No 14

BATTLE AND DISTRICT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Transactions
1964 - 1965

Price: 2/6
(free to members)

BATTLE AND DISTRICT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Affiliated to the Sussex Archaeological Society, the Sussex Archaeological Trust, and the South Eastern Federation of Museums and Art Galleries

---

President:
LIEUT.-COLONEL C. H. LEMMON, D.S.O.

Vice-Presidents:
MR. C. T. CHEVALLIER, M.A. MRS. E. HARBORD
MR. A. E. MARSON, M.B.E.
THE VERY REV. A. T. A. NAYLOR, D.S.O., O.B.E., M.A.
MR. A. R. CLOUGH

Chairman: MR. B. E. BEECHEY

Vice-Chairmen: MAJOR L. C. GATES, M.B.E., M.C.
MAJOR Y. A. BURGESS, D.L., J.P.

Hon. Secretary: MR. W. ORGER

Hon. Treasurer: MR. R. W. BISHOP

Committee:

Till 1965:
MRS. O. BINDLEY
MISS R. CHIVERTON
SIR JAMES DOAK
MR. A. E. STEVENSON

Till 1966:
MISS J. E. S. ROBERTSON
MR. H. WADSWORTH
CAPT. J. VICKERS

Till 1967:
MR. H. C. COWEN
BRIG. D. A. LEARMONT, C.B.E.
MR. B. A. WEBER

Museum, Library and Excavation Committee:

Chairman: MR. A. R. CLOUGH

Hon. Secretary: MISS J. E. S. ROBERTSON

Members:

MAJOR Y. A. BURGES, D.L. J.P. MR. CHEVALLIER
MR. W. ORGER MR. H. WADSWORTH

Hon. Editor "Transactions" and Delegate to S.E. Federation of Museums:

LT.-COL. C. H. LEMMON, D.S.O.

LIST OF MEMBERS

Amendments to list of Members published in Nos. 12 and 13 of Transactions.

To be deleted	To be added
Battle	
Mr. G. J. ALLEN	Miss E. ANDERSON
Mrs. M. ALLWORK	Mrs. B. H. S. ARNOULD
Mr. A. G. COLES	Mr. S. A. BEADLE
Mrs. COLES	Miss S. E. BOWDEN
Mrs. M. W. GIBBON	Mr. and Mrs. W. BROOKS
Miss E. HAMLYN	Mrs. WARD BROWN
Mrs. B. M. LAWRENCE	Mrs. I. BURTON
Mrs. E. PASCALL	Mrs. R. BURTON
Miss M. SCOTT EVANS	Miss M. D. CAMDEN FIELD
	Mrs. J. CLARKE
	Miss I. B. CLUTTERBUCK
	Mr. A. G. EATON
	Mrs. D. I. GREGORY
	Miss M. MARTIN
	Mrs. MATTHEWS
	Miss L. E. B. MORRIS
	Mrs. J. PEARCE
	Mr. and Mrs. H. L. POWELL
	Miss A. M. SAPP
	Miss M. G. SHOVELLER
	Mr. J. SPEDDING
	Mrs. J. C. WOODLAND
	Miss E. WORTLEY
St. Leonards-on-Sea	
Mr. C. R. BAILEY	Mr. and Mrs. A. C. BEARDSMORE
Miss A DE SALIS	Miss E. A. HOLTZER
Mr. A. H. HARRISON	
Robertsbridge	
	Mrs. K. MOSS
	Mrs. M. POCOCK
	Miss G. POCOCK
	Mrs. M. E. WILLIAMS
Various	
Mr. F. CLAYTON, Boreham St.	Mrs. NORRIS, Westfield
Mr. C. H. R. HULBERT..Lunsford	Mr. and Mrs. DAWKINS, Woods Corner
Mrs. HULBERT .. Cross	
Mr. E. L. REEVES, Catsfield	

CONTENTS

NOTE:—The Society is in no way responsible for the opinions of contributors as expressed in the above articles.

EDITORIAL NOTE

The Society's 15th year has been marked by two notable events—the re-opening of its museum, and the compilation of a symposium entitled *The Norman Conquest: its Setting and Impact* as its contribution to the commemoration of the 900th anniversary of The Battle.

The museum has had an adventurous career which began with a loan exhibition organized by the late Mr. L. H. Pyke at the autumn flower show in October 4th 1950, which was two months before the Society itself was inaugurated. Mr. Pyke organized two more loan exhibitions; and then, as objects and books of historical interest were being given to the Society, a small permanent collection was started and housed in a room in Brewery Yard. Two moves followed, during which exhibits were stored on one occasion by Sir James Doak at his house. The collection was then properly laid out in cases for the first time in the stable of Church House, which had been converted for the purpose by Mr. A. J. Powell. Miss M. J. Powell acted as custodian. At that time the Society was greatly indebted to Worthing Museum for a gift of cases. At later dates gifts of cases have been received from the museums of Hove. Woolwich, and the South London Art Gallery, Peckham. The Church House museum was opened by Mr. J. Manwaring Baines, F.S.A., Curator of Hastings Museum, at Easter 1956, and was visited by about 4,000 persons a year until March 1963, when the lease expired, and a fourth move had to be made. By kind permission of Mrs. E. Harbord, the cases and exhibits were stored in the room over Battle Abbey gateway. The Society had almost despaired of finding a new location in the centre of Battle when the trustees of Langton House, who were planning to build an extra room for the Memorial Hall, offered to build a room above it to house the museum, and to grant a lease of it for 20 years. The room was ready in July, when exhibits were hurriedly unpacked and set out in the new premises. The new museum was formally opened on 30th July by Cmdr. J. D. Ross R.N., Chairman of the Battle Rural District Council, and 1,432 persons visited it before it closed for the winter. The museum has already received recognition in the press; and an article about it will appear during 1966 in *Sussex Life*. A paper putting on record the results of the Society's excavations at Bodiam in 1959-60 will also appear in *Sussex Archaeological Collections* for 1966.

The Commemoration book, edited by Mr. C. T. Chevallier and containing articles by Professors Dorothy Whitelock, D. C. Douglas, and Frank Barlow, and also by our President,

is on the market, and has received very favourable press notices; being adjudged by *The Sunday Telegraph* the best of the various books which have just appeared on the subject. Messrs. Eyre and Spottiswood have arranged with Scribners of New York for its publication in the U.S.A.

Messrs. Guinness Hop Farms Ltd. have kindly placed an area at the disposal of the Society at Bodiam, where Mr. H. Wadsworth, with helpers, hopes to continue examination of the Romano-British site there in May 1966.

THE BATTLE OF LEWES

Situated as it is, the County of Sussex must have been the scene of many battles between Roman, Briton, Saxon, and Dane. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that there were six pitched battles with the Danes south of the Thames. We have no accounts of these conflicts, and can only surmise, from a few place-names here and there, where some of them may have been fought. It has recently been suggested that one may have been fought on the 1066 battlefield. It may have been; for a really good terrain from a military point of view tends to be fought over on successive occasions. In the Great Civil War there were two sieges of Arundel Castle, and a few minor actions, but no pitched battles. Only two pitched battles, of which we have records, were fought in Sussex—Hastings and Lewes—but what battles they were! Green, in his *Short History of the English People* stated that "War plays but a small part in the story of European nations"; but how wrong he was in the case of the two Sussex battles, for one changed the whole course of our history and the other gave us representative government.

An account of a battle must, of necessity, be preceded by some explanation of 'what they fought each other for'; so it is necessary to stray for a moment into the realm of secular history to find the origins of the Barons' War. The story begins at Runnymede in 1215, when King John signed the Magna Charta. He died the next year and his son Henry ascended the throne at the age of 9, just at the time when the struggle to maintain the charter was at its height. Regents ruled until 1227, when Henry, then aged 20, declared himself of age. One of his first acts was to annul Magna Charta, and in 1234 he began a period of personal government. At once 200 foreigners were invited over, and natives were dismissed from their offices and royal castles. His foreign favourites, as they were called, caused much ill-feeling throughout the

country, and his numerous grants to them finally united the Normans and Saxons, not yet blended, against him. Whenever he found himself in difficulties, he swore solemn oaths to respect Magna Charta, only to break them when it suited him. All this time Henry was subservient to the Pope and punctilious in his religious observances.

The Barons and their armed retainers assembled at Oxford in sufficient strength to overawe the King's party; and in 1258 the provisions of Oxford were drawn up. By them, Henry's power was relegated to a committee of Barons led by Simon de Montfort. The King swore to the provisions; and during the next seven years aliens were expelled, and castles handed back to Englishmen. In 1261 the Pope absolved Henry from his oath to observe the statutes, and the Barons, seeing their policy in evident peril again 'mobilised', this time at Kingston, and made an abortive appeal to King Louis IX of France. Fighting broke out at the end of 1262 on the Welsh border, and also at Gloucester, Dover, Southwark, and Windsor. An armistice was negotiated, and a fresh appeal made to the King of France. There was a Mise at Amiens, and on 23 January 1264 Louis IX gave his judgment in favour of Henry III. Royalists and rebels immediately prepared for the struggle, several important persons changing sides at the last moment.

Blaauw assesses Henry III as "A governor without either the talent of governing, or of selecting others fit to do it." Colonel Burne, the military historian, is more outspoken and says that he was the most despicable monarch who ever sat on the English throne. The extraordinary thing was that he sat there for so long, 56 years, the third longest reign in English history. His generalship was no better than his kingcraft, and he was probably the worst general who ever led English troops. He was also afraid of thunder. At the time of the battle he was 57 years old.

As regards the other commanders in the war, The Lord Edward, the king's son and heir apparent, aged 25, was 6 feet 3 inches in height and known as Longshanks, and later as King Edward I and the Hammer of the Scots. He had a fine martial figure, a slight impediment in his speech and a drooping eyelid. At Lewes he was cavalry commander of the Royal Army, and at Evesham Commander-in-Chief. He had much vigour and driving power, and tried to instil some of it into his father. As a cavalry commander he has been likened to Prince Rupert; but he was probably even more impetuous, for his charge at Lewes seems to have lost the battle.

Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother of the king, commanded a ward of the Royal Army. He was far superior to the king in

capacity, and, though loyal to his brother, frequently expressed disgust at his arbitrary conduct. He had been crowned King of the Romans at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1257.

Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, Commander-in-Chief of the Barons' army, was 58 years old and the king's brother-in-law. He was a French noble descended from a king of France. His father succeeded to the earldom of Leicester through the female line, but was banished, his title and estates being forfeited. Simon's elder brother, Almeric, claimed them back; but as he was a vassal of the French king, Henry III granted them to Simon, whom he made High Steward. The death, in 1262, of Richard de Clare made Simon de Montfort the undisputed leader of the Barons. Simon's character and career have been compared to those of Oliver Cromwell. Both exhibited religious zeal, both showed a high degree of military skill, and each conducted a ruthless campaign to put down rebellion in an overseas province—de Montfort in Gascony, Cromwell in Ireland.

Gilbert de Clare, 8th Earl of Gloucester, aged 26, commanded a ward of the Barons' army at Lewes, but turned his coat later, and, with his men, fought for the Royalists at Evesham. His father was a stepson of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and his wife, Alicia, was a half-niece of the king.

The Royal Army was ready at the end of March, and on 5th April The Lord Edward captured Northampton, and several barons who were assembled there for a conference called by de Montfort. The barons' army had advanced to St. Albans when they heard of the fall of Northampton, so de Montfort marched his forces to Rochester which had been garrisoned by two Sussex nobles, Earl de Warenne of Lewes, and William de Braose of Bramber. On 17th April de Montfort mounted a concentric attack which drove the defenders into the castle, which was beseiged till the 23rd, when news of the approach of the Royal Army caused him to abandon the siege and return to London. The Lord Edward meanwhile left Nottingham on 22nd April, captured Leicester, and marched towards London; but, learning that de Montfort was there, he crossed the Thames at Kingston, and relieved the garrison of Rochester on the 27th.

Prince Edward's force consisted mainly of cavalry. The King, with more infantry under his command, captured the Earl of Gloucester's castle at Tonbridge on 1st May, and with it his own niece, the Countess Alicia.

Although Henry III usually considered a plan to be superfluous, we have, perhaps, in this case some glimmer of his ideas. Sympathy in the east and south-east lay with the rebels;

but all the great strongholds of Sussex, Lewes, Pevensey, Arundel, and Hastings were held for the King. There would therefore seem to be a prospect of securing a base in Sussex, which possessed ports at which men and supplies could be landed from France. De Montfort's plan is evident: it was the simple one of bringing the Royal Army to battle as soon as possible wherever it could be found; and so we must recognise that de Montfort marched his army to Lewes not to capture it but to destroy the enemy's armed forces; which should be the object of every good general.

The March of the Royal Army from Tonbridge and Rochester to Battle was dealt with in detail in *Transactions* No. 8, rebels were beheaded and monks mulcted of sums of money en route. After one night at Battle, the army moved to Old Winchelsea, where the army revelled in wine they found and committed depredations, while the King applied in vain to the Cinque Ports to send a naval force up the Thames to attack London. The army left Winchelsea on May 5th and marched through Battle to Herstmonceux, reaching Lewes on the 6th, where the King's and the Duke of Cornwall's wards were quartered in and around St. Pancras Priory, and the Lord Edward's cavalry in and around the castle. There was some good intelligence work at this time; for the King learnt as he was passing through Battle that de Montfort was going to march towards Lewes next day. On the other hand de Montfort would not have marched towards Lewes at all if he had not known that the Royal Army was going there in the end. On 6th May, we can deduce from the accounts, the Barons' army marched 40 miles to Fletching: medieval armies marched long distances in a day. Fletching was chosen as a suitable jumping-off place, just as Harold chose Tadcaster before Stamford Bridge, and Caldbec Hill from which he planned to pounce on William. Fletching, just off the Roman road, was then in the forest; but was well watered and sheltered. There the army remained for a week in billets and bivouac, and must have presented a strange sight with white crosses sewn back and front on their tunics.

Simon de Montfort's problem was how to bring the Royal Army in Lewes to battle; but how should he approach Lewes? The Roman road by which he had marched crossed the Ouse at Barcombe Mills. If he kept to it he would place the river between himself and the town, and the only access would be by the town bridge. If he did not cross the Ouse, the track on the right bank entered, at Offham, a defile between the river and the precipitous slope of Offham Hill; to be attacked in which would be disastrous. The only remaining line of approach

was over Offham Hill, and he took it.

Like many another battlefield, that of Lewes is a curious piece of ground. It is dominated by Mount Harry (639 feet). The name is misleading, and may not even refer to King Henry III, it is off the battlefield. From it a spur runs south-east, which, at a height of 400 feet broadens to form a plateau 1000 yards wide and 300 deep. It then splits into four spurs like the fingers of a hand. The two middle spurs only are concerned with the battle; they run south-east, one running to the gaol, and the other in the direction of the castle. The battlefield may therefore be likened in shape to a tuning-fork.

The usual exchange of letters took place: those of de Montfort being respectful in tone; but he received only angry replies from the King and the two princes, who denounced the barons as rebels and traitors.

At the seven-hundredth anniversary a keen controversy arose over the site and conduct of the battle, which reached the local press and even inspired a cartoonist. There are two schools of thought:

(A) That of Blaauw, and Oman, that the Baronial army marched over Offham Hill without halting, its arrival being a complete surprise to the Royalists; that it encountered the Royal Army just outside the town walls; and that it was there that the battle was fought. Associated sometimes with this theory are a night march from Fletching, and a circuitous route via Mount Harry.

(B) That of Ramsay and Burne, that the Baronial army formed up on the plateau, and that it was there that the first phases of the battle were fought, the final phase being fought down below at the gaol site. A night march and the Mount Harry route are denied.

The uncontroversial facts are that in 1938 five human and two equine skeletons were dug up at Barley Bank, north of Offham Hill, and that in 1810 1,500 skeletons were dug up and removed when digging the foundations for the gaol. Pearson, Blaauw's editor, who would hardly have made up the story, states in *The Barons' War* that large numbers of skeletons have, at various times, been dug out while quarrying at Offham Hill; they were in pits containing six to nine each. The arguments against theory (A) are:

(i) That a medieval army with knights in plated armour could not march over unknown trackless country and scale the one in six slopes of Offham Hill in the dark.

(ii) That a man of de Montfort's religious convictions would not have struck the first blow against his anointed king;

and would therefore draw up his army, in view, to defy the king and induce him to strike first.

(iii) That there was no surprise, because there was a small cavalry action in Coombe Hollow, south-west of Offham on 12th May, which believers of theory (A) ignore.

(iv) That medieval armies formed up before fighting a battle; and there is no flat straight piece of ground between Offham Hill and the town walls where the Barons, as challengers, could do so.

(v) That if the Barons' army did not form up on Offham Hill, but marched straight on the town, it would arrive at the walls of the castle and priory long before the Royal army could turn out to oppose it. The battle could not then have developed as it did; for either siege operations would have followed; or the Royalists would have made a sortie. In either case, the Barons, with half the strength of the Royalists, would have been most unlikely to win the battle.

(vi) That theory (A) fails to account for the skeletons on Offham Hill. Blaauw, in a desperate effort to bring them into his picture, makes the Lord Edward's opening charge happen in two places a mile apart!

The only argument which appears to have been put forward against theory (B) is that the direct route suggested would only admit of single file.

Estimates of numbers in medieval battles are always difficult to make. If we take 1,500 as the number killed on both sides *at the gaol site*, and compare it with the number killed in the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava (not, perhaps, a very good parallel), we get 9,375 as the number who fought there. Since, as we shall see later, the Lord Edward's charge removed one-third of both armies from the battlefield, this points to a total strength of 14,062, and shows that recent estimates of 8,000 must be much too low. Colonel Burne's estimate of a little less than 15,000 agrees fairly well, and he considers from various pointers that the Royal army was nearly twice as numerous as the Barons'. From a manuscript discovered by Mr. J. P. Gilson in the British Museum we learn that there were 3,000 Royalists, and 500 Baronial cavalry.

Let us now consider the course of the battle according to theory (B). On the day called 14th May 1264 (21st May, New Style) the sun rose at 4 a.m., when a start could be made; which would mean that the first man would reach the flat summit of Offham Hill, 8 miles away, at about 7 a.m. The north slope of Offham Hill is precipitous; but a very ancient sunken trackway existed, and still exists, which begins near

Offham village, and runs diagonally up the slope to the 400 contour line along which it runs westward. At that height, however, it could be left, and the plateau reached by a short climb. To make use of this easy and direct route to the plateau, single file would have to be formed. 4,500 infantry and 500 cavalry in single file form a column $6\frac{1}{4}$ miles long; so that the whole army would be on the top of the hill shortly after 9 a.m. The flat top of Offham Hill is quite large enough and flat enough to hold a ceremonial parade in honour of the Queen's birthday. There, de Montfort formed up his army in line in accordance with the practice of his day as a challenge to the King to come out and fight. It is unlikely that this forming up took place piecemeal over two hours. The men would be kept behind the crest until all had arrived, and then 'fallen in'. No opposition was met in scaling Offham Hill; but a solitary Royalist sentry was found asleep on the top; the remainder of his picquet having wandered off.

Simon de Montfort drew up his army in three divisions or wards, and a reserve. The latter was a departure from tradition and, at that time, unheard of. The right ward was commanded by de Montfort's two sons, Henry and Guy, the centre by Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and the left, composed of virtually untrained Londoners, under Nicholas de Segrave. The commander of the reserve had not been identified. Of these alone the Londoners were volunteers; the remainder, and this applies to both armies, were principally composed of vassals, either of the crown or covenanted barons, and their dependants. Medieval infantrymen had to wield swords, and throw spears and missiles, so would require more room in the ranks than pikemen or musketeers. The three wards in front could have been drawn up in five ranks and still occupy a frontage of 1000 yards from the grandstand of Lewes racecourse to the chalkpit at the east end of Offham Hill. The reserve, of course, would be in rear. When formed up, the whole army knelt in prayer, or rather flung themselves on the turf with outstretched crossed arms. Forming up and other preparations may have taken about three-quarter hour, so that everything should have been ready by 9.45 a.m.

As regards arms and armour; spears, lances, maces, and broad-pointed swords were the chief weapons. Footsoldiers carried short bows, crossbows or slings. The latter consisted of a stick, 3 or 4 feet long, by which the missile was hurled from behind the head. The hauberk of mail armour reached to the feet. It weighed 17 lbs. and was expensive; being obligatory only for knights whose land was worth £15 or more. A cheaper line was the Gamboison or Wambais, a quilted tunic of leather,

wadded with tow. Kite-shaped shields were old fashioned and were changing to round. Helmets were flat-topped and completely enclosed the head; or, instead, a hood of chain armour might be worn. An emblazoned surcoat was worn over the whole.

To feed the 3,000 horses of the Royal army in May, in the absence of corn crops, would have been difficult if it had not been for the lush grass which must have been growing in the Ouse valley. There the horses were taken to graze; and on the morning of 14th May 1264 we can picture a large number, their bridles held by the troopers, grooms and pages, cropping the grass at the bottom of the declivity of Offhal Hill. Suddenly somebody sees the Barons' army on the hill above. The trumpeters, never parted from their trumpets, sound the alarm. *Tubis terribiliter clangentibus* as Wykes records. Horses are mounted bareback and urged with all speed to the castle, where they are saddled, the men equipped, and the squadrons fall in. Impatient of delay, the Lord Edward set off at once with his cavalry towards the Baronial army, which he could see quite clearly from the castle. The distance, just over a mile, is nearly all uphill, and the heavy grass-fed horses could not have been capable of much speed; so that 9.45, the time when the Barons completed their forming up, would be about the earliest time that Edward's cavalary could reach them. It must have been a close thing. As Edward reached the plateau he recognised that the Baronial troops opposite him were Londoners. He had a particular grudge against Londoners, who had recently insulted his mother in the city; so with trumpets sounding the 'charge', he hurled his squadrons upon them. It did not take long: many Londoners must have been killed at the first shock; which accounts for the skeletons which have been dug up near the chalkpit. Other skeletons have been dug up along the edge of the downs, and at Barley Bank. It is said that 60 were drowned while trying to cross the Ouse. The pursuit was continued for about four miles, but the fugitives did not stop, and when, on their way back to London, they passed through Croydon they met some Royalist troops under William de Say. There was a fight, and the dead were buried on the site of George Street, where, about 100 years ago, their skeletons were discovered near the railway station.

De Montfort had recently broken his leg, and travelled in a very cumbersome chariot on the march. It must have resembled a cage, for four Royalist hostages were imprisoned in it, who were all killed when Edward's horsemen reached it. Historians have made much capital out of this incident, which, they say, detained the Royalist cavalry at the top of Mount

Harry, and prevented their return for several hours. The chariot could never have been hauled up there; and the incident is of no military importance.

The first phase of the battle was over: de Montfort had lost at least one quarter of his forces, and the Royalists the whole of their independant cavalry; for they took no further part in the battle. Such a shock might well have unnerved a commander less robust than Simon, and led to the rout of his entire army. But that did not happen: with almost incredible toughness the rest of the Baronial army held its ground.

De Montfort, as the challenger, had taken up his position, and his enemy had opened the action with a cavalry attack. There seems no reason to suppose that what had happened would change his plan for one which involved moving over an awkward terrain to risk either an encounter battle with a superior force, or else street fighting; neither of which he, as a good tactician, would wish to be involved in. As regards the King, although the Lord Edward has been credited with independant action, he must surely have sent some message to his father; but perhaps in his excitement he did not allow for the fact that his father's troops were nearly all on foot and were half a mile farther from the enemy than he. St. Pancras Priory was invisible (except the spire), from Offham Hill; so that the King must have begun his march without knowing that the charge had happened. He divided his men into two wards, taking the right himself; and giving command of the left to his brother Richard. The western spur up which the King's force marched is narrow, and on one side or the other his troops must have been obliged to overlap it on to lower ground. To form up and attack from such a position must have been extremely difficult. We have few details of the conflict. Richard's column met a storm of arrows and slingstones, lost many prisoners, and then broke in flight, trickling back down the spur. The King's column, however, stood its ground and was thus isolated. De Montfort seized his opportunity and flung in his reserve. He may have had a numerical superiority of 200 or 300; but one-third of his troops were quite fresh. The King's ward fell back, fighting stubbornly to the gaol site; where it turned at bay and made a last desperate stand. It was there that most casualties occurred. The King, battered with swords and maces, had two horses killed under him. He and the survivors escaped to the Priory. Richard, King of the Romans, had, however, shut himself up in a windmill where the baronial soldiers hurled insults and ribald jokes at him. There is a post mill mound about 600 yards from the gaol, which may mark the site, and is in the path of

Richard's routed soldiery. The Lord Edward's cavalry did not return until 'the eighth hour', which, when due allowance is made for the times of sunrise and sunset, as well as for the Old Style calendar, works out at 2.30 p.m. It has always taken a long time to collect cavalry after a charge.

Edward found that the battle, as such, was over; but fighting was still going on in the town, and de Warenne's standard was still flying on the castle. He made a circuit of the town and joined forces with the defenders. By this time there was a confused mass of Royalists and Baronials fighting in the streets: dead and wounded lay everywhere, trampled under the flying hooves of loose horses. Fire arrows shot by the Royalists from the castle fell on friend and foe alike; and the Baronial troops retaliated by shooting similar missiles into the Priory. These arrows carried tow dipped in a mixture of bitumen, sulpha and naptha. Between three and four hundred Royalists then fled, including de Warenne himself. The Lord Edward found his way to the Priory, where he must have had a most unpleasant interview with his father. He then attempted to organize an attack with his tired troops. Meanwhile, Royalists fugitives congested at the bridge, leapt into the river. Numbers were drowned attempting to swim the river at various points or in the marshes; and for many years afterwards their weapons were constantly being found. De Montfort somehow managed to get in touch with Edward and proposed an immediate truce, with negotiations next day. This was accepted, and the carnage and destruction ceased. So ended a battle which has been described as 'A most signal exhibition of foresight and skill on the one side, and of presumption and rashness on the other'.

The upshot of the battle is well known. It was followed by the Mise of Lewes, which invested Simon de Montfort with the government of the country, and on 20th January 1265 by the assembly of an embryo House of Commons.

The Barons' War is full of paradoxes—the champion of English liberty was a Frenchman; having achieved what he set out to do, he was defeated and killed 15 months later at Evesham by what would today be termed the forces of reaction, who were assisted by many who had fought on his side at Lewes. In spite of this, the principles for which he fought and died have remained as an integral part of the British Constitution.

EARLY IRISH LEGEND AND HISTORY

The early Irish Legends, with all their improbabilities and drawbacks, when stripped of their elaborate details and

Biblical and classical loans, give the broad facts of the peopling of Ireland.

At the earliest period Ireland was well wooded, and the interior full of marshes and lakes, occupied by a sparse population doubtless of the aboriginal Iberic race of Western and Southern Europe. About 2000 BC the first wave of immigration came by sea from the eastern Mediteranean via Spain led by Partholan. The Partholani were Megalith builders but were, apparently, wiped out by a plague after some 300 years. From about 1500 BC a succession of pastoral Bronze Age people came from Spain and fought amongst themselves for supremacy. About 600 BC there was considerable movement of population of the Celts from the Rhineland and Eastern France. The name Celt comes from the collective name KELTAI, which the Greeks gave to western people, and links up with the Roman name GALLI.

The Celts who occupied both England and Ireland, were composed of two races; one, a northern fair-haired, blue-eyed and long-headed race. The other a southern race, shorter in stature, brown-haired, brown-eyed and round-headed. The northern race was evidently the more intrusive one. The difference in their language was mostly dialectic, and three dialects are found in both Britain and Ireland. The British dialects are—Kymraeg, or Welsh; Cornish, and Armoric, or the language of Brittany. The Cornish and Armoric resemble each other more than either of them does Welsh. The three Irish or Goidelic dialects are—Irish Proper; the Scottish Gaelic, and the Manx, or dialect of Irish spoken in the Isle of Man. These three Irish dialects differ less from each other than the three British dialects. Neither the Romans nor Saxons attacked Ireland, but the Roman influence on the Irish Goidelic Celts is plain in numerous OGAM memorial stones bearing double inscriptions, one, strokes along the edges of stone slabs; and the other, their translation in Latin.

The growth of Irish Legends was favoured by the long continuance of Tribal Government and the special class, the Bards, who preserved genealogies and kept ancestral deeds in memory. During many centuries there was no foreign conquest to destroy traditions. Internal conquests and displacement of tribes confused, but did not eradicate, traditions and pedigrees. When the Irish were converted to Christianity and became acquainted with the story of the Deluge, the confusion of tongues and the unity of the human race, the Sages who preserved the genealogies endeavoured to fill in the gap between the deeds of their ancestors and Noah! Pedigrees now began to be committed to writing and a wide field was open

to the imagination and inventiveness of the Scribes and the Bards. The result has been an extraordinary legendry history, and the LEGAR GABHALA, or Book of Invasions, giving the main data of the early peopling of Ireland.

At the earliest period there were small hamlets, scattered over the country, mainly of wicker cabins, huts of the rudest kind. Here and there were large hamlets or villages, surrounded by an earthen mound or rampart. The enclosed houses belonged to the Freemen, called Airig. When he possessed ancestral land he was a Flaith, or Lord. The larger forts which had double ramparts and two or more ditches were called Duns—where the chieftain lived, who was called a Ri. For utensils, wooden platters, drinking horns and vessels of yew and bronze were used. Of pottery there was little or none. Here and there were patches of corn; oats were the principal crop but wheat and barley were also grown. Onions and parsnips were also cultivated and, with the coming of Christianity, bee-keeping was introduced. Tillage was rude, the spade and fork being of wood. Horned cattle were the chief wealth of the country, and were the standard of worth. As wolves were numerous, wolf hounds of great swiftness were bred, which were much admired by the Romans.

The dresses of the upper classes consisted of a loose shirt of woollen cloth reaching a little below the knees of the men, and forming what is now the kilt. Over the shirt, or Lenn, came the Inar, a kind of close fitting tunic reaching down to the hips, bound round the waist by a criss or girdle. Over the left shoulder, fastened by a brooch, hung a shawl, or plaid, like the Scottish one. The only difference between the Lenn of the men and women was that the Lenn of the women reached nearly to the ankles and formed a petticoat instead of a kilt.

The long winters were passed by listening to the music, or the telling of tales, by the Bards, who were supposed to know about 200 tales of high quality, and 150 to 200 tales of lesser stories. Tales involving the heroic cycle of Queen Mab were used by Spencer, in the *Faery Queen* and by Shakespeare in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*; Shakespeare also used the stories of Lir, in *King Lear*.

Legends make constant allusions to invasions of Britain, and to the many trophies brought home from abroad. Cormac, a noteworthy King (254-277 A.D.) who ruled at Tara, introduced waterwheels and established schools—particularly law schools. During the reign of Crimmond and his successor Niall (366-405 A.D.) Irish invasion of Britain assumed historic importance, and there appear to have been three distinct settlements, one in South Wales, Devon and Cornwall, others

in the Isle of Man, Anglesea, and other parts of North Wales, and the third in Galloway. The invasion of Cornwall is corroborated in the story of Tristram and Iseult, in which Morault is sent by the King of Ireland to collect tribute from the King of Cornwall. Bede is the earliest authority for such invasions, he says:—"In the process of time Britain, besides the Britons and Picts, received a third nation, the Scots, who migrated from Ireland under their leader Reuda and, either by fair means or by force of arms, secured to themselves those settlements amongst the Picts which they still possess. From the name of their commander they are to this day called Dalreudins." About 300 years after the first settlement, a further settlement founded a New Dalriada, which became known as Airer Goedel, a name now pronounced Argyle. This petty kingdom ultimately developed into the Kingdom of Scotland, taking the name of the mother country.

The seeds of Christianity were sown in Ireland in the beginning of the 4th century A.D., from Britain. But there was no organised Church in Ireland before the mission of St. Patrick which began in 432 A.D. The encroachment of the Saxons into England brought desolation and anarchy, and caused many British ecclesiastics to seek refuge in Ireland; amongst whom was Gildas, who reformed the Irish Church. From this reformed Church, in the 6th and 7th centuries, went forth the great missionaries and scholars to convert Northern Europe, starting from Iona and Lindisfarne.

The first incursions of the Norwegians took place about 795 A.D. The first invaders only sought plunder and captives, and confined their attacks to the sea coast. During the 9th century the attacks were intensified and penetrated inland, inflicting untold woe on the country. One of the greatest woes being the breaking up of the Irish schools. The Norwegian invasion—the FIND-GAILL, or fair foreigners, was reinforced in about 852 A.D. by the arrival of the Danes—the DUBH-GAILL, or black foreigners. The Scandinavians effected permanent settlements, and trade brought foreigners and natives into friendly contact and marriage. The settlements were confined to seaport towns with the exception of Dublin which included a considerable tract of surrounding territory. A flourishing commerce grew up and attracted many foreign traders—Flemings, Spaniards and Italians. It was through these trading communities that Ireland came into contact with other countries in the 11th and 12th centuries, and the present names of the three Irish Provinces, Ulster, Munster and Leinster, came into use.

After much unrest and conflict between Northmen and

Danes and the native Irish, substantial kingship emerged. One of the most celebrated chiefs was Brian Boru. His conquest of several petty chieftains made him undisputed king of Munster, from which he extended his conquests and made himself king of the southern half of Ireland. He allied himself with the Dano-Northmen of Waterford in 989 A.D. to attack Malachy, king of Meath; but Malachy, sensing Brian's superiority, came to terms with him. During his reign of 12 years, many improvements were effected throughout the country—erection and repair of churches, the construction of bridges, causeways and roads, and the strengthening of royal forts and inland fortresses. He also administered impartial justice, dispensed liberal hospitality, and was liberal to the Bards. But at the end of his reign, a conspiracy resulted in a considerable army being assembled against him. On Good Friday, 1014 A.D., a great battle was fought at CLONTARF, which in Norse Saga is called Brian's Battle, in which most of the leaders were killed, including Brian. But Brian's forces triumphed and the victory was permanent—the prescriptive rights of the lesser kings were broken, as was also the power of the Western Scandinavians.

Ireland, though invaded by Northmen and Danes, was never conquered or even invaded by the Romans; and so it remained a medley of small tribes with five principal sovreignties. These were the conditions in 1172 A.D. when Henry II was on the English throne. Henry had decided to annexe Ireland. He got a Papal Bull in 1156 and, with that authority, waited for a favourable opportunity to launch an invasion. As the outcome of local rivalries, one of the Irish contestants appealed to Henry for help, which was gladly given. The Anglo-Norman knights and archers, acquainted with discipline, struck terror into the unorganised local forces, and Ireland was subdued in 1172 A.D., and several Irish princes entered into a voluntary compact with Henry, on condition of being governed by the same laws and enjoying the same liberties and immunities as the people of England. Thus Ireland was annexed for over 750 years to the English Crown.

The lecture was illustrated by several maps and was concluded by the showing of two feature films loaned by the Irish Tourist Board.

TWENTY CENTURIES OF LETTERING

Why only 20 centuries when we know letters were in use very long before that? Because in the 1st century A.D. letters of the Roman alphabet were very nearly the same as the ones we

use now, and the inscriptions in stone, preserved through the centuries, are recognised as those of a master hand in their design, spacing and interspacing. Best known is that on the base of the Emperor Trajan's Victory column in Rome of 114 A.D., containing as it does practically every letter of the Roman alphabet, where the principles of spacing may be studied, the governing rule being that when two curves come together they are placed very close, an upright next to a curve are farther apart, while two uprights are farther still.

The Romans wrote on papyrus made from leaves with a pen cut from a reed, and later learnt how to prepare vellum and parchment from skins and write with a quill from a goose or turkey's feather. All these pens were cut with a 'chisel-shaped' end, so that the width of the 'nib' governed the thickness of the down stroke, and the thin or sharp edge formed the cross stroke. The pen could be held at right angles to the line of writing, or the more natural position of the shaft pointing towards the right shoulder, the angle at which the pen was held governing the shape of the letters with gradations of thicks and thins.

Transition of styles demonstrated by a 'Genealogical Tree' showed Uncials and half-uncials, the Celtic half-uncial used in the "Book of Kells", and the regional styles which developed on the Continent—Lombardic, Merovingian and Visigothic.

Under the Emperor Charlemagne came the Carolingian Renaissance when Alcuin of York, at that time Abbot of the Monastery of St. Martin at Tours, developed beautifully clear letters known as the Caroline Miniscule, from which were derived the lower case letters used in printing to day.

As architecture changed from the round Norman arch to the pointed Early English, and then to decorated Gothic, so writing hands reflected the mood, curves became sharpened and eventually reached the compressed and ornamented "Black Letter" popular to-day on "Ye Olde Englishe Tea Shoppe". Once more came revolt. The Italian Renaissance led to rediscovery of Roman forms and the cursive or running hand known as Chancery Cursive became widely used.

In 1450 came the Invention of Printing by movable types, the first types cut in wood in the Gothic forms then current. These were soon replaced by Roman types in metal, and now that books could be published, writing manuals engraved on metal made their appearance. Writing masters became prolific, exhibiting great skill and ingenuity in elaborate and fanciful designs. This led to a change in the construction of written letters; instead of the wide stroke being made by the width of the nib, a flexible nib was used with a long slit, and

the amount of pressure used governed the width of the stroke.

Printing types changed too; thick strokes were over-emphasised, terminals or serifs exagerated and the original Roman forms distorted. Worse than that, writers copied the printing types with a fine pen filling in with a brush, and the knowledge of true pen-made forms was lost.

This was the situation towards the end of the last century when William Morris, poet, artist and craftsman, researching into mediaeval manuscripts discovered the lost art and set out to revive the proper relationship between book decoration and the printed page, thus leading the way to what may be called the 20th Century Revival of Lettering.

Of particular interest to us in Sussex is that Ditchling was for many years the home of Edward Johnston. Born in 1872 he originally intended to become a doctor but was dogged by ill health. He developed an interest in lettering and was introduced to Sydney Cockerell who had been secretary to William Morris, and was advised which were the best examples to study. From then on his life was dedicated. He taught from 1899 at the London Central School of Arts and Crafts then in Regent Street and later at the Royal College of Art, and his *Writing, Illuminating and Lettering* published in 1906, is the "Mrs. Beeton" of Lettering. He considered a 10th century hand a perfect example, and this he taught to his students under the name of Foundational Hand. From it other hands were derived. Among his pupils were Eric Gill, Graily Hewitt and Irene Wellington and in 1921 the "Society of Scribes and Illuminators" was formed of his pupils or pupils of his pupils. He died in 1944 his influence having spread throughout the world.

In 1952 the "Society for Italic Handwriting" was formed—an off-shoot of the 'Scribes and Illuminators'. Alfred Fairbank issued the Dryad Writing Cards to encourage 'better writing for schools', and beautiful and individual hands have resulted.

What about those who cannot themselves claim any skill? They can observe. What do we look for in good lettering? First, legibility, a 'certainty of deciphering'. Second, beauty—relationship, balance of stroke and interspace, positioning on page—and third must be added 'Suitability for purpose' which includes apt presentation of the subject matter. Look with a critical eye at shop 'facia boards', street and house names; does the spacing satisfy? Posters and notice boards—do they please? The aim should be economy in words and emphasis wisely used.

Nor must we omit to consider present trends and look to the future. The new road direction signs at Hyde Park Corner are

very clear and readable. Experimental work is prominent in architecture, and at the super-market goods challenge each other with lively eye-catching designs. Fitness or suitability for purpose.

* * * * *

Other lectures given during the winter included:— "FOLKLORE" by Miss M. Vinall, who the previous year had given a most interesting talk on GYPSIES; "Distinctive features of SUSSEX CHURCHES" by Mr. W. H. Dyer, who illustrated his talk with superb colour slides of his own taking; Mr. H. E. Hinings on "SUSSEX IRON", and Mr. W. J. C. Murray on "ROMNEY MARSH".

In addition, towards the end of January 1965, an "Any Questions" session was held. Mr. A. E. Marson was Chairman and Questionmaster and the Panel consisted of Mr. A. H. Sinden, Mr. J. Newbery, Mr. J. Woodhams and Mr. B. E. Beechey.

A record was made of the proceedings, which it is hoped to publish separately at a later date.

SUMMER VISITS

Once again the first outdoor meeting, which took place on Saturday, April 24th, was blessed with fine weather and 17 members attended.

Chiddingstone Castle is a 17th century house, refaced with sandstone in the late 18th century and altered to suit the romantic taste of the time by the addition of towers, turrets and crenelations. The house contains a remarkable collection of Stuart relics, including Lely's portrait of Nell Gwynn, minatures of Charles II and James II painted by Samuel Cooper and a letter pleading for his life written to the King by the Duke of Monmouth on the day before his execution. The Collection of Japanese arms and armour is one of the finest in private ownership in the country and the Egyptian rooms contain a fine series of over 200 Ushabti figures.

Tonbridge Castle was built on the site of a Saxon fortress by Richard de Clare, in the reign of King Henry I (1100-1135). The imposing gatehouse still remains and gives access to a large "donjon" from the summit of which a fine view over the town is obtained.

Mereworth Castle was visited by 36 members on May 26th. The Castle, which is in fact a Palladian villa built to the order of the Hon. John Fane in 1720-1723, was previously visited by

members of the Society on July 9th 1958 and is described at some length in *Transactions* No. 7 for 1957-58.

Penshurst Place was the objective of an outing on June 9th in which 15 members took part. An earlier visit had been paid in July 1956 which is fully reported in the *Transactions* for 1955/56.

The gardens at **Leonards Lee** are unique in that they form a natural amphitheatre, skillfully planted with many flowering shrubs and fine trees. Even on a dull day with a steady drizzle of rain, the rich crimson and purple, yellow and orange of the rhododendrons and azaleas made a remarkable spectacle which delighted the 58 members who were present on 26th May 1965.

Wivelsfield. The earliest mention of this village occurs in an Anglo-Saxon charter of Ealdwulf, king of the South Saxons, between A.D. 765 and 771, the name being first spelled WIFELSFELDE, meaning WIFEL'S field or forest clearing. This is supported by the fact that there is still a farm called WIVELSDEN, or WIFEL'S VALLEY, a few hundred yards over the boundary of the neighbouring parish of CHAILEY. At least a dozen different spellings of the name occur through the centuries and the modern dialectical pronunciation is WOOLSFUL or WILLSFULL. The enclave of the church and some half-dozen houses round it was at one time always styled "The City".

The church, dedicated to St. Peter and St. John the Baptist, was originally a Chapel-of-ease to Ditchling and a document of A.D. 1121 confirms the original gift of the church at DITCHENINGS with the Chapel of WIFELSFIELDE to the Priory of St. Pancras, Lewes, by William de Warenne, the 2nd Earl in 1095. Wivelsfield remained a Chapel-of-ease to Ditchling until 1440, when it became an independant parish.

The original church, built about 1070, consisted only of a chancel and a nave, 27 ft. long. A striking feature is the North door, which shews every evidence of Saxon design and workmanship and yet there is no trace of any Saxon church in the near neighbourhood. The door which is exactly similar to one at BOLNEY Church, is best seen from outside near a yew-tree in the churchyard. This tree is said by experts to be at least 1,000 years old and is thus even older than the Norman church.

In the 13th century, the church was largely refashioned, the chancel was enlarged and the south wall of the Norman nave was taken down and the south aisle added. About the same time, some local landowner built for himself the Chantry Chapel at the east end of the new aisle, where for a number of

years a chaplain was engaged to pray for the souls of the land-owner and his family. Further enlargement followed in the 14th century and in the 15th century the church was re-roofed and the bell tower added at the West end. In 1869, the north aisle was constructed, the ancient Norman doorway being removed and carefully reconstructed in its present position. Our guide on this visit was Miss Allwood, sister of the late Mr. Charles Allwood, the noted carnation grower, in whose memory a very pleasing modern window has been erected at the east end of the north aisle.

Postscript: At a locality known as FATTEN HOVEL, there is said to be a curious ghost, of a cow with two heads, one black the other white, but no one will admit ever having seen it.

Aylesford Priory, was visited by 26 members on 28th July 1965, nine years after a previous visit by the Society in August 1956. This earlier visit is described in *Transactions* for 1955-56; on this occasion the party had tea in the Pilgrims' Hall while the Prior addressed them by loud speaker expressing his pleasure at their visit.

During the intervening nine years, a great deal of work has been done to the Priory buildings, notably the central Shrine of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and the adjacent chapels. The Great Sanctuary and the Chapels were built by Italian masons assisted by a small army of voluntary workers and were in fact re-consecrated on the Sunday before our visit by His Eminence, Cardinal John Carmel Heenan, Archbishop of Westminster. The congregation numbered some 1,600 persons, including sixty Carmelites from all parts of the world. Arrangements for the reception of pilgrims and visitors is now on a more businesslike footing, in that there is a tea-room, a pottery showroom and a piety shop, but there is still the same all-pervading atmosphere of serenity and courtesy. Our guide was Father Brennan, a young American priest of Irish origin.

St. Mary's Church, Hadlow. Here we were welcomed by the Vicar, the Rev. Robin Barsley, accompanied by Mr. W. V. Dumbreck of the Kent Archaeological Society, who expounded the history and points of interest in the church.

The first mention of St. Mary's, Hadlow, occurs in the Rochester Register (*Textus Roffensis*) about A.D. 975. It is probable that the first church was of wood, which was then freely available and the site selected was a slight rise near the manor house and the highest point of the settlement. In A.D. 1018, the "den" was granted to Eddeva (or Edith), the Queen of Edward the Confessor, who is thought to have had the church rebuilt in stone, as the bottom half of the tower is

Saxon work of this period, shewing the typical long and short quoin stones. Above the later Norman west door is a Saxon window, but this is unfortunately hidden on the inside by one of the hatchments on the west wall. On the stonework of the tower are Crusaders' crosses, attributed to Nicholas de Hadlow and his son, who were at the siege of Acre with King Richard I during the Third Crusade. Work on the tower in 1962 shewed that it was originally "free-standing" and may well have preceded the church as a place of refuge.

The church was rebuilt and extended in the 12th century, when it was granted by Richard de Clare to the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, who had a Preceptory at West Peckham. It remained in their ownership until the Order was dissolved by King Henry VIII, who sold the rectory and advowson to lay owners and it has remained in lay ownership ever since.

From the Norman Conquest to the 18th century, Hadlow had no resident lord of the manor and to this absentee ownership is attributed the lack of development of the church for a long period.

The Church Registers are complete from 1558. During the Commonwealth, the Vicar, Samuel Grymes, was evicted on a complaint that he had removed the Communion Table from the Nave and elevated it at the east end of the Chancel. A Puritan, George Rambone, was intruded but he does not seem to have been accepted by the parishioners, since Samuel Grymes, who was living and farming at Little Goblands Farm, maintained services on his own. After the Restoration, he entered all the baptisms, marriages and burials that he had performed in the Church Registers, signing each page as "Vicar" or "Incumbent".

Another unusual feature in the list of Vicars of Hadlow is the four successive generations of the Moneypenny family, who were Vicars of Hadlow from 1797 to 1952.

Hadlow Castle (May's Folly)

The tall "Gothick" tower of the former Hadlow Castle was built by Walter Barton May between 1838 and 1840. One of the largest follies in the country, it is octagonal in plan, 36 ft. wide at the base and 170 ft. high; it is built of brick covered with Roman cement. There are many stories about its origin, but in all probability the real reason was May's desire to emulate the tower at Fonthill in Wiltshire, built by Beckford in 1800, but which collapsed within 12 months of its erection. The slender top turret, 36 ft. high, was built in 1840, after May's wife had left him to live with her mother at Fishall. It was said that he built this extra turret in order that he

could see over the trees and still keep an eye on his wife. At all events there was no such turret at Fonthill, nor on any Bruges Tower from which the English Towers were copied. In 1952 the tower was saved from demolition by the Ministry of Works, who scheduled it as a work of architectural importance but failed to supply any funds for its maintanance and it is in consequence slowly deteriorating.

The Mays were a decidedly eccentric family, with the knack of marrying heiresses in each generation. Walter Barton May's father, Walter May, who died in 1823, pulled down a Jacobean house he had acquired on marriage, and erected a very ornate "Gothick" building, which he called Hadlow Court Castle, although there had never been any form of castle on the site. It apparently did not impress local opinion and was referred to as "the lately erected castellated mansion near the church of which is is unnecessary to make further mention".

Walter Barton May, now known as "Squire May", continued his father's eccentricities by adding "costly appendages and embellishments" to the building. After his death, the estate was split up and in 1952, the Castle, being impossible for modern living, was sold for demolition.

The remaining memorials to Walter Barton May are the elaborate mausoleum in the churchyard, in which his is the only burial and a group of hatchments on the south wall of the church. In keeping with his grandiose ideas, May assumed elaborate arms, purporting to shew his armigerous connections, but his own hatchment has no true heraldic basis.

Hellingly Church was visited by 26 members on September 8th in most inclement weather. They were met by Mr. R. R. Creasey, a Churchwarden and noted local historian, and to him we are indebted for the following notes. Hellingly derives its name from "HELLINGALEAGE", the "Clearing of the hill dwellers", for here an ancient hill tribe built a camp among the trees and established a circular "ciric" or burial ground,—one of the few that have survived from Anglo-Saxon times. Within this circle, the first church, dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, was built about 1190 A.D. The ministers were Praemonstratension Canons from the Abbey at Otham, just south of Hailsham. They were in fact invited to live at Hellingly rather than on the marshy land at Otham, but they removed to the parent house at Bayham. [Bayham Abbey ruins were visited by the Society on 10th September 1958.] There were a number of changes after the suppression of the Abbey in 1526 and finally at the beginning of the 17th century, the Earl of Chichester exchanged the patronage with the

Archbishop of Canterbury for that of Falmer. The gift of the Vicarage has remained with the Archbishop ever since.

Various kinds of stone have been used in the building and various kinds of architecture are found in the enlargements and restorations that have taken place over the years, but the north wall of the Chancel is pure Norman work and contains two fine Norman windows, beneath which is a beautiful string course of foliated leaves. The north transept is a particularly fine example of Early English work, and the triple arcade, with finely worked capitals, is magnificent. In the west wall is a portion of Norman carving—part of the original font. The fine 15th century brass in the floor of the Chancel is 4 ft. 1 in. long and shews a lady with a dimpled chin. She wears a "horned" headdress, low necked kirtle, sleeveless cote-hardie and a mantle fastened with long cords. A pet hound, collared, with three bells, crouches with uplifted head at her feet. The identity of the lady is uncertain, but she is thought to be the wife of Sir John Devenysh, who was at that time the owner of Horselunges Manor.

In addition to pointing out the items of interest in the church, Mr. Creasey brought out for inspection the Communion plate and other treasures which are not generally available to visitors. This kindly act on his part was very much appreciated.

During the visit to the church, the wind had freshened from the south-west bringing squalls of rain so the gardens at Horselunges could not be properly appreciated and the party were glad to cut short their inspection and make for tea at Waldenheath.

However, the following notes on Horselunges Manor, again from Mr. Creasey, may be of interest. The name is said to be derived from a compounding of the names of two families—DE HERST and LYNGYVER—who were joined by marriage when the manor belonged to Agnes widow of William Lyngyver. The Manor of Herst had existed since Doomsday.

The present house, which is only a fragment of the original, is a fine example of the timber framed houses of the 15th century. The massive timbers inside the building are even more impressive than the outside and in its hey-day, Sir John Devenysh dwelt there. He was Member of Parliament 1436-37 and holder of various offices in the Realm, including the royal appointment of "the scrutiny and supervision of all 'bere brewers'."

There are box hedged walks in the garden after the style popular in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I and the broad moat is fed by the Cuckmere River, which, at a lower point, en-

circles the Priory of Michelham. The present owners of Horselunges Manor are Mr. and Mrs. Doxat.

It must be recorded that on June 23rd, a party of 24 members set out for Beeches Farm, Uckfield, and the Old Rectory and St. Margaret's Church, Buxted. A cloud-burst soon after starting brought intermittent heavy rain which greatly marred the enjoyment of the outing.

COMMEMORATION OF THE 899th ANNIVERSARY OF THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS

COMMEMORATION LECTURE

Delivered by James Campbell, M.A., Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford, on Friday 15th October 1965

The Naval side of the Hundred Years War in the 14th century

Although we usually think of the Hundred Years War as a land war, much of it in fact took place on the sea. Edward III was present at only three of the major battles of the war: one on land (Crecy) and two on sea (Sluys and The Spaniards on the Sea). The largest French force of which we have certain knowledge was that which went to defeat at Sluys in 1340. Throughout the war both sides devoted much of their resources not to armies but to fleets.

It is not hard to understand why the rulers of England had to concern themselves with the sea. English prosperity depended largely on the export of wool—up to 30,000 sacks in a good year; that of the English dependency of Gascony on the export of wine—up to 6 million gallons. It was of paramount importance that the wool and the wine convoys should pass safely through the narrow seas. Much of England's internal trade was coastwise. London's food came by sea from the east-coast ports. Its fuel was partly supplied by coal from Newcastle. Fish was a more important food then than now and the Yarmouth herring fleet—perhaps up to 1,000 ships—had to be protected. Secondly, and obviously, troops and supplies had to be sent to fight in France and even in Spain.

Thirdly, the threat of French invasion had to be met. There was, of course, constant raiding by the French of the English coast and by the English of the French. But the French made preparations for far more than raids. For example, in 1336 and 1337 they had plans for invasion drawn up which were sufficiently detailed to include calculations of the number of spare horse-shoes necessary and the number of ships needed

to carry them. The English believed, and it is likely, that they came very near to putting these plans into effect. A little later the French drew up a scheme for a new Norman conquest: if it were successful the whole English nobility was to be expropriated. In 1386 not only was invasion planned, but a very large fleet and army collected ready to execute it. Froissart wrote 'Never since God created the world were there such numbers of large ships as filled the harbour of Sluys and Blanckenburgh; for, when they were counted . . . there were 1,287 ships.' As it happened the invasion force dispersed before doing any harm, but the danger had been nearly as great as in 1588.

The fleets used by either side were of much the same kind. The most important specialist warship of the period was the galley. A big galley was about 130 feet long and 20 feet broad. It would have more than a hundred oars all on one deck, and, while a sixteenth century galley had several men to one oar, in the fourteenth century there was one man to each oar. Several men sat on the same bench (which was at an angle to the ship's side) each pulling an oar of a different length. In war galleys carried troops and, at least in the later fourteenth century, mounted guns in the bow. Although there were always difficulties in using galleys in northern waters they were formidable and necessary ships, above all for raiding the enemy's coast. Both England and France built galleys: the French much more successfully, since they alone had the specialised facilities for their maintenance. Both sides made great use of galleys hired or obtained by treaty from Italy or Iberia.

The bulk of both the French and the English fleet was made up of sailing ships. It is extraordinarily difficult to make sense (if indeed contemporaries could make sense) of the nomenclature used to describe and perhaps to differentiate between ships at this time. Suffice it to say that they did not exceed 300 tons, almost always had one mast and were, perhaps, up to 75 feet long overall and about a third as much in the beam. For fighting purposes platforms were fixed in the bow and stern. Cannon were carried from an early date. The earliest reference to their use in an English ship is of 1338. Before the end of the century it was normal to carry them, but they often amounted to little. Consider the valuation placed by the French on a captured English ship's armament: 9 bows, 60 sous; 2 cannon, 16 sous.

The kings both of England and of France owned some sailing ships—about 30 each in the 1340's. These were not enough and both sides had to commandeer merchant ships for their

maritime purposes. Very large numbers of ships could be raised on occasion. Edward sometimes raised over a hundred out of the 700 odd large and (mostly) small which a survey of 1347 suggests were available. Nevertheless he often found it hard to collect enough shipping for his needs. Lack of ships was a great, perhaps the most important, hindrance to the successful conduct of the war and the arrest of ships a heavy burden to Edward's subjects. Royal fleets were supplemented by considerable numbers of privateers. By the end of the century some west country privateers—for example Harry Pay of Dartmouth—were known and feared as far as the coast of Castille.

Warfare on the sea was very like warfare on the land. One sought first to soften up the enemy with the inefficient means of bombardment available and then to fight him hand to hand. Naval battles took place on the decks of the ships. When, for example, Edward III intercepted the Castilian fleet off Winchelsea in 1350, he sought to fasten his ships to those of the enemy and they sailed down the Channel lashed together. Such tactics, and the greater brutality of the usages of sea as opposed to land warfare ensured that sea battles were sometimes very costly of lives.

Some of the events of the Hundred Years War can be understood only when considered from the naval side. The greatest effort Edward made in the war was that which captured Calais in 1347. Its capture eased all his naval problems. Calais had been the main French privateering base and that which most threatened the wool convoys to Flanders. It was the best French invasion-port. Once it was lost they had no considerable port nearer than Dieppe. From Calais to Dover is just over 20 miles, from Dieppe to Newhaven is nearer 70. Such an increase of distance was of great importance: more shipping was required to carry an army since the same ships could not be used for several lifts. Conversely the winning of Calais made it much easier for the English to invade France even when they were short of shipping.

The only visible reminders of the naval side of the Hundred Years War are such fortifications as the gatehouse of Battle Abbey built to defend the south coast against the French and Castilian galleys. Much of the story of the fighting on the sea has been lost; contemporary historians, like their successors, took more interest in land battles. Nevertheless, from the English point of view sea-warfare was responsible, under Edward III and Richard II, for some of the glory, much of the profit and conceivably most of the bloodshed of war. There is much more to be known of the English fleets of the day and

the battles they fought and it is to be hoped that in the course of time we shall know it.

COMMEMORATION SERVICE IN THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY THE VIRGIN, BATTLE

The annual special service on Sunday, 17th October, 1965, was conducted by the Dean of Battle, the Very Rev. F. H. Outram, M.A. The lessons were read by Mr. B. E. Beechey, Chairman, and Mrs. E. Harbord, a Vice-President of the Society. The sermon was preached by the Rev. R. C. V. Hodge, M.A.

Taking as his subject The Value of Leadership to a community, the preacher began by drawing attention to the year 1965 as the close of the Churchillian era and its epilogue. By means of the epilogue there was impressed on the national mind, the value of the life of Sir Winston Churchill to the nation as its inspired leader in its darkest hour.

He went on to state that a still more impressive instance of the value of leadership was to be found in the history of the Christian Church. That Church, apparently ruined by the death of its leader, reappeared a few weeks after this event, with heightened morale, challenging the world and rapidly expanding. The reason for this renaissance of the Church was given by its early members as being due to the fact that it possessed a leader, not a new leader, but their old leader with renewed and extended powers. It was the personal belief of its members in this leader that made it possible to overcome the tribulations that beset them and for the Church to continue to this day.

The conclusion drawn by the preacher was that in these present days of tribulation for the Church, the greatest need was a renewal of the belief by its members, as a personal acquisition, that they were led by their invincible leader who had already fulfilled his promise "I have overcome the world" so that they might re-echo the words of the apostle; "Thanks be to God who giveth us the victory through our Lord, Jesus Christ."

Note:—The Rev. R. C. V. Hodge preached at the Society's first Commemoration Service on Sunday, 14th October, 1951. On this occasion the service was conducted by his son, the Rev. F. Vere Hodge, now Rector of Kingswood, Surrey, and an Honorary Life Member of the Society.

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

held on November 12th 1965

The Chairman's report, previously circulated, was approved. Paid up membership at the end of the year numbered 247, an increase of 1 on the preceding year; of these 23 were junior members. The balance of the General Account was £25-15-10, a decrease of £16-14-7 which was mainly accounted for by a loss of over £13 on the summer outings. The Museum Deposit Account shewed a credit balance of £452-14-2, which included a gift of £100 and a donation of £200 from the Battle Combined Society, and the Museum Current Account a balance of £48-11-0. The Chairman referred to an Extraordinary General Meeting held on 28th May 1965 to authorise the lease of the new Museum premises, and the Minutes of this meeting were read, confirmed and signed.

The Museum in its new premises was formally opened on 30th July, and closed for the winter in mid-October. It was however arranged that the Library should be opened for the use of members 30 minutes before each of the winter lectures.

The Society's programme for the Ninth Centenary of the Battle of Hastings had been finalised and would comprise:—

(*a*) The publication of a commemoration volume under the title "The Norman Conquest: its setting and impact".

(*b*) Lectures to be given by Miss Dorothy Whitelock, C.B.E., D.LITT., F.S.A., Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Cambridge University, and by Professor D. C. Douglas, Emeritus Professor of Bristol University.

(*c*) Commemoration Service in Battle Parish Church on 16th October, at which His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury would preach.

At the elections that followed, Mrs. Harbord, Dean Naylor and Mr. A. E. Marson were re-elected Vice-Presidents for a further three years. The following officers were re-elected for one year: Chairman, Mr. B. E. Beechey; Vice-Chairman, Major L. C. Gates; Hon. Secretary, Mr. W. Orger; Hon. Treasurer, Mr. R. W. Bishop. Major Y. A. Burges was re-elected additional Vice-Chairman in connection with the 1966 Commemoration. Sir James Doak, Mrs. Brindley, Miss Chiverton and Mr. Stevenson were re-elected to the Committee for a further 3 years, i.e. until 1968.

At the end of the business meeting, two films were shewn, "Forest Heritage" and "Beauty in Trust".

Printed by
BUDD & GILLATT
NORTH STREET
ST. LEONARDS-ON-SEA
SUSSEX