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BATTLE AND DISTRICT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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BATTLE AND DISTRICT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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EDITORIAL NOTE

As the Dean of Battle said in his commemoration sermon, this has been a quieter year than 1965–66. On 11th September 1967 the Society was given the opportunity of returning the hospitality of the Biddenden Local History Society. After visiting the Abbey, Museum, and Church, they took tea in the vaulted dining hall of the Abbey and were subsequently entertained at Powdermill House by Mrs. Webster. Mr. Harold Raymond, their President, in a letter to our President, wrote "The staff work was faultless . . . please accept our best wishes and warmest gratitude for a happy and most memorable day". On 30th September 21 members of the Edmonton Hundred Historical Society, introduced by our member Miss M. Weiner, were shown round the Abbey, Church, and Museum. Members of our society once more acted as guides.

Lectures now frequently consist of projector slides with an extempore commentary, which cannot be published without putting the lecturer to great trouble in preparing a script. For this reason and for reasons of space five interesting lectures cannot be included in this number. They were: "The Story of Ships" by Cmdr. G. W. R. Harrison, "The Shrines of Apollo" by Mr. Gerald Brodribb, "The Phenomenon of Man" by The Very Rev. F. H. Outram, "The Roman Excavations at Fishbourne" and "A Trip to Rome" by Mr. G. P. Burstow.

In addition to the six visits dealt with in this number, a limited party of 20 members visited the Royal Observatory at Herstmonceaux on 19th September, and was given a description and history of the castle and shown the observatories and installations.

In reporting visits, reference is frequently made to back numbers of *Transactions*. The library holds a large stock of these, which can be obtained from the custodian in summer and before lectures in winter, at a reduced price.

Messrs. Scribners of New York are so pleased with *The Norman Conquest*, of which they have already published one edition, that they are including it in their new paper-back series known as *The Lyceum Edition*.

THE CHURCH IN ENGLAND BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST

Christians were in this country certainly 750 years before the Norman Conquest and possibly 250 years earlier. This lecture begins with the Roman armies in occupation and the Roman civil service administering the country, and ends with the coming of the Normans. In between were two other conquests: one by Teutons, the other by Scandinavians. The Teutons had no sooner settled down than they came under the influence of two versions of Christianity: the Celtic and the Greco-Roman. England was the crucible in which were fused together three racial civilizations and two cultures, out of which emerged the Englishman, who was conquered by the Norman, who proceeded to mould him to his own pattern. The Christian Church which the Normans found was a venerable institution whose origins were so far lost in the mists of the past that men believed that Joseph of Arimathea had first brought the gospel to these shores.

In the fourth century the Romano-British Church extended over the whole country. It was organized on the continental model with a bishop in the civitas of each province. Britain was in the prefecture of the Gauls, of which Arles was the principal city; and three British bishops attended a Council there in 314—those of London, York, and Colchester (or Caerleon). At the end of the century two Christian boys were born near Carlisle—Ninnia and Patrick. Patrick was the son of a deacon and the grandson of a priest, which indicates that Christianity had long been established there. Both went to Gaul for education. Ninnia returned to his homeland as bishop, and set up his see among the Southern Picts; Patrick, after many adventures, went as a missionary bishop to Ireland. The Romano-British Church was orthodox, and accepted the decrees of Nicea. Only one heresy is known to have had any currency, and that was Pelagianism. The British Church felt unable to deal with the heresy on its own, and asked help from the Church in Gaul. Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, came and suppressed the heresy. While he was here the country was invaded by Picts and Saxons. Germanus was invited to take command of the British army and accepted. He had had previous military experience. He lined up his forces, and then shouted Alleluia! The whole army shouted Alleluia. Twice more he shouted Alleluia, and the army roared it out after him. The enemy took fright and fled. This bloodless Alleluia victory was a powerful support for orthodox Christianity.

The Teutonic invaders, who began to come about 450, had little respect for British churches. They were mostly of wood, and were destroyed without trace except where post-holes have remained in undisturbed ground. At Lullingstone in Kent there was a house church: archaeologists have succeeded in reconstructing from its remains its history and form. Bede mentions a church built on the site of St. Alban's martyrdom. King Aethelberht had ready to hand over the sites of the two British churches in Canterbury for the use of his queen and of St. Augustine. The remains of stone basilicas have been uncovered at Silchester and Caerwent. The prefix *glas* is a Celtic form of the Latin *ecclesia*, and may indicate sites of British churches at Glasgow, Glasshampton, and certainly Glastonbury. *Lan* or *llan* was the Celtic for an enclosure such as the fenced-in area of a minster. There were many *llans* in Wales where there is or was a church. In England Lancaster and Lancing may be ancient church sites. Papworth in the Fens is said by place-name experts to derive from the *papa* or village priest whom the invaders found still tending his flock.

In the period before the Peace of the Church in 313 there could have been no churches in Roman Britain; but quite a number of Christian objects belonging to the period have been found: medallions, christening spoons, lead baptism tanks, wine strainers, tombstones—all signed with Christian emblems, chi-rho (XP) or alpha-omega. Archaeology confirms that there were Christians in Britain at the end of the third century. Christianity spread with remarkable speed along trade routes, and it was only a matter of time before it reached Britain; but it is doubtful whether the Roman army was the carrier. The soldiers were pagan, and largely Mithraic, the religion practised in the temple recently found in London. The first Christian martyr in Britain was indeed a soldier, St. Alban; but his conversion was quite exceptional. It is quite probable that the first Christians came to Britain via the western approaches, and that our first Christian church was at Glastonbury. Glastonbury was the Bristol of its time: a meeting place of trackways from the Midlands, Wiltshire, and Somerset; a near neighbour of the lead workings at Meare, and the tin workings in Wales; the centre of a district which possessed the most advanced culture in Britain—a Celtic culture which long resisted Roman and English influence. Glastonbury is the most probable port of entry for the first Christians in Britain. Archaeology has supported the tradition that the little wooden church at Glastonbury was the first built in Britain. The *Vetusta Ecclesia* was a most

holy place, and the Roman Bishop Paulinus protected it with planks nailed inside and out. The 13th century legend of St. Joseph of Arimathea having built the church was only an attempt to explain the origin of a church which was so old and venerated that it must have been of apostolic or near apostolic foundation. The fact is that Celtic, Saxon, and Roman Christians all believed that the wooden church at Glastonbury was the first in the land. They may well have been right.

Now let us take a leap to the end of the sixth century, when the Teutonic invaders had settled in. They were pagans, worshipping gods of which we are still reminded in the names of the days of the week: the Sun, the Moon, Tyr of the sky, Woden god of war, Thor, of thunder, Freya of beauty, and Saturn of agriculture. They plundered and destroyed every Christian building, slaughtered priests and monks, and enslaved captured Christians. But pagan England became subject to pressure from Celtic Christianity in the west and north, and Roman Christianity in the south. The British Patrick had converted the Irish. From Ireland sailed Columba and his monks to Iona, making that little island a centre of missionary activity. In the south, cross-channel trade brought the English into contact with France and its Christian culture. King Aethelberht of Kent had married Bertha, daughter of the King of Paris. He gave her and her chaplain the British church of St. Martin situated outside the walls of Canterbury. When Augustine and his 40 monks arrived from Rome, he received them politely but cautiously, and gave them the site of another British church within the walls. Augustine restored the church and dedicated it to The Saviour, and there stands Christchurch Cathedral today. Pope Gregory had organized the mission to England very thoroughly. He learned that Roman Britain had been in the prefecture of the Gauls, and thus the Church in Gaul was responsible for missionizing the inhabitants; and further that London and York were the principal cities. He selected Augustine as leader and 40 monks from the monastery of which he had been abbot, and dispatched them with eight commendatory letters to princes and bishops on their route across France. That was in 597, and in 601 Aethelberht agreed to be baptized. Gregory gave directions to Augustine to make London his metropolitan see, and to establish another at York. Each metropolitan was to have 12 bishops under him, and in addition any British bishops in the country. The plan was not carried out, because London was the Kingdom of the East Saxons and not in Kent; and Aethelberht could not agree that the bishop of an under-

king should have authority over his own bishop. So Augustine and the metropolitan see remained at Canterbury; while the King of the East Saxons was baptized, and a cathedral church dedicated to St. Paul was built on the high ground above the river at London. Augustine consecrated Mellitus as first Bishop of London and Justus as first Bishop of Rochester.

The Roman mission made slow headway. After Aethelberht and Augustine died there was a resurgence of paganism. London and Rochester were abandoned by their bishops, and Canterbury nearly followed suit. But the tide turned, and the bishops came back; although paganism lingered long in East Anglia. The great pagan ship burial at Sutton Hoo took place about 660; and the king, Raedwald, had a church with a Christian altar at one end and a pagan one at the other.

Bede tells the story of how King Edwin of Deira married Aethelburg, daughter of Aethelberht, on condition that he left her free to practise her Christian religion. Paulinus, her chaplain, who had been consecrated by Augustine, tried in vain to persuade Edwin to be baptized. However, Edwin later agreed to call a council to decide either for paganism or Christianity. Coifi, the chief pagan priest, said that no one had served the gods more devotedly than he, and they had not done him much good. He then desecrated the temple, and no thunderbolt fell from Thor. It was agreed that if the new teaching could bring more knowledge they should follow it. Edwin and Paulinus went to York and built a wooden church amidst the ruins of the Roman town. There Edwin was baptized and Paulinus set his chair. York Minster stands where stood Paulinus's wooden church dedicated to St. Peter. Paulinus and Aethelburg, now widowed, returned to Kent where the former became Bishop of Rochester, and the latter abbess of a minster at Lyminge.

Now we must see how Augustine dealt with the British bishops. Aethelberht arranged a meeting. The British party arrived, was scandalized that Augustine did not rise to greet them, and refused to continue the conversations. Augustine's terms were not unreasonable. He invited the British bishops to co-operate with him in the work of converting the English; but first they must agree to conform to the Roman customs regarding the shape of the tonsure, the ceremonies of baptism, and the method of calculating the date of Easter. The differences, which were not of faith but of practice, might have been resolved had not the real difference been political. The British hated their conquerors, and their bishops could see no reason why they should submit themselves to the authority of the Italian Augustine, the court bishop of an English king. The breakdown of the conversations was inevitable.

In Mercia Penda was then Bretwalda. He is something of an enigma: a heathen with the ferocity of the old tribal kings; yet his name is Celtic, and he was in alliance with Cadwallon, the Christian British king in North Wales. The two kings seemed bent on exterminating all the English, except, of course, those in Mercia. Penda was not anti-Christian, for he allowed four missionary priests to work in his territory. His sons became Christians; and one of them, Aethelred, ruled over Mercia for 30 years. The rapid conversion of the English to Christianity was accomplished in the main by Celtic missionaries from the north, and to a less degree by the Canterbury mission. There were also other workers in the field such as Felix who came to Dunwich in East Anglia, where Fursey, an Irishman also worked. Pope Honorius sent Birinus to the West Saxons: he established his see at Dorchester-on-Thames—it was later moved to Winchester. The Irish, too, in addition to their work at Iona and Lindisfarne, settled monks at Bosham, Glastonbury, and Malmesbury.

By the latter half of the seventh century the whole of England with the exception of Sussex was nominally Christian; one quarter following the Roman version, and the remainder the Celtic. This was beginning to be inconvenient. Oswin, who reigned in Northumbria was keeping the Easter festivities when his wife was beginning the fast of Holy Week. He summoned a synod to look into the matter. It met at Whitby in 664 and decided in favour of the Roman usage. Then began a brilliant period in the history of the English Church. Ascetic saints like Cuthbert and Guthlac, poets like Caedmon, zealous missionaries to pagan Germany like Willibrord and Boniface, administrators of genius like Theobald, scholars like Adhelm, Benedict Biscop, and Bede, and many an unnamed artist in illuminated manuscripts who created such treasures as the Lindisfarne Gospels (in the British Museum) and the *Codex Amiatinus* now in Florence.

Wilfrid was something of everything. He was the great protagonist for the Roman usages at the Synod of Whitby, though educated as a Celtic Christian at Lindisfarne. He worked as a missionary in Sussex, so completing the work of converting the whole English race. Sussex people should hold him in great honour.

Theodore was a Greek, born in St. Paul's city of Tarsus. He came to Rome when the Arabs were assaulting the Eastern Provinces; and by a stroke of genius Pope Vitalian appointed him to fill the vacancy at Canterbury. He was just the man to deal with the situation after the Synod of Whitby; for he was

accustomed to the problems of the Eastern Churches with their indigenous customs and liturgies.

Benedict Biscop came to Canterbury with Theodore. He was an Englishman who had found his way to the Benedictine community at Lerins, and then to Rome. He went north to found Benedictine monasteries at Monkwearmouth and Jarrow.

Bede's best known work is his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People;* but he also wrote many commentaries, translations, works of philosophy, and science. In Jarrow there stands a modern monument on which two large figures are prominently displayed. They are not, as one might expect, Benedict Biscop and Bede; but the two Vikings who in 796 razed the monasteries of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth to the ground. The Northumbria of Bede was only removed by two generations from that of Aethelfrith, the scourge of the Britons. The same rapid progress from barbarism to civilization took place in Mercia. The Mercia of Penda and the Mercia of Offa are worlds apart. Offa reigned 40 years and Offa's Dyke is his monument.

We must now leap into the 9th and 10th centuries, the period of the Danish assaults. In clinker-built boats they sailed up the rivers of Northern Europe to plunder and return home with the spoils. Then they began to settle, appreciating a climate more genial than that of their homelands. Alfred, King of Wessex, halted them. After the peace of Wedmore in 878 England was divided into two; Alfred ruling the smaller southern part, and the Danelagh operating in the north. The Church suffered cruelly from the Danes. Minsters and cathedrals were destroyed, with their libraries and works of art. Canterbury, York, Winchester, London, Malmesbury, Ely, Jarrow, Lindisfarne, Iona, and many more centres of learning and prayer, all went. Bishops and priests went into hiding and ministered as best they could. The English people in the Danelagh kept their faith, and, though they were almost unshepherded, won over their conquerors. When bishops died it was impossible to appoint successors, for they had neither cathedrals, nor buildings for their staff, nor income. The wonder is that the English people kept their faith, and preserved a church that could, at the right touch, spring again to life.

King Alfred and Dunstan after him supplied the right touch. Alfred saw clearly that the first essential was the re-establishment of a centre of learning to train men for service in church and state. He invited scholars from afar, from Mercia, Wales and France to join him. Books could be copied, so he

gathered clerks together. Alfred went to school and learnt Latin. Then he helped in the work of translation of standard works into vernacular English. Rising early in the morning he translated and dictated for two or three hours, then went to Mass; and after that gave himself to the business of state. He began the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in which events were recorded with a proper dating system. The books as they were written were distributed among clergy and such laymen as could read them. "So long as I have lived," said Alfred towards the end of his life, "I have striven to live worthily." Posterity approves the claim.

Dunstan was born eight years after Alfred died. He was educated at Glastonbury; and for 28 years from 960 was Archbishop of Canterbury. His life's ambition was to uplift the country priests through the reform of the minsters and the bishops' households. The minsters had come to be regarded as the property of their founders and their descendants. Sometimes the patron appointed himself and took possession of the minster with his wife and family. Dunstan saw that the only way to reform was the introduction of the Benedictine Order. This order had a definite rule, the same everywhere; all property was held in common, and the monks lived a community life, and they elected their own Abbot. He seems to have had no objection to married clergy in the parishes; but he set out to ensure that in the cathedral cities and in the country side there would be communities of celibate priests, monks and nuns living by strict rule and setting a high example. Dunstan was responsible for introducing the anointing of the king at his coronation. He waited until Egbert was 30 years old (the canonical age for ordination), and then anointed him at a solemn service. This, in the eyes of the time, gave the king a semi-ecclesiastical character and authority to intervene in the affairs of the Church. From the reformed monasteries came most of the bishops of the next generation, and a fresh outpouring of books—translations of the Scriptures, homilies, and theological works in vigorous English prose—also of illuminated manuscripts of great beauty, vestments, tapestries, embroideries and works in precious metals. Once more, as in the 8th century, England led the world in learning and art.

The year that Dunstan died (988) saw a fresh assault by the Danes. The Danish king Swegen conquered England, and his son Cnut ruled as king from 1016 to 1036. The only hero of the war was the Archbishop of Canterbury, Aelfeah (or Elphege). Besieged in his cathedral city, he was the life and

soul of the defence, until he was betrayed, taken prisoner, and put to a ransom of 3,000 silver pieces. He refused to pay, and was eventually killed with an axe. King Cnut was a devout Christian. He made a pilgrimage to Rome, and ruled according to Dunstan's laws. After his death and the death of his two sons the succession fell back into the hands of the old line of kings. Edward the Confessor reigned, son of Aethelred and the Norman Emma, and the curtain rose on the first act of the Norman Conquest.

ANTIQUE FIREARMS

Man had been on the planet for approximately one million years before he discovered that gunpowder could be used as a means of hurling a projectile. This brought about a new era, not only in the development of weapons but to all history; as before this physical strength had been the basis of power, and the man who could hurl his spear the furthest, bend the strongest bow, and deal the heaviest blows with his sword had control over his fellow men.

There are many stories about the invention of gunpowder in remote antiquity by the Chinese. When he addressed the French Académie des Sciences in 1850, Monsieur Paravey assigned the date of B.C. 618 to an ancient cannon he discovered in China, which was inscribed *I hurl death to the traitor and extermination to the rebel.* Philostratus (A.D. 170) states that Alexander the Great, when he invaded India in B.C. 326, met Indians armed with firearms. Boutell in *Arms and Armour* states that authentic records show that cannon were in use in China in A.D. 727 and in India in A.D. 1200 and 1230. All this points to the East as the place of origin of gunpowder; especially as in early times Saltpetre was only found in hot countries. Diego Defano states that Portuguese missionaries found cannon of great antiquity when they visited the East in 1498; and in the Escorial is a copy of a manuscript of Marcus Craccus (A.D. 846) which contains an account of gunpowder almost identical with that given in 1242 by Roger Bacon in his *Miracles of Nature.*

Handcannons, which are first recorded about 1325, were simply small versions of land cannon. The touch hole was on the top of the barrel, which had a crude wooden stock whereby to hold the weapon which was discharged by applying a hot coal to the touch hole.

The Matchlock was the first weapon with a lock, which was simply an S-shaped serpentine of steel inserted through the stock behind the barrel. At one end this held a slow-

burning match in forked jaws, while the other end, known as the "Tricker", placed, when depressed, the smouldering tip of the match into the pan on the side of the barrel. The first record of this weapon is about 1411: it spread to England via the Low Countries about 1530, and was known as the *Hagbut* or *Hackbut;* possibly a corruption of the French *Arquebus.*

The Wheellock was first mentioned in Germany about 1517 by Joseph Kiefuss of Nuremburg. The action was just like that of a modern cigarette lighter—a piece of Pyrites or flint held by the jaws of the cock against a rotating serrated wheel. The wheel was wound up or "spanned" by a tool called a "spanner", a name which is used to this day.

The Snaphaunce is first recorded in Belgium and Holland. The name is derived from the Dutch *snaphaans,* meaning a pecking hen, which describes its action. A flint struck against a steel hammer called the "Frizzen". The lock having been cocked, and the cock released by pulling the trigger, the pan covering the touch hole and powder slid open. At the same time the Frizzen, which was a separate piece, was hit by the flint, and a spark produced.

The true Flintlock originated in France, and was first recorded in 1615. In it the pan cover and Frizzen were combined, thus reducing the number of moving parts. The invention is generally credited to Martin deBourgeous, gunmaker to King Louis XIII. In Spain and Italy the weapon evolved as the Migueletlock, which had the mainspring, as well as the toe of the cock, outside the lockplate, the latter being engaged by a protruding sear. Flintlocks were in use about 200 years.

The Percussion Cap was invented by the Rev. Alexander John Forsyth of Belhelvie, Aberdeenshire, about 1800, but many gunsmiths also claimed to have invented it. Probably Joseph Egg and the Mantons has the best claims. A copper cap placed over the nipple, which was also the touch hole, contained Fulminate of Mercury, which detonated when struck by the cock. It might, perhaps, be truer to say that Forsyth invented a means to store the Fulminate safely until it was required to detonate.

With regard to revolvers, the Pepperpot, in which the barrels were all contained in one cylinder, was unwieldy and rapidly followed by the Transitional Revolver, in which the snaphammer was retained, but the barrels were shortened into a true cylinder and a barrel added. When the trigger was pulled, the cylinder rotated and locked against the barrel for firing. About 1835 the revolver as we know it evolved. This

discarded the snaphammer and replaced it with the familiar cock as we know it today.

At the end of his talk the lecturer primed and fired one of his pieces, thereby producing a most gratifying report.

Note: For further information about gunpowder, see *Transactions*, No. 8, p. 5.

THE CHANGING FACE OF BATTLE DURING THE LAST 150 YEARS

The lecturer based his talk on five slides of the one inch to a mile Ordnance Survey series showing Battle and the country within a five-mile radius. The editions were those of (c) 1830, 1879, 1897, 1921, and 1964.

THE FIRST MAP. The first edition of the series was on sale in 1831. It was engraved and printed from a copper plate; and is a good example of the map-engraver's art. Hill features are shown by hachuring instead of contouring; which showed up in relief the watershed ridge from Fairlight to Netherfield, which passes through Battle. The original lines of the old Saxon tracks, associated with the battle, which cross at Watch Oak can be clearly seen. The barracks along the Whatlington road just north of Caldbec Hill appear; and on the full sheet there are other barracks, built at the time of the threat of French invasion, and Martello Towers. Hastings and Bexhill consist only of what we now call "Old Towns"; St. Leonards does not exist at all, and Bohemia, Filsham, Bulverhythe, Hollington, Ore, etc., are quite separate villages and hamlets. At Battle Abbey neither the mansion nor the ruins is named, nor is the battlefield. The old drive to the abbey through the park from Park Gate is marked. Only High Street and Mount Street exist in Battle. The old original junction and crossroads are at Watch Oak. Normanhurst mansion does not appear. Also to be noticed are Netherfield Toll, Netherfield Gun, the three powdermills at Parkdale, Pepperingeye, and Crowhurst, Darvel Furnace, the North Trade Road, and the spellings Wartlington, Sedlescomb, Handcocks, and Rat Farm.

THE SECOND MAP. This is the second edition, and this particular sheet was first published in 1879. It is also a copper engraving; but the practice of hachuring to show every little hill feature has been so elaborated and exaggerated that it is difficult to see detail underneath. What interesting new developments can be made out? Ordnance Survey has now got the spelling of Whatlington, Sedlescombe, etc., right. The

three powdermills and Darvel Furnace have disappeared. All barracks have gone. St. Martin's Abbey and the battlefield are marked, but not the mansion. Normanhurst Court and the workhouse along the North Trade Road now appear, as also Quarry Hill (now Glengorse). Oaklands (now the Pestalozzi Village) takes the place of Hole Farm. Watch Oak Police Station, built in 1821, is shown as we now know it. The Battle road now goes straight from Beauport Park to Silver Hill where it forks to Hastings and St. Leonards. For the first time, the "New Road" is shown from the Police Station to John's Cross. It is interesting to remember that this was made in 1835 as the result of an agitation in Battle because it was thought that the new road from Baldslow to John's Cross (also shown for the first time on this map) would divert the mail coaches from Battle. The South Eastern Railway line from Tunbridge Wells has appeared, having been extended from Robertsbridge in 1852. But there is no Crowhurst Junction or Bexhill West line. There is no development yet at Watch Oak or NorthTrade Road. In a later revision the dedication of churches is shown, and also a gasworks at Catsfield.

THE THIRD MAP. Printed from stone, the slide was made from the third edition of 1897. It was issued too early to show the large development which was to occur during the next few years. On it, the dedication of churches has been discontinued. The gasworks at Catsfield have disappeared. The old drive to the south front of the Abbey has obviously gone into disuse. Contours have replaced hachuring, giving a much more readable map. Inns and smithies have appeared for the first time; but Rat Farm, and Parkdale for Powdermill House still remain.

THE FOURTH MAP. This 1921 series was the first to be printed from zinc plates on rotary machines. It reverted to a map showing much less detail. Some changes are shown on the ground, but not so many as might have been expected, due, no doubt, to the slowing down effect of the 1914 - 18 war. The age of the internal combustion engine has obviously arrived: smithies have disappeared and major roads are coloured to make them stand out better for the motorist. The Abbey mansion, ruins, and battlefield are named, as also the Squirrel Inn. The Crowhurst - Bexhill West railway line appears. It was authorized in 1897 and opened on June 1st, 1902. Quarry Hill has become Telham Court, which is now Glengorse. The daughter church at Telham is shown for the first time. It was built in 1876. Some Post Offices (P) and Telegraph Offices (T) are separately indicated. On

the full sheet can be seen the first indication of golf courses. There is still remarkably little housing development in and around Battle, though much is shown northward from Hastings, and St. Leonards, as well as at Ore, Hollington, and The Ridge.

THE FIFTH MAP. This edition, the 7th of the series, was issued in 1964. It was based on a new major triangulation of the whole country, and for the first time was overprinted with the National Grid. Local evidence of the triangulation are the concrete pillars on Caldbeck Hill, near Squire Fuller's dummy church spire, and Hook's Beech. Once more, the map is tending to get a little overcrowded. A and B class roads are now numbered. Roadside telephone kiosks, Post Office (T), A.A. (A), and R.A.C. (R) are separately marked. Inn is often replaced by Hotel or P.H. The workhouse has been renamed "Hospital", and Rat Farm "Le Rette". Some pylons and power lines are shown. The name Powdermill House appears for the first time. Bexhill branch line, closed in 1964, appears on the 1966 reprint as "Track of old railway". Pestalozzi Children's Village and Claverham School are named. The most striking change, however, is the amount of new building, particularly round Battle itself. The lecturer remarked that it was probably not generally realized that this activity did not start until after 1924 when about 5,000 acres of the Abbey estate were sold. Indeed, it was not too much to say that the number of private holdings in Battle itself in the third decade of the 20th century was very much the same as the 115 listed in the Chronicle of Battel Abbey in the 12th century. To return to these developments, they include Saxonwood Road, Mountjoy, Asten Fields, Tollgates, Wellington Gardens, North Trade Road, Lower Lake, Senlac Gardens, Battle Hill, and Marley Lane; while more is shown in every town and village on the sheet.

Comparing the first and fifth slides, the lecturer summed up the tremendous changes which had taken place in about 140 years. These might be classed under the headings of Transport, Water Development, and Building generally, which covered urbanization and industrialization. The slides showed the rise and fall of the railway empire; but the roads seem to have stood the test, as apart from some straightening out, they are almost the same now as they were in 1830. The coastline has changed slightly, there are more drainage canals and two new reservoirs. But the biggest changes have been in building. The spread of housing now stretches in every direction out of Battle, except on or near the battlefield, which we in this Society hope will never be

permitted. Big increases have occurred at Catsfield, Crowhurst, Ninfield, Sedlescombe, Mountfield, and Netherfield; while Hastings and Bexhill have almost become one conurbation. Where is it all going to end? How much longer will it be before our historic and much-loved little town is swamped out of all recognition and ruined by speculative developers?

SUSSEX INN SIGNS

The bush, the ancient and traditional sign of an inn, multiplied so exceedingly in the Middle Ages that would-be patrons were often hard put to it to decide which particular bush they were looking for! Hence it became the custom for each licensee to reinforce the bush with an individual sign. In choosing his own sign he was absolutely fancy-free. There was no set of laws or customs, written or unwritten, governing the devising of inn-signs; that is why they present such an enormous field to the investigator nowadays.

Sussex inn and tavern signs constitute a representative cross-section of the wide variety of subjects. Many old licensees paid a compliment to the lords of their areas, e.g., the Dorset Arms, the Norfolk Arms. Many evidenced the Englishman's love of animals—the Black Horse, the White Horse, the White Hart, the Stag, and so on. Kings, queens and princes were all thus honoured although it could be dangerous to portray the monarchs and "royals" of the period in case public loyalties underwent a change. For example, scores of signs depicting Charles I disappeared precipitately during the civil war—although one may be seen in Uckfield High Street today! Under this heading there are some puzzles. For instance, the White Hart, the insignia of Richard II with the gold crown around the animal's neck, is one of the most popular signs—yet Richard was one of the three kings deposed from the Throne. Likewise there is a wealth of Georges—but none of the four kings who bore that name was publicly adored. On the other hand, a king who had tremendous influence on the course of his country's history, William I, is only thus honoured twice—at Iden and Rye Harbour—and not at all in Battle or Hastings.

Rebuses and puns are frequent. There is the Warbill-in-Tun (Warbleton, Heathfield), and the Gnu Inn (Stedham). The Dew-Drop Inn (Littlehampton) provides us with an amusing sign shewing little fledglings with open mouths waiting for the dew drops. The Labour-in-Vain (Westergate) is an excellent bit of fun. One side of the sign shews a woman

vigorously scrubbing a negro child, and on the other she is scratching her head because she cannot understand why the child has not become white.

History and legend are well represented in the Sussex inn-signs. The Cross-in-Hand reminds us that Crusaders greeted each other on meeting there. The Piltdown Man is a tribute to a great hoax; although that was not the original intention when the inn's old name (the Lamb) was changed. The Piltdown skull was "discovered" by Charles Dawson near the inn. It is, however, a matter for satisfaction that when the famous skull was pronounced a forgery, the name of the inn remained the same. After all, some hoaxes are worthy of commemoration. The East Gate Inn at Chichester approximately marks the site of the east gate of the old city and the commencement of Stane Street. A number of signs, e.g., the Duke of Wellington, the British Volunteer, the Lord Nelson, etc., came into being during times of war.

One could go on like this for a long time—but space forbids. One point should, however, be explained by way of conclusion: how is it that the inn-sign has survived? In olden times when reading was a rare accomplishment, all business establishments were recognised by conventional signs—a chisel for a carpenter, a pestle-and-mortar for a chemist, a pole for a barber-surgeon, sandals for a shoemaker, and so on. One spoke of going to the fruiterer's—and then went to the shop displaying a bunch of grapes. When literacy, however, became a rule rather than an exception, the signs gradually disappeared and names and descriptions replaced them. One would then speak of going down to Jones to buy some potatoes or to Smith's for a joint. But in the case of the inn, the individual signs saved the situation. As soon as they became the rule in the Middle Ages, one spoke of going to the Swan or to the Black Horse for a drink, never of running down to Brown's for a flagon of ale. Thus in this one trade and this one trade only, the custom of recognising an establishment by its name, as enshrined in the sign it bore, survived the general change in custom—and may it always so remain.

W.H.D.

TOWN CREEP

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From Netherfield village three spurs descend to the South. The middle spur is entirely covered by woodland—Sandy

Wood, Ibrook Wood, and Creep Wood—and is flanked on the west side by the Ashbourne stream, and on the east by an unnamed tributary. The spur is brought to an end in one mile by the junction of these streams. About two-thirds of the way down the spur is an area of about 20 acres plentifully sprinkled with pieces of sandstone ranging from about six inches long to large blocks. The majority have the appearance of prepared building stones with flat surfaces, many being parallelepiped in form. In addition to stones lying on the surface, many more can be detected with a probe. This area will hereafter be referred to as Area "A".

In the south-eastern corner of Area "A" is an inner area about two and a half acres in extent where the sandstones on and below the surface are larger and mostly contiguous; so that it is almost impossible to insert a probe at all. This area will be called "B", of which the centre is at Nat. Grid Ref. TQ 708169. No trees, but only stunted bushes, grow in Area "B", which is thereby clearly visible from a distance. Both Areas "A" and "B" come to a sudden end on an approximately straight line a little way down the eastern slope of the spur, and thereafter a probe may be freely inserted.

According to English Place Name Society, Vol. VII, p. 477, Creep Wood was known as *Crepe* in 1208, 1296, 1402, and 1614; but the description given that it is situated on the side of a steep and narrow valley, and that the name is derived from Anglo-Saxon *crype,* "corner", or *cripel,* "narrow passage", does not accord with the topography. Creep Wood is definitely set astride a ridge between two valleys which are not noticeably steep or narrow; and the word *creep,* spelt *crib* in Welsh and *cryb* in Cornish, means "ridge".

Between 1888 and 1896 six articles about Town Creep appeared in Sussex Archaeological Collections, Volumes XXXVI to XL inclusive. In an article about his parish, the Rev. R. F. Whistler, Rector of Penhurst, wrote: "Half way down the slope, upon an independant hillock, there is a space of some two acres whereon are to be found scattered building materials. The plateau upon which these stones lie has always been spoken of as the ancient abode of a people who were driven from their home at a time anterior to the Norman Conquest; and from this traditional cluster of buildings the whole wood has been named 'Town Creep' . . . There are not wanting those who are bold to conjecture that Town Creep was the Roman Anderida". He added that the tradition was continuous and consistent, and that the house next

to Penhurst church was traditionally supposed to have been built with stones from Town Creep.

The Rev. E. H. R. Tatham then corrected Whistler's errors by stating that there was no independent hillock or debris of habitations at Town Creep. He gave the area covered with stones as 20 to 30 acres. He wondered whether the stones were ancient remains or natural, and stated that there was a tradition that Battle Abbey was built of them. The story that he had heard was that "the red-haired men beat the Saxons". "Anyone", he wrote, "who will take the trouble may satisfy himself of the unanimity and persistence with which this tradition is maintained." The discrepancy in size between the estimates of Whistler and Tatham is easily explained: the former was referring to area "B", and the latter to Area "A". Tatham then wrote a second article with a plan. He had in the meantime interviewed a man named Winchester who, with one or two others, had done some excavation at Town Creep about 1847 at the order of the Earl of Ashburnham. Winchester told him that the diggers could clearly make out the foundations of the houses, and in some places the lines of the streets. They found, he said, hewn stone, tiles of ancient make, and earthenware bottles. An old man, who was not one of the diggers, confirmed these statements and said that he had taken home a lump of mortar weighing about two pounds. Tatham, although he realized that the excavation had not been closely supervised, accepted Winchester's story and, after finding some stones which bore marks "extremely like those of a chisel", claimed to have established as fact that Town Creep was a "settlement of which the foundations exist, proving their construction of stone and bricks". He then subscribed to Whistler's theory that Town Creep was Anderida, and went on to describe some supposed vallations near the main road as the military defences of the town. The rest of his article consisted of conjectures about the land and water communications of the supposed Romano-British stronghold. He supposed Roman roads to Newenden and Lympne and inlets of the sea reaching almost to the site. In a third article he claimed to have discovered near Town Creep the course of his supposed Roman road.

Mr. H. F. Napper then entered the discussion with two articles in which, accepting as a fact that Town Creep was the remains of a ruined town, he sought to prove that it was Mercredsburn where Ella fought the Welsh in A.D. 485; and there the discussion ended.

Anderida has since been identified as Pevensey, and the

courses of the Roman roads in East Sussex are now known; but the idea that Town Creep is the ruin of a Romano-British town has never been challenged, and the legend persists. If we divest the articles which appeared in S.A.C. of all conjectures and speculation there remain some facts to examine: they are the situation and geology of the place, the excavation, Winchester's testimony, and the tradition.

The situation of Town Creep on the crest of a sloping spur is a most unlikely one for a town or settlement. For the following geological information I am indebted to Mr. G. B. Fox, geologist to the Sussex River Authority. Geologically, the place is situated on a small outlier of Tunbridge Wells Sand approximately 250 acres in extent and probably no more than 30 - 40 feet thick. The lower part of this formation consists of fine sand, silty sand, and sandstone. Thus hard fine-grained sandstones may be succeeded by siltstones or even unconsolidated sands; so that the two disused sandpits in the valley S.E. of Town Creep may indicate either these basal beds or "cambering". Two sets of joints are often found in the Tunbridge Wells Sand formation. These usually dip at about 85° and intersect at an angle of about 75° - 80°. Thus surface weathering by frost action along such joint planes could produce debris of parallelpiped form.

The late Mr. J. R. Bickersteth, asked whether he could give any information about the excavation, replied: "My late grandfather the 4th Earl of Ashburnham, had some rather half-hearted excavations made on the supposed site. I always heard that he had found nothing except a few medieval coins and that this was exactly what he expected. I have heard of no other attempts at excavation, or any other reason to suppose that there were buildings on the site."

It was on Winchester's testimony that the edifice of conjecture was largely built. How much, one wonders, were Winchester and his mates able to excavate? To clear any worthwhile space in Area "B" would have amounted to quarrying, and have been a herculean task; so that one suspects that an easier spot in Area "A" was selected. Their finds, when considered with that of medieval coins, were consistent with a medieval rather than a Romano-British site; and the foundations could well have been those of a hut or huts erected in medieval times to shelter workmen engaged in collecting and dispatching building stone which could be picked up on the surface without quarrying. Whether the chisel-like marks observed by Tatham, and which can in fact be seen on some stones today, were made to improve their shape for building or are natural, is really immaterial.

The fact that Town Creep supplied stones to build local houses (and there is a barn or cattle shelter built of large rectangular stones half a mile away) is no proof that it was an ancient town. Heavily laden waggons on a sandy soil would need metalled tracks; and these, laid bare by men of no archaeological knowledge, would appear as "streets", and the story of such a find would gain in substance as time went on.

With regard to the supposed vallations; there are, about 1,000 yards N.E. of Town Creep, some deep hollow ways which for some distance run parallel to the Kemhide road which was made in 1813. They have the appearance of old tracks, one abandoned for another when it became too deeply sunk in the sandy ground. Such a course for the Fairlight - Netherfield trackway is quite understandable as it would avoid the Brede valley. These ditches have nothing about them to suggest a military work; moreover their situation and distance from Town Creep, to which they could give no protection, negatives such a theory.

To the tradition I can testify personally. Very shortly after coming to live in the Battle district I was told the story; and, on visiting the site, found that people living in the locality knew and believed it; one family having actually opened a large hole by removing stones in Area "B". The Earl of Ashburnham, presumably, would not have troubled to have an excavation made unless the tradition had been strong in 1847. How did it originate?

The answer, I suggest, is to be found in the name itself. The word "town" in the name of a field usually denotes association with a deserted village or habitations, an example of which occurs at Town Field, Barnhorne, near Bexhill. Any name containing the word "town" might therefore be considered as marking the site of former habitations. "Is it possible," wrote Mr. Bickersteth, that the word 'town' is a mis-spelling for some other word which had in fact nothing to do with towns?" The same thought had occurred to me, that if *creep* is identical in pronunciation with the Cornish word *cryb,* might not *Town* sound like a Cornish word too? For Cornish is probably the nearest known language to that of the Britons on the South Coast. The word *towan* meaning a sandhill, dune, or hillock, suggested itself. I consulted the Rev. D. R. Evans, a Cornish scholar of repute, who replied that *Towan an gryp* (C mutated to G after *an*) was "an astoundingly close thing to *Town Creep*". The literal translation would be *(the) Sandhill (of) the ridge;* and this construction, which occurs for example in *Park an venton* (Spring

field) is very common in Cornish place-names. The stony area now called Town Creep is not a sandhill; but there is in fact a sandhill about 600 yards higher up the ridge, to which the name may refer. Though there is early record of *Crepe* as the name of the ridge, the association of *Town* with it would appear to have come down by oral tradition. In the original name, *Towan an gryp, an* would suffer early elision; and when, in the search for intelligible words, *Towan* became *Town*, the usual connotation of that word would give rise to the legend of a Romano-British town where a town never was.

My thanks are due to those already mentioned in this article who kindly supplied me with information, and also to Mr. E. W. Holden, who twice visited the spot with me and gave many helpful suggestions.

C.H.L.

NOTE ON "DENS"

Extracted by permission from "The Story of Biddenden", published by The Biddenden Local History Society.

In Saxon times each village in the uplands of Kent owned areas in the Weald, its "dens" to which the village herd of pigs was sent yearly for a few weeks to fatten on the acorns of the forest. The areas of the forest were marked out with stones or prominent trees; later small clearings were made, and ultimately the word "den" came to signify a clearing in the wood. A tenth century charter tells us that "Biddingden" was a den of Brabourne, a village near Ashford.

About a thousand years ago small groups of pioneers began the arduous task of chopping down the huge trees and clearing the tangled undergrowth to make permanent homes in the Wealden forest. These tiny hamlets were not independent villages, for the dens in which they stood still belonged to the parent manor. So in Domesday Book, Wealden villages like Biddenden are not mentioned by name, but only entered as a den of their parent manor. Many ancient dens lie within the modern parish boundaries. For centuries Washenden belonged to Wye, and when William the Conqueror gave Wye manor to Battle Abbey, Washenden went with it. So until the dissolution of the monasteries the inhabitants of Washenden were governed by the Abbot of Battle Abbey, had to attend his courts, and pay him their dues.

The small communities of swineherds, with their wooden huts and tiny fields of the early Middle Ages, grew into the large and flourishing villages of the Tudor cloth industry.

BIDDENDEN

In brilliant weather, 36 members of the Society visited this beautiful Kentish village, which was formerly a celebrated centre of the weaving and clothing trade. This became extinct before 1790, and the population, which had been well over 2,000 began to fall to reach a low ebb of 1,120 in 1921. It has now risen to 1,400. The name Biddenden is said to mean "Bida's swine pasture"; and a legend connected with the place finds expression in the village sign, which depicts the "Biddenden twins". Born, according to the legend in 1100, they lived for 34 years joined together at the hips and shoulders, and on their demise were buried at Battle Abbey. Hasted, however, in his *History of Kent* (1790) dismisses the legend as "a vulgar tradition, which seems to be without foundation". Be that as it may, there does, in fact, exist to this day a charity in the names of two ladies, consisting of the revenue from 18 acres of land, to be spent on bread, cheese, and beer for poor people at Easter.

Members were received by Major-General Woolner, Chairman, and Miss Gordon Jones of the Biddenden Local History Society, at whose invitation the visit was made. Miss Gordon Jones acted as guide.

The Church of All Saints. The description was given by the Rector, the Rev. M. G. Gilbert. Mentioned in the 11th century, it seems certain that the original church was Saxon. The date of the first recorded rector is 1283, and there have been only 31 rectors since. Built mostly of Tunbridge Wells sandstone, the oldest part of the church is the chancel arch, mid-13th century.

The south aisle was added at the end of the 13th century, and the north aisle a century later. The impressive tower of Bethersden marble was built about 1400, except the belfry, which is of later date. The font is very ancient, and the lower half of the medieval rood screen remains. The great possession of the church is its portrait gallery of 12 brasses, on which some 70 husbands, wives and children are depicted.

The Old Cloth Hall. This is a remarkable half-timbered building of seven gables. Besides being a private dwelling, it originally contained workshops for weavers, and possibly dyeing vats. It was the collecting place for all the cloth woven in Biddenden, which was loaded on to pack horses and sent to Cranbrook for official inspection and sealing. The final size of a piece of Kentish broadcloth was 30 yards long by $1\frac{3}{4}$ yards broad.

Biddenden Place. Formerly called The Place House, was anciently the home of an old family which took their surname from it. It then came to the Mayney family, descended from Walter de Meduana, who came over at the Conquest. Sir John de Mayney lived there in the time of Edward III (1327 - 77). Bequeathed to the Henden family, William Henden, "having in the reign of George I dissipated his patrimony, pulled down the greatest part of this seat, and left the poor remains of it, consisting of only three or four rooms, and a very few acres of the garden and park" (Hasted). By 1790 it had been sold to Sir Horace Mann. The "poor remains", however, contain many interesting ancient features, and the gardens with lake provide a delightful vista from the rear of the house.

Mr. and Mrs. H. Raymond, the present owners, kindly gave a description of their ancient home, showed members round, and allowed them to take the tea, which had been arranged by the Local History Society, in their dining room.

River Hall. This house was probably built about 1530 (Igglesden, *A Saunter Through Kent,* Vol. II); though some authorities put the date as the end of the 15th century. It was re-faced during the reign of Queen Anne; but the old black and white half-timbered facade still remains some six inches behind the present brick and tile face. The bell tower was erected at the time the bell was cast, with the inscription *River Hall, 1774.* A small secret passage, said to have been connected with smuggling, has been discovered in the house. The house belonged to the Beale family for about 400 years; Richard Beale, a clothier, being the occupant at the height of the cloth industry in the reign of Charles II.

The present owner is Mr. A. E. Lloyd Maunsell, a member of a family which was seated at Sedgwick, Sussex, in the reign of Henry III; but which subsequently emigrated to Ireland.

Washenden Manor. Originally a "den" of the manor of Wye and later a "borough" of Biddenden, Washenden is now represented by a farmhouse two or three centuries old surrounded by a large square moat. Of the original building no vestige remains if we except that the large stones which pave the path leading to the house may possibly have come from the ruins. Mee states that Wachenden was a moated manor when the Conqueror came; but does not give his authority. It is first mentioned in the Patent Rolls of 1314, and in 1407 the Abbot and Convent of Battle acknowledged payment of L 4 from Thomas Brickenden for his "ferme" of their manor of Wachendenne. The present owner, Lieut-Colonel W. Eliott

Lockhart, and Mrs. Lockhart kindly dispensed a cooling "cup" while members viewed this ancient possession of Battle Abbey.

SCOTNEY CASTLE AND GOUDHURST CHURCH

This meeting was attended by 23 members. Scotney Castle had been previously visited by the Society on September 12th, 1956, and a full account can be found in No. 5 of *Transactions* (1955-56); but although Goudhurst church was visited on July 7th, 1954, no account in *Transactions* has yet appeared.

Goudhurst is said to mean *Gutha's Hill* and stands on a hill 406 feet high. The church is first mentioned in a 12th century document when Ralph de Crevecour gave it to the Abbey of Leeds (Kent). It was enlarged in 1360 on account of a population increase due to the influx of Flemish weavers. The church assumed its present fine proportions in 1480 when the former small chapels in the north side of the nave were made into one. In 1637 the tower fell in a storm, and was replaced the next year by the present one, which was used in 1787 for trigonometrical survey because 51 other towers and spires could be seen from the top. Goudhurst church is noted for its Culpeper monuments; no less than 40 members of that great Kentish family being portrayed in brass, wood, and stone. The oldest brass is that of John Bedgebury, a relation by marriage of the Culpepers, who may have fought at Agincourt (1415). The brasses to the Culpeper family are late 15th century. A very fine altar tomb to Sir Alexander and his lady dates from 1537, and the monument to Sir Anthony, his lady and their 18 children from 1599. In 1940 enemy land mines blew out all except three of the brilliant stained glass windows, and a panel of the ancient glass has been constructed from fragments picked up in the churchyard.

ARUNDEL

The long-distance excursion this year was made to Arundel Castle and Church, which the Society had not previously visited, and 28 members participated.

The Parish Church of St. Nicholas, who, by the way, was Bishop of Myra in Lycia in the 4th century, and whose better-known name, perhaps, is Santa Claus, was completed and dedicated as it now stands in 1380. There had previously been a Saxon and then a Norman church on the site, the latter of no mean dimensions; but it was completely demo-

lished when the Earl of Arundel built the present church. Pope Innocent VI having authorized a college of secular priests, the new church started its career on much the same lines as a cathedral. The east end formed the collegiate chapel, while the altar of St. Nicholas was used for the worship of the parishioners. In 1544 the Duke of Norfolk purchased the collegiate chapel from the Crown, and thereafter, as the result of the Reformation, it parted company from the main part of the parish church. The collegiate chapel fell into disrepair; but in the 1880s it was restored and a wall built to separate it from the parish church, so that ever since there has existed a situation for which it would be difficult to find a parallel, namely, that in the same church occasional Roman Catholic services are held in the chancel, known as the Fitzalan chapel; while regular Anglican services are held in the nave. The church is of harmonious Early English architecture throughout. The very fine altar, reredos, choir and clergy stalls were erected under the tower in 1881 in front of the pulpit. The latter, in such an unusual position, is one of the only two canopied pre-Reformation pulpits in England. There is no ancient glass in the church, as it was all destroyed in 1642 by the Parliamentary troops who used the church as a barracks and stabled their horses in the Fitzalan Chapel. The remains of medieval paintings are visible on the walls, on which also the consecration crosses have survived.

Space forbids a description of the architecture and contents of **Arundel Castle,** so a brief account of its sieges must suffice. It is mentioned in Domesday as having been in existence in the reign of Edward the Confessor, and is thought to have been erected by King Alfred. William the Conqueror gave it to Roger Montgomery, who commanded the Franco-Flemings at the Battle of Hastings. He created him Earl of Arundel, and all owners of the castle have borne that title ever since. In 1102 the 4th Earl of Arundel, a Montgomery, favoured the replacement of Henry I by his elder brother Robert Duke of Normandy. King Henry besieged and took Arundel Castle, which on his death in 1135 he bequeathed to his second wife Adeliza. Since then it has passed by marriage and inheritance to the d'Albini, Fitzalan, and Howard families, and is now owned by the 16th Duke of Norfolk, who is also 37th Earl of Arundel.

In 1139 King Henry I's daughter, the Empress Matilda, landed at Littlehampton to claim the throne. Queen Adeliza, her stepmother, received her and her retinue at Arundel Castle. King Stephen besieged the castle, but as it belonged

to Queen Adeliza he soon raised the siege and allowed Matilda to proceed to Bristol, where she collected forces and began a civil war.

In December, 1642, when Thomas, Earl of Arundel, was on the Continent, and only 100 men had been left in the castle to defend it, Sir William Waller, the Parliamentary commander, detached a like number to take it. They blew in the gate with a petard, and 36 of them sufficed to capture the garrison. The Roundheads had occupied the castle for nearly a year when in November, 1643, a Royalist force under Lord Hopton invaded Sussex as part of the King's strategic plan for a three-pronged attack on London. The advanced guard reached Arundel on December 6th and besieged the castle. Although Parliamentary forces were collecting to raise the siege, the commander, three days later, surrendered the castle and its not inconsiderable garrison under threat of assault. The Royalists were not long in possession; for on December 19th Sir William Waller appeared before Arundel with 6,000 men. Next day he took the town and captured the outworks of the castle after enfilading them with artillery fire. The defenders made an unsuccessful sortie.

Sir Edward Ford commanded the castle garrison which was originally 200 strong, but which was increased to 1,000 with 200 horses by the arrival of refugees from other positions taken by Waller during his march. The garrison had plenty of meat, but were short of other food and had only well-water to drink. They kept up a harassing musketry fire on enemy billeted in the town. On December 21st two "Saker Drakes" (very small cannons, firing a shot of three pounds or less) were hoisted by night, on to the church tower, and opened fire next day on the upper parts of the castle. On December 24th Waller received reinforcements which brought the strength of his army to 10,000. On Christmas Day the garrison made another unsuccessful sortie. On the 29th, Waller, having heard that Lord Hopton had reached Petersfield with a heterogeneous army which included Irish and Cornish, left 1,500 men to continue the siege and met him on North Marden Down and West Dean; where, after the exchange of a few shots, the Royalists retired into Hampshire. On January 4th Waller opened fire on the castle with some heavy guns he had obtained from Portsmouth. The state of the garrison was now desperate. At 9 a.m. on Saturday, 6th January, 1644, it surrendered after a siege of 17 days. Seventeen colours of foot and two of horse were taken, 1,000 prisoners, of whom 100 were officers, 200 horses, 2,000 arms, 20 barrels of gunpowder and £4,000 in money.

Arundel Castle had been severely damaged during the siege and by the troops quartered there until 1649. In October, 1653, the Council of State decided that it should be "slighted" and the place disgarrisoned. It was not until 1716 that repair of the ruins was attempted; and this was continued in 1789; but it fell to the 15th Duke of Norfolk to repair completely, between 1890 and 1903, the damage caused by the Civil War.

LYMPNE

The name Lympne is derived from the river Limen which formerly flowed at the base of the cliffs approximately where the Royal Military Canal was later dug. What Limen meant is controversial: in Greek it means a harbour; but it is strange that a British river should have been given a Greek name. A Celtic word meaning "elm tree" has been suggested; but such a derivation seems irrelevant. During the Roman occupation there was an important harbour, *Portus Lemanis*, situated within the mouth of the river at what is now West Hythe, which was connected with *Durovernum* (Canterbury) by a road which is still in use and called "Stone Street". *Portus Lemanis*, like *Anderida Portus* (Pevensey harbour) was protected by one of the forts of the Saxon shore, which were built under Constantius Chlorus about A.D. 300. The remains of this stronghold, ruined by an earthquake or large landslide, can be seen towards the foot of the cliffs and is now called Stutfall Castle. In 829 a Danish army, complete with horses and carried from Boulogne in 250 ships, entered the Limen, up which the ships were towed to Appledore which was occupied as a base. What Leland called "the great old towne" of Lympne owed its site to the fact that it overlooked the harbour; but by the Norman Conquest the sea had deserted the foot of the cliffs, the Limen had changed its channel on its wanderings which finally led to its being merged in the Rother, and the port had been rendered useless. So Lympne became a village.

On 28 June, 31 members visited Lympne Castle and Church. In an eighth century charter Withraed, King of Kent, gave lands south of the river Limen to the church at Lympne. The church was one of the ancient possessions of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Abbey lodging housed seven priests. At the Dissolution it became the Archdeacon's house, and it did not pass out of the possession of the Archdeaconry of Canterbury until 1860. Thomas Becket, before he became Archbishop, must have been one of the Archdeacons who

lived there. The upper part of the present castle was built about 1360, except part of the square tower next to the church which may be 13th century. It is built upon an older foundation of stones believed to have been brought from Stutfall Castle. It is a fine lofty castellated mansion with Gothic arches, windows and doors, with a semi-circular tower at the west end. Its surprising strength for an ecclesiastical building is accounted for by the fact that in feudal times church dignatories were also great landowners, and held their lands from the king in return for military service. For instance, in 1264 the Archbishop of Canterbury took up arms against Simon de Montfort. In 1905, to save the castle from falling into ruins, Sir Robert Lorimer was commissioned by the owner to restore it to its previous state. The castle is at present the home of Mr. and Mrs. H. Margary.

The square tower of the church of St. Stephen, adjacent to the castle, dates from 1100 to 1110. It was originally a west tower to the Norman church, the nave and chancel of which were destroyed; the present chancel having been built on the site of the nave in the 13th century. The eastward arch of the tower is original. The diamond-shaped glass in the windows of the north aisle dates from the 13th or 14th century, and was once in Salisbury Cathedral. Most of the windows, which were of old cathedral glass, were destroyed by blast from a flying bomb in 1944, and were replaced by plain leaded lights; but very beautiful modern stained glass windows replaced those at the east end of the chancel. Stone benches run along the chancel walls, a reminder that in medieval times there were no pews, and "the weakest went to the wall".

FIRLE AND LAUGHTON

Forty-one members attended on a really hot summer's day. At **Firle Place** the terrace and gardens were seen to the best advantage. When previously visited on June 13th 1956 the house and gardens were shrouded in mist after heavy rain. A full description appeared in *Transactions* for 1955/56, and a second visit was made on July 25th 1962. During this third visit, particular interest was taken in the portrait of Sir John Gage (1479-1556), who, as one of the Commissioners of King Henry VIII, expelled the Abbot and monks from Battle Abbey. Surprisingly enough, he remained a staunch Roman Catholic until the end of his life.

Laughton Church is said to have had its foundation stone laid by Gilbert De Aquila in 1229. This Norman knight, also called De l'Aigle, was lord of Pevensey and "The Honour of the Eagle". Kipling put him into the story *Young Men at the Manor* in *Puck of Pook's Hill*. De Aquila also founded Michelham Priory (see *Transactions* for 1954-55). There was already an earlier Saxon building on the site of Laughton church. Its structure is simple, with a fine elevated roof and magnificent oak beams. The chancel arch, which is not in the centre of the nave, originally had a rood screen, the beam of which remains, and on it can be seen two helmets. One is a genuine piece of armour dated 1545, the year in which Sir Nicholas Pelham frustrated a French landing at Seaford, while the other is a "funeray helmet", made to be placed on a knight's coffin at burial. Laughton was the home of the Pelhams, and 31 members of the family lie in the vault under the chancel, among them are a Bishop of Lincoln, two Prime Ministers, three Earls of Chichester, and a Duke of Newcastle. An attempt to violate the vault in the belief that it contained riches was made by the notorious Hawkhurst gang of smugglers, who, it is said, fled when a sudden thunderstorm arose and a thunderbolt fell near the church. The vault was sealed in 1886; but the fine ogee arched doorway which led to it can be seen on the outside south wall of the chancel.

One mile south-west of the church stood Laughton Place, the home of the Pelhams, built in 1534. Still standing roofed in its moated garden in 1937, all that now remains is part of the tower.

BATEMANS BURWASH

The fourth visit of the Society to Kipling's old home was attended by 32 members. A short account of the house appeared in *Transactions* for 1951-52, and of Kipling's association with it in No. 7 for 1957-58.

FINDS AND FIELDWORK

During the summer our member Mr. G. Brodribb carried out a further small excavation at the Romano-British site at Bodiam, at which he found several more tile fragments bearing the CL BR stamp of the Roman fleet. Details for publication must await the next number of *Transactions*. Mr. Brodribb is preparing a Corpus on the subject of CL BR stamps, which, it would appear, are only found in South-east England.

COMMEMORATION OF THE 901st ANNIVERSARY OF THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS

COMMEMORATION LECTURE

Delivered by The Right Hon. The Viscount Norwich

THE NORMAN KINGDOM OF SICILY

Just five and a half years before the Battle of Hastings another Norman army, less than a quarter the size of William's, waded ashore in Sicily a few miles south of Messina. Just five and a half years later that same army, under the command of Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia and his brother Roger de Hauteville, stormed and captured Palermo. The Norman conquest of Sicily, although it took a good deal longer, was thus exactly contemporary with the Norman conquest of England. Queen Joanna, wife of William the Good of Sicily, was the daughter of our own Henry II. Her brother, Richard Coeur-de-Lion, when on his way to the Third Crusade, stayed seven months on the island, and there behaved abominably. Robert of the Mill, King William's chief minister, was an Englishman born and bred. He was Archbishop of Palermo for twenty-five years and was probably the only man in history ever to have signed himself *Emir and Archbishop*. Among the mosaics of Monreale Cathedral is to be found the earliest known portrait of St. Thomas à Becket, executed a bare decade after his death. Why is it, one wonders, that the story of the Normans in the South should still be so little known in England? The sudden rise and brief splendour of the house of de Hauteville in the first Sicilian kingdom marked the finest flowering of Medieval European culture and can now be seen as one of the chief sources of the Renaissance. It was the creation of one family alone. The de Hautevilles were not, to be sure, the first of their race to seek their fortunes in the South. Normandy was becoming over-populated, and to many a footloose and dissatisfied younger son the call must have sounded tempting indeed. By the spring of 1017 the first Norman adventurers were crossing the Alps; and by 1035, when the three eldest of the Hauteville brothers arrived in their turn in South Italy, they found a sizeable community of their compatriots already firmly entrenched. In a land claimed by the Latin and Greek Empires, torn asunder by the Lombard principalities and an endless

number of baronies and city states, interfered with by the Papacy, and attacked by Saracen raiders, there was always plenty of employment for Norman swords. Nearly always it was the Normans who seemed to end up on the winning side, and thus as time went by and their numbers continued to grow, their influence increased and they became the most powerful force in the peninsula. William, Drogo, and Humphrey de Hauteville quickly distinguished themselves by their qualities of leadership; and in 1042 William (Bras-de-Fer) was acclaimed Duke of Apulia and Calabria. Pope Leo IX, alarmed at the implied threat to his southern frontier, raised and led a huge army against them; but at Civitate in 1053, led by Humphrey (William had died and his brother Drogo who succeeded him had been assassinated), the Normans annihilated the Papal forces and took Leo prisoner. Six years later Pope Nicholas II invested Robert de Hauteville, as Duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily. The Normans could no longer be despised as upstarts—they were respectable at last. Robert (called Guiscard, the crafty) had been in Italy only thirteen years, and has spent much of this time as a robber-baron in Calabria. He fought magnificently at Civitate, and after Humphrey's death he was to prove himself one of the greatest military adventurers between Julius Caesar and Napoleon. A fair blue-eyed giant, he, after repudiating his first wife, had married Sichelgaita, sister of Prince Gisulf of Salerno, a woman of immense build and strength, who bore him at least ten children and, dressed in full armour, accompanied him into battle. It was a good marriage politically, for Salerno was the only independent Lombard principality remaining in Italy as an obstacle to complete Norman domination in the South. In Apulia the Byzantines only held Bari and in Calabria a few isolated outposts. There remained Sicily; and it was thither that Robert and Roger, his youngest brother, turned their attention.

Sicily had been invaded in 827 by North African Saracens, and since 878 had to all intents and purposes formed part of the Moslem world. Robert's invasion was a mission blessed by the Pope to free a once Christian land from the infidels; so the Normans embarked with confidence. Although it did not look as if the recapture of Sicily would take very long, it did, in fact, take 30 years; for they had reckoned without Apulia, where Robert's Norman vassals stubbornly refused to accept his overlordship as they resented having to bow the knee before these upstart Hautevilles, whom they considered in no whit superior to themselves. The necessity of fighting on two

fronts divided Robert's energies and resources, which meant that the Norman expeditionary force was chronically undermanned and ill-supplied. As, however, Robert found himself compelled to spend more and more time dealing with his mainland enemies, the army in Sicily came increasingly under the control of Roger, until eventually Robert's domains were divided, and Roger was able to devote to his island the attention it deserved. The Normans captured Palermo on 8 January 1072 and were able to organize a political administration. Robert demanded only of the Saracens their allegiance and a reasonable tribute, in return for which he promised not to interfere with their religion or their law. This meant the end of independence for the Saracens in Sicily; but it also meant the beginning of an age of order and peace under a strong but benevolent government such as they themselves had never been able to achieve. Their artistic and scientific gifts would be encouraged and appreciated as never before; while the Normans would build up a state which for the next hundred years would stand as an example of enlightened government and be the envy of Europe. Roger became Great Count of Sicily, consolidated his authority, gradually extended it where resistance continued and won the Saracens' confidence. Arab counsellors and secretaries took their places in the central administration, and merchants and artisans who had fled were encouraged to return. The Greek Church was reorganized under new bishoprics responsible to Roger and not to Constantinople. At the Count's invitation, monks and churchmen, both Greek and Latin, poured into Sicily and monasteries sprang up in ever greater numbers. The Norman baron from the mainland, alone, was unwelcome: Roger was determined to have no powerful vassals. Robert Guiscard died in 1085. He had become a legend in his lifetime; and after his death his fame continued in the songs of the minstrels and *jongleurs*. With the death of Roger in 1101 the years dominated by the first generation of the Hautevilles came to an end. As the century opened Sicily began to emerge as a youthful and prosperous nation with a personality of its own.

The Great Count's son, Roger II, was only five years old when his father died. Apart from one or two close kinsmen he knew few Normans. His Italian mother, Adelaide of Savona, infinitely preferred the Greeks, and thus the world in which he grew up was a Mediterranean-cosmopolitan one of Greek and Moslem tutors and secretaries, of studies pursued and state affairs conducted in three languages under cool marble colonnades, while outside fountains splashed and the

muezzins summoned the faithful to prayer. All this was a far cry from feudal Normandy. Queen Adelaide governed as Regent until 1112 and it is not until the third decade of the century that we get a clear picture of the young Count. In the 35 years after Robert Guiscard's death, his mainland duchy had gone steadily to pieces, latterly under his hopelessly ineffectual grandson William. In 1127 William died without an heir, and Roger sailed instantly to Salerno to claim succession. He met with a vigorous resistance from the Norman baronage, from the people of Salerno, and from Pope Honorius II. But Roger was too quick and too strong, and by the summer of 1128 Honorius had to give in, and on August 22nd, on the bridge spanning the Sabato outside Benevento, Roger was invested with the triple dukedom just as Robert Guiscard had been nearly 70 years before. Once again the three great territories of the South were united under one ruler; but Roger knew that his task was now to weld them, with Sicily, into a nation. He needed a title and a crown, and two years later he got them. On Pope Honorius's death in 1130 two rival Popes were elected. Of these, Innocent II had virtually the whole of Europe behind him. The other Pope, Anacletus, turned to the Normans. Roger promised Anacletus his full support in return for a royal coronation as the Pope's vassal. On Christmas Day 1130, in the Cathedral at Palermo, amid scenes of splendour such as never before had been known in the island, Count Roger II became King of Sicily, and the brief but glorious golden age began.

The art of Norman Sicily was above all a palace art, and its brightest jewel is the Palatine Chapel in Palermo. Built in 1129, it shows us better than any other building the effortless fusion of all that was best in the Latin, Byzantine, and Islamic traditions into a unity so harmonious that it catches the breath. Its form is that of a western basilica divided longitudinally by two rows of antique granite columns. Western also are the inlaid pavement, the superb Cosmatesque ambo, the gigantic Paschal candlestick, and a 15ft. high bestiary in white marble. But the mosaics, which make the whole chapel glow gold, are the finest purest Byzantine. They are crowned by what must be the most extraordinary covering to any Christian church in the world—a stalactite ceiling of wood in classical Islamic style, bearing the earliest accurately dateable group of Arabic paintings in existence.

The sublimest masterpiece, however, of Norman Sicily is probably Roger's cathedral at Cefalù. Superbly backed by that huge rock which dominates the coast between Palermo

and Messina, it seems the most purely Romanesque of all the Sicilian churches. Inside, eye and mind are dominated by one thing only—the immense figure of Christ Pantocator that fills the apse. It is Byzantine through and through and, with one possible exception at Daphni, it has no equal in the world. There is little Arabic influence at Cefalù; for that one must look to the five red domes of S. Giovanni degli Eremiti or the three of S. Cataldo, which prove that Islam was never far away.

Roger's intellectual curiosity was boundless. For the last fifteen years of his life he lived in Palermo surrounded by the foremost scholars of his age—doctors, philosophers, mathematicians, and scientists. He left Sicily a rich and prosperous nation at the summit of its power, possessor of a navy which was already supreme in the Mediterranean. But now the decline began. Roger's son and successor, William I ("The Bad") was unfairly nicknamed. He possessed in full measure the Hauteville gift of galvanizing himself and all those around him in an emergency; but by now the old Norman steel was beginning to soften in the Sicilian sun, and he was bored by those problems of day-to-day administration to which his father and his grandfather devoted so much of their time. Hunting, feasting, and philandering led to discontent and a serious insurrection. His son, William II ("The Good") was in fact no better. His popularity was based on his youth, good looks, and religious devotion, which led him to establish the richest and most grandiose of all the Norman foundations in Sicily—Monreale. Its sheer size and ostentatiousness should not blind us to its beauty, but alas it was his only worthwhile achievement. William II had none of the military flair, political judgment, or diplomatic subtlety of the early Hautevilles. His great expedition to Constantinople ended in disaster. For Norman Sicily this was the beginning of the end. He died childless in 1189 and was succeeded by an illegitimate son of Roger II, Tancred of Lecce. But Tancred died in 1194, and the husband of Constance, aunt of William II and heiress-presumptive to his throne, who was now the Emperor Henry VI, descended into Sicily with an army to claim his wife's inheritance. On Christmas morning, sixty four years to the day after Roger's coronation, Henry was crowned at Palermo, and Sicily became merely a small and unimportant province of the Western Empire.

Sixty-four years is a short life for a kingdom, yet Norman Sicily could never have lasted for long. From the start it carried within itself the seeds of its destruction. It was too

heterogeneous, too eclectic, too cosmopolitan, and it failed—indeed it never tried—to develop any national character of its own. The Normans in the South created a climate of enlightened political and religious thinking in which all races, creeds, languages and cultures were equally encouraged and equally favoured. Such a phenomenon, unparalleled in the Middle Ages, is rare enough at any time; and the example which Sicily set Europe in the 11th and 12th centuries might still profitably be studied by most nations in the world today.

Note: The lecture was illustrated with slides of the more important historical sites and monuments connected with the Normans in the South, and in particular the churches of S. Giovanni dei Bebbrosi and S. Giovanni degli Eremiti and the Martorana at Palermo, the royal Palace and the Palatine Chapel, and the Cathedrals at Monreale and Cefalù.

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

There was a large congregation in the parish church on Sunday morning October 15th 1967 when the Very Reverend F. H. Outram, Dean of Battle and a Vice-President of the Society, conducted the annual commemoration service. The lessons were read by Mrs. E. Webster, a Vice-President, and Major L. C. Gates, Chairman.

The Dean took as text for his sermon the Epistle for the day (Trinity XXI), especially verse 12 of the 6th Chapter of Ephesians: "For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places". He began by remarking that last year we naturally stressed the constructive aspect of the Battle of Senlac; but in this, a quieter year, we should redress the balance by thinking of the destructive aspects of the battle and of battles in general. He drew a vivid picure of he slaughter, misery, and bereavement caused by the destruction of villages in the neighbourhood before the battle, the ghastly scene after the battle when over 5,000 corpses and wounded men (some of whom doubtless crawled away to die later) lay scattered over the ground where we were at the moment, and by the spoliation of more villages along

the Conqueror's route after the battle. Physical warfare was not a necessary factor in human evolution, nor did it control the birth rate. It was basically contrary to the teaching of Christ; but in a sinful world it did not necessarily follow that pacifism and non-retaliation should be considered as principles, and war could sometimes be the lesser evil. Christians, however, must live creatively, and use all the talents that God had given them to make this world a better, happier, and more beautiful place according to God's will.

SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

held on 10th November 1967

The Chairman's report, previously circulated, was approved. Paid-up membership at the close of the year numbered 284, a drop of 14 from last year, although 40 new members joined. The balance of the General Account was £55-17-9, income during the year having exceeded expenditure by £20-2-3.

Mentioned in the report as possibly the most important event of the year was the registration of the Society's museum as a Charitable Trust. Originated by Mr. B. E. Beechey, the draft Declaration of Trust was approved at an Extraordinary General Meeting on 9th August 1967. Four trustees were appointed, and the Museum Sub-Committee has now become the Museum Committee of Management; and, as such, will be eligible for the benefits which such a status confers, and will submit its own report and accounts.

At the elections which followed, Mr. A. R. Clough was re-elected a Vice-President for a further three years. The following officers were elected for one year: Chairman, Major L. C. Gates; Vice-Chairman, Brigadier D. A. Learmont; Hon. Secretary, Mr. W. Orger; Hon. Treasurer, Mr. R. W. Bishop. Mr. B. A. Weber and Mr. K. Clarke were re-elected to the Committee for a further three years; Mr. G. Brodribb was elected for three years vice Mr. H. C. Cowen; Mr. E. S. Tozer and Mrs. W. N. Palmer were each elected for two years vice Mr. H. Wadsworth and Capt. G. Vickers. Forty-four members were present.

MUSEUM TRUST

The first annual general meeting

held on 10th November 1967

Mr. A. R. Clough, Chairman of the former Museum, Library, and Excavation Committee, was elected Chairman; and the following were elected Committee Members: Messrs. C. T. Chevallier, Mr. K. Clarke, Mr. A. R. Clough, Mr. W. Orger, Mr. H. Wadsworth, Mr. B. A. Weber, Mr. W. N. Palmer (subject to his consent), and Miss J. E. S. Robertson (Hon. Sec.). It was agreed that Lieut.-Colonel C. H. Lemmon, as President of the Society, and Hon. Curator of the Museum, was ex-officio a Committee Member. The report of the previous committee, which had been circulated, was received. The balance of the Museum General Purposes Account was £107-14-3, that of the Museum Running Account £179-2-2, and the Museum Research Account stood at £28-1-5. After all outstanding bills had been met, the accounts showed that during the year income exceeded expenditure by £29-8-1. The attendance figure for the year, 9,556, was highly satisfactory, seeing that the figure for 1966 was 7,025, and that for the last year at the old museum 6,079. The Chairman recorded the keen sense of loss which the Committee felt at the death of Capt. J. Vickers, and appreciation of his valuable work. Also placed on record were grateful thanks to those members, particularly Miss Robertson, who so generously gave their time and service to keep the museum open on Sundays and during the period when both custodians were off-duty through sickness.

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