Subterranea Britannica: Underground Britain

Martin Dixon¹

Abstract

Man-made underground structures hold a special fascination for many historians, anthropologists and explorers. This article suggests some reasons for this fascination and goes on to describe many of the typologies of underground sites in Great Britain. These include spaces constructed for religion, transportation, extraction, defence and concealment. Examples of each site type are given, along with current-day photographs of the structures. Sites described date from the Neolithic to the Nuclear age.

Many stages of mankind's development were only possible as a result of underground activity – whether this be the extraction of precious minerals/metals, the transportation of key resources or protection in times of war. Sites studied provide an important record and insight into these eras.

Some sites described are well-known worldwide - such as the London Underground which celebrates its 150th anniversary in 2013. A number of sites are opened to the public by arrangement with the site owners and enthusiasts; others lie largely forgotten and are only accessible to dedicated explorers.

The author, Martin Dixon, is Chairman of Subterranea Britannica: a UK based society which studies, visits and records man-made underground structures. Founded in 1974, Subterranea Britannica is a registered charity and has over 1,000 members. A guide to underground sites in the UK is available from www.subbrit. org.uk.

Key words: artificial cavities, Subterranea Britannica, Great Britain.

Riassunto

Subterranea Britannica: la Gran Bretagna sotterranea

Le strutture sotterranee realizzate dall'uomo conservano un fascino particolare per molte categorie di studiosi, dagli storici, agli antropologi, sino ai semplici esploratori. Il presente articolo intende suggerire alcune delle motivazioni esistenti alla origine di tale fascino, e descrive brevemente alcune tra le tipologie di siti sotterranei esistenti in Gran Bretagna. Questi comprendono spazi realizzati per scopi religiosi, per trasporto, estrazione di materiali, a fini difensivi e come luoghi in cui nascondersi. Alcuni esempi per ciascuna tipologia sono illustrate, anche mediante fotografie attuali delle strutture. I siti trattati nell'articolo coprono un arco temporale che si estende dal Neolitico all'epoca nucleare.

Molte fasi nello sviluppo storico dell'evoluzione della umanità sono state possibili solo come risultato di attività svolte nel mondo sotterraneo – siano queste consistite nella estrazione dal sottosuolo di materie preziose (minerali o metalli), nel trasporto di risorse chiave o nella protezione in tempi di guerra. I siti studiati forniscono quindi elementi di prezioso interesse storico per la migliore comprensione delle epoche nel corso delle quali essi sono stati realizzati.

Alcuni tra i luoghi descritti sono di fama mondiale – ad esempio, la Metropolitana di Londra, che celebrerà il 150° anniversario nel 2013. Molti di essi sono aperti al pubblico, grazie alla disponibilità dei proprietari o di appassionati; altri, invece, sono dimenticati e accessibili soltanto agli esploratori che se ne interessano. L'autore del presente articolo, Martin Dixon, è il Presidente di Subterranea Britannica, una società con base nel Regno Unito che si occupa dello studio, delle visite e della documentazione inerente le strutture sotterranee realizzate dall'uomo. Fondata nel 1974, Subterranea Britannica conta attualmente oltre 1000 soci. Ulteriori informazioni, e una guida per i siti sotterranei nel Regno Unito, sono disponibili al sito internet www.subbrit.org.uk.

Parole chiave: cavità artificiali, Gran Bretagna, Subterranea Britannica.

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Introduction

Subterranea Britannica is a UK-based society which studies, visits and records all manner of man-made and man-used underground structures and spaces. Set up in 1974, Subterranea Britannica (or 'Sub Brit' for short) has over 1,100 members and is a registered charity. It seems somehow appropriate for an organisation with a Latin name to be featured in an Italian journal. Although our members and interests cover the whole world, this article focuses on examples of underground sites within Great Britain (Fig. 1). Some Subterranea Britannica members also include caving and pot-holing amongst their interests, but the majority of the membership approach underground study from a perspective of industrial or military archaeology. Thus in Britain, at least, the exploration of man-made structures is more allied to historical and social study than it is to speleology.

Underground Fascination

Before looking at specific sites, what is it that fascinates so many of us about underground space? When asked why he wanted to climb Everest, British mountaineer George Mallory famously answered 'Because it's there'. Perhaps the parallel in explaining why the underworld has a similar fascination for so many of us is to say 'because it's **not** there'! But the real reason for our inquisitiveness goes much deeper than this and has several strands.

Firstly, underground space has an important role in many religious beliefs. Prehistoric cave paintings have been dated back 40,000 years and provide our earliest record of mankind's underground adventures. Whether for spiritual reasons or for concealment, underground space plays a part in many different religions. The Christian catacombs of Rome, Hermitages and Crypts, Hindu and Buddhist caves and Egyptian Tombs all play their part. Plus of course most religions consign the mortal remains of their dead to the earth.

Secondly, every significant step-change in mankind's history has taken place by means of the exploitation of underground resources. The Stone Age relied on the mining of underground flint by our Neolithic ancestors; sites across Europe date back to 4,000 BC. The Bronze Age that followed also relied on underground ores (principally copper and tin) for the production of tools, weapons and jewellery. Moving from prehistory into the historical era, this trend continued with the Iron Age where the ores needed for smelting were within the earth's crust. Finally the industrial revolution relied heavily on steam power – predominantly coal-fired – to drive the step change in manufacturing and transport.

Thirdly, military campaigns have used the protection of concealed space for both defensive and offensive purposes. Mining of city walls and castles was first recorded in the civilisations of ancient Rome, Greece and China; by the mediaeval period, mining and counter-mining techniques were well-developed. Mining and sapping reached their peak during the dreadful stalemate of World War I. World War II saw the construction of massive protected gun emplacements, most notably Hitler's Atlantic Wall of mainland Europe. Civilian air-raid shelters also protected millions during the bombing campaigns of the 1940s. Later in the twentieth century,

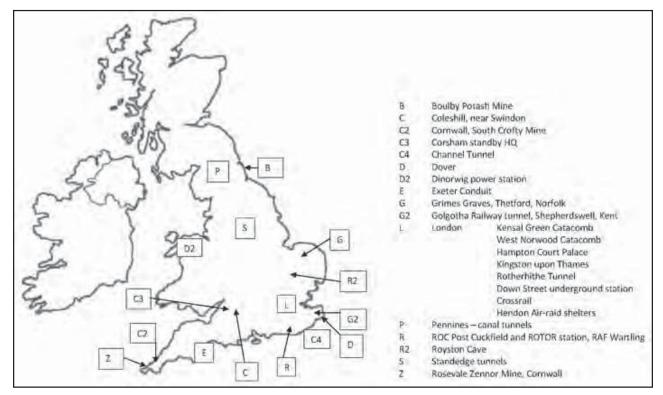


Fig. 1 - Map of Great Britain, showing location of the sites discussed in the text (drawing Linda Dixon). Fig. 1 - Mappa della Gran Bretagna, con indicazione delle località discusse nel testo (grafica Linda Dixon).

control and communication were the key underground aspects of the mercifully unfought Cold War.

Finally, modern society could not function without the services that run beneath its streets and fields. Urban mass transit has increasingly been forced underground and without it the daily flow of workers from the suburbs to the centre would be difficult to envisage. Our society relies on the provision of vast quantities of fresh water and the subsequent disposal of foul water; both hidden from the eyes of all but the privileged few. From the earliest canals to international links, tunnels have provided the means for man to cross mountains, rivers and seas.

Underground exploration and study allows us to glimpse how man's presence on earth has grown and developed. Protected from the elements, many sites show a period in history far more comprehensively than their above-ground equivalents. Exploration of these hidden spaces can show the immense scale of construction as well as the detail of individual inscriptions and graffiti. This juxtaposition of monumental and microscopic provides unparalleled glimpses of our ancestors and their world.

ECHOES OF ROME

Britain was of course part of the Roman Empire from 43 AD to circa 410 AD but did not benefit from any large-scale subterranean construction. The aqueducts built elsewhere in the Empire were perhaps not needed due to the rather wetter climate of Britain then and now. Britain does have, however, some structures which provide at least an echo of Roman ancestry.

A number of Catacombs exist throughout the country – mostly constructed in the early years of Queen Victoria's reign – the late 1830s and 40s. At that time, cemeteries within growing cities were proving inadequate for the population and so new cemeteries were built outside the city centre. Some of these new cemeteries included underground or semi-sunken catacombs; Kensal Green and West Norwood in London have the best examples. Other UK cities with catacombs are Liverpool, Exeter and Nottingham.

Some other sites are popularly known as 'catacombs' but are using the word in the sense of an underground complex (for example Camden catacombs in north London were actually warehouses and horse stables). In a similar way, although only a small proportion of the former quarries beneath Paris are used as an ossuary, the whole complex is often misleadingly described as the Paris Catacombs. Both Kensal Green and West Norwood catacombs were built beneath surface chapels and both retain fine hydraulic catafalques or coffin lifts designed by the firm of Bramah and Robinson (Fig. 2). As mentioned earlier, water supply in general was less of a problem in Britain due to comparatively wet weather and numerous rivers and streams. A number of underground water supply systems were built in the mediaeval period, usually in lead pipe rather than culverted and typically for religious or royal buildings rather than the general population. The latter had to



Fig. 2 - Coffin Lift at West Norwood catacombs (photo Tim Robinson).

Fig. 2 - Impianto per il sollevamento delle bare alle catacombe di West Norwood (foto Tim Robinson).

survive with wells dug adjacent to cess pits until comparatively modern times.

A fine conduit system dating from the fourteenth century remains in Exeter in Devon and is opened on a regular basis by the local council who should be commended for celebrating rather than filling in an underground feature. Another network fed both the fountains and kitchens of Hampton Court Palace in Surrey. This network started from wellheads or conduit houses in Kingston upon Thames and fed the Royal Palace about three miles away (Fig. 3). The site can be visited on its regular but infrequent openings or by special arrangement. The networks at both Exeter and Hampton Court are classed as scheduled ancient monuments and enjoy Britain's highest level of building protection.

Intriguing water supply tunnels were built at Coleshill, near Swindon in the eighteenth century to supply the large house there. Built on high ground for the views, the house had no natural water supply and so water tunnels were built to form horizontal wells, exploiting an impervious layer in the geology. Their excavation was an early use of gunpowder in UK tunnelling. The house itself was destroyed by fire in the 1950s (not helped by the lack of water supply!). The tunnels however remain and Subterranea Britannica recently surveyed them for the National Trust (the current landowner). Three hundred years after construction the tunnels are still supplying water to an underground reservoir and in fine shape (Fig. 4).

MINE, ALL MINE

There are few counties in Great Britain that have not been mined at some time for underground minerals, fuel or ores. The famous Grimes Graves flint mines in Norfolk mark the start of this exploitation which carries through to the present day. One of the most famous mining areas was the county of Cornwall in the far south west of England. Here granite and kaolin (china clay) have long been extracted from surface quarries

and are still an important part of local industry. But it is for metalliferous underground mining that the county is best known.

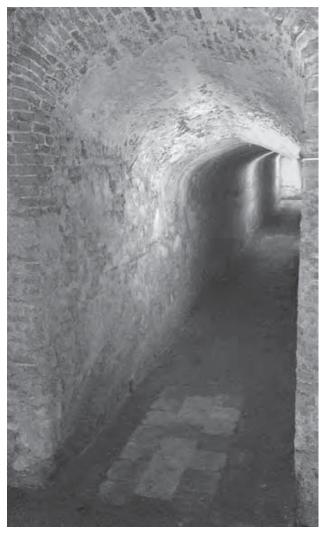


Fig. 3 - Coombe Conduit, Kingston upon Thames (photo Martin Dixon).

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Fig. 4 - Water supply tunnel at Coleshill, Oxfordshire (photo Martin Dixon).

Fig. 4 - Galleria per rifornimento idrico a Coleshill, nell'Oxfordshire (foto Martin Dixon).

From the Bronze Age to the last years of the twentieth century, Cornish tin has been world famous and mined in huge quantities alongside other metals including copper, arsenic, silver and zinc. Today no productive mines remain although South Crofty Mine remains under development with the intention of restarting production in due course. The whole Cornish mining landscape was designated a UNESCO World Heritage site in 2006.

Mining activity varied from large-scale heavily industrialised mines which have left their engine houses as a lasting legacy, down to smaller examples. Typical of the latter is the Rosevale Zennor mine which is preserved and maintained as a nineteenth century tin mine. Consisting of three levels (the bottom one flooded), rail track has been laid and ladders reinstated. A through trip is possible using ladderways between the two dry levels up the 30 metre stope. Extensive artefacts are in place both underground and on the surface including ore-shoots, wagons and drilling machinery. Many of these have been obtained from nearby abandoned mines (Fig. 5).

There are still a small number of operating mines in Britain – fewer than one hundred in total. These include coal, gypsum, Bath-stone, slate and salt; but the deepest of all is the Boulby Potash mine, a kilometre inland on the coast of North Yorkshire. The mine exploits evaporate beds of the former Zechstein Sea, in particular potash (a mix of water soluble potassium salts, at Boulby predominantly potassium chloride).

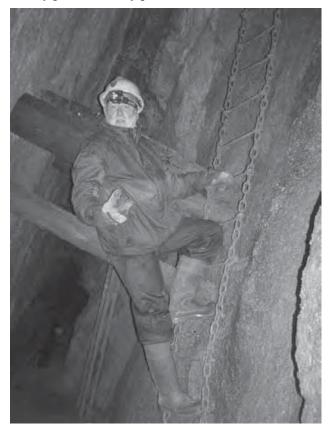


Fig. 5 - Main stope at Rosevale Zennor Tin Mine, Cornwall (photo Martin Dixon).

Fig. 5 - Salto principale alla miniera di stagno di Rosevale Zennor in Cornovaglia (foto Martin Dixon).

Mining covers an area of around 96 square kilometres – the majority of which is out under the North Sea. Access to the working mine is via two 1,100 metre shafts: one is used for man-hauling, and the other for extraction. Production at the mine commenced in 1973 and the working faces are up to eleven kilometres from pit bottom (Fig. 6).

Man winding takes around five minutes for the descent; the mined mineral ascends at three times this speed. The motive power for this is currently the largest electric motor in the northern hemisphere at 8,000 horse power. This immense power allows skips of 45 tonnes of mineral to be extracted in each lift. Although potash is the desired end product, roadways in potash are not stable enough for long term use. Instead, all roadways are in the lower bed of rock salt (sodium chloride) which is much more stable and provides a saleable, if less profitable, by-product.

TRANSPORT OF DELIGHT

Despite the almost complete absence of commercial traffic today, over 3,000 kilometres of canals in the UK remain in use by leisure craft. The construction of the network, which began in the eighteenth century, gave rise to some mammoth tunnelling operations – most challenging being the three canals that cross west to east across the Pennine range of uplands between Lancashire and Yorkshire. The Pennines rise to 893 metres above sea level and the three waterways which tunnel through are the Huddersfield, Rochdale, and Leeds & Liverpool canals.

Tunnels come in all shapes and sizes, many of the narrowest being just over two metres wide. During horsedrawn days, the barges or narrowboats had to be 'legged' through the tunnels by men lying on their backs and 'walking' along the tunnel roof. On wider canals, it is possible for two narrowboats to cross inside the tunnel; on others, traffic is controlled by time slots and, in just a few, by traffic lights. It is important to read the navigational notices carefully before entering as going backwards in a barge is not easy (Fig. 7)!



Fig. 6 - Core sampling, Boulby Potash Mine (photo Nick Catford).

Fig. 6 - Prelievo di campioni alla miniera di potassa di Boulby (foto Nick Catford).



Fig. 7 - Two-way operation at Braunston Tunnel, Grand Union Canal (photo Martin Dixon).

Fig. 7 - Spostamenti in entrambi i "sensi di marcia" all'interno del tunnel Braunston, Canale della Grand Union (foto Martin Dixon).

This early experience in building canal tunnels put Britain in a strong position when the railway revolution arrived. Although slightly more able to tackle gradients than the canal network the railways nevertheless generated the need for many hundreds of tunnels. Railways often follow the same routes as the earlier canals so in many places there are canal and railway tunnels following very similar alignments. Perhaps the epitome of this is the group of Standedge Tunnels between Yorkshire and Lancashire. Here a total of four tunnels (one canal and three railway) parallel each other for over five kilometres with linking cross-passages. The canal tunnel and one of the railway tunnels are still active though the traffic they see is but a fraction of that in their heyday (Fig. 8).

Between 1825 and 1843 Marc Isambard Brunel and his son Isambard Kingdom Brunel built the first under-water tunnel in the world beneath the Thames at Rotherhithe in east London. The gravels and clays of the ground were to prove hugely challenging – even when using the newly invented tunnelling shield.



Fig. 8 - Subterranea Britannica members at Standedge railway tunnel portal (photo Martin Dixon).

Fig. 8 - Soci di Subterranea Británnica all'ingresso della galleria ferroviaria di Standedge (foto Martin Dixon).

There were many construction deaths and the whole enterprise flooded on several occasions before it eventually reached completion. Although the tunnel was initially intended for horse-drawn traffic, the money to build access ramps was never found and so it remained a passenger tunnel for its early life. In later years it was converted into a railway tunnel and remains in use to this day (Fig. 9).

The next step from building tunnelled sections of railway was to build the world's first underground railways. The first one in the world was London's Metropolitan Railway, that opened in 1863 and celebrating its 150th year in 2013. The railway was built by 'cut and cover' with gas lighting in the carriages and steam-powered locomotives.

By 1890, the first deep-level underground railway was built as the City and South London Railway. It ran between Stockwell and King William Street and is now part of the route of today's Northern line. Originally it was intended to use cable haulage but at a late stage experimental electric locomotives were used. The line became affectionately known as the 'Tube' and the rest, as they say, is history.

Some of the more fascinating parts of London's tube network are the disused stations. Some of these became abandoned when lines were extended into the suburbs and attempts were made to improve end-toend running times. In other cases, the introduction of sloping escalators rather than the original lifts meant that adjacent station entrances just became too close together.

One of the most fascinating disused stations is Down Street, on the Piccadilly Line between Green Park and Hyde Park Corner. Down Street closed due to low passenger numbers in 1932 but found a new life in World War II. In an ironic twist, this disused station was used as the protected headquarters for the Railway Executive – a body which co-ordinated the mainline railway companies during the war. Today the bricked-off platforms can still be glimpsed from a passing train but the station is off-limits to underground enthusiasts (Fig. 10).

New Projects

In current times, tunnelling projects are still underway on a huge scale. A ring main carrying water around London opened in 1993 but was recently extended to supply up to a gigalitre (a thousand million litres) of drinking water a day. To deal with waste water, Bazalgette's interceptor sewers are well known but these will shortly be complemented by the Thames Tideway project, beginning in 2014. This involves bui-



Fig. 9 - Brunels' Thames Tunnel, Rotherhithe London (photo Tim Robinson). Fig. 9 - Galleria Brunels' del Tamigi, Londra Rotherhithe (foto Tim Robinson).



Fig. 10 - Wartime telephone equipment on disused platform, Down Street tube station, Piccadilly Line (photo Nick Catford). Fig. 10 - Attrezzature telefoniche del tempo di guerra su binario attualmente in disuso alla stazione della metropolitana di Down Street, sulla Piccadilly Line (foto Nick Catford).

lding a 35-kilometre tunnel of seven-metre diameter to increase the capacity of sewage disposal in London without overflowing into the river. The tunnel will largely follow the course of the River Thames – to avoid as many as possible of today's utility tunnels – and be constructed about 75 metres beneath the ground. Thirdly, the Crossrail project is (at last) constructing an east-west railway tunnel beneath London that will allow mainline trains to link the west of London and Heathrow Airport directly to the City of London and well beyond.

DEFENCE OF BRITAIN

Military structures have long been built partially underground to provide concealment and protection. Such excavations date back many centuries but there is a special interest within Subterranea Britannica of twentieth-century structures – particularly those of World War II and the Cold War.

World War II was the first conflict where extensive air-raid shelters were built for civilians as opposed to military personnel. Sometimes existing spaces such as tube stations were used, but most common were large public shelters, often built using cut-and-cover techniques which filled waste ground especially near schools and factories. Another type of shelter was the family 'Anderson' shelter – essentially a corrugated-iron shed buried in the back garden.

Over three million Anderson shelters were erected before and during World War II but very few now survive. Subterranea Britannica has been active in recording many types of air-raid shelter, in many cases arranging access to shelters that have been bricked up or otherwise blocked. A recent project at Hendon, north London, unearthed a group of shelters that had been almost forgotten for several decades (Fig. 11).

As well as conventional gun emplacements, World War II also saw the introduction of underground battle headquarters. The Royal Air Force and Navy in particular were both controlled from underground sites on both a local and group level. RAF Uxbridge provides an authentically restored Fighter Command bunker from where London was defended during the Battle of Britain. Most other similar sites are now derelict, vandalised or demolished.

It was perhaps in the Cold War that underground sites were most heavily used by the military and authorities in the UK. In terms of volume, three types of





Fig. 11 - Air-Raid shelter at Sunny Hill Park, Hendon – before (a) and after (b) excavation (photos Tim Robinson). Fig. 11 - Riparo anti-aereo al Parco di Sunny Hill, Hendon – pri-

ma e dopo lo scavo (foto Tim Robinson).

sites predominate - two detecting and responding to threats, and the third attempting to provide continuity of government. In terms of detection, by far the largest number of sites were those occupied by the Royal Observer Corps (ROC). Created in World War II to visually track incoming aircraft, the ROC literally went underground in the late 1950s. Over 1,500 3-person posts were built, each equipped with instruments to measure the location, strength and fallout from a nuclear attack. These posts then reported up to a 'Group' level, which aggregated the reporting with triangulation and used the subsequent analysis to protect the population. The ROC was disbanded at the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s but many posts - in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland as well as England - are now in the hands of enthusiasts and have been maintained or restored (Fig. 12).

Another major underground Cold War programme was known as ROTOR – effectively an updated UK-wide Radar programme. This used rapidly developing technology to detect and direct the response to inbound enemy bombers. The defences were concentrated in the south and east of England although there were a smaller number in Wales and Scotland. The growing power and range of Radar meant that many sites quickly became redundant, but their exploration provides a chilling insight into how World War III might have been fought. Subterranea Britannica enthusiasts have extensively researched and documented ROTOR sites and are active in preserving and protecting the underground bunker at former RAF Wartling in Sussex (Fig. 13).

The third group of underground sites associated with the Cold War are those which would have provided civilian government with protected accommodation. These existed in three tiers – local, regional and national. Local councils and authorities were instructed to provide protected shelters but in truth many used the basements of existing buildings such as Town Halls or Civic Centres. In the author's view, it is unlikely that these would have provided sufficient capacity or protection from a major nuclear attack.



Fig. 12 - Three-man ROC post at Cuckfield, West Sussex (photo Martin Dixon).

Fig. 12 - Sito del Royal Observer Corps (ROC) a Cuckfield, nel Sussex occidentale (foto Martin Dixon).



Fig. 13 - Preservation work at RAF Wartling ROTOR Station (photo Edward Combes).

Fig. 13 - Lavori di conservazione alla stazione RAF Wartling ROTOR (foto Edward Combes).

More robust were the regional government sites – almost all using existing accommodation that had been used in World War II (such as Dover Castle or Drakelow aeroplane factory) or redundant ROTOR sites. In their first guise these were known as RSGs (Regional Seats of Government) and they were later known as RGHQs (Regional Government Head-Quarters) (Fig. 14).

The last level of protected government accommodation was built into a disused Bath stone quarry near Corsham in Wiltshire. This was to provide a standby headquarters for the UK's National Government. Known by various code-names over a fifty year period, the site was declassified in 2002 but still remains off-limits to the public.

CURIOUS AND ECCENTRIC

To finish, here are a few sites that are difficult to categorise or 'one-offs'.

Dinorwig, in the Welsh mountains, houses a hydroelectric power station with two distinguishing features. Firstly, the power station is specifically designed



Fig. 14 - Plant Room at ex-Regional Government Headquarters at Crowborough (photo Tim Robinson).

Fig. 14 - Sala di controllo dell'impianto agli ex quartieri generali del Governo Regionale a Crowborough (foto Tim Robinson).

to boost the nation's electrical supply at peak times. The water to drive it lies in a lake high above, which has a finite capacity. Overnight, when demand on the electricity network is lowest, the power station is effectively reversed and the turbines are used as pumps to return the water to the upper lake ready to be used at the next spike in demand. The second peculiarity is that the entire power station is underground. This is to protect the scenic beauty of the Snowdonia National Park. At 1,800 Megawatts, Dinorwig is the largest underground power station in Europe and twelve million tonnes of rock were excavated to create the plant. The main chamber measures 51 metres tall, by 23m wide and 180 m long (Fig. 15). Public tours are regularly run and it is pleasing to see industrial structures being showcased and celebrated.

Around the world, there are many examples of half-finished tunnels; schemes where money ran out or where geology or politics prevented further progress. Before the current Channel tunnel (1987-94) was completed, two earlier starts were made and abandoned (1880 and 1974). However, a half-finished tunnel on the East Kent Light Railway is intriguingly fully usable. The Golgotha tunnel on that line was intended to be single bore, double track and the portals were so built. However, in order to save money, the bores were only half excavated – producing a 'D' shaped profile with a single track only throughout (Fig. 16).

The line ran commercially from 1917 to 1987 but the volume of coal traffic (the line's principal source of re-



Fig. 16 - Golgotha railway tunnel showing in-situ chalk (photo Martin Dixon).

Fig. 16 - Galleria ferroviaria di Golgotha, con esposizione del calcare (chalk; foto Martin Dixon).

venue) never justified the widening of the tunnel. So a large block of chalk remains in situ throughout the tunnel which was reopened as part of a preserved line in 1993.

To finish, a mention must be made of the site which was the seed from which Subterranea Britannica grew. Our founder, Sylvia Beamon, lives in Royston, Hertfordshire and became fascinated by Royston 'Cave', an enigmatic structure under the centre of the



Fig. 15 - Surge tunnel at Dinorwig Hydro-Electric power station (photo First Hydro Company).

Fig. 15 - Galleria alla centrale idro-elettrica di Dinorwig (foto First Hydro Company).

town. The cave was (re)discovered in 1742 beneath a millstone by a workman. Since then it has intrigued experts and casual visitors alike. The main chamber is five metres in diameter and almost eight metres high and is covered with religious and mediaeval carvings (Fig. 17). Experts have dated the sandstone excavation

to the fourteenth century and suggestions as to its original purpose have covered everything from a storage silo to a Masonic temple, from a hermitage to a prison. The site is now managed by the Royston and District History Society and is a microcosm of the myriad mysteries that live beneath our feet.



Fig. 17 - Royston Cave Carvings (photo Tim Robinson). Fig. 17 - Iscrizioni nella Grotta di Royston Cave (foto Tim Robinson).