

‘A garden in a desert place and a palace among the ruins’

LEWES CASTLE TRANSFORMED, 1600–1850

by John H. Farrant

Having lost its military potency by the late 14th century, Lewes Castle was by c. 1600 being used for popular recreation near to the town's market. From the late 17th century it was the focus for polite society with, by 1760, a bowling green, gardens to the coffee house on the High Street and a pleasance on the Keep Mound; a theatre came a little later. Commercial and associated residential usage were more in evidence by 1800, but in 1838–40 the Keep and the Barbican were purchased for permanent preservation, and passed to the care of the Sussex Archaeological Society in 1850.

The foundation of the Sussex Archaeological Society in 1846 was triggered by the destruction of much of Lewes Priory in the path of the railway. But a few years earlier the Keep and Barbican of Lewes Castle had been ‘saved for posterity’ and in 1850 were the first relics of antiquity to be occupied by the Society. On our 150th anniversary this article explores the Castle's history in the two centuries before those parts passed to the Society's care.¹

For clarity the two mounds, east and west, are here called Brack Mound and the Keep Mound respectively, and the area between them within the Castle walls, the Castleyard; these three, with the Barbican, make up the Castle. Other features or sites carry their current or last recorded names.

Lewes Castle had lost its military potency by the end of the 14th century. In 1377 the Earl of Arundel left it undefended against the French, and in June 1381 local protesters against labour services with seeming ease broke in, to burn his muniments — and broach ten casks of his wine. It had also ceased to be a lordly residence with the end of the Warenne line in 1347 and, as part of the Manor and Borough of Lewes which descended with the barony and rape of Lewes, it was from 1439 onwards divided between three lords, none of whom was thus likely to take up residence. The deed of partition in 1439 implies that each lord was possessed of a different portion of the Castle, but (as will be evident below) in later centuries leases were granted by one lord or by all three jointly and copyholds from the waste by all

three as lords of the manor.²

Only intermittently did Lewes Castle house a gaol. In July 1381, with the gaol at Guildford overfull, the Crown ordered its temporary use. The gaol established at Lewes as the result of a petition from the County in 1487 seems to have been short-lived. Although commissions continued to enjoin the delivery of Lewes Castle, it had clearly been replaced by the new county gaol at Horsham by 1541. An order by the justices in 1579 to remove the gaol to Lewes may have been for the assizes held there the following summer. When a house of correction was built in Lewes in 1610, the justices preferred to spend £200 on purchasing a tenement in the Cliffe rather than revert to using the Castle.³

Two maps of 1620 portray the Castle with complete circuits of wall on both mounds and around the Castleyard.⁴ But the fabric was already being eroded. Lieut. Hammond in 1635 noted the Castle as ‘now quite demolish'd’ and John Rowe cannot have been the only Lewesian to find building materials there when, in 1620–21, he paid for 78 loads of flints to be removed from the Castle for repairing a wall.⁵ Before 1498 the Lords of the Manor were making copyhold grants from the waste around the outer edge of the Castle. The Gun Garden was granted in 1559 and 1574, and the western half of the Keep Mound in 1567. Grants between 1614 and 1634 covered over half the north or west frontage of Castle Ditch Lane, between the Castle wall and the rear of 169–186 High Street and of Fisher Street as far as the Star Brewery.⁶

The grants of the Gun Garden surely relate to the establishment or expansion of the White Horse Inn which fronted the High Street on the west corner of Castlegate, just by the Market House built in 1564/5. This area became the town's commercial hub, the market probably having been moved from the site at the High Street's junction with Fisher and Station Streets, on which the Sessions House was built, also in 1564.⁷ Edward Homewood, innholder at the sign of the White Hart at 173 High Street, was doubtless hoping to exploit the throng around the Market House by leasing, in the 1610s, the Barbican and a fourth part of the Keep Mound and the Castleyard from the Earl of Dorset; presumably he leased from the other two Lords (the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Bergavenny) their shares as well. The continuity and rough character of recreation in the Castleyard is indicated by 'the great pieces in the Castle' being fired to celebrate the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588; by the order in 1595 that the Society of the Twenty-four should be chosen in the Sessions House rather than the Castle, 'for the avoidance of further disorder'; and by a case in the Archdeaconry court in 1633, when Richard Gun claimed to have been defamed by fellow Brightonian John Wallis accusing him of being drunk twice in one day, before witnesses in the Castle.⁸ By January 1639 part of the Castleyard had been appropriated for bowls, for the Justices granted an alehouse licence to John Standing at his house in the Castle where he kept the bowling green. One map of 1620 definitely and the other possibly shows three buildings in the Castleyard: a substantial, three-gabled house in the vicinity of Castlegate House, a single-gabled one (Castle Precincts House?) and a small structure between them — perhaps a pavilion by the green.⁹

During the Commonwealth playing bowls was likely suppressed — that would explain the post-Restoration reference to a Quaker prayer meeting in 1658 on 'the old Castle Green (now made a Bowling Green)'. Although the meeting was broken up, the tone of the area was rising. In that year, Lord Bergavenny granted Thomas Henshaw, the undersheriff, a lease of Castle Precincts House, and in 1661 the Lords sold a long lease of the ground south and east of the bowling green (the substantial house of 1620 having evidently gone) as a garden, soon to be enclosed with a stone wall. The purchaser was Sir Thomas Nutt, Sheriff in 1660/61 and a very assiduous Justice in 1664–75, who surely used the garden for political purposes with his mansion across

Castle Ditch at 181–183 High Street almost facing the Sessions House. He sold to the equally active Justice, William Spence, in 1673.¹⁰

On Spence selling in 1679, this house came into the same ownership as that on its west, and on the combined site by 1687 William Pellatt built a house which Sir John Ashburnham considered the best in Lewes excepting only Pelham House. Between 1711 and 1734 its owner Benjamin Court occupied it as an ironmonger's shop, while, in 1723–25, acquiring as copyholds the sites of The Maltings and Castle Lodge and of the north-east quadrant of the Keep Mound. In 1734 he leased the house and gardens to the Duke of Newcastle who had it fitted up as a political coffee house and assembly rooms. As George Vertue noted in September 1738, in Lewes 'is assembly kept and in a handsome house and a large room many neighbouring gentry come once a week'. Court retired to what he called his 'Little Castle' within the precincts, probably Castle Lodge, in the shadow of the Keep. His holdings in the Castle were augmented after his death in late 1736 by his heirs, Samuel and Robert Chester, taking a lease of the bowling green from the Lords in 1745. Play there was from 1753 organized by a formally constituted club, the Lewes Bowling Green Society.¹¹

In about 1730, Court received a visit from the Revd John Burton of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who wrote that, while the public buildings of Lewes were unimpressive, privately-owned ones

are gracious, numerous and outstanding. Among these is an ironmongery, a most expensive affair and well worth a look . . . The master of the house received us in friendly fashion, strangers though we were, being willing to oblige us in every way, and he led us up through the back room onto gardens — they were amazing — both the height and the layout; for in this place which was uneven and precipitous, huge banks had been heaped up and spread out into a level area. Upon these level parts parallel walks are laid out. Being higher than all the surrounding houses, the result is that from here, as if from a look-out place, it was possible for us to survey all the surrounding scene clearly from afar. There were many things to see and most beautiful they were. I believe that this amazing affair of the gardens had been constructed upon the ruins of the ancient castle, for here appear the traces of a large broken-off wall and of steep

towers and of a palisaded enclosure with no way through. Indeed, all the fortifications had been advanced in front.¹²

Burton, I suggest, climbed Brack Mount. He approached from Court's gardens, now the car park and The Maltings.¹³ 'Huge banks . . . heaped up and spread out into a level area . . . parallel walks . . . laid out' describe the bank against the curtain wall south and east of the gardens, and the gardens themselves. 'Traces of a large broken-off wall and of steep towers and of a palisaded enclosure with no way through' may refer to the curtain wall, to the masonry on Brack Mount, more extensive in the 18th century than today,¹⁴ and to the view across the Castleyard or indeed towards the enclosure in which St John-sub-Castro stood. Burton's speculative 'I believe' surely discounts the possibility that his point of view was the Keep Mound, on which the ruins of an ancient castle are obvious.

While Court and his visitors enjoyed the summit of Brack Mount, the built-up area of the town was creeping round its edge. Between Fisher Street and Mount Place had stood Nathaniel Trayton's barn, the Hoghouse, until Dr Richard Russell acquired it in the 1720s and started to develop Russell Row. On the opposite side of Mount Place, at the edge of Brack Mount, the Lords granted from the waste the sites of the Lewes Arms in 1723, the Christian Alliance to its north in 1730, a plot on the west side (for the parish poor house) in 1732, and the whole of the northern circuit to Russell in 1738 (though not developed until c. 1820). Leaving a 50-foot frontage for access to the Mount, the Lords made the last grant round it, for Brack Mount House, in 1757. Grants followed on the west side of Castle Banks lane, in 1767 and 1772.¹⁵

West of Brack Mount was a 100-foot section of north-facing Castle wall (Fig. 2). Behind this and/or on the north part of the Castle Lodge site, since at least the 1750s, was stabling for the detachment of cavalry which was stationed in Lewes while patrolling the coast and river valley against smugglers. On the site of New Road, part way down the Castle's north flank was a ditch and breastwork; townfolk dumped rubbish in the ditch and the military by the 1780s levelled the area to provide a ride on which to break in new horses, while carters wanting to bypass the High Street used it as a track to and from Westgate.¹⁶

In December 1751, preparing his travelogue for publication some twenty years after his initial visit,

Burton added:

Since the time when I wrote these words I know that both the area, the houses and the men themselves have experienced many changes. This ironmongery has by now disappeared, but many splendid buildings have been newly constructed and on the mound one of the citizens, an enthusiastic and ambitious man, having made innovations round the ancient remains, has achieved a great project and provided both, so to speak, a garden in a desert place and a palace among the ruins.¹⁷

Although the literal reading is that he was referring in both c. 1730 and 1751 to one and the same mound, I suggest that he confused Brack Mount (c. 1730) with the Keep Mound (1751).

The ambitious citizen was Thomas Friend, a mercer and banker to local gentry. By 1726 he was occupying Barbican House (169 High Street), overlooking the Market House, and was responsible for its Georgian remodelling.¹⁸ In 1732 he extended his command of the commercial hub by purchasing the tenements which made up the White Horse Inn, comprising 165–167 High Street, 1 Castle Gate and the Gun Garden. The Lords of the Borough granted him copyholds of the south-east face of the mound (where the steps now are) in the same year, of the Barbican (on condition that it should not to be altered, pulled down or destroyed) in 1733, and of the interior of the Keep in 1750 (on condition that he should repair and not pull down).¹⁹ Burton was referring to works which Friend had recently put in hand.

Figure 1 summarizes the occupancy of the Castle in the later 1750s. At the south end Thomas Friend let the White Horse, with outbuildings in the Gun Garden. As an amenity for both it and his own residence at Barbican House he had developed a pleasance on the Keep Mound. Further along the High Street the New Coffee House (leased by Court's niece Abigail Chester to the Duke of Newcastle) still enjoyed, across Castle Ditch, its extensive gardens which bounded the bowling green. The gardens also gave onto Brack Mount, access to which the Lords evidently allowed without grant or lease. Bowls was among the games on which the young John Bridger of Coombe (1733–1816) was betting during frequent visits of the coffee house in 1755–58, and his father may have built for him Brack Mount House overlooking the gardens. But the other properties

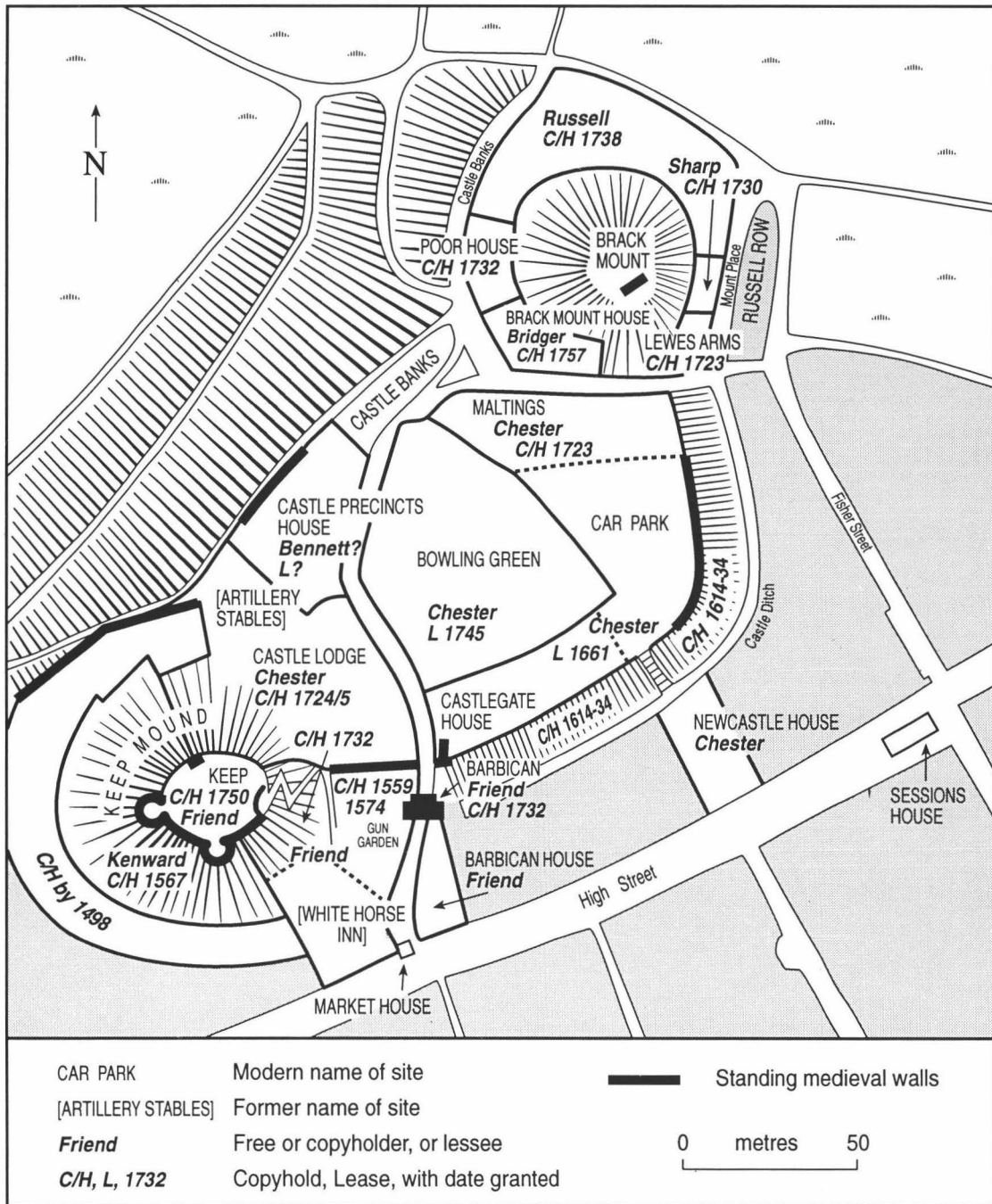


Fig. 1. Lewes Castle in the late 1750s.

around the Mount, facing away from the Castleyard, were more modest. The Lewes Arms alehouse on the south-east corner was established there before 1747.²⁰ On the west of the Castleyard were the Artillery stables. South of them and west of the bowling green Abigail Chester had her residence (Castle Lodge) until her son Robert inherited it in 1759. With its fine view through the river gap to the Weald, Castle Banks (the terrace between Brack Mount and Castle Precincts House) was likely a public promenade. For the Castle had come to provide for Lewes what many a provincial town created in the century after the Restoration: gardens, walks, games and other amenities for genteel recreation. They complemented, at a more central location, Baldy's Garden at the east end of the town, which was open by 1746.²¹

The main elements of Friend's works on the Keep were the large rusticated doorway which still graces the west tower and a three-gabled summer-house just below the line of the curtain wall on the east side (Fig. 2). The antiquary Richard Gough, visiting in August 1757, recorded:

The Castle a considerable ruin is now private property, and standing on a high hill is ascended to by a winding path planted with flowering shrubs and secured by Chinese

railing. The area within is laid out in parterres, the apartments plastered with rough lime and pebbles and stuck about with prints, vases on brackets, and chinese ornaments in the manner of a summer house. From the leads of one apartment we had a fine view of the sea through an indifferent telescope kept there: and from another quarter saw a pleasant seat of Dr Russell's.²²

Frances Grose's view from Brack Mount in September 1762 (Fig. 2) shows a fence to have divided the mount into southern (Friend) and northern (Chester) portions. The southern was planted, the northern bare.²³

The East Hoathly shopkeeper, Thomas Turner, visited Lewes one Sunday in June 1758 with his wife:

We also went to see the Castle Mount, which I think a most beautiful sight, it being so well adorned with a great variety of shrubs and flowers, and so exceeding high that you have a command of the prospect of all the circumjacent country round. We came home, thank God, very safe, sober and well about 8.30.²⁴

James Powell, visiting Brighton from Suffolk in 1770, made a similar account, though the shrubs had grown:

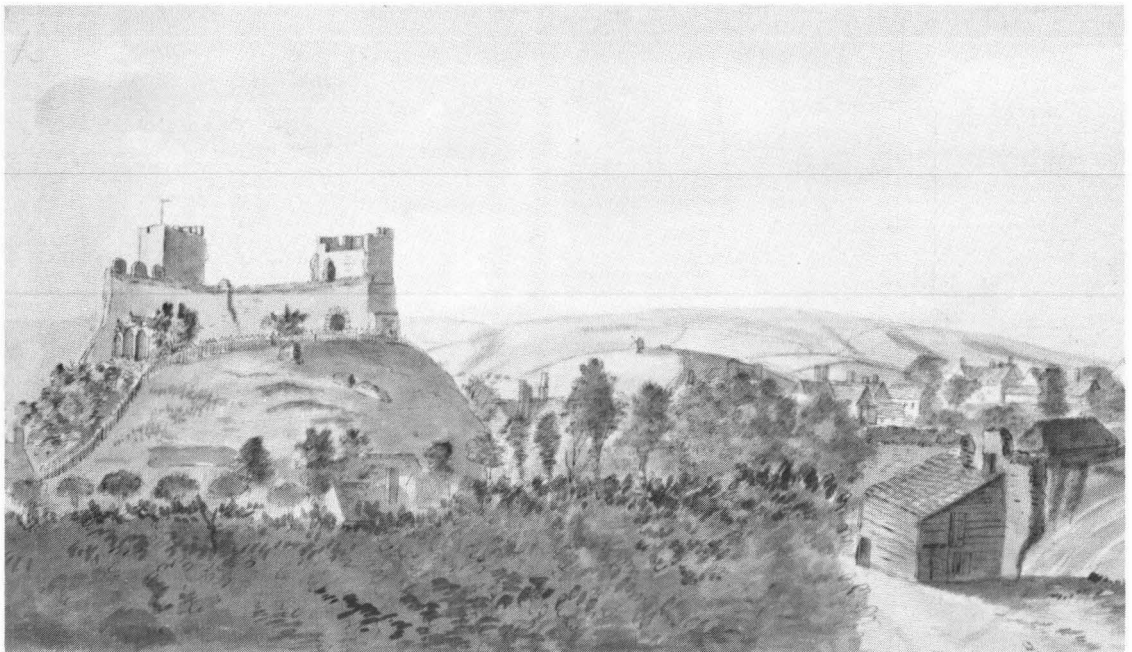


Fig. 2. Lewes Castle from Brack Mount. (Watercolour by Francis Grose, September 1762: author's collection.)

We put up at the Star and having refreshed ourselves with a cup of wine and water, some cold ham and some tongue we set out for the Castle. This is a fine piece of antiquity, the first gate leading to the old Castle being almost entire, the second not in such good condition. This formerly was the entrance when in use as a castle, but the way up now is by a winding walk made on the outside hill, the ascent rather steep but being through a shady walk the whole way made it not disagreeable. The prospect here is beyond anything we have yet seen: on the one hand a field full of men carrying in the harvest where formerly the Barons fought Edward [*recte* Henry] the 3rd and brought him prisoner to the Castle, and on the other the River laden with craft of 40 or 50 tons winding through a delightful vale.²⁵

The Quaker Mary Capper, with her sister-in-law, 'first went to the Castle garden which we ascended by a flight of very many steps' in 1782, while for the Hon. John Byng in August 1788:

Our evening ramble . . . was to inspect what exists of the old castle; where remain an entire gateway, blocked up by houses, and two towers with a wall at the top of the keep, to which we were shown by winding steps. It is neatly kept; the two towers form rooms, and to the summit of one is an ascent, whence is an extensive view and to the sea.²⁶

These three visitors enjoyed what they saw. Not so Gough: Friend's improvements were not to his taste, for on a second visit in July 1767, he observed that 'The inside is fitted up by the proprietor in a gimcrack manner'. Gough (1735–1809) became Director of the Society of Antiquaries in 1771 and was a leading exponent of the careful and systematic study of medieval remains. William Gilpin (1724–1804), the influential arbiter of taste in the picturesque, was similarly critical, in 1774, and made Lewes Castle an object-lesson for the antiquary:

It is not in itself an unpicturesque fragment; but some busy hand has been employed in making hanging gardens around it, and adding other decorations, which only discover how much the improver missed his aim by trying to shew his taste. It is among the first principles which should guide every improver, that all contiguous objects should suit each other, and likewise the situation in which they are placed. A modern building admits modern

improvement, — a ruin rejects them. This rule, though founded in nature, and obvious to sense, is scarcely ever observed. Wherever we see a ruin in the hands of improvement, we may be almost sure of seeing it deformed.

But you say, a ruin may stand as an ornament in an improved scene.

It may: but it must appear, that the improved scene does not belong to the ruin, but the ruin got accidentally into the improvement. No improvement, however, should come within the precincts of the ruin. Deformities alone may be removed: and if the ruin retire into some sequestered place, and is seen only through trees, or rising above some skreening wood, its situation would be better, than if it stood a glaring object in full sight.²⁷

The last addition to the Castle's amenities was a theatre opened in October 1774. Built in the Castleyard with entrances into Castle Ditch Lane, a spacious gallery and seating for 600, it was perhaps on the site of The Maltings, making use of the fall of the ground for raked seating. Its closure in 1787 was symptomatic of decline in the Castle's position as the focus for the leisure of polite society. The New Coffee House closed in 1779, and the White Horse about 1775.²⁸ Thomas Friend had died in 1761 and his heir, a nephew of the same name, died late in 1763. The properties then passed to another nephew John Kemp who died in 1774; and to the latter's nephew Thomas Kemp. He lived in Barbican House only until 1785, when he removed to Conyboro, Barcombe, dying in 1811. The main residences of his son, Thomas Read Kemp, were first at Herstmonceux and then in Brighton. In 1787 the elder Kemp allowed a house for the borough's fire-engines to be built in the Gun Garden — one among several uses which detracted from a tourist attraction.²⁹ Robert Chester opened the Castle public house against the north-west face of the Norman gateway between 1759 and 1768, but it seems not have been a smart establishment, probably drawing its custom from the Artillery stables and his brewery. It was closed in 1825.³⁰

Commercial and associated residential use of the Castleyard were well in evidence in 1808 when it was described as encompassing:³¹

a public bowling green (in a hut on which an aged pauper lived until the previous year)
a large garden [the car park and The Maltings]
hired at a considerable rent by a tradesman in the town [Arthur Lee, printer]

a capital message, garden and common brewery [Robert Chester at Castlegate House: a recent five-bay house was standing in 1772, and the brewery is recorded in 1780; The Maltings were built for the brewery in the early 1850s]³²

a message and garden occupied by another respectable brewer [Christophilus Chitty at Castle Precincts House. 'The New buildings' postdate Grose's view of 1762 (Fig. 2) but stood on the site in the early 1770s and were offered for sale as befitting a small genteel family in 1796; the section of Castle wall may have been partly demolished during rebuilding the house in 1816]³³

the dwelling house of a common London carrier, waggon house, and stabling for all his horses [John Shelley who had acquired Brack Mount House from Sir John Bridger in 1787]³⁴ alehouses at the signs of the Castle and of the Lewes Arms.

stabling for a great number of horses, occupied by the Artillery [with the Castle Inn (which was close to the Norman Gate) on the Castle Lodge site].³⁵

T. R. Kemp did do some works on the Keep, but these were incidental to a novel use for the Castle. In 1816 he retired as a Lewes MP, sold Barbican House and took to preaching for the Dissenting sect which he had founded with his brother-in-law George Baring. In 1818 he recovered the fire-engine house as the sect's chapel in Lewes — and provided accommodation for himself when visiting to preach, by adding the rectangular stair-turret to the south tower of the Keep, fitting up three rooms in it, and installing in the west tower the widow of a servant, all at a cost of £600. She showed John Stuart Mill around in 1827. The sect having dissolved four years earlier, Mill inspected, with approval, the infant school Kemp had installed in his erstwhile chapel. The Gun Garden probably also accommodated the four-stall stable, two coach houses and large carpenter's shop which were there 11 years later. The South Saxon lodge of freemasons had by 1805 a room in the Barbican.³⁶

Mill noticed the Keep only as 'an old building' with 'two watchtowers' affording a good view. With William Gilpin's tenets of taste now widely accepted, sophisticated observers did not approve of Kemp's alterations: 'The ruins of the castle', wrote J. D. Parry, 'are however far from interesting, very little of the

primary features of architecture are discernible, and though it has been liberally repaired, this has been done in a very modernized and mediocre style.' Indeed, even the guidebooks to Lewes by local residents Mantell and Lower in 1846, after the Priory had suffered the ravages of railway construction, also give little attention to the Castle, to be commended more for the view from the Keep than for itself.³⁷

Kemp had started on his speculative development of Kemptown, on land he had inherited in Brighton, in 1823 — a disastrous enterprise for his finances, for he was forced to live abroad from 1837. His departure placed in question the future of his property in Lewes. John Hoper was a Lewes solicitor who acted for Kemp. Motivated by the wish 'to secure from injury if not destruction a beautiful monument of antiquity', between 1838 and 1840 Hoper bought from Kemp and others the copyholds of most of the mound, the Gun Garden, the Keep and the Barbican. He resold them with trusts for their preservation to Earl De La Warr and Lord Bergavenny, two of the Lords of the Borough, and to the Countess Dowager of Plymouth who was recruited by De La Warr to take the place of the Duke of Norfolk. The enthusiasm of De La Warr and Bergavenny was remarkable. Thus, the latter's agent wrote, on his lordship's and his heir's behalf, deploring the grants made a century earlier, and that: 'In purchasing it money or income as it regards the Castle part does not enter their consideration. They think the peers should hold it, not merely as their freehold, but as their own in the eyes of the public. . . . As a Town Object it should be for the benefit of the whole town . . . some person should live in it rent free to take care of it.' To appreciate the structures as antiquities in their own right and even more to secure their preservation by purchase were for their time notable initiatives.³⁸

A decade later, the Committee of the fledgling Sussex Archaeological Society, in only its fourth year, resolved on the desirability of taking a lease, and entered on the property at Michaelmas 1850, setting about, as Hoper had envisaged in 1838, clearing modern accretions and repairing the medieval structures. The summit of Brack Mount, meanwhile, was appropriated by the landlord of the Lewes Arms as a pleasure-ground for the delight of his customers, at least from the 1840s until the 1920s; it was purchased from the Lords and presented to the Society in 1937.³⁹

Having quoted John Rowe's purchase of

demolition materials from the Castle 240 years earlier, William Figg, a founding father of the Society, observed in 1861:⁴⁰

And in this wanton manner, and for the sake of this small amount of money the stones would fetch, how many other of our ancient buildings have been destroyed! . . . [B]ut let us hope, now that we have so many societies similar to our own, whose members are continually watching over the remains of the stony relics of the grandeur of past ages, the perpetration of such vandalism will become impossible.

The Society can take pride in having cared for the Keep Mount and the Barbican for nearly 150 years.

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NOTES

- ¹ The standard account of the Castle and its association with the Rape is in *Victoria County History of Sussex* 7 (1940), 19–24. Knowledge of the medieval keep is greatly extended by P. L. Drewett, ‘Excavations at Lewes Castle, East Sussex 1985–1988’, *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter SAC) 130 (1992), 69–106. The present article supersedes my ‘A palace among the ruins. . .’, *Sussex Archaeological Society Newsletter* 52 (August 1987), 12–13.
- ² H. Eiden, ‘In der Knechtschaft werdet ihr verharren. . .’ *Ursachen und Verlauf des englischen Bauernaufstandes von 1381*, *Trierer Historische Forschungen* 32 (1995), 139, 383–4. L. F. Salzman, ‘The sacking of Lewes Castle, 1381’, *Sussex Notes and Queries* (hereafter SNQ) 9 (1942–3), 94. *VCH Sussex* 7, 3–7. W. H. Godfrey (ed.), *The Book of John Rowe*, *Sussex Record Society* 34 (1928), 185, 188, 189, 152–5.
- ³ R. B. Pugh, ‘Medieval Sussex prisons’, *SAC* 97 (1959), 78–80. Guildford Muniment Room, Surrey Record Office, LM 976. As the coroner was required to investigate all deaths in custody, the absence of any such inquests in respect of Lewes Castle in R. F. Hunnisett, *Sussex Coroners’ Inquests 1485–1558*, *Sussex Record Society* 74 (1985), puts in question whether in fact a gaol was established there. J. S. Cockburn (ed.), *Calendar of Assize Records, Home Circuit Indictments, Elizabeth I and James I, Introduction* (London, 1985), 21, 171.
- ⁴ East Sussex Record Office (hereafter ESRO), ACC 2187 (by George Randall, the Castle redrawn and printed in W. H. Godfrey, ‘Barbican House, Lewes’, *SAC* 82 (1941), 2); SAS/E 5 (probably by John De Ward).
- ⁵ L. G. Wickham Legg (ed.), ‘A relation of a short survey of the western counties’, in *Camden Miscellany XVI*, *Camden Society* 3rd s. 52 (1936), 30. W. Figg, ‘Some memorials of old Lewes’, *SAC* 13 (1861), 19.
- ⁶ L. F. Salzman, ‘The Borough of Lewes in 1498’, *SNQ* 5 (1934–5), 66, 98, 99. *Book of John Rowe*, 13, 14, on the assumption that the earliest date in the 1624 rental to court transactions is to the grant. ESRO, ADA 156, extracted by John Houghton.
- ⁷ L. F. Salzman (ed.), *The Town Book of Lewes 1542–1701*, *Sussex Record Society* 48 (1945–6), 15–16. *Book of John Rowe*, 125. The White Horse also served administrative functions, by housing the Sheriff’s chamber in 1641: West Sussex Record Office (hereafter WSRO), EplI/5/17, f.63.
- ⁸ Centre for Kentish Studies, U269 E66/2, f.24. ESRO, ADA 45, p. 27. *Town Book 1542–1701*, 36, 39, 132. WSRO, EplI/5/12, f.52; 14, ff.30, 32. *Book of John Rowe*, 12, 180–81.
- ⁹ ESRO, QR/E44, mm. 1, 97. The three-gabled house is a mystery of which no other record has been found; perhaps it was the Sessions House until 1564.
- ¹⁰ ESRO, SOF 5/1, p. 27; ABE 74/6; R/C4/62(1). P. Le Fevre, ‘The workhorses of the county. The Sussex Justices of the Peace, 1660–1714’, *SAC* 132 (1994), 138. C. Brent, ‘The neutering of the Fellowship and the emergence of a Tory Party in Lewes (1663–1688)’, *SAC* 121 (1983), 103.
- ¹¹ W. H. Godfrey, ‘Newcastle House, Lewes’, *SAC* 92 (1954), 1–5, corrected by John Houghton and ESRO, ASH 933 (8 June 1687). British Library (hereafter BL), LOAN 29/232, f.384. ESRO, ADA 158; LEW/C/5/3/6; W/A 55/199. *The Game of Bowls at the Tilting Ground, Lewes* (Lewes, 1968).
- ¹² J. H. Farrant, ‘The dates of John Burton’s journeys through Surrey and Sussex’, *SAC* 114 (1976), 337. J. Burton, *Οδοιποροντος Μελετηματα sive Iter Surriense et Sussexiense* (London, 1752), 43–5, translated by Mrs M. B. L. Farrant.
- ¹³ Both are marked as gardens on the c. 1770 sketch plan in Eastbourne Public Library, Antiquarian notes of John Elliot (1725–82), f.185v., and in BL, Add. MS 5703, f.12.
- ¹⁴ e.g. Byng ‘climbed a keep or bastion, at some little distance from the castle, where remains a piece of old wall’ in 1788: David Souden (ed.), *Byng’s tours. The Journals of the Hon. John Byng 1781–1792* (1991), 83; William Green’s plan issued in 1776, in F. Grose, *Antiquities of England and Wales* 3 (1775); and *Sussex Archaeological Society* (hereafter SAS), picture collection, 3511, by James Lambert, 1772, showing about 20 feet of wall, up to four feet high.

- ¹⁵ ESRO, ADA 158, 159.
- ¹⁶ The wall is on Green's plan (above). J. A. Houlding, *Fit for Service. The Training of the British Army, 1715–1795* (Oxford, 1981), 32, 83. Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS 443.II.35, view of the wall, by J. B. Melchior, probably 1754/55, shows soldiers. ESRO, LAN 292, brief for defence in case about New Road, 1825.
- ¹⁷ Burton was a keen gardener: *Gentleman's Magazine* **41** (1771), 307. I was wrong to say, in Farrant, 'Burton's journeys', 337, that the innovations were Newcastle's coffee house.
- ¹⁸ Godfrey, 'Barbican House', 5. Friend as banker: C. Brent, *Georgian Lewes 1714–1830* (Lewes, 1993), 56; BL, Add. MS. 33341, f.20, 33617, ff.2–3 (Henry Pelham, 1718, 1722), 33161, f.58 (Thomas Pelham, 1732).
- ¹⁹ ESRO, ADA 159; SAS/HC 601; SAS/DD 127. Friend offered, in 1734, to sell the White Horse to the Duke of Newcastle for the Whig coffee house and assembly room: P. Lucas, 'The Verrall family of Lewes', *SAC* **58** (1916), 92–3.
- ²⁰ ESRO, ADA 159 (4 May 1757), for Brack Mount House; SHR 1373, John Bridger's personal cash accounts 1751–58; SAS/WH 219, for Lewes Arms.
- ²¹ P. Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance. Culture and Society in the Provincial Town 1660–1770* (Oxford, 1989), 162–76, 350–54. W. H. Challen. 'Baldy's Garden, the painters Lambert, and other Sussex families', *SAC* **90** (1951–2), 103–5. I owe to John Bleach the dating of Baldy's Garden, from *Gentleman's Magazine* **17** (1747), 493, and *Western County Magazine* (Jan. 1790), 31.
- ²² Bodleian Library, MS Top. gen. e.24, ff.348, 350.
- ²³ The whole of Grose's view is reproduced in Sotheby's London, *The Collection of the late Dudley Snelgrove*, 19 Nov. 1992. SAS, picture collection 93, is a companion view from the Paddock.
- ²⁴ D. Vaisey (ed.), *The Diary of Thomas Turner 1754–1765* (Oxford: OUP, 1984), 151.
- ²⁵ ESRO, AMS 5785/3, cutting from *East Sussex News*, 26 Feb. 1926.
- ²⁶ 'Mary Capper's diary', *SNQ* **11** (1946–7), 106. *Byng's tours*, 83.
- ²⁷ William Gilpin, *Observations on the Coasts of Hampshire, Sussex, and Kent, relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty: made in the summer of the year 1774* (London, 1804), 45.
- ²⁸ Brent, 141–3, 138. Two views (private collection) of Castlegate by the James Lamberts, dated 1773 and 1776, suggest that the Gun Garden was cleared of buildings between those dates.
- ²⁹ J. Comber, *Sussex Genealogies, Lewes Centre* (Cambridge, 1931), 124, 141. A. Dale, *Fashionable Brighton 1820–1860* (London, 1947), 49–50. V. Smith (ed.), *The Town Book of Lewes 1702–1837*, *Sussex Record Society* **69** (1972–3), 74.
- ³⁰ N. E. S. Norris, 'Miscellaneous researches, 1949–56', *SAC* **94** (1956), 6. Brent, 33.
- ³¹ ESRO, PAR 412/13/2, St John-sub-Castro parish, case for opinion of Mr G. Courthope, 1808; LT, St John-sub-Castro.
- ³² SAS, picture collection, 3154, 1784 copy by James Lambert jnr of a 1772 view through the Barbican. ESRO, LT, St John-sub-Castro, 1780.
- ³³ John Elliot's sketch plan of the Castle, 1770s. Substantial buildings are evident in 1778 in SAS, picture collection, 2433. *Sussex Weekly Advertiser*, 4 Jan. 1796. ESRO, ABE/2W.
- ³⁴ ESRO, LT, St John-sub-Castro.
- ³⁵ Departure of the military explains the drop in the Precincts' population from 78 in 1801 to 17 in 1811.
- ³⁶ Brent, 165–6. 'Walking tour of Sussex' in *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill* **27**, ed. J. M. Robson (London, 1988), 464–5. ESRO, ABE 17L. SAS, picture collection 2617, dated 1818, shows arched windows on the exterior of the south tower, matching the new ones on the interior; the external windows were returned to square heads by the Society in 1852. J. V. Button, *The Brighton and Lewes Guide* (Lewes, 1805), 33.
- ³⁷ J. D. Parry, *An Historical and Descriptive Account of the Coast of Sussex* (Brighton and London, 1833), 329. G. A. Mantell, *A Day's Ramble in and about the Ancient Town of Lewes* (London, 1846), 103–11. M. A. Lower, *A Hand-book for Lewes* (London, ?1846), 27–8.
- ³⁸ Dale, 54–5. ESRO, ABE 17L; SAS/SAT 39, 155. For how progressive they were, compare T. Champion, 'Protecting the monuments: archaeological legislation from the 1882 Act to PPG 16', in M. Hunter (ed.), *Preserving the Past* (Stroud, 1996), 39–40.
- ³⁹ L. F. Salzman, 'A history of the Sussex Archaeological Society', *SAC* **85** (1946), 27–8. J. Magill, *A Chronology of the Lewes Arms* (Lewes, 1981), 9. ESRO, C/C65/5, file note 4 May 1928.
- ⁴⁰ Figg, 19.