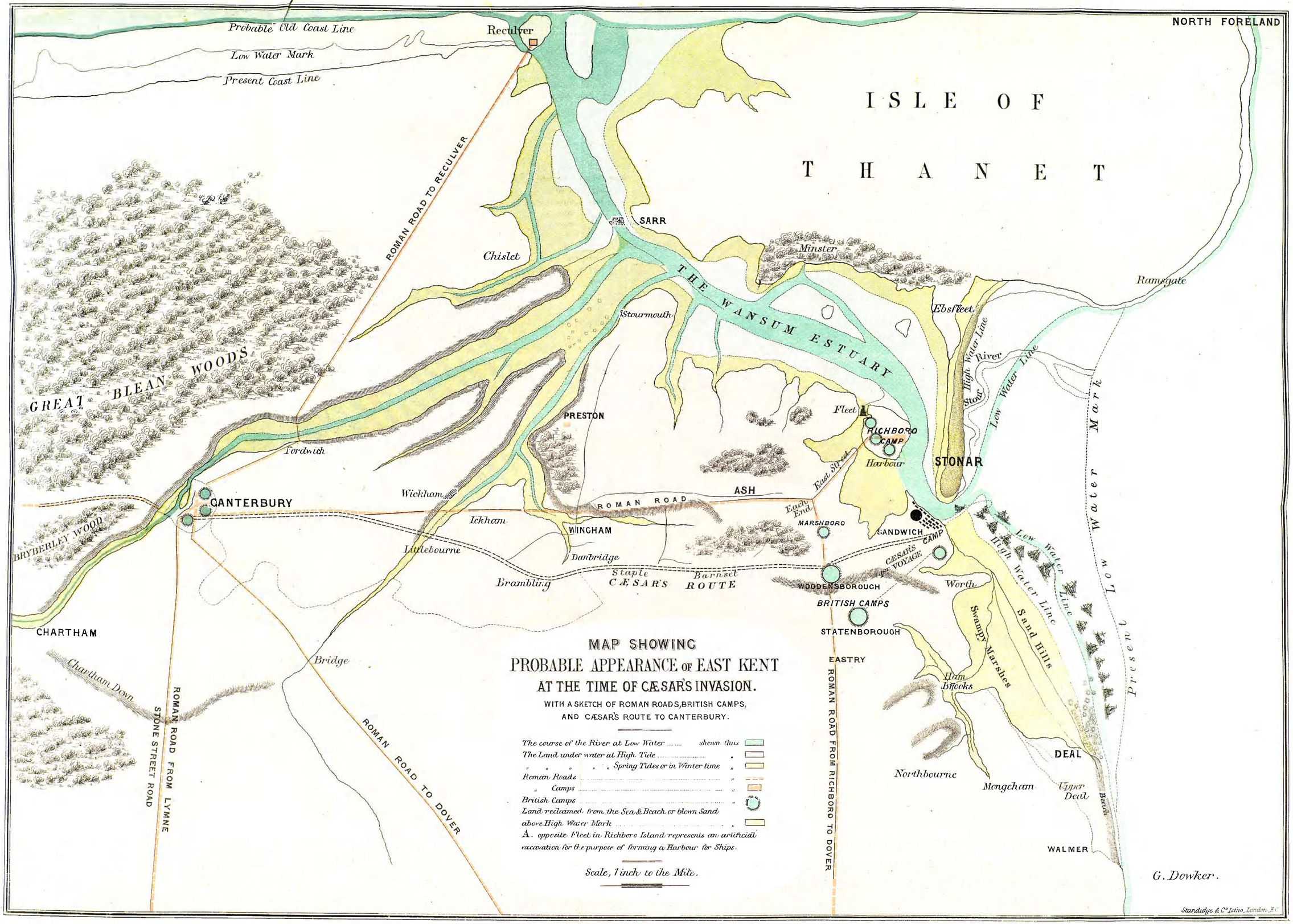
of the tides, the President of the Society of Antiquarians wrote to the First Lord of the Admiralty, in 1862, and received for reply that entire reliance might be placed on the observations of the late Rear-Admiral Beechy, and, though careful observations have been furnished from the survey of C. K. Calver,[1] yet a recent attempt to swim the Channel by Captain Boyton, with all the advantages of the directions of naval men, ended in failure chiefly from the effect of the tide.[2] If this is the case now, how much greater must be the disturbing effects of the coast changes which have been going on for two thousand years. Would no effect be produced in the tides if the water ran in at Sandwich and out at Reculver, as we know it did in Saxon times? Would no effect be felt by the tides if the Goodwins were now an island? Would no effect be created if the whole of Romney Marsh were under water? It is impossible for us to base calculations on the present tide tables with any chance of ariving at the truth, if we ignore those great geological changes which have taken place in our coast line. We must return to Cæsar's account, and take a common sense view of it, and we shall have no difficulty in following him. I would leave the exact point of departure, and assume that Mr. Lewin, Mr. Appach, and the Emperor of the French are right in taking Boulogne as the starting point. At eight miles more north the cavalry were detained by a contrary wind. We are sure, then, that the wind blew from some point near the south when Cæsar sailed—a south-west wind would be the "proper weather," and we may, I think, with confidence assume that the tide ran towards the west. Mr. Cardwell contends that the tide must have taken Cæsar to the east when it turned—it must, consequently, have run westward before—though Mr. Lewin and Mr. Appach contend for the reverse.

At 10 a.m. Cæsar with his first ships beheld the coast of Britain, and his description would answer well for Dover, where he beheld the armed forces of the enemy posted on all the hills. It will be remembered that Cæsar had with him eighty ships. Mr. Appach,[3] calculates that his fleet, allowing room between each vessel to manœuvre and prevent acci-

[1] See correspondence between the Society of Antiquaries and the Admiralty, 1862.

[2] This has since been accomplished by Captain Webb, who profited from Capt. Boyton's experiment.

[3] Page 58.



MAP SHOWING
PROBABLE APPEARANCE OF EAST KENT
AT THE TIME OF CÆSAR'S INVASION.

WITH A SKETCH OF ROMAN ROADS, BRITISH CAMPS,
AND CÆSAR'S ROUTE TO CANTERBURY.

The course of the River at Low Water	shewn thus
The Land under water at High Tide	"
" " " " " Spring Tides or in Winter time	"
Roman Roads	"
" Camps	"
British Camps	"
Land reclaimed from the Sea & Beach or blown Sand above High Water Mark	"

A. opposite Fleet in Richboro Island represents an artificial excavation for the purpose of forming a Harbour for Ships.

Scale, 1 inch to the Mile.

Standidge & Co. Litho. London. E.C.

dents, would extend nearly four miles, and as Cæsar himself probably sailed in one of the triremes, or long vessels (which impelled by oars could take any position), he probably passed Dover towards St. Margaret's Bay before all his ships were at anchor. While waiting at anchor, Cæsar assembled his officers, instructed them what he had learned from Volusenus, and formed his plan of action. How could we adopt the theory of Mr. Lewin, that the wind after this suddenly changed to the east, and that Cæsar was drifted back by the tide twelve miles, to Hythe? Cæsar says, "having obtained wind and tide favourable at one time" (favourable, for he had formed his plans), he "progressus" "about seven miles." How could "progressus" imply a change of wind? From the South Foreland, where Cæsar's own ship was stationed, seven miles would bring him near the mouth of Sandwich Haven. Mr. Appach, in support of his argument that Cæsar landed near Bonnington, quotes Dion Cassius,[4] and, after explaining that Cæsar did not land where he intended because the enemy occupied all the places facing the Continent, he proceeds to say that he sailed round a kind of projecting point and coasted along to another place.

In a former part of this memoir I showed that, probably in Roman times the coast was cut back behind Deal, and the low sandy shore and sand hills extended much less than at present, but still formed a promontory caused by the prevailing tides, which have since driven the mouth of the river near Pegwell Bay.

If we have been led to consider that Cæsar must have been off Sandwich when he first attempted to land, we shall find that every subsequent movement may here be traced. As soon as the Britons understood the designs of Cæsar, they followed him along the cliff from the South Foreland, and the cavalry and chariots advanced and pre-occupied the low lands near Deal. It must have been between 4 and 5 p.m. before Cæsar could have disposed his ships ready for landing, and his eighty ships must have reached a distance of at least two miles. The sea shore was very flat, as it is at the present day off Sandwich, and Cæsar's first difficulty was the long distance from the shore that he was obliged to leave his ships. If Cæsar had sailed eastward at the

[4] Dion Cassius.

turn of the tide it must have been still rising, and, consequently, the water must have increased in depth after the ships were brought to anchor—hence his soldiers hesitated to throw themselves into the water. At this juncture Cæsar orders his long vessels, impelled by oars, to be stationed on the open flank of the enemy. The shore (as I have elsewhere explained) must have formed a short promontory, and the mouth of the Stour offered an opportunity seized upon by Cæsar to station his ships on the open flank of the enemy; and here they discharged upon them arrows and missiles from the ships. Thus attacked on their right flank, the diversion gave Cæsar's soldiers courage, and leaping into the water they drove back the enemy. The Britons now sent ambassadors to treat for peace and release Comius, who had been sent by Cæsar to Britain. On the fourth day of Cæsar's arrival the eighteen vessels sailed from the upper port with a gentle wind, this wind was probably from the north-east; a vessel from Calais to Dover might sail with such a wind, but if it increased to a tempest, and if the tide turned contrary, it would be driven back; and we are told that these eighteen vessels were driven back to the "lower part of the island which is nearer the sun's setting." It happened the same night that a high tide filled the long vessels drawn up on shore, and the tempest shattered those that were at anchor. We must next consider the probable position of Cæsar's camp. It must have been near the shore and within sight of the vessels at anchor; and we are told that the eighteen vessels approaching Britain were seen from it. Near Sandwich, and between it and Word, the land rises till we approach a hill overlooking the mouth of the Stour, and partly surrounded in the rear by the Word and Ham Marshes. Such a position would be favourable for the purpose; and although we cannot point to any remains distinctly to be traced to a camp, I may remark that Cæsar most probably employed wood for such a purpose.[5] It would seem by the larger vessels remaining at anchor, that Cæsar was afraid to trust them too near land, for fear of a surprise by the enemy.

Mr. Lewin, in objecting to Deal as Cæsar's landing-place asks[6]—"Where again are the marshes which are put promi-

[5] Boys's "History of Sandwich," p. 869 describes a Roman building in Castlefield Word.

[6] Lewin, p. 50.

nently forward in every writer's account? Cæsar speaks of the *vada* or shoals, Dion of the Τενάγος or lagoons (in xxxix. 51), Plutarch of the marshy and swampy ground, Valerius Maximus of an island formed by the ebb and flow of the tide."[7] The marshes about Word are known as the Ham ponds, and are now little more than a swamp. Now comes the incident of the attack by the Britons on Cæsar's foraging party. Mr. Lewin has found the very field. I will not attempt to be so accurate, but from the hill of Woodnesboro', where also there is a wood, you may picture the scene. Cæsar seems from the first to have dreaded the chariots of the enemy, and would probably fix his first camp where the ground was unfavourable for their employ. The mention by Cæsar of "tempests following for many successive days, keeping his men in camp, and restraining the enemy from attack," would lead us to suppose that the camp was in great measure surrounded by marsh land, and such would be precisely the nature of the camp as I picture it. Mr. Lewin thinks that in the attack on the camp occurred the incident related by Valerius Maximus, of one Scæva, who had been posted with four others on a solitary ait which rose above the waves, and was separated by a larger island occupied by the enemy. If we have been thus far led by Cæsar's narrative to consider Sandwich as the point where he landed, we shall, I think, find this opinion strengthened when we consider his second invasion of Britain in the next year, B.C. 54. The continuation of adverse wind from the north-west, detained Cæsar at the Portus Itius for the next twenty-five days; at length the wind shifted to the south-west, when he set sail at night with about eight hundred ships; about midnight the wind died away, and the ships were carried by the tide so far that in the morning he beheld "Britain forsaken" on the left hand. Now how can we accept Mr. Lewin's supposition that Cæsar merely sailed beyond the North Foreland when he thus speaks of "Britain forsaken" on the left hand? The cliffs of Ramsgate would be plainly visible. Cæsar must then have been carried at the back of the Goodwin, beyond the North Foreland, to which place his account would strictly apply. Mr. Appach[8] concludes that Cæsar was beyond the South Foreland, and assumes

[7] "τόπον ελώδη καὶ μαστὸν ὕδατος . . . τὰδε βαδίζων."—Plut. Cæs. 16. ῥεύματα τετματώδη . . . . ταμεν νηχομενος

[8] F. H. Appach, p. 103.

that he expected Britain on his right hand, because in his first voyage he had landed at Appledore, and Romney Marsh was occupied by the sea, consequently he found land on his right hand. "Cæsar then followed a change of the tide, and by means of oars he reached that part of the island on which he had learned the summer before that landing was best." Now Cæsar finds, contrary to his expectation, that his landing was not disputed by the enemy, and about noon he prepared to land. It seems most likely that Cæsar, having been driven by the tide beyond the North Foreland, when he came back with the tide, returned on the other side of the Goodwin, and coasted along to the mouth of the Wansum. It being high tide, and meeting with no opposition, he would sail into the harbour, and from his acquaintance with this port, gathered from his experience the previous summer, would pitch on the high ground at Richborough as just the spot to fix his camp, whence he could see his ships at anchor off Stonar, and where his small craft could find proper shelter. Cæsar having learned from his captives by what road the enemy had retired, resolved to pursue them the same night. It was at the full moon, and at midnight he marches in pursuit of them, having left ten cohorts and three hundred horse to guard the ships. He informs us that having proceeded about twelve miles he discerns the forces of the enemy, who were assembled with chariots and horses at a river. Most probably they were retreating, and their rear-guard watching the movements of Cæsar's cavalry. Cæsar goes on to state "they having proceeded with chariots and cavalry to the river, began from the high ground to check our men, and to join battle." We will endeavour to trace Cæsar's movements. He probably landed at two or three points;[9] his baggage was taken to the spot fixed on for the camp; sailing or rowing up the Sandwich haven, he landed the baggage on the island of Richborough, his cavalry disembark near the site of Sandwich, and pursue the enemy who had retreated to the high ground, the hill of Woodnesborough, which probably formed a British encampment.[1] As the Britons used chariots, it is to be presumed that they had also roads of some sort; and the Woodnesborough hill, on which we assume they were

[9] Dion Cassius, xi. 1

[1] Mr. Hasted derives the name of Woodnesboro from the British.

posted, commanded a view of the surrounding country, and the church on its summit is even now used as a land-mark. From this point a road traverses the brow of the escarpment of the lower London tertiaries, now noted for its abundant growth of timber, and passing through Staple to Wingham and Littlebourne would lead directly to Canterbury, then doubtless a British camp. The only obstacle to a march from Woodnesborough would be the Little Stour at Littlebourne, but I may observe that the little river is mostly fed by a periodical stream the Nailbourne, and as it was then July, there is every probability that very little water flowed; at the present time the water is kept back by numerous water-mills. There is no ground for the supposition of the Emperor Napoleon, that the river mentioned by Cæsar was the lesser Stour; no high ground on either side would offer any impediment to the invading forces. It is not probable that Cæsar crossed the Stour at any point below Fordwich, as the valley opens into a broad marsh below that town, which would be quite impassable in Roman times. Canterbury or Fordwich would have been the most eligible spot. Perhaps Cæsar came up with the enemy at the latter place, and followed them to Canterbury. He arrived here about daybreak as he had travelled all night, and repulsed the Britons who withdrew into the woods. The Great Blean wood would offer them the required shelter. Five miles west of Canterbury we find Chilham Castle, situated on an eminence on the north bank of the Stour, and just at the narrow gorge of the chalk hills; here probably, as supposed by Canon Jenkins, the enemy made their last stand. Had Cæsar not previously crossed the river, he would probaby have done so here. Canterbury (where the river divides into two branches) might not have been found such an eligible spot.[2]

Cæsar forbade his men to follow the enemy, because, a greater portion of the day having been spent, he wished for time to fortify his camp.[3] Cæsar must thus have followed, and engaged the enemy from sunrise till nearly sunset, and had ample time to reach beyond Chilham.

I would have you now only follow the narrative as far as the return to Cæsar's ships. He now learned that "the night before, a very great tempest having arisen, nearly all

[2] Observations on Chilham Castle, by the Rev. N. C. Jenkins—Archæologia Cantiana, vol. vii.

[3] "Quod magnâ parte dies consumptâ."

the vessels had been shattered and cast out on the shore, because neither their anchors and cables stayed them, nor could the sailors endure the tempest." Cæsar then resolves that "all the vessels should be drawn up on shore and be joined with the camp by one fortification;" in these measures he spends about ten days and nights. He continues: "The vessels having been drawn up and the camp excellently fortified, he leaves the same forces which he left before as a guard to the ships, and himself proceeds to the same place whence he had returned." And now I venture to answer a very difficult question—Where could this camp have been? I have rather anticipated the reply. Cæsar, it appears, left his ships on the open shore so far from land as to ride at anchor, with a very small force in the first and second invasions to guard them. It is therefore likely that he relied more on his command of the sea and distance from the shore, than on anything else, for their defence: it is, therefore, most likely that, having landed his forces near Sandwich, he withdrew his fleet opposite Stonar, and chose the high ground of Richborough, nearly an island, for his camp. On this occasion he resolved to draw up his ships and enclose them within the camp. When we remember that the Sandwich haven flowed up to the very walls of Richborough, and that there they were mostly out of reach of the enemy, we may, I think, conclude that this camp was on no other spot than that on which Richborough now stands. In my account of the explorations of the Kent Archæological Society I pointed out an artificial excavation in the bank of Richborough, opposite a place called Fleet. Such an excavation would probably serve for the small craft employed by Cæsar in the first invasion. I do not affirm the present castle to have been built by him, nor do I know that the camp mentioned by Cæsar was more than earthworks defended by wood, but it is evident that the hill of Richborough must have presented itself to Cæsar as a most eligible place for a naval camp, at once a defence from the enemy and a shelter for his ships. The hill of Richborough is approached by a strip of high land following the East Street Ash. I have ascertained that this now reaches nearly up to the hill, so that even in a high tide covering the marshes around, a terrace of high land would remain, except at two places now cut through by streams.

In conclusion, then, I would observe that Deal probably did not exist in Roman times; that a bay existed near Sandwich; and that, as it appears that Cæsar landed his forces at or near a point whence he could get his long vessels on the flank of the enemy, he must have landed at Sandwich, and not at Deal, where no such bay existed. It is also most probable that, if not on the first invasion, at least at some later period, Cæsar made his camp on the hill of Richborough.