# BATTLE AND DISTRICT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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**Transactions 1959 - 1960** 

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

#### EDITORIAL NOTE

The Battle and District Historical Society completed during 1960 the tenth year of its existence. As recorded in No. 1 of the Transactions, its foundation was the outcome of the Festival of Britain celebrations of 1950; part of which consisted of an exhibition of historic objects in the Drill Hall at Battle. The interest aroused by that exhibition was so evident that Mr. R. W. Fovargue, Chairman of the Parish Council, called a public meeting to consider the founding of a historical society in Battle. The meeting resolved unanimously that such should be founded, and appointed a temporary committee to draw up a constitution. Five members of that committee are still serving as officers and committee members at the end of the tenth year. In the set of rules drawn up, the objects of the Society were declared to be: (a) The study, discussion, and publication of matters of local historical and antiquarian interest. (b) The acquisition or custody of articles of historical interest pertaining to Battle and District, and provision for their maintenance and exhibition.

It is necessary in the interests of space, both in publications and in the Museum, to insist on the local character of the Society; and it is for this reason that the following interesting lectures given during the year on subjects of general appeal must, regretfully, be excluded from this number of the *Transactions*: "Dress and Ornament in Biblical Times" by Miss Olga Tufnell, "The Beauty of our Old Churches" by Mr. Lawrence E. Jones, "The Five Elizabeths" by Mr. H. L. Bryant Peers, and "Costume in the XVIII Century" by Mr.

C. Byron.

For reasons of space, and because the Society may be visiting Herstmonceux Observatory in 1961, the lecture delivered by Dr. R. van der Riet Wooley, F.R.S., Astronomer Royal, on "The History of the Royal Greenwich Observatory" has been held over to the next number of the *Transactions*.

# Lecture delivered by Major W. H. Dyer on Friday November 27th 1959

### "SMUGGLING IN SUSSEX"

When smuggling is mentioned, our minds immediately picture those lawless but romantic rascals of the eighteenth century, whose tricks and exploits have provided an almost endless source of materials for writers of fiction and fact, as well as for lecturers. But smuggling has a very much longer

history than that particular association. The dictionary definition of the word is "The clandestine movement of goods in or out of a country to evade the obligations imposed by that country's laws". Thus smuggling covers not only evasion of customs payments, but also the movement of goods entirely banned by law, such as gun-running. As such, it has existed throughout civilised history, and, it is supposed, always will, in some form or another.

The first known edict against smuggling in this country was issued in the twelfth century, in the reign of Richard Coeur-de-Lion. There was a great deal of outward smuggling in the 14th century, owing to the heavy duties imposed on the export of wool, especially by Edward III who needed money to pay for his campaigns in France. Indeed the incidence of wars was, and is, the main factor in determining the extent of contraband running. It was the high taxation to find the money for the almost continual fighting against Louis XIV (Le Roi Soleil) during the reigns of William and Mary, and Oueen Anne that led to the heyday of smuggling in this country —practically the whole of the 18th century, and the first two decades of the 19th. In this period, however, a new circumstance altered the character of the "trade". (Smugglers were never known by that name. They were "Traders" or "Free Traders", or even "Gentlemen"—but not smugglers.) For the first time heavy taxes were imposed on the luxuries imported from overseas—the silks, satins, laces, tea, tobacco, spirits, etc. Tobacco had been subject to heavy duties before. James I raised the duty on a lb. from 2d. to 7/- to reduce smoking, "this abomination of the Devil", and this founded professional smuggling! But, generally speaking, it was the government's dire need of funds for the campaigns against Louis that brought about the general high taxation of imports—and the British public hated it. They regarded it as a blow against their liberties, with the result that their good-humoured tolerance of smuggling turned into active co-operation on a wide scale. It became something of a crusade "agin the government".

Now let us deal more fully with the time when smuggling reached the proportions of a national industry in this country; because it was then, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, that Sussex played a prominent part in the activities both of the sea-crews and land-gangs of "the gentlemen". It is estimated that at that time, the population of the whole country being approximately 5,000,000, there were 20,000 whole-time professional smugglers, plus, of course, many thousands more whose services were on a part-time auxiliary basis. The most active areas were those abutting on the

eastern part of the English Channel and the southern part of the North Sea. The whole of Sussex was included; and all? Sussex people of today, whose family connections with the county go back four or more generations, may rest assured that smugglers were numbered among their ancestors. There was so much smuggling that it was difficult to get ordinary work done. Edmund Austin, in his delightful book on Brede recounts how hard it was to raise sufficient manpower to get the harvests in. The farmers therefore compounded a sort of felony with the leading contrabandists: they bargained with the loan of men from the smuggling gangs to act as harvesters; the quid pro quo being that the farmers would forget to lock the stable doors at night! All grades of society, either actively or passively supported the smugglers. Intimidation may have had something to do with this during the latter part of the heyday period; but there is no doubt that collaboration was willing enough earlier, when indignation about taxation ran high. Villagers and townsmen alike assisted—a fact so graphically expressed in Kipling's Smugglers' Song. Our own district afforded a striking instance of public sympathy for this form of lawbreaking. In 1734 a Revenue officer Thomas Carswell, with some subordinates and a detachment of Cope's Regiment of Foot (then stationed at Halton Barracks, Hastings), endeavoured to waylay a smuggling convoy proceeding from Fairlight inland via the Battle Road. The smugglers broke through, but one of them was killed. A coroner's jury subsequently brought in a verdict of manslaughter against Carswell and his associates. But when, six years later, Carswell himself was killed in a similar affray near Hurst Green a number of smugglers concerned in the affair, who had been caught red-handed, so to speak, were discharged for lack of evidence! No wonder, on another like occasion, the Surveyor-General of Sussex, reporting to the Lords of the Treasury, wrote: "I am not surprised at the behaviour of these Justices of the Peace; there being few on the Sussex coast that would act in any way other". The pecuniary rewards for smuggling were a big temptation. Evidence at East Grinstead Assizes in 1748 showed that the average pay for a rank-and-file smuggler was "half a guinea and a dollop (half of a 25 lbs. bag) of tea" for one night's work—representing a monetary gain at least four times as great as the earnings from one weeks honest work. Tea was then selling at 5/- to 6/- a lb. At least two-thirds of the tea drunk in Britain was smuggled; and there is no doubt that the successful "running" of tea during so many decades was responsible for our becoming a tea-drinking nation. Apart from lack of public sympathy, the forces of the Crown had a hopeless task because of disparity of strength. Smuggling gangs were often well over 100 strong. The most notorious of all, the Hawkhurst gang, could at one period command the services of 600 men. On the other hand. the Crown could only muster attenuated forces because of the enormous demand for men in the services and for the making of munitions for the almost continuous wars. It was not until Napoleon Bonaparte had been finally disposed of that sufficient men could be spared to deal with the traffic. The Coast Blockade, founded in 1817, soon effected a reduction; and out of it grew the Coastguard Service. At its height the importation of contraband was literally enormous. In 1779 at Schiedam alone 4 million gallons were annually manufactured for "export" to England; 3 million francs worth of silk and satin was brought from France, and 5 to 6 million lbs. of tea were smuggled from France every year. The smugglers could have afforded a loss of 50%, and still have made a good profit; but it is doubtful if their losses over the years were as high as 10%. Of the almost incredible tricks of the trade the secreting of contraband in churches, down wells, in pigswill buckets, and even in coffins; and of the many fights on the shore and in country lanes; and of the conveyance of goods through Sussex along the secret "hollow ways" (ancient sunken and overgrown lanes), much could be told, but space does not permit. There are several excellent works on smuggling through the ages. The latest, Contraband Cargoes by Neville Williams, is a graphic history of the often likeable rogue whom Lamb described as "the only honest thief".

Two lectures delivered by Lieut.-Colonel C. H. Lemmon, D.S.O. on Friday December 11th 1959 and Friday January 8th 1960

# "EAST SUSSEX UNDER THREAT OF FRENCH INVASION"

Owing to its proximity to the Continent, the South-east coast of England, near which we live, has always been that on which, with few exceptions, invaders or would-be invaders have landed or planned to land. Since the landing of the Normans, there have been threats of invasion from the Spaniards, the French, and the Germans. If we regard the two wars with Germany as two parts of the same struggle, the patterns of the struggles against France (after 1793) and with Germany are remarkably similar: the first part of each being fought against a despotic government, and the second against a ruthless dictator, who had made himself master of most of

Europe. Both struggles were carried on in many parts of the globe. In both struggles we saw the thing through from beginning to end; though times arrived when all our allies had been defeated, and we stood alone. But, like as the patterns were, warfare and the way of life were as different as could be. The years between the French and German struggles were just those which produced nearly all the scientific inventions we now use in our daily lives. In 1793 the horse and the wind provided the only practical sources of power. Fire was made with flint and steel. There was no real police force, and hardly any sanitation or plumbing. A man was pilloried that year at Hastings; and what would now be considered almost trivial offences were punishable by death or transportation for life. In warfare, soldiers fought shoulder to shoulder, and gunpowder was the only explosive. Discipline was maintained by flogging; and men needed for the Navv

had to be kidnapped by pressgangs.

The year 1793 opened with the execution of Louis XVI; and on February 1st the Commune declared war on Britain and Holland. We were, as usual, totally unprepared for war. Our navy was the largest in the world, but the total of our regular land forces was 15,000 at home, and 30,000 abroad. William Pitt, the younger, had been what is now called Prime Minister for 9 years, and was still only 33. He was also Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, which associates him particularly with this part of the country. He took immediate steps to increase the regular army, embody the Militia, and he projected a Volunteer Force. Hastings and Rye each raised a company of 120 infantry volunteers, and a troop of Yeomanry Cavalry. The Cinque Ports also raised "Fencibles", which were full-time soldiers or sailors enlisted for home service for the duration of the war. The war opened with the disaster to our puny expeditionary force of 2,000 at Dunkirk—a curious coincidence. Thereafter our regular army embarked on several unsuccessful expeditions—to Corsica, Toulon, and elsewhere. Home defence was mainly in the hands of the Militia, which marched and counter-marched about the country, their transport hired at 6d. a mile for a four-horse waggon. Billetted at first in towns, or encamped on their outskirts, barracks were later erected—the local ones mostly in 1796. They were at Rye, Winchelsea, Fairlight, Hastings, Bopeep, Bexhill (2), Silver Hill (Hurst Green), Pevensey, Hailsham, and several at Eastbourne. A barracks of one battalion size was also built at Battle on the east side of the Whatlington road; but Barrack Cottage (recently stripped of its characteristic weatherboarding) is the only building left. At Bexhill, the officers' quarters and mess remain, with two other wooden buildings, while at Winchelsea can be seen a complete brick

range.

Civil unrest had been brewing up since 1793 in some parts owing to the scarcity and price of bread (1/- the quartern loaf); and by 1796 there were serious riots and suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Taxation was chiefly by purchase tax. Everything was taxed, even imported food. A small riot at Petworth in 1796 was put down by Yeomanry Cavalry; on the other hand, the church bells at Mayfield, Salehurst, and Dallington were rung the whole of one night because flour

could be bought for I/- a gallon.

John Haddock commanded the revenue cutter Stag at Rye. He was a rich man and built a Wesleyan chapel on the same site as the present one at Rye. With his crew of 2 mates, 16 men and a boy he captured a French privateer mounting 2 carriage guns and 2 swivels. During the same month, October 1796, the R.N. sloop Racoon captured a privateer, and Mr. B. Roberts, of Shoreham, actually captured a Spanish ship with a rowboat. Invasion was feared as early as 1794, when beacons were established on numerous hills in the neighbourhood, of which the name survives at Staplecross and Brightling; though the former, as Stapley Beacon, was used for the Armada. Manual telegraph lines were also established in 1796; and we read of a report of enemy shipping off Eastbourne being sent to Portsmouth by this means. There were many false alarms: a Navy pressgang landing at Eastbourne caused the garrison to turn out. But side by side with a "scorched earth policy", known then as "driving the country" advocated in 1796, we read in the Sussex Weekly Advertiser of a ploughing match at Petworth in September. Competitions were mainly between ox teams; but "experiments" were also made in ploughing with horses.

Early in 1797, 1,400 French landed at Fishguard. The Sussex Fencible Cavalry and the New Romney Light Dragoons were ordered to the spot. The latter marched 61 miles from Worcester to Brecon in 15 hours; but the French had surrendered before they arrived at Fishguard. We read of tons of biscuits and oats being stored at East Grinstead the same year. In 1798 Isaac Ingall, whose portrait and walking stick are in our Society's museum, was living in retirement near the Chequers Inn after completing 90 years' service at Battle Abbey. Major-General Forbes, commanding Hastings garrison, brought Prince William of Gloucester (Silly Billy) to see him. The Prince gave him a one pound note and a pinch of snuff. Eight days later, on April 2nd, Isaac Ingall died aged 120.

Bonaparte had been put in command of the invasion forces on October 24th 1797. Thereafter, the canals and rivers on the opposite side of the channel began to fill with strange flat-bottomed boats; and tales, French inspired, began to circulate of enormous rafts, propelled by windmills, to carry two divisions each. In February 1798 he carried out a whirlwind inspection of the channel ports; but on May 19th he sailed for Egypt with 30,000 men, and England relaxed. The inhabitants of Rye had agreed, only 5 days before, to reimburse bakers for keeping a stock of one ton of biscuits each against invasion. In the autumn invasion was no longer feared, stocks of biscuits and oats were sold, and Volunteers stopped drilling. The year ended with the coldest winter in human memory just after income tax had been introduced for the first time.

The year 1799 saw the formation of the second coalition; and the concentration on Barham Downs, between Canterbury and Deal, of the expeditionary force under Abercrombie which went to Holland on August 13th. At Battle barracks Militia battalions came and went: the South Hants were there in the summer of 1797 and the Sussex in the spring of 1799. The summer of 1799 was cold and wet. There was a large crop of hops, but no coal or charcoal to dry them. Capture of coasting vessels, by which nearly all supplies seem to have reached this neighbourhood, had led to an embargo on their sailing; and Messrs. Breeds & Co. of Hastings had to petition the Admirality to allow three colliers to bring coal from Wales.

The year 1800 is a story of French successes on the Continent, and abortive British attempts to land somewhere anywhere to check Bonaparte. By the end of the year all our allies had given in; and again, as in 1795, we stood alone. Owing to a second consecutive bad harvest there was starvation in some parts of the country by October. Wheat was three times its pre-war price and there were more bread riots. But for highwaymen it was business as usual: James Austen robbed the Hastings and Rye mail coach of £82 at Spratt's Bottom on March 16th 1801; and was duly hanged, later, in chains at the scene of his crime. On the 31st of the same month two French privateers captured three merchant ships only a mile and a half off shore at Hastings. The Hastings battery failed to hit them. Fear of invasion rose again in July 1801 when Bonaparte began work on harbours and batteries, and, with much propaganda, collected a largely mythical fleet of invasion barges. This time he was bluffing; but Volunteers began drilling again on every village green, and official warnings went out that invasion was imminent. We now had an enormous navy and army, and were in a favourable situation; but there had been six bad harvests in succession: and with food reduced to one quartern loaf of bread per head per week rioting was frequent in many places. The country was sick of the war. Pitt had resigned on March 6th 1801, and Addington, the "aimiable nonentity" who had taken his place, opened peace negotiations. Bonaparte also wanted peace—but as a sort of "half-time". A preliminary peace was signed on October 1st 1801. Church towers were illuminated, bells pealed out, guns were fired and furze on hilltops set ablaze. The final signature, delayed to March 25th 1802, was greeted with more hysterical rejoicing. The Peace of Amiens was an extraordinary treaty. We agreed to give up all our conquests except Trinidad and Ceylon. Bonaparte said he would evacuate Italy and Switzerland. He had procured a half-time of 18 months to prepare for his next operation, and in addition had recovered his colonies, and was no longer blockaded by the British navy. Small wonder that it was called "The peace which passeth all understanding". The Militia was disembodied, the Volunteers disbanded, barracks such as Winchelsea and Bopeep sold, and sham fights were staged to get rid of the gunpowder.

Bonaparte, of course, ignored the Treaty of Amiens, continued his preparations for invasion, and even sent an expedition to India. We declared war on May 18th 1803. This war did not start in the languid manner of 1793. Everyone realized that Bonaparte, now a dictator, was assembling a huge invasion army only 22 miles away, and reaction was immediate. Bonaparte's memory has been treated leniently. We seem now to regard him almost with affection; but to our ancestors he was something completely different—a horrible little monster, committer of atrocities, and in league with the Devil; the Destroyer, and the Beast of Revelations. He acquired the latter attributes, perhaps, when somebody found that the letters of the Dative Case of his Greek name added up to 666, and that Napoleon could mean "Lion of the thicket". He had, in fact, committed atrocities like the sack and pillage of Jaffa, and the murder of 2,000 Turkish prisoners there. While cartoonists, headed by Gilray, made the most of his funny hat, babies were soothed to sleep by this little lullaby:

Baby, baby, naughty baby, hush you squalling thing, I say; Hush your squalling, or it may be Bonaparte may pass this way. Baby, baby, he will hear you as he passes by the house; And he limb from limb will tear you, just as pussy tears a mouse

Instead of a National Service Act, several acts were rushed through Parliament to raise, besides Regulars and Militia, an Army of Reserve, Volunteers, and a Levée en Masse, which, competing with each other, caused rather a muddle. Pitt, out of office, reformed the Cinque Ports Volunteers in three battalions, which he commanded. Colonel T. D. Lamb, Mayor of Rye, commanded the 3rd Battalion, with 3 companies at Rye, 2 at Hastings, and I each at Romney, Lydd, Tenterden, Winchelsea, and Seaford. One of the Hastings companies was commanded by Major Edward Milward, a prominent townsman. In contemporary letters one sees phrases like "You never saw so military a country", or "All the world has become military". College professors, barristers, elderly merchants and rustics in smock frocks all drilled before and after their work, as if their lives depended on it. Ladies adopted military fashions. Volunteers soon numbered 342,000, many being armed with pikes only, as the Brown Besses would not go round. The Brown Bess, the flint-lock infantry musket, lasted until after the Battle of Waterloo; its accuracy was less than that of the longbow, and it was really out of date. The popular war song "Britons, to Arms!" would hardly have suited those who marched to "Tipperary" and "Roll out the Barrel", the chorus ran:

> "Cheerly my hearts of courage true; The hour's at hand to try your worth. A glorious peril waits for you; And valour pants to lead you forth."

The notebook of the Town Clerk of Hastings records that Mr. Milward's stable and coach house were assessed for billetting 410 soldiers. Hastings Corporation paid a separation allowance of 1/3 a week to the families of absent soldiers. More barracks were built, workmen of skilled trades to build Hastings barracks being advertised for in an August number of the Sussex Weekly Advertiser. Rumours were rife: the French were making a bridge; no, it was a tunnel; they were coming in enormous balloons; Bonaparte was already here in disguise! In a hunt for him, a nunnery was raided, and a gentleman on a walking tour arrested. Rehearsals of evacuation of the population in farm waggons were held, and guides for the troops enrolled. The local guide rendezvous was the George Hotel, Battle. Riots continued to occur here and there; for the labourer's weekly wage was 8/- and flour cost 3/6 a gallon.

The defence plan drawn up by the Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief, on August 23rd 1803, recognized that we had insufficient troops to defend the whole threatened coast, and concentrated on the allround defence of London. Anti-invasion forces on the coast were commanded by Sir David Dundas, a celebrated general, known as "Old Pivot". He decided to risk no pitched battle with Bonaparte's veterans; but, if worsted on the shore in Kent or Sussex to fall back, like two curtains being pulled apart, on Dover and Beachy Head. Subsequent action would then be taken against the enemy's flanks and rear as they marched towards London. There were other plans to counter an East Coast landing.

Likely landing places were thought to be East Weir Bay, between Dover and Folkestone, Hythe, the Hastings locality, and the Pevensey-Eastbourne coast. The smuggler whom Bonaparte consulted suggested East Weir Bay, Rye, and Covehurst Bay (near Fairlight). Our troops were pitifully thin on the ground: between Dover and the Sussex border there were only 12,000 infantry, 2,800 cavalry, and 50 guns.

Bonaparte formed his Army of Invasion on June 14th 1803, in six corps at Ghent, St. Omer, Compiègne, and St. Malo. The invasion fleet, mostly of keelless flat-bottomed boats, was assembled at Ostend, Dunkirk, Calais, Ambleteuse, Wimereux, Boulogne, and Etaples. Accounts of numbers vary: the possible target may have been 150,000 men in 2,000 boats; but it is doubtful whether more than 97,000 men and 1,100 boats were ever assembled. There were also 1,700 Vivandières. The cavalry all had saddles and bridles; but a proportion was expected to catch horses in England. Stores consisted of half a live sheep per man, 10 days biscuit ration, brandy, 50 rounds per musket, 100 per gun, and spare flints. Invasion was thought imminent in October; the 20th the most likely day. A day of prayer and fasting was proclaimed for the 19th. The Sussex and South Gloucestershire Militia dug redoubts to fortify Pevensey. Beacons were ready to be lit. and Volunteers under orders to march at an hour's notice. Pitt rode long distances every day to see them drilling; and only left the coast when the wind was in the west. The wind was favourable to the enemy most of the autumn, and Bonaparte's threats and propaganda increased; but still he did not come. In December a broadsheet called "The Bellman and Little Boney", reflected the feelings of many people:

"This little Boney says he'll come at merry Christmas time. But that, I say, is all a hum; or I no more will rhyme. Some say in wooden house he'll glide; some say in air balloon; E'en those who airy schemes deride agree his coming soon. Now honest people list to me, though income is but small, I'll bet my wig to one pen-ny he doesn't come at all."

But Boney was not bluffing. He reorganized his army in 4 corps, held another review, and in January 1804 moved them down to the coast—Soult's corps and Murat's cavalry to Boulogne, Davoust to Ambleteuse, Mortier to Etaples, and Ney to Wimereux. He announced that he only awaited a favourable wind to plant the Imperial Eagle on the Tower of London; and French newspapers began forecasting in how many days he would do it. But still nothing happened; and invasion talk died away. In February Bopeep Barracks was burnt down. In May Addington's weak government fell; and on the 18th Pitt again took his seat as Prime Minister. On the same day, Bonaparte declared himself Emperor. On July 2nd, clad as a Roman emperor, he held another review, and struck his famous medal commemorating the invasion. On August 15th he inaugurated the Legion of Honour at a grand fete on the heights of Boulogne. In England alarm reached its highest pitch (The Great Terror, it has been called). All troops were held ready to turn out at a moment's notice. There were daily false alarms that the invasion fleet was approaching. In October Lady Bessborough recorded that Hastings battery was constantly manned, and horses and waggons always ready to evacuate the civil population. (The battery stood at the west end of the present boating lake). During the same month, the 3rd Battalion of the Cinque Ports Volunteers (which included the Rye and Hastings companies) was called up for 3 weeks' training at Dover. Bonaparte was holding showy exercises with loaded barges at sea; and in November the Navy found one, with 30 soldiers on board, drifting helplessly in the Channel, and brought it into Deal, "Contemptible and ridiculous craft", said a British Admiral, "which a storm would send flying down the Channel like chips down a mill race." Spain declared war on us on December 12th; and so ended 1804.

In 1794 a round tower in the Bay of Mortella, Corsica, successfully drove off two British Men-of-war. In April 1804 it was decided, against much opposition, to build similar towers on the invasion coast. Work did not begin until April 1805. The first tower was finished in January 1806, and the last in May 1808. 18 were built in Suffolk, 11 in Essex, 27 in Kent, and 47 in Sussex. Each took 250,000 bricks, and cost £4,000. These Martello Towers, as they were called, were never manned for their proper purpose, and some never had their one large gun and two small mortars mounted. There still remain 45, but only 10 in Sussex: they are at Rye (Nos. 28 and 30), Norman's Bay (55), Pevensey Bay (60, 61, 62, 64), Langley Point (66), Eastbourne (73), and Seaford (74 and last).

There were formerly 7 towers between St. Leonards and Bexhill. The Royal Military Canal, never anything but a military obstacle, was dug as an alternative to flooding Romney Marsh. Rennie, engaged at a fee of 6 guineas a day, employed 960 men, and it cost £200,000. It was opened in early April 1806 by the Dukes of York and Cambridge. Originally 50 feet broad and 15 feet deep, most of it still exists, running from Cliffend, Fairlight, to Hythe. After being towed in a barge from end to end, the royal dukes attended a banquet at the old Swan Inn, which stood opposite 54 High Street, Hastings. A small rock garden now marks the site, as the ancient hostel was destroyed by bombs in the last war.

At the end of 1804 Bonaparte realized the impossibility of a successful invasion without temporary command of the straits. He disposed of 4 fleets (3 French and 1 Spanish), all blockaded in ports. These had to escape; and his plan was then as set forth in Hardy's play "The Dynasts":

"First, then, let Villeneuve wait a favouring wind For process westward swift to Martinique Coaxing the English after. Join him there Gravina, Massiessy, and Gauteaume; Which junction once effected, all our keels—Now nigh to sixty sail—regain the Manche While the pursuers linger in the West At hopeless fault. Having hoodwinked them thus Our boats skim over, disembark the army, And, in the twinkling of a patriot's eye, All London will be ours."

After a false start, Villeneuve and Massiessy managed to escape, but missed each other. Villeneuve was followed to the West Indies by Nelson; and on return ran into Calder's squadron in a fog off Cape Finisterre. After an indecisive action he put back to Vigo. Had he passed by unseen, the invasion might have happened. Bonaparte held his last review of 93,000 troops (estimated) on August 4th 1805, and had their rations and forage put on the barges. On August 23rd he heard that Villeneuve was again at sea; and seems to have decided to wait 4 days more for him; and, if he did not arrive, to call the whole thing off. Admiral Allemand was trying to join Villeneuve in the Channel. The latter mistook his ships for British, and sailed right away to Cadiz. By August 28th the "Army of England" was on the march to Austria. Trafalgar was fought on October 21st, and Austerlitz on December 2nd.

During this eventful year 1805, what was going on locally? Martello Towers were going up and the Canal being dug. Sedlescombe powder mill blew up on January 14th. On January 17th the enemy captured a trading sloop close inshore at Hastings; but the Sea Fencibles put off and recaptured her. There was a main of cocks (cockfight meeting) at Brighton on February 11th. Sir John Moore was quartered for a time at 54 High Street, Hastings (now Larkin's shop). The 40th and 88th Regiments of Foot were at Halton Barracks, the Norfolk Militia at Pett, the 4th Battalion of the German Legion, and some Hanoverians at Bexhill, and another German unit at Battle. In June an all-German sham fight took place in Crowhurst Park. Although invasion hung in the balance, a sort of apathy had settled on the people, and nobody worried much. On January 14th 1806 Pitt, now a very sick man, received Sir Arthur Wellesley (later Duke of Wellington) who had just returned from India; and 12 days later he died, having been Prime Minister for 20 of his 47 years. On February 26th Wellesley was posted to the command of the Hastings Brigade, and, like Moore, quartered at 54 High Street. On April 1st he was elected M.P. for Rye. On April 10th he married Lady Catherine Pakenham and brought her to live in a house which stood on the site of Humphrey Avenue; and in December he was posted to Deal.

Trafalgar did not end the invasion threat: Bonaparte ordered inspections of the flotilla and ports in 1807 and again in 1811. But even the 2 million francs which he proposed to spend would not clear the silted harbours and repair the rotten craft; so at last, after 17 years, the threat ended.

In 1841 a column 160 feet high with a 12 foot statue of Bonaparte on the top was erected on the heights of Boulogne. During the last war the R.A.F. blew the head off; and members of the Legion of Honour are mounting a new statue. On that side of the Channel the monument, no doubt, is a memorial to Bonaparte on the spot where he founded the Legion of Honour: to us, on this side, it will always be a reminder of Bonaparte's great invasion of England which never happened.

## Lecture delivered by Lt.-Commander G. W. R. Harrison, R.N.V.R., on Friday January 22nd 1960

### "EARLY HERALDRY"

Early heraldry is more properly styled "Armory"; as it deals with shields and the charges or objects upon them. The term Armory derived from the fact that men wore armour and helmets which almost totally enclosed their faces, thus giving rise to the need for some form of recognition on their persons. The parts of an achievement were first shown in a modern painting in full colour of the Royal Arms, and the shield with its charges, the Garter insignia, the helmet, crest, mantling, supporters and compartment at the base containing

the badges and motto were indicated and explained.

Turning to ancient history, the uses of marks on ancient seals and shields in Greece, and in countries of the Middle East were mentioned, and illustrated with pictures taken from Greek vases in the British Museum. These uses of marks arose partly from the desire for personal decoration, partly to mark property and documents and partly to make warriors more easily distinguishable in battle. Crests were also worn by Greeks and Romans, chiefly of feathers. The use of marks on seals continued throughout the Dark Ages, but these were not shown on shields and they differed entirely from subsequent ARMORY in that they were not, so far as is known, hereditary, and often the same man used different marks at different times in his life.

By the eleventh century knights at tournaments in Germany were beginning to paint devices on their shields to make themselves more recognisable, and the European knights who went to the First Crusade in 1096 with plain shields returned to Europe with many devices painted on their shields, which they had copied from the Saracens, who had such marks for military purposes. That much of our later heraldry came from the Arabs is undeniable; though the use continued of such terms as "gules", Persian for a red rose. The Feudal System was certainly responsible for the spread of armoury if not for its origin, as the system by which knights held lands from the king in return for military service and a contribution of armed followers to the kings' army made it very desirable for the leader to be easily identifiable. Also the rule by which a knight's lands descended to his eldest son soon included the handing down of his shield mark, so that these marks on shields, or "arms", soon became hereditary, the essential mark of true heraldry. Finally the use of seals for marking documents, in a period when knights could neither read nor write, soon led to the mark on the shield being placed also upon the seal, though it is possible that the mark originated on the seal in the first place and was in many cases transferred to the shield.

That armoury appeared in most western European countries almost simultaneously in the later part of the twelfth century may have been a coincidence or it may have been

due to all the above influences—tournaments, crusades, feudal system, armour and enclosed helmets, and seals. The fact remains that by 1200 armoury was well established and within another fifty years most of the rules, colours and usages with which modern heralds are acquainted, had been thought out and put into everyday use. Soon it became clear that to avoid duplication, some control would be needed, and the king employed the heralds, who originally had announced the knights in the lists and were the first to be well acquainted with armorial signs, to control the taking of shields of arms,

and to draw up lists of those who had arms.

Examples of many of the early sources of our knowledge of armory were shown, including the famous enamel from the tomb of Geoffrey of Anjou, now in Le Mans Museum, showing him with the handsome blue shield painted with four gold lions which was given to him by Henry I on the occasion of Geoffrey's marriage in 1127 to Henry's daughter Maud. Geoffrey was the ancestor of all our Plantagenet kings. The lions were also seen on the shield of William Longsword in Salisbury Cathedral, and here was probably the origin of the "leopards" of England. Also shown were effigies reconstructed in modern colours to show how the knights looked, examples of arms from some of the herald's Rolls, now preserved in the College of Arms and a few other places, and which gave us not only fine coloured records of early arms, but also the original language and terms used by the early heralds. Pictures showing heraldry in seals, buildings, on documents, in stained glass, in medieval paintings, also showed the many ways in which armory was used apart from its original use in war. The effigy and achievements of the Black Prince, and the Great Cloister Vaults, in Canterbury Cathedral, were also mentioned and illustrated. Corporate heraldry, as used by monasteries, city companies, schools, and other bodies having a continuous existence, was explained, and examples of the arms of boroughs such as Hastings, Lewes, Portsmouth, and a modern example from Seaford were shown. The Garter stall-plates in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, were mentioned, and two illustrations showed the different artistic interpretations which could be placed on a given coat-or-arms.

Using these illustrations from contemporary sources, the different parts of the achievement were traced to their source, such as the supporters originating from the early artists' desire to fill up the spaces left on a seal from placing upon it a shield, and the mantling which originated from the linen drapery with which the knights in hot countries protected the

backs of their necks from the hot sun.

The lecture ended with some photographs of contemporary examples of the Royal Arms in Sussex churches, a subject which the lecturer had studied in detail some years ago, but had not time to deal with adequately on this occasion.

# VISIT TO FAIRFIELD, IVYCHURCH, AND LYDD CHURCHES

on Wednesday May 25th 1960

It has been the good luck of the Society that the first meeting of each summer season has been held on a fine sunny day; and this visit to three more Marsh churches, attended by

38 members, proved no exception.

At Fairfield, the Rev. A. R. Jacobs, of Brookland, shewed his other and smaller church, built about 1200 in honour of St. Thomas Beckett, and one of the few which are still dedicated to him. It stands in isolation at the lowest part of the Marsh, approached by a causeway, from which half decayed tree trunks called 'moorlogs' could be seen as they had just been dug up while deepening the adjacent ditch. Being in wood when stone churches were de rigeur, the church was not consecrated until 1290. Later the timber framework was fitted first with wood, later with plaster, and latterly with brick. In 1913 it was rebuilt from the ground with great sensibility by W. D. C. Caroe, much of the old timbers, the high box pews, pulpit and narrow clerk's reading desk being retained.

At Ivychurch, members were given an informative description of the finest village church in the Marsh by Miss Anne Roper F.S.A. The nave is of one breadth with the chancel, and one length (114 feet) with the aisles, which are separated from it by arcades of seven fine arches. The woodwork is one of the most complete examples of 14th century craftsmanship, and is mostly of the same date. A few windows are of the 15th century. The sturdy battlements which surmount the priest's chamber over the fine south porch match those of the 100 foot tower in their expression of strength and permanence. The north aisle was once used as a stable and later as a school, but has now been included in a effective restoration. Pleasing embellishments are (inside) the handsome tower screen of 1686, and the elaborate royal hatchment of 1775; while outside there is a sundial of 1735. A link with Battle may here be recalled. In the 13th century, one Thomas of Ivychurch is recorded as owning a house in Battle.

At Lydd, the Rector, the Rev. G. A. Finch, shewed members round the beautiful borough church of All Saints, which vies with that of New Romney for the title of Cathedral of the Marsh. Two hundred feet long, its north-west corner displays two walls of the original Saxon church. The Norman church was built fifty feet further east, and the two were later joined by an extension of the Norman nave. Notable brasses, and the monuments of past Jurats were shewn, as also a fine hatchment of the royal arms dated 1722. The chancel was entirely destroyed by a bomb during the war of 1939-45; and the opportunity was taken to replace the straight east end by a beautiful apse with three lancets. The new white stone and brightly coloured glass harmonizes strangely but effectively with the old, giving an indication of the appearance of the whole church in its early days. A sacristy has been added, and the whole restoration has enhanced the beauty of what must always have been a magnificent church. It may be recalled that Battle Abbey used to own land in Dengemarsh, which is in the parish of Lydd, and that if the fish called Craspeis was cast ashore there, it belonged entirely to the abbot and the monks. The Conqueror also granted them the right of wreck, or possession of ships cast ashore on their land.

# VISIT TO CHICHESTER on Wednesday June 8th 1960

This, the longest excursion of the year, was attended by 39 members. The rain, which was continuous from the start at 10 a.m. till the return, within 5 minutes of the scheduled time at 7.50 p.m., made it impossible to view the landscape during the journey; but did not otherwise detract very much from the enjoyment of the trip. Lunch and tea were taken in the assembly room of the Norfolk Hotel, Arundel; an 18th century hall with a fine Adam mantelpiece and large contemporary mirrors, which must have witnessed many routs, where fiddles and flutes provided music for the bewigged and silk-costumed throng. One pities the minstrels cooped up in their tiny gallery just below the ceiling, which, painted apple green, is still there.

Members were received at the Cathedral by The Rev. Canon W. K. Lowther Clarke, D.D., who kindly gave a talk on its history, and then conducted the party round the noble Norman building with its 200 arches. It must have been a surprise to many to learn that Chichester is, after York Minster, the broadest cathedral in the country; for, to the eye,

it looks long and narrow. The illusion is caused by the fact that it possesses four aisles, the only cathedral to do so.

A visit was then paid to Grey Friars Church, a 13th century building; which, after being used as a guildhall and a law court, is now fitted up as a museum. Members were received and shown round by the Rev. T. D. S. Bayley.

The exhibits range from Palaeolithic to comparatively modern times; but the Romano-British period has the most striking display—a large case containing a number of pottery vessels, and all kinds of Roman household and personal implements, all of which were dug up by a local resident in his garden! Stones of the recently excavated Roman guardhouse at the South Gate are also on view, and a fragmentary tesselated pavement. In more recent times the Mayor, when he walked abroad at night, was preceded by a quaint spherical lantern containing several candles, and called 'The Sun'; while a similar lantern called 'The Moon' was carried at the rear of the procession. Both are in the museum. As a church, Grev Friars presents some puzzling features: its present aisleless and chancelless state does not seem to have been its original form; but what that was has yet to be discovered. There is a drainless piscina apparently quite out of touch with any position where an altar could have stood, an aumbry at the north end of the east wall, and an Easter sepulchre on the south wall instead of the north.

Lastly a visit was paid to St. Mary's Hospital, where members were received by the Matron. This building was a nunnery as long ago as 1158, and the present roof dates from the 13th century, as does the screen, beyond which is the chapel. The west end of the building is divided into homes for old ladies, each consisting of a bedroom, sitting room, kitchenette, and coal cellar; while there are communal bath and wash rooms. It is said to be the only inhabited church in the country. For hundreds of years the purpose of St. Mary's Hospital, under its Custos, has not changed, a wonderful example of the antiquity and continuity of some of our institutions.

Chichester is in course of changing its Roman name. For two centuries it has been considered that this was Regnum; and clubs, societies, and businesses have incorporated it in their titles. It now appears that Horsley was mistaken in his reading of Iter VII of the Antonine Itinerary. Regnum was the kindgom of King Cogidubnus, his subjects were Regnenses, and their cantonal town, founded after the Claudian invasion on the site of Chichester, was named Noviomagus Regnensium (the new capital of the Regnenses), as recorded by Ptolemy.

## VISIT TO WORTH AND WEST HOATHLY on Wednesday July 6th 1960

Church of St. Nicholas, Worth

This, the largest unspoilt Saxon church in England, and the only one to retain its cruciform plan, was described by Mr. C. T. Chevallier to the 45 members present. It dates from 1030 or 1040, and is 100 feet long, with a round apse (restored) and a chancel arch 14 feet wide and 22 feet high. The chancel arch is flanked by two lower transept arches, the whole forming a magnificent and unique piece of Saxon architecture. Pilasters, or projecting strips of upright stone, always a feature of Saxon work, ease to the eye the junctions of the semi-circular columns of the chancel arch, and the square columns of the transept arches, with the wall. Externally, similar pilasters reach up to the horizontal string course (another Saxon feature) thus breaking the stonework into pleasing panels, in subconscious imitation, perhaps, of a timber-framed building. At the corners, that other Saxon feature, 'long and short work', can be seen. Two door spaces are twice the height of the present door; and the twin lights of each lofty window above the string-course are separated by a mullion in the middle of the wall. Sir Frank Stenton has pointed out that windows of this type and also pilasters to relieve unbroken surfaces are a feature of old West German churches. England, therefore, possessed a fine architecture, shared with West Germany, which owed nothing to the Normans.

This beautifully furnished and well kept church has been happy in its restorers of the XIII, XIV, and XIX centuries, who hardly altered the Saxon style. In 1871 an unobtrusive but handsome tower with steeple was built north of the chancel. The pulpit, carved in 1577, was brought from Wörth in Germany in 1841. Around the top runs an inscription in Low German which is a version of John xiv. 23. This particular verse seems to have been selected, in a punning age, because four words in it sounded like the German pronuncia-

tion of Wörth.

The Priest House, West Hoathly

In 1391 the Pope gave permission to the great Cluniac Priory of St. Pancras at Lewes to appropriate the tithes of West Hoathly and appoint a vicar. It is probably that the small manor of the "rectory" of West Hoathly came into being at that time, and that this house was built for its headquarters. It is a typical Wealden house of timber, wattle and daub,

roofed with Horsham slabs, dating from about 1400. At the Dissolution the property was seized by the Crown, and thereafter became the home of tenant farmers, until one of them bought it from Elizabeth I. In 1905 it was a bramble-surrounded ruin. The next year Mr. J. G. King bought it, restored it skilfully to its XVI century style, filled it with typical XVIII and XIX century farm house furniture, and presented it to the Sussex Archaeological Trust, in whose possession it remains.

Church of St. Margaret, West Hoathly

Members were welcomed by the Vicar, the Rev. G. W. N. Groves, who kindly showed them round. Originally a small Norman church built about 1090, it has been extended, and partly rebuilt no less than six times. The extension of 1250 was unfortunate, in that it crudely broke the line of the chancel arches and made the chancel longer than the nave. The church has a fine shingled spire, bells of which the oldest dates from 1555; and the works of a clock which experts date between 1410 and 1420, and is therefore one of the oldest church clocks in England, can be seen in the nave. The font, a circular drum with corner shafts of Purbeck marble, dates from about 1180.

#### General remarks

West Hoathly is a pleasing village in an elevated situation on the forest ridge. From the south side of the churchyard on a clear day an impressive panorama of the South Downs from Beachy Head to beyond the Ouse Gap can be seen; and the village appears on a list of beacon sites at the time of the French invasion threat. In 1450 West Hoathly men took an active part in the Jack Cade rebellion. The Cat Inn, where members had tea, is an XVI century hostel.

# VISIT TO MICHELHAM PRIORY AND CLAVERHAM MANOR

### on Wednesday July 27th 1960

Few of the 48 members present took part in the earlier visit of the Society to Michelham Priory on June 29th 1955. The description of that visit was given in the *Transactions* for 1954-55; so that only subsequent changes call for record here. In 1959 Mrs. R. H. Hotblack purchased the property, and offered it to the Sussex Archaeological Society. On the grounds of expense of upkeep, the Society was about to refuse; when, unexpectedly, Lord Inchcape provided a most generous

endowment in memory of his friend J. F. Boughey, killed in the war of 1939-45. Our members had the advantage of being conducted in two parties; one led by Mr. Bentham Stevens, Chairman of the S.A.S., and the other by our friend Commander Harrison. The S.A.S. has already beautifully equipped the building; in particular the Prior's room, in which there is a lifesize effigy of the Prior; and the Tudor wing where portraits of the Harts that we had seen at Lullingstone have been placed. The foundations of the Priory church have also been uncovered. Our party climbed the impressive gateway tower, and saw the Great Barn.

At Claverham Manor the change was less fortunate, for our host of 1955 has since died. His widow, however, who was formerly a Miss Noakes of Lake House, Battle, shewed us the beautiful house and grounds most effectively. The Saxon Manor of Claverham seems to have had an outlying holding in Battle, as the 12th century *Chronicle of Battle Abbey* describes Battle guildhall as being 'in a place called Claverham'. At this visit our party included Mrs. Newbery, with whom the credit rests for having, in the first place, suggested the name Claverham for the now flourishing school to the west of the town.

### VISIT TO CHANTRY GREEN HOUSE STEYNING AND STEYNING CHURCH on Wednesday August 31st 1960

Chantry Green House

The 42 members who attended this meeting were taken over the house by Mr. and Mrs. Recknell, the owners. In 1417 a chantry was founded by 10 inhabitants of Steyning in discharge of their debts to one John Norton; and "a suitable and honest chaplain" was procured to say masses for the souls of the Norton family. When all chantries were suppressed in 1547 this house was the residence of the chantry priest, Owen Hardeway, who was subsequently appointed vicar of Stevning. The house is thought to have been built in the first quarter of the 16th century; but extensive reconstruction and additions were made in the first decade of the 18th century, which gave it its present appearance. It can be seen however, that the windows are square as in the 16th century, and not rectangular "two square", as in the 18th. The dining room is a completely panelled Queen Anne piece with contemporary decoration; and two other rooms contain Tudor fireplaces enriched with 17th century plasterwork. One of the Sussex Martyrs, John Launder, was burnt at the stake on July 23rd 1555 on the green in front of the house.

The Church of St. Andrew, Steyning

Not later than the beginning of the 9th century, St. Cuthman, who, according to legend, had wheeled his paralysed mother all the way from the West Country, built a wooden church at Steningham, and in the course of time he was buried in it. King Ethelwolf, father of Alfred the Great, is also stated by Asser, Alfred's secretary, to have been buried at Steyning in 853. Pilgrimages to St. Cuthman's grave are said to have caused the town to spring up. Church and manor were given to Fécamp Abbey by Edward the Confessor, taken away by Harold, and restored by a charter of William the Conqueror, dated 1085. The Norman church was cruciform: a nave, two aisles, two transepts, choir, two chapels, and a central tower. It was begun in 1080, the eastern portion was completed by about 1100, and the whole probably finished about 1160. King Henry V took over the church in 1415, and it was given to the Bridgettine monastery of Syon, Middlesex, in 1461, who held it to the Dissolution. Towards the end of the 16th century the church had fallen into partial ruin. Between 1577 and 1600 the sound portions were consolidated, and the nave lost two bays, the transepts disappeared, as well as the old tower; and a new tower in flint and stone, hardly rising above the roof, was built at the west end. Cartwright, the Sussex historian, describes the latter as "but a rude piece of architecture . . . and has an unpleasant appearance of clumsy strength." The porch, dating from the 15th century, was partly rebuilt in the 18th. The present chancel was built about 1750 by the 10th Duke of Norfolk. It occupies the site of the "crossing" beneath the old tower.

As a result, one's first impression is that of an odd-looking church with little architectural merit. A surprise, however, awaits the visitor, who, on entering and standing under the tower arch at the west end, is confronted with one of the most majestic fragments of 12th century ecclesiastical architecture in Sussex. The outstanding feature is the north and south arcades, each of four bays and composed of cylindrical columns over 10 feet high and more than 11 feet in circumference. Although strictly uniform in size and proportions, each capital and arch bears a different design, carved with the nicest care and studied variety; the whole being in as perfect a state of preservation as if the work had been but recently executed. The chancel arch, the sole survivor of four which formerly sustained the tower, is 30 feet in height, one of the loftiest of its period in any parish church; and considered by some authorities to be the finest example in England. In the centre of the north wall is a fine pointed arch with numerous mouldings springing from light clustered columns. The clerestory windows merit attention: four in number on the south side and three on the north, they have handsome semicircular heads; those on the south side having double courses of moulding. They are joined by a stringcourse, while, as a unique feature, vertical pilasters are placed in the gaps between them. The lower halves of the windows have been filled in, as they are now partly covered by the aisle roofs. As a further curiosity, those on the south are recessed on the outside, and those on the north on the inside. The font, of early Norman date, is large and square with an arcade. The south door retains its ancient form, and some say its Norman hinges. The gravestone in the porch is popularly supposed to be that of St. Cuthman or King Ethelwolf.

As Steningham, the ancient name of Steyning, presumably means Settlement of the Stone people, and a megalithic stone used to be visible at the church, it has been suggested that as at Stainton Drew in Somersetshire, the church was built

within a stone circle.

# VISIT TO NETTLESTEAD PLACE AND BOUGHTON MONCHELSEA PLACE on Wednesday September 14th 1960

From this compact group of buildings—gateway, barn, manor house, and church, lying on ground which slopes down to the Medway not far from Maidstone, a good idea can be formed of what a manor must have looked like in the middle ages. Old as the buildings are, they probably had Saxon predecessors, as the church is mentioned in Domesday. At the time of the Domesday survey the manor was among the possessions of the Conqueror's half-brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux; and the tenant was Hamo, Sheriff of Kent. After the confiscation of Odo's lands, the overlordship was granted to the De Clares. At the end of the 12th century the tenant was Michael de Wahull, whose wife was possibly a descendant of Hamo; and the manor remained in possession of his family till it passed, before the end of the 13th century, perhaps by marriage, to Richard de Pympe. In 1496 Nettlestead passed to Sir John Rainsford, and later to Sir John Scott. In 1700 the Scotts sold the estate to Sir Philip Boteler, who allowed the Place to fall into ruin. In the ensuing 200 years much was pulled down, oasts were built on to it, and what remained of the ancient building became a store for hops. In 1921 Mr. Ronald Vinson bought the property, restored it, built a new range at the east end, and laid out a terraced garden which

has now reached perfect maturity.

Mrs. Ronald Vinson welcomed our party of 36 members, and kindly took them over the house and outbuildings. From the porch a doorway opens into the fine vaulted undercroft dating from 1240 to 1270, now the entrance hall. There is some doubt whether the appartment above the undercroft was originally the Great Hall, and solar, or whether the whole was a solar to a much larger Great Hall, and consequently to a much larger house. It is now restored to form the drawing room and billiard room in a classical style; but the windows are 15th century. The dining room, in the early 15th century eastern extension, has a low ceiling of closely set massive timbers. The west end of the older building is occupied by a large bedroom with a mullioned window containing a 17th century four-poster and oak furniture.

#### **Boughton Monchelsea Place**

Like Nettlestead, this manor was given by the Conqueror to his half-brother Odo. Boughton was formerly Bocton (Boc=beech) and Monchelsea derives from Montchensie, the family to whom it was granted on Odo's disgrace. From the Montchensies it passed by sale or inheritance through many families, including the Harpurs and Peckhams, until, about 1530, it was bought by Sir Thomas Wyatt, lover of Anne Boleyn and introducer of sonnets into England. He sold it to Robert Rudston, son of a Lord Mayor of London, who built the present house between 1540 and 1544. Rudston nearly lost his life by joining the "Protestant Men of Kent" during Oueen Mary's reign; but was released from prison on the accession of Oueen Elizabeth. The property passed by inheritance to the Barnhams and Riders; by whose descendants it was eventually sold at the end of the 19th century. The Winch family have been in occupation since 1902.

The ragstone of which the house is built came from the quarries in Boughton, which also provided stone for Westminster Abbey, and 7,000 cannon balls for Henry VI. In the 16th century, the house contained 14 bedrooms, a hall, long gallery, 2 dining rooms, 3 other living rooms, and many service rooms in the north and west wings. At the end of the 17th century the long gallery was made into bedrooms and a passage; in the 18th century the north and west wings disappeared; and in the 19th a "Gothic" air was given to the hall, dining room and certain windows. However, some original panelling, tapestries, and a four-poster bed, still remain. The windows on the main staircase have a curious history. The

stained glass in them, originally in the church, is North German, and probably the gift of Wilhelm Reiffgens, in 1613. In the Civil War the church windows were broken by Cromwell's soldiery. The pieces were picked up and put together in windows in the house by the Barnhams. During the last war these windows were blown out by a German bomb. Once again the pieces were picked up and re-assembled. After this, it is small wonder that no design whatever can be detected. One room in the house is the Court Room, where the Courts Baron of the manor were held every three years from the reign of Queen Elizabeth I till 1867. The records are preserved in the room. A herd of fallow deer has roamed the park for at least 230 years. Traditionally, there has always been one white doe, and never two. The church, which, unfortunately, there was no time to visit, is adjacent to the Place. It contains a wealth of modern stained glass, and one of the oldest lychgates in England, put up in 1470.

#### FINDS AND FIELDWORK

The Bodiam Excavations

The discovery of a Romano-British site at Bodiam station, the hurried exploratory work carried out on it in July 1959, and the discovery of a bronze figurine, together with inscribed pieces of glass and pottery were reported in the last number of the Transactions. On April 14th 1960, work was resumed on site B (Nat. Grid Ref. 51/782252) by our member Colonel Darrell Hill, assisted by some residents of Bodiam, and at different times by four more members of this Society. Poles had been erected on the site and hops planted, so that the trenches had to be dug in the alley ways. A grid pattern of trenches was dug, and the site of a small shanty or unimportant building disclosed. It had been built and rebuilt on eight occasions, and burnt down, apparently four times. The earliest building was quite small: the next even smaller. It was then rebuilt twice in a somewhat larger size. The fifth building had a floor paved with pieces of Roman tile, a covered drain, and a stone foundation for what may have been a wattle and daub wall. The three subsequent occupation layers consisted of ashes lying upon rammed clay. Two post holes were discovered and a piece of timber. Masses of roofing tiles were present on the site, mostly broken tegulae, with a few imbrices (joint covering tiles). One complete tegula was found, and some tiles had an ingenious locking device formed on them. Four more CL BR (Classis Britannica=British Fleet) impressions were found. On one of the roofing tiles was the footprint of a five-toed animal, probably either a wild

cat or a badger.

Thick floor tile fragments with bosses, as described in our last number, were again unearthed. More important finds were two native black ware pots, not far from being complete, and part of a Roman cheese press. Pottery sherds turned up in quantities; but real Samian was again scarce. There was some debased or local Samian, Castor Ware, and New Forest Ware; the rest being of the black or grey native type. Owing to the growing hops the whole area was not excavated; but during the last part of the dig the south-east corner of the site was producing some interesting Samian and decorated pottery sherds—an indication that this area might well repay further exploration at some future date.

The whole site rested on light bluish-grey clay, which was extremely tenacious and difficult to dig, and water was reached at about 5 feet from the surface, rendering deeper investigation impossible. One of the pots found was, in fact, nearly submerged. While digging was in progress an employee of Messrs. Guinness & Co. found, on the south edge of the field, not far from site A, a Sestertius of Marcus Aurelius, Roman Emperor from A.D. 161 to 180. This coin, like the Pevensey type CL BR tile, and the embossed Samian sherd depicting dancing girls, was probably turned up by the heavy tractor-drawn plough in July 1959. Mr. Margary, Chairman of the Sussex Archaeological Society, visited the site, and described it as very complicated and difficult to interpret. Colonel Hill puts forward tentatively the following suggestion: "It can be accepted that there existed buildings of the wattle and daub type, with tiled roofs, which were occupied by a succession of local inhabitants, probably employed by the Roman authorities. They left behind a mass of coarse heavy black and grey pottery sherds. These workmen in turn robbed the previous buildings to make floors, drains, and even a wall. Numerous examples were traced where broken tiles and pottery sherds of various kinds had been used in an indescriminate fashion in the various floor levels. In the wall (a rough and ready affair) was embedded a CL BR tile: another was lying on part of the pavement. This was of special interest, because it is so similar to one recovered from a bloomery at Bardon near Ticehurst (see Antiquaries' Journal, Vol. XXXII) as to suggest that they both came from the same source. It is possible that in the vicinity of the present site there existed a larger and more elaborate building yet to be found, which may have housed naval personnel. This would account for the better class of pottery, the Samian ware, the decorated glass.

and the bronze statuette—objects not usually associated

with workmen's hutments."

The finding of this site on the floor of the Rother valley is of considerable interest. Some authorities have suggested that the Rother (anciently Limen) was subjected to such great tidal pressure in Roman times that the water level reached to between the 20 and 25 foot contour lines; but this discovery would seem to negative such an idea because the floor level of the earliest hut was barely 3 feet above mean sea level. We know that in the 13th century and onwards very considerable and know prolonged flooding did take place; and this is borne out by the height of the dock at Bodiam Castle (25 feet above M.S.L.) and the fact that a number of pottery sherds and tiles show considerable smoothing by the action of water. The latter must have taken place long after the Roman occupation. Our thanks are due to Colonel Hill, who, in addition to the objects found in the 1959 dig, has kindly placed in our Museum, on temporary loan, the cheese press, some tiles and some pottery, the latter including a piece of an embossed Samian bowl depicting a hunting scene; also one of the Native black ware pots, which has been reconstructed by Miss Elizabeth Cartwright of the Institute of Archaeology, to whom our thanks are also due.

The Roman Road at Bodiam

The Roman road which left the Watling Street at Rochester, and ran via Maidstone to the ironfields of the Hastings District has a particular interest for this Society because it was, in all probability, the route taken by Harold's army on its march from London to Senlac. It has been proved that it followed the course of the modern Sissinghurst-Sandhurst road from Sponden to its junction with the main road from Sandhurst to Hawkhurst. Thence, the Ordnance Survey map shows for a short distance "site of ancient road", on a true bearing of 199 degrees; but its actual course until Bodiam station is reached has been very largely conjectural. In March 1959, however, it was discovered while putting in a drain in a cottage garden near Sandhurst Cross (Nat. Grid Ref. 51/ 789277), at a depth of 2 feet 6 inches. In 1959 Mr. Wingrove Payne found a road surface in two places near Bodiam Castle, one of them being quite close to the moat on the west side. In June 1960, Post Office telephone workmen, while digging a cable trench on the causeway, locally known as "the Ferry" (Nat. Grid Ref. 51/783252) found, at a depth of 3 feet 1 inch below the verge on the west side of the road, not far from Bodiam station, a metalled road surface composed of 2 inches

of iron ore resting on sandstone blocks. This was examined by our member, Mr. V. F. M. Oliver. It was the west edge of the Roman road, which therefore lay under the modern road at that point; though it was nowhere disclosed in other parts of the cable trench. The Roman road therefore ran about 125 yards from the hut site excavated by Colonel Hill. It is known that a ford across the Rother, some 45 yards east of Bodiam bridge, existed in medieval times, and the field immediately south of this point is still known as "The Clappers". Clappers is a dialect word, defined by the Concise English Dictionary of English Place Names as "a rough or natural bridge over a stream—stepping stones". It is an important discovery that these four points, the old ford and the three points at which the road has been unearthed, lie in a perfectly straight line on a true bearing of 199 degrees, and that if that line is continued southward, it passes through Cripps' Corner, where, as is well known, the Roman road crossed the Rye-Uckfield Ridgeway. The overall alignment, therefore, 199 degrees, holds for just over 5 miles from Sponden to Cripps' Corner.

Contrary to the popular idea, Roman roads were not always straight. With an overall plan of straight alignments, of which there might be several on the course of a long road, local deviations were made, as required, when the alignment ran over difficult country. In such cases the road returned to its straight alignment when the obstacles had been circumvented. A straight line from Sandhurst church to Bodiam station leads over difficult country—two river crossings and three steep slopes: so that a divergence westward seems indicated to alleviate the steepness of the slopes, and to cross the Kent ditch at the narrowest point of the valley. In August 1960. Mr. Morphy, prospecting with a probe, found a hard surface in the top corner of the large field 100 yards N.E. of Bodiam Church (Nat. Grid Ref. 51/784263). Permission to dig having been obtained from Mr. Hilton of Court Lodge, Colonel Hill, with three other members of this Society, and three local helpers, opened a trench on August 15th; when a road surface having a total width of 22 feet 6 inches was found at a depth varving, owing to the side slope of the hill, from 26 inches on the west side to about 2 inches on the east. On August 10th and 20th the trench was enlarged to a width of 4 feet, a cut, 2 feet wide, made through the road and the result plotted. The metalling was found to consist of fairly small pieces of iron ore (not cinder), laid on the Hastings Bed subsoil and roughly levelled over a width of 20 feet; which would appear to have been the planned width of the road; the remaining 2½ feet being overspill of metalling on the downhill side. The

surface was irregular, and the thickness of metalling varied considerably; 12 inches being the average, but 18 inches being reached in the middle. This may possibly have been the planned thickness. The only "find" was an almost perished metal

object which may have been the blade of a knife.

On September 19th, more probing indicated that the further course of the road lay beneath the field adjoining the churchyard on the east, and three trial holes were dug at a point 108 feet from the east angle of the churchyard fence on a true bearing of 132 degrees. The road surface, composed of iron cinder as well as ore, was found from 1 foot to 1 foot 6 inches below ground level; and it extended, probably owing to overspill on both sides, to a breadth of about 30 feet; but a complete section was not made. From the two examinations it was possible to establish that the road near Bodiam Church ran on a true bearing of 165 degrees: a line which, passing just to the west of the earthwork near Court Lodge, aimed straight at Bodiam Castle, at which point the road would return again to its main alignment of 199 degrees.

The detailed course of the diversion is to be found, if possible, next year; and the result will be awaited with

interest.

# COMMEMORATION OF THE 894th ANNIVERSARY OF THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS

Dr. W. G. Urry, F.S.A., Chapter Librarian, Canterbury, who was due to give the Commemoration Lecture on The Normans in Kent, on Friday October 14th 1960, was, unfortunately unable to come owing to illness. At short notice, the Chairman and two members gave "lecturettes" as follows.

"The Bodiam Excavations" by Lieut.-Colonel Darrell Hill.

The lecturer gave a short account of the work in July 1959 and April 1960. As a detailed account of the former, under *Finds and Fieldwork*, appeared in our last number, and of the latter in this number, it is unnecessary to repeat them here.

The Mouth of the Rother in the Middle Ages

by Mr. C. T. Chevallier, M.A.

The lecturer gave several reasons for thinking that the late W. Maclean Homan was right in placing the mouth of the Rother in the early middle ages at the east end of Camber Sands. One was that it was there alone that it could be said that the river mouth lay four miles from the point where the Limen issued from the Weald. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

for 892 says that the Danes towed their fleet for that distance up the river, and there destroyed a half-finished English fort. Alfred was building forts along the coast (e.g. at Hastings), and the hill position at Rye met his requirements. Rye is four miles up the river as plotted by Homan. The names of Winchelsea, Cadborough, Udimore, Brede, Broadlands Row, and Chittlebirch (near Cripps. Corner) all have a Danish flavour.

# The English Army at the Battle of Hastings by Lieut.-Colonel C. H. Lemmon, D.S.O.

The lecturer began by saying that curious ideas of the composition of the English army (though he preferred the name Saxon Army), still persisted. It was not a rabble of illarmed peasantry picked up at hazard, as people seemed to think; but, in the words of General Fuller, a "quality army", well up to the standard of the times. The House Carls, forming about one quarter, were admitted to be the finest troops in Europe. The remainder consisted of the Fyrd, or National Militia, formed by Alfred the Great, whose terms of service are well known to military historians. The Bayeux Tapestry portrays the House Carls in Norman uniform, and the Fyrd in black tights; but there is little reason to suppose that they had departed from the traditional kit of Saxon warriors. It was almost unthinkable that Harold, a clever exponent of mobile warfare, would conduct a passive defence when his army was not inferior to the Normans; which is proved by the long duration of the battle. The Normans admitted that at one period they were nearly driven from the field. That must have been Harold's counter-attack, impetuously delivered much too soon, and it failed. After that there was nothing left but to hold on to the end.

# COMMEMORATION SERVICE IN THE CHURCH OF ST: MARY THE VIRGIN, BATTLE

The Very Reverend F. H. Outram, M.A., Dean of Battle, conducted the annual special service in the parish church on Sunday evening October 16th 1960. The lessons were read by Mrs. E. Harbord, a Vice-President, and Mr. C. T. Chevallier, Chairman of the Society

In his sermon, the Dean suggested that questions of morale may have played an important part in the outcome of the battle. It was surprising that the battle went on so long; seeing that Harold and his followers lived in a superstitious age and Harold had sworn to uphold William's claim over the bones of the Saints. There was an essential difference between true religion and superstition, though both accepted unseen powers. The latter tries to get spiritual forces on our side; while the former tries to learn God's will for us, and sets out to serve it. The latter is self: the former service. The great need for mankind today is to try to learn God's purpose, and so to serve it.

#### TENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING held on November 18th 1960

The Chairman recalled that just 10 years ago, on November 9th 1950, a temporary committee was appointed to frame a constitution for the Society. Of that committee two have since died, three have left the district, and five, to which must be added Mr. A. E. Marson, the Society's first Chairman, are still active in committee work. Membership had risen from 278 to 297 during the year. The balance of the General Fund dropped during the year from £34—4—4 to £29—11—5. On the Museum account the bank overdraft has been reduced from £25—19—1 to £19—12—9; but there would have been a serious loss but for the Battle Sports Development Club's generous gift of £25, and a transfer of £20 from the General Fund. During the year 4,910 persons paid for admission to the Museum: a drop of 9% from last year's 5,400.

The Chairman also reported that the Society had appointed members to a joint committee concerned with the Battle of Hastings nine hundredth anniversary celebrations in 1966; and that members also took part in the ceremony at the Norman Stone during the visit of the French members of

the Souvenir Normand on June 25th.

Lieut.-Colonel C. H. Lemmon, D.S.O., was elected a Vice-President in place of The Hon. Mrs. Whistler, who did not seek re-election. The Hon. Mrs. Whistler, and Mr. W. C. Allwork were appointed Hon. Life Members (Honoris causa). Mr. C. T. Chevallier was re-elected Chairman, Major L. C. Gates, Hon. Secretary, and Mr. R. W. Bishop, Hon. Treasurer. Mr. B. E. Beechey was elected Vice-Chairman, vice Mr. A. R. Clough, who did not seek re-election. Sir John Thorne, Mr. W. Raper, and Miss J. E. S. Robertson, due to retire in rotation, were re-elected to the Committee for 3 years, till 1963. Miss M. Guinand was elected for 2 years till 1962, vice, Major C. D. Grant, resigned. Mr. A. R. Clough, and Mr. H. C. Cowen were elected for one year, till 1961, vice, Mr. Beechey, and Lt.-Col. Lemmon.

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