

SUSSEX
Archæological Collections

RELATING TO THE
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY

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The Sussex Archæological Society



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CONTENTS

	PAGE
LIST OF OFFICERS	i
PAST PRESIDENTS	ii
COUNCIL	iii
LOCAL HONORARY SECRETARIES	iv
CORRESPONDING SOCIETIES	v
AFFILIATED SOCIETIES	vi
NEW MEMBERS	vii
ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1968	xi
SUSSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRUST REPORT AND BALANCE SHEET	xxix
ADDITIONS TO LIBRARY	xxxvii
ADDITIONS TO MUSEUM	xl
ACCESSIONS TO MUNIMENTS ROOM	xlii
ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN SUSSEX	xliii
LADY MARY MAY'S MONUMENT IN MID-LAVANT CHURCH By <i>The Rev. T. D. S. Bayley</i>	1
THE SAXON DOORWAYS OF THE CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS, WORTH By <i>David Parsons</i>	12
THE FULLERS OF BRIGHTLING PARK, PART III By <i>Mary C. L. Salt</i>	14
RYE AND THE PARLIAMENT OF 1621 By <i>John K. Gruenfelder</i>	25
THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE RYE FISHING INDUSTRY By <i>A. J. F. Dulley</i>	36
THE MAISON DIEU, ARUNDEL By <i>K. Jane Evans</i>	65

THE APOTHECARY'S MORTAR FROM MAISON DIEU, ARUNDEL By <i>G. C. Dunning</i>	77
A DISCOVERY OF TWO UNUSUAL OBJECTS IN NEW SHOREHAM By <i>K. Jane Evans</i>	79
TUBULAR-SPOUTED JUG IMPORTED FROM SAINTONGE By <i>G. C. Dunning</i>	84
THE LEWES MARKET By <i>Verena Smith</i>	87
STAMPED TILES OF THE 'CLASSIS BRITANNICA' By <i>Gerald Brodribb</i>	102
ANGLO-SAXON BURIALS AT CRANE DOWN, JEVINGTON By <i>E. W. Holden, V. I. Evison and H. B. A. Ratcliffe-Densham</i>	126
MILITIA CAMPS IN SUSSEX, 1793, AND A LADY'S FAN By <i>I. D. Margary</i>	135
THE CHICHESTER DYKES—A DISSENTING JUDGMENT By <i>Richard Bradley</i>	137
TOTE COPSE CASTLE, ALDINGBOURNE By <i>T. C. M. and A. Brewster</i>	141
INDEX By <i>G. A. Holmes</i>	181

For contents and presentation of contributions in these Collections, and opinions expressed therein, the authors are personally responsible.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

LADY MARY MAY'S MONUMENT IN MID LAVANT CHURCH

- | | | |
|----------|--|-------------------------------|
| PL. I. | The Church of St. Nicholas, Mid Lavant, in 1850 and 1968 | } <i>between</i>
2 and 3 |
| PL. II. | Drawing of John Bushnell's Monument for Lady Mary May | |
| PL. III. | Portraits of Sir Peter Lely and Hugh May with a Bust of Grinling Gibbons | |
| PL. IVA. | Miniature of Hugh May by Samuel Cooper | } <i>between</i>
10 and 11 |
| PL. IVB. | Hugh May's Coffin-plate | |
| PL. V. | Interior of Church of St. Nicholas, Mid Lavant, 1968 | |
| PL. VI. | Terra-cotta Bust of Gluck by J. A. Houdon | |
| PL. VII. | Statue in Priory Park, Chichester | |

THE SAXON DOORWAYS OF THE CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS, WORTH

- | | | |
|---------|---|-------------------------------|
| PL. I. | Interior View of the South Door | } <i>between</i>
12 and 13 |
| PL. II. | Detail of Folio 19 of MS. Cotton Claudius B. iv | |

THE FULLERS OF BRIGHTLING PARK

- | | | |
|---------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| PL. I. | Joseph Daw's Trade Card | } <i>between</i>
20 and 21 |
| PL. II. | The North Front of Rosehill in 1784 | |

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE RYE FISHING INDUSTRY

- | | | |
|---------|---|----|
| FIG. 1. | Weekly Payments for Town Shares and Maltod | 40 |
| FIG. 2. | Averages of Receipts and Boats at Work | 56 |
| FIG. 3. | Averages of Payers of St. Mary's Share and Maltod | 57 |

THE MAISON DIEU, ARUNDEL

- | | | |
|-----------|---|-------------------------------|
| FIG. 1. | Plan of Building and Excavations | 71 |
| FIG. 2. | Floor-tiles; pottery; mortar | 76 |
| PL. I. | Drawing by S. H. Grimm of South and West Ranges | } <i>between</i>
68 and 69 |
| PL. II. | West and South Ranges in 1813 | |
| PL. IIIA. | West Range before clearing, 1965 | |
| PL. IIIB. | General View from Castle Lodge, 1968 | |
| PL. IVA. | North Range | } <i>between</i>
76 and 77 |
| PL. IVB. | West Range | |
| PL. V. | West Range | |
| PL. VI. | Apothecary's Mortar | |

A DISCOVERY OF TWO UNUSUAL OBJECTS IN NEW SHOREHAM

- | | | |
|---------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| FIG. I. | Cresset Stone and Jug from Saintonge | 81 |
| PL. I. | Cresset Stone found at Shoreham | } <i>between</i>
84 and 85 |
| PL. II. | Imported Jug found at Shoreham | |

THE LEWES MARKET

- | | | |
|----------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| PL. I. | Lewes Town Book, Vol. I | } <i>between</i>
92 and 93 |
| PL. IIA. | Lewes Town Book, Vol. II | |
| PL. IIB. | Lewes Town Book, Vol. II | |
| PL. III. | Lewes Town Book, Vol. II | |
| PL. IVa. | Doorway of the Market Tower, 1968 | |
| PL. IVb. | Lewes Market Tower, 1968 | |

STAMPED TILES OF THE 'CLASSIS BRITANNICA'		
FIG. 1.	Sites producing CLBR tiles	104
FIG. 2.	CLBR Stamps, types 1 to 7	107
FIG. 3.	CLBR Stamps, types 8 to 19	110
FIG. 4.	CLBR Stamps, types 19a to 25	113
FIG. 5.	Boulogne CLBR Stamps, types B1 to B6	116
FIG. 6.	Boulogne CLBR Stamps, types B7 to B12	119
FIG. 7.	Some new types found at Boulogne 1967-69	122
ANGLO-SAXON BURIALS AT CRANE DOWN, JEVINGTON		
FIG. 1.	Site Plan and Positions of Graves	127
FIG. 2.	Plans of Graves 3 and 8	129
FIG. 3.	Metal Objects	130
MILITIA CAMPS IN SUSSEX, 1793, AND A LADY'S FAN		
PL. I.	Lady's Fan with three Maps	} <i>between</i> 136 and 137
PL. II.	The Brighton map enlarged	
TOTE COPSE CASTLE, ALDINGBOURNE		
FIG. 1.	Map of Area	142
FIG. 2.	Contour Map	143
FIG. 3.	Site Plan and Chief Finds	145
FIG. 4.	Plan of Keep	<i>between 146 and</i> 147
FIG. 5.	Garderobe Walls	147
FIG. 6.	Garderobe Section	148
FIG. 7.	Well Section	151
FIG. 8.	Profile S.E. Corner Keep and Motte	<i>between 152 and</i> 153
FIG. 9.	Profile Section, South I.	154
FIG. 10.	Profile Section, South II	155
FIG. 11.	Keep, Plinth and Motte West (N)	<i>between 155 and</i> 156
FIG. 12.	Schematic Plan. Bailey Walls and Site	157
FIG. 13.	Bailey Wall Section North	159
FIG. 14.	Moat Sections and Bailey Wall Section	<i>between 159 and</i> 160
FIG. 15.	Upper Sections of Motte and Moat	161
FIG. 16.	Iron Key	167
FIG. 17.	Pottery—Jugs	169
FIG. 18.	Pottery—Coarse Ware	171
FIG. 19.	Mason's Mark	173
FIG. 20.	Plank from Well	174
FIG. 21.	Well-sinking Diagram	177
PL. I.	Aerial View of Motte from S.W.	} <i>between</i> 144 and 145
PL. II.	View of Motte from S.E.	
PL. III.	Bulldozed Site from N.E.	} <i>between</i> 152 and 153
PL. VII*	S.W. Corner of Keep	
PL. IV.	View of Motte from the S.	} <i>between</i> 160 and 161
PL. V.	Interior of Keep and Well	
PL. VI.	Garderobe from Keep Wall	
PL. VIII.	West Wall and Plinth of Keep	} <i>between</i> 168 and 169
PL. IX.	Pilaster Buttress and Mason's Waste	
PL. X.	Repair to West Wall and Foundations	

* Note that this is on the same page as Plate III.

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 1969. Fletcher, Miss G. E., Rustington Private Hotel, West Cliff, St. John's
 Road, Eastbourne
 1969. Foster, Mrs. K., 7 Elmleigh Court, Midhurst
 1969. Foster, Mrs. M. A., 11 Westfield Lane, St. Leonards-on-Sea
 1969. Fuller, Mrs. Estelle, Sheen House, 89 Limmer Lane, Felpham
 1968. Funke, Mrs. Diane, Millbrook Farm, Nutley
 1969. TFunnell, Miss Lilian W., The Shieling, The Straight Half Mile, Mares-
 field, Uckfield
1969. Gardner, Mrs. Goldie, 11 De Roos Road, Eastbourne
 1969. Gibson-Hill, John, 130 London Road, Crawley
 1969. Gill, Stephen H. }
 1969. AGill, Richard } Fangate Manor Farm, East Horsley, Surrey
 1969. TGillies, G. D. }
 1969. AGillies, Mrs. G. D. } Rookwood, Framfield
 1969. Godden, A. L. S., 62 Bexleigh Avenue, St. Leonards-on-Sea
 1969. TGrainger, Miss Mary, 9 Brookway, Lindfield, Haywards Heath
 1969. Greathed, Miss A. M., 7 St. Claire, Fern Road, Storrington
 1968. Green, O. J., 34 Boundstone Lane, Lancing
 1968. TGreen, S. Gorton }
 1968. AGreen, Mrs. S. Gorton } Little Heriots, Milldown Road, Seaford
 1969. TGreenfield, Revd. Walter, T.D., Willingdon Vicarage, Church Street,
 Willingdon, Eastbourne
1969. THardy, C. R., 15 Guernsey Road, Ferring, Worthing
 1969. THartley, Norman, 24 Chatsworth Road, Brighton
 1968. Hartridge, R., 32 Franklin Road, Shoreham
 1969. Haselfoot, A. J., Albion House, 11 Cobourg Place, Hastings
 1969. Hastings, A. W., 13 Beaufort Gardens, London, S.W.3
 1969. Henderson, Mrs. E. K., 16 Rutland Place, Maidenhead, Berks.
 1969. Highton, C. J., The Dover House, Poling, Arundel
 1969. Hoare, John M., 66 Church Mead, Hassocks
 1969. THughes, Dr. A. M. }
 1969. ATHughes, Mrs. A. M. } Lane End, Mason's Field, Mannings Heath,
 Horsham
 1968. THunter, Mrs. Jean O., Domons, Maypole Road, East Grinstead
 1969. Hutchinson, David }
 1969. AHutchinson, Mrs. David } 42 Southover High Street, Lewes
1968. Ireland, Miss Phyllis, The Priory, Stoke-sub-Hamdon, Somerset
 1968. TIrwin, R. T., 33 Friars Rookery, Three Bridges, Crawley
1969. Jameson, R. H., 9 Sherborne Road, Chichester

1969. TJeffcote, W. J. }
 1969. AJeffcote, Miss V. M. } 8 Downs View Road, Seaford
 1969. AJohnston, W. C., 104 Wicklands Avenue, Saltdean, Brighton BN2 8EP
 1969. Johnstone, K. R., c.B., c.M.G., 4 Priory Crescent, Lewes
 1969. Jones, Miss M. E., 27 Newland Road, Worthing
 1969. Jump, Percy, Chiltington Ferrings, Plumpton
 1968. Kettley, Mrs. M. F., 12 Glynde House, Palmeira Avenue, Hove
1969. TKibble, D. A. J., 264 Williams Road, Toorak, Victoria, Australia
 1969. Kingsley, Miss V., Hollandsfield, West Stoke
 1969. Langdon, S. R. }
 1969. ALangdon, Mrs. S. R. } The Lodge, Hempstead Road, Uckfield
 1969. Lawrance, J. N., The Grange, Wisborough Green, Billingshurst
 1969. Lee, Anthony R., Old Surrey Place, East Grinstead
 1969. Lintott, R. J., 17 Sandymount Avenue, Bognor Regis
 1969. Longland, Mrs. M. P., Wootton Manor, Polegate
 1968. Lyne, M. A. B., 98 Clun Road, Littlehampton
1969. AMacPherson, Mrs. M. J., Winterbourne, Bell Lane, Lewes
 1968. TMcCarragher, Mrs. N. M., 26 Highcliff Court, Rottingdean BN2 7JP
 1968. Middlewick, R. N., 24 Friars Oak Road, Hassocks
 1969. Millard, C. W. }
 1969. AMillard, Mrs. C. W. } 142 Western Road, Hurstpierpoint
 1968. Mirams, Miss P. M., Latchwood, 8 Roffrey Avenue, Hampden Park, Eastbourne
 1968. Monger, Miss S., 51 Queen's Road, Hastings
 1969. Monteith, L. P., Best Beech Hotel, Wadhurst
 1969. Mueller, Capt. H. Clifford, U.S.A.R. }
 1969. AMueller, Mrs. H. Clifford } East Mascalls, Lindfield
1969. TNeale, K. J., O.B.E. }
 1969. ANeale, Mrs. K. J. } 17 Gordon Road, Chingford, London, E.4
 1968. Nicholls, Gordon C., 12 Daniel Close, Lancing
 1968. TNovis, William E. }
 1968. ANovis, Mrs. William E. } Batchelors, Barns Green, Horsham
1969. Page, Mrs. P. A., 31 College Gardens, Worthing
 1968. Palmer, Dr. J., Hornbuckles, South Chailey, Lewes
 1969. Palmer, Mrs. Susann, 56 Brookville Road, London, S.W.6
 1969. Parkinson, Mrs. G. M. }
 1969. AParkinson, Master R. J. } 92 Wickham Hill, Hassocks
 1969. Parkman, S. M., 244 St. Helens Road, Hastings
 1969. APayne, Mrs. D. C., Lansdowne Lodge, 1 Westbrooke, Worthing
 1969. Payton, Mrs. M. M., Micklefield School, Seaford
 1969. Peters, Mrs. A. W., 53 Crossways Avenue, East Grinstead
 1968. Petrocchi, Achille L., 56 The Drive, Hove BN3 3PX
 1968. Povey, Miss J. M., 33 Priory Road, West Hill, Hastings
 1968. TPreston, Cmdr. A. W., R.N., Firstead Bank, High Hurstwood, Uckfield
1969. Randell, Arthur H., 5317 Parker Avenue, Victoria B.C., Canada
 1969. Robertson, Mrs. Sheila, Bracken, Links Road, Seaford
 1969. Robson, Mrs. William, Linch Old Rectory, Midhurst
 1968. TRogers, J. H., 70 Crystal Palace Park Road, Sydenham, London, S.E.26
 1969. Rush, Miss M., 5 The Green, Horsted Keynes
1969. TSainty, C. L., Clayton Priory, Hassocks
 1969. Saunders, P. R., 81 Parker Road, Hastings
 1969. Saunders-Jacobs, Mrs. J. C., Firlands, West Chiltington Common, Pulborough

1969. Sayers, W. A., 20 Gore Park Road, Eastbourne
 1969. Scott, A. G., 36 Clinton Crescent, St. Leonards-on-Sea
 1969. Semple, W. R. }
 1969. ASemple, Mrs. W. R. } Glenard, North Road, Alfriston, Polegate
 1969. Sidney, Miss S. P., 4 Newlands Road, Rottingdean
 1969. Slingsby, Norman }
 1969. ASlingsby, Mrs. Norman } 17 Elms Lea Avenue, Withdean, Brighton
 1969. Slyfield, B., 3 Garden Walk, Horsham
 1969. Smart, G. M., Aultone, Hermitage Lane, East Grinstead
 1968. Stainthorpe, J. C. }
 1968. AStainthorpe, Mrs. J. C. } 5 Green Walk, Seaford
 1969. Staton, Air Vice Marshall, W. E., Wildhern, Creek End, Emsworth, Hants.
 1969. Steers, C. E. B., 7 Sheridan Place, East Grinstead
 1969. Stibbons, D. C., 45 Hillside Road, Sompting, Sussex
 1968. Start Walter, Miss J., 6 Cooden Drive, Bexhill-on-Sea
 1968. Still, R. H., Bredon, 41 First Avenue, Charmandean, Worthing
 1969. Suckling, Mrs. M. }
 1969. ASuckling, K. W. } Little Corran, 272 Willingdon Road, Eastbourne
 1969. Sutherland, Mrs. B., Bateman's, Burwash

 1968. Tempest Hay, Mrs. V., 20 Aglaia Road, West Worthing
 1968. tThornhill, Mrs. Dorothy, La Mouette, Queen's Park Gardens, Seaford
 1969. Todd, C. E. C., Rose Cottage, Cuckfield
 1968. Tooley, Miss M., 28 Avondale Road, Mortlake, London, S.W.14
 1968. tTunstall, Brian, F.S.A., F.R.HIST.S. }
 1968. ATunstall, Mrs. Brian } Coaters, Bignor, Pulborough
 1968. ATuson, Mrs. K. H., Pickhams, Wilmington, Polegate

 1969. AUrquhart, Mrs. M. J., 238 Kings Drive, Eastbourne

 1969. Watt, Miss Sandra, St. Richard's Hospital, Spitalfield Lane, Chichester
 1969. Watts, C. R., Peckhams, Halland, Lewes
 1969. Weller, W. Leslie, Old Place, Pulborough
 1969. Wells, W. F., Byways, Ferndale Road, Burgess Hill
 1969. White, The Revd. David J., 91 The Welkin, Lindfield, Haywards Heath
 1969. Williams, Miss D. B., Glendalough, Rother Road, Seaford
 1969. Williams, D. O. }
 1969. AWilliams, Mrs. D. O. } 2 Lansdowne Way, Hailsham
 1969. rWilliams, Miss Joan M. K., Haven Brow, 34 Marine Drive, Bishopstone, Seaford
 1969. rWilliamson, Stephen G., 66 Westgate, Chichester
 1969. rWinterton, Dr. Brenda, Lea Head, The Highway, Newhaven
 1969. Wigan, Mrs. B., Kingsdown, Somerfield Road, Maidstone, Kent
 1969. rWood, Howard G., P.O. Box 32, Carlton (3053), Victoria, Australia
 1968. rWorlock, Mrs. Michael, Courtfield, Cranston, East Grinstead
 1969. Wynn, John, Rivers Farm Cottage, Copyhold Lane, Haywards Heath

PART II, LIBRARIES, UNIVERSITIES AND INSTITUTIONS

1969. Cincinnati and Hamilton County Public Library, 8th and Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio 45202, U.S.A.
 1969. National Library of Australia, Canberra, A.C.T., Australia
 1969. University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Library, 2500 East Kenwood Boulevard, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211, U.S.A.
 1968. University of Wyoming Library, Laramie, Wyoming 82071, U.S.A.

Sussex Archaeological Society



Report of the Council for the Year 1968

ELECTED MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL

Till 1969

G. P. BURSTOW, F.S.A.
 ANTONY DALE, F.S.A.
 W. EMIL GODFREY, F.S.A.
 G. A. HOLLEYMAN, F.S.A.
 G. H. KENYON, F.S.A.
 Mrs. M. H. RULE, F.S.A.
 E. A. WOOD, M.D.
 R. H. WOOD

Till 1970

Capt. D. H. F. ARMSTRONG,
 D.S.O., R.A.
 Canon GREVILLE COOKE, F.S.A.
 L. R. FISHER
 E. W. HOLDEN, F.S.A.
 Mrs. P. M. HUGHES
 Captain H. LOVEGROVE, C.B.E., R.N.
 I. D. MARGARY, F.S.A.
 R. T. MASON, F.S.A.

Till 1971

W. IVOR GRANTHAM, O.B.E.
 G. D. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.
 The Venerable Archdeacon MASON
 Miss K. M. E. MURRAY, F.S.A.
 F. W. PAYNE
 L. F. SALZMAN, C.B.E., D.LITT.,
 F.S.A.
 F. BENTHAM STEVENS, F.S.A.
 A. E. WILSON, D.LITT., F.S.A.

1. MEMBERSHIP.—The Council is pleased to report a further increase in membership during 1968.

The figures are as follows:—

	<i>Ordinary</i>	<i>Associate</i>	<i>Life</i>	<i>Honorary</i>	<i>Total</i>
1st January, 1968	1,273	185	93	10	1,561
1st January, 1969	1,291	198	94	9	1,592

Losses by death included:—Col. A. H. Bell, D.S.O. (1937), Col. Sir Frederick Stern, M.C., O.B.E. (1923), H. Brightwell (1946), C. W. Fibbens (1940), Miss Ivatt (1937), Mrs. J. H. Drummond-Roberts (1926), Mrs. Pearce (1928), Rev. Canon N. H. H. Jolly (1946), F. Bentham Stevens (1903), Miss E. M. Casserley (1935), Ernest E. Cripps (1908).

Col. Bell served as a member of the Council from 1953 till 1964.

Though he was interested in archaeology Col. Sir Frederick Stern will be remembered as a horticulturist of international repute. At Highdown he created one of the best known gardens in Sussex.

Frank Bentham Stevens joined the Society in 1903 and served on the Council from 1908 until his death. He had been curator and librarian in 1912-15 during a period of reorganization after the Society acquired Barbican House for its headquarters. His legal knowledge was of great value to the Society, and to him we

owe the formation of the Sussex Archaeological Trust in 1924/5, which has done so much to ease the formalities of preserving important sites. This alone assures him an important place in our history. But he did much else for archaeology. He contributed many articles on manorial and historical matters to the Society's publications. He served the Council as Hon. Financial Secretary from 1923 for 40 years and for many years he organised the Society's outings most agreeably. His knowledge and wise guidance on the Council will be greatly missed.

The name of Horace Brightwell, of South Harting, will be remembered as one who gave freely of his knowledge to fellow enquirers into local history and archaeology. Among his many activities were the discovery of Iron Age hut shelters on Harting Hill, exploratory excavations on the Iron Age hillfort of Torberry and numerous gifts to Barbican House Museum.

Miss E. M. Casserley had served as Secretary of the Brighton and Hove Archaeological Society, for many years.

2. OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.—It was with great satisfaction that the Council, at the Annual Meeting on the 20th March, elected as President the Lord Bishop of Chichester, Dr. Roger Wilson.

There were three vacancies on the Council. Capt. D. H. F. Armstrong, D.S.O., R.A., was elected to serve until 1970 and Mrs. M. H. Rule, F.S.A., and Mr. R. H. Wood were elected to serve until 1969.

The other officers and retiring members were re-elected.

3. THE ROMAN PALACE AT FISHBOURNE.—In the November issue of *Notes and Queries* there is a description of the preview of the Palace and Museum which took place on Tuesday, the 28th of May, 1968, and which many members of the Society attended.

Two days later in equally splendid weather the site was formally opened.

The President of the Society, the Lord Bishop of Chichester, accompanied by His Worship the Mayor of Chichester, welcomed the assembly. The company included representatives of the learned societies, of the universities, of neighbouring archaeological societies, and members of the Sussex Archaeological Society; those who had in any way contributed to this great achievement were present or represented. The Bishop said that after long expectations they had come to this tremendous occasion. Speaking for the Society, to which Mr. Margary had entrusted his benefactions, the Bishop then, with obvious pleasure, asked him to declare open the site of the Roman Palace.

Mr. Margary, referring to this landmark in the history of the Society, recalled the circumstances of the original discovery of Roman remains. In those early days they owed much to the help of Mr. and Mrs. Rule and to the watchfulness of Mr. and Mrs.

Anderson who lived nearby. Mr. Ledger, who owned the land, had been most co-operative. The Chichester Civic Society, through its Excavation Committee, organised the original excavations from 1961 onwards. The Ministry of Public Building and Works gave much help. The committees and officials of the Society were faced with enormous problems. They were most fortunate in having Barry Cunliffe (later to become Professor of Archaeology at Southampton University) to supervise the diggers and direct the operations. His interpretation of what was found had been wonderful. The finds included some of the earliest mosaics in this country and it is the *only* site where they can be properly seen.

There were three alternatives: to record and re-bury; to lift and remove to a museum; or to preserve *in situ*. Mr. Margary went on to say that his special interest in archaeology lay in the Roman period, and this led to the decision to maintain *in situ*. He believed that the expense of doing this was justified because it created something which was unique in Britain and of supreme historical interest. He had accepted responsibility for the erection of the buildings they saw. The *Sunday Times* had offered to equip the Museum, and the Society had benefited much from the interest and skill of Mr. Kenneth Pearson, Miss Patricia Connor (now Mrs. Pearson) and of Mr. Robin Wade, the designer, assisted by Mr. Ian McLaren, typographer. The *Sunday Times* had by their publications aroused great interest in the project. In levelling and laying out the Roman Garden the Pilgrim Trust had nobly helped. Many other benefactors had encouraged and supported the Society.

Mr. Margary then spoke of their indebtedness to their architect, Mr. Emil Godfrey, who had designed these admirable buildings with great skill and imagination. To Mr. Horton, responsible for the construction of the buildings, Mr. Margary referred as a tower of strength. It is indeed sad to record that Mr. Horton died soon after the completion of his work later in the year. Mr. Phillips, whose firm was developing the adjoining estate, had co-operated in the construction of the access road and car park. Mr. Novis, of Art Pavements Ltd., had given the greatest care to the conservation of the mosaics.

After this Mr. Margary, quietly but with evident satisfaction, declared the Palace open.

Dr. Nowell Myres then mounted the rostrum and expressed admiration of all he had observed. Mr. Margary had, he said, the great gift of imagination. He was the Fairy Godfather of archaeological enterprises of all sorts. The Society of Antiquaries had greatly benefited by his generosity.

He then turned to the plaque, carved by Mr. John Skelton and set into the wall of the concourse, which had been placed by members of the Society to commemorate Mr. Margary's magnificent

gift, commenting as he did so on the "beautiful and wholly appropriate inscription":

THE SUSSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
PLACED THIS STONE HERE IN 1967 IN
GRATITUDE TO IVAN DONALD MARGARY
ANTIQUARY BY WHOSE GENEROSITY THE
REMAINS OF THE ROMAN PALACE AT
FISHBOURNE HAVE BEEN PRESERVED

In conclusion Dr. Myres said that he felt sure King Cogidubnus was looking down from the Elysian Fields with great approval at all that he saw that day.

Mr. Arnold Taylor, the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, then spoke. Referring to the Margary saga he recalled Mr. Margary's long interest in archaeology. This was reflected in the pages of the Annual Collections of the Society. He stressed Mr. Margary's interest in Roman Britain, and his publications including "Roman Roads in Britain" which recorded 6,550½ miles and entailed in its preparation more than 19,000 miles of motoring. But Fishbourne was his crowning achievement. The fact that it had come to pass was due to the imagination and determination of one man.

Finally, Professor Cunliffe gave a lively description of the labours of his diggers. Since the trial dig of 1961, over seven major seasons, there had been many hundreds of volunteers, mainly students, many working eight hours a day for six days a week. They had worked hard, often in mud and rain, sometimes needing the Fire Brigade to pump out waterlogged trenches. They could rest on their laurels but for the future more could be planned.

For the rest of the afternoon the Society's guests were free to study the Museum and visit the Palace and Garden. Tea was provided in a marquee, but the sunshine was so inviting that many reclined in Roman fashion on the grass.

* * * *

Later in the year the Council had great pleasure in electing Professor Cunliffe a Vice-President of the Society in recognition of his outstanding services to archaeology in the county.

The Council is glad to report that Mrs. Rule has accepted the appointment of Curator of the Palace and Museum, and that it has decided to offer her life membership of the Society in recognition of all that she has done in the course of the excavation and conservation work at Fishbourne.

4. MEETINGS. The meetings held during 1968 have been reported in S.N.Q. XVII. 2.

The lecture in the afternoon following the Annual General Meeting on 20th March was given by Professor Sheppard Frere. In April, Hastings Old Town was visited; in June, Polegate Windmill, Wilmington Church and Priory, and Michelham Priory; in

July, Penshurst Place, Wadhurst Church and Bateman's, Burwash; in August, Warminghurst and West Grinstead Churches; in September, Lindfield. The Autumn Meeting was held at Brighton with a lecture by Mr. Anthony Dale, and this will be reported in the next *S.N.Q.*

NOTE. Will all members who wish to receive notices of ALL LOCAL MEETINGS in 1969 please write to that effect to the Assistant Secretary as soon as possible and not later than the end of March.

5. PUBLICATIONS. Vol. 106 of *Collections* was distributed to members in February, 1969. It contained a total of 296 pages (including the preliminary matter which has the complete list of members up to July, 1968) whereas vol. 105 had a total of only 178 pages. This welcome increase in length is partly due to generous grants from the Marc Fitch Fund and the Council of British Archaeology which have enabled long papers to be published in their entirety instead of being spread over two or more issues. The contents of the volume treat of archaeological and historical subjects from the palaeolithic period until modern times and it is hoped that every member will have found something in the volume to suit his or her particular interest. The inclusion of papers by scholars from America and Oxford (or, if patriotism demands, Oxford and America) demonstrate that the *Collections* are regarded as an appropriate medium for the publication of papers which would have been accepted by journals published under a national title. This recognition of the importance of the *Collections* by contributors outside Sussex is encouraging both for the Society and the editor.

Sussex Notes & Queries, that invaluable omnium gatherum, has been published with unflinching regularity under the editorship of Mr. G. D. Johnston. *S.N.Q.* (to use the popular abbreviation) records much of Sussex antiquarian interest which might otherwise be missed and the Council is much indebted to its editor for his continued perseverance in this branch of the Society's activities.

6. MUSEUMS—BARBICAN HOUSE: The principal work has been the complete redecoration of the three rooms known as the Stone Age, Bronze Age and Medieval Rooms. A scheme drawn up by the Curator, with the approval of the Museum Committee and Council of the Society, for the amalgamation of the Stone Age and Bronze Age sections into one room, has been carried out. This leaves the former Bronze Age Room free for special displays of a temporary nature. It also exposes the fine 16th century stone fireplace in this room, hitherto obscured by a large wall case. After surmounting several minor problems, such as resiting the central heating flue and rebuilding the brick lining, the original open-mouth fireplace has now been restored to its original form and has been furnished with a fireback, depicting the Pelham Arms, and

two firedogs. The 16th century ceiling beams of this room have been scraped to expose the original oak, and a useful storage cupboard has been fitted beneath the window in place of the now obsolete coal chute. New electric light pendants have been purchased for all the museum rooms at Barbican House and have been fitted in the newly decorated rooms.

A further improvement at Barbican House has been the replacement of the solid fuel central heating boiler, which generated far more dust than heat, by a gas-fired automatically-controlled boiler. This should contribute greatly to the future cleanness of the museum.

Improvements have also been made to the museum exhibits in Lewes Castle, which have been resited, treated where necessary with wood preservative and repainted. Some exhibits which were in poor condition have been removed to storage.

Mr. Plank, our custodian at this property, has been busy during the winter months in repainting all the ironwork in the Old Kitchen, and Mr. and Mrs. Rector very kindly undertook the skilled work of restoring to pristine condition the early Victorian baby carriage in that room.

ANNE OF CLEVES HOUSE—The principal new "exhibit" here during the year was the Period Room, now fitted up as a Victorian parlour of about 1880. The opening of this was partly responsible for the magnificent gift by Miss Dorothy Austen of Fairlight, of 170 items of Victoriana, including some very fine dresses, several of which are now displayed in the room. For this collection the Society is very grateful.

Other work here included the arrangement of our Weights and Measures Collection, transferred from Barbican House Medieval Room where it was somewhat out of context; and the concentration of all the larger stored bygones in the very useful new store room adjoining the Period Room.

Again we have to thank Mr. and Mrs. Acott for their keen and efficient work, and also for helping the Curator with the relabelling of exhibits.

At WILMINGTON PRIORY our custodians Mr. and Mrs. Gorringe are to be congratulated on the vast improvement they have effected both inside the building and in the garden. This work is reflected in the considerable increase in the number of visitors during the year.

At PRIEST HOUSE our new custodian, Mrs. Arnold, has had a successful season and to her also we wish to express our thanks.

At MICHELHAM PRIORY further space has been made available in the Gatehouse and all the wheelwrights tools are now shown here. The opening to the public of the Tudor Kitchen in the Priory has made it possible to show more pictures and ironwork. Though

the Hart portraits have been removed, two fine Mortlake tapestries are now displayed in the Tudor Rooms. The special lighting for these has been provided through the generosity of the Friends of Michelham. There has been a number of interesting acquisitions during the year.

The FISHBOURNE ROMAN PALACE with its excellent Museum is referred to elsewhere.

The Society and its Museum Committee are most grateful for the regular assistance of Mr. Harris in the museums at Lewes.

7. LIBRARY. As a result of a note in *S.N.Q.* on the subject of stolen books a repentant sinner brought back five or six books which he (or she) had abstracted from the library. Other penitents are invited to do likewise.

Miss Verena Smith continues to give valuable assistance in mending broken books, cataloguing the Society's topographical prints and other ways.

8. RESEARCH COMMITTEE.—Three meetings were held during 1968 of members representing local societies, museums, excavation groups, specialised study groups and individual archaeologists. The newly formed Wealden Iron Research Group and Sussex Industrial Archaeology Study Group have broadened the scope of the Committee's work. It is gratifying to record that both groups have acquired substantial numbers of interested persons, including members of our Society, to further their separate studies. Surveys of ironworking and industrial sites are now in progress. Members of our Society who would like to join either of these interesting groups may obtain further details from W.I.R.G.—Mr. H. Cleere, c/o The Iron & Steel Institute, 4 Grosvenor Gardens, London, S.W.1.; S.I.A.S.G., Mr. K. C. Leslie, Little Broadmark, Sea Lane, Rustington.

A new venture was a joint conference with C.B.A. Group IIA (Kent and Surrey), in October, held at Tunbridge Wells, the subject being 'The Weald.' This proved to be very popular and was attended by a capacity audience. A similar conference with a Sussex venue may be held in 1970.

Many excavations were organised or supported by Committee members and their groups among which were rescue excavations in Chichester and Roman Villas at Chilgrove and Upmarden, by the Chichester Excavations Committee; a medieval site at Tortington, by Worthing Museum; Iron Age and Romano-British sites at Slonk Hill, Shoreham, alongside the new by-pass road, also further work on the interior of Hollingbury I.A. hillfort, by the Brighton and Hove Archaeological Society. Scholars of Ardingly College recorded and excavated Mesolithic flints from a local site, and a Saxon cemetery found during building works was dug by Mr. D. Thomson at Rookery Hill, Bishopstone. Robertsbridge and District

Archaeological Society continued excavations at the moated Glottenham 'Castle,' while ironworking sites were investigated by the W.I.R.G. at Panningridge (16th century) and Bardown (Roman). Tools and equipment were loaned to Mr. R. Bradley for an excavation on a Beaker period enclosure near Belle Tout lighthouse, East Dean. A number of the helpers at the Royal Archaeological Institute's excavations at Hastings Castle received their introduction to archaeology at the Committee's Bramber Castle training excavations in 1966 and 1967.

Assistance was given to students from outside Sussex who were studying this area, including two people preparing for higher degrees in connection with the Mesolithic period and buried soils.

9. **MUNIMENTS ROOM.**—The production of documents has nearly doubled during the past year. This is one result of the close working arrangements the Society has with the County Council. The research student can now consult the calendars under one roof and have the originals produced from either repository. This is a valuable service deserving, possibly, more appreciation than it receives, considering the time and labour needed of the Records Office staff to carry documents and volumes from the Barbican to Pelham House. The genuine researcher knows what he needs and what this involves, but the vague visitor, who expects to find all his ancestors in half an hour, is a thorn in the flesh.

The most notable accession has been a complete run of the prescription books of Messrs. Glazier & Kemp of Brighton from about 1820. They comprise over 50 large volumes with the names of doctors and patients, many historically famous, but all reduced to size by their common ailments and distasteful remedies. Also received were the title deeds of several small properties and miscellaneous papers, the most important being those of the late Mr. F. Bentham Stevens, F.S.A. His notebooks cover some 60 years of research into all aspects of Sussex life, but particularly the histories of Chailey and Newick, the people who lived there, and their schools.

Tube lighting has been installed in the Muniments Room with excellent results, and a new floor has been laid over the original rough cast concrete which should help considerably to solve the dust problem as well as improve comfort.

10. **FINANCE.** The following items in the 1968 accounts as compared with the previous year call for comment.

Receipts.

Annual Subscriptions. These show an increase of £177 plus £50 for one new life member.

Sale of Volumes. This figure is £199 more than in 1968.

Surplus Museum Exhibits. £129 was obtained from this source mainly from items of South Pacific origin which formerly adorned the Stone Age Room wall.

Payments.

Salaries. After allowing for the refund of Selective Employment Tax salaries increased by £65.

Library and Museum. These costs were reduced by £375 but against this sum security measures both at Barbican House and Anne of Cleves House were effected on professional advice at a total cost of £682. At the same time the burglary and larceny insurance was revised thereby adding £108 to the insurance expenditure.

Travelling expenses and petrol cost £93 more than in 1967.

Margary Fund. The interest on this £15,000 is not now needed by the Trust and the receipts for the second half of 1968 (£473) have been retained by the Society. The total passed to the Trust over the last four and a half years amounts to £4,253.

Other expenditure. A General Index Reserve Fund has been commenced and a first annual payment of £60 has been placed on deposit with the South Eastern Trustee Savings Bank.

The Society contributed £135, being the cost of entertaining guests, at the opening of the Fishbourne Palace.

SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY—ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS 1968

RECEIPTS		1968		1967	
		£	s.	£	s.
		d.		d.	
Subscriptions:	£ s. d.				
Life Members	50 0 0				
Annual Subscriptions	3,368 11 8				
	3,418 11 8				
Income Tax Refund on sums received under Covenant	277 16 7				
Voluntary Contributions	85 1 0				
Interest on £250 War Stock—Garraway Rice Bequest	8 15 0				
Sale of Volumes	260 15 3				
Sale of <i>Sussex Notes and Queries</i>	14 12 6				
Sale of Tickets for Meetings	544 15 0				
Interest on General Reserve Fund (see Note 1)	51 17 8				
Interest on Margary Fund (see Note 2)	946 15 2				
Interest on Library Deposit Account	4 11 11				
Interest on Bank Deposit Account re Volumes	10 0 1				
Sale of Library Duplicates	10 0 —				
Contribution by Sussex Archaeological Trust	260 0 0				
Donations	5 0 0				
Sale of Surplus Museum Exhibits	129 16 3				
Refund of S.E. Tax by Ministry of Labour	146 5 0				
Grant by M.P.B.W. for Local Excavations	— — —				
Bequest by the late Miss M. E. Power	— — —				
Grant by C.B.A. to Volume 106	100 0 0				
Miscellaneous	17 6 10				
Total Income	£6,282 9 11				
Cash at Barclays Bank on 1st January	140 10 7				
Cash on Bank Deposit for Volumes	11 5 2				
Cash on Bank Deposit for Library	82 5 3				
	£6,516 10 11				
	£6,315 15 9				

PAYMENTS		1968		1967	
		£	s.	£	s.
		d.		d.	
Subscriptions to Kindred Societies	32 7 0				
Library and Museum Payments	144 12 0				
Cost of Museum Security Measures	682 5 5				
Cost of fittings in new Attic Library	— — —				
Muniment Room—Annual payment to E.S.C.C.	50 0 0				
Printing and Stationery	275 2 3				
Salaries	1,959 10 0				
Postages	169 14 11				
Telephone	40 5 1				
<i>Sussex Notes and Queries</i>	239 17 9				
Expenses of Meetings	545 14 0				
Insurance	168 1 9				
Volume 104	— — —				
Volume 105	346 9 9				
Volume 106 (Index Charge)	5 11 0				
Travelling Expenses and Petrol	140 10 11				
Donations to Excavations, etc.	12 0 0				
Paid out from M.P.B.W. Grant	50 0 0				
Margary Fund Interest transferred to Trust (see Note 2)	473 7 7				
Redecoration of Offices, Repairs and New Equipment	244 16 9				
Contribution to cost of Fishbourne Roman Palace opening	135 2 0				
Miscellaneous	58 7 6				
Total Expenditure	£5,773 15 8				
Cash at Barclays Bank on December 31st	174 12 10				
Cash on Bank Deposit for Volumes	421 5 3				
Cash on Bank Deposit for Library	86 17 2				
Cash at Trustee Savings Bank for General Index Fund	60 0 0				
	£6,516 10 11				
	£6,315 15 9				

NOTE 1. (a) On December 31st, 1968, 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 1968 income received amounted to £51 17s. 8d., which was carried to current account

NOTE 2. The Margary Fund of £15,000 is invested in Trustee Securities. The income for 1968 was divided equally between the Society and Trust.

We have checked the above account with the books and vouchers and we certify it to be correct in accordance therewith.
 S. E. GRAVES, } Chartered Accountants, Joint Honorary Auditors.
 D. M. ARNOLD, }

AFFILIATED SOCIETIES

Battle and District Historical Society

Although there was a slight drop in Membership during the year, 28 new Members joined and all functions were well attended.

The early months of the year were taken up with consideration of the Draft Battle Town Plan and Town Centre Map, prepared by the Planning Officer, E.S.C.C. The Society confined their recommendations to the preservation of sites and buildings of particular historic interest.

Lectures last winter were, "Some Romney Marsh Churches" by Miss A. Roper; "Old Sussex Customs and Superstitions" and "Distinctive Features of Sussex Churches," both by Mr. W. H. Dyer; "The Village That Never Was" by Dr. D. Ridge; "Winchelsea" by Capt. R. Lovegrove; "Our Saxon Heritage" by Mr. A. R. Clough and "The Canal Story" by Major L. C. Gates.

The Summer Season opened on 11th May, 1968, with a social Evening at Powdermill House, Battle, the home of Mrs. Evelyn Webster, a Vice-President of this Society. Visits were later paid to Ightham Mote; Preston Manor, Brighton and Clayton Church; some Romney Marsh Churches and to the Roman Palace at Fishbourne and Bosham Church.

The Commemoration Lecture on 11th October, 1968, was to have been given by Mr. R. H. C. Davis of Merton College, Oxford, but at the last moment he was unable to come owing to a sudden illness, Miss Margaret Ash from Eastbourne deputised at very short notice and gave a most interesting illustrated talk on "The Parish Church." At the Commemoration Service in Battle Parish Church the following Sunday, the sermon was preached by the Rev. H. R. Darby, Vicar of Waltham Abbey.

At the Annual General Meeting in November, Mrs. E. Webster and Mr. A. E. Marson were re-elected Vice-Presidents; Major L. C. Gates and Brig. D. A. Learmont were re-elected Chairman and Vice-Chairman, respectively.

Brighton and Hove Archæological Society

The Society again organised an excavation at Hollingbury for three weeks during the summer of 1968. The object was to continue the search for habitation within the earthworks.

We started at the known position of three post-holes which had been found in last year's excavation. A large circular hut of the Early Iron Age was uncovered; its walls were marked by a ring of post-holes and there was an entrance porch on the north-east side (opposite to the direction of the south-west winds). Part of the circular gully for collecting rain-water from the roof was found. Unfortunately, much of the hut had been badly mutilated

by the digging of military trenches during the 1914-18 War. The whole site of the hut was littered with fragments of pottery which had been trodden into the earth floor.

Two shallow circular pits and some drainage gullies, also of the Early Iron Age, were found near the hut.

Chichester Civic Society—Excavations Committee

The 1968 Summary Report records that this marks the twenty-first anniversary of the Committee's foundation, and pays tribute to Dr. Wilson's success in first getting it going and then personally directing its work for the first fourteen years.

Fishbourne Roman Palace. Professor Cunliffe directed a small-scale dig on the Aisled Hall at the east end of the North Wing to elucidate various re-builds involving changes in use—an early one evidently religious. As opportunity arises, outlying areas will be examined on the north, west and south sides of the site, particularly towards the Harbour.

Chichester Cathedral. Mrs. Rule is carefully watching the excavations for underpinning the buttresses at the east end, and—where possible—examining significant features. Foundations of Norman apsidal chapels have appeared; and—most excitingly—two early Christian graves cut through a Roman floor and associated with a sherd of Saxon pottery suggest confirmation that the Norman Cathedral was preceded by the Saxon Nunnery that William of Malmesbury mentions.

Roman Cemetery at St. Pancras. The extent is still being defined by Mr. Down, and when completed should give valuable statistical information about the population of the city in the Roman period. A mediaeval kiln came to light during road works at the rear of No. 1 St. Paul's Road, and was carefully excavated—with indications of others along Orchard Street, pointing to this as the potting area of the mediaeval city.

Around Chichester Mr. Down continued work on the Roman "villa" at Pitlands Farm, Upmarden, especially on the bathhouse; on the stockyard of the Wellmeadow "villa" at Chilgrove, and on the aisled hall in particular at the Cross Roads Field "villa."

Christ's Hospital Archæological and Antiquarian Society

In December, 1967, a coach from Christ's Hospital visited Lewes for an afternoon. Thirty-five boys passed their time enjoyably at the castle, museum and around the delightful town.

During the summer about 800 people came to the school on 'Verrio' Days when we are open to the public and they are shown round by a corps of thirty bluecoat boys—all members of the Society—under the direction of Julian Ramos and Nicholas Morgan.

(If any members of the S.A.S. would like to visit the Hospital this year, please write to the Secretary of the Christ's Hospital Archaeological Society for details, the dates are, of course, published in 'Houses and Castles open to the Public,' etc. and the fee is one florin). An exhibition was also mounted on the Wealden Glass Industry.

The Michaelmas Term began with our Annual General Meeting when the new committee was elected as follows:—

Nicholas Morgan—Secretary,
David Nixon—Treasurer,
Julian Ramos—Journal Editor.

As it is hoped to publish the journal soon, the committee co-opted Michael Proctor and Michael Cowdrey onto the committee.

In October a large party of just over forty visited the Palace at Fishbourne and were given an introductory talk before looking around and were most impressed with the way in which the material was presented. After tea, provided by Mrs. Hughes for which we thank, we were shown over Chichester Cathedral and many stayed for Evensong and met John Birch.

The rest of the year was spent in moving our collection to more spacious quarters—a large room which was much needed for now everything is together. We thank the Headmaster for this and the Geography School for some new exhibits.

Cuckfield Society

During the year the Society has held an Annual General Meeting, a summer wine & cheese party with a tour of Cuckfield Park House and six lectures for members. It has published two Newsletters for members.

The Executive Committee has met twelve times. It submitted written evidence to the Committee on Public Participation in Planning set up by the Ministry of Housing & Local Government and completed a questionnaire for the National Parks Commission. It corresponded with the Local Authority regarding tree preservation orders and wrote in support of the objectors to the Ninfield-Heathfield - Crowborough pylons. It applied for and secured the provisional registration of Whitemans Green as a village green under the Commons Registration Act.

The Footpath sub-committee has organised a working party to maintain footpaths and is currently negotiating with the Parish Council and County Council regarding signposting of public footpaths.

On receiving notice of the proposed sale of the Sergison estate of Cuckfield the Society requested an interview with representatives of the Local Authority. The Local Authority received a delegation from the Society who asked that the question of the preservation of the rural character of Cuckfield should be taken

into consideration in connection with this sale. The Local Authority subsequently applied to the County Council for parts of the estate to be designated as land of high landscape value and purchased some woodland and pasture for the use of the public.

The Society now has about 500 members.

Eastbourne Association of Sussex Folk

This has been another very successful year for the Association. The wonderful example set by the late President Alderman E. C. Martin, founder of the Association, was still sadly missed. He had attended the meetings and outings of the Association whenever possible.

Interesting illustrated talks were given by Mr. W. H. Dyer and Mr. H. D. Spears, there was a social evening in conjunction with other kindred societies of Eastbourne, and a members' slides evening finishing with the A.G.M. in May. Outings were organised to several places of interest including Ightham Mote, Sissinghurst Castle, Chartwell, Guildford Cathedral, Lindfield and Horsham. The membership at the end of the year was 315.

Eastbourne Natural History and Archæological Society

The Society held twelve evening meetings in 1968. Ten were lectures, divided between archaeology and natural history. A memorable occasion was the visit of Mr. E. W. Holden, F.S.A., to talk about "The Archaeology of Salt." There were also two members' evenings, at which members could show, and discuss, exhibits or small collections of slides. In the summer, a few members were able to help in the excavations at Belle Tout, and a party visited the site and heard it explained by Mr. Bentley. The Committee took an active part in meetings called to discuss the possibility of forming a local Museum for the town.

Hailsham Historical and Natural History Society

During the year there have been some casualties among older members, but membership has been maintained. Attendance at the monthly meetings has tended to grow and very seldom falls below fifty.

The Museum has been open to the public on Market days, from Whitsun to the end of September and has aroused considerable interest amongst visitors to the town.

One feature of 1968 has been a marked increase in the number of enquiries regarding local history from people not connected with the Society.

Old Hastings Preservation Society

This year has seen the completion of the lengthy restoration of the fine Pelham Crescent, the most important Regency group East of Brighton. This has been carried out over ten years, with the help of grants from the Pilgrim Trust, the Historic Buildings Council and the Hastings Borough Council.

Another restoration carried out by the Society was of an excellent but dilapidated Regency building in the High Street, part of which now forms the Society's Headquarters, where lectures and meetings can be held.

A full programme of Summer visits as well as Winter talks was arranged, while during the season guides took parties round the Old Town. The highlight was Old Town Week, at the end of August, when some of the period houses were opened to the public. An Exhibition of Pictures and models, Walks through the Old Town and the Stade, a visit to the Stables Theatre, a procession to trace the bounds of the parishes of St. Clements and All Saints Churches, and a lecture and band playing were among the events. The Curfew was rung each evening at 8 p.m. from the Borough Church.

The Old Town has been declared a Conservation Area, as well as the area of Burton's St. Leonards; the first stage in the development of the decayed area of the Old Town according to the proposals in the Holford Report is awaited.

Membership this year was 674.

Friends of Lewes

The year's work has again been dominated by proposals about the Road. While work proceeded on the so-called first stage of the inner relief road associated with the second river bridge, the necessity for which is accepted by all, the force of local opposition to the major part of the proposed road through the rest of the town at last penetrated to government level, and the contending interests were advised to appoint independent assessors. The firm of Messrs. Hugh Wilson and Lewis Womersley were appointed. Their invitation for observation and comment elicited a wide response; the Friends of Lewes, approached individually, submitted two detailed statements. The assessors' report is expected early in 1969 and it is planned to devote the proceedings of our A.G.M. on March 28th to a discussion of it.

There is much of significance for societies like this in the new legislation of 1967 and 1968 and the Executive Committee intends to turn its attention to the designation of Conservation Areas and to the new ways of operating the (it is hoped) strengthened regulations to protect historic buildings.

The Tree Committee has planted one tree during the year, a copper beech in the Priory Grounds. Arrangements for the presentation and planting of five more are nearly complete.

Littlehampton Natural Science and Archæological Society

Our Society has continued during 1968 its usual full programme of lectures and excursions in the summer. The excursions have covered a wide range of churches, stately homes and smaller buildings of archaeological interest: also nature reserves and gardens. We have not only explored locally but also as far afield as Bateman's, Burwash, and Etchingham in the east, and Mottisfont Abbey and Romsey Abbey in the west; and of course the Roman Palace at Fishbourne.

The lectures have covered both archaeology and natural science with Mr. J. R. Armstrong talking about the proposed Open Air Museum at West Dean and General Sir R. Ewbank talking about his 12,000 miles through the U.S.A., illustrated with fine nature photographs, and many other interesting speakers.

A very successful Members' evening was held at the end of October, one of the highlights of which was the exhibition by Members of more than 80 objects of either Archaeological or Natural scientific interest, with brief commentaries. A Members' film taken in a New Zealand gannetry was also shown and greatly enjoyed.

Northiam and District Historical and Literary Society

The Society has had another successful year with a membership of 123 at the end of the year.

Eight lectures were arranged, on the following subjects:—"In the steps of the Conqueror," W. H. Dyer, Esq.; A Symposium on "A book I have read," by four Members of the Society; "The Village that never was," Dr. D. Ridge; "Old Northiam," Miss W. L. Davis, B.A.; "Old St. Leonards," B. Funnell, Esq.; "The Protectorate," G. M. Byrne, Esq.; "Piranesi," Mrs. M. Mackechnie; "Old Winchelsea," Capt. H. Lovegrove, C.B.E. During the summer very enjoyable outings were arranged to Groombridge Place, Biddenden Place and River Hall, and the Royal Observatory at Hurstmonceux. At the end of August Members enjoyed the hospitality of Mr. Roger Frewen at Brede Place, prior to his leaving to live at Robertsbridge.

The Annual General Meeting on February 12th was well attended and it was followed by an illustrated talk on "Cyprus" by Miss W. L. Davis, B.A.

The Officers elected at the Annual Meeting were:—Chairman, Air Commodore Skoulding, C.B.E.; Hon. Secretary and Treasurer, Miss A. G. Davis, F.C.I.S. Mr. Roger Frewen was elected President.

Robertsbridge and District Archæological Society

In the sixth year of the Society's existence membership reached over the 200 mark. Lectures were held monthly during the winter and regular outings to places of archaeological interest were arranged for the summer.

Excavations at the Moated Homestead at Glottenham, Mountfield were continued. The curtain wall, dating from c. 1300, has now been traced at intervals all round the enclosure and the moat was sectioned at four points. Within the enclosure a small out-building set on a dry stone wall was discovered together with an isolated wall and rubbish pit. Finds include several sherds of 'Polycrome' ware imported from South France, and two large sections of two well preserved jugs.

Surveys of timber-framed buildings continued throughout the year, fourteen buildings being fully recorded. Out of nine hall houses surveyed, six had one bay halls and five had cross-passages, out of these last five, four were houses with one bay halls, showing the commonness of this unusual plan in the area.

A brick and tile works near Oxleys Green was recorded and a project for surveying Brightling Parish was launched.

Steining Grammar School Archæological Society

The Society has grown smaller, but more select; it is not easy to employ large numbers of boys simultaneously in archaeological work. On the occasions of film-strip lectures, however, we have a much larger attendance. Many film-strips are excellently produced and are particularly useful as a visual complement to school classes in Ancient History and Archaeology.

At our weekly meetings members undertake various projects such as model-making, collecting (flints, pottery, coins, clay pipes, etc.) and maintaining a number of display-boards concerned with archaeological news, antiques, coin-collecting, etc. We have also had competitions based upon "Going for a Song," and an archaeological version of "Call my Bluff."

During the summer term we concentrate on preparations for Open Day; during the past two years, in addition to an internal display of the Society's work, we have had two exhibitions of Brass-Rubbing, and, on ground adjoining the school, successively a reproduction of a pre-historic dwelling-hut and a representation of a Bronze Age Downland Settlement, including hill fortress, huts, flint-mine, burial mound, etc. All this has entailed hard but rewarding work.

Our outside work has been limited to sporadic exploratory trenching, searching of ploughed fields, trips to Worthing for the Archaeological lectures and visits to the Wilmington Giant, Battle Abbey, the Barbican, Castle and Museum, and Porchester Castle.

More recently we visited the Roman Palace at Fishbourne. Some of our senior members have assisted with digs in this area, viz. Sele Priory, Bramber Castle and Slonk Hill. More important still, perhaps, is the initiative shown by members in developing their archaeological interests individually during the school holidays.

Worthing Archæological Society

The past year has been a prosperous one for the Worthing Archaeological Society. Many new members have joined and all lectures and excursions have been well attended. Outings during the summer included visits to Warnham and Lynchmere Churches, Shulbrede Priory, Haremere Hall, Uppark, Fishbourne and Hatchlands. Mr. G. P. Burstow, B.A., F.S.A., was the guest speaker at the Annual dinner in October and the winter lectures arranged were as follows: Major A. C. Roper, on "Murals in Sussex Churches"; Miss Marion Archibold, M.A., on "The Newstead Horde"; Mr. K. C. Leslie, B.A., on "Industrial Archaeology"; Professor W. F. Grimes, on "Roman London"; and Miss K. M. Murray, M.A., on the "Cinque Ports."

In the spring the Museum completed its rescue excavations of an extensive early Mediaeval area in Steyning. An investigation of an earthwork at Roundabout, West Chiltington, in advance of building yielded negative information. Assistance was given on the Iron Age and Romano-British site on Mill Hill in the path of the new Shoreham by-pass and the excavation of the new Worthing Reservoir on Highdown Hill was watched. In Worthing itself there is further evidence of the Roman ditch system running under the Central Library. This was found by Major Roper from narrow trenches for a new traffic lights system. In the autumn excavations led by Mr. C. J. Ainsworth at Tortington to establish the nature of a site, recognised from high proton gradiometer readings, revealed area of Mediaeval hearths and ovens.

SUSSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRUST

Annual Report, 1968

1. PROPERTIES. The properties administered by the Trust attracted visitors as follows:

	1967	1968
Lewes Castle and Barbican House ..	21,216	22,566
Anne of Cleves House, Lewes ..	7,425	7,972
Wilmington Priory	3,047	3,897
Priest House, West Hoathly ..	1,474	1,532
Michelham Priory	41,567	41,107
Roman Palace, Fishbourne	—	253,071

These figures were generally satisfactory, but, of course, the attendance at Fishbourne was almost incredible.

2. FISHBOURNE ROMAN PALACE. In the Society's Report the preview and the formal opening by the Lord Bishop of Chichester have already been described.

Besides the great number of ordinary visitors, there were two royal visits. On the 9th November His Majesty King Gustav of Sweden, with his grand-daughter, Princess Margarethe, visited the Palace and were met by Miss Murray, as Chairman, with a small reception committee. Professor Cunliffe and Mrs. Rule accompanied King Gustav during his tour and pointed out matters of special interest to the King, who is himself an enthusiastic archaeologist.

After the close of the season, Lord Mountbatten brought Their Majesties the King and Queen of the Hellenes and H.R.H. Prince Charles on a private visit to the Palace.

During the course of the year a great deal of work was necessary to complete the conservation of the remains and to prepare the site for the admission of visitors.

All was in a satisfactory state for the opening of the site to the public at the end of May, though work was continued throughout the season and much still remained to be done at the end of the year.

A considerable income has been derived from admission fees and the sale of literature, including the brochure published by *The Sunday Times*. The surplus after meeting ordinary outgoings has been used to defray the cost of building and site works still in hand, but it is hoped by the end of next season there will be a clear surplus.

Once again, the Council is delighted to acknowledge Mr. Margary's continuous financial support, which has meant that there has been no check to the Committee's activities.

Throughout the season, Mr. Shaw, the Custodian, and his wife have given enthusiastic and outstanding service, frequently working very long hours. The Council is most pleased to put its appre-

ciation on record. The remaining staff at Fishbourne have also given excellent service.

For the future administration of the Palace the Council has appointed two Committees, the Advisory Committee to take the place of the original Management Committee and the Executive Committee to take the place of the Local Committee. This new arrangement became effective on the 1st November, 1968.

3. MICHELHAM PRIORY. There has been a small increase in the Gatehouse takings, while the Dovecote shop has had another record year in sales. Because of certain special non-recurring works, it has been necessary to draw a sum of £235 from the income of the Endowment Fund.

No other major items of capital expenditure were undertaken during the year, as funds are being conserved towards the re-roofing of the Great Barn, which it is hoped to undertake in the autumn of 1969. A grant of £750 towards the estimated cost of about £4,000 has been made by the Historic Buildings Council, and a further substantial sum has been promised by the East Sussex County Council.

The new sluice gates in the north-east corner of the moat were completed by the Conservation Corps in April and are working satisfactorily. The Sussex River Authority has constructed a dam in the north-west corner of the moat where the river enters the moat proper, at their own cost, to ensure that, when supplies of water have to be withheld in the winter months, the water in the moat will be retained. The fishing rights have been let to the Compleat Anglers Club of Eastbourne for seven years. A small colony of wild fowl has been established.

Further space has been made available in the Gatehouse where the wheelwright's tools are now shown. The opening to the public of the Tudor kitchen in the House provided the opportunity to show more pictures and ironwork. It is unfortunate that the Hart portraits were removed, but two fine Mortlake tapestries have been hung in the Tudor rooms with first-class lighting provided by the Friends of Michelham.

The usual number of special events and Art Exhibitions were again held. An exhibition of Venetian Glass from the Victoria and Albert Museum attracted attention.

The Priory is most fortunate in its full-time and voluntary staff. The condition of the house and grounds has been much appreciated.

The arrangements for catering have proved most satisfactory and a seven-year lease has been granted to the caterers.

4. WILMINGTON PRIORY. The work to the old walls has resulted in a marked improvement. It is proposed to purchase a small area of land in the north-west corner of the property, which will make it possible to complete the conservation of the north boundary wall.

The Priory is now in a most attractive condition. Members who visit it will observe with what success Mr. and Mrs. Gorrings, the Custodians, are fulfilling their responsibilities. The Trust has greatly benefited by the good fortune which brought them to the Priory.

5. REPAIRS TO TRUST PROPERTIES. The Trust has again received much valued help through the interest of Mr. L. G. Uridge, who was elected a Vice-President in February, 1968. A further grant was received from the Uridge Trust during the year and has been allocated to the maintenance and repair of Anne of Cleves House, Lewes, and the Castle. The main task remaining is the further conservation work at the Castle. In 1969 the repair of the south archway of the Barbican will be put in hand and probably work on the north retaining wall of the Gun Green.

6. FINANCE. This year only half the interest of the Margary Fund has been transferred from the Society to the Trust, and with improved finances it is probable that no further transfer will be necessary. It is hoped soon to make a start with the projected Reserve Fund. This is most important as, with so many old buildings to maintain, heavy calls on the finances of the Trust are from time to time inevitable.

THE SUSSEX
Balance
as at 31st

1967		£	£
	<i>Qualifying Subscriptions and Voluntary Contributions to 31st December, 1967</i>	5,382	
	<i>Add Share of income from Margary Fund Investments (Gross)</i>	473	
	<i>Subscriptions and Contributions received during year</i>	101	
5,382		—	5,956
<i>Endowment Funds</i>			
	Thomas Stanford	11,624	
	Priest House	200	
	Holtye Roman Road	300	
	Ardingly Village Sign	100	
	Legh Manor	1,000	
	Sussex Photographic Record Survey	23	
13,247		—	13,247
<i>Trust Funds</i>			
	Legh Manor	1,085	
	Fishbourne Roman Palace	2,989	
	Mrs. Meads' Legacy	3,805	
	Holtye Roman Road	150	
28,040		—	8,029
<i>Income and Expenditure Accounts</i>			
11,028	Net Surplus to date, per Revenue Accounts ..		35,953
1,188	<i>Sundry Creditors</i>		1,931
	<i>Note: Special Repairs to various Properties of the Trust were in hand at 31st December, 1968, the contracts for which amounted to £1,115 (1967 £840).</i>		
£58,885			£65,116

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

We have examined the foregoing Balance Sheet and accompanying Revenue Accounts.

These figures incorporate the Accounts of the Management Committees of Michelham Priory and Fishbourne Roman Palace which have been independently audited by other Chartered Accountants and which the Council of the Trust has directed us to accept.

No figures have been included in the above Balance Sheet in respect of various properties which the Trust has received by way of gift, nor

ARCHÆOLOGICAL TRUST

Sheet

December, 1968

1967 £		£	£
23,904	<i>Expenditure on Properties to 31st December, 1967</i>		35,904
	<i>Add: Cost of Repairs to Lewes Castle and</i>		
539	Wilmington Priory		959
11,461	Fishbourne Roman Palace		34,211
<hr/>			<hr/>
35,904	<i>Less: Endowment Fund and Specific Donations</i>		71,074
	Lewes Castle Repair Fund	3,472	
	Anne of Cleves Extension Fund	2,362	
	Oldland Mill Fund	4,465	
	Wilmington Priory Repair Fund	568	
	Fishbourne Roman Palace	2,732	
		<hr/>	
		34,211	
<hr/>			<hr/>
17,096			47,810
<hr/>			<hr/>
18,808			23,264
	<i>Endowment Fund Investments</i>		
	Thomas Stanford	11,624	
	Priest House	200	
	Holtye Roman Road	300	
	Ardingly Village Sign	100	
	Lekh Manor	1,000	
	Sussex Photographic Record Survey	23	
<hr/>			<hr/>
13,247			13,247
	(Market Value at 31st December, 1968 £11,712)		
	(1967 £12,334)		
	<i>Trust Fund Investments</i>		
	Lekh Manor	1,085	
	Mrs. Meads' Legacy	1,960	
	Holtye Roman Road	150	
<hr/>			<hr/>
21,625			3,195
	(Market Value at 31st December, 1968 £3,174)		
	(1967, £21,819)		
292	<i>Sundry Debtors</i>		296
4,913	<i>Cash at Bank and in Hand</i>		25,114
<hr/>			<hr/>
£58,885			£65,116

have adjustments been made for all items by way of accruing expenditure and income.

Subject to these remarks in our opinion the foregoing Balance Sheet and annexed Revenue Accounts give a true and fair view of the state of affairs of the Trust at 31st December, 1968 and of the income and Expenditure for the year ended on that date and comply with the provisions of the Companies Acts 1948 and 1967.

GRAVES, GODDARD & HORTON-STEPHENS,

7 Pavilion Parade, Brighton.
6th February, 1969.

Chartered Accountants.

Revenue Accounts for the Year 1968

	<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>1967</i>	<i>1968</i>	<i>1967</i>	<i>1968</i>	<i>1967</i>	<i>1968</i>	<i>1967</i>	<i>1968</i>	<i>1967</i>	<i>1968</i>	<i>1967</i>	<i>1968</i>	<i>1967</i>	<i>1968</i>	<i>1967</i>	<i>1968</i>
	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>
Income for the year	673	706	1,525	1,525	209	212	454	450	21	23	4	3	118	192	1	-
Less: Expenditure	36	27	550	1,160	71	69	67	37	-	5	-	-	253	174	-	-
Surplus for the Year	637	679	975	365	138	143	387	413	21	18	4	3	-	18	1	-
Deficit for the Year	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	135	-	-	-
Surplus brought forward	-	-	4,740	5,715	722	860	338	-	159	180	33	37	206	71	20	21
Deficit brought forward	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Amounts transferred	637	679	5,715	6,080	860	1,003	725	413	180	198	37	40	71	89	21	21
(a) Thomas Stanford Trust	637	679					725	413								
(b) Bull House																
Surplus carried forward	-	-	5,715	6,080	860	1,003	-	-	180	198	37	40	71	89	21	21
Deficit carried forward	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

	Oldland Mill Keymer		Shovells Hastings		Anne of Cleves House Lewes		Wilmington Priory		Priest House W. Hoathly		Lewes Castle and Barbican House		Long Man of Wilmington		Meads Legacy	
	1967	1968	1967	1968	1967	1968	1967	1968	1967	1968	1967	1968	1967	1968	1967	1968
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Income for the year	25	26	301	300	806	872	181	209	91	84	1,657	1,800	5	5	90	90
Less: Expenditure	3	2	46	60	911	1,046	675	652	277	214	1,612	2,012	-	-	-	-
Surplus for the year	22	24	255	240	-	-	-	-	186	130	45	-	5	5	90	90
Deficit for the year	-	-	-	-	105	174	494	443	-	-	-	212	-	-	-	-
Surplus brought forward	181	203	-	117	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	164	254
Deficit brought forward	-	-	138	-	1,068	448	1,338	1,470	-	186	320	-	2	-	-	-
	203	227	117	357	1,173	622	1,832	1,913	186	316	275	212	3	8	254	344
Amounts transferred																
(a) Thomas Stanford Trust					725	209	362	258			275	212				
(b) Bull House						413										
Surplus carried forward	203	227	117	357	-	-	-	-	186	316	-	-	3	8	254	344
Deficit carried forward	-	-	-	-	448	-	1,470	1,655	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

	Fishbourne Roman Palace		Michelham Priory		General Fund	
	1967	1968	1967	1968	1967	1968
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Income for the year	1,399	31,225	8,260	9,257	-	22
Less: Expenditure	881	8,154	6,946	8,034	400	430
Surplus for the year	518	23,071	1,314	1,223	-	-
Deficit for the year	-	-	-	-	400	408
Surplus brought forward	3,409	3,927	1,088	2,402	-	-
Deficit brought forward	-	-	-	-	258	658
	3,927	26,998	2,402	3,625	658	1,066
Surplus carried forward	3,927	26,998	2,402	3,625	-	-
Deficit carried forward	-	-	-	-	658	1,066

SUMMARY OF BALANCES AS AT 31st DECEMBER, 1968

	Surplus	Deficit
Legh Manor: General	6,080	-
Endowment	1,003	-
Holtye Roman Road	198	-
Ardingly Village Sign	40	-
Pigeon House, Angmering	89	-
Sussex Photographic Record Survey	21	-
Oldland Mill, Keymer	227	-
Shovells, Hastings	357	-
Wilmington Priory	-	1,655
Priest House, West Hoathly	-	316
Long Man of Wilmington	-	8
Meads Legacy	344	-
	8,367	1,971
Fishbourne Roman Palace	26,998	-
Michelham Priory	3,625	-
General Fund	-	1,066
	38,990	3,037
		35,953
	£38,990	£38,990

- NOTE: 1. The Auditors' Remuneration (including expenses) amounted to £115.
2. No Member of the Council received any Remuneration in the year.
3. Income from Quoted Securities (gross) amounted to £3,048.
4. Interest on other investments amounted to £917.

EXTRACT FROM MINUTES OF 1968 A.G.M.

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

Miss K. M. E. Murray, Chairman of the Council, in proposing the adoption of the Annual Report, said that membership was rising steadily, which was very satisfactory. The average age of members was, however, high, and, although many young people were interested in archaeology, few joined the Society. She asked for suggestions for increasing the attractions of the Society to the young. Losses by death this year included Dr. E. Cecil Curwen, whose work for Sussex archaeology deserved special mention, and Garth Christian who was a great supporter of the Society and of Sussex Naturalists. Miss Murray thanked Dr. A. E. Wilson for carrying on in spite of his disability. His presidency had been a fitting culmination to his long service to the Society. She endorsed what had been said about Mr. N. E. S. Norris in the Report and was happy to welcome Mr. M. J. MacPherson as Assistant Secretary. Mr. Norris was carrying on as Curator. She also mentioned Miss Verena Smith's skill in arranging excursions and coping with the number of cars involved. She congratulated Mr. F. W. Steer on producing the latest volume of the *Collections* in the year to which it belonged, round about Christmas, and supported his *cri de coeur* on the subject of scripts. The new custodians at Wilmington Priory were full of enthusiasm and had brightened up the property. Members should visit it to see the improvements if they had not been there recently. The great work of repairing the Trust's properties was almost ended and the Society should now be able to think of improving lighting, showcases, etc., in the museums. The Library carried on, with the Librarian nearing his 90th birthday still quietly working. She mentioned the Industrial Archaeology Group and the growing interest in industrial archaeology, which covered the study of such things as water mills and old style railway stations, now rapidly disappearing. The new arrangements for the care of the archives were an unqualified success and left the Hon. Curator of Deeds time to devote to calendaring. Miss Murray ended by thanking all the honorary officers for the enormous amount of time and love they gave to the work. The adoption of the Report was seconded by Mr. F. W. Payne and carried unanimously.

From the Chair Dr. A. E. Wilson said he wished to mention the obvious omission from Miss Murray's remarks—her own work as Chairman in which she guided the Council firmly but gently. Fishbourne was to be opened to the public this year and during 1967 the Fishbourne Management Committee had formed a Local Committee to carry out the details of preparing for the opening. Miss Murray took that Chairmanship as well.

Additions to the Library to July, 1969

1. ROBERTSBRIDGE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY (*per* D. I. Martin)
Recologia Papers: vol. 2
Six timber-framed buildings.
Glottenham excavations.
Brightling Brickworks.
2. M. J. MACPHERSON
H. L. Reeves, *Findon*. 1968.
3. D. L. BROWN
History of the Borough of Hastings Police. 1968 (author's copy).
4. G. D. JOHNSTON
Card Index to Sussex cases in Law Reports (ms.).
5. Mrs. E. C. CURWEN
Drs. E. and E. C. Curwen: 12 vols. of papers, with insertions.
6. RYE MUSEUM
K. Clark, *Many a Bloody Affray*. 1968.
7. GUY OLDHAM
Cat. of Musical Instruments at Expo, Sussex. 1968 (author's pamphlet).
8. L. F. SALZMAN
Excavations at Richborough: 5th Report (Soc. Ant.). 1968.
9. KENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
V. J. Torr, Box of notes, from Glynne mss.
10. F. B. STEVENS (bequest)
(1) R. Bruce-Mitford, *The Soc. of Antiquaries of London*. 1951.
(2) Hist. Notes on Parish of Chailey. 1964.
11. Mrs. FOOKS
J. Gerarde, *The Herbal*. 1636.
12. LEWES BOWLING GREEN SOCIETY
The Game of Bowls: Lewes. 1968.

13. Miss M. COLEMAN
'Celtic Settlement & Agriculture in Central Sussex' (type-script thesis).
14. IVOR GRANTHAM
Records of the South Saxon Lodge. 2nd ed. 1964 (author's copy).
15. I. D. MARGARY
Fishbourne: interim Reports, 1-7; 1961-7.
16. BATEMAN'S COMMITTEE
Sussex Ironmasters: Bateman's Exhibition. 1969.
17. Mrs. H. S. MARTIN
J. J. Abraham, *Lettsom; his Life and Times.* 1933.
18. R. A. MICHAELIS
Hist. of the Company of Pewterers of London. N.D.
(author's copy).
19. G. L. REMNANT
Misericords in Great Britain. 1969 (author's copy).
20. INST. OF GEOLOGICAL SCIENCES
Geology around Haslemere. 1968.
21. Miss H. RICHARDSON (bequest)
Wesley and Horn (ed.), *Bach's Preludes and Fugues.*
22. A. G. SADLER
'Lost Memorial Brasses of West Sussex' (author's type-script).
23. Mrs. P. M. HUGHES
Edward Stillingfleet, *Origines Britannicae*, 1685.
24. ISFIELD PARISH COUNCIL
Guide to Church of St. Margaret, Isfield. (1968).
25. E. B. BILLENESS
'The George Inn, West Street, Brighton' (author's type-script).

PURCHASE:

Register of Archbishop John Pecham. (Cant. and York Soc.),
pts. 1 and 2.

Mary T. Odell, *Playbills of the Old Theatre, Worthing, 1807-1853.* 1955.

E. Smith, *The Complete Housewife.* (1753: reprint 1968).

C. Franklyn, *Families of Paulet . . . Turner of Keymer . . .* 1969.

FOR REVIEW

E. Straker, *Wealden Iron.* (1931: reprint 1969).

Additions to the Museum to July, 1969

(1968)

1. Miss H. M. HEWITT, Cross-in-Hand. (24).
Doll and doll's perambulator.
2. Mrs. A. MALAN, Harrow-on-the-Hill, Middx. (25).
Baby's needlework bonnet.
3. Mrs. WALMISLEY, Lewes. (26).
Miniature basket and scissors made by a gypsy in 1840.
4. Mr. S. SMITH, Horsham. (27. 1-6).
Stable scissors, riding snaffles, leather craven boot, singeing lamp and pair of hunting stirrups.
5. Mrs. A. MUMMERY, Eastbourne. (28).
Collection of about 360 miniature exhibits.
6. Mrs. R. E. THOMAS, Buxted. (29).
Green glazed handled cup (? 18th century) found at Booth House, Framfield.
7. Mr. M. W. D. NORMAN, Shoreham-by-Sea. (30).
Pencil drawing of Anne of Cleves House, Southover by Montague Penley. c. 1850.
8. Miss THOMPSON, Hove. (31).
Victorian black lace fan.
9. Mr. A. J. G. DAVIS, Brighton. (32).
Chemist's pill-making machine, old shop rounds, etc.
10. Miss ADE, Eastbourne. (33).
Medal commemorating the wedding of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, Feb. 10th, 1840, given by Inigo Thomas of Rotton Park to Charles Ade of Milton Court as a token of his appreciation of Mr. Ade's scheme for improving Excete Causeway, which was carried out in 1840.
11. Miss W. J. CURTIS, Chichester. (34).
Costume and bygones.
12. Mrs. SEERS, Kingswood, Surrey. (35).
17th century oak cradle.

13. EAST SUSSEX COUNTY COUNCIL. (37, 1-7).
Collection of standard weights and measures. (On permanent loan).
14. The Misses HOWELL, Plumpton. (38).
Tobacconist's sign—a figure of a Red Indian.

(1969)

15. Mrs. BRANFOOT, Willingdon. (1, 1-50).
Collection of pewter, 17th-19th centuries.
16. Mrs. I. SEYMOUR-LINDSAY, Reading. (2, 1-19) (5, 1-16).
Collections of metalware and bygones.
17. Mr. G. L. REMNANT, Lewes. (3).
Collection of 25 lantern slides ($3\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$ ins.) of Sussex churches.
18. EAST SUSSEX COUNTY COUNCIL. (4).
Part of late 13th-century green glazed jug with decoration consisting of pairs of hooded hawks. Found during excavations on site of new car park in Castle Precints.
19. Miss D. M. SMITH, Bexhill-on-Sea. (6).
Scrap book and 19th-century jig-saw puzzle.
20. Messrs. PAINE & BETTERIDGE, Eastbourne. (7).
18th-century leather shoe from Winkehurst Farm.
21. Mrs. MABEY, Haywards Heath. (8).
Rotary knife-polishing machine by Kent of London.
22. Family of the late Mr. W. ATKINS, North Lancing. (9).
Farm labourer's smock from the Hastings district.
23. BOOTS PURE DRUG CO., Nottingham. (10).
Nest of chemist's drug drawers from shop in Cliffe High Street.
24. Mr. H. JACKSON, Lewes. (11).
Watercolour of Cuckfield church, about 1850, by George Earp.

Accessions to Muniments Room
for year ended June, 1969

Deeds: Mortgage for £3,000 of Atlingworth manor and the Old Ship Inn, Brighton, William Attree to Gale and others, 1810. (Accn. 1214); 5 of Brighton relating to the Brooker family. (Accn. 1221. From Mrs. F. Bentham Stevens, Chailey).

12 of 81 West Street, Brighton, site of cottage belonging to Mrs. Thrale, friend of Dr. Johnson, 1802-82. (Accn. 1225. From Mrs. L. Bryant, Steyning).

About 187 of premises at Buxted Wood, Buxted, partly held of Framfield manor, 1733-1899. (Accn. 1228. From Commander Preston *per* his solicitors).

Manorial: 3 copies of court roll of Meeching manor, 1802-26, and another of Lullington manor, 1873, relating to the Brooker family. (Part of accns. 1214 and 1216).

Abstracts from original and printed sources by Mr. F. Bentham Stevens of the descent of Southover manor and Anne of Cleves House with description of restoration work in 1926. (Accn. 1215 and part of 1216).

2 indexes to court books of Hammerden manor, early 18th and early 19th cents.; copy of proceedings of a court baron, 1618, and court book 1748-1805 of Berwick with Hailsham manor. (Accns. 1233-35. From Messrs. Adams & Remers, Lewes).

Parish and estate: Folkington rate and estate books, 1821-80. (Accn. 1216. From Mrs. P. Longland, Wootton Manor).

Sx. Arch. Trust: Accounts, estimates, correspondence and other papers relating to Lewes Castle and Barbican House, 1904-35. (Accn. 1224).

Maps and plans: Folkington tithe, by William Figg, 1839-40, and Lullington tithe, 1845. (Part of accn. 1216).

In Ticehurst: Hammerden estate, surveyor unknown, 1775, 275a.; farm belonging to Mr. John Hooker, part of Shovers Green, by John ?Relf, 1736; Wilye (Whiligh) farm or manor, by George Bachelier, 1611; Great and Little Whiligh farms belonging to George Courthope, esq., by Thomas Budgen, 1796, 348a.; Stone Gate farm and Hedgings belonging to George Courthope, esq., by Richard Rabson, 1720, 74a.

In Wadhurst: Foxhole farm, estate of George Courthope, esq., by John Adams, surveyor, Tenterden, 1828, 115a.; part of farm belonging to Thomas Hooker, esq., part of Shovers Green, by Richard Budgen, 1768, 88a.; the "Manoure of Moase-Hames"

(Mosehams, Mouseham), by Henry Allen, 1618, 100a.; lands in Wadhurst whose rents are appropriated to "Beautify the Church," by Thomas Budgen, 1803, 28a.; Foxholes, part of possessions of William Fuller, of Chevening, Kent, gent, by Richard Adams, surveyor, 1720, 120a.; 3 tenements called Pelle (with messuage called Waytes), Haylockes and Holes, belonging to Nicholas Sanders, gent, by John Pattenden of Lamberhurst, ?1645; on reverse of last map, Great Pell farm in occupation of Mr. Samuel Baldwin, by William and I. Budgen, 1826, 178a.; Little Abbots (Butts *als* Abbots *als* Little Butts), surveyor and date not stated but *c.* 1725, 104a. (Accn. 1226. From The Hon. H. B. & E. D. Courthope).

Gage estates, small leather-bound volume of "Sketches of Estates belonging to the Rt. Hon. Henry Viscount Gage," by T. Budgen, early 19th cent. (Accn. 1236. From Messrs. Adams & Remers, Lewes).

Sale particulars: 204a. of the Sergison estate, Cuckfield, with plan and prices, 1968.

Wilmington Priory farm of 550a. with plans and conditions for covenanting with Sussex Archaeological Trust.

Miscellaneous: Photo copies of West Sussex Poll tax returns at the P.R.O., 16 sheets. (Accn. 1212. From Messrs. Ludlow & Witten, Shoreham-by-Sea).

Treasury Order for repayment of loan of £500 to Sir Cloudesley Shovell secured by the malt duty, 1704. (Accn. 1213. From Mrs. Prideaux, Hastings).

MS book of "Precedents in Conveyancing," early 19th cent. (Accn. 1231. From Mr. J. G. Williams, Hay-on-Wye, Hereford).

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. lxxvi of Volume 101, p. lxxvii of Volume 102, p. lxxviii of Volume 103, p. xxxv of Volume 104, pp. xl and xli of Volume 105 and pp. lxix and lxx of Volume 106.

The following additional monuments have since been scheduled. The County number of each monument is given in brackets:
 Alciston, three round barrows S.W. of Loose Plantations. (368)
 Alfriston, long barrow 200 yds. W. of Winton Chalk Pit. (369)
 Chichester, St. Martin's Lane, Little London Car Park, Roman site. (375)

- Compton, two round barrows in Grevitt's Copse. (366)
Fulking, medieval farmstead E. of Perchinghill Barn. (370).
Icklesham, medieval town of Winchelsea. (355)
Lindfield Rural, earthwork at Pim's Lock near Dean's Mill, Lindfield. (374)
Litlington, round barrows 650 yds. S.S.E. of Manure Barn. (367)
Parham, three round barrows in Rackham Plantation. (362)
Pyecombe, Roman road and 18th-century coaching road N. of Pyecombe Church. (373)
Rusper, Ifield Court moated site. (372)
Salehurst, Robertsbridge Abbey (additional area). (134)



LADY MARY MAY'S MONUMENT IN MID LAVANT CHURCH

By the Rev. T. D. S. BAYLEY, F.S.A.

From time to time antiquaries have drawn attention to the disappearance from view in the nineteenth century of the monument and effigy of Lady Mary May, reputed to be by John Bushnell, from the church of St. Nicholas, Mid Lavant, and expressed their indignation¹ about it. But some confusion has arisen in this connection, and it may be that an element of legend has become associated with this happening. Now, although the disappearance is of interest, so also it would seem would be the arrival of such a work of art in so undistinguished a church which, before restoration and enlargement in the nineteenth century, was but a plain aisleless building without a tower [Plate 1A]. But this point has not attracted attention. The most satisfactory account of the monument is to be found in the very full paper² on Bushnell and his work by Katharine A. Esdaile. The unhesitating attribution of it to Bushnell on the ground of style by such a notable authority as Mrs. Esdaile may be considered conclusive. Nevertheless, she has not told the complete story, and an unhappy misreading of a date by one of her informants has obscured an important point. This paper seeks to suggest how the monument came to Mid Lavant, and to set in order the record of its disappearance.

Mary was the second wife of Sir John May of Raughmere, Mid Lavant, and was a widow aged 36 when she decided in 1676 to set up her own monument in St. Nicholas's. Now although there can be no absolute proof, the probability is very strong that she would turn for advice to her husband's uncle, Hugh May (1622-1684). This is not the place to give a detailed account of his life and achievements. A strangely neglected figure, he still awaits a full biography.³ Here it must suffice to indicate the extent of his connection with the artistic world of his day. Hugh was the twelfth child of a family of thirteen, Lady May's husband being the son of the second.⁴ How Hugh May was trained as an architect or who it was that developed his artistic sensibilities is not known. He was intimate with both Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn. Pepys thought him 'a very ingenious man.'⁵ And he listened to May's tale of

¹ e.g. W. H. G[odfrey], *S.N.O.*, vol. 2, p. 32; Katharine A. Esdaile, *English Church Monuments 1510-1840* (1946), p. 119.

² *Walpole Society*, vol. 15, pp. 37-8.

³ But there is a good outline of his life in H. M. Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of English Architects* (1954).

⁴ For pedigree of May see especially W. A. Leigh and M. G. Knight, *Chawton Manor and its owners* (1911), opp. p. 131; *Harl. Soc.*, vol. 8, pp. 229-30.

⁵ 21 August 1665.

woe when Sir Christopher Wren was preferred to him for the vacant post of Surveyor of the King's Works through the influence of the Duke of Buckingham. May told Pepys it was an ungrateful act for 'he had served the Duke of Buckingham 20 years together in all his wants and dangers, saving him from want of bread by his care and management.'¹ But this was but one example of Wren stepping in front of May. It was to happen often. Evelyn records how he joined Wren and May when they met the Bishop of London and the Dean in old St. Paul's on 27 August 1666 to consider how the dilapidated old cathedral might be repaired and set in order. Less than a week later the Great Fire destroyed it, and it fell to Wren to build its successor. Wren and May were appointed Commissioners for the rebuilding of the City, but again it is Wren's churches which remain to put us in mind of the new city that rose from the ashes of the old.

During the Commonwealth Hugh May managed to get to Holland and became attached to the exiled Court. There he made a life-long friend of Sir Peter Lely, whose home in Covent Garden he later shared when they returned to London. The delightful double portrait, now at Audley End, Essex, which Lely painted of himself and May [Plate 3] must date from the period following May's appointment in 1671 as architect for the alterations at Windsor Castle. The two cronies are splendidly attired, and each wears the suspicion of a smile, as if they are thinking what fools they would look in such clothes, the one painting before an easel and the other climbing up a scaffolding. Hugh has a sheet of architectural drawings spread out on his knees, and on one side of him is a view of Windsor Castle. But between the two men is a bust of Grinling Gibbons, a very clear indication that he had worked with May at the castle for the King. Evelyn claims the credit for discovering the genius of Gibbons, but again it is Wren with whom the great carver is commonly associated. Mr. David Green thinks it could well have been May or Lely who first recommended Gibbons to the King.² Furthermore, biographers of Nicholas Hawksmoor tell how he was only eighteen when he became the pupil of Wren, and in due time his successor. But it may well be that it was Hugh May who recognized the lad's possibilities even before the ubiquitous Wren, for Hawksmoor was but seventeen when he witnessed Hugh's will³ barely a month before his death. With such a galaxy of talent amongst those known to be Hugh's friends we cannot doubt that he knew the art of John Bushnell, and that he it was who sent that eccentric and brilliant sculptor to fashion the likeness of Lady Mary May at Raughmere.

¹ 21 March 1668/9.

² *Grinling Gibbons* (1964), p. 32.

³ P.C.C. The will was executed on 19 January 1683/4, and proved 13 March 1683/4. Hugh May died on 21 February.



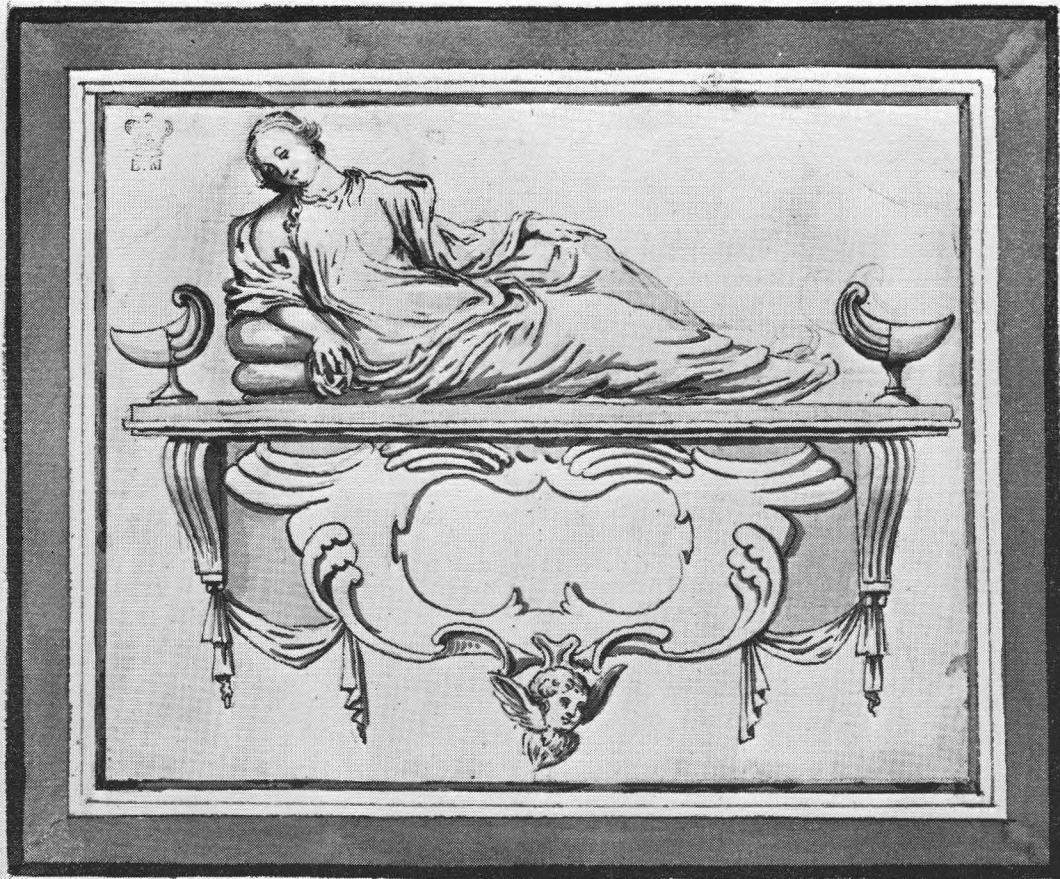
A. 18 July, 1850

(From the Borrer Collection at West Sussex Record Office)



B. 24 July, 1968

The Church of St. Nicholas, Mid Lavant



Lady Mays Monument on the N Side of Midlavent Church

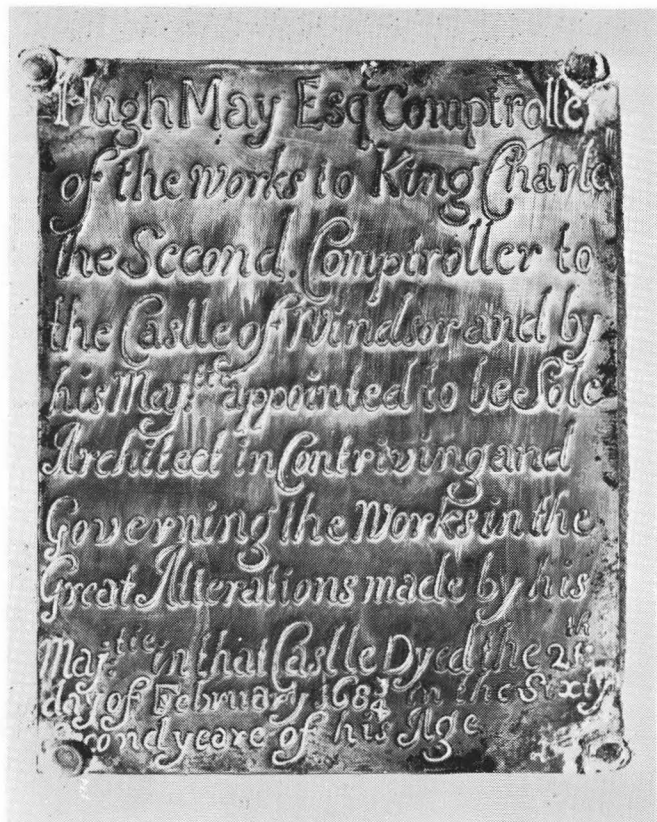
Drawing of John Bushnell's Monument for Lady Mary May



Audley End, Essex. Sir Peter Lely: Portraits of himself (left) and Hugh May with a bust of Grinling Gibbons (centre).
(Crown Copyright and by permission of the Hon. Robin Neville)



A. Miniature of Hugh May (by Samuel Cooper) at Windsor
(Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen)



B. Hugh May's coffin-plate

For Hugh May's heart was clearly in Mid Lavant and Chichester, notwithstanding his distinguished connections elsewhere. He may have been unmarried, and thus perhaps always considered Raughmere as his home. Indeed, the only landed property he bequeathed was two leasehold parcels which he wished to be attached to the Raughmere estate. His home, when he made his will, he described as in Scotland Yard, and he left £10 to the 'poor workmen and labourers' there. Hard by Whitehall Palace, doubtless the stonemason's yard, building materials and offices, were stationed there, and the house Crown property, where Inigo Jones and Sir John Denham had lived.¹ Hugh May's very first bequests were of £10 to the poor of Mid Lavant, and £100 for repairing the church there 'in case I do not see and procure it to be repaired in my lifetime,' his executors being enjoined to place the order in 'such workmen's hands as may make it strong and decent'. Anxious to benefit the ministry at St. Nicholas, his bequest for this purpose was placed in the hands of trustees who were to bestow the interest on an investment, not on the incumbent who might be a non-resident, but on 'such person as shall from time to time officiate in the parish church of Mid Lavant as vicar or parson or by whatsoever other name he is or shall be called.' Then he left £100 for the repair of Chichester Cathedral; he had given a similar sum twenty years earlier, as the painted wooden board still hanging in the south transept there records.

A modest man withal perhaps, who never acquired the knight-hood which might well have been his. Except that his coffin plate was taken in 1829 from the vault in Mid Lavant church and fastened to the north wall of the chancel [Plate 4B] he has no monument. Of his work at Windsor, where a miniature of him, by Samuel Cooper dated 1653, is preserved [Plate 4A], Sir Owen Morshead wrote² that 'to Hugh May is due the credit of introducing the grand Baroque conception into the domestic architecture of this country; for the building of Windsor upon which he and Verrio and Grinling Gibbons collaborated foreshadowed the finest examples elsewhere.' On this score alone Hugh May must qualify to join the foremost ranks of Sussex worthies, yet he seems never to have been accorded such Place. While, on the national level, he has no place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. So far as I can ascertain, it is not known who was the architect who drew up the plans, and supervised the work of restoring, Chichester Cathedral after the destruction and spoliation wrought in the Civil War. At least we know how much Hugh May loved the great building, and how generously he contributed to its repair. It may very well have been his expert and trained

¹ W. Kent, *An Encyclopaedia of London* (1937 ed.), p. 576.

² *Windsor Castle* (ed. 1957), pp. 63 ff., plates 18 and 20 and captions.

hand, to which its preservation and recovery were indebted. And he might well have had the task of restoring old St. Paul's.

Here, one may pause to wonder why a well-connected widow of 36 did not consider marrying again rather than devote her energies to setting up such a lugubrious memorial of herself. I am indebted to the Reverend J. T. Drinkall, B.D., Ph.D., for the information that it looks as if she had indeed the opportunity, but the wedding did not take place. Sir John May died in 1672. On 20 December 1673 Thomas Cowley, then of the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, gentleman and a bachelor, obtained a licence from the Faculty Office to marry Dame Mary May of Raw Mayre, co. Sussex, widow, 'at Midd Lavant or East Lavant, or elsewhere in Sussex.' No such marriage is recorded in the registers. Nor can it have taken place anywhere else, for the intended bride could not have used the surname May on the monument three years later. Thomas Cowley was the son of Sir John May's aunt Dorothy [May] and Samuel Cowley. All the indications are that Thomas Cowley came to spend Christmas 1673 at Raughmere, fully intending to ask Mary, his first cousin's widow, to marry him, and furnishing himself with a licence to do so before leaving London. He may even, in the course of his visit, have changed his mind. Dr. Drinkall remarks that Mary May inherited a considerable amount of property in Donington, Lincs., from the Morley family, which in fact Thomas Cowley acquired in 1681, the year of Mary May's death. He also kindly drew attention to an entry in Cowley's notebook about this property. '... from 1612 when Sir Edward Morley bought this estate ... it was preserved from all harm ... till his grand-daughter, a vain and profligate woman Mary Morley began to mortgage it.' One is left with the thought that Mary was none too agreeable a female, and that Thomas, who was the founder of an educational charity in Donington, may have done well to die, still a bachelor, aged 96, in 1721.

It is curious that attempts to trace a will of Lady May's, in various courts and also among the Goodwood archives, failed. Can it be that she was so 'profligate' that, eventually, she had indeed no property to bequeath?

Some description must now be given of Lady May's monument, of which it is to be hoped Hugh approved, and which he may well have discussed with her in the very room at Raughmere from which the panelling was taken when the old house was demolished in the nineteenth century, some of it to be fashioned into pulpit, reading desk and other fittings, in St. Nicholas.¹

The monument that Bushnell produced was no doubt in accord with the instructions of his client. No illustration of it seems to

¹ Some account of this is given in a book of notes, made by the Rev. A. H. Glennie who was connected with the parish for over 50 years, and which was given to the church in 1967.

have survived other than the drawing in the Burrell MSS.¹ It is known to have been placed originally in the chancel, where was doubtless the family pew and underneath it the vault. It is here described as 'on the N. Side of Mid Lavant Church.' But in another part of the Burrell MSS² it is described as 'on the South wall of the nave' and 'without any coat of arms,' with the marginal note 'Drawn by Grimm 1782.' It may be inferred that the monument was moved about this time. Lady May is lying on a mattress with two pillows, leaning on her right elbow. It may be surmised that such a portrayal is not indicative of resurrection, for the figure wears flowing garments and not a shroud. This is suggestive of a death-bed, and *memento mori* is implied in the inscription. The pose and setting is similar in every way to the monument of Archbishop Dolben (died 1686) in York Minster, the right hands of both figures hanging loosely over the side of the pillows. But Dolben's mitre is incongruous headgear to be worn by a man in bed. Mr. Green opines³ that this monument could have been by Gibbons. In that event one may wonder whether it was a type of memorial Gibbons had fashioned before, and Hugh had spoken of it to Mary May. Dallaway⁴ describes the monument and gives his version of the inscription. But the only important part of his record is the statement that the effigy was 'as large as life,' while 'the design is capricious but the portrait exact, and the execution good.' In my opinion these words mean just what they say, and cannot be construed to indicate the facial blemish presently to be suggested. Lady May when at church gazed on an excellent likeness of herself, while caprice was certainly to be seen in the two lamps flanking her effigy (tokens of immortality), the parted curtains below about to fall at the close of the final scene of earthly life, and the cherub at the base.

More trustworthy is the witness of T. R. Mitchell (1791-1861). This excellent man held the office of Parish Clerk at Mid Lavant for 27 years, and left a note book,⁵ recording with great care the inscriptions in the church and churchyard, by far the largest number of which can no longer be deciphered. He says that the effigy, cartouche and the brackets beneath, were of white marble, and the slab of 'thick black marble.' The inscription he gives is as follows:—

Here/Lies the Body of Dame Mary May, Second/Wife to Sr
John May of Rawmere, the/onely surviving Sister and sole Heire
unto/Sr John Morley of Brooms and Daughter/to Sr John Morley

¹ British Museum, Add. MSS. 5675, fo. 33; *S.N.Q.*, vol. 2, frontispiece; Katharine A. Esdaile, *op. cit.*, Pl. 56. See Plate 2.

² British Museum, Add. MSS. 5699, fo. 264.

³ *op. cit.*, p. 159.

⁴ *History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex* (1815), vol. 1, p. 115.

⁵ *W.S.R.O.*, Par. 121/12/1.

of Chichester, Son to/S^r Edward Morley a Second Brother of/ the Family of Halnaker Place. Piously/contemplating y^e uncertainty of this life,/among other solemn Preparations for her/ Funerall Obsequies, Shee erected this/Monument in y^e time of her Life, in y^e/year of Our LORD 1676, Shee departed/this life in y^e year of Our LORD 1681/in y^e 41st year of her Age.

It was in 1870 that the Rev. W. R. W. Stephens took over charge of the parish of Mid Lavant. He was a scholar and author, interested in historical studies, and a man of considerable means. Mr. Stephens soon succeeded in adding to the accommodation in the church by enlargement and alterations. The Vestry minute book¹ has a note, in Mr. Stephens's handwriting, that the church was closed from August 1871 to 14 February 1872, and continues: 'A recumbent effigy of Dame Mary May which was fixed against the South Wall of the Nave, and which formerly stood in the Chancel was taken down to make room for another window and placed in the Vault under the Chancel.' A glance at the seating in the church to-day² makes it clear that so large a monument would considerably interfere with the block of pews in front of the pulpit, for the nave is narrow; but there is, thus far, no evidence whatever for Mrs. Esdaile's statement that it was removed because it was 'ugly' as well as 'in the way.' After the lapse of a century there is no need to denigrate Mr. Stevens. In the eighteen-seventies many calamitous things were done in churches, and, often enough by clergymen who were very cultivated men and perhaps with an interest in antiquities withal. They did not realise that what they did was wrong. No particular value or interest were considered to attach to fittings and monuments of a date subsequent to the mediaeval. It is to be regretted that a place for the displaced monument was not found in the new north aisle.

It was in 1893 that the Reverend James Fraser, then living in Lavant and interested in the history of the place, wrote to Mr. Stephens to ascertain the fate of the monument. The reply he received was pasted in his book of notes.³ It is well to reproduce this in full, for the date is important. Hitherto, only the second part of it has been noted. Mrs. Esdaile had been given the date as 1873, thus supposing it to have been written only a year after the monument disappeared. In fact it was written almost 22 years later.

¹ W.S.R.O. Par. 121/12, f. 14 v.

² See Plate 5.

³ W.S.R.O. Par. 120/7, 4, opp. p. 5.

Woolbeding Rectory,
Midhurst, Sussex.
July 25 1893.

My dear Fraser,

I cannot tell what the original church at Mid Lavant was like, tho' I have little doubt that it was a very plain E. English structure consisting merely of nave and chancel. The latter had been almost if not quite rebuilt a few years before I became Vicar. There was then a gallery at the West end, a wretched little wooden belfry, and a very common ugly Churchwarden porch on the south side. I lengthened the nave, and built the new belfry and porch, besides erecting the triple arch between the nave and chancel. (See Plates 1B and 5).

A marble [monument *deleted*] effigy of Lady May reclining on her elbow which amongst other solemn preparations for her obsequies she caused to be erected in the time of her life as set forth in the inscription thereon, and which her pious relations stibbled after her decease to represent the smallpox whereof she died, now reposes in the May vault beneath the chancel floor.

I am glad you will come to B[ri]gh[t]o[n] on the 31st.

Yours very sincerely,

W. R. W. Stephens

It seems a fair comment to observe that the change from the first person in the opening paragraph to the third person in the following one is rather marked. And perhaps one may presume to say that this second paragraph has a trifle inconsequential, even deprecating, a flavour. The climate of opinion concerning the restoration of churches changed a good deal towards the end of the nineteenth century. Mr. Stephens was shortly to become D.D., be elected F.S.A., and promoted to be Dean of Winchester; and one may wonder whether he had become doubtful of the wisdom of disposing of the monument as he had done. For my part I do not believe that members of the May family, who were persons of distinction and culture, deliberately performed an act of vandalism of this kind. It savours too much of a village legend. There can hardly be a country parish in the land where an anecdote, at once human and amusing, has not gained credence, but without any evidence at all.¹ It could well be that faults in the marble developed, which may even

¹ e.g., "A nail in the aisle of St. Mary's Church" [East Lavant], *The Lavant News* (Parish Magazine), September 1965. A drunken atheist one night boasted that he was going into the church, and there loudly proclaim his disbelief, driving a nail into the floor as evidence of his feat. He was found dead there next morning, having driven the point through his smock, and thus been unable to rise from his knees. The nail, obviously an old one, is wedged into a crevice beside a paving-stone on the right hand side of the centre alley. The tale is known to have been current in the village for several generations.

have been 'improved' by a youth's penknife during a dull sermon, and that a tale was devised to account for the disfigurement.

Later references to the monument are interesting. A. H. Peat and L. C. Halsted¹ are more cautious. It 'for some unknown reason was placed in its present position by a former rector.' But Frederick Harrison² is unaware that the monument had disappeared from sight half a century previously. 'Note': the visitor is exhorted, 'Tomb with effigies, erected during life time of Dame Mary May 1681.'

Vol. 4 of *V.C.H. Sussex* was published in 1953, and here another version of the smallpox story is given. 'It is said that the lady was heavily pockmarked, and had insisted on her effigy being a faithful portrait.'³

But this is clearly a variant of the earlier story, designed presumably to make it more plausible. But on reflection it is even less convincing. Is it really to be believed that a young widow of 35 would wish to have her facial blemishes immortalised in marble? While, if Thomas Cowley correctly described her as a 'vain woman,' it would be the very last thing she would desire. On the general question of pockmarks in portrait sculpture, I consulted Mr. T. W. I. Hodgkinson, C.B.E., Keeper of the Department of Architecture and Sculpture at the Victoria and Albert Museum. He pointed out that such a representation is rare before the middle of the eighteenth century, and highly unlikely in England in the seventeenth. Mr. Hodgkinson directed me to the terra cotta bust of Gluck the composer, by Jean Antoine Houdon, at the Royal College of Music.⁴ The face is handsome and the marks not pronounced. After I had examined it I crossed the road to look at the figure of the same eminent musician on the plinth of the Albert Memorial, and was interested at first to notice that here also Gluck appeared pockmarked. I then observed that a number of the 168 other illustrious persons⁵ represented had apparently suffered from the same dread disease. The passage of time and the London climate rather than microbes are the cause. For my part I disbelieve these smallpox stories, although some singularity about the monument may have given rise to such legends. In Blickling church, Norfolk, is the effigy of the 7th Marquess of Lothian, designed by G. F. Watts in 1878, carved in a very mottled variety of marble thus giving to the features a rather peculiar appearance.⁶

¹ *Churches and other Antiquities of West Sussex*, (1912) p. 101.

² *Notes on Sussex Churches* (1920 ed.).

³ p. 106, f.n. 5.

⁴ See Plate 6.

⁵ Among them, oddly enough, is John Bushnell, whom Sacheverell Sitwell has described as having been rescued from obscurity by the researches of Mrs. Esdaile. But his genius is here fully recognized in Victorian days.

⁶ I am indebted to Mr. F. W. Steer and Mr. R. W. Ketton-Cremer for supplying this information.

Now the question must be answered why the monument cannot be recovered from the vault and the truth about the smallpox be ascertained. It is all very well for Mr. W. H. Godfrey to have written¹ that 'it is inconceivable that Sussex will allow so important an example of [Bushnell's] work to lie ignominiously buried,' but how is the vault entered, and what would be found if such an entrance was effected? Both within and without the church there is no indication of a means of ingress, and the chancel pavement is exceptionally firm and solid. One who probably knew how it was entered would have been the Rev. A. H. Glennie, who was among eight clergymen present when the restored church was reopened by the Bishop of Chichester;² there is no record of the grant of a faculty for any of the alterations. Mr. Glennie was vicar of Mid Lavant, 1873-80, and rector of the combined Lavant parishes, 1897-1925. When I asked his daughter, the late Miss Dorothy Glennie, if she had ever heard where the entrance was she said almost at once 'under the chancel arch'. This may well be correct. Here stands the 'triple arch' which Mr. Stephens erected. In the middle are two pairs of marble cylinders rising from dwarf masonry walls. 'Awful,' comment Nairn and Pevsner³ tersely, but the generous donor would not have thought it so. When another century has passed, artistic critics and experts may well think similarly of some furnishings and adornments being placed in churches to-day. It seems clear that to obtain access to the vault would mean reducing the chancel to a shambles, and this is unthinkable. Furthermore what would be found if a way into the vault was contrived? A glance at the illustration makes it certain that to detach an effigy 'as large as life' from the wall and to convey it without mishap to a vault would require the employment of several skilled masons, equipped with the appropriate tools and the necessary tackle. It may be that this was done. But it is plain enough that the monument was not intended to be seen again, and a simpler method would have been to entrust the job to one or two men of brawn with crowbars who would prise the thing from the wall and get it in some fashion into the vault, where it might be surrounded with rubble and the whole cemented over. Who can tell?⁴ But it is

¹ *op. cit.*

² *Chichester Express*, 20 February 1872.

³ *Buildings of England. Sussex* (1965), p. 260.

⁴ When, in 1928, I penetrated beneath the chancel floor of Bradfield church, Essex, fine ledger stones, some with heraldic achievements, were found, of seventeenth century date. Several had been chipped when they had been prised from their places, while the two broken halves of one were used as part of a makeshift pier to support a wooden framing for encaustic tiles. Here again the incumbent responsible was an academic type (as was Mr. Stephens). He was the Rev. Leighton G. Hayne, D.Mus. Oxon. and Coryphaeus of the University, a notable musician and composer.

to be hoped that Lady May, smallpox and all, may be left where she now is.

Although it may seem a very strange move to have transferred Lady Mary's effigy to the vault, it is possible to offer a very reasonable explanation of how such an idea came to Mr. Stephens's mind. In Priory Park, Chichester, there stands a statue which has had a curious history, set out in volume 30 of these *Collections*, p. 156.¹ The inscription beneath it recalls that it was installed there on 31 May 1873, having 'stood formerly on the conduit in South Street and was afterwards for many years in the Cathedral vault of Mr. William Guy, surgeon.' Now, although volume 30 bears the date 1880, the statement that the statue 'was disinterred in 1873' is not correct. For a press report² of its erection declares that 'the statue which we referred to some while ago has at last [*sic*] found a resting place in Priory Park.' This plainly indicates its earlier withdrawal from the vault, and that its future situation had for some little while been the subject of discussion. What is more likely than that it was removed from the vault (which was under the north-west tower,³ when one or other of the last two burials of members of the Guy family took place? These were Mary Ann Guy, aged 88, on 21 May 1870, and Charlotte Guy, aged 89, on 1 April [?August] 1871.⁴ This was precisely the period when Mr. Stephens was at work restoring Mid Lavant church. The exhumation of the statue in the cathedral must have been widely commented upon in Chichester, and Mr. Stephens would certainly have heard all about it, for he had married Miss Charlotte Jane Hook, the Dean's youngest daughter, on 31 August 1869.⁵

A note on the identity of the statue in Priory Park may be of some interest. The editors of Spershott's *Memoirs* note that, upon its erection on the conduit in 1777, it was styled 'one of the ancient druids'; while in 1836 it was considered to be 'a fine sculptured figure of Time, which in fact was once the statue of Neptune.' When I first read the inscription below it I supposed the figure to be Moses, seated upon the rock which he has struck with his rod,

¹ *Spershott's Memoirs of Chichester*, with notes by W. Haines and Rev. F. H. Arnold. The full text of James Spershott's *Memoirs* was also edited by Francis W. Steer and published as *Chichester Paper* No. 30 in 1962. See also L. B. Ellis, *Some Casual Relics of Antiquity in Chichester (Chichester Paper* No. 4) (1956).

² *West Sussex Gazette*, 5 June 1873.

³ A very small brass plate, on the floor against the north-west wall and difficult to locate, indicates the site. 'Near this spot formerly stood/the Family Vault of/William Guy, an Eminent Surgeon/of Chichester, who died on/8th September 1825. Aged 77 years.'

⁴ The place of burial is indicated in the register.

⁵ *D.N.B.* 2nd Suppl.



Church of St. Nicholas, Mid Lavant. Interior: 24 July, 1968



Royal College of Music. Terra-cotta bust of Gluck, by Houdon

(By permission of the Royal Academy of Arts)

and looking at the people drawing the water issuing therefrom.¹ The right arm of the bearded figure is extended, but the hand was restored and a new staff placed in its grasp by Mr. John Marshall when it was set up in the Park.² From time to time these have no doubt been wrenched off by vandals, and were so again in June 1968. The hand had been rendered in cement, but the Park Keeper recovered the staff. The Town Clerk writes that 'it is most unlikely that the necessary repairs will be carried out in the very near future, for the work is likely to be somewhat costly in view of the particular type of stone used.' The statue is accordingly illustrated here in its damaged state.³ No signature or initials have been noticed on it, but the material is clearly Coade stone, the characteristic pink hue being clearly visible at the base. There is in the Guildhall Library, London, a catalogue of the Coade factory products. This catalogue appears to date from 1777-9, and the drawing of the statue is numbered 21.⁴ It is identical in every respect, except that the staff is a trifle shorter, and the butt of it is placed before the figure's right foot instead of, as was the one recently damaged, being cemented in the centre of the base.⁵ No name is given to the drawing in the catalogue, but it is certainly not Time, for he is numbered 20 on the same page, and is equipped with wings, hour glass and scythe. Nor can it be Neptune, for the staff is not a trident. A druid, perhaps. But would the ecclesiastics in the Cathedral precincts have cared for the figure of a pagan priest to be set up on the conduit so close to their domain? Paintings of Moses (often with a companion picture of Aaron) were commonly placed in churches, notably in the City of London.⁶ But their identity was not universally recognized.⁷ I suppose not a week elapses when I do not pass the statue, and I still think it is the great leader of Israel who, for nearly a century now, has been gazing steadily at the old men playing bowls.

Without the kind cooperation of Mr. H. E. Bleach the photographs of the interior of the church could not have been taken.

¹ *Exodus* 17, vi; *Numbers* 20, xi.

² *West Sussex Gazette*, 5 June 1873.

³ See Plate 7B.

⁴ See Plate 7A.

⁵ Since the proofs of this paper were corrected, the hand and staff have been renewed. The butt of the staff is once more fastened to the centre of the base.

⁶ Gerald Cobb, *The Old Churches of London* (1941), p. 91.

⁷ W. Kent (op. cit., p. 450) recalls the guide who explained to visitors that the paintings of Moses and Aaron in the church of All Hallows London Wall were 'portraits of two rectors of this parish now passed away.'

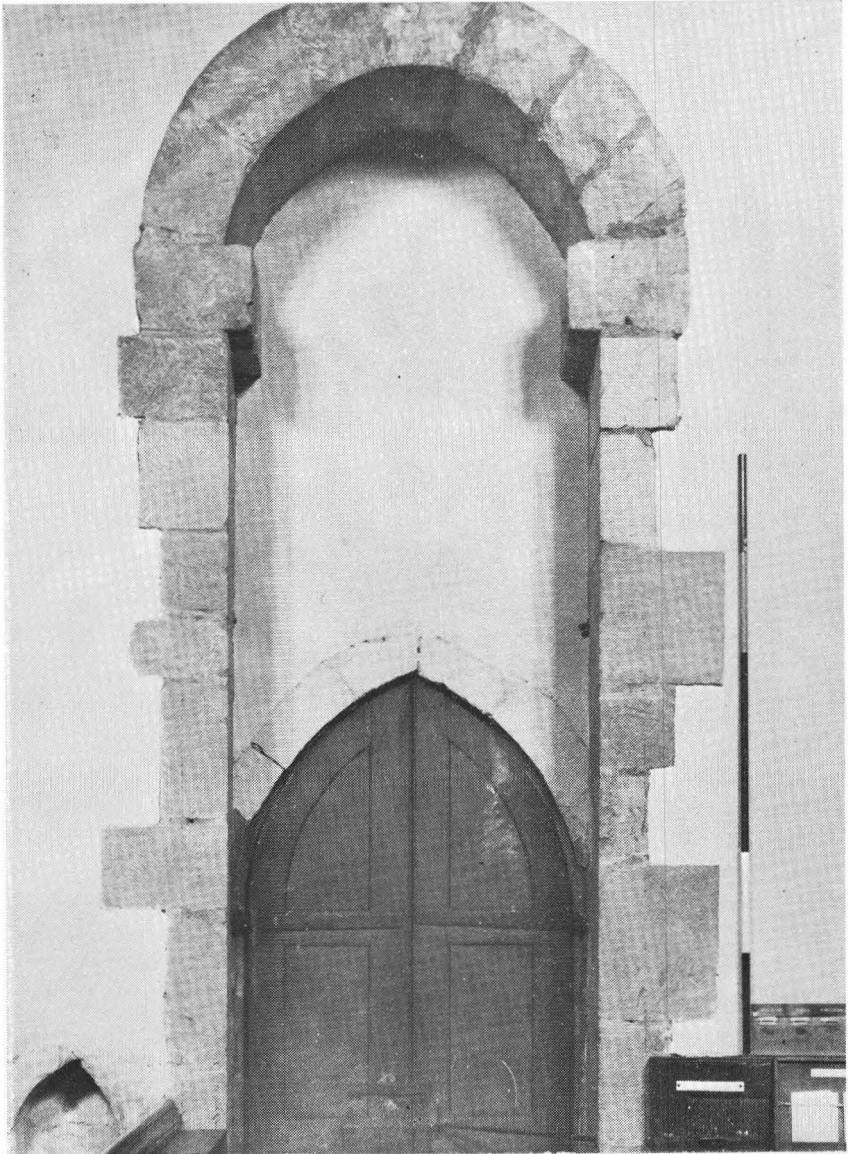
THE SAXON DOORWAYS OF THE CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS, WORTH

By DAVID PARSONS

The north and south doorways of the nave of St. Nicholas church have attracted a certain amount of attention on account of their extreme height. The doorways are a pair whose Anglo-Saxon fabric is visible from the interior. The north doorway is blocked, but externally the arch stones and part of the line of the cut-back surrounding stripwork are visible. The exterior fabric of the south door has been replaced or covered by a much lower thirteenth-century two-centre arch and its surrounding fabric; internally this gives the appearance of a door of normal height set in the earlier opening, with the space between the lower (thirteenth-century) and upper (Anglo-Saxon) arch heads filled by a masonry diaphragm. (see Plate 1).

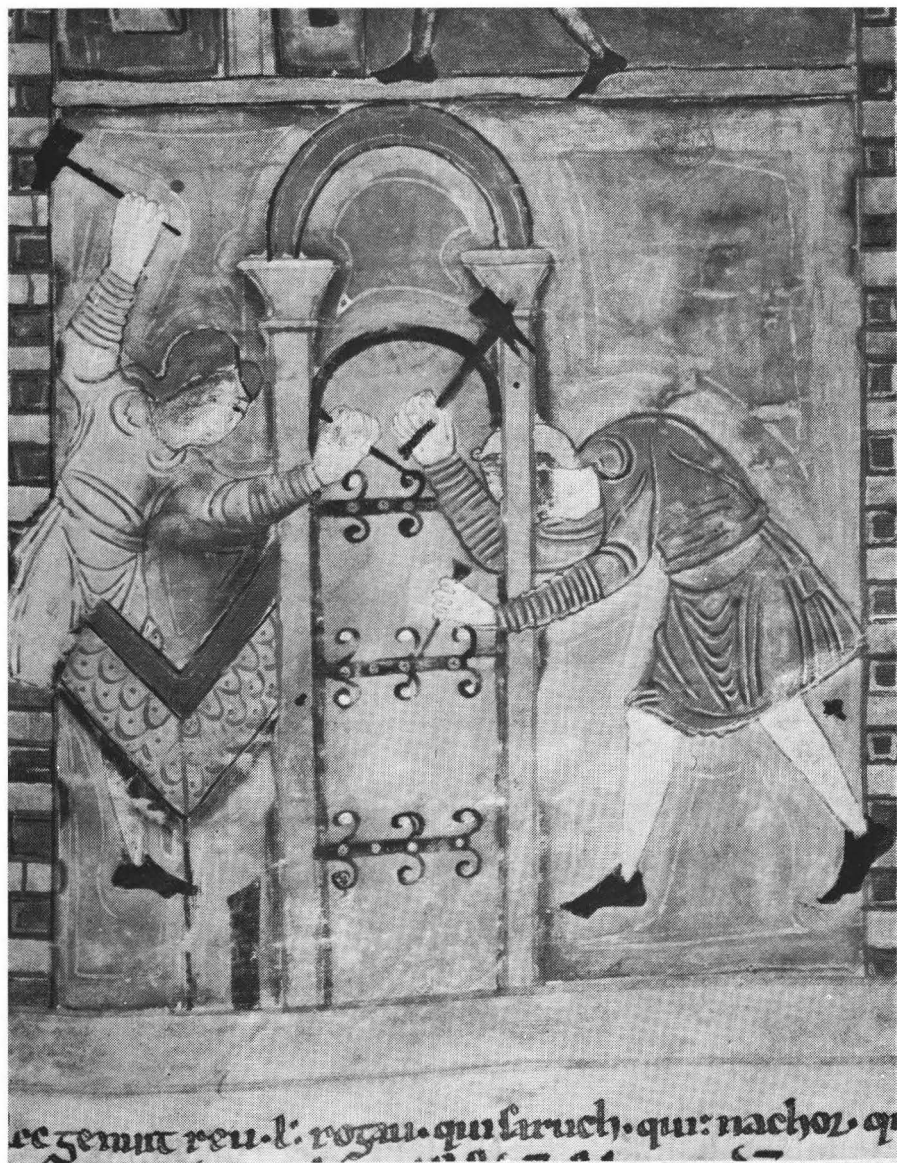
The height of the openings (about fourteen feet) raises a practical problem: what was the nature of the original doors? Wooden doors of this height seem unlikely, and the projecting imposts would have interfered with the opening of full-length door leaves. Even assuming a wooden tympanum down to the level of the bottom of the imposts, the leaves of the doors would have been over ten feet high. This is an unwieldy, although not impossible, size, and leads one to wonder whether the inserted thirteenth-century arch does not perhaps perpetuate an earlier arrangement, that is, a much lower door set in a diaphragm or extended tympanum, whether of wood or masonry. The lower head may have been straight, arched or even, possibly, gabled. This arrangement, with a semi-circular lower head, is shown in an Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the period, Cotton Claudius B. iv (Ælfric's paraphrase of the Pentateuch), dated to the second quarter of the eleventh century. Fol. 19 has an illustration of the building of the Tower of Babel¹ which includes a door of just this type. It is drawn as an arch with independent columns and indeterminate capitals which are clearly shown projecting beyond the soffit of the opening like the imposts at Worth. Set within the opening is a single-leaf door with ornamental hinges, with a round head below the level of the capitals of the main fabric. The space between the lower and upper arches is painted in the same way as the surrounding walling and suggests a masonry diaphragm. The timber of the door is painted a different colour (see Plate 2).

¹ Reproduced in M. Rickert, *Painting in England: the Middle Ages* (Penguin, 1954), Pl. 35 (in monochrome) and A. Grabar & C. Nordenfalk: *Early Medieval Painting* (Skira, New York, 1957), p. 189 (in colour).



St. Nicholas' Church, Worth—interior view of the south door

(Photo: D. Parsons)



MS Cotton Claudius B.iv—detail of Folio 19

(By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

It is questionable how far manuscript illustrations in general represent actual building practice at this period, and it is unwise to expect to prove anything from a drawing. This particular detail, however, is so explicit and unusual that it seems likely to represent something which the artist had seen. It seems reasonable to assume that the builders of the immediate pre-Conquest period may have been using this particular technique and could possibly have applied it at Worth.

THE FULLERS OF BRIGHTLING PARK

III

By M. C. L. SALT

John Fuller the second of Rose Hill, Brightling, whose activities in gun-founding were the subject of a previous article in the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*¹ was as much, if not more, interested in his estate and mansion as in the iron industry and paid great attention to increasing and developing his already extensive domain.

His father, at the time of his death in 1745, had been negotiating with Sir Thomas Dyke about an exchange of lands in Robertsbridge and his heir pursued the matter.² On Oct 1 1745, he also bought Horderns or Stammersland bounding the highway in Brightling, from James Little, agreeing to surrender to the latter's son a copyhold messuage and one acre, and pull down, repair or rebuild the house, spending £60 on workmanship.³ In November following, he was permitted to enclose the old highway, as he had laid out a new highway 30ft. in breadth and 60 rods in length over Pumpsfield and Ponsmeadow adjoining the old one, which was 'deep and noxious by wearing and water'.⁴

He spent some effort to acquire Batchelor's farm in the parish of Berwick and Alciston. He wrote on 26 July, 1747 to Sir Thomas Dyke,⁵ saying he wanted it, but it was 'most confounded dear.' Perhaps Sir Thomas would part with his leases, or come in with him, provided they could get an act of Parliament to make it a farm. On 8 Oct. he purchased the property⁶ consisting of 164 acres, 60½ being copyhold, 57½ bullock leases in summer and 288 sheep leases in winter, for the sum of £2,700. This was not the end of the matter for he told Sir Thomas on 2 Dec. of the existence of two agreements, by one of which 5 sheep went to a bullock, but as it then stood that 3 should go to a bullock; the affair might be settled over a bottle of wine, for Sir Thomas would not go against immemorial custom.⁷

During this time, John Fuller was anxious to rectify the Park pale. He had converted a good deal of land into a deer park, bounded

¹ *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter referred to as S.A.C.) Vol. 106, pp. 73-88.

² Fuller Papers in the custody of the Sussex Archaeological Trust, hereafter referred to as R.F. John Fuller's Letter Book. R.F. 15/25. 23 September 1745.

³ R.F. 1/163.

⁴ R.F. 1/384. See also R.F. 15/31. f. 45. The sum of £29.17s.9d. was paid for work on beginning the new way.

⁵ R.F. 15/25.

⁶ R.F. 16/2. Rental of Rose Fuller's estates c. 1755.

⁷ R.F. 15/25. In an estate book of Rose Fuller's (R.F. 15/33) is an account given by Samuel Piper, tenant at the time of the purchase of the farm, of the Berwick Common leases.

E., S. and W. by a rivulet and he wanted to purchase land belonging to Henry Pelham and others so that the boundary could be as near as possible to the rivulet.¹ By March, 1748, he had obtained the various properties.

A little later, he was negotiating with John Collier, agent for the Pelham family in Sussex, to acquire part of Brightling Down.² He wished Mr. Pelham told that whereas the land was of little profit to him, to John Fuller it was like Silesia to the King of Prussia, or Lorraine to the French. He would like a very long lease or purchase as he intended to have a sheepdown and fold them in the Park and plant clumps of trees to make it look like a forest. He intended to be a little king in Brightling and have his levy on horseback. He would rather see a stout beech than a fat bishop, and a clump of Scotch firs than a levy of Scotch officers! The letter was accompanied by a gift of venison.

The sudden death of the Duke of Richmond caused delay and John Collier found it difficult to see Mr. Pelham. On 16 May, 1751, John Fuller told him³ that his clerk, John Vine, would report on the quality of the land he wished to purchase as well as old Coney's farm which he had recently obtained, and if Mr. Pelham would free the Jackletts, Stonesland and that late Coneys he would make an immediate conveyance of the land flowed by Waldron furnace pond. He would be glad of an answer about the 18 ac. of bushes, for he wished to begin to grub walks, as the workmen had nothing to do. On 5 Oct.⁴ he told John Collier that he heard that Mr. Pelham who had left Sussex, had confirmed his promise about Brightling Down and he would be glad of a letter giving him leave to go on levelling that winter as workmen were plentiful. Shortly after,⁵ he said that whatever was fixed for rent, must be deducted from the annual rent of the furnace pond, and he desired a 99 year lease. One of the houses on the land was for the convenience of workmen and a kind of second keep, the other a habitation for goats which walked up and down stairs and looked out of the windows like ladies. One glimmering night he would send some young fellow to make a visit!

About the same time, he erected a Chinese temple in the Park, for a letter to Mr. Collier endorsed 'Chinese temple,' stated that he would be ready to pay the carpenter at any time. The cost of the vane and of the journey to set it up must be added.⁶

¹ R.F. 1/383.

² East Sussex County Record Office, hereafter referred to as E.S.R.O. Sayer Collection No. 453. 6 August 1750.

³ R.F. 15/25.

⁴ loc. cit.

⁵ loc. cit. 17 October 1751.

⁶ E.S.R.O. Sayer Collection. No. 505.

A rental of the lands in possession of Rose Fuller¹ gives information of other properties obtained by John Fuller. As well as Batchelor's farm, these were Weard Manor, or farm, and Little Weard, with the woodlands adjoining, purchased by John Fuller for £5,400 on 19 May, 1750, with the copyhold parts of the lands, namely Bodell's and Innings in the manor of Burwash, and Freeman's Wish in the manor of Robertsbridge; the rectory of Frantfield purchased for £2,152.10s.0d. on 21 Sept., 1751, as well as the lands of Benjamin Chilley in Heathfield, Warbleton, Hellingly, Westham and Pevensy, which his grandfather had leased for 200 years and on which the ordnance foundry stood. The last had been bought by John Fuller on 19 Feb., 1741 for £4,548.6s.6d. and two annuities of £30 p.a. both of which had dropped by reason of the death of the annuitants, but had brought the purchase price to £5,058.6s.6d. Other properties named were Nettlesworth Farm and the woods belonging to it, 93 acres, purchased for £800 on 10 April, 1751; a farm and woodland in Brightling, purchased on 8 July, 1749, Beckington Farm and 70 acres of woodland, valued at £750 in Heathfield, Stunts and Cockins in Pevensy purchased on 19 Oct., 1750 for £1,100.

In addition to all this, in 1752, John Fuller inherited the estates of his cousin John Fuller of Hellingly whose will was proved on 11 Nov., 1752.² These included Boship, rented to John Clements at £57.10s.0d. a year, Braylsham rented at £10 a year as well as many smaller properties in and near Hellingly. The account book of this John Fuller which survives with the Fuller Papers shews that the rental must have been considerable.³

The Ledger contains rent accounts for his tenants many of whom still occupied the same lands in Rose Fuller's time. A rental of the latter's lands in Sussex and Kent in a volume⁴ containing detailed information as to the reliefs and heriots paid on John Fuller's death in 1755 gives the names of the tenants and the rents paid with a pencilled total of £2,288.0s.5d.

Many additions to the mansion itself which unfortunately have been demolished, are recognised as dating from John Fuller II's time. These have been described by Mr. Antony Dale,⁵ and consisted of a drawing room with elaborate plasterwork, a handsome chimney piece and overmantel with double console brackets; a

¹ R.F. 16/2.

² Somerset House Bettesworth 275.

³ R.F. 15/32.

⁴ R.F. 15/33 f. 17. This is a large volume containing much information about the Fuller lands held of various manors, inscribed on the spine 'Memo. 1755.'

⁵ Antony Dale, 'Brightling Park' in *The Sussex County Magazine* Vol. 29, 1955, pp. 462-69. There are fine photographs of the rooms as they were before demolition.

bedroom above known as the George room; the egg-room which was oval in shape with a fireplace below the sill of one of the windows, as well as a pleasant little building on the South side with a housekeeper's room in which was a delightful little set of drawers for spices. The original hall had some ornamental plasterwork also inserted by John Fuller II.

Sussex men were employed in some of these additions. Mr. Stone of Lewes received various sums between May 1746 and July 1747 for unspecified bills, a screen for sand £1.3s.0d., scaffold ropes £1.5s.0d. and £190.1s.1d. to pay workmen and purchase stone and wood.¹ Stephen Smith of Heathfield was paid £60.6s.1d. in 1747-48 for work at Brightling, measured and computed by Mr. Stone.² Joseph Daw, a carpenter at Lewes, who was employed in the rebuilding of the church of St. Michael in Lewes as well as work at Firlie Place, also worked at Brightling between 1746 and 1751. On 9 Jan., 1747, he received £266.4s.4½d. for 'plaistering and stonework in the office' and between January and June of that year a further £70 for 'all stucho ornaments under the entablature, mouldings excluded,' £2.2s.0d. for four days measuring and £4.4s.0d. for inspection and care about the new buildings.³ In June 1748 he received a further £6.18s.0d. when the cracks and ornaments were stopped and finished to John Fuller's satisfaction and in June 1751 £2.2s.0d. for 'Chinesing and whiting the grate room seilling and measuring Brackpool's work,' as well as 9s. for 300 rubbing bricks for the house. Richard Brackpool was paid £106.4s.10½d. on 22 Feb., 1747⁴ but no details are given except that when the account was settled, he left £10 in John Fuller's hands until the unfinished work was done. Another account in 1750 amounted to £50.6s.3½d. but there are no details.

The additions to the house and the estate meant that John Fuller was living in greater style than his father, and certain liveried servants were employed. Their wages were higher than those paid by John Fuller I, but they were frequently in arrears. James Courthope continued as steward, his wages being raised to £20 p.a.⁵ When he died in 1750, his funeral expenses were paid by his master, the coffin costing 3 guineas and the undertaker's bill being £5.4s.6d. He was succeeded by William Gregson who started at £10 but was

¹ R.F. 15/29. f. 61.

² R.F. 15/30. f. 47. He was employed on other work loc. cit. ff. 69, 111 and 123.

³ R.F. 15/29. f. 66. His delightful trade card hangs in the Sussex Archaeological Society's museum at Barbican House, Lewes.

⁴ loc. cit. f. 98. He worked for other Fullers and in 1756 he was paid four guineas for making a cabinet for Henry Fuller.

⁵ R.F. 15/29. f. 14.

later paid £20 a year.¹ Of the other male servants, Thomas Wicks was paid £18 a year, raised at some point by 5s., but in 1756 he was owed 5 years wages as well as the legacy left to his daughter and himself.² Christopher Deering, a liveried servant, received £6 a year,³ Thomas Foster, postilion, was given 1s. a day until 3 February, 1749 when he was paid in full and was to make no further demands on his master.⁴ George Wilson from 1 March, 1749 to 8 May, 1750, received the same amount with board wages in addition, and on his death £5.1s.4d. was paid to his sister, including £1.4s.6d. for his old clothes.⁵ John Skels who became postilion in 1753 was paid £10 a year.⁶ John Taylor, footman, received various cash payments⁷ and Benjamin Drury received £10 a year.⁸ Stephen Bannister, gardener, was paid £8 a year until 1751, when he was raised to £10 and after John Fuller's death raised again to £12.⁹ Other employees were William Gilbert who looked after the woods and Roger Martin who was in a position of some importance.

Of the female servants, Mrs. Elizabeth Piper continued as house-keeper and received £6 a year until her death in 1757.¹⁰ At that date the sum of £814.6s.10d. was owing to her son and executor, Jesse Piper, including John Fuller's note of hand for £600, £50 legacy from John Fuller senior and interest on both these at 3% as well as 5 years wages at £6 p.a., an undercharge of wages for 6 years, her wages due on the day of her death and interest on these items. The only other female servant mentioned by name is Miriam Arden who was hired on 11 Sept., 1753 at £6 a year and on her master's death was left a legacy of £5.¹¹

Stephen Fuller had a poor opinion of his brother's servants for he told Rose on 15 Sept., 1755 that he had discharged all useless and worse than useless servants and would introduce such economy as he thought Rose would approve.¹² Possibly the poor health of Elizabeth, John Fuller's wife, was responsible for the unsatisfactory state of affairs.

The labourers on the estate received an average of 1s. 8d. an acre for mowing,¹³ 2s. for reaping and 1s. 4d. for casting mold and lime

¹ RF 15/30 f. 181. On John Fuller's death in 1755, his wages were increased to £40.

² R.F. 15/29/ff23, 385.

³ loc. cit. f. 24.

⁴ loc. cit. f. 45.

⁵ loc. cit.

⁶ R.F. 15/30 f. 128.

⁷ R.F. 15/29. f. 281.

⁸ loc. cit. f. 289.

⁹ loc. cit. f. 57.

¹⁰ loc. cit. f. 13.

¹¹ R.F. 15/30. f. 150.

¹² R.F. 15/25. 15 September, 1745.

¹³ R.F. 15/29. ff. 21, 118.

though the rate was sometimes only 1s. In 1746, one James Stephens working with a team carrying roots from the park was paid 7s. 6d. a day and on another occasion 1s. a cord was paid for similar work.¹ Stephen Langridge, working with two horses and a boy in carrying lime and mold from the new pond and levelling the ground received 2s. a day in 1747.² Stone-pickers and haymakers, mainly women, were paid 7½d. a day compared with 6d. in the first John Fuller's time.³ One John Crouch, mole catcher, was to be paid 1s. a dozen for moles' tails 'when he has caught the rest in the meadow' but later this was twice increased by 6d.⁴

John Fuller did not inherit his father's great feeling for his family. Apart from his letters to Thomas with whom he corresponded frequently on business matters, there are few references to other members of the family. On 2 Sept., 1749, he told Mr. Stone at Sowley that Henry would be in possession of the living of North Stoneham in about a fortnight and would be glad of his acquaintance⁵ and in 1752, he mentioned his illness. Otherwise there are few references or letters to members of the family apart from the mention of Stephen's wife having borne a child in 1749.⁶ He seems to have taken some responsibility for Jack Fuller, possibly his godson, the child of John Fuller of Heathfield. An account of expenditure for 'the little boy,' in 1750 includes £2.18s.1d. paid to one Wood and £1.0s.9½d. to G. Bills for clothes, 4s. to a shoemaker, Dr. Jenkins' bill £9.18s.7d., 28 weeks schooling at 2d. a week, as well as his board at Christmas 1750 £5.17s.0d., a year's schooling 15s. 6d., and cash in his pocket £1.15s.0d.⁷

The connection with the Lade family continued. On 7 August, 1753, £100 was paid towards Sir John Lade's monument. Edward Inskip, a relative of Sir John's heir, borrowed £50 in Jan., 1746/7,⁸ which was discharged by order of Chancery in Nov., 1748 and he was also receiving a half yearly allowance of £60. The heir, John Inskip, had taken the name of Lade and was as great a source of trouble as he had been to John Fuller's father. John Fuller told Tom on 23 Oct., 1751⁹ that he was not surprised at anything the young man did. He had left old friends for new but he must not be allowed to draw on Tom for more than £50. Those who trusted young fellows under age should look to themselves! He was too

¹ loc. cit. f. 48.

² loc. cit. f. 101.

³ loc. cit. f. 348.

⁴ R.F. 15/30. f. 29.

⁵ R.F. 15/25.

⁶ loc. cit. 29 May, 1749.

⁷ R.F. 15/29. f. 262.

⁸ loc. cit. f. 54.

⁹ R.F. 15/25.

deep already in the affairs of the young man who owed him more gratitude and money than he could ever repay. There was apparently some question of obtaining Herstmonceux for him but Mr. Lade, when asked, desired John Fuller never to treat of it, for he had seen so many places and countries that he could not bear the thought of it.¹ In any case, John Fuller could not have found the money required then, for he had paid Miss Ann Nutt, daughter of Sir John Lade's niece over £11,000 and had heard she was to marry. This was the remains of her allowance for education and maintenance and her legacy of £10,000.² Later in Dec., 1751, he told an attorney in the Inner Temple that he had heard that the owner of a house in Dorset who had leased it to Mr. Lade was ready to release him from the agreement, if it was disagreeable to his guardian and friends. This he earnestly desired. He hoped it might be the beginning of a thorough reformation and save him from his friends and from ruin. He knew nothing of when or on what terms it was first hired, but he had paid Mr. Lade's debts and saved his reputation.³

There were further complications connected with Sir John Lade's will. On 8 Nov., 1750,⁴ he told his legal adviser Mr. Calverley that Rose had informed him that at the time of the death of Sir John's sister Anne Lade, four legatees, Mrs. Robinson, now Mrs. Hilton, and her daughters, Mary, Rebecka and Lade Robinson were alive and still lived in Jamaica. They were therefore entitled to a share in a South Sea annuity of £900 and interest from 1747. This matter was not settled in John Fuller's life time as accounts in the Ledger show.⁵

John Fuller took some part in local and national affairs, if not a very spectacular one, and in both spheres the influence of the Duke of Newcastle was marked. Rose, writing to his brother in 1754 remarked that even if the prudence of a most excellent father had not put them above the want of ministerial favour for a subsistence, they would have found the Duke ready to serve them, and he could say sincerely that he approved of most of the Pelhams' public actions as good in themselves or the best in the circumstances.⁶

At the time of the Jacobite rising of 1745, John Fuller was active in home defence. On 22 Oct. he told Mr. Remnant of a meeting of the Association at Lewes which had subscribed £7,000 to raise 1,200 men for the defence of Sussex against the King's enemies.⁷ An account in the Journal notes £159.5s.0d. for 15-15½ weeks' pay

¹ loc. cit. 7 Nov., 1751.

² loc. cit. 2 and 3 December, 1750.

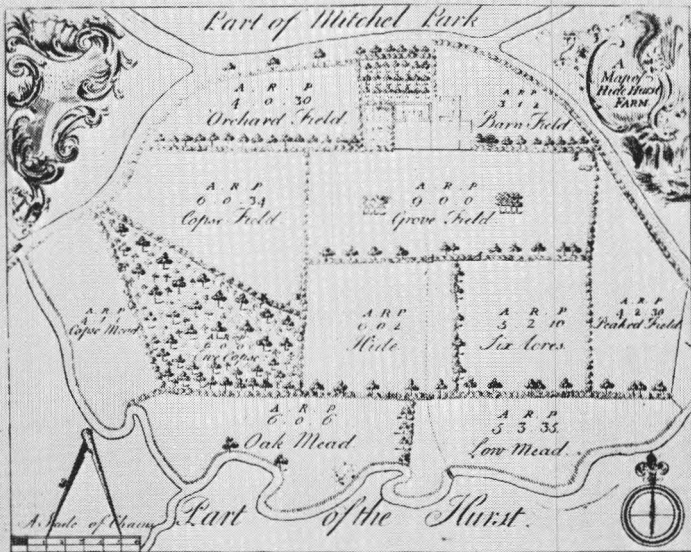
³ loc. cit. 31 December, 1751.

⁴ loc. cit.

⁵ R.F. 15/30. ff. 245, 257 and loose inset dated 1763. f. 258.

⁶ B.M. Add. MSS. 32736 f. 519.

⁷ R.F. 15/25.



LAND accurately Measur'd & beautifully Map'd,
with proper Decorations & Coats of Arms Common
Fields or Common, exactly divided. Compleat Maps
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BUILDINGS undertaken in Beauty Strength &
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Expedition, at moderate Prices.

By **JOSEPH DAW**, Bricklayer: in
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NB. He also undertakes to fix Chamber or Office Bells,
so as to Ring with the smallest Fall or force possible.

Joseph Daw's Trade Card

From the original in Barbican House, Lewes



N^o Front of Rosehill belonging to John Fuller Esq. taken from the Pond on the N^o Side.

The North Front of Rosehill in 1784

From S. H. Grimm's drawing in the Burrell MSS, British Museum, Add MS. 5670, f. 65)

to sergeants, corporals, drums and private men, £39.16s.6d. for spontoons' colours and accoutrements, the total of £231.9s.6d. including shoes, mending arms, messages, carriage, packing, portorage as well as the transport of the Duke of Newcastle's arms.¹ The Ledger gives a list of 8 local people to whom arms were lent.²

In 1746, he was sworn in as a justice of the peace and he told the Duke that he would act the part of that useful magistrate to the best of his skill and roll round his little vortex in just and stead motions.³ When the Duke returned from a Parliamentary campaign, he expressed the hope that his allies would stand firmly by him, at the same time pressing him to act in Rose's Jamaican business.⁴ In 1747, he reported the capture of a thief in Sussex, saying that though the offender was safe in Maidstone jail there was a danger of a rescue when he was brought to Lewes.⁵ On another occasion, he described how Henry Fuller was nearly robbed by two smugglers, of whom one was safe in Horsham jail, taken there by 10 of his lately raised men. He also named two men guilty of robbery, one a butcher at Hawkhurst with 'a long hard face and a remarkable great nose.' This man apparently escaped, and John Fuller told the Lord Chief Justice that he could not be brought to trial as it was in another county. He further declared in his somewhat fulsome way that he knew of no additional pleasure to having the thanks of the whole county for his behaviour than to convince the county that His Grace had acted with as much zeal.⁶ Other miscreants were brought to justice and he described to the Duke in detail the circumstances of the imprisonment of one John Daw who had deserted from the army, become a gentleman of the road and broken into a house, almost smothering the owner in his bed to make him confess the whereabouts of his money. In other letters, he expressed concern as to the prevalence of smuggling.⁷

Towards the end of his life, John Fuller intended to stand for Parliament and had an interview with the Duke of Newcastle on the subject, but did not take his seat in the end stepping down in favour of a member of the Newcastle family. A letter in the Sayer Collection gives an interesting account of the interview with the Duke in which he promised his support unconditionally to John Fuller⁸ at the next election in return for his withdrawal.

¹ R.F. 15/29. f. 39.

² R.F. 15/30. f. 1.

³ B.M. Add. MSS. 32708 f. 385.

⁴ loc. cit. 32712 f. 69.

⁵ loc. cit. f. 158.

⁶ loc. cit. f. 408.

⁷ loc. cit. 32724 f. 300. E.S.R.O. Sayer Collection Nos. 304, 456.

⁸ B.M. Add. Mss. 32736 f. 519. Letter from Rose to John Fuller. E.S.R.O. Sayer Collection No. 168.

John Fuller was also Churchwarden at Brightling and the churchwardens' accounts for 1748-50 and 1753-55 are entered in the Journal¹ as well as those for the years immediately after his death. These accounts contain the usual items. A sum of £10.3s.4d. was paid for bells in 1748. Widow Clark who had received parish relief in his father's time was still receiving 1s. 6d. a week in 1750, and one Mary Laurence received the same. In May 1750, £4.19s.1½d. was spent on clothing for poor children and in July the tailor received 10s. for making 4 suits for parish poor and presented a further bill in Oct. for 11s. The dial plate of the clock was painted five times and John Dodswell still looked after the clock. Robert Holman in 1753 began work in the steeple, turning the S. wall of the Church, putting up cornices and buying the timber at Hastings for the gallery bannisters,² but this was not included in the parish accounts. In 1751, Master Elphick was two and a half years in arrears in his rent to the Charity School, £55 in all, and John Fuller reprimanded him sternly, reminding him that though the farm was not his, he was entrusted with it and his own credit and reputation were at stake. If £40 was not paid forthwith Elphick would have brought trouble on himself.³

Much business was transacted for neighbours, notably the Burrell family whose affairs he settled on the death of William Burrell in 1746.⁴ The two men who took the inventory were paid £2.2s.0d. and an additional £1 for their eating and drinking at the alehouse. £357.8s.7½d. was paid to sundry creditors at 15s. in the pound, leaving £85.6s.3¾d. which would produce another 3s. 6¾d. in the pound. In 1756, it was stated that all would be paid in full. John Fuller was also distressed when the Rev. John Burrell, brother of William, contracted small-pox, probably from a new cassock sent from London.⁵

John Tutty who received a pension from Chelsea Hospital asked John Fuller to keep it for him⁶ and on his death, his widow purchased an annuity of £10 a year from John Fuller, who also dealt with the annuities of various other people.

Household bills do not appear much in the accounts. The family still dealt with Thomas Luxford for dried goods and with Kent and Calverley. Stephen on occasion bought wine and other articles and Thomas in addition to dealing with his brother's finances paid bills for domestic articles, but there is little detailed entry of individual items as in his father's time.

¹ R.F. 15/29. ff. 230, 314.

² loc. cit. f. 309.

³ R.F. 15/25. 4 April, 1751.

⁴ R.F. 15/29. f. 83.

⁵ E.S.R.O. Sayer Collection No. 505.

⁶ R.F. 15/29. f. 17. 15/30. f. 216.

John Fuller does not seem to have had many literary interests. In his early years he corresponded with Sir Hans Sloane, his maternal grandfather, mainly on Natural History. A Latin effusion in 1721 when he was 17 years old begins the correspondence.¹ In 1722, he sent him a seabird which fell on the hills and failed to revive after being placed in water and which he believed to be a large speckled diver.² Some years later he wrote on behalf of a fellow student at Cambridge who was anxious to be a fellow of the Royal Society, giving the names of lecturers under whom he had studied.³ Further information about wild life on the cliffs of Eastbourne and a gift of two young martens was sent to show how ready he was to prove himself, with the remark that the dung of the martens would make a perfect perfume!⁴ His brothers also corresponded with Sir Hans chiefly on natural phenomena.

There is little trace of literary or social interests though some entertaining must have taken place when his wife's health permitted. John Fuller was not unconivial as a letter to Mr. Collier in Oct. 1751 shews. He described in it a feast held when Mr. Whistler Webster shed his Robertsbridge furnace pond 'and a fine cold dinner and a fine drunken bout it was, and three great baked jacks were eaten the next three days at three different houses.' He had no great love of gambling for women, for he was glad that 'they had put down E.O. for when young ladies make a ring about a gaming table, it is the worst appearance they make; N.O. is more becoming if artfully played.'⁵

John Fuller died on 5 Feb., 1755 when only 50 years of age, and his ailing wife outlived him for some years. By his will,⁶ he confirmed his marriage settlement and left her £300 gross. Rose inherited all his real and personal estate, which should he leave no heirs, was to go to his brothers and their heirs in turn. To Henry and Thomas he left £1,000 each, to Stephen £1,500 with an additional £200 p.a. for managing affairs until Rose's return. His sister Elizabeth Sloane's children received £100 each, his god-daughter Miss Sotheby £100; his god-son John Jackson and another god-daughter Hester Little were to receive £500 when they came of age, while another god-son, son of John Fuller of Heathfield was to have £100. Certain employees, mentioned by name were to have £5 apiece, if they were living with him at the time of his death.

¹ B.M. Sloane MSS. No. 4046. f. 91.

² loc. cit. f. 305.

³ loc. cit. No. 4052. f. 265.

⁴ loc. cit. No. 4059. f. 19.

⁵ E.S.R.O. Sayer Collection No. 480. A Jack was a young pike. E.O. was a game of chance in which the stakes were decided by the ball falling into one of several niches marked E. and O. respectively. I have failed to discover the rules of N.O.

⁶ R.F. 11/26.

A codicil left £100 to his worthy friend and brother-in-law William Sloane and his wife.

Despite his wealth and pretensions, John Fuller does not seem to have been a happy man. Stephen's comments in his letter to Rose¹ written shortly after his brother's death indicate his anxious nature. Yet Stephen was able to congratulate Rose on the state of his affairs. He exceeded his powers as executor in respect of John's widow to show her clearly that it was in her interest to depend on the protection of the Fullers, for her father 'being the most religious wretch on God's earth was disposed to be troublesome.'² Stephen concluded his long letter with a remark about his own daughters, one of whom had been near death from pleurisy. Now all were well. The eldest 9½ years played surprisingly well on the harpsichord, the second was handsome, the third flighty, the fourth sly and all clever.

Two years were to elapse before Rose returned from Jamaica to enjoy the cellarful of strong beer and wine which Stephen had laid in for him, despite the economy he had introduced, and to take over management of his affairs.

¹ R.F. 15/25. 15 February, 1755.

² loc. cit. Stephen was prepared to proceed in Chancery against Mr. Dayrell over £700 of which he apparently defrauded John Fuller and his wife at the time of their marriage.

RYE AND THE PARLIAMENT OF 1621

By JOHN K. GRUENFELDER

Importuned by his Privy Councillors and faced with a European crisis brought about by the Spanish invasion of his son-in-law's territory, the Palatinate, James finally agreed to summon parliament on 31 October, 1620.¹ This parliament would be the first summoned since the brief and disastrous session of 1614 and for Rye it was of the greatest importance. The economic depression, which had grimly fastened itself upon Rye in Elizabeth's reign, had reached alarming proportions. The steady, relentless retreat of the sea was ruining Rye's harbour. This threat of economic ruin was further compounded by a second struggle, growing in intensity since James's accession, the battle against French fishermen, equipped with illegal trawls, which threatened the very existence of Rye's fishing fleet since the trawls, as early as 1602, were described as 'great destroyers of the fry and food of fish'.² The impending parliament, it was hoped, might pass legislation to meet Rye's problems; bills could be secured to provide capital for harbour repair and prevent further challenges from the numerous French fishing vessels.

Rye's harbour situation was appalling. A 1562 survey clearly showed the impending disaster caused by the unfriendly labours of the sea. The river Rother's channel, once between 200 and 300 feet wide, was already narrowed to a width of 16 to 25 feet.³ And, unless the harbour at Rye itself could be cleared, the situation was bound to worsen. Petitions to various officials lamenting the harbour's decline, commissions of inquiry to investigate the causes of the decay, drafts of ambitious schemes to secure needed capital for the harbour's restoration and repair, appear with growing frequency in the later years of the 16th century.⁴ But nothing of significance was done.

Rye's situation was grimly reflected in its petition to the Lord Warden, the Earl of Northampton, in October, 1608. The sea was pouring sand into the harbour to such a height that the water, 'rolling over that sand,' was crashing down with brutal and damaging effect on Rye's 'jettys, keys and causeways' to such an extent that the harbour structures would soon be undermined, if not

¹ Nicholas Burton to William Carnsew, 4 Nov., 1620, P.R.O., S. P. Domestic, 14/117:55.

² 'Orders Concerning Fishing,' 1604-05, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *The Manuscripts of the Rye and Hereford Corporations, et. al.* (Hereinafter referred to as H.M.C., Rye), 133.

³ The Victoria History of the Counties of England, *Sussex*, vol. ix, 54-55. (Hereafter cited as V.C.H., *Sussex*).

⁴ Richard F. Dell (ed.), *The Records of the Rye Corporation*, East Sussex County Council, Lewes (1962), 92-93.

totally demolished. The highway to the port was almost gone; things were so bad that 'utter ruin and decay' was feared, if something was not done immediately. Rye was no longer able to bear the financial burden alone; its citizens had 'well near spent the whole revenues' of the port in the battle against the sea to no avail. Rye urged, indeed, begged Northampton to seek relief for its port from the King 'or else the whole town is likely to be utterly ruined and decayed.'¹

Rye turned to parliament, following the example of the Cinque Port, Dover, which had secured assistance for its own harbour restoration through a parliamentary bill passed in June, 1604.² In March, 1610, Rye asked Northampton for his assistance in advancing 'a Bill in Parliament for the amendment of the haven of Rye.' Northampton promised all aid for Rye in its effort to secure a bill similar to the one Dover had gained which allowed that port 'tonnage, at the rate of 3*d.* a ton' which could be used to provide capital for harbour improvement. Rye's corporation wrote to its parliamentary representatives and other Barons of the Cinque Ports as well, in an effort to secure support for the bill, but according to the Commons Journal, to no avail.³ The corporation, confident of success, had already employed a man who had participated in the rehabilitation of Dover's port to work the same engineering feat at Rye but, since parliament did nothing, Rye's efforts were again frustrated.⁴

Northampton did as much as he seemingly could to assist the corporation. He was active in Rye's behalf with the Commission of Sewers and, in 1616, corresponded with Dutch harbour experts about the situation of Rye. He was always being asked for assistance as in 1618 when Rye turned to the Privy Council for help.⁵ Rye's situation, on the eve of the Parliament of 1621, was a sorry one. The port was in desperate straits, the number of fishing vessels working from Rye had fallen from 40 to 16 or 18 in number,

¹ Petition of the Mayor, Jurats and Commonalty of Rye, to the Earl of Northampton, Lord Warden, October, 1608, H.M.C., Rye, 141.

² *Common Journals*, i, 242.

³ The Mayor and Jurats of Rye to the Earl of Northampton, 20 March, 1610; The Mayor and Jurats of Rye to the Local Warden [Lord Warden?], 1 Nov., 1610; The Mayor and Jurats of Rye to John Griffith, Chief Secretary to the Lord Warden, *et. al.*, 20 November, 1610, H.M.C., Rye, 144-146.

⁴ The Mayor and Jurats of Rye to the Lord Warden, 3 Sept., 1610, H.M.C., Rye, 145.

⁵ The Mayor and Jurats of Rye to the Lord Warden, 23 June, 1611; the Lord Warden to the Commissioners of Sewers and the Bailiff of the surrounded levels upon the River Rother, 11 July, 1612; the Mayor and Jurats of Rye to Lord Zouch, the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, 1 May, 1616; the Mayor and Jurats of Rye to the Lord Warden, 31 Oct., 1618, H.M.C., Rye, 147, 148, 150, 151.

'whilst merchant ships are "utterly gone away."¹ Rye faced a grim and certain future, for unless its harbour was drastically improved and the invasion of the French fishing vessels repelled, its decay as a commercial and fishing port was inevitable.

Repeated complaints had been made against the French fishermen, their use of 'unlawful nets,' their fishing at 'unseasonable times.' Late in Elizabeth's reign, the use of trawl nets was made illegal, with appropriate and heavy penalties, by the Admiralty Court of Dover but its harsh declaration had little apparent effect.² Hastings fishermen were also blamed for the use of the nets but, after 1609, the complaints were focused entirely against the French.³ And the complaints and reports revealed that what amounted to naval warfare was taking place. In January, 1608, Rye's corporation assured the Lieutenant at Dover Castle that its fishermen were willing to do all they could 'for the repelling and beating away' of the French but they needed the aid of a naval pinnace. The French were too numerous and too well armed for Rye's fishermen to cope with single-handedly.⁴ Rye's men were not without occasional triumphs over their French enemies but Rye's 16 fishing vessels could not do it alone. Apparently, the Lord Warden or his officials heeded the port's pleas for help for a vessel was fitted out to 'prevent Frenchmen from fishing in the Stowe, and other places on the east coast' and diplomatic negotiations were initiated over the issue which involved the Privy Council, the French Ambassador and Rye's representatives.⁵ The French did everything they could to prevail over Rye's complaints; indeed, the corporation was chastised for its failure to be more active in defending its case. The French had prepared maps to support their arguments, causing Rye to respond with maps of its own, prepared to defend Rye's assertions. The Lord Warden, too, was active in Rye's behalf and the French finally appeared to back down, admitting the Stowe to be under England's jurisdiction and promising never 'to use it more without leave.'⁶

¹ John Frewen to the Mayor and Jurats of Rye, 1 May, 1619, H.M.C., Rye, 156.

² Orders Concerning Fishing, 1604-1605, H.M.C., Rye, 133.

³ Orders Concerning Fishing, 1604-1605; the Mayor and Jurats of Hastings to the Mayor and Jurats of Rye, 26 March, 1608; Correspondence touching a dispute between Rye and Hastings . . . , December, 1608, to March, 1609, H.M.C., Rye, 133, 138, 142.

⁴ The Mayor and Jurats of Rye to Sir Thomas Waller, Knt., Lieutenant of Dover Castle, January (?), 1607-1608, H.M.C., Rye, 137-138.

⁵ Warrant to pay to William Ward . . . , 25 June, 1610, P.R.O., S. P. Domestic, 14/55:50; Sir Thomas Waller to the Mayor and Jurats of Rye, 20 and 28 April, 1609; G. Newman to the Mayor and Jurats of Rye, 3 May, 1609, H.M.C., Rye, 142, 143-144.

⁶ Sir Thomas Waller to the Mayor and Jurats of Rye, 20 and 28 April, 1609; G. Newman to the Mayor and Jurats of Rye, 3 May, 1609, H.M.C., Rye, 142-144.

Parliamentary action, presumably against the French, was also attempted in James's first parliament. In early April, 1606, a bill against unlawful fishing received its second reading and was committed for further study to committee.¹ It disappeared from the Journal record but a similar bill was given a first reading on 12 May, 1610. This bill failed to survive its second reading two weeks later and the matter apparently was dropped altogether. It is conjectural whether or not these bills attempted to cope with trawl fishing but, considering the furor over the issue, not only raised by Rye, it seems probable that both bills dealt with that problem.²

Rye's apparent victory over the French lasted only until 1616 when another series of complaints appear, over the activity of the zealous French and their unlawful nets, which finally involved King James I, the Duchess of Guise, and the Lord Warden, Zouch. Zouch's opposition to a renewal of the Duchess's fishing privileges was overruled by James who, at least, directed that if the French used unlawful nets, their privileges would be immediately withdrawn.³ But the complaints reappeared two years later and, again, in 1620, when the corporation, in answer to a complaint made by the King's household over the lack of fish for Lent (traditionally supplied by the fishermen of Rye), replied that the shortage and destruction of fish in the Stowe was caused by the employment of 'unlawful nets and engines, especially by the French fishermen, only thirteen of whom are allowed, but forty or fifty fish boldly.'⁴ The story of Rye's struggle against the French was a frustrating and repetitious one for the men of Rye. Despite apparent diplomatic victories, Rye found itself, on the eve of the impending parliament, still fighting its battle with the French.

Rye's parliamentary elections were indirectly influenced by James's Lord Chancellor, Sir Francis Bacon. Bacon headed a committee established by the King to draft necessary plans for the session. His committee considered 'what persons were fit to be of the House' and even prepared lists containing the names of suitable candidates for the impending parliament.⁵ Such plans meant that Rye, in all

¹ *Commons Journals*, i, 292.

² *Commons Journals*, i, 427, 432.

³ Chris. Marshall, Deputy to Mr. Randoll, to Lord Zouch, 9 March, 1616, P.R.O., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1611-1618* (hereafter cited as *C.S.P.D.*), 354; Wm. Ward to Lord Zouch, 10 March, 1616, *C.S.P.D., 1611-1618*, 354; Lord Z[ouch] to Wm. Ward, 10 March, 1616, *C.S.P.D., 1611-1618*, 354; Lord Zouch to the Mayor of Rye, 10 March, 1616, *C.S.P.D., 1611-1618*, 354; Mayor of Hythe to Lord Zouch, 1 May, 1616, *C.S.P.D., 1611-1618*, 365; The King to Lord Zouch, 27 Nov., 1616, *C.S.P.D., 1611-1618*, 409; Lord Zouch to the King, 28 Nov., 1620, *C.S.P.D., 1611-1618*, 409; Winwood to Lord Zouch, 4 Dec., 1616, *C.S.P.D., 1611-1618*, 411.

⁴ Mayor and Jurats of Rye to Lord Zouch, 24 March, 1620, *C.S.P.D., 1610-23*, 133.

⁵ J. Spedding, *The Letters and Life of Francis Bacon*, 7 vols. (London, 1868-74), vii, 115-116.

probability, would be expected to return two of the Lord Warden's nominees. This had apparently been done in 1614 but it was not a practice the Ports or Rye wanted to continue.¹ At a critical juncture in its economic history, Rye would probably be represented in parliament by two 'strangers'.

Rye's first candidate was named on the 22nd of November when William Angell, 'his Majesty's fishmonger,' nominated his son, John, 'the King's servant, a gentleman pensioner.' William assured the corporation that he and his son would do all they could to advance the good of Rye in the parliament. William Angell was no stranger to the port. Rye had, for centuries, supplied fish for the royal table and, as James's fishmonger, William was aware of Rye's economic problems.² If Rye was to have 'foreigners' as its burgesses, John Angell was potentially a more satisfactory candidate for Rye than most royal servants might have been since his father knew of Rye's difficulties and might well advise his son. Six days later, Angell's second letter reported the Lord Warden's support for his son's candidacy. Angell also repeated to the corporation at Rye, Zouch's promise 'that he [Zouch] would be constant unto the having a new harbour' for Rye, words of great encouragement to the hard pressed port.³ Zouch also wrote to Rye, reaffirming his support for Angell but very carefully pointing out that Angell's place as a burgess was 'in your sole nomination and election, reserving still to me the nomination of the other.' He assured the Mayor and Jurats that if they elected Angell 'for my sake, it shall be no prejudice to your privilege in further times.'⁴ Zouch made clear, to Rye, that he still expected the traditional right to nominate one of his own; that Angell should not be considered his particular candidate. Angell did not lack, however, for notable supporters in his campaign. Within twenty-four hours, on the 1 and 2 December, Rye received letters from Sir Thomas Edmondes, Privy Councillor and Treasurer of the Royal Household, and Ludovick Stuart, 2nd Duke of Lennox, Privy Councillor and Steward of the Household,

¹ Thomas Moir, *The Addled Parliament of 1614* (Oxford, 1958), 47; V.C.H., *Sussex*, ix, 53; Felix Hull, editor, *The White and Black Books of the Cinque Ports* (H.M.S.O., London, 1966), 409; William Holloway, *The History and Antiquities of the Town and Port of Rye* (London, 1847), 204 (hereafter cited as Holloway).

² William Angell to the Mayor and Jurats of Rye, 22 Nov., 1620, Rye Corp. MSS., East Sussex Record Office, Lewes, 47/96, 27:1; the Earl of Northampton and others . . . to the Mayor and Jurats of Rye, November, 1604; William Angell to Thomas Higgions, Mayor of Rye, ? July, 1608, H.M.C., Rye, 130, 140; Nath. Lasher to Wm. Angell, 16 and 18 January, 1621, *C.S.P.D.*, 1619-23, 215. Unless otherwise stated, all the Rye Corporation MSS. mentioned in this paper are in the East Sussex Record Office, Lewes.

³ William Angell to the Mayor and Jurats of Rye, 28 Nov., 1620, Rye Corp. MSS. 47/96, 27:2.

⁴ Edward Zouch, Lord Warden, to the Mayor and Jurats of Rye, 28 Nov. 1620, Rye Corp. MSS. 47/96, 27:3.

in support of John Angell's candidacy.¹ Rye's first candidate, enjoyed the support of an imposing array of royal officials but, most significant from the corporation's point of view, he was the son of a man who ought to have been fully aware of Rye's problems.

Two other candidates appeared in December. One, Samuel Short, of nearby Tenterden, was clearly a local candidate who wrote to the corporation on 4 December, requesting a burgessship, while the second, Emanuel Gifford, was Zouch's candidate, nominated on the 18th.² The lateness of Zouch's nomination was probably the result of the struggle at court between pro and anti-Spanish factions, Zouch being of the latter group. Zouch had finally, on 13 December prepared a list of his nominees, including Gifford, 'His Majesty's sworn servant,' for Rye which received but grudging approval from James and Buckingham.³ This grudging royal approval was enough for Zouch and, on the 18th, he nominated Gifford, admittedly a stranger to Rye but a man 'of my ancient acquaintance and knowledge.' Zouch saw no reason for Gifford to come down to Rye to be sworn a freeman but, if the port was determined he should be sworn, it should 'send hither [to London] a commission . . . to some such gent.[leman] here . . . to minister him that oath' which is just what the subservient corporation did. Zouch also suggested that if Rye 'would have anything mentioned for the particular good of your town . . . I will take order that it shall be faithfully & carefully prosecuted.'⁴

Emanuel Gifford and John Angell were duly elected and, on Christmas day, 1620, William Angell received this good, and no doubt, expected news. He promptly promised the corporation that his son John would be down to take the oath as a freeman and reassured the corporation that 'no goodwill or pains shall be wanting [either] in him or myself' for Rye's general good.⁵

¹ Sir Thomas Edmondes to the Mayor and Jurats of Rye, 1 Dec., 1620, Rye Corp. MSS. 47/96, 27:4; the Duke of Lennox to the Mayor and Jurats of Rye, 2 Dec., 1620, Rye Corp. MSS. 47/96, 27:5.

² Sa[muel] Short to the Mayor and Jurats of Rye, 4 Dec., 1620, Rye Corp. MSS. 47/96, 27:6; Edward Zouch, Lord Warden, to the Mayor and Jurats of Rye, 18 Dec., 1620, Rye Corp. MSS. 47/96, 27:7.

³ David H. Willson, *The Privy Councillors in the House of Commons, 1604-1629* (Minneapolis, 1940), 79; "A List of the names of those gent.[leman] my lord [Zouch] commanded for burgesses . . .", 13 Dec., 1620, P.R.O., S.P. Domestic, 14/118:26; The Duke of Buckingham to Lord Zouch, 14 Dec., 1620, P.R.O., S.P. Domestic, 14/118:27; Lord Zouch to the Mayor and Jurats of Rye, 18 Dec., 1620, P.R.O., S.P. Domestic, 14/118:34. This letter can also be found in Rye Corp. MSS. 47/96, 27:7.

⁴ Edward Zouch, Lord Warden, to the Mayor and Jurats of Rye, 18 Dec., 1620, Rye Corp. MSS. 47/96, 27:7; John Angell to the Mayor and Jurats of Rye, 9 Feb., 1621, Rye Corp. MSS. 47/96, 27:10.

⁵ Richard Marsh to Edward Nicholas, 1 Jan., 1621, P.R.O., S.P. Domestic, 14/119:3; The Mayor and Jurats of Rye to ?, 23 Dec., 1620, Rye Corp. MSS. 47/96, 27:8; William Angell to the Mayor and Jurats of Rye, 25 Dec., 1620, Rye Corp. MSS. 47/96, 27:9.

Parliament opened on 30 January, 1621, and Rye was quick to urge both the Lord Warden and its parliamentary representatives to do all they could to support its proposals. Lord Warden Zouch was urged 'to forward their suit to Parliament for a grant of the tonnage formerly allowed to Dover, for the amendment of their decayed harbour; also their complaint of the disorderly fishing of French trawlers and of trawlers at home.'¹ Similar letters were sent to Angell and Gifford. John Angell suggested that the corporation 'send some one up to London that understands the state of the town, that Mr. Gifford and myself may be strengthened with some good reasons in the behalf of the cause.'² Rye was already paying the penalty for electing strangers as its burgesses but Angell seemed most sincere and concerned with the port's problems. He believed there were 'four things wherein the house must be satisfied, first, concerning the necessity of your town which will be best declared by laying down both in what state the town has been and also in what now it is, secondly, the reasonableness of your demand, thirdly, the benefit that may ensue to the navigation and the kingdom and lastly the possibility of the project.' He also urged that Rye 'make an humble request to my Lord Warden to have his furtherance concerning your trawling of the Frenchmen.' He felt this problem ought to be handled 'by a general bill in the behalf of the ports or whole kingdom.' By following Angell's sensible suggestions, Rye would avoid taxing the patience of the Commons with two private bills and would also benefit from widespread opposition to the French fishermen by supporting a public bill against their illegal fishing activities. Angell promised to keep Gifford informed of Rye's desires, cautioned the corporation against haste since he wanted to so 'prepare our business beforehand that it may have the fairer passage,' and promised that he and Gifford would do everything they could to impress 'as many as we both can with the reasonableness of your desires.'³ The corporation and commonalty of Rye could ask no more of their young and evidently sprightly burgess. Gifford's letters indicated his support for Rye's plans but were much more cautious in tone; he also urged Rye to send expert support for its programme but he warned the corporation 'I cannot promise you a desired success.' Like Angell, Gifford promised to 'use all diligence in your behalf.'⁴ Rye's programme appeared to be in good hands (certainly zealous ones) but it was obvious from the start that its burgesses needed all the local assistance they could get

¹ Mayor and Jurats of Rye to Lord Zouch, 7 Feb., 1621, *C.S.P.D.*, 1619-23, 222.

² John Angell to the Mayor and Jurats of Rye, 9 Feb., 1621, Rye Corp. MSS. 47/96, 27:10.

³ John Angell to the Mayor and Jurats of Rye, 9 Feb., 1621, Rye Corp. MSS. 47/96, 27:10.

⁴ Emanuel Gifford to the Mayor and Jurats of Rye, 21 Feb., 1621, Rye Corp. MSS. 47/96, 27:11.

from the port. Local burgesses might not have required such expert aid but, at the same time, they would not have enjoyed the seemingly strong connections Angell and Gifford had with the Court. It now remained to be seen how helpful Angell, Gifford, and their connections would actually be for Rye.

Embarrassment and confusion were the immediate results of Rye's efforts to send an agent up to London to assist its burgesses. The freemen of the port, acting against the corporation's wishes, selected one Richard Gibbridge, as Rye's agent. He was a local man, an official in the Lord Warden's service, and, if the corporation's complaints were true, a crook. The corporation urged Zouch to replace him with Rye's Mayor, Mr. John Palmer, since, it claimed, Gibbridge had received £15 for fishing licences which allowed the fishermen to use illegal nets. Furthermore, depositions against Gibbridge alleged that if the fishermen were caught, 'they must show their licences to none but Gibbridge, who would free them again.' To make it worse, the fishermen involved were French and had been captured using unlawful nets. Although Gibbridge denied the accusations, protested his innocence and claimed it was all the result of local jealousy on the part of the corporation,¹ the whole affair was bound to hurt Rye's cause since the scandal occurred during the critical opening days of parliament. While Rye's representatives awaited expert aid from the port, it found itself engaged in a battle of words, charges and counter-charges, with the very man who was supposedly appointed to assert and support Rye's interests in Westminster and give expert counsel to its burgesses. It was hardly an auspicious beginning for Rye in what was, for the port, a most critical parliament.

Parliament proved to be a shattering experience for Rye's corporation and its plans. If a private bill was prepared for the restoration of Rye's harbour, similar to the bill passed for Dover in 1604, there is no evidence it was ever introduced. Colchester and Dunwich had bills introduced for that purpose but nothing was done for Rye.² The second problem, affecting Rye and other ports as well, was dealt with as a public bill. "An Act for the Preservation of the Fry of Fish" was given its first reading on 19 March, 1621, and a second reading on 24 April. The bill was examined in detail in April; it 'was against the use of a net which they call a Trawl, which is made with great weights that it drags to the ground and destroys the Fry.' The Act included provisions defining the type of net that

¹ Rich. Gibbridge to Nicholas, 16 Feb., 1621, *C.S.P.D.*, 1619-23, 224; Jurats of Rye to Lord Zouch, 26 Feb., 1621, *C.S.P.D.*, 1619-23, 226; Mayor and Jurats of Rye to Lord Zouch, 27 Feb., 1621, *C.S.P.D.*, 1619-23, 228; Rich. Gibbridge to Nicholas, 26 March, 1621, *C.S.P.D.*, 1619-23, 238.

² Wallace Notestein, Frances Relf, Hartley Simpson (eds.), *Commons Debates*, 1621, 7 vols. (New Haven, 1935), (hereafter cited as Notestein, *Debates*), ii, 111, 358; iv, 83, 324; v, 372; vi, 149.

could be employed and stated the time of year when such nets could be used. It also provided heavy penalties for violations of its provisions.¹

The debate over the bill was a hot one and revealed much opposition to its enactment. Sadly, for Rye, there is no evidence that Angell or Gifford participated in it. Thomas Clench, knight for Suffolk, opened the debate by claiming that 'above 3000 men upon the coast of Suffolk' would lose their livelihood should the bill be passed for it outlawed the very type of fishing they depended upon. Another member, Mr. Glanville (either John, M.P. for Plymouth or Francis, M.P. for Tavistock), spoke against the penalties provided in the bill and alleged that it would provide certain counties with a fishing monopoly. John Carvile, member for Aldborough, Suffolk, agreed with Glanville but both of London's members, Robert Bateman and William Towerson, supported it, Towerson claiming that unless the bill was passed, 'there will be no fish at all.' After a long debate on the bill, 'against which . . . divers exceptions were taken,' James Lasher, one of the Barons of the Cinque Ports, Hastings, closed the discussion by suggesting that the bill be committed. Of those mentioned as having participated in the debate, Glanville, Bateman, Towerson, Clench, Carvile, and the Barons of the Cinque Ports, including, of course, Rye's two members, Angel and Gifford, were selected to serve on the committee. It was the end for Rye's hopes for the bill since it 'was not approved of by the Committee, and so never reported (after it was committed) to the House.'² Even with London's considerable support, nothing more was done; the bill was dead and so were Rye's hopes for parliamentary assistance in 1621. Neither of its plans, for badly required assistance for its harbour or for legislation against the vexatious French fishermen and their trawls, were realized.

Existing evidence indicates that neither Angell nor Gifford spoke in the House on matters directly concerning Rye. Angell's silence was the more understandable; he was but thirty years old and serving, for the first time, in the House of Commons. He was hardly an 'old House of Commons man.' He appears but twice in the Journals of the House, reporting a speech on 17 March that had nothing to do with the ports and, again, on the 1 May, when, with most of his fellow members, he made highly emotional remarks against Floyd.³ Gifford was much more active; at least, he appears frequently in the journals and diaries of the parliament. He served on seven committees, not including those he was appointed to as a

¹ *Commons Journal*, i, 562, 588; Notestein, *Debates*, ii, 242, 316; iii, 64 note 2; iv, 249-250; v, 307, 346; vi, 93.

² *Commons Journal*, i, 588; Notestein, *Debates*, ii, 316; iii, 64 note 2; iv, 249-250; vi, 93.

³ *Commons Journal*, i, 560, 601.

Baron of the Cinque Ports. None of those seven committees had anything to do with Rye.¹ Angell and Gifford were both silent throughout the session on Rye's affairs; indeed, when in May, 1621, the Port's representatives agreed to campaign *en bloc* for freer trade and to oppose the Merchant Adventurers's monopoly on cloth export, there is no mention of either Gifford or Angell in the discussion. It is safe to assume they both served on the committees that the Barons of the Ports were appointed to but there is no way to assess their activity or influence within the committees.² All in all, Rye's representatives made a very poor showing. And, considering the significance of this parliament to the port of Rye and its economic future, their failure was all the more damaging. Gifford, who seems the more active and prestigious of Rye's members, deserves the greatest share of the blame for the failure of Rye's programmes at Westminster. Angell, making his first appearance, cannot be judged too harshly. His sincerity and interest in Rye's affairs, evidenced by his correspondence with the port, was not enough to make up for his lack of experience in the House.

Rye's corporation apparently made a similar evaluation of Gifford and Angell. In 1624, although Gifford indicated his interest in serving again for Rye, he was not returned. John Angell was nominated by his father but was returned only because Sir Edward Conway, son of one of the principal secretaries of state, was unable to serve for Rye.³ William Angell alluded to the unhappy results of the previous parliament and attempted to apologize for his son's apparent lack of effort and success in Rye's behalf. This, however, should be no barrier to his son's election again in 1624 for 'the very remembrance (besides their papers in their hands) of every their instructions is still fresh and perfect.' William assured Rye that to secure the best possible results and service from his son for the port's wishes, he would 'entertain his [son John] in my own house . . . and every evening we being altogether may the better confer and consider the best way to do you service.'⁴ Alas for the Angells, son John's work was apparently no better in 1624 for, although he was again recommended in 1625 for Rye, he was not returned.

¹ *Commons Journals*, i, 548, 551, 559, 563, 572, 573, 579, 584, 654.

² *Commons Journals*, i, 620; Notestein, *Debates*, ii, 284-285, 298-299, 364, 375-377, 386, 387; iii, 245, 246, 297; v, 378, 382; vii, Appendix C, 592, 593; Francis Raworth [to the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Jurats of the Cinque Ports?], 20 April, 1621, H.M.C., Rye, 160.

³ Edward Zouch, Lord Warden, to the Mayor and Jurats of Rye, 12 Jan., 1624, Rye Corp. MSS., 47/98, 28:5; William Angell to the Mayor and Jurats of Rye, 16 Jan., 1624, Rye Corp. MSS., 47/98, 28:7; Edward Conway to the Mayor and Jurats of Rye, 7 and 24 Feb., 1624, Rye Corp. MSS., 47/98, 28:9 and 28:10; Edward Zouch, Lord Warden, to the Mayor and Jurats of Rye, 27 Feb., 1624, Rye Corp. MSS., 47/98, 28:11.

⁴ William Angell to the Mayor and Jurats of Rye, 16 Jan., 1624, Rye Corp. MSS., 47/98, 28:7.

Gifford, too, of all people, again sought election at Rye in 1625 but to no avail.¹

Rye, left without parliamentary assistance in 1621, continued its battle against its two enemies, the troublesome French fishermen and the inexorable sea. And neither were stopped. The French continued to fish, using their unlawful nets to the great destruction of fish and came in increasing numbers. Their well-armed vessels proved too much for Rye's fishermen who had their vessels plundered, their fish stolen, their cables cut and were left by the French to the mercy of the sea.² Indeed, Charles I's war with France made the situation all the worse.

The sea, too, continued its depredations and Rye found itself powerless to stop it. Rye's corporation, though, fought a gallant fight, attempting in 1627, 1628, and 1629, to mention but a few efforts to restore its haven, but to no avail. The corporation was simply too penniless to effect the necessary work; the task was beyond Rye's means. Indeed, the port's financial situation was so desperate that it had to borrow money in 1627-28 'by mortgage, on St. Mary's Marshes, to enable them to pay the expenses attendant on procuring the brief' Rye sought to enable the port to raise a benevolence for the harbour's restoration. In February, 1628, Charles I granted Rye the opportunity to collect a benevolence from particular towns and shires 'for the reparation of the wharfs, seawalls, sluices, and jetties, for the preservation of the haven and said town of Rye' but the benevolence produced but £102 2s. 5d., London alone giving £80, the major share. It was hardly enough to even commence the required work but, considering the times, Rye was fortunate to collect that amount. The Crown itself, in 1627-1628, already embarked upon a too adventuresome and expensive foreign policy and unable to secure help from a justifiably reluctant House of Commons, was raising sums for its own use in the very same way. Rye was losing its battle with the sea; Winchelsea's harbour was already gone and Rye's was soon to go. It had tried every conceivable method of securing aid, including its own parliamentary programme in 1621, but all efforts, in and out of parliament, had failed.

¹ Sir? James Ley to the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of Rye, 3 April, 1625; John Angell to the Mayor, Jurats and Freemen of Rye, 9 April, 1625, H.M.C., Rye, 173.

² Mayor and Jurats of Rye to Lord Zouch, 24 Jan., 1622, *C.S.P.D.*, 1619-23, 339; the Mayor and Jurats of Rye to Lord Zouch, 15 and 16 Feb., 1622, *C.S.P.D.*, 1619-23, 345; 'Complaint of John Foster and Hen. Lockwood, fishermen o Rye, . . .', 21 June, 1622, *C.S.P.D.*, 1619-23, 409.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE RYE FISHING INDUSTRY

By A. J. F. DULLEY

INTRODUCTION

Historians of the Cinque Ports have in general been so fascinated by the complexities of their constitution, with its colourful survivals of 'Honours at Court' and the time-honoured ceremonial of the Court of Shepway, or else by their swashbuckling record as furnishers of the earliest Royal Navy, that the underlying economic factors that provided the prosperity on which both were based has not received much more than passing mention. More than anything else, that basis was the fishing industry. To further it the confederacy came into being, and its naval operations and peacetime commerce would have been impossible if it did not 'bring up yongth to plye the taking of fish,' to quote an Elizabethan Portsman.¹

So far as Rye is concerned, the materials to write the early history of this industry exist sporadically in the Public Records Office, and more copiously for the years of the town's greatest prosperity, from about 1450 to 1620, in the papers of the Corporation, now preserved in the East Sussex Record Office. During this period the Corporation drew much of its income directly or indirectly from the fishery and was not unnaturally concerned over its success. Inevitably much remains obscure in the records that was clear to their compilers, though comparison with contemporary practice in neighbouring ports, particularly Brighton,² is often illuminating.

THE EARLIER MIDDLE AGES

Whatever the truth behind the legend that St. Wilfrid on his arrival among the South Saxons found them starving because they did not know how to fish, by the 11th century his lesson had been well learnt, at any rate in East Sussex. Domesday Book records herring rents paid by tenants in four vills in or near the Ouse estuary, and a contemporary deed conveys a similar rent at Hastings. The latter was a founder member of the Cinque Ports confederacy, which had gained, probably from Edward the Confessor, valuable privileges in return for providing a quota of ships for the royal service. Among these privileges was the right to land, dry nets and sell fish at Yarmouth. In time the five original ports shared their rights and burdens with neighbouring communities, so that by the 13th century nine Sussex towns and villages were within its

¹ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *13th Report, Appendix, Part 4* (1892) (subsequently referred to as 'H.M.C.'), p. 18.

² See Charles Webb and A. E. Wilson, *Elizabethan Brighton; The Ancient Customs* (1952), *passim* (subsequently referred to as 'Elizabethan Brighton').

membership: Hastings, Winchelsea, Rye, Pevensey, Bulverhythe, Iham, Northeye, Hydneye and Broomhill; while men from Shoreham and Preston were visiting Yarmouth Fair, even if they did not share the Portsmen's privileges there.¹

It is little surprise therefore that the Norman abbey of Fécamp should have encouraged maritime activities on the estate of Rameslie which they received from Canute. Rye was an ideal site for such development. Situated on an island at the confluence of the rivers Brede and Tillingham, it stood on the landward side of the tidal lagoon of the Camber. Of the other Cinque Ports members, Winchelsea originally grew up at the mouth of this landlocked harbour, and Broomhill and Iham on creeks that branched from it to east and west respectively.

Quite when the settlement at Rye came into existence and the extent to which it was a deliberate foundation are obscure questions, but by c.1140-89 the Abbey valued the fish tolls that it received from the township sufficiently highly to retain them in hand while farming its other dues to the townfolk.² These dues were assessed on a basis of shares of the catch, which was the regular system of payment of owners and crews along this coast until quite recently. At the end of the voyage or fishing season the proceeds were divided, so many shares to each man, so many to the owners of boat and gear, and so many for incidental dues and expenses. The number of the Abbot's shares varied according to the type and size of boat, being on average about one for every ten members of the crew. Two classes of vessel are distinguished: 'ships' (*naves*) of up to 26 oars, and 'heccheres' of up to twelve. From the former, which were no doubt used for the Yarmouth voyage, were probably recruited the twenty-oared galleys that the Cinque Ports were obliged to provide in time of war. How the 'heccheres' were distinguished from them we are not told: not by size alone, since there were 'ships' of ten oars or less. Possibly they were employed in inshore fishing (the name has been connected with 'heaks,' the nets used by Brighton fishermen in the local herring fishery in 1580);³ possibly, since they are attributed with odd numbers of oars as well as even, unlike the 'ships,' they were in fact purely sailing vessels. At Sandwich in the early 14th century, when galleys were obsolete, the compiler of the *custumal* noted that the Bailiff to Yarmouth was entitled to one penny per oar from every Sandwich vessel going

¹ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1253-4, p. 137; *Sussex Customals*, ed. by W. D. Peckham (*Sussex Record Soc.*, vol. 31), p. 84. See also K. M. E. Murray, *Constitutional History of the Cinque Ports* (1935), pp. 9-27.

² J. H. Round, 'Some Early Sussex Charters,' in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. 42 (1899), pp. 73-86.

³ *Elizabethan Brighton*, pp. 16, 19.

there, explaining this as 'as many pence as sailors,' and it may be that the same method of reckoning was current at Rye.¹

Herring remained the dominant source of income for local fishermen throughout the 13th century, but other fish were becoming important. By the middle of the century Winchelsea was providing the royal household with plaice, whiting, soles, conger, dories, haddock and cod, as well as herring.² For flat fish it seems to have been the sole source of supply, though other fish were being obtained from various ports on the east and south coasts. The Rye men were also exploiting new methods and grounds, and by the 1280's they were paying their overlord (now the Crown) shares not only for herring but also for plaice, sprats and mackerel; the Yarmouth voyage produced about a third of the total share revenue in 1272-3, the only year to mention it specifically.³ Payments from twelve fishermen (i.e. masters of fishing boats) are listed under five headings. Three of these are for 'town shares' (*scar' ville*), paid at various dates and amounting to 64s. 10½*d.* Seven paid 39s. 0¼*d.* for Yarmouth shares, and the remainder, 4s. 3¼*d.*, was paid by three men for 'shares at the feast of St. Peter's Chains' (August 1), which can probably be equated with what was known in contemporary Winchelsea as 'Saltfare,' though its exact nature is obscure. It was clearly a deep-sea voyage, for it and the Yarmouth voyage were paid for by lump sums from individual masters, whereas town shares were entered up as weekly totals. It may have been the ancestor to what was known in Elizabethan Brighton as 'Shotnett Fare,' viz. the Channel mackerel fishery that occupied them from April to June.⁴ This fishery was being exploited by Brighton men or their neighbours at least by the middle of the 14th century, though it is noteworthy that a century earlier the royal household bought mackerel at Southampton and Portsmouth, but not apparently at ports further east. Alternatively, Saltfare may have been the Brighton 'Scarborow Fare,' the annual voyage to Scarborough for herring and cod which followed the mackerel season in the fishing year.⁵ Scarborough was well established as a fishing port at least as early as 1252, when it received a grant of quayage on fishing boats and ships as well as merchantmen.⁶ Herring, cod and haddock were bought there for the King's Christmas in the previous year,⁷ and it is more than likely that the haddock

¹ W. Boys, *Collections for a History of Sandwich* (1792), p. 530.

² *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1234-7, p. 402; 1247-51, pp. 54, 430; 1251-3, p. 68; 1256-9, p. 153.

³ P.R.O., Min's Accts., SC6/1028/8.

⁴ *Elizabethan Brighton*, p. 15.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 16.

⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 35 Hen. III, p. 147.

⁷ *Cal. Liberate Rolls*, vol. 4, p. 10.

ordered from Winchelsea in 1257 came from there also; they are unlikely to have come from home waters.

Despite this diversification, herring was still the main catch. In five years between 1281 and 1288 when the Rye accounts give details, herring shares were always the largest single item and amounted in all to 55 *per cent.* of the total paid, as against 29 *per cent.* for plaice, ten for mackerel and six for sprats.¹ Mackerel and plaice occupied the summer, alone appearing in the half-year's accounts from Lady Day to Michaelmas 1284, and this is the first year in which mackerel are mentioned, though thereafter they appear regularly. Confirmation of the importance of the winter herring fishery as against the summer fisheries is to be found in the Winchelsea town shares, which show that, apart from a week or two of holiday after Christmas, there was intense activity during the winter months culminating in Lent when fish was in great demand and followed by a quiescence that can only partly be accounted for by the fact that some boats were away on Saltfare or preparing to go to Yarmouth for the October Herring Fair.

At this period Rye was overshadowed by Winchelsea as a fishing port. Between 1267 and 1275, Winchelsea sent on average fifteen ships to Yarmouth and five on Saltfare, roughly twice the Rye fleet in 1272-3, the only year for which comparable figures survive.² The sea was constantly eroding the old town of Winchelsea at the mouth of the Camber and finally consumed it in the great storm of 1288, when the Rother abandoned its old channel through Romney Marsh and cut a new outlet at Rye. In Elizabethan maps the traditional site of Old Winchelsea is marked in what was then open sea. Meanwhile, the inhabitants had transferred themselves to Edward I's new town adjoining the old fishing village of Iham, and for at least a generation after the move the fishermen enjoyed something like their old prosperity. The Crown's revenue from shares, which had averaged about £25 between 1267 and 1275, averaged £17 in the six years ending in 1305.³ Rye, though not ravaged by the sea to the same extent, seems to have shared in this decline, for the royal shares, which had amounted to £5 8s. 2d. in 1272-3, were worth on average just over £2 in the 1280's and about the same in the four years ending in 1304.⁴ However, in time the storm served Rye well. The additional water brought down by the Rother kept the harbour from silting, while New Winchelsea soon found itself, like so many ports on this coast, deserted by the sea and inaccessible to all but the smallest craft. By 1342, the next year for which there are accounts, it was reduced

¹ P.R.O., Min's Accts., SC6/1028/10.

² *ibid.*, SC6/1031/19-24.

³ *ibid.*, SC6/1031/26.

⁴ *ibid.*, SC6/1028/10, 14.

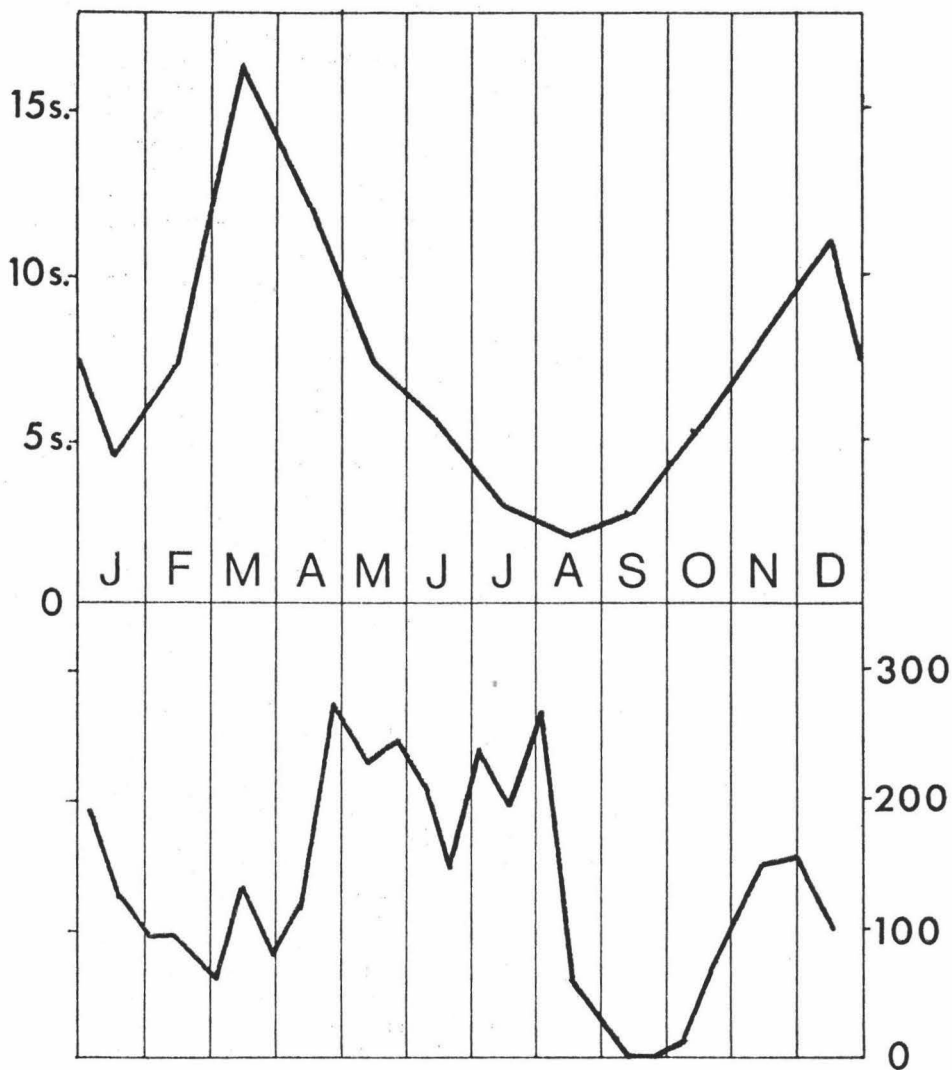


Fig. 1 Above: Month-by-month averages of weekly payments for Town Shares at Winchelsea, 1267-75.
 Below: Fortnightly totals of dossiers for which rippers paid Maltod at Rye, 1581.

to the state of Rye a generation or two earlier, while Rye had expanded rapidly.¹ The following year it had as many as 56 fishermen paying shares, and though this total was not maintained, the number seems not to have dropped below twenty over the next fifteen years, while at Winchelsea it fluctuated between fourteen and five, the trend being generally downward. Revenue showed a corresponding change, for whereas at Winchelsea shares were worth on average less than £2 to the Exchequer, at Rye they came to £5 13s. 8d. This was about the same as in 1272-3, but the average individual payment had declined. For the three years in the 13th century for which figures are given, the average Rye fisherman paid between seven and nine shillings per year. In six years between 1342 and 1357 he paid from 2s. 5d. to 4s. 10d., a decline of 50 per cent. or more at a time when he should have been benefiting from rising prices, which, for herring at least, had probably more than doubled over a corresponding period and had resulted in 1357 in an official inquiry into the state of the Yarmouth fishery.² Warfare with the French was probably a major cause of both these trends. Both Rye and Winchelsea, in common with most Channel ports, suffered severely at their hands, and though the damage done, at Rye at least, may have been repaired fairly quickly, the longer fishing voyages can only have been undertaken at considerable risk and were liable to interruption by the demands of naval service. A similar period of warfare in the 17th century, when the town was past its heyday, spelt the ruin of its fishery. This time Rye survived; it was Winchelsea that perished.

FISHING METHODS

Between 1364 and 1448 there is a period of nearly a century from which only scanty and passing references to the fishery survive, but in the latter year begins the long series of municipal accounts which, with a few gaps, of which the longest is from 1464 to 1479, continues until the early years of the 17th century. From them, in combination with other records of local and central government, it is possible to form a fairly detailed picture of the Rye fishery in what seems to have been its most flourishing period.

Broadly speaking, there were three main sources of income which the town derived from the fishery: the Mayor, Jurats and Commonalty (the civil administration) levied money dues ('maltod') on fishing boats at work, usually at a weekly rate of 2½d. per week, and also on fish leaving the town by land or sea; while the Vicar

¹ Rye: *ibid.*, SC6/1028/11-13 (1342-4); SC6/1032/6-10 (1350-57); Winchelsea: SC6/1032/2-5 (1342-6); SC6/1032/6-9 (1350-56).

² *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1354-60, p. 423. See also *Cal. Liberate Rolls*, vol. 5, p. 168 (11½ marks paid for 3 lasts of herring delivered to Westminster in 1265); *Cal. Inqu. Misc.*, vol. 3, No. 659 (4 lasts of herring lost on the high seas in 1357 valued at 40 marks).

and Churchwardens enjoyed the proceeds of 'St. Mary's share,' usually paid in money but sometimes in kind and in the case of the trammel season commuted for a weekly payment similar to the maltod.¹ Various accountants used differing systems in making up their books and some were plainly less efficient than others in securing payment, so that it is difficult to make statistical comparisons over the whole period, but the variety has preserved much information that a more systematic method of book-keeping would have suppressed. The worst effect of this lack of system is that, since neither town nor church levied dues on the whole range of fishing methods and seasons, some may be under-represented or omitted altogether. For example, sprats are mentioned only once in the accounts, in 1455-6; in the Elizabethan period, when they were being exported, there is no record of their being caught.

For a detailed account of fishing methods on the South Coast at this period it is necessary to move down-Channel to Brighton, where as a result of a dispute in 1580 local practice and the complicated customary rules that governed it were put down in writing.² Of the eight seasons or 'fares' into which the fishing year was divided at Brighton, five can be paralleled at Rye: Yarmouth Fare; Scarborough Fare; Shotnet Fare; Flew Fare (for local herring); and Harbour Fare (for conger). In addition Rye had the sprat fishery already mentioned, the very important trammel fishery for flat fish (caught at Brighton, but by other methods), at least an occasional voyage to Ireland,³ and finally a fishery at Saltcote, in Playden, outside the town, whose fishermen used the Rye fish-market to sell their catch.

This last had its most flourishing period during the 1450's, when between four and nine fishermen paid poundage each quarter on the fish that they sold, not far short of the number from the town itself paying maltod. Thereafter there was a steady decline until their final disappearance from the records after 1493. The entries for the most part give no details of how the fish were caught. Possibly some at least were using stake-nets in the tidal channel north of the town, in which case silting would account for their gradual extinction. Of the five who paid at Christmas 1460, four paid sums between 1s. 2d. and 1s. 3½d. for fishing with hooks, and the fifth 3s. 5d. for a beam (?—Latin 'trabienca') with nets at the Camber.

¹ Maltod payments are listed in the Chamberlains' Accounts (Rye MSS. 60/2-10; 62/1-9). Churchwardens' accounts are contained in Rye MSS. 147/1, 4, 5, 12. See *Records of Rye Corporation*, ed. by R. F. Dell (1962), (subsequently referred to as "*Records of Rye Corporation*"), pp. 63, 275.

² Printed in *Elizabethan Brighton*.

³ *Rye Shipping Records*, ed. by R. F. Dell (Sussex Record Soc., vol. 64) (subsequently referred to as *Rye Shipping Records*), p. xlv.

The other fisheries probably all endured through most of the period of the accounts. Of the two in distant waters, the Yarmouth voyage was the older and more important. It took place in the autumn, the boats leaving Rye in late September and returning in November. The boats used at Brighton were of between 15 and 40 tons burden, most being probably between 24 and 30 tons. A vessel of this size carried about a dozen men and a boy or two, who managed between them between 2,400 and 3,100 yards of drift nets ('flews' and 'norward nets': the precise difference is obscure, though flews were longer, at least 28 yards and normally 48-60 yards at Brighton (perhaps less elsewhere), while norward nets were between 20 and 30 yards long and sometimes deeper—4 or 5 ranns (c.8-10 yards) as against 4 ranns only for flews). The herrings caught were normally sold at the Herring Fair at Yarmouth, to which the Cinque Ports regularly sent two Bailiffs every year to maintain the Portsmen's privileges, the three western Ports of Hastings, Winchelsea and Rye taking turns to nominate one of them. Their surviving records show that they conducted vigorous diplomatic warfare with their opposite numbers of Yarmouth on a liberal expense account, but tell us little of the conduct of the fishery itself.

The other regular deep-sea voyage, Scarborough Fare, occupied many of the same boats in the early summer (June to September, according to the Brighton custom, but at Rye maltod payments for it were regularly made at Bartholomew-tide, August 24). Early references to the Scarborough fishery mention principally herring, but by the late 16th century it had become primarily a line fishery for cod and ling.¹ A few norward nets were carried, mainly no doubt to catch bait. During their stay the vessels remained most of the time on the fishing grounds, returning to their base at Scarborough only once or twice to unload their catch for salting and drying, unlike the Yarmouth and other voyages, when they seem never to have been at sea fishing for more than a day or two together. On these short trips the crew was expected to provide its own food and drink, and no allowance was made in the system of shares for victualling by the owner or master. But, at Brighton at least, victualling was allowed for on the Scarborough voyage; the owners or master might deduct its value in fish before the shares were divided at the end of the voyage. It is possible, however, that this was simply a concession to modernity, for Brighton men had not gone to Scarborough before c.1540, whereas the other Fares there dated from the time immemorial. The Cinque Ports had been sending ships to Scarborough well before this, possibly, as we have seen,

¹ P.R.O., S.P.D., Eliz., vol. 38, Nos. 47-8 (1565)

as far back as the 13th century.¹ In 1528 they contributed 110 out of 222 vessels going to the 'North Seas,' of which Rye and Winchelsea sent 50.² They sent none, however, to the newer and more distant Scottish and Iceland fisheries, which were the monopoly of East Coast ports. This apparent lack of enterprise may partly be accounted for by the distances involved and the difficulty of adapting the traditional organisation to ventures that required more capital and management, but in any case the temptation to seek new grounds cannot have been strong when the local inshore fisheries were flourishing.

The oldest of these was probably the winter herring season, which presumably was being followed before the Yarmouth voyage was instituted. By the 15th and 16th centuries however it was not as important as it had been. At Brighton the corresponding 'Flew Fare' took up the months of November and December, the smaller boats beginning to fish while Yarmouth Fare was still in progress, though at Rye some fishermen took part in both. The boats employed were between eight and twenty tons at Brighton, with an average complement of nine and about 2,000 yards of net (only three ranns deep, compared with four or five at Yarmouth). The lower limit of size was somewhat larger at Rye, but the normal complement was the same.

The sprat season was probably more or less coextensive: the four recorded shipments of sprats out of the port were in November, December and January. There is no indication of how they were caught, and the Brighton customal is silent about them.

Partly overlapping the herring and sprat seasons were the activities of the "hookmen," who fished with long lines in probably much the same fashion as at Scarborough. The season lasted from Allhallows, November 1, until Easter. A separate line fishery, mainly for conger, was followed in summer. The hooks, known as 'herbews' or 'harbour hooks,' which gave their name to the season, were apparently larger than those used by the hookmen or participants in the Scarborough voyage, since these latter are sometimes distinguished as using 'small hooks,' but the earlier Rye records do not distinguish between them. Harbour Fare, but not the winter season, is described in the Brighton customal. The boats were small (about eight tons) but carried a crew of twelve, each man with four 50-fathom lines.

The other main Brighton fishery was Shotnet Fare, which consisted in drifting for mackerel in April and June. The boats used ranged between six and 26 tons, and those of middling size carried a crew of ten and some 80 nets, which might stretch 2½ miles in

¹ Brighton's neighbour Shoreham may have also been involved at an early date, being licensed to send boats to the fishery of "Doggedraggh" (the Dogger Bank?) in 1227 (*Rot. Lit. Claus.*, vol. 2, p.172).

² *C.S.P., Hen. VIII*, vol. 4, pt. 2, No. 5101.

length although, being only two ranns deep, they were much shallower than the ordinary herring nets. Mackerel were being caught at Rye in the 13th century and were one of the staples of the industry in all the Sussex and South Kent ports in the 18th and 19th centuries but, if the entries in the Rye records for the 15th and 16th centuries are at all representative, there was only sporadic fishing for them at this period. There is one entry for 1463-4, and small sums were paid by way of shares in 1514 and 1515. From 1554 to 1579 shotters were regularly at work, but there is no mention of them between the latter date and the end of the series of accounts. If local men were slow to exploit this fishery, there are indications that at least in the 1490's others were catching mackerel and selling it in the Rye fishmarket. In 1496-7 men of Hastings and Folkestone paid poundage on their mackerel, and similar payments of poundage for unspecified fish by 'Westmen,' one from Dittisham, in Devon, were made in this and the two previous years. At Lydd in 1462 the 'Westernmen' who encamped at Dungeness and dried their fish on the beach were made 'to be taxed . . . like as they use in Winchelsea and Rye,' though other references in the Lydd records show that they were catching whiting, cod, conger and 'langfish,' but mackerel are not mentioned.¹ Perhaps they were hookmen and harbourmen rather than shotters.

If the local men neglected the mackerel fishery, it was mainly because during the summer months most of them were busy catching plaice and other flat fish by means of trammel nets, which were not used along the coast to the west and seem in fact to have been a speciality of the fishermen of Rye and Hythe. The trammel was a triple wall of net suspended so as to rest on the bottom and entangle bottom-feeding fish, which by their efforts to escape made a bag for themselves by forcing the finer middle layer of net through the wider meshes of the outer layers. The trammers carried a crew of about seven and might shoot over two miles of net. They were in use at Rye before the end of the 13th century, but in the middle of the 15th century most fishermen seem to have used a related form of net called 'bosemeys' or 'bosenetts,' though the older trammel regained its popularity, aided perhaps by a town ordinance of 1483 which forbade various innovations such as 'dobill tramell withoute any senett by twene' and forbidding tramelling in the open sea.² However, estuary waters were not sufficient, and this regulation was repealed in 1508. The season ran from the beginning of Lent to the departure for Yarmouth, but was most active between Easter and St. Bartholomew's Day. By a byelaw of 1494 fishing on Mondays between these dates was forbidden unless the Tuesday following was a holy day or a fast.³

¹ *Records of Lydd*, ed. by Arthur Finn (1911), p.205. See also p.279.

² Rye MS. 60/3, f.122 v.

³ *ibid.*

BOATS AND GEAR

The varied nature of the fishery meant that the port held a considerable range of sizes and types of fishing boat, though there is little information about them until the late 16th century. As has been said, the earliest boats were oared galleys, similar to those depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry, but by the 13th century they had become primarily sailing vessels. The hull of an ancient vessel found near Maytham Wharf in 1822, though not certainly medieval, gives an idea of what the typical late medieval coaster or large fishing boat must have been like. Clinker-built of oak, it was 64 feet long with a beam of 15 feet and a depth of four feet. It had deck beams but no permanent decking except at bow and stern; there had probably been a canvas tilt aft to shelter the crew. A single mast stepped about a third of the length from the bow most likely carried a single square sail.¹

Sixteenth-century shipping lists distinguish in the main three categories of vessel: barks, crayers and fishing boats; and it has been suggested that they can be identified among the careful drawings of local shipping with which John Prowze adorned his chart of Rye Harbour in 1572.² This shows three types of sailing vessel: fully rigged ships with raised forecastle and quarter-deck ('barks'); smaller vessels with no forecastle but some sort of deck or cabin aft, apparently clinker-built, with a sprit mainsail and, in one case, a small mizzen ('crayers'); and undecked boats with a square sail set on a mast that could be lowered when riding to nets ('fishing boats'). The distinction cannot be rigidly insisted on, for there is a reference to a crayer of Sandwich which had a normal ship rig.³ But whatever the name she was called by, there is a recognisable resemblance between the Maytham Wharf ship and the sprit-sailed boats on Prowze's plan. Barks and crayers were capable of being used interchangeably for trade and fishing, and a contract of 1609 gives detailed specifications of a 'shipp' to be built by a Rye shipwright for three local fishermen, perhaps for use at Yarmouth or Scarborough, which, when completed, must have looked very much like one of Prowze's largest class.⁴ Even so, she was only to be 33 feet long at the keel. There is nothing to indicate that she was designed for fishing, except perhaps the provision of two windlasses and a capstan, which would have been useful for hauling in the nets.

¹ W. McM. Rice, 'Account of an ancient vessel recently found under the old bed of the River Rother,' in *Archaeologia*, vol. 20 (1824), pp. 553-65.

² P.R.O., M.P.F. 212. Discussed by Capt. H. Lovegrove, R.N., in 'Shipping in a 16th-century plan of Winchelsea and Rye,' in *Mariners' Mirror*, vol. 33 (1947), pp. 187-98. See also *Rye Shipping Records*, p. xxxvii-viii.

³ 'The Admiral of Sluys broke both his topmasts' in 1537 (*C.S.P., Hen. VIII*, vol. 12, pt. 1, No. 718 (iii)).

⁴ Ryc MS. 140/54.

As launched from the builder's yard, she cost her owners £100, and they would probably have had to spend as much again on fitting her out. Smaller boats would have cost proportionally less, but even so the average Rye fishing boat of 15-25 tons represented a substantial investment, and it is no surprise to find that ownership was commonly shared between two or three partners.¹ One of these was normally the master, and the other shares were held by working fishermen or their widows. Rarely, if ever, did outsiders have any stake in the ownership of fishing boats, although it was not uncommon for merchants to own barks or crayers engaged in trade. Fish merchants were in fact barred by a bylaw of 1479 from owning or managing fishing boats or gear,² but a more powerful deterrent was the fact that trading vessels seem to have earned considerably more for their owners, if we may judge from the Corporation's experience. Between 1588 and 1594 the Town Ship 'Blessing of God' made two or three voyages per year and earned an average gross profit of £29 per voyage (c.10s. per ton burden), of which about one third was needed for repairs and maintenance.³ If the Yarmouth fishery was organised at Rye in the same way as at Brighton, the owners would have received, between 4s. and 6s. per ton in an average year; the largest vessels, of 30-40 tons, earned proportionately least. It seems in fact unlikely that in terms of modern accounting, when maintenance and depreciation had been allowed for, the owners of fishing boats received any worthwhile profits at all. For, so far as one can tell, their vessels had a short life and needed frequent replacement. Out of 58 vessels belonging to the port in 1565, at most six were included among the 32 Ryers in Thomas Colshill's list of coasting traders in 1571-2 and nine among 51 merchantmen and fishing boats in a locally compiled list of 1580.⁴ Yet a 25-ton fishing boat, costing when new £100 and being employed for two fishing voyages a year, say to Yarmouth and Scarborough, and earning on average £7 for each Yarmouth voyage and the same at Scarborough, a third of which would be needed for repairs and maintenance, would need a life of more than ten years to repay the cost of her construction; and this assumes, what is unlikely, that the owner or owners could finance the building without having to borrow money. Shipwrights were quite humble men, craftsmen rather

¹ P.R.O., S.P.D., Eliz., vol. 38, No. 28 (1565); *Rye Shipping Records*, pp. 8-10 (1580).

² Rye MS. 60/3, f. 122 v.

³ *Rye Shipping Records*, p. 42.

⁴ Op. cit. in note 32; also P.R.O., S.P.D., Eliz., Addenda, No. 22 (Colshill's list). The 'Blessing of God,' bought for the town in 1587 for £200, was sold seven years later for only £108. The larger fishing boats were at least sometimes employed in the coasting trade: nine of Colshill's vessels were skippered by men who had owned or partly owned fishing boats in 1565.

than capitalists, and required payment by instalments while the vessel was being built and at the launch. They could not wait for her to be fitted out and begin to earn her keep.

The boats did not represent the fisherman's sole, or perhaps their most important, investment, for gear was also expensive and short-lived. At Brighton there was a regular schedule for compensation for the owner of lost gear, according to which a 25-ton vessel going to Yarmouth would have carried nets worth £20, and to Scarborough nets and lines worth over £14. These values accord substantially with those given in Elizabethan inventories of Folkestone fishermen¹ and also with the sole evidence from Rye itself, where in 1548 John Potten bequeathed as alternative legacies four angels in gold, i.e. 26s. 8d., or a 'mansfare of flews and a waroppe,'² Three nets seem to have made a 'mansfare' here as at Brighton; the 'waroppe' was probably the rope from which they were suspended and by which they were hauled in. The owner of a mansfare normally received the same share of the catch as a working member of the crew, hence no doubt the name. At one time, perhaps, the same contribution of nets was expected from every crew member, and at Brighton the regulations seem designed to encourage this ideal, but at Rye, as probably elsewhere, many fishermen possessed more than a single mansfare; on occasion they bequeathed as many as four, five or six fares of flews or Yarmouth nets, often in addition to other gear, and on average they left two or three. Of course, probably only the richer fishermen made wills—the poor had too little to bequeath—and this is reflected in the nature of their legacies. Out of a sample of 25 made between 1545 and 1581 and giving some details of boats and gear, ten possessed the whole or part of at least one boat, whereas in the population at large the proportion of boat-owners to other fishermen and mariners was about one to four if servants, boys and apprentices are left out of the reckoning.

Yarmouth nets were the most common item of gear bequeathed by this sample, and probably all had possessed them, though some simply spoke of 'nets' in distinction to shot-nets or tramels. Seven named them explicitly and another ten may be taken as having bequeathed them, as against six leaving tramels, three lines, two shot-nets and one a 'long net.' All of these last possessed Yarmouth or other unspecified nets in addition, so that it would appear that these were the basic equipment of a fisherman, to which he added others, and particularly the more complicated and costly trammel nets, as and when he could afford them. At Hythe, and probably at Rye also, herring nets were regarded as a suitable

¹ *Kentish Sources*, ed. by Elizabeth Melling, vol. 3 (1961), pp. 136-7.

² East Sussex Record Office, Lewes Archdeaconry, vol. A1, p. 168.

gift or legacy to a servant or apprentice to set him up as an independent fisherman.¹

THE LABOUR FORCE

It is impossible to calculate from the silence of wills the proportion of fishermen who possessed no gear of their own and worked as servants or apprentices of others. Boys were quite a large percentage of the work force, and each Yarmouth boat carried one or two as well as from ten to a dozen men. The return of 1565 already quoted gives details of vessels and seamen in the Rapes of Pevensey and Hastings. After naming 81 owners at Rye and 43 at Hastings, the only ports of any importance, it provides the following information about men:

	<i>Rye</i>	<i>Hastings</i>
Mariners	60	16
Fishermen: householders	225	146
young men	50	20
servants to fishermen	450 (<i>sic</i>)	57
Total households	530	280
Population	2468	not given

The figure for servants at Rye is improbably large and may be a scribal error,² since otherwise in this and other Elizabethan lists the figures for the two towns are very consistent, allowing for their difference in size, and it is difficult to see how a fleet of 58 boats, not all in use at the same time, can have given employment to a labour force of nearly 800 men at the rates that the list itself lays down, viz.:

<i>Type of vessel</i>	<i>Tonnage</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Boys</i>
Merchantman (bark)	over 40	10	1
" (crayer)	40	9	1
" (boat)	30	8	1
" " "	20	6	1
Boat fishing at home	30	12	1
" " " "	25	11	1
" " " "	20	10	1
" " " "	15	9	1

This gives a total in employment in winter, when the list was made, of 328 men and 34 boys. If one adds crews *pro rata* for the boats that were laid up until the plaice, conger and mackerel seasons, the grand total is still only 565 men and 58 boys as the maximum number that can have been at work if all the boats were working at any one time, which is most unlikely.

It is not clear what was the relationship between servants and their masters. At Hythe it was in many cases permanent enough for servants to merit legacies from their masters. At Brighton,

¹ A. J. F. Dulley, 'Four Kent towns at the end of the Middle Ages,' in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. 81 (1966), p. 108.

² For 150?

on the other hand, local usage forbade the employment of wage labour except for the Scarborough voyage and laid down penalties for masters who attempted to make up their crews otherwise than with local men paid on the system of shares. These were free partners in the voyage and could not be described as 'servants.' The assumption of these regulations seems to have been that the use of wage labour would have been cheaper than payment by shares—although, if the Brighton system were applied at Rye, the ordinary fisherman who owned no nets and contributed nothing to the voyage but his labour would not have been conspicuously well rewarded. For the Yarmouth voyage, of about six to eight weeks' duration, he would have received on average about £1 during the Elizabethan period, and about 16s. for the shorter home herring season. This compares with wages of between 2s. 4½d. and 4s. 6d. per week paid to most of the crew of the 'William,' the town's contribution to the fleet which faced the Spanish Armada in 1588.¹ On land labourers might earn 1s. a day, and skilled craftsmen up to 2s. 6d. a day at this date.² Moreover, fishermen could not expect to be in continuous employment. Except in early summer, when the Scarborough voyage corresponded with the peak of the trammel season, and again in the autumn, during the Yarmouth season, there must always have been a substantial number out of work or casually employed on land.

How high the proportion was is difficult to estimate. The only direct evidence comes from a shipping return of 1587, which lists 33 masters and 202 able mariners 'beshipped' and another three and 47 respectively 'not beshipped.'³ The local authorities are unlikely to have exaggerated the number without work for fear of inviting the attentions of the pressgang. Maltod payments suggest that it was rarely indeed that eleven out of every dozen masters were actively fishing in any one season. In most years the average number of seasons for which each man paid was only between one half and one third of the maximum number possible. Those who owned boats or nets—and all the masters must be included among them—will have needed a good deal of time to overhaul their boats and make or repair their nets. The life of a net was short, perhaps two years on the analogy of 19th-century Hastings,⁴ and fishermen or their families made their own, buying their material from hempressers in the town or the villages round about. Ship-building, rope-making, sail-making, hook-making, were all recognised trades, but there seem to have been

¹ *Rye Shipping Records*, p. 48.

² *ibid.*, pp. 2-3, 47.

³ P.R.O., S.P.D., *Eliz.*, vol. 198, No. 29.

⁴ W. G. Moss, *History and Antiquities of the Town and Port of Hastings* (1824), p. 163.

no regular net-makers; at any rate nobody goes under this denomination in contemporary documents.¹ But it is noteworthy that even so a higher proportion of mariners, many of whom can have had no gear to look after, were on land in 1587: 19 *per cent.*, as opposed to only 8 *per cent.* of masters.

THE MARKET

The seamen's quarter of the town lay outside the Strand Gate along the east bank of the River Tillingham. Here, on the marshes above the town the shipwrights built their boats, while lower down, under the shelter of the town walls, the fishermen unloaded their catch, sold it in the fishmarket and stored their gear in rows of 'shops' built on land reclaimed from the river. The Corporation records include numerous conveyances of building plots, usually arranged in narrow rows with cobbled alleys and gutters between.² Two such rows had been built by the town. Each contained five shops, let mainly to merchants, with two lofts and sometimes garrets also over each, tenanted by fishermen. Buying and selling, however, took place, at least in theory, not in the shops but in open market. Samuel Jeake's plan of the town, made in 1667 when the port was in decline, shows the market as a large open square, handily placed for the quayside and the branch of the town conduit which provided an abundant supply of fresh water for cleaning fish, but strategically cut off from the now gap-toothed rows of fishermen's shops by a line of buildings labelled 'The King's Shop'—strategically, because the Crown in the person of the Purveyor to the Household or his local representative, exercised the right of pre-emption in the market and was one of its best customers.³

Relations between the King's Purveyor and the local fishermen were never good. Traditionally the market was in the hands of local middlemen called 'osts'. No stranger might buy fish of anyone else, while at the same time the osts and the 'feeters,' who made the baskets in which the fish were measured and transported, were forbidden to have any direct or indirect stake in the actual fishing. Apart from them, only the King's Purveyor could deal directly with the fishermen, and his wants had to be supplied first. The Purveyor was normally a London fishmonger and, not unnaturally, tended to use his position to exploit the market for his fellow Londoners. The London market had long been important for the town, and London fishmongers had owned property at Rye at least as early as 1452, when William Stoughton bought the Ypres Tower.⁴

¹ They may have been too poor to gain a mention. In Hastings paupers were set to work making nets (J. M. Baines, *Historic Hastings* (1955), p. 128.)

² *Records of Rye Corporation*, pp. 166-75.

³ Rye MS. 132/15, reproduced in *Records of Rye Corporation*, Plate XIII.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 139.

Matters between the Londoners and the townsfolk seem to have come to a head with the appointment of William Wulnerston as Purveyor in 1523.¹ The Corporation took exception to the terms of his appointment and even more so to the regulations which the Wardens of the London Fishmongers' Company proceeded to lay down for the conduct of the Rye market. These claimed a right of pre-emption for themselves, once the Crown and other magnates had been provided for, established maximum prices, arranged for a regular representative to be put in Rye to look after their interests, and threatened offenders with imprisonment in Newgate. Not surprisingly, there were violent protests from Rye, and the matter was put to arbitration. Fortunately for the Ryers, the commission was weighted in their favour, consisting, apart from the Comptroller of the Royal Household, of the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, their own Mayor and a local landowner. The fishermen 'by their owne agrements' accepted regulations that guaranteed the Purveyor's rights but contained no mention of the privileges claimed by the Londoners.

Even so, and notwithstanding the recognition of the Lord Warden as an umpire in any future disputes if the Mayor connived at breaches of the rules, feeling between the Purveyor and the fishermen frequently ran high. The Crown was a tardy payer, and the fishermen were loth to sell their best fish to the Purveyor in the hope of payment several months hence, if they could dispose of it elsewhere for ready cash. The way in which osts and fishermen had their shops jumbled together made surreptitious bargaining easy, and much of the best fish never came to open market.² The local authorities, always on their guard against renewed attempts by the Londoners to assert their claims, were at best apathetic to the Purveyor's complaints, though eventually in 1608 they were forced to agree that the shops of fishermen and merchants should be separated.³ But by this stage the town was suffering severely from the effects of silting in its harbour and encroachments on its fishing grounds and was no doubt willing to waive some of its cherished independence in the hope of gaining support.

Even if they had been willing, it is unlikely that the Mayor and Jurats would have had much success in imposing their will on the fishermen, who were at best of an individualistic spirit. Two attempts were made during the reign of Elizabeth I to organise them into a guild or company to regulate their own affairs. The first, in 1567, lasted for a few years but foundered when a later generation refused to abide by its articles of incorporation. Around 1581 an attempt was made to revive it, and a draft for a royal charter of

¹ Rye MS. 60/6, ff. 2-6.

² *Rye Shipping Records*, p. 54.

³ *H.M.C.*, p. 140.

incorporation survives among the town archives.¹ Its constitution seems largely modelled on that of Trinity House, and its four Wardens, with the Elder Brethren and Assistants, were to regulate the fishery jointly with the Mayor and a panel of Jurats, to maintain lights to guide vessels into the harbour and levy tolls for this purpose, and to have the power to imprison offenders in the town gaol. The scheme ran into difficulties because it encroached on the jurisdiction of the Water Bailiffs of Rye and Winchelsea, royal appointments outside the Corporation's hands, so that nothing more was done to implement it.

DISTRIBUTION

When the fish had been caught, landed and sold, legally or illegally, it still had to reach the consumer. A good deal, probably, was eaten locally. Parry records that in the Hastings of his day the poor lived through the winter largely on dried herring, and the same, no doubt, was true of Rye in earlier centuries.² Some, but not very much, was exported by sea. In the eleven years between 1573 and 1590 for which reasonably detailed customs accounts are available, there were 35 outward shipments of fish, 28 being herring, four sprats and the rest unspecified.³ Almost all were made during the autumn and winter months. In seventeen cases the destination is given: eight went overseas, five to London and four up-river in lighters. In 1594 Francis Bolton, a local merchant, could sell herring in Bordeaux for three times what they would cost him to buy from the fishermen, but either the transport costs were too great or the supply too limited to encourage this trade.⁴ The latter is more likely: the local herring fishery, as opposed to the Yarmouth voyage, was in decline at this period, and some herring was even being imported.⁵

Herring and sprats, which could be salted or dried, were capable of standing the uncertainties of a sea voyage, but most of the catch landed at the Strand was composed of flat fish and other species that had to reach the consumer quickly if he was to consume them at all. These travelled by road, mostly to London, on the backs of pack-horses in baskets called 'dossers'. Making the dossers was a specialised local trade, but only a few of the rippers, who led the strings of pack-horses, were local men. They seem to have lived mostly in the villages along the road to London. One Rye ripper succeeded in rising to be an Alderman of the City of London,⁶ but most were in a humble way of business, paying maltod on from two to four dossers a time. The same names recur in the lists at

¹ *Records of Rye Corporation*, pp. 93-4.

² J. D. Parry, *An Historical and Descriptive Account of the Coast of Sussex*, (1833), p. 232.

³ *Rye Shipping Records*, pp. 66-143.

⁴ Rye MS. 145/3. See also 145/6, 8.

⁵ There were six inward cargoes of herring in the same eleven years.

⁶ James Wilford, d.1526 (*Records of Rye Corporation*, p.110).

roughly weekly intervals, though in the busier months they are supplemented by others for whom this was a seasonal occupation only.

The London road, running as it did mainly along ridges and crossing the heavy Weald Clay at Tonbridge, where it was at its narrowest, was a good one by Sussex standards, even before the days of turnpikes. Defoe, who comments most unfavourably on the state of the roads elsewhere in the Weald, remarks that in season Hastings mackerel might be sold in Tunbridge Wells, nearly 30 miles away over the same or similar roads, within three hours of being landed.¹ Fish clearly made the London journey at a comparable speed, for the Regulations made by the London fishmongers in 1523 fixing maximum prices at Rye envisaged a peak demand on Fridays and on Saturdays in Lent, when 8s. a seam could be charged, and lesser peaks on Saturdays in the rest of the year, Wednesdays, Vigils and Ember Days, when the maximum was 6s.² There was no limit, and presumably less demand, on other days. This system only makes sense if fish bought in the Rye market in the early morning could be expected to reach the London housewife the same day. No doubt part of the reason for the development of the Cinque Ports as fishing towns was the fact that they were connected to the metropolis by reasonable all-weather roads for pack-horse traffic, whereas ports like Shoreham or Brighton further west, though no further from London, were divided from it by wide stretches of clay lowland with no good roads across them.

CHANGE, GROWTH AND DECAY

So far, the picture presented has been essentially a static one, but this is due more to the imperfections of the source materials than to the actualities of the situation, and even with the records as they are it is possible to trace trends of prosperity and decline and account in some measure for their causes.

The month-by-month distribution of rippers' payments provides a useful index of comparison between the industry as it was in Elizabethan times and what it had been three centuries earlier, as reflected in the sums paid for 'town shares' at Winchelsea.³ In the 13th century herring and other winter-caught fish dominated the market, with the maximum of activity, as might be expected, in Lent. In the 16th century, however, the trend had been reversed. Lent was still a lively season for the market, but it was at its busiest after Easter and in early summer, during the tramel season.

The nature of the records makes it impossible to chart the course of this trend in detail, particularly in its earlier stages. Clearly the

¹ Daniel Defoe, *A Tour through England and Wales* (1724), Everyman Edition, vol. 1, p.127.

² Rye MS. 60/6, f.4. The size of a seam is uncertain.

³ See fig 1.

14th century was a period of overall decline in the fishery, from which it was beginning to recover in 1448, when maltod accounts commence just after the last of a series of French raids had devastated the town. At this period, tramels and more particularly the related 'bosemeys' were already the most popular gear, and flews occupied a very minor position in the local fishery (there are no statistics for the Yarmouth voyage). Hooks were also being used, and their more extensive use in the later part of the century, when a distinct hook season in the winter developed to complement the summer tramel season, is accompanied by a rapid increase in the receipts of the Rippiers' Box with no corresponding rise in the number of boats at work in the year as a whole.¹

The population of the town at this time seems to have been about 1,000.² At a reasonable estimate of seven men per boat, it would have taken 175 men to crew the 25 boats working in 1492, over half the working population. They were definitely the poorer half. Only masters of fishing boats can be identified in the tax list of that year,³ and they might be expected to be better off than their crews. They form in all 15 *per cent.* of the total, paying 7 *per cent.* of the whole assessment and mostly being of middling wealth. None was included among the eight really wealthy men who owned half the property, but only a few paid the minimum 4d. that was all that over a third of those assessed could pay.

The industry continued to grow until the second decade of the 16th century. In the 1520's there was a sharp set-back, accompanied by a rise in prices—herrings rose from 5*d.* a hundred in 1524 to 8*d.* in 1530⁴—which is probably not unconnected with the concern shown by the London fishmongers over the state of the market. Within ten or fifteen years the old prosperity had returned, though the Christmas (hook) season was less in favour and the Yarmouth voyage was recovering its medieval importance. The 1560's saw the fishery at its height. The town had more than doubled in size in the past two generations, but fishermen still formed nearly half its population—225 households out of 530 in 1565. Socially they were still the lower half, though some of the more well-to-do had the wealth and standing to become jurats as the century wore on. The population continued to grow for another fifteen years, for there were about 3,000 inhabitants in 1580, but by then the fishing fleet was less active, and there was a slow but continuous decline in the number of maltod payments until records cease in the 1620's, when there were only about half as many boats at work as there had been fifty years previously. Thereafter there are no statistics of boats at work. The town, however, was shrinking.

¹ See Fig 2.

² See Appendix, p. 63.

³ Rye MS. 77/3.

⁴ Rye MS. 147/1, ff. 48 v, 63 v.

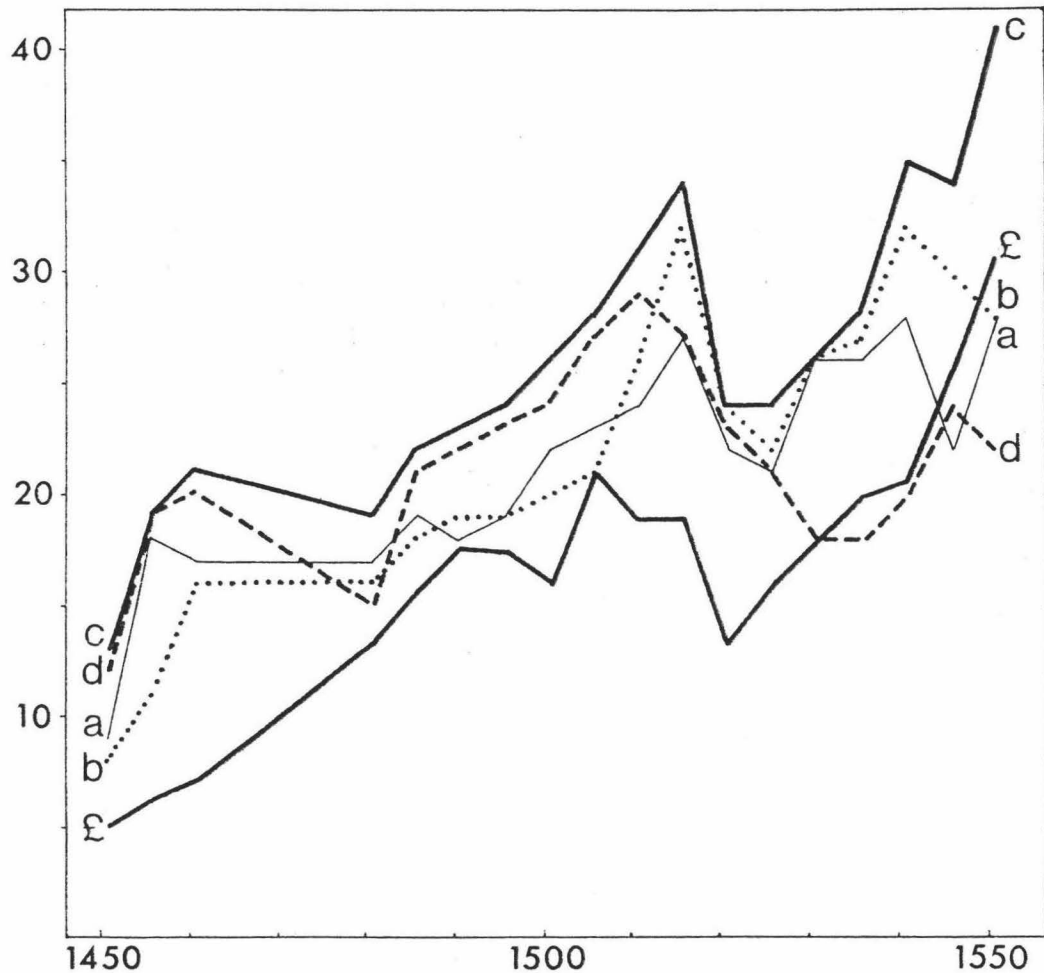


Fig. 2. Five-yearly averages of receipts of Rippers' Box (£) and boats at work at Rye and Saltgate in the

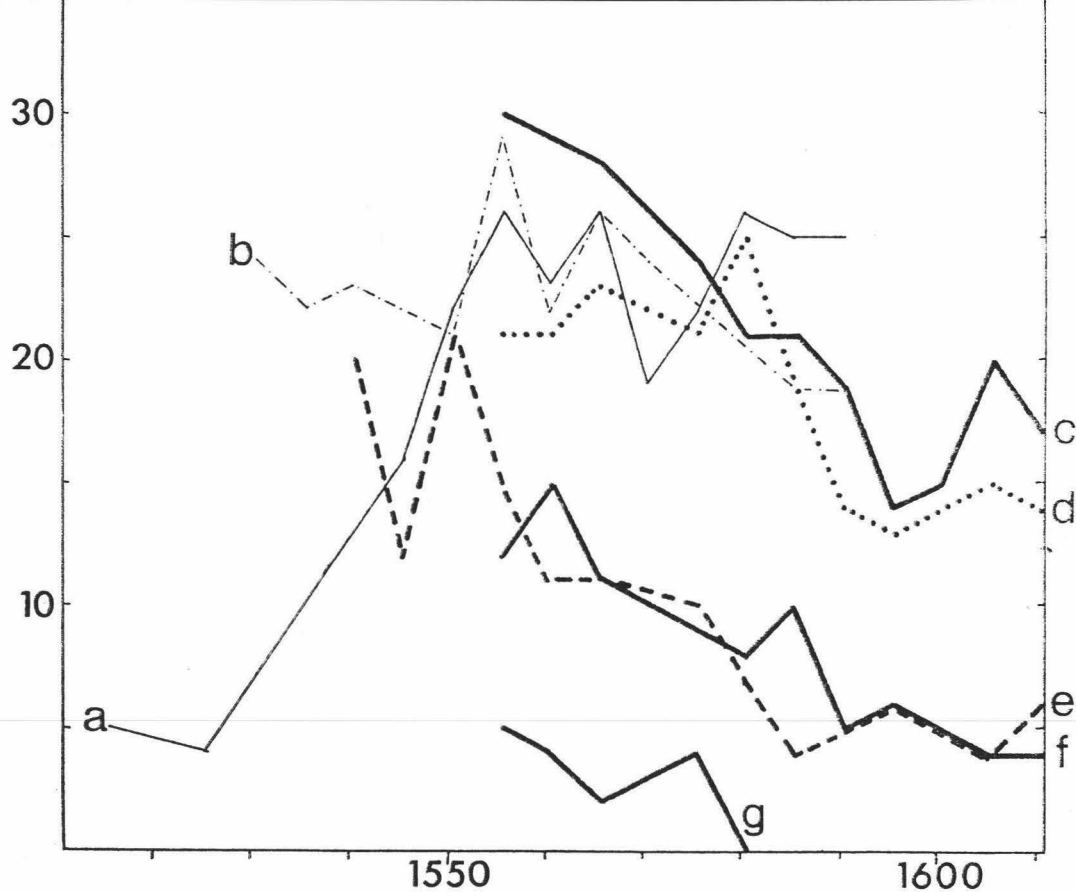


Fig. 3 Five-yearly averages of payers of St. Mary's Share (a, b) and Maltod (c-g): (a) Yarmouth voyage; (b, c) tramellers; (d) hookmen; (e) Scarborough voyage; (f) harbourmen; (g) shotters. Between 1550 and 1570 an average of 17 flowers paid St. Mary's Share (not shown on graph).

In 1619 the Mayor and Jurats wrote to the Lord Warden that 100 fishermen were on the verge of starvation, while many had left the town;¹ and five years later 100 houses were reported empty.² By 1660 there were fewer people in the town than at any time since 1500. The sea was still important in its economy, providing a living for 109 out of 329 males over the age of 16.³ Of these, only sixteen were described as 'fishermen,' though deep-sea fishermen may have been listed as 'mariners' or 'seamen.' Duties on wholesale sales of fish and fruit were still worth enough to be farmed for £20 a year in 1689, rising to £24 in 1723, and Defoe mentions Rye fishermen working at Yarmouth as well as fishing along the South Coast for mackerel, but ten years later, the last year that the duties were farmed, they were only worth £7.⁴

The causes of this decline are various, some peculiar to Rye and others affecting neighbouring ports as well. To begin with, local factors must have been the more important, for a study of wills proved in the Archdeaconry Court at Lewes down to 1650 suggests that while Rye declined, Hastings and Brighton were growing; and both these towns were more dependent on fishing than Rye, which had a sea-borne commerce and a wider variety of trades serving the local market.⁵ From testators' surnames one may guess that many of the fishermen who left Rye in the first quarter of the 17th century moved to Brighton or Hastings.

The principal reason why they moved was the deterioration of the harbour. This is at first sight paradoxical, since neither Brighton nor Hastings possessed a harbour of any sort and the latter town spent a great deal of time and money in Elizabeth I's reign trying to make an artificial one. Fishing boats were launched from the open beach and hauled up above high water mark by horse capstans when not in use. Rye by contrast continued to offer a sheltered anchorage of some sort. Henry VIII had regarded it as important enough to warrant building Camber Castle at its mouth. When it was built, the castle stood at the tip of a shingle ridge running south-eastwards from the cliffs at Fairlight and acting as a natural breakwater to the lagoon and saltmarsh within.⁶ East of the harbour mouth a similar ridge linked up with the shingle promontory of Dungeness. The lagoon filled and emptied at each tide, and the resulting current was enough to maintain a clear channel for shipping—or would have been, if the balance of forces had remained unchanged. But the later 16th and 17th centuries saw much reclamation of the saltmarshes, and every acre of marsh inned meant a reduction in the

¹ *H.M.C.*, p. 54.

² *ibid.*, p. 166.

³ Rye MS. 82/82.

⁴ *Records of Rye Corporation*, pp. 164-6. Daniel Defoe, *op. cit.*, pp. 66n., 123.

⁵ See Appendix, p. 63.

⁶ J. A. Steers, *The Sea Coast* (1953), pp. 162-6.

tidal flow, increased silting, shoaling of the channel and narrowing of the harbour mouth. Furthermore, additional shingle ridges built up seaward of Camber Castle. They were not easily accessible from the town and were liable to be swept away by the next gale, so that there was no temptation for the fishermen to use them as a landing place, while at the same time Elizabethan maps show the old harbour as a tortuous maze of creeks, separated by shifting sandbanks and sheltered only by the doubtful protection of the new storm beaches. Access to the quays must have been difficult, even to local men, except on the top of a flood tide.

The local men were not indifferent to the situation. The only recorded act of Fishermen's Company was to petition the Corporation about erosion of the beach and to request the building of a breakwater.¹ Late 16th-century maps show the mouth of the River Tillingham thus protected immediately below the quay, though this may not be what the seamen wanted, viz. a timber jetty 'on the west side of the haven, near the boom at the creek's mouth.' In any case, whatever action was taken was insufficient, and plans by the Italian, Gedeviso Gienily, and the Kentish mapmaker, Philip Symonson, show more drastic measures proposed, namely an artificial cut through the shingle to make a more direct way for the water.² No work seems to have been undertaken, however, nor is it likely that it would have met with any more success than Smeaton's scheme in the 18th century.

Decay of the harbour was only one of the causes to which the Ryers ascribed their distress. Allegations of unfair foreign competition are to be expected from a declining industry anxious for protection. In 1572 the fishermen urged their M.P.s to promote a bill against fish imports, complaining that their cod, ling and herring fisheries were being ruined by competition from Scots, Frenchmen and Flemings and imports from Baltic ports, while nearer home fishermen from Flanders and Calais were doing a thriving trade with English merchants to the detriment of English fishermen.³ What they do not explain is how it was that foreigners could succeed in undercutting them in their own home market.

A later complaint, however, deserves to be taken more seriously, because it is more specific. From 1607 to 1610 the town records contain several references to Frenchmen poaching on herring and cod grounds that the Ryers traditionally regarded as their own preserve. The dispute, which was carried to the Privy Council, was complicated by lack of agreement about the location of the Sow and the Broad Smooth, the grounds in question, which appear to

¹ *Records of Rye Corporation*, p. 93 (n.d., c. 1567-71).

² *L. A. Vidler, New History of Rye* (1934), p. 66; Rye MSS. 132/4-6 (1591 and 1594 respectively).

³ *H.M.C.*, p. 18.

have been somewhere in mid-Channel.¹ Eventually a system of licensing French vessels to fish on the English coast was introduced, though it proved difficult to enforce effectively.²

At the same time as they were seeking to curb the French, the Ryers were carrying on a dispute with their neighbours which in some ways heralds the end of the time-honoured medieval way of doing things, so far as the fishing industry was concerned. Trawl nets had been in use in the creeks of Essex as early as the 14th century. In 1377 they were banned for the damage that they did to young fry and the oyster beds.³ The ban seems to have been effective, so far as the Channel ports are concerned, at any rate, until the end of the 16th century. Then we find the Admiralty Court of the Cinque ports forbidding their use in 1602 and again in 1604, singling out particularly the fishermen of Hastings for using them.⁴ It would appear that by this time trawling was well established in the Thames estuary, and within a few years Barking, Rochester and Strood trawlers were to be found at work on the grounds where Ryers had been accustomed for generations to trammel for plaice and other bottom-feeding fish.⁵ Possibly the Hastings men had learnt to use the new gear from them. Unlike the Ryers, they had never used trammel nets—or so they claimed; and this they had in common with the fishermen of Brighton, where the only fishery for plaice was with tuck nets close inshore.⁶

Hastings protested against the Court's ban, and eventually it was agreed to abide by the results of an experimental season of tramelling from Hastings. If it proved possible to trammel successfully in their home waters, the Hastings men agreed to give up trawling. The boat was to be provided by Hastings, the nets and men by Rye and Hythe, and the trial was to last the whole of the plaice season of 1608.⁷ As might be expected, the results were disputed. The Court repeated its ban on the strength of them, but Hastings petitioned the Privy Council, claiming that the trial had been unfairly conducted, the boat having fished only on three occasions in the whole summer and then being compelled to run for safety even in fair weather, while the Hythe members of the crew had been bribed to support the Rye case. More generally, they claimed that, while tramelling was feasible in Hythe Bay, which is sheltered from south-west gales by Dungeness, the coast further west was too exposed for boats to ride to their nets. Trawls of the regulation five-inch mesh did no more harm to the fry than did tramels dragging on the

¹ *ibid.*, p. 143.

² S.P.D., Jas. I, vol. 119, No. 86 (8 February, 1621).

³ *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, vol. 3, No. 1057.

⁴ *H.M.C.*, pp. 124, 133.

⁵ S.P.D., Jas. I, vol. 91, Nos. 4 and 4(i) (Barking, 1617); *ibid.* vol. 128, No. 22 (Rochester and Strood).

⁶ *Elizabethan Brighton*, p. 15.

⁷ *H.M.C.*, pp. 136, 139.

bottom with the tide, and needed smaller boats and fewer men, an important consideration to Hastings, which had no harbour, so important indeed that its seafaring population had increased in the six years that they had been trawling.¹ Much of this was undoubtedly true: Hythe and Rye seem to have been the only ports to use the trawl; the difference in size of boat was negligible, for in 1565 Hythe's eighteen tramellers were of only five tons apiece against her seven shotters of fifteen tons,² but the tramelling trial required seven men, while 19th-century Hastings trawlers were managed by a crew of only three. This difference may in part be accounted for by a change in rig, since lug sails had replaced the older square or sprit rig by this date. There can be no doubt about the growth of Hastings, however. From having about 1,250 inhabitants in 1565, it had increased to 1,400 in 1603 and around 2,000 in 1619.³

Against these arguments Rye and Hythe reiterated their previous complaints: trawls destroyed the fry and drove fish from their feeding and breeding grounds; they were illegal and had only been in use for the past thirty years, in which time the fishery had decayed and prices had risen six or eight-fold.⁴ They won the day, but it was a Pyrrhic victory. Despite regulations, trawlers reappeared. In 1631 the matter was referred to the Lords of the Admiralty, with the result that in the following year the latter banned trawling east of Beachy Head and ordered Captain Penington, then on patrol in the Channel, to enforce the order and keep a watch for French poachers.⁵ It is, however, symptomatic of the changing situation that Penington in his reply includes Ryers themselves among the law-breakers, and in fact six of them had been arrested the previous year.⁶ The old order was moribund, the old methods were acknowledged as outdated even at Rye itself, and the authority of the Cinque Ports had been replaced by that of the Royal Navy. Rye had neither the strength nor the self-confidence to maintain itself in the face of a further challenge, and when, in the anarchy of the Civil War, Royalist men-of-war and Dunkirk privateers virtually put an end to the distant fisheries, there was nothing to arrest the final decline into obscurity.⁷ There was, it is true, something of a revival after peace was restored, but only a shadow remained of the prosperity that the town had enjoyed under the Tudors. Defoe dismisses Rye and her neighbours as having 'little in them to deserve more than a bare mention.'⁸ and all that deserved mentioning was their past.

¹ S.P.D., Jas. I, vol. 91, No. 12 (1617).

² E. Hasted, *History of Kent* (Folio edn.), vol. 3 (1798), p. 413.

³ See below, p. 63.

⁴ S.P.D., Jas. I, vol. 91, No. 13.

⁵ *ibid.*, vol. 187, No. 63; *ibid.*, vol. 215, No. 15.

⁶ *ibid.*, vol. 215, No. 79; *ibid.*, vol. 194, No. 6.

⁷ *H.M.C.*, pp. 215, 233.

⁸ Daniel Defoe, *Tour through England and Wales* (1724), Everyman Edn., vol. 1, p. 124.

APPENDIX

AVERAGES:	<i>Boats at work using:</i>			<i>Weekly receipts of Rippiers' Box</i>
	<i>tramels and bosemeys</i>	<i>hooks</i>	<i>unknown or other gear</i>	
1448-1464				
Season ending Christmas	5.4	1.6	0.9	2s. 3d.
Easter	4.6	1.3	0	10d.
24 June	9.1	0.6	0.6	3s. 7d.
24 August	9.4	0.9	0.5	3s. 10d.
1479-1499				
Season ending Christmas	4.7	12.6	1.7	5s. 5d.
Easter	2.9	12.8	1.8	6s. 6d.
24 June	16.5	3.1	1.6	7s. 0d.
24 August	12.6	2.5	3.9	4s. 7d.

ELIZABETHAN SHIPPING LISTS

<i>Date and Description</i>	<i>Tonnage</i>										<i>Total</i>
	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	over 50	
1565 (P.R.O., S.P.D., Eliz. I, vol. 38, No. 28)											
Barks and crayers	—	—	1	—	6	1	3	—	2	—	13
Fishing boats working	—	3	10	5	3	—	—	—	—	—	21
Fishing boats on land	4	8	6	3	3	—	—	—	—	—	24
Cockboats (no tonnage given)											8
	4	11	17	8	12	1	3	—	2	—	66
1572 (ibid., Addenda, No. 22)											
Coasting traders	2	2	3	6	5	3	7	—	2	2	32
1580 (<i>Rye Shipping Records</i> , pp. 8-10)											
Merchantmen	—	—	2	1	6	4	2	1	3	1	20
Fishing Boats	3	13	12	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	31
	3	13	14	4	6	4	2	1	3	1	51
1587 (P.R.O., S.P.D., Eliz. I, vol. 198, No. 29)											
Merchantmen	—	—	5	1	5	2	2	—	1	2	18
Fishing boats working	—	1	11	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	15
Fishing boats on land	—	5	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12
	—	6	23	3	6	2	2	—	1	2	45
1596 (<i>Rye Shipping Records</i> , p. 12)											
Merchantmen	—	—	—	—	4	—	2	—	1	3	10
Fishing boats	1	1	4	9	10	—	—	—	—	—	25
	1	1	4	9	14	—	2	—	1	3	35

Note: The figures for 1565-1587 are tons burden, but those for 1596 are probably measured tons and should be scaled down by $\frac{1}{4}$.

ANALYSIS OF MEN'S WILLS PROVED AT LEWES

<i>Date</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Rye</i>	<i>Hastings</i>	<i>Brighton</i>	
1541-69	Fishermen	20	36	19	
	Seamen	2	—	2	
	<hr/>				
	All seafarers	22	36	21	
	Other urban occupations	20	13	3	
	Farmers	3	3	2	
	<hr/>				
	Occupation not stated	45	52	26	
		151	104	62	
	<hr/>				
Total	196	156	88		
<hr/>					
1570-1609	Fishermen	23	15	32	
	Seamen	12	1	1	
	<hr/>				
	All seafarers	35	16	33	
	Other urban occupations	47	20	9	
	Farmers	5	14	6	
	<hr/>				
	Occupation not stated	87	50	48	
		34	38	19	
	<hr/>				
Total	121	88	67		
<hr/>					
1610-59	Fishermen	6	23	36	
	Seamen	4	—	2	
	<hr/>				
	All seafarers	10	23	38	
	Other urban occupations	39	31	12	
	Farmers	7	27	9	
	<hr/>				
	Occupation not stated	56	81	59	
		2	14	6	
	<hr/>				
Total	58	95	65		

POPULATION

<i>RYE</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Data given</i>	<i>Est. total</i>
	1491/2	Rye MS. 77/3	178 pay cess (probably householders)	} —1150-1350
	1491/2	Rye MS. 85/1	192 names on muster list	
	1565	S.P.D., Eliz., 38/28	530 households 2468 inhabitants	} 2468
	1579/80	H.M.C., p. 67	1800-1900 communicants	
	1619	S.P.D., Jas. I, 107/11	307 names on muster list	c. 3000
	1660	Rye MS. 82/82	672 taxpayers over 16	1800-2100
	1676	Sussex Arch. Coll., vol. 45 (1902), pp. 142-8.	600 communicants	c. 1100
	1724	ibid, vol. 35 (1887), p. 192	200 families	c. 1000
				c. 900(?)

HASTINGS			
1544	<i>Sussex Arch. Coll.</i> , vol. 14 (1862), p. 82	48 pay benevolence, 11 names recurring among:	} 1300-1400
1547	<i>Sussex Chantry Rec's</i> , (Sussex Rec. Soc., vol. 36), pp. 32-5.	74 chantry tenants	
1565	as Rye	280 households	c. 1250
1603	<i>Ecclesiastical Returns</i> (Sussex Record Soc., vol. 4), p. 10	847 communicants	c. 1400
1614	S.P.D., Jas. I, 77/91	301 names on muster list	1800-2100
1619	ibid., 107/11	315 names on muster list	1800-2100
1676	as Rye	1073 communicants	c. 1800
1724	as Rye	500 families	c. 2200 (?)
1731	op. cit. under 1544, p. 191	1636 inhabitants after 97 had died in an epidemic	1636-1739

Note

In computing the total population, the multipliers used are those recommended by Professor W. G. Hoskins, *Local History in England* (1959), pp. 142-7, viz. $\times \frac{6}{10}$ for persons over the age of 15 or 18; $\times 6$ or $\times 7$ for names on muster lists.

The Rye return for 1565 gives a ratio of 4.7 persons per household, which tallies well with Gregory King's calculations for the country as a whole in the 1680's, see C. A. F. Meekings, *Dorset Hearth Tax Assessments, 1662-1664* (1951), pp. xxxiv-xxxvi, but comparison of the figures for Hastings in 1724 and 1731 suggests that at this date families were smaller, averaging 3.8 members each. All such calculations, however, are inevitably only rough approximations.

THE MAISON DIEU, ARUNDEL

By K. JANE EVANS

The ruins known as the Maison Dieu¹ or the Hospital of the Holy Trinity on the bank of the River Arun outside the Mill Road Lodge of Arundel Castle, revealed disappointingly little information during small-scale excavations by Worthing Museum for the Ministry of Public Building and Works in 1965.²

Comprising, at the present time, parts of buildings on three sides of a courtyard which measures 117 feet north to south, its foundation and early history has been related by several writers³ and its place in medieval social life as the most important example in Sussex of a hospital of private foundation has been shown recently.⁴ In brief, Richard Fitzalan, 3rd Earl of Arundel who died in 1376,⁵ had intended to found a hospital or almshouse in connection with the college whose foundation he was contemplating. Both of these schemes were carried out by his successor Richard, 4th Earl, who, after establishing the College of the Holy Trinity, obtained royal licence in March 1395 to alienate to the master and chaplain of the same, four messuages and two tofts for a hospital or Maison Dieu in honour of the Holy Trinity.⁶ 'The site . . . was on the right bank of the river, . . . Here as soon as the ground could be prepared, the foundations of the new hospital were laid, and the rapidity with which the works advanced, soon enabled the founder to anticipate the accomplishment of his undertaking. By the end of the year 1396 the building was finished.'⁷

¹ National Grid reference, TQ 020071.

² The Ministry of Public Building and Works provided a grant. Acknowledgments are due to His Grace The Duke of Norfolk, E.M., K.G., to Mr. J. A. Orr-Ewing of the Duke of Norfolk's Estate Office for his co-operation, to Mr. H. W. Simmonds, Arundel Borough Surveyor and Mr. R. J. Gue, Arundel Post-Master, to Mr. L. M. Bickerton, Librarian-Curator of Worthing Museum, to Mr. Michael Carson for surveying the site, to volunteers who excavated and provided information especially Mr. C. J. Ainsworth and Mr. A. J. Pudwell, and to the "digger" driver for skilful operation in a difficult situation. Also my thanks are due to Francis W. Steer for his help especially on historical points relating to the Dukes of Arundel.

³ M. A. Tierney, *History of the Castle and Town of Arundel* (1834), vol. 2, pp. 662 ff.; G. W. Eustace, *Arundel Borough and Castle* (1922), pp. 84-87; V.C.H., *Sussex*, vol. 2 (1907) p. 97.

⁴ W. H. Godfrey, 'Medieval Hospitals in Sussex,' in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. 97 (1959), pp. 130-136.

⁵ The numbering of the Earls of Arundel is complicated because of the various families which held the title. Of the Fitzalan line, it is doubtful if the first two members were ever Earls of Arundel, so the numeration adopted here is the same as that used by Francis W. Steer in *The Fitzalan Chapel, Arundel: a Guide and Short History* (2nd ed., 1967, p. 4, note 2), where Richard Fitzalan (d. 1301/2) is regarded as the first Earl of a new line.

⁶ Pat. 18 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 17.

⁷ Tierney, *op. cit.*, p. 663.

The Maison Dieu exemplifies the progressive tendency of medieval hospitals to transform themselves from institutions saving the sick, aged or poor from absolute destitution and exacting only the rudest discipline in return for charity, into relatively privileged bodies of almsmen or almswomen, living under a mild, quasi-monastic rule and performing duties of prayer in return for their keep: a lay college, sometimes repeating in simple form the prayers of an associated and wealthier clerical college. The more exalted analogies are with the colleges of vicars choral for cathedral prebendaries, or the 'poor knights' of Windsor, as lay vicars for the lay Knights of the Garter who theoretically formed a sort of small military order in the monastic sense.¹

The statutes of the hospital, as drawn up by its patron and founder, still exist.² The inmates were to be twenty poor men, aged or infirm, of good life, and able to repeat the Lord's Prayer, Salutation and Creed in Latin, preference being given to the servants or tenants of the patron. Over them would preside a resident priest, under the title of Master, who would be chosen from amongst members of the college. To assist him the community would elect from among itself another officer who was to assume the name of Prior; he was responsible for the immediate superintendence of the brethren. Idleness was discouraged, the inmates being set to such tasks as the care of the garden, the weeding of the churchyard walks, or the nursing of their sick brethren. Regulations for divine service were also laid down and it was ordained that the brethren should wear a brown woollen garment like that of a monk, with a hood: this, with shoes and socks, being given to each at Christmas. In the case of an inmate developing leprosy he was to be removed from the hospital and to be allowed one penny a day during the continuance of his illness.

There was also a steward who managed the possessions of the foundation. The revenues of the hospital amounted in 1407 to just over £50, with property in Sullington, Heene, and Lychepole in Sompting, but under the will of Thomas, 5th Earl of Arundel, in 1415 the house benefited largely, receiving property in Birdham, Treyford, Northwood in Eartham, Ilesham in Climping, Tortington, Warningcamp, and Kingston-by-Lewes; its income stood in 1437 at £101 13s. 10½d., at about which figure it remained for a century, being about £94 in 1546, in which year it was suppressed.

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

At the dissolution in 1546 the hospital together with its lands was granted to Henry, 12th Earl of Arundel, the whole being 'left to

¹ The writer is indebted to Mr. S. E. Rigold of the Ministry of Public Building and Works for his comments here and below on the plan; also for his advice generally whilst excavations were in progress and subsequently.

² Tierney, *op. cit.*, pp. 663-669.

moulder beneath the ravages of the elements.¹ In the Civil War it is referred to as the old chapel where Sir William Waller's musketeers were stationed for an attack on the garrison of the castle, on Wednesday, 27 December 1643. Unfortunately it cannot be distinguished on Hollar's view of the town at this date.

In 1724 much of the stonework was pulled down and used in the building of a stone bridge over the River Arun, which bridge lay a little down river of the present one. Part of the south range escaped demolition. Amongst the Burrell Collection in the Bodleian Library is a drawing of 1780 by Grimm made from the bridge (see Plate I); it shows a first floor arched window at the east end and two windows in the south wall, the upper storey of which is missing. This drawing is altogether more accurate than a frequently found print of 1793 entitled "Hospital of God's House, Arundel."² Grimm's view is entitled "The Chapel of the Friary" and as a pair to it is a drawing made the same day from the north-west corner³ (now the Post-Office garage and driveway). In this, the north range can be seen, ruined but with the buttresses still intact. The west range however, is occupied by a building which, with the exception of a brick-built addition at the end nearest to the artist, appears to be the original structure. Ashlar stonework surrounds the upper storey windows but the whole has been re-roofed. It is described as a malthouse in 1834 and the cowl is present on the 1780 drawing. The new roof and additional rooms would account for the large three-light window being hidden. Grimm's afore mentioned drawing (Plate I) shows the southern end of this range of building with the added detail of an arched doorway which certainly appears to be ecclesiastical. Unfortunately this is obscured on what is otherwise a most informative print of 1813 by W. P. Sherlock (see Plate II).⁴ The view, from south of the river, takes in both the south and west ranges. Incorporated in the west wall of the west range is a large arch and this presumably is the gateway to which Tierney refers. To the right, an eastward extension of the building is shown as in Grimm's drawing and it is difficult to determine the position of this although it appears to lie in the courtyard and not in the north range; a plan of the town c.1785 shows no more than a step in the east side of the building range.⁵ The two ranges are separated by a road with a pump in the centre and the south range is fitted out as a

¹ Tierney, op. cit., p. 670.

² Figured, for example, in *Gents. Mag.*, 1793, vol. 63 (pt. 2), p. 1165, pl. III.

³ Published in W. H. Godfrey and L. F. Salzman, eds., *Sussex Views* (Sussex Record Society Jubilee Vol. 1951), pl. 12. Grimm's title is 'The Friary near the Bridge at Arundel.' Another popular misnomer, 'The Dominican Priory,' is used by Kimpton in his *Popular Guide to Arundel* (1893). A belief that the south range was an old chapel recurred persistently.

⁴ The writer expresses grateful thanks to Miss Winifred Fox, the Worthing Reference Librarian, for drawing attention to the print which is bound in a MS. diary entitled *Devonshire Tour IV*, in the Sussex Room.

⁵ Eustace, op. cit., p. 162 (plate facing).

timber yard: the eastern arch stands up well and there appears to be only one doorway in the south wall. Timber lies around and a high fence surrounds the ruins and runs down to the river bank. In the river a boat piled with timber is being poled away, presumably on the outgoing tide either from a wharf out of the picture on the right, or from the slipway in the centre; there is a wharf on the left which does not appear to serve the timber yard. Timber, oak and plank were the main exports from Arundel in the early 19th century, there being 45 ships belonging to the port in 1821; but by 1831 the trade was declining.¹ Indeed, in Tierney's sketch of the south range, c.1833, the ruins have the appearance of a barn or cattle-shed: the lean-to on the south east wall can again be seen in an oil painting in Arundel Council Chamber, which was executed prior to 1831.

The malthouse in the west range, still in use in Tierney's time, was removed sometime between 1834 and 1850 and transferred by Henty and Constable to another site on the south side of the river. A photograph of 1850 (*sic*)² shows the west range half demolished. The west wall stands only to first floor height but part of the arch of the large north window on the first floor survives. It was after this date that the buttresses of the north range were robbed.

In 1892 the new Mill Road was built through the courtyard, coinciding with the building of the Lodge, and in recent years a public convenience was constructed in the north-west corner of the courtyard. In 1965 the dual requests, to erect a temporary building in the north range and to put a road affording access to the Post Office through the west range, prompted the Ministry of Public Building and Works to arrange for rescue excavation to take place in the areas involved. In the event, the former building plan was waived and a more substantial building re-sited outside the north range. The interior of this range has been laid out as a garden and the ivy removed from the walls.

THE PLAN

The establishment is a version of the unified quadrangular plan for all sorts of collegiate and quasi-monastic foundations: it is typically late medieval and affected by house-plans of that period. The necessary buildings comprise (i) chapel; (ii) common hall; (iii) Master's lodging; (iv) brethren's lodgings; (v) gatehouse. The hall and chapel could be in series, as at New College, Oxford. Here they are opposite: the north range was the chapel: the south range was the hall: therefore the west range presumably contained the Master's lodging, brethren's lodgings and gatehouse. At the present time, no evidence can be cited for the existence of an east range but the lack of 18th or 19th century illustrations may mean

¹ Eustace, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

² Eustace, *op. cit.*, p. 84 (plate facing).

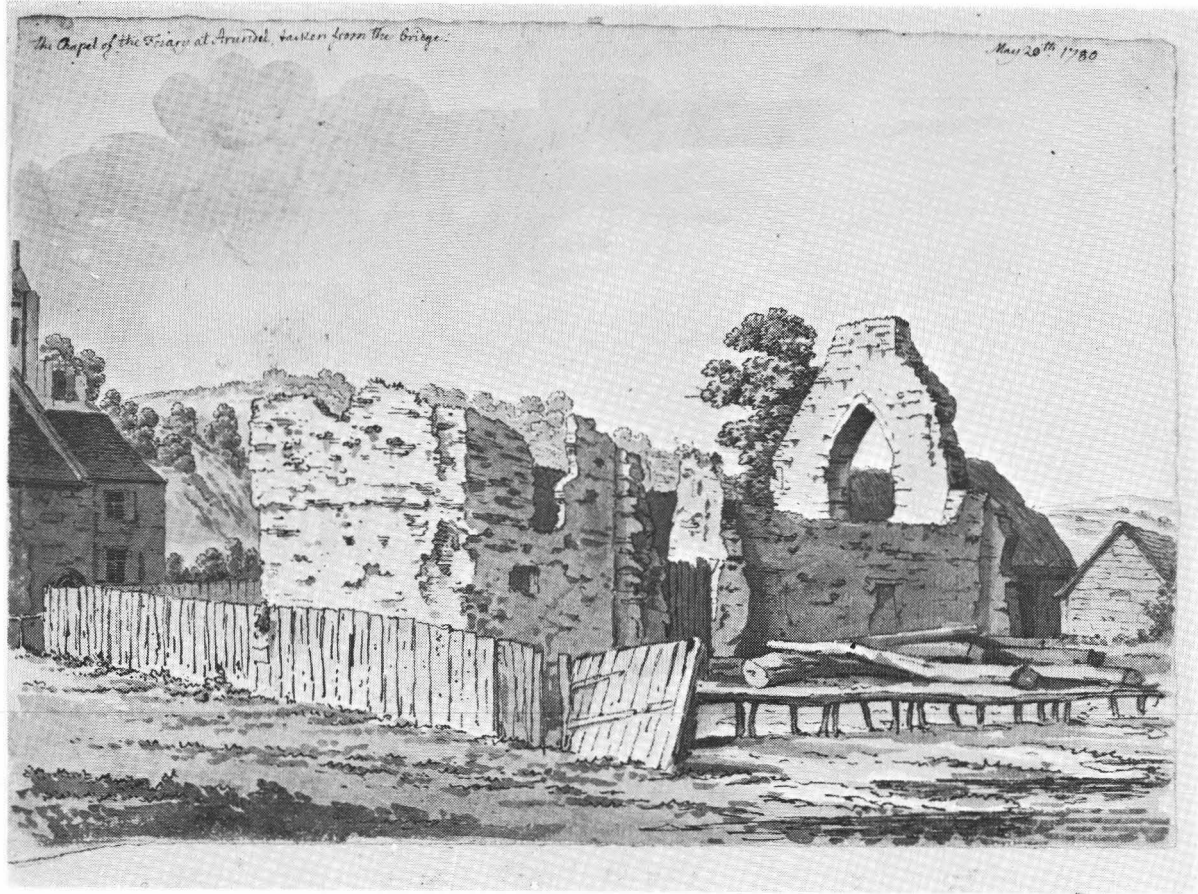


PLATE I. Drawing by S. H. Grimm showing south range and part of west range (extreme left).

Reproduced by kind permission of the Bodleian Library

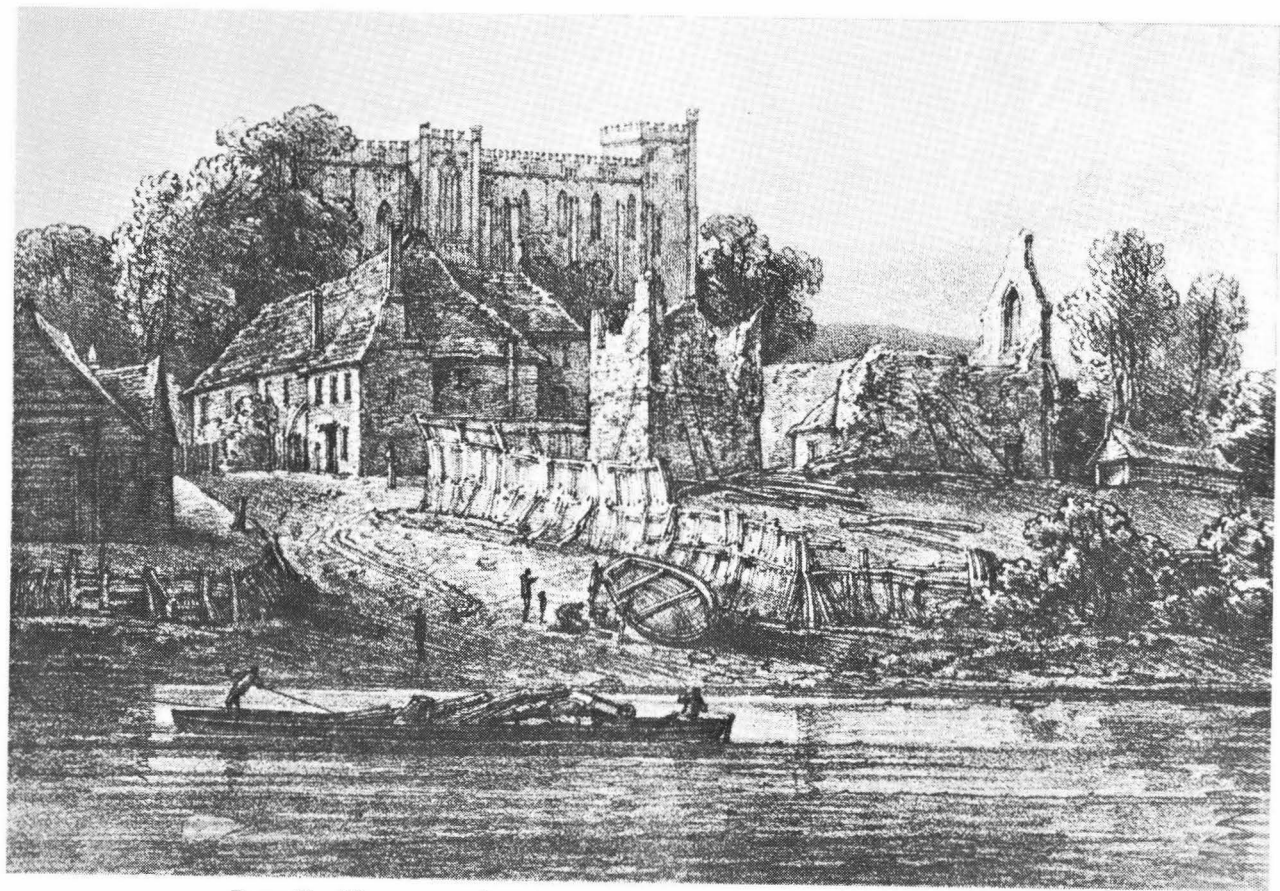


PLATE II. West range and south range shown on print of 1813 by W. P. Sherlock.



PLATE IIIA. West range before clearing, 1965; embrasures on left, the arch of the doorway (see Plate IVB) is right of centre.



PLATE IIIB. General view from Castle Lodge, 1968. North range on right with robbed transept and buttresses, south range on extreme left, west range hidden.



PLATE IVA. North range. Detail of doorway in the north wall. Bolt hole is 4ft above ground level.



PLATE IVB. West range. Doorway after clearing.

that the range had been entirely robbed in the 17th or early 18th century. The most likely candidate for the robbing is the new stone bridge of 1724 yet it is odd that it should be the range furthest from the site of the bridge to suffer most. The 1850 (*sic*) photograph in the Arundel Museum shows nothing but fields in the would-be area of the east range. Excavations could provide the answer but would be hampered by the fact that the supposed line lies almost entirely under the road junction between the Castle Lodge drive and Mill Road. Tierney says that the number of inmates in 1407 had only reached fifteen and that 'it is not improbable that the premature death of the founder had arrested the progress of his benevolent designs and left the foundation incomplete in some of its essential parts.' But on another page in his description he also says: 'Like the college it formed a quadrangle, whereof part was occupied by a chapel and part by the refectory and its offices: the remainder contained the various chambers of the inmates. Round the courtyard there appears to have been a cloister: and the traces of a gateway, at the south-west corner, are yet visible.'¹ The only surviving evidence of a cloister can be seen on the north wall of the south range which would have flanked the courtyard. Here chalk blocks face the wall up to the first floor height where their junction with knapped flints is marked by an ashlar string-course, perhaps the top of the cloister roof. There is no evidence, nor would any be expected, of a cloister alongside the chapel in the north range.

CONSTRUCTION

This is best seen in the upstanding pieces of the north range and confirmed by excavation in the west range. The south range has undergone much alteration and reconstruction, the upper flint part being entirely rebuilt; on the river side, two buttresses flank a large opening, the original character of which is lost. The foundations, core and visible internal faces of the walls are in chalk, but the inner face of the excavated section in the north range was of flint with a plaster coating. The external faces are of small knapped flint, the average width of the walls being three feet. The dressings are in coarse yellow sandstone—Wealden Greensand from the Pulborough area. Thus all the material would be brought in easily from a short distance upriver. Caen stone may have been used although it has not been recognised: a shipload of 30 tuns was imported to Sussex in a Dieppe ship between Michaelmas 1395 and Michaelmas 1396 but unfortunately it is not known into which port.² It would also be interesting if examples of Portland⁷ Stone

¹ Tierney, *op. cit.*, pp. 663, 669.

² R. A. Pelham, 'Some Further Aspects of Sussex Trade during the 14th Century,' in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. 71 (1930), pp. 192, 196; on p. 198 Mr. P. M. Johnston suggests the stone was intended for the Collegiate Church or Maison Dieu at Arundel, or the cloisters in Chichester Cathedral or Amberley Castle.

were to be found as building material (see page 77). The construction is generally similar to that of other late 14th century buildings in particular to that of the nearby Holy Trinity College which was built around a quadrangle: there the collegiate chapel formed the north side with the Master's house attached to its south-east angle; the refectory and kitchens were on the east side and private accommodation for members on the south and west sides with a gateway at the south-west angle.

THE EXCAVATION

The two areas investigated were as follows:—

North Range

A trench was laid out between trees at a point opposite the existing east terminal wall of the south range. Robbed on the surface, the inner or south wall of the north range was located at 2ft. 6in. A floor of glazed tile, much disturbed by a later rubbish pit, was traceable 4ft. below present ground level abutting against the plaster-covered flint facing of the wall. Below the floor level, the flint continued down to 5ft. 3in. Here the foundations of chalk blocks 7in. by 6in. by 6in. were off-set 10in. and continued down to 7ft. 3in. where they rested on natural alluvium. The whole of this part of the site had a 20th century thick capping of rammed chalk. This rendered further trenching by hand impractical and the proposal to erect a temporary building without footings prevented mechanical stripping. During subsequent removal of tree stumps from the site several glazed tiles came to light. A builder's trench located the outer north wall but failed to find evidence for the inner wall (see Fig. 1); this could be explained by the presence of a doorway since the trench being only some 3ft. deep did not reach floor level. In fact, it is opposite to an opening in the outer wall defined on its east side by ashlar dressings with a probable bolt hole (see Plate IVA). When ivy was removed from this same easternmost fragment, the continuity of the chalk core gave evidence of a wall at right-angles on the external side (see Fig. 1 and Plate IIIb); this may be the remains of a transept. The foundations of the main wall were traced still continuing at a point 6ft. east of its visible extent.

Some investigation was made outside the north range in what was then a garden,¹ soon to become a car-park. A trench against the wall revealed the unrobbed base of a buttress 18in. below present ground surface, which incidentally was lower here than inside the range, since there was no rammed chalk capping. Alongside was an area of cobbling. Ten feet to the north a trench to a depth of 6ft. went through clean black soil and recovered little except clay

¹ By kind permission of the tenant Mr. H. Mitchell Jacob. Tradition told of a burial ground in this area; a report of skeletons in the *West Sussex Gazette*, Nov. 1867, ascribed them to a Quaker burial ground.

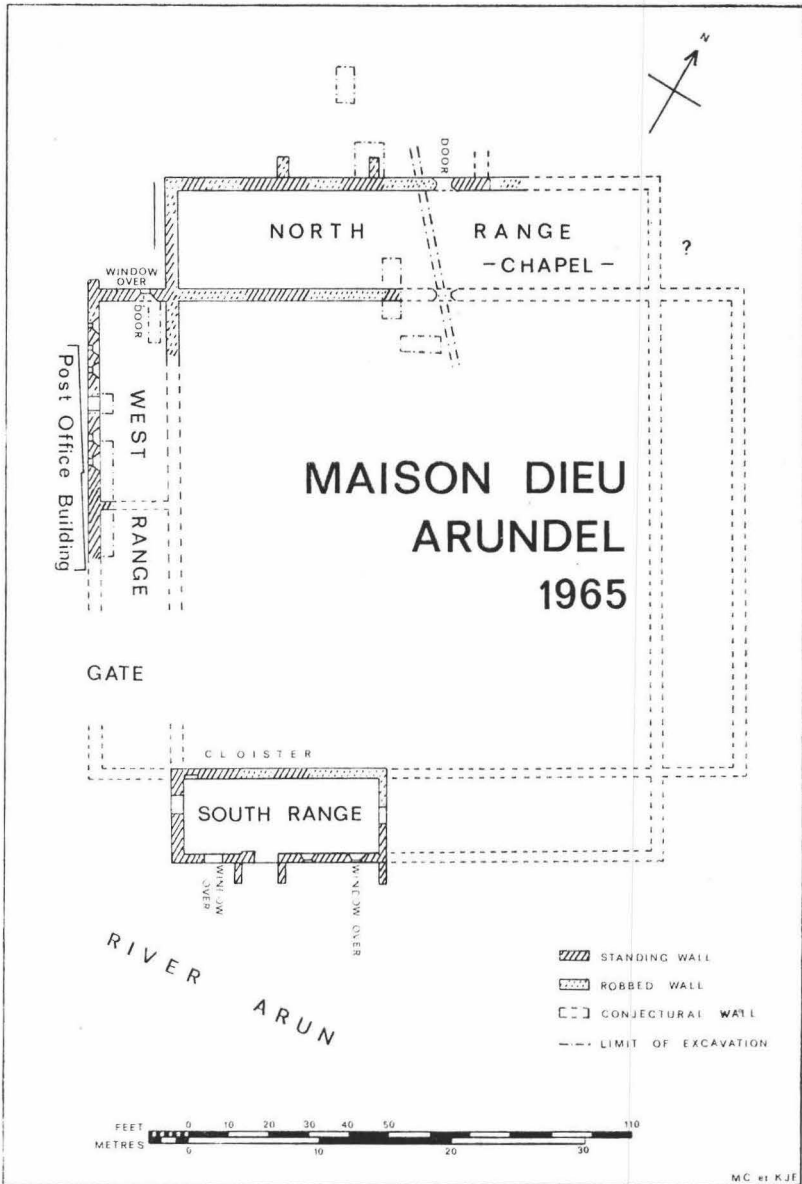


FIG. 1 Plan of building and excavations.

pipes and some 14th century potsherds. Plate III B shows the positions of the buttresses.

To the south of the north range a trench dug within the courtyard failed to reveal any evidence of courtyard flooring or cross walls. Victorian rubbish was found to a depth of 5ft. and a 17th century brick rested amongst chalk blocks on natural alluvium at 6ft.

West Range

The area available for excavation here was defined on one side by the wall of the Post Office, on the other by a public footpath and public convenience (see Plate III A). After tree removal a mechanical excavator was employed to cut a trench abutting up to the north end wall and to remove the overburden from alongside the upstanding fragments of the west wall. The concrete floor of the malthouse (early 18th century to mid 19th century) ran at a foot below the west wall embrasure seats and up to the north door, leaving a height of doorway of 6ft. 9½in.: a tile step dropped to the floor of the malthouse on the north side, where a decorated mid-19th century clay pipe was found in the old soil line overlying the sill. The original step, of mortared flint, lay nearly a foot below the malthouse floor, 7ft. 7in. below the top of the door arch. The width of the doorway was about 3ft. 6in. and 5ft. across the splays (see Plate IV B). On the left side a draw-bar hole 6in. square ran 3ft. 4in. into the wall 3ft. 7in. above the step; on the right side the companion hole was 4in. deep. At first floor level, 8ft. above the door-head, a fine three-light, arch-headed window occupied the whole width of the range, with fragments of lead strip still lodged in the masonry, but unfortunately the centre of this wall collapsed in a gale in December 1965. A section abutting the doorway was cut by mechanical excavator; the series of chalk levels overlying the natural alluvium, which occurred at 2ft. below the mortared flint step, cannot be related to floor levels contemporary with the Maison Dieu. All evidence of the ground plan showing how the large doorway related to the small partitioned study rooms to which the embrasures belong seems to have been destroyed, neither could the position of a staircase be established. It was only possible, by mechanical excavator, to prove chalk foundations of the inner or east wall of this range at a depth of 2ft. 6in. and at a point ten feet south of its junction with the north range; beyond, its course was obscured by the public convenience. In fact work throughout the west range was severely hampered by the very confined situation.

An 18th century brick hearth occupied the north-west corner of the range and the west wall had been altered by filling up the series of embrasures with flint packing, with the exception of the northernmost which had been reconstructed as a doorway (see Plate V A: note the re-used stone in position as the door jamb). The exact measurements and details of this embrasure cannot therefore be given. The others vary slightly and are as follows. Working

southwards, embrasures 2 and 3 were close together, 4ft. 10in. wide over the splay, narrowing to 2ft. at the window. Each had an external shutter-rebate with a 6in. drop step in the centre and side rebates of 1½in., but little remained of the surround of no. 3, only a very worn ridge along the sill; the front edge was chamfered.

A considerable gap separated embrasure 4 from 3. This is occupied by a wall of chalk blocks and includes a doorway subsequently blocked. A deep trench here revealed modern rubbish and no foundations, although the spacing would allow for another two embrasures.

Embrasures 4 and 5 were 5ft. 4in. wide across the splay, with a chamfered arriss. Both had shutter-rebates: that of no. 4 was 2ft. 3½in. across a very worn surface; and at a height of 2ft. 2½in. above the seat there is a very deep horizontal slot on either side of the embrasure and apparently running the total width from front to back (see Plate VB). The one stone of the south side bears a similar slot in embrasure 5, but the opposing stone does not remain in its place. It measures 2ft. 7in. in front of the shutter rebate which has bottom and side slots.

A three-foot wide trench was removed by hand from a point opposite embrasure 4 southwards for 29ft. to the pavement. Massive chalk foundations went to a depth of 6 to 7ft. below the sill of the embrasures. The floor of the Maison Dieu is presumed to have lain at 2ft. 6in. below the sill but the levels here were of later re-deposited rubbish and no facing remained on the west wall. South of embrasure 5 nothing survived above ground but at 7ft. from the embrasure, ashlar blocks with a vertical rebate for a door jamb appeared in the line of the west wall (see extreme left of trench in Plate VB). A chalk wall 2ft. wide crossed the trench at right-angles, the doorway having been blocked. On its north side this transverse wall overlay a rubbish pit containing a mixed range of pottery from the 12th to 15th centuries (see Fig. 2, nos. 7 and 8). To the south, the levels were undisturbed; the west wall was of ashlar and retained its mortar facing to a depth of 4ft. 6in. below the embrasure sills. There was a series of occupation and destruction levels, the most interesting at a depth of 4ft. below ground level. This was composed of much mortar and included numerous animal bones, presumably food refuse, large fragments of charcoal and pieces of bronze. Fragments of red glass, a lobed cup and three English jettons were closely associated: the jettons are dated to 1310 but lobed cups are usually considered 15th century. The jettons are very worn and could conceivably have been in circulation for a hundred years. Originally this room must have lain a step or two below the floor-level of the rooms to which the embrasures belong, and as such it must have been almost a cellar, used for storage purposes. Its proximity to the gatehouse would further suggest this. What is remarkable is that it was not rendered useless by flooding: during

the excavations when the River Arun was at high tide it was experienced that water seeped into the trench. It seems likely that early in its existence the room was allowed to fill with rubbish and the doorway was blocked, thus sealing off the room.

The presence of earlier pottery and rubbish is to be expected on a town site and is borne out by Tierney's statement (see above) '*... as soon as the ground could be prepared.*' Removal of buildings and levelling of the ground would be necessary over the large area that the new establishment was to cover. One wonders as to the nature of the previous occupation in view of the finding of late 13th century imported French pottery amongst the re-deposited rubbish.¹

DESCRIPTION OF FINDS NOT ILLUSTRATED

Jettons: by S. E. Rigold, F.S.A.

- 1) Thin Æ blank, pierced in centre, diam. 19mm.
- 2) Ditto, diam. 18mm.

Such blank pieces are sometimes found associated with English 'sterling' jettons, though this instance is probably the closest association recorded (1 and 2 were found together with 3). They were obviously used with proper jettons, and conform to the English regulation that they should be pierced to avoid being mistaken for coins, smaller continental pieces being occasionally pierced on importation.

- 3) English 'sterling' type, diam. 21mm., pierced obv. normal sterling head in border of pellets, rev. cross moline, one pellet in each angle, border of pellets. cf. Barnard,² Pl. 1, no. 2. The crown is bifoliate, i.e. not earlier than pennies of Fox class X, but the central ornament is not quite clear though not particularly tall. Apparently nearest to Fox class XI, but may approach XIII or XIV. —Date 1310s or possibly 1320s.

Red Glass. Fragments of opaque red glass from a bottle-shaped vessel with flaring mouth. There is one piece of a simple bead rim, and the average thickness of the glass is 1mm. On some pieces the surface is decayed but not necessarily burnt. Presumably it was imported. Mr. G. H. Kenyon, F.S.A., states it is probably impossible to identify Wealden glass away from the district until the mid-16th century.

Rouen pottery. A small body sherd in hard whitish-grey fabric from the shoulder of a Rouen jug. The distinctive zonal decoration is present, red slip next to white slip, with, at the junction, an applied vertical strip of double line rectangular rouletting; the whole is glazed with a clear lead glaze. Date 1280 to 1320.³

¹ Sections and a full set of photographs have been retained at Worthing Museum where they can be examined. The finds also are deposited there but will be shown in Arundel when possible.

² F. P. Barnard, *The Casting Counter and the Counting Board* (1916).

³ Identified by Dr. G. C. Dunning, F.S.A. See K. J. Barton, 'Medieval Pottery at Rouen,' in *Arch. Journ.*, vol. 122 (1966), pl. VIIb, p. 79.

West Sussex Ware. A variety of green glazed sherds was found, including fragments with applied strips of brown slip, and one of white slip.

Painted Ware. Several pieces with white painted lines and splash glazing.

Floor Tiles. A number of floor tiles was found, nearly all from the north range. The majority were plain green glazed tiles, 5in. by 5in. and $\frac{3}{8}$ in. thick; others were yellow or dark green glazed. Some have leaf shaped key holes on the under-side. The larger tiles are usual in the 15th century but the 4in. size can extend right through from the early 13th century. The patterned examples, all with a slightly depressed design filled with white slip, are figured.

DESCRIPTION OF ILLUSTRATED MATERIAL (FIG. 2)

No. 1. Glazed floor tile. (Ponsonby, no. 14),¹ border pattern, white on red ground, 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. The 4in. size occurs at Poynings church and elsewhere; a 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. size occurs at Shulbrede Priory. Not keyed. There seems to be a fault on the stamp.

No. 2. Glazed floor tile. (Ponsonby, no. 37), gyronny pattern, 4in., white on red ground, the glaze worn off. A common pattern. Not keyed.

No. 3. Glazed floor tile. (Ponsonby, no. 32), white on red with a green glaze, a scroll of carnations enclosed in a circular band, 4in. There are more dots in the circle than in the example figured at Shulbrede. Termed the Lewes group, not keyed. A fragment of the same pattern has recently been found at Bury² and may have been robbed from the Maison Dieu at the Dissolution.

No. 4. Glazed floor tile. (Ponsonby, pl. VII, no. 6), 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in., white on red with a dark green glaze, a variation of the vine under a canopy with the head of a devil in the entwined loop. Lord Ponsonby records this pattern from St. Stephen's College, Westminster, and Reigate.

No. 5. Lobed cup, a handle and rim fragment. These have recently been discussed in the Hangleton report³ but this example seems to be better paralleled by one at Winchester.⁴ In 1968 a handle fragment was found at Tortington where incidentally the Hospital held property.

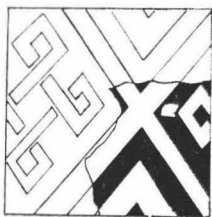
No. 6. Lobed cup, rim fragment.

¹ Lord Ponsonby of Shulbrede, 'Monastic Paving Tiles,' in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. 75 (1934), pp. 19-64.

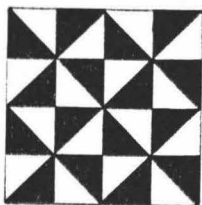
² K. J. Evans, 'Worthing Museum Notes 1965 and 1966,' in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. 106 (1968), p. 136.

³ J. G. Hurst and D. G. Hurst, 'Excavations at Hangleton Pt. II,' in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. 102 (1964), pp. 127-129 fig. 10, no. 314-316.

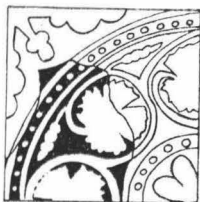
⁴ B. Cunliffe, *Excavations at Winchester*, vol. 1 (1964), p. 94, fig. 27, no. 7.



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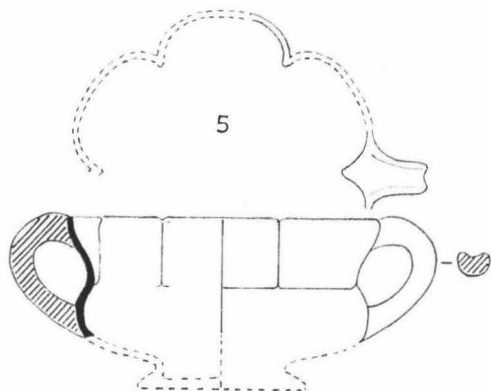
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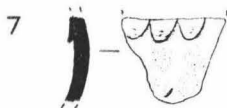
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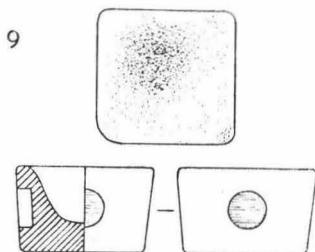
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FIG. 2. Floor tiles 1-4; pottery 5-8; mortar 9. (All $\frac{1}{4}$).



PLATE VA. West range. North section of west wall, with malthouse doorway made in an embrasure.



PLATE VB. West range. West wall looking south from Plate above. On extreme left in trench as ashlar blocks of the 'cellar.'



PLATE VI. Apothecary's mortar from Maison Dieu, Arundel.
Top view and side view (scale $\frac{1}{7}$) (See Fig. 2 no. 9 and p. 77)

No. 7. *West Sussex Ware*, neck sherd, pink and grey sandwich sandy fabric, green glazed with applied leaf-shaped pellets of clay. This is fairly similar to a fragment from Goring.¹

No. 8. *Rim*. Thumbed on top, in grey gritted cooking-pot fabric. Although not worn, this must be residual since the form is normally considered to be 12th century.² It was associated with no. 7 and West Sussex Ware sherds generally, as well as cooking pot fragments with sagging bases.

THE APOTHECARY'S MORTAR FROM MAISON DIEU, ARUNDEL

By G. C. DUNNING, D.LIT., F.S.A.

Fig. 2, no. 9 and Plate VI

The miniature stone mortar was found during repairs to Maison Dieu, in 1937. It is recorded as having been built up into one of the walls,³ which suggests that it dates some time after the founding of the Hospital in 1396; probably it is 15th century.

The mortar was submitted to Dr. F. W. Anderson, formerly Chief Palaeontologist to the Geological Survey of Great Britain, who has kindly identified it as a very fine-grained, hard Portland stone. In southern England there are a limited number of areas in Dorset where this stone was quarried during the middle ages, extending in a belt across the south coastal strip of the county; in the Isle of Portland itself, in a strip north of Weymouth, and also in the Isle of Purbeck where the stone is generally harder than from Portland. The Purbeck area became renowned earlier for a large-scale stone industry (particularly Purbeck marble) than did Portland, whence stone was used in the 12th century only locally in churches, though in the 14th century it exported some as far as Exeter and London.⁴

The rare use of Portland stone for the specialised purpose of an apothecary's mortar is thus noteworthy, in contrast to the frequent use of Purbeck marble for the large domestic mortars. Dr. Anderson comments that the great advantage of a limestone as against a sandstone for this purpose would be the absence of small particles of quartz, which would not be acceptable in an apothecary's

¹ K. J. Barton, 'Worthing Museum Notes for 1963,' in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. 103 (1965), p. 93, fig. 3, no. 5.

² See E. W. Holden, 'Excavations at Hangleton Pt. I,' in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. 101 (1963), p. 114, fig. 17, no. 3. Also A. E. Wilson, 'Late Saxon and Early Medieval Pottery in Chichester,' *ibid.*, vol. 91 (1953), p. 155, fig. 8.

³ *Sussex Notes and Queries*, vol. 6 (1937), p. 185.

⁴ E. M. Jope in *Medieval Archaeology*, vol. 8 (1964), p. 102.

preparations. It may be added that the selection of Portland stone for a mortar is paralleled in the Roman period, when mortars of Purbeck marble were also in common use over much of Roman Britain. The sole instance known of Roman date is a mortar of this fine-grained stone, similar in size and shape to those of the shelly marble, from an occupation site near Gallows Gore, Worth Matravers, in the Isle of Purbeck.

The mortar is 2.8in. square at the rim, and 1.75in. high. The flat sides slope inwards to the base, which is 2.55in. square. In the middle of each side is a circular sinking, 0.8in. in diameter and 0.3 to 0.4in. deep, apparently cut by a tubular drill. The mortar is complete, apart from abrasions round the top and on the corners. The inside surface is worn smooth.

The mortar is without parallel in the medieval period, either for its small size or for the sinkings in each side; these would serve as holds for a thumb and finger, and thus steady the mortar in use.

The Arundel mortar has been examined by Mr. Leslie G. Matthews, F.S.A., author of the standard work on the *History of Pharmacy in Britain* (1962). Mr. Matthews kindly identified it as an apothecary's mortar, used with a small pestle for pulverising herbs or spices, or possibly in compounding small quantities of ointment that required an admixture of powder and fat as an excipient.

In medieval times, from the 13th century onwards, mortars of Purbeck marble and to a less extent of other stones were in general use for domestic purposes. These mortars have a circular bowl, varying from about 7in. to 15in. in diameter.¹ Many show signs of considerable wear, either for pulverising (which wears down the middle of the base, and eventually may break it), or for grinding (which undercuts the side of the mortar).

Mortars for pharmaceutical purposes were usually of metal, bronze or brass, or iron. These mortars ranked as valuable items of the dispensary, and are recorded in the inventories. The earliest of the extant mortars of metal date from the late 13th or early 14th century. Occasionally the mortars are shown in use in illustrations in medieval manuscripts. One of the most famous of the medical herbals, in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, depicts a doctor's dispensary of the early 13th century.² An assistant, sitting on the floor, is engaged in pounding with two large pestles in a massive mortar between his legs. These pestles, presumably of metal, are shaped differently at the two ends; one end is expanded and slightly convex, for use in pulverising, and the other is hemispherical, for grinding. No example of a medieval pestle, either of metal or of stone, appears to be known in this country.

¹ *Medieval Archaeology*, vol. 5 (1961), pp. 279-84.

² D. Hartley and M. M. Elliott, *Life and Work of the People of England, 11th to 13th Centuries* (1931), p. 33, pl. 28, b and c.

A DISCOVERY OF TWO UNUSUAL OBJECTS IN NEW SHOREHAM

By K. JANE EVANS

Cresset stones are not frequently found in excavations either casually or on archaeological sites. Yet this basic lighting appliance must once have been common and when no longer fulfilling its original function, the stone would be salvaged for re-use as building material. Unfortunately the circumstances of discovery of the New Shoreham cresset and jug did not provide information as to the nature of the deposit in which they were found.

In March 1968, service trenches were dug along the west side of Messrs. F. W. Woolworth & Co. Ltd. (now occupied by the same) on the north side of Shoreham High Street in West Sussex (National Grid Reference TQ 214051). The stone lay upside down at a depth of four or five feet in what was described as clay. It would appear that at the same time a tubular-spouted jug was discovered; its association with the cresset stone is not clear and it was not reported until June.¹ In view of the lack of stratigraphic evidence it is not possible to say whether the trenches cut through a medieval rubbish pit or a medieval cellar; the builders did not consider it to be a well, nor had they noticed walls. There has not yet been a type section showing the medieval layers in Shoreham. Only occasionally a few medieval sherds of West Sussex Ware have been recovered² and no imported ceramics have been reported previously although considerable trade would have evolved around the port. Mr. Packham³ in his description of the Marlipins (now a property of the Sussex Archaeological Trust) stated that the medieval floor level was only 9 inches lower than the road to-day.

The Marlipins, lying 50 yards east of the recent find-spot, is the only medieval building still remaining in Shoreham High Street and is considered to be the Custom House situated in the market place. Originally designed in the 12th century it was rebuilt in the mid-14th century with its front wall chequer-work of knapped flints and Caen stone; three of the stones show edge-roll mouldings. Mr.

¹ Acknowledgements: The following persons were concerned in the recovery of the cresset: Messrs. L. G. Stevens (Shoreham Council Building Inspector), F. M. Goddard, F. Witten; and for the jug: the late Mrs. K. Allensby and Messrs. C. J. Ainsworth, F. Waterhouse and J. Hale (Branch Manager of Woolworths). The generous co-operation of the Head Office of Messrs. F. W. Woolworth & Co. Ltd., has ensured that these items will be preserved for posterity. The general photograph of the cresset is by D. G. Upton Esq., the detail and that of the jug by Worthing Museum.

² The writer is indebted to Mr. F. Witten for the information that he has recorded the finding of medieval sherds in a rubbish pit at a depth of 8ft. on the S. side of the High Street just W. of the Town Hall.

³ See A. B. Packham, 'The Marlipins, New Shoreham,' in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol 65 (1924), pp. 158-195.

Packham states 'If any erection other than the original Norman one provided the materials for the rebuilt front, it is more likely to be the Carmelite Priory'. The Carmelite Priory, situated in the approximate area of the footbridge, was recorded as being in imminent danger of erosion from the sea or river in the mid-14th century, hence when vacated by the friars the building stone would be salvaged. The size of the cresset block of Caen stone closely corresponds with the size of Caen stone blocks on the frontage of the Marlipins; perhaps originally they were all part of one consignment destined for the Carmelite Priory. Be that as it may, it would be more likely that the cresset was made for, and used by, a religious establishment such as the Priory, rather than a secular building. There were other religious establishments in Shoreham but none apparently so prosperous.

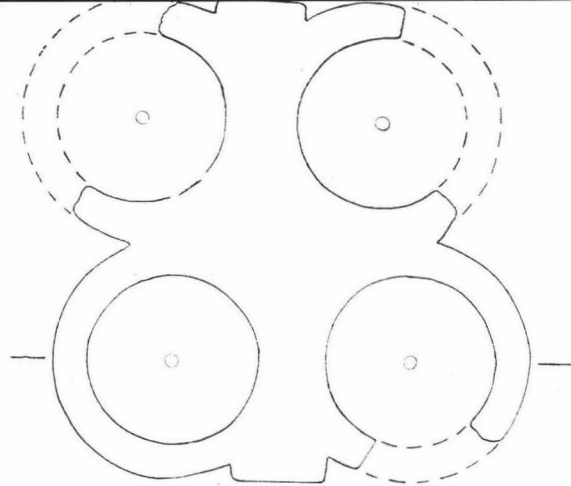
An alternative source for the cresset is the Church of St. Mary de Haura where Caen stone is abundantly used in the Norman work.

The two objects were probably deposited in the mid-14th century, the jug after a long useful life attested by its well-worn condition, the cresset after a long life, having been salvaged and used ultimately perhaps for some secondary purpose.

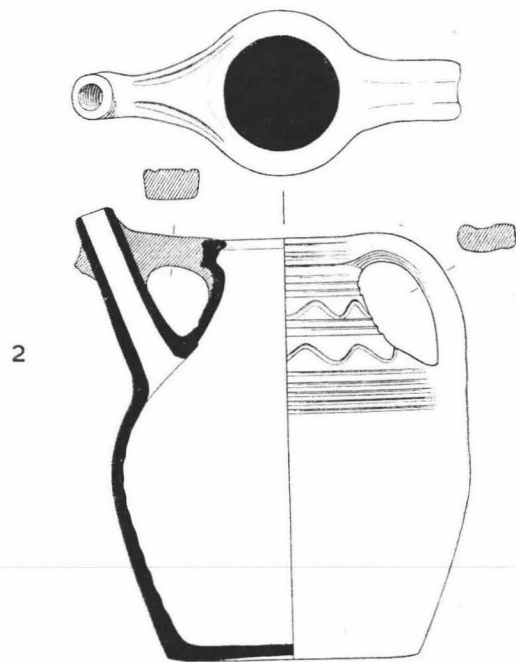
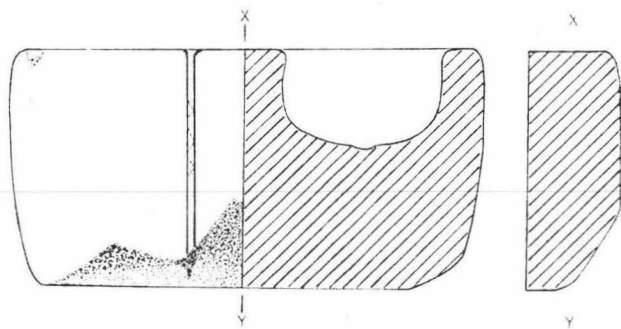
CRESSET STONE (Fig. 1, 1 and Plate I)

This four-holed cresset has been worked from a square block of stone $9\frac{7}{8}$ in. by $9\frac{7}{8}$ in. with a height of 5in. The corners have been rounded and the overall design is quatrefoil with sharp cusps separating the cups on two sides. The writer proposes to call this a 'quatrefoil type' to distinguish it from a simple square or rectangular stone, the sides of which have received a little or no shaping. On the other two sides a vertical rib has been left in the place of the cusp. The object suffered recent damage, as can be seen from the photograph: one cup is complete, the second almost complete, two are half complete.

The upper surface is ground flat and smooth but is not quite parallel to the base: it shows several cuts which may represent marking-out lines. A minute pit near the centre of the stone does not seem to relate to the use of compasses for marking out the cups. The sides are not vertical; they exhibit entasis, bulging slightly before tapering to the base. The hemispherical cups have a diameter of $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. and a depth of 2in.; they are well finished with some signs of chisel cuts; the rims are fractionally undercut and the rounded bottom has a slight dimple surrounded by what seems to be a trio of holes. The cups are not exactly symmetrical to each other and to the ribs: each side rib is 2in. wide and the smooth-ground flat front rises vertically but not quite four-square from a rough chiselled triangular chamfer inset against the lower part of the cusp. The ribs project $\frac{1}{4}$ in. to $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in relief, though they do not extend



i



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FIG. I. Medieval objects from New Shoreham.

1. Cresset Stone (4).

2. Jug imported from Saintonge (4).

beyond the outer curves of the cups. A remarkable feature is a fragment of incised chevron decoration comprising four apexes (see Plate Ib): this can be detected in favourable light on the side of one rib. Maybe the decoration is unfinished, or maybe it is an indication of the mason's technique. The basal surface of the cresset is not flat, a slanting surface being chiselled from one rounded corner and partially from a second; the other two cup-bases are broken and missing.

As evidence of use, the cups are blackened by smoke, one pair more than the other and the black is in the upper part of the cup as would be expected on a well-fed lamp. That one side is burnt more than the other is perhaps proof of a draught. There are no signs of the cresset having been set in mortar on a base.

The stone has been identified as Caen stone by Mr. F. G. Dimes of the Geological Survey, South Kensington, to whom the writer is greatly indebted. The medieval trade in Caen stone from Normandy as exhibited by mortars of late 13th century date has received recent attention in a study by Dr. Gerald Dunning.¹ It was imported into Sussex as a building material throughout the medieval period down to as late as 1398.²

The nearest parallel in shape for the Shoreham cresset is one from Waverley Abbey, the first Cistercian foundation (1128 A.D.) in Britain, which was excavated at the beginning of the century.³ Unfortunately the present whereabouts of the three cressets found is not known but a photograph shows one quatrefoil example. A quatrefoil cresset at Winchester with four cups has four filled-in side handles of the type found on 14th century mortars. Decoration is unusual but also at Winchester is a single pedestal lamp which has incised decoration in herringbone pattern and zig-zag or rough chevron form.⁴ In Sussex a fragment was found in excavations in 1967 at Bramber Castle, only four miles away. This comprises part of one cup of cuspidal type, closely similar to a section of the Shoreham cresset; it also is of Caen stone.⁵

It is difficult to assign a date to the Shoreham example. By comparison with examples of dated mortars, Dr. Dunning states that the side rib is a 13th century form.

¹ See G. C. Dunning 'Medieval Pottery and Stone Mortars imported to Aardenburg from England and France' in *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek*, 15-16 (1965-66), pp. 207-210, and distribution map, fig. 17.

² See R. A. Pelham, 'Some Further Aspects of Sussex Trade during the 14th century,' in *Sussex Arch. Coll.* vol. 71 (1930), pp. 192, ff.

³ See Harold Brakspear, *Waverley Abbey*, publ. by Surrey Arch. Soc. (1906), p. 86, pl. 14.

⁴ See B. Cunliffe (ed.), *Winchester Excavations 1949-60*, p. 153, fig. 51, pl. IX.

⁵ Acknowledgement due to the excavators Messrs. K. J. Barton, F.S.A. and E. W. Holden, F.S.A. The fragment with the other finds is deposited at Worthing Museum.

A GENERAL NOTE ON CRESSET STONES

The principle of the floatwick lamp is still in use in primitive areas to-day, being slower burning than a reed. The metal crusie adheres to the same idea but has the advantage of being more capable of mass production, more portable and suspendable. A stone cresset would normally be set low, on a base, or require a specially constructed ledge: in the last case the cresset is generally part of the construction of the wall, either as a lamp niche complete with chimney,¹ or projecting as a corbel cresset (see Dearham).

The word comes from the old French 'croiset'—meaning a cruet, pot or crucible, and the Old Dutch 'kruyse'—a cup or pot. Much has been written on early lighting appliances.² It will suffice to say here that there is little definitive evidence of dates of medieval cressets and no typology which serves much useful purpose except convenience. They would appear to be closely connected with abbeys and monasteries, especially Cistercian sites, those in churches having been frequently brought from such places. Dates may be inferred: for example, two single varieties in London Museum have been carved from 12th century capitals; in 1365 'a cresset with 15 holes and four lamps was maintained in the church of Chalgrove, Oxon'; finally, the Rites of Durham written in 1593, describes three cressets, one in the Church itself, the other two in the Dormitory: 'In either end of the same Dortor was a four square stone, wherein was a dozen cressets wrought in either stone, being ever filled and supplied with the cooke as they needed, to give light to the monks and novices, when they rose to their mattens at midnight, and for their other necessary uses'. Thus they served a utilitarian purpose and were not solely for the burning of a Holy Light. It seems more likely that Holy Lights would be placed in permanent positions such as are provided by the lamp niches: for example, one such is situated close beside the Saxon crucifix in the outside west wall of the south transept of Romsey Abbey.

A survival of the traditional cresset can be seen in the tailors' candlesticks of the 17th century, of which there are several in the Museum of Antiquities at Edinburgh. These are in the shape of

¹ The writer thanks Mr. D. B. Hague for drawing attention to the set of four lamp niches in the crypt of Hexham Abbey which date to 674 A.D.

² Some references: Rev. T. Lees, 'Cresset Stones' in *Arch Journ.* vol. 39 (1882) p. 390, ff. (includes details of Swedish examples). J. R. Allen, 'Archaeology of Lighting Appliances,' in *Proc. Soc. of Ant. of Scot.* vol. 22 (1887), p. 84. Dr. A. C. Fryer, 'Cresset Stones' in *Proc. of the Clifton Antiquarian Club* vol. 4 (1897-9), pp. 293-9. A. G. Langdon, 'Cornish Cresset Stones,' in *The Reliquary* n.s. vol. 11 (1905), pp. 57-61. J. Charles Cox, *English Church Fittings, Furniture and Accessories* (1923) p. 230. F. W. Robins, *The Story of the Lamp* (1939), pp. 78, 89. Most of the references quote from 'The Rites of Durham' (published in *Surtees Soc.* vol. 15 pp. 2, 3). The writer with the co-operation of owners has compiled a card-index of multiple cressets and would be pleased to hear of further examples.

Roman altars and one bears the date 1634. In the top are four small cups for the candles and a central larger hollow into which the trimmings of the well-snuffed wick were dropped. It is worth remarking on their apparent similarity with the cresset found in the ruins of Furness Abbey. In the other known medieval examples the hollows are much the same general size.

Stones with a single cresset or cup were more common and need to be considered along with pottery and metal lamp forms. In shape they range from simple conical cups, tall waisted varieties, pedestal forms, to those made from re-used capitals.

A rough grouping of medieval multiple cressets may be found useful for reference:—

Type I

Multiple cups in a rectangular stone:

- (a) 2 cups: Romsey
- (b) 4 cups: Marhamchurch, Wool
- (c) 5 cups: Furness, Kensey, Newtonhall, Salisbury, Wareham
- (d) 9 cups: York
- (e) 12 cups: Westow (on reverse side of a Saxon rood)
- (f) 16 cups: Calder
- (g) 30 cups: Brecon

Type II

Multiple cups in a circular stone:

- (a) 3 cups: Llanthony
- (b) 7 cups: Lewannick
- (c) 8 cups: Collingham

Type III

Multiple cups in a cuspidal stone:

- (a) Trefoil (3 cups): Romsey
- (b) Quatrefoil (4 cups): Waverley, Winchester, Shoreham

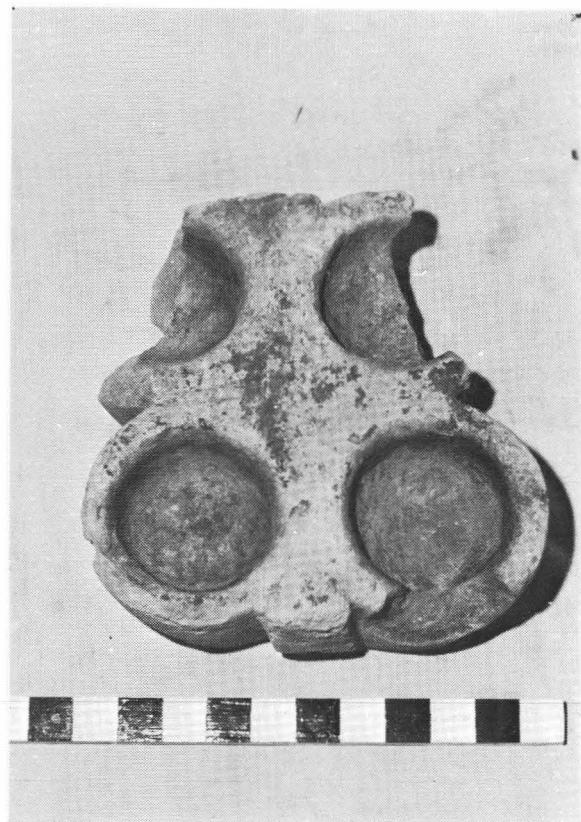
There is considerable variation in the profile of the cups. These can be hemispherical, or flat-bottomed with vertical or slanting sides, or a mixture of these two forms (as at Lewannick). In addition there may or may not be a central dimple or pivot-hole which may be shallow, deep or punctured right through to the base (Romsey, York). This feature may be integral in the manufacture of the cup.

TUBULAR-SPOUTED JUG IMPORTED FROM SAINTONGE

By G. C. DUNNING, D.LIT., F.S.A.

Fig. 1, 2 and Plate II

Complete jug, $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. high and $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter at the bulge. The form is ovoid without change of profile from neck to body, and the base is broad and plain. The fabric is whitish, with numerous stone granules, mostly colourless; the surface is buff, grading to light grey on the lower part and base. Dark green glaze covers the whole of the upper part, the spout and handle, and the body nearly to the base.

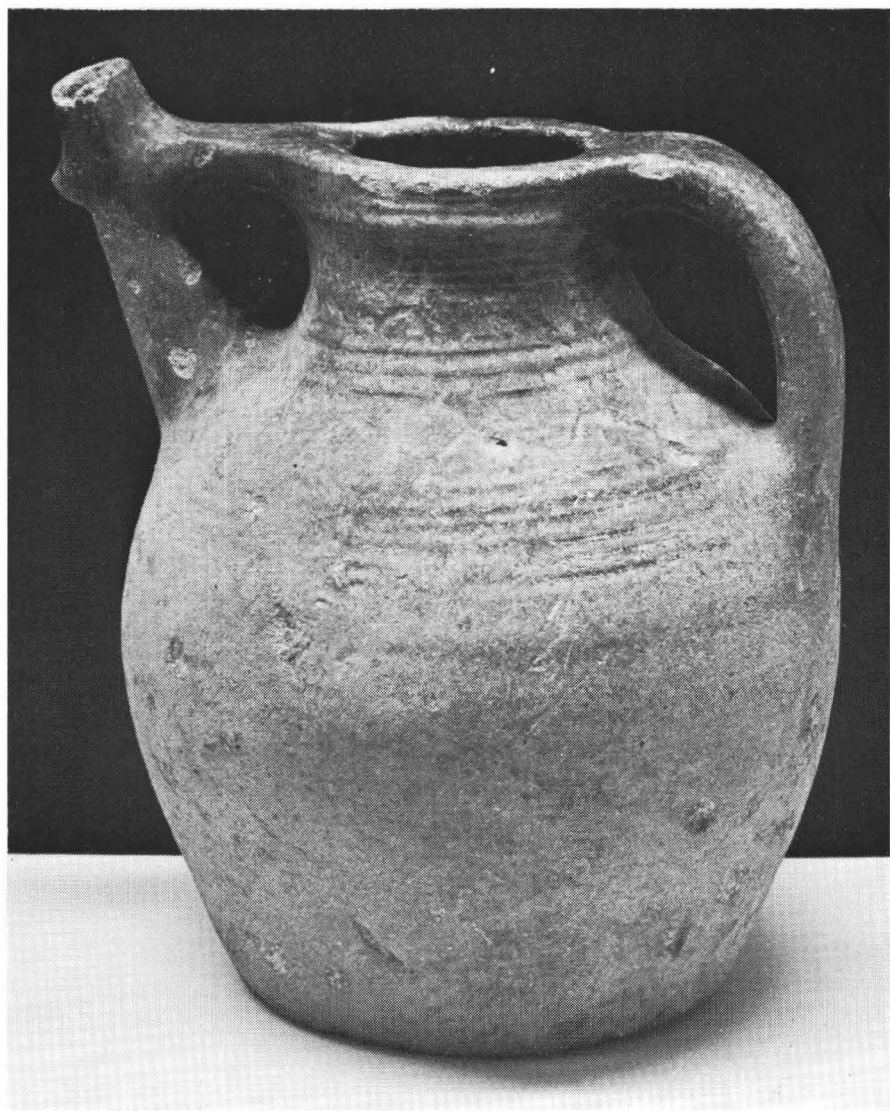


A. Top view



B. Detail showing chevron marks at right edge.

Cresset Stone found at Shoreham



Imported jug found at Shoreham (3)

The rim is flat-topped, with an internal beading and a collar 0.6in. deep on the outside. The tubular spout projects above rim-level, and is held to the collar by a broad, flat strut. On the front of the spout opposite the strut is a short applied strip. The upper end of the handle is attached to the collar; it is thick, rectangular in section, with a slight groove down the back.

The decoration on the collar and upper part of the body is in four horizontal bands of shallow girth-grooves and two wavy lines, all incised by a blunt point. Similar grooves follow the edges on the top of the strut.

The jug shows signs of considerable usage. The edge of the base is abraded by wear, and a hole about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. across was made $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. from the basal angle. This hole was repaired by a plug of lead, flush with the inside surface and so poured in molten against a pad of clay, but projecting and left rough on the outside.¹

Although tubular-spouted jugs were made at several pottery-centres in England, mainly in the midlands and north,² and were distributed southwards as far as Kent,³ the jug found at Shoreham is not one of these but an import from south-west France. Two comparable jugs with collared rims and overall glaze are recorded from Saintonge.⁴ One jug is decorated with bands of combed wavy lines on the collar and body and has a strap handle, and so more closely resembles the jug from Shoreham. The other jug is plain, and the handle is twisted; these features it shares with a green-glazed jug found in Castle Road, Scarborough,⁵ which in body-form is unlike the locally-made jugs and is probably also an import from Saintonge.

The short strip across the spout of the Shoreham jug is a curious feature known on another Saintonge type, the pitcher with large bridge-spout. It does not occur on the spouts of green-glazed jugs and polychrome ware, which form the bulk of the pottery exported from this region to Britain. Four examples of pitchers with a strip in this position have been found in England; two at Chester,⁶ one at

¹ Cf. the lead plug in the body of a tripod-pitcher from Winchester, *Arch. Journ.*, vol. 119 (1962), p. 190, fig. 10.

² Distribution map in *Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Arch. Soc.*, n.s., vol. 55 (1956), p. 78, fig. 5. See also *Arch. Journ.*, vol. 121 (1964), p. 106, fig. 9, 24, and *Med. Arch.*, vol. 10 (1966), p. 160, fig. 67, 2 and 5.

³ *Arch. Cant.*, vol. 69 (1955), p. 144, fig. 5.

⁴ *Arch. Journ.*, vol. 120 (1963), p. 211, fig. 4, 13-14. A few tubular-spouted jugs, differing in form and decoration from those in Saintonge, are known also in northern France; e.g. from the early 13th-century kiln at Argentan, *Annales de Normandie*, vol. 17 (1967), p. 72, fig. 8, 5, and at Paris, *Med. Arch.*, vol. 10 (1966), p. 72, fig. 25, 38.

⁵ J. G. Rutter, *Medieval Pottery in the Scarborough Museum* (1961), p. 14, fig. 2, 7/3.

⁶ *Journ. Chester Arch. Soc.*, vol. 38 (1950), p. 32, fig. 13, 3, and a bridge-spout from Newgate Street.

Worcester¹ and another at Southampton. It is possible that the purpose of the strips was to prevent the spout slipping when held against the rim of another vessel, and so avoid spilling the contents in pouring.

English jugs with tubular spouts belong to the late 13th and early 14th centuries. It is likely that the Saintonge examples also date to this period, and this is certainly so for the long animal-headed spout on the polychrome jug found at Exeter.² As this type of spout appears to be exceptional on the green-glazed pottery of Saintonge, the early 14th century rather than earlier may be suggested for the Shoreham jug.

¹ *Trans. Worcs. Arch. Soc.*, 3rd ser. vol. 1 (1965-67), p. 45, fig. 1.

² *Archaeologia*, vol. 83 (1933), p.130, fig. 15 and pl. XXIX.

THE LEWES MARKET

By VERENA SMITH

The first volume of the Lewes Town Book records that in 1564 the Constables, Richard Mall and John Puckell, received a legacy for the Borough from the executors of Mrs. Alice Holter, widow. She bequeathed £10, 'towards the buylding of A markett howse within the burrough of Lewes; Soo alwayes that the said markett howse were buylded within serten yeeres next followeng'. This caused a certain amount of difficulty among the Twelve,¹ as the record shows, 'And forasmuch as the said sum of X li ys not sufficyent for the buylding of a markett house. . . . they of the fellowship whose names are heerunder wrytten . . . have given towards the same the sum' of X li' (See Plate I).

This Market House was situated in the High Street, between Castle Gate Lane and St. Martin's Lane. George Randoll shows it in his map of Lewes in 1620; it appears as a small circular arcaded building. As no contemporary drawings seem to have survived the exact appearance is a matter for conjecture. A Market House stood on this spot until the latter part of the 18th century, when it was decided that the building was inconvenient and therefore must go.

One of the possessions of the Borough was Gabriel, the old bell which had hung in the church of St. Nicholas, later called the Broken Church, which stood where the War Memorial now is. On Tuesday, 26 September 1786 a meeting of the Inhabitants of the Borough was held in the Sessions House² 'touching the Expediency or Inexpediency of selling the Old Bell' W. Lee was in the Chair, and at the close of the meeting it was 'Resolved unanimously that the Bell be not sold—also that the Bell and Clock be put up in a Tower to be erected for that purpose'. The tower was to be on or near the spot where the Clock House formerly stood (that is near St. Michael's church) and a subscription was to be opened forthwith. (Plate IIA). There seems to have been a certain amount of apathy among the townsfolk, for a note in the Town Book in the handwriting of William Lee states: 'The above officers obtained . . . a plan for the intended Tower but their term of office being nearly over and their successors wanting Spirit to follow them up with effect, they were neglected and consequently proved a Nullity.' (Plate IIB).

About this time the inhabitants of Lewes were concerned over the state and inconvenience of their markets. The Market House was inadequate, and the Open Market for beasts held in the High Street, at the top of St. Mary's Lane and down towards Market Street

¹ Book of John Rowe: 'The Society called the Twelve are never so few as 12 nor more than 24 . . . consisting of the wealthier and discreeter sorte of the Townsmen,' *Sussex Record Society*, vol. 34, p.120.

² *Lewes Town Book*, vol 2 (hereafter abbreviated to L.T.B., Vol. 2).

(so named before this time) was a nuisance to the borough. By 1790, and possibly before it was resolved that a select Committee of not more than twenty-one, or less than nine House-holders be appointed to 'fix on a proper spot of Ground to erect a Markett on...'

On Monday, 30 May 1791, the *Sussex Weekly Advertizer or Lewes Journal* announced: 'Our new Market Bill has passed the House of Commons and in the course of this week 'tis expected it will also pass the House of Lords.' On 2 July 1791 was 'The first Meeting of the Commissioners appointed by an Act of Parliament made and passed in the Thirty first year of the Reign of King George the Third of Great Britain &c. intituled "An Act for enlarging and extending the present prescriptive Market within the Town and Borough of Lewes in the County of Sussex and removing the same to a more convenient place. . . ." held at the House of Joseph Spittall called or known by the name of the Crown Inn.'

The minutes of this and successive meetings until 15 May 1840 are in the Lewes Market Minute Book. This is a book of heavy paper bearing the watermark of Curteis & Son; the covers are of marbled paper, the binding tapes being much in evidence and the spine worn away. This book is the property of the Lewes Borough Library.¹ The handwriting in the book varies considerably, some being of a very high standard.

On a loose sheet in the book are extracts from the Market Act, the first dealing with Commissioners and their duties—'If a Commr. die, or refuse or neglect to act, or remove out of the Borough or Precinct of the Castle, or be rendered incapable of acting, then 9 or more at a Meeting to elect another Commr. . . .

Qualifications: Owner of Rents & Profit	10£.
Occupier	20£
Personal Estate	300£.'

From this it will be seen that the Commissioners of the Market were men of reasonable substance, and it is interesting to read the list of those first appointed and to discover the work and place of residence of each one.

The minutes of the first meeting were signed by 16 Commissioners; John Farnes, miller, living at 24 High Street, and Samuel Snashall, Gent. of 203 High Street,² were the constables of the Borough for the year and by reason of this were appointed Commissioners. The list is headed by the signature of Sir Henry Blackman; the succeeding pages show him to have been the most regular of all the Commissioners making between this meeting on 2 July 1791 and the one held on 4 July, 1829, at least 60 attendances, and to the two following

¹ The Sussex Archaeological Society owns the book in which 'fair copies' were entered. This however only has entries from 2 July 1791 to 28 May 1819 with a few exceptions and slight variations.

² Houses in Lewes not numbered until 1812.

meetings sending his representatives. He died in 1831. Sir Henry was constable in 1782 and again in 1794, during his first year of office he was knighted on the occasion when he presented—on behalf of the Borough—a Loyal Address to King George III.¹ He was a wine merchant, living in the first house in the High Street, South side, next the River² and near Puddlewharf, where doubtless barges brought his merchandise. In 1830, when William IV and Queen Adelaide visited Lewes, 'Sir Henry Blackman (one of the oldest surviving knights of George III) was introduced to his Majesty, who entered into conversation with the venerable knight.'³

Francis Whitfield, banker, and Stephen Weller, mercer, each lived in houses near Castle Gate Way, on the north side of the High Street. Tradesmen of the list were Charles Pitt, druggist, of High Street and Abraham Weston, gunsmith, of Aylwards Corner. The building crafts were represented by George Wille, carpenter, near the White Hart Inn, Amon Wilds, carpenter, in East Street, Thomas Boxall, bricklayer, who lived in a house 'newly built' in East Gate Lane⁴ he owned this house, and by 1812 his building activities had evidently prospered, as he is recorded as living in No. 2, and owning numbers 1 to 9 inclusive, all on the south side of East Gate Lane. Edward May, another bricklayer owned and lived in 200 High Street; this he had built in conjunction with John Morris, junior, stone mason (soon after appointed commissioner), whose house was 199. John Wimble, senior⁵ and junior, blacksmith and coal merchant respectively, both owners of property, both served regularly as commissioners. Thomas Mantell, descendant of a long line of people who had served the borough as Constables and Headboroughs, a cordwainer by trade, living in St. Mary's Lane, and owning property there and in other parts of Lewes, he was the father of a famous son, Gideon Mantell. On the north side of East Gate Lane, between the Quakers' Meeting House and Brooman Street lived Richard Watts, attorney; also of the same profession was William Balcombe Langridge, living in 'the third house east of St. Michael's Church,' a well known personality in Lewes, owning considerable property, and holding many responsible positions. Robert Chester Cooper, brewer, and proprietor of the Crown Inn completes the list—He figures prominently in the history of the market, and so will be mentioned subsequently.

On 11 July 1791 the commissioners met again at the Crown Inn; in addition to the foregoing there are several other names including Arthur Lee, printer; Arthur Brook, saddler; John Smart, peruke

¹ L.T.B., 2.

² Woolgar's Survey, 1790.

³ Gideon Mantell, *Narrative of their Majesties' Visit to Lewes* (1831).

⁴ East Gate Lane the road from the junction with the High St. as far as the Grange (now Friars Walk, Lansdowne Place and Southover Road).

⁵ J. Wimble, senr. was actually appointed at the second meeting.

maker; Thomas Johnstone, grocer; Aaron Lempriere, plumber and glazier; and Thomas Harben, banker. The business of this meeting began with the appointment of Sir Henry Blackman as Treasurer to the Market and of William Balcombe Langridge as 'Clerk to the Commissioners of the said Act and intended Market.'

The commissioners then agreed to contract with Robert Chester Cooper for the purchase of a piece of ground in the Castle Yard for the sum of £60, on which to build a Market. It was decided that 'the present Markett House shall not be pulled down or disposed of until the new intended Market shall be completed and used as a Market.' It was planned to solicit estimates for work on the new building, and finally the Commissioners 'adjourned themselves to Monday, 25th July, at 6 o'clock in the afternoon at the Star Inn,' the house of James Jenner.

The results of the requests for estimates were reported at this next meeting; only two were received, one from Aaron Lempriere, plumber; the other from Winter and Maxfield, carpenters. Plans had been submitted by Amon Wilds, John Maxfield, and lastly there was one from, 'Mr. Thos. Hewitt of Lewes, Surveyor, adapted to the scite of the Ground purchased of Mr. Robert Chester Cooper for the said Market with a Scale or set of Particulars accompanying it.'

At the next meeting, held on 8 August 1791, at the White Hart, the commissioners requested R. C. Cooper to release them from the contract entered into at the last meeting, whereby they were to purchase 'a piece of Ground in the Castle Yard for erecting thereon the Markett.' To this he agreed on condition that 'the Markett shall be erected on a Spot of Ground the Property of Lord Viscount Hampden adjoining the Crown Inn and yard . . . also that a Building be erected in the Front of the said Ground for the purpose of putting therein a Clock and the Town Bell which formerly hung in the Tower of the Broken Church of St. Nicholas and that such Clock and Bell be accordingly put up at the time of erecting such Markett.' (signed) R. C. Cooper.

A note in the fair minute book tells that Lord Hampden had inherited from his uncle, Bishop Trevor of Durham, 'three several Old Messuages or Tenements with a piece of ground thereto belonging. . . in a certain Lane . . . known by the name of Crown Lane.' Turning back to the Market Minute book we learn that Sir Henry Blackman entered into negotiations with Viscount Hampden, who consented that the Market should be built on his land on condition that the Townspeople of Lewes built for him 'Three Houses adjoining the intended Clockhouse to the satisfaction of Mr. Ellman, and also a Stable adjoining the Crown Yard to his satisfaction.' The meeting resolved unanimously that thanks be returned to Lord Hampden 'for the very handsome manner in which he has been

pleased to accommodate the Town of Lewes with Ground to build a Market on.'

Sir Henry Blackman was thanked for his share in the transaction. It was also decided at this meeting to appoint a small committee to superintend the building of the intended market; this to consist of five commissioners and the constables of the time. In emergency three of these could act.

A plan was drawn, the copy of this is in the fair minute book, together with the following comment: 'after making the said Contract and Agreement the Constables and Burgesses of the said Borough were minded and desirous to erect and set up a Building for the reception of a certain Bell. . . and a Clock to strike on the said Bell—by subscription money was raised and it was agreed that a Building for the reception of Bell and Clock might be set up as shown "in feint lines on the plan" as an entrance to the said intended market.'

By 12 November 1791 certain other problems had arisen, and it was 'thought necessary to treat with Robert Chester Cooper . . . Brewer, Proprietor of the Crown Inn . . . respecting the property adjoining the said Market'. This resulted in the following agreements: The Market Committee should be at liberty to erect any buildings appertaining to the market on one half part thickness of the wall belonging to R. C. Cooper; they had (Plate IVa) 'full and free liberty' to erect buildings against such part of the end of the Crown Inn or yard for the better accommodation of the Market and Tower—and 'the liberty of erecting any Shed Stall or Shamble against the said Crown Inn but not to do any other Act to obstruct the usual and accustomed Lights and Windows belonging to the said Inn.' Cooper was to have the right to build on the other half of the wall, but the Commissioners were to be responsible at all times hereafter 'for keeping in repair all shoots and gutters for the conveying of water from the Buildings.' R. C. Cooper and his heirs were granted permission to use a certain Doorway or Passage from the Crown Inn through the wall during the times the Market was open; the key of this door was to be kept by the Clerk of the Market. Finally R. C. Cooper or the occupiers of the Crown Inn were to 'at their expence affix Bars of Iron' at existing windows or windows which may be made later towards the Market 'to prevent any person from getting in or out of the same.'

At the meeting held on 19 November 1791—the last of the year—the commissioners agreed to put the work of the new Market House in hand. Isaac Piercy, bricklayer; Joseph Goldsmith, carpenter; and John Mall, John Sawyer, Aaron Lempriere and Nicholas Ansell, plumbers, were chosen to be responsible.

Work seems to have proceeded smoothly, though during 1792 there was a shortage of bricks in the neighbourhood, and work on the Tower was delayed. However, by 15 June 1792 things were

sufficiently advanced to warrant a public announcement by the Commissioners, and a decision by them as to the Tolls to be imposed and the Rules to be made. The Tolls varied considerably, and the list gives an interesting glimpse as to the kind of merchandise that was to come to the market. The following are particular types of Tolls:—

Every Butcher who shall vend or expose to Sale any manner of Flesh or other raw Victuals within the said Market shall pay each day	9d.
Every person who shall vend or expose to sale any Fish within this Market shall pay for each Basket thereof	3d.
And for every Cart Load of Fish not packed in Baskets	1s. 0d.
And if laid out and exposed to Sale on a Stall each day	6d.
Every person any Butter within this Market shall pay for the same, not exceeding 12 pounds for each pound	½d.
Above 12 pounds, not exceeding 24lb.	4d.
All above that weight for every 12lb.	1d.
. Herbs, Roots, Garden Stuff or Fruits	
Every Basket thereof	2d.
Every Horse Load or Back Load	5d.
Every Cart Load	9d.

“The Rules, Orders Bye Laws & Regulations to be observed in the said Market” included the following:—Summer Opening, from 1st April to 1st October, at 8 o'clock, closing at 4 in the afternoon. Remainder of year, open at 9 a.m. and close at 3 p.m. ‘The Beginning and end of the Market to be announced every Day by the tolling of the Bell in the Tower at the entrance *as soon as that shall be completed*, and in the meantime by the ringing of a Hand Bell at the principal entrance.’ The market would be closed on Sundays.

An advertisement was to be inserted in the next *Lewes Journal* of the said market's being opened on 25 of June and notices to that effect were to be fixed in ‘several of the most Publick Places within the Town of Lewes.’ The tolls were to be ‘written or painted in legible Characters or Figures on a board which is directed to be affixed on the inside of the Tower.’

On 18 June the advertisements appeared in the *Lewes Journal*. ‘Our new Market is to be opened on Monday next, when it is expected there will be an uncommon demand for every marketable commodity, as the novelty of the business there cannot fail of commanding attendance of innumerable buyers. It will be diverting enough to see, perhaps scores pressing eagerly forward, at the sound of the bell to give *hansel* to the new market. . . . Vegetables of all kinds are very scarce and extravagantly dear in this town. Any quantity brought fresh from the country to our own market would have a quick sale.’ In another column of the same paper, ‘The Commissioners . . . give notice that the market is now fitted up with Stands, Stalls, Sheds, Shambles, Bulks and other conveniences necessary to the purpose of the said Market, and will be opened on the 25th day of this instant June, at the hour of eight in the morning.’ At the same time notice was given that it was not lawful to erect or

Richard wall
 John Puchell } Constables
 Thomas Currier } Justices
 Edward Palmer }

This present were the abovesaid Constables have received of the executors of
 the said the sum of ten pound which was given by her to paye the building of a market house
 within the burrough of Lewes & whereas that the said market house was builded by
 the said executors next following after the said legacy becometh
 And for as much as the said sum of xij^{li} is not sufficient for the building of a market house, and the
 fellowship of the said burrough minding & seeking the advancement & benefit of the said burrough, and
 that the said legacy is given to such a necessity and use by the said executors as no man should not be
 otherwise employed contrary to the mind of the givers, they of the said fellowship whose names
 are hereunder written together with Richard Britton Comptroller of the burrough of Lewes for the
 further payment of the said market house of the said burrough have given to paye the same
 the sum of xij^{li} as particularly followeth

Borough of Lewes. } To wit. At a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the said Borough, held at the Town-Hall, on Tuesday the 26th Day of September, 1786, pursuant to a public Notice given for that Purpose, by the Constables, William Lee, and William Figg, touching the Expediency or Inexpediency of selling the old Bell
W. Lee, in the Chair
 Resolved unanimously, That the Bell be not sold.
 Resolved unanimously, That the Bell and Clock be put up, in a Tower to be erected for that Purpose.
 Resolved unanimously, That the Tower for the Bell be erected on, or near the Spot where the old Clock-House formerly stood.
 Resolved unanimously, That a public Subscription be opened, immediately, for defraying the Expences of putting up the Bell.
 Resolved unanimously, That in Case the

A. Lewes Town Book, Vol. II. Resolution passed in 1786 to erect a tower for the Bell and Clock

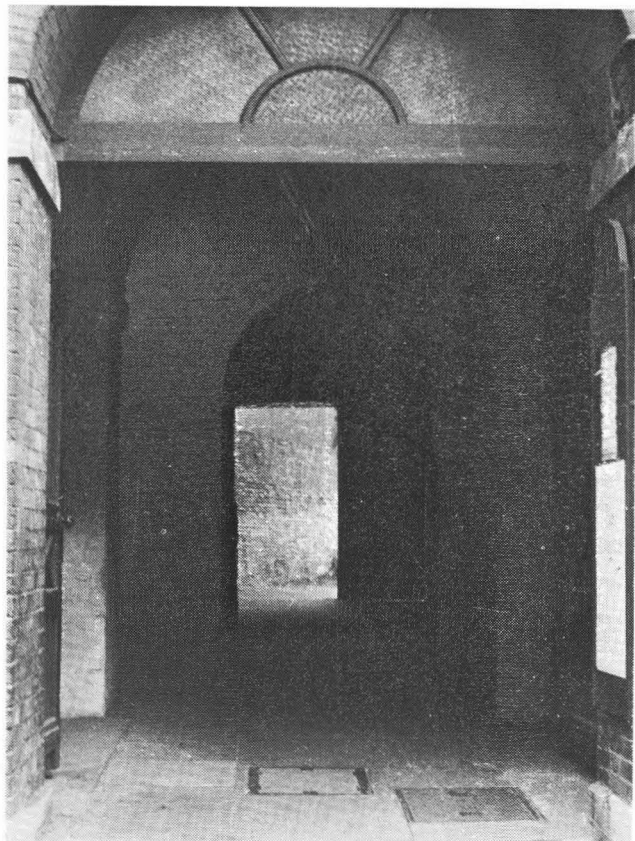
given to the chief magistrates Meeting, & gamefully Signed in Behalf of the Meeting.
William Lee. } Constables.
William Figg. }
 The above Officers obtained of Mr. John Morris, a Plan of the intended Towers, but their Term of Office being nearly expired ~~when~~ when the foregoing Resolutions were passed, and their Successors wanting Spirit to follow them, who with Effect, they were neglected, and consequently proved a Nullity.

B. Lewes Town Book, Vol. II. Note in W. Lee's handwriting

The Small-Pox, & General Inoculation.

The Constables think it necessary to insert, in their Town Register, some Particulars of the Small-Pox & General Inoculation, which took Place this Year, (1794,) within the said Borough; which are as follow.

On Monday the 4th of January, it was reported to the Chief Officers of the Borough, that the Small-Pox was at that Time, at its full Height in the House of George Apted, in St. Mary's Lane, and that the whole Neighbourhood was in great Danger of Infection; the Constables immediately repaired to the House of the said George Apted, where they found the Wife of W^m. Hoather (a Daughter of Apted) and one of Hoather's Children, with the Disorder out on them, apparently at its Crisis; the said Hoather's Children not sickening.



A. Photograph taken in 1968 through the doorway of the Market Tower, showing the wall dividing Market ground from the Crown Hotel



B. Lewes Market Tower, 1968

hold any other market in Lewes, the penalty for attempting such to be Five Pounds. And warning was given 'That the Commissioners will punish to the utmost of their power all persons who shall be guilty of forestalling, ingrossing or regrating within the said Market.'

With the opening of the market it was necessary to appoint certain Officials, the first of these was the Collector of Tolls. John Burtenshaw was chosen, with R. C. Cooper promising to become his surety to the sum of £10. Some relaxations of the rules were soon found to be necessary, and by 27 June 1792 it was 'ordered that in future all persons bringing Butter into the Market for Sale upon paying the regular Tolls and taking a Certificate from the Clerk be at Liberty to sell the same in such manner as they shall think proper within the Town of Lewes'. Similar concessions were made for the selling of fish.

Inevitably when rules are made there are some people ready to break them: on 16 July 1792, J. Burtenshaw reports to the commissioners that Hannah, wife of William Brown of All Saints' parish 'purchased Carrots in the said Market and sold them again therein.' Likewise Tom Pettit of the Cliffe bought a Cart load of Cabbage at the door of the Market and actually sold it in the Market. Thomas Washer of Chailey was discovered hawking Cherries in the borough and not selling them in the Market—there was conclusive evidence when he sold 'to the said John Burtenshaw One Pound weight for which he recd. the sum of Two pence.'! The first two delinquents were pardoned on the grounds that they erred in ignorance, and Thomas Washer was "not at home" so evaded justice.

31 October 1792 is the date of the next meeting when business is recorded; on that day 'John Burtenshaw the late Clerk of the Market is to deliver up his book of Accounts to Thomas Harman,' and Sir Henry Blackman is to pay Burtenshaw his salary. This was done, but there was some dissatisfaction among the Commissioners which culminated during May, 1793 in the following notice:—
LEWES MARKETT. A Meeting of the Commissioners of this Market will be held on Thursday, 23 May at the Star Inn, Lewes at Six O'Clock . . . at which your attendance is particularly requested in order to fully inspect the Accounts . . . of the Markett . . . and the Tower and Buildings adjoining, and further to consult on the most proper Mode of conducting the said Market for the ensuing year . . .
[signed] W. B. Langridge. Lewes, May 14. 1793.

A resolution was passed to lease the market tolls by auction. By 3 June this had passed the committee stage and was made public—the Tolls and 'the Room on the Right Hand of the Tower' (Plate IVb) were to be let—the lessee to bear all expence of Salary and to allow the Clerk of the Market his poundage, except the necessary repairs. Mr. Thomas Mantell of St. John under the Castle was the lessee, and he signed accordingly, accepting the Tolls and Room at the sum of £70 under the said conditions. An inventory was taken,

and again Thomas Mantell signed as having received all goods belonging to the Market: these included deal tables, wooden stands for the scales, two pairs large meat scales, iron weights, brass weights, knives, cleavers, etc.

By 4 October 1794 Mantell's lease was up, but no other Lessee had been found, consequently he was requested to continue to receive the Tolls for at least another week. Following this it was decided that the Commissioners should keep the tolls in their own hands. Thomas Harman, of Lewes, Collor Maker, was appointed to collect all Tolls and to pay them each week to Sir Henry Blackman, the Treasurer. 'John Richards¹ of Lewes, Merchant, hath offered to become Surety for the faithful performance of the Duties of the said Thomas Harman.'

The meeting at which Mantell was granted lease of the tolls was held on 24 June 1793, and it is curious that no further meetings were held until 12 July 1794. Perhaps the reason can be found in an entry in the Town Book.² 'The Small Pox & General Inoculation . . . On Monday the 4th of January it was represented to the Chief Officers of the Borough that the Small Pox was at that Time at its full Height in the House of George Apted in St. Mary's Lane and that the whole Neighbourhood was in great Danger of the Infection.' Plate III.

Several other meetings were adjourned, but on 9 December 1795 there are indications that all had not gone smoothly. Thomas Harman 'is appointed to watch all persons who shall vend or expose to sell any commodities contrary to the Act . . . he is for the first offence to give them Notice . . . and on the second offence he is positively to lodge an Information.' He is to write offenders' names in a book, 'and for which Notice so given to the Clerk, he this Thomas Harman is to receive One Shilling.' He was also to issue tickets to people having fish to sell and to see that they produced them when asked.

Apparently the duties proved too arduous, or the reward too insignificant, for Thomas Harman disappears from the Market records and on 12 December 1796 William Inkpen, Collector of the Tolls is directed to 'Exhibit Information against all persons offending.' On 25 January Inkpen is ordered to keep 'Two Books of the Receipt of Tolls, one Constantly laying in some conspicuous place within the Market for the inspection of Commissioners, the other for returning an account to the Treasurer.' William Inkpen proved unsatisfactory, he produced no sureties (and one suspects, no receipts) and on 28 March 1797 he 'confessed his inattention to duty.'

¹ 1790. John Richards, ironmonger, living in and owning 6th house from the Bridge on S. side of High St.

² L.T.B., 2.

The Commissioners accepted his resignation and offered the position to 'Edward Relfe of the Borough, Sadler,' as they considered him, 'a proper person to be entrusted and employed as Clerk or Collector of the said Market Tolls in the room of the said William Inkpen.' His annual salary was to be £10, paid weekly. He was to have a small office (which former collectors had not). The minute of 26 April 1797 reads: 'ALSO it hath been proposed that a certain Portion of the Fish Market shall be fitted up under the inspection of any Five of the Commissioners for the reception of the said Clerk or Collector expending as little money thereon as possibly may be.' Even the advantage of an office failed to make Edward Relfe efficient, for he was, within a year, in arrears with payments, negligent of his duty, and the Market was reported to be in a filthy condition. In spite of grace being allowed Relfe resigned, and there survives a small piece of paper, loose in the Market Minute Book, on which he wrote his letter: 'Gentlemen, Permit me to address you . . . I ask no further favours than a fortnights indulgence . . . I should have exerted myself before had it not been for a severe pain in my head . . . I flatter myself you will despence with my attendence which will with thankful gratitude be received by Your verry Humble Sert. E. Relfe.'

By 1 January 1799 several changes had been made; a number of the original Commissioners had died, and new ones were elected, some had moved away, and again more were elected. Henry Pawson¹ of Lewes, taylor and habit-maker was appointed deputy Clerk of the Market, and given a considerable amount of authority. Another change was in the place of meeting, hitherto it had been the Crown, the Star or the White Hart; from this time the White Hart ceases to be used and 'the House of John Dennett, the White Horse'² becomes the most usual place. Some replacements of equipment were necessary: 'It being represented to the Commissioners that the Butchers have occasion for a pair of small Meat Scales and weights . . . It is ordered that a pair be purchased and Mr. Henry Pawson is requested to purchase or Order a pair on Account of the Commissioners.' At the end of the same year it was 'RESOLVED that a small chimney be erected for the Collector of the Tolls, and his room be enlarged at the descretion of Mr. Pawson.' (Mr. Pawson, incidentally, was at the time both deputy clerk and collector of the tolls!) Pawson was vigilant, and in August 1800 he brought a complaint, stating that 'Matthias Caldecott of Selmeston, Farmer . . . had evaded the Tolls by agreeing with Robert Dunn of Lewes, Innholder to sell him some Fowls and actually sold and

¹ 1790. Henry Pawson lived in a house on the west of a passage on the north side of High St. most probably the passage now next the Rainbow Inn. 1812. living at and owning 70 High St.

² 1812 White Horse Inn, 3 St. Mary's Lane, John Dennett owner.

delivered the same . . . and refused to pay the Tolls . . .’ Later Caldecott was convicted and a fine imposed, this was later paid.

The years 1804 to 1806 saw a decline in the fortunes of the Market, the Clerks, Messrs. Langridge and Kell agreed to reduce their own salaries from £5 to £2 10s. per annum, Henry Pawson relinquished his altogether.

At a meeting at the White Horse on 18 March 1806 it was again decided to let the Tolls, this time for six months, to the highest bidder. The Auction was to be held at the Star Inn on 28th of the same month, and ‘in the meantime the Clerks do cause the same to be advertized in the Lewes Journal, and cried on the day of the Sale by the Town Cryer.’ At the end of that meeting Joseph Finlay of Lewes was declared the highest bidder for £36. Whether the arrangement proved satisfactory or not it is difficult to say, but there was no question of the contract being renewed at the end of the period.

Another change was attempted in January 1807 when George Grover was appointed collector of the tolls; he attended the meeting and ‘declared his unwillingness to Enter upon the said Office, and his utter inability to perform the duties thereof at the Salary allowed In witness whereof he hath hereunto subscribed his Name.’ The commissioners were sympathetic, and appointed Thomas Gates.¹ By November of the same year Thomas Gates had died so, with the consent of the Lords of the Borough, Henry Pawson nominated Abraham Soper of Lewes, gardener, to be his assistant.

Further financial difficulties are apparent, as in December 1807 it was decided to call a special meeting by public notice ‘to take into consideration the propriety of dividing the annual balance.’ A resolution was passed saying ‘it is not expedient to do so’, and ordering that ‘as soon as he can conveniently after he shall have sufficient money in hand’ the Treasurer shall call a meeting. After this there is a lapse of three years in the minutes—evidently money was not forthcoming, and it is not until 3 October 1810 that a meeting takes place. This was at the White Horse, with Sir Henry Blackman, as usual, in the Chair. He was supported by eight Commissioners, and they agreed to let the Tolls for a space of five years to Michael Cotterell, of South Malling, yeoman, for £84 per annum. Following this Henry Pawson was directed ‘immediately to put the Market in repair, and complete the Utensils, agreeable to the Inventory formerly taken.’ This was done, but by 1811 Cotterell’s payments were in arrears, and his two sureties, when called upon ‘stated their total inability to pay anything.’ Writs were served, but with no result.

The next entry records that meetings on the 14 July 1812 and 5 April 1813 were adjourned as there were not sufficient Commis-

¹ Thomas Gates, landlord of the Dolphin Inn, 1790 (Woolgar).

sioners present. Two meetings were held in September 1815; at the second of these we learn of the deaths of some of the early Commissioners and of the appointments made in their stead; familiar names such as Arunah Verrall, Charles Pitt and John Leighton are succeeded by those of Henry Skinner, William Figg and George Grantham.

It had been advertized that the Tolls were to be let for three years, and Harry Olliver's tender was accepted. It was 'Resolved that Mr. Pawson . . . do immediately prepare a proper Board with the List of the Tolls and place the same in some conspicuous place. . . . Also that the materials of the Market be inspected and repaired. Also that two additional sets of legal Standard Weights and Measures be immediately procured at the expence of the Commissioners.' At the same meeting, it was decided that the Salary of the Clerk (which had been reduced to fifty shillings per annum in 1804) should be raised to five guineas.

Still more new appointments of Commissioners are recorded, these also following deaths of earlier ones. Thus Robert Neal, cordwainer, succeeds Edward May, bricklayer; John Elliott, hairdresser, instead of Richard Neeve,¹ pipe-maker; Thomas Figg follows Thomas Standley, bricklayer and William English, cutler, takes the place of Aaron Lempriere, plumber and glazier. In Thomas Standley and Aaron Lempriere the borough lost two of its most loyal servants. Both had been Commissioners of the Market from 11 July 1791, both had served as Headboroughs and as Constables: Standley in 1795 as Junior Constable with Sir H. Blackman as Senior, and Lempriere as Junior with John Edwards, upholsterer, as Senior; and as Senior in 1801 with William Madgwick, grocer, as Junior. His record of attendance at the Market meetings is higher than that of any other Commissioner, saving Sir Henry Blackman's.

Although H. Olliver's contract was for three years he relinquished it at the end of the first, and as a result 'it was proposed by Mr. Pawson and seconded by Mr. Rand that the Tolls be let by Auction by Messrs. Verrall at the White Horse on 17th day of October . . . and that previous notice thereof be given by the Town Cryer and by Handbills stuck up and distributed in the Town.' The Treasurer is instructed to receive the Tolls, and as no meetings are reported between May 1819 and April 1821 there is no way of discovering whether the Market became any more prosperous. By 1821 however, it is evident that changes in management were thought necessary: 'It was unanimously resolved that in future there shall be holden an annual General Meeting of the Commissioners . . . and . . . that a Committee be appointed for one year . . . for the purpose of better managing and conducting the business of the Market.'

¹ Richard Neve lived at 99 High Street this, with No. 100, being Lempriere's property.

In October 1824 a special meeting was called to inform the commissioners and subscribers of the 'general state of the finances.' The minute records, 'In consequence of the improductiveness of the Tolls the Clerk is directed to write to each of the Proprietors requesting to know if they would join in selling the whole of the Shares by Public Auction in one Lot so that the Shares may be vested in one person . . . thereby to create a greater excitement in carrying on and conducting the Affairs relating to the Market.' The postscript gives the tone of the meeting: 'There not being a full Meeting no further proceedings took place.'

Meetings between this and April 1827 must have taken place, but are not reported; however, on 25 April of that year we learn that 'Mr. Inkpen¹ the present Collector was called in and informed that his services will not be required . . . William Smart of Lewes, turner, was also called in and informed that the Office of Collector of Tolls was vacant, and he having offered to accept the same was appointed thereto.' His salary, 7s. a week, with the promise that if he proved successful there may be an addition. He seems to have been the most satisfactory of the group, as a year hence the Treasurer reports that 'Since the appointment of William Smart . . . the sums received had been considerably increased.' As a result the balance in hand was £78 1s. 10d. Bills were immediately paid, and the whole of the balance disappeared. Some of the men to whom money was owing had familiar names, Stephen Lowdell, ironmonger, reminds us of a particularly fine shop front once at 61 High Street; John Baxter and William Lee, both printers, and both members of well-known Lewes families. Another balance is reported by the treasurer in 1829—£40 7s. 6d. and as a result William Smart is ordered to 'immediately obtain some additional Cast Iron Weights for the use of the Market vizt.:—from two pounds weight to one ounce inclusive.' Further bills are paid, including 5s. 6d. to John Beckett for the use of the room in the Crown, 19s. 10d. to Attwood and Wimble for weights, 6s. 8d. to Mr. Maxfield for blind for fish stall, and 'Paid half expence of Well Bucket & Rope, 12s. 7½d. Later in the same year there is an effort to incorporate the Market into Town affairs, for it is reported that 'the Visiting Magistrates of the House of Correction² have it in contemplation to employ some of the Female Prisoners and the supernumerary Male Prisoners in working the Pump at the House of Correction whereby the Water for the Town might be conveyed from thence up the Town as high as the Market Place if a Tank or Cistern were permitted to be placed there for the Commissioners of the Town to take the Water therefrom

¹ This is the only mention of this "Mr. Inkpen"—the previous one of that name is unlikely to have been reappointed.

² House of Correction. Built in 1793 at the north end of North Street, in place of the former House of Correction on the south side of the Cliffe High Street, Horsfield, *History and Antiquities of Lewes* (vol. I), p.217.

into the watering Cart and had communicated such intention to the Commissioners of the Paving and Lighting Act, the latter now requested to be informed whether the Commissioners of the Lewes Market would consent.' After due deliberation consent was given, but at the next meeting it is reported that the Commissioners of the Lewes Paving Act had not carried into effect the proposed erection of a Water Tank; no more is heard of the idea.

Financial trouble is again apparent in the minutes of 1831; a pair of Inner Gates is needed for the Market. The request is granted, but on condition it is carried out 'at the least Expence that can be done not exceeding the sum of £6 15s. 0d.'

This meeting is noteworthy in that it is the first at which Sir Henry Blackman is not there to present his accounts, but his Clerk, Mr. Luxford, deputises. Sir Henry did not attend any more meetings, and after his death his son, Henry Blackman acted as Treasurer of the Market until 1835, when he resigned.

12 November 1836 saw a singular meeting when the idea was to have been put forward of 'appropriating the North West Corner of the Market for the purpose of distributing soup to poor persons.' Only one Commissioner was present; he made a recommendation, but 'as no other Commissioners attending to compose a meeting no business could be transacted.'

In 1838, twenty four new commissioners were elected in place of the same number who had either removed from the district or had died. Among the fresh names are Henry Browne, mercer (founder of Browne and Crosskey's business, still flourishing in the same—though extended—buildings); Peter Broad, tallow chandler, of Market Street; William Figg, land surveyor, and one of the founder members of the Sussex Archaeological Society; Benjamin Flint, grocer, founder of the business still known today. At the same meeting it is recorded that 'a Memorial from several Venders of Herbs Roots Vegetables Fruit etc. was presented praying that the Toll of ninepence a Cartload of Fruit &c. might be reduced to sixpence.' As the funds of the market would not allow of this it was refused.

Even the appointment of the new commissioners did not revive the well-being of the Market. By 1839 it is clear that survival is unlikely, the shareholders were obviously worried; the Treasurer reported a balance of £22 3s. 4d., and it was 'ordered that the sum of £22 2s. (being a Dividend of two per cent.) be immediately paid to Holders of Securities on the Tolls of the Market, leaving a Balance in the hands of the Treasurer of one shilling and fourpence.' In spite of this it was also ordered that the Market be repaired at a sum not exceeding £15; reading further in the minutes we find that the 1s. 4d. was supplemented by the Tolls of the year and cash in hand, making a total of £102 10s. 5d.

The last meeting reported in the Market Minute Book, and most probably the last meeting held was on Friday, 15 May 1840. The usual business of reading the minutes of the previous meeting, passing the accounts etc. was carried out. The Collector of Tolls reported that the market had been repaired, the cost of which 'amounted to Fourteen pounds seven shillings and sixpence, being twelve shillings and sixpence less than the Amount at which the same was estimated.' With what relief the commissioners present must have heard this! So the Lewes Market fades out, poor but solvent. It had started with very high hopes, and one wonders why it never really succeeded.

Markets continued to be held in Lewes, yet "The Market" became obsolete. Lewes continued in its own slightly haphazard way, and Mark Anthony Lower writing about 1847 states in his *Handbook of Lewes*, 1st edition,—

'That Lewes has enjoyed the privileges of a market town for many centuries is certain . . . The market for corn is held every Tuesday, and that for livestock on alternate Tuesdays. The business of the former is conducted at the Inns, and that of the latter in the High Street. It is to be regretted that a more suitable place is not selected for the purpose. The assemblage of horned cattle, sheep and pigs in the main thoroughfare of a county-town is surely an inconvenience which requires some better sanction than that of antiquity.'

I thank Dr. L. F. Salzman, C.B.E., F.S.A., at whose suggestion this paper was written, for his kindly help and advice; Miss Eve Clarke, Lewes Borough Librarian, for allowing me to use the Market Minute Book; P. R. Morris, Esq., Town Clerk of Lewes and R. Armitage, Esq., Deputy Town Clerk, for giving me access to the Lewes Town Books. Wherever possible the original spelling and punctuation of the Market Minute Book and of the Lewes Town Book have been retained.

APPENDIX I

Transcript of Plate I.

RICHARD MALL	} CONSTABLES	THOMAS TURNOR	} HEDBOROWES
JOHN PUCKELL		EDWARD HOLMER	

THIS PRESENT YEARE the abovenamed constables have receued of the executors of Holter widowe the sum' of ten poundes which was given by her towards the buyldyng of A markett howse within the burrough of Lewes soo alwayes that the said markett howse were buylded within serten yeeres next following after the said legacy bequeythed AND forasmuch as the said sum of X^{li} ys not sufficyent for the buyldyng of A markett howse, and the fellowshipp

of the said burrough myndyng & seekyng the advancem^t & benefytt of the said burrough, and that the said legacye geven to such a necessary use by so vertuous a wooman should not be otherwyse employed to the mynde of the gever, They of the said fellowship whose names are heerunder wrytten together with Richard Kyttson Comyssary of the Archdeconry of Lewes for the further preferment of the said m'ket howse of their lyberalytyes have geven towards the same the sum' of X^{li} as particulerly followeth viz . . .

STAMPED TILES OF THE 'CLASSIS BRITANNICA'

By GERALD BRODRIBB

It has long been recognised that Roman legionaries were men of diverse skills who built their own establishments with tiles of their own making; some of these tiles were impressed with a stamp. The recent finding of an increasing number of tiles bearing the letters 'C L B R' (Classis Britannica) has drawn attention to the fact that the same practice of stamping tiles was followed by personnel of the Romano-British fleet. It is here proposed to examine the subject and to make some tentative analysis of the variety of these stamped tiles with a hope that this will provide a basis for further research into the whole matter.

The first C L B R stamped tile to be recorded in Britain was that found at Dover in 1778 by the Revd. John Lyon when excavating in the parish church of St. Mary the Virgin. This stamp had an obtuse-angled foot to the L, and being misled by this, Lyon read the lettering as C I B R, and thought that it might stand for 'Cohors Prima Britannica'.¹ The next mention of a C L B R tile comes in C. Roach Smith's reports of his excavations at Lympne in 1850.² He describes several such tiles, and refers to the one found at Dover in 1778. He comments on the tiles found in Britain which seem to have been stamped by the legionaries at their various stations, and he puts forward the suggestion that the letters C L B R might stand for 'Classiarii Britannici'—marines of the British fleet; he quotes examples from inscription on stone to support this.³ Though his suggestion was not quite correct, since 'Classis Britannica' would seem to be the true reading, the idea of connecting the tiles with the fleet was a brilliant one. Since 1778 nearly 180 stamps, complete or fragmentary, have been found and recorded at nine different sites in Britain.

THE PURPOSE OF STAMPING

It is known that both legionaries and marines included tile-making among their various activities, but it is not clear why some of these tiles carry stamps. The most likely reason is to show that the tiles belonged to the Roman authorities. Compare the present use of the War Department broad arrow on certain equipment. Official property was thus established and safeguarded. Apart from this type of stamping, certain municipalities also put stamps on their tiles to show their authority.⁴ Stamping seems to be a common

¹ J. Lyon, *Archaeologia*, vol. 5 (1779), p. 325.

² C. Roach Smith, *Richborough, Reculver and Lympne* (1850), p. 258.

³ C. Roach Smith, *Richborough, Reculver and Lympne* (1850), p. 258.

⁴ Mrs. Clifford, *J.R.S.*, vol. 45 (1955), p. 68-72.

practice among the Romans; consider also the name-stamps of the potters, though these were obviously for the different purpose of advertisement.

C L B R stamps seem always to be on the topside of the tile rather than on the rough underside, and thus the stamp would be invisible when the tile was employed for bonding in the building of walls, on box tiles or hypocaust *pilæ*. On roof tegulæ, imbrices, and floortiles the stamp would remain visible; some of the stamps found on the latter show signs of considerable wear.

It might be expected that if the stamping of tiles was an official custom there might be some standard type of stamp in use. Legion-made tiles might have carried different stamps according to the legion, but evidence suggests nothing so exact. If the British fleet could be regarded as more of an entity, then one stamp could have been used throughout, unless different stamps were to be used to represent different naval stations. There is however no evidence so far of any link between variety of stamp and unit, though as will be seen, the same stamp turns up at several different sites.

VARIETIES OF STAMP

Though the lettering is usually C L B R there are some unusual forms such as C L S B R, C L A B, Clasis Brit., and in all there seem to be some 25 different basic types of stamp; this seems a large number seeing that the total number of tiles found is about 180. It would be interesting to know who was responsible for the designs of the stamps. There must have been many skilled carvers and craftsmen capable of making a wooden die to produce clear lettering. All tiles yet found have the stamps with letters in relief unlike some of the municipal stamps found at Glevum which have hollow letters impressed, made it is said with a metal die.¹ In order to investigate the problems of making a wooden die, I had one cut out of oak, and experienced the difficulty of making the cutting in reverse. Perhaps though they were not cut like this, and there were other methods of overcoming the positive-negative problems, such as using the wooden die as a mould for casting a stamp of another substance.

Some of the stamps are very complicated, and it is not surprising that some tiles contain mistakes: these include the 'Clasis. Brit.' stamp from Folkestone (see type 23, Folkestone no. 1), which for all its mis-spelling makes it clear that the letters CL stand for 'fleet'; Boulogne type no. 5 has the letters C L H R, and type 22 has what seem to be the letters C T B R. These are probably simply the result of human error and reveal the wide range of individual craftsmanship and literacy.

Apart from these mistakes there are several varieties of style of lettering; these include the letter A which lacks the crosspiece

¹ Mrs. Clifford, *J.R.S.*, vol. 45 (1955), p. 69.

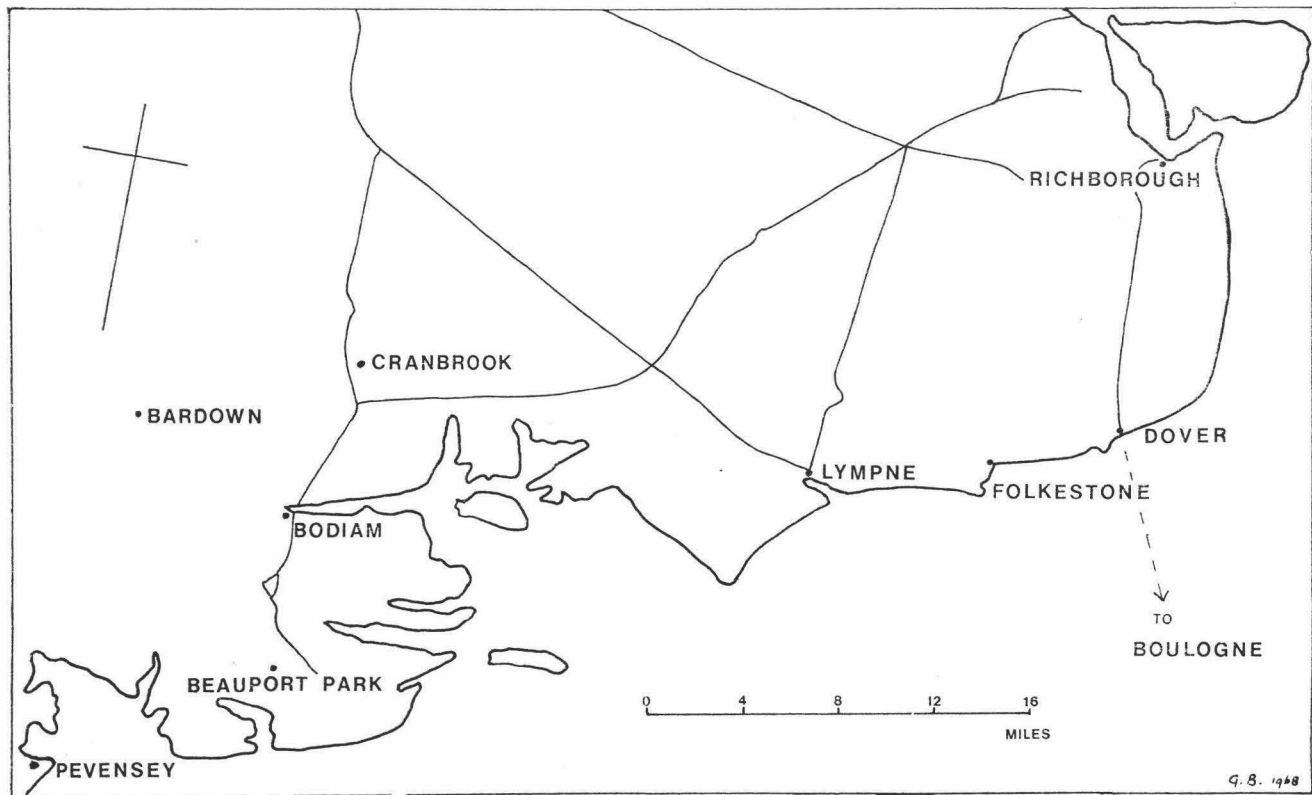


FIG. 1. Sites producing C L B R tiles

(see type 24), and the two oddly shaped letters L, one the obtuse-angled foot found in type 1, and the other the heeled L found in type 2. An examination of all the 2400 entries in R. P. Wright's *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, vol. 1, shows how frequently these three unusual letterings occurred on stone inscriptions. The obtuse-angled L was found in 33 inscriptions, the heeled L in only eight, and the type 24 letter A in 21. Seeing how rare these seem to be on stone, it is perhaps odd to find them at all on C L B R stamps.

C. Roach Smith¹ states that the heeled L first appears in inscriptions in Britain at about the time of Severus. He also says that the obtuse angled L would appear to be later in date, but R. P. Wright² says that all three forms mentioned appear on Pompeii graffiti which must antedate A.D.79, and that though they are found in use in the 1st and 2nd centuries, they are more likely in the 3rd and 4th. It seems then that the lettering style on C L B R stamps can provide little evidence on the matter of dating.

Apart from the actual style of the lettering the quality varies considerably, from the crudity of type Boulogne B.5 to the fineness of type 10 which approaches the elegance of the best lettering on stone. Though a clearly written stamp of the letters C L B R would seem to be perfectly adequate for the purpose, some stamps are extremely elaborate, such as type 20 with its divided panels and the most peculiar type 19 with its CL followed by BR in a reversed monogram. These complicated stamps suggest either a fanciful artist or a deliberate attempt to create a quite different stamp.

It seems that when the stamp is made upon the soft clay some care is needed if it is not to smudge or slip. On some of the tiles found the stamp has come out very clearly and evenly impressed, while on others it is considerably tilted. One or two are so deeply impressed that it is virtually impossible to make rubbings of them. There are two examples of double stamping. Dover no. 40 has one stamp crossing the other (see Fig. 6), while Lympne no. 7 has two stamps set close side by side. The positions of the stamps on the tiles are most haphazard; they are seldom placed neatly to line up with the tile edge, and some of those on imbrices are difficult to read since they come across the 'gable'; comb markings sometimes confuse the stamps on box tiles. In general the stamping seems to be positioned and impressed just as casually as date stamps put in a book from the public library.

DISTRIBUTION OF STAMPED TITLES

Perhaps the most interesting part of the research was the discovery that some stamp types appear on several different sites, type 1 indeed on no less than six of the nine British sites (see Fig. 1). There could

¹ C. Roach Smith, *The Roman Castrum at Lympne* (1852), p. 30.

² In correspondence with the writer.

be various reasons for this and here are a few of them: perhaps all tiles stamped with a type I stamp came from a tiliary which used such a stamp as its trade-mark; perhaps copies of type I stamp were issued to the stations from a central head-quarters which subsequently changed to a different type, and this might account for the small variations almost inevitable if one die was copied from another; another suggestion is that when the different units moved they took their own type of die with them.

All such theories as these await further evidence, and on the whole it seems that the business was in fact far less complicated, and subject to local usage, with all tiles made from local clay.

Certainly the nature of the fabric of the tiles tends to vary from site to site, and some analysis of the clays used might prove interesting.

THE RARENESS OF THE STAMPS

A great quantity of complete or fragmentary tiles have been found on the sites which have produced C L B R stamps, and it is strange that there are so few examples of tiles which carry a stamp. There are several possible reasons for this.

1. The actual stamp represents only a very small portion of the whole area, e.g. a tile measuring about 9 x 9 inches has an area of 81 square inches, but the stamp on it covers only three square inches, or one-twenty-seventh of the whole. Double this if the tile is split laterally. The bigger the tile the smaller the proportion of stamp area. But this reason does not account for the many tiles which carry no stamp at all.

2. Many stamped tiles may still be in situ, e.g. the bonding tiles in a wall, and such tiles cannot reveal their stamp. In fact there seem to be few stamped tiles which have been found in the position in which they were originally laid, and few even have mortar attached to them. Some of the ones found at Folkestone were said to have been 'not old material rebuilt into new walls, but built in as new while the British fleet was actually in being'.¹ On the other hand C. Roach Smith says of some tiles found at Lympe that they 'had been used for some buildings at a period anterior to that at which they had been worked into the buildings of the castrum'.² Not one stamped tile found at Lympe was in perfect condition, and not one of the many perfect tiles found there had a C L B R stamp.

3. Unless a tile is very carefully washed it is often impossible to see the stamp. Many stamped tiles must in the past have been overlooked and thrown away on excavators' spoil heaps, because they were not carefully enough examined or perhaps not even regarded as important.

¹ S. E. Winbolt, *Roman Folkestone* (1925), p. 112.

² C. Roach Smith, *The Roman Castrum at Lympe* (1852), p. 23.

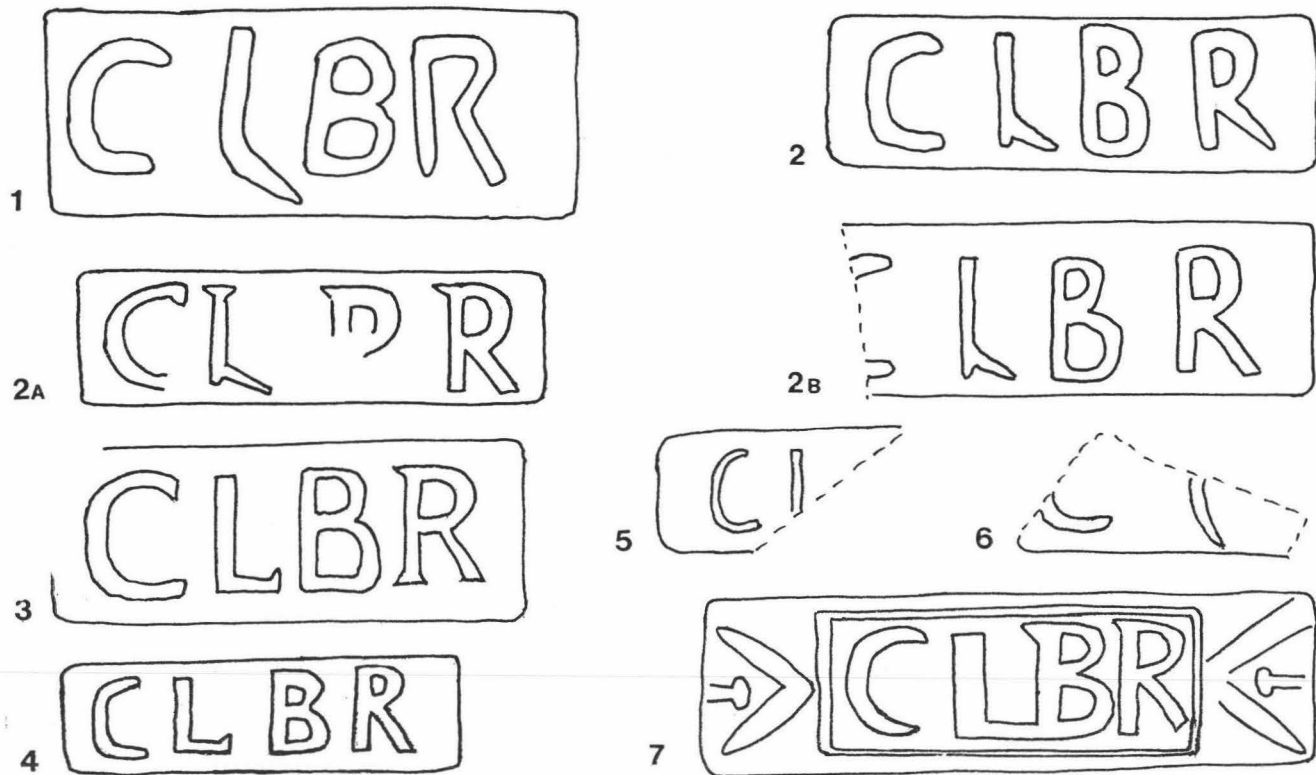


FIG. 2. C L B R Stamps, types 1 to 7. (Scale $\frac{1}{2}$)

4. It is possible that for some reason only a small proportion of tiles were given a stamp. In the process of being made tiles were apparently left out to dry for some days (hence the many prints made by animal or bird), and perhaps each batch of tiles contained one tile stamped by an inspector to show that he approved the work done.

There must be many more stamped tiles to be found on sites where they have already been discovered or on new sites (such as inland iron workings). The discovery of a tilerly with stamped tiles would help to solve some of the many problems of variety and dating.

THE DATING OF STAMPS

The area in Britain in which C L B R tiles have been found is very limited—a mere 56 miles as the crow flies, from Pevensy to Richborough. The possible range in time is more considerable; from the Claudian invasion of A.D. 43 up to the probable disbanding of the British fleet some 250 years later. To quote Professor Barry Cunliffe: 'The duration of the technique of stamping is difficult to date with precision, but there is no evidence for the existence of stamped tiled before the early second century or after the mid third century.'¹ Tiles seldom seem to be associated with dateable material, but at Dover a tile was found in 1952 in floor makeup over late second century destruction,² at Bodiam a tile was found in association with two coins of Trajan, and the first C L B R tile to be found at Beauport Park lay within a few feet of a coin of Commodus. There is little other evidence.

THE NINE C L B R SITES

Here are some brief notes on the sites where C L B R tiles have been found; they are listed in the chronological order of discovery.

DOVER

The first tile was found in 1778, and the most recent in 1952. They have come mostly from the area of the Roman town, but a few have been found near the two lighthouses. We must be grateful to the late Mr. E. G. J. Amos who for many years saved and recorded a great number of tiles³.

LYMPNE

All the Lympne tiles were found during the Roach-Smith excavations of 1850. Some of those built into the walls of the Saxon Shore Fort would seem to have come from a naval base of much earlier times.

In 1893 and 1894 Sir Victor Horsley excavated along the southern wall of the castrum. His report for 1893 (now in the Ashmolean

¹ B. Cunliffe, *Richborough 5* (1968), p. 257.

² L. Murray Threipland, *Arch. Cant.*, vol. 71 (1957), p. 31.

³ E. G. J. Amos' file of photographs.

Museum) refers to the finding of at least two CL BR stamps (made on whitish-yellow tiles), but there are no illustrations or details of the type found, and the finds have been lost. No report survives for the 1894 excavations.

PEVENSEY

The first tile was that discovered by L. F. Salzman in 1906-7.¹ It was found among items most of which dated from the time when Pevensey was active as a Saxon Shore fort, and Donald Atkinson says that there seems to be no evidence of occupation of the site before this time.² The original no. 1 tile was destroyed when the museum at Eastbourne was bombed. It is believed that between 1907 and 1939 several other tiles were found and were on show in the custodian's hut. These vanished at the outbreak of the last War, and no record of them remains.

FOLKESTONE

In 1924-5 S. E. Winbolt found seven tiles when excavating the so-called naval station villa on East Cliff.³ Part of this can be dated to the time of the Saxon Shore defence system, but an earlier second century section contains complete tiles which may have been in their original position⁴.

RICHBOROUGH

Since this was an important base throughout the occupation, it is surprising that only one tile has been found, in 1932.⁵ To quote Donald Atkinson: 'though not found in a clearly stratified deposit, the tile was found in conditions not inconsistent with a late date.'⁶ This almost complete absence of tiles suggests that there may have been an earlier naval base outside the area at present excavated.⁷

BARDOWN

(TQ 663294). The first tile found on this inland iron-site was discovered by Brother Stephen Pepperell in 1951, and when identified by Mr. I. D. Margary created great interest as being the first C L B R tile to be found on a non-coastal site.⁸ Since 1965 Mr. Henry Cleere has brought to light 24 more tiles, and present evidence suggests that the site was in action from A.D. 140 to 220.

CRANBROOK

(TQ 802354). In 1955-7 excavation was undertaken by the Cranbrook and Sissinghurst Local History Society (excavation secretary

¹ L. F. Salzman, *S.A.C.*, vol. 51 (1908), p. 112.

² D. Atkinson, *Historical Essays in honour of James Tait*, (1933), p. 10.

³ S. E. Winbolt, *Roman Folkestone* (1925), p. 104.

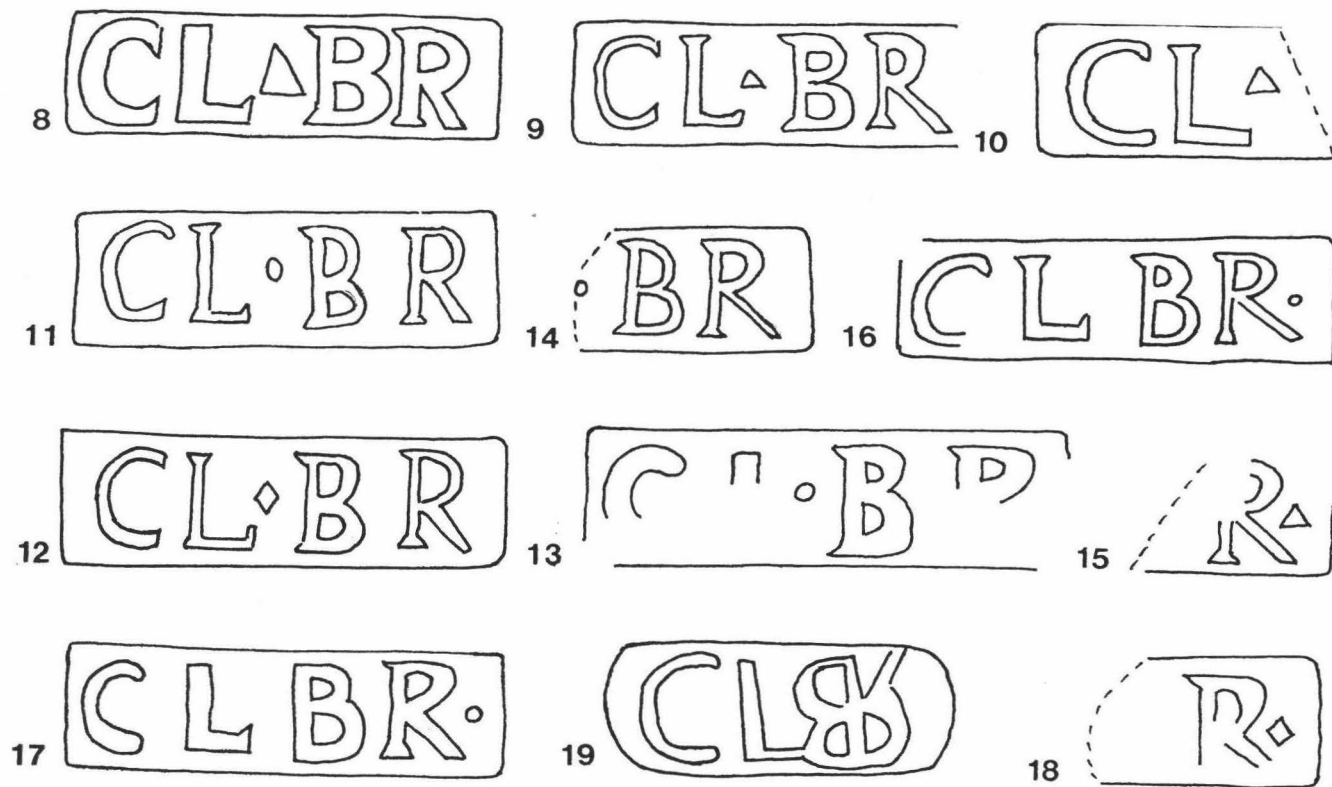
⁴ B. Cunliffe, *Richborough* 5 (1968), p. 260.

⁵ *Richborough* 4 (1949), p. 256.

⁶ D. Atkinson, *Historical Essays in honour of James Tait* (1933), p. 10.

⁷ B. Cunliffe, *Richborough* 5 (1968), p. 258.

⁸ I. D. Margary, *Antiquaries Journal*, vol. 32 (1952), p. 73.

FIG. 3. C L B R Stamps, types 8 to 19. (Scale $\frac{1}{2}$)

Mrs. M. C. Lebon) at Little Farningham Farm, a few yards off the Rochester-Hastings Roman road. The site is near a small stream but outside the Rother basin, and produced a 'hoard' of no less than 51 tiles, several of them in mint condition. Box tiles and *terræ mammatae* were included, but there is no positive evidence of a tiliary. There were clear signs of iron-working, and the site (not yet fully excavated) was probably part of a naval supply base in the first and second centuries.

BODIAM

(TQ 783251). In 1959 the Battle and District Historical Society under the direction of Col. C. H. Lemmon and Col. J. Darrell Hill made first excavation of the hop-fields bordering the river Rother.¹ There is evidence to show that this was a busy port with considerable habitation. Coin dating would suggest the end of activity by the closing years of the third century. The variety of types of C L B R tiles is greater than at any other site.

In April 1969, a complete imbrex bearing a type 4 CL BR stamp was discovered just below the surface of the Roman road some 1,700 yards north of the Bodiam site. This has been listed as Bodiam no. 30, and is the first stamped tile to be found in the make-up of a road.

BEAUPORT PARK

(TQ 787145). This iron site has the remains of what is probably the biggest of all Romano-British slag heaps. Five C L B R tiles were found by the present writer in 1968. This is the third non-coastal site to produce such tiles, and thus provides further evidence that certain iron sites came under the control of naval authorities. Limited coin evidence suggests a period of A.D. 120-190, but it has been said that these workings date back to before the Claudian invasion.

C L B R TILES FROM BOULOGNE

Any survey of C L B R stamped tiles must include mention of those found near Boulogne, which was the base for Claudius' successful invasion in A.D. 43. In the previous reign Caligula had built a great Pharos which was still standing in the mid seventeenth century and Boulogne (Gesoriacum) is generally considered to have been the Head Quarters of the British Fleet.

Writing some eighty years ago V. J. Vaillant states that there were then known to be about fifty stamped tiles either in the Boulogne Museum or in private collections.² The passage of time and warfare has led to the loss of most of these, but there are still nine tiles

¹ C. H. Lemmon & J. Darrell Hill, *S.A.C.*, vol. 104 (1966), p. 88-102.

² V. J. Vaillant, *Révue Archéologique*, vol. 12 (1888), p. 368.

to be seen in the museum. None of these or others drawn by V. J. Vaillant are exactly identical with any of those found in Britain, which is further evidence that the matter of design tended to be local. I have later given a full record of all Boulogne types yet recorded. The most interesting stamp mentioned by V. J. Vaillant is a fragmentary piece with the letters 'NNCAE' (see B.10, Fig. 6). Vaillant suggests that the letters C L B R really stood for 'Classis Britannicae,' that is to say in the genitive case; the preceding word omitted was 'opus', showing that the tile was the 'work of the British fleet'. This tile is certainly evidence for his interesting suggestion.¹ Vaillant also gives some illustrated mention of tiles stamped 'CL SAM', which belonged to the 'Classis Sambrica (or Samarica)', a fleet which probably came into being soon after the end of the 'Classis Britannica'.

THE ANALYSIS OF TYPES AND LIST OF STAMPS

The purpose has been to record every available stamped tile either extant in Museums or private collections, or reported in print. It is sad to relate that many tiles once fully recorded have now been lost. It has been difficult sometimes to identify a tile from a drawing or report of it, especially where no measurements have been given, but every trace of a stamp, even from a small fragment, has been noted.

From the compiled list an analysis has been attempted of the various types of stamp, each type being given a number. Where there are variations of a basic type, the variation has been given as a sub-number. Type identification has not been easy, but it has seemed generally more useful to chance a suggestion in the hope of further evidence rather than to commit a fragment to the list of those too worn or damaged to be in any way decipherable. Many of the stamps match quite obviously, and careful measurement suggests that they may have come off the same die: slight variation might be due to a copy being made of the die, or the recutting of a die to sharpen up the letters when they became worn.

Apart from the type listing I have given a number to every tile which shows its site, the numbering being wherever possible according to the chronology of the find, e.g. the tile marked 'Dover no. 5' is a later find than that marked 'Dover no. 4'.

In the list of tiles I have given:—

1. A half-size contact tracing. (See Figs. 2 to 5 and 7).
2. The measurement of the stamp in millimetres, the width preceding the height.
3. A brief note on the characteristics of the type.

¹ V. J. Vaillant, *Notes Boulonnaises* (1890), p. 246, fig. 86.



20



21



22



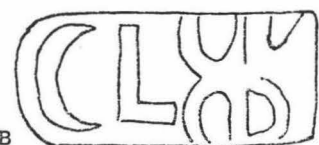
24



23



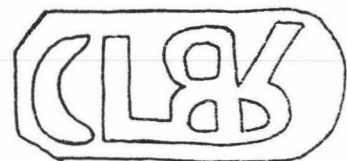
25



19B



19c



19A

FIG. 4. C L B R Stamps, types 19a to 25. (Scale $\frac{1}{2}$)

4. a. The number of the tile according to the site.
- b. The quantity of letters (or part letters) visible, i.e. the four letters C L B R mean that the stamp is complete or almost complete with all the letters.
- c. The date when it was found.
- d. Reference where possible to the original report.

An asterisk by the tile number shows that the tile has not been seen personally though report has proved its one-time existence.

Evidence for the assessment of these types has come sometimes from partial stamps which can be put together well enough to prove the whole, but more often from complete stamps, of which there are no less than 58 examples: 27 from Cranbrook, 12 from Dover, six from Folkestone, six from Bodiam, four from Lympne, and one each from Bardown, Beauport Park and Richborough.

Some of these complete stamps have been found on 20 complete or virtually complete tiles. Cranbrook had provided four perfect box tiles, four imbrices, and four large flat tiles, three smaller tiles of the pila type have come from Folkestone, and one each from Bodiam and Bardown; the road near Bodiam has produced one complete imbrex and Dover has produced one very large bonding tile and one very odd shaped angular tile.

Of the 177 tiles listed it has been possible to identify the nature of the tile in 134 examples: flat tiles (brick) of various sizes account for 66, tegulae for 43, imbrices for 16, and box tiles for nine (all from Cranbrook).

SOME NOTES ON THE TYPES

TYPE	SIZE (Millimetres)	
1	97 x 37	Obtuse angled foot to L; flat top to R, which has a gap between front and back, and a long tail. No serifs (Fig. 2).
2	93 x 30	Noticeable heel to obtuse-angled foot of L. R. leans slightly forward. No serifs (Fig. 2).
2a	85 x 24	Similar heel to L. Serifs. Big gap between L & B, but no stop (Fig. 2).
2b	? x 32	Similar heel to L. Bigger margin (Fig. 2).
3	85 x 33	Good lettering. Lip on toe of L, and large serif on front foot of R. (Fig. 2).
4	72 x 19	Similar lip on L as in type 3. Wide gap between L and B (Fig. 2).
5	? x 22	Rounded corners to stamp. Very thin lettering. (Fig. 2)
6	? x ?	Very obtuse angle to foot of L, similar to type 1, but with smaller lettering (Fig. 2).
7	111 x 32	Winged or handle pattern at each end of stamp. L & B join at base (Fig. 2).
8	78 x 22	Fat lettering almost filling stamp. Strong serifs. Large triangular medial stop (Fig. 3).
8a	81 x 24	Similar, but even fatter lettering. (Not illustrated).
9	? x 22	Similar to type 8, but smaller letters and smaller medial stop (Fig. 3).

TYPE	SIZE (Millimetres)	
10	? x 23	Elegant lettering. Triangular medial stop larger than in type 9, but smaller than in type 8 (Fig. 3).
11	77 x 24	Good lettering. Roughly oval medial stop (Fig. 3).
12	80 x 23	Similar to type 11, but with diamond shaped medial stop, and square hook to toe of L (Fig. 3).
13	88 x 25	Large letters. Round medial stop (Fig. 3).
14	? x 23	Fine lettering. Round medial stop (Fig. 3).
15	? x ?	Triangular final stop. Long shallow tail to R (Fig. 3).
16	77 x 23	Small round final stop (Fig. 3).
16a	? x 23	Similar lettering, but different spacing. Fatter letters than in type 16. (Not illustrated).
17	79 x 23	Small round final stop (Fig. 3).
18	? x ?	Diamond shaped final stop (Fig. 3)
19	63 x 24	The chief characteristic of all varieties is that the L is linked with the BR, which two letters are inverted and written as a monogram. All stamps with this characteristic are classed as type 19. The most frequent example has the L leaning back, and a stamp with very rounded corners (Fig. 3). There are many slight varieties, the most obviously different ones being listed as:—
19a	60 x 27	Fatter letters; upright L. Left-hand stamp angular, right-hand rounded (Fig. 4).
19b	56 x 24	Letters BR much larger than CL, touching edge of stamp. Left hand end of stamp rounded, right hand squared (Fig. 4).
19c	59 x 27	Tapered stamp. L. separate from B. Square medial stop (Fig. 4).
20	57 x 37	Letters CL & BR are set in separate oblong panels with patterned division in between. A line divides the C & L (Fig. 4).
21	40 x 45	Roughly round stamp. Close set letters (Fig. 4).
21a	? x ?	Similar round stamp, but rough lettering. (Not illustrated).
22	52 x 49	Round stamp which bulges out by the letter T, which is presumably a miswriting for L. Crude lettering (Fig. 4).
23	62 x 62	Perfectly round stamp with 'Clasis. Brit' round the edge and wheel type decoration in the centre (Fig. 4).
24	? x 46	Roughly oval stamp. The only letters visible are AB, but CL is presumed to stand in front. The A is of unusual type with no cross-piece, and the right hand leg vertical (Fig. 4).
25	84 x 25	Crude lettering C L S B R with the L & S inverted (Fig. 4).

LIST OF STAMPS

Type.	Stamp No.	Letters	Date	Reference
1. Bardown	3	R	1965	
"	18	CL	1968	
Beauport	3	C	1968	
"	4	C	1968	
Bodiam	9	CLB	1966	<i>J.R.S.</i> , vol.57 (1967), p. 208
"	10	LBR	1966	" "
"	12	BR	1966	" "
"	18	BR	1967	" vol. 58 (1968), p. 211
"	23	BR	1967	" "
"	24	BR	1967	" "
"	26	BR	1967	" "

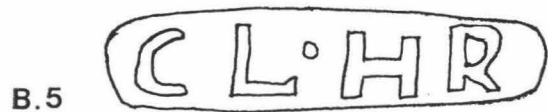
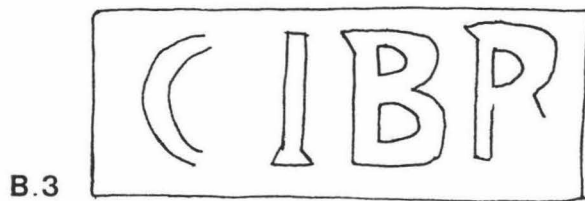
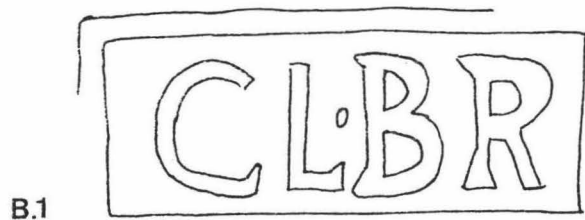
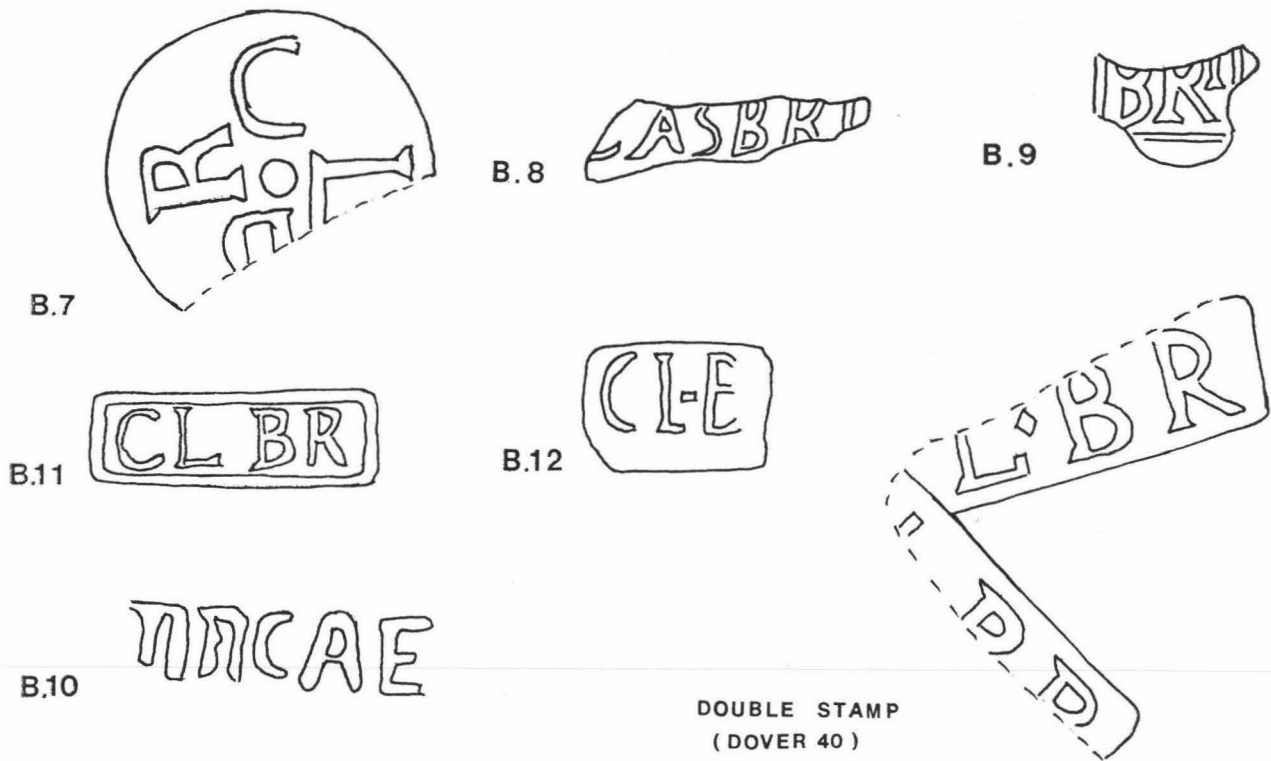


FIG. 5. Boulogne C L B R Stamps, types B.1 to B.6. (Scale $\frac{1}{2}$)

Type.	Stamp No.	Letters	Date	Reference
Dover	1*	CLBR	1778	J. Lyon, <i>Archæologia</i> , vol. 5 (1779), p. 330
"	4*	BR	pre-1867	Joseph Mayer Collection (Liverpool M.)
"	10	CLBR	1913	Dover M. A/1 233
"	12*	LBR	1915	E. G. J. Amos File, Photo No. 10
"	13*	LBR	1920	Photo No. 7
"	19*	BR	1929	<i>Arch. Cant.</i> , vol. 42 (1930), p. xlix
"	20*	CL	1929	" "
"	23*	CLBR	1929	" "
"	29*	L	1929	" "
"	38	BR	1952	L. M. Threipland, <i>Arch. Cant.</i> , vol. 71 (1957), p. 31
"	41	CLBR	1952	" "
"	44	LBR	1952	" "
Lympne	2	CLBR	1850	C. Roach Smith, <i>The Roman Castrum at Lympne</i> (1852), pl. vi
"	10*	CLB	1850	C. Roach Smith, <i>Richborough, Reculver and Lympne</i> (1850), p. 258
Pevensey	2	BR	1907	L. F. Salzman, <i>S.A.C.</i> , vol. 52 (1909), p. 87 and pl. 8
2. Dover	5*	BR	1859	<i>Arch. Cant.</i> , vol. 5 (1862-3), p. xli
"	17	BR	1929	<i>Arch. Cant.</i> , vol. 42 (1930), p. xlix
"	32*	LBR	1928	Dover M. A/1 225
"	35	LB	1945	L. M. Threipland & K. A. Steer, <i>Arch. Cant.</i> , vol. 64 (1951), p. 131
"	37	CLB	1952	L. M. Threipland, <i>Arch. Cant.</i> , vol. 71 (1957), p. 31
2a. Beauport	5	CLBR	1968	
2b. Dover	5*	CLB	pre-1867	Joseph Mayer Collection (Liverpool M.)
Lympne	4	CLBR	1850	C. Roach Smith, <i>The Roman Castrum at Lympne</i> (1852), p. vi.
3. Dover	15	CLBR	1922	<i>J.R.S.</i> , vol. 11 (1921-2), p. 239 no. 13
4. Cranbrook	9	CLBR	1955-7	See note 1 below for this and all following Cranbrook tiles.
Bodiam	30	CLBR	1969	
5. Beauport	2	CL	1968	
6. Bardown	6	CL	1968	
7. Folkestone	3	CLBR	1924	S. E. Winbolt, <i>Roman Folkestone</i> (1925), p. 104
"	4	CLBR	1924	" "
"	6*	?	1924	" "
Richborough	1	CLBR	1932	Richborough Report, vol. 4 (1949), p. 256
8. Bodiam	6	CLB	1960	C. H. Lemmon & J. D. Hill, <i>S.A.C.</i> , vol. 104 (1966), p. 99
Beauport	1	CLB	1968	
Cranbrook	4	CLBR	1955-7	
"	7	CLBR	1955-7	
"	12	BR	1955-7	
"	16	CL	1955-7	
"	21	CL	1955-7	
"	24	C	1955-7	
"	28	CL	1955-7	
"	45	CLBR	1955-7	
"	49	C	1955-7	
"	51	CLBR	1955-7	

Type.	Stamp No.	Letters	Date	Reference
8a. Cranbrook	11	BR	1955-7	
"	15	CLBR	1955-7	
"	25	BR	1955-7	
"	27	BR	1955-7	
"	30	CLB	1955-7	
"	47	BR	1955-7	
Dover	39	CLBR	1952	L. M. Threipland, <i>Arch. Cant.</i> , vol. 71 (1957), p. 31
9. Bardown	8	CLBR	1968	
"	9	CL	1968	
Dover	6	CLBR	1908	J. Mothersole, <i>The Saxon Shore</i> (1924), p. 117
10. Bodiam	3	CL	1960	C. H. Lemmon & J. D. Hill, <i>S.A.C.</i> , vol. 104 (1966), p. 99
"	4	CL	1960	" "
"	8*	CL	1960	" "
11. Cranbrook	10	CLBR	1955-7	
"	43	CLBR	1955-7	
12. Bardown	14	CLB	1968	
"	15	CLB	1968	
Dover	40	CLBR	1952	L. M. Threipland, <i>Arch. Cant.</i> , vol. 71 (1957), p. 31
13. Bodiam	25	CLBR	1967	<i>J.R.S.</i> , vol. 58 (1968), p.211
14. Bodiam	17	BR	1967	" " "
15. Bardown	16	R	1968	
Bodiam	16	BR	1967	<i>J.R.S.</i> , vol. 58 (1968), p. 211
Dover	33	R	?	Dover M.
16. Cranbrook	40	CLBR	1955-7	
17. Bodiam	20	CLBR	1967	<i>J.R.S.</i> , vol. 58 (1968), p. 211
18. Bardown	5	R	1968	
19. Bardown	13	R	1968	
"	22	CLBR	1968	
Bodiam	7	LBR	1960	C. H. Lemmon & J. D. Hill, <i>S.A.C.</i> , vol. 104 (1966), p. 99
Cranbrook	1	CLBR	1955-7	
"	2	CLBR	1955-7	
"	3	CLBR	1955-7	
"	5	CLBR	1955-7	
"	6	CLBR	1955-7	
"	14	CLBR	1955-7	
"	17	CL	1955-7	
"	18	LBR	1955-7	
"	19	CLBR	1955-7	
"	20	CLB	1955-7	
"	22	LB	1955-7	
"	29	CLBR	1955-7	
"	31	CL	1955-7	
"	32	CLBR	1955-7	
"	35	CLBR	1955-7	
"	36	CLBR	1955-7	
"	37	CLB	1955-7	
"	41	CLBR	1955-7	
"	42*	?	1955-7	
"	44	CLBR	1955-7	
"	46	CLBR	1955-7	
"	48	CLB	1955-7	



STAMPED TILES

FIG. 6. Boulogne C L B R Stamps, types B.7 to B.12 (scale unknown);
also example of Double Stamp (Dover 40)

Type.	Stamp No.	Letters	Date	Reference
Dover	2*	CLBR	c.1850	R. E. M. Wheeler, <i>The Archaeological Journal</i> , vol. 86 (1929), p. 45
"	7*	C	1908	E. G. J. Amos File, Photo No. 5
"	9	CLBR	c.1913	E. G. J. Amos File, Photo No. 3
"	11*	CLBR	1913	E. G. J. Amos File, Photo No. 4
"	34	LB	1945	L. M. Threipland & K. A. Steer, <i>Arch. Cant.</i> , vol. 64 (1951) p. 131 ff.
19a. Cranbrook	23	CLBR	1955-7	
"	33	CLBR	1955-7	
19b. Bardown	1	CLBR	1951	I. D. Margary, <i>Antiquaries Journal</i> , vol. 32 (1952), p. 73
Bodiam	2	CLBR	1960	C. H. Lemmon & J. D. Hill, <i>S.A.C.</i> , vol. 104 (1966), p. 99
"	5	CLBR	1960	" "
Cranbrook	8	CLBR	1955-7	
"	34	CLBR	1955-7	
19c. Dover	8	CLBR	1930(?)	Ministry of Works
20. Bardown	2	BR	1965	
"	25	BR	1968	
Bodiam	1	CLBR	1959	C. H. Lemmon & J. D. Hill, <i>S.A.C.</i> , vol. 104 (1966), p. 99
"	11	CL	1966	<i>J.R.S.</i> , vol. 57 (1967), p. 208
Dover	16*	BR	pre-1925	E. G. J. Amos File, Photo No. 12
"	42	BR	1952	L. M. Threipland, <i>Arch. Cant.</i> , vol. 71 (1957), p. 31
"	43	BR	1952	" "
"	45	BR	1952	" "
Pevensey	1*	LBR	1906	L. F. Salzman, <i>S.A.C.</i> , vol. 51 (1908), p. 112
21. Folkestone	2	CLBR	1924	S. E. Winbolt, <i>Roman Folkestone</i> (1925), p. 104
"	7*	CLBR	1924	" "
21a. Pevensey	3*	?	?	" "
22. Dover	28*	B	1928	E. G. J. Amos File, Photo. No. 13
Lymne	7	CTBR	1850	C. Roach Smith, <i>The Roman Castrum at Lymne</i> (1852), pl. vi
23. Folkestone	1	CLBR	1924	S. E. Winbolt, <i>Roman Folkestone</i> (1925), p. 104
"	5*	CLBR	1924	" "
24. Bodiam	13	AB	1966	<i>J.R.S.</i> , vol. 57 (1967), p. 208
"	27	B	1967	<i>J.R.S.</i> , vol. 58 (1968), p. 211
25. Bodiam	22	LSB	1967	<i>J.R.S.</i> , vol. 58 (1968), p. 211
Lymne	1	CLSBR	1850	C. Roach Smith, <i>The Roman Castrum at Lymne</i> (1852), pl. vi

Notes to above list

1. There can be no individual reference for the Cranbrook tiles, but almost all of them are covered as a whole in: *Arch. Cant.*, vol. 70 (1956), p. 283, *Arch. Cant.*, vol. 71 (1957), p. 224, and Mrs. M. C. Lebon *Arch. Cant.*, vol. 72 (1958), p. lx-lxiii; and also in *J.R.S.*, vol. 49 (1959), p. 137.

2. The evidence for several Dover tiles comes from E. G. J. Amos' file of photographs (now in K.A.S. Library at Maidstone Museum), or from his scrapbook in the library of *The Dover Express*.
3. The following abbreviations have been used:
 S.A.C.: *Sussex Archaeological Collections*
 Arch. Cant. *Archaeologia Cantiana*
 J.R.S. *The Journal of Roman Studies*
4. The Beauport Park stamps and Bardown stamps Nos. 2-25 have not yet been published.

Apart from these 140 stamps listed here, there are 37 others which because of their very worn or fragmentary condition cannot at present be reasonably classified. These 37 stamps consist of 11 each from Bardown and Dover, six from Bodiam, five from Lympne, and 4 from Cranbrook.

PRESENT WHEREABOUTS

Though several recorded stamps have been known to have been lost for ever, and others are missing, it has been possible to discover the whereabouts of the majority of those listed. Here is a detailed note of these:—

Bardown	1: No. 1 in Barbican House, Lewes.
Bodiam	10: Nos. 1-7, 9-11 in Battle Museum.
Cranbrook	49: Nos. 1-7, 9-11, 13-34, 36-41, 44-51 in Cranbrook School Museum; Nos. 8 and 43 in Maidstone Museum; no. 35 in Roman Pavement Museum, Canterbury.
Dover	20: Nos. 3, 6, 10, 13, 15, 33, 35, 37-45 in Dover Museum; Nos. 4 and 5 in Liverpool Museum; No. 9 in St. Mary's Church, Dover Castle; No. 8 with Ministry of Works.
Folkestone	4: Nos. 1-4 in Folkestone Museum.
Lympne	3: Nos. 1, 2, 7 in the British Museum.
Pevensey	1: No. 2 in Hastings Museum.
Richborough	1: No. 1 in Richborough Castle Museum.

Certain other tiles are at present in the care of The Wealden Iron Research Group.

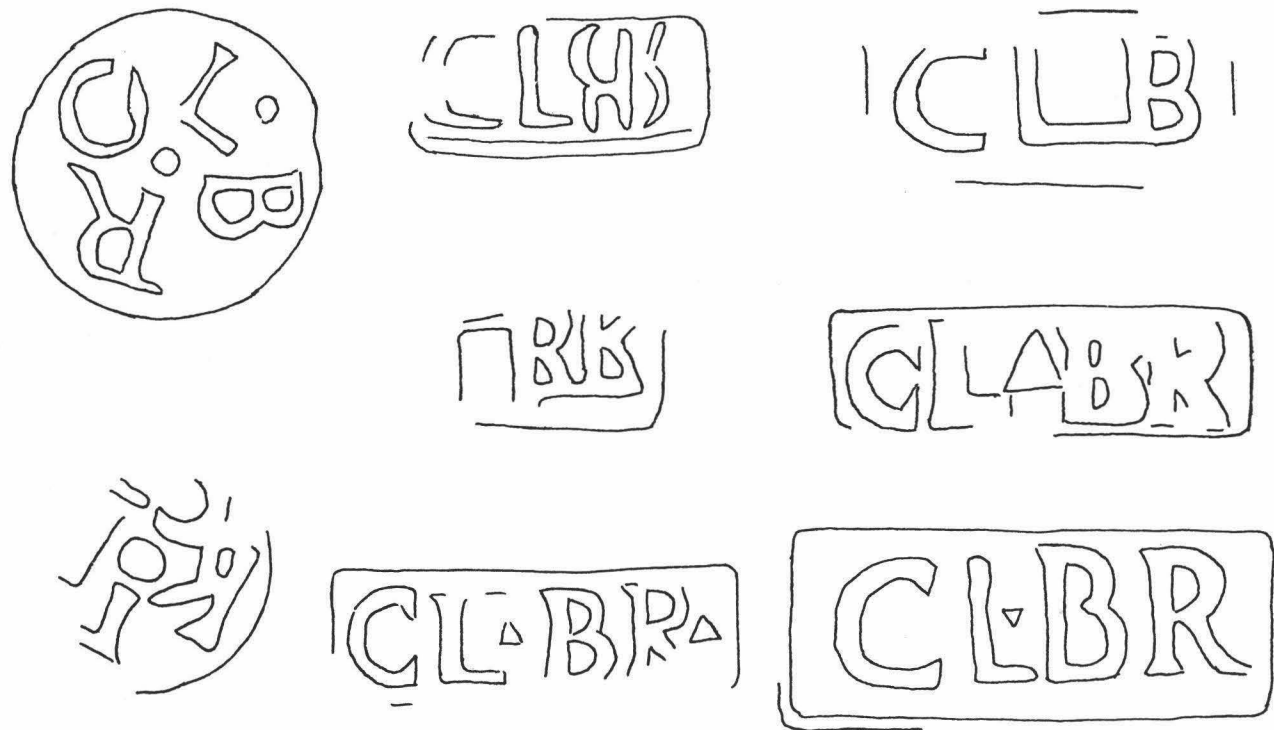


Fig. 7 Some new types found at Boulogne 1967-69 (scale $\frac{1}{2}$)

TABLE OF TYPES

Table showing which sites have produced which basic types of stamp.

Type Number	BARDOWN	BEAUPORT, PARK	BODIAM	CRANBROOK	DOVER	FOLKESTONE	LYMPNE	PEVENSEY	RICHBOROUGH	Total
1		2	7		12		2	1		26
2, 2a, 2b		1			6		1			8
3					1					1
4			1	1						2
5		1								1
6	1									1
7						3			1	4
8, 8a		1	1	16	1					19
9	2				1					3
10			3							3
11				2						2
12	2				1					3
13			1							1
14			1							1
15	1		1		1					3
16, 16a				2						2
17			1							1
18	1									1
19, 19a										
19b, 19c	3		3	26	6					38
20	2		2		4			1		9
21, 21a						2		1		3
22					1		1			2
23						2				2
24			2							2
25			1				1			2
Un-classified	11		6	4	11		5			37
Total Varieties of basic types	25	5	30	51	45	7	10	3	1	177
	8	4	12	5	10	3	4	3	1	

STAMPS FROM THE BOULOGNE AREA

The Boulogne types are based for the most part upon the evidence of (a) the nine tiles still to be seen in the museum at Boulogne (types B.1 to B.6 inclusive, all in Fig. 5), and (b) those described or drawn (without measurement) by Vaillant in various writings in 1882-1890 (Fig. 6). For the sake of convenience I have combined the notes on the types with the full list of stamps for which I can find evidence.

Type	Size (Millimetres)	
B.1	87 x 33	Close set large letters. Oval medial tops. -1. C L . B R (Found 1862) -2. C L . B R (Found 1886)
B.2	? x 31	Large letters leaning back. Medial stop. - B R (Found 1862)
B.3	90 x 35	Letter I instead of L. - C I B R (Found 1886)
B.4	? x 35	Good lettering. Medial stop with three blades. - C L . B (Found 1886)
B.5	81 x 18	Letter H instead of B. Very crude lettering. Round medial stop. Rounded ends to stamp. -1. C L . H R -2. C L . H R -3. C L H R (? stop)
B.6	62 x 24	Close set letters: poor lettering. - C L B R

I have not seen any of the following types, nor are measurements known. Nos. B.7 to B.12 appear on Fig. 6. Nos. B.13 to B.15 are not illustrated. All references B.7 to B.13 (inclusive) are to writings by Vaillant.

- B.7 Round stamp with large stop in centre. Stamp found in 1888. Letters C L B R arranged differently from types 21 and 22. (See 'L'Estampille Ronde' from *Révue Archéologique*, Third Series, vol. XII (1888), p. 367-71.)
- B.8 'LAS BRI' (See *Notes Boulonnaises* (1890), p. 245, fig. 84).
- B.9 'BRIT' (See *Notes Boulonnaises* (1890), p. 245, fig. 85).
- B.10 'NNCAE'. Found 1862. (See *Notes Boulonnaises* (1890), p. 246, fig. 86).
- B.11 -1. C L B R (Found at Desures, nr. Boulogne)
2. C L B R
(See *Notes Boulonnaises* (1890), p. 243-4, figs. 81, 82)
- B.12 C L - B (Hyphen-type stop)
(See fig. 12 of 'Estampilles' from *Classis Britannica*, etc. (1888))
- B.13 L B R
(See fig. 7 of 'Estampilles' from *Classis Britannica*, etc. (1888))
- B.14 C L . B (Found at Desures, near Boulogne)
- B.15 C L B R

Evidence of B.14 and B.15 comes from *Boulogne Romain* (1899) by E. T. Hamy, who later wrote more fully about CLBR stamps in 'Les sigles figulins de la Flotte de Bretagne' in *Bull. Soc. Acad. Boulogne-sur-Mer*, Tome V, (1904-1907), p. 531-562.

This article includes what was virtually a catalogue of all CLBR tiles found near Boulogne, and listed about 42 tiles, some of which are extant and are illustrated in figs. 5 and 6.

In recent correspondence M. Claude Seillier tells me that no CLBR tiles have been found at Boulogne between 1899 and present times, when in the course of excavation 1967-69 he found many more stamped tiles. The total of these recent discoveries comes to 39, covering some 18 different types. Though none of these would seem to be identical with those found in Britain, there are close

similarities to type 8 and type 19, and there are no less than 15 examples of a circular stamp very like type B.7. The full report on all these appears in *La Revue du Nord*, 202, October-December, 1969.

M. Seillier also mentions a tile (type B.5) which he found in the museum at St. Germain. (Not listed by Hamy).

This brings the full total of stamped tiles found in the Boulogne area to about 80, and these together with the British tiles, make a grand total of about 260 CLBR stamps so far discovered. There must be plenty more still to be found.

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my thanks to all those who have assisted me in many different helpful ways, and especially to Mr. J. Manwaring Baines, F.S.A., Mr. Conant Brodribb, Mr. Henry F. Cleere, F.S.A., Mr. A. L. Congreve, F.S.A., Professor Barry Cunliffe, F.S.A., Mr. D. B. Kelly, Mrs. M. C. Lebon, Col. C. H. Lemmon, Mr. I. D. Margary, F.S.A., Mr. S. E. Rigold, F.S.A., Dr. L. F. Salzman, F.S.A., M. Claude Seillier and Mr. R. P. Wright, F.S.A., and to all Museum curators who have kindly answered my enquiries.

ANGLO-SAXON BURIALS AT CRANE DOWN, JEVINGTON

By E. W. HOLDEN, F.S.A.

(With contributions by V. I. Evison, F.S.A., and H. B. A. Ratcliffe-Densham, F.S.A.)

INTRODUCTION

During the excavation for a reservoir in 1965 on Crane Down, Jevington, some fragmentary human bones were found (Grave 1) which were reported elsewhere.¹ The Sussex Archaeological Society was notified and the writer examined the area, but no grave fillings or other archaeological features were visible in the exposed chalk. By the summer of 1966 the excavation had reached a depth of between 12ft. and 15ft. some 15ft. away from the SW. wall of the reservoir, and an access ramp had been dug from the south leading to the bottom of the main excavation. Weathering of the chalk face showed skull fragments (Grave 2) in situ some 13ft. NW. of Grave 1. During the following weeks further chalk weathering enabled the writer and Mrs. Holden to discover traces of six more graves.² Despite frequent inspections until 1967 no more burials were located and although the dumps of chalk were searched, they yielded only one humerus. Owing to spoil heaps, plant and materials, it was not possible to examine by digging any areas other than those adjacent to the edges of the contractor's excavations. Work trenches W. and SW. of the reservoir did not reveal any graves. No record has been traced of earlier finds of the Saxon period on Crane Down.

The Site. The National Grid Reference is TQ 56650315.³ The reservoir is four miles NW. of Eastbourne in the parish of Jevington a mile north of the village, near the end of a spur of chalk downland known as Crane Down, close to the (now vanished) O.S. Trig. Point of 322ft. O.D. The SW. end of the spur joins the main range of the South Downs, which here have an elevation of some 600ft. There are extensive views of the Weald to the north. Lynchets of prehistoric type have formed on the NW. slope towards Crane Down Bottom and there are strip lynchets of unknown age on the SE. flank overlooking Filching Manor House.

¹ *Sussex Notes & Queries*, vol. 16 (1963-7), pp. 246-47, 324.

² Thanks are due to Mr. W. E. Walley, Engineer to the Eastbourne Waterworks Company, Mr. W. A. Taylor, Mr. Mitchell and Messrs. S. M. Tidy (Public Works) Ltd., for their co-operation on the site. Appreciation is recorded for the advice and contributions given by Miss V. I. Evison and Dr. H. B. A. Ratcliffe-Densham, and for cleaning the metalwork by Mr. A. V. Sheppard. The finds have been deposited at Barbican House Museum, Lewes, by courtesy of The Eastbourne Waterworks Company.

³ This corrects the N.G.R. previously given elsewhere (see n.1).

The subsoil is Middle Chalk, greyish in colour, free from flints, but containing numerous shelly fossils and nodules of marcasite. The Melbourn Rock appeared to be visible at the base of the reservoir excavation. There was about 9in. of topsoil and turf covering the solid chalk which was friable near the surface. As the graves had been filled with hard-packed chalk rubble with only the smallest admixture of topsoil, the fillings were virtually the same colour and texture as the subsoil, hence the recognition of graves was difficult.

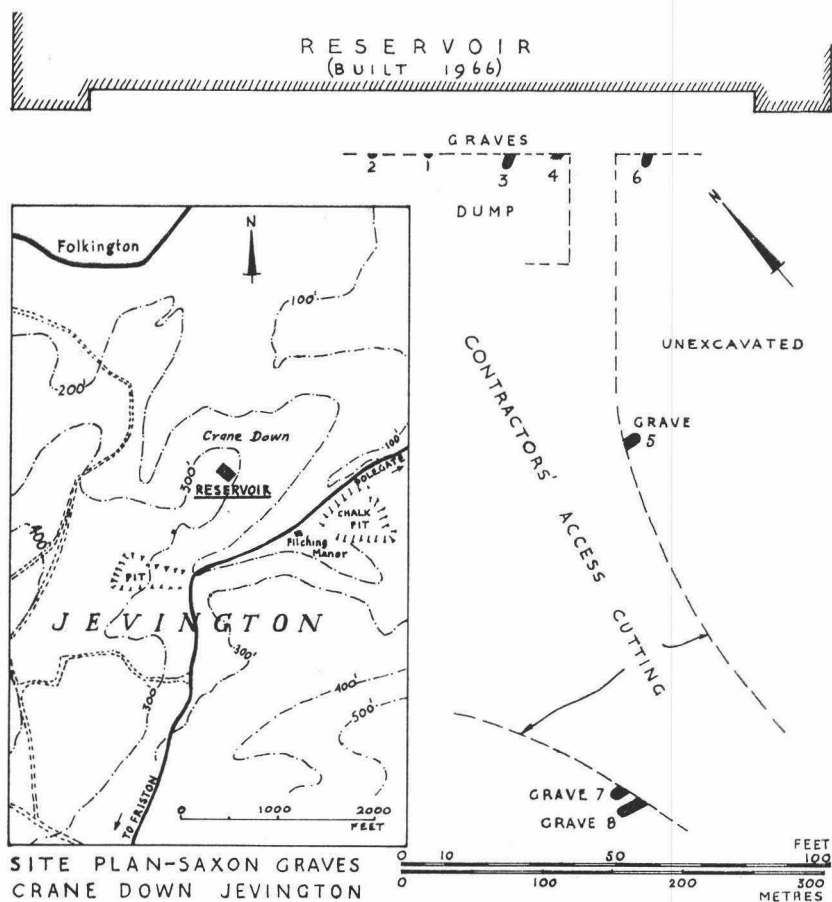


FIG. 1. Site plan and positions of graves

THE GRAVES

For the plan, see Fig. 1, where the graves are numbered in order of discovery.

*Grave 1.*¹ The orientation of this grave cannot be given with accuracy, the spot shown in Fig. 1 being that where the skull fragments, a mandible and a humerus shaft were found by the contractor's foreman. The other bones of the body and the grave itself (of which there is no sign) must have been removed by the mechanical excavator, as the grave did not extend to the SW. Thus it is probable but not certain, that the head of the skeleton lay to the W. or SW. end of the grave. A man about 50 years old.

Grave 2. Skull fragments were the sole remains, which had been carefully removed by the contractor, a depression in the face of the vertical chalk showing their position in a 1ft. 6in. deep grave. The width of the grave could not be ascertained as the skull was against the end wall. As the grave did not go S. or SW. below the dump, it would have extended into the excavated area and the orientation could be the same as for Grave 1. A child of eight or nine years.

Grave 3. (Fig. 2). This grave, 2ft. wide and 2ft. 1in. deep, was located when broken bones were seen protruding from the chalk face and it was then excavated from a ladder, the dump above preventing normal methods of excavation. It was possible, despite the dump, to remove the grave filling and the upper half of a supine skeleton, the greater part of which was much decayed. The skull, although fragmentary, appeared to be turned on to its right side. The grave had the head to the SW. A woman, about 50 years old and 5ft. tall.

Finds. An iron knife, with what appeared to be faint traces of wood grain on the tang, lay outside the left forearm, point towards the head (Fig. 2, 4). The tip was missing owing to corrosion, but its length would have been about 5½in. (Fig. 3, 4).

A fragment of iron was among the skull bones (Fig. 2, 5), which is probably the remnant of a hair pin, with a shank of circular section and a spherical head (Fig. 3, 5).

Between the vertebral column and the left forearm were the crushed remains of plain blue glass bead (Fig. 2, 6), too comminuted for reconstruction. Two pieces show that the perforation of the bead was about ¼in. diameter.

Grave 4. Danger from the dump prevented total excavation, although it was certain that the grave was below it. The depth of the grave was about 1ft. 6in. As the only bone fragments retained (other traces were too rotten) were from the tibia of an adult, it seems reasonable to assume that the head of the body was towards the W. or SW.

¹ See n.1, p. 126).

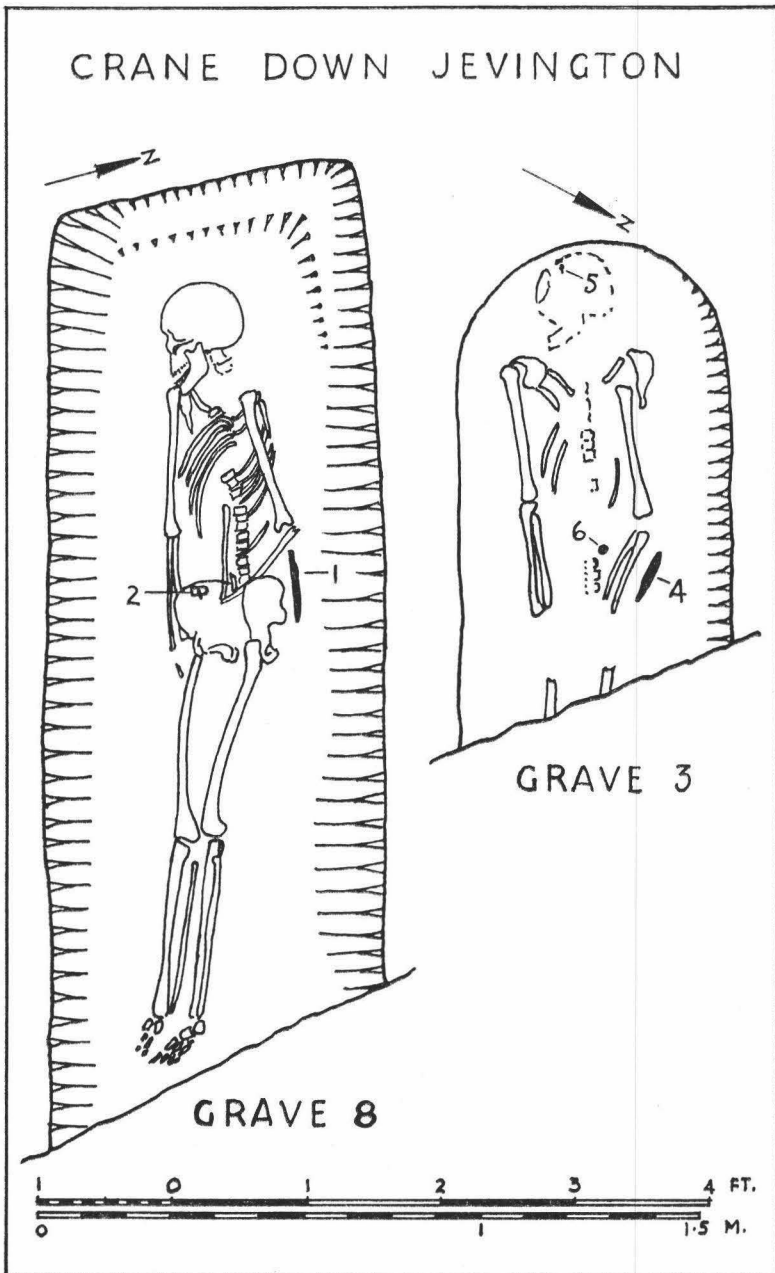


FIG. 2. Plans of graves 3 and 8

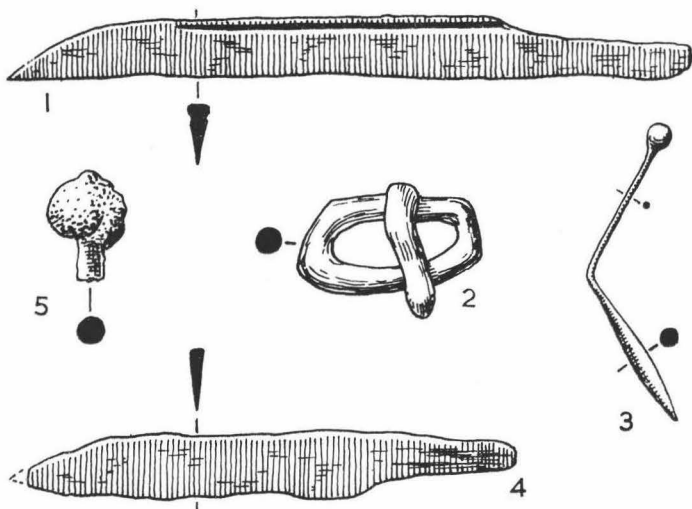


FIG. 3. Metal objects. 1, 2, Iron knife and buckle (grave 8), 3, bronze pin (grave 6). 4, 5, Iron knife and pin head (grave 3).

(Scales: 1, 2, 4— $\frac{1}{2}$; 3, 5— $\frac{1}{4}$)

Grave 5. The length of the grave remaining was 4ft., the width 2ft. 4in. and the depth, 2ft. 3in. The lower part of a supine, very decayed skeleton was in the bottom of the grave, the head of which would have been to the W. A woman.

Finds. At the base of the topsoil above the grave filling were two potsherds, probably of the Iron Age, judging by the 'soapy' fabric, two medieval sherds and one cracked flint 'potboiler.' These do not help to date the grave.

Grave 6. Only 2ft. of the head of the grave remained, the width being 2ft. and the depth, 2ft. 3in. The skull was not turned to one side and enough remained of the shoulder girdle to indicate a supine position, with head to the SW. A woman in her late twenties.

Finds. Two tiny shapeless fragments of iron and a bronze pin were against the side of the skull where the dead woman's left ear would have been. The pin (Fig. 3, 3) is 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. long with a spherical head, round-section shank to the upper half, then swelling to a hipped form below. The pin is bent in the centre, but originally would have been straight. An Anglo-Saxon woman's grave at Sibertswold, Kent, dug by Faussett in 1773 contained among other objects, a straight silver hipped pin 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, similar in form to that from Crane Down, but the round head is flattened, decorated and mounted with a garnet on the two faces. The object is described as 'for the hair.'¹ Another hipped pin 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, made of bone, came from an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire.² A third near parallel came from a woman's grave

¹ B. Faussett (ed. C. Roach Smith), *Inventorium Sepulchrale* (1856), PL. XII, 20.

² T. C. Lethbridge, 'Recent Excavations in Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk,' in *Cambs. Ant. Soc.*, N.S., No. 3 (1931), Fig 38, 2.

in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Shudy Camps, Cambs. This is of bronze, 1½ in. long and hipped, but with a rectangular, faceted head.¹

Grave 7. The upper 4ft. of this grave remained, which was 2ft. 6in. wide and 2ft. 4in. deep. All bones were much decayed, with the head to the W. An elderly adult, probably male.

Grave 8 (Fig. 2). This grave was almost complete, being 7ft. long, 2ft. 6in. wide and 2ft. 4in. deep. The E. end was missing and the W. end was straight, not rounded as in other graves. The greater part of the bones were in a fair state of preservation. The body had been interred generally supine, but slightly inclined to the right and the head turned the same way. The grave was aligned between W. and NW.—E. and SE., head to the W. end. A man, about 30 years old and 5ft. 9in. tall.

Finds. An iron knife 7in. long was by the left side of the pelvis, point towards the feet, with the tang below the left elbow (Fig. 2, 1). There is a groove on each side close to the back of the knife, extending 3½ in. from the junction of the blade with the tang. The cutting edge is straight and the back curves to the point (Fig. 3, 1).

An iron buckle of roughly oval shape, 2in. wide by 1in. high, with a central tongue, was on the upper right side of the pelvis (Fig. 2, 2 and Fig. 3, 2). This could be a belt buckle.

CONCLUSIONS

The fact that Graves 7 and 8 are 150ft. away from five graves near the reservoir, with Grave 5 roughly midway between the groups, suggests that they are part of a larger cemetery. It is possible that other graves were removed during mechanical excavation without any traces of the human bones having being noticed owing to the rotten and fragmentary nature of the skeletal remains. There may be other graves SW. of Graves 7 and 8 and this area will need to be examined if the reservoir is extended (as is likely) at some future date. That the dumps of chalk yielded only one bone is not surprising because graves and contents, if any, would be among the first ground to be excavated and thus this material would be invisible at the bottom of the spoil heaps. The presence of such a cemetery is not unexpected towards the eastern end of the South Downs in an area where most place-names are of Saxon origin. The sparse finds do not compare with the richer deposits in the early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of Alfriston,² Eastbourne,³ or Selmeaton,⁴ all within a four mile radius of Crane Down.

¹ *Ibid.*, N.S., No. 5 (1936), Fig. 4, A, B, C.

² A. Meaney, *Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites* (1964), p. 246.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 255. Also further excavations in 1963 by Mr. D. Thomson (unpublished).

Miss V. I. Evison, F.S.A., kindly contributed the following:—

The evidence so far collected from Crane Down, Jevington, suggests that it might be a late 7th century Christian cemetery, a type which has been singled out for notice on several occasions.¹ The relevant features present at Jevington are: 1. Roughly W.-E. orientation of the graves. 2. Regular spacing (Graves 1-4 and 6). 3. Sparse grave furniture. 4. Small bronze pin usual in late graves.² 5. Knife with back curving to the point, straight cutting edge and groove along the back. A knife of this type occurred in Grave 3 at Ports Down, Hants. in another cemetery of this kind, the graves lying W.-E. and mostly unfurnished, but containing a conical shield boss.³ Frisian parallels for the knife are forthcoming from 8th century contexts.

THE HUMAN REMAINS

By Dr. H. B. A. RATCLIFFE-DENSHAM, F.S.A.

The material which derives from eight individuals, consists of bone which has been much rotted by humic acid and, then, absorbed a fine suspension of chalk, like a sponge.

Grave 1. An incomplete calvaria, mandible and right humeral shaft of a man, about 50 years old. The calvaria was long, narrow, of moderate height, and poorly marked by muscular attachments. It exhibited some atavistic features which have been found in British Neolithic skulls. The humerus had a rugged angular appearance which was caused by moulding by the circumflex vessels and the deltoid muscle. Another, slightly smaller, left humerus, found on a spoil heap, resembled it closely, and might have been its fellow. Both bones belonged to adult males of medium stature.

Grave 2. The back half of the calvaria of a child of eight or nine years. Both lambdoid sutures contained wormian bones. Its maximal width was 130 mm.

Grave 3. The calvaria, mandible and parts of the axial and upper appendicular skeleton, as far as mid-thigh, of a woman, who was about 50 years old and 5ft. tall. When rebuilt from many fragments, the calvaria was seen to have been split open by a blow with a sharp instrument on the left side. The length was 195 mm., the cephalic index a moderate 73, and the height-length index a low 70. The external occipital protuberance on the back of the skull had been pulled backwards and downwards by the trapezius and the semispinalis capitis muscles so that it gave the appearance of a chignon. The cranial capacity was 1,500c.c. The head, from above, was ovoid, with a low, round forehead. The chin was pointed, the teeth small and moderately worn. There were pyorrhoea and caries, and

¹ T. C. Lethbridge, *op. cit.* (1931), pp. 82-84, and *op. cit.* (1936), pp. 27-29; E. T. Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* (1936), pp. 96-114; V. I. Evison, 'An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Holborough, Kent,' in *Arch. Cant.*, vol. 70 (1956), pp. 107-11; M. Hyslop, 'Two Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries at Chamberlains Barn, Leighton Buzzard, Beds.' in *Arch. Journ.*, vol. 120 (1963), pp. 189-94.

² T. C. Lethbridge, *op. cit.* (1936), Fig. 4, A, B, C; R. B. K. Stevenson, 'Pins and the Chronology of Brochs,' in *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, vol. 21 (1955), pp. 282-94.

³ *Proc. Hants. Field & Arch. Soc.*, forthcoming.

several teeth were lost before death. The arm and thigh bones were relatively stout, and the latter were flattened above and pilastered below. There was ossification of the conoid ligament of the left shoulder, and some early arthritis of the right one. This, in conjunction with the great development of the left trapezius muscle, suggests that something heavy was habitually carried by the left arm or shoulder.

Grave 4. Much rotted fragments from the middle of the shaft of an adult, right tibia.

Grave 5. Fragments from the shafts of the following, adult, long bones: femur, ? left tibia, ? left fibula, right humerus, radius; probably female. A woman's right carpal scaphoid bone, the shafts of three metacarpals, four proximal, one middle and one terminal phalanges. This woman's right upper limb was small.

Grave 6. Most of the skull and cervical vertebrae with parts of the shoulder girdle and humeri of a woman who died in her late twenties. The cephalic index was 74. In other ways this skull differed from No. 3. Its capacity was only 1,300c.c. and its length 180 mm., but it was relatively higher, with length-auricular height and breadth—auricular height indices of 62.5 and 83.5 respectively compared with 59 and 80. The vertex was keeled instead of flat, there was no trace of a chignon, and the brow was beetling instead of round. The mouth was small, the chin pointed and unusually deep, and the teeth complete, with an edge to edge bite. There was pyorrhoea, and the left lower 7 was almost destroyed by caries. The forehead was narrow, the cheeks wide, and the muscles of the tongue well developed. The right deltoid muscle was well developed.

Grave 7. Some badly damaged fragments of skull and ribs, and of the shafts of both humeri and both radii of an elderly adult, probably male. The brow was smooth. Part of the left ulna indicated moderate muscular development.

Grave 8. The almost complete skeleton of a man, about 5ft. 9in. tall and 30 years old. The cranium was large, just under 1700 c.c., and of equal height and breadth, so that the cephalic and the height-length indices were equal 74. The norma verticalis was wedge shaped, with flat sides, and the greatest width at the parietal bosses, set well back. It was cryptozygous. The brow was smooth, rather square and receding. The huge parietal bones had pushed the rounded occipital backwards and downwards so that, when the cranium was on a flat surface it rested on the upper teeth and the conceptaculum cerebelli, leaving the condyles barely touching. The inion was indefinite. The face was chamaeprosopic, mesorrhine, microseme, and orthognathous. The large maxilla had a wide palate and a wide dental arch. The teeth were medium sized, regular and healthy. The bite was almost entirely edge to edge with a slight tendency to scissors in front, and moderate wear. The frontal air sinuses were prominent, giving a surly expression, like that of No. 6 which is said to characterise some Saxon skulls. The chin was relatively shallow, square and narrow. The gonions were everted and rounded. The muscular attachments of the neck and, indeed, of the whole body were poorly developed. The bodies of the vertebrae had mostly rotted away, but the surviving, lower, dorsal ones suggested a stooping posture. The bones of the shoulders and of the upper limbs were slender, with well marked natural curves. The humeri were strongly moulded by the circumflex vessels. The wrists and hands were slender. The right arm was bigger than the left. Both humeri were markedly platy-brachial. The right femur was longer than the left. Both bones were slender, bowed well backwards and strongly pilastered. The left bone was definitely platy-meric: its distal half was bent markedly outwards and twisted inwards through nearly half a right-angle on the proximal half. The lateral condyle was abraded but, even so, the angle between the anatomical and the load axes appeared to be about 12 degrees. The right bone was straighter. The proximal ends of both shafts were concave anteriorly, with medial and lateral flanges, the latter being defined medially by deep, sub-trochanteric grooves for the insertion of the fascia lata

or the gluteus maximus muscles. The tibiae were long, slender, straight and platycnemic. The ends were too abraded to show the degree of torsion or retroversion of the heads or evidence of squatting. The ends of the fibulae were missing; the borders were sharp, the antero-medial and antero-lateral being fused, and the faces were all concave. The feet were small, and the bones very abraded, but there appeared to be squatting facets on the lateral parts of the upper surfaces of the necks of both astragali.

Conclusion. The material was too rotted and insufficient for statistical study. The five calvariae of different age groups had little anatomical likeness to one another.

MILITIA CAMPS IN SUSSEX, 1793, AND A LADY'S FAN

By IVAN D. MARGARY, F.S.A.

It may be recalled that a few years ago the real meaning of the "Mystery Mounds" on Camp Hill, Ashdown Forest,¹ and subsequently too in Broadwater Forest,² was fully explained by the fortunate discovery, first by our member Mr. P. D. Wood and later by me, of two large, beautifully drawn, coloured maps showing the layout of Militia Camps for 7000 troops which were occupied there for short periods, in 1793. (The Mounds were the field kitchens). It was also known that the troops moved on to a third camp at Brighton where they practised with a new drill (the object of the exercise) before the Prince Regent, but no map of this third camp had been found and its exact location was therefore unknown.

It happened that during the summer of 1968 Worthing Museum arranged a special exhibition of ladies' fans. The Assistant Curator, Miss K. J. Evans, noticed that one of those shown was entitled 'The New Camp Fan,' and depicted in coloured but small simplified form the maps of the *three* camps above mentioned. Thus for the first time we learn the location of the Brighton camp. I am most grateful to Miss Evans for recognising the special interest of this little fan and for so promptly bringing it to our notice.

The body of the fan is of paper with a prettily designed central spandrel and the soft colouring of the maps is well preserved, as is the fan itself. The title 'The New Camp Fan' is given above the centre map. Then come the three maps, entitled 'Waterdown Forest' (i.e. Broadwater, near Eridge), 'Ashdown Forest,' and 'Downs.' Along the foot of the paper area appears in very small letters 'Published as the Act directs May 1st 1794 by the Propriator and Sold at all the Fan Shops in London.'

Comparison of the first two maps with their large equivalents already known shows that in simplified form they are well drawn and reasonably accurate on their very small scale. For instance, the three main alignments of layout on Ashdown Forest are meticulously indicated. One turns then to the unknown third map at Brighton with particular interest.

The camp here is shown in one long alignment extending from a little to the south-west of 'Brighton Church' (i.e. the old parish church of St. Nicholas) to the Hove boundary, which is shown, south of 'Wick Church,' roughly on the line of Upper North Street—Lansdowne Road now. Wick is well known as a hamlet of Hove and the name still exists as a large block of modern flats, Wick Hall,

¹ *Sussex Notes & Queries*, Vol. III (1930), p. 101.

² *S.A.C.*, vol. 103 (1965), p. 60.

south of St. Anne's Well Gardens, but there seems never to have been a church, or even chapel, there, so its mention here is puzzling and appears to have been an error, although depicted as a little church with tower. One wishes all the more to be able to see how the missing large map may have shown it.

Militia units were the Territorials of those days and one can imagine the young ladies associated with the officers who had attended these camps in the previous summer eagerly buying these fans as souvenirs of the occasion.

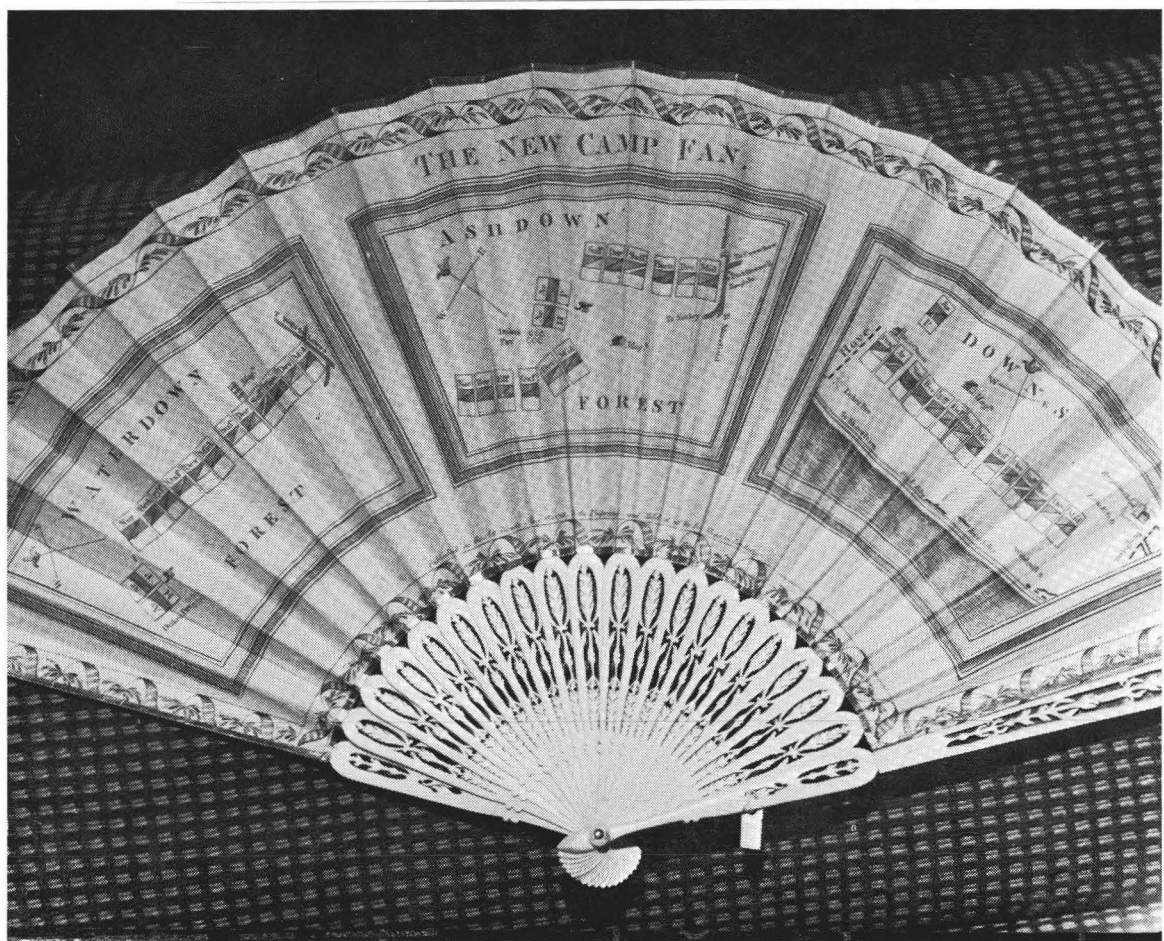


PLATE I. The three maps. For names of units see S.A.C. vol. 103

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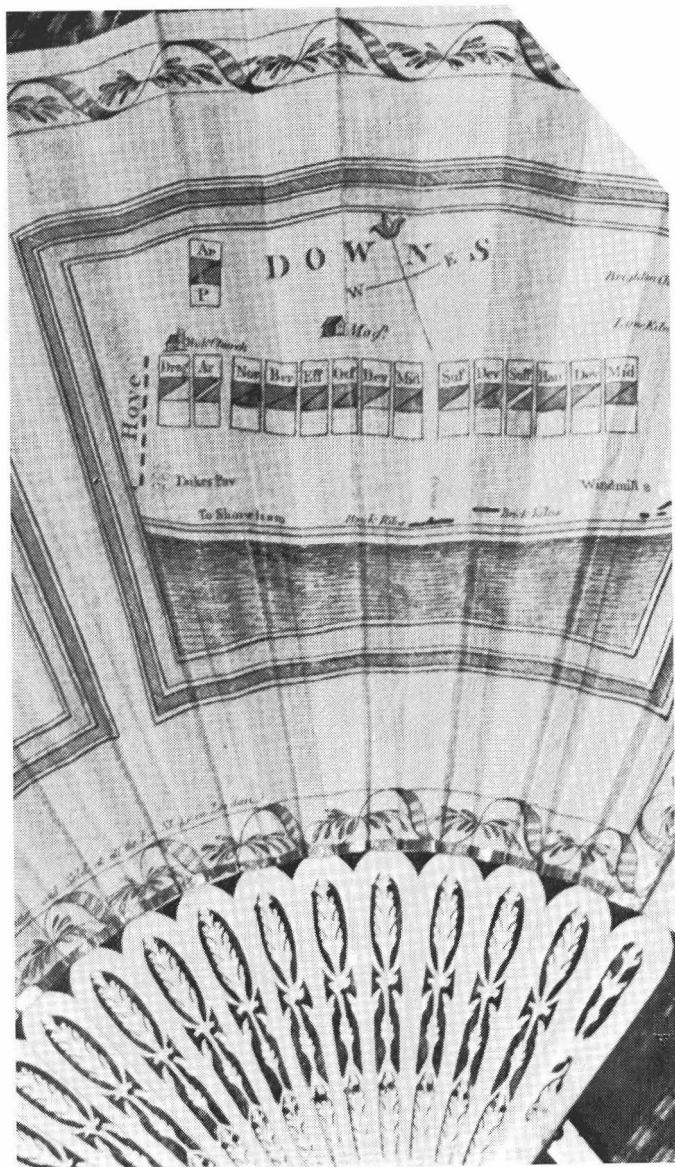


PLATE II. The Brighton map enlarged.
 Brighton Church at extreme top right, Wick 'Church' near Hove boundary.
 Magⁿ=magazine (centre of line).

THE CHICHESTER DYKES— A DISSENTING JUDGMENT

BY RICHARD BRADLEY

“*By turf and thunder but its not all over yet*”

James Joyce, *Finnegans Wake*

“The combination of excavation with ... fieldwork and ... documentary evidence ... has shown beyond doubt that these earthworks were medieval deer fences.” Readers of our previous volume will recognise this as the conclusion of a paper by Mr. John Holmes upon the Chichester dykes.¹ This writer's doubts may seem churlish beside Mr. Holmes' confidence; but perhaps they should be set at rest.

Like Mr. Holmes I have been engaged upon a reassessment of the dykes since 1966 and my own interpretation will appear as an extended paper in the forthcoming report on the excavation at Fishbourne. The present review was written to accompany this account² and is repeated here by kind permission of Professor B. W. Cunliffe. In this article I intend merely to draw attention to a few points where for me Mr. Holmes' paper fails to carry conviction. The smoothness of his style might otherwise ease the reader past confusions of thought which reduce his conclusion to a guess and return his subject to the marshes of controversy.

Mr. Holmes' arguments for a medieval date for the dykes owe much to his misgivings at their interpretation by Miss K. M. E. Murray³ and others as Iron Age linear earthworks. These doubts may be briefly allayed. In the first place he hints that he shares Williams Freeman's instinct that the straightness of the dykes was ‘most un-British behaviour in a linear earthwork.’ This is mistaken and could as well be directed against the Catuvellaunian dykes about Colchester.⁴ Secondly, he argues that if the city of Chichester were preceded by a fort of Claudian date the site could not have been occupied in the late Iron Age. This is strangely illogical and as an argument could be turned against Hod Hill. Certainly it in no way justifies his next proposition that ‘the supposedly Belgic dykes have been left with nowhere to defend’; for Mr. Holmes leaves them the oppidum at Selsey. Since this is never mentioned it is never dismissed.

¹ J. R. Holmes, ‘The Chichester Dykes’, *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter *S.A.C.*), vol. 106 (1968) pp. 63-72.

² This paper will be found in the second volume of the excavation report. These will be published as Research Reports of the Society of Antiquaries.

³ K. M. E. Murray, ‘The Chichester Earthworks’, *S.A.C.*, vol. 94 (1956) pp. 139-143.

⁴ C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull, *Camulodunum* (1947), pp. 8-16.

Without further discussion Mr. Holmes turns his hand to providing a medieval date. This he bases largely upon the results of an excavation at the probable junction of the Devil's Ditch and Stane Street. In Mr. Holmes' view this proved that the dyke had been cut through the side ditch of the Roman road. In my submission the result of the excavation is indeterminate and Mr. Holmes' report of little assistance to the argument.

At the outset the reader must make a choice between Mr. Holmes' two plans of his excavation. The first of these seems to show the 'side ditch' crossing part of the dyke, while his isometric drawing might suggest that the dyke had been cut through the ditch. The sections included in the latter drawing contradict the text at two cardinal points, where Mr. Holmes insists that spoil from the dyke had sealed the filling of the 'side ditch' and where he argues that his two sherds of medieval pottery were directly associated with the dyke. In any case no real evidence emerges to justify Mr. Holmes' belief in the 'Roman side ditch'; his justification is by faith alone. In his site plan it runs barely parallel to the assumed line of Stane Street and the only indication of its age is that it predates one of two post holes omitted from both his site plans. We are given to understand that these two features may be correlated with an 18th century park pale; but for this writer at least two post holes are less versatile.

On the other hand it is instructive to assume that the main points of his account are justified and to consider whether they would really prove a post Roman date for the dyke. Three ambiguities still remain and call insistently for a discussion which is never offered. Firstly, could the dyke have been re-cut, as field evidence might suggest? Mr. Holmes' tiny excavation on the lip of the ditch was not designed to answer this question but if the dyke were of two phases all his evidence would be without value. Secondly, could the dyke have been open on the cutting of the side ditch? If any such earthwork were open on its line the latter would end to either side and drain into it. Indeed, unless the dyke were wholly levelled on the construction of the road the shallow side ditch could not easily cut through its filling. If the dyke were of the late Iron Age date which Mr. Holmes denounces this might well be the case. Thirdly, to offer the opposite possibility, could the dyke between the agger and the 'side ditch' have been deliberately filled on the making of the road? Mr. Holmes' site plan suggests this as a strong possibility but it is never discussed. This is the more curious since Mr. Holmes makes reference to the dimensions of Stane Street on The Gumber near Bignor. Here the Roman road is carried across a Bronze Age boundary ditch and the earlier earthwork is levelled in just this way.¹

¹ E. and E. C. Curwen, 'Covered Ways on the Sussex Downs', *S.A.C.*, vol. 59 (1918), pl. III facing p. 42. It is to be argued by the writer in a forthcoming paper that the interpretation of cross ridge dykes as 'covered ways' can no longer stand.

If the excavation was more truly inconclusive does Mr. Holmes' documentary evidence carry the day? He speaks of a record of 1283 of the building of the very length of earthwork investigated at Halnaker but like the excavation itself it is but poor evidence when we remove the surround of optimism. It speaks of an accretion of 60 acres to 'Halfnaked' (*sic*) 'Park' and its enclosure by 'a dyke and hedge' but Mr. Holmes takes this as the full explanation of a surviving length of 3,000 yards of dyke. If he is to be believed we must accept that a totally new dyke of this length, itself 20 yards wide, was constructed to enclose a strip of land only 76 yards deep. The building of such a dyke would involve an input of roughly 142,800 man hours. Surely it is clear that the dyke referred to was either a shorter length of largely new work or a mere remodelling of a substantial existing feature.

Mr. Holmes' claims to the dykes west of the Lavant are entirely documentary. He quotes us a lengthy document of 1225 which sets out woodland boundaries in the area north of Chichester by reference to the lines of certain of the dykes. Unfortunately the crucial synthesis, like M. Godot, never comes. Having given us the document Mr. Holmes seems not to know what to do with it. Passing over the burden of proof to the reader he tells us simply that it "seems to explain everything."

In fact it explains very little. There is no indication why any of the dykes should have been newly built at that time, least of all the Devil's Ditch at Mid Lavant, referred to in Mr. Holmes' own version as 'a certain *old dyke*', nor is it at once apparent which dykes are being referred to. What is clear is that only four dykes are mentioned altogether which leaves Mr. Holmes a further five to explain on another occasion. In the same way it must be pointed out that the dyke given in the document as extending 'from Fishbourne to the north' is for some reason left out of Mr. Holmes' own map of the system and that a number of other dykes, notably that in Lye Wood, are outside the area of the forest which Mr. Holmes insists that they were built to enclose. In any case Mr. Holmes' conclusion that the dykes were all 'medieval deer fences' cannot be reconciled with his own account of the nature of such an earthwork. He explains that their interior ditches would allow deer to cross into a piece of enclosed ground and would inhibit them from jumping out again but, having said this, he offers us a series of enclosures to the west of the Lavant all of which have their ditches on the outside. On a strict reading all Mr. Holmes' deer will escape and will be prevented from ever returning to captivity.

The remainder of Mr. Holmes' arguments seem to assume the point at issue and like all partisan literature they proceed by a series of significant omissions. Thus he concedes the Iron Age date

suggested by Miss Murray¹ for the Devil's Ditch at West Lavant but thereafter he continues with his argument as if her excavation had never taken place. With similar boldness he denounces other lengths of this earthwork as 'old lanes' or 'copse banks' but for no better reason than that their presence is inimical to his master plan of parks and forests. Despite his avowed adherence to Williams Freeman's (inaccurate) survey of 1934² other dykes are abandoned without any explanation at all. Why, for instance, does he omit EW3? His final argument that the Devil's Ditch must be medieval because it "fits so well into . . . [the] pattern of this piece of country" is symbolic of his method throughout. It is a method born of conviction but one which cannot carry conviction.

This is not the occasion to set out my own interpretation of the dykes. A brief discussion of some linear earthworks has already appeared under my name³ and an extended paper on the dykes based upon field work, excavation and documentary sources is in the press. It may be helpful to the reader of this ripose to anticipate this discussion in one detail only. In 1967 excavation on a length of the Devil's Ditch assailed by Mr. Holmes as 'the remains of an old lane' showed that its rampart had sealed two sherds of the late pre Roman Iron Age and had been cut away by two ditches dateable to the second century A.D. The Devil's Ditch is the same earthwork as Mr. Holmes excavated at Halnaker. When the time comes the reader must make his choice.

¹ K. M. E. Murray, 'The Chichester Earthworks', *S.A.C.*, vol. 94 (1956) p.p. 139-143.

² J. P. Williams Freeman, 'The Chichester Entrenchments', *S.A.C.*, vol. 75 (1934) pp. 65-106.

³ R. J. Bradley, 'The South Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch and its Significance', *Oxoniensia* 33 (1968).

TOTE COPSE CASTLE ALDINGBOURNE, SUSSEX

By T. C. M. AND A. BREWSTER

The report covers the partial excavation of a small 12th century castle with an oval plan bailey wall, moat and flat topped motte erected against a c.40ft. square keep with chamfered base, exterior garderobe and pilaster buttresses. The tower which was constructed of flints, Quarr, Caen and Selsey limestone was originally free standing; the motte being added later. Within the keep was a well. An iron key was found in association with 12th century coarse ware.

Preface

The excavation of Tote Copse Castle, Aldingbourne, West Sussex was undertaken by T. C. M. and A. Brewster for the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments during the summer of 1961, and Easter 1962, due to the site being under a threat from agricultural developments proposed by the owner, Mr. W. Gillbard of Aldingbourne.¹ In the late summer of 1961 the Castle Preservation Society was formed to purchase the entire site in order to preserve it. Unfortunately, although the necessary funds were promised by Mr. P. Gardener and Mr. R. Morris, the scheme came to nought and the final excavation of the outside of the keep was undertaken by A. Brewster during Easter 1962. Later that year the motte was levelled, the keep being finally saved by the combined efforts of the late Canon N. H. Harding Jolly and the Castle Preservation Committee. The Committee also undertook the partial excavation of the exposed part of the curtain wall revealed by the bulldozer, assisted by Mr. R. J. Wilton. The Committee had hoped to grout the keep and maintain the structure. This was not possible and the keep, although preserved, is now covered by a mound. The pottery and other excavated material has been presented to Chichester Museum by Mr. W. Gillbard.

Detailed photographs were taken of all stages of the excavation and the structure. Only a few of these have been used to illustrate certain aspects of the report. All sections were drawn by T. C. M. and A. Brewster to 1 inch to the foot. These field drawings were re-drawn for publication by D. Neal, P. Boxton and J. Thorne, illustrators for the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments.

During the original survey of Tote Copse and the surrounding area, in preparation for excavation and in attempt to see whether or not, there were structures outside the castle moat, an aerial photograph survey was very kindly undertaken by Mr. R. Miller of Littlehampton in his own aircraft (Plate 1). Unfortunately this survey proved negative in regard to the earthworks of a possible outer

¹ *Medieval Archaeology*, vol. VI-VII, p. 323; vol. VIII, p. 259.

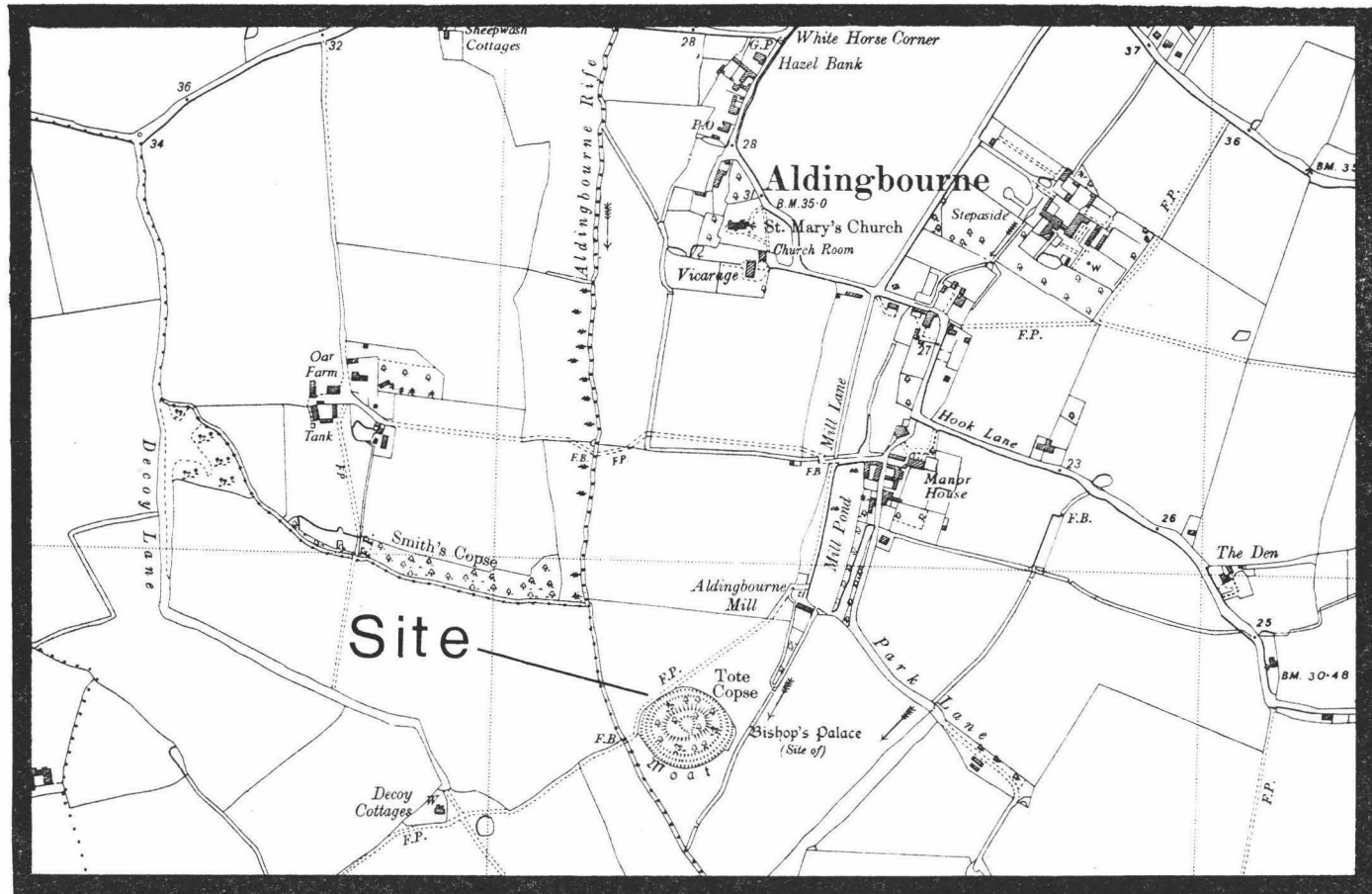


FIG. 1. Map of Area.

bailey and allied structures, but shows clearly the location of the motte in relationship to the immediate topography. Later in the same year, after the site had been cleared of scrub, a further survey was undertaken by T. C. M. Brewster in a helicopter helpfully provided by R.A.F., Tangmere (Plate 2). Apart from supplying useful site photographs the survey was abortive in regard to extra site features. Even under fairly suitable crop conditions no evidence was obtained of an outer bailey, or the ruins of the Bishop's Palace to the east of the copse. After the removal of the motte by bulldozing in 1962 and some clearance of the bailey walls by Mr. R. J. Wilton of the Castle Preservation Committee, the site was photographed by the Helicopter Wing, R.A.F. Tangmere (Plate 3).

TOTE COPSE CASTLE

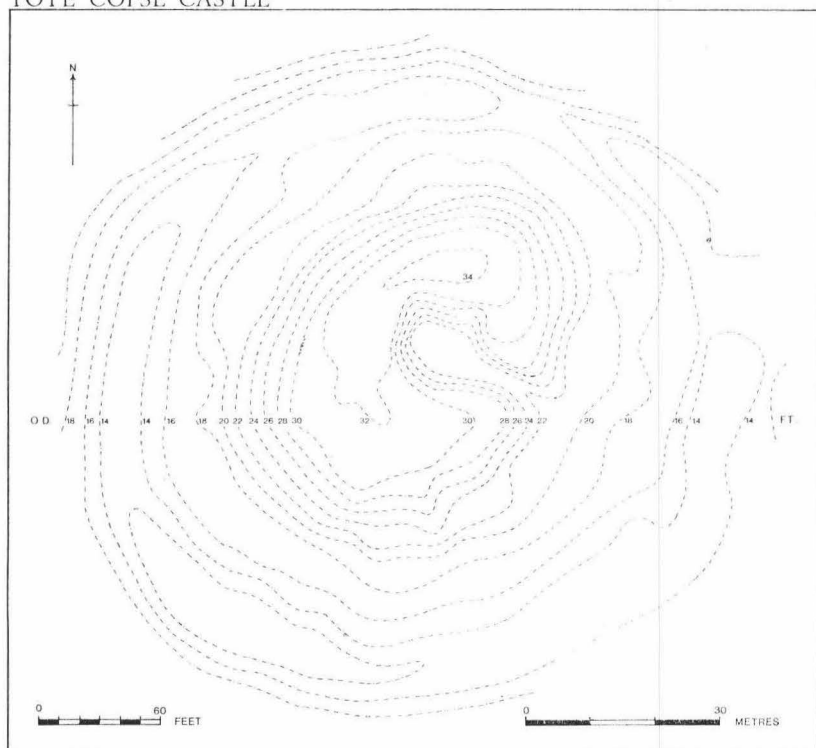


FIG. 2. Contour Map.

Introduction

The motte and keep of Tote Copse Castle, Aldingbourne, West Sussex is situated in a parcel of land known as Tote Copse which lies on the end of a slight headland bounded on the west by a riverlet called the Rife, the east by Aldingbourne mill stream and the south by a triangular parcel of marsh meadow created by the junction of the Rife and the mill stream (Fig. 1, N.G.R. SU923048). On the flat part of the land to the east of Tote Copse rests the site of the Bishop's Palace, formerly the property of the Bishops of Chichester. The medieval millpond and race of Aldingbourne still survives 200 yards to the north-east. Somewhat further northwards is located the parish church. Aldingbourne, in common with many villages nearby, is associated with a stream which flows southwards towards the sea through a low undulating terrain limited by the Downs to the north and east and the sea to the south. Westwards lie Chichester and Fishbourne.

Prior to excavation the entire site of Tote Copse, covering 2.75 acres, was enshrouded by a dense thicket of scrub forest virtually impenetrable and covered by a thick mantle of the vine known as Old Man's Beard. In order to commence excavation; an initial survey was not possible, due to the denseness of the wood, a broad path 40ft. wide and 400ft. long had to be cut across the moat, motte and keep. Later to permit a complete survey of the site the remainder of the scrub was removed successfully without damage by mechanical means.

During the latter part of the 19th century and after 1920 considerable quantities of stone were removed from the keep for building & road works.¹ This material must have been removed via a cart track leading from the east into the interior of the keep. The remaining foundations, except for a small patch on the western side, were masked entirely by the London clay from the upper part of the motte which had "flowed" forward over the ruins leaving only a large hollow visible indicating the position of the keep's interior. Downward movement of the London clay motte body had overrun the robbed bailey walls which acted as a revetment to the base of the motte in front of the moat.

Excavation was confined to sectioning of the moat, exposing of the upper sections of the motte from stations A to B and B to C, sectioning of the motte immediately adjacent to the keep, exposing of the outer and inner surfaces of the keep, stripping areas on top of the motte and the location and excavation of the well.

¹ From information supplied by local residents.

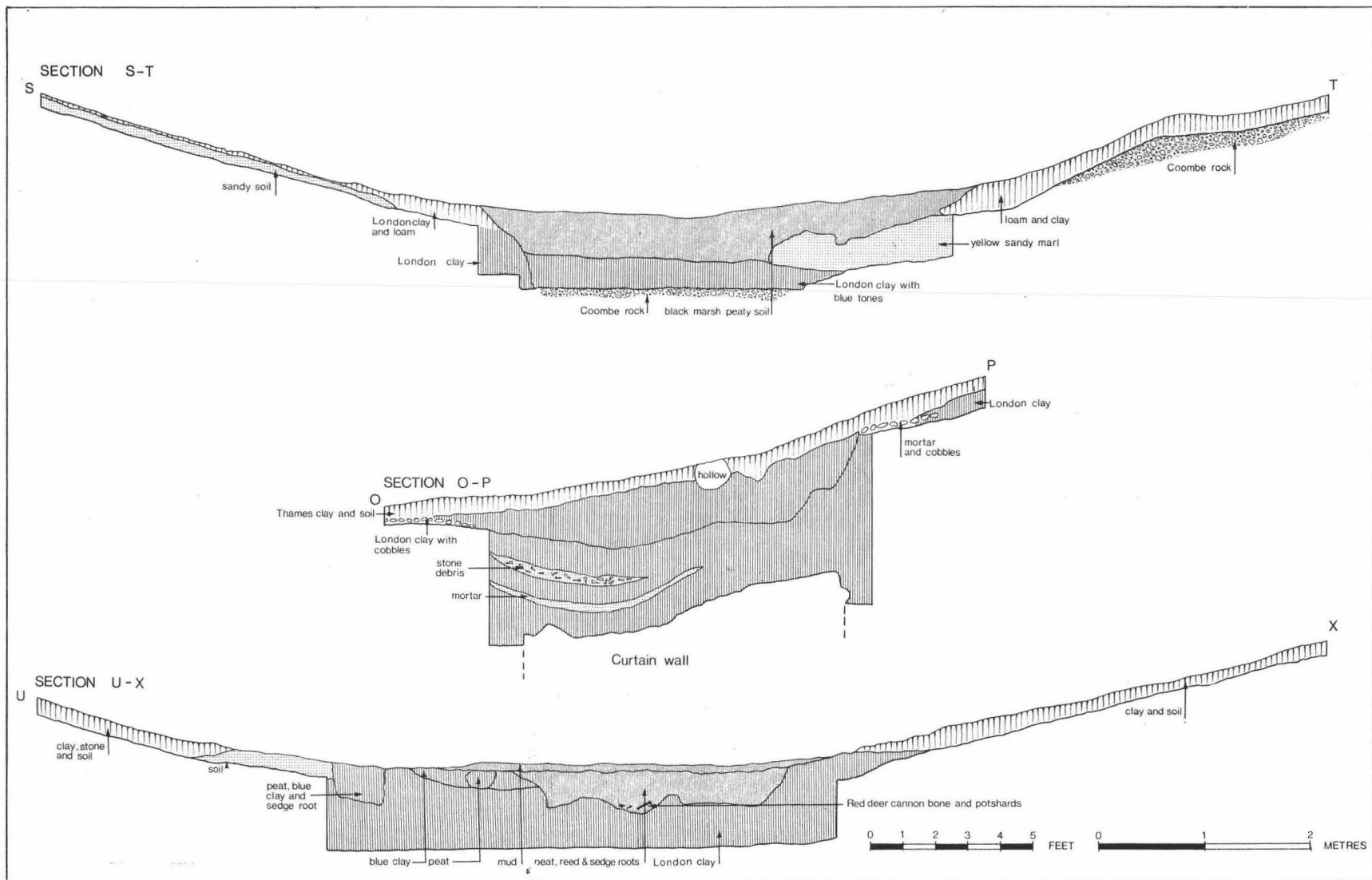
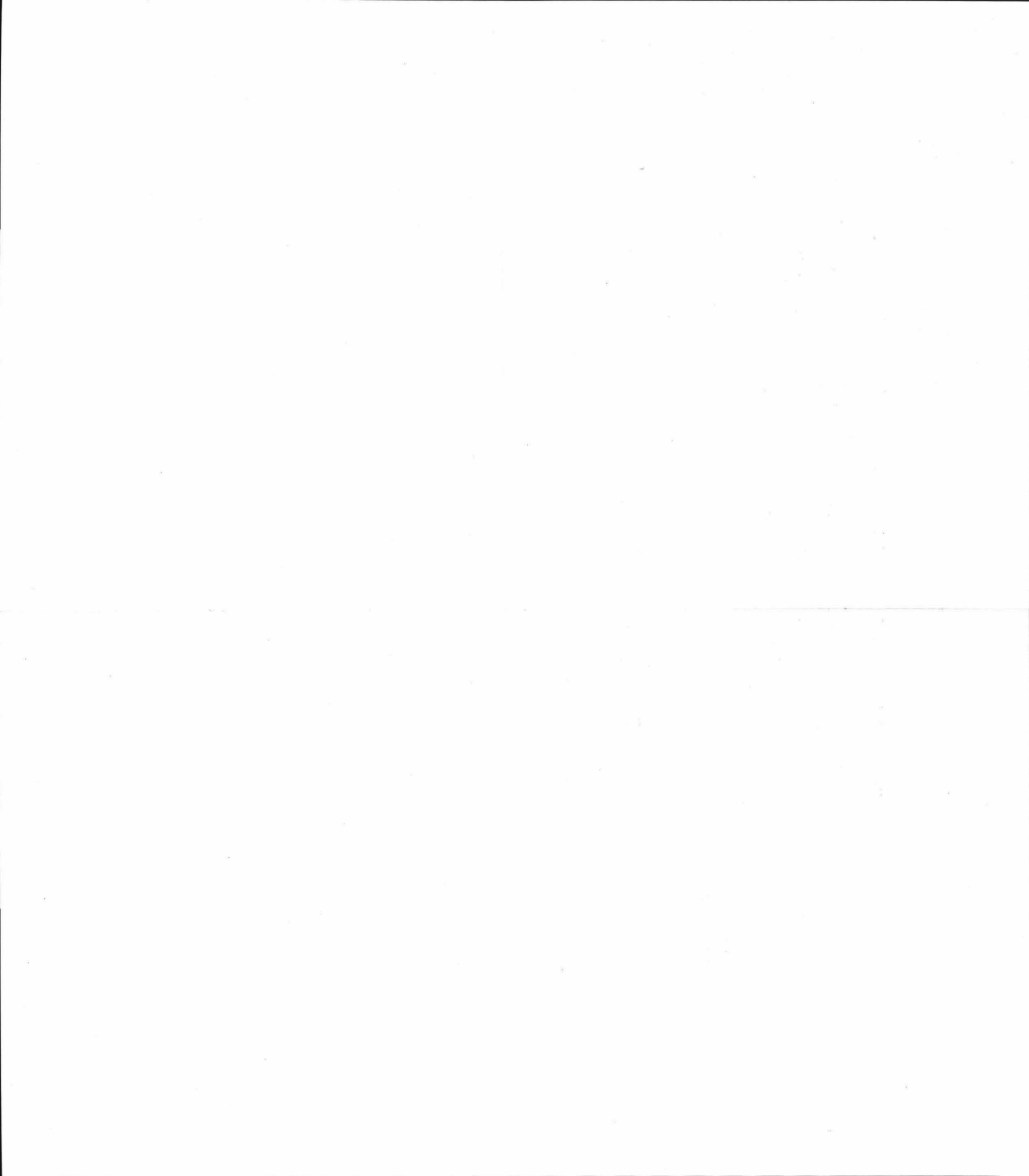


FIG. 14. Moat Section North S-T. Moat Section South U-X. Bailey Wall Section South O-P.



TOTE COPSE CASTLE

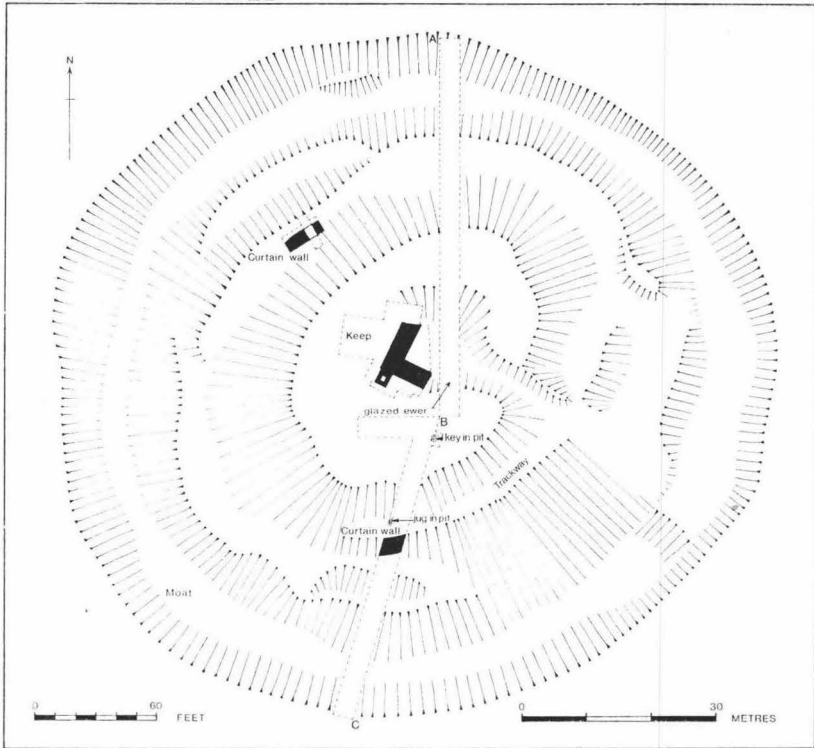


FIG. 3. Site Plan and Chief Finds.

The Keep

Slightly to the north of the centre of the oval motte were located the remains of the Keep. Due to heavy robbing only the south-western corner and *circa* two-thirds of the western and southern walls remained intact masked beneath slip from the mound, which was higher than the remaining walls.

Within the interior of the ruin the west wall survived intact. The south-west corner remained several courses high and two stones of the north-west corner were still in situ, thereby confirming this side was 19ft. 5in. in length. On the outside the keep had been built on a foundation of rough Selsey limestone blocks, protruding beyond the 10 course, 1½ft. wide, stepped plinth of chamfered ashlar Selsey slabs *circa* 4½in. thick. Above this base rose the vertical walls. The tower face immediately above the plinth consisted of flat faced flint nodules. Further up the surface was also constructed of fairly flat roughly square sided slabs of Selsey

TOTE COPSE CASTLE

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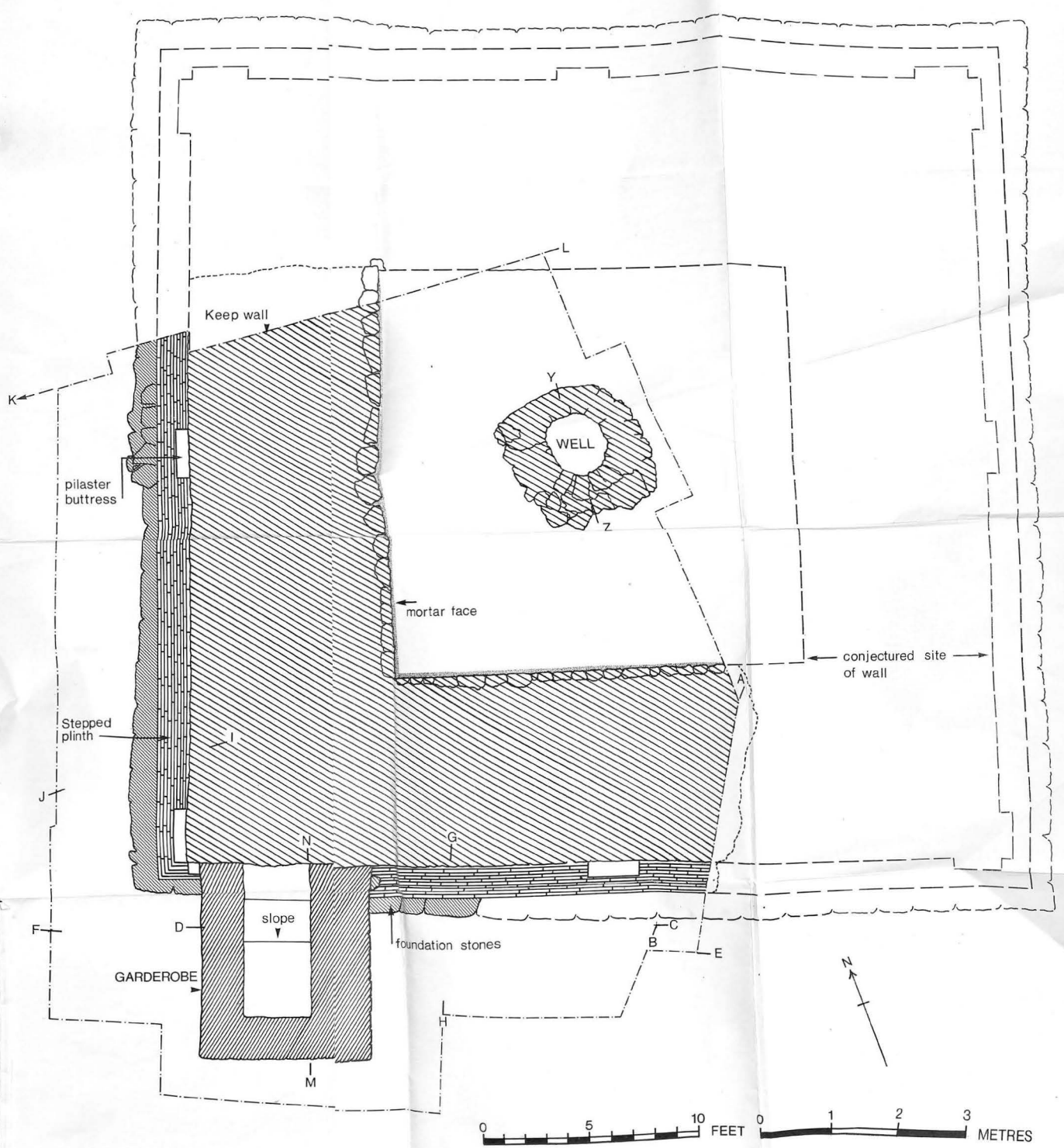


Fig. 4. Plan of Keep



PLATE I. Aerial view of motte from S.W. (Miller).



PLATE 2. View of motte from S.E. (Brewster).

limestone, *circa* 5-7 inches thick. Some of them showed signs of erosion by water prior to utilization as building material. Keyed into the top courses of the plinth and the wall, at the south-west corner and halfway along the side of the outer shell, were pilaster buttresses of squared ashlar Caen and Quarr stone, chiefly the former. These buttresses, which represent a high standard of construction, were on the average 2ft. 5in. in width and keyed into either the 5th or 6th offsets of the chamfered plinth (Plates 9 and 10).

The interior walls of the tower were lined with even courses of rough slabs of Selsey limestone, *circa* 5-7 inches thick, with the flat side outwards. Some were rounded at the edges indicating erosion by water. One example had the upper surface still covered with barnacles as when removed from the sea. This indicates some of the stones at least, possibly all the water eroded examples, came from the shore. Mortar was used to bond the courses and to cover the rough interior face with a smooth plastered surface. Rounded and flat blocks and stones of Selsey limestone and flint nodules bonded by yellow mortar were utilized as wall core.

On the southern side the wall, not including the plinth, varied from 9ft. to 9ft. 3in. in width, similar figures were recorded across the west wall. The average width of the plinth was 1ft. 6in. giving an overall width of 10ft. 6in. to 10ft. 9in.

Due to the surface robbing none of the outer wall runs were complete and only one corner remained intact. This made it difficult to ascertain at first whether the keep was square, or rectangular. Certain factors, including the position of the pilaster buttresses on the western and southern walls, the interior length of the west wall and the location of the well suggest the keep was in fact basically square, although somewhat asymmetrical. The buttresses on both the southern and western walls are to all intents and purposes the same distance from the south-west corner. The western buttress is in fact in the centre of the wall. This is known because the entire run of the inner face remained intact on this side. Bearing in mind the average thickness of the keep's wall throughout its surviving run was about 9ft. 3in., the exterior length of the western side, including the chamfered plinth, would be *circa* 39ft. If the donjon was 39ft. square, as is suggested in the reconstructed ground plan, the well would be approximately in the middle and the pilaster buttress on the southern wall, roughly central. Furthermore, in confirmation of this is the statement by Canon Jolly, who voluntarily undertook a watching brief at the time the motte was levelled, that the bulldozer exposed a straight edged robber trench with right angled corners on the northern, eastern and part of the southern side in such a position as to indicate the keep was originally square. A trace of this feature can be seen in the aerial photograph (Plate 3).

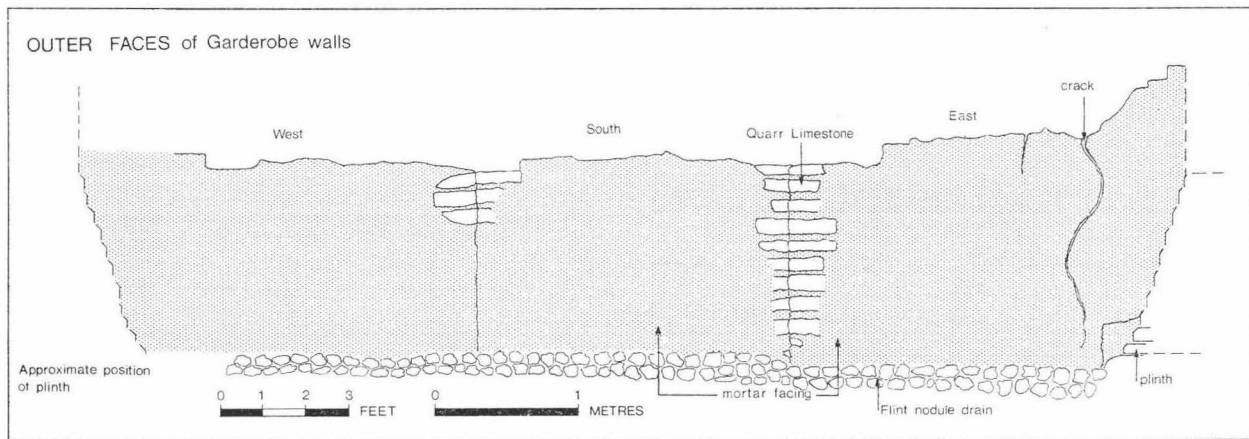


FIG. 5. Garderobe Walls.

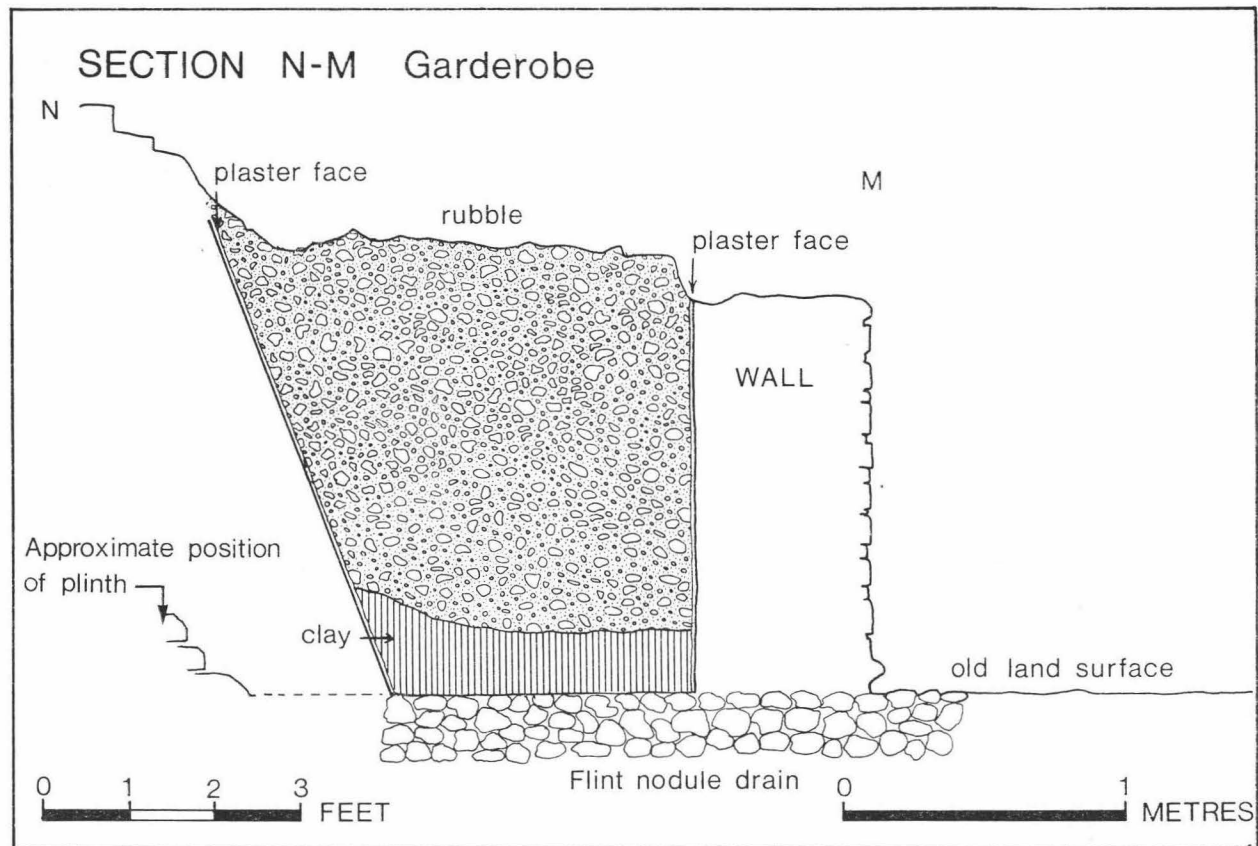


FIG. 6. Garderobe Section.

Soon after construction, the square keep and associated external rectangular latrine shaft were buried at least 16ft. deep above the lowest offset of the plinth by a motte of London clay and Coombe rock. Although this cannot have been very long after the castle was completed, indicated by the lack of weathering on the lower masonry, it was at least sufficiently long for part of the chamfered plinth to subside, due to a spring, below and to the north and south of the central pilaster buttress on the west wall. This was rather crudely, but effectively repaired (Plate 10; Fig. 4).

Obscuring the west buttress of the southern wall was a rectangular garderobe, 9ft. 3in. long and 7ft. 3in. wide, constructed of Quarr blocks and Selsey stone faced, both on the exterior and interior, by a smooth surface of mortar. The structure rested above a bed, or drain, of rough flint nodules with air spaces still apparent rammed in a trench cut into the old land surface. This feature is drawn schematically as it was not possible to examine the bottom without damaging the walls of the latrine and causing further subsidence. This settling had already caused cracking as the bed of nodules had sunk (Figs. 4, 5 and 6). The interior was approximately 3ft. 6in. long north to south and 3ft. 3in. wide with walls roughly 2ft. thick. At the northern end the sides, which were smoothly faced with mortar, sloped up towards the wall at an angle of 72°. Fortunately, the walls, although cracked, had survived to a height of not less than 4½ft. These are shown in Fig. 5 as it was not possible to horizontally photograph them due to the cutting in the motte being too close to use close-up lenses. The interior was filled with Caen and Quarr ashlar blocks and window dressing. This feature is shown only schematically in Fig. 6. At the bottom was a yellow to fawn stratum of clay and mortar wash. Examination of samples of this deposit and clay of the motte body resting against the lower outer wall of the garderobe and on top of the flint nodule raft showed no trace of human uric or excretory deposits. This means the latrine was not used at all, or so little as to leave no trace in conditions which were ideal for such evidence. Furthermore, there were not any traces of staining of the smooth plaster facing, or evidence of wear due to cleaning. Staining and wear on the sides of the chalk stone garderobes of the 13th and 14th century manor at Sherburn, East Yorkshire, were very apparent, even under conditions of good drainage. This must also have been the case with the Tote Copse toilet shaft if it had been in continuous use.¹

The Well: Figs. 4 and 7

In the cellar of the keep, approximately in the centre of the floor was a well 28ft. deep and varying from 3ft. 3in. to 2ft. 6in. in width at the narrowest point. The well had been lined with roughly faced and curved slabs of Selsey limestone from 4 to 6 inches thick

¹ *Medieval Archaeology*, vol. III, p. 318.

and 8 to 10 inches in length, laid horizontally in regular courses.

It is estimated the slabs were in the region of 1ft. 2in. in depth, certainly not more, with the back edges against the earthen well cutting.

The top of the well was evidently raised above the floor of the keep and the bottom course rested upon a heavy frame of oak, 8 inches thick, consisting of four parts with straight edges on the inside, probably joined together by pegs, the curved edges fitting the clay well shaft cutting. The suggested construction of this frame is indicated in the diagram at the bottom of the well drawing, Fig. 7. It was extremely difficult to work in the constricted space at the bottom of the shaft below the last course of the stone lining, due to the timber frame being badly water-logged, soft and resting upon loose sand and gravel. It was not possible to lower the water level below 28ft. by pumping, therefore the frame had to be probed with the fingers and measured under water. This frame was in fact the well sinking shield above which the well and its lining of Selsey stone had been sunk stage by stage through the Coombe rock and London clay subsoil beneath the keep.

For the technique see Appendix A. (Fig. 21). As can be seen from Fig. 7, the well had been sunk fairly straight, only the lower half is out of true in places. This may well be partly caused by distortion after the well was completed by inward movement of the subsoil. Two pegs were found during the excavation to be driven into the wall at 9ft. and 20ft., 10 inches from the surface on the northern side. It is thought that they may have been used during the construction, or intended as supports at a later date, if the well should require cleaning. The upper of the two was one inch in diameter, ten inches long and cut from a straight piece of poplar; the lower being too soft to examine.

Infilling of Well

Water Levels

The blocked shaft of the well was filled with debris of various kinds in several clearly defined zones, indicating the history of the keep and its decay. Water level on the 11th September, 1961, was 9ft. 4in. from the bottom and after the level was lowered to 28ft. by pumping, water continued to drip from the sides below the former level throughout the excavation. This suggests the modern water level is about 9ft. from the bottom during a normal fairly dry summer. It is thought the lime layer, 11ft. 8in. from the bottom, may well represent the mean medieval water level during the 12th-13th centuries prior to the draining of the area and the cutting of a channel for the Rife and Aldingbourne millstream. These run to the immediate east and west of the motte (Fig. 1). During February, 1962, the site was revisited and the water level had risen to *circa* 1ft. 6in. above the floor of the keep. When work commenced in

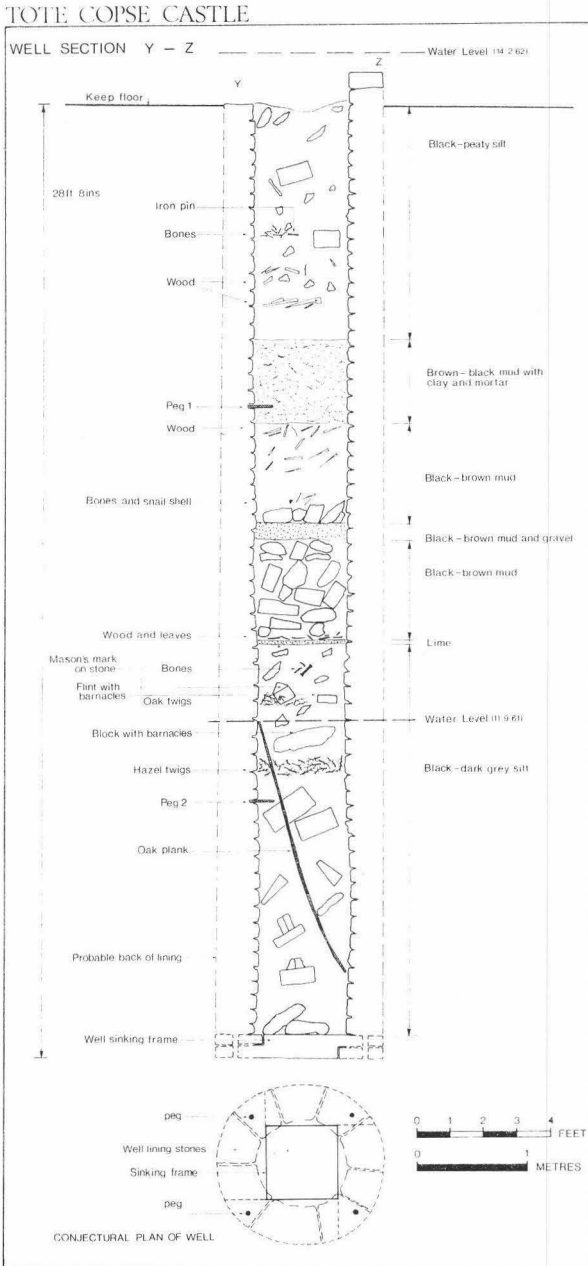


FIG. 7. Well Section.

April that year pumping had to be resorted to to enable excavation to commence. It may well be argued the greater part of this water was supplied by rain accumulating in the hollow of the motte created by the robbing of the keep. This is not so as several times pumping was continued after the water had arisen again from the base of the well. It appears as if the well is located on a spring with a water level not far below the 12th century land surface. It was noticed the old land surface outside the western side of the keep consisted of marshy silt with traces of reeds and russet staining typical of the lower levels of the moat. The precise location of the keep may be due to the presence of the spring. It is unlikely the builders would realize, until it was too late, the interior of the keep and the surrounding land would be water-logged during the winter months and wet seasons. This may well be one reason why the motte was erected after the completion of the keep and curtain walls. The motte would shield the water-logged surface in the inner bailey and the moat would tend to lower the water-table. Damage to the chamfered plinth base occurred on the western side of the keep near the pilaster buttress due to the wet and marshy condition of the subsoil. This was repaired prior to the erection of the motte (Plate 10).

Debris Zones

From the bottom of the well to the floor of the keep were seven clearly defined archaeological horizons. These are, from the bottom upwards, as follows:—

Zone A

28ft. to 16ft. 4in. from the surface. Black to dark grey evil smelling grey silt with traces of mortar. Within this zone were numerous ashlar blocks of Caen and Quarr stone, some from mullions, dressing and rough waterworn blocks of Selsey limestone of the type used in the core of the keep. There were no split flint nodules as used on the facing of the outer walls. One block of Caen stone had a well cut mason's mark (Fig. 19). This building debris was fairly evenly distributed throughout the zone, although the heavier blocks seem to have sunk towards the bottom, or have settled in the silt as they fell down the well over a period of time. A clearly defined silting horizon is indicated by a deposit of hazel twigs between 7ft. 9in. and 8ft. 3in. from the bottom. This suggests hazel grew within the cellar of the keep, or nearby, for some time after the initial stages of slighting and robbing and after the floors had gone. A large oak plank 8ft. 10in. in length was found firmly embedded in the silt with the top edge at the 1961 water level (Fig. 20). It had obviously fallen into the well soon after the keep was abandoned and the floors removed. It may well have floated freely in a vertical position before becoming water-logged and locked in the silt. Obviously it considerably anti-dates the

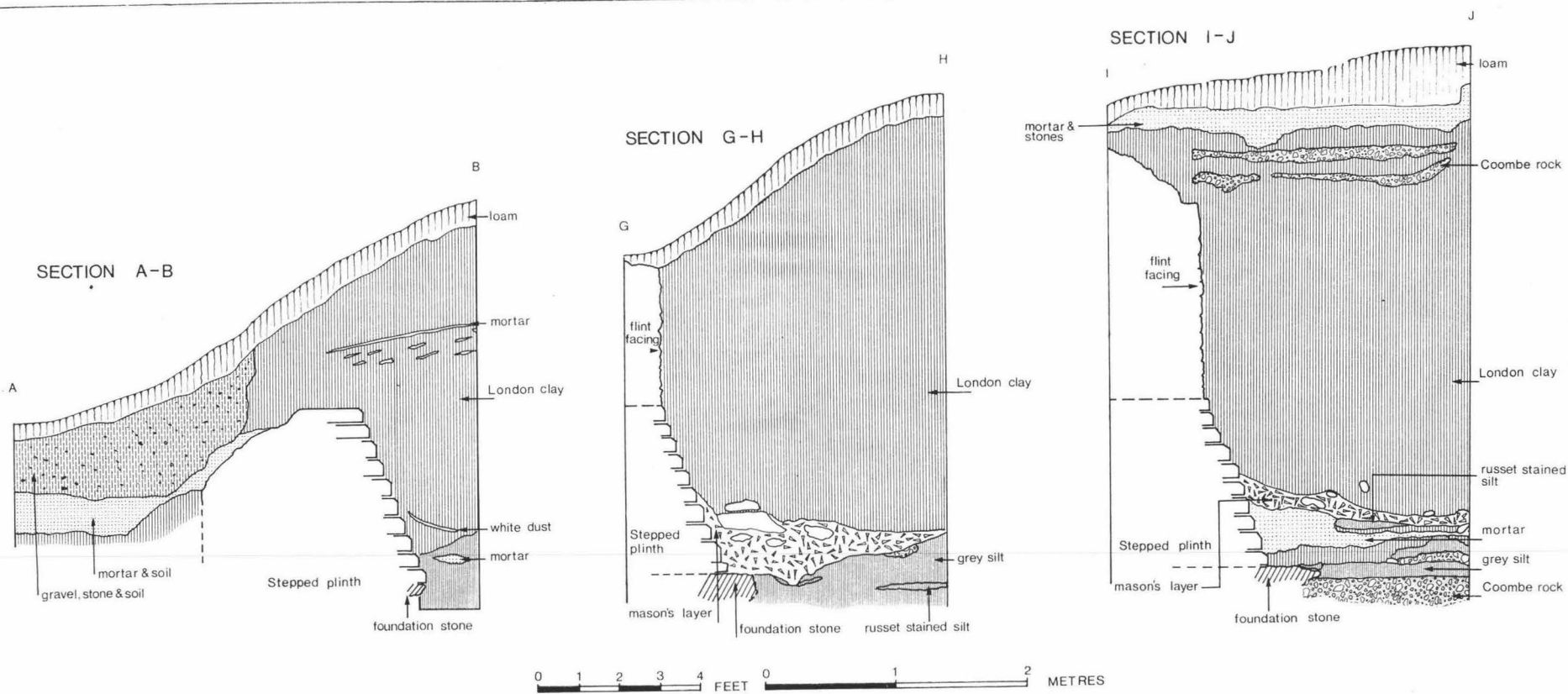


FIG. 8. Profile S.E. Corner Keep and Motte, A-B. Keep, Plinth and Motte South, G-H. Keep, Plinth and Motte West (S) I-J.



SECTION K-L

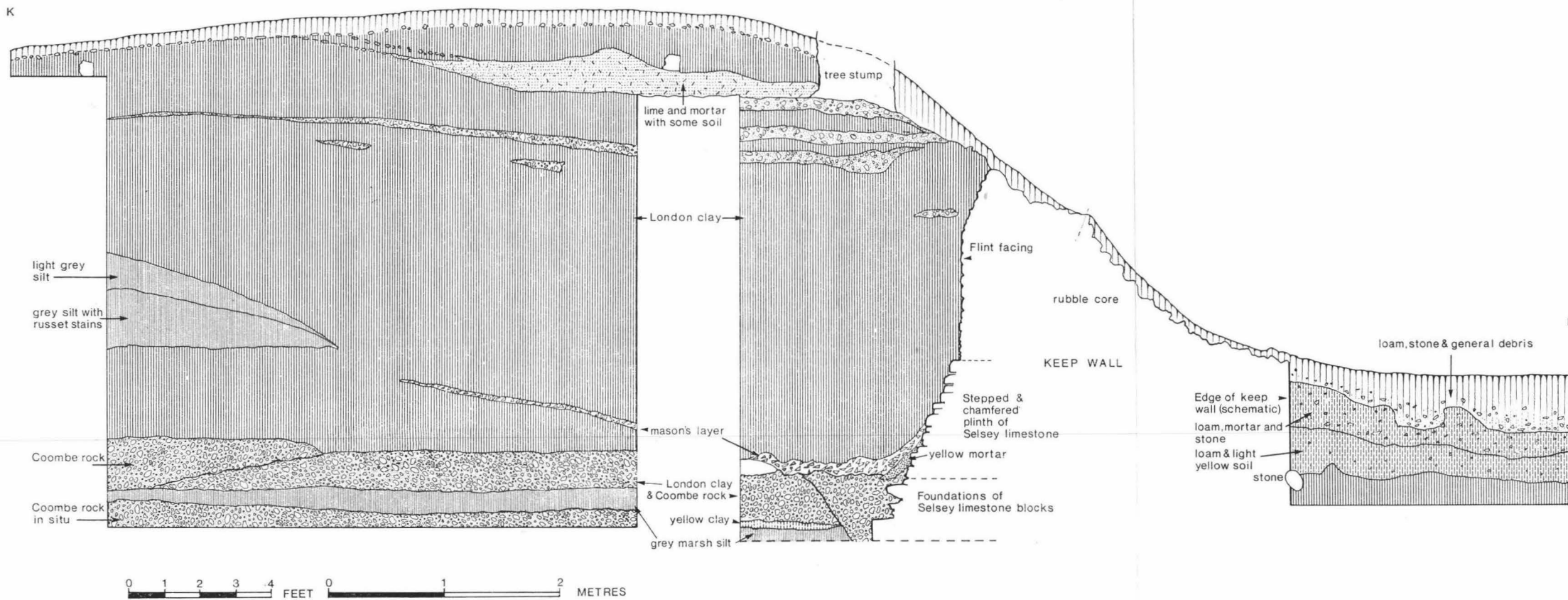


FIG. 11. Keep, Plinth and Motte West (N) K-L.



PLATE 3. Bulldozed site from N.E. (R.A.F. Tangmere).

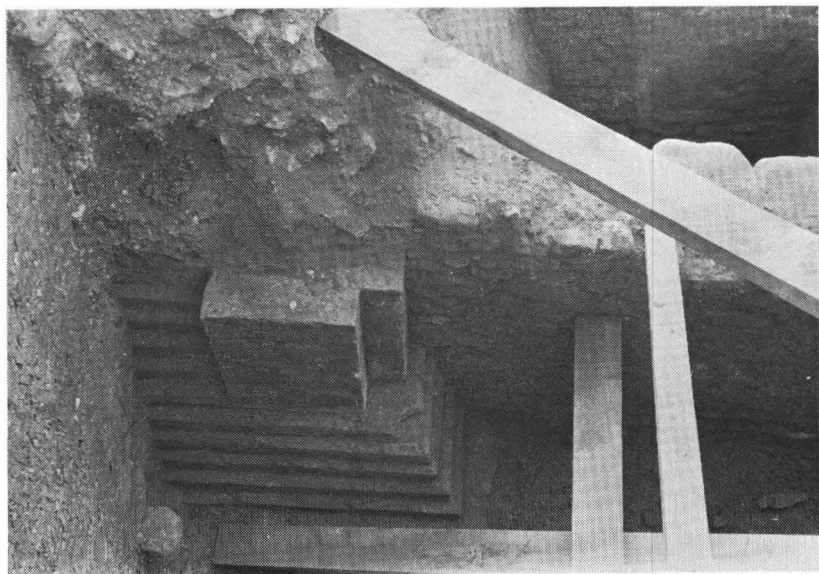


PLATE 7. S.W. corner of keep.



PLATE 4. View of motte from the south.

hazel layer which accumulated in the water during a period when the castle was not disturbed. Above the hazel twigs masonry occurred again, indicating further robbing or disturbance of the walls. A small quantity of oak twigs were located at 9ft. 9in. to 10ft. 2in. from the bottom and are indicative of the presence of an oak tree, or scrub oak, within the keep and growing during an inactive period. This collection, like that of the hazel twigs beneath, had probably accumulated over a period of years. In the same horizon was a small flint block partly covered by barnacles. This indicates the flint originated on the shore, a Selsey block in the inner face of the keep, and one in the layer beneath, had the same encrustation. Within the zone were a small group of animal bones including the right femur of a medium sized dog.

Zone B

Immediately above Zone A, at 11ft. 8in. from lowest level of the well, was a thin layer, practically a crust, of precipitated white lime with green tones resting directly upon the black to grey silt. This feature strongly suggests an accumulation of lime over a long period, during static conditions, probably from the massive concentration of masonry in Zone C.

Zone C

This zone, commencing at *circa* 11ft. 10in. from the bottom and ending at 14ft. 9in., consisted of brown to black mud with some mortar containing a massive wedge of Caen, Quarr and Selsey limestone blocks and water worn stone from the keep. This suggests a really considerable robbing phase. Unfortunately, there is no indication of when this occurred as no archaeological material other than the debris was found. At the lower level of the zone, dating prior to the depositing of the building debris, was a shallow zone of wood fragments and leaves too decayed to identify, obviously an accumulation under settled conditions.

Zone D

Sealing in completely the layer of debris and mud beneath was a shallow, uniform compact deposit of black to brown mud and small flint gravel 6 inches in thickness. The layer was probably formed after the keep walls were robbed low enough to permit some of the motte body of London clay and Coombe rock to slide down into the interior of the keep, and be washed into the well. This movement was apparent during the winter of 1961-62 after the previous season's excavation. The gravel appears to be the same as that found in the undisturbed Coombe rock. The fall may well have taken place on the northern side of the keep where the motte consists chiefly of Coombe rock.

Zone E

This horizon occurred at 15ft. 3in. above the well base, and apart from the presence of some building debris at the lower end of the stratum appears to indicate, like Zone F below, a fairly long and

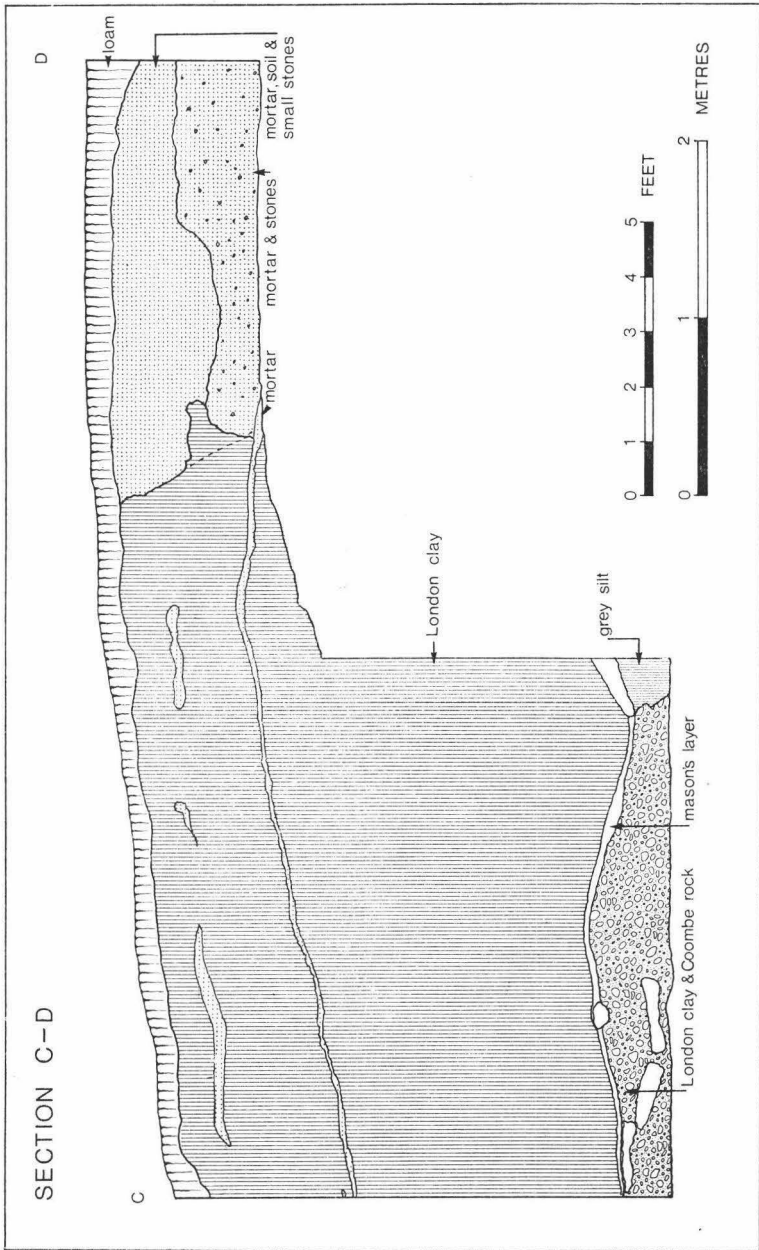


FIG. 9. Profile Section. South I. C-D.

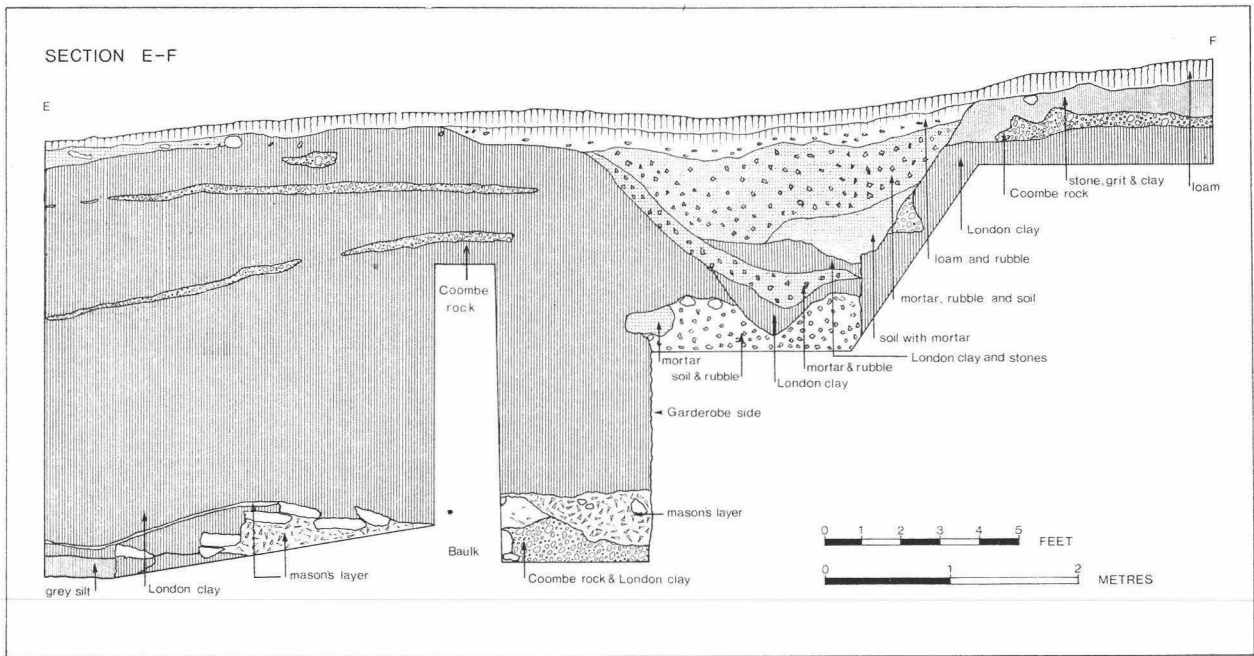


FIG. 10. Profile Section. South II. E-F.

settled period without any disturbance of the castle walls during which the well silted up and the keep at least remained untouched. Immediately above the masonry were a number of animal bones at *circa* 11ft. 9in. These include rabbit, chicken and dog remains and a land mollusc *Helix aspersa*. In the upper limits were numerous fragments of wood, probably plank and leaves too friable to remove and identify.

Zone F

A uniform deposit of black to brown mud mixed with traces of London clay and mortar were characteristic of the layer. Such a deposit suggests wash from the robbed walls of the keep and the body of the motte in areas where the keep walls had been removed entirely as on the eastern side. Later robbing of the keep seems to have been from the east side where a cart road had been cut through the motte at foundation level. Peg 1 was one inch in diameter and 10 inches long, and cut from a straight piece of poplar.

Zone G

The final stratum in the well was a black silt deposit commencing *circa* 6ft. 11in. from the keep floor. Unlike the layer immediately beneath, Zone G contained Caen, Quarr and Selsey limestone blocks from the walls and pilaster buttresses of the keep indicating further robbing had taken place. Fragments of plants (Fig. 7) and traces of mortar were another feature of the deposit. Bones of a small slender dog were associated with an iron pin 3ft. 9in. from the surface. Finally, sealing the well infilling were the fairly recently disturbed remains of the keep and well walls which were afterwards covered by the dense scrub finally removed in 1961.

Surrounding the top of the well were the remains of a rough stone collar, an extension of the shaft, indicating the well mouth was above the floor. This is normal practice and would prevent dust and debris slipping into the shaft and fouling the water. It was noticed, during Easter 1962, the surface water drained into the lining of the shaft, even from the area outside the keep walls around the garderobe and on the western side. This liquid would in fact have contaminated the water supply, especially as the garderobe drained into a flint nodule shaft located virtually at ground level.

Bailey Walls

The robbed walls of the bailey were only exposed on the surface on the north-west side at the base of the motte. The reason the motte had not overrun the wall in this position is doubtless due to the high Coombe rock content of the mound on the north end, which retained its original slope. Unfortunately, due to shortage of labour power and pressure of work on other parts of the site it was not possible to deep section the bailey wall on the south in Trench II, although this was done, as far as water would permit, on the north west section (Figs. 13 and 14). This section survived

sufficiently well to indicate the motte was built up after the bailey wall was constructed and that the wall had not been buried beneath the mound. Section V-W, Fig. 13 clearly shows how soil, London clay and Coombe rock had been thrown over the wall after it was completed during the building of the motte in Phase II. This profile fortunately indicates the old land surface just below the water level on the outside of the wall. Obviously the wall stands on a broad offset base; the foundation being well below the profile cutting. It appears the wall plinth had been protected by a bank of London clay. Whether this was done before, or after the construction of the motte is difficult to say.

The walls were constructed of flat slabs and small boulders of Selsey stone; in many cases water eroded and bonded with yellow mortar. In the section V-W it appears the wall had fallen inwards and part of the back had slipped. This latter interpretation may not be correct, the section cut was too narrow to be sure. It may well be the wall was widened above the level of the motte. In any case the bailey wall would act as a revetment to the motte in addition to its own defensive function.

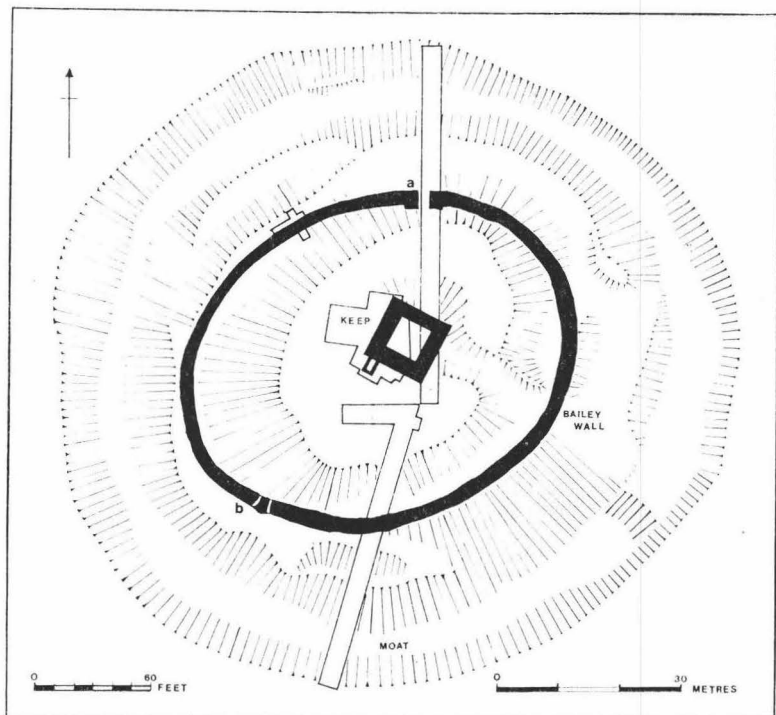


FIG. 12. Schematic Plan. Bailey Walls and Site.

The wall sectioned in Trench II on the southern side of the castle was 10ft. across and far more massive than the northern wall. This feature is also shown in the aerial photograph (Plate 3) and was reported in notes supplied by Mr. R. J. Wilton and the late Canon Jolly in 1962.

Owing to the limitation in time and labour and the heavy overburden of the motte it was not possible to undertake any further probing of the curtain walls. Furthermore, it had been expected, September, 1961, the entire site would be preserved. This did not occur and the motte was bulldozed into the moat in 1962. Fortunately, most of the remaining walls were not destroyed by the levelling and survive just beneath the present land surface. Mr. R. J. Wilton undertook with a party of boys a wall following excavation on behalf of the Castle Preservation Committee. Considerable lengths of the wall were exposed to about 18 inches on the average, although one section to the north of the keep was dug to a depth of nine feet. Most unfortunately no plans exist of this work, only notes supplied in a letter in 1963. Fortunately the excellent aerial photographs taken by the Helicopter Wing, R.A.F., Tangmere do help considerably. With these and notes supplied by the late Canon Jolly and Mr. R. J. Wilton it is possible to reconstruct the ground plan of part of the site schematically. This has been done as accurately as possible in the sketch plan exhibited in Fig. 12.

As the bailey wall survives intact under the surface between the keep and the boundary of Tote Copse it is suggested a carefully planned excavation at a future date of the entire run of the curtain wall and sections across it to the foundations would be very informative and complete the excavation of this fascinating site. Such an excavation would have to be a research "dig" as an operation of this kind could not come under the M.O.P.B.W.'s rescue scheme.

Probable Construction of Bailey Walls

The data for the reconstruction is entirely based upon the 1961 excavation, the work and notes of both Mr. R. J. Wilton and Canon N. H. Harding Jolly supplied in two letters in December, 1963 and the overhead photographs of R.A.F. Tangmere.

The bailey wall (Figs. 13 and 14) varied in thickness, the northern side being narrower and the south in the region of ten feet across. Formerly the bailey was approximately oval in plan, *circa* 210ft. on the N.E.-S.W. axis and *circa* 160ft. N.W.-S.E. (Fig. 12). Approximately 35ft. north of the hypothetical N.W. corner of the keep was a massive square sided terminal in the wall with foundations reported down to 9ft. This is most likely to be the remains of an entrance or gatehouse (Fig. 12 and Plate 3a). Wilton reports a similar structure to the W. sloping inwards. On the southern side b the

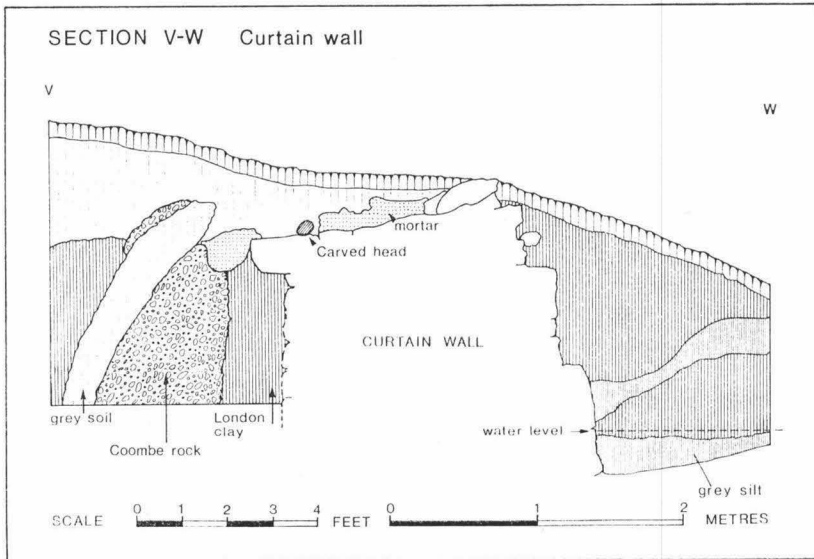


FIG. 13. Bailey Wall Section North.

wall was much thicker and curved toward the north after running eastwards. On the S.W. an outward bulge was recorded in the wall, apparently associated with two channels (Fig. 12.b). Beyond the walls shown solid in the schematic plan the wall had been robbed, or buried too deeply to record. Obviously there may have been one or more gateways, or towers in the northern wall. Only further excavation can clarify this problem. For the present the structure to the immediate north of the donjon is considered as probably an entrance. Its plan is purely schematic and based upon a considerable photographic enlargement of that part of the print. This was done with other areas of the photograph in order to obtain details which would otherwise have been unobtainable. Enlargement of area a Fig. 12 did not disclose any feature to suggest an entrance or tower, but this patch may well have been obscured by backfilling.

The Motte

Tote Copse motte had been built after the keep had been erected. The masons' layer extending up on top of the motte body, as it was built up, in Section K-L, (Fig. 11) on the north end of the west face of the outer keep wall must have been deposited as the keep was heightened; which it surely must have been when the motte was thrown up around the formerly free standing donjon. During the

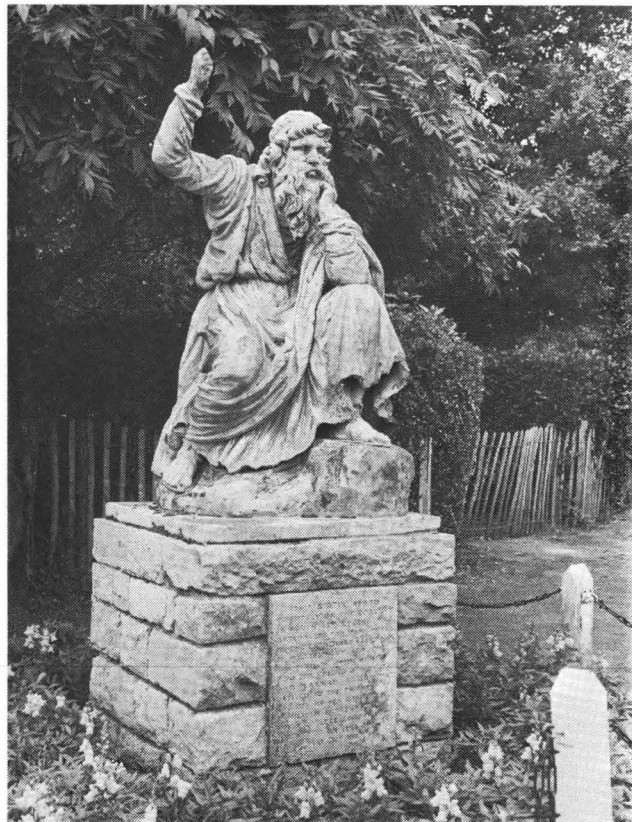
first season's excavation sections on the southern section (Figs. 8 and 9), close to the keep cut into the motte suggested the keep had been constructed stage by stage as the motte was raised. Clearly defined zones of mortar were exposed as levels in the apparently undisturbed motte body of London clay. It was not realized at the time how fluid this clay is under wet conditions. Due to the effect of water on the normally hard London clay during wet periods, or seasons, it becomes extremely plastic and flows easily. This is clearly evidenced in the case of the motte body where the clay had flowed over the robbed curtain and keep walls masking them completely (Fig. 8). Further cuttings on the eastern side sections G-H, in Fig. 8, E-F in Fig. 10, clearly disabused the original interpretation and further sections Fig. 10, sections K-L and I-J Fig. 8 finally proved without a shadow of doubt the motte had been erected after the donjon was raised. The presence of masons' waste around the chamfered ashlar plinth indicated the builders' working level very clearly (Figs. 8, 9 and 10).

Sections cut into the heart of the motte (Fig. 11) clearly indicated the mound consisted of London clay and Coombe rock, chiefly the former, dug from the moat which encircled the entire complex of curtain walls, inner bailey and motte; except on part of the south eastern side (Fig. 3), where there had been a causeway. This was finally used as a road to carry material robbed from the curtain walls and the keep after the castle was abandoned. A spiral trackway, *circa* 9ft. wide, began near the causeway (Fig. 3) and encircled the southern side of the motte approaching the keep and the top of the mound from the south-west. It is not impossible this road may have been used during the robbing of the upper sections of the keep to cart stones away. It must be borne in mind there was no evidence of ruts in the trackway, or fallen stone or mortar which would be expected to show if the route was used for this purpose. The early date of the feature is further suggested by the trackway being cut away by the robber road driven through the motte to the interior of the tower.

Whereas most of the motte consisted of London clay on the east, south and west sides, part of the north end was constructed nearly entirely of Coombe rock dug from the northern quarter of the moat; which was cut through a pure Coombe rock stratum. The effect of a harder motte core of Coombe rock was to prevent the downward movement of the mound, as occurred in the parts built of London clay. Therefore on the northern side the motte sides were steeper and nearer the original angle. In one case (Fig. 13), the curtain wall was not entirely robbed and protruded through the surface at the bottom of the slope.



A. Coade Stone Catalogue, 1777-9
 (By permission of the Guildhall Library, London)



B. July, 1968
 Statue in Priory Park, Chichester



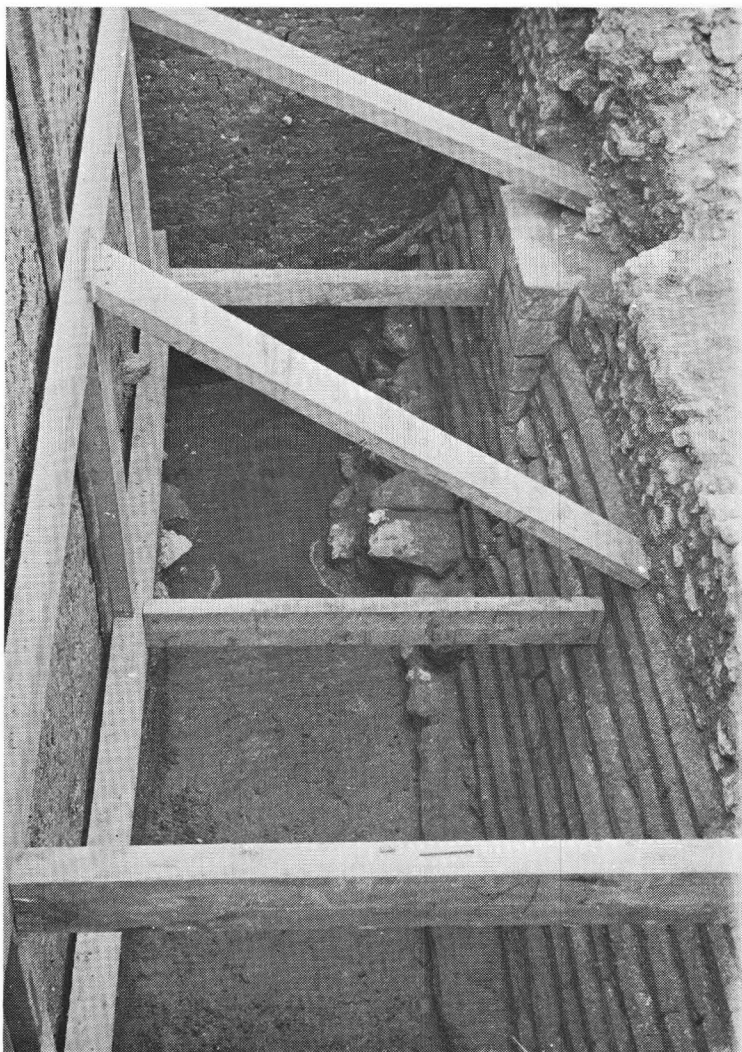


PLATE 8. West wall and plinth of keep.

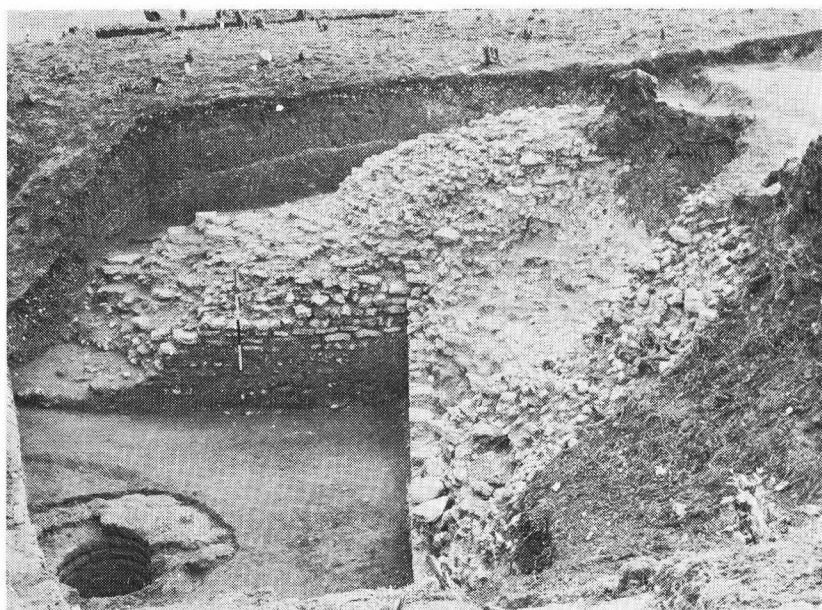


PLATE 5. Interior of keep and well.



PLATE 6. Garderobe from keep wall.

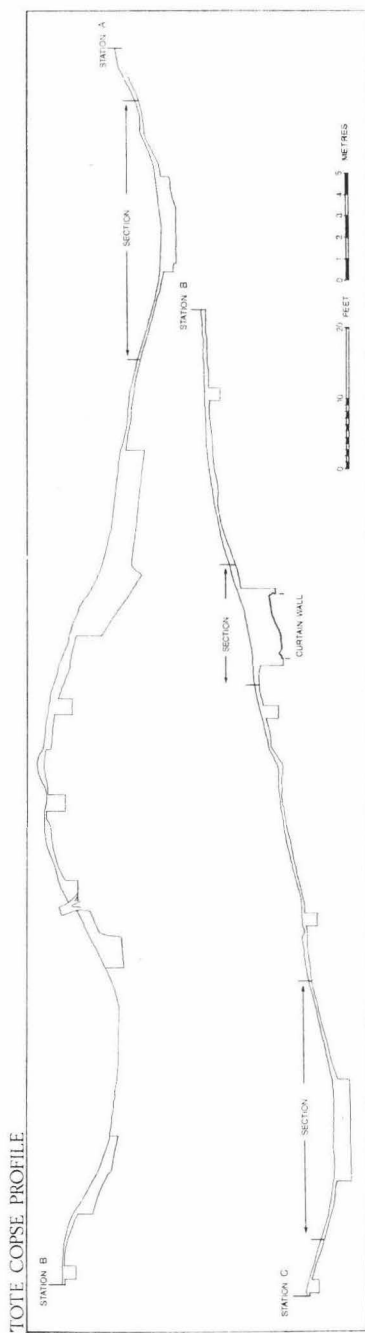


FIG. 15. Upper Sections of Motte and Moat.

The Moat

After the completion of the keep and the curtain walls of the oval plan bailey, a large circular moat was dug around the site and the Coombe rock and London clay subsoil from its ditch were used to build a broad, flat and roughly oval motte between the curtain walls and the donjon. This moat was *circa* 352ft. east-west and *circa* 336ft. north to south. Throughout most of the perimeter there was a slight sloping platform between the inner edge of the moat and the base of the curtain wall. The southern and part of the western side of the moat was under water during the summer and winter of 1961-62. Both profiles cut into the ditch, on the northern and southern side; exposed shallow deposits of peaty soil and remains of reeds. Due to the difference in height between the moat bottom on the south (12ft. O.D.) and the north (18½ft.) there must have been an outer bank to the moat on the southern and part of the eastern and western side to hold sufficient water to fill the ditch at its shallowest on a narrow section of the northern side. Traces of this bank were apparent in several sections and can be seen in Plate 3. Ploughing had taken place very close to the boundary of Tote Copse, before planting of the thorn hedge on the south, destroying some of the moat bank. No evidence was provided by excavation to indicate Aldingbourne millstream, or the Rife had been used to flood the ditch, but probing of this nature was severely restricted by pressure of other work. Two local men mentioned a narrow stone lined channel, running in the direction of Aldingbourne millrace, was exposed in the side of the north east bank of the moat when a wild cherry tree was blown down just prior to 1914. Whilst this information must be treated with reserve, both men suggested it was a water channel and not a tunnel and that the bottom contained mud and water. Later Mr. R. Morris, the present owner of the mill, reported a subsidence in the garden below the dam running in a south-west direction towards the place indicated by the earlier informants. Completely filled, the moat waters would cover the entire area to just below the foot of the curtain walls. The causeway on the eastern side would be covered in this case by about 18 inches of water. It must be borne in mind this area may have been built up somewhat during the robbing of the keep from the east. The combination of a water-filled moat, curtain walls and motte and probably heightened tower would be effective.

Constructional Phases of the Castle and Comparative Structures

As has been already discussed elsewhere it was thought during the first season's excavation the keep had been erected stage by stage as the motte was raised. This interpretation was due to the presence of mortar layers in the motte body. The keep and bailey walls were in fact erected first and the motte raised later. There was very little sign of weathering on the plinth and walls of the tower. Whilst

the plinth was repaired below the central buttress on the west side this need not mean any length of time had elapsed between completion and repair. Furthermore the featureless shards from the masons' layer matched the fabric of the pottery associated with the iron key on the top of the motte and the pieces recovered from the moat. All these factors suggest only a limited time between the completion of the free standing keep and the throwing up of the motte and the creation of the moat to strengthen the castle.

Examination of the mortar from the core of the keep walls and the plinth indicate the offset base was constructed of a different mortar to the walls. This suggests a different source of raw material possibly brought about by change of masons, or phased construction. The actual building of the castle must have taken place in two main phases. These appear to be as follows:—

A. The building of the keep and the bailey walls.

B. Raising of the motte and the creation of the moat and possibly the heightening of the bailey walls and the keep.

During the first phase the well may have been sunk prior to the completion of the walls if there were no ground floor entrance. This would enable the well sinkers to easily dispose of the soil and silt instead of hoisting it over the walls. There are indications, the presence of masons' waste in part of the motte body, that the keep was heightened during the raising of the mound. It is not known if the bailey walls were strengthened during the second building period. From the section across the northern wall (Fig. 13), it is clear that some of the motte body was thrown over the top of the walls during the construction of the motte. The main bulk would be carted through the entrances.

Rectangular, or practically square keeps of the Aldingbourne type occur at Benington, Herts.¹ and Wareham, Dorset.² Both are without the Aldingbourne chamfered and offset plinth, but have the same basic plan and pilaster buttress locale. Benington keep is known to have been demolished by A.D.1176-7 and it has been suggested, by Renn, on stylistic grounds, its construction dates to c.1136. Documentary evidence for Wareham is confused, but the castle was strengthened during Stephen's reign and twice stormed during the same period. It is probable the keep was built during this phase. Repairs were carried out in 1203-4, which suggests the castle and the keep had existed for some time. Pilaster buttresses occurred at Bamburgh, built prior to 1164,³ Carlisle, 1136-51,⁴

¹ D. F. Renn, *Norman Castles in Britain*, 1968, p. 105; *Ant.* vol. XLI, p. 96-97.

² *Medieval Archaeology*, vol. III, pp. 120-138; *Medieval Archaeology*, vol. IV, pp. 56-68.

³ D. F. Renn, *op. cit.*, p. 98. *Arch. Journal*, vol. L, pp. 93-113.

⁴ D. F. Renn, *op. cit.*, p. 134, *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Soc.*, vol. II, pp. 1-17.

Norwich, c.1136,¹ Rochester, 1126,² Benington before 1176-7, Wareham, c. 1130-42,³ Richmond, 1146-71,⁴ Sherborne, c.1139,⁵ Porchester prior to 1172-3,⁶ West Malling, c.1102,⁷ and the Tower of London after 1078.

At Bamburgh the base of the tower was supported by a moulded chamfered plinth and at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, c.1168-78,⁸ there was a chamfered offset plinth in the Aldingbourne tradition. In the Chichester area Caen limestone was imported from Normandy and used in ecclesiastical structures from the Conquest to the end of the 12th century and Quarr limestone was replaced by Caen.⁹ As no accurate documentary evidence is available directly associated with Tote Copse castle its dating must rest upon comparative sites elsewhere of known date and to a certain extent the pottery from the excavations. As can be seen evidence from the use of chamfered offset plinths, pilaster buttresses and squat nearly square, or square keeps from other sites suggests the Aldingbourne structures were built in the first half of the 12th century, most probably during the anarchy and under the direction of Seffrid de Escures 1125-47, Bishop of Chichester who held the episcopal seat at that time. If earlier, the work would be by Ralph de Luffa, Bishop of the See from 1091-1123.

Aldingbourne and the See of Selsey and Chichester

In the pre-Conquest period and during medieval times the parish of Aldingbourne had a close association, well attested by documentary evidence, with the see of Selsey and after 1075 with Chichester when the bishopric was removed there.¹⁰ From the Conquest to the middle of the 17th century Aldingbourne was the chief episcopal seat of the bishops of Chichester who held the manor, the watermill and associated fishpond and occupied the buildings now known as the Bishop's Palace placed by tradition to the east of Tote Copse.

During A.D.680 Caedwalla, King of Wessex, awarded land in Pagham and elsewhere to Wilfred, exiled Bishop of York, to support

¹ D. F. Renn, op. cit., pp. 259-262.

² D. F. Renn, op. cit., pp. 299-303; *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, vol. II, No. 475.

³ D. F. Renn, op. cit., pp. 338-339.

⁴ *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, vol. IX, pp. 33-54; M.P.B.W., *official guide*.

⁵ *The History of the King's Works*; R.C.H.M., *Dorset*, vol. I, pp. 66-68. D. F. Renn, op. cit., pp. 308-310.

⁶ D. F. Renn, op. cit., pp. 281-285.

⁷ D. F. Renn, op. cit., pp. 342-344.

⁸ S. Toy, *The Castles of Great Britain*, 1966, pp. 95-99; D. F. Renn, op. cit., pp. 254; *Archaeologia Aeliana*, Fourth Series vol. 2, pp. 1-51.

⁹ A. Hussey, *Notes on the Churches in the Counties of Kent, Sussex and Surrey*, 1852.

¹⁰ *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. 88, pp. 51-52.

him and his recent convertees in Sussex.¹ On 3 August, 683, Caedwalla granted lands at Selsey to establish a church there and endowed property at Aldingbourne.²

"Quapropter ego Cædualla disponente domino rex rogatus a venerand uuilfrido episcopo ut sibi aliquantulam terram ad suffragium famulorum christi, qui vitam coenobialem degant, et ad construendum monasterium in loco qui vocatur Seolesige . . . (Necnon terram illam quæ appellatur Aldingborne et Lydesige . . .) This award in fact established the see of Selsey and its connection with Aldingbourne. The land endowed at Aldingbourne apparently passed out of the control of the bishopric of Selsey by unlawful means. It was restored to the see by Bishop Beorhthelm in 957 by charter with other lands.³ The reference in this case to the parish is to Ældingeborna (et) Hlidesya. In the Domesday Book Aldingbourne is referred to as being in the hundred of Boese (Box) and it is recorded the Bishop of Chichester held in demesne Aldingbourne.⁴

Whilst there are several documentary references to the episcopal seat and estate at Aldingbourne the writer has only been able to trace three possible references to the site and castle. Two at least indicate Tote Copse was within the estate, both are references by the same writer to Totahal.⁵ One dated c.1226, addressed to Bishop Ralph de Neville by his bailif at Aldingbourne, Simon de Seinliz (Senliz), refers to oats grown at Totahal. Tote, or toot hill is normally accepted as meaning look-out hill.⁶ The element 'hal' in Totahal can be fairly safely interpreted as hall; therefore the meaning of the word is look-out hall; an obvious reference to the motte and keep.

In the will of Bishop Sherburne, 2 August, 1536, £10 was to be given to the building of the "Newe Tower at Aldingbourne." This might be a reference to the keep, but is unlikely at such a late date. It probably refers to the Church tower.⁷

After a long association with the see of Chichester under various bishops, who kept the property in good or indifferent repair, the buildings were destroyed by the Parliamentary forces under Waller

¹ W. de G. Birch, *Cartularium Saxonium London*, 1885, No. 50; J. M. Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, London, 1839-48; B. M. Cotton, MS., Augustus ii. 86; *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. 86, pp. 50-54.

² *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. 86, pp. 59-61; W. de G. Birch, *op. cit.*, No. 64. Liber Y, f. 73, c.1250, in Diocesan Record Office, Chichester (Ep. VI/1/6).

³ *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. 88, pp. 82-87; W. de G. Birch, *op. cit.*, No. 997. J. M. Kemble, *op. cit.*, p. 464.

⁴ Domesday Survey, Sussex, 1086. (Victoria County History, *Sussex*, vol. 1, 1905, p. 390a.)

⁵ *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. 3, p. 47, MSS 669. Tower MSS: Royal and other Historical Letters, Rolls series 1862-6.

⁶ A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The place-names of Sussex*, Part I (1929), p. 31.

⁷ *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. 29, p. 26.

after their sacking of Chichester in 1642.¹ Finally the property was sold in 1648 and Aldingbourne passed into lay hands.

While the documents referring to the ownership of Aldingbourne manor and appurtenances are clear and precise there are unfortunately no immediately available documentary sources referring directly to Tote Copse castle or its owners during the 12th and 13th centuries. But as the motte is very close to the Bishop's Palace and mill, in an area known to belong to the manor, it is certain the castle was built and owned by one of the bishops of Chichester in the first half of the 12th century. While Bishop Ralph de Luffa was a great builder, he died in 1125, a date, which might be too early, especially if the castle was built during the anarchy. It is therefore probable the keep and motte were erected during the reign of Seffrid de Escures, bishop of Chichester, 1125-1147.

Aerial Survey

During the original survey of Tote Copse and the surrounding area in preparation for excavation and in attempt to see whether, or not, there were structures outside the castle moat, an aerial photograph survey was very kindly undertaken by Mr. R. Miller of Littlehampton in his own aircraft. Unfortunately this survey proved negative in regard to the earthworks of a possible outer bailey and allied structures, but shows clearly the location of the motte in relationship to the immediate topography. Later in the same year, after the site had been cleared of scrub, a further survey was undertaken by T.C.M. Brewster in a helicopter helpfully provided by the R.A.F., Tangmere (Plate 2). Apart from supplying useful site photographs the survey was abortive in regard to extra site features. Even under fairly suitable crop conditions no evidence was obtained of an outer bailey, or the ruins of the Bishops' Palace to the east of the Copse. After the removal of the motte by bulldozing in 1962 and some clearance of the curtain walls by Mr. R. J. Wilton of the Castle Preservation Committee, the site was photographed by the Helicopter Wing, R.A.F., Tangmere (Plate 3).

Objects of Iron

Iron Key

A large iron key was found in direct association with pottery in a shallow pit in Section L on the top of the motte due south of the keep (Figs. 16 and 3). As the object was in a sealed deposit with 12th century pottery there can be little doubt as to its date.² X-ray photographs show clearly the key's true form beneath the

¹ C. Thomas-Stanford, *Sussex in the Great Civil War and the Interregnum, 1642-1660* (1910), D. G. Elwes and C. J. Robinson, *History of the Castles, Mansions and Manors of Western Sussex* (1876).

² For undated examples see London Museum Medieval Catalogue.

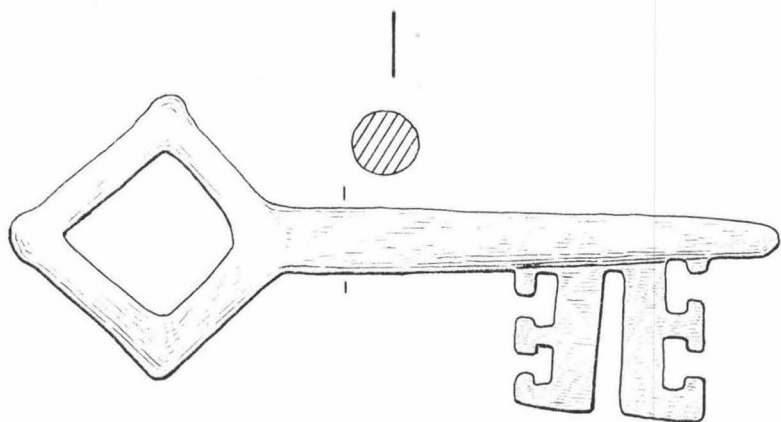
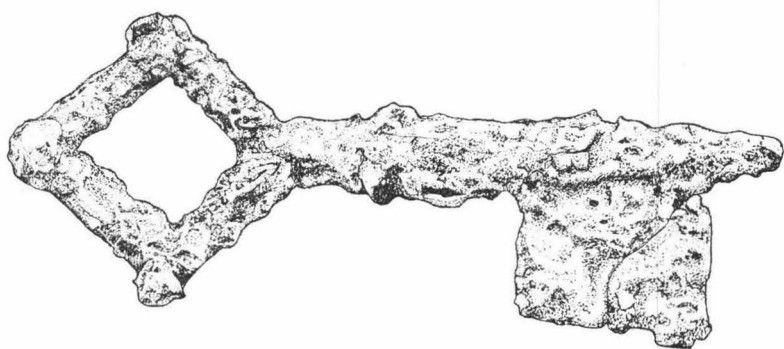


FIG. 16. Iron Key.

Top drawing by Richard Hall

rust. One drawing exhibits the key as recovered and the second the exact structure shown by the X-ray photograph. It appears the key was probably made in four parts joined together by braising. These parts appear to be as follows: the round sectioned shaft split at the loop end when white hot, and hammered square and braised onto two similar pieces to form the loop; the bit with angular teeth must have been then attached to the lower side of the shaft to complete the key.

Iron Bar

A small square-sectioned bar of iron, much eroded, was found in the upper filling of the well. It was four inches in length and half an inch thick and is not illustrated due to its poor state and lack of features.

The Pottery

Excavation produced a small quantity of stratified sherds from four different localities on the site. These are as follows:—

A. Top of the motte south of the keep in shallow hollows and pits. This group consisted entirely of coarse earthenware associated with a large iron key (Fig. 16).

B. An unglazed earthenware jug with a U-shaped strap handle in small hollow just behind the curtain wall and beside the trackway in Trench II on the southern slopes of the motte.

C. Sherds associated with the debris of the curtain wall exposed on the north west side of the motte.

D. Three undecorated sherds from the masons' layer due north of Section I-J (Fig. 8).

E. Several fragments of a large green glazed jug were recovered from the robber cutting just behind the line of the outer keep wall on the southeast side of the keep in Tr. II, Section L. They were buried beneath the fall of London clay from higher up the motte (Fig. 17, A).

The Glazed Jug (Fig. 17 A)

The sherds are in a fine dense buff bisque with slight pink tones and small *circa* .5mm particles of sand either added as tempering to the green pot body, or originally in the clay. Incorporated in the body of the broken handle were fine particles of white flint *circa* 1mm to 1½mm. Adhering to the inside and part of the outer surface of the sherds were small concretions, 1cm x .5cm of what appears to be lime and mortar. On the inside walls the fine striations caused by the fingers during throwing were clearly defined and shallow smoothed rilling occurred. The exterior with a surface of the same type was covered in a shiny green glaze, pitted with small hollows *circa* 2mm in diameter and .5mm in depth. Close examination of the part of the handle not entirely covered in glaze indicates



PLATE 9. Pilaster buttress and masons' waste, south wall.



PLATE 10. Repair to west wall and foundations.



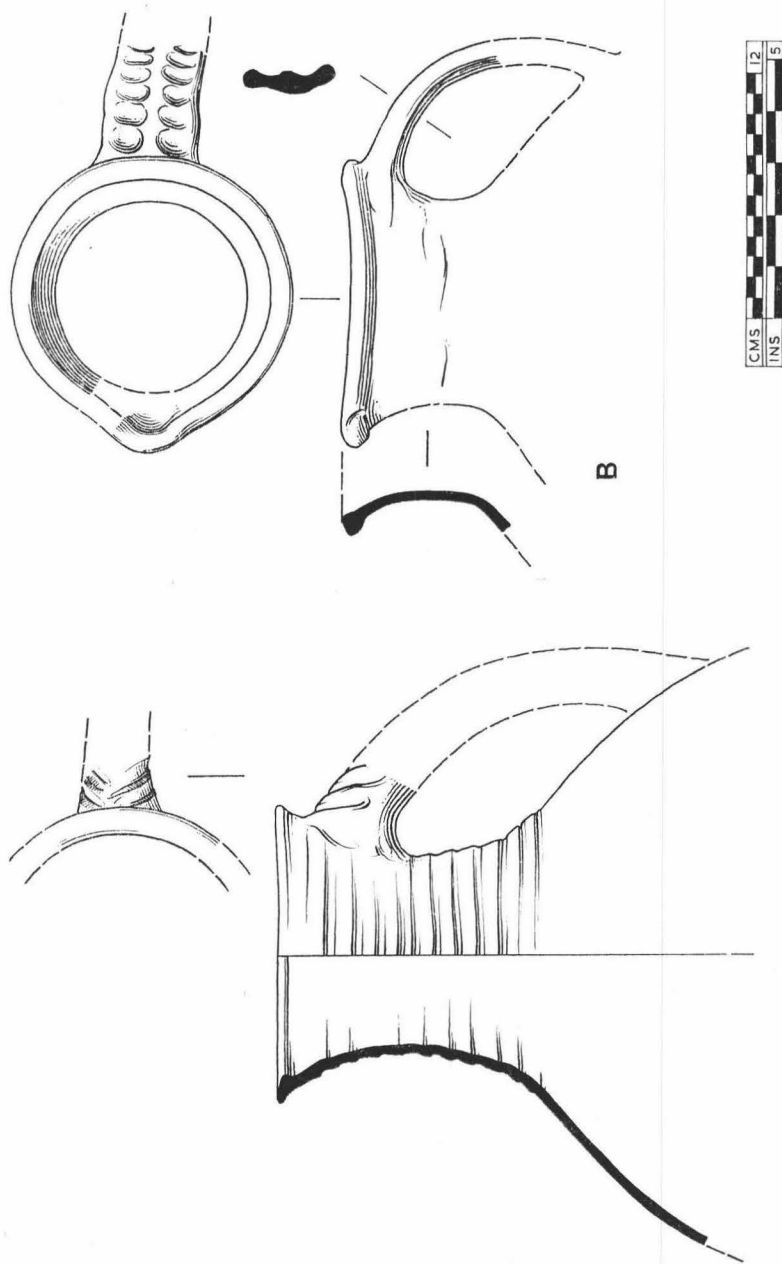


FIG. 17. Pottery—Jugs.

the pits in the glazed surfaces are in fact small holes in the upper surface of the bisque impressed prior to the addition of the glaze. Some are in line, suggesting a comb or similar tool was used. It was noticed that the glaze clung to the surface better where the pits were. This technique must be an attempt by the potters to assist the liquid glaze to adhere to the bisque during firing, or cooling, or intended as a decorative effect. Lightly peppered on the glaze were small specks of black, but these faults are widely dispersed and do not detract from the beauty of the glaze. Grooving, or angular rilling occurred from just below the shoulder to just beneath the out-turned rim. These ridges are on the average 1cm apart and 2-3mm deep. It cannot be ascertained exactly how the handle was secured to the thrown body of the ewer. As there were no signs of a plug on the inside it is likely the top and bottom of the handle was impressed against the body. Malformation of the inside of the neck shows where pressure was brought to bear by the fingers to counteract the pressing on the strap on the outside. The estimated firing temperature, by comparison with similar bisques, is *circa* 1,000°C. There is nothing more to suggest the source of the clay. It must have been a fairly uncontaminated secondary body. Glaze, form and fabric suggest a date in the 13th century, probably the first half.¹

Earthenware Jug

The crushed remains of the upper part of an earthenware jug with a strap handle were recovered from a small hollow just behind the bailey wall and beside the trackway in Trench II on the southern slopes of the motte. Section P (1) 19/8/61. Fig. 3 and 17B. Fine hard sandy fabric with light pink to fawn surface with grey core. Grey kiln fuming marks on part of the U-shaped strap handle. Macro examination of the pot surface and core indicates *circa* 25% fine sand was used as a tempering agent. The pot was lost after the motte was completed and most probably is late 12th early 13th century.²

Cooking Pots

Fragments of coarse cooking pots were recovered from three positions on the site. These are:—

- A. From a shallow pit, containing the iron key in Trench II south of the keep, or in the shallow sealed deposit surrounding it (Figs. 3 and 18).
- B. Two sherds, in the same fabric as Fig. 18 (5), from the masons' layer to the west of the keep.

¹ Mr. J. Pallister, Southampton Museum, reports similar pots in 13th century horizons at Southampton.

² Excavations at the Deserted Medieval Village of Hangleton. E. W. Holden cf. *S.A.C.*, Vol. 101, Fig. 25, 203 and 209.

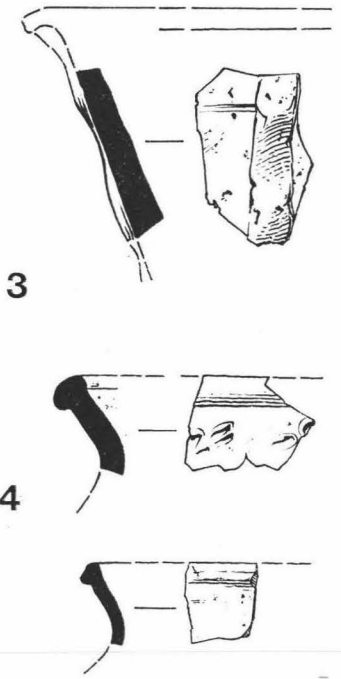
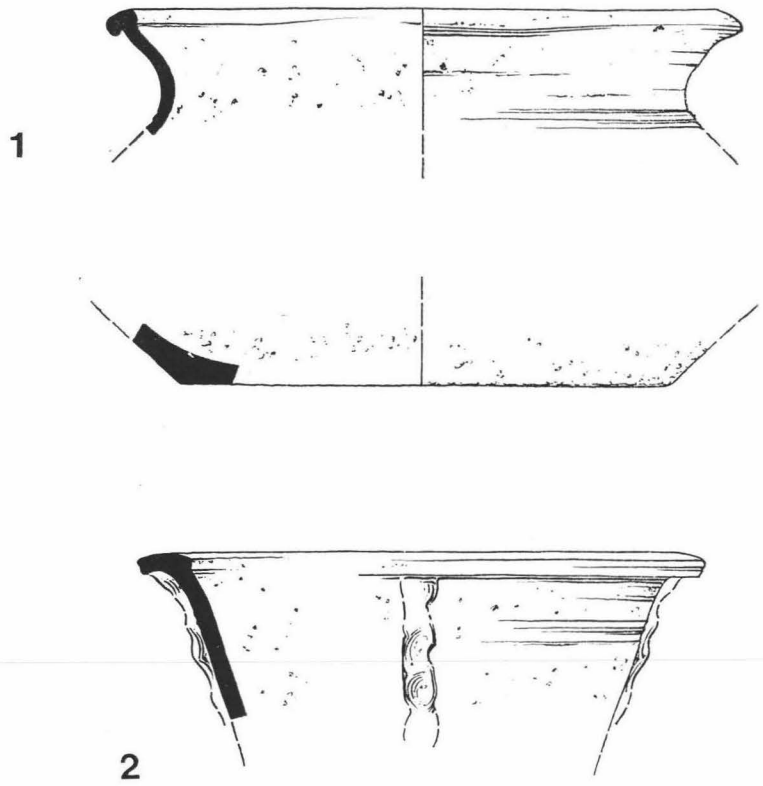


FIG. 18. Pottery—Coarse Ware.

- C. Four sherds in the same fabric as Fig. 18 (1), in association with cannon bone of red deer in moat. Trench II South.

Fig. 18.

1. Fine hard bisque with fine to coarse blue and white flint tempering *circa* 1mm-4mm in length. Signs of fine tooling on top of rim. Outer surfaces dull pink with fawn tones. Fawn core. Wheel thrown. Estimated firing temperature *c.*900-1000°C. From shallow pit containing key. Trench II. 15.9.61.A.

Fig. 18.

2 and 3. Both parts of same vessel. Thick coarse heavy bisque with fine to coarse blue and white flint tempering agents, *circa* 1mm-5mm in length. Dull pink to fawn outer surfaces and core. Crude vertical finger impressed strips. From pit containing key. Trench II. Wheel thrown. Firing temperature not less than 1,000°C. 15.9.61. B C, D and E.

Fig. 18.

4. Thick coarse heavy bisque with fine to coarse blue and white flint tempering agents *circa* 1mm-5mm in length. Dull pink to fawn outer surfaces. Fawn to pink core. Line of tear-drop shaped stab-marks as decoration beneath rim. From sealed layer just outside pit containing key. Wheel thrown; firing temperature not less than 1,000°C. Trench II South. 15.9.61.

Fig. 18.

5. Fine smooth black to grey bisque and core with tempering agents in the form of blue and white grits, *circa* 1mm-3mm in diameter. From Trench II South. 15.9.61. F.

All the vessels exhibited in Fig. 18 are actually from the same archaeological horizon and were closely associated with the iron key (Fig. 16). This group of feature sherds, chiefly in a coarse rough fabric, belong to the general pattern of southern 12th century pottery, in all probability the second half and of course were used after the motte was completed. It may well be they belong to the phase when the keep was first reduced. There was no occupational evidence in the keep and it is most unlikely potsherds would have been deposited outside the donjon during its useful life. Parallels to the Tote Copse series seem most apparent at Wareham Castle.¹ Corfe Castle² and in the material published by G. C. Dunning from Chichester.³ An exact match to Fig. 18(2 and 3) turned up at Chichester during 1968, but unfortunately was unstratified. The Aldingbourne example of rim and shoulder are less angular

¹ *Medieval Archaeology*, vol. IV, Figs. 20 and 21; cf. Tote Copse, 2 and 3 with Fig. 21. E. 7.

² *Medieval Archaeology*, vol. II; cf. rim forms, Figs. 13 and 15.

³ *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. 91; cf. rim and shoulder forms, Figs. 4 and 5, and Fig. 15, 1 and 2.

than the Chichester pots and are much closer to the later 12th century rim and shoulder profiles from Wareham Keep. The form of 2 and 3 appears to be the same as an example from Wareham, this being without the strap which is normally a 13th century feature on cooking pots.

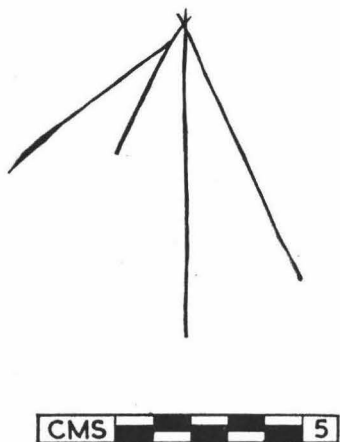


FIG. 19. Mason's Mark.

Mason's Mark

In zone A of the well (Fig. 7) was located an ashlar block of Caen stone with the mortar still attached and an incised mason's mark on the obliquely chiselled face (Fig. 19). The block must have originated in one of the pilaster buttresses, doorways or window arches. Similar marks occur on the Caen ashlar masonry of the early 12th century western interior of Chichester cathedral, but none match the Aldingbourne example.

Report on Wood

Several pieces of wood were obtained from the well. The location of samples has already been dealt with and were reported on by G. C. Morgan of the Ancient Monuments Laboratory.

Plank

Originally nearly 9ft. long, 10 inches wide and one inch in thickness Oak. *Quercus robur* type. Encrusted with fine deposit. See note below:—

Plank. Material (610235A) encrusting wood.

Finely crystallized *pyrite* (iron disulphide) forming cementing medium for other finely divided inorganic compounds (including

silicia). The pyrite occurs in a very finely botryoidal form in which individual crystal shapes are difficult to determine. Some limonitic oxidation products are also present.

Probably formed under reducing conditions from percolating waters containing iron compounds, sulphates, etc., in solution. Stalactitic? Solutions could have emanated from the London Clay.

P. J. Adams, *Geological Survey*.

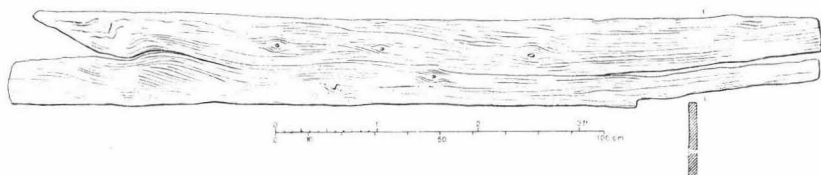


FIG. 20. Plank From Well.

Peg

Poplar—*populus* species.

Twigs

Zone A. Hazel. *Corylus avellana*, $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter.

Zone A. Oak. *Quercus robur* type.

Well-Sinking Frame

Oak. *Quercus robur* type.

G. C. Morgan. *Anc. Mons. Lab.*

Land, Marine Mollusca and Marine Crustacea

Common (land) Snail. *Helix aspersa*. From Zone E of well.

Cockle. *Cardium edule*.

Oyster. *Ostrea edulis*.

Crustacea.

Barnacles. *Balanus balanoides*.

One example of the common cockle and a large oyster shell, occurred in association with pottery in Section K on the top of the motte. Both mollusca were obviously sources of food, but the presence of the barnacles on three stones was entirely accidental. The crustacea belong to the group known as Acornshells or sessile barnacles and are found attached to rocks and stones where the sea currents swirl and the surf rages. The examples on the stones from Aldingbourne were probably recovered from the sea at Selsey Bill where the Mixen rock was obtained. T.C.M.B.

Animal Bones

Animal bones were few in number and came from the pottery layer associated with the key, the well and the southern cutting of the moat. Fig. 3. The examples from the well were identified by R. A. Harcourt, B.M.V.S., M.R.C.V.S.

Red deer. Cannon bone from southern cutting of moat. In association with shards.

Ox. Frontal bone and fragments associated with iron key and 12th century pottery.

Dog. Medium sized dog. Zone A. of Well.

Dog. Small slender poodle sized dog. Zone G. of Well.

Chicken. Zone E. of Well.

Rabbit. Zone E. of Well.

The paucity of animal bones and pottery on the site suggests a limited occupation. Dog and other animal remains from the well appear to belong to the destruction or abandoned phase of the castle.

Mortar Samples Report

The examination by Louise Riller of the three mortar samples submitted gave the following results:

A.M. No.	Percentage of insoluble residue retained on sieve of mesh						Total insoluble matter %	Site Ref.
	5	10	18	36	72	72		
680036	5.20	5.95	7.66	9.69	18.20	58.30	23.89	Western course of keep—heart of flint wall Chamfered base of keep Mortar from garderobe
680037	32.1	6.0	5.0	6.9	9.7	39.1	19.93	
680038	4.3	0.2	0.16	0.32	4.7	84.2	25.52	

In all three samples the presence of lumps of chalk was noted during the initial inspection. It is normal practice to add chalk as aggregate in areas where it is abundant. This creates difficulties in analysis as no chemical distinction can be made between the chalk and the carbonated lime of the mortar matrix. The presence of chalk as aggregate may well be responsible for the relatively low figures of insoluble aggregate found.

Subject to these considerations and the normal limiting factors in such analysis, it would seem that 680037 differed from the other two enough to make this significant. Allowing for infiltration of finer material into the garderobe sample (680038) owing to its peculiar nature and position there is a similarity in the distribution pattern of these two samples. This overall distinction is confirmed by Dr. Anderson's geological appraisal of the insoluble residues, suggesting the Alluvium as a source of aggregate for 680037, the other two aggregates having come from Coombe Rock deposits.

The evidence as a whole would be consistent with different stages, or even periods, of construction for the base of the keep, on the one hand, and the flint wall and garderobe on the other.

L. BIEK, *Ancient Monuments Laboratory.*

Carved Head

In the rubble behind the bailey wall on the north-west side (Fig. 13, Section V-W) was a carved head in Quarr limestone part anthropomorphic and part zoomorphic. It was approximately 6 to 7 inches in diameter and has been unfortunately mislaid. When recovered the figure will be published in *S.A.C.*

APPENDIX A

Well Sinking Technique

At the bottom of the well was a frame of oak on which the walls of Selsey limestone rested (Figs. 21 and 7). Frames of this form were used in Sussex and Yorkshire¹, probably throughout Europe, until modern times to sink wells through soft deposits. In rock, of course, neither the frame or lining was necessary. This technique is shown stage by stage in the well-sinking diagram, Fig. 21. The method was to sink the shaft to five feet, place the frame at the bottom and build up the brick or stone lining until it was 5ft. above the ground level prior to cutting away the clay, gravel, soil or sand beneath the frame. The well-sinking shield was supported by four props as the lowering took place. There was always a possibility the frame and lining might slip to the bottom of the shaft. The real danger arose when the props were withdrawn. Unless the shaft lining was built the same distance above the ground as the cutting beneath the frame the worker at the bottom might be trapped by falling soil from the 5ft. of the shaft left without a lining. This could not occur if the shaft was built in the manner indicated in stage I, II and III of the diagram. The final, normal stage, providing the lining had not slipped already, was to give the top a blow with a heavy timber supported by two men. This system operated until the well was sunk to the level required.

APPENDIX B

Utilization of Stone

The final identification of the stone used in building of the keep and bailey walls and samples of the motte body was carried out by Dr. F. W. Anderson, Institute of Geological Sciences, and Mr. E. Venables, F.G.S., who report: A Quarr Limestone, Ryde, I.O.W.; Caen Limestone, Normandy; Coombe Rock; London Clay.
(F. W. ANDERSON).

*B.**Mixen Rock, or Selsey Limestone*

Mixen rock, examples of which were met with during the excavation of the Tote Copse, Aldingbourne, is a rather coarse-grained but compact limestone of Auversian age (Middle Eocene); the only

¹ Yorkshire: Information supplied by the late G. Dobson of Staxton, former master mason to Lord Londesborough 1880-1918. Sussex: Data supplied by G. Ward, foreman for D. Neal & Co., Chichester, 1961.

WELL-SINKING DIAGRAM

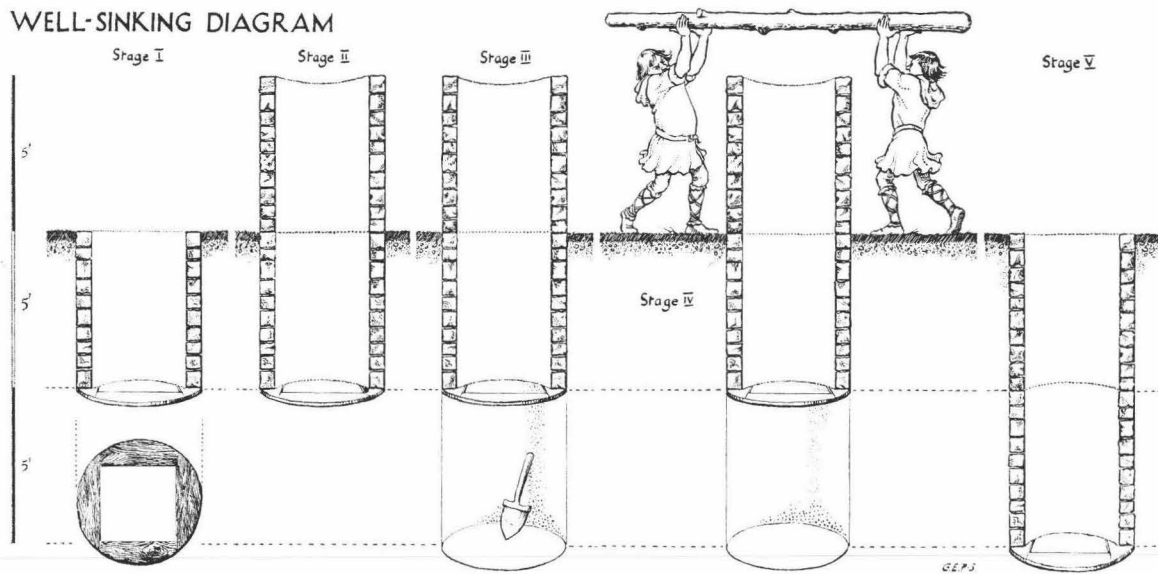


FIG. 21. Well Sinking Diagram.

Drawn by G. E. Pallant-Sidaway

known outcrop is located off the tip of Selsey Bill. In colour, the stone ranges from light grey to a characteristic warm cream; it is a freestone, usually occurring in tabular form, from 2in. to 8in., or more in thickness. As a building stone, it exhibits considerable durability, being largely resistant both to frost and to carbon dioxide in rainwater. The name, Mixen rock, is a popular term, and the stone is known in geological terminology as *Alveolina* limestone, from the presence in it of the characteristic fossil, *Alveolina*, one of the *Foraminifera*. Although this index fossil is known to occur in deposits of the same age elsewhere, it is only at Selsey that it is known to occur in a limestone hard enough for building purposes.

The incidence of Mixen rock in buildings is mainly confined within an area extending some fifteen miles from Selsey. This building stone is ascribed to a derivation from the reef off the Bill, as no other source is known. From Saxon times onward, Mixen rock was quarried on the foreshore at Selsey for ecclesiastical and other building construction; but the resulting erosion of Selsey Bill has long since left the outcrop as a submerged reef out at sea. Part of it, visible at low tide south-east of the Bill, is marked by the "Mixen pole" or "Mixen light" to warn sailors of the hazard.

Alveolina limestone may be recognised by the aid of a powerful hand lens. The characteristic fossils show as orange coloured objects, fusiform in shape and up to half an inch in length. Their colour, contrasting with the cream-coloured stone matrix, renders them conspicuous to an experienced eye, and the lens reveals the characteristic decussated micro-structure of the fossil, which is unmistakable. (E. Venables).

The local, Chichester area, name for Mixen rock is Selsey limestone. It was used in an undressed form as lining for the well, the outer face of the interior of the keep wall, the construction of the garderobe, the bailey walls and in ashlar form for the building of the stepped and chamfered plinth of the keep. When quarried it naturally breaks into flat blocks 6 to 8 inches in thickness which makes it a very suitable building medium.

Ashlar Quarr limestone, also known locally as Quarr Abbey or Chara stone¹ was quarried in the 11th and 12th centuries at the Quarr quarries on the Isle of Wight.² It appears to have been replaced by Caen limestone for fine, ecclesiastical work by the end of the 12th century.³ At Aldingbourne, Quarr stone was used in the construction of window and door jambs, arches and, in conjunction with Caen stone, in the building of the pilaster buttresses.

¹ For use of word Chara, see *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. 86, p. 157; F. Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, p. 23.

² *Medieval Archaeology*, vol. VIII, pp. 115-117. F. W. Anderson and the late R. N. Quirk.

³ A. Hussey, *op. cit.*,

The evidence for its use in doorways and windows, is based upon the examples recovered from the well and garderobe and the general debris from the site. From the samples of Caen and Quarr stone recovered from the same source it is obvious there were single and double light windows in the wall of the keep. One example of Quarr limestone exhibits the sill of a window with the broken mullion as one piece.

Fine ashlar Caen limestone was used extensively in the construction of buttresses, etc. Some blocks still show clearly oblique claw marks *circa* $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in width. Caen stone apparently is very easily worked when first quarried, but hardens through time. Large quantities of it were imported from Normandy for the construction of Chichester cathedral after 1091. It may well be the Tote Copse material came from the same shipments.

Flint nodules, sometimes split in two, were used in the facing of the keep wall above the stepped base and in the wall core. Two nodules in the well were partly covered with barnacles indicating they had been recovered from the shore.

INDEX

A

- Adelaide, Queen 89
Ainsworth, C. J. 65n., 80n.
Albert Memorial 8
Alciston 14
Aldbrough, Yorks. 33
Aldingbourne: Tote Copse Castle
141-179
Alfriston: A-S cemetery 131
Allen, J. R. 83n.
Allensby, K. 80n.
Amberley Castle 69n.
Amos, E. G. J. 108, 117, 120, 121
Anderson, F. W. 77, 178n.
Angell, John 29-35
 William 29, 34
ANGLO-SAXON BURIALS AT CRANE
DOWN, JEVINGTON by E. W. Holden
126-134 Ill.
Animal remains:
 Maison Dieu, Arundel 73
 Tote Copse Castle, Aldingbourne
 153, 156, 174-5
- Ansell, Nicholas 91
APOTHECARY'S MORTAR FROM MAISON
DIEU, ARUNDEL by G. C. Dunning
77-8 Ill.
Apted, George 94
Arden, Miriam 18
Argentan, France 85n.
Armitage, R. 100
Arnold, F. H. 10n.
Arun, River 67, 74
Arundel:
 Castle 65
 Maison Dieu 65-77 Ill.
 Museum 69
Arundel, Earls of 65, 66
Ashdown Forest 135
Atkinson, Donald 109
Attwood & Wimble, Messrs. 98
Audley End, Essex 2

B

- Bacon, Francis 28
Baines, J. Mainwaring 51n., 125
Bamburgh Castle 163, 164
Bannister, Stephen 18
Bardown: Roman tile 109, 114, 115,
117, 118, 120, 121, 123
Barking, Essex 60
Barnard, F. P. 74n.
Barton, K. J. 74n., 77, 82n.
Batchelor's Farm 14, 16
Bateman, Robert 33
Baxter, John 98
Bayeux Tapestry 46
BAYLEY, T. D. S.: Lady Mary May's
Monument in Mid-Lavant Church
1-11 Ill.
Bead (glass) at Anglo-Saxon burial
site, Crane Down, Jevington 128
Beauport Park: Roman coin and tile
108, 111, 114, 115, 117, 121, 123
Beckington Farm, Heathfield 16
Bedfordshire *see* Leighton Buzzard
- Belgic dykes 137
Benington, Hants. 163, 164
Beorhthel, Bishop 165
Berkshire *see* Windsor
Berwick Common 14
Bickerton, L. M. 65n.
Bignor 138
Bills, G. 19
Birch, W. de G. 165
Birdham 66
Blackman, Sir Henry 88-91, 93, 94, 96,
97, 99
Blickling, Norfolk 8
Bodell's 16
Bodiam: Roman coin 108
 tiles 108, 111, 114,
 115, 117, 118, 120,
 121, 123
- Bolton, Francis 53
Bond, F. 178
Bordeaux 53
Boship, Hellingly 16

- Boulogne: Roman tiles 103, 111, 116, 119, 122-5
 Box, Hundred of 165
 Boxall, Thomas 89
 Boys, W. 38n.
 Bradfield, Essex 9
 BRADLEY, RICHARD: *The Chichester Dykes*—a dissenting judgement 137-140
 Brakspear, Harold 82n.
 Bramber Castle 82
 Braylsham, Hellingly 16
 Brecon 84
 Brede River 37
 BREWSTER, T. C. M. *and* A.: *Tote Copse Castle, Aldingbourne* 141-179 Ill.
 Brightling: Fuller family 14-24
 Rose Hill 14
 Brightling Down 15
 Brighton 37, 42, 43, 47, 48, 50, 54, 58, 60, 135
 Broad, Peter 99
 Broadwater Forest 135
 Brodrigg, Conant 125
- BRODRIBB, GERALD: *Stamped Tiles of the "Classis Britannica"* 102-125 Ill.
 Bronze objects:
 Fragments: *Maison Dieu, Arundel* 73
 Pin: *Crane Down, Jevington* 130, 132 Ill.
 Brook, Arthur 89
 Broomhill 37
 Brown(e), Hannah 93
 Henry 99
 William 93
 Buckle, iron, found at *Crane Down, Jevington* 130, 131 Ill.
 "Buildings of England" 9
 Bulverhythe 37
 Burials, Anglo-Saxon 126-134 Ill.
 Burrell, John 22
 William 22
 Burrell Collection, *Bodleian Lib.* 67
 Burrell MSS. 5
 Burtenshaw, John 93
 Burton, Nicholas 25n.
 Burwash 16
 Bury 75
 Bushnell, John 1, 2, 8, 9

C

- Caedwalla, King 164, 165
 Caen stone 80, 82, 141, 146, 149, 152, 153, 156, 164, 176, 179
 Calais 59
 Caldecott, Matthias 95, 96
 Calder 84
 Caligula, Emperor 111
 Calverley, —. 20
 Camber 37
 Castle 58, 59
 Cambridge University:
 Trinity College 78
 Cambridgeshire *see*
 Little Wilbraham
 Shudy Camps
 Camp Hill, *Ashdown Forest* 135
 Canute, King 37
 Carlisle Castle 163
 Carnsew, Wm. 25n.
 Carson, M. 65n.
 Carved head found at *Tote Copse Castle, Aldingbourne* 176
 Carville, John 33
 Chalgrove, Oxon., Church 83
 Charles I 35
 Chester 85
- Chichester 164, 166, 172
 Cathedral 3, 69n., 173, 179
 Priory Park 10
 South Street 10
 Chichester, Bishops of 144, 164, 165
 CHICHESTER DYKES—A DISSENTING JUDGEMENT by Richard Bradley 137-140
 Chilly, Benjamin 16
 Cinque Ports 25, 26, 33, 36, 37, 43, 52, 60, 61
 Clark(e), Eve 100
 Widow 22
 Claudius, Emperor 111
 Cleere, Henry 109, 125
 Clements, John 16
 Clench, Thomas 33
 Climping 66
 Coade Factory 11
 Cobb, Gerald 11
 Cockins, *Pevensey* 16
 Coins, Roman:
 Beaufort Park (Commodus) 108
 Bodiam (Trajan) 108
 Colchester, Essex 32, 137
 Collier, John 15, 23
 Collingham 84
 Colshill, Thomas 47

Colvin, H. M. 1n.
 Commodus, Emperor: coin 108
 Compton, William, 1st Earl of Northampton 25, 26
 Coney's Farm 15
 Congreve, A. L. 125
 Constable *see* Henty and Constable
 Conway, Sir Edward 34
 Cooper, Robert Chester 89, 90, 91
 Corfe Castle, Dorset 172
 Cornwall *see* Marhamchurch
 Cotterell, Michael 96
 Courthope, James 17

Cowley, Thomas 4, 8
 Cox, J. Charles 83n.
 Cranbrook, Kent: Roman tiles 109, 114, 117, 118, 120, 121, 123
 Crane Down, Jevington; Anglo-Saxon burials 126-134 Ill.
 Cresset found at New Shoreham 79-84 Ill.
 Crouch, John 19
 Cunliffe, Barry 75n., 82n., 108, 109, 137
 Curteis & Son 88
 Curwen, E. & E. C. 138n.

D

Dale, Anthony 16n.
 Dallaway, James 5
 Daw, Joseph 17
 Dayrell, —. 24
 Deering, Christopher 18
 Defoe, Daniel 54, 58, 61
 Dell, Richard F. 25n., 42
 Dennett, John 95
 Devil's Ditch 138
 Devonshire *see* Dittisham
 Exeter
 Dieppe 69
 Dimes, F. G. 82
 DISCOVERY OF TWO UNUSUAL OBJECTS
 IN NEW SHOREHAM by K. Jane
 Evans 79-86 Ill.
 Dittisham, Devon 45
 Dobson, G. 176n.
 Dodswell, John 22
 Dolben, —. (d. 1686) 5
 Domesday Book 36

Donington, Lincs. 4
 Dorset *see* Corfe Castle
 Sherborne
 Wareham
 Wool
 Worth Maltravers
 Dover, Kent 26, 27, 31
 Roman Tiles 102, 108, 114, 117-121, 123
 St. Mary the Virgin Church 102
 Drinkall, J. T. 4
 Drury, Benjamin 18
 DULLEY, A. J. F.: Early History of the
 Rye Fishing Industry 36-64
 Dungeness, Kent 45, 58, 60
 Dunkirk 61
 Dunn, Robert 95
 Dunning, G. C. 74n., 84-6, 172
 Apothecary's Mortar from Maison
 Dieu, Arundel 77-8
 Dyke, Sir Thomas 14

E

EARLY HISTORY OF THE RYE FISHING
 INDUSTRY by A. J. F. Dulley 36-64
 Ill.
 Eartham 66
 Eastbourne 23, 109, 126, 131
 Edinburgh: Museum of Antiquities 83
 Edmondson, Sir Thomas 29, 30
 Edward I 39
 Edward the Confessor 36
 Elizabeth I 25, 27, 52, 58
 Elliott, John 97
 M.M. 78n.
 Ellis, L. B. 10n.
 Ellman, —. 90
 Elphick, —. 22
 English, William 97

Eridge 135
 Escures, Seffrid, Bishop of Chichester
 166
 Esdaile, Katherine 1, 5, 6, 8
 Essex *see* Audley End
 Barking
 Bradfield
 Colchester
 Eustace, G. W. 65n., 67n., 68
 EVANS, K. JANE: Maison Dieu,
 Arundel 65-77 Ill.
 Two Unusual Objects in New
 Shoreham 79-86 Ill.
 Evelyn, John 1, 2
 Evison, V. I. 126, 132
 Exeter 86

F

- Fairlight 58
 Fan, dated 1793 135-6
 Farnes, John 88
 Fausset, B. 130n.
 Fécamp Abbey 37
 Figg, William 97, 99
 Filching Manor House 126
 Finlay, Joseph 96
 Finn, Arthur 45n.
 Firlie Place 17
 Fishbourne 137, 144
 Fishing Industry, Rye 36-64
 Fishmongers' Company, London 52
 Fitzalan, Henry, Earl of Arundel 66
 Richard, Earl of Arundel 65
 Thomas, Earl of Arundel 66
 Flanders 59
 Flew Fare 42, 44
 Flint, Benjamin 99
 Floyd, —. 33
 Folkestone, Kent 45, 48, 103, 114, 120,
 121, 123
- Foster, John 35
 Thomas 18
 Fox, W. 67n.
 France *see* Bordeaux
 Boulogne
 Calais
 Dieppe
 Dunkirk
 Fécamp
 Saintonge
 Fraser, J. 6, 7
 Freeman's Wish 16
 Fryer, A. C. 83n.
 Fuller, Eliz. (Sloane) 18, 23
 Henry 17n., 19, 21, 23
 John 15-18, 20-24
 Rose 14, 16, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24
 Stephen 18, 22, 23, 24
 Thomas 19, 22, 23
 FULLERS OF BRIGHTLING PARK by
 M. C. L. Salt 14-24 Ill.
 Furness Abbey 84

G

- Gardener, P. 141
 Gates, Thomas 96
 George III 89
 George IV 135
 Gibbons, Grinling 2, 3, 5
 Gibbridge, Richard 32
 Gienily, Gedevido 59
 Gifford, Emanuel 30-34
 Gilbert, William 18
 Gillbard, W. 141
 Glanville, Francis 33
 John 33
 Glass objects:
 Bead: Crane Down, Jevington 128
 Fragments: Maison Dieu, Arundel
 73, 74
 Glennie, A. H. 4n., 9
 Dorothy 9
- Gluck, —. 8
 Goddard, F. M. 80n.
 Godfrey, W. H. 1n., 9, 65n., 67n.
 Goldsmith, Joseph 91
 Grabar, A. 12n.
 Grantham, George 97
 Green, David 2, 5
 Gregson, William 17
 Griffiths, John 26n.
 Grimm, S. H. 5, 67
 Grover, George 96
 GRUENFELDER, JOHN K.: Rye and the
 Parliament of 1621 25-35
 Gue, R. J. 65n.
 Guise, Duchess of 28
 Guy, Charlotte 10
 Mary Ann 10
 William 10

H

- Hague, D. B. 83n.
 Haines, W. 10n.
 Halnaker 139
 Halnaker Place 6
 Halsted, L. C. 8
 Hampden-Trevor, Thomas, 2nd Vis-
 count Hampden 90
- Hampshire *see* North Stoneham
 Porchester
 Ports Down
 Portsmouth
 Romsey
 Southampton
 Sowley
 Winchester

- Hamy, E. T. 124
 Hangleton 75, 170n.
 Harben, Thomas 90
 Harbour Fare 42
 Harman, Thomas 93, 94
 Harrison, F. 8
 Hartley, D. 78n.
 Hasted, E. 61n.
 Hastings, 22, 27, 33, 36, 37, 43, 45,
 49, 50, 58, 60, 61, 64
 Hawkes, C. F. C. 137n.
 Hawkhurst, Kent 21
 Hawksmoor, Nicholas 2
 Heathfield 16
 Heene 66
 Hellingly 16
 Henry VIII 58
 Henty and Constable, Messrs. 68
 Herstmonceux 20
 Hewitt, Thomas 90
 Hertfordshire *see* Benington
 Hexham Abbey 83n.
 Higgions, Thomas 29n.
 Hill, J. Darrell 111, 117, 118, 120
 Hilton, Mrs. (Robinson) 20
 Hod Hill 137
 Hodgkinson, T. W. 1. 8
 Holborough, Kent 132
 HOLDEN, E. W.: 77n., 82n., Anglo-
 Saxon Burials at Crane Down,
 Jevington 126-134, Ill.
 Hollar, Wenceslaus 67
 Holloway, William 29
 Holman, Robert 22
 Holmer, Edward 100
 Holmes, J. R. 137-9
 Holter, Alice 87
 Holy Trinity Hospital (Maison Dieu),
 Arundel 65-77 Ill.
 Hook, Charlotte 10
 Horderns 14
 Horsham 21
 Hoskins, W. G. 64n.
 Houdon, J. A. 8
 Hove 135
 Hull, Felix 29n.
 M. R. 137n.
 Human Remains at Crane Down,
 Jevington 126-134 Ill.
 Hussey, A. 164n., 178n.
 Hydney 37
 Hyslop, M. 132n.
 Hythe, Kent 28n., 45, 49, 60, 61

I

- Iham 37, 39
 Ilesham in Climping 66
 Inkpen, —. 98
 William 94
 Innings 16
 Inskip, Edward 19
 John (Lade) 19
 Ireland 42

- Iron objects:
 Buckle: Crane Down 130, 131, Ill.
 Knife: Crane Down 128, 130-2 Ill,
 128, 130-2
 Key: Tote Copse Castle 141, 166 Ill.
 Pin: Crane Down 128 Ill.
 Isle of Wight 178

J

- Jackletts 15
 Jackson, John 23
 Jacob, H. Mitchell 70n.
 Jacobite Rebellion, 1745 20
 James I 25, 28, 60
 Jeake, Samuel 51
 Jenkins, Dr. 19
 Jenner, James 90
 Jettons at Maison Dieu, Arundel 74

- Jevington: Anglo-Saxon burials at
 Crane Down 126-134 Ill.
 Johnstone, Thomas 90
 Jolly, N. H. 141, 146, 158
 Joze, E. M. 77n.
 Jugs, medieval
 New Shoreham 81, 84-6 Ill.
 Tote Copse 168 Ill.

K

- Kell, —, 96
 Kelly, D. B. 125
 Kensey, 84
 Kent, W. 3, 11
 Kent *see* Cranbrook
 Dover
 Dungeness
 Folkestone
 Hawkhurst
 Holborough
 Hythe
 Lydd
 Lypnpe
 Maidstone
 Richborough
 Rochester
 Sandwich
 Sibertswold
- Kent *see*
 Strood
 Tenterden
 Tonbridge
 Tunbridge Wells
 West Malling
- Kenyon, G. H. 74
 Kerr, John, 7th Marquess of Lothian 8
 Ketton-Cremer, R. W. 8n.
 Key, iron, at Tote Copse, Alding-
 bourne 141, 166 Ill.
 King, Gregory 64n.
 Kingston-by-Lewes 66
 Kitson (Kytson) Richard 101
 Knife, iron, at Crane Down, Jevington
 128, 130-2, Ill.
 Knight, M. G. 1n.

L

- Lade, Anne 20
 John (Inskip) 19, 20
 Sir John 19, 20
- LADY MARY MAY'S MONUMENT IN
 MID-LAVANT CHURCH by T. D. S.
 Bayley 1-11 Ill.
- Lamps (cressets) 80-84
 Langdon, A. G. 83n.
 Langridge, William Balcombe 89, 90,
 93, 96
 Lasher, James 33
 Nathaniel 29n.
- Laurence, Mary 22
 Lavant, River 139
 Lebon, M. C. 111, 120, 125
 Lee, Arthur 89
 William, 87, 98
 Leeds, E. T. 132n.
 Lees, T. 83n.
 Leigh, W. A. 1n.
 Leighton, John 97
 Leighton Buzzard, Beds. 132n.
 Lely, Sir Peter 2
 Lemmon, C. H. 111, 117, 118, 120, 125
 Lempiere, Aaron 90, 91, 97
 Lennox, Charles, 2nd Duke of Rich-
 mond 15
 Lennox, Duke of *see* Stuart, Ludovic
 Lethbridge, T. C. 130n., 132
 Lewannick 84
- Lewes 21
 All Saints Parish 93
 Aylwards Corner 89
 Brooman Street 89
 Castle Gate Lane 87, 89
 Castle Yard 90
 Crown Inn 88-91, 95
 Crown Lane 90
 Dolphin Inn 96
 East Gate Lane 89
 East Street 89
 Friars Walk 89n.
 Gabriel (bell) 87
 High Street 87, 89, 94
 House of Correction 98
 Lansdowne Place 89n.
 Market House 87-90
 North Street 98
 Puddlewharf 89
 Quaker Meeting House 89
 Rainbow Inn 95
 St. John sub Castle 93
 St. Mary's Lane 87, 89, 94, 95
 St. Michael's Church 17, 89
 St. Nicholas Church 89
 Southbourne Road 89n.
 Star Inn 90, 93, 95
 White Hart Inn 90, 95
 White Horse Inn 95, 96

- Lewes, Archdeaconry of 58, 101
 Wills, 17th-18th cent. 63
 LEWES MARKET by Verena Smith 87-101 Ill.
 Ley, Sir James 35n.
 Lincolnshire *see* Donington
 Little, Hester 23
 James 14
 Little Wilbraham, Cambs. 130
 Llanthony 84
 Lockwood, Henry 35
 London:
 Albert Memorial 8
 Fishmongers' Company 52
 Guildhall Library 11
 Royal College of Music 8
 St. Paul's Cathedral 2, 4
 Scotland Yard 3
 London:
 Trinity House 53
 Whitehall Palace 3
 Lothian, Marquess of *see* Kerr, John
 Lovegrove, H. 46n.
 Lowdell, Stephen 98
 Lower, M. A. 100
 Luffa, Ralph de, Bishop of Chichester 166
 Luxford, —. 99
 Thomas 22
 Lychepole in Sompting 66
 Lydd, Kent 45
 Lye Wood 139
 Lypnec, Kent 102, 105, 106, 108, 114, 117, 120, 121, 123
 Lyon, John 102

M

- Madgwick, William 97
 Maidstone, Kent 21
 MAISON DIEU, ARUNDEL by K. Jane Evans 65-77 Ill.
 Mall, John 91
 Richard 87, 100
 Mantell, Gideon 89
 Thomas 89, 93
 Margary, I. D. 109, 120, 125
 Militia Camps in Sussex, 1793, and a Lady's Fan 135-6 Ill.
 Marhamchurch, Cornwall 84
 Marlipins, New Shoreham 79, 80
 Marsh, Richard 30n.
 Marshall, Christopher 28n.
 John 11
 Martin, Roger 18
 Mason's Mark, Tote Copse Castle 173 Ill.
 Matthews, L. G. 78
 Maxfield, John 90, 98
 May, Edward 89, 97
 Hugh 1-5
 Sir John 1, 5
 Lady Mary 1, 4, 5
 Mayer, Joseph 117
 Maytham Wharf 46
 Meaney, A. 131n.
 Meekings, C. A. F. 64n.
 Melling, Elizabeth 48n.
 Mid Lavant 139
 Church 1-11
 MILITIA CAMPS IN SUSSEX, 1793, AND A LADY'S FAN by Ivan D. Margary 135-6 Ill.
 Miller, R. 141, 166
 Mitchell, T. R. 5
 Mixen Rock 176-8
 Moir, Thomas 29n.
 Mollusca at Tote Copse Castle 174
 Morley, Sir Edward 4, 6
 Sir John 5
 Mary 4
 Morris, John 89
 P. R. 100
 R. 141, 162
 Morshead, Sir Owen 3
 Moss, W. G. 50n.
 Mothersole, J. 118
 Murray, K. M. E. 37n., 137n., 140

N

- Neal, Messrs. D. 176
 Robert 97
 Neeve, Richard 97
 Nettesworth Farm 16
 Neville, Ralph de, Bishop of Chichester 165
 New Shoreham: interesting finds 79-87
 Newcastle, Duke of, *see* Pelham-Clinton
 Newcastle upon Tyne 164
 Newman, G. 27
 Newtonhall 84

- Nicholas, Edward 30n., 32
 Nordenfolk, C. 12n.
 Norfolk *see* Blickling
 Norwich
 Yarmouth
 North Stoneham 19
 Northampton, Earl of *see* Compton,
 William
 Northeye 37
- Northwood in Earham 66
 Norwich Castle 164
 Northumberland *see* Bamburgh Castle
 Hexham Abbey
 Newcastle upon
 Tyne
 Notestein, Wallace, 32n, 34n.
 Nutt, Ann 20

O

- Olliver, Harry 97
 Orr-Ewing, J. A. 65n.
- Oxford: Bodleian Library 67
 New College 68
 Oxfordshire *see* Chalgrove

P

- Packham, A. B. 80n.
 Paghham 164
 Pallister, J. 170n.
 Palmer, John 32
 Parry, J. D. 53n.
 PARSONS, DAVID: Saxon Doorways of
 the Church of St. Nicholas, Worth
 12, 13 Ill.
 Pawson, Henry 95, 96
 Peat, A. H. 8
 Peckham, W. D. 37n.
 Pelham, Henry 15
 R. A. 69n., 82n.
 Pelham-Clinton, Henry, 2nd Duke of
 Newcastle 20, 21
 Penington, Captain 61
 Pepperell, Stephen 109
 Pepys, Samuel 1, 2
 Pettit, Tom 93
 Pevensey, 16, 37, 49, 108, 109, 117,
 120, 121, 123
 Piercy, Isaac 91
 Pins
 Iron, at Crane Down, 128 Ill.
 Bronze, at Crane Down 130, 132 Ill.
 Piper, Elizabeth 18
 Jesse 18
 Samuel 14n.
- Pitt, Charles 89, 97
 Playden 42, 56
 Ponsonby of Shulbrede, Lord 75n.
 Pontsmeadow 14
 Portland Stone 77
 Porchester, Hants 164
 Ports Down, Hants. 132
 Portsmouth 38
 Potten, John 48
 Pottery
 Iron Age—Crane Down 130
 Medieval—Crane Down 130
 Tote Copse 166, 168,
 173 Ill.
 14th cent.—Maison Dieu 72, 74, 75,
 77 Ill.
 Poynings: Church 75
 Preston 37
 Priory Park, Chichester 10
 Prowze, John 46
 Puckerell, John 87, 100
 Pudwell, A. J. 65n.
 Pulborough 69
 Pumpsfield 14
 Purbeck marble 77

Q

- Quarr stone 141, 146, 149, 152, 153,
 156, 164, 176, 178, 179
- Quirk, R. N. 178n.

R

- Rameslie 37
 Rand, —, 97
 Randall, George 87
 Ratcliffe-Densham, H. B. A. 126, 132
 Raughmere, Mid Lavant 1, 2, 4
 Raworth, Francis 34n.
 Reigate, Surrey 75
 Relfe, Edward 95
 Remnant, —, 20
 Renn, D. F., 163n., 164n.
 Rice, W. McM. 46n.
 Richards, John 94
 Richborough, Kent: Roman tile 108,
 109, 114, 117, 121, 123
 Richmond, Duke of *see* Lennox
 Richmond Castle 164
 Rickert, M. 12n.
 Rigold, S. E. 66n., 74
 Robertsbridge 16, 23
 Robins, F. W. 83n.
 Robinson, Lade 20
 Mary 20
 Mrs. (Hilton) 20
 Rebecka 20
 Rochester, Kent 60
 Castle 164
 Romney Marsh 39
 Romsey Abbey 83, 84
 Rother, River 25, 39, 111
 Rouen pottery 74
 Round, J. H. 37n.
 Rowe, John 87
 Rutter, J. G. 85n.
 RYE AND THE PARLIAMENT OF 1621 by
 John K. Gruenfelder 25-35

S

- St. Mary's Share, Rye 57
 St. Paul's Cathedral 2, 4
 Sainctonge, France: pottery 85
 Salisbury, Wilts. 84
 SALT, M. C. L.: Fullers of Brightling
 Park III 14-24
 Saltcote, Playden 42, 56
 Saltfare 38, 39
 Salzman, L. F. 67n., 100, 109, 117,
 120, 125
 Sandwich, Kent 37
 Sawyer, John 91
 SAXON DOORWAYS OF THE CHURCH OF
 ST. NICHOLAS, WORTH by David
 Parsons 12, 13 Ill.
 Saxon shore forts 108, 109
 Scarborough, Yorks. 38, 42-4, 46-8,
 50, 57, 85
 Seillier, C. 124, 125
 Selmeston 96, 131
 Selsey 137, 165
 Selsey Bill 178
 Selsey stone 141, 145, 146, 149, 150,
 153, 156, 157, 176
 Senliz, Simon de 165
 Sheppard, A. V. 126n.
 Shepway, Court of 36
 Sherborne, Dorset 164
 Sherburn, Yorkshire 149
 Sherburne, Robert, Bishop of Chiches-
 ter 165
 Sherlock, W. P. 67
 Shoreham 37, 44, 54
 Short, Samuel 30
 Shotnet Fare 38, 42, 44
 Shudy Camps, Cambs. 131
 Shulbrede Priory 75
 Sibertswold, Kent 130
 Simmonds, H. W. 65n.
 Sitwell, Sacheverell, 8n.
 Skels, John 18
 Skinner, Henry 97
 Sloane, Elizabeth (Fuller) 23
 Sir Henry 23
 William 24
 Smart, John 89
 William 98
 Smith, C. Roach 102, 105, 106, 108,
 117, 120, 130
 Stephen 17
 SMITH, VERENA Lewes Market 87-101
 Ill.
 Snashall, Samuel 88
 Sompting 66
 Soper, Abraham 96
 Sotheby, —, 23
 South Malling 96
 Southampton 38, 86
 Sowley 19
 Spershott, James 10
 Spittall, Joseph 88
 Stammersland 14
 STAMPED TILES OF THE "CLASSIS
 BRITANNICA" by Gerald Brodrigg
 102-125 Ill.
 Standley, Thomas 97
 Stane Street 138
 Steer, F. W. 8n., 10n., 65n.
 Steers, J. A. 58n.
 Stephen, King 163

Stephens, James 19
 W. R. W. 6, 7, 9, 10
 Stevens, L. G. 80n.
 Stevenson, R. B. K. 132n.
 Stone, —. (Lewes) 17
 — (Sowley) 19
 Stonesland 15
 Stoughton, William 51
 Strood, Kent 60

Stuart, Ludovick, 2nd Duke of
 Lennox 29, 30
 Stunts, Pevensey 16
 Suffolk *see* Dunwich
 Sullington 66
 Surrey *see* Reigate
 Waverley Abbey
 Symonson, Philip 59

T

Taylor, John 18
 W. A. 126
 Tenterden, Kent 30
 Thomas-Stanford, C. 166n.
 Thomson, D. 131n.
 Threipland, L. Murray 108, 117, 118
 Tidy, S. M. 126n.
 Tierney, M. A. 65n., 67n., 68, 69, 74
 Tiles:
 Maison Dieu, Arundel 70, 75, 76 Ill.
 Stamped tiles of the "Classis
 Britannica" 102-125 Ill.
 Tillingham river 37, 51, 59
 Tonbridge, Kent 54
 Tortington 66, 75

Tote Copse Castle, Aldingbourne 141-
 179
 Tower of London 164
 Towerson, William 33
 Toy, S. 164n.
 Trajan, Emperor: coin 108
 Trevor, Richard, Bishop of Durham 90
 Treyford 66
 Trinity House, London 53
 Tripod-pitcher from Winchester 85n.
 Tubular-spouted jugs 85
 Tunbridge Wells 54
 Turnor, Thomas 100
 Tutty, John 22

U

Upton, D. G. 79n.

V

Vaillant, V. J. 111-2, 123, 124
 Verrall, Arunah 97
 Verrio, —. 3
 Vidler, L. A. 59

Villiers, George, 2nd Duke of Bucking-
 ham 2
 —, 1st Duke 30
 Vine, John 15

W

Waldron 15
 Waller, Sir William 67
 Walley, W. E. 126n.
 Warbleton 16
 Ward, G. 176n.
 William 28
 Wareham, Dorset 84, 163, 164, 172
 Warningcamp 66
 Waterdown Forest 135
 Waterhouse, F. 80n.
 Watts, G. F. 8
 Richard 89
 Waverley Abbey 82
 Wealden Iron Research Group 121
 Weard Manor 16

Webb, Charles 36n.
 Webster, Whistler 23
 Well at Tote Copse Castle 149-156,
 176 Ill.
 Weller, Stephen 89
 West Lavant 140
 West Malling, Kent 164
 West Sussex Pottery at Maison Dieu,
 Arundel 75, 77
 at New Shoreham 80 Ill.
 Westham 16
 Westminster: St. Stephen's College 75
 Weston 89
 Weston, Abraham 89
 Whitehall Palace 3

Whitfield, Francis 89
 Wicks, Thomas 18
 Wilds, Amon 89, 90
 Wilford, James 53n.
 Wilfred, St. 36, 164
 Wille, George 89
 William IV 89
 Williams-Freeman, J.P., 140
 Willson, David H. 30n.
 Wilson, A. E. 36n., 77n.
 George 18
 Wilton, R. J. 141, 143, 158, 166
 Wiltshire *see* Salisbury
 Wimble, John 89, 98
 Winbolt, S. E. 106n., 117, 120
 Winchelsea 35, 37-41, 43-6, 53, 54
 Winchester 75, 82, 85

Windsor:
 Castle 2
 Knights of the Garter 66
 Lay Vicars 66
 Winwood, Sir Ralph 28n.
 Witten, F. 80n.
 Wood, P. D. 135
 Wood remains:
 Tote Copse Castle 173-4 Ill.
 Wool, Dorset 84
 Worcester 86
 Worth: Church, Saxon doorways 12,
 13 Ill.
 Worth Matravers 78
 Worthing: Museum 65, 74
 Wren, Sir Christopher 2
 Wright, R. P. 105, 125
 Wulnerston, William 52

Y

Yarmouth 36, 38, 39, 41-3, 46-50, 53,
 55, 58
 York Minster 5, 84

Yorkshire *see* Aldborough
 Richmond
 Scarborough
 Sherburn

Z

Zouch, Lord (1616) 26n., 28-31, 34, 35

