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Dissertation in Archaeology

Brittany Holland

How extensive was John ‘Mad Jack’ Fuller’s landscaping at Bodiam Castle? How does this landscaping relate to his Brightling estate and the socio-political context in which it lies?

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Abstract

This research aims to assess the extent of John ‘Mad Jack’ Fuller’s landscaping work at Bodiam Castle. Core to this dissertation is documentary research into the bills recorded by John Fuller for work carried out across the Bodiam Landscape. Through this research, it is suggested that Fuller’s work at Bodiam was much more extensive than previously thought, and it is subsequently suggested that the role of Fuller at Bodiam Castle has been overlooked. This dissertation also relates Fuller’s work at Bodiam Castle to his estate at Brightling and the wider socio-political context in which it lies, looking at the reasoning behind Fuller’s purchase of Bodiam Castle and the use of the castle as part of the Brightling estate. I believe Fuller’s work at Bodiam to be representative of an important period in the sites history, and suggest that it is vital to consider Bodiam in its nineteenth century landscaping context in any future interpretations of the site itself.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Aims of this research project

The aims of this research project are to assess the extent of the work carried out by John Fuller at Bodiam Castle, and subsequently relate this to his work at Brightling Park and the wider socio-political context. Core to this dissertation is two pieces of original research, which as far as I am aware there has been no previous publication on. The information gathered from this research therefore holds significance, as I suggest that it proves that there has been a lack of recognition of the site of Bodiam Castle as part of a nineteenth century designed landscape. Bodiam Castle has been a focus for archaeological research for a number of years, and sits at the centre of a debate over its significance as part of a medieval designed landscape. The University of Southampton is currently undertaking an extensive topographical and geophysical survey of the site, and I believe that in this publication, as well as in previous interpretations of the site, there exists a need for a consideration of the changes made to the site during the nineteenth century. Therefore, through this dissertation I will suggest the extent of the work carried out at the site by John Fuller. Through placing this work in the wider socio-political and landscaping context I believe we can further our understanding of the site as part of a designed landscape, and therefore begin to understand the changes that the site has been subject to over time. I am of the opinion that by studying the work of John Fuller, the person whom I believe to have started the process of seeing the ruin as part of a pristine, designed landscape as we do today, we can further our understanding the nature of the castle landscape itself.

1.2 Bodiam Castle

Built by the knight Sir Edward Dalyngrigge, Bodiam Castle is a medieval castle located near Robertsbridge in East Sussex (OS grid reference TQ 78 25, latitude and longitude 000 32 E, 50 59 N) (See figures 1.1 -1.5). Dalyngrigge gained possession of the site in 1378 and the licence to crenellate was granted in 1385.

A fair degree of historical and archaeological work has been carried out at the site. A historical and descriptive survey of Bodiam was carried out by Curzon and published posthumously in 1926, and an archaeological survey was undertaken by the Sussex Archaeological Unit during 1983. In 1988 the RCHME carried out a survey of the site, producing a topographic record of the Bodiam Landscape and interpretations of the

earthworks present in the results of the survey. More recent work includes an extensive desk based assessment of the site (Johnson, Martin and Whittick 2001) and a geophysical survey carried out by the University of Southampton in Easter 2010 (Barker et al. 2010). This survey detailed a full topographical survey of the Bodiam landscape, as well as geophysical surveys of a number of key areas at the site (Barker et al. 2010). Whilst the castle itself has been a focus for research for a number of years, there has been a limited amount of investigation into Fuller's work at the site. Subsequently, I suggest that as a result of this there exists a need for a consideration of how the site may have been altered during the past two centuries. I believe that John Fuller contributed fundamentally to a process of changing how the site is perceived today.

1.3 John 'Mad Jack' Fuller

Following the introduction of Bodiam Castle to this research, it is necessary to introduce further key elements to the dissertation, the first of which is John Fuller (1757-1834). A member of a well-known family of landowners and gun founders, John 'Mad Jack' Fuller was a Sussex politician, landowner and builder of follies (figure 1.6). Fuller was known for his formidable character in parliament, and is described by Lucas as "a character both in London and Sussex, he was big and bluff and wealthy and the squire of Rose Hill" (1904: 380). Fuller inherited the estate at Brightling Park (figure 1.7), formally known as the Rose Hill estate, upon the death of his uncle Rose Fuller in 1777, along with plantations in the West Indies which had been a major source of capital for the Fuller family (Oxford Dictionary of National Biography 2011). A well-known supporter of the slave trade, Fuller held parliamentary seats in both Hampshire and Sussex; according to Lucas, "he sat for Sussex from 1801 to 1812, and was once carried from the House by the Sergeant at Arms and his minors, for refusing to give way in debate and calling the Speaker 'the insignificant little fellow in a wig'" (1904: 380). Fuller was a renowned character, hence him receiving the name Mad Jack, due to a number of factors including his outspoken parliamentary conduct; Fuller himself preferred the name 'Honest Jack' (Lucas 1904: 380). Upon his retirement from parliament in 1812, Fuller began the process of building follies around his estate in Brightling, the culmination of which was his purchase of Bodiam Castle in 1829. According to the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, upon his retirement Fuller had "established himself as the local squire determined to make a name for himself in the eyes of posterity" (2011: 1), hence him beginning the process of landscaping his estate at Brightling and the grounds of Bodiam Castle.

1.4 Brightling Park and Fuller's Follies

One of the achievements for which Fuller is best known is his follies, which were constructed around his estate in Brightling. Brightling Park, located in Brightling, East Sussex, covers an area of 212 hectares (grid reference TQ 6833 2093, latitude and longitude 000 23 50 E 50 57 45 N) and is located at a distance of 4 miles from Bodiam (Figure 1.8; Figure 1.9). The estate was originally laid out by Capability Brown and later landscaped whilst in Fuller's possession by Humphry Repton in 1806 (Stroud 1975, Carter et al. 1982). Fuller built his follies around Brightling Park, as well as across the wider landscape of the Brightling parish and in the parish churchyard (figure 1.10). The eye-catching monuments were commissioned by Fuller himself, but largely designed under the architect Sir Robert Smirke (English Heritage Pastscape 2011). The Brightling landscape and one of Fuller's follies is depicted in an early nineteenth century "Brightling Observatory" by J.M.W Turner (figure 1.11).

A folly, in regards to architecture, is defined as "a whimsical or extravagant structure built to serve as a conversation piece, lend interest to a view, commemorate a person or event: found especially in England in the eighteenth century", with the origins for the word from the old French *folle* meaning 'madness' or in modern French 'delight' or 'favourite dwelling' (Oxford English Dictionary 2011). Fuller's follies are achievements for which he is well known, and I believe this holds significance in terms of the monuments contribution to our placing of Fuller's work within the wider socio-political and landscaping context. The structures themselves take a number of forms. The most well-known of Fuller's follies are the Brightling Needle, also known as The Obelisk, which is a 20m stone tower located to the north-west of Fuller's estate (figure 1.12); and the Sugarloaf, a 10m high stone structure located to the south-west of Brightling (figure 1.13). Fuller also built a number of other structures, including a temple in Brightling Park, an observatory (as he was a benefactor of the Royal Society and a supporter of the sciences) (figure 1.14), a tower (figure 1.15) and The Pyramid – a stone mausoleum which Fuller constructed for himself, and is subsequently buried in, in Brightling Churchyard (figure 1.16).

1.5 The archaeology of estate landscapes

After introducing the areas of study for this research, it is necessary to relate the topic to the wider study of estate landscapes and its application in archaeology. The study of estate landscapes during this period has benefitted greatly from its position within a multi-

disciplinary research area; an element which I have integrated into this dissertation. To suggest that archaeology paints a more accurate picture of the estate landscape by looking at physical evidence is too simplistic, however, as Williamson suggests, “we should not underestimate the extent to which physical evidence, combined with that from documents, can indeed tell us things which subvert, modify or amplify purely documentary narratives” (2007: 5). The archaeological approach to designed landscapes of this period therefore places focus not only on the documentary evidence, but a multitude of other sources including cartographic, archaeological and physical evidence. This approach is said to have furthered our understanding of estate landscapes as it takes the focus away from famous designers and recognised works, as is often the case with the historical or literary approach, and is instead able to demonstrate the different regional trends and fashions within varied levels of the landed gentry (Williamson 2007). What is key to this concept, and fundamental to this research, is the suggestion that the archaeological approach to the estate landscape “can serve to widen historical imaginations, and reveal the complexity of motives underlying estate management” (Williamson 2007: 5). Whilst historical narratives have looked at the work of Fuller, there has been no archaeological focus on the nature and extent of the work that he carried out at Brightling and Bodiam Castle. Brightling has been studied as an estate, but this is largely due to the fact that both Capability Brown and Humphry Repton carried out work there (Stroud 1975, Carter et al. 1982). At the opposite end of the spectrum, whilst there has been a large amount of archaeological work at Bodiam Castle, I believe there to have been a limited amount of investigation into the site in its later historical context. Therefore, by taking an archaeological approach to the study of both sites, and furthering this with a multidisciplinary study of the wider socio-political context, it is hoped that our understanding of the complexity of motives underlying the work at Bodiam and Brightling will be increased.

1.6 Data sources and methodology

In order to assess the key question for this research, the extent of John Fuller’s landscaping at Bodiam Castle, a number of data sources are to be used. Firstly, in order to evaluate the exact nature of the work carried out I will carry out original research into a number of documentary sources. These include bills for work carried out at the site, which were drawn up by Fuller and used in correspondence with his accountant J. Croft, as well as the daily and monthly record of the work taking place at Bodiam. Alongside this, I have also used documentary evidence such as the auction papers for the sale of Bodiam Castle and the

deeds drawn up between Fuller and Sir Godfrey Webster concerning the sale of the site, in order to assess the reasoning behind Fuller's purchase of Bodiam. Following this, I will also carry out research into historic maps of the site, including an estate map of 1811 and the Tithe Map of 1840, in order to attempt to recognise changes made to the site over time. In conjunction with this evidence, the results from the 2010 geophysical survey of Bodiam by the University of Southampton will also be used in an attempt to identify Fuller's work archaeologically and assess its exact nature. The early historic maps are to be used in comparison with modern survey data, in order to identify underlying features within the castle landscape which reflect the types of changes made during the period of study. Historic depictions of the site, including paintings, engravings and drawings are also used as a data source in assessing how the site was perceived both before and after Fuller purchased the castle, allowing us to identify the representation of the castle as part of the picturesque tradition.

As part of this research I also aim to place Fullers work within the wider socio-political context of nineteenth century England. In order to achieve this I will initially look at the significance of the use of Bodiam Castle, followed by an assessment of the representation of estates and gardens in contemporary art and literature. What is central to this area of the research into Bodiam Castle is the idea that we should see Bodiam Castle in this context as a piece of landscaping work carried out by Fuller, which takes place in relation to the follies at Brightling Park. Alongside this, I aim to understand the motives behind Fuller's purchase of Bodiam, and what this may signify in terms of the place of the Fuller family in society and the source of wealth used to purchase the site and make changes to the landscape. What this part of the research is essentially assessing is the degree to which we can see a reflection of both nineteenth century society and landscaping traditions in Fuller's work. By aiming to understand the work carried out by Fuller in this context it is hoped that our understanding of both the significance of the work at Bodiam, as well as its relationship to the wider study of estate landscapes, will be furthered.

2. How extensive was John ‘Mad Jack’ Fuller’s landscaping of Bodiam Castle?

2.1 Identifying work carried out at the site prior to Fuller’s landscaping

Firstly, in order to assess the extent of Fuller’s work at Bodiam I aim to identify changes that were made to the site in the period before Fuller’s ownership, as these may affect our interpretations of the type of work which Fuller carried out. Looking at the historic descriptions of the site, it seems apparent that in the century prior to Fuller’s work there was little effort to make changes to the site or preserve the castle itself. According to Curzon, who was the last owner of the castle before it was given to the National Trust in 1925, “there can be no doubt that during the greater part of the eighteenth century, while the castle was in the hands of the Webster’s, little was done for its preservation and nothing for its repair” (1926: 81). However, it seems that during this period, the site did undergo some transformations. In 1778 a cottage was constructed within the castle walls, against the southern postern tower, which is said to have measured 23 by 36 ft. and the remains of which were identified in Curzon’s survey (1926: 81). The cottage can also be seen in the Grimm watercolour depicting the site in 1784 (figure 2.1), where the castle is depicted as having been covered extensively in ivy and we can see two figures and animals present within the castle landscape. A number of other watercolours by the same artist also help to create an image of how the site looked before Fuller’s ownership, particularly the view from the barbican which also depicts animals within the castle grounds (figure 2.2).

When the site was sold to Fuller in 1829, the Webster family had been trying to sell it since at least 1815 (Curzon 1926); this fact, in combination with the notion that the site had fallen into ruin during their ownership, suggests that the Webster family did not carry out any work of a landscaping or restorative nature during their possession of the site. According to Curzon, “a Sussex newspaper speaking of the new owner as the ‘eccentric Squire of Brightling’ said that [Fuller] purchased the site in order to save it from being dismantled and the stone being used for building materials” (1926: 49). This furthers the notion that little or no previous landscaping or restoration work had been carried out at the site prior to Fuller’s purchase, and we should therefore be able to recognise the extent of Fuller’s work through the documentary, geophysical and contemporary map evidence used in this research. There is of course the possibility that changes recognised through the discussion of the geophysical evidence can be attested to those who owned the site before Fuller; it is hoped that this

discussion as well as the use of the 1811 and 1840 maps of the site can disseminate this possibility.

2.2 Assessment of the documentation

In order to measure the extent of the work carried out at Bodiam Castle by John Fuller, a number of documentary sources have been used. These sources were located at East Sussex Records Office, and the research into their data involved transcribing all of the available bills for work from the year 1829, the auction papers for the sale of the site and a number of letters of correspondence between John Fuller and those in charge of his accounts (for a sample of these documents and a full list of transcriptions see appendix). From these documents I believe I have been able to gauge both the types of work being carried out during 1829, as well as the extent of the work in terms of the cost of labour and making changes to the site. What follows is an assessment of this documentary research, focusing on a number of areas and suggested changes made by John Fuller to both Bodiam Castle and the wider landscape.

Looking firstly at the auction papers for the sale of Bodiam Castle, one is made aware of the extent of the landscape purchased by Fuller. The site covered an area of 24 acres, 3 roods and 8 perches (Curzon 1926) and was recorded as having an annual value of £26, 14s 7d (ESRO RAF/F 1/4). The purchase of Bodiam Castle included; the wharf by Bodiam Bridge, the chalk foreland by Bodiam channel, the garden adjoining and fronting the high road, the castle field, the ponds, the oak marsh, the coach road and close, the patch adjoining, the castle green and the area of the castle (ESRO RAF/F 1/4). Looking at publications such as Curzon's work, it seems apparent that the main focus in the assessment of a history of the work carried out at Bodiam is the castle itself. However, the auction papers for the sale of the site demonstrate that by purchasing Bodiam Castle, Fuller gained possession of the castle landscape. Therefore, when we assess the extent of Fuller's work at the site, the wider landscape must remain a focal point.

2.2.1 The Castle Interior

The recording of a number of changes made to the castle itself by John Fuller has also been recognised in the documentation, one of the most significant of which is the removal of the cottage built by the Websters from within the castle walls. This is recorded in a note from John Fuller Esq. to John Croft and also noted on the recording of wages paid to the workers

which are dated March – April 1829. The correspondence between Fuller and Croft details the work as “taking down an old building and erecting a new cottage at Bodiam Castle. Bricklayers and plasters work, finding nails, glazing and painting the doors and window frames outside. Amounts to seventeen pounds, eighteen shillings and eleven pence” (ESRO RAF/F 9/28). According to contemporary descriptive literature from the site, dating to 1831, Fuller is also said to have restored the southern postern tower (Cotton 1831). This is likely to have been carried out in relation to the removal of the cottage itself, which was built against the southern postern tower of the castle. The bills for work at the site also detail changes made to the castle during 1829, which are detailed as “stone work on the Bodiam Ref foundations”, “cleaning out well” and “building of buttress”, taking place during July and December (ESRO RAF/F 9/28). Cotton also informs us that Fuller installed new folding oak gates on the doorway of the castle, at the entrance to the building, which he details as “the present proprietor has lately put up a pair of folding oak gates of strong oak, in corresponding style, and restored the south tower, commonly known as the sally port” (1831: 30). The wage accounts for work carried out at the site also detail the painting of gates, dated to November 1829 (ESRO RAF/F 9/28). According to Thackray, work of this nature by Fuller is an example of “the first positive moves to protect the ruin” (2004: 27), a sentiment which is echoed in Curzon’s survey of the site (1926). A review of Fuller’s work in the ‘Gentleman’s Magazine and Historical Chronicle’ of 1831 also suggests that this is a contemporary view of the work which Fuller was carrying out at Bodiam, as it comments that “the proprietor is John Fuller Esq. of Rose-Hill, who purchased the site in 1828; and we wish that every venerable ruin had as careful an owner as that gentleman” (1831:55).

2.2.2 The Castle Landscape

In order to measure the extent of the work carried out around the castle grounds, I have analysed the bills for work at Bodiam Castle, dated to 1829. These documents detail the weekly wages paid to those working at Bodiam Castle, all of which are written by John Fuller and addressed to John Croft, the individual whom I believe to have been in charge of overseeing the work and accounts for Fuller’s work at Bodiam. By transcribing these documents I have been able to create an account of the work carried out at Bodiam throughout 1829, beginning with the erection of a new cottage in March 1829 and culminating in the laying down of paths during December 1829. The following table is a collation of this data, demonstrating the work taking place during each month;

Date	Work Carried out
March – April 1829	Erecting a new cottage at Bodiam Castle
March – April 1829	Redoing bank work – cutting away bank and digging out ditch
March – April 1829	Order of plaster and composition
June 1829	Cleaning out well
July 1829	Stone work at Bodiam Ref foundations
July 1829	Order of 10 loads of stone
July 1829	Digging stone
July 1829	Order of 12 loads of stone
August 1829	5 days of digging stone
August 1829	Coping stone
August 1829	Coping of digging stone
September 1829	Coping of digging stone
October 1829	Ordered ten gallons of oil for Bodiam Castle
November 1829	Levelling
November 1829	Preparing ridges with compost
November 1829	Leashing and preparing acres
November 1829	Digging stone
November 1829	Painting gates and fence
November 1829	Plastering and painting
December 1829	Building of buttress
December 1829	Order of 7 loads of stone
December 1829	Coping of stone
December 1829	Putting down paths
December 1829	Order of 4 bushels of coal ashes

Table 1, above: collated data from the weekly account of wages paid to those working at Bodiam Castle by John Fuller. Each wage details the task for which the individual was paid; these tasks have been transcribed and arranged to represent all of the work recorded as having taken place during 1829 (ESRO RAF/F 9/28).

The bills for work detail also at least ten individuals of whom Fuller is paying to carry out work, suggesting that the labour was fairly extensive. Alongside this, the personal account of John Croft has provided some indication of the amount of capital being invested by Fuller into the work at Bodiam Castle. The following data highlights the monthly wage from John Fuller into an account managed by John Croft. It seems evident that this data represents the wage paid to John Croft himself; if this is the case, the amount being paid by Fuller to those carrying out the work is certainly high.

Month	Total
January	£2 3s 4d
February	£3 5s 9d
March	£10 13s 9d
April	£5 13s 10d

May	£3 10s 6d
June	£5 4s 3d
July	£4 13s 9d
August	£2 2s 0d
September	£2 0s 0s
October	£5 13s 6d
November	£5 13s 6d
Total	£48 16s 6d
Bill for nails	£4 16s 3d
Bill for white lead	£13 5s 10d
Bill for glazing and painting	£14 10s 3d
Bill for lead and glass	£11 6s 7d
Bill for work done at Bodiam Castle	£114 1s 0d
Building a cottage at Bodiam Castle	£17 18s 11d

Table 2, above: the monthly wages paid into John Croft's account by John Fuller for work at Bodiam Castle and the details of bills in this account (ESRO RAF/F 9/28).

Alongside the payment records used above exists a number of individual notes written by Fuller to Croft which detail more precise tasks; for example one bill details:

“Masons work for drawing the stone building by the walk, by the north walk about £120 at 11d for £66 – by Crofts estimate it will require about 200 loads of stone, the coinage of which at 2d per load is £20. Sand from the paddock about 30 loads, the coinage at 2d per load is £3.

“Allow 6 days for 2 horses fetching water at 10d per day - £3

“About three 4ths of a kiln of lime, £13 10d

“About 5s of load to dig up the main ditch, dump it (correlate and complete it) £30

“Masons work £66

Courage of stone £20

Courage of sand £3

Courage of water £3

For lime £13 10d

Digging ditch £30

Total; £135 10d”

(ESRO RAF/F 9/28)

The data collected from this documentation makes it clear that the amount of work carried out by John Fuller was extensive, both in terms of the work carried out and the money invested into the work. Looking at the records for the wages paid to each worker, it is evident that Fuller was making significant changes to the landscape, carrying out work such as digging ditches, coping stone, levelling, working on the banks of the moat, making restorations to the castle itself and laying down paths across the site. I believe that this evidence has proved that the amount of work that Fuller carried out at the site was certainly more than has previously been suggested in work such as the 2001 desk based assessment of the site (Johnson, Martin and Whittick 2001). In this publication, Fuller is mentioned only briefly in comparison with later owners of the site, and I suggest that the documentation used for this research has proved that Fuller's work has been overlooked. In relation to this, the records for work used in this research do not continue after 1829, and it is suggested that further work would have taken place after this date. If this is the case, the work carried out by Fuller is certainly extensive. The role of Fuller has, I believe, been fundamentally overlooked in the study of the history of Bodiam, and I believe that the documentation used has proved that Fuller's role at the site was substantial.

However, whilst these documents have provided firm proof that Fuller was carrying out a larger amount of work at Bodiam than previously thought, they have provided only a limited suggestion of the exact areas within the castle landscape that this work was taking place. I suggest that an assessment of the documentation used in this dissertation has proved that Fuller made significant change to the Bodiam landscape, but believe that this statement can be furthered by attempting to identify Fullers work through contemporary cartographic evidence and within the recent geophysical survey of the Bodiam landscape.

2.3 Assessment of contemporary cartographic evidence

To further the research into the documentary evidence for John Fuller's work at Bodiam Castle, I have used two maps of the site, dating from 1811 (figure 2.3) and 1840 (figure 2.4; figure 2.5). As Fuller owned Bodiam from 1829 until 1834 (after which it remained within the Fuller Family), and little or no landscaping work took place prior to his ownership, it is suggested that changes seen through a comparison of the two maps will be a result of Fuller's work at the site. What follows is a comparison of land use for each area of the site, as transcribed from the 1811 estate map of Bodiam, and the 1840 Tithe Map (ESRO BAT

4453; ESRO TDE/E 99). The table highlights the different areas within the Bodiam landscape, comparing their description and use in 1811 to that of 1840.

1811 Map area	Description	1840 Tithe Map area	Owner	Description
354	Castle Green	52	A.E Fuller	Castle green field; pasture
-	-	52a	A.E Fuller	House and garden
353	The Castle and Ground surrounding	54	A.E Fuller	Great moat and Castle
352	Oak Marsh	55	A.E Fuller	Oak marsh; pasture
351	Pipers Marsh	56	John Reynolds	Pipers marsh; meadow
349	The Wharf by Bodiam Bridge	57	A.E Fuller	Wharf
350	Chalk foreland	-	-	-
348	The Ponds	58	A.E Fuller	Ponds Field
347	Castle Field	64	A.E Fuller	Castle bank field; pasture
345	A Cottage and Garden	65	Richard Smith	Coopers Field
342	The Coach Road, Hovel and Close	66	A.E Fuller	Castle Lane
-	-	66a	A.E Fuller	Garden

Table 3, above: a comparison of land use between 1811 and 1840 from the estate map and Tithe Map. Highlighted are areas which appear to have changed in use during this time (ESRO BAT 4453; TD/D 99).

The areas highlighted in the above table represent the areas within the Bodiam landscape which changed in function or appearance between 1811 and 1840; as Fuller was the only individual to carry out work at the site during this time I attribute these changes to be the work of John Fuller. There are two key areas which have undergone change during this period – the addition of the house and garden to the site, and changes to the coach road, which is an entrance to the site from the west. Comparing the representation of the areas within the two maps, one of the most significant changes appears to be within area 342 on the 1811 map and 66 on the 1840 map (figure 2.6). This area, known as the castle lane, is an entrance to the site from the west. In 1811 we see a formal pathway in this area, but this feature appears to have been removed by 1840. In conjunction with this, the addition of the garden at the entrance to the castle lane or coach road may hold significance as Fuller appears to have made changes to one of the entrances to the site (figure 2.7). I also suggest that Fuller is likely to have made some changes to the castle green field; this area has been

used at a number of points in order to drain the moat, but it appears that it has undergone some change during Fuller's ownership. Whilst the record for work during 1829 does not mention this area specifically, we do see a record for digging ditches and redoing bank work; this type of work is likely to have occurred in this area. Alongside this, the area added to the 1840 map known as the house and garden is a further confirmation of the addition of the cottage to the site, as mentioned in the record for work carried out during 1829. In order to further assess the evidence from the documentation and cartographic evidence I believe it is important to attempt to identify Fuller's work archaeologically in order to fully understand the extent of the work carried out during this period.

2.4 Identifying Fuller's work archaeologically

To further measure the extent of John Fullers work at Bodiam, I believe it is possible to identify some of the changes made to the site during this period in the recent geophysical survey carried out across the castle landscape by the University of Southampton (Barker et al. 2010). The results of this survey have demonstrated the complexity of the archaeological remains beneath the castle landscape. However, in the interpretation of these features there is little consideration of the site in its nineteenth century context, rather features are labelled as being either 'Medieval' or 'Modern' (Barker et al. 2010; figure 2.8). What follows is an assessment of key areas which are suggested to be the work of Fuller, identified in the results of the 2010 resistivity survey.

One of the key areas in which I believe we can recognise Fullers work is to the west of the castle, described as the castle bank field in the Tithe Map (figure 2.9; Figure 2.10). Here the resistivity survey has indicated a high amount of archaeological activity below ground, including a series of ditches alongside the moat. The documentary records provided evidence that Fuller was both digging ditches and redoing the bank work on the moat, and I suggest that a number of areas of high resistance as demonstrated in the survey should be attributed to the work of Fuller. Alongside this, the geophysical results have also identified the remains of a tree ring within this area (figure 2.11). This feature is not present on the 1811 map, and the 1840 map makes no records of trees within the landscape. Whilst we cannot identify this feature on the cartographic record it is a feature which remains at the site today, and a feature that one would expect to have been created by Fuller at Bodiam. According to Daniels (1988), at this time the control and ownership of trees and woodland was significant. It is suggested that iconography of woodland was used to naturalise contested social views, an act

which was articulated in the specific selection and setting of trees across picturesque parkland (Daniels 1988). If the tree ring identified in the geophysical survey is the work of Fuller, I suggest we are seeing a reflection of this concept in his work; a deliberate control and placement of trees across the Bodiam landscape.

Furthering this, in the area to the south-east of the castle, we see two areas of high resistance which have been described as the remains of a medieval bank and a medieval structure (figure 2.12). The two anomalies are not linear features, so do not appear to be ditches or bank work, but I suggest that they may represent the remains of dumping of material, either by Fuller or at a later date. If Fuller was carrying out stone work within and around the castle, as well as digging ditches and redoing the castle bank, there is likely to have been excess material redistributed in the landscape. Whether we are seeing the evidence for this to the south-east of the castle or to the west alongside the ditches themselves is not certain. However, I believe this to be an important point worth considering in our recognition of the remains of Fuller's work across the Bodiam landscape.

2.5 To what extent can we assess the nature of Fuller's work at Bodiam Castle?

Identifying research problems

Whilst the analysis of the documentation and contemporary literature as discussed above has provided evidence that John Fuller carried out a significant amount of work at Bodiam Castle, there is a limit to the degree to which we can measure the extent of this work. The documentation used provides evidence from throughout 1829, but to the best of my knowledge there exists no record of the continuation of this work. Fuller appears to have been a meticulous recorder of his financial accounts, and I suggest that there are two distinct possibilities as to why the records used in this dissertation do not continue into the following years. Firstly, there is the suggestion that the records have simply been misplaced or are filed incorrectly, making their access and identification through the Access to Archives system extremely difficult. However, there is also the possibility that the records do not continue as the evidence used in this research comes largely from the correspondence between Fuller and Croft, who died in 1830. All of the bills for work carried out at the site were addressed to John Croft, whose account at the time of his death details how much he had been paid for the work; dated August 1830 it is detailed that Fuller paid Croft £114 10s for work at Bodiam Castle, £17 18s 11d for building a cottage at Bodiam Castle and £90 40s 3d for unnamed work (ESRO RAF/F 9/28). As Croft passed away, the records of this

correspondence end, resulting in the records left today being representative of a years' work at Bodiam Castle. Fuller owned the site until his death in 1834, so the alterations are likely to have continued. Although we cannot create a full picture of Fuller's work at Bodiam Castle, I believe the records used in this research to have been sufficient in detailing both the nature of the work carried out by Fuller, and the degree to which changes were being made to the castle and its wider landscape. I firmly believe that Fuller's work at the site was significant, and much more extensive than has been previously recognised.

3. How is John Fuller's work at Bodiam Castle related to his landscaping at Brightling Park?

3.1 Why did John Fuller purchase Bodiam Castle?

Firstly, in order to assess the relationship between Fuller's work at Bodiam Castle and the landscaping work at Brightling Park I believe it is important to identify the reasoning behind Fuller's purchase of the castle itself. I suggest that by distinguishing the reasons behind Fuller buying the site we can begin to relate the work he carried out at Bodiam to the work which he was carrying out at his own estate, and the follies he began building upon his retirement from parliament in 1812 (Oxford Dictionary of National Biography 2011). In order to assess this, we must first understand how the site was perceived at the time of Fuller's purchase. Looking at the auction papers for the site, it seems clear that in the early 19th century the site was already considered a picturesque ruin; it is described in the auction paper as "a very admired freehold property, the ancient castle of Bodiham" (ESRO RAF/F 1/4). The description of the castle in this auction paper also suggests that the castle was considered an admirable ruin, as it describes the property as;

"Independent of the great interest which these magnificent ruins hold for the Antiquary, the solemn stillness of their scenery, arising from the motionless waters which surround them, renders them no less than delightful for the picturesque eye than the pensive mind. Seated in low ground, like many of the ancient mansions of England, the Castle of Bodiham is environed by a large deep moat, and presents a figure nearly square, guarded by a round tower at each angle" (ESRO RAF/F 1/4).

Therefore, whilst there may be a degree of truth in the notion that Fuller purchased the castle to save it from destruction, its perception at the time as an image of the picturesque brings forward the suggestion that there was more to this purchase than previously assumed. When Fuller made the decision to buy the castle in 1828 he had already, for a number of years, been carrying out landscaping work at his own estate in Brightling. It seems evident when looking at this work that Fuller himself was aware of the trends and fashions in place concerning landscaping at this time, demonstrated through the follies constructed around Brightling Park. Therefore, I suggest that we should see Fuller's purchase of Bodiam Castle as part of this landscaping work, and attempt to understand his work at the site in terms of its relationship with his work at Brightling. I believe that Fuller purchased the site in order to incorporate it into his work at Brightling; the relationship between the two sites is, I suggest,

represented in the construction and use of the tower, a folly located at the east of the Brightling Park estate.

3.2 The Tower and the Panoramic View

The Tower, built in the 1820's and measuring 10.6m in height, is located on the eastern extent of the Brightling estate and is suggested to have been constructed as a means for Fuller to oversee the work being carried out at Bodiam (Quinn and Coe 2008: 79). I believe this reasoning to be too simplistic; I suggest that the tower was built as a mechanism through which to oversee work being carried out both at Bodiam and Brightling, but as a means to 'view' the landscape in a different sense. Using current work on the use of the correct view in designed landscapes and the idea of the panoramic view (Cosgrove 1984, Barrell 1990), it is suggested that the construction of the tower was a means of promoting a specific view of the landscape, in turn related to the expression of a justification of Fuller's place within society and the assertion of political authority. In order to discuss these concepts in relation to Fuller's work I will first approach the concept of the panoramic in designed landscapes, and attempt to highlight how we can see a reflection of this in the relationship between Bodiam, Brightling and the Tower.

I suggest that the construction of the tower at Brightling Park was a means through which Fuller was able to promote the correct view of the landscape, using Bodiam Castle as a focal point for this view. In turn, I believe this to have been a mechanism through which Fuller was able to legitimise his position within society. According to Cosgrove, designed landscapes and the use of Romantic ruins acted as a justification of social order, as such structures are suggested to have functioned in mystifying social relations and legitimising the position of polite society (1984: 231). This concept works on the notion that a panoramic view, as discussed by Barrell, is a demonstration of how "a correct taste, especially for landscape and landscape art, was used in this period as a means of legitimating political authority" (1990: 19). According to Barrell, it was the ability to think in general terms and produce abstract ideas that allowed individuals to validate their position in society (1990: 19). An expression of this thinking was in the design of landscapes; the separation of the natural and the designed and the ability to promote the panoramic view. Barrell suggests that "the representation of such landscape is an instantiation of the political capability of the public man" (1990: 36). I believe this to be reflected in Fuller's work and suggest that we should see the use of the tower at Brightling as a manifestation of these ideas. Fuller began the

process of building follies and landscaping Bodiam upon his retirement from parliament, a time at which he was renowned for his forward character in parliament and strong political views. I believe that by constructing the tower, he was promoting a view of his most impressive folly – Bodiam Castle. Through this view, Fuller was able to use the castle and the view of his own estate at Brightling as means through which to affirm and legitimise his own position within society. Fuller is said to have been determined to make a name for himself in the eyes of posterity (Oxford Dictionary of National Biography 2011) and I suggest that he was able to achieve this by using Bodiam Castle as part of a view of a designed landscape, through the use of the tower. Therefore, Fuller's work at Bodiam is related to his estate at Brightling through the tower, and the use of the castle alongside Fuller's other landscaping work as an expression of political authority and a legitimisation of Fuller's place within society. I find Johnson's summary of the ideas discussed above to be particularly applicable in suggesting that "the medieval castle and the great house of the eighteenth century were both 'power houses'; they were both bound up with the polite culture of political authority and power in their respective ages" (1996: 154).

3.3 The estate and 19th century taste

If we are to see the tower as a means through which to promote the correct view of a landscape and therefore as a justification of social order, we must further explore the types of views intended to be promoted, and assess whether this seems evident in Fuller's work. According to Williamson, "in this context it is important to note how contemporary writers on landscape design frequently talked about consulting the 'genius of place'; working with, rather than against, the character of the local topography" (1999; 225). Furthering this, it was the essence of seclusion, the division between the worked countryside and the polite landscape park which held significance in the designed landscape (Williamson 1999). I believe that we can see this in the view promoted by the tower; the natural topography of Bodiam frames the castle within the wider landscape (figure 3.1; figure 3.2). I believe that the idea of the 'genius of place' holds significance, particularly in indicating Fuller's awareness of current trends in landscape design. This is a concept used in a number of other landscape parks; for example, we see the central role of the 'genius of place' and the use of natural topography to highlight features of the park at the gardens of Stowe. Alexander Pope commented on the power of natural topography in his 1731 poem upon a visit to Stowe;

4. Can we see a reflection of the socio-political context in which John Fuller's work lies?

What must be reiterated throughout this research is the extent to which we should view the garden, landscaping and the estate as a reflection of the socio-political context of this period. John Fuller's work at Bodiam Castle was undertaken, as suggested above, as part of the landscaping work of his own estate, and I therefore believe it is of importance to relate this work to its wider socio-political context in order to fully understand its significance. I find Bending's summary of this issue to be particularly applicable in suggesting that "when we ask 'what is the garden' our answer must inevitably include not only physical landscape but eighteenth century history and theory, and the recognition of the garden as an imagined space both in the lives of individuals and the cultures they inhabit" (forthcoming: 6). Further, when we consider the use of the castle within Fuller's landscape, we must take into consideration its significance as an expression of an ideology; as Everson reminds us "it is widely acknowledged... that buildings can commonly be understood not solely in terms of aesthetic taste and functional practicality, but as reflecting ideological viewpoints" (2007: 113). I believe the use of the castle to be integrated within this concept, and as suggested previously the reasoning behind Fuller's purchase of the castle itself was more than to simply save it from ruin. Therefore, when we discuss the extent of Fuller's work at Bodiam and its relationship to Brightling Park we must also place the work within its wider context in order to fully understand it. What follows is a discussion of the relationship between Fuller's work and the socio-political context in which it lies.

4.1 The significance of the use of a ruin

Firstly it is suggested that the view of Bodiam Castle as a picturesque ruin holds significance, and it is therefore appropriate to discuss the importance of Fuller's choice to use Bodiam Castle as a folly and its significance as part of a designed landscape. Through the information provided in the auction papers for the site, alongside contemporary artwork depicting the castle, it seems clear that at the time of Fuller's purchase of Bodiam Castle the site was already considered a picturesque ruin. According to Baridon, at this time medieval ruins were used in designed landscapes as a mechanism through which to afford testimony to the ancestry of Britain's elites (1985: 85). This point is reiterated though the discussion of the view of Bodiam necessitated by the construction of the tower, whereby it is suggested by Johnson that both the medieval castle and the gentry house were important as they were bound within the polite expression of power and political authority (1996: 154). In other

words, it is the conscious decision to use a symbol of longevity and power that is suggestive of the longevity of a family; subsequently, this longevity is seen as an indicator of the rightful position of the family or individual in society. I believe this concept to be reflected in Fuller's decision to purchase Bodiam, and its use as part of the panoramic view from the tower at Brightling. Furthering the previous discussion of the view of the castle and its use in the expression of political authority, through Baridon's work (1985) we can also see the castle as a symbol of the rightful position of the Fuller family in nineteenth century society. Alongside this, Baridon also suggests that we should recognise in the use of ruins within estates the idea of symbols of decay inspiring intellectual aspirations of the age (1985: 84). According to Lucas, Fuller was a well-known supporter of the sciences, as he contributed extensively to the Royal Institution in founding the Fullerian Scholarships (1904: 380). Therefore, in Fuller's use of Bodiam Castle I believe we can see a reflection of a testimony to his ancestry as well as a symbol of his right to support scientific endeavours through investment in the intellect of individuals. This, I suggest, is an expression of both history and continuity in the use of Bodiam Castle.

4.2 Representation of the house and garden in popular culture

Whilst it is suggested that we can recognise the ideology of the landscape park in Fuller's work, it is important to understand how such landscapes were perceived by those experiencing them. One of the most well-known examples of this is the expression of the central role of the house and garden in the works of Jane Austen; for example, one is aware of the delight of Elizabeth Bennett at seeing how the gardens have been presented at Mr Darcy's estate at Pemberley, as it is depicted that "Every disposition of the ground was good, and she looked on the whole scene, the river, the trees scattered on its banks and the winding of the valley, as far as she could trace it, with delight. As they passed into other rooms these objects were taking different positions; but from every window there were beauties to be seen" (Austen 1994: 188). Alongside this, when Elizabeth Bennett is asked at what point she knew that she loved Mr Darcy, she responds by saying that "it has been coming on so gradually that I hardly know when it began. But I believe that it must date *from my first seeing his beautiful grounds at Pemberley*" (Austen 1994: 288). Here we see an example of the concept of the landscape park as a reflection of the individual, highlighting the importance of the perception of such estates at this time. We also see a reflection of the political aspect of the landscape park in contemporary poetry; for example in Hemans (1827)

‘The Homes of England’ we see an indication of the status of the house in political claims in the lines;

*“The free fair homes of England!
Long, long in hut and hall,
May hearts of native proof be rear’d
To guard each hallow’d wall”* (Hemans 1827).

This is suggestive of the idea that the landscape park was seen as an aide to political authority, furthering the issues discussed previously depicting the use of Fullers estate at Brightling and Bodiam as an affirmation of his political stance.

The recognition of Fuller’s work at Brightling in contemporary landscape painting also highlights the significance of his work in terms of its social context. The Brightling estate and observatory are depicted in Turner’s 1819 ‘Brightling Observatory as seen from Rose Hill Park’ which was designed as part of a series of view in Sussex (Figure 4.1), commissioned by Fuller himself and later published in Cooke’s 1827 ‘Picturesque views of England and Wales’. According to Lucas, although the piece was supposed to depict views of Brightling observatory, “the observatory, being of no interest, is almost invisible” (1904: 381). Instead, Turner has focused on the Brightling landscape. Alongside this, Turner has also portrayed views of Bodiam Castle; in his painting entitled ‘Bodiam Castle, Sussex’ we see the castle depicted in the background of an image of the Bodiam landscape, with a bridge at the focal point of the image (Figure 4.2). The location of the castle within this image suggests that the scene has not been portrayed accurately; the topography of the site is clearly one of high ground to the north, and lowers to the south at the river Rother. The bridge depicted in the painting no longer exists, but the views from the river Rother do now allow a view as portrayed in Turner’s work. As a result of this, it is suggested that the castle was recognised as an iconic symbol, and the view was manipulated by Turner in order to include the castle in his depiction of a picturesque landscape.

4.3 Polite landscapes and a landscape of slavery

Furthering the ideas discussed above, I believe we can see a reflection of wider social processes in Fuller’s landscaping work. In the later eighteenth century, the ability of the middle classes to earn capital and increase their wealth was greatly increased. General economic expansion had spurred a recovery in the fortunes of the gentry, but it had also allowed expansion in the affluence of the middle classes, a group which Williamson

describes as “somewhat amorphous... ranging from wealthy merchants and prominent professionals down to larger-scale farmers and shopkeepers (1995: 17). As a result of this, the nature of the relations between the landed gentry and the mercantile and professional classes underwent a fundamental change during the later eighteenth century. It is suggested that “increasingly, they sought to play down differences of status and hierarchy between them, emphasising instead a collection of shared cultural values often referred to as ‘politeness’; easy and affable behaviour; a knowledge of taste and current fashions; and acquisition of a particular set of social skills” (Williamson 1995: 17); this set of values was seen as an expression of the ‘polite’. In turn, we see a reflection of this social transition in the changing designs and taste of garden landscaping, moving from the formal designed garden to the more natural layout of the landscape park in the second half of the eighteenth century. The design of the landscape park could be achieved by not only the landed gentry but also the rising mercantile and professional class, as the design was much less expensive than the formal garden and could be designed according to the layout of estates varying greatly in size. The landscape park, therefore, became an indicator of an awareness and knowledge of current taste, of the ability to control ones surroundings and therefore a symbol of the polite.

It is suggested that in Fuller’s work at Bodiam and Brightling we can see a reflection of this concept, as a result of the Fuller family’s position in society. According to Crossley and Saville, the Fuller family “occupy an important place in the political and economic history of mid eighteenth century Sussex. They held a notable role in county politics, as a *benefitted and expanding* landowning family” (1991: ix). John Fuller, therefore, is a representation of the rising professional classes’ ability to earn capital and acquire land. Furthering this, it is the means through which the Fuller family earned this wealth, and subsequently status, which furthers the social significance of Fuller’s work at Bodiam Castle; as gun founders in Robertsbridge and across Sussex (Ffoulkes and Cottesloe 2011: 77) and through plantations in the West Indies. As Crossley and Saville summarise, “After the middle of the [eighteenth] century much of their political life was directed to the defence of the west India interest and the slave trade... Stephen Fuller was agent for the Jamaica assembly from 1759 to his death and Mad Jack Fuller continued this role when a member of parliament” (1991: ix). Therefore, what we can see in the changes made to the landscape of Bodiam this time is a landscape funded by slavery. Looking at the documentation used in this research, it seems clear that Fuller was investing a significant amount of money into both the purchase and restoration

work at Bodiam Castle. Fuller purchased Bodiam for £3000.00 (Thackray 2004: 27) and invested a significant amount of money into making changes to the landscape and restorations to the castle itself. In the use of Bodiam Castle as part of the Brightling estate, we can therefore not only see an expression of Fuller's position within society, but also a representation of this position in the motives behind the purchase and the source of the wealth used for this investment. The landscape of Bodiam during this part of the nineteenth century was a landscape funded by the slave trade.

The use of wealth earned through such endeavours to fund the creation of landscapes at this time was not uncommon. It has been suggested that the landscapes themselves were used as a means through which to mask such social inequality, and as previously discussed, legitimise the position of individuals in society. According to Bermingham, "the landscape garden collapsed the opposition between nature and the cultural (social, aesthetic) processes that appropriated it" (1987: 15). Therefore, the role of the landscape park was, in part, to mask those inequalities which had helped to fund it. As Bending suggests, "in claiming the country at the expense of trade, the landowning elite could neatly divert attention from their own economic activity whilst also claiming the traditional moral high ground of the cultural debate" (1998: 261). It is this use of landscape, as a mask of inequality yet a perpetuation of power, which was described by Barrell (1983) as landscapes 'dark side'; the use of landscape by those in power to represent specific interests yet "beautifully conceal its artifice, naturalizing or rendering invisible its construction and effects in time" (Corner 1999: 15). In such landscape, therefore, we should recognise the significance of the use of surroundings in such a way as to create social message. I believe this to be represented in Fuller's work at both Bodiam and Brightling, and an element to this research which is crucial. In the landscaping of Bodiam, an act funded by slavery, we can recognise in the use of the castle a means through which Fuller was able to assert the longevity of the Fuller family, as well as his own political capability and position within polite society. However, in the use of landscape in this way Fuller was also able to mask the social inequality which had resulted in his family's acquisition of wealth, his support of slavery and his use of a large amount of money in the purchase and landscaping of both sites. Therefore, we should recognise in Bodiam at this time both a landscape of slavery, and the use of the castle as a mask of contested social views and inequalities.

5. Conclusion

5.1 Final assessment of results and scope for future research

To conclude, through this research I suggest that the work carried out by John Fuller at Bodiam Castle was extensive. The data used in this dissertation has provided evidence for the types of work being carried out, the amount of money being invested into the landscaping work and to some degree the extent, in terms of its duration, of the landscaping itself. It is clear that Fuller carried out restorative work to the castle, and made a number of changes to the landscape including digging ditches, carrying out stone work, redoing bank work, building a new cottage, levelling and the management of trees across the castle landscape. The documentation used has also provided evidence that Fuller was investing a significant amount of money into making changes at Bodiam, paying at least 10 individuals over the course of 1829 to conduct work, and meticulously recording the work carried out each week. As there has been no previous assessment of Fuller's work at the site, this research represents a new interpretation of the Bodiam landscape during a period which I believe has been fundamental in changing how we perceive the site today. There exists a scope for future research in this area should one be able to identify the documentation recording the work at the site after 1829, as this has unfortunately put a limitation on the data used in this work. Aside from this problem, however, I believe the data to have been extremely informative in allowing new conclusions to be drawn about the role of Fuller at Bodiam Castle, enabling me to effectively answer the research question.

It was hoped that the three research questions would allow for not only a direct focus on Bodiam, but a wider study of both of Fuller's properties as well as the socio-political context in which the work lies. By relating Fuller's work at Bodiam to his estate at Brightling I believe we have been able to gain a deeper understanding of both the aims and significance of Fuller's work. It seems clear that Fuller had distinct aims in both his purchase and landscaping of Bodiam, and was able to directly link the site to his estate through the use of the Tower as a mechanism through which to view the Bodiam landscape. By including a discussion of the socio-political context in this research I had aimed to demonstrate that Fuller's work lies within a landscaping tradition which is directly related to, and representative of, nineteenth century society. By doing this, it becomes possible to consider the use of Bodiam at this time as part of this tradition, and therefore view the site in a context which I believe to have been neglected in previous studies of the site. Fuller's work at the

site was the beginning of a period in which the landscape underwent significant change, and whilst we may not be able to detail the exact nature of every task carried out by Fuller, I feel the research has been successful in indicating the types of change occurring during this period. I believe this to have been the starting point of a century of change at the site, ultimately culminating in the site as we see it today. There exists a great opportunity for future research in the documentation of the changes made to the Bodiam landscape throughout the nineteenth century. It seems clear that a number of changes were made during this period, and personally I feel that this would be both a challenging and worthwhile task to undertake. I find it fascinating to see the site in this context, and believe it is fundamental to consider this period of Bodiam's history in any future interpretations of the site. Fuller's work at the site represents the recognition of a picturesque landscape, a landscape of slavery and a polite landscape in a time of transition. Therefore, we should consider Fuller's work at Bodiam Castle to have been extensive, and representative of the socio-political context of nineteenth century England.

Figures to accompany chapter one



Image 1.1 Location of Bodiam Castle (Tele Atlas 2011)

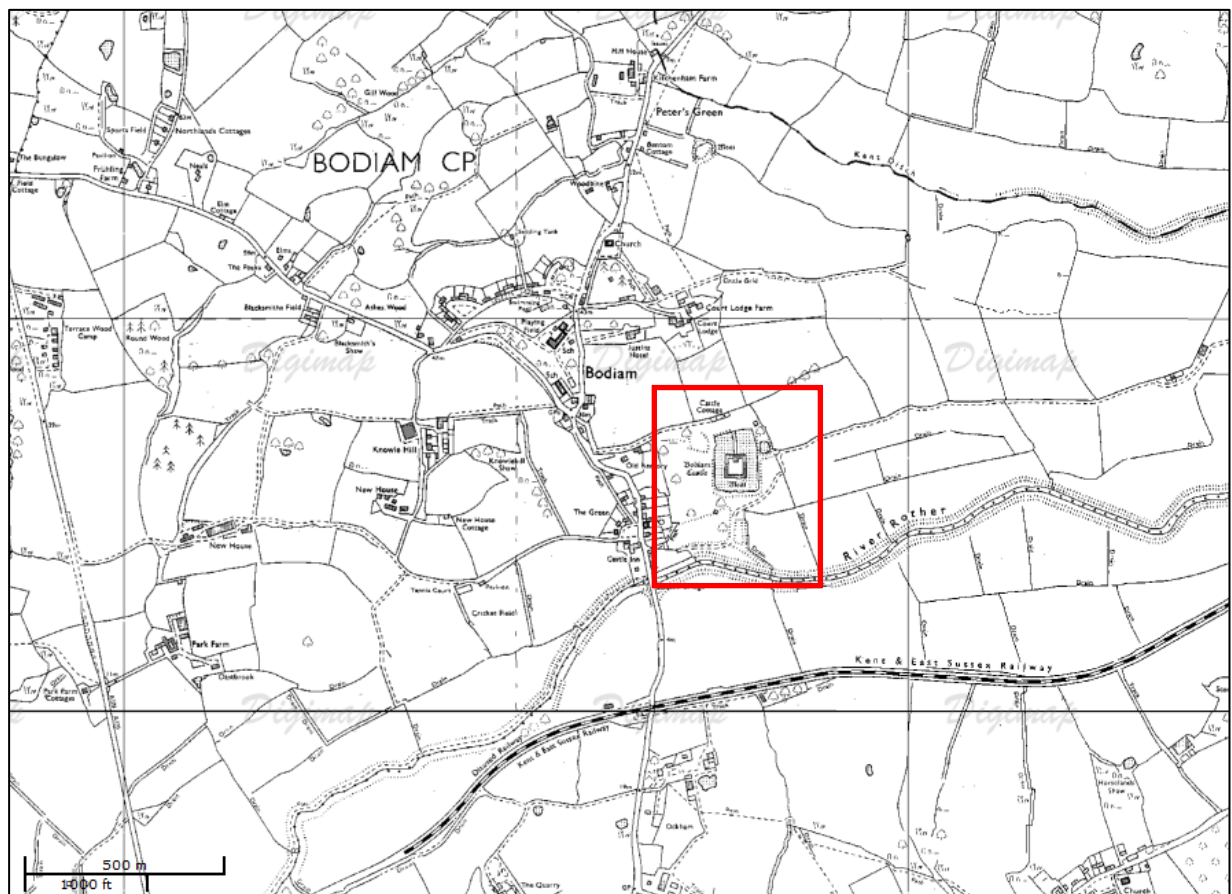


Image 1.2 Location of Bodiam Castle within Bodiam Parish (Ordnance Survey 1971)

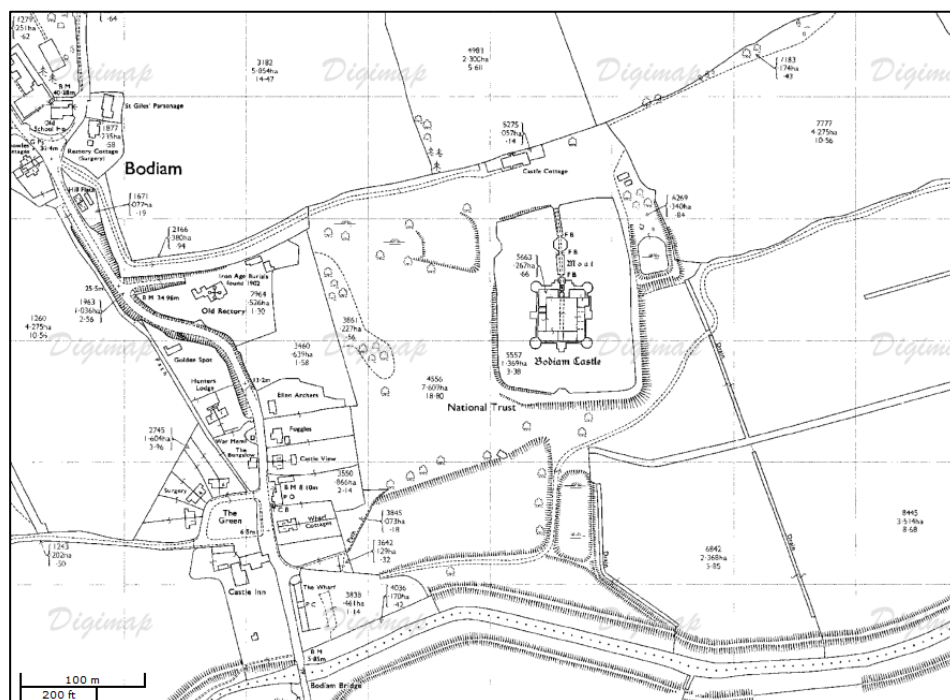


Figure 1.3 Zoom of the 1979 Ordnance Survey map, detailing the layout of the site (Ordnance Survey 1979)



Figure 1.4 Aerial photograph of the site, showing the position of the castle within its wider landscape (Tele Atlas 2011).



Figure 1.5 A photograph of Bodiam Castle, taken from the south-east (The National Trust 2011)



Figure 1.6 John 'Mad Jack' Fuller, the squire of Brightling and owner of Bodiam Castle. Portrait by Henry Singleton, no date (Royal Institution, London)

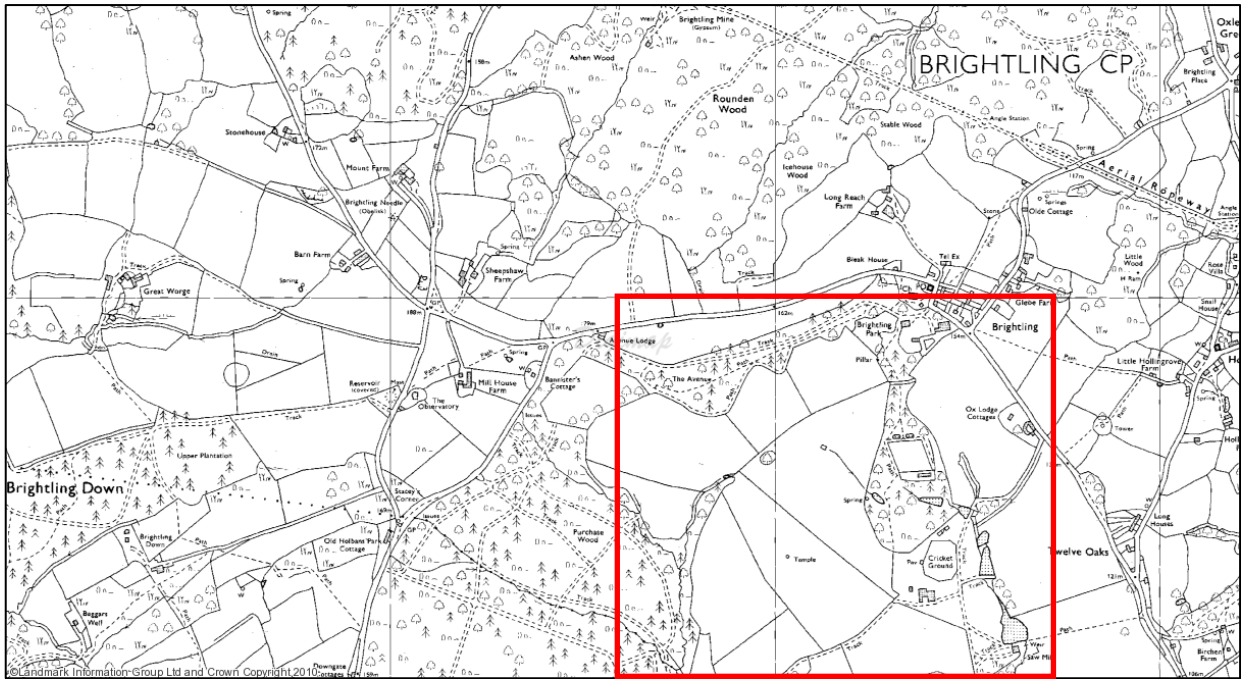


Figure 1.7 The Brightling Parish. Highlighted is the Brightling Park Estate (Ordnance Survey 1978)



Figure 1.8 Modern map showing the distance between Bodiam (A) and Brightling (B) – the distance is 4.1 miles (Tele Atlas 2011).



Figure 1.9 The south-west view from Bodiam Castle towards Brightling Park (Source: Authors own, photographed 2011)

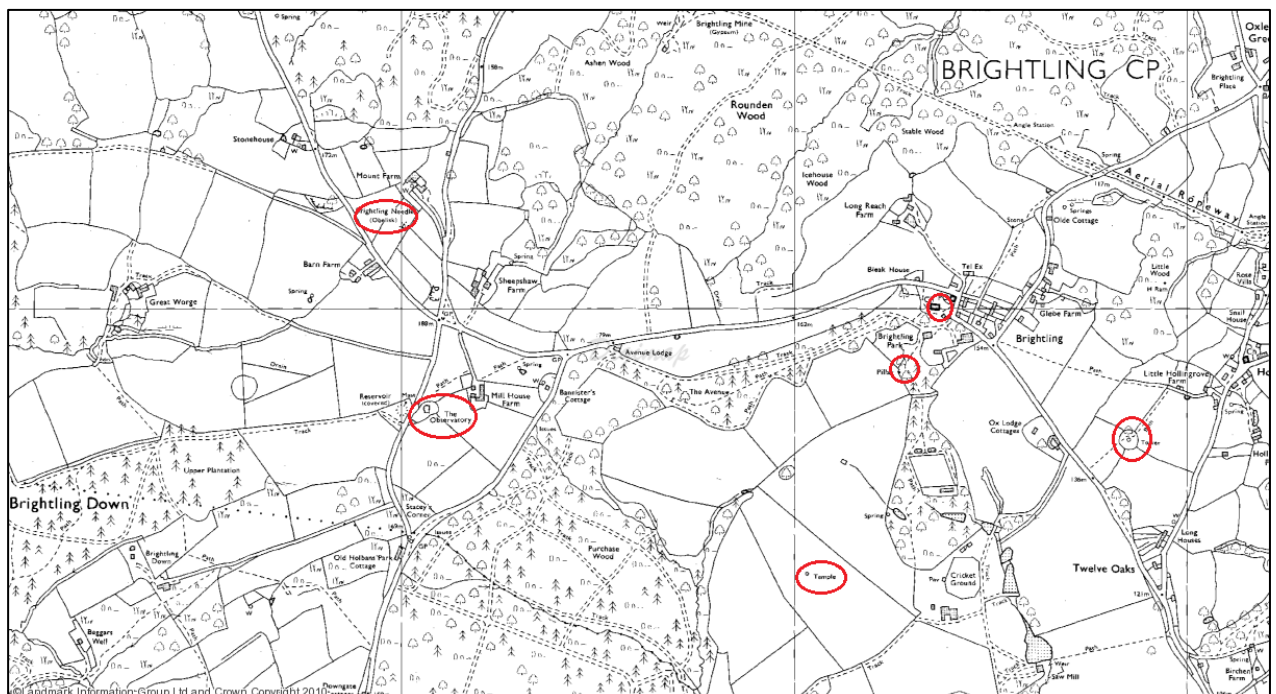


Figure 1.10 The locations of Fuller's follies across the Brightling landscape. Bodiam is located to the north-east, and the sugarloaf is located to the west (Ordnance Survey 1978)



Figure 1.11 'Brightling Observatory as seen form Rose Hill Park' by J.M.W Turner, 1819. (Cambell Fine Art 2011).



Figure 1.12 The Obelisk, or the Brightling Needle, one of Fullers follies as viewed from the south (source: Oast House Archive, photographed 2009)



Figure 1.13 The Sugarloaf, located to the south of the Brightling estate (source: Oast House Archive, photographed 2009)



Figure 1.14 The Observatory, located to the west of the Brightling estate, photographed from the east. (source: R. Webster, photographed in 2007).



Figure 1.15 The Tower, located to the east of the Brightling Estate, which looks over Brightling and allows a view of Bodiam Castle (source: both R. Webster, photographed in 2007).



Figure 1.16 The Pyramid; the place of Burial for Mad Jack Fuller, located in Brightling Churchyard (source: K. Gordon, photographed in 2009)

Figures to accompany chapter Two



Figure 2.1 Grimm watercolours of 1784 depicting the view from within the castle walls, looking to the south, and the southern postern tower. Here we can see an artistic rendering of the form of the castle before Fuller purchased the site, when a cottage was located within the castle walls (Thackray 2004).



Figure 2.2 Grimm watercolours of 1784 depicting the barbican and the view from the barbican, where we can see the presence of animals within the castle landscape (Thackray 2004).

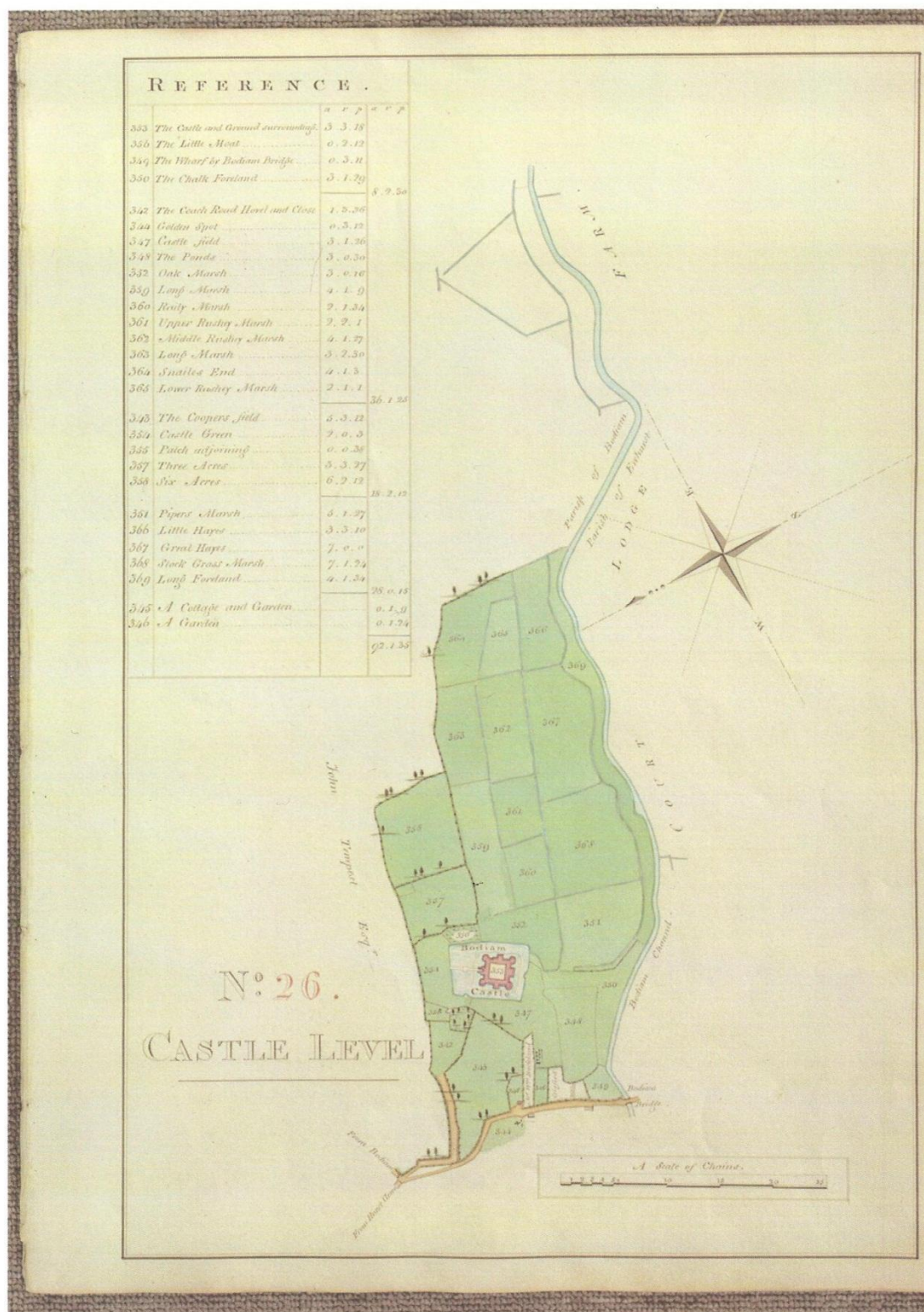


Figure 2.3 Estate Map of Bodiam dating from 1811, when the site was owned by Sir Godfrey Webster (ESRO BAT 4453 AMS 5691)



Figure 2.4 Tithe Map of Bodiam, dated to 1840 (ESRO TD/E 99)



Figure 2.5 Tithe map of Bodiam, dated to 1840; area to the west of image 2.4 demonstrating the western proximity of the site and the entrance to the castle lane (ESRO TD/D 99).



Figure 2.6 Comparison of the Castle Lane (Area 342 of 1811 estate map; area 66 of 1840 Tithe Map) where we can see a formal pathway present in 1811, but removed by 1840.

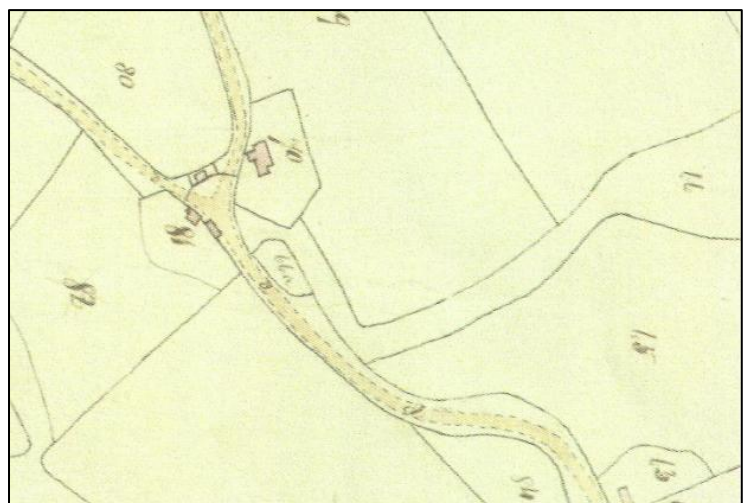


Figure 2.7 Garden area; the addition of a garden (labelled 66a) at the entrance to the coach road, an entrance to the site from the west (1840 Tithe map; ESRO TD/E 99)



Figure 2.8 Results of the 2010 resistivity survey, highlighting the complex archaeological remains below ground at the site (Barker et al. 2010).



Figure 2.9 Resistivity results from the castle bank field, demonstrating the complex archaeological remains within the castle landscape. The presence of a number of ditches is suggestive of the work which Fuller was carrying out, particularly in reference to the wages paid to those working at the site for digging ditches and redoing bank work (Barker et al. 2010)



Figure 2.10 Comparison of the castle field area, as seen in image 2.9 (above). Here we can see that the area changed slightly between 1811 and 1840, suggesting that the resistivity evidence may be evidence of Fuller's work at the site (ESRO BAT 4453/ ESRO TD/D 99)



Figure 2.11 Anomaly present in the resistivity results, interpreted as a tree ring. It is suggested that this is the type of work which Fuller would have been carrying out at the site, although there is no record of this change on the 1840 Tithe map as no trees are depicted on the map (Barker et al. 2010).

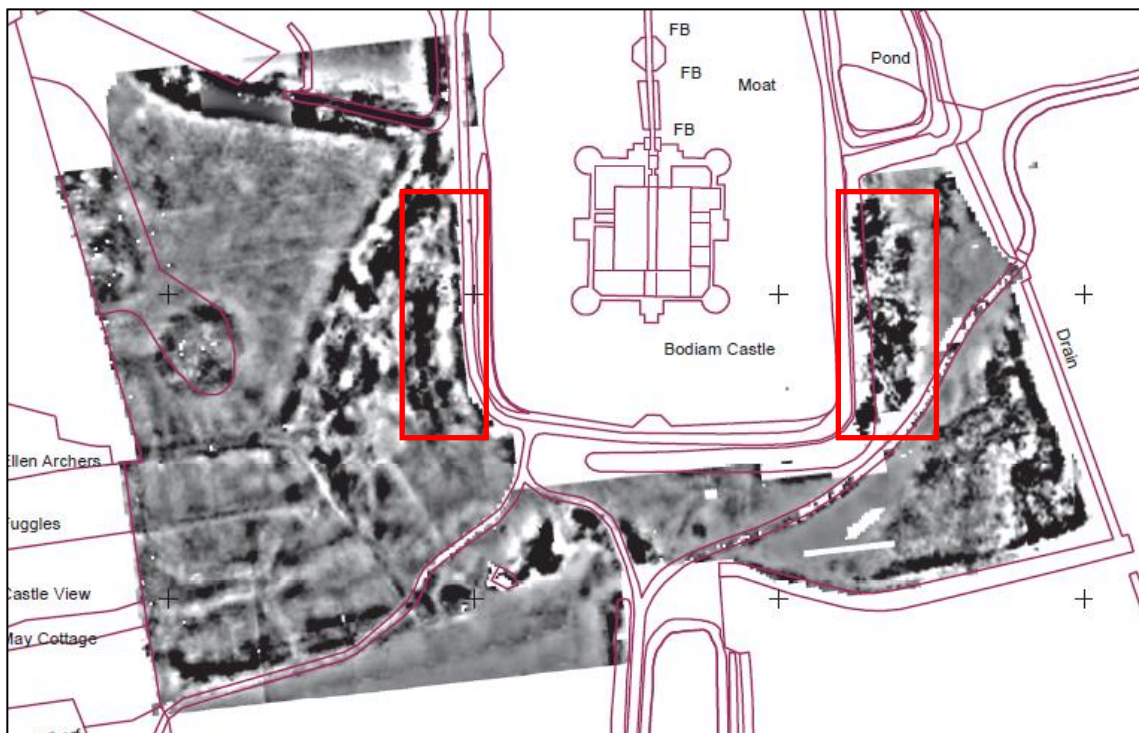


Figure 2.12 Anomalies in the resistivity results which are suggested to be the result of the dumping of excess material from work carried out at the site. The material may be the remnants of ditch work or stone work- the types of work carried out by Fuller at the site (Barker et al. 2010).

Figures to accompany chapter three



Figures 3.1 and 3.2 The view from the tower at Brightling, looking north-east towards Bodiam. This image is hindered slightly by the fact that Bodiam lies directly behind the large tree central to the images. However, it is clear that The Tower allowed a panoramic view of the Brightling and Bodiam Landscapes (Source; Webster, photographed in 2011; Duncan, photographed in 2011)

Figures to accompany chapter four



Figure 4.1 Turner's 1819 "Brightling Observatory as seen from Rose Hill Park" depicting views of the Brightling Park estate (Campbell Fine Art 2011)



Figure 4.2 'Bodiam Castle, Sussex' by J.M.W Turner, 1810. This image is suggested to have been manipulated in order to include Bodiam within the landscape, as the view from the Bridge does not allow this view (Campbell Fine Art 2011)

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Appendix

A: Transcripts of documentation used in this dissertation.

All original documents are located at East Sussex Records Office.

ESRO RAF/F 9/28 Bills for work at Bodiam Castle 1829

These are daily records of the money paid by Fuller to the men carrying out work at Bodiam (and in some cases Rose Hill). The receipts are titled John Fuller Esq. and addressed to John Croft. The receipts take the form of either weekly or monthly accounts of the wage paid to each worker, divided according to the work which was carried out during each period.

- **Main Bill, no date**

Masons work for drawing the stone building by the walk, by the north walk about £120 at 11d for £66 – by Crofts estimate it will require about 200 loads of stone, the coinage of which at 2d per load is £20. Sand from the paddock about 30 loads, the coinage at 2d per load is £3.

Allow 6 days for 2 horses fetching water at 10d per day - £3

About three 4ths of a kiln of lime, £13 10d

About 5s of load to dig up the main ditch, dump it (correlate and complete it) £30

Masons work £66

Courage of stone £20

Courage of sand £3

Courage of water £3

For lime £13 10d

Digging ditch £30

Total; £135 10d

- **Small slip within this**

330 yards at 6d per yard, the some of £99. Some of the stone will be the mote stone.

- **1829 July**

John Fuller Esq.

To John Croft, The weekly account of Bodiam Castle

Working:

- Croft
- Croft
- Self
- Yorke
- Yorke
- Forster
- Merricks
- Edward
- Boy
- Martins
- Christians

- **1829**

(Collated information gathered from the weekly wage slips)

- 1829 March and April – erecting a new cottage
- 1829 March and April – redoing bank work, cutting away bank and dubbing out of ditch
- 1829 March and April – 86 bushels of composition, three of plaster
- 1829 June – cleaning out well
- 1829 July – the bill of stone work done at Bodiam Castle Ref foundations
- 1829 July – ten loads of stone
- 1829 July 26th – digging of stone
- 1829 July 29th – 12 loads of stone
- 1829 August – five days paid for digging of stone to Martin Edward
- 1829 August – coping stone
- 1829 August – coping of digging stone
- 1829 September – coping of stone for digging
- 1829 November 1st – plastering and painting
- 1829 November – levelling
- 1829 November – preparing ridges with compost
- 1829 November – leashing and preparing acres (wheat)
- 1829 November – digging of stone
- 1829 November – painting gates and fence
- 1829 December 3rd – 4 bushels of coal ashes
- 1829 December – Building of Buttress
- 1829 December – 7 loads of stone
- 1829 December – coping stone for digging
- 1829 December – putting down paths

Alongside this work there is detail of work also being carried out at the Rose Hill estate; each time work at this location is paid for it is labelled Rose Hill (for example, 1829 June 6th)

– paid for four days labour and plastering at Rose Hill Gardens). It seems evident that Fuller was also carrying out work at a third location entitled 'Gardens'; the exact location of this is unclear, and it is possible that 'Gardens' indicates either work at Rose Hill, or the area identified on the Tithe Map as the garden area of Bodiam.

- **1829**

John Fuller Esq. to John Croft

Taking down an old building and erecting a new cottage at Bodiam Castle. Bricklayers and plasterers work finding nails, glazing and painting the doors and window frames outside amounts to seventeen pounds, eighteen shillings and 11 pence. £17.18.11

- **Small slip dated March and April**

Day work to the above in conveyance of the bank work not being done in a proper manner. Cutting away bank work and dubbing out to ditch

Bases of columns, shafts, moulding, logging, labourers and plaster round to bases and sub bases

£24 16 7

(bottom of document is missing)

- **John Croft** *(attached to bill for cottage dated 1829 and bills starting January 1829)*

From John Fuller Esq. To John Croft

Monthly bills for day work are

- January £2 4s 3d
- February £3 5s 9s
- March £10 13s 9d
- April £5 13s 10d
- May £3 10s 6d
- June £5 4s 3d
- July £4 13s 9d
- August £2 2s 0d
- September £2 0s 0d
- October £5 13s 6d
- November £5 13s 6d

Total £48 16s 6d

- Bill for nails £4 16s 3d
- Bill for white lead (and Hail?) £13 5s 3d
- Bill for glazing and painting £14 10s 3d

- Bill for lead and glass £11 6s 7d
- Bill for work done at Bodiam Castle £114 10s 0d
- Building a cottage at Bodiam Castle £17 18s 11d

- **Small Slip**

Billed the 30th August 1830 of Jon Fuller Esq. by payment of Mr. Barton forty two pounds 13d – due to the death of the late John Croft and account.

£42 13s Jon Hallanday executor

- **John Crofts account**

Work at Bodiam Castle £114 10s 0s

Building a new cottage at Bodiam Castle £17 18s 11d

Unnamed work £90 4s 3d

ESRO RAF/F 1/4 Deeds for Bodiam Castle

- **Auction Leaflet**

In Sussex – the particulars of a very admired freehold property, the ancient castle of Bodiam. About 25 acres of land; also the Manor of Bodiam. Will be sold by auction by Mr Geo.e Robins at the auction mark, opposite the bank, on Thursday 18th September 1828 by direction of a man of rank.

Lot VIII

The ancient freehold castle of Bodiam

The Walls of which exhibit a beautiful specimen of the Masonry of feudal times, with the site of the spacious interior parts thereof – the Moat surround the same – the little Moat and Drawbridge; the area includes four Acres of Land. Also;

A freehold wharf and several pieces of Brook Land

Situate in the CASTLE LEVEL, by BODIAM BRIDGE, in the parish of BODIAM, adjoining to BODIAM CHANNEL, and the high road from STEEPLE CROSS towards BODIAM viz.

- The wharf by Bodiam bridge
- The chalk foreland by Bodiam channel (both Stephen Morris tenant at will)
- The garden adjoining and fronting the high road
- The castle field

- The ponds
- Oak marsh (all John Boddy tenant at will)
- The coach road and small close
- The patch adjoining
- The castle green adjoining the moat (all three Thomas Henly tenant at will)
- The area f the castle as above

Total annual value at £22 2s 3d

Also the Manor of Bodiham with its rights, royalties, privileges and appurtenances

The annual quit rents are £9 6s 3d

The annual casual profits on the average of the last seven years has been £17 7s 3d

Annual value : £26 14 7

The land tax on the manor of Bodiam is redeemed; but it is subject to a castle guard rent of 18s per annum, except in leap year, and then of £1 4s

The following historical account of the Castle of Bodiham, it is believed, will not be thought uninteresting or out of place in this particular

Bodiam Castle, Sussex, at a small distance eastward of the village of that name, is seated near the river Rother, on the boarders of the county on the Kent side.

Independent of the great interest which these magnificent ruins possess for the Antiquary, the solemn stillness of their scenery, arising from the motionless waters which surround them, renders them no less than delightful to the picturesque eye then the pensive mind. Seated in a low ground, like many of the ancient mansions of England, the Castle of Bodiham is environed by a large and deep moat, and presents a figure nearly square, guarded by a round tower at each angle, - having gates in the north and south parts, and a quadrangular turret on the east and west sides. The North Gate is the principal entrance; and it is approached over a road or causeway which stretches across the moat, whilst it was also formerly defended by a portcullis yet hanging on its groves, and an advanced porch, part of which is still remaining. On each side of the entrance is a square embattled tower; and immediately above the gate are three escutcheons of arms carved beneath a crest of a unicorns head. The first of these are the arms of the Lords of Bodiham; the second those of the family of Dalyngrige, by whom the castle was built; and the third those of a marriage in the family now unknown.

The lodgings and offices of this castle were parallel to the main walls, leaving an open area in the centre, and the interior forms a pleasing view of the towers and walls mantled with ivy, surrounding a square of verdure ornamented by the trees upon it. On the eastern side of the ruins is the chapel, and at the south west angle is the kitchen. The abutments of a bridge are still remaining, both at the sallyport and at the principal entrance.

The great gate is very grand, it is flanked by two square machicolated towers. The east and west walls measure 165 feet, those forming the north and south 150 feet. On the north side of this castle, as stated by the Rev. Mr Russell, in a letter to sir William Burrell, is a very remarkable echo – the excellence consists in placing the hearers and singers at different distances from the edifice.

- **Dated 11th day of November 1828**

Sir Godfrey Webster Baronet and John Fuller Esquire

Agreement for sale and purchase of Bodiham Castle, Manor and lands in Sussex.

Appendix B: Sample of the documents used in this dissertation. *All original documents are located at East Sussex Records Office.*

1829 John Stuller Esq^r
D^y Jⁿ Croft
Taking down an old building and erecting
a new Cottage at Bodiam Castle -
Bricklayers and Plasterers work finding
nails, Glazing, and Painting the doors
and Window frames outside amounts to
seventeen pounds eighteen shillings and 4s
£ 17^l 18^s 4^d
V
Measured by Jⁿ Croft

EAST SUSSEX RECORD OFFICE

RAF/F9/28

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1029 Weekly account of works at Portsmouth Dock

Aug st 1 st 6 Days	4.2.9
Craft 1 st 6 Days	1.1.0
Porter 1 st 7 Days	1.1.6
Murich 1 st 5 Days	12.6
Craft 1 st 7 Days	10.6
Craft 1 st 7 Days	8.9
Boy 7 Days	7.0
Martin 1 st 5 Days	15.0
Christmas 1 st 5 Days	15.0
	<u>6.17.0</u>

EAST SUSSEX RECORD OFFICE

RAF/F9/28

ESRO

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1820	Dayley a court of justice at Brixton, Surrey
Mon 20th 1820	1 Day signing of letters
Tues 21st 1820	1 Day to
Wed 22nd 1820	1 Day to
Thurs 23rd 1820	1 Day to
Fri 24th 1820	1 Day to
Sat 25th 1820	1 Day to
Sun 26th 1820	1 Day to
Mon 27th 1820	1 Day to
Tues 28th 1820	1 Day to
Wed 29th 1820	1 Day to
Thurs 30th 1820	1 Day to
Fri 31st 1820	1 Day to
Sat 1st 1821	1 Day to
Sun 2nd 1821	1 Day to
Mon 3rd 1821	1 Day to
Tues 4th 1821	1 Day to
Wed 5th 1821	1 Day to
Thurs 6th 1821	1 Day to
Fri 7th 1821	1 Day to
Sat 8th 1821	1 Day to
Sun 9th 1821	1 Day to
Mon 10th 1821	1 Day to
Tues 11th 1821	1 Day to
Wed 12th 1821	1 Day to
Thurs 13th 1821	1 Day to
Fri 14th 1821	1 Day to
Sat 15th 1821	1 Day to
Sun 16th 1821	1 Day to
Mon 17th 1821	1 Day to
Tues 18th 1821	1 Day to
Wed 19th 1821	1 Day to
Thurs 20th 1821	1 Day to
Fri 21st 1821	1 Day to
Sat 22nd 1821	1 Day to
Sun 23rd 1821	1 Day to
Mon 24th 1821	1 Day to
Tues 25th 1821	1 Day to
Wed 26th 1821	1 Day to
Thurs 27th 1821	1 Day to
Fri 28th 1821	1 Day to
Sat 29th 1821	1 Day to
Sun 30th 1821	1 Day to
Mon 31st 1821	1 Day to

EAST SUSSEX RECORD OFFICE

RAT/F9/78

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