

# THE FULLERS OF BRIGHTLING PARK

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Among Sussex families of substantial status, the Fullers of Brightling Park rank high. They have been the subject of various articles in the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*<sup>1</sup> and the *Sussex County Magazine*, but the writers have been concerned mainly with the later 18th-century representatives of the family, notably Mad Jack Fuller,<sup>2</sup> and the first Fullers have been somewhat neglected. However, from the Fuller papers in the custody of the Sussex Archaeological Trust, something can be learned of these founders of the family fortunes, and it is with John Fuller the first of Brightling Park that the present article is primarily concerned.

The early history of the family is obscure. They seem to have descended from one John Fulwer or Fuller, citizen of London, and there were many branches of the family in Sussex. The ancestry of the Fullers of Brightling can be traced to the younger son of John Fulwer, whose descendant, another John Fuller, acquired Tanners in Waldron.<sup>3</sup> On 21 Nov. 1575, he was assigned the unexpired lease of the manor and demesne of Tanners,<sup>4</sup> which was then the property of Lord Buckhurst, later Duke of Dorset, and on 30 Sept. 1597, all the freehold tenements called Wood place and Tanners were sold him by the executors of one John Paine for £370.<sup>5</sup> In 1606, Thomas, earl of Dorset, leased the manor to him for 21 years at £20 yearly,<sup>6</sup> and on 2 Jan. 1612/13, Richard, earl of Dorset, appointed him collector of rents in the manor of Tanners.<sup>7</sup> He had acquired other properties before his death, namely on 1 Apr. 1588, the tenement and 42 acres of assart land in Waldron called Funnells,<sup>8</sup> and in the following year further lands in Waldron to which his father had been admitted in 1564.<sup>9</sup> This John Fuller died in 1614/15, his will being proved on 30 May 1615<sup>10</sup> and he left the bulk of his property in Waldron, Heathfield, Westham and

<sup>1</sup> Herbert Blackman, 'Gunfounding at Heathfield in the 18th century', in *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. 67 (1926), pp. 25-54, abbreviated hereafter to *S.A.C.*

<sup>2</sup> Arthur Beckett, 'Mad Jack Fuller, the honest Sussex squire', in *Sussex County Magazine*, vol. 2, pp. 24 (1928); correspondence loc. cit., p. 592. Also, Admiral Chambers, A foot to the Henckell Hare letters, loc. cit. vol. 7, p. 329 (1933); correspondence loc. cit., p. 479.

<sup>3</sup> William Berry, *Pedigrees of the Families . . . of Sussex* (1830), p. 279; Attree MS. *Sussex Pedigrees*, p. 142 (Sussex Arch. Trust).

<sup>4</sup> Fuller Papers in the custody of the Sussex Archaeological Trust. R.F. 2/133, hereafter referred to as R.F. The lists and calendars prepared by Mr. K. W. Dickens and Mr. N. E. S. Norris have been invaluable and a great debt is owed to Mr. L. F. Salzman for his unstinted help and encouragement.

<sup>5</sup> R.F. 2/75.      <sup>6</sup> R.F. 2/146.      <sup>7</sup> R.F. 2/112.

<sup>8</sup> R.F. 2/107. An inventory of his chattels is published in *Sussex Notes and Queries*, vol. 7, pp. 201-204.

<sup>9</sup> R.F. 2/19.      <sup>10</sup> R.F. 2/182 (copy).

Herstmonceux to his son Samuel. Of his other sons, Cheyney, then a minor, was to have the lands owned by his father at Shorne in Kent, with an allowance of 40s. a year until he came of age; Joseph, the property in Mayfield recently purchased from Richard Relf and Thomas Kerren, as well as his father's best silver cup. His brother's son Edward was to have the use of the testator's land at Sharps for seven years at a yearly rent of 17s.; while John Fuller's wife and other members of the family were to receive legacies. In 1634, Joseph and Cheyney were presumed, if alive, to be overseas.<sup>1</sup>

In 1615 Samuel Fuller married Joane French, daughter of Stephen French deceased of Chiddingly, from whose will she inherited a portion of £500. Samuel settled Woodplace and Tanners upon her.<sup>2</sup> He continued to acquire property in and round Heathfield and Waldron and became a substantial land owner. On his death on 3 Aug. 1653, his son John, inherited. John married Ann Nutt, daughter of the Rev. John Nutt of Mays in Selmeston, rector of Berwick, and was the father of a large family. He had obtained the lease, with Sir Thomas Dyke, of Chiddingly stream furnace from his father-in-law on 10 Oct. 1650,<sup>3</sup> and he added considerably to the estate. Among other properties, he acquired on 12 Nov. 1660,<sup>4</sup> Coggers farm which had been in the possession of Richard Fuller of Mayfield,<sup>5</sup> and about the same time, Sumner's Brook,<sup>6</sup> Priors Marsh,<sup>7</sup> White Dyke and further lands in Waldron.<sup>8</sup> When John Fuller died on 30 May 1679,<sup>9</sup> his eldest son Samuel being already dead, the second son, another John, succeeded to the properties. These comprised the manor of Tanners, the lands in Waldron, Heathfield, in the rape of Pevensy, the parsonage of Chiddingly, acquired in 1648,<sup>10</sup> farms and land in Chiddingly, marshland in Pevensy, Westham and Hailsham and land in Hellingly. The younger sons, Thomas and Stephen, inherited property in Icklesham, divided equally between them, farms in Pett, in Heathfield in the rape of Hastings, the lands in Mayfield which Samuel had inherited from his brother French as well as other property which he had purchased in Mayfield.

John, the heir, had married Elizabeth Fowle, daughter of Samuel Fowle, late citizen of London, and the marriage settlement dated 7 April 1679,<sup>11</sup> lists the various properties as well as the provision that the father would give his son and his wife a year's board and lodging for themselves and their servants and would bequeath to them all his household stuff, implements of household and husbandry tackling. Elizabeth's portion was £1,200, of which £400 went to her father-in-law and £800 to her husband, who undertook to pay her £40 a year during their joint lives for her clothes and to

<sup>1</sup> R.F. 2/188, 189.

<sup>2</sup> R.F. 2/79.

<sup>3</sup> S.A.C., vol. 32 (1882), p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> R.F. 5/73.

<sup>5</sup> R.F. 5/56

<sup>6</sup> R.F. 2/212-214.

<sup>7</sup> R.F. 7/31.

<sup>8</sup> R.F. 2/126, 127, 99.

<sup>9</sup> A digest of his will is in R.F. 2/231.

<sup>10</sup> R.F. 5/23.

<sup>11</sup> R.F. 11/1.

be used at her pleasure.<sup>1</sup> She would also inherit the property in London which had belonged to her father and on the death of her mother who was re-married to Sir John Biggs, lands in Chiddingly, Hellingly and Forest Row.

With this John Fuller, we reach firmer ground, for a number of records survive,<sup>2</sup> though most of them concern his son's activities. Perhaps his most interesting acquisition was the lease on 26 June 1693, of 14 acres called Bungherst, five other pieces of land containing 8 acres called Lyons, 11 other pieces called Westfield, Rayle Croft and Crouch Croft, all in the occupation of Roger Johnson of Heathfield for a term of 200 years at a rent of £30. These were the lands on which John Fuller intended to set up his furnace.<sup>3</sup> Apart from this, he acquired further property, but we know little else about him, save that he was a Major in the Trained Bands. The furnace account book<sup>4</sup> does not begin until 1703 and was probably the work of his son, John. It contains accounts of money disbursed in wood-cutting for the furnace in 1704, sums spent in and about the furnace in 1703, mine and coal carried.<sup>5</sup> Beyond this, there are entries of sums of money owed to Major John Fuller at his death for various bonds, purchases of iron, etc. An entry in the Journal<sup>6</sup> made by his son, notes a payment of £5 to Thomas Mephams's wife "for looking after my father". Otherwise, the sum total of our information is a loose inset in the Furnace book entitled "Particulars of land in the occupation of Major John Fuller lately deceased" as well as notes for a settlement on the family. The rental of the estate was £1,225 7s. 0d.; the woods valued at 4s. 6d. an acre, £170 per annum. There was also £2,000 in the hands of one Mr. Hawkins, £3,205 6s. 8d. in South Sea Stock, £5,816 17s. 6d. balance due from Mr. John Lade, and the stock at the furnace was valued at £1,800, making a grand total of £12,822 3s. 2d.

From this point, there is almost a superabundance of material. The principal manuscripts are the Furnace Book 1703-1740,<sup>7</sup> the Journal 1719—c.1745,<sup>8</sup> the Ledger 1719—c.1741,<sup>9</sup> the Cash Book 1731-45,<sup>10</sup> and the Letter Book.<sup>11</sup> The last contains copies of John

<sup>1</sup> R.F. 11/5.    <sup>2</sup> See below.    <sup>3</sup> R.F. 4/11.

<sup>4</sup> R.F. 15/22. The first pages are not numbered but ff. 3-6 contain an account of the work done from 29 Dec. 1704 to 4 March 1705/6.

<sup>5</sup> Loc. cit., ff. 7-25.    <sup>6</sup> R.F. 15./26 f. 289.

<sup>7</sup> R.F. 15/22. The Furnace account contains amounts of mine carried, coals, sows, etc., iron cast and weighed in and out of the forge as well as payments made.

<sup>8</sup> R.F. 15/26. This is in poor condition and much is illegible.

<sup>9</sup> R.F. 15/27.    <sup>10</sup> R.F. 15/28.

<sup>11</sup> R.F. 15/25. In addition, there is in the East Sussex Record Office a book on medicine from which leaves have been cut into which John Fuller has inserted letters and documents of medical interest, including an account of his father's illness in 1720 and the progress of Rose and Henry when they were ill with smallpox in 1727 as well as remedies recommended for his wife by Sir Han Sloane. This book is among records received from Messrs. Raper and Fovargue.

Fuller's voluminous correspondence and was also used as a commonplace book in which is a vast miscellany of curious information. These documents are inter-related and appear to be part of a series since the pages of the Journal and the Ledger begin at f 264 and f 184 respectively, though the first legible page number in the Journal is f 279. In the Ledger, there are cross references to J, the Journal, and in the Journal to L, the Ledger. Some but not all of the information in J is entered in a more orderly form in L and in both is information which does not appear in the other as well as references to other apparently non-existent books such as the House Book. The Letter book was continued by John Fuller Junior when he inherited the estates and concluded by his brother Stephen in 1755. The Cash book contains a day-to-day account of payments and receipts with references to their entry in other books. Many of these include household payments. The sums vary from John Fuller's daughter's dowry of £5,000 to 6*d.* given to a sailor!

John Fuller the first of Brightling had married on 20 July 1703, Elizabeth Rose, daughter of Fulk Rose of Jamaica and Mrs. Sloane, then the wife of Dr., later Sir Hans, Sloane. She brought him a large fortune from the West Indian plantations. His uncle, Thomas, had already purchased Brightling Park from the Collins family of Socknesh and at Lady Day 1705 put his nephew in possession of it.<sup>1</sup> John Fuller renamed it Rose Hill in honour of his wife. In none of the Fuller papers, unfortunately, is there any reference to the building of the mansion, although this must have been a considerable undertaking. A fire-back has the initials T.F. with the date 1695 and a rain water pipe bears the date 1699, but as Mr. Antony Dale has pointed out,<sup>2</sup> this may have little significance as the Fullers being iron-masters, these objects may have come from an earlier house.

John Fuller the first seems to have added little to the estate and the land acquired in his life-time was mainly in the name of his son John. He was, however, responsible for acquiring Collins' Forge from William Western on 2 May 1716, in fulfilment of a contract made on 22 Nov. 1700, by which Maximilian Western undertook to procure within 17 years a good title to the lands and John Fuller, having paid £200 for the absolute purchase of the premises, might meanwhile enjoy them without any rent.<sup>3</sup> The premises comprised a forge or iron works, wheels, tools, implements, floodgates, two cottages or workmen's houses, an iron house, a piece of land of 1½ acres to lay sows, etc. There were rights of way through the land of John Hebden, a former occupier, between Wynnyford Mill and

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 5679, p. 289.

<sup>2</sup> Antony Dale, 'Brightling Park' in *Sussex County Magazine*, vol. 29 (1955), pp. 462-469. Mr. Dale has dealt fully with the architectural history of the mansion, the additions made by John Fuller junior and the improvements to the estate made by 'Honest John' or 'Mad Jack' Fuller.

<sup>3</sup> R.F. 1/16, 17.

the forge, between Brightling Down and the forge and between the Park house and the forge.

John Fuller I was the father of ten children, of whom one daughter and six sons survived. The dates of their births, details of their god-parents are entered in the Letter Book. A portrait of the family dated 1734, by Van Hubner, which is in the possession of Mr. W. A. Raper, was reproduced in Vol. 67 of *Sussex Archaeological Collections*. His relations with his family reveal him as anxious for their welfare, often fond and forebearing, especially with Rose, the second son, but at times dictatorial and moralistic. Provision for the children had been made in John Fuller's marriage contract. An account dated 24 Jan 1734/5<sup>1</sup> shows that on 20 Dec. 1719, £394 had been spent in gold pieces on lottery tickets, purchased by John Lade, and there was a balance of £11 14s. 0d. to come; twenty prizes were won amounting to £405 14s. 0d. Of this, £215 2s. 11d. was invested in South Sea Stock, on which the interest and dividends from Lady Day 1720 to Midsummer 1723 amounted to £72 18s. 0d. The stock was then divided, half the sum being put into South Sea annuities. A dividend on the stock, received at Christmas 1723 at 3 per cent. was £3 4s. 6d. There is no further entry, but a note dated 24 Jan. 1733/34, states that as the children were otherwise provided for, the keeping of the account was of no use.

The children were carefully instructed in accomplishments, for one Mr. Moor was spinet-master<sup>2</sup> and on 29 Ap. 1729, a Mr. Philpott was engaged to teach them to dance at 12d. per week each child without any entrance fee.<sup>3</sup> He also instructed Henry and Stephen in the fiddle for the sum of three guineas, and was later employed in mending and tuning the spinet.<sup>4</sup>

John Fuller's daughter Elizabeth seems to have managed household affairs after her mother's death on 18 Feb. 1727/28 until her marriage to William Sloane on 29 Apr. 1733. The Ledger contains accounts for her from 11 Oct. 1726 until 1733.<sup>5</sup> These include household expenses of all kinds, the cash book entries, clothing, expenses to Coz. Fuller's wedding with Mr. Apsley, to the horse races and finally her wedding clothes £200, and her fortune of £5,000 in Bank Stock. After her marriage, father and daughter corresponded frequently as the Letter Book indicates. Her husband was concerned in securing her brothers Hans' apprenticeship to a firm of Lisbon merchants<sup>6</sup> and her children were often at Brightling Park. In 1735, her daughter, who was subject to fits, was staying there and John Fuller told Rose that as John, the eldest son, was going to London, he would be alone with 'the dear little girl'.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> R.F. 15/27 f. 188.

<sup>2</sup> loc. cit. f. 245. The sum of 8 guineas was paid for a spinet.

<sup>3</sup> R.F. 15/26, f. 270. <sup>4</sup> R.F. 15/28, ff. 52, 64, 145. <sup>5</sup> R.F. 15/27, f. 314.

<sup>6</sup> R.F. 15/25, 27 March 1736. The pages of the Letter Book are not numbered so the letters are referred to by date.

<sup>7</sup> loc. cit. 3 Feb. 1734/5.

Later, he commented on her recovery and when a second daughter was with him, he remarked on the practice of one's family to get children and leave the grandparents to care for them.

In 1723, John, his eldest son, went to Cambridge, to Trinity College, where his tutor was Dr. Baker. His expenses for the years 1723-26 are recorded in the Ledger.<sup>1</sup> On 1 Dec. 1726 he was admitted to the Temple and from 1 Nov. in that year he was to receive an allowance of £160 a year. Various sums in cash, amounting to £231 3s. 6d. were paid to him to meet the expenses of Chamber rent, i.e. £5 15s. 0d. for the half year, the furniture in the new chambers £18 0s. 0d., the fee to the man that looked after the rooms £1 1s. 0d., the fee to the Royal Society, £2 2s. 0d.<sup>2</sup> as well as other subscriptions, book-binding and so forth. He was closely associated with his father's affairs both in London and Sussex as many of the letters show. He was often addressed as 'Jacky' and there seems to have been a strong bond of affection between them. The letters cover a wide range of activities and begin on 30 May 1729<sup>3</sup> with one concerning the making of iron pipes for the New River. Other letters deal with saucepans and skillets sent to him, petitions to the House of Commons concerning the import of bar iron, exchequer tallies, the purchase of woods and multifarious concerns of the estate. On 20 Feb. 1738/39, his father expressed pleasure that John was making 'a careful and provident life of the money' he entrusted him with. In March 1730, he became a freeholder by the purchase of some marsh land at a cost of £215.<sup>4</sup> When Sir John Lade died on 30 June 1740, John with his father and Ann Lade were executors for which, as his father remarked to Rose, they would have £100 apiece for looking after at least £120 thousand which would not pay for the shoe-leather.<sup>5</sup> The estate had to be put in Chancery and both father and son had a great deal of business to transact concerning it.<sup>6</sup>

Before his father's death in 1745, the son was already the owner of considerable property, for in addition to the Pevensey marshland, he had acquired Baker's Garden on 17 Oct. 1735,<sup>7</sup> Carpenters on 24 July 1738,<sup>8</sup> Stonesland in December 1739,<sup>9</sup> Dennisland in February 1745/46,<sup>10</sup> and by 2 October in the same year, lands in Brightling, which had been the property of James Little to the value of £794 11s. 0d.<sup>11</sup> When he inherited the estate, he added considerably to it.

Rose, the second son, is perhaps the most interesting of the family. He was born on 12 Apr. 1708 and completed his education at Cambridge. In 1725-27, sums of money were paid to a Mr. John Padmore for Rose's board from 21 Feb. until he went to study medicine at Leyden in 1727.<sup>12</sup> A sum of £547 9s. 0d. was spent on his education and living from 5 Apr. 1728 to 14 Dec. 1732.<sup>13</sup> John Fuller

<sup>1</sup> R.F. 15/27, ff. 276, 282, 287.      <sup>2</sup> loc. cit. f. 287.

<sup>3</sup> R.F. 15/25 *passim*.      <sup>4</sup> loc. cit. March 1730, R.F. 7/46, 47.

<sup>5</sup> R.F. 15/25 Oct? 1740.      <sup>6</sup> See below pp. 83-84.      <sup>7</sup> R.F. 1/89, 90.

<sup>8</sup> loc. cit. 145, 146.      <sup>9</sup> loc. cit. 158, 159.      <sup>10</sup> loc. cit. 160.

<sup>11</sup> loc. cit. 163.      <sup>12</sup> R.F. 15/27, f. 305.      <sup>13</sup> loc. cit. f. 390.

seems to have been very proud of him and frequently refers to him as 'Doctor'. On 9 Aug. 1731, Mr. Hubner, whom John Fuller described as a 'tall pock-marked German . . . who takes the likeness best of any I have seen . . . as civil and as quiet a person as can be in any family' received £3 3s. 0d. for 'drawing Rose's picture'.<sup>1</sup> When in 1731, the Fuller family comprising John Fuller Senior, Aunt Rose and her maid, Elizabeth, Jack and another son (Thomas?) travelled to the Continent,<sup>2</sup> Rose was to meet them to act as courier at the *Silver Lion*, Calais, and escort them to Paris. They travelled through France and Flanders 'which are the finest countries I ever saw' and returned to England on 27 July 1731. Their expenses totalled £300 12s. 7d., those of John Fuller himself and his children being £137 15s. 1½d.<sup>3</sup> On 11 Dec. 1732, Rose sailed for Jamaica in the *Catherine*, Captain Bostock.<sup>4</sup> There had been complaints of the overseer's treatment of the negroes and John Fuller had high hopes of what Rose would do. A great storm in the Downs caused Rose to omit to date a letter to his father, a fact which did not go unnoticed!<sup>5</sup> John Fuller soon began a series of letters to Rose, giving advice and encouragement. He told him he might send to England for things he needed, but bade him take care as to purchasing new negroes, owing to their high cost when sugar was so cheap, for although he did not wish the plantation to be undermanned, he hoped to reap some profit before he died. The letters were often admonitory, sometimes acrimonious. Rose complained<sup>6</sup> of the agents' treatment of the negroes and was constantly demanding goods from England, yet failing to send the requisite amount of sugar in return. His father endeavoured to find a carpenter to send out to him, but the best he could do was to get a promise from old Isaac Holman that he would go if his wife died, she being expected to live about two months, but he could not be depended on.<sup>7</sup> On 13 Dec. 1733, John Fuller in answer to Rose's complaint that he was kept in dependence, pointed out how the proceeds of the plantation had dropped since 1728 and how Rose's demands would consume most of the profit. He had spent almost £7,000 in the previous year on Rose, Elizabeth and Thomas and while Rose would have his share of what his father left, he must not expect the whole.<sup>8</sup> By an agreement dated 10 Dec. 1733, he conveyed to Rose half the plantation and leased him the other half for seven years for thirty hogsheads of sugar a year, the arrangement to begin on 25 Dec. 1733.<sup>9</sup> The sugar, however, was not forthcoming annually and Rose continued to haggle over his position. His father in return reproached him for failing to

<sup>1</sup> R.F. 15/28, f. 5, 15/25 13 Feb. 1730/31. Possibly this portrait may be the one which was in the possession of Mrs. Gerald Spencer, of Ringmer.

<sup>2</sup> R.F. 15/25 24 Apr. 1731.

<sup>3</sup> R.F. 15/28 f. 3.

<sup>4</sup> R.F. 15/25 11 Dec. 1732. <sup>5</sup> loc. cit. 23 Jan. 1732/3.

<sup>6</sup> loc. cit. 24 July 1733.

<sup>7</sup> loc. cit. 12 Nov. 1733.

<sup>8</sup> loc. cit. 13 Dec. 1733.

<sup>9</sup> R.F. 15/25 10 Dec. 1733.

acknowledge the goods sent out to him<sup>1</sup> which should have enabled him to send more sugar, he hoped to hear no more of his complaints and would take no more care about a carpenter and Rose might now 'be his own factor'. Among the goods sent out were pickles, olives, Cheshire cheese and strong beer. John Fuller also made pithy comments on the Jamaican situation, on the decay of trade with the Spaniards 'which was always by stealth and illegal', on the duties imposed by the English government and declared his gratification to hear of Rose's good reputation in the island.

The situation between father and son was still difficult in 1736 when John Fuller wrote that he would not give up while he lived and be beholden to his children. He wished Rose success in his proposed marriage if the lady had a good fortune and re-iterated his determination not to surrender his estate.<sup>2</sup> This letter was not sent, apparently, but on 3 Jan. 1736/37,<sup>3</sup> he stated that he had settled affairs as Rose wished, making himself tenant only of his half of the estate for 99 years, but Rose must remember that as his brother John was unmarried, he might inherit all the estates in England. He was glad to hear of the good character of Rose's bride and hoped to live long enough to see him and his family in England. On 26 Sept. 1737,<sup>4</sup> he wrote to Mrs. Ithamar Fuller, wishing her joy in her marriage to Rose, and to Richard Mill, her father, explaining his and Rose's financial position and expressing gratification at the good account of his son's bride. Further letters, undated, deal with the methods used by the planters in sending sugar and drawing bills and reminded Rose that 'if a man have never so much, he is happiest who has least obligations'. In July 1738, Rose's wife died and his father condoled with him, saying these subjects were melancholy to write on and 'they revived the passion of grief which cannot be too much kept under'. The bearer of this letter was to be a certain John Grover, described as 'a man of good general character, has taught school, writes a good hand, a good accountant, surveyor of land, a very ingenious man in any sort of business'. He also had a knowledge of surgery and John Fuller thought Rose would do well to take him.<sup>5</sup> Eventually, however, John Grover did not sail because of the threat of war.<sup>6</sup> At this time, John Fuller had business dealings with Rose's father-in-law concerning Bank Stock to be transferred to his sisters in England.<sup>7</sup> Rose, too, was dissatisfied with Mr. Serocold, the London agent, through whom John Fuller transacted his business whereas his father thought 'there could not be an honester man among all Jamaican factors.'<sup>8</sup>

After a silence of some months, John Fuller wrote again on 9 Apr. 1739, urging Rose to send the 30 hogsheads of sugar annually. He

<sup>1</sup> R.F. 15/25 11 June and 22 July 1734.      <sup>2</sup> loc. cit. 25 Nov. 1736.

<sup>3</sup> loc. cit. 3 Jan. 1736/7.      <sup>4</sup> loc. cit. 26 Sept. 1737.

<sup>5</sup> loc. cit. July 1738.      <sup>6</sup> loc. cit. 12 Dec. 1738.

<sup>7</sup> loc. cit. 29 March 1738.      <sup>8</sup> loc. cit. 12 Dec. 1738.



had heard nothing for some months, though he had been receiving 16 hogsheads. He was now spending a large sum on setting up his younger son, Thomas, and as Rose was so far advanced, he ought to send the whole quota.<sup>1</sup> On 17 Feb. 1739/40, he thanked Rose for 16 hogsheads and the pipe of Madeira, but he thought that people on board had had a share of it!<sup>2</sup> He gave news of the family, including the birth of Elizabeth's son 'the only male heir in the (Cadogan) family, Lord Cadogan's son not being likely to live long, at least to be a cripple'. He congratulated Rose on becoming a Privy Councillor and expressed the hope that the war would answer the expectations of all West Indians. Again he hoped to see Rose in two years' time. An undated letter, possibly Oct. 1740,<sup>3</sup> dealt with Rose's expulsion from the Council and stated that Lord Wilmington who was instrumental in Rose's appointment to it, had said that the Governor had no power to remove any Councillor. He also wrote at length about the death of Sir John Lade and the provisions of his will.

By 1 Jan. 1741/42,<sup>4</sup> the trouble between Rose and the Council was at an end, but not so Rose's difficulties in sending enough sugar. Ten hogsheads had arrived by the *Nisbet*, but there was no news of the other 15. By 31 Aug. 1742,<sup>5</sup> the supply seems to have increased considerably, for John Fuller had received 10 by the *Snapper*, 10 by the *Nisbet*, and 15 by the *Shirley*, though he had no knowledge of the further 15 which Rose said were coming. He remarked on Rose's reflections on Jamaica as a house divided, with the army under two commands. He again gave family news and was at that time entertaining Mrs. Stanley, her two daughters and Brother Isted, the godfather of John Fuller's daughter Elizabeth. 'The ladies were very merry and played on their musick all day'. The next letter is dated 22 June 1743,<sup>6</sup> and acknowledged the receipt of 30 hogsheads of sugar, but in a further undated letter, John Fuller complained of bad packing. Thomas was now dealing with the sugars and had sold them well, so that he was in a position to be trusted with commission if Rose could get him any. On 17 Aug. 1744, the father seems to have written the last letter to his son, saying he had been very ill about Christmas time, but was now well again. He had drunk asses' milk 'not for a consumption, but to humour the doctors'. He gave news of Stephen's marriage to Betsy Noakes, a very advantageous match, and told of Thomas' dealings with the sugars.<sup>7</sup> No further correspondence seems to have transpired before John Fuller's death in 1745. Rose's career is so full of interest that it is hoped to deal with it in a separate article.

Henry, the third son, was in charge of Mr. Elderfield at the

<sup>1</sup> loc. cit. 19 Apr. 1739.

<sup>2</sup> loc. cit. 17 Feb. 1739/40.

<sup>3</sup> loc. cit. Oct. ? 1740.

<sup>4</sup> loc. cit. 1 Jan. 1741/42.

<sup>5</sup> loc. cit. 31 Aug. 1742.

<sup>6</sup> loc. cit. 22 June 1743.

<sup>7</sup> loc. cit. 17 Aug. 1744.

Charterhouse, and from 1726-30, the sum of £192 3s. 10d. was paid for his expenses, including board and sundries, schooling from Mr. Tooke, books, pens, ink and an apothecary's bill.<sup>1</sup> In 1731, he went to Cambridge where his expenses amounted to £217 3s. 2d.<sup>2</sup> This included board, a sash and gown, quilt and blankets, coach hire from Sevenoaks to Cambridge, cash for his degree, expenses to the horse races and pocket money. He was to enter the Church and John Fuller exercised himself to secure a living for him. On 12 May 1738,<sup>3</sup> he wrote to his eldest son saying that he would give £1,600 for the advowson to Broughton, upon which there was a young life, but the holder was so well connected that he might become a bishop. On 12 Dec. 1738,<sup>4</sup> he told Elizabeth that he would give £1,700 for the perpetual advowson, the title of which her husband said was good. As far as the instructions desired by her husband were concerned, he knew no other than to pay the money which he would do on a proper conveyance. There is no further reference to this living, but in 1743 he was negotiating for the living of St. Mary's, Southampton,<sup>5</sup> vacant through the death of the incumbent. It had been intended for a young Mr. Wake, a minor, so they might be glad to put Henry in for a turn, or for the perpetual advowson of Mottisfont, if St. Mary's was worth it, or for the turn of North Stoneham. The Mottisfont living was worth £382 a year.<sup>6</sup> In 1744, he told John that he was seeking to purchase Mottisfont-cum-Lockerly, co. Southampton, valued at £370 a year, out of which a curate was to be kept, and he hoped to exchange it with the Bishop of Winchester. As he did not know the bishop, he did not know how to propose it, but perhaps when the business of Sir John Lade's will was concluded, it could be hinted to him. He added that Henry was 33 years old and 4 or 5 years an M.A., but he did not know the age of old Jones, the present incumbent. In a further letter,<sup>7</sup> he complained that the bishop seemed to contradict himself. It was too late for Henry to take orders at the next ordination, which was Sunday fortnight; he did not know whom to ask to give him a title and he must have certification from Cambridge. Mr. Jones had sent him some papers and they must consider the improvements made and a settlement on the widow of the last incumbent. Harry ought to be ordained on 23 December. Henry eventually became rector of North Stoneham, Hants, and married Frances, daughter of Thomas Fuller, of Catsfield.<sup>8</sup> There is little further reference to him save for matters arising from Sir John Lade's will.<sup>9</sup>

The younger boys, Thomas, Stephen and Hans all went to Tonbridge School and Abraham Holman conducted them there and

<sup>1</sup> R.F. 15/27, f. 313.

<sup>2</sup> loc. cit. f. 297.      <sup>3</sup> R.F. 15/25 12 May 1738.

<sup>4</sup> loc. cit. 12 Dec. 1738.      <sup>5</sup> loc. cit. 17 May 1743.

<sup>6</sup> loc. cit. 17 Aug. 1744.      <sup>7</sup> loc. cit. 6 Sept. 1744.

<sup>8</sup> Berry: *Pedigrees of the Families . . . of Sussex*, p. 278.

<sup>9</sup> R.F. 15/25 *passim*.

Dear Doctor.

Rochill February 5<sup>th</sup> 1745

I have Yours of Novemb<sup>r</sup> 2<sup>th</sup> 1744 before me, and am Glad to hear that you are well, and in so good a Condition with Respect to the Negroes. I have little to acquaint you with, but only our Misfortunes here, We have had an Earthquake all over Surinam and Hampshire, which was felt by our Family and now the in Spanish, it was just like the Motion of a Ship, and lasted about 3 Seconds and no more and on January the 8<sup>th</sup> we had the terrible Storm of Wind, that ever I felt. It blew me down 5 Barns in this County, and an Podavae House all built of Bricks at Caney in Font. So that I think we have as it were changed Climate with you in Jamaica. Mr. Brocol has sent your Bro. 30 Gallons of Rum as a present from you the Duty & Freight of which cometh to £200 which is as to my Palate I think almost as much as it is worth I should prefer a Pot of Jamaica Pickles Tamarisks or Gingers before it. Your Sister Sloane left the Girl who is now with me, the Poor thing had Tets, which was come with the Breeding of Tets, but is pure well having not had any this fortnight so that I hope they have left her, as to Mr. Wm. Cokerhead I like well of his being an Attorney and you will fill up the Blank Letter of Attorney sent you with his Name. I hear by Mrs. Pyleman whose husband is dead, that you are Physician to the troops. I wish it may be true and you joy of it. Your Brother goes to London to morrow so will leave Nobody with me but the dear little girl who is as pleasant a Companion as any of her Age can be

A letter from John Fuller to his son, Rose  
(From the Letter Book R.F. 15/25 in the custody of the Sussex Archaeological Trust)

341) John Atby 14 <sup>th</sup> Dec 1728	Centre in Cr. 1728	
To Cash of Andrew Symon for 400 shillings	By 4 shillings of what will 5 <sup>th</sup> Dec	2 9 0
By 2 years longer due 14 <sup>th</sup> June 1729		13 0 6
		15 9 6
To do. Paid to James 2000 at 20	Centre in Cr. 1730	
To do. Paid to James 2000 at 20	By 17 <sup>th</sup> Dec 1729 to the 1 <sup>st</sup> of Jan 1730	9 0 0
To Cash of King the remainder of 12-14-15-16-17-18-19-20	By Cash	9 0 0
To Cash of the very Coling 10-15-20		
June 8 <sup>th</sup> 1729 To Rubene for to John Atby	1731	9 0 0
for Rich		
		9 0 0
John Forge of Mayfield 11 <sup>th</sup> Dec 1730		
July 13 <sup>th</sup> To half a Ton of Iron		9 0 0
March 24 To half a Ton of Iron		9 0 0
1731 Jan 5 <sup>th</sup> To half a Ton of Iron		9 0 0
John Atby 11 <sup>th</sup> Dec 1733	Centre in Cr. 1733	
June 17 <sup>th</sup> 1733 To Cash of Rich for Recd.	June 17 <sup>th</sup> By 4 years longer due 14 <sup>th</sup> June 1733	26 0 0
To a little more by hand bearing date this		
Day for 24-0-0. To John Smith		
his Secretary June 24 <sup>th</sup> 1733		
		26 0 0

Part of a page from John Fuller's ledger

(R.F. 15)27, in the custody of the Sussex Archaeological Trust)

back, being paid sums varying from 10s. to £1 8s. 8d. for their travelling expenses. The cost of their board with Mr. Richard Spenser was £14 each yearly, their schooling £4 4s. 0d.; a bill for an apothecary for six months amounted to £2 2s. 6d.; and books, pocket money and sundries for the same period £6 9s. 2d. Between 1726 and 1730, the sum of £243 10s. 9d. was spent on them.<sup>1</sup> An entry on 22 Jan. 1732/33<sup>2</sup> records that 7s. 6d. was to be paid by the children to the maids, 2s. 6d. to the man, 10s. 6d. to the usher, 5s. to the writing master for pens and £1 11s. 6d. to Miss Spencer, with 6s. for themselves.

After leaving school, their lives led in different directions. For Thomas, the fourth son, a series of accounts is entered in the Ledger from 1732-1740,<sup>3</sup> and at first he seems to have been in charge of Mrs. Anne Lade, to whom various sums were paid for clothing and board. The accounts include as well as clothing, an allowance of 14s. a week, 10s. for shoe-blackening for a year, 10s. 6d. for servants' Christmas boxes; barber and shaving £8 10s. 11d., nurse and apothecary £2 10s. 6d. and tailors' bills loom large. From Christmas, 1736, his father allowed him £70 per annum when he was in town for everything except linen<sup>4</sup> and in April following, paid £21 for him to learn to boil sugar.<sup>5</sup> Two years later on 7 Apr. 1739 John Fuller told Sir John Lade<sup>6</sup> of his satisfaction at the proposal that Thomas should become partner with a Mr. Emerson and Sir William Chapman's son. He intended to give Thomas £5,000 on his death but he could not spare it all while he lived or he would see it spent or lost as he knew from examples in the county! He was willing, however, to lay down £3,000. Finally he gave Thomas £4,400 to set up with.<sup>7</sup> On 22 Apr. 1742,<sup>8</sup> when Mr. Emerson withdrew from the business, his father advised Thomas to exercise caution in taking over premises at Paul's Wharf, 'for a young fellow worth £4,000 to take a load of £3,000 more upon his back in a trade which is not so beneficial is what I should not dare do myself'. He knew that Thomas had had a hard struggle for two years and it would be better if a third person came in. He would not give security for the money, for if he did, he would bring an old house upon his head and the advancing of money from father to son was the same as giving it. On 4 May 1742,<sup>9</sup> he told 'Thomy' that he had a bad business in the partnership and was among people too hard for him; he would not oppose him, but he wished he would consult Mr. Budgen or Mr. Serocold 'who is so much my friend that he would advise you faithfully'. He made apposite remarks on the rent, the lease and the question of repairs. At the same time he wrote to Mr. Serocold<sup>10</sup> asking him to advise Thomas as Mr. Emerson 'may

<sup>1</sup> R.F. 15/27 f. 313.      <sup>2</sup> R.F. 15/28 f. 23.

<sup>3</sup> R.F. 15/27 ff. 391, 416, 435, 443, 499.      <sup>4</sup> loc. cit. f. 416.

<sup>5</sup> loc. cit.      <sup>6</sup> R.F. 15/25 7 Apr. 1739.      <sup>7</sup> R.F. 15/27 f. 435.

<sup>8</sup> R.F. 15/25 22 Apr. 1742.      <sup>9</sup> loc. cit. 4 May 1742.

<sup>10</sup> loc. cit. March 1743/4.

be too much for these two young fellows'. By 1742, Thomas had set up for himself and was 'buying sugars apace'.

Thomas performed various commissions for his father in London, having been given on 15 Nov. 1740,<sup>1</sup> power of attorney to receive debentures at the Office of Ordnance when John Fuller could not go to London and in 1742 dealing with South Sea annuities and other financial matters.<sup>2</sup> He also handled the sugar despatched by Rose.<sup>3</sup> On 22 June 1743, John Fuller told the latter that Thomas 'had been trafficking about and has now got a wife—Jack Lidgetter's daughter of Lewes to whom Dr. Parker who was Mr. Madgwick's nephew has given all his estate. She will be worth £5,000 when she comes of age but is now about 19½ years.'<sup>4</sup> Later, in 1745, Thomas entered into partnership with George Barclay, merchant, for a term of 7 years.<sup>5</sup>

For Hans, the fifth son, there is only one series of accounts,<sup>6</sup> apart from his schooling. This records payments made to and for him when he went to Holland in 1735, sums for articles of clothing, board at £30 per annum and finally £450 for his apprenticeship to Messrs. Garnier and Atlee, merchants in Lisbon. This apprenticeship came about through the agency of William Sloane, Elizabeth's husband, the proviso being that if the apprentice died before half his time, half the money would be refunded.<sup>7</sup> In the event, this was a prudent measure. John Fuller declared in a letter to the merchants that Hans was of good character, and he undertook to allow him 20 moidores a year and give the usual security for his honesty. Hans had arrived in Lisbon by 20 July 1736, when his father wrote to Mr. John Baker, the London intermediary, asking him to send Hans an escritoire in which to place his clothes, of oak, plain, with three drawers underneath a desk, to lock up, without folding doors or glass. He suggested that it should be filled with cyder or strong beer, or something acceptable in Lisbon, as so large a thing should not go empty! Apparently the merchants gave a good account of Hans, and heard from him that his father had guns to dispose of. Mr. Baker thought that these might be sold to the King of Portugal<sup>8</sup> but in the end they were not sent. To Hans, his father wrote frequently giving him advice and encouragement. He warned him that if he expected to find the same neatness in Lisbon as in London, he would not find it anywhere except perhaps in Holland where 'if they were not clean, their ditches would poison them'. He told him also not to comment too freely on the people or the country as an intercepted letter could do great harm. He could but serve God truly and sincerely in his own way and mind his own business. Letters, especially foreign ones, were opened by

<sup>1</sup> loc. cit. 15 Nov. 1740.      <sup>2</sup> loc. cit. 3 Apr. 1742.

<sup>3</sup> loc. cit. 21 Aug. 1744.      <sup>4</sup> loc. cit. 22 June 1743.

<sup>5</sup> E.S.R.O. Raper and Fovargue MSS.      <sup>6</sup> R.F. 15/27 f. 414

<sup>7</sup> R.F. 15/25 27 March 1736 et. seq.      <sup>8</sup> loc. cit. 20 July 1736.

the Post Office, particularly those to people whom they did not like—a curious comment on the mails of the day. On 20 Oct. 1736, after further admonitions, John Fuller remarked that he was glad that Hans was resolved to avoid the vices—women were very dangerous! He gave a good deal of family news and said that he would arrange for Mr. Parker the bookseller to send magazines to him. Throughout the letters is a spirit of fatherly affection on the one side and filial duty on the other and it is sad that Hans' career was so brief. By 2 Apr. 1737,<sup>1</sup> John Fuller had learned of his death from small pox on 18 Mar. 1736/7. He wrote to Messrs. Garnier and Atlee assuring them that he felt every care had been taken and more done than could have been done at home and 'so, farewell my dear boy and all my promising hopes'. He requested that Hans' linen and wearing apparel should be given as he would have wished, the escritoire disposed of and the money credited to him. All the charges of sickness and burial would be paid when Mr. Baker received the account. So Hans passed from the scene.

Stephen, the youngest surviving son, went to Cambridge after he left Tonbridge School and his accounts begin in 1734.<sup>2</sup> There is a list in the Letter Book<sup>3</sup> of his expenses to Lady Day 1735/6, totalling £19 17s. 5d., followed by a letter from his father urging him to pay the chandler himself, also the laundress and shoemaker 'for he is none of the best'. If he needed more money before quarter day, he should take three or four guineas from his tutor, for when the last bills were paid he had £30 caution money. There is a final note in the account that all expenses were discharged 'being his maintenance before he married'. In 1741, he was elected Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and on 22 July 1744, he married Miss Betsy Noakes, from whose inheritance he expected £10,000. Her father had already settled £4,000 on her and would pay him £100 and give him board during his life.<sup>4</sup> Stephen settled in Sussex at Brightling Place and was closely associated with Rose when the latter returned to England.

Meanwhile his pre-occupation with his family did not prevent John Fuller from playing an active part in many other spheres, politics, county affairs, parish concerns, finance, the management of the estate and above all, the ironworks, all with considerable zest and humour, though he was clearly not to be cheated or trifled with. He was a member of Parliament for the county in the last Parliament of Queen Anne<sup>5</sup> and he fought another election in 1734. Evidence from the Letter Book<sup>6</sup> shows that he invoked the Act of 19 Hen. VII permitting the election to be held at Lewes, but it

<sup>1</sup> loc. cit. 2 Apr. 1737. <sup>2</sup> R.F. 15/27 f. 406.

<sup>3</sup> R.F. 15/25 26 Feb. 1735. <sup>4</sup> loc. cit. 17 Aug. 1744.

<sup>5</sup> T. W. Horsfield: *The History, Antiquities and Topography of the County of Sussex*, vol. 2 (1835), App. p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> R.F. 15/25 15 Apr. 1733

eventually took place at Chichester. On 23 May 1734, he made arrangements for a Mr. Wilkins, formerly a bookseller, to print 1,000 polls for £20, but after some correspondence, a Mr. Coles, stationer at Temple Bar, printed 66 poll books for £5 including their carriage.<sup>1</sup> The election took place on 9 May and he told Rose<sup>2</sup> that he had been bottom of the poll and he remarked on 'the prodigious number of false voters'. The only other direct reference to politics is in a letter to a Mr. Bramston on 15 Sept. 1743,<sup>3</sup> when he said 'I believe we shall have no more concern in the elections; if we should, as you are pleased to observe to my son John, an inexhaustible fund of humour will not suffice without another inexhaustible sum of money'. He did, however, continue his interest in public affairs, buying copies of the Acts of Parliament and as late as 12 Apr. 1744, he requested his son John<sup>4</sup> to order Parker the bookseller to send him the Acts as they came out, except Road Acts, bills for enclosing the commons and the Land Tax Acts. He wanted the Acts for granting surplus money by duty on spirituous liquors, for the speedy recruitment of the land forces and marines, for mutiny and desertion.

In local affairs, he made his mark. He was churchwarden of Brightling and the only apparently surviving churchwardens' accounts are those entered in his Journal and Ledger.<sup>5</sup> These cover the years 1720-1738<sup>6</sup> and record charges for presentments, citation allowances, gaol and marshalsea money, payments to John Buss for clock-cleaning. There were considerable repairs to the Church and a variety of other payments including £1 to a woman who nursed one Donke when he had smallpox and to Robert Harvey for burying him; 10s. for burying old Wimble; £2 to Esther Bridger for apprenticing her son; a pair of breeches for Wenner's boy, a fustian frock for John Buss 'delivered last Christmas twelvemonth', small sums for a prayer book on the King's accession in 1727, bottles of wine provided by Mr. Fuller at Christmas, Easter and Michaelmas, as well as sums ranging from 5s. a week down to 1s. 6d. a week for Widow Clarke and her family. Further accounts in the Ledger<sup>7</sup> deal with the Charity School. This was founded in 1732 with a legacy of £220 from a Mrs. Harbert<sup>8</sup> which was used to buy lands let to John Elphick, the rent of which at £9 6s. 3d. a year went to the upkeep of the school. Sarah Cruttenden, the school-mistress, received 3s. a week for teaching six children. John Hassell was paid 13s. 6d. on 13 Feb. 1738/9 for a map of the school land and, as far as equipment was concerned 2s. 6d. was paid in 1733 for an unspecified book!

<sup>1</sup> R.F. 15/25 29 June 1734.      <sup>2</sup> R.F. 15/25 11 June 1734.

<sup>3</sup> loc. cit. 15 Sept. 1743.      <sup>4</sup> loc. cit. 12 Sept. 1744.

<sup>5</sup> A survey of parish records in 1952 records no such accounts for Brightling.

<sup>6</sup> R.F. 15/26. The numbering of the earlier pages is illegible, but from 1724 the accounts are to be found on ff. 320, 378, 409, 460.

<sup>7</sup> R.F. 15/27 f. 384.      <sup>8</sup> loc. cit.



John Fuller further concerned himself in 1737 with Church affairs when he wrote<sup>1</sup> to the Bishop of Chichester on behalf of young Mr. Burrell who was to succeed his father in the Brightling living, which was a family one, saying that as the young man was much embarrassed in taking out letters of administration for his father's estate, he could not attend this ordination. Therefore John Fuller requested the bishop to excuse him and grant a private ordination where and when he pleased. John Fuller had many dealings with the Burrell family to whom he accounted for their South Sea dividends and annuities and to whom he sold a variety of goods.

In connection with charitable affairs, he wrote to Master Thomas Brian at Horsham<sup>2</sup> on behalf of a woman who had given birth, saying that necessities must be provided during her lying-in, as well as clothes for the child who must be put out to nurse at the expense of the county, if the father could not be found 'as to be sure he cannot', and he referred to the statute of 12 Anne for the transportation of the woman. He also wrote in 1739<sup>3</sup> to the authorities of St. Thomas' Hospital, Southwark, on behalf of one John Russell of Brightling who was suffering from stone and destitute of friends, saying he would receive him when discharged or be responsible for his burial if he died.

John Fuller was active in attendance at the assizes and in highway matters. In the Journal<sup>4</sup> is a list of surveyors of highways in 1735 with a note of the cash in John Fuller's hands 'following a plan to do as much work as it will come to'.

The organisation of the iron works<sup>5</sup> and the estate are connected, for many of the Fullers' smaller tenants were employed in various capacities. Some mainly carried wood and coals to the forge, others did agricultural work as well. The Stewardship of the estate was in the hands of the Courthope family, who were connected with the Fullers by marriage since Major John Fuller's sister Ann had married George Courthope. James Courthope received £6 a year with an allowance of £2 for clothes until 1723 when his wages were increased to £10 without the clothes allowance.<sup>6</sup> Mr. Thomas Courthope Senior received a salary of £13 a year.<sup>7</sup> The services they performed ranged from payments made in connection with the forge, the purchase of various articles, payments to the household servants, for agricultural produce, the collection of money due to John Fuller down to sword-sharpening and sending letters. Their wages were at times in arrears and when this occurred they received 4 per cent. interest on the amount due.

<sup>1</sup> R.F. 15/25 20 Sept. 1737.

<sup>2</sup> loc. cit. 1 Nov. 1736.      <sup>3</sup> loc. cit.      <sup>4</sup> R.F. 15/26 f. 474.

<sup>5</sup> The whole process of iron-founding in Sussex was dealt with exhaustively by Ernest Straker in his book *Wealden Iron* (1931).

<sup>6</sup> There is a series of account for James Courthope in R.F. 15/22 ff. 97-105, 108, 110-113, 115-116, 119, 124-126, 129-131, 136-139.

<sup>7</sup> R.F. 15/26. f. 236.

The main task on which the labourers, apart from those specifically engaged in gun-making were employed, included carrying wood from the place of felling to the furnace, digging and carrying mine and veins, as well as carrying the finished articles, mainly guns, to Lewes or elsewhere. A list of those employed would be wearisome but many wellknown Sussex names recur.

The problem of finding sufficient wood to feed the furnaces required a great deal of time and thought. Constant purchases of wood are recorded at prices from 5*s.* 2*d.* to 7*s.* 4*d.* or even 8*s.* a cord. Sometimes the wood was bought as it stood and was felled by the owner. Thus in Nov. 1739, a wood was purchased from one Mr. Constable to be cut by himself at 6*s.* 2*d.* a cord.<sup>1</sup> Other woods were bought on similar terms. In Jan. 1739/40, wood was carried to the furnace at 2*s.* a load whereas on 21 May 1739, 3*s.* a load was paid,<sup>2</sup> with a note that it was a bad season. Woods were purchased from Sir John Lade and other landowners. On occasion, coals thus obtained were delivered at the forge at 15*s.* or 16*s.* a load. Thus on 25 Jan. 1734/35 a wood was bought from one Thomas Pankhurst at Street End at 5*s.* a cord<sup>3</sup> if John Cayes would cut and coal it. Otherwise the price would be 16*s.* a load for coals delivered to the furnace.

The digging and carrying of mine also gave much employment. The right to dig mine was obtained from the local land owners and those who dug it received 2*s.* 6*d.* a load for half veins, half coarse mine, but only 20*d.* a load for coarse mine. An entry on 10 July 1738,<sup>4</sup> records an agreement made with Burchett and Company, who were often thus employed, to draw 100 loads of mine from Sir John Lade's land, half veins, half coarse mine, the coarse mine not to exceed the veins at 20 loads in the hundred. This was to be done if the ground would admit it. On 4 Jan. 1737/8, Benjamin Waters undertook to draw 400 loads of mine in Twisty field, Eywood, at 20*d.* a load and Thomas Mitton to carry it at 2*s.* a load. As stone would probably be required before the furnace blew out, he was to have 2*s.* 6*d.* a load for all delivered at the furnace, provided it was needed before May Day.<sup>5</sup> John Fuller proposed that some mine should be burnt on the spot; if it was carried in winter, it was to be measured at the pits and afterwards burnt and they would be paid according to the measurement when raw and were to carry brays to burn it into the bargain.<sup>6</sup> On 6 Apr. 1742, a letter to one Mr. Savage indicates a further problem. The people of Waldron were endeavouring to get mine from his land by offering more for

<sup>1</sup> *loc. cit.* f. 523. There are lists of woods purchased and the names of the purchasers in R.F. 15/27 ff. 329, 350, 351, 354, 383, 412, 426, 448, covering the years 1725-1741; and much of the back of R.F. 15/26 is a record of agreements made about its purchase and carriage.

<sup>2</sup> *loc. cit.* f. 524.

<sup>3</sup> *loc. cit.* f. 527.

<sup>4</sup> *loc. cit.* f. 521.

<sup>5</sup> *loc. cit.* f. 525.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*

carrying it, whereas John Fuller was already paying more than his father had.<sup>1</sup>

A number of people were in regular employment at the iron works. Hearthmaking occupied a good deal of time and Thomas Geer was frequently employed thus between 1722-31 at a rate of 7s. 6d. a founday or period of six days. Actual hearth-making was paid at the rate of 5s. and working 'out and in', 3s. John Caley was employed in repairing the coal house, making the floor and in brick-work; Daniel French repaired the gun-hole, John Smith the roof of the work-house. Between May and November 1723, soon after John Fuller's father had died, the furnace was re-built at a cost of £436 3s. 7d. and an account of the workmen employed, the wages paid them and the cost of materials was entered in the Journal.<sup>2</sup> The rate of pay ranged from 1s. 4d. a day to 1s. 8d. for a man, though one or two received as much as 2s. 6d., and 9d. to 1s. for a boy.

Gun-making was perhaps the most important activity, although large quantities of other articles were made, furnaces, skillets, frying-pans, kettles as well as sows and pig-iron.<sup>3</sup> Robert Diamond was the chief gunner during the years 1722-34 and received in 1723 the sum of £38 16s. 0d. to pay himself and his men while the furnace was blowing. In 1724, he received £3 14s. 0d. per week for his men and £4 15s. 0d. when he had more men.<sup>4</sup> In 1730, the molder was paid 12s. a week, the loam beater 8s. a week, the work-house boy 7s., the vault caster 9s. and an odd man 9s.<sup>5</sup> The filler at the furnace was John Harmer, who in Major John Fuller's time received £5 a year but was raised to £6.<sup>6</sup> Later he was working for 7s. 6d. a founday.<sup>7</sup> John Standen the forge man received in 1738 £3 a week for 19 weeks.<sup>8</sup> In 1722, Abraham Holman and his underlings were employed in various capacities at the forge and elsewhere and he received £18 a year.<sup>9</sup> Others received usually 7s. or 8s. a week or 7s. 6d. a founday, on gun cleaning, boring, removing the gun-earth with a lower rate for working 'out and in'.

Robert Diamond was not entirely satisfactory to John Fuller, who wrote to him on 31 Jan. 1729/30,<sup>10</sup> complaining of delays and saying that he heard he used his men so ill that they would not work under him as was shown by his insisting on an extra man. When all the men were paid, he had 17s. a week for himself and the extra man was wanted only so that he need do nothing. This should have been mentioned at the beginning of the season and if Robert Diamond did not satisfy him for the loss, John Fuller would have him arrested!

The water supply was a constant source of anxiety. On 4 June

<sup>1</sup> R.F. 15/25 6 Apr. 1742.    <sup>2</sup> R.F. 15/26 f. 303.

<sup>3</sup> Lists of goods made at the forge can be found in R.F. 15/30 ff. 298, 340, 349, 391, 393, 397.

<sup>4</sup> R.F. 15/26 f. 373.    <sup>5</sup> loc. cit. f. 420.    <sup>6</sup> R.F. 15/27 f. 220.

<sup>7</sup> R.F. 15/26 f. 493.    <sup>8</sup> loc. cit. f. 506.    <sup>9</sup> R.F. 15/27 f. 204.

<sup>10</sup> R.F. 15/25 31 Jan. 1729/30.

1737, John Fuller told his London agent in the gun-making that he had had to buy water.<sup>1</sup> The Ordnance board were late with their orders and if the spring was dry, it was impossible to make guns; if the summer wet, they could not be transported. Some years earlier he had told Mr. Remnant that he hoped he would expedite the Board's decision about guns as 'our people are ready to starve for want of work, and if they do not determine before the summer, we shall have no water'.<sup>2</sup> The vagaries of the weather were as unpredictable as to-day. The years 1738-39 were particularly wet. On 12 June 1738, John Fuller complained that 'the ways are yet so bad that it is impossible to get anything to the sea side, those who have attempted it being laid fast',<sup>3</sup> and again on 13 Nov. 1739, he wrote that he could not supply guns to time because the summer had ended so very wet.<sup>4</sup> The same difficulty occurred in 1740 when he reminded Mr. Remnant that his was a winter furnace and could only make guns in winter and deliver them in summer.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, in Feb. 1744, the springs had not yet broken and there had not been two hours' rain in six weeks. At the local furnaces, they were 'treading the wheel, an excessive charge', and he ended pessimistically 'I believe with you that the best times are over and a land war will so drain us of money that we shall have little left to pay us at home!'<sup>6</sup>

The guns were transported to Lewes or to Branbridge on the Tunbridge Navigation. The operation was not an easy one for in 1743 after sending 20 9-pounders to Lewes to be placed on the *Sussex Oak*, bound for Woolwich, he remarked 'they have torn the roads so that nothing can follow them and the county curses us heartily'.<sup>7</sup>

The principal purchasers of guns were the Board of Ordnance and the Navy Board. In 1731-32, John Fuller received £1,106 16s. 0d. from the former;<sup>8</sup> in 1732-3, £2,151<sup>9</sup> and in 1734-5, £2,737 16s. 1d.<sup>10</sup> Between 1739 and 1740, 107 guns for the King were proved, 51 refused and 56 sold to one Mr. Taylor.<sup>11</sup> In all his gun-founding, John Fuller worked in close connection with Messrs. Harrison and Jewks, whose furnaces were at Brede and Roberts-bridge and who often took guns which did not stand up to proof.<sup>12</sup> Thomas Chatfield also purchased considerable numbers of guns<sup>13</sup> and Messrs. Cardon and Jarvis undertook barging, pier duty and the freight of guns.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> loc. cit. 4 June 1737.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Mr. Blackman in *S.A.C.* vol. 67, p. 38.      <sup>3</sup> loc. cit. p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> loc. cit.      <sup>5</sup> loc. cit. p. 42.      <sup>6</sup> loc. cit. p. 45.

<sup>7</sup> loc. cit. p. 44.      <sup>8</sup> R.F. 15/27 f. 272.

<sup>9</sup> loc. cit.      <sup>10</sup> loc. cit. f. 409.      <sup>11</sup> loc. cit. f. 455.

<sup>12</sup> The business of gun-making was dealt with in some detail by M. A. Lower in *S.A.C.*, vol. 2 (1849), pp. 169-220, vol. 3 (1850), pp. 240-248 and by J. L. Parsons in *S.A.C.*, vol. 32 (1882), pp. 19-32.

<sup>13</sup> R.F. 15/27 f. 281.      <sup>14</sup> loc. cit. f. 453.

Iron goods in some variety were sold from the furnace. The larger purchasers include Mr. Ambrose Galloway, Mr. Ball at Tunbridge Wells, Mr. Foster at Lamberhurst, Mr. Waller of Frant, Mr. Gale, Mr. Bowen, Mr. John Busbridge, John Sands at Mayfield and Mr. Stanford in Surrey. Local people also purchased smaller quantities.

It is difficult to estimate the profits of the furnace with any accuracy, as the accounts are seldom complete and the output reckoned in tons. Between 22 May and 21 July 1722, the sum of £212 15s. 8d. was paid out and £625 5s. 3d. received; between Sept. and Oct. of the same year £96 4s. 3d. was paid out but there is no note of any receipts.<sup>1</sup> A memorandum on a slip of paper inserted in the Journal shows that in 1727, the furnace was in credit to the amount of £1,967 9s. 3d.,<sup>2</sup> but there are no consecutive debit and credit statements.

The absence of information about the house and park in the first John Fuller's time is remarkable. There appear to be no accounts of the building of the mansion and the only crumbs of information afforded are entries recording the repair of the fabric, tiles and other minor work. John Craft and his sons were frequently employed thus. In 1720, he spent two days working 'about the house'<sup>3</sup> and in 1728, 8 days at 20d. a day. In 1725, he and his son Edward<sup>4</sup> worked in the bowling-green, dug in the new garden and supplied paving stones. For this, and for five and a half days' work by the father and two and a half by the son, together with 6s. for binding in the wheatfield, they received £4 6s. 4d.<sup>5</sup> In 1739, repairs to the brickwork of the house, plastering, building two chimneys were done by them at a cost of £56 7s. 8d.<sup>6</sup> Work in the new garden was also carried out in 1734<sup>7</sup> and John Caley mended the wall of the kitchen and paved the cellar in 1730.<sup>8</sup>

The names of about a hundred tenants appear in the accounts but the land they occupied is not always specified. Not many had leases, for John Fuller did not approve of them as his remarks in a letter to John Lade shew,<sup>9</sup> when he says that all tenants expected that the farms should be repaired before the leases were signed so that little would be needed in their time. To insist upon leases gave them the opportunity to make larger demands, on consideration that they kept them in repair 'which I never yet knew performed by any of them, nor damages recovered when sued, all the county juries being against the landlords'. In the Letter Book is also a list of articles for tenants at will, including the following provisions. No dung was to be carried away; a tenant who began the year must finish it and give six months' notice or at least three before leaving

<sup>1</sup> R.F. 15/22 ff. 34-36, 159.

<sup>2</sup> R.F. 15/26 f. 340.    <sup>3</sup> loc. cit. f. 272.    <sup>4</sup> loc. cit. f. 339.

<sup>5</sup> loc. cit. f. 339.    <sup>6</sup> loc. cit. f. 501.    <sup>7</sup> loc. cit. f. 467.

<sup>8</sup> loc. cit. f. 378.    <sup>9</sup> R.F. 15/25 14 Jan. 1729/30.

the farm; they must sell no wood from the land, nor make nor cut hedges without the landlord's consent. Instructions followed as to the type of hedge required and as to treating the land with lime. Among tenants of some length of tenure were John Bennet, who rented Sumner's Brook from 1723 to 1738 at £25 per annum, and also the hop garden and fields, his total rent being £40 per annum; Arthur Bexhill, who rented the Gatehouse, Hammerden and Coggers from 1723 to 1730; William Lambe, who rented Chawham's Farm from 1728 to 1743.

John Henly had a lease of Crowhurst farm from 1726 to 1735 when his goods were distrained upon. He was not the only one who fell on hard times for Thomas Cover was heavily in debt in 1728 and a list of his creditors and the amounts they were paid survives in the Ledger.<sup>1</sup>

Hedging, ditching, mowing and reaping on the estate was done by local people whose names recur. The usual rate was 6*d.* or 9*d.* a day for haying and harvesting and a list dated 21 Oct. 1725,<sup>2</sup> names Goody Holman, her girl, Mary Godden, Prince's maid, Sarah Hack and Robert Cover. A list of woodcutters in John Fuller's own woods in 1729,<sup>3</sup> names Thomas Craft, William Park, John Christmas senior and his son, Honeysett, Richard Axel, Thomas Isted, John Craft, and others who worked in different capacities as well.

Financial matters occupied a good deal of John Fuller's time and the evidence from the Cash Book indicates that by 1730 he was a man of considerable wealth. Much financial business was transacted for him by Sir Gilbert and Henry Heathcott.<sup>4</sup> He dealt largely in South Sea Stock and annuities, but although there are lists of his investments in the Ledger, he does not seem to have lost heavily when the Bubble burst in 1720. He also handled South Sea investments for the Lade family and others. The purchase of lottery tickets figures largely and he invested also in Navy Bills and Victualling Bills. Between 5 May 1731, and 23 March 1732/3, the sum of £5,525 9*s.* 8½*d.* had passed through his hands leaving him with a balance of £98 10*s.* 2¾*d.* The receipts include interest on India Bills, South Sea investments, Bank dividends, payments of £1,106 16*s.* 0*d.* from the Ordnance Office for guns, rents, the sale of various beasts as well as the products of the iron works.<sup>5</sup> In 1732/3, the amount increased to £6,901 3*s.* 3*d.*<sup>6</sup> and to £8,390 9*s.* 1*d.* in 1733/4.<sup>7</sup> In 1735-6, the year after his daughter's marriage and his son's apprenticeship, it dropped to £2,294 5*s.* 9*d.*<sup>8</sup> The amount fluctuated during the next few years and in March 1737/38 no balance was struck and he appears to have been in debt. On 27 March 1738, he paid his son John £2,000,<sup>9</sup> however, as well as making other

<sup>1</sup> R.F. 15/27 f. 346.    <sup>2</sup> R.F. 15/26 f. 341.    <sup>3</sup> loc. cit. f. 402.

<sup>4</sup> R.F. 15/27 f. 186 and *passim*.    <sup>5</sup> R.F. 15/28 ff. 1-14.

<sup>6</sup> loc. cit. ff. 14-26.    <sup>7</sup> loc. cit. f. 37.    <sup>8</sup> loc. cit. f. 57.

<sup>9</sup> loc. cit. f. 82.

payments for his family. In April 1742, the total reached £10,956 2s. 10d.,<sup>1</sup> but had dropped to £3,007 19s. 11d. on 24 March 1742/43.<sup>2</sup> There is no total for March 1744/45 or for the remainder of the year until his death.

Legal matters were handled for John Fuller by Mr. Samuel Calverley for whom a number of accounts were entered. When John Fuller was dealing with the complications arising from Sir John Lade's will in 1742/43, however, he remarked to his son Henry that Mr. Calverley had more Fuller business than he could do already,<sup>3</sup> and at the end of March, probably 1743, he commented that Mr. Calverley was so slow that they could not get a letter of attorney from him, whereas if one went to one of the secretaries, it could be obtained in an hour. He complained bitterly of the delay while Henry was 'diddling about after Mr. C', adding that he found that it was the business as well as the art of attorneys to keep things on foot without ever coming to a hearing. He had also declared that the portion of Sir John Lade's estate in Sheppey was in ruins until they knew which part the Fullers had to repair.

John Fuller's association with Sir John Lade deserves more detailed treatment than is possible in the scope of this article. John Lade of Warbleton was related to the Fullers by marriage since John Fuller's grandfather had married Ann Nutt, daughter of the Rev. John Nutt of Mayes in Selmeston and John Lade's father, Thomas, had married another daughter, Mary Nutt. The Lades owned large estates in London, Sussex and Kent. John Lade represented Southwark in Parliament and was created baronet in 1730. During Sir John Lade's lifetime, John Fuller was largely responsible for the collection of rents from the Sussex tenants. Frequent entries in the Journal and the Ledger concern Mr. Lade's tenants and numerous letters deal with his affairs. Many of these are of considerable interest and throw much light on local happenings, as for example his description of the storm and whirlwind in May 1729 which did great damage at Selmeston; and elsewhere, references to tenants who have absconded. John Inskip, the grandson of John Lade's elder brother Vincent and son of Philadelphia, John Lade's niece, and John Whithorne, son of his niece Elizabeth, figure largely in the correspondence. John Whithorne was welcomed to spend Christmas with John Fuller's boys in 1729 and in 1728/29, John Fuller remarked that he presumed 'the little boy' would go to Tonbridge School after Whitsuntide. The intervening time might be spent with his own boys until they went to school. The fees were £14 per annum paid to Mr. Spencer for each boy's board and £4 for schooling.<sup>4</sup> When he was in London, John Fuller in 1740 stayed at Mrs. Lade's at 3 Crown Court, Southwark.

<sup>1</sup> loc. cit. f. 142.      <sup>2</sup> loc. cit. f. 153.

<sup>3</sup> R.F. 15/25 after 26 Feb. 1742/43.      <sup>4</sup> loc. cit. 19 Mar. 1728/29.

Sir John Lade died on 30 June 1740 and John Fuller told Rose<sup>1</sup> that all were obliged for the services done in his life but he made people believe that he would leave something to everybody, but he had been 'as stingy in his will as he was in his life'. John Whithorne the heir was disinherited and had been left only 20s. to be paid to him every Monday morning. The estate went to John Inskip, who was about ten years old.<sup>2</sup> The will led to a vast amount of business and an entire volume<sup>3</sup> is devoted to the estate which had to be put in Chancery. Funeral expenses are noted including sums for opening and shutting the vault, ringing the bells and so forth. A law suit ensued, Inskip v. Lade, in 1744 when John Whithorne contested the will and lost. John Inskip was in the guardianship of John Fuller, who busied himself as much about his education as that of his own children.

The boy went first to Tonbridge, but was removed in 1743,<sup>4</sup> as after three years he could not read English. John Fuller requested Mr. Spencer to send his bill and sent a ½ guinea to the writing master who had kept the child to his reading. The boy was then sent to the Rev. John Bear at Shermanbury, who educated two or three of the sons of county gentlemen at a time. John Fuller told him that he could say his catechism, write a tolerable hand, but he said and wrote by rote. He did not expect him to make a great scholar but an honest sensible gentleman. His father, a currier at Uckfield, was a poor man and the boy had no friends. He himself could only spend £50 a year on him and any further money must come out of John Fuller's own pocket. Every effort was made by John Fuller to get the allowance raised to £100 a year, but he failed. He wrote in Sept. 1743, to Mr. Bear, giving his views on learning a language through the literature and saying that if the boy did not get on, he must write everything until he understood it. Mr. Bear would have found that he was apt to cry on every occasion and his industry was such as was usual in those of his age. John Fuller did not wish his friends to visit him as they were poor people who did him mischief and he must be told to go nowhere without Mr. Bear. John Inskip spent his holidays at Brightling Park, but at Christmas 1743, he remained with Mr. Bear as John Fuller did not wish him disturbed. He felt he could judge by the next quarter whether he could 'take learning'. He considered Don Quixote a very good satyr (*sic*) if it were not beyond him. He would send for him again in the spring if he minded his book.

Finances were still difficult, for John Fuller complained to Mr. Calverley that he had heard nothing from his petition for an increased allowance for 'this dull heavy boy'. He had but 50 guineas a year

<sup>1</sup> loc. cit. Oct. 1740?

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Lade's will is in the Sussex Archaeological Trust's records. AN/1/288.

<sup>3</sup> R.F. 15/23.

<sup>4</sup> R.F. 15/25. The following letters all occur under the appropriate dates.



for board and must take him home and engage a tutor for him. On 22 March 1743/4, Mr. Bear was informed that the Lord Chancellor had refused a further allowance, so John Fuller must be as good a husband as he could. He believed that his relations 'mostly mean people' counselled him not to learn. On 18 Apr. 1744, the boy was still with Mr. Bear, having been supplied with 'new rigging' and John Fuller professed himself pleased with his progress in reading and Latin. He did not think a writing master or a dancing master necessary, especially as the latter might create an acquaintance with country girls which might be as inconvenient as going among his relations! He had told him that when he heard of his improvement, he would send for him again. But this appears to have been his last visit to Brightling during John Fuller's lifetime.

Household affairs do not figure so largely in the Fuller papers. It is difficult to identify the household servants, but among the accounts are payments of £6 10s. 0d. a year to John Ashby 'my man',<sup>1</sup> and John Bray,<sup>2</sup> until he died in 1733; Elizabeth Brown, who may be identified as 'Betty Cook' received £3 10s. 0d. a year, raised in 1721 to £4;<sup>3</sup> James Chamberlain £5;<sup>4</sup> Christopher Deering £7;<sup>5</sup> Joseph Moor from 1732-39, £6;<sup>6</sup> and Elizabeth Piper £6.<sup>7</sup> Susan Waters from 1735-40 received £2 a year.<sup>8</sup> Thomas Mepham was paid 15s. for looking after the house for three years. In February 1742/43, John Fuller told his son John that Robert Holman had 'given him notice to provide himself of a cook, he designing to marry her . . . as well as Thomas Cruttenden to Sarah Cruttenden, the schoolmistress'.<sup>9</sup> Abraham Holman was employed on various tasks including the escort of John Fuller's sons to and from Tonbridge School.

A certain amount can be learnt of the tradesmen with whom the Fullers dealt. There are a number of accounts for dry goods including tea, coffee and spices as well as Christmas fruits, purchased between 1728 and 1738 from Francis Manooch;<sup>10</sup> the firm of Kent and Calverley, also called Kent and Picknall, and Kent and Co., supplied similar commodities as did Matthew Freer between 1722 and 1726.<sup>11</sup> Thomas Peerman supplied wine, Josiah Hall wine, oil and Florence oil, and large purchases were made between 1721 and 1733 from Henry Smith and Co., salters. Meat was purchased locally from Joseph Cruttenden<sup>12</sup> and the size of the bills was considerable, reaching as much as £108 19s. 8d. in a year. John Fuller's idiosyncrasies appear in his dealings with tradesmen. On 22 May 1722,<sup>13</sup> he purchased a light periwig valued at £4 5s. 0d. from one Captain Luckhurst at Tunbridge Wells on condition that he paid

<sup>1</sup> R.F. 15/27 f. 341.      <sup>2</sup> loc. cit. f. 327.      <sup>3</sup> loc. cit. f. 312.

<sup>4</sup> loc. cit. f. 194.      <sup>5</sup> loc. cit. f. 341.      <sup>6</sup> loc. cit. f. 327.

<sup>7</sup> loc. cit. f. 345.      <sup>8</sup> loc. cit. f. 261.

<sup>9</sup> R.F. 15/25 26 Feb. 1742/3.

<sup>10</sup> R.F. 15/27 ff. 203, 293, 344, 385, 393, 397.      <sup>11</sup> loc. cit. ff. 215, 283.

<sup>12</sup> loc. cit. ff. 309, 332, 393, 418.      <sup>13</sup> R.F. 15/27 f. 217.

50s. at the time and every year Captain Luckhurst was to deliver a new periwig and receive the old one for 50s. If John Fuller died, the wig was to be returned to Captain Luckhurst. The arrangement held good from 1722 to 1725 but there is no further reference to it.

His relations with his tailor were not of the happiest. On 10 Feb. 1743/44,<sup>1</sup> he wrote to Mr. Amory, who made clothes for him and his sons, complaining that his bill was 'the dearest and most extravagant' that ever he had. He would reduce it to £15 which he thought too much. With regard to Sir John Lade's heir, he had but £50 a year for him and Mr. Amory had himself charged nearly £19. Later in the month, however, he told him that he wanted a new livery for his butler and if Mr. Amory could make it for £6 and a frock for 40s., stockings included, he might do so. Otherwise, he would get the cloth himself and have it made. He would not pay any bills until he saw him and accounted with him himself. On 12 March, John Fuller wrote to Stephen, saying that 'Amory would change nothing even if he were never paid a farthing; he did not care to strike off bills, but where they were so expensive, a legal tender should be made of a reasonable sum and then if they sued it was at their peril!' The quarrel continued until 1744 when John Fuller told Amory that by right, he should have no further dealings with him but 'having been so long concerned in the family and ready to do little services on all occasions', he might sometimes employ him if he worked as other tailors did.

Among other suppliers were Mr. Warren, the postmaster, who supplied news for several years; Mr. Wilkins, bookseller, from whom in 1720 books and binding were ordered to the value of £129 13s. 0d.<sup>2</sup> and Mr. William Parker, bookseller in St. Paul's Churchyard, who between 1727 and 1745 supplied a large variety of books, including Humphry's Twelve Concertos for 15s., sets of acts of Parliament at prices varying from 14s. to £1, Voltaire's History of Sweden, Halfpenny's Architecture at £1 13s., as well as Swayborgius on Mines in Sweden, 3 folio vols. at £3 3s. 0d., reading books for Rose, magazines and London evening papers.

From 1744 until his death in June 1745, John Fuller ailed a good deal, as his letters to Rose show. Though the accounts continue, his correspondence ceased after 15 June 1745, and the final glimpses we have of him are in the Cash Book,<sup>3</sup> the last three pages of which are in a different hand from the rest and include the payment of various annuities 'by my father's will', legacies to Brightling parish and to Abraham Holman, who had long served the family; a sum of £5 'for my father being buried in linen', a payment of 12s. for making mourning for the maids, and of £1 5s. 6d. to John Westgate for ringing the bell and digging a grave. His monument with others of his family is in Waldron Church and his estates were inherited by his son John, who had been so closely associated with him in the

<sup>1</sup> R.F. 15/25.

<sup>2</sup> R.F. 15/27 f. 190.

<sup>3</sup> R.F. 15/28 ff. 175, 176.

management of his affairs.<sup>1</sup> Rose was still in Jamaica and did not return until after he inherited the estates on the death of his elder brother in 1755.

<sup>1</sup> R.F. 11/24. John Fuller's will.