

SUSSEX
Archæological Collections

RELATING TO THE
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY

PUBLISHED BY
The Sussex Archæological Society



VOL. CIV

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1966

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Uppsala University, Sweden

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1951. Battle and District Historical Society, c/o W. Orger, Esq., The Canons, Catsfield, Battle
1920. Bexhill Museum, c/o H. J. Sargeant, The Museum, Bexhill-on-Sea
1953. Bognor Natural History Society, c/o A. F. Outen, Esq., 21 Oak Grove, South Bersted, Bognor Regis
1958. Brighton College Archaeological Society, The College, Brighton 7
1910. Brighton and Hove Archaeological Society, c/o Hon. Assistant Secretary, 18 Havelock Road, Brighton 1
1966. Chichester Civic Society, c/o A. H. Collins, Esq., 132 Cedar Drive, Chichester
1951. Christ's Hospital, Horsham
1963. The Cuckfield Society, c/o Miss M. Wright, 22 South Street, Cuckfield
1963. Ditchling Preservation Society, c/o D. N. Thompson, Esq., Candles, Ditchling
1958. Hon. Sec. Eastbourne Assoc. of Sussex Folk, c/o E. P. Loveland, Esq., 24 Gorringe Close, Lower Willingdon, Eastbourne
1950. Eastbourne College Archaeological Society, c/o H. B. Harral, Blackwater House, The College, Eastbourne
1938. Eastbourne Natural History, Photographic and Archaeological Society, c/o Miss M. Ash, 24 Mayfield Place, Eastbourne
1954. Friends of Lewes Society, c/o Miss Crook, West House, Southover, Lewes
1961. Hailsham Historical Society, c/o E. Tysall, Esq., Hon. Sec., St. Deny's, Western Road, Hailsham
1958. Old Hastings Preservation Society, c/o M. P. Dobson, Esq., 1a, Exmouth Place, Hastings
1930. Haverfield Society, Lancing College
1924. Littlehampton Natural Science and Archaeological Society, c/o Miss M. Harrison, 8 St. Flora's Road, Littlehampton
1953. Northiam and District Historical and Literary Society, c/o Miss A. Davis, Quinneys, Northiam
1951. Steyning Grammar School Archaeological Society, Steyning
1964. University of Sussex Archaeological Society, c/o Hon. Secretary, Falmer House, Falmer, Brighton
1922. Worthing Archaeological Society, The Museum, Worthing

List of New Members Elected from August, 1965 to August, 1966

(Full lists of Members will in future appear only at three-year intervals)

PART I. INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS

* Denotes a Life Compounder

A Denotes Associate Member (Rule 3 (d))

T Denotes a Member of the Sussex Archaeological Trust

Notice of change of residence and of decease of members should
be sent to the Assistant Secretary, Barbican House, Lewes

1966. Ainsworth, Major J. F., Regimental Headquarters, The Royal Sussex
Regiment, Roussillon Barracks, Chichester
1966. AAnderson, Mrs. N. D., The Bays, 56 Fishbourne Road, Chichester
1966. Andrews, Douglas J. }
1966. AAndrews, Mrs. Douglas J. } Highbridge, East Chiltington, Lewes
1965. TAsh, Miss M. A., 24 Mayfield Place, Eastbourne
1966. Barr, Miss Avril, 58 Winterbourne Close, Lewes
1966. Barrowman, Miss J., 17 High Street, Cuckfield
1966. Beech, Miss Joan, Hope Cottage, Upper Beeding
1966. Boddy, Brian G., 7 Tongdean Court, Withdean, Brighton 6
1966. Bodkin, A., 53 Grange Road, Lewes
1966. Bowra, Brigadier E. V., Bewley House, Ightham, Sevenoaks, Kent
1966. Braid, Donald K. }
1966. ABraid, Mrs. Donald K. } 12 Hill Road, Lewes
1965. Buckingham, M., 28 Malling Close, Lewes
1966. Bugden, C. R., 1 Paddock Close, Fordcombe, Tunbridge Wells
1966. Busby, F. H., 5 Alfriston Close, Eastbourne
1966. Cardno, Miss Betty, 15 Wilberforce Road, London, N.4
1966. Claisse, V. M. }
1966. AClaisse, Mrs. V. M. } Isledene, Wisborough Green, Billingshurst
1966. ACooper, Miss A. E., The Dulveys, Deneside, East Dean, Eastbourne
1966. TCoverley, L. J., Chelmsford Hall, Eastbourne
1966. Cusack, J. R. B., 8 Norman Road, Hove 3
1966. Cullen, Miss J. M., Middle Barn, Crowlink, East Dean, Eastbourne
1966. TDavies, M. C., 1 Middleton Avenue, Hove 3
1965. TDean, Mrs. J. M., 8 Bramleys, Kingston, Lewes
1966. Douglas, Wing Cmdr. A. G. }
1966. ADouglas, Mrs. A. G. } Eatons Farm, Ashurst, Steyning
1966. Edwardes Jones, R. G., Scrag Oak Manor, Wadhurst
1966. Ewins, Mrs. V. K., Farrier's Cottage, 30 Southover High Street, Lewes
1966. *Fowle, R. A. W., 42 Claremont Road, Tunbridge Wells, Kent
1966. Freeman, Michael, Wittons Holt, Foxhill Village, Haywards Heath
1966. Frewen, R. M., Brede Place, Brede, Rye
1966. Gallup, Rev. P. W., The Rectory, Buriton, Petersfield, Hants.
1966. AGottlieb, Mrs. Andrew }
1966. Gottlieb, Mrs. Herbert } The Dicker Stud, Upper Dicker, Hailsham
1966. TGraves, Norman G., 20 Court Farm Road, Hove 4
1966. TGreen, Mrs. Helen C., 32 Claremont Road, Seaford
1966. TGreaves, Miss P., Flint Cottage, Motcombe Lane, Eastbourne
1966. AGriffin, Miss C. Ann, 108 Lascelles Boulevard, Toronto, 7, Ontario,
Canada
1966. Guthrie, Duncan, Wildhanger, Amberley
1965. THall, M. K., 10 Coniston Avenue, Tunbridge Wells
1966. THalliday, M. S., 3 Prince Edwards Road, Lewes

1966. AHancock, J. D., Middlefield Cottage, Fox Hill, Haywards Heath
 1966. THodson, A. W. }
 1966. ATHodson, Mrs. A. W. } St. Mary's, Tudor Close, Seaford
 1966. THolland, C. G., East Sussex Record Office, Pelham House, Lewes
 1966. Holt, E. H., 13 Ratton Drive, Willingdon, Eastbourne
 1966. Howard, Miss Diana, Field Cottage, Kingston, Lewes
 1965. Howden, D. G. B., Greenaway, Balcombe
 1966. Humphreys, Derek W., 30 Drakes Road Amersham, Bucks.
 1966. TJacomb-Hood, Miss B. L., Toftwood, 43 Felbridge Road, East Grinstead
 1966. Jones, Trevor }
 1966. AJones, Mrs. Trevor } Bukit Padang, Blackboys, Near Uckfield
 1966. Lambert, Peter J., 75 Blenheim Park Road, South Croydon, Surrey
 1966. ALane, Mrs. K. L., 1 Wellbrook Cottages, Mayfield
 1966. TLiddell, Dr. J., Bassetts, Ansty, Cuckfield
 1966. TLindsay, Douglas G. }
 1966. TALindsay, Mrs. Douglas G. } Tudor Lodge, Voss Court, Streatham,
 } London, S.W.16
 1966. TMaddan, Martin, M.P., Ashurst, Plumpton
 1966. Marshall, David, Theale, Slinfold, Horsham
 1965. AMartin, J., Granview, 16 Langham Road, Robertsbridge
 1966. Matthews, Miss H., East Sussex Record Office, Pelham House, Lewes
 1966. TMenzler, F. A. A., C.B.E. }
 1966. AMenzler, Mrs. F. A. A. } 36 Grandcourt, King Edward's Parade,
 } Eastbourne
 1966. Meynell, Laurence, 33 Park Crescent, Brighton 7
 1966. Mills, Dr. J. D. }
 1966. AMills, Mrs. J. D. } Flat 2, The White House, Claremont Road, Seaford
 1966. AMorgan, C. B., Court Lodge, Lower Dicker, Hailsham
 1966. Mulholland, Martin, North Hall, East Chilmington, Lewes
 1966. ANash, Miss H. G., 54 Southover High Street, Lewes
 1966. Nicholson, Mrs. M. E., Crosby Lodge, Gaudick Road, Eastbourne
 1966. Nicolson, J. F. H., Fermoy, Carlton Close, Seaford
 1966. Nicholson, J. R. L., 5 Grandcourt, Eastbourne
 1966. Parker, Mrs. Rosemary, 52 Withean Court, Brighton 6
 1965.*TParker, The Rev. Dr. T. M., F.S.A., University College, Oxford
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 1966. Payne, D. C., Lansdowne Lodge, 1 Westbrooke, Worthing
 1966. Powell, Miss Dorothea M., 43 The Green, Southwick, Brighton
 1966. Randle, Mrs. M. E. }
 1966. ARandle, J. G. } Wick Street Farm, Berwick
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 1966. Rice, Miss E. M., Royal West Sussex Hospital, Broyle Road, Chichester
 1966. Richards, Mrs. J. D., The Platts, Bodle Street Green, Hailsham
 1966. Riley, M., The Old School, Bodle Street Green, Hailsham
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 1966. TScarborough, Rev. C. P., 37 Whyteleafe Road, Caterham, Surrey
 1966. Shann, Mrs. T. T., Highbrook House, Nr. Ardingly
 1966. Slot, Mrs. D. G. E., Coppwilliam, Laughton, Lewes
 1966. ATSmith, Lady, Aldhurst Cottage, Barcombe Mills, Lewes
 1966. Stevens, Miss B. G., 122 Green Street, Eastbourne
 1966. Tebbutt, C. F., F.S.A. }
 1966. ATebbutt, Mrs. C. F. } The Pheasantry, Wych Cross, Forest Row
 1966. TThomas, E. F., Dean Cottage, Falmer Road, Rottingdean
 1966. TTierney, J. S. }
 1966. ATTierney, Mrs. J. S. } 164 Donald Hall Road, Brighton
 1966. Timewell, Miss Nita M., Tiny Cot, South Street, Mayfield
 1966. TUrquhart, Mackenzie J., 238 Kings Drive, Eastbourne
 1966. Veerhault, Miss P. O., The Dulveys, Deneside, East Dean, Eastbourne

1966. tWatson, E. J., 36 Clarence Road, Sidcup, Kent
 1966. White, Mrs. Hilda D. C., 3 Cranedown, Kingston Road, Lewes
 1966. tWhite, P. W. C., 6 Shirley Avenue, Hove 4
 1966. Wilders, C. T. B., Priors Grange, Hellingly
 1966. Williams, Mrs. Marian E., 23 Fayre Meadow, Robertsbridge
 1966. Willis, Maurice A., M.B.E., West Gates, Maple Walk, Bexhill-on-Sea
 1966. Woodcock, Mrs. P. Tyson }
 1966. AWoodcock, P. Tyson, T.D. } Reyson Oasts, Broad Oak, Rye
 1965. tWyand, Major Blake }
 1965. AWyand, Mrs. Blake } Redbridge, Crowborough

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1966. tEast Sussex County Council (Record Office), County Hall, Lewes
 1966. University of Exeter, Roborough Library, Prince of Wales Road, Exeter
 1966. University of Illinois Library, Serials Department, Urbana, Illinois
 61801, U.S.A.
 1966. University of Iowa Libraries, Serial Aquisitions, Iowa City, Iowa, U.S.A.
 1966. Reading University Library, Whiteknights, Reading
 1966. Stanford University Library, Serial Department, Stanford, California,
 U.S.A.



Sussex Archaeological Society



Report of the Council for the Year 1965

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G. H. KENYON, F.S.A.
Colonel T. SUTTON, O.B.E., F.S.A.
E. A. WOOD, M.D.

Till 1967

GARTH CHRISTIAN
Canon GREVILLE COOKE, F.S.A.
L. R. FISHER
E. W. HOLDEN, F.S.A.
Mrs. HUGHES
Captain H. LOVEGROVE,
C.B.E., R.N.
I. D. MARGARY, F.S.A.
R. T. MASON, F.S.A.

Till 1968

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F. W. PAYNE
L. F. SALZMAN, C.B.E., D.Litt., F.S.A.
F. BENTHAM STEVENS, F.S.A.

1. MEMBERSHIP.—The figures at the beginning of the year and on 1st January, 1966, were as follows:—

	<i>Ordinary</i>	<i>Associate</i>	<i>Life</i>	<i>Honorary</i>	<i>Total</i>
1st January, 1965	1,355	202	91	8	1,656
1st January, 1966	1,277	187	94	10	1,568

The Council of course anticipated that the increase in subscriptions which they felt it necessary to recommend would entail a fairly large number of resignations as on 31st December, 1965, and the above figures confirm this. New members however continue to come forward and the Council is confident the drop in figures is only temporary and will quickly be made up.

Members of more than twenty years' standing who died during the year were:—Mrs. Ash (1943), E. R. Burder (1945), the Hon. Clive Pearson (1923), Miss M. Reid (1933), Spencer D. Secretan (1920) and the Reverend Canon D. F. Wilkinson (1936).

Other deaths included those of Rupert F. Gunnis (1954), Viscount Monckton of Brenchley, P.C., G.C.V.O., K.C.M.G., M.C., Q.C. (1962), G. N. Slyfield (1947) and Sir H. H. Wiles, K.B.E., C.B. (1963).

The Hon. Clive Pearson had been a Vice-President of the Society since 1924. As the owner of Parham, one of the most important historic houses in Sussex, he, with the active co-operation of Mrs. Pearson, set an outstanding example in the extension of facilities to the public for viewing the house and its contents and in personally supervising the arrangements. Mr. and Mrs. Pearson lavishly entertained the Society on the occasion of the summer meeting in 1923 and again welcomed members in 1949. When Roman remains were discovered on the Parham estate at Lickfold Mr. Pearson facilitated the arrangements for excavation and took an active interest in the work.

Mr. Spencer D. Secretan acted as local Secretary for Rudgwick from 1929 to 1962 and was also an active member of the Council of the Society from 1931 to 1953. He was a regular attendant at all meetings of the Society and presented many interesting objects to the Museum.

Mr. Edward R. Burder was a member of the Council from 1947 and local Secretary for Wadhurst from 1951 until his death. He also acted as General Honorary Secretary from 1949 to 1951 when he found it necessary to retire from this office owing to the pressure of other duties.

Mr. Rupert F. Gunnis was a recognised authority on ecclesiastical sculpture and on furniture. After a distinguished career in the colonial service in Cyprus and elsewhere he settled at Tunbridge Wells, where he contributed much to the public life of the borough and continued the active and fruitful study of the antiquarian subjects in which he was an expert. He was a member of the Council of the Society from 1956 to 1959. Many members will remember the lecture on "English Sculpture 1660-1951" which he gave at the Autumn Meeting at Horsham in 1956.

Mr. G. N. Slyfield was the local Secretary for Horsham from 1947 until the time of his death.

2. OFFICERS AND COUNCIL. Mr. I. D. Margary, F.S.A., was re-elected President and Mr. John L. Denman, F.R.I.B.A., F.S.A., a Vice-President. All the other officers were re-elected with the addition of Mr. Eustace Belham as Joint Honorary Secretary. The retiring Members of the Council were re-elected to serve until 1968.

3. MEETINGS. The Annual General Meeting was held in the Town Hall, Hove, on Wednesday, March 24th, and, after his re-election, Mr. Margary presided. He referred to the gratifying increase of membership and to the progress of the work at Fishbourne. Miss K. M. E. Murray, the Chairman of the Council, in moving the adoption of the report for the year 1965, referred to the death of some of the leading members of the Society, mentioning especially Mr. W. H. Challen, Lt.-Colonel D. McLeod and Mr.

R. S. Hassell, one of the oldest members. She then expressed the appreciation of the Council for all the work that Mr. L. F. Salzman had done, especially in the Library and congratulated him on the well-merited Doctorate of Letters which the University of Sussex proposed to confer on him. Members would also wish to express their thanks to the officers of the Society. Archdeacon Mason seconded the resolution, which was adopted unanimously.

Mr. T. T. Harris, the Financial Secretary, then moved the adoption of the Balance Sheet, which was carried.

On the proposition of Mr. F. Bentham Stevens, Rule 14(c) was amended by adding after the word "examination" "of a duly qualified accountant or."

Mr. Bentham Stevens proposed, and Mr. E. W. Holden seconded a resolution re-electing Messrs. S. E. Graves and D. M. Arnold as Auditors and expressed the Society's thanks to them for their services.

Mr. L. F. Salzman then read the reports sent in by some Local Correspondents and lamented the fact that others did not follow their example.

In the afternoon members and their friends had the great privilege of hearing a lecture from Sir Ian Richmond, President of the Society of Antiquaries, on "Some Larger Villas of Roman Britain" in which Sir Ian called attention to the uniqueness of the building being excavated at Fishbourne and gave his reasons for suggesting that it be called Fishbourne Palace and not Villa.

Reports of the Summer Meeting at Firlie Place, Firlie Church, Alfriston Church and Arlington Church; and of Local meetings at Rye; Pigeon House, Angmering, and Rustington Church; Swanborough Manor and Iford Church; at Eatons and Ashurst Church; and of the walk at Chilgrove have been published in *Sussex Notes and Queries*. It remains to express the thanks of the Council to the owners and tenants of the houses visited, to the incumbents of the churches and to the guides and speakers who did so much to make these visits both instructive and enjoyable. Much of the success of the meetings depends on the untiring work put in by the Meetings Secretary, Miss V. Smith, and her friend, Miss E. V. Flight.

At the Autumn Meeting, held this year on the same day as the Special General Meeting, Dr. A. E. Wilson spoke on "Sussex on the Eve of the Norman Conquest".

4. PUBLICATIONS. The Editor has succeeded in publishing a volume (No. 103), though slimmer than recent ones, for the year 1965 in spite of the heavy cost of the Index Volume for Nos. 76-100 which will soon be issued to members. Mr. Steer himself has written a well-documented paper on the life and writings of that famous historian of Sussex, the Revd. James Dallaway, and our President has solved the mystery of the mounds on Camp Hill in

Ashdown Forest. Mr. E. W. Holden, in collaboration, has discussed the origin of the slates used for roofing many buildings in mediæval times in Sussex. These are those of the more important of a number of papers ranging from prehistoric times to the conferring of a Doctorate of Letters on the doyen of our members, Dr. L. F. Salzman.

Mr. G. D. Johnston brought out two more numbers of *Sussex Notes and Queries* containing an interesting selection from the many items which reach him.

The Council has decided to make certain changes in an endeavour to offset the sharp rise in printing costs. In future it will publish a full list of members every third year and has asked affiliated Societies to restrict their reports to about 100 words dealing with matters of general historical and archaeological interest to members.

5. MUSEUMS. It has been an active, busy year in all our Museums.

Barbican House. External repairs carried out extremely well by Messrs. Norman and Burt, under the supervision of our Trust Architect, Mr. W. E. Godfrey, have made the fine proportions of this unspoilt Georgian House stand out in a High Street of rather untidy buildings and garish colour. Its appearance should help to attract the visitor to our principal museum.

The cleaning of another of the Hudson portraits of members of the Haddock family in the entrance hall here, has been satisfactorily carried out. The acquisition of a most unusual and very high quality Sheraton satinwood side-cabinet with brass trellis doors, bequeathed to us by Miss Hoare, of Eastbourne, has created much interest.

Anne of Cleves House. The systematic scheme of rearranging and re-labelling cases of exhibits throughout the museum here has gone on steadily, and some more useful showcases (from the United Services Museum, Whitehall) have been bought. At the end of the year the Hall and Long Gallery, together with the staircase hall between these two rooms, were completely repaired and redecorated, the stonework of the fine open-mouth fireplace in the hall cleaned of several layers of distemper, and other improvements effected. The austerity of the staircase has been relieved by hanging on its walls some of the Society's good collection of tapestries. It is hoped during the coming year to adapt one of the lower rooms as a 'Period Room', but this will require a great deal of time to prepare, and time for museum work is still scarce.

We have to announce the retirement of Mr. and Mrs. F. Acott as custodians of Anne of Cleves House, which took place this year. However, the Society is very fortunate in having as their successors Mr. and Mrs. Leslie Acott, their son and daughter-in-law, who are carrying on the high standard set by their parents.

Priest House. Our thanks are due to Mr. and Mrs. Gorringe for keeping both the house and the garden in such a very excellent state. During the year it was found necessary to move the entrance gateway farther along the front hedge away from the corner of the road, which has become a dangerous one with the increase of traffic. It is hoped that this work will soon be finished and a path laid to the new gate.

There have not been so many gifts as in recent years, but amongst them objects of high intrinsic value can be noted, as for example the Sheraton cabinet mentioned above.

6. THE RESEARCH COMMITTEE. Mr. I. D. Margary expressed a wish to retire from the Chairmanship, which he had held since the foundation of the Committee. Members expressed their regret and thanked him warmly for the lead which he had always given to it. They greatly value his intention to remain an active member. Mr. G. P. Burstow was nominated by the Council to the office of Chairman: Mr. E. W. Holden replaced him in the office of Secretary. The reports made by many active groups in the county have been summarised in *Sussex Notes and Queries*.

7. MUNIMENT ROOM. The annual List of Accessions to Repositories published by the National Register of Archives is easing the path of research students and historians and several have found their way to the Society's archives by this means, some coming from abroad. Documents have been produced for over sixty individuals during the year and as each issue generally consists of many separate items the turnover has been quite large. It is satisfactory to report that readers have, without exception, shown a proper responsibility in the handling of old and fragile documents and there has been no suspicion of damage or defacement.

Among new accessions it is worth noting the 21 deeds of Amberley Castle from 1719 to 1812 given by Mrs. E. Fuller. They are all leases by the Bishop of Chichester, one of whose predecessors built the stronghold in the 14th century. With them is an interesting engraving of the castle made by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck in 1737. Mr. D. H. de Pass has given a very beautiful plan dated 1629 of the glebe land of Arlington parsonage by Edward Gyer. The parchment was so brittle that it could hardly be unrolled without tearing, but it has been excellently repaired and the life put back into it by the Public Record Office.

As a result of last year's request for help in sorting and indexing there were several offers from members and thanks are particularly due to Mrs. M. H. Hoad, Mr. R. A. Fisher and Miss S. C. Richardson.

The Barbican is an excellent muniment room, but it should not be a pigeon-loft as well. Therefore it is a pleasure to report that

pigeon-proofing operations have been successful, although not before an egg was laid on the shelf next to the Figg maps, fortunately with no damage to either.

8. FINANCE. The accounts of the Society during 1965 have generally followed the pattern anticipated in the 1964 report.

The Margary Fund interest has been transferred as agreed to the Trust and this arrangement will continue for some years to come.

On the current account the final credit balance is £313, which is £198 less than at the beginning of the year. This reduced figure is after taking into account a grant of £122 from the Ministry of Works towards Volume 102 and an increase in subscriptions of £250. Office expenses show a total increase of £412 comprising salaries, printing and stationery, postages, a new typewriter and travelling expenses. A new item under payments is the insurance premium of £60 on museum exhibits hitherto born by the Trust. Reductions in expenditure total £492 from library, museum and muniment room costs, meetings costs and volume payments.

The increase in subscriptions is due to £50 more for ordinary subscriptions and entrance fees, and £200 from life compositions which include two at the new rate of £50 each.

Other receipts show the following increases:—Volume sales (£46), voluntary contributions (£52), sales of library duplicates and miscellaneous receipts (£167).

As to volumes the deposit account of £1,680 is earmarked to meet the probable cost of the General Index to volumes 76-100, and the balance of cost of volume 103, estimated at upwards of £350. This volume 103 has been issued and is a small one, the first payment for which of £355 was made from current account.

9. SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING. At a Special General Meeting held in the College of Technology, Brighton, on Saturday, September 25th, resolutions were passed which had the following effects:—

1. The entrance fee was abolished.
2. Annual subscriptions were raised:
 - (a) Full members to £2 10s. a year;
 - (b) Associate members to 15s. a year;
 - (c) Affiliated societies to £1 10s. a year.
3. The subscription for Life Membership became £50.

N.B. Members who have, prior to the 3rd July, 1965, entered into a covenant to make an annual payment to the Society shall not, during the period during which the covenant is operative, be required to pay any increase in the subscription adopted at a Special General Meeting held on the 25th September, 1965.

10. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS. The Council records its appreciation of the way in which Mrs. Rector and Mrs. Porter assisted Mr. Norris in the extra work involved by the alteration of rules. It also wishes to express its thanks to Mrs. Martin for the help she gave her husband, Mr. H. S. Martin, in the drafting of the new rules.

Sir Ian Richmond, D.Lit., F.B.A.

The Council wishes to record its sense of the great loss caused by the death of Sir Ian Richmond. As President of the Society of Antiquaries he had himself served on the Fishbourne Management Committee and frequently visited the site. His incomparable knowledge of the Roman Empire was of great value in unravelling the many problems presented by these excavations.

AFFILIATED SOCIETIES

Battle and District Historical Society

The most important event during the year was the re-opening of the Society's Museum on 30th July in new and more commodious premises in Langton House Memorial Hall.

Lectures during the winter included one on "Westminster Abbey" by Mr. Rupert Gunnis, whose death soon after was a source of deep regret to all who had listened to him.

A Commemoration Volume for the Ninth Centenary Year has been prepared under the auspices of the Society and edited by Mr. C. T. Chevallier, entitled "The Norman Conquest: Its Setting and Impact," it is written by four eminent historians, including Lt.-Col. C. H. Lemmon, D.S.O., President of the Society. It will be available to the public in February, 1966.

The Cuckfield Society

During the year the Cuckfield Society has held one general meeting, two social evenings with films from the Civic Trust and the National Trust and published two Newsletters for its members.

The Executive Committee has met eleven times and formed sub-committees to deal with the preservation of local footpaths, the Cuckfield by-pass road and the "face lift" for the High Street.

The Society supported the local authority at the inquiry into the appeal against their decision to refuse planning permission for building development at Hatchgate Farm.

There are now about 350 members of the Society.

Brighton and Hove Archæological Society

Mr. E. W. Holden continued excavations on the Old Erringham site, but results were archaeologically disappointing.

Mr. W. C. L. Gorton has kept watch on the portion of the Ladies' Mile Romano-British site at the New Fawcett School, Patcham, which has now been almost completely obliterated by levelling. A further small excavation was made in Patchway Field, Stanmer Park, which yielded sufficient evidence to make it probable that the site covers a medieval home or farmstead of the thirteenth century.

Miss E. M. Casserley, Hon. Secretary for 30 years, has retired, her place being taken by Mr. K. A. Miller.

Eastbourne Association of Sussex Folk

During the period in question the association has gone from strength to strength, membership now reaching 375 in number. Several interesting lectures and illustrated talks have been held and eleven outings organised to historical places of interest in the county and just over the border into Kent, including Pestalozzi Children's Village, Sedlescombe (two visits), Borde Hill Gardens and House, Haywards Heath, Goodwood House, Alfriston and West Firle, Hever Castle, Haremere Hall, Hurstpierpoint College and Old Town, Hastings. This year's programme includes visits to Lancing College and Steyning, Horselunges Manor, Ghyll Manor, Swanborough Manor, Brightling, Great Dixter and Northiam, Uppark, South Harting and Wisborough Green.

Old Hastings Preservation Society

Owing to the survey being made of the Old Town area by the architect, Lord Holford, no major development has taken place in the year, though the Society has been able to give advice on plans for restoration or building on individual sites. The completion of the Regency group of Pelham Crescent has also been held up.

A full social programme was carried out with visits to Tenterden, Brede Place, Haremere Hall, Newtimber Place and Cobham Hall. Tours of the Old Town were conducted weekly on evenings during the summer; in Old Town Week at the end of July some period houses were opened to the public and a summer fair held, while in the winter a series of illustrated lectures on Sussex were given by Mr. W. H. Dyer.

Worthing Archæological Society

Members of the Worthing Archæological Society co-operated with Worthing Museum digging parties at a rescue operation at the Maison Dieu, Arundel, undertaken on behalf of the Ministry of Works. Finds included medieval pottery, tokens and fragments of red glass. Work is still in progress on the Binsted medieval pottery and tile kilns, a site producing West Sussex ware, including face jugs and abundant remains of chimney pots. There is the usual watching of site development in the Worthing area.

THE SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY—ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS 1965

	RECEIPTS			
	1965		1964	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Subscriptions:	£	s. d.		
Life Members	225	0 0		
Entrance Fees	24	0 0		
Annual Subscriptions	2,255	2 5		
	2,504	2 5	2,254	12 10
Income Tax Refund on sums received under Covenant	232	6 1	223	11 4
Voluntary Contributions	120	3 0	67	18 0
Interest on £250 War Stock—Garraway Rice Bequest	8	15 0	8	15 0
Sale of Volumes	73	14 0	27	10 9
Sale of <i>Sussex Notes and Queries</i>	6	18 1	8	9 5
Sale of Tickets for Meetings	291	10 0	273	0 1
Interest on General Reserve Fund (see Note 1)	51	17 8	51	17 8
Interest on Margary Fund (see Note 3)	941	6 5	946	15 2
Income Tax Refund—Half-year 1963	—	—	144	6 10
Grant by Ministry of Works towards Vol. 101	—	—	265	0 0
Ditto Vol. 102	122	0 0	—	—
Interest on Deposit and Trustee Savings Banks Accounts re Volumes	84	8 9	60	15 2
Sale of Library Duplicates	122	5 0	—	—
Contribution by Sussex Archaeological Trust	260	0 0	250	0 0
Michelham Priory Excavations drawn from Deposit and from Meads Legacy	—	—	441	16 7
Donations	2	1 0	10	5 0
Miscellaneous Receipts	54	15 6	9	7 0
	4,876	2 11	5,044	0 10
Cash at Barclays Bank on 1st January	511	0 2	951	4 7
Cash on Bank Deposit for Volumes and General Index	1,595	3 5	1,534	8 3
	£6,982	6 6	£7,529	13 8

	PAYMENTS			
	1965		1964	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Subscriptions to Kindred Societies	27	17 0	27	7 0
Library and Museum Payments	191	14 4	513	19 0
Monument Room Payments	14	17 10	—	—
Printing and Stationery	312	8 3	205	19 7
Salaries	1,513	2 10	1,265	4 5
Postages	195	6 10	159	5 6
Telephone	30	4 4	30	5 1
<i>Sussex Notes and Queries</i>	409	12 10	336	8 11
Expenses of Meetings	290	3 6	343	10 1
Volume 101 (Balance of Cost)	—	—	610	9 10
Volume 102	528	19 4	405	12 0
Volume 103 (on Account)	355	8 0	—	—
Travelling Expenses and Petrol	20	3 6	41	19 10
Insurance	60	14 9	—	—
Expenses of Michelham Priory Excavations, 1964	—	—	438	0 9
Donations to Excavations elsewhere	16	5 0	20	10 0
Other Donations	10	10 0	46	0 0
Margary Fund Interest for 1965 transferred to Trust (see Note 3)	941	6 5	946	15 2
Purchase of New Typewriter	42	10 0	—	—
Miscellaneous Payments	27	17 9	32	2 11
	4,989	2 6	5,423	10 1
Cash at Barclays Bank on December 31st	313	11 10	511	0 2
Cash on Bank Deposit for Volumes and General Index Volumes 76-100	1,679	12 2	1,595	3 5
	£6,982	6 6	£7,529	13 8

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NOTE 1. (a) On December 31st, 1965, the General Reserve Fund consisted of:

	£	s. d.
£1,000 4% Consolidated Stock (at cost)	988	19 4
Deposit at Trustee Savings Bank	—	1 2
£326 16s. 7d. 3½% War Stock (at cost)	231	10 0
	£1,220	10 6

(b) During the year 1965 income received amounted to £51 17s. 8d., which was carried to current account.

NOTE 2. **Loan to Trust:** Since 1963 this is deemed to have been repaid in connection with the upkeep of Anne of Cleves House, which property was acquired prior to the incorporation of the Trust.

NOTE 3. Mr. Margary's donation of £15,000 is invested in Trustee Securities. The income from them has been made available to the Trust for the time being for the repair of its properties.

We have checked the above account with the books and vouchers and we certify it to be correct in accordance therewith.

S. E. GRAVES, D. M. ARNOLD, *Chartered Accountants, Joint Honorary Auditors.*
7 Pavilion Parade, Brighton

SUSSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRUST

Annual Report, 1965

1. PROPERTIES. The number of visitors to the properties administered by the Trust continues to be satisfactory. The figures were:

	1964	1965
Lewes Castle and Barbican House	21,450	21,734
Anne of Cleves House, Lewes ..	7,520	6,870
Wilmington Priory	3,340	3,055
Priest House, West Hoathly ..	1,844	1,952
Michelham Priory	29,050	34,300

2. FISHBOURNE ROMAN PALACE. The 1965 season of excavations under the direction of Mr. B. W. Cunliffe, B.A., F.S.A., took place from 24th July until 4th September, and up to one hundred volunteers and ten staff were engaged on the work. Further important details of the first-century palace and the underlying early Roman timber settlement were discovered.

There is available a reprint of an article by Mr. Cunliffe (Fishbourne, 1961-4) included in *Antiquity* (vol. xxxix) with a coloured plate showing a second-century mosaic in the North Wing.

This year has seen the approval of the plans prepared by Mr. W. Emil Godfrey, F.S.A., for the buildings for the preservation of the Roman remains. The erection of the buildings was begun towards the end of the year, but the unfavourable weather has somewhat delayed the work. Substantial progress, however, has been made.

It has already been recorded that Mr. I. D. Margary, F.S.A., your President, has not only given the purchase money for the land but also provided a fund for the development of the site.

In view of the extent of these important remains the estimate of the cost of preservation has risen considerably, and in order to ensure that the work may go forward without delay to a successful conclusion, Mr. Margary has most generously undertaken himself to bear the cost of the cover buildings.

Negotiations are in progress for providing suitable access to the site and a car park.

3. MICHELHAM PRIORY. It will be seen from the figures given above that there was a further increase in the number of visitors to the Priory in 1965. The Gate House receipts were accordingly higher, and for the first time there was a small surplus in the daily running, so that no call was necessary on the Endowment Fund.

A full programme of special events and exhibitions was held during the season, and brought many more visitors. The ancient stained glass loaned by the Victoria and Albert Museum for the Stained Glass Exhibition has now been placed on permanent loan at the Priory. A small number of other interesting acquisitions to the permanent exhibits have been made.

In February Mrs. R. H. Priestley resigned as Chairman of the Committee, and Mr. L. R. Fisher was elected in her place. In June, much to the Committee's regret, Mrs. Priestley resigned from the Committee on her removal to Hampshire.

During the spring substantial capital repairs and renewals were completed to the Tudor buildings, the Gate House entrance bridge and causeway wall, and the electrical wiring, at a cost of £2,300, which was met partly from an advance from the Endowment Fund and partly from the income of the fund. Major repairs to the Gate House itself have been started following the receipt of a grant of £1,450 from the Historic Buildings Council and of £750 from the East Sussex County Council. The new water main has been laid from Upper Dicker, and the Priory's extension and new meter installed and connected at a cost of £100.

The scheme for pumping the mud out of the Moat has had to be abandoned for technical and financial reasons, and a smaller scheme, designed by the Director of the Conservation Corps of the Council for Nature, Major D. Judge, who has joined the Committee, has been substituted. This will involve the removal of all reeds, a new dam to retain the water, and two sluices to control the flow, and will prevent further silting. The cost of this scheme, about £1,400, has been provided by the Friends of Michelham and by a generous local benefactor, a member of the Society, Mr. M. C. Mander. It is expected this work will take at least two years. A detailed report on the plant life of the Moat was prepared by Mr. Godfrey Hillman of the British Museum Botanical Department.

The Friends of Michelham now have about 160 members, and during their first year of activity raised the sum of £1,840. Besides a large contribution to the Moat, they have in mind other schemes for the improvement of the grounds.

The Custodians have had a successful year, and have established a high reputation for their meals in the restaurants, especially teas. They have contributed in many ways to the success of the season, and the beautiful condition of the Priory and the exhibits, remarked upon by many visitors, are largely due to their work.

The Committee are once again deeply indebted to a large band of voluntary workers, without whose devotion it would not be possible to maintain the Priory. Their close relationship with the public places a heavy responsibility upon them, and they have made a major contribution to the successful results of the season.

4. REPAIRS TO TRUST PROPERTIES. In addition to the repairs at Michelham Priory, considerable expenditure has been incurred during the year, mainly at the Castle, Anne of Cleves House and Barbican House.

Many members will, no doubt, have noticed the very satisfactory result that has been achieved by the re-pointing and repair of the fine eighteenth-century brick front of the Society's headquarters, which for a long time has been in need of repair. While the cement facing to many bricks which had perished disfigured the building, continuing deterioration and a general loosening of moulded parts and window arches had brought it to a condition which called for more radical treatment than had been possible during the past decade.

This work has now been undertaken. The weak places have been consolidated, defective bricks have been renewed and the whole of the brickwork has been repointed.

The Council came to the conclusion that it was essential to avoid a patchwork effect and therefore to renew all joints, even where some of the old mortar was holding good. The latter had an admixture of cinders which presented a black contrast to the new and this was not considered an example to follow or to match. The Council also decided to avoid what would probably have been an unsuccessful attempt to re-create the neat tuck-pointed brickwork which the house once possessed, and instead to repair it in the rougher texture which age and the weather have imparted.

5. PARSONAGE ROW, TARRING. The Trust is the legal owner of three cottages, Nos. 6, 8 and 10 High Street. The property is managed by a local committee and houses a small, though interesting, museum and a caretaker. Recently the freehold of the adjoining cottage, which is occupied, was offered to the Trust. These cottages originally all formed part of a larger building. The Council of the Trust, however, felt unable to undertake the financial responsibility involved, though it was decided that favourable consideration would be given to the making of a grant should any other society or authority acquire the property. An article about the cottages by Mr. R. T. Mason, F.S.A., is included in the November issue of *Sussex Notes and Queries*.

6. SECRETARY. In 1963 Mr. F. Bentham Stevens, F.S.A., retired from the office of Financial Secretary of the Society and was appointed a member of the Council. In 1965 his retirement from the Secretaryship of the Trust became effective.

The Centenary Volume of the Society's Collections (1946) contains an article contributed by Mr. Bentham Stevens recording the circumstances which led to the formation of the Trust in 1924.

Continued on page xxviii

THE SUSSEX

		Balance	
		as at 31st	
1964		£	£
	QUALIFYING SUBSCRIPTIONS AND VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS to 31st December, 1964	2,400	
	Add Income from Margary Fund Investments ..	941	
	Subscriptions and Contributions received during year	71	
2,400		—	3,412
	ENDOWMENT FUNDS		
	Thomas Stanford	11,622	
	Priest House	200	
	Holtye Roman Road	300	
	Ardingly Village Sign	100	
	Legh Manor	1,000	
13,180		—	13,222
	TRUST FUNDS		
	Legh Manor	1,091	
	Fishbourne Equipment	20,000	
	Mrs. Mead's Legacy	3,805	
	Holtye Roman Road	150	
24,690		—	25,046
	REVENUE ACCOUNTS		
3,993	Net Surplus to date per Summary .. ..	..	6,803
274	SUNDRY CREDITORS .. .. .	..	1,251
	NOTE.—Special Repairs to various properties of the Trust were in hand at 31st December, 1965, the contracts for which amounted to £3,325		
£44,537		—	£49,734

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SUSSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRUST
(An Association not for Profit incorporated under the Companies Acts)

We have obtained all the information and explanations which to the best of our knowledge and belief were necessary for the purposes of our audit. In our opinion proper books of account have been kept by the Trust so far as appears from our examination of those books. We have examined the above Balance Sheet and accompanying summaries of the Revenue Accounts and these are in agreement with the books of account.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL TRUST

Sheet

December, 1965

1964 £		£	£
19,295	EXPENDITURE ON PROPERTIES TO 31ST DECEMBER, 1964		19,295
	Add Cost of Repairs to Anne of Cleves House, Lewes, and Lewes Castle		1,296
			<u>20,591</u>
	Less Endowment Fund and Specific Donations	3,472	
	Lewes Castle Repair Fund	2,362	
	Anne of Cleves Extension Fund	4,465	
	Oldlands Mill Fund	568	
	Wilmington Priory Repair Fund	2,691	
13,522			<u>13,558</u>
5,773			<u>7,033</u>
	ENDOWMENT FUND INVESTMENTS		
	Thomas Stanford	11,622	
	Priest House	200	
	Holtye Roman Road	300	
	Ardingly Village Sign	100	
	Legh Manor	1,000	
13,180			<u>13,222</u>
	(Market Value at 31st December, 1965 £12,646 1964 £12,677)		
	TRUST FUND INVESTMENTS		
	Legh Manor	1,091	
	Fishbourne Equipment	21,119	
	Mrs. Mead's Legacy	3,035	
	Holtye Roman Road	150	
24,620			<u>25,395</u>
	(Market Value at 31st December, 1965 £25,720 1964 £24,187)		
	GENERAL INVESTMENTS		
6	Legh Manor		
269	Shovells		
88	SUNDRY DEBTORS		801
601	CASH AT BANK AND IN HAND		3,283
<u>£44,537</u>			<u>£49,734</u>

No figures are inserted in the above Balance Sheet in respect of various properties which the Trust has received by way of gift. Nor have adjustments been made for all items of accruing expenditure and income.

Subject to this remark, in our opinion and to the best of our information and according to the explanations given us, the said Balance Sheet gives the information required by the Companies Act, 1948, and gives a true and fair view of the Trust's affairs as at 31st December, 1965, and the Revenue Accounts give a true and fair view of the Income and Expenditure for the year ended on that date.

GRAVES, GODDARD & HORTON STEPHENS

7 Pavilion Parade, Brighton.
24th February, 1966.

Chartered Accountants.

Revenue Accounts for the Year 1965

	<i>Thomas Stanford Trust</i>		<i>Legh Manor General</i>		<i>Legh Manor Endowment</i>		<i>Bull House Lewes</i>		<i>Holtye Roman Road</i>		<i>Ardingly Village Sign</i>		<i>Pigeon House Angmering</i>		<i>Sussex Photographic Record Survey</i>	
	<i>This Year</i>	<i>Last Year</i>	<i>This Year</i>	<i>Last Year</i>	<i>This Year</i>	<i>Last Year</i>	<i>This Year</i>	<i>Last Year</i>	<i>This Year</i>	<i>Last Year</i>	<i>This Year</i>	<i>Last Year</i>	<i>This Year</i>	<i>Last Year</i>	<i>This Year</i>	<i>Last Year</i>
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Income for the year	702	662	1,508	642	205	193	135	135	17	11	4	4	118	118	1	1
Less Expenditure	100	27	393	1,050	68	68	46	36	-	-	-	7	28	79	-	-
Surplus for the year	602	635	1,115	-	137	125	89	99	17	11	4	-	90	39	1	1
Deficit for the year	-	-	-	408	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
Surplus brought forward	331	1,191	3,159	3,567	439	314	129	30	121	110	25	28	506	641	18	17
Deficit brought forward	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Amounts transferred	933	1,826	4,274	3,159	576	439	218	129	138	121	29	25	596	680	19	18
(a) Thomas Stanford Trust	933	1,495														
(b) Pigeon House													70	174		
Surplus carried forward	-	331	4,274	3,159	576	439	218	129	138	121	29	25	526	506	19	18
Deficit carried forward																

	Oldlands Mill Keymer		Shovells Hastings		Anne o Cleves House		Wilmington Priory		Priest House W. Hoathly		Lewes Castle and Barbican House		Long Man of Wilmington		Meads Legacy	
	This Year	Last Year	This Year	Last Year	This Year	Last Year	This Year	Last Year	This Year	Last Year	This Year	Last Year	This Year	Last Year	This Year	Last Year
Income for the year	25	25	229	769	361	370	142	143	74	80	1,539	1,395	—	—	149	59
Less Expenditure	3	1	827	558	1,104	1,019	512	405	144	254	1,947	2,043	—	—	60	93
Surplus for the year	22	24	—	211	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	89	—
Deficit for the year	—	—	598	—	743	649	370	262	70	174	408	648	—	—	—	34
Surplus brought forward	136	112	211	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Deficit brought forward	—	—	—	—	—	—	610	348	—	—	—	—	2	2	34	—
Amounts transferred	158	136	387	211	—	649	980	610	70	174	408	648	—	—	55	34
(a) Thomas Stanford Trust	—	—	—	—	239	649	—	—	—	—	408	648	—	—	—	—
(b) Pigeon House	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	70	174	—	—	—	—	—	—
Surplus carried forward	158	136	—	211	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	55	—
Deficit carried forward	—	—	387	—	504	—	980	610	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	34

	Fishbourne Equipment		Michelham Priory		General Fund	
	This Year	Last Year	This Year	Last Year	This Year	Last Year
Income for the year	1,164	690	8,601	7,852	—	—
Less Expenditure	217	384	6,429	8,264	286	198
Surplus for the year	947	306	2,172	—	—	—
Deficit for the year	—	—	—	412	—	198
Surplus brought forward	529	223	—	—	—	—
Deficit brought forward	—	—	965	553	—	—
Amounts transferred:	1,476	529	1,207	965	286	—
(a) Thomas Stanford	—	—	—	—	286	198
(b) Pigeon House	—	—	—	—	—	—
Surplus carried forward	1,476	529	1,207	—	—	—
Deficit carried forward	—	—	—	965	—	—

SUMMARY OF BALANCES AS AT 31st DECEMBER, 1965

	Surplus	Deficit
Thomas Stanford Trust	—	—
Legh Manor: General	4,274	—
Endowment	576	—
Bull House, Lewes	218	—
Holtye Roman Road	138	—
Ardingly Village Sign	29	—
Pigeon House, Angmering	526	—
Sussex Photographic Record	19	—
Oldlands Mill, Keymer	158	—
Shovells, Hastings	—	387
Anne of Cleves House, Lewes	—	504
Wilmington Priory	—	980
Long Man of Wilmington	—	2
Meads Legacy	55	—
	5,993	1,873
Fishbourne Equipment	1,476	—
Michelham Priory	1,207	—
	£8,676	£1,873
Net Total Surplus	£6,803	—

Continued from page xxiii

He was appointed the first Secretary and now, after forty years of service, he has decided to retire.

This is an occasion when members will wish that their thanks should be given to Mr. Bentham Stevens for the most valuable services he has so generously given to the Trust, and their best wishes for his future happiness.

Dr. L. F. Salzman, F.S.A., writes: "In the Centenary Volume it was said that 'it would be difficult to overestimate the value of the services rendered to the Society by Mr. Stevens in the management of its financial and general interests'. It was in 1924, when he was appointed the first Honorary Financial Secretary, that it was found necessary to constitute a department of the Society as a Trust incorporated to hold the various properties which the Society was accumulating; and the advantages of commanding the services of a lawyer of such outstanding ability as Frank Bentham Stevens were obvious."

For many years the Society and Trust have greatly benefited from his experience and skilful handling of their affairs.

Additions to Library to July, 1966

1. Mr. G. L. REMNANT
 - (1) *The Southdown (Motor Services) Story, 1915-1965.*
 - (2) 16 photographs of Staircase in Town Hall, Lewes.
2. Mr. F. T. BARRETT
 - (1) *The Pounds, Stocks and Whipping-posts of Sussex* (author's pamphlet).
 - (2) *William Huntington, S.S.* (from 'The Gospel Herald').
3. Mr. N. D. HAMMOND

The Lost Brasses of Poynings (author's pamphlet).
4. Mrs. ESTELLE FULLER

Further SUSSEX items from the collections of the late Capt. A. W. F. Fuller, including sermons and addresses, Lewes, 1775 to 1846; Orders of Chief Constable for East Sussex, 1858; political papers; ms. poem by T. Clio Rickman; water-colours by Gideon Mantell.
5. Mr. E. THRING

Report on Rowfant Mill Pond (typescript).
6. Mr. E. HOLDEN
 - (1) G. C. Smith, *A Guide for Builders (Estimating)*, 1946.
 - (2) Catalogue of Phoenix Ironworks, Lewes, c. 1920.
 - (3) *Brighton: Building Byelaws*, 1936
7. Mr. F. JENNER

Lewes and E. Sussex Nat. Hist. Soc. nos. 1-5, 7-14. 1868-1898.
8. Mr. A. FAYLE

P. Kirwan, *The Pageant of Arundel*. 1963.
9. Mr. G. P. BURSTOW

'Ancestors' (typescript).
10. CIBA LTD.

The restoration of Roman Mosaics (pamphlet).
11. Mrs. R. HOTBLACK

Tufton Beamish, *Battle Royal*. 1965.
12. Judge W. E. P. DONE

West Wittering Church Guide: new edn. (author's pamphlet).

13. Mr. F. BENTHAM STEVENS
 - (1) Samuel Johnson, *Dictionary* (1786).
 - (2) Camden's *Britannia* (2nd edn.).
 - (3) Walpole, *New British Traveller* (1784).
 - (4) Wilkinson, *General Atlas* (1800).
 - (5) Cary, *English Atlas* (1767).
 - (6) Five Brighton guides, &c.
 - (7) *Burgess Hill Congregational Church Centenary*.
14. Dr. E. C. CURWEN
 - (1) *Records of Kendale*, vols. 1-4.
 - (2) *British Camps with Timber-laced Ramparts* (Arch. J.).
 - (3) Whittington, *Distribution of Strip Lynchets*.
 - (4) Fahy, *A Horizontal Mill at Mashanaglass* (Cork).
 - (5) Cowen, *The Crawhall Colln.*—'Brighton Loops'.
15. Mr. C. G. BRIDGELAND
Pepper, *East Grinstead* (with letters inserted).
16. Mr. S. GODMAN
Lewes Directory for 1881-2 (ms. copy)
17. Mr. N. BRADBURY
Selsey Parish Reg. 1662-1723 (typed transcript).
18. Miss JUDITH WOOLDRIDGE
'Alciston Manor in the Later Middle Ages' (typescript).
19. R. DELL (ed.)
Rye Elizabethan Shipping Records (S.R.S. vol. 64).
20. Miss WESTON
 - (1) Brooker, *The Setting Sun*. c. 1823
 - (2) Lewes pamphlets.
21. Mr. E. A. REEVES
Photos of S.A.S. Meetings at (1) Knepp, (2) Ashdown Forest.
22. Mr. J. R. HEARN
 - (1) *The Liberty of the Water of Thamer*; (2) *Capt. E. Hawkins of Saltash, 1765-1839* (author's pamphlets).
23. Mr. H. F. CLEERE
Iron Industry in Roman Britain (the Weald) (author's copy).
24. Mr. A. GLASFURD
Guide to Southease Church (author's copy).

25. Mr. N. CAPLAN
Presbyterian Ministers in Sussex, 1690 (J. Presb. Hist. Soc.)
26. CHRIST'S HOSP. ARCH. SOC.
Invasions of South-East England to 1015 (pamphlet).

PURCHASE:

- Nairn & Pevsner, *Buildings of England: Sussex* (Penguin).
 Eliz. Melling, *Kentish Sources: I. Roads and Bridges; II. Kent in the Civil War; IV. The Poor; V. Some Kentish Houses* (Kent County Council).
 'Chichester Papers': 49. *The Epitaph Book of William Hayley*.
 50. *Chichester: the Roman Town*.
 Index to Nos. 41-50.
- W. R. Ward, *Administration of Window and Assessed Taxes, 1696-1798*.
 A. Keiller, *Windmill Hill and Avebury*.
 Winifred Davis, *O Rare Norgem*.
 R. Merrifield, *The Roman City of London*.
 J. S. Moore, *Laughton*.
 Le Neve, *Fasti Eccl. Angl.* (Chichester Diocese).
Sussex County Mag. Index (typescript).
 J. S. Wachter, *The Civitas Capitals of Roman Britain*.

FOR REVIEW:

- P. A. L. Vine, *London's Lost Route to the Sea*.
 Jane Sayers, *Estate Docs. at Lambeth Palace Library*.
 D. Whitelock, *The Norman Conquest*.

Additions to the Museum to July, 1966

(1965)

1. Mr. G. H. SCHMIDT, Newhaven. (16).
Engraving, "The Hop Pickers," after George Smith of Chichester and published 1760.
2. Miss W. E. SEABROOKE, Crowborough (17).
Sampler in gilt frame, "Elizabeth Stamford, her work 1740."
3. Mr. G. CORLEY, Adversane. (18).
Surgical horseshoes; forge and wheelwright's tools.
4. Miss D. BOYKETT, Rustington. (19).
Roadman's handcart, "City of Chichester". Parasol.
5. The HERNE BAY RECORDS SOCIETY. (20).
Late Bronze Age looped and socketted axe from Felpham.
6. Mr. C. BEAL, Lewes. (21). (Loan).
Early medieval iron arrowhead from Malling, Lewes.

(1966)

7. The INCUMBENT AND CHURCHWARDENS OF EAST DEAN AND FRISTON. (1).
Carved oak arm chair with figure of a saint carved on the back splat.
8. Mrs. SLATER, Ringmer. (2).
Various small bygones.
9. Mrs. EARLE, North Chailey. (3 & 15).
Specimens of lace. Truncheon. Policeman's rattle: "W.K.N. 12".
10. Miss M. STRIBLING, Eastbourne. (4).
Small portable desk.
11. Miss HOARE, Eastbourne (5 & 9).
Pencil drawing, "The Gipsy Fortune Teller", c. 1840.
Late 18th century satinwood sideboard.
12. Messrs. W. M. & D. A. PETERS, Hove. (6).
Saxon knife from barrow near Ditchling Beacon.
(See *S.N. & Q.*, 16, p. 26).

13. Mr. W. R. SWANN, Holtye. (7).
Portions of wooden fittings of a forge hammer found during the erection of an electricity pylon in Cansiron Wood.
14. Mrs. M. W. BLABER, Lewes. (8).
Models of dairy equipment made in 1872 by Edward L. Blaber for the Lewes School of Art, in glass case.
15. Miss V. A. JOHNSTON, Bexhill. (10). (Loan).
Stained glass panel of the Trinity Symbol.
16. Mrs. R. H. HOTBLACK, Willingdon. (11).
Framed photographs of effigy of Henry III in Westminster Abbey.
17. Mr. H. A. DAVIS, Selmeston. (12).
Sundry pieces of ironwork and bygones.
18. Miss M. TREHERNE, London. (13). (Loan).
Stained glass panel, "Virgin and Child".
19. Mr. G. BANNISTER, Peacehaven. (14).
Collection of flint implements and flakes from Peacehaven and district.
20. Mr. G. A. HOLLEYMAN, F.S.A., Brighton. (16).
Collection of lantern slides of archaeological subjects.
21. Mrs. MONNINGTON, Lewes. (17).
Two Elizabethan naval cutlasses ploughed up at Wartling.
22. PROPRIETORS OF THE WHITE HART HOTEL, Lewes. (18).
An 18th century patten found beneath floorboards.
23. Miss THOMPSON, Hove. (19).
"Rudiments of Geography" by W. C. Woodbridge, 1828.
24. TAUNTON MUSEUM, Somerset (20).
Stone macehead from Parham Down in 1878.
25. Mrs. H. WATSON, Eastbourne. (21).
Three ladies' tortoiseshell hair combs.
26. Mr. LINTON, Bexhill. (22).
Numerous small bygones.
27. Mrs. SUMNER, Hartfield (23).
Late 18th century smock frock from Kingsclere, Berks.

Accessions to Muniments Room for year ended June, 1966

Family, personal and estate: Sheriff's roll of inquisition on estate of John Chatfield, an outlaw, 4 Jan. 1739; pedigrees of families of Morton, Marchant and Moon; order by Richard Sackville, 5th Earl of Dorset, to warden of Sackville College to admit John Verrells, 18 May 1670; court order to Richard Wardroper, esq., to appear and defend his claim to be mayor of the Ancient Town of Winchelsea, 1768-9; with other miscellaneous items. (Accns. 1139-1147. From Mrs. E. Fuller, London, S.W.2.)

Facsimile of MS pedigree of Berry, of Ringmer and Rotherfield. (Accn. 1154. From Dr. Charles A. H. Franklyn, M.A., M.D., F.L.S., Hassocks.)

15 boxes of additional Gage family papers, c.1757-c.1810, including estate and household bills, a few papers and broadsheets of General Gage at the opening of the American Rebellion, 18 additional account rolls of Lord Gage when Paymaster of Pensions, 84 private letters, personal, business and parliamentary papers. (Accns. 1159-1173. From The Rt. Hon. Viscount Gage, K.C.V.O., Firle.)

19th century correspondence and notes relating to the Lidbether family. (Accn. 1176. From Miss V. E. Lidbether, Bexhill-on-Sea.)

Deeds: 22, mainly leases, of Amberley Castle, 1719-1812. (Accn. 1148. From Mrs. E. Fuller, London, S.W.2.)

Abstract of title to Harmongers, Old Land, Hitchcocks, and Godleys, all in Rudgwick, Sussex, and Lemons, in Ewhurst, Surrey, 1607-1811. (Accn. 1149. From Miss F. N. Secretan, Rudgwick.)

21 relating to land at Galley Hill, Bexhill, 1848-98. (Accn. 1152. From Mr. T. C. Lee *per* Mr. P. J. Fynmore of Messrs. Pead, Ash, Fynmore & Pembroke, solicitors, Bexhill.)

14 relating to Newick Lodge and land held of the manors of Newick and Balneth, 1786-1901. (Accn. 1157. From Mr. F. Bentham Stevens, F.S.A.)

Monastic: Photo copies of 40 rolls of Cellarer's accounts of Battle Abbey, 1275-1513, originals in Huntingdon Library, California, U.S.A. (Accn. 1158. *Per* Dr. L. F. Salzman, C.B.E., F.S.A.)

Manorial: Court roll of Manor of Heene, 1589 and 1591. (Accn. 1174. From Mrs. E. V. Earle, North Chailey.)

Military: 7 Militia rolls for Rape of Lewes, 1778-98. (Accn. 1150. From Miss Weston, Lewes.)

Education: Journal of Eastgate Baptist Chapel Sunday School, Lewes, 1871-74. (Accn. 1151. *Per* Mr. N. E. S. Norris, F.S.A.; found in attic of chapel during repairs.)

Plans: Glebe land of Arlington Parsonage, by Edward Gyer, 1629, 29½in. by 27in., coloured; shield of arms, field-names and measurements, houses in perspective. (Accn. 1153. From Mr. D. H. de Pass, Arlington. Now repaired.)

Sale particulars: 7 houses in Church road, Newick, 1894, with schedule of deeds from 1825; Bannister's Stores, Newick, 1856. (Accns. 1155-6. From Mr. F. Bentham Stevens, F.S.A.)

Ancient Monuments in Sussex

A list of monuments in Sussex scheduled under the Ancient Monuments Act, 1913 (as amended by the Act of 1931), as being monuments the preservation of which is of national importance was printed on pp. lxxvii to lxxxi of Volume 100. This list comprised all monuments in Sussex scheduled down to 31st December, 1961. Supplemental lists were printed at p. lxvi of Volume 101, p. lxxvii of Volume 102, and p. lxxviii of Volume 103.

The following additional monuments have since been scheduled:

Arlington, The Rookery.

Brighton, Castle Hill earthwork.

Graffham, four round barrows on Graffham Down.

Heyshott, round barrows on Heyshott Common.

Lewes, chapel of St. James's Hospital.

Lyminster, medieval enclosure N. of Batworth Park Plantation.

Old Shoreham, chapel (remains of) at Old Erringham.

Selsey, The Mound, Church Norton.

Sussex Archæological Society

SOME EVIDENCE OF A REDUCTION IN THE ACREAGE OF CULTIVATED LANDS IN SUSSEX DURING THE EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY

By ALAN R. H. BAKER

The *Nonarum Inquisitiones* for Sussex indicate that land had gone out of cultivation during the early fourteenth century in at least 52 of the 271 parishes whose returns have been published in transcription.¹ Some 6,000 acres which had once been cultivated were recorded in 1341 as lying untilled and a further amount of some 4,000 acres had been flooded by the sea.

The *Nonarum Inquisitiones* relate to a grant by Parliament to Edward III in 1342, to assist him in his wars, of one-ninth of the value of corn, wool and lambs produced in the realm. The value of these items was assessed, parish by parish, from evidence given by groups of parishioners under oath. The inquiries were conducted in the early months of 1342 but related to agricultural production during 1341. Because the ninth was assessed after the tithe had been taken, it was in fact one-ninth of nine-tenths of the total value of lay agricultural production and therefore identical with the tithe of these three items (corn, wool and lambs). As a guide, therefore, the jurors who compiled the parish returns had before them an assessment of one-tenth of clerical incomes in 1291, the taxation of Pope Nicholas IV.² The jurors were required to explain the discrepancy between the old and new values. Discrepancy there inevitably was, for clerical incomes included more than the tithe of corn, wool and lambs. In addition, there was the value of glebe and monastic holdings, the revenue from the small tithes of cider, flax, hemp, pigs, geese and poultry, together with oblations, mortuary fees and other items. Some discrepancy, however, arose from changed agricultural conditions, most notably a reduction in the acreage of cultivated lands between 1291 and 1341. In many instances, the value of the ninth in 1341 was lower than that of the tithe in 1291 in part because *terre jacent inculte et seminari solebant*.

¹ *Nonarum Inquisitiones in Curia Scaccarii*, ed. by G. Vanderzee (Record Commissioners, 1807), pp. 350-94; Anonymous, 'The Inquests of Ninths, 1340-1' in *Sussex Notes and Queries*, vol. 2 (1928-9), pp. 250-1; W. H. Blaauw, 'Remarks on the Nonae of 1340, as relating to Sussex' in *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. 1 (1848), pp. 58-64.

² *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate Papae Nicolai IV circa 1291*, ed. by J. Caley and S. Ayscough (Record Commissioners, 1802).

The amount of untilled land in each Sussex parish was usually recorded in acres, sometimes in carucates and virgates, and sometimes in vague terms. It has therefore been possible to construct a map, based on the *Nonarum Inquisitiones*, depicting the approximate location and, in many instances, the acreage of land recorded as having gone out of cultivation between 1291 and 1341 (Fig. 1). This is not the first time that the 1341 returns for Sussex have been represented cartographically. In 1931, R. A. Pelham published a map showing the 1341 valuations of corn, wool and lambs in each parish, which demonstrated the overwhelming predominance of corn growing even among settlements in the chalk-zone, long-regarded as primarily a sheep-raising region.¹ Pelham also used the valuation of wool to estimate the number of sheep in each parish in Sussex in 1341: he constructed a map showing the distribution of sheep in the county in relation to its geology, demonstrating that there was a marked concentration of sheep on the South Downs and on the coastal plain around Chichester.² E. M. Yates has more recently shown that there was in western Sussex a positive relationship between the values of corn, wool and lambs in 1341 and soil fertility. He has produced maps showing that the highest valuations were recorded in parishes on the most fertile soils, the lowest valuations in parishes on the least fertile soils.³ In these studies, only incidental reference was made to the decline in values since 1291 because of a reduction in the cultivated area.

This aspect of the returns was investigated in the Weald by J. L. M. Gulley.⁴ This unpublished study includes a map showing changes in prosperity in the Kent and Sussex Weald between 1291 and 1341, and Gulley's conclusion is of great interest. He found that in some instances (Hellingly, Ticehurst, Heathfield, Burwash), parishes which included uncultivated land in 1341 had declined in their tax-paying capacity during the previous 50 years. At Hooe and Ninfield not only had marshes been inundated but upland arable lay untilled because of the poverty of parishioners and the total valuation in both parishes had fallen. In other parishes, Gulley found that the existence of untilled land was not always indicative of a declining prosperity. At Itchingfield, where over 350 acres lay uncultivated in 1341, the valuation was higher than in 1291 and this was true also of Rudgwick, where over 300 acres lay untilled, and of four parishes (Brede, Icklesham, Pett and Fair-

¹ R. A. Pelham, 'Studies in the historical geography of medieval Sussex' in *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. 72 (1931), pp. 157-184.

² R. A. Pelham, 'The distribution of sheep in Sussex in the early fourteenth century' in *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. 75 (1934), pp. 128-135.

³ E. M. Yates, 'Medieval assessments in north-west Sussex' in *Trans. of the Inst. of Brit. Geographers*, vol. 20 (1954), pp. 75-92 and 'The Nonae Rolls and soil fertility' in *Sussex Notes and Queries*, vol. 15 (1958-62), pp. 325-8.

⁴ J. L. M. Gulley, 'The Wealden landscape in the early seventeenth century and its antecedents', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London (1960), pp. 345-8 and 504-7.

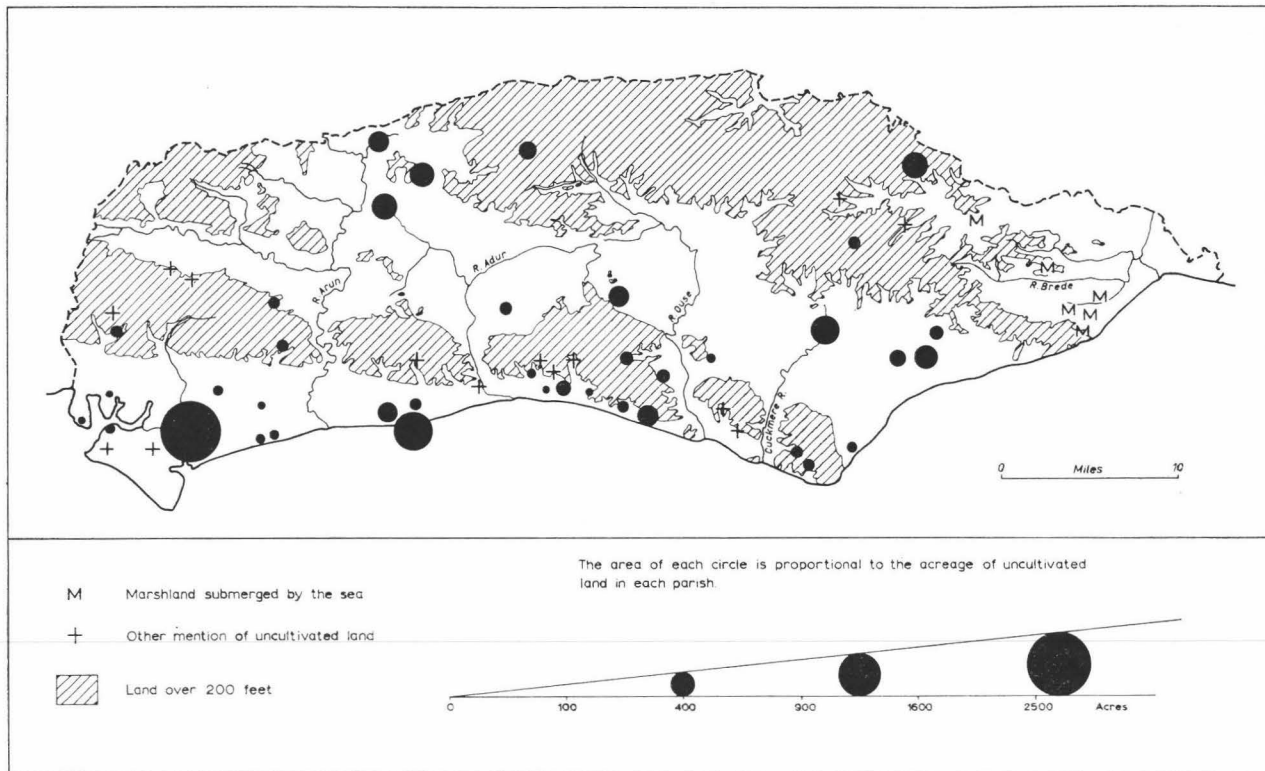


FIG. 1

light) which had lost land to the sea. There was no significant change in prosperity, 1291-1341, at Etchingham and Mayfield, which had lands untilled, nor at Salehurst, Wartling and Guestling, where land lay submerged. On the other hand, parishes like Pulborough had declined in their valuation though their returns made no mention of land going out of cultivation. In the two parishes where untilled land was specifically attributed to poverty, the valuation had declined; but land went out of cultivation for other reasons, many less connected with general prosperity—hence the variable relationship between untilled land and general prosperity. In at least five instances, land had been lost by imparking; and in Burwash, supplementary documentation shows that while some land reverted to waste, other was newly enclosed. Gulley concluded: 'It is thus hardly possible to regard the scattered instances of *terra frisca* in the 1341 returns as the first signs of a general decline; the period between 1291 and 1341, the early fourteenth century, was one of general stability in the condition of Wealden agriculture.' Gulley's perceptive study thus serves as a caution against taking all the instances of untilled land as being indicative of declining prosperity.

The map (Fig. 1), however, shows that in 1341 there were far fewer instances of untilled lands in the Weald of Sussex than elsewhere in the county. It suggests, in fact, that the stability of Wealden agriculture was not paralleled throughout the county. In extra-Wealden Sussex, most instances of uncultivated lands were in two locations: along the coast and around the South Downs.

In addition to the submergence by the sea of unspecified amounts of marshland in six parishes on the Brede and Rother river systems in eastern Sussex,¹ a further 3,790 acres of land, together with other lands of unknown acreages, were recorded in 1341 as having been flooded since 1291. At Hooe, in the Pevensey Levels, 400 acres had been flooded; in Bishopstone, at the seaward end of the Ouse gap, unspecified lands had been submerged.² But incursions by the sea had been most frequent and extensive along the Chichester coastal plain: from Brighton westwards, land had been lost to the sea in 14 parishes, the amounts involved ranging from 20 acres at Chidham through 150 acres at Hove to 2,700 acres at Pagham.³ Altogether, some 4,000 or more acres of agricultural land in Sussex had been inundated. This reduction in the acreage of cultivated

¹ The six parishes were Brede, Fairlight, Guestling, Icklesham, Pett and Salehurst: G. Vanderzee, *op. cit.*, pp. 352-3 and 372-3.

² *ibid.*, pp. 358 and 371.

³ The 14 parishes were, from east to west, Brighton (40 acres submerged), Hove (150 acres), Aldrington (40 acres), Portslade (60 acres), Lancing (land), West Tarring in Broadwater (land), Middleton (60 acres), Barnham (40 acres), Felpham (60 acres of land and 40 acres of pasture), Pagham (2,700 acres), Sidlesham (land), West Wittering (land), Chidham (20 acres) and West Thorney (20 acres of arable and 20 acres of pasture): *ibid.*, pp. 357, 360, 366, 368, 369, 385, 386 and 389.

lands must be ascribed largely to natural disasters rather than considered as indicating the onset of any general retrenchment in agriculture—although neglect of drainage channels and embankments might have been a factor facilitating the flooding.

Around the South Downs, the *Nonarum Inquisitiones* show that land had been abandoned for a variety of reasons. At Friston and Eastdean, where a total of 200 acres lay untilled, a contributory factor was fear of attacks by the French.¹ At Ovingdean, 100 acres lay waste, destroyed by rabbit burrowing.² A cause more generally cited by the local jurors was soil poverty: at Iford 110 acres lay untilled partly *propter debilitatem terrarum* and at Hangleton many lands were *steriles*.³ Soil poverty was also called to account at Bepton, Cocking, Heighton Street and Streat.⁴ But the most commonly cited reason for the abandonment of arable lands was the poverty of parishioners, associated in some places with a lack of tenants. At Goring, in addition to 150 acres destroyed by the sea, some 900 acres, including part of the demesne, lay unsown *propter defectu hosebondrie et propter impotentiam tenentium*; at Hooe in addition to land flooded by the sea, one-third of the upland arable lay untilled *pre defectu et paupertate parochianorum*; at Stoughton 100 acres lay uncultivated because some of the tenants had gone and others were impoverished.⁵ Poverty of tenants was called to account for abandoned lands in 11 other parishes⁶ and it may also have been a cause in some of the inland parishes whose returns give no reason at all for the contraction of their cultivated areas. In Sussex as a whole, the *Nonarum Inquisitiones* record 5,619½ acres of formerly cultivated land as lying untilled. A further 9 carucates, 7 virgates and various unspecified lands were in a similar condition. Altogether, some 6,000 or more acres of agricultural land had been abandoned during the half-century before 1341, some of which lay untilled because tenants had become either poorer in resources or fewer in numbers.

The *Nonarum Inquisitiones* for Sussex give a clear picture of the rising level of the sea in the early fourteenth century; but they also provide a glimpse of the receding tide of medieval land colonisation.

¹ *ibid.*, pp. 354-5. ² *ibid.*, p. 384. ³ *ibid.*, pp. 384-5.

⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 360, 361, 376 and 381. ⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 371, 389 and 390.

⁶ The 11 other parishes were Billingshurst, Eastdean, Falmer, Friston, Iford, Ninfield, Patcham, Rottingdean, Sutton, Up Marden and West Blatchington: *ibid.*, pp. 354, 355, 358, 364, 371, 384, 385 and 388.

AMBERLEY MOUNT; Its Agricultural Story from the Late Bronze Age

By H. B. A. and M. M. RATCLIFFE-DENSHAM

Solent et subterraneos specus aperire . . . quia rigorem frigoris ejus modi locis molliunt. Tacitus. *Germania*: 16.

Three hills join one another, in line, to form the northern massif of the South Downs as it rises from the east side of the Arun valley. They are named consecutively, from west to east, Downs Farm Hill, Amberley Mount and Rackham Hill. Their steep, north slopes are continuous, and form part of the main, North escarpment of the Downs. (Fig. 1). Their gentler, southern slopes are separated from each other by two coombes, Medley Bottom and Grevitt's Bottom. Medley Bottom runs south-westwards from the west of Rackham Hill; it separates the south-eastern slope of Amberley Mount from a south-western spur of Rackham Hill. Grevitt's Bottom runs south-south-eastwards from the col between Downs Farm Hill and Amberley Mount to join Medley Bottom; it separates the south-western slope of Amberley Mount from the south-eastern slope of Downs Farm Hill.

The group is separated from Camp Hill and the rest of the Downs to the south by another coombe, called Stoke Bottom, which runs south and then westwards from the south of Rackham Hill, to end in the Arun Valley, south of Amberley station.

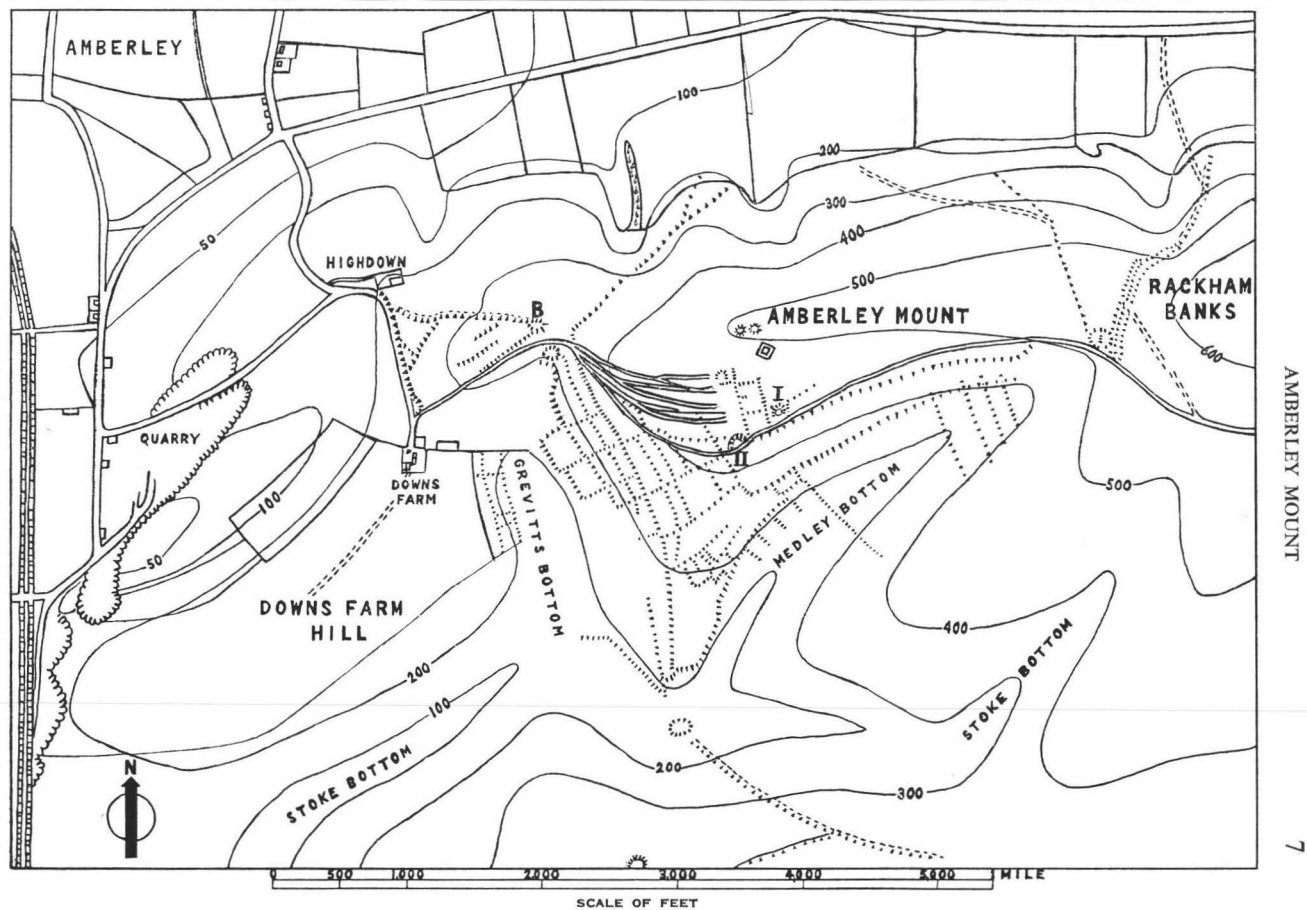
To the east of Rackham Hill the massif continues as Springhead Hill, where the open down becomes more wooded. At the other end, most of the western end of Downs Farm Hill has been removed by quarrying. (Fig. 1). To the south, Medley and Grevitt's Bottoms join one another to enter Stoke Bottom near its middle.

An ancient road leaves the Arun valley to the north of Amberley station and ascends the western side of Downs Farm Hill, between two quarries, as far as a house called Highdown, about half way up. Thence it continues, as a terrace-way, up to a barrow (Fig. 1/B) on the col between Downs Farm Hill and Amberley Mount. This road is crossed, near Highdown, by another one which climbs the hill in a southerly direction from Amberley village to Downs Farm. Both roads are called Mill Lane. In this context, the Doctors Curwen mentioned a windmill steading on the col to the north-east of Downs Farm.¹

On the col stood three lynchets. When it was ploughed, together with the above mentioned terrace-way, there was a scatter of Roman potsherds, which was especially thick on the terrace-way.

The late Mr. Tom Pepper stated verbally that several Roman

¹ Drs. E. and E. C. Curwen. 'Notes on the Archaeology of Burpham,' in *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (abbreviated to *S.A.C.* in all later refs.), vol. 63, p. 50.



AMBERLEY MOUNT

7

FIG. 1. Amberley Mount: Plan of Field System.

burials, with associated pottery were found on the site of Highdown when he was having it built. Unfortunately the finds were not preserved.

A "puddle" pond (Fig. 1/p) lies some 30 yds. south of the barrow "B" on the col, to the east of the head of Grevitt's Bottom. A bridle path from Downs farm passes between the barrow and the pond, where it divides into three. One branch passes down the north side of Amberley Mount as a Terrace Way, described by the Doctors Curwen.¹ Another branch, possibly the original Greenway along the escarpment, climbs straight over the top of Amberley Mount to cross the north end of the bank on Rackham Hill; it skirts the north sides of the two surviving round barrows on the top of Amberley Mount.² The third branch skirts the south side of Amberley Mount, and runs eastwards to cross the south end of the bank on Rackham Hill; it gives off secondary branches from its north side just to the east of the pond. Three secondary branches become deep, sunken tracks between raised banks, which cross the south face of Amberley Mount, one above the other, from west to east, to fade out before reaching Rackham Hill. Nine other secondary tracts ramify between the three on the west slope of the Mount, running in the same general direction, but dividing and re-uniting like the nerves of a plexus. These are shown on the air photograph (Plate I), with the pond near the upper, left corner, but are omitted from the survey (Fig. 1) for the sake of clarity.

The south slope of Amberley Mount, between Medley and Grevitt's Bottoms, is roughly triangular and runs down to a rather pointed headland, where the two coombes converge to join Stoke Bottom. The late Dr. Eliot Curwen mentioned a Celtic field system in this area.³ He also mentioned a number of depressed areas, high up on the south-east face of the Mount, below a square dewpond (Fig. 1 and Plate II) and the two round barrows which are cited above.² Dr. Curwen found that the depressions were "bose" to percussion, and suggested that they might be hut sites, associated with the field system.

In 1957 the whole of the south slope of the Mount was covered by the outlines of a Celtic field system which reached up as far as the level of the sunken tracks, and extended into both Medley and Grevitt's Bottoms. The whole area was, however, being ploughed (Plate I), except for the northern escarpment and the region of the sunken tracks on the western slope. The depressions below the square pond, mentioned by Dr. Curwen, were almost ploughed out, except for two (Fig. 1/I & II). Many of the lynchets were disappearing also. No published plan of the system existed, so it

¹ See p. 6, note 1.

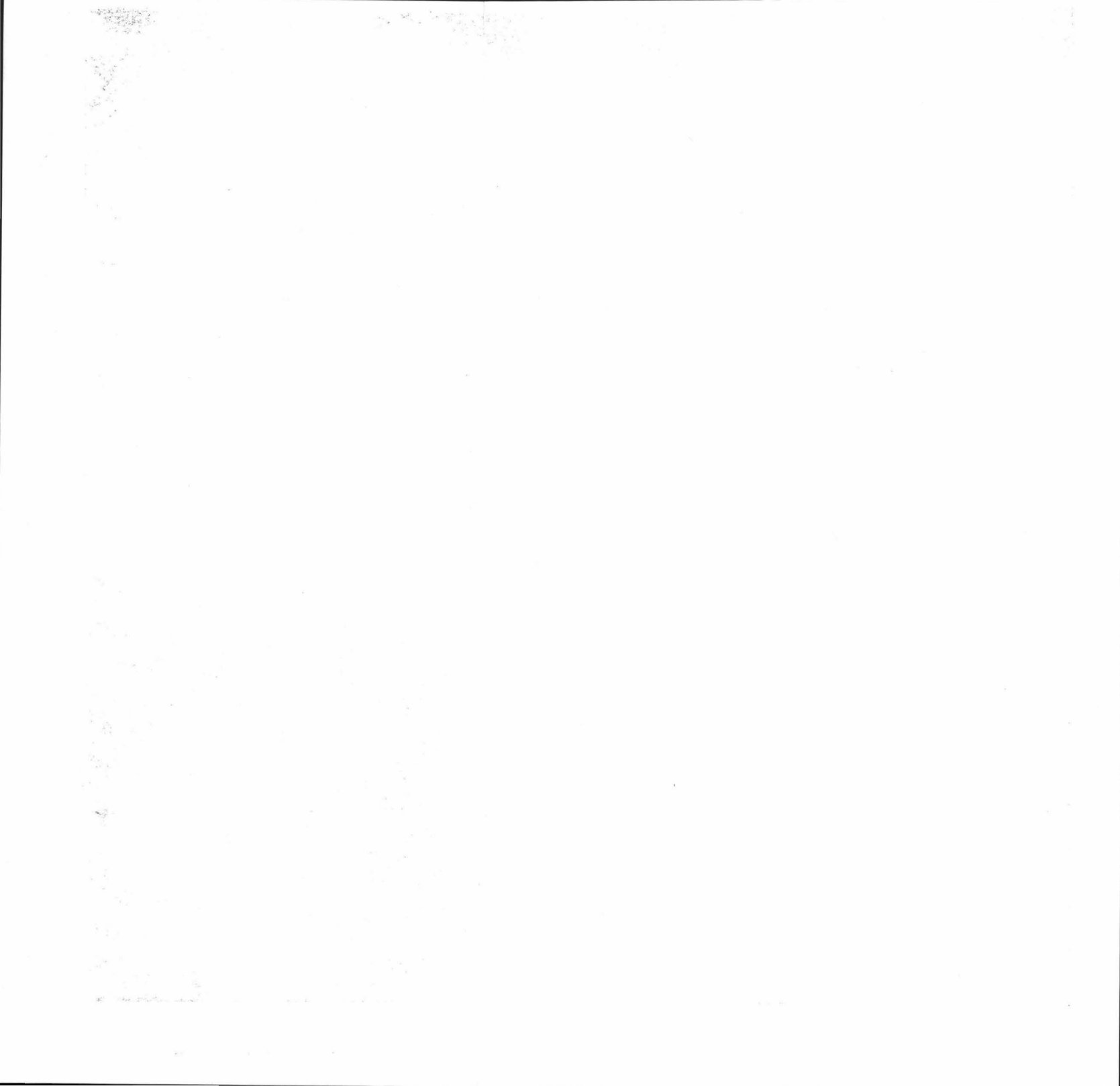
² L. V. Grinsell. 'Sussex Barrows,' in *S.A.C.*, vol. 75, p. 249.

³ Dr. E. Curwen. 'Rackham Bank and Earthwork,' in *S.A.C.*, vol. 73, p. 173.



PLATE I

Amberley Mount during ploughing. *Air photo*: Lynchets black; hut sites ringed in white. [North is at the top of the picture]



was decided to survey it, and to excavate two of the depressions (Fig. 1/I & II), which appeared to be integrated with it.

The system seemed to have covered, originally, an area of between 80 and 90 acres. The map reference is—TQ037 to TQ049 E-W and TQ117 to TQ125 N-S.

In 1957 it was possible to make out 35 lynchets, of which four were on the col between Downs Farm Hill and Amberley Mount, while nine ran down into Medley Bottom. The 22 lynchets on the triangular, south slope of the Mount divided it into 20 fields, of which six were further sub-divided into terraces along the side of Grevitt's Bottom, making 30 units in all. In addition the nine lynchets in Medley Bottom were continuous with the main system, and enclosed seven strips.

The majority of the fields were rectangular, varied in size between one and three acres, and lay between the 200 and the 400ft. contours, in the *Terebratulina lata* zone of the chalk. This upper zone of the Middle Chalk formed the bedrock of the whole system, including the coombes and col between Downs Farm Down and Amberley Mount, as far up as the 400ft. contour; it is relatively free from flints and is broken up by seams of marl, so that it could be worked by a plough without an iron share or a coulter.

The top of Amberley Mount, where the square pond, the barrows and the depressions lay, is formed by the *Holaster planus* Chalk with a capping of tertiary debris. This bottom zone of the Upper Chalk is different from the subjacent *Terebratulina lata* zone. It is hard, nodular, and full of irregular masses of flints with thick crusts. When the farmers, Messrs. Lee, first ploughed the upper part of the south-east slope of the Mount between the 400ft. contour and the square pond they broke a great number of plough-shares, and the surface of the hillside appeared to be covered with stones. It would have been quite impracticable to have ploughed this surface without the aid of a steel share, wheels and a coulter, so that it was not surprising that the lynchets faded out above the 400ft. contour.

The fields were littered with "pot-boilers" and potsherds of the Roman, Iron and Late Bronze ages. Three sherds of the late Bronze or Early Iron Age were found in the lynchet which formed part of the side of Depression II.

HUT I

The Centre of Depression I, the first to be excavated, was 337ft., on bearing of 174 deg. (true) from the centre of the south bank of the square pond (Fig. 1) (Grid reference TQ04271235) (Plate II).

The slope had been ploughed from the square pond above to the bridle path below, and from 80ft. to the east to 380ft. to the west of the depression. Faint outlines of two of the sunken tracks could be made out on the ground, passing respectively 30ft. above and 65ft. below the depression. In addition there were traces of

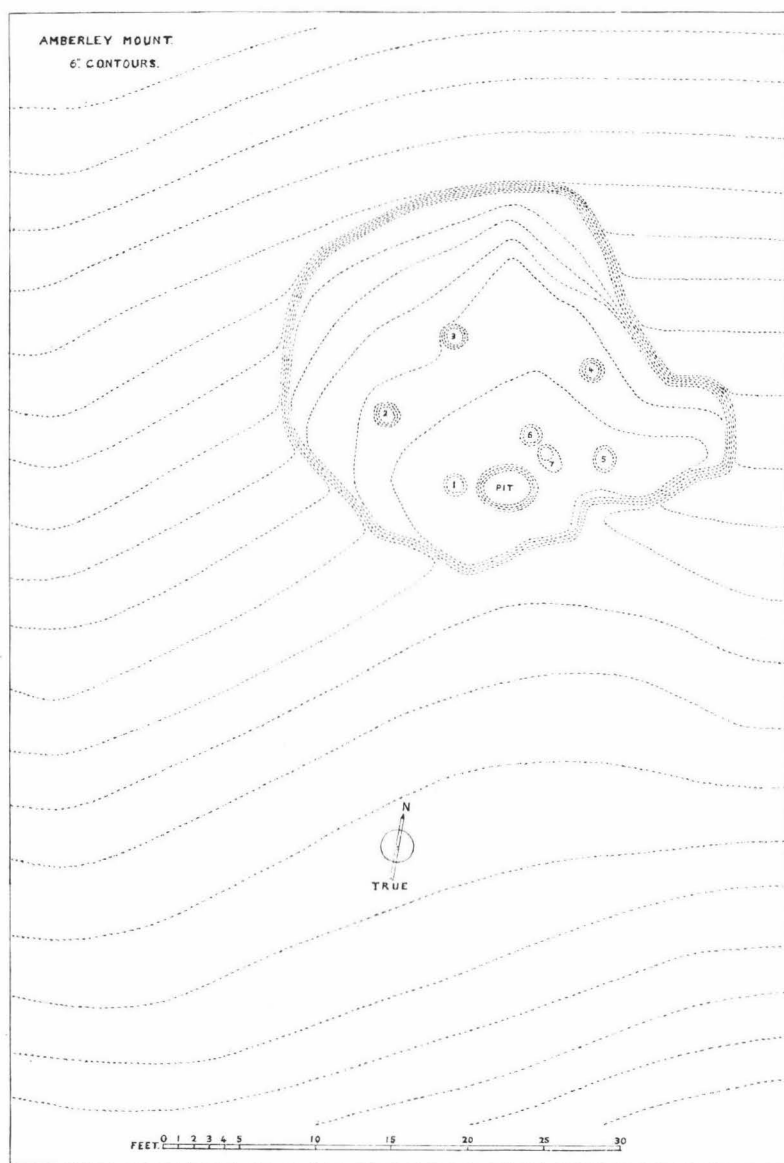


FIG. 2
Hut I: Plan. 6in. contours.

three other depressions situated respectively—200ft. 219 deg. (true) and 94ft. 189 deg. from the centre of depression I, and 250ft. 234½ deg., from the centre of the west bank of the square pond.

Careful examination of some air photographs, taken at the time, showed, in defiance of all probability, marks of four ancient field boundaries in the stony soil. One of these appeared to cross the top of Depression I. (Fig. 1 and Plate I).

Excavation of Depression I revealed a sunken, roughly circular platform, 26ft. in diameter, which was cut back into the hillside (Fig. 2 and Plate II). The platform was almost flat and had a downward slope to the south of 1:16. As the hill had a downward slope of about 1:6 at that point, it meant that the north face of the cutting which was 4½ft. high, was 2½ft. higher than the 2ft. of the south one.

The southern and eastern part of the platform had been occupied by a small, oval hut with a N-S diameter of 14ft. and an E-W one of 16ft. (Fig. 2 and Plate III). The smooth, chalk floor of the hut was outlined by rougher chalk and by 5 main post holes. The outline of the north-east sector was completed by two shallow post holes. Another, deeper post hole, marked on Plate III by a measuring pole, was cut into the base of the south-west face in a downward and outward direction. It must have held a timber buttress, lying obliquely against the lower, south wall of the structure, to take the downward thrust caused by the slope of the base. Alternatively, the timber may have formed part of the actual substance of the wall, if it was built on the batter in this sector, like a wigwam. A stake hole, about 2in. in diameter and 4in. deep, lay on either side of the north post hole (Fig. 2, no. 3). They are not clear on Plate III.

A fire pit lay just inside the apparent south perimeter of the hut, near post hole 1 (Fig. 2). It was roughly oval, with its long diameter (3ft.) E-W, its east end slightly flattened, and its N-S diameter 30in. long. Its depth was 20in. and it contained mainly burnt wood, which had blackened its floor and sides. Additional contents of this pit were pot-boilers, burnt and unburnt fragments of animal bone, flints and coarse gritted potsherds, all stained black by the wood charcoal.

Two other, shallower post holes (Fig. 2, nos. 6 and 7) were situated close to the east side of the pit. They may have held part of an entrance, a partition, or a frame for supporting a cooking pot.

A path, about a foot wide, was cut into the chalk wall of the platform; it commenced outside the south-east sector of the hut and partly circumambulated it in a clockwise direction, climbing as it did so, to end outside the north-west sector, about 18in. below the surface of the hillside (Plate III).

The depression was filled with flints beneath a foot of black loam. The flints lay in a matrix of black soil, together with some chalk

rubble which gradually replaced them towards the periphery and on the floor of the cutting. The whole filling was impregnated with wood charcoal which had infiltrated into the cracks in the chalk floor. Many of the flints showed signs of fire and among them were many hundreds of pot-boilers. Bony debris of domestic animals and coarse potsherds were present in profusion, especially in the flinty layer. Numerous pieces of querns occurred, mostly in the lower levels; all that were identifiable were flattened saucer or saddle shaped; most were of grey sandstone, some of greensand.

The surface layer of black loam contained a number of Roman and Late Iron Age sherds, together with some of the Bronze and Early Iron Age; the former were not present below the top of the main flint filling.

Great numbers of small, worn, cuboidal pebbles of reddish-purple, ferruginous sandstone were interspersed through the filling; they closely resembled carstone, but were, actually, derived from adjacent tertiary capping.

Quantities of snail and some mussel shells were present, mainly in the lower layers. Flint artifacts and fragments of baked clay also occurred.

On the actual floor of the platform the matrix of the filling altered, towards the periphery, to yellow clay. In contact with the floor were parts of three querns, both upper and lower stones; potsherds of the Late Bronze Age; bones of ox and sheep; a hammer stone; a "strike-a-light"; a flint sickle; mussel shells; baked clay (possibly loom weight); pot boilers and much charcoal.

The post holes had been cut with a sharp, flat tool, and were often polyhedral rather than circular; they averaged 18in. to 20in. in diameter, and 12in. to 18in. in depth, and were all carefully packed with large flints which were often tabular.

Post hole 2 (Fig. 2) was cut accurately, with a section 10in. square at the bottom. It contained one Late Bronze Age potsherd, some pieces of animals' bone and some of charred oak.

Post hole 3 contained sherds of small, Late Bronze Age pot and charred wood.

Post hole 4 contained only a little charred wood.

Post hole 5 contained a few Late Bronze Age sherds and some charred wood.

The evidence can be interpreted as follows: The surface flints were removed from a circular area at the edge of a field, the diameter of the circle being about 36ft. A circular platform, some 26ft. in diameter was cut into the hillside. The chalk filling was piled round to raise the sides, which were then revetted with the flints. A wooden hut was built on the platform; it was oval in shape, with a lean-to entrance at the south and a fire pit by the entrance. The footings of the walls were probably strengthened with flints. At least one fire was lighted at the back of the hut, between post holes

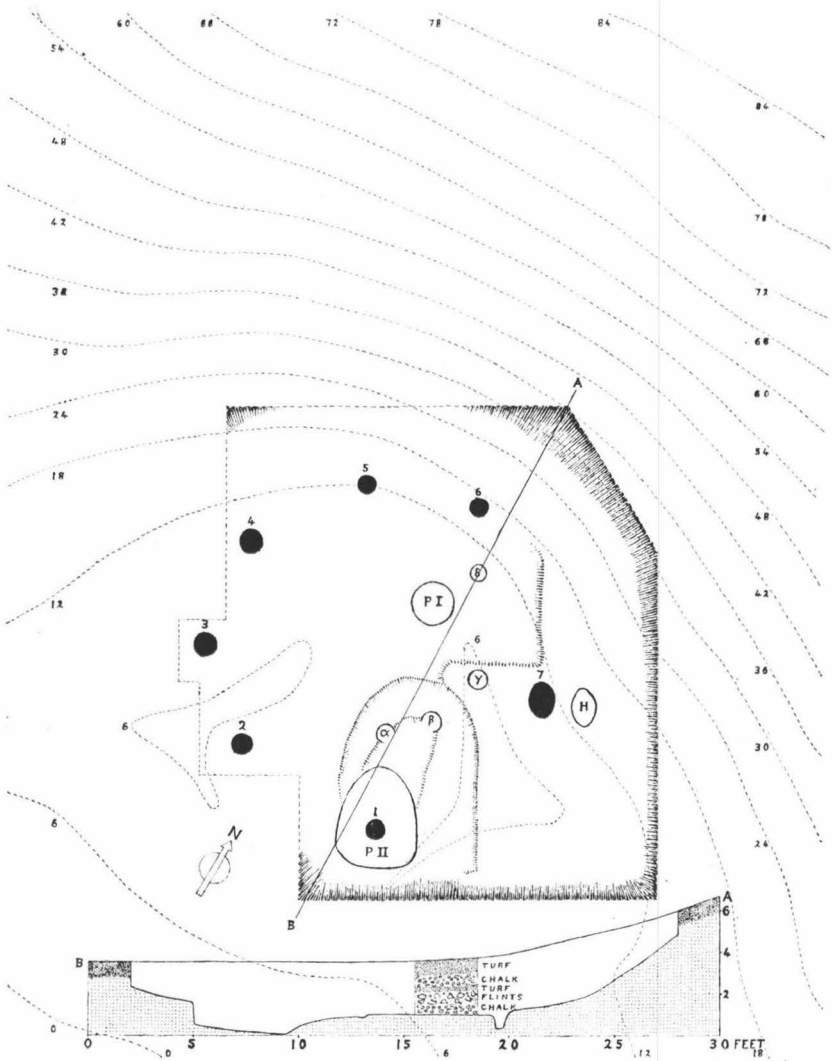


FIG. 3
Hut II: Plan. 6in. contours.

3 and 4 (Fig. 2). It was occupied long enough for a path to be worn round the west and the north sides, and was then burnt down. The chalk sides collapsed and the flint revetment fell into the depression. At the end of the Iron Age another fire or fires was lighted in the depression.

HUT II

This was very similar to Hut I; its position being revealed by a circular depression about 30ft. in diameter, whose north-western side formed part of a lynchet. The centre of this depression was 450ft. on a true bearing of 223 deg. from the centre of Hut I (Fig. 1) (Grid reference TQ04171230): It abutted on the north side of the bridle path which traversed the upper part of the field system.

Excavation of this depression disclosed a second turf line about 18in. below the surface one and separated from it by flinty chalk rubble. There lay on the second turf line: remains of many fires, including charred gorse and old newspaper; skeletal remains of several lambs; an old "Valor" stove; an estate boundary stone; rusty nails; pot-boilers and potsherds of the Roman, Iron and Bronze ages. This was explained by the presence, 40yds. further on, by the side of the path, of a mouldering shed on iron wheels as used by shepherds at lambing time during last century.

Eighteen inches below the second turf line, separated from it by flints and chalk rubble in a matrix of loam, was a roughly circular platform cut into the hill. This floor, which averaged some 25ft. in diameter, was slightly concave, like the bottom of a Norman cooking pot. It had formed the base of a circular hut, which was represented by a ring of seven main post holes, with a shallow pit at its southern perimeter (Fig. 3). Two other holes, alpha and beta, and post-hole 1, which was actually in the pit, may have supported a cooking tripod, as in Hut I. Two other stake holes, gamma and delta, and another pit (Fig. 3/P.I), may have supported some internal fittings. Alternatively, the stake-holes may have held shepherds' hurdles of later date. Pit I was certainly contemporary with the hut; it contained sherds of Late Bronze or Early Iron age date, charred wood, animal bone and pot-boilers in a matrix of dark soil.

The filling of the depression below the second turf line was not clearly stratified in a horizontal plane, except that the proportion of chalk rubble tended to increase, and that of flint and ferruginous sandstone to decrease near the chalk floor, until the main filling of the large pit (Fig. 3/P.II), consisted of charred wood and chalk rubble. Pot-boilers, snails, burnt wood, burnt and unburnt fragments of animals' bones, potsherds of the Late Bronze age, mussel shells and pieces of quern occurred at all levels: they were found on the chalk floor and in the large pit II, but faded out beyond the limits of the hut.

A shallow depression in the floor, just north of the large pit II, was almost covered by red, baked clay which might have been burnt daub

or pulverised loom or thatch weight. This depression was lined with chalk sludge and contained two broken quernstones together with sherds of the Late Bronze Age. Holes alpha and beta were cut into its edge. Hole alpha was full of pot-boilers. Hole beta was filled with dark soil, and besides packing flints, it contained charred wood, a polished flint knife, a mussel shell, and Late Bronze Age sherds, including a rim and part of a bucket shaped pot with a boss (Vessel 15).

All the main post holes were well cut and roughly circular; they averaged 12in. to 15in. in depth and 12in. to 18in. in diameter. All contained packing flints; most held a little burnt wood near the bottom. Several holes, including Nos. 1-4 and 6 contained Late Bronze Age sherds. Hole 5 contained a pot-boiler. Hole 6 had quern fragments in its packing. The post in hole 7 had apparently worked loose, and been buttressed by another in hole H. A chalk spindle whorl lay a few inches above the floor, near hole 5 (Fig. 4).

Much of the skeleton of a horse lay not far above the floor, in association with charred wood, Late Bronze Age sherds, snails, large flints and ferruginous sandstone, just outside the hut, near hole 4.

Pit I was only about 20in. in diameter and contained a number of large packing flints; it may well have held a central post to support the tip of a conical roof.

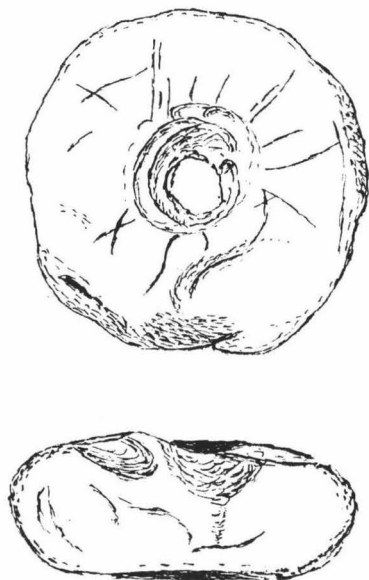


FIG. 4. Spindle Whorl
(Full size drawing)

Although the filling of this depression contained a great mass of flints and sandstone pebbles, they lay mostly in the middle layer, so that there was less evidence to connect them with the footings of the hut or with the revetment of the sides than was the case with Hut I.

In the main, however, the two huts were alike in size, shape and structure and they appear to have been roughly contemporary with one another.

THE POTTERY

Most of this was exceedingly coarse, and all of it was hand made, except for a few sherds from wheel turned vessels of the Roman and the Late Iron Age which occurred near the surface. The unevenly

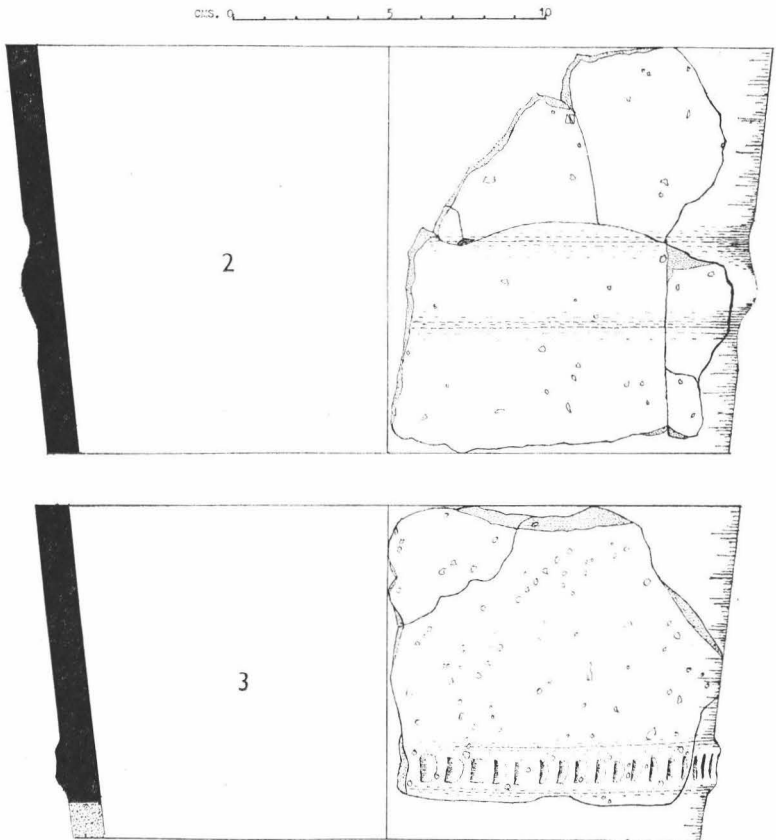


FIG. 6
Early Iron age or Late Bronze age buckets.



PLATE II. Hut 1 and Square Pond

Air Photo: View from South showing bank running eastwards from hut and another further north.



PLATE III. Hut 1

Air Photo: The pit is in the south sector of the hut.



PLATE IV

Olla: 2nd cent., near surface, Hut II



PLATE V

Mug: common basic form on most sites of Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age in Sussex.

fired pots of badly mixed clay, backed by coarse flint grit, had been severely crushed by the filling of large flints. There were between two and three thousand sherds in the two depressions, of which the great majority were less than 2in. in diameter and very worn. Only two vessels (Plates IV and V) could be rebuilt; while a score could be partly reconstructed.¹ The curvature of the greater number of them was so irregular that the diameters at different levels, which had to be calculated from measured arcs, were often only approximate. Thus the slopes of the sides of the barrel (no. 9) and the bowl (no. 8) which were calculated from a series of arcs measured on rather small sherds may not be accurate. No. 16 may have been drawn upside down because the sherd had no curvature in the horizontal plane.

Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages

All the sherds from the post holes, pits, hut floors and from the lower filling could be assigned to the above periods. Where sherds were sufficiently large for those of the Late Bronze to be distinguished from those of the Early Iron Age it was found impossible to discern any spatial separation of one group from the other. Therefore, on the ceramic evidence, both of the huts were in use during the period of transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age in that part of the country.

Vessel 1. Transitional from bi-conical to Deverel bucket. Surface and paste both tarmac colour. Both surfaces smoothed. Evenly fired. Grey and white patinated, medium flint backing. Soft, smooth paste. Left part of drawing compressed laterally.¹

Vessel 2. Straight sided bucket. Rougher and more buff coloured, but otherwise similar to No. 1. Girth band pushed up between two grooves.²

Vessel 3. Straight sided bucket. Outer surface buff coloured and rough, with vertical finger smears. Hard, buff, evenly fired paste. Grey and white patinated, small flint backing. Finger-nail imprints on applied girth band. Inner surface sooted.²

Vessel 4. Straight sided bucket. Rough, badly mixed and badly fired paste. Otherwise similar to No. 3.³

Vessel 5. Plain rim of small barrel. Outer surface red-buff and grey coloured and rough with finger-tip impression below rim and vertical finger smear. Paste buff and grey, badly mixed and unevenly fired. Profuse, medium sized, grey and white patinated flint backing.¹

Vessel 6. Mid section of barrel. Uneven surfaces: buff coloured, with some sooting of the inner one; vertical finger smears of the outer one. White patinated, large and small flint backing. Possible pictograph on left of the sherd. Left part of the drawing compressed laterally.¹

Vessel 7. Upper part of a straight-sided barrel, with plain rim applied separately. Soft, buff, ill-fired paste. Smooth, tarmac coloured surfaces, with light finger smears. White patinated, large and small flint backing.¹

Vessel 8. Upper part of rough bowl or bucket, from hole 1, Hut II. Uneven rim and surfaces. Tarmac colour right through. Badly mixed and fired paste. Large and small, white patinated flint backing.¹

¹ Copies of drawings of these are available at Barbican House.

² Illustrated, Fig. 6.

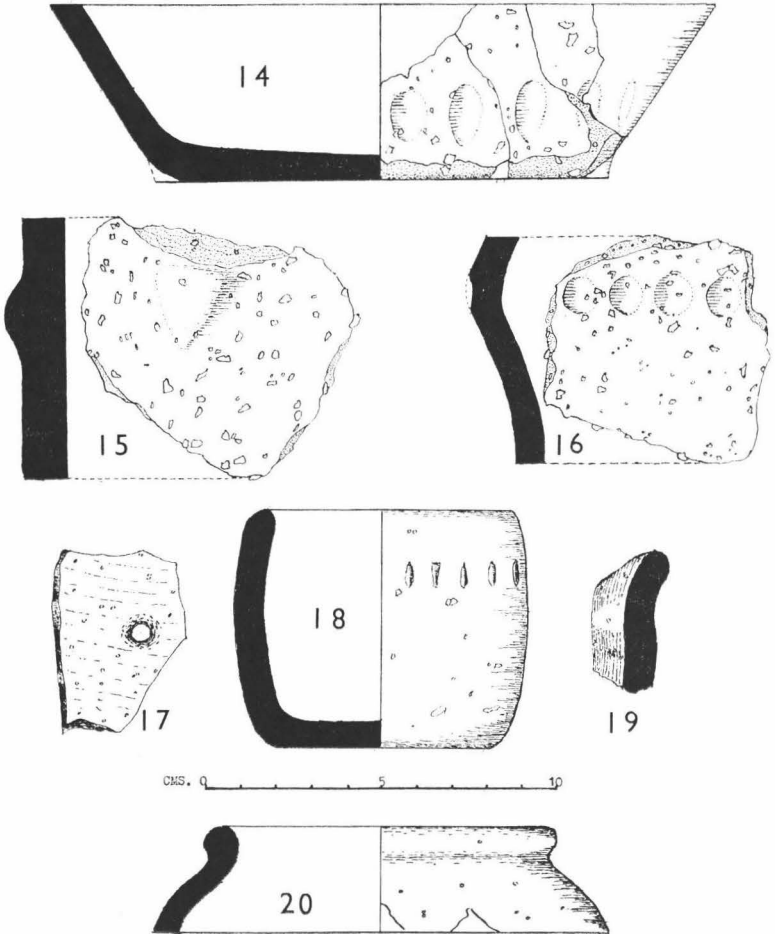


FIG. 7
Various Vessels: Early Iron Age.

Vessel 9. Upper part of a barrel, with even, rounded rim and a horizontal row of finger-nail impressions two inches below it on the body of the pot. Buff colour at the rim and burnt grey-black below it. Grey and white patinated, small and medium sized flint backing. Rough surface and uneven firing. Hole 1. Hut II.¹

Vessel 10. Upper part of straight sided barrel with uneven, slightly flattened and splayed rim. A raised circular or semi-circular band, ornamented with finger-tip impressions, contained a finger-made depression in the outer surface, 2in. below the rim; this may have represented a handle or have formed part of a decoration. An effort had been made to smooth the buff surface. The paste was very badly mixed and fired, and contained burnt bone, shell and both cracked and white patinated flint backing.¹

Vessel 11. Rounded base. Smoothed, buff surface; sooted inside. Badly mixed and fired dark brown paste. White patinated, medium flint backing.

Vessel 12. Flat base with splayed edge. Tarmac colour except for rough brown outer surface. Marks of finger-nails splaying out the edge which was not a true foot ring. Fine, white patinated flint backing.³

Vessel 13. Flat base with very slight trace of splaying. Thumb-tip depressions on the body of the pot at varying distances above the base. The pot was out of the true when it was broken and may have had a larger diameter than that shewn. Dark brown, medium smooth, medium fired paste and lining. Buff surface. Small, white patinated flint backing.³

Vessel 14. Base, probably flat, with horizontal row of finger-tip impressions just above it, on the body. The outward splaying of the walls may have been less than is shewn. Slightly smoothed, buff surfaces, the inner one partly sooted. Fairly smooth, grey paste, with medium sized, white patinated flint backing.⁴

Vessel 15. Sherd from grey-brown, straight-sided pot, showing pyramidal boss. Ill-fired, black paste. Medium-sized, white and grey patinated flint backing.⁴

Vessel 16. Sherd from carinated pot with finger-tip impressions on the carination. Black right through, except for buff outer surface. Ill-fired. Profuse, medium sized, white patinated flint backing.⁴

Vessel 17. Sherd, showing perforation for suspension.⁴

Vessel 18 (Plate V). Small, saucer-shaped pot with row of finger-nail impressions round the body, below the rim. Buff outside, sooted inside. Grey-black paste, badly fired. Sparse, large and small, white patinated flint backing.⁴

Vessel 19. Sherd of pot with an out turned rim. Approximate diameter 17 cms. Uneven, rounded rim. Buff, sandy paste, soot-stained on the outside. Fine, white patinated flint backing.⁴

Vessel 20. Upper part of hand made, globular pot with beaded rim. Badly mixed and fired, brown paste; medium and fine, white patinated flint backing. Smooth, tarmac coloured, external slip. Sooted inside. This was low down in the filling at the back of Hut II.⁴

Plate IV was a wheel turned, brown olla with an oblique rim of typical second century form. It had a smooth, sandy evenly fired paste, with soot staining. It lay between the turf lines above Hut II, together with sherds of grey ware and a piece of the rim of a Samian cup.

¹ Illustration available at Barbican House.

³ Illustrated, Fig. 8.

⁴ Illustrated, Fig. 7.

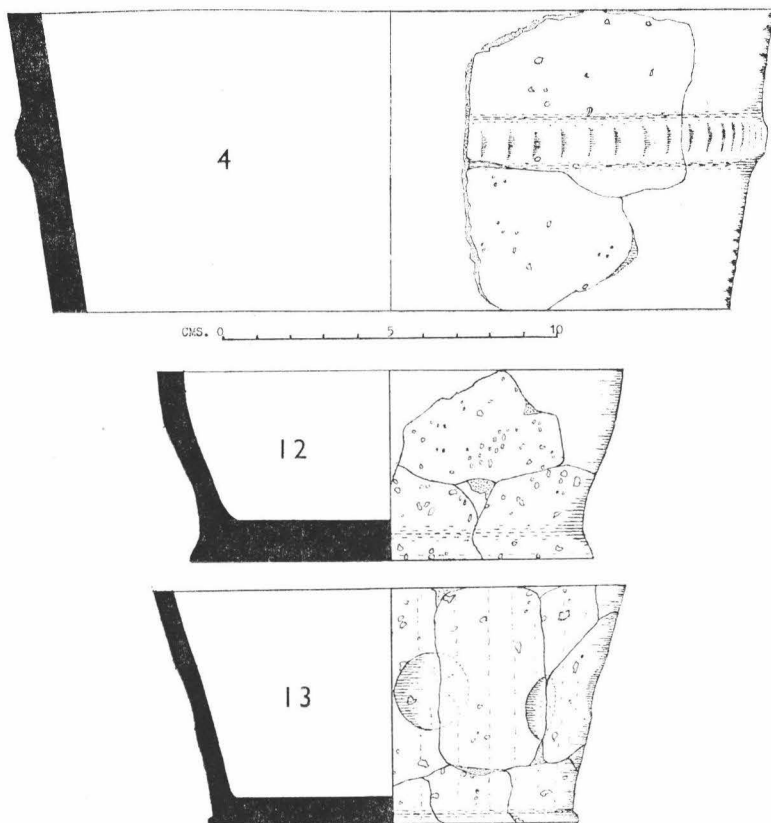


FIG. 8

No. 4. Bucket: Late Bronze Age. Nos. 12, 13. Bases: Early Iron Age.

Scattered both above and below the lower turf line in Hut II were sherds of a small, sharply carinated pot with a flat, obliquely out turned rim of typical Hallstatt form. Its backing of organic material had all disappeared, leaving it with the consistency of pumice.

A sherd of a very coarse, brown base from the floor of Hut I had a sherd of another, red pot (of the consistency of Beaker) as part of its backing.

TOOLS

A chalk spindle-whorl lay just above the floor, at the back of Hut II (Fig. 4). The grooves round the sides of the central perforation and the deep scratches radiating from it indicated that it had been

cut by a rough, flint blade from the original chalk lump. Examination of the contained foraminifera in the Geological Department of Worthing High School suggested a probable local origin for the chalk in the *Holaster planus* layer.

A small, much calcified horn core of a goat (or sheep), which was battered at the end, lay not far away and may have been used in the manner of the flint miners, like an antler tine, to start the perforation of the spindle whorl.

The broken beam of a red deer's (cast) antler, with only the brow tine attached, may have been used in digging the depression.

Two pieces of mud stone appeared to have been smoothed by use as whetstones rather than by water rolling and suggested the use of iron. No sign of bronze or iron was found in any position which could synchronize its use with the original occupation of either hut.

The seven flint tools which are illustrated (Fig. 5) were among the best of over 50 which were found on or near to the floors of the huts and in the holes and pits. They included also saws and a strike-a-light which lay near to some broken iron pyrites. All were patinated white, including the fractured surface of the axe, no. 3 in Fig. 5.

FAUNA

Sheep. At least 27 animals were represented, of which 11 were lambs; at least one being practically new born: Only four were really mature. They were smaller than those of the present day.

Cattle. A minimum of eight beasts was represented: At least two were very young. The bones were very fragmentary, but they appeared to be smaller than those of modern beasts. Butchering had been carried out inexpertly, without the aid of sharp tools.

Horses. A metacarpal and a radius of a small pony or an ass occurred low in the filling of Hut I. The teeth and much of the appendicular skeleton of another small pony were buried in the wall behind Hut II; this animal was male and old; the bones were much rotted. The upper canine of a young pony also occurred.

Pigs. Two animals were represented: an old one by some teeth, and a young one by part of a maxilla and part of a humerus.

Red Deer. A cast antler and, probably, a lower molar.

Dog or Wolf. One carnassial tooth.

Hare or Rabbit. The upper ends of two tibiae, one large and one very tiny. These appeared to be fresher than the other bones; their position was not noted.

Bird. Half a dozen unidentifiable fragments of bone occurred.

Shellfish. Many mussels, a few limpets and a cockle were found. An oyster lay in the upper filling above Hut II, among the Roman sherds.

QUERNS

There were 14 definite fragments of quern which included the major parts of four small, lower and one upper, stones. The upper stone was circular and the lower ones were irregularly oval. The grinding surfaces were flat, rather than saucer or saddle shaped.

Mr. C. J. Ainsworth reported that one of the lower stones was composed of Horsham stone from the wealden beds; another,

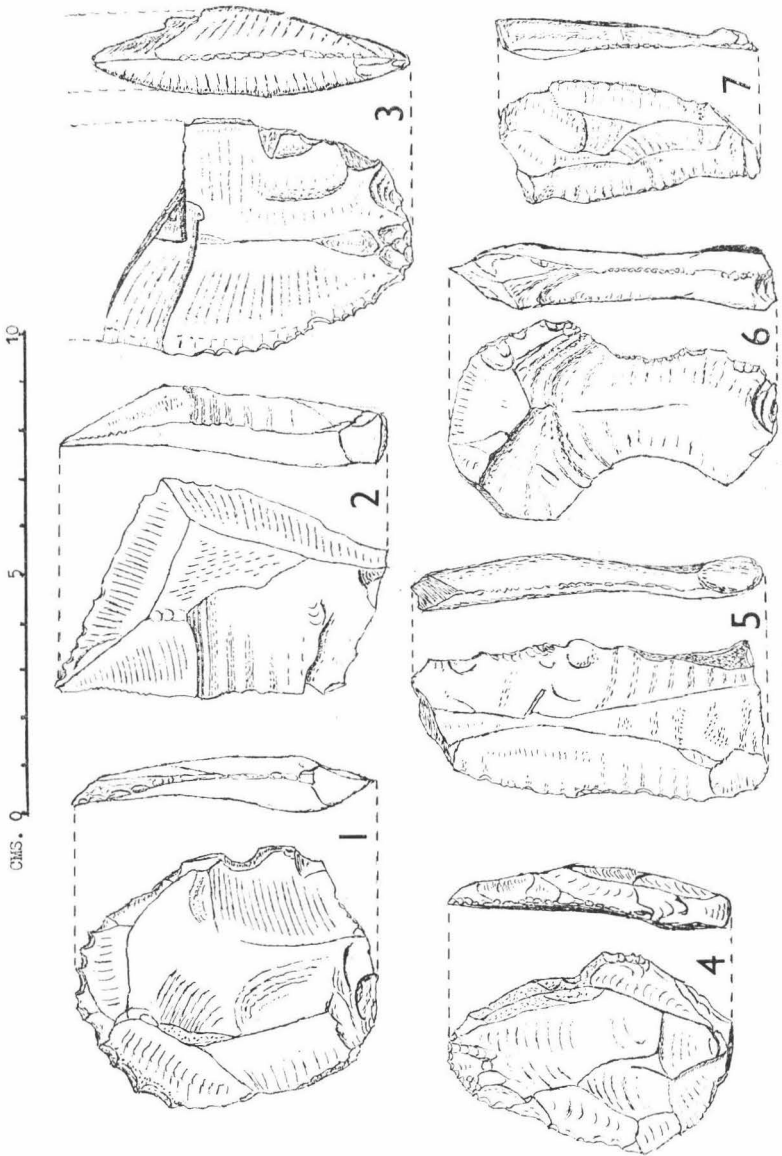


FIG. 5. Various worked flints

together with one of the fragments, was from the lower greensand. The upper stone was a (quartzite) Sarsen; the remainder were of plain sandstone, probably from tertiary, surface debris.

There were also some thousands of pebbles of a coarse, tertiary, ferruginous sandstone which closely resembled Carstone; some of these may well have been used as upper quern stones. A number of little pieces of plain sandstone had probably been broken off querns.

CHARCOAL

Quantities of charcoal occurred at all levels; some, just below the upper turf in Hut II, was mixed with newspaper of Queen Victoria's reign.

Mr. R. A. Kennedy reported on various samples. The fire-pits contained hawthorn, spindleberry and guelder rose, together with burnt bone. The post-holes, as usual, contained mostly oak. All these woods still grow locally.

DISCUSSION

The period of occupation of the two huts was established by their contained artifacts as that of the transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age.

One of the lynchets of the field system formed part of the surrounding bank of the depression which contained Hut II. This lynchet was continuous with another one from the middle of which potsherds of Late Bronze Age date were obtained without admixture with any others.

An almost obliterated field boundary appeared to join the bank which surrounded the depression of Hut I.

The huts were then associated with the field system and were occupied while some of the lynchets were being formed.

Although the slope above the huts was so stony that ploughing and the formation of lynchets must have been impracticable in the Bronze Age, it may well have been divided into small fields of pasture by hedges of hawthorn and spindleberry.

Both huts were circular, with conical roofs: Hut I like a wigwam and Hut II with a central post. There was suggestive, but not conclusive, evidence that the walls of Hut I were partly constructed of flints and those of Hut II of turves.

Although the situation of the huts is high and exposed, the farmer, Mr. Lee, states that it is the mildest part of the massif and that, although it is stony, the soil there can usually be worked in cold weather when that in the bottoms and round Downs Farm is still frozen.

The economy was mixed farming. Spinning and, probably, weaving were practised, but there was no evidence of hunting. Horses were kept, and, presumably, used on the farm, because one stallion or gelding was not butchered after death.

Flint was still used for many purposes, such as cutting, scraping and making fire.

Journeys were made to the coast for shellfish and far into the weald for quern stones.

The arrangement of the huts, on platforms, cut deeply into a steep slope, and containing a pit, filled with charcoal, somewhat resembled the hut which held the bovine at Itford,¹ or the Late Bronze Age huts on Park Brow.² However, the cuttings on Amberley Mount were much deeper, more widely separated and later in date, some of the pottery being like some at All Cannings Cross,³ but coarser.

SUBSEQUENT OCCUPATION

Two terrace ways up the north escarpment were mentioned above, the western one being covered with a scatter of Roman potsherds. A Roman cemetery at Highdown House was also mentioned (pp. 6, 8). Roman sherds were present in quantity all over the field system, especially in a depression which appeared to be a hut site, just above the headland, near to the junction of the bottoms; Dr. Curwen found them, too, down in the bottom by Stoke Hazels Wood.⁴

The narrow shape of the fields along the sides of the bottoms and the presence of a valley, lynchets system in Medley Bottom pointed to continued activity in the post-Roman period. This was confirmed by the presence of mediaeval sherds in the fields. Mr. C. Ludlow, in a personal communication, reported the existence of strip lynchets on the east side of Grevitt's Bottom, at its lower end and on the south slope of Downs Farm Hill, but the latter were completely obliterated and the former nearly so by the post-war ploughing.

In the above context the names of the bottoms are significant:

Stoke—O.E. "Stoc": Religious place or Secondary settlement, was mentioned in Domesday as Stoches, with land for seven ploughs. This indicates that a considerable area of downland was under cultivation then, because the flood plain of the Arun was never fit for ploughing.

Medley—O.E. "Maed": Meadow, and "Hlio": Slope or Hill-side. It will be noted that the field system under discussion was continuous with the fields in this bottom and that it lay on its north, sloping side.

¹ G. P. Burstow and G. A. Holleyman. 'Late Bronze Age Settlement on Itford Hill, Sussex,' in *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, vol. 23 (1957), plate xxiv(b).

² G. R. Wolseley, *Archaeologia*, vol. 76 (1927), p. 4, fig. c.

³ M. E. Cunnington. *All Cannings Cross* (George Simpson and Co., Devizes). Plate 38, 1-3; plate 39, 4; plate 46, 1.

⁴ Dr. E. Curwen. 'Rackham Bank and Earthwork,' in *S.A.C.*, vol. 73, p. 173.

Grevitt—Hugo atte Grevette lived in Amberley, at the bottom of the hill, in 1327.¹ Alternative spelling Gravett or Gravatt—O.E. “Grafett” from the stem “Grafan”: to dig.

SUMMARY

The sites of two huts were excavated and, together with their associated field system, were found to date from the end of the Late Bronze Age.

The writers wish to thank the following gentlemen for their help in connection with this paper: C. Ainsworth, esq., Rev. John Clark, B. Cooper, esq., Maj. J. D. D. Forrest, and C. Ludlow, esq. The farmers, Messrs. Lee, were extremely kind and helpful.

¹ A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton. *The Place-Names of Sussex*, vol. 1, p. 125.

THE LEVEL AND PORT OF PEVENSEY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

By A. J. F. DULLEY

The history of medieval Pevensey is dominated by the changing relationship between land and sea and the use that man made of each of them. The documentary evidence for that relationship has already been discussed in these pages by Mr. L. F. Salzman.¹ However, in addition to the documents preserved in the Public Record Office and elsewhere, there remain the faint but visible vestiges of man's impact on the landscape, some of which, particularly some of the early sea walls, are still sufficiently noticeable to have been recorded on the Ordnance Survey plans, though many have only become apparent since the advent of air photography or have had to wait until excavation in other parts of the country has given a clue to their probable nature. It is the purpose of this paper to attempt a synthesis of these two types of evidence, in the hope that a fuller picture of the history of the area may emerge.

The first we hear of Pevensey under its modern name is in a charter of the 10th century, and the little that we know of the earlier, Roman, settlement is mainly a matter of conjecture. It is likely that throughout the historical period there has been a shingle beach roughly on the line of the present shore, but there is no evidence of Roman occupation on the marshland behind it, which was presumably unreclaimed, so that at high tide, much, if not all, of the level was a lagoon, with the Saxon Shore fort occupying a position analogous to that of Portchester in relation to Portsmouth Harbour.

Nor is it likely that much was done in the way of reclamation before the Norman Conquest. There are two surviving Anglo-Saxon charters which deal with land bordering the levels. The earlier, by which in 772 Offa of Mercia granted the Bishop of Selsey an estate centred on Bexhill, gives bounds of three hides at Barnhorne, the southern margin of which was 'salt marsh' as far as the Hooe Stream.² The second, which dates from 947, relates to land at West Hankham and Glynleigh.³ The boundaries cast considerable light on the state of the marshland at that period. They begin at a watercourse called 'Landrithe' and follow a north-south road which can only be that from Rickney by Stone Cross to Langney, turning off it to 'marsh' in the upper part of Willingdon Level,

¹ 'The Inning of Pevensey Level,' in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. 53 (1910), pp. 30-60. Unless references are given below, the relevant sources are printed or summarised in this paper.

² Eric Barker, 'Sussex Anglo-Saxon Charters, Part 1,' in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. 86 (1947), pp. 42-101. The Bexhill charter is No. xiv.

³ Eric Barker, *op. cit.*, Part 3, in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. 88 (1949), pp. 51-99 (No. xxxii).

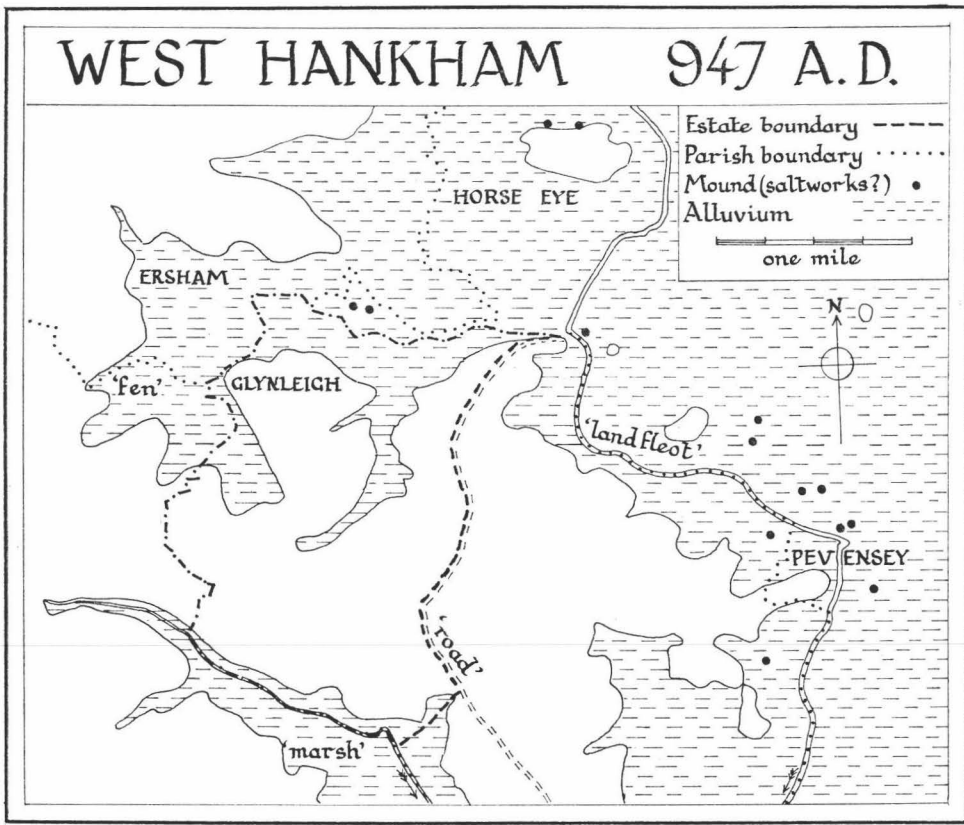


FIG. 1

presumably along the present parish boundary, as far as an unidentifiable 'border enclosure'; from there they went north through 'fen' to meet and march with the boundaries of Ersham and Horse Eye until they reached the 'Landfleet'. There was also a saltworks on the north side of this stream, opposite Pevensey. The name 'Landrithe' reappears in a manorial rental of 1292, when the 'bridge of Landrithe' spanned the Glynleigh Sewer at Rickney.¹ The Landfleet must have been the main channel of Pevensey Haven.

If the saltworks were using the normal medieval method of obtaining salt from sea-water, they must have stood on unreclaimed saltings, for the technique was to scrape up the salt-rich surface of sand or mud, leach out the brine and boil it to extract the salt. The process produced, as a by-product, mounds of desalinated mud, often used to provide a dry footing for the buildings. These mounds might attain a considerable size and remain as a permanent feature of the landscape long after the industry itself had ceased. They have recently been identified in the Adur valley, where salt production in the Middle Ages is well documented,² and it can be no accident that essentially similar mounds can be found in several parts of the Pevensey Levels, among them the area immediately to the north of the Saxon 'Landfleet'.

The mounds in question are between three and five feet high, irregularly oval in shape, and about fifty yards in average diameter, although there is considerable variation in size. All are at present under grass, but where they are cut by drainage ditches, they seem to be composed of the same clayey alluvium as the rest of the marsh. The only exception to this is an isolated mound north-west of Boreham Bridge, which appears to rest on a bed of brushwood and is made up of a bright orange ferruginous or burnt material which contrasts vividly with the brown of the normal marsh clay. This mound however, is so far separated from the others, and a long way inland of them, that it can hardly be regarded as typical.

There are four principal groups of mounds, two alongside the stream that flows from the valley between Hooe and Barnhorne, another along the north bank of the Old Haven, and the fourth, the area described in the charter of 947, beside Pevensey Haven. There are in addition a number scattered elsewhere on the marsh. Nearly all of them are quite close to former tidal channels, though they are usually conveniently sited for access from solid ground, a fact that makes it unlikely that they were constructed as refuges for livestock in time of flood. In a number of cases it is clear that they antedate the reclaiming of the surrounding marshland, since they

¹ P.R.O., Rentals and Surveys, S.C. 11/663.

² E. W. Holden, 'Salt Works at Botolphs,' in *Sussex Notes and Queries*, vol. 15 (1958-62), pp. 304-6. I am indebted to Mr. Holden for additional information about these and for drawing my attention to several of the Pevensey mounds.

are incorporated into the sea walls and are respected by the drainage ditches, which make a circuitous course around them.

Fieldwork by itself can only furnish presumptive evidence of their purpose, but there is ample documentary proof of salting in the area during the early Middle Ages. The charter already mentioned is the earliest reference to the industry, but it is clear that by the end of the following century it had grown to some size, for Domesday Book ascribes over 100 saltworks to neighbouring manors.¹ The largest concentrations were at Hooe (34) and Eastbourne (16). It is probably a coincidence that the biggest group of mounds is in the southern corner of Hooe parish, for the attribution of eight saltworks to Netherfield shows that they could be located some distance from their parent manor. Some of these works were valuable assets to their lords, two at Eastbourne being together rated at 40s., more than the total worth of many of the smaller manors of the district. The general scale of production was smaller than this, however, the entries having a median value of 2s. 5d. per unit. Their economic importance was recognised by the new overlords of the rapes, for between them they controlled three-quarters of the total production.

There are intermittent references to the industry in the following two centuries. Shortly after 1148, Bishop Hilary of Chichester assigned to his Chancellor part of the Chapelry of Pevensy, which he had recently received from King Stephen, including a render of salt.² A saltworks called 'Guldensaltkote' was in operation in 1199, and in 1230-1 William de Monte Acuto, who seems to have held land in Bestenover (modern Pevensy Bridge Level), was receiving 18 ambers of salt from part of his lands.³ In 1234 the Norman abbey of Grestain was confirmed in the right to 100 ambers from the saltworks of Pevensy Marsh, but it was probably a sign of the times that six years later, in another list of the rights of the abbey, the scribe wrote the phrase 'a share of the salt in the marsh of Pevensy according to the annual production' but later deleted it.⁴ This is the last reference to active production. When we next hear of a 'saltcote', it is the name given, at least as early as 1292, to part of the arable land of the home farm of the Castle, just opposite the mounds that stand beside the Glynleigh Sewer.

There were several causes at work to bring about the decline of the industry, but most important was undoubtedly the progressive reclamation of the tidal flats, which first reduced the original lagoon to a network of narrow creeks and then cut these off from the sea.

¹ H. C. Darby and E. M. J. Campbell, *The Domesday Geography of South-East England* (1962), p. 457.

² *Chichester Cartulary*, ed. by W. D. Peckham (*Sussex Record Soc.*, vol. 46) (referred to below as '*Chichester Cartulary*'), No. 260.

³ *Sussex Feet of Fines*, ed. by L. F. Salzman (*Sussex Record Soc.*, vol. 2), No. 264. One amber=4 bushels.

⁴ *Cal. Close Rolls, 1231-34*, p. 496. *Ibid.*, 1237-42, p. 246.

Evidently the saltmakers could not follow the advancing frontiers of the reclaimed land, for it is noticeable that the surviving mounds are all some distance from the present coast, the nearest being about three-quarters of a mile from it. The decreasing salinity of the water in the creeks and the lack of extensive mud-flats were no doubt crucial factors, as well as the increased distance from which the large quantities of fuel needed had to be fetched.

The date at which reclamation began is uncertain. It would appear that little if any had been done by 1086, for the small amounts of meadow belonging to bordering manors contrast sharply with the large areas in the Ouse valley. There Domesday Book names three vills with 200 acres or more, and two others with over 100, while around Pevensey the largest holdings were of 60 at Willingdon, 38 at Wartling and 25 at Eastbourne. Significantly, there were only three vills in the Ouse valley with saltworks (23 in all), as against eleven with 102½ at Pevensey. There are also entries for pasture, but except at Pevensey itself there is no certainty that they relate to marsh grazing. The pasture at Pevensey was worth 7*s.* 3*d.* in 1066, while twenty years later Alured the Butler had 15*s.* 4*d.* from the 'herbage' (the distinction between the terms is obscure). Alured's descendants held land in Bestenover to the east of Pevensey in the 13th century,¹ and it may be to this area that the Domesday entry relates. His income may just as well have come from summer grazing on the flats as from reclaimed marsh, though a study of the surviving sea-walls makes it clear that this was one of the nuclei from which reclamation began.

The course of these walls is shown on Fig. 2. They are especially common on the seaward parts of the marsh, although they accompany the main channel of Pevensey Haven far inland. In their present form many date from the 16th or 17th centuries, when much of the work of enclosing the marshes had to be done anew, but all the indications are that the men of that period for the most part followed the work of their predecessors, re-using and strengthening the old embankments but leaving them substantially unaltered. Where they had to start again from scratch, they followed a different technique of construction, building a wall entirely of dredged material from a parallel tidal channel (a preoccupation at this time being to keep the channels open) rather than making them by digging two parallel ditches and piling the upcast in between, which was the method invariably used earlier. As a result it is easy to distinguish the last phase of the process, but the sequence in the earlier periods is not always plain, particularly since roads and sea walls were made by the same technique. Indeed the roads often follow disused walls, which offered a dry footway even in time of flood. But there is one feature which, if present, distinguishes walls from roads, namely

¹ W. Hudson, 'The Manor of Eastbourne,' in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. 43 (1900), p. 198, cf. Salzman, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

the tendency for the ground level outside a sea wall to build up slowly with the deposits of silt left by high spring tides while the level inside remains unchanged. If the process is allowed to go on for any considerable time before the land beyond the wall is reclaimed, there may be a difference of as much as two feet in the level of the marsh on either side, the higher always being the later to be reclaimed. There have been so many vicissitudes in the history of the Levels that one cannot use this as a criterion for absolute dating, but as an indication of relative date it is extremely valuable.

As has been said, one of the centres from which reclamation proceeded was in Bestenover, around the square ditched enclosure on Moat Marsh (TQ 661060). A start had been made here well before 1200, and by 1263 a lagoon or swamp to the east, on the site of the later Wrenham Marsh, had recently been drained. The drainage of Hooe Level was presumably already confined to the narrow embanked channel, still traceable, which followed a curving course to the north and west of the site of the lost village of Northeye to join the Wrenham Stream and eventually debouch into the sea south of Rockhouse Bank. It was known in the Middle Ages variously as the 'Esthaven', 'Godyngeshaven' or 'the old port of Coding', which last suggests that at one time drifting shingle must have pushed its mouth further east towards Cooden. Though too narrow to take any but the smallest craft, it was enough to justify Northeye's status as a non-corporate member of the Cinque Port of Hastings.

As the process of reclamation advanced, the owners of the newly enclosed lands found it necessary to guard themselves against un-neighbourly conduct that could imperil the precarious balance between land and sea. Although there were no formalised regulations until those of Romney Marsh were adopted in the 15th century, the description of the inning of the swamp in 1263 already mentioned alludes to the customary procedure for dealing with landowners who would not co-operate in reclamation. In the following century, and probably already, the Lowy courts were exacting fines for obstruction and neglect of watercourses within their jurisdiction.¹ But there was need for private agreements for the disposal of surface water. We find the Abbot of Battle in 1248 granting part of his marshland at Barnhorne to his neighbour William de Northye in return for the right to drain the rest through William's demesne lands, which lay between them and the sea.

In the western and northern parts of the marsh the same process was going on, although it is not possible to reconstruct it in detail, perhaps because it was substantially complete at an earlier date, when documents were fewer and less informative. But the fact that the Prior of Lewes found it necessary to secure his rights to

¹ For the workings of these courts, see the Pevensy Custumal, ed. by L. B. Larking, in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. 4 (1851), pp. 209-18.

water to turn his tidesmill at Langney c.1160-65 suggests that most of Willingdon Level was already enclosed, even though a lagoon or lake long persisted behind the shingle of the Crumbles, to support a fishery and fishmarket into the 15th century. So too, south of Horse Eye, much had been accomplished by 1223 and the tideway reduced to a narrow channel, the reclamation of which was already envisaged and had been completed by 1292. Across to the east of Hurst Haven the foundation of the chapel of Manxey c. 1240 implies the existence of a congregation and land to support them.¹ The endowments of the chapel are marked on the Tithe Map as 'Rectory Lands', either side of the road from Chilley Bridge to Pevensy.

On the eve of the great flood of 1287, which had serious consequences for this as well as other parts of the Sussex coast, almost all the present marshland was reclaimed. The tide flowed between the sea walls as far as Rickney Bridge and along the Old Haven from Pevensy to Waller's Haven, as well as in the Esthaven, while between Pevensy and the sea was an archipelago of islands of marsh or shingle intersected by tidal creeks. This archipelago seems to have suffered badly in the flood, but the sea also broke into the marshes north of the Castle and probably in other places as well. The damage was such as to cause the appointment, two years later, of the first recorded Commissioners of Sewers for the Sussex coast, Roger Lewkenor and Luke de la Gare, the former a landowner in the marsh and the latter Bailiff to the Honour of Aquila, of which Pevensy formed part. They decided to dam Pevensy Haven, either at the modern Pevensy Bridge or, more probably, just to the north, at the junction with the Old Haven. This provoked protests from other local landowners, who believed that the new dam and sluice would cause flooding by fresh water, which would have greater difficulty in flowing away if the scouring effect of the tide was lessened by reducing the tidal part of the estuary. Though their fears were in the event justified, their protest seems to have been ineffective, for the survey of the demesnes of the Castle made in 1292 includes 36½ acres of salt marsh between the bridge of Landrithe and Pevensy and 15 between Chilley and Rickney Bridge, worth 8*d.* per acre (as against 12*d.* for the rest of the pasture) 'on account of the sluice.' This must plainly be the area either side of Pevensy Haven known later as the King's Salts or Queen's Salts, now reclaimed for the first time and not yet as productive as the older innings.

Reclamation went on steadily during the following century, but it is not until its end that the general pattern can be seen in a clear light. By 1396 the danger feared by the objectors a century earlier had materialised. An Inquisition of that year attests the deterioration of Pevensy Haven and recommends various improvements.

¹ E. W. Holden, 'Manxey,' in *Sussex Notes and Queries*, vol. 15 (1958-62), p. 319.

The old channel at this time discharged by what would appear to be an artificial cut through the shingle south of Pevensey.¹ The channel was still tidal but needed widening, with the addition of a new outfall at the mouth, parallel with the old. The site of this is marked by old sea walls behind the shingle of the Crumbles, and they include traces of an old embanked channel parallel with Willingdon Haven but diverging southwards to the sea (A, Fig. 2). However, since all this region was again tidal in the late 16th century, when ships of 60 tons could sail through it up to Pevensey Bridge, these embankments in their present form at least must belong to a later period. Indeed there must be considerable doubt whether the recommendations of the jury at the Inquisition were ever put into effect, for the landowners in the marsh, who would have had to pay the cost, asserted that the old channel was beyond repair and claimed to use a totally different method for draining their land. This involved bringing the water from Hurst Haven through Manxey Level into the Old Haven and thence by a cut that can still be traced into the Old Port of Coding (Godyngeshaven: B-C, Fig. 2).

But this channel also was giving trouble. The *Inquisitio Nonarum* makes it clear that flooding was widespread in the valley of Waller's Haven in 1340. Hooe had 400 acres flooded, Wartling 200, and at Ninfield 'the greater part of an estate called "Morhale" "² was under water: the tithes from it would be worth 6s. 8d. In 1402, when an inquiry was held into the drainage of the whole valley, now entirely flooded, two alternative improvement schemes were approved. The former, which seems to have presumed that the measures advocated in 1396 were acted on and proved effective, was to clear out the Old Haven and build a sluice at its Pevensey end. If this failed—as it did—another cut was to be made between the old Haven and Godyngeshaven (D-E, Fig. 2).

This cut itself proved of only limited effectiveness, for in 1455 it had to be extended (F-G, Fig. 2), cutting across the neck of the bend in the tidal channel, the upper reaches of which were now cut off, although its seaward parts remained a tidal creek at least until the 16th century.

The risk of flooding by fresh water was thus alleviated, but the sea now reasserted itself. From about 1540 onwards the greater part of Bestenover was reduced to salt marsh, partly through neglect of the sea walls of those marshes which had been former monastic property, and partly because drifting shingle was blocking the tidal channels. The net result was that by the date of the Armada Survey, which is the earliest recognisable map of the whole district, the

¹ L. F. Salzman, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

² This can hardly be the modern Moorhall, which is on a hilltop. Perhaps the area round the moated mound called 'Castle Croft' on the O.S. maps (TQ 681116) is intended. This has an area of 30-40 acres (about adequate for a tithe of 6s. 8d. by marshland standards), and is bounded to the south by the Moorhall Stream.

Godyngeshaven had disappeared or been reduced to a backwater, and the old channel south of Pevensey had been revived, curving in a horse-shoe to join the Willingdon Sewer and reach the sea at Wallsend. This in turn was affected by shingle drift, so that the mouth moved rapidly eastward, leaving a long, narrow channel parallel with the coast as far as the original Godyngeshaven mouth.

Further surgery was necessary. This time the work can be followed with greater certainty and in some detail in the Decree Books of the Commission of Sewers, which survive from 1609 and are now in the East Sussex Record Office. The first hint of trouble comes on 24 September 1617, when it was presented that 'the great open place neere to the Havens mouth was very much swarved up for that the water that came in by the Tide came up by the old haven which haven beinge but narrow was more than half swarved up by means whereof . . . there passed noe water downward to the sea after half ebb, but only a little drill in parte of the old Haven. Soe that above the said parte of the Haven the water laye toward Pevensey bridge very deep and cold not choose in reason but make the water swell above the bridge.' Expenditure on a new sluice was sanctioned on 8 August 1623, and later that year the Willingdon, Bourne and Langney Levels were assessed to contribute, at one fourth of the rate for Pevensey. Two years later the cost was spread over the eastern levels as well, on the understanding that they could use the new sewer, the 1455 channel being no longer adequate. The total expenditure is not stated, but £207 had been spent in the twelve months prior to 26 August 1630, and a dispute about payment of £212 'lately disbursed about cuttinge forth of Pevensey Haven at a place called Ollivers Gutt' occupied the Commissioners in 1633. By 21 April 1634 the work was finished, although next year more groynes were needed to stop the shingle drifting back across the new mouth. The big horse-shoe bend described above had been cut across its neck by the modern channel from Fence Bridge, where the sluice was erected, towards Wallsend.¹ This proved satisfactory until the end of the century, for the Decree Books refer to nothing except routine expenditure until 1687, when a scot was levied to keep open the haven mouth. On 12 April 1694, 'upon a view of Pevensey Haven mouth . . . it is thought fit and absolutely necessary that imediate action be taken for mainteyning and keeping open a havens mouth.' On 1 November, William Markwick, 'Engeneer,' was engaged to see to the building of a new sluice and allowed to carry timber for it across neighbouring lands. Markwick's sluice was at the very mouth of the haven and cut off all the remaining tidal creeks, which were soon drained. To compensate for the loss of a haven for shipping, such as it was, the Commissioners arranged for the building of the present road from Peven-

¹ If Salzman is right in dating this to 1396, the same breach c.1542 cannot have flooded both the Hundred Acres to its SW. and Bestenover to its NE.

sey to Norman's Bay, partly across the dry bed of the old Godynges-haven, 'the said way to be free for all manner of carriage employed by any person or persons whatsoever which anyways concern navigation.' Barring unhappy accidents, the sea was now shut out from Pevensey for good.

The details of the story outlined above are many of them obscure, but one thing is certain: that over the years an immense amount of money and toil was expended on keeping the sea out of the marsh. It remains to see why this expense was entered on at a period when much of the upland of the county was still virgin, and why it was maintained even through periods of economic depression.

Some idea of the scale of work involved can be obtained by considering two examples. One of the earliest pieces of reclamation must have been that centred on the moated site in Moat Marsh. This is surrounded by a bank about two miles long, which in its present much-denuded state contains about 20,000 cubic yards of earth, enough for a wall about five feet high and 18 feet wide. What this meant in terms of man-hours is largely guesswork: on the results of the Overton Down experiment,¹ where chalk was dug with primitive tools at a rate of 5 cu. ft. per man-hour, about 14,000 man-days of eight hours each would have been required. This is probably too slow for medieval tools, but makes no allowance for other work than digging and carrying, so that the total is in all likelihood not too far wide of the mark.

The other example is the new sewer of 1455. This was to be eight furlongs long, 30 feet wide and six deep, requiring a total of about 25,000 cubic yards of soil to be removed, enough perhaps to occupy 100 men for eight months, if one takes into account the extra distance that the earth would have to be moved. The work could only be done at certain states of the tide and would have to be pushed forward with some speed if it was not to be filled up by fresh silting, and hence the labour force at work was probably sizeable, even if it was only employed seasonally.

The uses to which this expensively drained land was put were various. At the present day almost the whole of the Levels is used for grazing cattle and sheep, and this has been the case since Tudor times. It seems too that this was the earliest use that they were put to. Apart from the references to pasture in Domesday Book, the earliest evidence we have is that, some time before 1200, the tenant of 100 acres in Bestenover did service yearly to his lord 'of 20s. with 50 sheep which he had from him.'² Though there are many references to land in the marsh in the following century, there is no information about land use until near its end, in a series of farm

¹ P. Ashbee and I. W. Cornwall, 'An Experiment in Field Archaeology,' in *Antiquity*, vol. 35 (1961), pp. 129-34.

² P.R.O., Curia Regis Rolls, 24, m. 2d.

accounts for the Castle demesne for the years 1283-94.¹ These may not be typical years, and they include that of the great flood, 1287, but they give a detailed picture that is available from no other source.

Most of the farm was pasture, 177 acres out of 277. Here was kept a flock of between 400 and 600 sheep, valued for their wool and cheese, but not for their meat. The remainder was arable, with a dairy herd of 25-30 head grazing on the fallow until 1289, when it was moved to Willingdon. On average 71 per cent. of the arable was under crop, but the proportion rose to around 80 per cent. after the removal of the cattle. The 71 per cent. was made up mainly of oats, with wheat and beans and occasionally an acre or two of barley (see Table 1). None of them fared particularly well. There was wide variation from year to year, especially in the wheat, which no doubt suffered from winter flooding: in a good harvest there was a return of more than five-fold, but a bad one did not bring in enough to cover next year's seed. The arable land, so far as one can tell, was on the older marshland, and the newer marshes were devoted to sheep, with disastrous results in the flood of 1287, which drowned the whole yearling flock. In normal conditions, however, it was no doubt sound husbandry to keep the sheep where parasites were likely to be fewest.

The demesne was leased out after 1294, and so detailed accounts for its farming cease, but the returns made to the *Inquisitio Nonarum* of 1340 show that this form of mixed husbandry persisted and was profitable.² The figures given for the relevant parishes are set out in Table 2, and for comparative purposes the statistics of corn-tithes for East Sussex as a whole are summarised in Table 3. Although these returns were extracted from the parishioners on oath, they need to be viewed with a certain scepticism. The values given are usually approximations or at least add up to a round total even when the component parts include odd halfpence for the sake of artistic verisimilitude. More serious is the possibility of deliberate misrepresentation. The basis of the valuation was the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas, which assessed the wealth of benefices in 1292 for ecclesiastical purposes. Against this the commissioners offset income from sources other than the great tithes and from land exempt from secular taxation. The Barons of the Cinque Ports enjoyed this exemption both inside and outside their territories, and as both the Lowy of Pevensey (the parishes of Pevensey, Westham and parts of Hailsham and Wartling) and the Liberty of Northeye were members of Hastings, by far the greater part of the marsh was subject to exemption; and indeed the parish of Westham does not figure in the record at all. Northeye is included, where it belongs,

¹ P.R.O., Ministers' Accounts, S.C. 6/1027/17, 20, 21, 22.

² *Inquisitiones Nonarum in Curia Scaccarii*, ed. by G. Vanderzee (Record Commissioners, 1807), *passim*.

in Bexhill parish. Most, if not all, of Pevensey is assessed under Chiddingly, for in 1292 both were treated jointly as part of the emoluments of the Chancellor of Chichester Cathedral. It was in the parishioners' interest to exaggerate the yield of these lands, and this may in part account for the high valuations put upon them. But they cannot be entirely discounted when the parishes in the lower valleys of the rivers flowing through the downs, all of which have sizeable areas of alluvium, also tend to be valued above their neighbours. There can be no doubt that these districts, along with the coastal plain west of Brighton, contained the most productive corn-land in the county in the 14th century. The impression is confirmed when we consider land values as given in contemporary surveys. The Battle Abbey estate of Barnhorne lay partly in the marsh and partly on the upland. The upland parts were worth between 3*d.* and 6*d.* per acre in 1311, flooded marshland towards Hooe 4*d.* (rising to 10*d.* if properly drained), and the seaward marshes 12*d.*¹ Twelve pence per acre seems in fact to have been an average valuation for marshland in the locality, for this was the rent-charge imposed on the endowments of Manxey Chapel *c.*1240 and most of the Castle demesne was reckoned to be worth the same. But when the Bishop of Chichester's scattered estates came to be valued in 1388, 12*d.* per acre was the maximum. Pasture (probably marsh) in Bexhill reached this value, but the arable there was only worth 3*d.*, as in many places elsewhere in the county.²

The general impression, then, of remarkable agricultural prosperity in 1340 is not to be rejected, even when among the bordering parishes Eastbourne, Hooe and Ninfield all had upland fields that had gone out of cultivation since 1292. Nor can one lightly dispute the detailed figures, despite the similar totals for corn at Manxey and Horse Eye and the overwhelming predominance of Portsman at Hailsham. They clearly imply that, although sheep-keeping was important (the figures for fleeces indicate a population of 4-5,000), most of the land was under corn except in the flooded valley of Waller's Haven. At Horse Eye and on the coastal marshes of Pevensey there were seemingly no sheep at all, and in Hailsham corn provided 96 per cent. of the Portsman's tithe, though Bayham Abbey had a moderate flock. These Hailsham figures are doubly interesting, for, since they list individual payments, we can gain some idea of the size of holdings. The Abbot of Bayham paid a total of 20*s.*, 14*s.* for corn, 3*s.* 6*d.* for fleeces, and 2*s.* 6*d.* for lambs. In 1528, just before the Dissolution, he held 96 acres at Otham, plus another 164 in Horse Eye Quarter, part of which may also have been in Hailsham. How much of this should be attributed to his

¹ *Customals of Battle Abbey*, ed. by S. R. Scargill-Bird (Camden Soc., 1887), pp. 17-19.

² R. A. Pelham, 'The Agricultural Geography of the Chichester Estates in 1388,' in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. 78 (1937), p. 209.

predecessor in 1340 is uncertain, but 96 acres is a minimum, and the total may have been nearer 200. Among the 73 Portsmen there were seven who paid as much as the Abbot and 14 others paying at least half as much. The median payment of 3s. 4d. would represent a minimum of 16 acres and a maximum of about 35, while the poorest, who paid 1s., must have had at least five.

These figures are only very approximate: there is no means of telling how much of each holding was fertile marsh and how much relatively infertile upland. But they are probably a more reliable index to the size of individual farms than the only alternative source, namely the rentals and surveys of the manor of Pevensey. Four of these survive, for the years 1292, 1363, 1564 and 1649,¹ and all give details of acreages as well as rents, while the last two provide a great deal of topographical information. Much of this is difficult to interpret, but the general distribution of the lands that owed suit to the manor court is clear. There were two categories of tenant: bond portreeve service tenants (*tenentes nativi*, 1292), who owed suit of court, rent and tallage and served in rotation as Portreeve of Pevensey; and free portreeve service tenants (*liberi tenentes per cartam*, 1292), who only owed suit of court and rent, often nominal. The formers' lands were concentrated in Glynleigh, Hankham and Downash, and the latters' in Manxey, but they were not always contiguous with each other, and a farm might easily contain land both within the manor and outside it.

While the rentals are therefore valueless as a guide to the absolute size of farms, they are useful for internal comparison. Though there had been a certain amount of sub-division between 1292 and 1353, these two years stand together in marked contrast to the two later years (see Table 4). By the mid-16th century there had been an increase in the average size of tenant holding and a dramatic decrease in the number of dwellings on the manor. While almost every holding in the 14th century had a house attached, hardly any had 200 years later. The reason must lie in the change from the arable husbandry implied by the *Inquisitio Nonarum* to the modern pastoral regime, with most of the land in the hands of absentee owners and used principally for summer grazing under the superintendence of a hired 'looker'. The contrast in numbers employed was great, and as the old pattern of farming survived at least the first outbreak of the Black Death, which is known to have raged violently in the district, it seems that this is not simply a case of depopulation by plague. Indeed, if anything, the marsh was more densely inhabited after the plague than before it. Any holdings that were tenantless must have been eagerly snapped up by landless men, perhaps immigrants from the poorer soils of neighbouring parishes, some of which were reported poverty-stricken in 1340. Indeed, the population of

¹ P.R.O., Rentals and Surveys, S.C. 11/663; 666-7; Duchy of Lanc., Misc. Books, D.L. 42/112; Parly. Surveys, E. 317, Sussex, 39.

the marsh probably remained fairly high at least until the beginning of the 15th century, for a dispute between the Chancellor of Chichester and the Vicar of Pevensey in 1406 resulted in the collection of some useful information about the state of the parish.¹ There had been little change in the balance between arable and pasture since 1340, and it was reported that 'the cure of the church [of Pevensey] and chapels [at Manxey and Horse Eye] is large and burdensome for they are a mile and more apart and the parishioners of the chapels have no easy access to the church in winter owing to the dangerous roads and floods', from which one would gather that there was still a sizeable population at both the latter places.

How soon after this the decline began is uncertain. In 1440 the Common Fine of the eight hundreds of the Honour of Aquila was reduced, being restored to its original form as a poll-tax of *1d.* per head on inhabitants over the age of twelve.² The date when this had been commuted to a round payment by each hundred was probably during the latter part of the previous century, if not earlier. The reductions were large, equivalent to a cut in taxable population from *c.*6,700 to *c.*1,500, and they were most marked in the seaward parts of the Honour, where nine villis were said to be almost depopulated and their lands untilled as a result of the plague. The district concerned did not include the Lowy of Pevensey but bordered upon it to the west and comprised about half the Rape, so that it is likely that it too was a victim of the same epidemic.

The mid-15th century then can reasonably be taken as marking the end of the old farming community of the marsh. It also seems to have marked the decline of the town of Pevensey, though the relations of town and marsh are by no means simple.

The origins of the town, like the early history of the marsh, are obscure. The charter of 947 is the first to use the modern name but does not indicate whether it applied to a settlement or not. If it did, it is hardly likely to have been of much consequence; otherwise its absence from the list of burhs in the Burghal Hidage is puzzling, when its position and its Roman defences suited it for that purpose. But by 1066 at least a town had developed, for Domesday Book records a total of 52 burgesses, 24 belonging to the king and the rest to various ecclesiastics. They suffered severely from the Norman landing, and only 27 were left when their town was transferred to Robert of Mortain, but rapid growth followed, now that Pevensey was the administrative centre of its Rape and the site of a permanently garrisoned castle. The port, too, which had been of some importance before the Conquest, was more frequented now that links with the Continent were closer. As a result, by 1086 there were 110 burgesses, more than double the number of King Edward's day, and the income from tolls had

¹ *Chichester Cartulary*, No. 1072.

² P.R.O., Duchy of Lanc., Ministers' Accounts, D.L. 29/442/7117.

quadrupled. A mint and a mill were other, apparently new, assets.¹

The Counts of Mortain were active in church building as well as fortification, to judge from the remains of a substantial 11th-century structure which form the core of the present parish church at Westham. This is probably to be connected with their creation of the Chaplaincy of Pevensey.² This included the cure of souls in the present parishes of the Lowy as well as the duties of a domestic chaplain at the Castle. The two parishes may not have been divided until King Stephen gave the chaplaincy to the Bishop of Chichester, who gave Pevensey to his Chancellor, while Westham ultimately came into the hands of the Norman abbey of Grestain. However, there had probably been a church at Pevensey before the Conquest, since those burgesses who were not tenants of King Edward held of the Bishop or of other priests. Topography suggests, even so, that the church in its back-street position was a late-comer to the town plan, when both sides of the main street from the Castle and market place to the ferry and the quays had been occupied by burghages, and back lanes had already begun to develop to the south. Excavation at a number of points south and south-east of the church has failed to disclose anything earlier than the 12th century in this quarter, which was probably never very intensively built over.³

This century in all likelihood saw the apogee of the town's prosperity. Already at the beginning of the next the inhabitants were contemplating removal to a new site between Pevensey and Langney, somewhere on the shingle bank at the mouth of the haven. In 1207 they paid 40 marks for a charter empowering them to make the move,⁴ but nothing further seems to have been done, despite the steady silting of the haven which must have provided the chief incentive for the proposal. Pevensey was still a port of some local importance, ranking perhaps third or fourth among Sussex ports, but a long way behind Winchelsea, Rye and Shoreham, if we may judge from the details of shipping movements given in the Close Rolls (see Table 5).⁵ The same source hints that Pevensey ships may have carried a considerable amount of goods which never saw Pevensey itself. In 1242, for example, there is mention of a ship of Pevensey at Dunwich with a cargo of wool and leather belonging to a Winchelsea merchant.⁶ In 1304 another Pevensey vessel was

¹ A manorial mill was in operation at least to the end of the 13th century, and accounts for building works at the Castle in 1288-91 (*Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. 49 (1906), p. 9) refer to men digging for stone in the moat and mill-pond. This must be for debris from the Roman walls. The pond was SE. of the Castle where a complex of embankments marks the site.

² *Chichester Cartulary*, Nos. 110, 115, 260.

³ A. J. F. Dulley, 'Excavations at Pevensey,' in *Sussex Notes and Queries*, vol. 16 (No. 2, 1962), pp. 63-4.

⁴ *Cal. Charter Rolls*, vol. 3, p. 220.

⁵ Compiled from *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, vols. 1 and 2, ed. by T. D. Hardy (Record Commrs., 1833, 1844).

⁶ *Cal. Close Rolls, 1237-42*, p. 480.

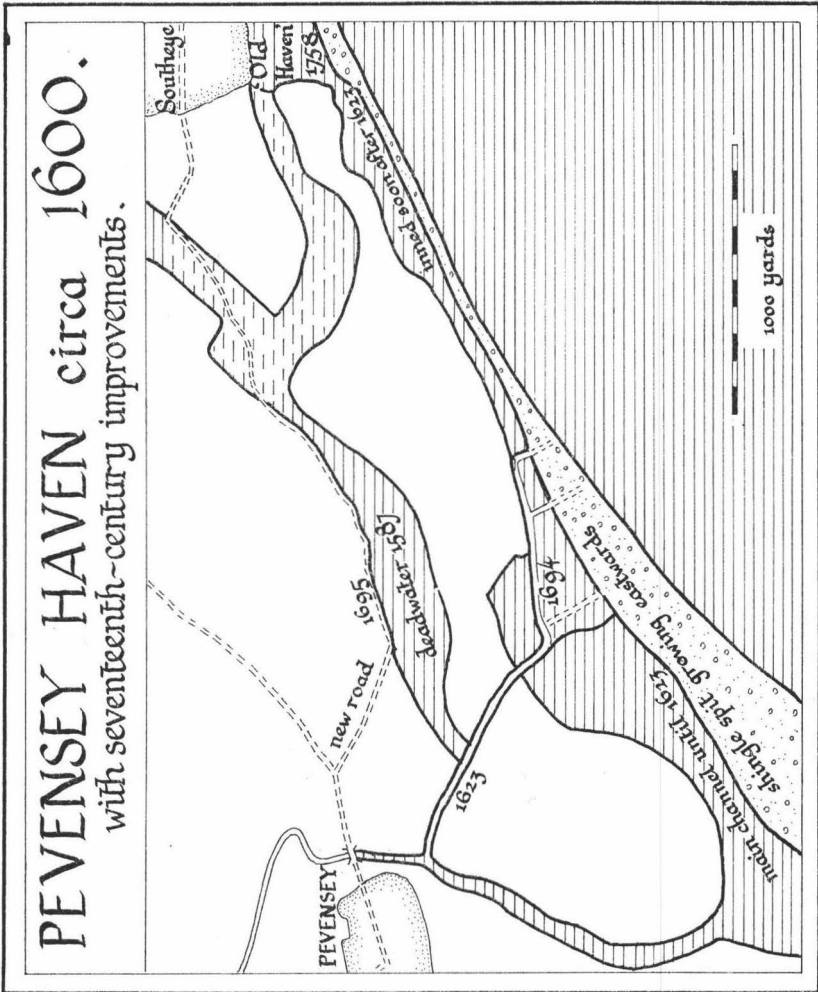


FIG. 3

robbed by pirates between Flanders and Sandwich while carrying spices and other goods for a Londoner.¹ Fishing, too, provided employment for local ships in distant waters. Pevensey's membership of the Cinque Ports confederacy implies participation in the Yarmouth herring fishery at least as early as 1207 and probably much earlier still; instructions about keeping the peace there were addressed explicitly to the town along with the other Ports in 1298.² So far as local trade is concerned, the import of wine is vouched for in the Close Rolls for 1239, as well as being implied by finds in the Castle.³ Archaeology also suggests that there was trade down the Channel as well as across it, since fragments of Devon slate have been dug up in some number. As for exports, these were almost entirely of wood in the 14th century.⁴ Pevensey provided a natural outlet for the forest products of the Weald, although by this period its harbour could not vie with that of Winchelsea. Earlier it is likely that the local saltworks also exported part of their production.

In the 14th century trade was in a decline. Already in 1288 the Castle building accounts indicate the difficulty of landing goods. Most of the stone used was quarried at Eastbourne, and in summer this was brought to Pevensey by road, but in winter the roads were impassable and boats had to be used. Sea-going vessels could not sail direct to Pevensey but had to unload into lighters at the Ilonde at the haven mouth for the journey to the Castle, at a total cost of 4s. per 100 stones as against 3s. by road. The state of the haven may have been made worse by the storm of the previous year, but nothing that was done in the succeeding century can have improved it. In the 15th century we find mention of boathouses on the beach, now subject to erosion. Harbour dues seem never to have amounted to more than 1s. per year as against between 4s. and 5s. at the end of the 13th century, and it is not until the reign of Queen Elizabeth I that we again hear of sea-going vessels berthing at Pevensey itself. But this was only a temporary revival, due to the great inroads of the sea in the previous few decades. A survey of the ports and harbours in Pevensey Rape made in 1565 records the presence of a haven, but no vessels, mariners or fishermen belonging to it.⁵

The town, however, was not wholly dependent on the harbour and survived its decay for some time. The rental of 1292 names 46 burgess tenants holding 62 tenements, with six others empty. In 1353 the total number of tenements was the same, though there had been some subdivision and amalgamation in the interval. The

¹ *ibid.*, 1302-07, p. 260.

² *ibid.*, 1296-1302, p. 206-7.

³ *ibid.*, 1237-42, p. 159; G. C. Dunning, 'A Norman Pit at Pevensey Castle and its Contents,' in *Ant. Journ.*, vol. 38 (1958), pp. 205-17.

⁴ R. A. Pelham, 'Timber Exports from the Weald during the 14th Century,' in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. 69 (1928), pp. 170-82.

⁵ P.R.O., S.P.D., Eliz., vol. 38, No. 28.

number of tenants had declined by one, but only two holdings were untenanted. Later rentals, particularly that of 1564, which gives a great deal of topographical detail, make it clear that these tenements did not make up the whole area of the town, though they did include part of the village of Westham. They had their origin, presumably, in the 60 burgesses of Count Robert in 1086, but their intervening history is obscure. In the 16th century they included most of the houses in the village, but there is no means of telling what the proportion was at the time of the earlier documents. Two things, however, they do make plain: firstly that this was still a genuine town in the 14th century, despite the loss of its harbour, for there was no agricultural land attached to the tenements, and very few of the burgesses figure as landholders elsewhere in the rentals; secondly, that the initial onset of the Black Death left no permanent mark on the town. How soon its decay commenced we cannot be sure. The depopulation of the surrounding countryside and the gradual neglect and decay of the Castle must have been potent factors in causing its decline. The manorial accounts show that great difficulty was found in obtaining tenants for the burgages in the middle of the 15th century,¹ and by 1564 there were only about twenty houses in Pevensey and another seven in Westham for which rents were still being paid. The former harbour had been drained and parcelled out among the few remaining burgesses. Barns, stables and gardens occupied the sites of former houses and, except for the outward forms of municipal government, there was little to distinguish the place from a village.

TABLE 1: DEMESNE FARM 1283-94

<i>Crop</i>			<i>Average Acreage (%)</i>	<i>Sown (bu./acre)</i>	<i>Average Reaped (bu./acre)</i>
Wheat	..	..	19.7	4	9.5
Barley	..	..	0.7	5	15.4
Oats	..	..	34.5	6	12.9
Beans	..	..	16.4	3.5-4	7.3
Fallow	..	..	28.7	—	—

TABLE 2: INQUISITIO NONARUM: MARSHLAND PARISHES

<i>Parish</i>	<i>Value of one-ninth of</i>									<i>Corn value per acre</i>	<i>Acres flooded</i>	
	<i>corn</i>			<i>fleeces</i>			<i>lambs</i>					
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	s.	d.	
Bexhill	7	4	0	13	4		6	0		2	4	—
Eastbourne ..	32	7	2	£4	6	8				15	4	—
Hailsham	24	19	2	14	0		13	0		11	2	—
Herstmonceux ..	10	14	2	10	0		10	0		5	1	—
Hooe	4	17	0	1	6		1	10		4	7	400
Ninfield	4	0	3	1s.	6d.					3	7	(1/9: 6s. 8d.)
Northeye	5	0	0	1	0	4	13	0		13	7	—

¹ e.g. P.R.O., Duchy of Lanc., Ministers' Accounts, D.L. 29/442/7120.

Parish	Value of one-ninth of						Corn value per acre s. d.	Acres flooded	
	corn		fleeces		lambs				
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Pevensay:									
Manxey ..	14	13	4	1	10	0	1	5	0
Horse Eye ..	14	13	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
Estenovere ..	3	6	8	—	—	—	—	—	—
Newelond ..	2	13	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wartling ..	13	13	1	10	10	—	12	6	—
Willingdon ..	11	5	4	—	—	—	£1	4	0

Lands exempt as belonging to Portsmen (included in list above)

Bexhill ..	18	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Eastbourne ..	1	1	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hailsham ..	22	6	8	10	0	—	10	0	—
Hooe ..	17	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Northeys ..	all	—	—	all	—	—	all	—	—
Pevensay ..	all	—	—	all	—	—	all	—	—
Wartling ..	1	14	3½	10	—	—	2	6	—

TABLE 3: INQUISITIO NONARUM: LEWES ARCHDEACONRY

Region	Value of corn crop (pence per acre)							Total Parishes
	below 2.5	2.5- 4.9	5.0- 7.4	7.5- 9.9	10.0- 14.9	15.0- 19.9	20 & over	
High Weald ..	15	35	9	4	—	—	—	63
Clay Weald ..	1	7	5	—	2	—	—	15
Down: Scarpfoot ..	—	2	5	5	3	3	1	19
Down: Summits ..	1	3	5	2	3	—	—	14
Down: River valleys	—	—	3	5	2	2	3	15
Coast Plain and Alluvium ..	—	—	—	—	2	4	3	9
Total ..	17	47	27	16	12	9	7	135

Note: The acreages upon which this and the previous table are based are those for the modern parishes as given in V.C.H., *Sussex*, vol. 2 (1907), pp. 217-28. Calculations based upon them can only be approximate and the error may be large in some of the coastal parishes, where erosion has taken place. But the table may serve to indicate the background against which the Pevensay figures should be viewed.

TABLE 4: MANORIAL TENANTS (EXCLUDING BURGESSES)

Total holdings ..	1292	1353	1564	1649
Average acreage ..	92	119	49	63
Messuages and tenements ..	34	26	55	52
Average acreage per messuage, etc.	72	74	9	12
	45	42	273	220

TABLE 5: SHIPPING ARRESTED 1205-27: SOUTH-EAST COAST PORTS

Port	Vessels released			Total	Sent from other ports:	Owned at:	Writs sent to:
	Cargo	Fishing					
Sandwich ..	26	8	34	5	—	x	
Winchelsea ..	19	—	19	4	—	x	
Shoreham ..	14	—	14	—	1+	x	

LEVEL AND PORT OF PEVENSEY

45

Port	Vessels released		Total	Sent from other ports:	Owned at	Writes sent to:
	Cargo	Fishing				
Romney	6	—	6	4	5	x
Hastings	3	1	4	—	—	x
Pevensay	3	—	3	—	—	x
Seaford	3	—	3	—	—	x
Milton Regis	2	—	2	—	—	—
Pagham	2	—	2	—	—	—
Dover	1	1	2	—	—	x
Hythe	1	1	2	1	3	x
Chalk	1	—	1	—	—	—
Northfleet	1	—	1	—	—	—
Rochester	1	—	1	—	—	—
Wittering	1	—	1	—	—	—
Rye	—	—	—	8	2	x
Fordwich	—	—	—	2	—	—
Faversham	—	—	—	—	1	x
Bulverhythe	—	—	—	—	—	x

Note: The vessels released include: Sandwich, 2 cogs; Shoreham, 2 boats; Seaford, 2 boats, 1 'sornecca'. Those owned at Shoreham and Romney were fishing boats, the rest merchantmen.

EXCAVATIONS IN TOWER STREET, CHICHESTER, 1965

By ALEC DOWN

Introduction

Early in 1965 the Chichester Excavations Committee was informed that the site of the new County Library Headquarters in Tower Street would be available for investigation for a short time prior to building operations commencing. As the area is near to the Roman buildings known to lie on the west side of the Forum¹ it was decided to take advantage of the opportunity before the site was sealed off for our lifetime.

THE EXCAVATIONS

In view of the very short time available, a mechanical excavator was employed to remove the top four feet of soil and only those areas which seemed likely to yield undisturbed Roman and medieval layers were examined in detail. Two cuts were made (Fig. 1). The area fronting on to Tower Street was left untouched because of the cellars known to exist under the houses lately demolished. Only three areas warranted further investigation, there being much medieval and later disturbance over most of the site. These were:- AREA 1, *Trench A, Eastern end* (Fig. 1). In the eastern half of the trench was a metallated area of flints in clay, 4ft. 6in. below ground level, extending for 30ft. from N. to S., with an average thickness of 1ft. 6in. Oyster shells, tile and pink mortar formed the top dressing, which suggests that it was in use for some time, possibly as a yard at the rear of premises fronting on Tower Street. The layer was cut through by a number of medieval and post-medieval pits. Underneath were layers of clean gravel and yellow clay which formed the top seal for a 13th century rubbish pit.

AREA 2, *Trench A1 and B* (Figs. 1 and 2). At a depth of 4ft. a compact layer of brown earth mixed with yellow clay was found. It was cut away on the N. side by two pits. The layer contained only Roman pottery and there was a considerable amount of painted wall plaster and brick in it. Below this was a deep hole cut into the natural gravel. From its shape it could well have been a very large ditch, or possibly a gravel pit. Unfortunately the bottom was completely cut away by a medieval pit, and it was not possible to follow the feature northward into the adjoining County Council car park. The side of the hole had been undercut in one place, which suggests that if it was originally a ditch it had later been quarried for gravel. The feature cut through a rubbish pit (Fig. 2) dated by samian ware to early 2nd century, and cannot therefore

¹ J. Holmes. 'Chichester: The Roman Town', *Chichester Papers No. 50* (1965), p. 10.

be earlier than this period. The date when it was last open is suggested by a late 3rd century radiate coin found in the silt near the bottom. The fill of the feature above the silt contained a number of sherds of samian ware, none of which is later than mid 2nd century.

AREA 3, *Trench D3 and D4* (Figs. 1 and 2). In the second of the two cuttings (Trench D), at a depth of 5ft., was a thick layer of burnt wood which extended beyond the sides of the trench. Sealed below it were two sherds of samian ware, one of Claudian date and the other pre-Flavian, together with a number of pieces of bronze. The burnt wood was covered by layers of clay, probably put down

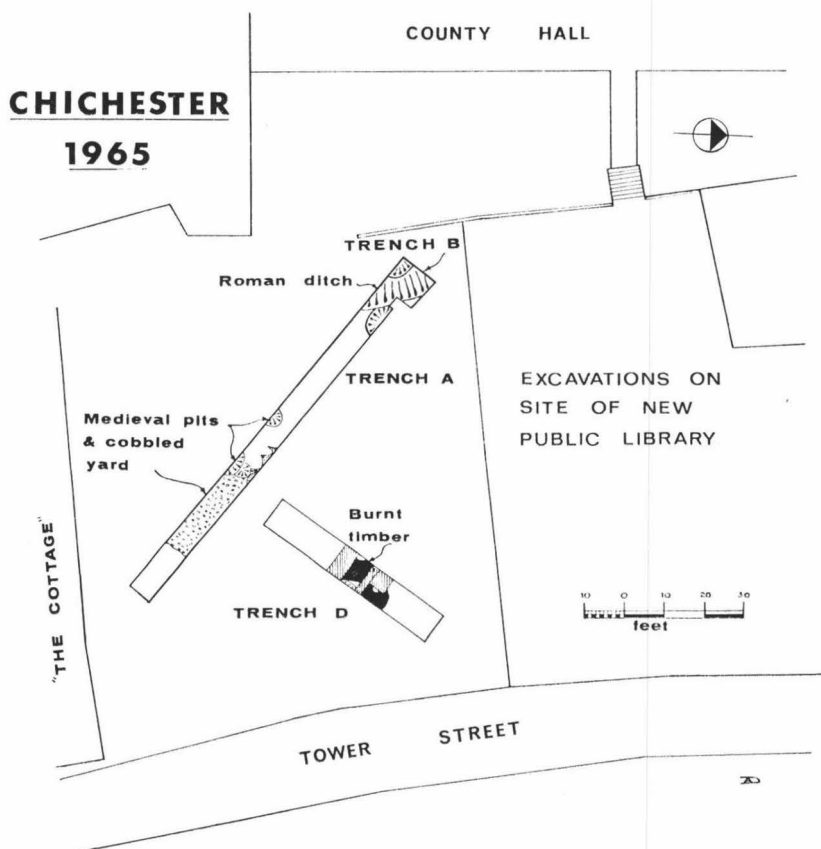


FIG. 1
Plan of the Site

to level up the site. It is not possible to come to any firm conclusions about this layer. Both the sections and the sample of pottery are too small. Nevertheless, the available evidence suggests a period of destruction and levelling up which occurred about the end of the third quarter of the 1st century A.D. Excavations on the site of the new Post Office Telephone Exchange at Chapel Street in 1962¹ showed that there were earlier Roman levels sealed below the gravel spread identified as the Forum. Over these levels, and immediately under the metalling of the Forum was a dark layer of occupation debris. This layer had previously been noted when the Post Office was built in 1935,² and pottery recovered from it then and again in 1962 and 1963 strongly suggests a date of *c.*80 A.D. for the laying-out of the Forum. It is possible that this period of replanning took place after the death of King Cogidubnus, which is unlikely, on historical evidence, to have been later than 80 A.D.³ The burnt layer in Area 3, less than 100 yards from the Forum may well represent part of the same process.

Acknowledgements

It would not have been possible to do this emergency excavation without the co-operation of the West Sussex County Council, and I gratefully acknowledge the very ready help given by the County Architect, Mr. B. Peters, and his staff. The work was carried out in appalling weather by a devoted team of volunteers from the Chichester Excavations Committee, assisted by students from Bishop Otter College and the Field Archaeology Class at the Chichester College of Further Education. Keith and Roger Lintott were responsible for site supervision and Geoffrey Claridge for the photography. I am indebted to Mr. Norman Cook, F.S.A., Keeper of the Guildhall Museum, London, who kindly made a preliminary examination of the samian ware, and to Mr. G. Dannell whose detailed report on certain key sherds is attached. Mr. Ralph Merrifield, F.S.A., also of the Guildhall Museum, examined the coins, and Mr. K. J. Barton, F.S.A., the medieval and later pottery. My thanks are also due to Mr. E. Garnett who drew all the pottery and small finds illustrated in this Report, and to Mr. Barry Cunliffe, F.S.A., who read the draft and made a number of helpful criticisms.

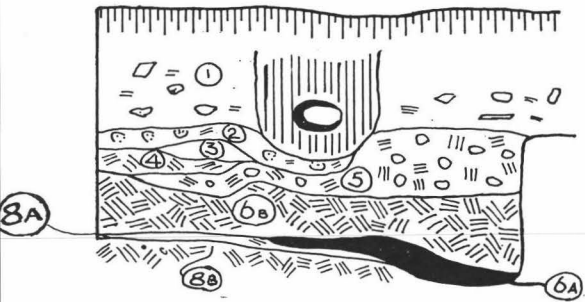
¹ J. Holmes, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 18.

² *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. 76 (1935), pp. 161-170.

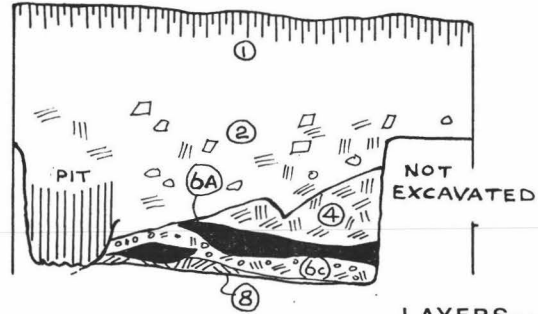
³ *Op. cit.*, vol. 94 (1956), pp. 101, 102.

AREA 3

TRENCH D4 SECTION A-A



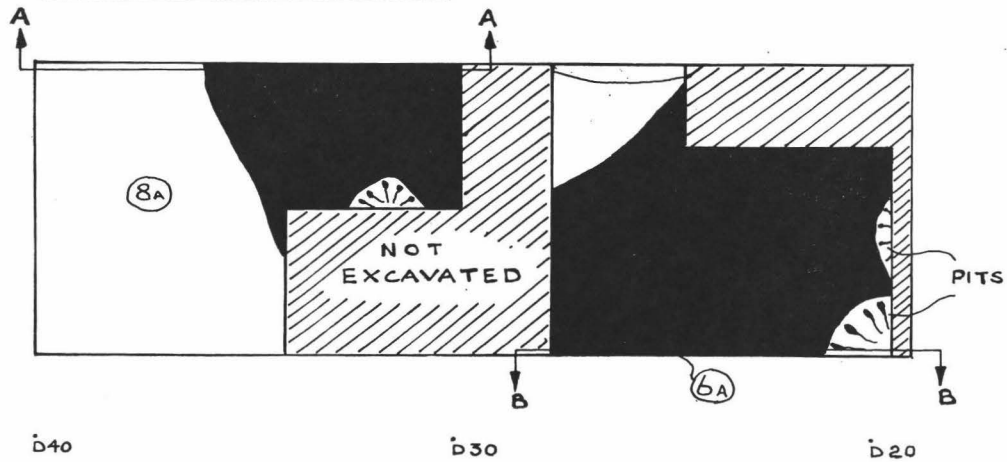
TRENCH D3 SECTION B-B



LAYERS - D3 & D4

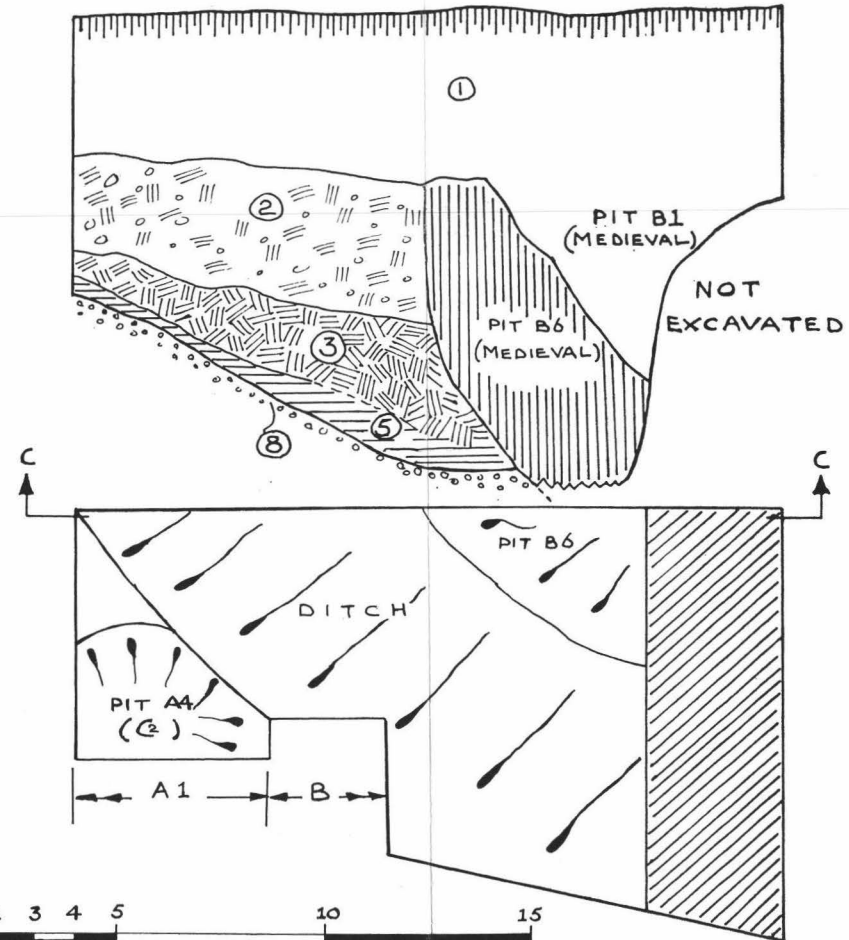
- 1 Topsoil
- 2 Yellow clay with mortar
- 3 Dirty clay with grit
- 4 Brown clay
- 5 Brown clay with sandstone
- 6a Burnt timber
- 6b Brown clay
- 6c Dirty grey clay with flints
- 8a Grey clay
- 8b Yellow clay (natural)

TRENCH D3 & D4 PLAN



AREA 2

TRENCH A1 (PART) & B. SECTION C-C



LAYERS

- 1 Topsoil
- 2 Yellow clay & Roman wall plaster
- 3 Yellow gritty clay
- 5 Clay silt
- 8 Gravel



FIG. 2



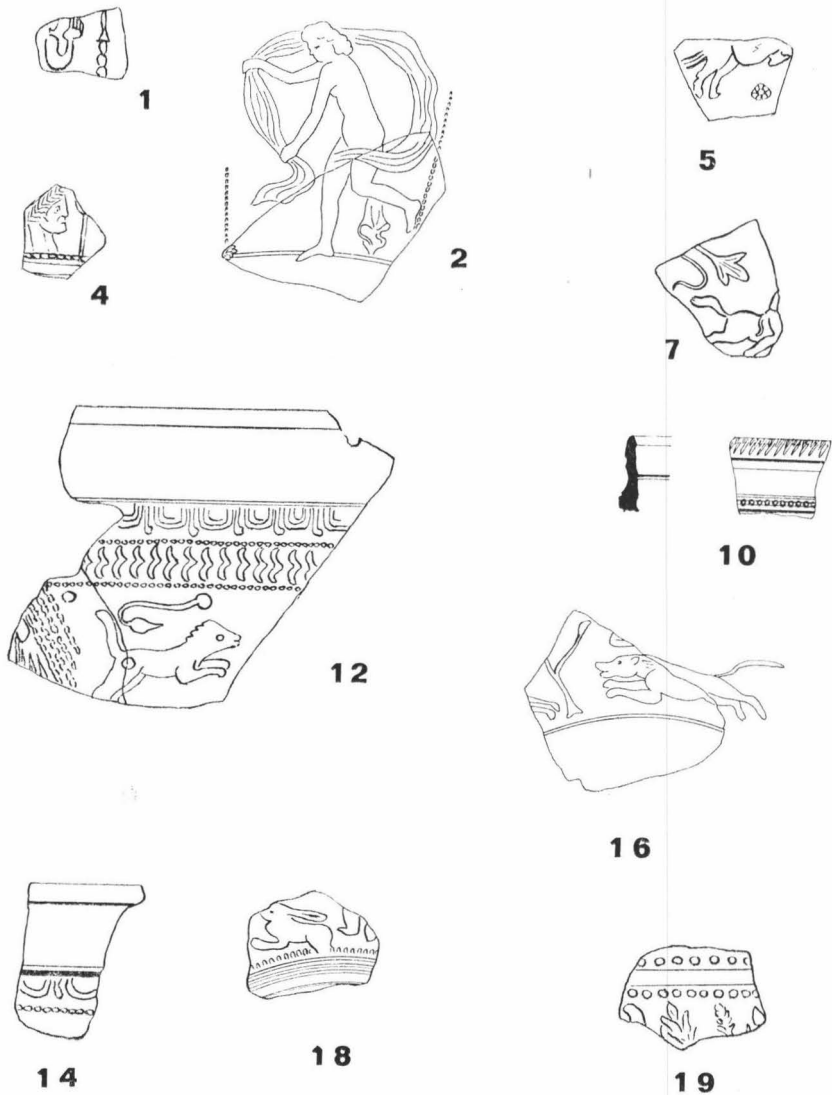


FIG. 3

Figured Samian Ware. Nos. 1-7 Area 2 (Ditch). No. 10 Area 3. Nos. 12-19 Miscellaneous. Scale: 1/1

THE FINDS¹

¹ The following abbreviations have been used in this section:—*Ant. J.*—*Antiquaries Journal*; *Camulodunum*—C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull, *Camulodunum* (Soc. of Antiquaries Research Report xiv, 1947); *C.G.P.*—J. A. Stanfield and G. Simpson, *Central Gaulish Pottery* (1958); *O and P*—F. Oswald and T. D. Price, *An Introduction to the Study of Terra Sigillata* (1920); *Oswald*—F. Oswald, *Index of Figure-Types on Terra Sigillata (Samian Ware)* (1936-7); *R.I.C.*—H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage* Vol. 2 (1926), pp. 101, 197; *S.A.C.*—*Sussex Archaeological Collections*.

THE SAMIAN WARE (see Fig. 3), by G. DANSELL

AREA 2 (Layers refer to Fig. 2, section C-C).

Layer 2

1, 2. Dr. 37. Probably both fragments from the same vessel. The high relief and thick, light brown slip, together with unerased guide lines suggest the work of BVTRIO, as do the figure types of the Danseuse (*Oswald*, 360) and Bacchus, 578c. (*C.G.P.*, p. 61; *Oswald*, p. 52).

3. Coarse orange-red fabric, bright orange slip. Apparently from a flanged bowl similar to *O and P*, pl. lxxi, No. 16. This ware is similar in colour to the general range of 1st century Lezoux products, but the paste is not micaceous. Vessels made from similar coloured clays also appear in Trajanic-Hadrianic contexts, and perhaps this period is more likely for the present piece.

4. Dr. 29. Thin pink fabric, dull red slip. The head (*Oswald*, 1322) appears flanked by an upright pomegranate stalk on the right. The author has discussed this figure-type in *Ant. J.*, xlv, pp. 147-152, and it suffices to say that this sherd fits well with the series there attributed to ALBVS, and should be compared with op. cit., p. 148, fig. 3; the pomegranate is that of the lower zone.

5. Dr. 30. Probably style of DIVIXTVS. Lion (*Oswald*, 1404) above small wreathed ring; both details appear on work of CRICIRO (*C.G.P.*, pl. 117 No. 7); Antonine.

Layer 3

6. Rim of Dr. 18; Flavian. 7. Sherd of Dr. 37; late 1st century.

Layer 5

8. Dr. 31. Smooth, deep red fabric and slip; stamped — — M; Hadrian-Antonine.

AREA 3 (Layers refer to fig. 2, sections A-A and B-B)

Layer 8a

9. Rim of Dr. 27; pre-Flavian.

10. Loeschcke 8 type. The small example of rim approximates closely to type IIb in *Camulodunum*, p. 184, fig. 43, No. 4. Fabric is pink and the slip fine, light brown, glossy. It is not quite so orange as the standard Arretine fabric, though closer to it than early South Gaulish wares, and may be either an Italian product, or one of the so-called 'Provincial Arretine' wares of, as yet, unsettled provenance. Claudian at the latest.

Layer 6c

11. Plate stamped by the potter MONTANVS; who appears to have worked in the period Nero-Vespasian, and probably worked earlier rather than later.

Miscellaneous (from medieval and later pits)

12. Dr. 37. Late South Gaulish product in panel decoration showing a lion (*Oswald*, 1394). The ovolo is similar to one used by PAVLLVS (*Knorr*, 1952, Taf. 50), although in the present example the tongue seems to bend very slightly to the right; late Flavian.

13. Dr. 37; Claudius-Nero. 14. Ovolo in the style of IVSTVS; Antonine.

15. Rim of Dr. 29; Flavian.

16. Dr. 37 in Martres de Veyres fabric. The surface is typically eroded, but it would appear that a dog to the right of a tree is chasing a stag; Trajanic-Hadrianic.

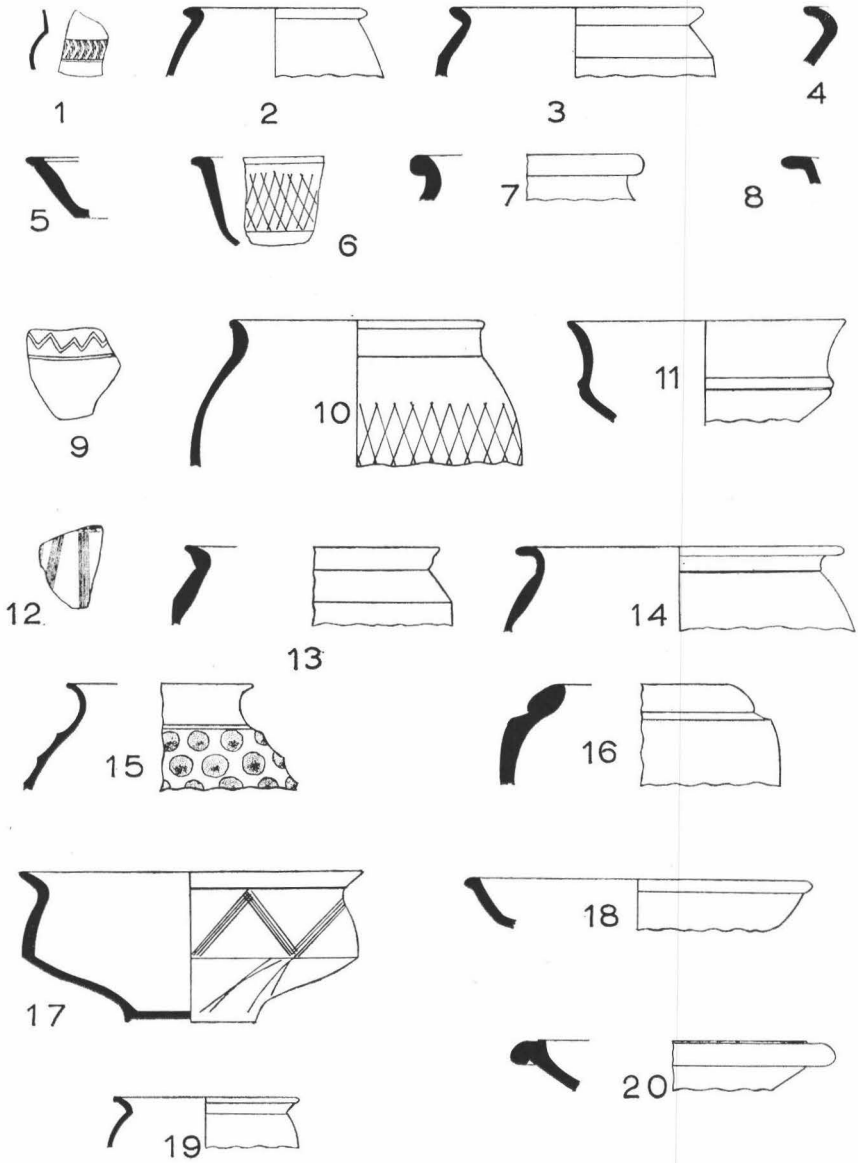


FIG. 4

Roman Pottery, Area 2. Nos. 1-9—Ditch, Nos. 10-20, 2nd century pit
Scale: No. 2- $\frac{1}{2}$. Remainder 1/1

17. Dr. 35/36. Smooth brown-red slip and fine thin pink paste. Almost certainly Nero-Flavian.

18. Dr. 37. Orange-red dull slip, dark red paste; very overfired; the sherd is unusually heavy. Mr. B. R. Hartley has observed this type of almost vitrified fabric from Hadrianic deposits. The rabbit or hare forming the extant decoration is so poorly impressed as to be of uncertain attribution.

19. Dr. 29. Large bead rows either side of central moulding over mixed foliage; Claudius-Nero.

THE COARSE WARE (see figs. 4 and 5)

AREA 2. Ditch (Layers refer to fig. 2, section C-C)

Layer 3

1. Fragment of beaker with rouletted decoration. Fine grey paste with metallic, dark grey slip.

Layer 5

2. Grey ware. 3. Grey ware with traces of white slip inside lip. 4. Grey ware. 5. Platter in grey ware; smooth finish inside (see *Camulodunum*, pl. I, 28a).

Layer 7

6. Grey ware with black burnished surface and lattice decoration. 7. Grey ware (*S.A.C.*, 95, p. 144, fig. 12 (7)). 8. Grey ware. 9. Sherd of hard grey ware with shallow tooled decoration.

AREA 2. Early 2nd century pit (fig. 2, pit A 4)

10. Necked jar in grey ware with shallow tooled lattice decoration. The shoulder, neck and lip have been lightly burnished.

11. Grey ware bowl with burnished exterior; horizontal tool marks on wall. See *S.A.C.*, 94, p. 135, fig. 12 (2), for type.

12. Fragment of beaker in grey ware with dark grey slip; deep vertical combed decoration below a line of punch marks.

13, 14. Grey ware. 15. Narrow-mouthed jar in grey ware with applied decoration *en barbotine* (*S.A.C.*, 80, p. 183, fig. 7 (32a) and p. 185).

16. Grey ware carinated bowl with thickened rim. 17. Grey ware carinated bowl with everted rim and shallow tooled decoration. 18. Grey ware platter.

19. Small beaker in buff ware with everted rim and dark grey slip. 20. Buff ware mortarium; related to *Camulodunum*, pl. lxxii, 193a.

AREA 3 (Layers refer to fig. 2, sections A-A and B-B)

Layer 3

21. Bead rimmed jar in fine grey paste with dark grey slip (*S.A.C.*, 94, p. 128, fig. 9(2) and p. 129).

Layer 8a

22. Fragment of base in heavily gritted dark grey paste. 23. Small fragment of thin red ware with external white slip. (Nos. 22, 23 are not illustrated).

Miscellaneous (from *post* Roman layers; see fig. 5)

24. Grey ware bead rimmed jar; *S.A.C.*, 94, p. 128, fig. 9(2). 25. Grey ware cavetto rimmed jar. 26. Grey ware dish with flat rim, undercut and pulled down.

27. Grey ware small carinated bowl with concave wall; *S.A.C.*, 94, p. 135, fig. 12(2). 28. Grey ware jar with everted rim trimmed flat at the tip. 29. Flanged bowl of grey, gritted ware, burnished black, with tooled decoration.

30. Jar with turned over rim; grey ware with blue-grey slip on lip and shoulder. *S.A.C.*, 95, p. 144, fig. 12 (14).

31. Mortarium in creamy buff ware with stamp on rim. *Camulodunum*, pp. 255, 256, fig. 53 (33), form 195c.

32. Grey ware shallow bowl with grooved rim. 33. Pale buff ware mortarium. 34. Grey ware; *S.A.C.*, 95, p. 142, fig. 11 (12) and p. 141.

35, 36. Roller patterned flue tiles.

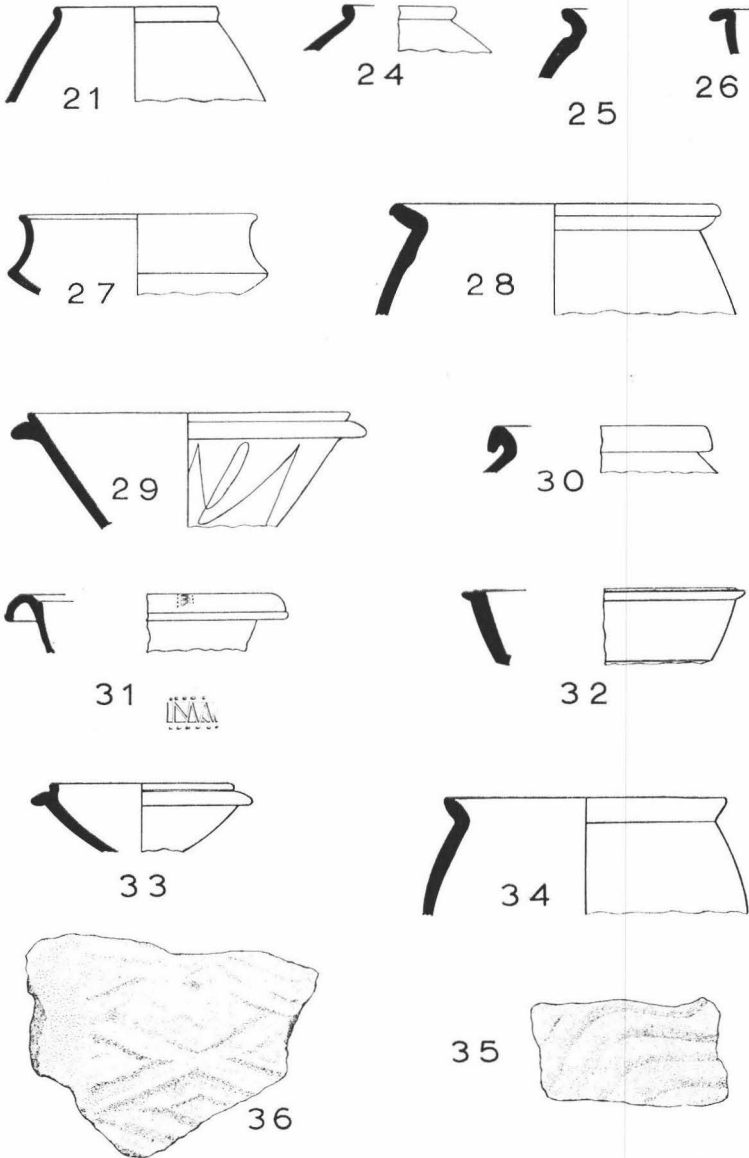


FIG. 5

Roman Pottery, Area 3. No. 21. Miscellaneous: Nos. 24-36
 Scale: Nos. 31 and 33 $\frac{1}{2}$. Remainder—1/1

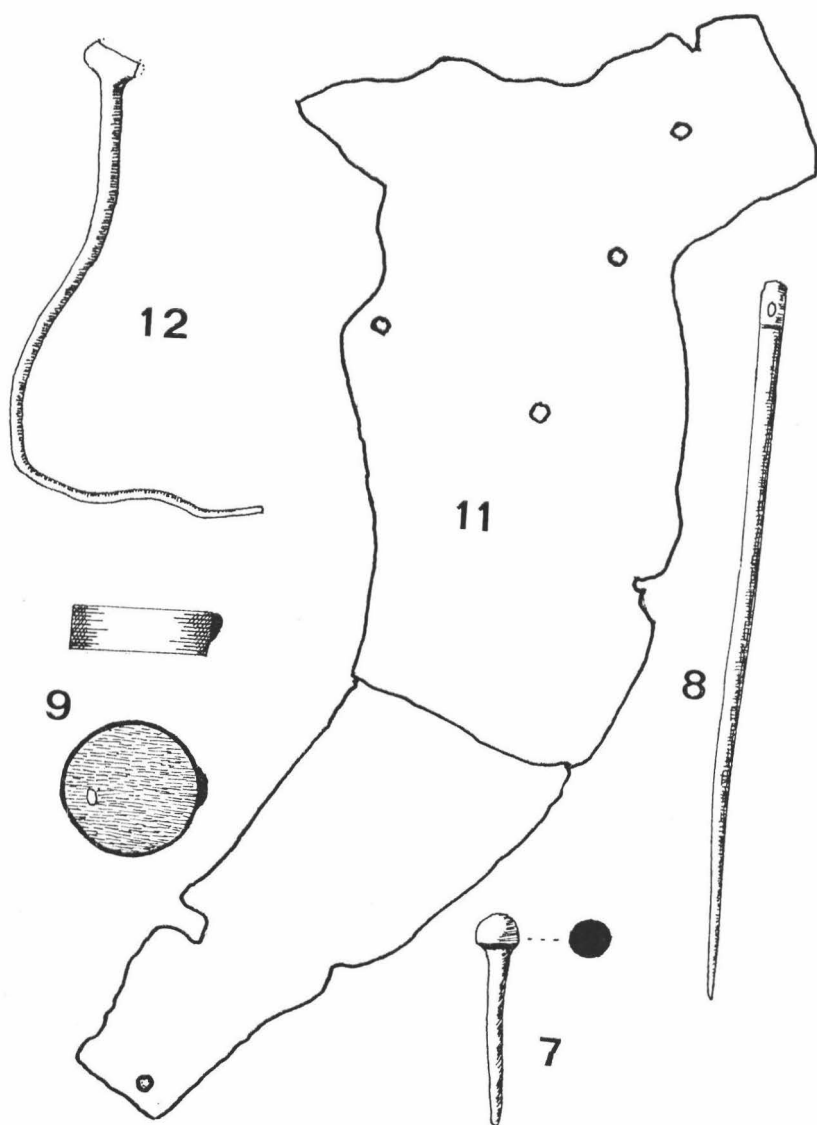


FIG. 6
Small Finds. 1/1

LATER POTTERY

Mr. K. J. Barton, F.S.A., has kindly examined all the medieval and later pottery from the site. This material will be described in a report on *post* Roman pottery from Chichester sites which Mr. Barton is preparing.

SMALL FINDS

COINS

1. *Vespasian* (*Brit. Mus. Cat.* 819). Probably COS IIII SECVRTAS AVGUSTI, c. A.D. 72. Unstratified.

2. *Dupondius* of Vespasian. Mint of Lugdunum, A.D. 72-73. (*R.I.C.* 740). Unstratified.

Obverse—IMP CAESAR VESPASIAN AVG. COS. IIII; head radiate r.
Reverse—Pax standing l. sacrificing out of patera over altar and holding branch.

3. *Dupondius* of Domitian. Mint of Rome (*R.I.C.* 348). From Area 2, layer 5.

Obverse—IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM COS XIII CENS PER P P.
Reverse—FIDEI PVBLICAE SC; Fides standing r. holding corn ears and a basket of fruit.

4. Tetricus I. ? reverse type. Unstratified.

5. Barbarous radiate; minim size; late 3rd century sacrificial implements type. From Area 2, layer 5.

6. Constantine I. *Victoriae laetae* princ. perp. type; mint of London; ? A.D. 317-320. From *post* Roman layer in Area 1.

OBJECTS OF BRONZE AND BONE

7. Bronze pin from *post* Roman layer in Area 1.

8. Bronze needle from Area 3, layer 6.

9. Part of a seal box. Unstratified.

10. Bone gaming counter. Unstratified and not illustrated.

11. Thin sheet of bronze with a number of holes punched through; probably a fitting for a wooden chest. From Area 3, layer 6a.

12. Bronze pin from *post* Roman layer in Area 1.

THE FRANKISH ORIGIN OF THE HASTINGS TRIBE

By C. T. CHEVALLIER

It has long been realised that the name of Sussex, first applied to the whole County when it was still a kingdom, conceals the amalgamation of tribal elements originally distinct.¹ While the Saxon settlement of West Sussex is recorded, though briefly, in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, no doubt because the story was well known to the adjacent Wessex Court where that Chronicle was begun, there is no early historical reference to East Sussex, except for the capture of Pevensey in 491; while except for Henfield in 770 no place east of the Adur is mentioned in any surviving charter until Offa's grant of 772. By this deed the Mercian conqueror, no doubt with a view to consolidating his own power over the *Gens Hestingorum*, which the northern chronicler Simeon of Durham relates he had conquered in 771, bestowed Bexhill upon the Bishop of Selsey, together with outlying dependent lands including Icklesham which reached up to the boundary of Kent. Long after this the Hastings area was regarded as somewhat distinct from the rest of Sussex; for as late as 1011 the A.S. Chronicle includes it in a list of eighteen areas of which all the seventeen others are counties.

The clay Weald and marshy estuaries between the chalk headlands of Eastbourne and Folkestone presented an unwelcoming coast to any invaders. On the other hand, it lay so near to the Saxon colony around Boulogne that small parties of refugee-settlers or seafarers driven off-course could well have constituted this as part of the 'Saxon Shore', along which the forts of Pevensey and Lympne were established to keep guard. In these circumstances it is proper to search for any signs showing whence the settlers may have come. Such signs may be found in some of the place-names.

In three charters dating 689-692² whereby two kings each styled Rex Suthsaxonum conferred lands in West Sussex, 'Wattus rex' signs as a witness. As there is no place name of a 'Wat' or 'What' type in West Sussex, while in the Hastings area several such are found, it has well been suggested that Wattus was a dependent chief there, and therefore that the Sussex kingdom had annexed Hastings by that date. The places in question—Watland in Udimore, Watcombe in Beckley, Watts Hill and Wattle Hill in Ewhurst, Whatlington and Wattleswysch on the north side of Battle—lie in an arc about eight miles inland from Hastings, and beyond the Brede river. They could mark either a westward extension of

¹ A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton. *The Place Names of Sussex* (1929), (abbreviated hereafter to P.N. Sussex), pt. 1, pp. 22ff.

² *P.N. Sussex, loc. cit.* The three charters are set out by E. Barker, 'Sussex Anglo Saxon Charters', in *Sussex Arch. Coll.* 86, 42ff.

a small settlement starting inland from Watland or, if the family was of the Hastinga tribe, a fanwise pushing forward of the Hastinga frontier into the dense Weald between the Brede and the Rother.

Our theme here is that both Watt- and Hastinga and other local names we are about to consider emanate from the extreme north of modern France.

THE BOL-/BUL- NAMES. First, *Bolintun* (or *Bollintun* or *Bulintune*), *Bulwarahethe* and *Buland*, all of which we associate with Boulogne. *Bolintun* is the Domesday name of a large manor within the eastern border of Bexhill.¹ A detached portion of *Bolintun* lay within the Battle Abbey estate, i.e. within 1½ miles of the Abbey.² The Domesday spelling of this is *Bollintun*, but the Abbey Chronicle's version (now perhaps to be dated as early as c. 1090) of the Domesday list gives the name as *Bulintune*,³ and all other references show a single 'l'. Almost certainly this detached portion with its 225 cultivated acres lay in the south-east quarter of the Battle estate, reaching to the slope of Senlac: for otherwise there would have been insufficient open land for the deployment of the Norman forces in 1066. Thus placed, this portion would be closer to, and more easily accessible from, *Buland* (which we discuss below) than to the main *Bolintun* manor to which it belonged before the Norman conquest.

Bulwarahethe was the haven of the *Bulwara* or *Bul-folk* (c.f. the *Baexwara* of the deed of 772 quoted above, meaning the people of Bexhill) which lay at the mouth of the Asten, perhaps a mile further east than today, in a position now submerged opposite the St. Leonards sea front. A footnote to the Domesday record⁴ shows that the twenty burgesses the Count of Eu had there must have belonged to the Burgh of Hastings; though, dwelling on the west bank of the Asten, they were correctly included in *Bolintun*, in Bexhill.

Buland in the late 12th century was the site of two holdings lying two miles east of Battle in the fork between the Brede and Line streams, an attractive position for early settlers if, as seems probable, it was at the head of water attainable by boats. By 1649 it had deteriorated to two parcels of brookland called *Bowland Brook*⁵ but before the inundations of the 13th century it was important enough to be noted in 1218 by Alice Countess of Ow (Eu) in her confirmation of all previous grants to the Abbey of land lying within her father's rape.⁶ Today the property is called 'the Bowlings', the last syllable of which may be thought to reflect, in view of what

¹ *P.N. Sussex Pt. II*, 491 and note.

² V.C.H. *Sussex*, vol. 1, p. 395.

³ M. A. Lower. *Chronicle of Battle Abbey* (1851), p. 14.

⁴ V.C.H. *Sussex*, vol. 1, p. 397.

⁵ T. Thorpe. *Catalogue of Deeds of Battle Abbey* (1835), p. 156.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 43. Previous grants appear on pp. 20, 37.

is shortly to be said, an original name 'Buling', corrupted only in Norman and later documents into 'Buland'.

BOULOGNE. The Gallic name latinised by Caesar as *Gessoriac-um* gave place to *Bononia* before A.D. 343, when the emperor Constans is shown on a medal as returning there after subduing the Picts and Scots in the western seas.¹ Camden in the Kentish section of his *Britannia* records the change of name and adds the interesting statement 'But the Britons called it *Bowling Long*'.² 'Long' may refer to a reach of the sea providing the harbour, or may be a British corruption of *-lond* (= land), but Camden's statement, whatever his source, is evidence that at a very early stage the town bore the tribal name of Bōlung or Bōling. In Latin documents *Bononia* remained the name, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records that the Danish Great Army sailed in 892 to the Rother (Limen) estuary from *Bunnun*. But the Count of Boulogne of 1052 and 1066 was Comes *Boloniae*, and although the first record giving the name in French as *Bolungne* is of the 12th century,³ the presumption is strong, in view of Camden's remark and the fact that Boulogne was the centre of a very early area of Saxon settlement, that *Bolungne* (?Boling-ness, elided) was the local spoken name from the late 4th century.

In support of its Saxon origin the root *bol*, *bul*, *boul* or *bohl*, usually as a suffix, is very common in Jutland and Schleswig, meaning a *building* constructed with planks (c.f. our 'bulwark') i.e. most houses or barns. Some writers consider it a Danish root⁴ but Danish place names can hardly be identified in that area before the deserted Old Anglia was resettled c. 1000, and the root 'bo' or 'bau' is common to all Germanic peoples. The Danish vikings occupied Boulogne more than once, but neither long enough nor early enough to permit of their having imposed the name of *Bolungne* upon the Saxon town.

Bowling or Bouling was probably therefore the submerged but continuing name of Boulogne from 380 to c. 1130. In Sussex we have noted a 12th century *Buland*, a bare two miles from the Bolintun settlement by Battle, respelt *Bowland* in 1649, and for the last hundred years or more called 'the Bowlings'. Was this merely a folk-corruption, by association with a game which could hardly have been played on this uneven ground; or can it be that in popular speech there was no corruption, but a continuous spoken use of 'Bowlings' as the name of a group of settlers—the only

¹ C. Jullian. *Gallia* (1919 edn.), p. 105.

² W. Camden (edit. R. Gough, 1789). *Britannia*, vol. 1, p. 221.

³ A. Longnon. *Les Noms de Lieu de la France*, (1929), p. 87.

⁴ O. Clausen. *Flurnamen Schleswig-Holsteins* (Rendsburg, 1952), 21.

corruption being that from Buling, or Bulingland, to Buland, contained in Norman documents?¹

SENLAC is the name given to the battlefield of 1066 by Ordericus Vitalis, a chronicler who wrote in Normandy about 1125. In the 'street directory' and 'terrier' sections of the Battle Abbey Chronicle, sections now dated back to c. 1116, it appears as Santlache;² and is found later as Sandlak (1248) and from 1260 as Sandlake. From the local details it clearly formed the eastern end of the new town built 1075-1110 to house the dependents of the Abbey, and the name extended down the slope to the springs now covered by the filling of the railway goods-station. Here before 1066 the hamlet presumably lay, in which lived the tillers of the farmlands belonging to Bolintun and two other remote manors. It does not figure in the battle, for it would lie just clear of the advance of William's right flank.

The usually accepted derivation of 'Santlache' is *sand-lacu*, sandy stream;³ but there is no sand about the station or ridge, and at the site indicated there were only springs. But we do find⁴ in 1457 'Sandpettes' a mile downstream towards Buland. This suggests that in the course of several centuries expansion up the valley had carried the name up to the station site.

SENLECQUES. Senlac in the French form in which Ordericus⁵ spelt it appears closely paralleled by Senlecques, a village sixteen miles east of Boulogne, high upon the chalk ridge which, until severed by the Channel, prolonged our North Downs. It lies upon the border between French and Flemish place-names. It is found as *Senleces* in 1199, *Sanleches* in 1298, also as *Senleke* in 1287 and also as *Senleque*. According to A. Longnon, all the names in *-ecque* or *-ecques* represent a germanisation, in the time of the great invasions, of the romanised Gallic ending *-iac(um)*, the final *s* being a nominative ending dating from the 16th century (the date for this last change is surely too late in view of Senleces and Sanleches above).

¹ Bulinga street near the Tate Gallery and Bulinga Fen, the site of Buckingham Palace, suggest a similar settlement from Boulogne with a hythe at the mouth of the Tyburn stream (W. Besant, *Westminster* (1902), p. 11).

² Lower, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 24.

³ W. H. Stevenson. 'Senlac and the Malfossed' in *Engl. Hist. Review* 28 (1913), pp. 292-301.

⁴ Thorpe, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

⁵ Ordericus has been considered 'unreliable' by some English writers for three reasons: (a) he gave a fantastic figure for the size of William's forces—but so did William of Poitiers; (b) he alone among the Chroniclers gives the name of Senlac, which because of the French pun, *sang-lac*—lake of blood—has even been thought to be an invention of his; but the Battle Abbey Chronicle (above) shows that this was in fact the local name; (c) he grafted into one the two distinct accounts of the Malfosse episode—given by other chroniclers—but, so far from this being a stupidity on his part, it has lately been shown (*S.A.C.*, vol. 101, p. 3) that both accounts were true of incidents which occurred alongside. (b) and (c) suggest that this Shropshire-born Norman monk may well have visited Battle.

He instances six names with endings of this type; but two of these, Senlecques and Éperlecques, contain an *l* which his explanation does not cover.¹

Éperlecques stands on a lower ridge, fifteen miles north-east of Senlecques and six miles north-west of St. Omer. It has a hamlet called *Ganspette* a mile to its north-east. It was *Spirliacum* in an 11th century deed and *Sperlake* in 1140—the latter presumably the vernacular form.² This last is of particular interest to us, as showing that *-lake* was also a Flemish form, and when found in Senlac-Sandlake was not necessarily either a word of English origin or an anglicisation of the French spelling, *Santlache*, of the Battle Abbey Chronicle.

Now all three places with this final syllable, Senlecques and Éperlecques in France, Senlac in Sussex, stand on the top of a ridge, or as near to the top as the need to be close to a spring allowed. In this situation *-lacu*, stream, is hardly a suitable explanation of the last syllable of these names, and an alternative should be sought.

As such alternative, the root *laag* or *lach*—the *ch* being guttural—is now put forward. Broadly through North Germany and Holland this ending, akin to 'lager,' signifies a situation taken-up, a camp or village; but in the area with which J. Schmidt-Petersen deals, the western coast of Schleswig,³ he finds various special meanings such as (a) a hamlet or section of a village, (b) a group of farms in the form *börlagh*, which latter came also to mean 'a small piece of communal land, a sandpit or the like'. Relying on the idea of a communal sandpit or a group of farmers sharing such, a derivation of Senlac-Sandlake from *-lagh* seems far more probable than from *-lacu* (stream).

HASTINGA. The theory, last put forward in 1952, that Hastings was founded by a Jutish or Danish forebear of Haesten, the Danish viking leader of 892, cannot be supported. There is no place in Jutland or Schleswig with this root—Hasted was Hattasted in the Middle Ages. Members of the Haesten family are found only in the eastern islands—the original Denmark, at Soro in Zeeland, 12th century, and in Falster in 1231.⁴ The Danes had not completed their absorption of Jutland until c. 600. In England the Hastingas had settled early enough to take root and spread their outposts twenty miles out to Hastingford near Hadlow Down and Hastingleigh beyond Ashford, and to become dominant in Eastern Sussex before Offa subdued them in 771. The earliest recorded Danish raids are in the late 8th century, and the Hastingas must have settled here 200 years earlier.

¹ Auguste Longnon. *Les Noms de Lieu de la France* (1929), p. 87.

² *ibid.*

³ J. Schmidt-Petersen. *Die Orts- und Flurnamen Nordfrieslands* (Husum, 1925), 44, 45, 175.

⁴ *ex info.* I. Wohner, *Stednavnendvalget*, Copenhagen (1958).

The case is however far stronger for a Frankish origin of the Hastings. The Franks—the name may mean ‘fierce’ or ‘proud’,¹ were an association of inland tribes originating in the upper basins of the Weser, Ems and Lippe rivers, east of the Rhine; whence they spread into Belgium and later into Northern France. Between Hanover and Hamelin—an area where names in *-lage* are also found—lie *Haste* and *Hastenbeck*. Next, just west of the Ems, we find *Hastehusen*, a *Hastenrath* (Haste’s clearing) on the Lippe near Wesel; and west of the Rhine a second *Hastenrath* near Aachen. Here the chain ends, for though ‘Hastedun’ the contour fort by Namur, and Hastière further up the Meuse, look promising, the Belgian philologists give these a Gallo-Latin derivation, meaning a plantation producing poles (c.f. Latin *hasta*).² But the German names above suffice to suggest the westward advance of the Hastings as one of the Frankish warrior tribes to the threshold of the North Belgian plain, all of which they came to occupy.

The advance across Belgium brought the Franks into close alliance (c.f. *Beowulf* l.2910) with the seafaring Frisians on the coast, who indeed may have provided the Franks with their king Merewioing (l.2921) or Meroveus, for his name means sea-fighter.³ Turning south towards Gaul he captured Tournai in 446; his son Childeric attempted to expand further but was driven back into Flanders, though leaving many Frankish settlers in northern Gaul. It was left to the grandson Clovis, who succeeded in 482, to establish the kingdom of the Franks throughout northern Gaul before his death in 511.⁴

WATTUS. When the capital was at Tournai the River Aa, issuing at Gravelines, would provide a strong western border for the coastal area. Six miles downstream from St. Omer, and facing west across the Aa, stands a hill 240 feet high dominating the marshes to the north, and having a wide view to the south west, where fifteen miles away stands Senlecques ridge. In the forefront lie Ganspette and the Éperlecques spur behind it. The name of that commanding hill and of the village beside it is *Watten*.

It is submitted as probable that this place was the home of a Watt or Watting who was an ancestor of the ‘Wattus Rex’ of 689, for whose origin no plausible theory has yet been put forward. *Ganspette* too seems reflected here in Sussex, for the origin of Gensing, a very early hamlet overlooking Bulverhythe and today in St. Leonards, has not so far been explained. Two of the three earliest forms of this name are in *Ganes-* and *Gans-*.⁵ Incidental note may be taken too of *Pett* as a place-name just east of Hastings.

¹ J. M. Wallace Hadrill. *The Barbarian West* (1952), p. 46.

² A. Carnoy. *Origines des Noms des Communes de Belgique* (Louvain, 1948), p. 289.

³ J. M. Wallace Hadrill, op. cit.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ *P.N. Sussex, Pt. II*, pp. 6, 535.

If cumulatively the study of all these resemblances carries conviction, at what date should we place the supposed migration? 'Bulings' from Saxon Boulogne could well have been among the earliest Saxon settlers. On the other hand the name Bulwarahythe so near to Hastings may suggest that later settlers were permitted to establish a trading quay, not far from the Hasting tribal capital, which then lay at the junction (long since submerged) of the Bourne and Old Roar streams. But the name of Senlac, clearly from Frankish Flanders, found here so close to Buland, as also Gensing by Bulverhythe, coupled with the likelihood that the Hastings were Frankish, and the resemblance of Wattus and the Watt names in East Sussex to the Watten so close to the comparable villages in Flanders—all these tend to suggest that Bulings and Hastings alike formed part of one invasion or infiltration occurring after the earliest layer of purely Saxon settlements.

As to dating, the death of Clovis in 511 would set the early limit for their arrival, for before then all Franks would be too profitably engaged in conquering Gaul. The marriage of Ethelbert of Kent and the Frankish Bertha, c. 590, would set the date after which any incursion of Franks into eastern Sussex would be unlikely to pass unrecorded. Possibly c. 550, when younger Franks living around Watten, Senlecques and Boulogne would find no Gaulish estates left for them to seize, and no comparable outlet at home, would be the likeliest date for the occupation of the Hastings area by the Hastinga tribe of Franks, including Bulings and the forefather of Wattus Rex.

THE FULLERS OF BRIGHTLING PARK

By MARY C. L. SALT

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*¹ 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,² 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.³ On 21 Nov. 1575, he was assigned the unexpired lease of the manor and demesne of Tanners,⁴ 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 £370.⁵ In 1606, Thomas, earl of Dorset, leased the manor to him for 21 years at £20 yearly,⁶ and on 2 Jan. 1612/13, Richard, earl of Dorset, appointed him collector of rents in the manor of Tanners.⁷ 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,⁸ and in the following year further lands in Waldron to which his father had been admitted in 1564.⁹ This John Fuller died in 1614/15, his will being proved on 30 May 1615¹⁰ and he left the bulk of his property in Waldron, Heathfield, Westham and

¹ 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.*

² 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.

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

⁴ 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.

⁵ R.F. 2/75. ⁶ R.F. 2/146. ⁷ R.F. 2/112.

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

⁹ R.F. 2/19. ¹⁰ 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.¹

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.² 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. 1650,³ and he added considerably to the estate. Among other properties, he acquired on 12 Nov. 1660,⁴ Coggers farm which had been in the possession of Richard Fuller of Mayfield,⁵ and about the same time, Sumner's Brook,⁶ Priors Marsh,⁷ White Dyke and further lands in Waldron.⁸ When John Fuller died on 30 May 1679,⁹ 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 1648,¹⁰ 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 1679,¹¹ 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

¹ R.F. 2/188, 189.

² R.F. 2/79.

³ S.A.C., vol. 32 (1882), p. 30.

⁴ R.F. 5/73.

⁵ R.F. 5/56

⁶ R.F. 2/212-214.

⁷ R.F. 7/31.

⁸ R.F. 2/126, 127, 99.

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

¹⁰ R.F. 5/23.

¹¹ R.F. 11/1.

be used at her pleasure.¹ 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,² 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.³ 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 book⁴ 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.⁵ 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 Journal⁶ 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 1703-1740,⁷ the Journal 1719—c.1745,⁸ the Ledger 1719—c.1741,⁹ the Cash Book 1731-45,¹⁰ and the Letter Book.¹¹ The last contains copies of John

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

⁴ 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.

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

⁷ 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.

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

⁹ R.F. 15/27. ¹⁰ R.F. 15/28.

¹¹ 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.¹ 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,² 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.³ 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

¹ Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 5679, p. 289.

² 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.

³ 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 1734/5¹ 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-master² 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.³ 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.⁴

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 1733.⁵ 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 merchants⁶ 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'.⁷

¹ R.F. 15/27 f. 188.

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

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

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

⁷ 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.¹ 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.² 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 1729³ 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 £215.⁴ 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.⁵ The estate had to be put in Chancery and both father and son had a great deal of business to transact concerning it.⁶

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. 1735,⁷ Carpenters on 24 July 1738,⁸ Stonesland in December 1739,⁹ Dennisland in February 1745/46,¹⁰ 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.¹¹ 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 1727.¹² A sum of £547 9s. 0d. was spent on his education and living from 5 Apr. 1728 to 14 Dec. 1732.¹³ John Fuller

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

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

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

⁸ loc. cit. 145, 146. ⁹ loc. cit. 158, 159. ¹⁰ loc. cit. 160.

¹¹ loc. cit. 163. ¹² R.F. 15/27, f. 305. ¹³ 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'.¹ 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,² 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.³ On 11 Dec. 1732, Rose sailed for Jamaica in the *Catherine*, Captain Bostock.⁴ 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!⁵ 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 complained⁶ 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.⁷ 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.⁸ 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. 1733.⁹ The sugar, however, was not forthcoming annually and Rose continued to haggle over his position. His father in return reproached him for failing to

¹ 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.

² R.F. 15/25 24 Apr. 1731. ³ R.F. 15/28 f. 3.

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

⁶ loc. cit. 24 July 1733. ⁷ loc. cit. 12 Nov. 1733.

⁸ loc. cit. 13 Dec. 1733. ⁹ R.F. 15/25 10 Dec. 1733.

acknowledge the goods sent out to him¹ 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.² This letter was not sent, apparently, but on 3 Jan. 1736/37,³ 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. 1737,⁴ 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.⁵ Eventually, however, John Grover did not sail because of the threat of war.⁶ 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.⁷ 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.'⁸

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

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

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

⁵ loc. cit. July 1738. ⁶ loc. cit. 12 Dec. 1738.

⁷ loc. cit. 29 March 1738. ⁸ 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.¹ 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!² 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. 1740,³ 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. 1741/42,⁴ 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. 1742,⁵ 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 1743,⁶ 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.⁷ 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

¹ loc. cit. 19 Apr. 1739.

² loc. cit. 17 Feb. 1739/40.

³ loc. cit. Oct. ? 1740.

⁴ loc. cit. 1 Jan. 1741/42.

⁵ loc. cit. 31 Aug. 1742.

⁶ loc. cit. 22 June 1743.

⁷ 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.¹ In 1731, he went to Cambridge where his expenses amounted to £217 3s. 2d.² 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 1738,³ 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. 1738,⁴ 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,⁵ 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.⁶ 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,⁷ 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.⁸ There is little further reference to him save for matters arising from Sir John Lade's will.⁹

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

¹ R.F. 15/27, f. 313.

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

⁴ loc. cit. 12 Dec. 1738. ⁵ loc. cit. 17 May 1743.

⁶ loc. cit. 17 Aug. 1744. ⁷ loc. cit. 6 Sept. 1744.

⁸ Berry: *Pedigrees of the Families . . . of Sussex*, p. 278.

⁹ R.F. 15/25 *passim*.

Dear Doctor.

Rochill February 5th 1745

I have Yours of Novemb^r 2th 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 Sussex and Hampshire, which was felt by our Family and now Else in parish, it was just like the Motion of a Ship, and lasted about 3 Seconds and no more and on January the 8th we had the terrible Storm of Wind, that ever I felt, It blew me down 5 Barns in this County, and an Podwace House all built of Bricks at Caney in Kent. So that I think we have as it were Charged 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)

John Alley 14 th Dec 1728	Centre in Cr. 1728
To Cash of Andrew Symon for 400 shillings	By 4 shillings of what will 5 th Dec
By 20 shillings made out 2-0-0	By 2 years longer due 14 th June 1729
To 500 shillings 2-0-0 at 20	
To do for 2 shillings 2-0-0 at 20	
To Cash for 20 shillings the remainder of 12-10-0	
To do for 10 shillings the same of 10-10-0	
June 8 th 1729 To Balance for to John Alley	
for Rich	
15 9 6	15 9 6
John Forge of Mayfield 11 th Dec 1730	Centre in Cr. 1730
July 13 th To half a Ton of Iron	By 17 th Dec 1730 to the same of 9 0 0
March 24 To half a Ton of Iron	for 24 th Dec 1730
1731 Jan 5 th To half a Ton of Iron	By Cash to James Cawthorne 9 0 0
	Centre in Cr. 1733
John Alley 11 th Dec 1733	June 17 th By 40 shillings longer due 14 th June 1733
June 17 th 1733 To Cash for Rich	1733
To a little more by hand bearing date this	
day for 24-0-0 to John Smith	
for 24 shillings due 24 th Dec 1733	
24 0 0	26 0 0
28 0 0	28 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.¹ An entry on 22 Jan. 1732/33² 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 1732-1740,³ 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 linen⁴ and in April following, paid £21 for him to learn to boil sugar.⁵ Two years later on 7 Apr. 1739 John Fuller told Sir John Lade⁶ 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.⁷ On 22 Apr. 1742,⁸ 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 1742,⁹ 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. Serocold¹⁰ asking him to advise Thomas as Mr. Emerson 'may

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

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

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

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

¹⁰ 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. 1740,¹ 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.² He also handled the sugar despatched by Rose.³ 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.'⁴ Later, in 1745, Thomas entered into partnership with George Barclay, merchant, for a term of 7 years.⁵

For Hans, the fifth son, there is only one series of accounts,⁶ 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.⁷ 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 Portugal⁸ 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

¹ loc. cit. 15 Nov. 1740. ² loc. cit. 3 Apr. 1742.

³ loc. cit. 21 Aug. 1744. ⁴ loc. cit. 22 June 1743.

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

⁷ R.F. 15/25 27 March 1736 et. seq. ⁸ 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. 1737,¹ 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 1734.² There is a list in the Letter Book³ 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.⁴ 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 Anne⁵ and he fought another election in 1734. Evidence from the Letter Book⁶ shows that he invoked the Act of 19 Hen. VII permitting the election to be held at Lewes, but it

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

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

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

⁶ 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.¹ The election took place on 9 May and he told Rose² 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. 1743,³ 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 John⁴ 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.⁵ These cover the years 1720-1738⁶ 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 Ledger⁷ deal with the Charity School. This was founded in 1732 with a legacy of £220 from a Mrs. Harbert⁸ 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 schoolmistress, 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!

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

³ loc. cit. 15 Sept. 1743. ⁴ loc. cit. 12 Sept. 1744.

⁵ A survey of parish records in 1952 records no such accounts for Brightling.

⁶ 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.

⁷ R.F. 15/27 f. 384. ⁸ loc. cit.

John Fuller further concerned himself in 1737 with Church affairs when he wrote¹ 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 Horsham² 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 1739³ 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 Journal⁴ 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 works⁵ 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.⁶ Mr. Thomas Courthope Senior received a salary of £13 a year.⁷ 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.

¹ R.F. 15/25 20 Sept. 1737.

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

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

⁶ 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.

⁷ 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.¹ 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,² 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 cord³ 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 1738,⁴ 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.⁵ 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.⁶ 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

¹ *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.

² *loc. cit.* f. 524.

³ *loc. cit.* f. 527.

⁴ *loc. cit.* f. 521.

⁵ *loc. cit.* f. 525.

⁶ *ibid.*

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

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.² 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.³ 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.⁴ 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.⁵ The filler at the furnace was John Harmer, who in Major John Fuller's time received £5 a year but was raised to £6.⁶ Later he was working for 7s. 6d. a founday.⁷ John Standen the forge man received in 1738 £3 a week for 19 weeks.⁸ In 1722, Abraham Holman and his underlings were employed in various capacities at the forge and elsewhere and he received £18 a year.⁹ 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. 1729/30,¹⁰ 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

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

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

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

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

¹⁰ 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.¹ 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'.² 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',³ and again on 13 Nov. 1739, he wrote that he could not supply guns to time because the summer had ended so very wet.⁴ 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.⁵ 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!'⁶

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'.⁷

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;⁸ in 1732-3, £2,151⁹ and in 1734-5, £2,737 16s. 1d.¹⁰ Between 1739 and 1740, 107 guns for the King were proved, 51 refused and 56 sold to one Mr. Taylor.¹¹ 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.¹² Thomas Chatfield also purchased considerable numbers of guns¹³ and Messrs. Cardon and Jarvis undertook barging, pier duty and the freight of guns.¹⁴

¹ loc. cit. 4 June 1737.

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

⁴ loc. cit. ⁵ loc. cit. p. 42. ⁶ loc. cit. p. 45.

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

⁹ loc. cit. ¹⁰ loc. cit. f. 409. ¹¹ loc. cit. f. 455.

¹² 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.

¹³ R.F. 15/27 f. 281. ¹⁴ 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.¹ 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.,² 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'³ and in 1728, 8 days at 20d. a day. In 1725, he and his son Edward⁴ 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.⁵ In 1739, repairs to the brickwork of the house, plastering, building two chimneys were done by them at a cost of £56 7s. 8d.⁶ Work in the new garden was also carried out in 1734⁷ and John Caley mended the wall of the kitchen and paved the cellar in 1730.⁸

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,⁹ 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

¹ R.F. 15/22 ff. 34-36, 159.

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

⁵ loc. cit. f. 339. ⁶ loc. cit. f. 501. ⁷ loc. cit. f. 467.

⁸ loc. cit. f. 378. ⁹ 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.¹

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. 1725,² 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 1729,³ 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.⁴ 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.⁵ In 1732/3, the amount increased to £6,901 3*s.* 3*d.*⁶ and to £8,390 9*s.* 1*d.* in 1733/4.⁷ In 1735-6, the year after his daughter's marriage and his son's apprenticeship, it dropped to £2,294 5*s.* 9*d.*⁸ 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 £2,000,⁹ however, as well as making other

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

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

⁶ loc. cit. ff. 14-26. ⁷ loc. cit. f. 37. ⁸ loc. cit. f. 57.

⁹ loc. cit. f. 82.

payments for his family. In April 1742, the total reached £10,956 2s. 10d.,¹ but had dropped to £3,007 19s. 11d. on 24 March 1742/43.² 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,³ 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.⁴ When he was in London, John Fuller in 1740 stayed at Mrs. Lade's at 3 Crown Court, Southwark.

¹ loc. cit. f. 142. ² loc. cit. f. 153.

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

Sir John Lade died on 30 June 1740 and John Fuller told Rose¹ 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.² The will led to a vast amount of business and an entire volume³ 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 1743,⁴ 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

¹ loc. cit. Oct. 1740?

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

³ R.F. 15/23.

⁴ 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',¹ and John Bray,² 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;³ James Chamberlain £5;⁴ Christopher Deering £7;⁵ Joseph Moor from 1732-39, £6;⁶ and Elizabeth Piper £6.⁷ Susan Waters from 1735-40 received £2 a year.⁸ 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'.⁹ 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;¹⁰ 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 1726.¹¹ 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 Cruttenden¹² 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 1722,¹³ he purchased a light periwig valued at £4 5s. 0d. from one Captain Luckhurst at Tunbridge Wells on condition that he paid

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

⁴ loc. cit. f. 194. ⁵ loc. cit. f. 341. ⁶ loc. cit. f. 327.

⁷ loc. cit. f. 345. ⁸ loc. cit. f. 261.

⁹ R.F. 15/25 26 Feb. 1742/3.

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

¹² loc. cit. ff. 309, 332, 393, 418. ¹³ 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. 1743/44,¹ 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.² 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,³ 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

¹ R.F. 15/25.

² R.F. 15/27 f. 190.

³ R.F. 15/28 ff. 175, 176.

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

¹ R.F. 11/24. John Fuller's will.

THE ROMANO-BRITISH SITE AT BODIAM

By Lieut.-Colonel CHARLES H. LEMMON, D.S.O.,
and Lieut.-Colonel J. DARRELL HILL, M.C.

SUMMARY

This report deals with some exploratory excavations carried out under the auspices of the Battle and District Historical Society¹ in 1959 and 1960 in an area where, as far as can be ascertained, no previous discoveries of Romano-British remains have been recorded. The building remains found were unimportant; but associated with them in a small space were many objects, dating mostly from the middle of the 1st century to about the middle of the 3rd century, which are not easily matched elsewhere. They have been housed in the museum of the B. and D.H.S. at Langton House, Battle. This report also includes the evidence obtained that no estuary could have existed at Bodiam at the time of occupation of the site, as in later times; and also fresh evidence on the course of the Roman road. The fact that such a small area yielded so much gives promise of rich reward if this part of the Rother Valley, particularly the other sites indicated, could be thoroughly examined at a later date. Although there have been preliminary reports,² the publication of details has been delayed until now by the closure for two years of the B. and D.H.S. museum, and by many other unforeseen circumstances.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Our thanks are due in the first place to Mr. H. R. Roberts, Managing Director of Guinness Hop Farms Ltd., for permission to dig in their hop garden, and for generously providing labour to dig trial trenches in 1959. For professional assistance we must thank Mr. J. Manwaring Baines, B.Sc., F.S.A., who gave technical advice in the correlation of levels, and assistance in many other directions; Mr. N. E. S. Norris, F.S.A., for his identification of pottery and metal objects; Mr. D. Thomson for his assistance in the same field; Dr. D. B. Harden, F.S.A., for his examination of the glass; Mr. R. P. Wright, F.S.A., for classification of inscriptions on tiles, glass, and a pottery sherd; Mr. S. S. Frere, V.P.S.A., of the Institute of Archaeology, for identification of two coins; Dr. G. Taylor, Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, for microscopic examination of burnt wood, charcoal and plant remains; Capt. J. Vickers, for information about tides. The excavation in 1960 could not have

¹ Abbreviated hereafter to B. & D.H.S.

² J. Darrell-Hill, 'The Romano-British site at Bodiam Station', in *Sussex Notes and Queries*, vol. 15 (Nov. 1960), pp. 190-92. 'Finds and Fieldwork' in *Transactions of the B. & D.H.S.* No. 8 (1958-59), pp. 27-28, and No. 9 (1959-60), pp. 30-32.

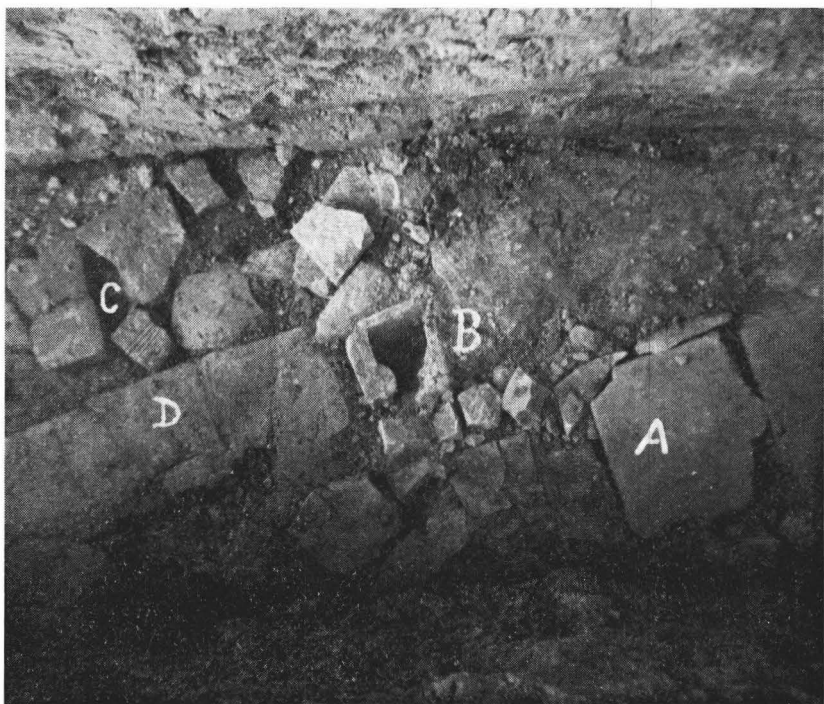


PLATE IA. Level 3 in Trench B, looking N. A—Collapsed drain. B—Flue. C—Combed tile. D—Part of underlying paved area (Level 4).



PLATE IB. The NW part of the paved area in Trench B, with baulk between B and C removed.

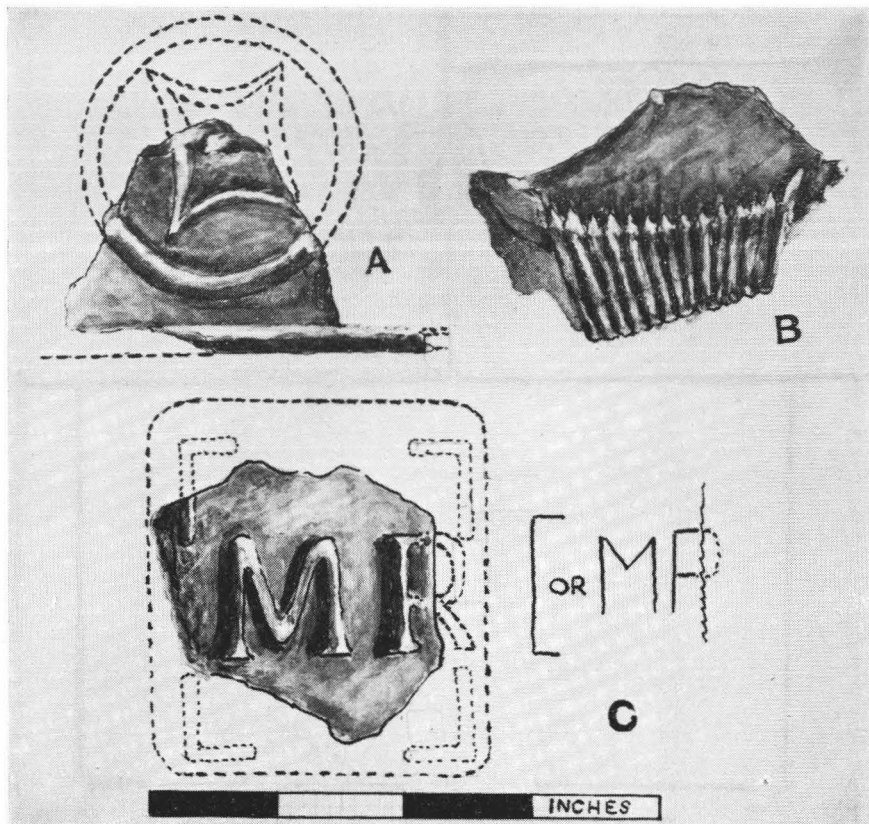


PLATE IIA. Fragments of light blue glass, A.D. 50-150, A and C—bases of bottles, B—part of handle.

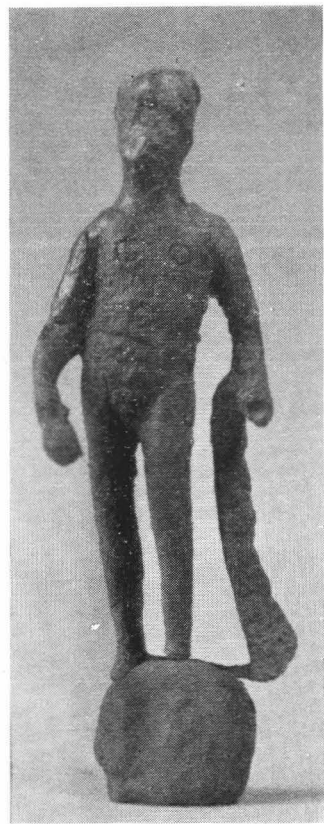


PLATE IIB. Bronze figurine of Mercury, three and a half inches high.

been carried out without enthusiastic and willing diggers, who came from many places and gave what time they could. Among the more regular attendants were Messrs. V. F. M. Oliver, A. Miles, R. Morfey and Mr. and Mrs. G. M. Puckle. To Miss E. Cartwright, of the Institute of Archaeology, who stayed some days at Bodiam, we are indebted not only for work on the site, but also for the restoration of a cooking pot and an urn. To all our helpers we extend our grateful thanks.

BODIAM

Situated at a point where in Roman times the road from the Sussex ironfields¹ to the Watling Street at Durobrivae (Rochester) crossed the river Limen (Rother), it may be supposed that Bodiam was a river port both for shipment of iron, and the import of wares not produced locally; so that a settlement of fair dimensions, situated astride the main road near the crossing, could quite conceivably have developed there. Such a supposition is supported by the discovery of bricks and tiles bearing the stamp of the (Roman) British Fleet, and a figurine of Mercury, the god of traders.

NARRATIVE

In September, 1959, the Guinness Hop Farms Co. Ltd., ploughed up a piece of land which had not been ploughed within living memory. It is bounded on the N. by the river Rother, on the E. by the road between Bodiam railway station and bridge, and on the S. by the disused railway. The Ordnance Survey number of the field is 1/28, and the Nat. Grid Ref. of the relevant part is TQ 783251 (See Fig. 1). As a preliminary, a bank and ditch across the middle and other surface irregularities were levelled, and a plough working at a depth of 12 to 14 inches completed the task. During these operations, Mr. H. R. Roberts, Managing Director of Guinness Hop Farms Ltd., informed us that many fragments of supposedly Roman tiles and pottery were being turned up, and that he had collected several pieces of a large buff-coloured pot. On examining the field it was found that the workmen had collected in heaps some very thick pieces of brick or tile with bosses on them, and a large number of fragments of *tegulae*, one of which was stamped CL BR, the mark of the British Fleet. (See Plate VA). There were also some sherds of coarse grey and black native pottery and one piece of *Terra Sigillata*. (See Plate III 44). These objects had come from a piece of ground, the centre of which is 60 yards due W. of the main road, and 20 yards N. of the railway boundary fence, which is marked Site A on the plan (fig. 1). In another part of the field there was a distinct rise, though probably no more than six inches, in the form of an inverted bowl. As soon as the plough reached this it became obvious that it was the richest part of the whole area. It was designated Site B, and its centre was 20 yards due

¹ I. D. Margary, *Roman Ways in the Weald* (1965), pp. 223, 225.

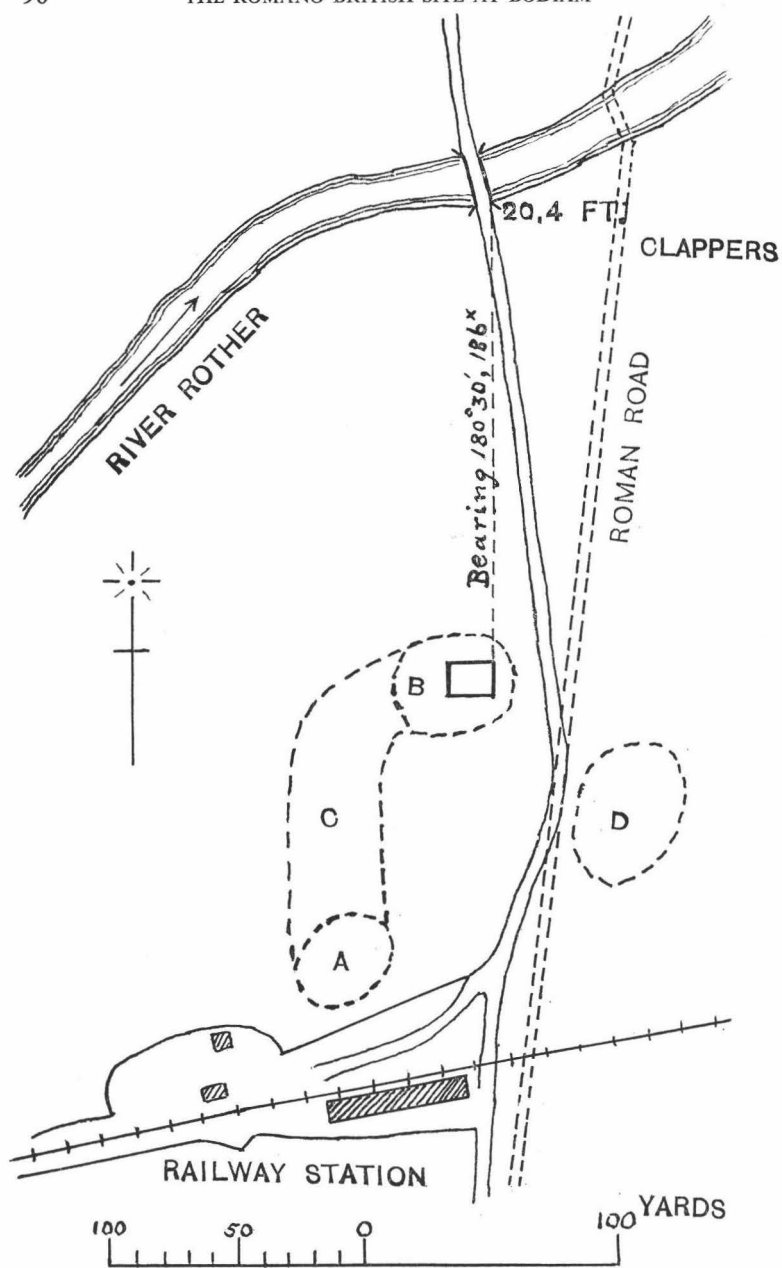


FIG. 1. Situation of the sites

W. of the main road at a point 185 yards S. of Bodiam bridge. Due N. from Site A ran, for 100 yards, a corridor where broken tiles and pottery sherds had been turned up, though in less numbers than at Site A. This area is marked Site C on the plan. In August, 1960, Messrs. Guinness Hop Farms Ltd. ploughed up a field on the other side of the road; and there also, on reaching an area which was slightly elevated, similar Romano-British debris was brought to the surface, and in addition some pieces of medieval pottery. This area, which is somewhat closer to the road than Site B, is marked Site D on the plan. Actually it was only at Site B that any excavation was carried out, and the remaining areas are recorded here for future reference.

THE TRIAL TRENCHES

In September, 1959, Messrs. Guinness Hop Farms Ltd. not only gave permission for small trial trenches to be dug for the purpose of ascertaining whether further excavation at a later date would be worth while, but also kindly provided two men for the work. At Site A a trench 15 yards long and three feet wide was dug parallel to the railway at 20 yards from the goods yard fence. This yielded a small quantity of broken tiles and red, buff, grey and black pottery sherds. As time pressed and Site B seemed more important, digging was stopped at two feet six inches, so that the examination of Site A was but superficial.

At site B two trial trenches were dug to a depth of three feet about E5 and B1 (see fig. 2). Almost immediately portions of massive tiles were unearthed, then a small bronze figurine, an inscribed pottery sherd, and some fragments of glass, one piece of which bore moulded letters. Bad weather then set in, and it was decided, as the trial trenches had shown the importance of the site, to make a more extensive excavation in the spring, to discover, if possible, its use and purpose.

THE EXCAVATION

A start was made at Easter, 1960, by which time a square pattern of hop poles had been erected all over the field. The poles were 19 feet 6 inches apart; a hop plant had been planted at the foot of each, and two more equidistant between them, from which strings ran to wires above. There were thus alley ways 6 feet 6 inches wide running in both directions. Permission was obtained for a limited excavation, provided that the young plants were not damaged. The only way to examine the area was to cut trenches, three feet wide in the alley ways, leaving baulks, three feet six inches wide for the poles and hop plants. Seven alleyways, running east and west, were selected for continuous trenches 54 feet long (marked A to G on fig. 2). Each was divided into six sections, so that a means of recording by letters and numbers was provided. A, B, C and D trenches were dug to their full length, E where required, G partially,

and F was not dug at all. Where features were exposed the baulks between adjacent trenches were, where necessary and possible, cut through. The normal depth of the trenches was three feet nine inches. In certain places digging was carried to four feet nine inches; but water began to seep in at about four feet three inches. In part of E trench digging, greatly hampered by water, was carried to a depth of five feet six inches. Disposal of excavated earth gave trouble; in fact no sooner had a trench been excavated and examined than it had to be refilled with earth from its neighbour, which meant that at no period was it possible to survey the excavated area as a whole.

At an average of 24 inches below the surface a turf line was found, representing a former ground level. The silt between the present and old ground levels contained a few pieces of broken tile and small sherds of black and grey pottery. Below the old turf line the ground was well stratified, and no less than eight occupation levels were noted; but, owing to the awkward conditions imposed, no complete sectional diagram could be made. The distances from the surface at which the levels appeared, as stated below, were taken in a section made in A5 and B5, and varied in other parts of the site.

Level 1, immediately below the old turf line consisted of reddish

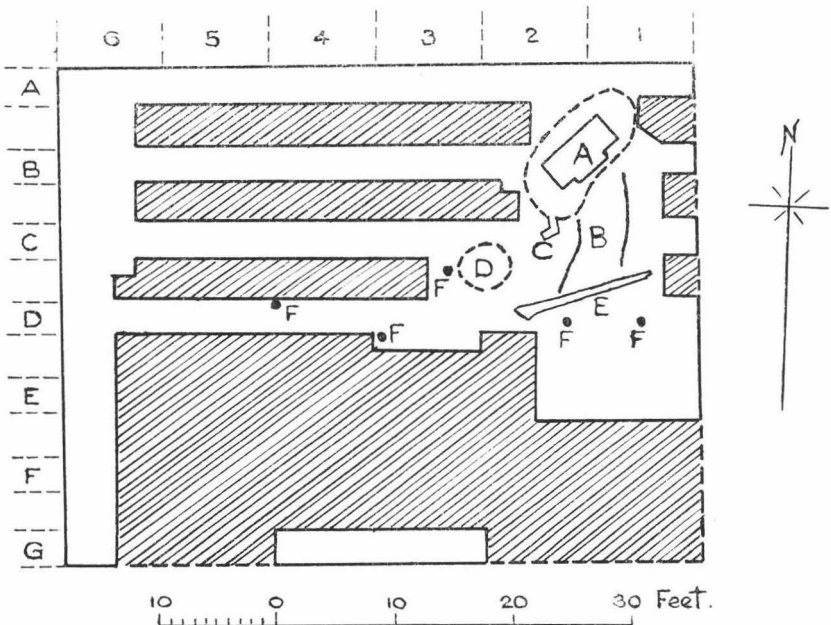


Fig. 2. The excavation at site B.
A and D—paved areas, B—path, C—flanking wall, E—wall, F—post holes.

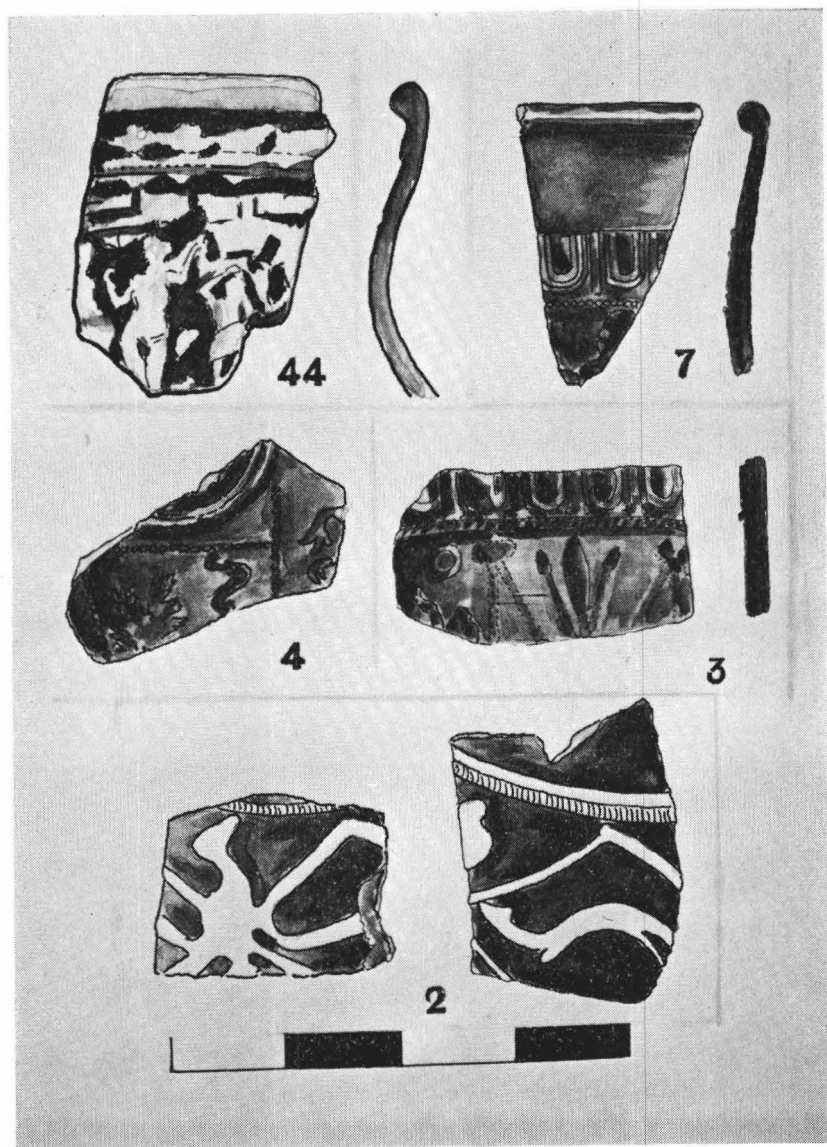


PLATE III. Patterns of Terra Sigillata. Reproduced from sketches, owing to water-worn condition. Scale of inches.

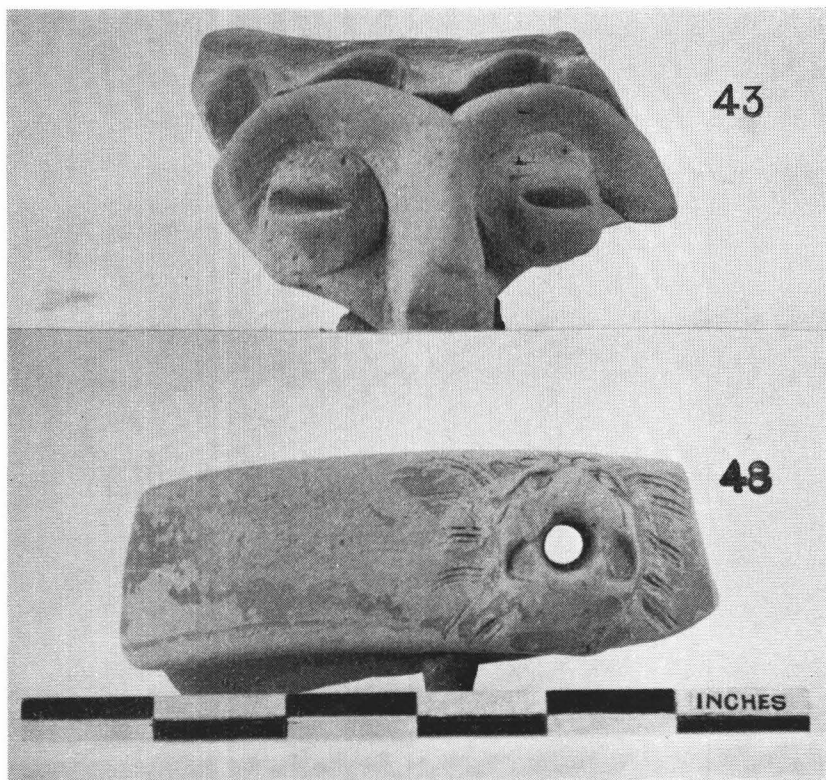


PLATE IVA. 43. Portion of Face Vase. 48. Rim of basin with lion-head orifice.

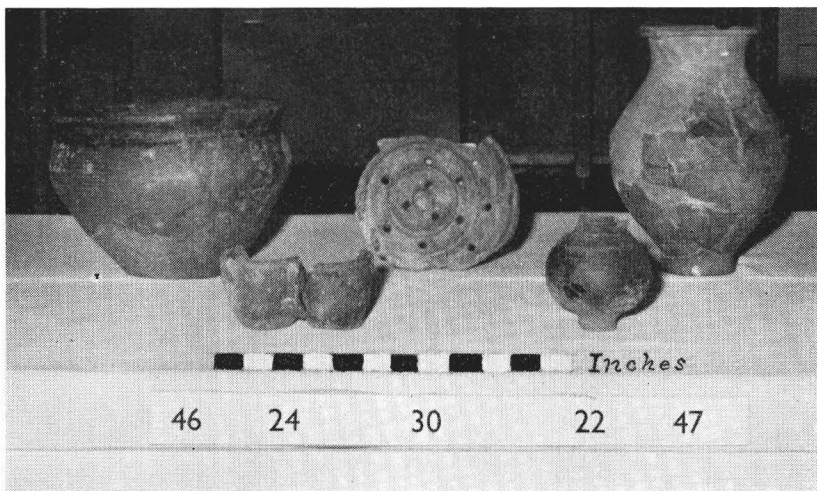


PLATE IVB. 46. Native cooking pot. 24. Two parts of triple votive vase.
30. Cheese Press. 22. Poppyhead beaker. 47. Native urn.

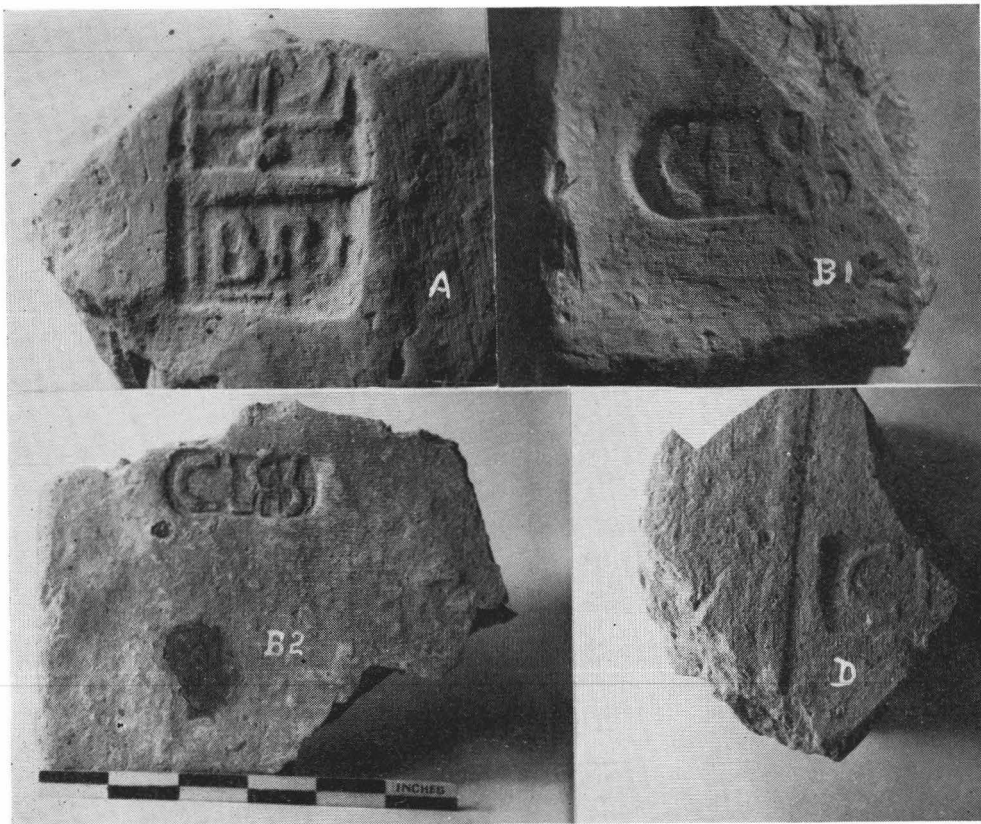


PLATE V. Stamps of the British Fleet. A—Pevensey type, B1—Bardown type, B2—Bardown type (variation), D—Unmatched elsewhere.



clay. Water-worn sherds of black and grey pottery were mixed indiscriminately with pieces of tile, many of which were fixed upright, or at various angles in the soil.

Level 2, at 26 inches from the surface, had soil of yellow clay, in which were embedded a large number of tile fragments, and below which was a layer of charcoal. Although there was a clear distinction between Levels 1 and 2 in some places, there was for the most part considerable confusion between them, caused possibly by early cultivation, or the flooding of the Rother valley from the 13th century onwards. No *Terra Sigillata* was found in either level.

Level 3. When the mixed debris of Levels 1 and 2 had been cleared away, the soil of level 3, beginning at 29 inches, was seen to consist of yellowish clay with a charcoal layer at the bottom. In section 2 of B trench a line of contiguous tiles was exposed, with fallen bricks and tiles on both sides, the whole forming a rough drain, 11 feet 2 inches long, which enclosed the typical grey deposit associated with water. This feature ran SW and NE, and when found in trench A, the intervening baulk was taken down. On the N side of the drain, standing vertically, were three small flues formed of tiles (see Plate 1a).

Level 4 began in trenches A and B at 31 inches. It extended over the whole examined area, and was hard and heavily carbonised. On removing the drain and fallen masonry of Level 3 in A1 and B2, a few pieces of *Terra Sigillata* being found in the process, an elongated kidney-shaped area about six feet by four feet was disclosed. It was outlined in lumps of local sandstone and very roughly paved with tiles grouted with brickdust (see Plate 1b). It was then seen that the drain and the flues of Level 3 had been merely standing on the floor, and that the latter had not been fulfilling their proper function. On and around the paved area lay a large number of broken *tegulae*, mostly in a very fragmentary state, piled upon a bed of ashes. Some lumps of clay daub, bearing the imprint of battens, and corresponding pieces of charcoal in association with them, as well as the tiles which appeared to have slipped off the roof and fallen into heaps in A and B, sections in 4, 5 and 6, as well as C 5 and 6, were evidence that some wattle and daub structure had been burnt down. The ash bed of Level 4 was deeper towards the NW of the site and faded out towards the E and NE. When the paving tiles had been taken up, it was found that they had been bedded on well-rammed brickdust.

At the SW end of the kidney-shaped area was a short piece of flanking wall with a right-angle bend, built of loose sandstone, and about seven feet further to the SW lay another very roughly paved circular area, three feet in diameter. Close to its W side was a post-hole.

In D2 the end of a very rough wall was disclosed. It measured 12 feet long, one foot nine inches high, and 15 inches thick.

It consisted of pieces of sandstone and tiles, one fragment of the latter bearing a CL BR stamp (see Plate V B2). Here two Sestertii of Trajan were found, one at the foot of the wall, and the other, associated with another tile fragment stamped CL BR, on the small circular paved area quite close. The wall, running SW and NE, was slightly curved and ended abruptly, the SW end being thickened to form a roughly circular termination.

A very hard and heavily carbonised surface about ten feet long and four feet wide, formed a sort of path leading from the paved area to the middle of the wall. All these features can be assigned, like the paved area, to level 4, which extended over the whole area examined. On the same level in A3 was found a masked face from a face vase, and in B3 a cheese press and the base of a *Terra Sigillata* bowl with potter's mark.

Level 5 at 39 inches was found to have a soil of yellowish brick-dust packed with clay and well rammed down. It was not specially hard, though it had a marked cohesion in the centre. It petered out towards the SE at about five feet from the wall. At C5 a portion of a small black vase and a *Terra Sigillata* sherd depicting a gladiator (No. 8 on pottery list) were found.

Level 6. The soil of this level, which began at 43 inches, was of reddish clay, well preserved and remarkable for its hardness. It had a layer, one inch thick, of charcoal at the bottom, and petered out towards the SE at about six feet from the wall. It yielded some small sherds of *Terra Sigillata*. Under the SW end of the paved area, and at right angles to its longer axis, lay the short, slightly upheaved, floor of some kind of oven or kiln, or even perhaps a simple form of hypocaust. It measured only three feet by one, and some attempt had been made to reinforce the E wall with fragments of tile and even pottery. A pile of ash and burnt wood lay at the SE corner.

Level 7 at 45 inches contained a high proportion of charred wood, particularly in section 5 between B and C. A badly corroded coin, doubtfully assigned to Antoninus Pius, was found in D4. It was the area of the smallest settlement, and petered out about six feet from the wall. It was the lowest level at which pottery was found.

Level 8 at 48 inches rested on the basic clay. It was only partly covered by Level 7, though overlapped by it to the S. The soil consisted of reddish clay which was particularly hard, resembling concrete in B4-5 and C4-5. It contained only some disintegrated tiles mixed with charcoal.

The basic clay at 54 inches below the surface, on which Level 8 rested, was light bluish-grey, very soft, but of extreme tenacity when dug. It sloped towards the NE and also towards the S; so that the first settlement, which was quite small, must have stood on a small hummock. In part of trench E digging was continued down into the basic clay to a depth of 66 inches, at which depth an ebony-black

tree trunk or plank, eight inches broad, was found lying athwart the axis of the trench. On account of the influx of water it could not be removed.

COINS

(1) Sestertius of Trajan (A.D. 98-117). Obverse: laureate head facing right. IMP CAES NERVAE TRAJANO. Reverse: Figure of Felicitas facing left. AUG. GER. DAC. PMX. . . COS. VI. P. . . T.

[From footings of rough wall at Level 4, associated with a brick impressed CL BR]

(2) Sestertius of Trajan . . . IMP NERVA TRAJANOS

[From the small circular paved area at Level 4, also associated with a brick stamped CL BR]

(3) Sestertius of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180). Laureate head facing right, profile well marked, but legend illegible.

[Ploughed up at site A, and picked up by an employee of Messrs. Guinness.]

(4) Sestertius of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161).

From Level 7 at D.4. Badly corroded and identification very doubtful.

The identifications of (1) and (2) were made by Mr. S. S. Frere.

GLASS (See plate IIa)

The glass found was all blue-green in colour and fragmentary; the chief items being:—

(1) Portion of base of a square bottle of three inches wide, embossed MR (or MP), and showing the end of an embossed angle piece.

(2) A similar fragment, embossed with a circular design.

(3) Portion of the ribbed handle of a vessel.

(4) Fragments of window glass, one side matt, the other glossy.

Other small fragments were all pieces of rectangular bottles, two showing portions of ribbed handles, two of portions of the moulded designs of bases, and the rest were parts of the sides.

Dr. D. B. Harden, Director of the London Museum, to whom it was submitted, assigned all of it to the period A.D. 50-150, and remarked that he could find nothing approaching (1) in Kisa's book or his own notes. He considered (4) to have been cylinder blown, and not made in a flat mould by pouring and rolling out. He passed the glass to Mr. R. P. Wright, editor of *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, who concurred with the conclusions of Dr. Harden, and said that he had had no example of (1) in Britain.

[If a conjecture is permitted, it might be that M stood for *MUNUS*, that the next letter stood either for *PUBLICUM* or *ROMANUM*, and that the mark was equivalent to our W.D.]

POTTERY

Terra Sigillata (See Plate III)

1. Three fragments of Mortarium Form 45. Begins late 2nd, and is especially characteristic of early 3rd century.

2. Rim and part side of bowl with barbotine leaves on curved flange. Development of Curle 11. Trajan-Hadrian. (cp. May York pl. IX 10). [Illustrated].

3. Small part of decorated cylindrical bowl Form 30. Begins early 1st century, lasts until 3rd quarter of 2nd century. Common in Antonine period. [Illustrated].

4. Seven fragments of hemispherical decorated bowl Form 37, with later form of decoration, probably Antonine. [One illustrated].
5. Part of form 78 with ovolo border. Developed from earlier form 30. No evidence after Trajan.
6. Three rivetted fragments, one rivet still in hole.
7. Decorated fragment Form 37. [Illustrated].
8. Decorated sherd, Gladiator, on form 33.
9. Seated male figure on form 33, panel and metope decoration.
10. Base of cup, form 33, potter's mark PISTILI. Pistillus worked at Lezoux in Antonine period.
11. Six sherds of Mortaria, Form 45, one having lion-headed spout. Late 2nd-early 3rd century.
12. Fragment of cylindrical bowl, Form 30. Early 1st-3rd quarter 2nd century.
13. Two fragments, Form 32. Last quarter 2nd and characteristic of 3rd century.
14. Three fragments of biconical cup, Form 27. Late 1st, and lasts well into 2nd century.
15. Campanulate cup, Form 46. Main period mid-2nd century.
16. Fragment, Form 38. Late form of Curle 11. Hadrian to Trajan.¹

Imitation Terra Sigillata

17. Fragment white slip painted, probably New Forest Ware, 4th-5th centuries.
18. Base of imitation Form 45, in colour coated ware.

Native Ware

19. Large sherd of New Forest Ware 'Thumb Pot', with hard purplish glaze and rouletted pattern.
20. Part rim and side of copy of Castor or New Forest ware 'Thumb Pot'. Coarse vesicular ware. Unusual in native paste. Probably 3rd century.
21. Major part of thin grey fumed ware bulbous beaker with acute lattice decoration and small everted rim. Type extends from Flavian period (Newstead) to Antonine period.
22. Poppyhead beaker of grey fumed ware, decorated with raised dots. Common from late 1st to middle of 2nd century. (See Plate IVb).
23. Small wide-mouthed jar of coarse ware. 2nd or 3rd century.
24. Two small bucket-shaped vessels with evidence of being joined by clay luting.
25. Base of cavetto-rimmed olla, probably 2nd to 3rd century.
26. Rim of coarse ware jar, resembling 25 and probably of the same date.
27. Rim of jar with incised cordon decoration and chevron pattern. Made on 1st century design, but with later everted rim. Probably 2nd or 3rd century.
28. Side of porringer with small bead rim, 3rd century.²
29. Similar to and of same date as 28.³
30. Cheese press. Coarse ware.
31. Fragments of shoulder of jar with incised decoration. Probably 1st-early 2nd century.
32. Part of lid or platter. Late.
33. Rim of flagon. Late 2nd century type. Collingwood type 52.
34. Fragment of later native ware of chalky paste with applied finger-impressed band derived from Iron Age form.
35. Handle of amphora. Late type.
36. Two fragments of mortaria. 3rd century.
37. Three portions of porringers. Mid-2nd century.⁴
38. Almost certainly globular amphora. Collingwood type 94. Antonine onwards.

¹ Oswald and Price, *Terra Sigillata*, Pl. LXXI, No. 18.

² Cf., 'West Blatchington'; in *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (abbreviated hereafter to *S.A.C.*), p. 235, Pl. 9, No. 92.

³ *Op. cit.*, Pl. VIII, No. 85.

⁴ Cf. K. M. Kenyon, *Excavations at the Jewry Wall Site, Leicester* (1948), Pl. 19, figs. 11 and 20.

39. Two fragments of a large mortarium with unusually large grit.
 40. Part of base of large vessel, cream-coloured ware with combing.
 41. Flange rim of colour-coated mortarium, 3rd century.
 42. Two Castor ware bases, 2nd century.
 43. Portion of Face Vase.

Figurines

- (i) Bronze figurine of Mercury. Poorly moulded and limbs elongated. Native work, probably 2nd-3rd century. (See Plate IIb).
 (ii) Small part of bronze figurine (?) cast on a clay base.

Identification of the above items of pottery and figurines was made by Mr. N. E. S. Norris, F.S.A. He submitted three objects to Mr. D. Thomson, who reported on them as follows:—

30. *Cheese press*. Although uncommon, these have a wide distribution, appearing *inter alia* at Jewry Wall Leicester,¹ Colchester, Halstead Kent, York,² Wroxeter³ and Richborough.⁴ It is stated that cheese presses or squeezers are impossible to assign to any one period, the date will depend on the context in which found and the type of paste. In this case the paste may be dated to the 3rd or 4th century. (See Plate IVb).

24. *Triple vase*. It seems quite probable that you have found two parts of a triple vase. These, it has been suggested by May, had a religious purpose. Again, they are not very common. In the past it was suggested that they were used to contain daily offerings of flowers and incense before household gods' shrines, as they have been found in association with incense bowls. As it is difficult to see any other reasonable use and because of their comparative rarity, I would suggest that a religious use is more likely, and this is borne out by the known use of similar vessels in earlier classical antiquity. The paste and form of the Bodiam triple vase would give it a date in the third or fourth centuries. (See Plate IVb).

43. *Face vase*. These vessels May suggests in his 'Roman pottery found at Colchester' had a special purpose and significance as votive objects. Often they had dedicatory inscriptions as one found at Lincoln, inscribed DO MERCURIO (I give this to Mercury). For the most part they seem to have been made in Germany. From the type of paste, a red sandy ware, I would suggest that this example may have been produced in the same area as the tazza incense bowls. Face vases are not common in this country. They have been found at York, London, and a large number at Colchester. This is, as far as I know, the first example to be found in Sussex. (See Plate IVa). While some of the objects you have found seem to have religious associations, it would be wrong, I feel, to assume that you have a religious site, since these finds and the figure of Mercury . . . could indicate a domestic shrine in a Roman dwelling,

¹ Op. cit., pp. 205-6.

² May, p. 96, and Pl. XXII 20.

³ J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Excavations at Wroxeter in 1912* (1913), p. 71.

⁴ J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Excavations at Richborough*, No. 2 (1928).

and on the whole in the absence of definite and additional evidence to the contrary, I should think that this was the safe conclusion.

OTHER POTTERY

44. Sherd of *Terra Sigillata* bowl with design of dancing girls. Picked up on the surface at Site A. (See Plate III).

45. Triangular sherd of light grey pottery bearing the graffito AD IS with the S reversed. This sherd, found in a 1959 trial trench at Level 4, measures three inches by two inches and is .24 of an inch thick. It came from the cylindrical top of a vessel which had no rim. The interior diameter of the neck was 10.4 inches. The inscription is in cursive script, scratched on the clay before baking. A diagonal line before the A appears to mark the beginning, and a slightly wider space between D and I suggests that AD is a separate word.¹ The sherd was submitted to Mr. R. P. Wright, F.S.A., who reported, 'I can find no name to match this'.

46. Coarse grey-black native cooking pot, 2nd or 3rd century. Restored by Miss E. Cartwright at the Institute of Archaeology. Found at C5 in level 5. (See Plate IVb).

47. Grey-black native urn, restored at the Institute of Archeology. (See Plate IVb).

48. Rim of shallow *Terra Sigillata* basin, with lion head orifice for pouring. Wallside type, late 2nd to early 3rd century. All gloss removed by water. (See Plate IVa).

BRICKS AND TILES

Terra Mammata. From the time when attention was first directed to the area, and during excavation at both sites, fragments of very thick tiles (or perhaps they should be called bricks), bearing bosses, were found. In every case the bosses were found uppermost. Their distribution was haphazard, and in no case could any direct evidence be obtained of their purpose. The tiles were of two sizes; and eventually it was possible to reconstruct from fragments one of the larger type. It measures $23\frac{1}{2}$ inches (two Roman *pedes*) square, and two inches (*unciae*) thick, with a boss three inches in diameter and one and a quarter inches high placed two inches from each corner. These bosses must have been inserted as round balls when the clay was damp. The size of the smaller tiles was estimated from fragments to have been 17 inches by 11 inches by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches, with four proportionately smaller bosses. Similar tiles, of varying sizes and with a varying number of bosses, have been found at Canterbury, Dover, Colchester, Verulamium,² Angmering³ and Ashted Common.⁴ Many suggestions have been made as to their use, but it seems most likely that they were used in lieu of flue tiles

¹ A much smaller goblet of buff ware with a cylindrical neck, late 3rd or 4th century, was found at Verulamium. It bears MAURUSI in cursive script in a similar position on the neck. R. E. M. and T. V. Wheeler, *Verulamium* (1936), Pl. CXV B and p. 138.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 141.

³ Angmering tiles had two bosses, placed either diagonally, or both at one end. *S.A.C.*, vol. 79, p. 20.

⁴ A. W. G. Lowther, in *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 1926-7-8.

as part of a hypocaust system, either to enable the hot air to circulate under the floor,¹ or up the walls.²

Stamps of the British Fleet (see Plate V). Eight fragments of bricks and tiles bearing the stamp of the (Roman) British Fleet (CL BR, standing for *Classis Britannica*) were found, and submitted to Mr. R. P. Wright, F.S.A. He reported as follows:

- (a) CL (inverted): BR, one *tegula*.
- (b) CLBR with the BR inverted, three bricks.
- (c) CL (triangular stop) BR, poorly impressed, one *imbrex*.
- (d) CL (triangular stop) BR, with stop and letters thinner than in (c); one brick and two *tegulae*.

Mr. Wright published these findings in *Roman Britain 1960. Journal of Roman Studies* (JRS) No. 29, p. 196.

- (a) Was of the Pevensey type,³ found as described at Site A.
- (b) Were of the Bardown type,⁴ and came from Level 4; two being associated with *Sestertii* of Trajan. The BR is an inverted monogram, and in one case is touched by the L.
- (c) Poorly impressed because of the curving surface, was of the Cranbrook type,⁵ and came from Level 3.
- (d) The stamps of this type, like (c), have square corners, while the corners of (a) and (b) are rounded. The lettering, instead of being crude and square, approximates more to that seen on Roman monuments.⁶ A triangular stop separates CL and BR, and the letters can all be read from the same side. Mr. Wright reported that they seem to be unmatched elsewhere. The three examples all came from Level 3. Four of the stamps are illustrated on Plate V, B2 being the only perfect specimen found, and D, though not including the stop, shows the best lettering of the three (d) specimens, and might, perhaps, be designated the 'Bodiam Type'.

Roofing tiles. These were nearly all broken into such small fragments that it was not practicable to estimate the predominant size. It was, however, established that they were not hung, but supported from the bottom of the roof; and, as found at Canterbury,⁷ that there were two devices to prevent slipping. One type had a rectangular cut-away, with vertical sides at the end of the flanges, and the other had similar slots in the same positions which were chamfered.

¹ S. E. Winbolt, *Roman Folkestone* (1924), p. 105. For illustration see J. Mothersole, *The Saxon Shore* (1924), p. 29, fig. 26.

² The late Professor Richmond in conversation. He called them *Terrae mammatae*, and said that they were common in Rome, though somewhat rare in Britain.

³ *S.A.C.*, vol. 51 (1908), p. 112, and *Ephemeris Epigraphica* IX 1276b.

⁴ I. D. Margary, in *Antiquaries Journal*, vol. 32 (1952), p. 107.

⁵ *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. 49.

⁶ Lettering of this type was introduced into Gaul from the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 14-37). Camille Jullian, *Gallia* (1919), p. 188.

⁷ *Antiquaries Journal*, vol. 36 (1956).

WOOD AND CHARCOAL

From Level 4. Ash (*Fraxinus Excelsior*), and possibly hazel (*Corylus Avallana*); but structure of the latter obscure.

Wood, probably from a wattle and daub structure at Level 4. Birch (*Betula sp.*). Willow (*Salix sp.*); but the possibility of poplar cannot be excluded.

Embedded in the basic clay at a depth of five feet nine inches. Charcoal of oak (*Quercus sp.*). Wood of yew (*Taxus Baccata*). Compressed alder (*Alnus Glutinosa*). Bark, probably alder. Large piece of compressed oak wood. Large piece of charcoal, probably willow; but poplar cannot be excluded. Large pieces of charcoal covered with clay, some probably birch, some probably willow (*Salix sp.*); but poplar cannot be excluded. Microscopic examination, and identification were carried out by Dr. G. Taylor, Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

THE ROMAN ROAD

The Roman road from the Watling Street at Rochester to the Sussex ironfields and Hastings crosses Bodiam parish. At a point 270 yards NNW of Sandhurst church (Kent), it changes alignment, the new alignment being laid out on Stapley Beacon (Beacon Farm, Staplecross), on a bearing of 186 degrees. Steep slopes necessitated an immediate detour via Bodiam Mill (where the road enters Sussex) and Bodiam church. Thence the road proceeded straight to the NW corner of the moat of Bodiam Castle.¹ From there it ran to the river at a point 200 feet below Bodiam Bridge, which appears to have been the crossing place down to recent times, as the name of the field on the opposite (southern) bank is 'Clappers' which means *stepping stones* or a *rough bridge*.² From that point it again ran straight, on a bearing of 186 degrees, to Staplecross crossroads, and was thus exactly parallel to the main alignment laid out from near Sandhurst church, but displaced 250 yards to the westward.³ The excavation at site B lies 30 yards to the west of the Roman road; and if the tile fragments ploughed up at Site D (unexcavated) were not outliers from Site B, and more foundations lie beneath the surface there, then the Roman road passed straight through the settlement.

RELATIVE LAND AND SEA LEVELS

An important result of the excavation was the proof obtained

¹ The B. & D.H.S. verified this course by exposing the road in five places in 1960 and 1961. See *Transactions* of that Society, Nos. 9 and 10, also Margary, *Roman Ways in the Weald* (1965), pp. 223, 225. Mr. Wingrove Payne exposed the road at Bodiam Castle in 1959.

² *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place Names*.

³ The bearings of survey line and road were separately calculated; data for the latter being obtained by an exposure by telephone engineers at the bend of the modern road near Bodiam station, and the well-known exposure in the garden of Brasses Farm. These two points align on Staplecross, and the back bearing indicates the river crossing.

of the land level during the Romano-British period; which completely negated the idea that the lower Rother Valley was then an estuary as it was in medieval times. The bench mark on the SE corner of Bodiam Bridge (20.4 feet)¹ enabled the height of the lowest occupation level (No. 8) to be fixed at 13 inches above O.D.² This agreed with the findings of Mr. J. H. Evans, F.S.A., F.R.G.S., who wrote, 'The Roman level in the Thames is to be found just above the Upper Peat Bed at about O.D. This agrees with the Medway data, the horizon of which lies between O.D. and one foot above O.D.; and it represents the land surface upon which the Romano-British population lived and worked'.³ Mr. Evans also considered that the Roman land surface reached the peak of its elevation in A.D. 400, and that the then high tide level with reference to it was a maximum of 10 feet below the present high tide level.

Spring tides in Rye Bay now rise to the height of 11 feet 3 inches above O.D. Assuming that the rise and fall have not changed substantially since Roman times, the lowest occupation level, if it had been subjected to the full effect of the tides, would have been just awash at spring tides in A.D. 400, and in A.D. 100, its approximate date, would have been subject still more to flooding. There could, therefore, have been no estuary or tidal river at Bodiam when the site was occupied.

The tidal pressure in Roman times may not have differed greatly from what it is today; for although there may have been less silt in the river, the mouth, instead of being at Rye Harbour, was nearly twice as far away at Hythe. As Level 8, the first settlement, almost coincides with the present water table, a land surface, higher by 10 feet than now, would place it that height above interference by water in A.D. 400, though a little less in A.D. 100, its approximate date of occupation.

The picture of the Limen (now the Rother) in the Roman period, suggested by the excavation, is that of a navigable river with firm banks, subject only, perhaps, to tidal variations of current; a condition which it seems to have retained well into Saxon times, for the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records that the Danes towed (*tugon*) their ships up the River Limen in 893. The sinking of the land, and the consequent inroads of the sea completed the inundation of Old Winchelsea in 1287. When, 100 years later, Bodiam Castle was built, it was provided with a dock which could be entered at high tide by vessels of four feet draught. This dock is now 25 feet above O.D.; so that from the 14th century onwards the lowest spring tide would hardly have uncovered the Roman site, which would account for the water-washed condition of the pottery. In

¹ See Ordnance Survey map 6 inch Sussex XXXI SE.

² O.D. (Ordnance Datum) is the mean sea level at Liverpool.

³ John H. Evans, 'Archaeological Horizons in the North Kent Marshes, Roman Level, Appendix A, in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. 66.

the circumstances it is remarkable that the finds, particularly the glass, are so well preserved.

CONCLUSIONS

The whole area of excavation measured only 20 yards square, and even this was only partially dug. It was, however, established that in that area there had been eight successive settlements during a period extending over the greater part of the Roman occupation. On four levels, whatever buildings had been erected had been destroyed by fire. The first settlement was small, the second even smaller. Then followed two on a more extended scale. At Level 4, occupied apparently in the early 2nd century, a definite attempt was made to erect a more permanent building on the site. The evidence pointed to a building of wattle and daub with a tiled roof and a very roughly paved floor, which had been burned down. It may possibly have had a small and very primitive hypocaust; but the whole construction was rough, and materials made for other purposes had been used in a haphazard way. That the settlement at Level 4 was connected with the (Roman) British Fleet would seem to be certain; but everything tended to show that the actual site was occupied by local inhabitants, who could have been used by the naval authorities as labourers. The figurine of Mercury, the vestige of another figurine, and the portion of a triple votive vase, all of native manufacture, suggest that either that building or another close by was a domestic shrine for the household gods, and that the inhabitants, therefore, had adopted the Roman way of life. The large number of *Terrae Mammatae*, none of which were, or could have been used, on the site to perform their proper function, and the presence of fragments of *Terra Sigillata*, suggest that there was in the vicinity a much more important building, which may have housed the naval authorities.

From all the evidence, the conclusion that there was in Roman times an important river port at Bodiam would appear to be justified. The hops (*Humulus Lupulus*) which now cover the site are, by current practice, grubbed up after 15 or 20 years; and the ground is then left fallow for one year before replanting. In that year, which may fall between 1975 and 1980, a much fuller examination might be made.

WORTHING MUSEUM

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES FOR 1964

By K. JANE EVANS

The information recorded below has in the main been collected by the Museum Correspondents Corps,¹ with the addition of finds brought to the museum direct. The same practice has been followed as in previous years, a watchful eye being maintained on all forms of development and trenching.

It has been an eventful year. The largest finds, literally, were several dugout canoes; these have been reported elsewhere, as has the fragment of the Crusader in Sullington Church.² The major excavation was a rescue operation on behalf of the Ministry of Public Building and Works along the re-alignment of the A283 at Wiggonholt, south of Pulborough; the full $\frac{3}{4}$ mile of new road revealed evidence of occupation both north and south of the Roman bath house.³ The graffiti have been published⁴ and the main report will follow in due course.

Other excavation work took place at the junction of the Boulevard and Littlehampton Road in Durrington, the Church of St. Julian in Kingston Buci, and at Binsted (see below).

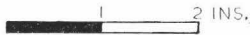
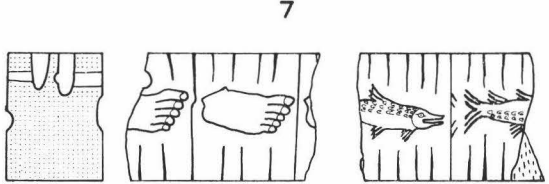
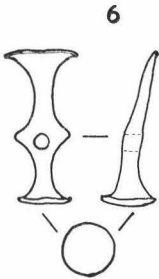
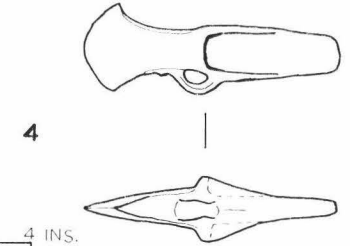
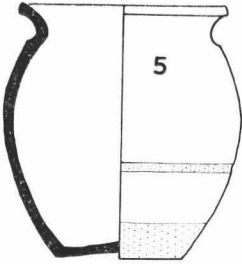
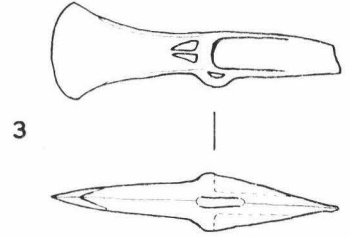
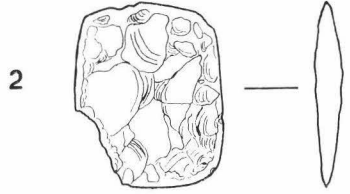
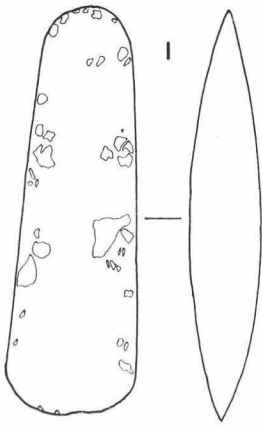
<i>Period</i>	<i>Nature of Find</i>	<i>Find Spot</i>
<i>Mesolithic</i>	Small scraper. Found in plough Scraper and flakes from three areas of chipping floors. Also an axehead	BURY (TQ003160) At Bury Gate SUTTON END (SU983179, 983172, 982176)
<i>Neolithic</i>	Flint axehead, unpolished, length 4½ in., breadth 1½ in. Found by workmen digging trench for electricity cable across island at depth of 18 in. Flint axehead, polished, length 8½ in., breadth 2½ in. Retained by owner (Fig. 1, No. 1) Flint flakes. Found in turf stripping, not far from flint mines	WORTHING (TQ142048) N.W. corner of Broadwater Green WORTHING Reported as 'found at Broadwater, c. 1900' WORTHING (TQ138075) S. of Cissbury Ring

¹ The writer is gratefully indebted to this team of voluntary workers.

² *Sussex Notes and Queries*, vol. 16 (No. 6, 1965), p. 185 and p. 191 respectively.

³ See S. E. Winbolt, 'A Roman Villa at Lickfold, Wiggonholt' in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. 78 (1937), p. 13, and vol. 81 (1940), p. 55; also see K. J. Barton 'Worthing Museum Notes', op. cit. vol. 101 (1963), p. 21, and vol. 102 (1964), p. 29, where reports respectively of a rubbish pit at Wickford Bridge and pottery on Aylings Farm embrace the same complex.

⁴ See R. P. Wright 'Roman Britain in 1964: Inscriptions' in *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. 55 (1965), pp. 226 ff., Nos. 31, 37, 48, 53.



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FIG. 1

<i>Period</i>	<i>Nature of Find</i>	<i>Find Spot</i>
<i>Beaker Period</i>	Discoidal flint knife (Fig. 1, No. 2)	SUTTON END (SU983171)
<i>Late Bronze Age</i>	Palstave. Found by workmen digging a drain on S. side of road. Possibly found with others. (Fig. 1, No. 3)	GORING (TQ103036) Littlehampton Road, W. of Titnore Lane
	Palstave. An old find, probably from a hoard of c. 12 found in 1938, two of which came to the Museum in 1955 ¹ . (Fig. 1, No. 4)	DURRINGTON (TQ124048) S. of Church
<i>Romano-British</i>	Complete grey ware cooking pot. Found by a dredger-driver. (Fig. 1, No. 5)	WIGGONHOLT (TQ053174) Bank of Arun
	Large fragment of cooking pot. Found in dumps from dredging	AMBERLEY (TQ019135) Bank of Arun
	Brick and tile. Found in road widening some distance from recorded site	BUNCTON (TQ145135) E. of cross-roads
	Fragments of pottery, including Samian. From plough	SOMPTING (TQ162044) Loose Lane
	Fragments of pottery. Found in drainage ditch	SHIPLEY (TQ164218) Pike Barn
	Fragments of pottery, Bronze and Iron Ages, Romano-British, Medieval, also whetstone of ?Bronze Age. Recovered following wilful destruction of ancient monument which was reported	SHOREHAM (TQ229085) Thundersbarrow
<i>? Saxon</i>	Early structures revealed by excavation during installation of heating pipes under floor ²	KINGSTON BUCI (TQ236053) St. Julian Church
<i>Medieval</i>	Fragments of pottery, early 14th century. Found in building development	SHOREHAM (TQ214050) W. of Town Hall
	Fragments of pottery, 14th century. From footings for blocks of flats	SHOREHAM (TQ217052) St. Mary's Close
	Crenellated tile, foundations and cellar. Found when making alterations to house	BOTOLPHS (TQ193092) Old Vicarage
	Fragments of pottery and oyster shells. Found on building site	LANCING (TQ198061) S.E. of College
	Fragments of pottery and oyster shells. Found in plough	CLIMPING (TQ008016) Dairy Meadow, Kents Farm
	Mounds containing layers of burnt flint with some surface finds of pottery fragments	WEST BURTON (SU999150) E. of Grevatts Wood

¹ See G. Lewis, 'Some Recent Discoveries in West Sussex' in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. 98 (1960), p. 17.

² Information obtained was incorporated in F. W. Steer, *Guide to the Church of St. Julian, Kingston Buci* (1965), pp. 11, 12.

<i>Period</i>	<i>Nature of Find</i>	<i>Find Spot</i>
	Mounds containing tile fragments. ¹ Investigation by proton gradiometer provided no evidence of kiln structures	WEST BURTON (TQ000152) N.E. of Grevatts Wood close to Mill Stream
	Marling line 15in. below surface of daub, oyster, charcoal and 13/14th century pottery. Found during construction of sunken garden	WORTHING (TQ152024) Steyne Gardens
	Crenellated tile at 2ft. 9in., and Victorian cottage foundations. Found by gas mains trench	WORTHING (TQ133056) Offington Corner roundabout
	Fragments of pottery at edge of field	GORING (TQ105020) Amberley Drive
	Pottery fragments, 13th century. In plough	GORING (TQ102034) W. of station
	Pottery fragments. In plough	GORING (TQ104037) Titnore Lane/Littlehampton Road
	Pottery fragments. In footings for new houses	GORING (TQ107037) 77-acre building site
	Pottery fragments. In footings for new houses	GORING (TQ111029) Molson Hall
	Pits with 14th-century pottery found in rescue excavations ²	DURRINGTON (TQ119043) Junction of Boulevard and Littlehampton Road S.W. quadrant
	Tile and pottery kilns. Pottery fragments initially found by owner. Excavations in progress	BINSTED (SU979066) 'All the World' (renamed 'Tyghlers')
	Lead sealing, an impression possibly made when testing after manufacture; ³ reads ROBERT D—. Retained by owner	FERRING (TQ096021) 29 Beehive Lane
<i>Medieval or Post-Medieval</i>	Stone mould possibly for making pilgrim badges. ³ Found unstratified in rescue excavations. (Fig. 1, No. 7)	WORTHING (TQ135053) Offington Hall
<i>Post-Medieval</i>	Quantities of pottery including imported ceramics (to be published separately)	WORTHING (TQ135053) Offington Hall
	Lime kiln found in garden. Investigated by excavation but no structure found	WEST CHILTINGTON (TQ085174) Downs View, The Common

¹ These mounds roused comment from P. J. Martin, 'The Stane Street Causeway' in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. 11 (1859), p. 135, and subsequently from S. E. Winbolt, *With a Spade on Stane Street* (1936), pp. 41, 42, 48, 54; it is hoped a further survey will find the structures postulated.

² See K. J. Barton, 'Worthing Museum Notes for 1963' in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. 103 (1965), p. 86.

³ Information from Mr. Norman Cook, F.S.A., Guildhall Museum.

<i>Period</i>	<i>Nature of Find</i>	<i>Find Spot</i>
	Founded c. 1820 it was closed c. 1940. Drawn and photographed before demolition	STEYNING (TQ174115) Old tannery
	Brick built drain c. 2ft. 6in. high running for 75ft.	PULBOROUGH (TQ069202) Borough Farm
	Stone hone, edges faceted. Date possibly Bronze Age	COOTHAM (TQ076143)

In most of the above instances fuller details can be seen on demand in the museum. Some forty other trenches were watched and negative results reported. Records of these are kept as it is hoped that in this way areas of settlement will be delimited.

DESCRIPTION OF ILLUSTRATED MATERIAL (FIG. 1)

Neolithic

No. 1. Polished flint axehead. Broadwater.

Beaker Period

No. 2. Discoidal flint knife with polished edges.¹ One corner was broken in antiquity and re-worked. Sutton End.

Late Bronze Age

No. 3. Palstave in fair condition. The butt end was broken in antiquity; there is a small loop, and the blade has a trident pattern. Goring.

No. 4. Palstave in good condition. The pronounced loop is nearer the blade tip than the butt. Durrington.

Romano-British

No. 5. Cooking pot in coarse grey fabric, smeared narrow band round body and round base. Wiggonholt.

No. 6. 'Model adze-hammer', Borough Farm, Pulborough. This interesting small bronze object discovered during excavations at the Roman villa in 1909 was mentioned but not drawn in the report at that time.² From the wear on the edges it seems unlikely to be a model but rather a tool in its own right, probably 1st century A.D. in date. Through the generosity of Mr. J. M. W. Burnford, the present owner, this object, coins and a 1st-century brooch have now been lodged at the museum; unfortunately it has not been possible to locate the three fragments of Samian moulds found at the same time.

Medieval or Post-Medieval

No. 7. Mould, possibly for making pewter pilgrim badges. Carved into a bar of fine-grained dark grey stone (awaiting identification) are the following designs: on one face a foot, a complete one with

¹ See J. G. D. Clark, *Proc. of the Prehistoric Soc. of East Anglia*, vol. 6, p. 41, for type.

² See C. J. Praetorius, *Proc. of Soc. of Antiquaries*, London, 2nd series, vol. 23 (1909-11), pp. 121-129.

the commencement of others either side; on the opposing side is a fish (? pike) with one dorsal fin and two ventral fins, the upper half of the body being covered with scales. The greater part of one fish is shown, excluding the tail, and in front is the most of the next fish except the head, but it is shown upside down. Each design is separated from the next by an incised line, and along the outside edges are series of short lines. In the broken cross-section are the marks of four dowel holes. If it was used for making pilgrim badges, the foot is a symbol of St. Victor of Marseilles whereas the fish is attributed to many saints, for example St. Gregory of Tours. Offington Hall.

STOKE CLUMP, HOLLINGBURY AND THE EARLY PRE-ROMAN IRON AGE IN SUSSEX

By BARRY CUNLIFFE, F.S.A.

The purpose of this paper is to put on record two groups of early pre-Roman Iron Age pottery from Sussex and to offer some discussion of their cultural context.

Stoke Clump (Grid ref. SU 833094)

Stoke Clump, three miles north-west of Chichester, is a prominent cluster of trees growing on top of a chalk ridge extending south from the main mass of Bow Hill. For a number of years the Rev. W. A. Shaw, rector of West Stoke, collected pottery from the neighbourhood. On his death his collection was passed by his son, the Rev. Cuthbert Shaw, to Professor S. S. Frere, who eventually invited the present writer to publish it.

Apart from a few earlier sherds,¹ all of the pottery from Stoke Clump belongs to an early phase of the Iron Age and appears to form a uniform cultural group. Unfortunately it is not possible to say how the material was amassed or from precisely which area it was obtained, but it is tolerably certain that most of it came from the extensive Iron Age site known to lie in the field immediately east of the Clump, where ploughing frequently brings to light quantities of Iron Age material.² One small group of sherds, somewhat larger and less weathered than the others, are described as coming from "the entrenchment" or "the entrenchment near the tumulus," which must be the earthwork, still clearly visible, crossing the ridge to the west of the Clump. The fresh nature of these sherds and their recorded provenance suggest that they were recovered by excavation, and furthermore if they were actually found in the body of the earthwork it must imply that it was constructed in the Iron Age or later.

The Shaw collection also contains a few finds from other localities, these include: sherds belonging to the saucepan pot continuum from "below Bow Hill towards first gully," "Stoke West Down" and "field below hanger, Stoke Down"; a lug handle from "Bow Hill, near tumuli" and a small Bronze Age vessel from "tumulus on Bow Hill." Only the group from Stoke Clump is illustrated here (figs. 1 and 2), but the entire collection has been deposited in the Barbican House Museum, Lewes, where other objects from the Shaw collection are already housed.

¹ These include a fragment of a beaker and a small late Neolithic sherd.

² *Sussex Notes and Queries*, XIV, 280.

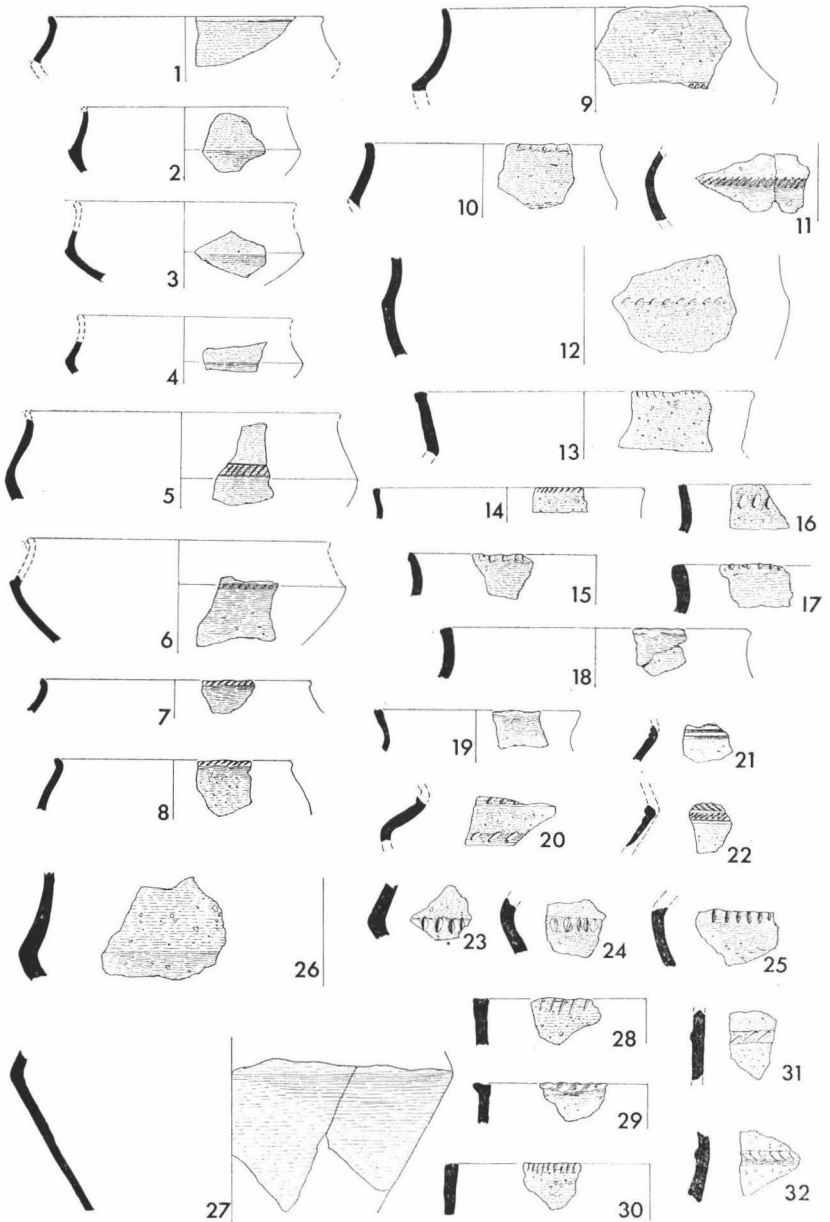


Fig. 1
Pottery from Stoke Clump

Description of the pottery (figs. 1 and 2)

1-6. Bipartite bowls with well-defined shoulder, and, in some cases, beaded rims. The ware is of a fine sandy fabric with some finely-crushed flint grit tempering; it is fired to a reddish or greyish brown. No. 5 is decorated with incised lines above the shoulder, No. 6 with stabs on the shoulder.

7-12. Bipartite bowls similar in form to the above but rather coarser in fabric with coarser flint grit tempering and a less smooth finish. The rim-tops and the shoulders are frequently decorated with rows of stabs.

13-19. Jars with flared rims and probably with angled shoulders. The exact form varies and the rim-top may be decorated. The ware is coarse with medium to large flint grit tempering and is fired to greyish-brown in colour.

20-22. The shoulders of jars similar to the above; 20 and 22 have cordons at the junction of the neck and rim, 21 is grooved at this point. Nos. 21 and 22 are in a finer fabric.

23-25. Shoulders of jars probably of a type similar to Nos. 13-22. The ware is coarse and fired grey-brown. There are six other sherds similar to these, not illustrated.

26-27. Large shouldered jars. No. 26 is in a red-brown flint-gritted ware, No. 27 is a finer grey-brown burnished ware.

28-32. Straight-sided vessels with decorated rim-tops and slashed cordons around the body. The ware is coarse, flint-gritted and fired red-brown. There are five other sherds similar to Nos. 31 and 32.

33-35. Jars with rounded shoulders and beaded rims in coarse flint-gritted grey-brown ware.

36. Jar with upstanding rim in red-brown sandy ware with medium-sized flint grits. The vessel is decorated with incised lines on the body.

37-38. Fragments of jars in dark grey gritty ware decorated with incised lines and dots.

39-55. Decorated sherds belonging to several types of vessels. The exact forms cannot be precisely defined, although it is clear that some of them are from bipartite shouldered bowls. All are in a red-to-grey gritty ware. No. 39 appears to be part of a furrowed bowl; No. 40 is decorated with a stroke-filled triangle; the remainder are ornamented with a combination of lines and areas filled with dot-like impressions.

Of the vessels illustrated, Nos. 6, 7, 8, 11, 27, 33, 37 and 51 were said to have been found in the "earthwork" together with a splinter of a long bone polished and pointed for use. The remainder are merely recorded to have come from "Stoke Down".

The majority of the pottery falls into the Caburn I class, and, as a comparison with fig. 3 will show, all of the major types and forms of decoration typical of Caburn I are represented. Two of

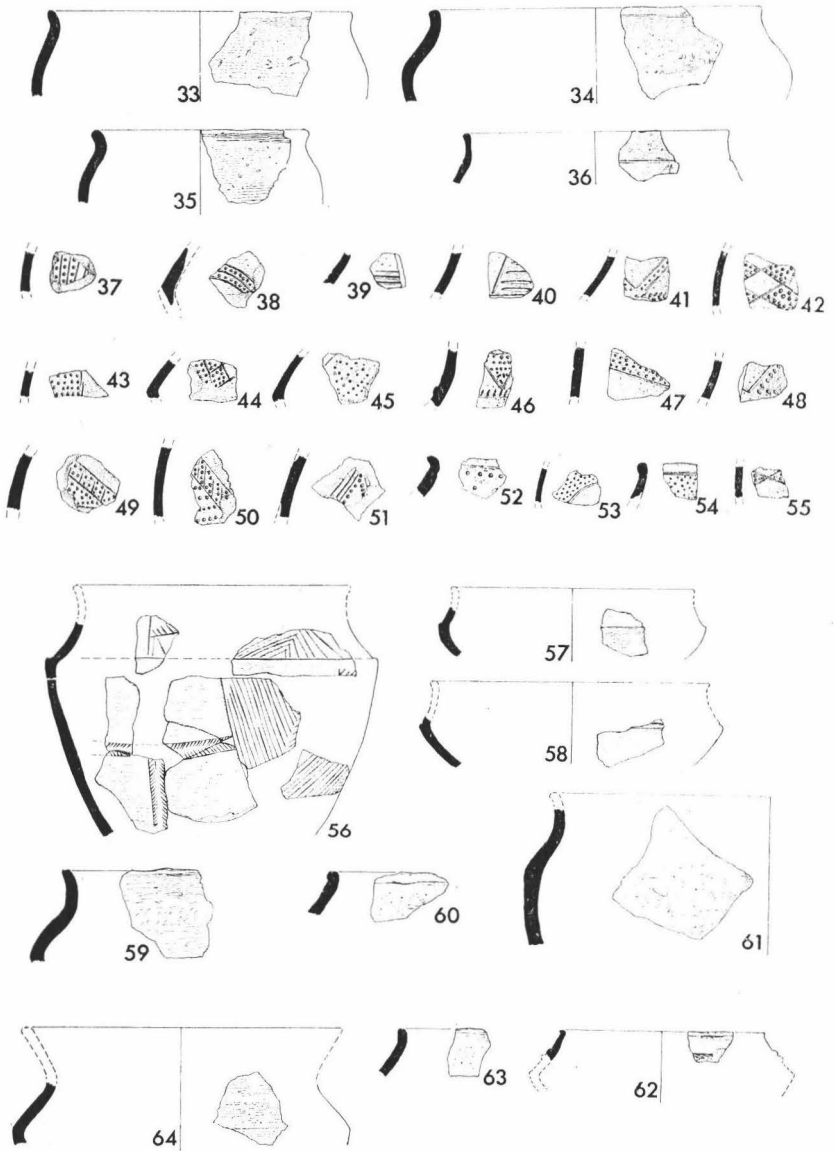


Fig. 2

Pottery from Stoke Clump, nos. 33-55, and Hollingbury, nos. 56-62

the forms, however, deserve further notice: the round-shouldered jars or bowls with beaded rims (Nos. 33-35) and the decorated sherds (Nos. 37-55). The former group, if they can be regarded as contemporary with the remainder, suggests that we are dealing with a typologically developed stage which might be a natural development from the bipartite shouldered bowls. It should be stressed, however, that although this view is reasonable, typological arguments of this kind can be extremely misleading and indeed it could be argued that the form simply represents a contemporary variant.

The point-impressed sherds of the second group are otherwise unknown in Sussex, but this method of decoration is relatively common in the early Wessex and Dorset groups.¹ Among the material from the best-known of these, All Cannings Cross, all of the basic Stoke Clump motifs are represented, and there can be little doubt that close cultural connections existed between the two areas. Stoke Clump can therefore best be regarded as lying in the area of overlap between the early Wessex-Dorset Iron Age province and its contemporary Sussex variant, the Caburn I group. That Stoke Clump appears on a distribution map to be isolated from the Wessex-Dorset group is due to the virtual absence of contemporary material from the area covered by the Eocene rocks of the Hampshire Basin and from the Hampshire Downs east of Winchester. More excavation, particularly in the area between Chichester and Winchester, will probably one day fill the gap.

Hollingbury (Grid ref. TQ 322079)

Hollingbury, a well-known hill fort north of Brighton, has yielded pottery on two separate occasions, first in 1908 when a pit was discovered during the construction of a golf-course,² and the second in 1931 when the Brighton and Hove Archaeological Club carried out a series of trial excavations.³ On both occasions the only distinctive ware recovered was of Caburn I type.

The 1908 pit measured 6ft. by 4ft. across and 4ft. deep and lay in the south-west corner of the fort. It yielded, besides pottery, fragments of a quern, flint flakes and utilised pebbles. Since the pottery has never been fully published and is of some significance, it is illustrated here⁴ (fig. 2, 56-61).

56. Bowl or jar in a fine, dark grey-brown sandy ware. The surface is smooth and burnished and is copiously decorated with

¹ Pottery of this early type is found frequently in Dorset, Wiltshire and Hampshire, and its distribution extends into Somerset, Berkshire and Surrey.

² H. S. Toms, 'Notes on a Survey of Hollingbury Camp' in *Brighton and Hove Archaeologist*, I (1914), 17-19.

³ E. C. Curwen, 'Excavations at Hollingbury Camp, Sussex,' in *Antiq. Journ.* XII (1932), 1-16.

⁴ The only previous illustration was a photograph published in the original report, *op. cit.* Pl. III. It was not made clear at that time that all of the sherds belonged to one pot.

incised patterns. The form and ware of the vessel are well within the Caburn I range.¹ It is known that incised decoration occurs at the Caburn and at Stoke Clump, but what is unusual in this example is that the decoration extends to the area below the shoulder. This feature is unique in Sussex and is hard to parallel elsewhere in the country, except on certain East Anglian wares of slightly different form. It would be wrong, however, to emphasise the uniqueness of this form of decoration when so little is known of contemporary Sussex groups.

57. Bowl in grey sandy ware.

58. Bowl in black sandy ware, decorated above the shoulder with a horizontal groove.

Both Nos. 57 and 58 are quite typical of the Caburn I bowls.

59. Jar in smooth coarse red ware; diameter unknown.

60. Jar in very coarse grey gritty ware; diameter unknown.

61. Jar in coarse flint-gritted ware.

The three other sherds (Nos. 62-4) illustrated here in fig. 2 were found during the 1931 excavation and have not previously been illustrated.

62. Bowl in smooth grey ware with some grits. From the palisade trench. A very similar example has been found at the Caburn, e.g. fig. 3, no. 2.

63. Bowl in dark brown sandy ware with some fine flint grits. From the interior of the fort.

64. Jar in fine red-brown sandy ware with some flint grits. From the interior of the fort.

A small quantity of sherds were found when the area inside the fort was trenched, most of it was very fragmentary; in addition to those mentioned above the collection included a bowl similar to No. 63 and two cordoned sherds from bowls or jars.

It is evident, therefore, that the only pottery so far recovered from Hollingbury fits within the range of types present in the Caburn I group. That nothing of later date was recovered shows that the main occupation lay within this period.

Other Caburn I pottery from Sussex

For the sake of completeness it has been thought desirable to illustrate a selection of Caburn I ware found on other Sussex sites. Nos. 1-8 on fig. 3 are from the Caburn itself and have already been published—they are illustrated here again simply to serve as a basic type-series for the assemblage. The remainder of the vessels, Nos. 9-15, from the Trundle, Castle Hill, Thundersbarrow and Kingston Buci, are either not well-known or have not been previously illustrated. The illustrations by no means cover all of

¹ In the illustration it is reconstructed with a simple beaded rim. This seems reasonable, but it should be remarked that it is not impossible for the vessel to have had a flared rim. The exact angle of the sherds constituting the lower part of the body is not easy to determine.

the available material of this period from Sussex, but they do indicate the wide distribution of the most diagnostic forms.

1. Caburn: *Sussex Archaeological Collections*,¹ 80, p. 225, fig. E, 72. Fine grey ware with a haematite-coated outer surface.

2. Caburn: *S.A.C.*, 80, p. 225, fig. E, 74. Fine grey ware.

3. Caburn: *S.A.C.*, 80, p. 218, fig. B, 7. Red-brown ware with fine flint grits.

4. Caburn: *S.A.C.*, 80, p. 218, fig. A, 5. Fine-textured grey-brown ware.

5. Caburn: *S.A.C.*, 80, p. 225, fig. E, 73. Coarse red flint-gritted ware.

6. Caburn: *S.A.C.*, 80, p. 222, fig. D, 115. Fine grey sandy ware.

7. Caburn: *S.A.C.*, 80, p. 222, fig. D, 117. Fine grey sandy ware.

8. Caburn: *S.A.C.*, 80, p. 222, fig. D, 122. Grey-brown ware. Diameter and reconstruction of upper part uncertain.

9. Castle Hill, Newhaven: not previously illustrated. Smooth grey-brown ware with fine flint gritting.

10. Trundle: *S.A.C.*, 70, Pl. X, 96. Grey sandy ware.

11. Trundle: *S.A.C.*, 70, Pl. X, 97. Red gritty ware.

12. Trundle: not previously illustrated (?). Smooth buff-brown ware.

13. Kingston Buci: *S.A.C.*, 72, p. 196, 22. Smooth grey ware.

14. Thundersbarrow: not previously illustrated. Brown sandy ware.

15. Thundersbarrow: not previously illustrated. Dark grey ware with fine flint grits.

16. Kingston Buci: *S.A.C.*, 72, p. 194, 15. Grey sandy ware.

Discussion

The Iron Age finds from Stoke Clump and Hollingbury fall into the same class as the pottery known as Caburn I ware, which was illustrated and discussed in detail by Professor Hawkes in 1939.² At that time early pre-Roman Iron Age pottery from the rest of Sussex was ill-known and scarce. This fact, combined with the relatively large quantity recovered from the extensive excavation of the Caburn, gave the impression that the Caburn was exceptional and it was further suggested that the reason for this lay in the early isolation of East Sussex caused by a "Marnian invasion" into the central region. Isolation, it was argued, led to the intensive local development of traits laid down by a pre-Marnian expansion from Wessex, the result being the Caburn I assemblage. It is nearly 30 years since these views were first put forward. Now that much more

¹ Abbreviated hereafter to *S.A.C.*

² C. F. C. Hawkes, 'The Caburn Pottery and its Implications,' in *S.A.C.*, 80, 217-262, particularly pp. 217-230.

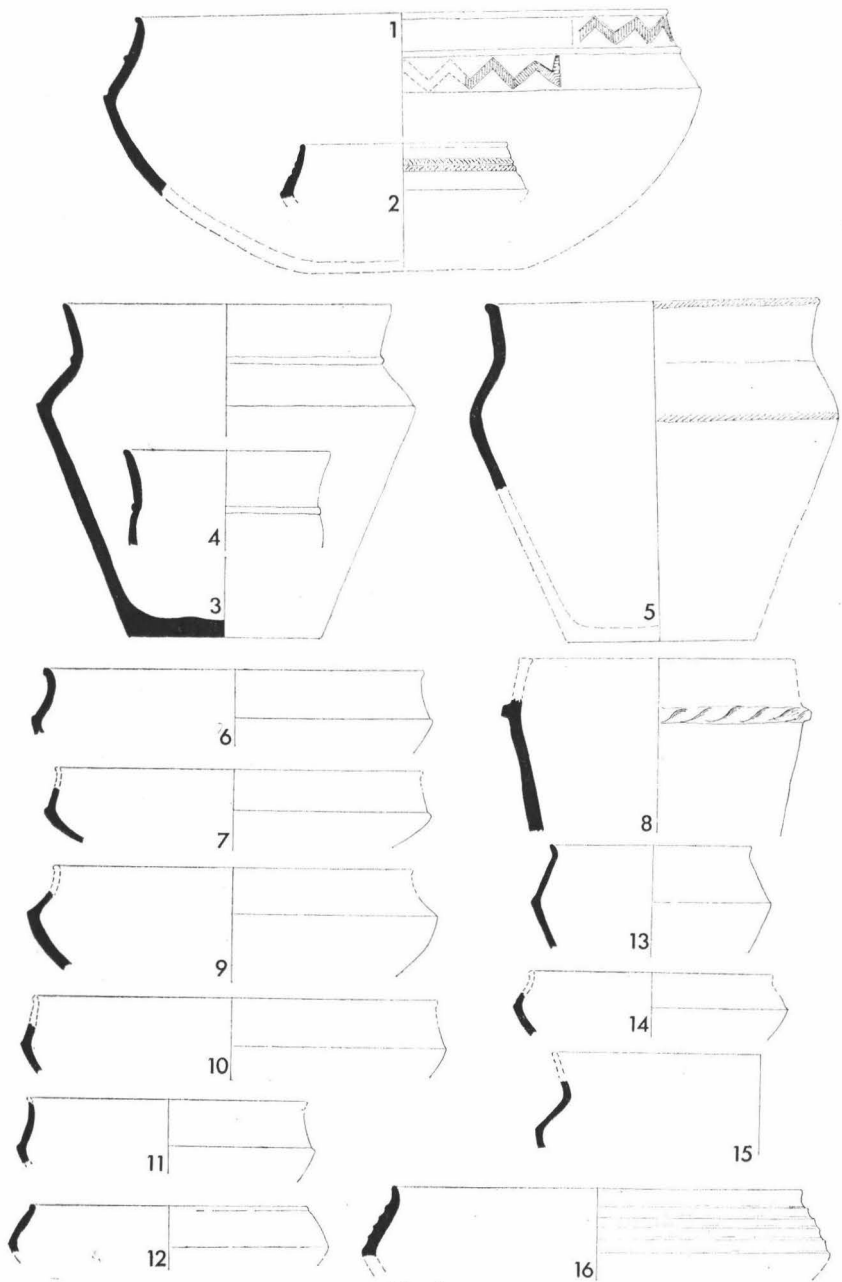


Fig. 3

Caburn I, pottery from various Sussex sites

is known of the Iron Age, particularly in the adjacent areas, it has been thought worthwhile to re-examine the evidence for this phase in Sussex.

It is first necessary to define what is meant by Caburn I ware. For the purpose of this discussion the Caburn I assemblage is taken to be composed of the following ceramic elements:

1. Bipartite bowl with a sharp shoulder, frequently emphasised with an offset. The bowl often has a beaded lip, which is sometimes nail-impressed, and the upper part of the body is occasionally decorated with incised or punched motifs or with single or paired cordons; the latter may be "cabled". The ware varies but is usually fine and may occasionally be coated with haematite.

2. Bipartite bowl with a sharp shoulder and a horizontally furrowed neck. Only two examples of this kind, from Kingston Buci and Stoke Clump, are at present known in Sussex.

3. Tripartite jar with a sharp shoulder and straight flared rim. The shoulder and neck angles are usually sharp, they are often decorated with cordons which may be doubled and/or cabled; frequently, however, the shoulder and the rim-top are ornamented with finger-nail impressions. The vessels are of two main qualities: fine hard fabrics, usually with cordons, and coarser gritty wares, usually with finger-nail decoration.

4. Jars with flared rims and slightly restricted necks bounded with a cordon. The ware is usually fine.

5. Straight-sided vessels with finger-impressed cordons below the rim and usually with finger-nail or "pie-crust" rims. The ware is usually coarse. A pot of this class occurs in pit 90 at the Caburn without the cordon, but with bosses on the body.

The above summary of the content of the ceramic assemblage is based (with the exception of No. 3) on a consideration of the Caburn site itself and includes all of the major types originally grouped under the heading of "Caburn I ware" in the 1939 reports. As defined, the assemblage occurs at Stoke Clump, Trundle,¹ Highdown,² Hollingbury, Thundersbarrow³ and probably also at Castle Hill⁴ and Kingston Buci.⁵ The sites are evenly spread over the whole of Sussex and allowing for the fact that the total excavation at each site (except the Caburn) was small, there is no reason to

¹ E. C. Curwen, 'Excavations at the Trundle, Goodwood, 1928,' in *S.A.C.*, 70, opposite page 53, particularly Nos. 91-8.

² A. E. Wilson, *Report on the Excavations on Highdown Hill, Sussex, August, 1939*. All of the pottery on figs 3-6 falls within the Caburn I range, when it is admitted that the Caburn I assemblage contains both fine and coarse ware.

³ E. C. Curwen, 'Excavations on Thundersbarrow Hill, Sussex,' in *Antiq. Journ.*, XIII (1933), 109-133. The Iron Age pottery was not published in the report.

⁴ C. F. C. Hawkes, 'The Pottery from Castle Hill, Newhaven,' in *S.A.C.*, 80, 269-292. See particularly figs. 2 and 3.

⁵ E. Curwen and C. F. C. Hawkes, 'Prehistoric Remains from Kingston Buci,' in *S.A.C.*, 72, 185-217, particularly figs. 15, 17, 18 and 19-24.

suppose that occupation and development in any one area was more intensive than in any other.

Fortunately, because of considerable archaeological activity in the county, it is possible to reconstruct something of the other aspects of the Caburn I culture. At the type site a settlement, consisting of at least two huts and a number of pits, was found to lie beneath the later hill fort; and below the counterscarp bank, sectioned in cutting XIII, a continuous palisade trench of early date was uncovered which may well have belonged to a defence surrounding the first settlement. Immediately inside the palisade was a cremation burial placed in a large jar buried in a pit and covered by a slight mound. It is quite likely that Stoke Clump, the Trundle and probably Kingston Buci and Castle Hill were at this time open settlements similar to Caburn I.

The nature of the early occupation at Hollingbury is rather more problematical. The largest group of Caburn I pottery came from the 1908 pit and was unassociated with the defence, but the excavations of 1931 did produce a sherd of a cordoned bowl from one of the holes for the posts revetting the rampart of the camp, and another from the palisade trench. Indeed, in the complete absence of later pottery it may well be that the main sub-rectangular Hollingbury fort with timber-cased rampart, berm, U-shaped ditch and simple entrance belongs to Caburn I times. The point is at present beyond proof. Further west, at the sub-rectangular fort of Highdown, which is closely similar in construction to Hollingbury in its first stage, the relatively abundant Caburn I ware found in the ditch fills is a strong indication that, in its early phase at least, the fort belongs to the Caburn I culture. Of the other sub-rectangular Sussex forts, Thundersbarrow and Harrow Hill, only Thundersbarrow has produced Caburn I pottery, but not demonstrably related to the construction of the defensive works. Harrow Hill, though structurally of the same type as Hollingbury and Highdown, was almost devoid of recognizable finds.¹

It is clear, therefore, that some of the Caburn I occupation sites were either completely open or were at best defended by a simple palisade. Furthermore, it is suggested here that the small sub-rectangular forts with timber-encased ramparts also belong to the Caburn I culture. Admittedly, stratigraphically the evidence is not strong, but from three out of the four the only recognisable assemblages are exclusively of Caburn I type. It would be wrong to be too dogmatic about this point, but in the present state of knowledge it is reasonable to interpret the available facts in this way.

Caburn I influence can now be seen to be more widespread in Sussex than was previously appreciated, but what of its origin and date? In 1939 Hawkes, while preferring a Wessex origin, remarked

¹ G. Holleyman, 'Harrow Hill Excavations, 1936,' in *S.A.C.*, 78, 230-251. For the Iron Age pottery, see 244.

that similar pottery had been found in the East of England. With increasing numbers of discoveries in this area since then attention has again been drawn to it, first by Kenyon¹ and later by Hodson.² Indeed, a survey of the available material, much of it unpublished, has led the present writer to support Hodson's suggestion that the coastal regions of England from Dorset to East Anglia were closely connected culturally and that the Caburn I assemblage is simply part of this wider continuum. The distribution pattern is certainly suggestive of marine contact and possibly even of coastal colonisation, but the details and origin of such a movement, if indeed it is as simple as this, have still to be worked out. To stress these coastal relationships is not to deny some contact with Wessex—in fact the absence of such contact would be surprising—but the evidence is such that we can no longer accept that Caburn I arose directly and solely as the result of a movement from the Salisbury Plain area.

The problems involved in dating the origins of this coastal group are considerable, but evidence from Staple Howe (Yorks.), and less certain associations from Minnis Bay (Kent), tentatively suggest an early date in the sixth-fifth century for the beginnings of some of the similar sites. This bracket would be quite acceptable for Sussex and indeed it is this period to which the sub-rectangular forts are usually assigned. The presence of coarse bucket-shaped vessels with body cordons (type 5 above) in pit 90 at the Caburn and elsewhere on Caburn I sites is also suggestive of an early date, since the form must be derived from the late Bronze Age tradition. If we can accept these early origins, there is no need to suppose that the culture quickly died out—in all probability it developed for a considerable period, perhaps even into the third century and during just such a time span contacts with Wessex could have occurred. There is no positive evidence for how long development continued. At the Caburn a thick turf-line between Caburn I and Caburn II and a total dissimilarity between the pottery of these two phases suggest a break, but for how long is unknown and will remain so until more evidence is available for this and subsequent phases of the Sussex Iron Age.

Acknowledgements

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¹ K. M. Kenyon, 'The Chronology of Iron Age A,' in *London Institute of Archaeology, Report No. 8*.

² F. R. Hodson, 'Reflections on "The ABC of the British Iron Age"', in *Antiquity*, XXXIV (1960), 318-9.

preparation of this paper. Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to the Committee and staff of the Brighton Museum for allowing me to study the Hollingbury pottery, and to Mr. N. E. S. Norris, curator of the Barbican House Museum, for making the county collection available to me on a number of occasions.

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