

Archaeological and Historic Landscape Survey

**SMALLHYTHE PLACE
Kent**

NGR TQ 893 300

**Commissioned by
THE NATIONAL TRUST**

Project No. 1967

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Archaeology South-East

Archaeology South-East is a division of University College London Field Archaeology Unit. The Institute of Archaeology at UCL is one of the largest groupings of academic archaeologists in the country. Consequently, Archaeology South-East has access to the conservation, computing and environmental backup of the college, as well as a range of other archaeological services.

The Field Archaeology Unit and Archaeology South-East were established in 1974 and 1991 respectively. Although field projects have been conducted world-wide, the Field Archaeology Unit retains a special interest in south-east England with the majority of our contract and consultancy work concentrated in Hampshire, Surrey, Sussex, Kent, Greater London and Essex.

Drawing on experience of the countryside and towns of the south east of England the Unit can give advice and carry out surveys at an early stage in the planning process. By working closely with developers and planning authorities it is possible to incorporate archaeological work into developments with little inconvenience.

Archaeology South East, as part of the Field Archaeology Unit, is a registered organisation with the Institute of Field Archaeologists.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Archaeology South-East, a division of University College London Field Archaeology Unit, were commissioned by the National Trust to carry out a Historic Landscape Survey of Smallhythe Place, a small property centred around a 16th century timber-framed building, near Tenterden in Kent. The aim of the work was to produce a definitive and up-to-date review of the archaeological and historical development of the property, and was intended to inform future management plans and produce information for use in educational and interpretative formats.

The work involved a comprehensive review of existing primary and secondary historical and archaeological sources, a landscape survey to identify and record features of archaeological significance, and a thorough standing buildings survey of four historic buildings within the property boundary (Smallhythe Place and Barn, Priest's House and Yew Tree Cottage). The data is presented in text, gazetteer and map form. Each archaeological feature was described and photographed, and a statement of its current condition made.

Five main categories of archaeological site were identified (archaeological significance rating in brackets):

- *Medieval earthworks representing evidence of former shipyard activity (Major)*
- *Medieval/early post-medieval land boundaries, comprising lynchets and drainage ditches (Moderate)*
- *Post-medieval buildings (16th-18th centuries)(Moderate)*
- *Post-medieval garden features (early 20th century)(Minor)*
- *Post-medieval ponds (Minor)*

The study concluded that the following earthworks are of national importance, representing a new class of field monument - Deserted Medieval Shipyard.

CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. INTRODUCTION

- Introduction
- Aims and Objectives
- Methodology
- Topography, landuse and geology
- Previous archaeological work

2. STATEMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE

3. ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

4. THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SMALLHYTHE FROM THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY by Dr. Gill Draper

- The Sources
- Early settlement history in Smallhythe area, eleventh to thirteenth centuries
- The River Rother, the Reading Sewer and features on the ground at Smallhythe
- Shipbuilding at Smallhythe
- The economy and society of Smallhythe in its period of greatest prosperity as shipbuilding settlement, fourteenth to sixteenth centuries
- Smallhythe, Tenterden, Rye and the Cinque Port confederation
- Houses, the ferry house, and other buildings at Smallhythe
- Shops at Smallhythe in sixteenth century
- The religious and cultural history of Smallhythe, fourteenth to seventeenth centuries
- The lands of Smallhythe Chapel from 1308 and the landscape around Smallhythe Place
- Smallhythe Chapel Lands in 1546
- Smallhythe's 'decline', sixteenth to seventeenth centuries
- Smallhythe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

5. GAZETTEER OF SITES

6. GLOSSARY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL TERMS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

REFERENCES

Illustrations

- Fig. 1** **Site Location**
Fig. 2 **NT Property showing sites of archaeological importance**
Fig. 3 **Location of previous archaeological work**
Fig. 4 **Tenterden Tithe Map, 1843**
Fig. 5 **Wittersham Tithe Map (provided by Terry Burke)**
Fig. 6 **Field names and land-use, 19th century**
Fig. 7 **Chapel lands in Tenterden Parish**
Fig. 8 **OS 25" Sheet LXXIX.8, 1870**
Fig. 9 **OS 6" Sheet LXXIX, 1870**
Fig. 10 **OS 6" Sheet LXXIX.NE, 1899**
Fig. 11 **OS 25" Sheet LXXIX.8, 1908**

Plates 1-35

1. INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Archaeology South-East (ASE), a division of University College London Field Archaeology Unit (UCLFAU) was commissioned by the National Trust (NT) to carry out an archaeological assessment and historic landscape survey of Smallhythe Place, near Tenterden, Kent (Fig. 1). The area of study comprises Smallhythe Place, a late 15th/early 16th century timber framed house, together with 8ha of surrounding land, including two further dwellings (Yew Tree Cottage and the Priest's House) and a barn (Fig. 2). The field names used in this report (Elfwick Field and Forstal Field) are those ascribed in the interim report on the 1998 *Time Team* excavations published in Volume 123 of *Archaeologia Cantiana*, and appear to be of relatively recent usage. They are used here for the sake of consistency.

The purpose of the survey was to present a full archaeological and historical assessment and analysis for the whole of the property, including buildings. The three main elements were to be a co-ordinated study of primary and secondary historical sources (G. Draper), field survey of the extant landscape archaeology (R. James) and an enhanced interpretative assessment of the significant standing buildings (D. Martin). The first two elements are detailed in the present report, while the standing buildings are covered by four supplementary reports (see separate interpretative volumes by David Martin).

All fieldwork and research was carried out in January and February 2005.

Aims and Objectives

The main aims of the project were:

- To produce a comprehensive archaeological and historical statement on the property to inform any future management plan revisions or conservation plan proposals. More specifically, this would inform proposals for the treatment and management of the ponds on the property, and the location of a new septic tank.
- To produce up-to-date archaeological and historical information that can be drawn on for educational and interpretative use. In particular, this would enable the preparation of a new interpretative package for the property, including a guidebook.

Methodology

The methodology used in the project was detailed in a Brief prepared by Caroline Thackray (NT Territory Archaeologist) (Thackray 2004). A Project Design was compiled by Ian Greig of Archaeology South-East and, after due modifications to take account of budget revisions, agreed with Caroline Thackray, National Trust Territory

Archaeologist (Greig 2004) prior to the commencement of this project. The work was to conform to a ‘Level 3 survey’, as laid out in *Historic Landscape Survey Guidelines* (The National Trust, 2000), and to the recommendations set out in *Standards and Guidance for Archaeological Desk-Based Assessments* (Institute of Field Archaeologists, 1999).

The project comprised four main elements:

- Analysis of existing primary and secondary documentation to determine historical development of the site (Dr. Gill Draper, independent historian);
- Walkover survey of the property to identify and record landscape features of archaeological importance. This involved identifying and recording sites on *proforma* record sheets supplied by the National Trust, plotting the location of all sites with a GPS plotter and recording all sites by digital photography (Richard James, ASE);
- Analysis of existing archaeological data, including examination of Air Photographs (APs) held by NMRC, Swindon, consultation with Kent County Sites and Monuments Record (SMR) and National Trust SMR, examination of historic maps held at Centre for Kentish Studies and review of archaeological literature (Richard James, ASE);
- Archaeological survey of standing buildings (Smallhythe Place, Theatre Barn, Priest’s House and Yew Tree Cottage) (David Martin, ASE).

The results of the survey and associated data searches were to be presented in text, gazetteer and map format in the final report. A full description of the methodology used in the historical section of the report is included in Section 4.

Topography, landuse and geology

Smallhythe Place (Fig. 1) lies to the north-west of Romney Marsh, within the former valley of the River Rother, which now flows to the south of the Isle of Oxney. The river originally flowed to the north of Oxney until re-routed in 1635. The river valley floor is now occupied by reclaimed levels, drained by the Reading Sewer and its tributaries, and largely utilised for arable cultivation. Smallhythe Place sits at the point where the valley sides begin to rise up into the Wealden uplands, and forms the southern end of a small peninsula anchored on Tenterden. The surrounding slopes are used for a mixture of pasture, woodland and arable, including viticulture.

The underlying geology (BGS 1981) comprises Wadhurst Clay, overlain with Tunbridge Wells Sand in the highest part of Elfwick Field. A wide belt of marine Alluvium indicates the former channel of the Rother.

Previous archaeological work

Time Team excavations 1998

In June 1998, a rapid programme of archaeological fieldwork was carried out in and around the National Trust property at Smallhythe Place as part of the Channel 4 television series *Time Team (TT)* (Fig. 3). The site was identified as a medieval

shipyard, and earthworks in the area, including some within the NT boundary, have long been suggested as slipways where ships would be constructed. The programme format dictated that the work was carried out in a limited three-day window. As a result, a varied battery of techniques were utilised but to a fairly superficial level. An initial approach to *Time Team* was made, requesting a copy of the site report. This was agreed, but no report was actually sent. Repeated follow-up emails and phone calls to *TT* were not answered. As a result, it has not been possible to use the *TT* report as a source for this report. However, a relatively detailed interim report of the fieldwork describing the main findings and providing general trench locations can be found in Bellamy & Milne 2003. A summary is provided below. Original *TT* trench numbers are used to prevent confusion. Trench locations are shown in Fig. 3.

Two substantial areas (Area B in Elfwick Field and Area C in Forstal Field) were subjected to geophysical survey, revealing the presumed former shoreline and a series of anomalies suggestive of industrial/settlement activity in Elfwick Field, plus a number of more ambiguous anomalies in Forstal Field, but including strong ferrous responses highlighted as possible dumps of shipbuilding debris (ship nails *etc.*). Based on the findings, four archaeological trial trenches were excavated within the NT property, two in Elfwick Field (Trenches 4 and 5), and two in Forstal Field (Trenches 6 and 7).

Trench 4

This trench (9.4m x 1.5m; 0.9-1.8m depth) was positioned to investigate the putative shoreline. It contained a sequence of sand deposits over 3m in depth, interpreted as a sandbank, cut on the north side by an E-W running channel containing nails, brick fragments and slag in its fills. This was interpreted as a probable drainage channel contemporary with the shipbuilding.

Trench 5

This trench (12.25m x 5.5m; 0.3-1.3m depth) was positioned to examine a prominent high resistance and magnetic anomaly. A large sub-rectangular structure of brick and burnt clay was located, interpreted as a lime or brick kiln, with the former use thought more likely. This structure was cut on its east side by a linear hollow containing large quantities of iron clench nails and roves (*i.e.* shipbuilding/dismantling debris), interpreted as a slipway.

Trench 6

This trench (27.5m x 1.3m; 0.55m depth) was positioned to examine a geophysical anomaly. A confused irregular cut was observed containing iron nails and roves, together with hammerscale, but associated pottery and clay pipes suggested a post-medieval date, with the shipbuilding debris constituting residual material. Below this was a grey clay containing two large timber fragments interpreted as ship timbers. Time constraints precluded the adequate investigation and recording of this trench, which is unfortunately very confused. However, the presence of timbers suggests intact medieval stratigraphy below 0.5m in depth.

Trench 7

This small trench (dimensions not recorded in Bellamy & Milne 2003) was positioned to investigate the western end of drain **130608** (see Fig. 3 and Gazetteer). No evidence was found to suggest anything other than a drain.

Archaeology South-East watching brief 2004

A watching brief (Knight 2004) was maintained during groundworks associated with the installation of new audience seating within the Barn (**130623**) in June 2004. The works revealed 200mm of disturbed soil identified as 19th-20th century floor surfaces overlying an organic water-lain clay deposit resembling cress in appearance, and containing late medieval pottery, large (ship?) nails and brick fragments.

2. STATEMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE

The Gazetteer (Section 5) presents a list of all the known sites of archaeological interest contained within the NT property boundary at Smallhythe Place. This section is designed to provide a summary of their archaeological significance. The archaeological components of the property fall into five main categories, which will be assessed by group.

Medieval earthworks associated with shipbuilding (Sites 130601 and 130611)

The earthworks have been investigated archaeologically and have produced evidence to support the long-standing historical view that they represent slipways and other features associated with the important shipbuilding industry that formerly existed at Smallhythe. A recognised expert on medieval shipbuilding (Gus Milne, UCL) has suggested that they represent a new class of field monument, the Deserted Medieval Shipyard. Excavation, although limited, has indicated the survival of stratigraphic sequences of medieval and early post-medieval date associated with this industry (this may be supported by the results of the 2004 watching brief). This supposes the survival along the southern margin of the NT property of an original shoreline. This is also important for its potential palaeoenvironmental significance, in terms of both the medieval occupation of Smallhythe and any earlier activity within the valley.

Significance: Major

Early post-medieval buildings (16th-18th centuries) (Sites 130622 – 130625)

The buildings have been shown by archaeological assessment to be an interesting and varied collection of timber-framed buildings. The historical survey has been able to place them within the context of the historical development of Smallhythe, although some issues (*e.g.* the 1514 fire) still remain unresolved.

Significance: Moderate

Medieval/early post-medieval land boundaries (Sites 130600, 130602 – 130606, 130608 – 130610)

The land boundaries represent former drainage ditches and lynchetted banks. They comprise an interesting and important element of the landscape history of the locality, particularly those in the northern half of Elfwick Field, which appear to delineate the subdivision of the field into smaller units. This may be linked with the historical evidence that the field was formerly leased by several people. The lynchetted banks may be of medieval origin.

Significance: Moderate

Post-medieval ponds (Sites 130607, 130618, 130619 & 130621)

The ponds are important elements in the landscape. However, as individual features they are of little archaeological significance. All are marked on late 19th century maps, and all except 130618 date from before 1843. The most interesting is likely to be 130619, which may represent part of a former channel. 130607 is now a garden feature, and may have been modified, while 130621 is a modern modification of a former drainage channel. 130618 appears to be a Victorian farmyard addition.

Significance: Minor

Post-medieval garden features (Sites 130612 – 130617)

The garden features are of no particular intrinsic importance in themselves, either in terms of archaeology or garden history, and appear quite ordinary in appearance. Their possible interest stems from the putative link with Dame Ellen Terry. If this link is proven, then the features form part of the cultural landscape associated with her tenure of the property (and the *raison-d'être* for the property being in NT possession). This is particularly true of the dog grave (130615).

Significance: Minor

3. ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This section comprises a summary of the archaeological and historical development of the Smallhythe area from Prehistory onwards. A full discussion of the historical development is found in Section 4.

Pre-Medieval Background

The Sites and Monuments Record (SMR) maintained by Kent County Council records no Prehistoric or Roman entries within 2kms of Smallhythe. In addition, a recently published set of distribution maps of the area record a similar blank character to the locality (Leslie & Short 1999; Lawson & Killingray 2004). This provides a clear impression of the inherent marginality of the area, positioned at the point where the forested Weald met the heavily indented coast.

For most of the Prehistoric period, the area now occupied by the arable prairies of Romney and Walland Marshes existed as a fluctuating system of wetlands situated behind a shingle barrier. The site now occupied by Smallhythe was on the north bank of the River Rother. The exact location and nature of the river is unknown. A series of boreholes sunk across the valley immediately south of Elfwick Field in 1988 (Fig. 3) (Waller, Burrin & Marlow 1988) and an auger and seismic refraction survey carried out 450m to the west by *Time Team* in 1998 (Bellamy & Milne 2003) indicate that the significant fall in sea level experienced during the Ice Ages (up to -120m) caused the excavation of a huge channel, 120m wide and at least 30m deep. This channel was filled with a succession of clay deposits overlain by peat to within 4m of the present ground surface. Peat formation began in the Bronze Age (c.3300BP), the result of rising sea levels impeding river outflow, although the date of cessation of peat formation is difficult to determine due to a number of problems, including the erosion of the upper surface of the peat bed (Waller, Burrin & Marlow 1988, 24). The presence of an extensive peat bed would suggest that an extensive area of wetland, probably alder carr, which would have provided a rich source of wetland resources, occupied the valley at this time. Subsequently, the northern edge of the infilled channel was cut by a smaller channel measuring 45m in width and 10m in depth, reflecting the course of the Rother in the medieval period. This exists at Smallhythe as a separate rock-cut channel, but can be seen in the published sections clearly cutting through the peat deposits further upstream at Newenden (*Ibid.*, 16).

Settlement in this marginal landscape was sparse and piecemeal. Scattered findspots of flintwork spanning the Mesolithic to Bronze Age periods testify to the presence of hunting bands in the area. They may have operated from temporary encampments located at key points in the landscape, but such sites tend to be elusive in the archaeological record. Bronze axes discovered at Lydd indicate some usage of the shingle barrier at this time, albeit as a staging post on the western trade routes (Eddison 2000, 37). Bronze Age pottery found in archaeological excavations suggests a trackway running along the barrier. However, although the evidence for prehistoric

usage of the marshland to the east of Smallhythe is unequivocal, the context in which that activity took place is less so, as there is no settlement evidence from any of the lithologies south of the chalk, whether sandstone upland or clay vale.

The later Iron Age and Roman periods show little change, although the Wealden hinterland was being exploited for its iron, and salt extraction was taking place on the marsh. A military installation constructed at Lympne in the later Roman period is likely to have provided some stimulus for settlement along the north edge of the marsh, although the Smallhythe area remained unaffected. Settlement on any scale only began from the seventh century with the exploitation of the woodland resources of the Weald by communities based in the older settled lands of north Kent.

Medieval and Post-Medieval Development of Smallhythe: a summary by Dr. Gill Draper

The 'port' at Smallhythe was not an area of quaysides and merchant activity as at New Winchelsea, Rye or New Romney. Instead it was an area of shipbuilding, ship repair and ship-breaking on the (former) northern Rother course around the Isle of Oxney. Smallhythe existed as a settlement by mid-thirteenth century, but maritime activity is known to have taken place there from the early fourteenth century. A major factor in the rise of Smallhythe was the diversion of the main course of the Rother round the north of Oxney after the Knelle Dam was constructed to the west of the Isle in c.1330. From the 1330s the main channel of the Rother flowed around the north side of the Isle of Oxney. It passed, from west to east, south of Tenterden at Smallhythe, Redyng (Street), Ebony and Stone on its way towards Appledore. It then turned south, down the west side of Walland Marsh via the Appledore Channel, and out to sea near Rye.

To the west of Smallhythe, Newenden was a town by the time of Domesday Book (1086), developing because of its situation at a crossing point of the Rother to the west of the Isle of Oxney. It performed functions later taken over by Smallhythe, probably because of silting of the River Rother and the development of Tenterden as a town.

Medieval Smallhythe was an important crossing point from Smallhythe onto the Isle of Oxney by ferry. Similarly it served as a landing place for materials being transported from the Weald and to Tenterden. To the east Redyng and Appledore performed similar functions. The development of Appledore as a 'small port' in the thirteenth century has been studied in great detail recently, not least because it was a manor from an early period and thus extensive historical material survives. Important features in its development were reclamation along the edges of a stream leading into the course of the Rother near Appledore, and the existence of a hythe (landing place) from where goods could easily be taken up to Appledore market and village on the higher ground.

Redyng has received less modern study than Smallhythe and Appledore. Redyng apparently developed earlier than Smallhythe, with Roger de Redyng known as involved in the reclamation of Blackbourne Marsh near Appledore between 1191 and

1213.¹ As a community Redyng paralleled Smallhythe, developing as a street community of the road leading N to S down to the river course. Like Smallhythe it had a medieval chapel that also paralleled that of the early (probably fourteenth-century) chapel at Smallhythe, the predecessor of the current building.

The parochial structure demonstrates the early development of this area. To the east of Tenterden was the parish of Appledore. Two churches or chapels were associated with it, Ebony and Redyng. Ebony had a church by 1086 that was in fact a chapel of Appledore, although much later, perhaps after the Dissolution, it was regarded as a parish (Brooks 1988, fig. 8.2; Winniffrith 1984, 160-61). A chaplain of Ebony is known as early as the mid-13th century, Master Nicholas.² The same chaplain probably served both Ebony and Redyng.

There are features on the ground in Wittersham parish on the Isle of Oxney opposite Smallhythe and adjacent to the former Rother course that apparently relate to shipbuilding.³ These resemble the remnants of earthworks on the NT property at Smallhythe in the field west of the road. The area to the east of the Smallhythe Road was also interpreted as an area of shipbuilding by Time Team and by Bellamy and Milne (2003, 367, 375-76) on the basis of findings of rove nails, hammerscale and part of a small ship's timber.⁴ The earliest historical suggestion of maritime/ riverside activity at Smallhythe is from 1308 in the identification of the common foreland in this area in this report (below).

This historical evidence does not suggest that the shipbuilding, ship-breaking and repair of the medieval period in the Smallhythe area took place in large, fixed localities. Rather it took place in locations where ships could be built or repaired on a protected waterline, and the ships subsequently launched into the water down a slipway. The remains on the ground may be nothing more than slight depressions of a size and shape to accommodate boats and ships under construction. The areas used may have moved for economic or practical reasons. There would also have been landing stages with at least two functions. One was as a boarding point for ferries across the Rother. The other was for offloading goods such as the ones sold at Smallhythe in the sixteenth century, and also sold farther afield, particularly in Tenterden town centre. These hythes would have been lightweight constructions of wood, not necessarily leaving many archaeological traces. Shipyard activity moved eastwards towards Redyng as the Rother silted in the sixteenth century, and the size of naval ships grew.

The last ship known to have been built at Smallhythe was in mid-sixteenth century. Smallhythe continued to be a focus for trade and unloading of goods until the 1630s

¹ Canterbury Cathedral Archives [CCA] DCc CA A 125, A126.

² CCA DCc CA A122

³ Romney Marsh Research Trust Small Ports Project.

⁴ 'Elfwick' is shown in the original Time Team work and illustrations, where Elfwick is shown on a figure but not referenced in any way (Taylor & Aston 1999, 37). It has then been transferred into Bellamy & Milne 2003, and also into a figure drawn by Bellamy in Clarke & Milne 2002. Bellamy was involved in the Time Team work (Taylor & Bennett 1998). I queried whether Helen Clarke knew why Elfwick had been drawn on the Time Team and Bellamy figures, but she does not know. The area on which it is drawn in these figures is definitely Queens Close on the Tithe Map (plot 2218), and I did not find Elfwick on any other map. Elfwick (as Elphick *etc.*) was a local surname, so I assume perhaps a post-Tithe change of field owner/occupier? Is it the current name of the field?

when the river course was diverted away from Smallhythe, to the S of the Isle of Oxney.

By or in the fifteenth century, local society at Smallhythe was dominated by several families with shipbuilding interests. There was probably also a transient population of workers when large ships were built. The community built its own chapel at Smallhythe and financed their own chaplain, rather than attending the parish church at Tenterden, about two miles away. The community grew rich on the back of the maritime activity and paid for the rebuilding of the Chapel, and probably most of the houses, after a big fire at Smallhythe in 1514.⁵ The Smallhythe chaplain had his own dwelling at Smallhythe and a valuable endowment of Chapel Lands remained to support him. These lands were concentrated around the shipyard area, subsequently becoming grazing marshes. Smallhythe remained a wealthy trading focus until the late sixteenth century. From the seventeenth century, its interests changed towards the reclamation of the marshes along the former course of the Rother, and the use of those marshes for good grazing land. The population shrank, and became largely agricultural. It was dominated by lessees and graziers from Tenterden, with a local community of farm workers and shepherds.

⁵ 'In 1514 the [Tenterden] Corporation Record Book has an entry, "the wch yeare Smalehithe was burned in the last day of July". The extent of the fire is not known, but it obviously included the chapel, as a new building was begun almost immediately', Roberts 1995, 50. This corporation book is apparently among those in the care of Tenterden Borough [at Tenterden], Taylor 1971, 1918. The Tenterden custumal contains a historical recapitulation of past events (a bit like a chronicle) probably written about 1558: these include 'Sharley more break oute' (37 Henry VI) [i.e. Shirley Moor reclamation/defences were overwhelmed], rising of 'Isak Cade' (22 Ed. IV), the French attack on Sandwich (1 Ed. IV), 'Sharley more made' (1 Henry VIII), the destruction of Smallhythe by fire (6 Henry VIII) [1514-15], CKS TE/C/1 f.136v. -139. No doubt the person who made the record in the custumal knew of the fire personally and/or, very likely, had the Corporation Book in his care. It was a big event but I seriously doubt there is any more detail on what exactly was burnt. The rebuilding of the chapel is apparently only argued on the basis of the above, the style of the chapel, and a testamentary bequest as follows. Lutton 1997, 49 and n.64 gives: 'On 31 July 1514 there was a fire at Small Hythe, and it seems that the chapel did not survive unscathed.' [the note 64 says 'According to a note in the list of bailiffs in the Tenterden Custumal, "Smallhithe was burnt" on this date', CKS Te/C1. fol. 140v. Lutton 1997, 49, continues: 'The damage was extensive enough for the repair work to be going on three years later when Robert [Brickenden] attended to the glazing of one of the chapel's windows and to the building of the priest's house. By the mid-1520s it seems that the immediate need of refurbishment had passed'; this judgement was made on the basis of lack of significant testamentary bequests to the Chapel between 1517 and 1523, Lutton 1997, 104.

4. THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SMALLHYTHE FROM THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY by Dr. Gill Draper

The Sources

Research into the primary source material for Smallhythe

Much research has been carried out into the primary source material for Smallhythe, and written up over the last few decades. As well as identifying new source material, this project for Archaeology South East and the National Trust (January 2005) has reviewed this recent research, and investigated some of the primary material on which it was based. A large amount of this primary material is familiar from work on the Romney Marshes and its hinterlands, including the lower Rother and Smallhythe, promoted by the Romney Marsh Research Trust. The Trust's work has been published in four monographs published in conjunction with the Oxford Committee for Archaeology / Oxford School of Archaeology. Other work on this locality is also listed in these monographs. The current research on 'Small Ports of the Rother' (below) is summarised in the Trust's Newsletters. Copies of the Trust's Newsletter are available via the Hon. Sec or Treasurer. The website is <http://www.rmrt.org.uk>. Since 2002 the Trust has been carrying out investigations into the possible locations and nature of 'small ports' along the rivers leading into the Romney Marshes, the Rother, Brede and Tillingham (Clarke 2003, 10-11; Burke 2004b). This provides the wider picture of possible shipbuilding, trade and reclamation activity in the locality in which Smallhythe is set, for example at Appledore, Redyng and possibly at Wittersham (Burke 2004a, 3-11; Draper 2003a). Redyng lies *c.* 3 km to the east of Smallhythe along the Rother, and Appledore lies *c.* 4 km further east beyond Redyng. Wittersham lies immediately to the south of Smallhythe across the former northern course of the Rother. The best way of appreciating the topographical setting of Smallhythe is the Ordnance Survey one inch to the mile map of *c.* 1801 (Hull 1988).

Introduction to the historical material

Much of the historical material concerning medieval Smallhythe in its heyday, particularly royal records, concern Smallhythe in conjunction with neighbouring settlements along the Rother and its exit to the sea across Romney Marsh. These (printed) royal records have been and continue to be searched by members of the Small Ports Project for references to shipbuilding, breaking and repair activity, and other maritime and economic activity. Important investigations concern the location of hythes, landing wharfs or slipways, the interaction with local and regional trade and the timing of the reclamation of the Rother levels. These references enable a picture of Smallhythe as a medieval and early-modern shipyard to be built up in the wider context of maritime activity on the lower Rother, and of economic activity in the Wealden hinterland. They reveal the important changes over time that led to the abandonment of Smallhythe as a shipbuilding area in the sixteenth century. One was the increasing size of (naval) ships. Another was the silting of the river, complicated by the dumping of ballast in the 'haven' at Smallhythe.

The Small Ports Project has also been identifying land routes, including holloways, to and from the shipbuilding area at Smallhythe and connecting the settlements in the Smallhythe area of Tenterden parish and Hundred (*Romney Marsh Irregular*, no. 23, March 2004, 2-3). The route across the Rother from Wittersham to Smallhythe has also been investigated.

Smallhythe has to be considered as part of the Cinque Port confederation, of which as a part of Tenterden it was a member from 1449. The connection with Rye, which was Tenterden's head port, was very important. However, account must be taken of the loss of many Tenterden records in the court hall fire of 1660 (Roberts 1995, 17). A lack of early Cinque Ports records may mask the significance of Smallhythe/Tenterden in the Confederation at an earlier period (cf. Murray 1935, which barely mentions Smallhythe). The creation and survival of the records of the members of the Cinque Ports confederation is complex and patchy (Draper 2003b, 17).⁶ A fuller picture of Smallhythe and Tenterden's role in the Cinque Ports in the medieval period is likely to emerge from Romney Marsh Research Trust's anticipated project on Rye and its Hinterlands, since Rye was the head port of Tenterden and Smallhythe. Early work on the Rye project has already indicated the importance of the iron trade; Wealden hinterlands; Rye merchants from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and connections between Rye and London. Smallhythe is likely to have been an important node in this, given its location on the Rother and potential role in the trade and transport on the river. For example, in 1364 a London merchant and ship owner had £74 and goods stolen from a ship at Smallhythe.⁷ Smallhythe may have developed, well before its shipbuilding period, as the departure point for a ferry across the Rother, on a route leading ultimately to Rye, via Wittersham on the Isle of Oxney. On the Isle of Oxney, on the opposite side to Smallhythe, settlements and notable manors are known from Domesday Book and before, including Palstre Manor.

The most important secondary works on Smallhythe are summarised here. These are works based very strongly on primary-source research by their authors, with these sources referenced in the texts. A.H. Taylor collected extensive references in local, urban and national archives to Smallhythe over many decades in his search for 'Materials towards a history of Tenterden', since Smallhythe was within the parish and hundred of Tenterden (Roberts 1995, preface). Taylor's work was recorded in nine manuscript volumes and presented to the Corporation of Tenterden and kept in Tenterden Town Hall. Although Taylor's work might be extended now by more recent work on the locality which has used similar sources (e.g. Hanley and Chalklin 1964; Draper, forthcoming). However, he spent decades collecting material and I am largely happy to accept it as the basis for interpretation, as used by Roberts (1995) in *Tenterden: the First Thousand Years*. Clearly this did not take into account the recent investigations by Time Team, Dr Helen Clarke or the Small Ports Project, some of which updates the work of Taylor and Roberts. Some of Roberts' references are given in slightly unconventional form, for example with the name of the repository at the end rather than the beginning of the reference, largely due presumably to Taylor's way of working. In other cases, e.g. in Roberts (1995, 119-20, n.11), the reference to

⁶ Murray 1939, 257, said there are no early records of Tenterden as a town, the earliest in the town clerk's office being the Record Book 1557-58, containing the Custumal and the agreement with Rye, 8 hen. VII; here she refers to AC XXXII and XXXIII, ie Taylor's articles.

⁷ Calendar of Patent Rolls, Ed. III, 1364-7.

the primary source is not given, presumably because Roberts was largely working from Taylor's notebooks. Where possible, the primary reference has been supplied in this report, e.g. to the Tailor's Account Books of Tenterden 1536-8, which includes details of the tailor's customers at Smallhythe.

A.H. Taylor's earliest eleven notebooks, not apparently forming part of his material for a history of Tenterden, were bequeathed to the National Trust by Miss Johnston of Hall House Farm Appledore, who had purchased them after Taylor's death (Roberts 1995, preface). Copies were subsequently typed and indexed by Dr and Mrs Ridge for the Tenterden and District Local history Society, with the title 'Calendar of the Taylor Manuscripts'. Two copies of the typescripts were donated to the Society's Librarian, and one copy with the Kent County Records Office. The latter copy is in the Centre for Kentish Studies.⁸ Taylor (1914, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1942) published five very substantial articles based on his research.

Catalogue searching

In addition to reviewing the secondary sources and the primary sources on which they were based, the most relevant online catalogues were searched, including the A2A, which covers all the major county archives and many others in Britain. The online catalogues of the Canterbury Cathedral Archives and Centre for Kentish Studies (Kent archives online catalogue) were searched separately, as was the online database of the *Chartae Antiquae* of the Canterbury Cathedral Archives.

The new catalogue of the Kent Archaeological Society's Gordon Ward catalogue was searched too, as was the online Harvard law library English deeds catalog. As necessary with the different ways in which the websites work, they were searched to cover all the known and possible of variant spellings of Smallhythe from the medieval period: Small Hythe, Smallhede, Smallhed, Smallid, Smallide, Smallyd, Smallyde, Smalled, Smallede; Smalhed, Smalhede, Smaled, Smaledde, Smalid, Smalide, Smalyd, Smalyde, Smalhyth, Smallhyth, Smallhith, Smalhith, Smalhuth.

Those documents identified with potential for this project were further investigated. Searches of online or printed catalogues on Tenterden or the names of those known to have lived in historic Smallhythe would be feasible, but a very large task beyond the scope of this project.

Manorial sources

Investigating Smallhythe as a settlement presents a particular challenge because of its complex manorial history. However, the names of dens (Wealden holdings) and borghs (sub-units of hundreds) were suggested in the secondary material as being in the area of Smallhythe. These were investigated in the indexes of the most relevant primary printed sources. This identified some new primary material. Smallhythe, as a separate settlement within Tenterden parish and town, does not have its own urban or manorial records. It was a settlement with strong elements of transience in its economy, and this contributes to its lack of extensive records. Tenterden itself was

⁸ Centre for Kentish Studies, Maidstone [CKS], 'Calendar of the Taylor Manuscripts', TR1240/1/1-3. *N.B.* that this covers only Taylor's earliest notebooks.

divided among several manors and dens also contributing to the lack of manorial records. Part of Tenterden was under the lordship of St Augustine's Abbey Canterbury, many of whose records did not survive the Dissolution. However, the *Black Book of St Augustine's* has been useful in examining the early history of Smallhythe.

Reconstructing the Smallhythe Chapel Lands from maps

The identification and reconstruction of the Smallhythe Chapel Lands from 1308 onwards, and their mapping onto the Tithe maps has proved one of the most useful forms of interpretation. This is because these Chapel Lands were in some of the most notable parts of Smallhythe as a maritime centre, and on or surrounding the lands of the National Trust at Smallhythe.

Other recent research on ships and boats

Dr Helen Clarke and Dr Judith Roberts gave the Fourteenth Spring Lecture of the Romney Marsh on 21.4. 2004 on 'Robert Brickenden and the building of the *Mary Fortune* at Smallhythe'. Dr Alan Tyler's archaeological gazetteer including references to sites and finds in published and 'grey' literature for Romney Marsh and the surrounding area, including the Rother valley. This gazetteer is virtually complete and there is a brief discussion of archaeological finds relating to 'Ships of the Marsh' in the *Romney Marsh Irregular* of October 2004 (Tyler 2004). The gazetteer includes a reference to pottery dated to 1250-1350 'found in a pond under 12 foot of mud', at a location in Tenterden parish.⁹ The pottery is now in Maidstone Museum.

Early settlement history in Smallhythe area, eleventh to thirteenth centuries

Estates near to Smallhythe were being granted on the edge of the Weald, the Isle of Oxney and the northern fringes of Romney Marsh in the early 11th century, i.e. Warehorne, Appledore and Berwick. The estates of Wittersham and Palstre, on the Isle of Oxney, opposite Smallhythe across the Rother, were granted to Christ Church around 1035. These estates on the course of the Rother and with (tidal) river access to the sea across the Marsh were significant in more varied forms of exploitation, and also for defence, than the interior of the Weald (Brooks 1996, 282-295). The interior of the Weald was largely undeveloped and not yet settled, being used as dens (seasonal pig pastures) by manors in northern and eastern Kent. The dens in the Weald were developed in the twelfth and mainly the thirteenth centuries as sites of human settlement (Witney 1976, 1982). Close to Smallhythe, on the edge of the Rother course between Redyng and Appledore, was the den of Blackbourne. This consisted of more than seven acres of wood on the edge of the Wealden upland. Between this den and the course of the Rother was the low-lying unenclosed salt marsh. This was enclosed for reclamation and habitation by the people of the den of Blackbourne in the late twelfth century (Draper 2003a, 13-14). This is the context for the early development of Smallhythe.

⁹The references in the gazetteer are TQ 88 33; NMR TQ83SE20; Varley 1983, 78-81 (I can check what the latter is with Alan Tyler).

Early mentions of Smallhythe and of dens, manors, and borghs

These are important in following up Smallhythe in various sources.

The Black Book of St Augustine (ff.126-132) records dues and rent from the manor of Snaves (Snave) with Burmarsh, which included Smallide (Smallhythe) and Hemelsham. Hemelsham was ‘an Anglo-Saxon name later corrupted to Gymlysham’, and variants (Roberts 1995, 5). The *Black Book* is formally undated but taken to be of the thirteenth century. From its contents, nature and comparison with the recently-published *Pecham’s Survey, 1283-85*, I judge that the *Black Book* records material of early or probably mid-thirteenth century date.

The analysis of Smallhythe Chapel Lands (below) makes it clear that Hemelsham was a most important area of early Smallhythe. Land upon the den of Hemelsham was among that held by the Feoffees (trustees) of Smallhythe Chapel by or in the fifteenth century; the feoffees were still paying a quit-rent of 8d for it in 1720 (Roberts 1995, 5). It included land later known as Chapel Field and Muntree Garden or Dumbourne Lane Field. This has been mapped in this report (Fig. 7).

The identification or proximity of Hemelsham and Smallhythe are confirmed by the occurrence of the rents and dues from the (people of) the two places together in the rental in the *Black Book*. The rents and dues came from Henry of Hemelsham and his parceners (sharers), Joshua of Hemelsham, and Alan of Smallide and his parceners. It is probable that Henry of Hemelsham in the *Black Book* was identical with ‘Henry de la Smalelide’ known in 1252 (below), or possibly his forebear. Attributions such as ‘of Hemelsham’ and ‘de la Smalelide’ were not fixed in this locality at this date, and indeed were used in different ways in different contexts (Draper 2003b, 60-61).

Only three individuals, Henry, Joshua and Alan, are mentioned at Smallhythe or Hemelsham in the *Black Book*, together with an unspecified number of ‘parceners’ These were members of their families or kin-groups at a period when land-tenure in this locality had not yet shifted from joint-family to individual tenure; this occurred in this locality in the late thirteenth century (Draper, forthcoming). The *Black Book* suggests a small number of families at Smallhythe/Hemelsham, although there would have been others who were tenants of other lords in other dens here including Mersham and Ekre (below).

The Manor of Snaves, of which Smallhythe and Hemelsham were parts, was dispersed in nature like many Kent manors, especially those in the Weald or Romney Marsh. The payments recorded in the *Black Book* were due from various parts of the manor at different times of year, and were of ancient origin. The dues often represent the commutation into a money-rent of former rights of local tenants related to changing use of the Wealden forest. There would be little value in attempting to analyse the level of the rents at Smallhythe in comparison with other parts of the manor. However, there would be future potential in analysing the different types of rents and dues from the different parts of this manor for understanding the economy of the Smallhythe area in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in relation to that of the eastern Weald, its woodland and river access. These rents and dues were closely related both to *pays* and the local economy (Witney 2000, quoting Du Boulay). An unusual due *hellgabalum* was collected from Hemelsham and from only one other

person/place, Dunegebourne, later Dumbourne, near Smallhythe. Further research might indicate which tenant-rights had been commuted here at Smallhythe, perhaps those related to the exploitation of woodland.

It is clear that the *Black Book* rental is organised on a geographical basis, with for example Smallhythe and Hemelsham appearing near each other, possibly with Dumbourne. Rents /dues and tenants of other parts of the manor, for example Kingsnorth near Ashford are similarly grouped together. Further analysis might indicate the names of other early settlement near Smallhythe and the types of rents and dues from them. Collecting such early names is crucial in finding other possible early source material.

Godden was also an early settlement in Tenterden, reaching S to river near the settlement called Morghew and lying to the N of Smallhythe (Roberts 1995, 17).¹⁰ Roberts' references are from Hasted and confirmed by several others. In mid-thirteenth century Roger of Godden held one knight's fee in Godden from Stephen de la Haye, possibly French Hay also in the hundred and parish of Tenterden.¹¹ Roger de Godden is confirmed as landholder in 1257, in a final concord recording a dispute, perhaps fictitious, over five acres of land and three acres of wood described as in Tenterden, as Smallhythe was.¹² The dispute was with a man named de Corincote, a place noted in Lutton (1995, 75), apparently from will evidence, as one of early dens near Smallhythe, the form of the place name being *queryncote*.

Hasted noted from Dugdale's *Monasticon* that the manor of Gooden in the SW of Tenterden parish, together with that of Morghew, was purchased to fund a chantry in St Paul's Cathedral.¹³ He traced the descent of the manors after the chantry's suppression in the first year of Edward VI's reign through various families down to Mr Richard Curteis of Tenterden. It might be possible to check if there are any Curteis family papers and which deal with the manor of Godden, but this is a remote possibility. *The Place Names of Kent*, p. 358, gives several references to Godden in various spellings, including Gatesden, which would need to be checked.

Other early settlements were the places known as the borghs of Tenterden in the mid-thirteenth century. The borghs were the administrative subdivisions of the hundred, and in some cases represent very early settlements. The borghs listed were Twymharden (for Tenterden), Godemter (presumably for Godden), Danegeboure (later Dumbourne), Easserdenne (Ashenden), Scorbetone, Burwardesile, Estwysele.¹⁴ Smallhythe was part of the borgh of Dumbourne. Later the numbers of borghs in Tenterden was usually accounted as six, but in this very early list there are seven.

¹⁰ The Tenterden Tithe Award, p.39, gives Godden as plots 2037-2045, respectively Wood Field, Shaw, (another) Footway Field, Malt house Field, Barn Field, Lane Field, Little Field, Cottage/garden and Pitefield. They totalled 41 acres, 3 rods and 14 perches, and could be mapped onto the Tithe Map. They were owned by Sir Edward Austen, trustee of Edward Darell, and the occupier was Thomas Elphick.

¹¹ *Knights' fees anno 38 HIII*, 222. The other manor here to which this source refers is ffrethningheye (French Hay) of which John de Ores and Richard held a share (a fortieth part).

¹² Cal. Feet of Fines, 289-90.

¹³ Hasted, vol. VII, 210-11.

¹⁴ *Knights' fees anno 38 HIII*.

Dens at Smallhythe or within one mile, identified from testamentary sources of the sixteenth century, were: Dumborne, Emelisham [Hemelsham], Hawkherst¹⁵, Queryncote, Ashenden Marsham (Mersham, above, and one of the dens of the Chapel Lands, below), (Lutton 1997, 75).

The den of Ekre may have been site of (part of) Smallhythe according to Lutton (1997, 37.)

Later manorial evidence in relation to families of Smallhythe connected with shipbuilding.

A large field, to the west of Yew Tree Cottage, and called Queen's Close (Fig. 6), belongs to the National Trust at Smallhythe.¹⁶ This was held by the Knights Templar (later Knights Hospitaller of St John) as one small part of their widely-distributed manor of Swingfield near Dover (Roberts 1995, 54). The *Kentish Cartulary* of the Knights Hospitaller records rents of 26s 8d and service to be paid by the inhabitants of Smalehed and Downey in Tenterden; some of this is probably what became Queen's Close. The *Kentish Cartulary* also recorded 'the whole of that croft or close and land of ours with the appurtenances now or lately in the holding or occupation of William Brakenden or his assignees situate and being near Smalhed' (*Kentish Cartulary*, 161, 165) This record was made in 1558, eighteen years after the lands had been seized by the Crown in 1540, hence the name Queen's Close (Roberts 1995, 54). The croft or close occupied by William Brakenden was leased by the Crown after the expiry of Brakenden's 80 year-lease to John Wellys, a citizen and scrivener of London, who sold the lease to one Steven Theobald. Roberts refers to a deed formerly on display at Smallhythe Place concerning this. Even after William Brakenden's lease on the 'close or Croft' had expired and been granted to a London man, members of the Brickenden family were still being assessed for the Lay Subsidy (tax) in this part of Smallhythe, in 1601 (Roberts 1995, 54).

Other men who held the Knights Hospitaller lands in Smallhythe in the early sixteenth century (1512) included some of the notable families of the previous century: John Donnet, John Donne (Donney being an early settlement in Smallhythe), Thomas Pette and George Fordman. The land they held was probably in Queen's Close and therefore next to the course of the Rother west of Smallhythe Street. William Brakenden's close or croft may be represented by the land on which Yew Tree Cottage now stands, lying similarly close to the river. The Brickendens were the big shipbuilding family of Smallhythe (below).

The River Rother, the Reading Sewer and features on the ground at Smallhythe including the old ditch.

The water or river of Lymenee

In the Saxon period the Isle of Oxney was surrounded by two wide tidal fleets known as the water or river of Lymenee, later called the Rother (Eddison 1985, 91-99). The major course was probably to the S of Oxney, although the evidence of settlement at Smallhythe in mid-thirteenth century suggests that the northern course around Oxney

¹⁵ Not presumably to be identified with the small Wealden town of that name. Names of dens often recurred within the Weald.

¹⁶ Tenterden Tithe Map plot 2218.

was also used for navigation. The construction of the Knelle Dam c. 1330 prevented, according to contemporary evidence, navigation to the S of Oxney: the navigable course of the Rother between c.1300 and 1635 was to the N of the Isle of Oxney past Smallhythe and Reading (Eddison 1985, 103).

Reading Sewer and the old ditch to the S of Smallhythe Place.

The Reading Sewer is nowadays usually taken to represent the old course of the Rother when it flowed north of Oxney in c.1330 to 1635.¹⁷ The Rother flowed north of the Isle of Oxney until 1635 when it was ‘turned’ to the south of the isle of Oxney (Eddison 1988, 158). A decision in 1636 to return the course to the N of Oxney because of complaints about navigation from Rye, Appledore, Reading, Smallhythe, Tenterden, Bodiam and Newenden was immediately overturned (Hipkin 1995, 145). Maps usually described the northern course of the Rother as the River Rother up until quite a late date (1793).¹⁸ The northern course later became known, or regarded as equivalent, to the Reading Sewer.

After Smallhythe’s shipbuilding and maritime era in the mid- to later fifteenth century, there were changes in the sewers (watercourses carrying the flow of the river) in this northern valley including the Reading Sewer. This occurred as the watercourses through the northern valley silted up and were affected by reclamation, eventually entailing the re-direction or ‘turning’ of the flow of water south of Oxney in 1635.¹⁹ In the previous two decades, an attempt had been made to solve the problems in the northern channel by making a new cut, straighter than the northern channel of the Rother. The changes that immediately preceded the turning of the river Rother south of Oxney are set out by Eddison (1995, 152-53). The narrowing of the northern course due to the silted condition of the northern valley, and the concern to reclaim there, eventually led to the turning. The evidence that local landowners gave against the eventual decision to turn the course to the S of Oxney was influenced according to whether they were interested in one of two outcomes: the northern Rother course between Newenden and Reading and on down the Appledore Channel to Rye being returned to its previous navigable state, or the channel being turned to the south of Oxney, leaving the upper levels to the north of Oxney to be further reclaimed as good grazing marshland. A petition of c.1573 by the mayor of Rye ‘referred to standing water at Newenden and to watercourses which were so overgrown with “slub, bull-rushes reed and suchlike” that the water could not flow away. They needed to be scoured from Newenden to Appledore and on to the sea’ (Eddison 1995, 149). In 1662, one Nathaniel Powell described, in a rather biased account, the state of the northern Rother course and subsequent reclamation and drainage there since Henry VIII’s time.²⁰ He thought that reclamation since that

¹⁷ Below Rats Castle, E of Smallhythe, the parish boundary between Tenterden and Wittersham still follows the original course of the river represented by the Ebony Petty Sewer, a diversion from the earlier course of the Reading Sewer here, according to Roberts 1995, 123. The parish boundary as known in the nineteenth century has been used as a proxy for the earlier course of the Rother by both Eddison and Roberts, although as Eddison (1985, 96) points out, this cannot provide definitive information for an early period.

¹⁸ CKS U442/P64. See also the map of Mark Le Pla of 1688/9, reproduced in Eddison 1988, 151. A map of 1732 called the northern course ‘the Ancient River Rother’, reproduced in Eddison 1988, 154.

¹⁹ Philip Symondon’s map of the Decayed Harborough of Rye, 1594, reproduced in Hipkin 1995, 140, shows this area before the ‘turning’ occurred.

²⁰ Nathaniel Powell, *A Summary Relation of the past and present conditions of the Upper Levels, lying in the counties of Kent and Sussex* (1662), quoted in Eddison 1995.

period had cause a severe drainage problem in the northern valley. In 1602 a new cut had been made from *Acre Brook* to Reading Ferry to aid drainage (Eddison 1995, 151).²¹ Eddison described *Acre Brook* as an unidentified place. However *Acre* (den of Ekre) is now established as being at Smallhythe and *Acre Brook* was probably the Tilder Gill, or possibly the Huntbourne Stream through Shirley Moor, running south to the northern Rother east of Smallhythe (Dumbourne) (for which see Roberts 1995, 9, 71, and below). Eddison (1995, fig. 12.3) mapped Back Sewer, based on Ordnance Survey maps, as running from as far west as Maytham past Smallhythe to Reading Gutt. She regarded Back Sewer as equivalent to the new cut, but it may be that the new cut in fact only represented the part of this sewer to the E of Smallhythe (Eddison 1995, 153). The term Back Sewer should perhaps be applied only to that part of the sewer running W from Smallhythe (*Acre Brook*) towards Maytham. Alternatively Back Sewer may not in fact have extended in the early seventeenth century as far west as Maytham. Understanding and interpreting all drainage and reclamation in this area of the marsh is complicated by later change and loss of landscape features, and ‘many marsh features have a composite origin’ (Eddison 1988, 158). Interpreting them is also complicated by the need to depend of the evidence of individuals such as Powell with specific interests and giving evidence about past events of which they did not always have personal knowledge.

In any case, the eastern part of the Back Sewer from *Acre Brook* at Smallhythe appears to run along the line of the old ditch at Smallhythe discussed below. Back Sewer, said to have been cut in 1602, ran to the E from *Acre Brook* just to the E of Smallhythe. The old ditch, now an important feature on the ground at Smallhythe in the interesting area of shipbuilding S/SE of Smallhythe Place, runs from the W side of Smallhythe and apparently on into what became the course of Back Sewer. That old ditch may be older than Back Sewer. The line of the old ditch is the one to which the 1960s flooding reached (Bellamy in Clarke and Milne 2002, 15). Immediately to the N, hammerscale, iron roves and nails and inadequately-recorded pieces of ship’s timber were found by Time Team (Bellamy and Milne 2003, 375, 376).

The Reading sewer was left to drain the Upper Levels after the Rother was turned to the S in 1635. However, any simple statement that it represents to the course of the northern Rother is problematic since the Rother was of different widths at different periods and presumably flooded across what are now the Upper Levels. The existence of the Ferry and later (from the sixteenth century) a bridge at Smallhythe reflects this, as does the remnant causeway to Wittersham from the S side of the Smallhythe bridge as it now exists.²²

The old ditch (now represented by the eastern part of the Back Sewer) at Smallhythe

Immediately south of Smallhythe Place and Barn is a pond alongside which, to the south, is a public bridleway. Walking east on that bridleway there is an old ditch on the left-hand side and on the right what is now the Reading sewer, maintained and cleared in modern fashion, i.e. cut deep, with sloping sides, and kept cleared. Water

²¹ Roberts 1995, 123, also discusses this, although without reference to the work of Eddison. He identified the New Cut with the course of the present Reading Sewer, which is rather unlikely, given its sinuous course.

²² Information from Wittersham Tithe Map, Terry Burke and the Small Port Project. See ‘Tithe Map extract of Wittersham Parish’.

flows along this sewer. However in the old ditch there is stagnant water. This old ditch is marked as 'drain' on Bellamy and Milne (2003, fig.3); its westwards continuation is not shown. The water does not flow in the old ditch, not least because the ditch is blocked at various points by field access points created by infilling the old ditch. The pond to the S of Smallhythe Place and Barn was apparently created out of the remnants of this old ditch in, or very probably before, the nineteenth century. The pond runs in line with that old ditch²³ (Fig. 8). Since the map was drawn, and presumably after Ellen Terry bought 'the Farm' which became known as 'Smallhythe Place' (Winnifrith 1980, 363-66) this pond appears to have been neatened into a more regular shape.²⁴

The old ditch, largely dry, can also be traced going westwards on the west side of Smallhythe Road, just inside the edge of the garden of Yew Tree Cottage and the adjacent NT field, and adjacent to the private trackway there.

Between the old ditch and the Reading Sewer runs the long strip of slightly raised land on which the public bridleway runs. South of Smallhythe Place the bridleway is not tarmaced and the surface contains many rounded beach-type pebbles. This area is of course the old beach or sea-coast of Smallhythe (as it was described in fourteenth-century records) and perhaps the raised ground has been formed by the dredging of the Reading sewer, with the soil and pebbles being thrown up from the bottom of the sewer to make a slightly raised and firm path.

The existence of a trackway, here represented by the bridleway, is entirely consistent with former public access to the beach front at Smallhythe, described in 1474 as *Stronde Syde*, where in 1474 John Ingram had his 'wood tower'.²⁵ On the W side of Smallhythe Road this former access is represented by what is now the private track to the south side of Yew Tree Cottage and the adjacent field. Hasted's map and references to the *Stronde Syde* indicate clearly that some sort of road spread out here on both sides of Smallhythe Road at the water's edge.²⁶ The roads at and around Smallhythe have disappeared or are now represented by footpaths since the shrinkage of the settlement after the sixteenth century (Roberts 1990, 48). The sixteenth-century road pattern is reconstructed in Roberts (1995, 71).²⁷ At New Romney, *Le Strond* was the medieval shore line, a long shingle bank on and behind which boat-breaking, tanning, fishing and related activities such as salting, barrel-making, inn-keeping and fish-distribution took place. There were specialised buildings related to these activities on *Le Strond*.²⁸ Although Smallhythe was on a river rather than the open coast, there

²³ The Tenterden parish Tithe Map c.1843 also shows the pond. Cf. map of 1793, CKS U442/P64.

²⁴ This is entirely consistent with early twentieth-century treatment and re-creation of 'medieval' gardens, ponds and rockeries, involving the movement of materials such as stone found on the site. Information from Dr Judith Roberts, and the example of M. Cran, *The Story of my Ruin*, published by Herbert Jarvis in the 1930s [n.d.], and dealing with the treatment of the medieval house and garden called Coggers.

²⁵ Quoted in Roberts 1990, 48.

²⁶ Hasted's *History*, vol., VII, 200-19.

²⁷ Roberts 1995, 77, records the extinguishing of footpaths in the Morghew and Coles area to the W/NW of Smallhythe in the 1950s.

²⁸ 'The Medieval Shore Line and town of New Romney, c.1000-1400: the historical and archaeological evidence' (with Dr Frank Meddens), at Cinque Ports: Archaeology and Heritage, the annual conference of the Council for British Archaeology (South East Region) at University of Sussex, 13 November 2004.

are likely to be parallels. Smallhythe was regarded in the medieval period as ‘on the sea-coast’ (below). It is ‘very likely that fishing was a major occupation of the inhabitants of the town’ (Lutton 1997, 79).

The access to the (eastern) Strond Syde at Smallhythe represented by the current bridleway follows the course of the old ditch, i.e. running at first practically straight eastwards. It probably then turned north (through the Little Plott or wharf area, below) perhaps joining or becoming the ‘farm track running from the bridge at Smallhythe to Dumbourne’, which was on the NE side of Smallhythe presumably via Footway Field (Roberts 1995, 47) (Fig. 7). Nowadays the current bridleway, beyond the initial straight section running next to the old ditch, turns south and follows along the northern bank of the Reading Sewer, joining another track represented on the 1870 OS map.

The Tenterden/Wittersham parish boundary in 1843 followed the line of the Reading Sewer established by the early seventeenth century.²⁹

Shipbuilding at Smallhythe

Maritime activity at Smallhythe receives frequent mention from 1326, in the form of mentions of ships using the port, and the masters of ships and mariners. These mentions occur particularly in royal records such as the Patent and Close Rolls (Roberts 1995, 48). Town records are another place where ship or boatbuilding is mentioned. This is particularly the case in members of the Cinque Port confederation where providing ships or boats for royal ship service was a borough responsibility.

Ships were built, repaired and broken at Smallhythe for several reasons. The lower Rother provided a sheltered haven where these functions could be carried out; a riverine site with good access to the sea but shelter from storms was ideal. The coast between Dover and Denge Marsh (Dungeness) was notorious for dangerous storms and piracy. Boat repair and boat-breaking took place on the exposed medieval shoreline of New Romney, but it seems ship-building and boat-building was located at Smallhythe (Draper and Meddens 2004).

The requirement that members of the Cinque Port confederation, including formally from Tenterden in 1449, provide boats and ships for royal transport and defence provided a reason for them to be built locally at Smallhythe. As the royal requirement for naval ships commissioned directly by the king from the fifteenth century increased, Smallhythe continued to be a good location for their construction, since it was close to their point of use in the Channel. The primary materials for ship-building were timber and iron and these could easily be obtained close to Smallhythe and brought there by river, road or track.

It is possible that other references to boats or ships built at Smallhythe may be found in the records of other towns, particularly members of the Cinque Ports, in the future. However, given the amount of listing and study these records have received since the

²⁹ The meaning of dotted red line running mainly along the edge of the marshes adjacent to the old ditch and Reading Sewer should be investigated from Kain and Oliver (1995). Here the symbols, which were used variably on the Tithe maps, are explained as far as is known for each parish. The dotted line is likely to be connected with the boundary between what was considered marshland and upland.

nineteenth century, for example by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, it is unlikely that significant notes of other shipbuilding at Smallhythe will be found.

It should be noted that the building of boats or ships may well have taken place at Smallhythe without any (surviving) records. These could have included merchants' ships and smaller boats such as fishing boats. The ships built at Smallhythe are likely to have been primarily those belonging to people based locally, whether merchants or fishermen. From the late thirteenth century, New Winchelsea was a remarkable port with many quays for merchants, situated near where the Rother reached the sea at that time. A smaller number of merchants and fishermen too were based at New Romney in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries (Draper and Meddens 2004). Lydd had a significant local fishing industry and contacts with ports around the coast in the High and late Middle Ages, for example with Hull (HMC V, 519). Demand may have come too from Lydd. Cross-channel trade based on the ports of this part of Kent and Sussex is known from before the Conquest (Gardiner 2000).

As Clarke and Milne (2002, 14) note, the first ship recorded as built at Smallhythe was in 1400. This was a barge for New Romney named the *Eneswithe*. The town accounts for New Romney of 1400-1 refer to New Romney's expenses in relation to this, including 'Expenses of divers men, as well as Jurats as others, riding to Smallyde at different times, to see and buy the new barge, and to pay for the same 30s 4d.'³⁰ This appears to cover the men's expenses and an initial payment towards the cost of the barge being built at Smallhythe. Later in the year, what was apparently the main payment for the barge was recorded: 'for purchase of the same vessel 40l. 6s. 8d.' A sum was 'Paid to the Chapel of Smallyde, at the *launche* of the barge', i.e. 3s 4d, probably for a light in the chapel.

A valuable cargo of wine was brought into New Romney 'on the new barge' in that year: 22l. 12d. received this year for the freight of 42 tuns of wine of La Rochelle... at 10s 6d per tun'. New Romney had expended a considerable sum on setting up the barge to go to La Rochelle, some of which may have been part payment for the wine: 'for victuals for the same ship, and ready money given to the master on going to Rochelle 10 l. 9s 9½d.' In the same year, the barge apparently also sailed to Scotland: 'paid to James Hakeman, for a *gonnepouch* [gunpouch?] bought of him, for the voyage to Scotland, 5s.'³¹

During 1400-1 3l 1.4s and 6d.' were paid 'for timber and workmen and the Sluice, the latrine and the delf for the new barge.'³² The Sluice and the latrine were apparently at New Romney, but delf shares a name with Delph Marsh at Smallhythe.³³ Does the term delf refer to a similar kind of feature at both Smallhythe and New Romney? Another reference is to a payment for 'digging a delve (*dam*) for the barge, and *strikyng* the rigging of the barge at New Romney' in 1399-1400 and for tallow for it.³⁴ (There are earlier references to the construction and fitting-out of a 'new balenger or town barge' for New Romney in the town accounts in previous years, for example,

³⁰ HMC V, 536.

³¹ HMC V, 536.

³² HMC V, 536.

³³ The Sluice presumably was connected with the Rhee channel at New Romney. Cf. the earlier references in the New Romney accounts e.g. HMC V, 533. 534

³⁴ HMC V, 535

1386-7, and 1395.³⁵ These do not make clear if this was the same one as was built and launched at 1401 in Smallhythe. The 1386 reference in the town accounts of New Romney is to the recent breaking up of an earlier 'common balenger', presumably common to the Cinque Ports or New Romney and its members, essentially Lydd. The editor of these accounts calls this balenger a 'barge'.³⁶ As a Cinque Port New Romney had been providing boats or ships for royal service for about two centuries, although it is not clear where they were made before the late fourteenth century (e.g. *Rough's Register*, 89, 160).

Men of Smallhythe, [New] Romney, Appledore and London robbed a Flemish ship in 1403, 'although they knew the crew to be the king's friends'. The case was referred to the Admiralty Courts.³⁷ Normally cases were dealt with by the Warden of the Cinque Ports (Murray 1939, 128-29).

Bellamy and Milne (2003) reviewed those ships known to have been built at Smallhythe from secondary sources and they may add to those listed by Roberts (1995). However, Roberts (1995) gave a wider overall view of shipbuilding and repairing activity in this locality. Roberts also noted ships repaired, rebuilt and hired at Smallhythe, etc, and those built, repaired at, or sailing from the adjacent small ports on the Rother, including Redyng. Roberts (1990, 347-50) also summarises maritime activity and shipbuilding at Smallhythe.

The last ship built at Smallhythe was constructed in 1546 (Clarke and Milne, 2002, 14).

Ships built between 1400 and 1546 are listed below in the tables Smallhythe Ships, People, Economy and Topography, primarily from the Patent and Close Rolls. These tables were provided by Dr Helen Clarke and are included here with her permission.

Timber and board was prepared at Smallhythe for shipbuilding at Greenwich in c.1430, and transported by sea from Smallhythe to Greenwich (Roberts 1995, 50). In 1512 timber was felled in the Weald, prepared in the Smallhythe shipyards and taken by sea to Greenwich for the building of the great ship *Henri-Grace-a Dieu*. This is presented, no doubt correctly, as part of the decline of Smallhythe as a shipyard in the later fifteenth century, partly because of silting of the Rother. It was suggested that shipbuilding moved downstream nearer open water to Redyng.

Quays and goods at Smallhythe

In 1357 the Patent Rolls record quays on the Rother at Maytham, Reading, Newenden and Bodiam on the Rother, probably used for loading firewood and timber and Knelle dam, constructed c.1330 had an adjoining quay (Gardiner 1995, 131). This should be noted in connection with the description of the Smallhythe Chapel Land adjacent to Smallhythe Place known as the Doggs/Jenners and later Little Plott as 'formerly used as a wharf' (1797 terrier) (Fig. 7) and the description of 'manie Wharves' at Smallhythe c.1635 (below); also the existence two long rectangular marshes (Great

³⁵ HMC V, 533-4.

³⁶ HMC V, 533.

³⁷ PRO [National Archives] Exchequer Miscellanea King's Remembrancer 67/12, nos. 28, 45, referred to in Murray (1935, 129)

and Little Hythe marshes) running back at right-angles from the Wittersham side of the northern course of the Rother (Reading Sewer in c.1843) (Fig. 9). These are all discussed elsewhere in this report.

The transport of firewood from Tenterden ‘to the Netherlands, France and for home consumption was of growing importance’ by the fourteenth century. Its profitability is demonstrated ‘in a process issued against Jarvis (Gervis) of Tenterden who had failed to deliver two lots of 110,000 and 160, 000 billets [of wood] to Robert Jacson and another man of Rye (Roberts 1990, 348). Thomas Gerveyse of Tenterden had a messuage at Smallhythe in 1464 (Taylor 1914, 135). Tenants of a den in northern Tenterden hundred ‘were required to provide annually 100 timbers as well as boards and rafters cut to specific lengths to facilitate transportation’.³⁸

The evidence of two groups of witnesses and petitioners in 1549 reflected the nature of Smallhythe differently. One group dwelt on the past of Smallhythe as until recently a place where ships were built and with the Chapel being ‘not onely for th’inhabitantes there’ but also for all other straungers as watermen, shipwrights and suche other’. The other group stressed that current unimportance of maritime activity: ‘there is no haven there, onely a creke of salte water wherein no shippe can come, but onely lyters and such kind of small vessels, and that at full water’ (Taylor 1914, 156, 159). Navigation along the Rother had apparently stopped between Smallhythe and Appledore after the bridge was built at Smallhythe in the mid-sixteenth century. (Roberts 1995, 127).

A Cog of Smallhythe belonging to Richard Morefott was engaged in supplying the Calais garrison with firewood in 1533 (Roberts 1990, 347). Roberts (1995, chapter XIV) discusses the use of the Rother for transport of goods by large boats ‘aunciently’ and its continuation by small boats up until the Rother was turned in 1635 into the southern level: ‘there beinge Highe waies and manie wharfes and landinge places and unladinge of all kinds of goods and commodities as at Appledore, Oxney, Rdyinge, Smalled, Pymminge (Peening), Newenden, Bodyham and other places to the gret ease and benefitt of the Townes of Rye, Tenterden and the countrie adjoyninge unto ye sayd river (quoted in Roberts 1995, 126).

Barges continued to reach Smallhythe from the direction of Rye until 1924, reaching Smallhythe via the Wittersham Levels, i.e. the course of the Rother S of Oxney after 1635 (Roberts 1995, 127)

³⁸ Information originally from William Somner (1725), quoted in Roberts 1990, 18.

Smallhythe ships

- 1326 Mariners mentioned. Goods frequently landed at Smallhythe
1342 4 ships of Smallhythe with Edward III's fleet to Brittany
1354 Ships throwing ballast into harbour Ships from France & Flanders to ports on Rother
1364 *La Gabriel* to Gascony for wine
1364 Ship & its gear stolen at Smallhythe
1367 Home ports of ships noted as Smallhythe and Reading
1378 *La Seint Marie* -- bot de Smallheth [cray]
1390 William Newenden, master of ship *Alice of Smalide*
1394 *Marie* of Smallhithe -- 100 tons
1395 Smalhyde ship & tackle worth about 5 marks
1400 Barge Eneswythe built for New Romney. Cost £4/6/8d
1401 Town ship built for Rye
1401 Complaint of lastage thrown into harbour
1411 Thomas Fowle, owner of ship 'of ryver of Smalhethet'
1410 Barge *Marie* built for Henry IV
c. 1415 Henry V visited shipyards of Smallhythe
1416 Great ship *Jesus* built-- 1000 tons
1416 Balinger *George* built - 120 tons (in royal service until 1423 when sold for £20)
1546 *Great Gallyon* built for Henry VIII - 300 tons, 240 men
Lesse Galleon built (possibly at Reading) -200 tons, 150 men

Smallhythe people

- 1252 HENRY DE SMALEHYDE with armed force to Tenterden church, conflict in which he was injured
1321-4 ROBERT DOGET boarded ship of Soc of Le Peruchi of Florence & stole wool
1326 JOHN DYVE master of Le Nicholas to impress mariners from Smalhide
c. 1326 Heirs of RICHARD HNECHERST charged 5d for tenement in Smalhide
1378 JOHN KNIGHT master of La Seint Marie
1379 JOHN DONET fined for debt
1379 PHILIP HEENDENE fined for debt
1380 PHILIP ENTERDEN imprisoned for stealing cargo
1381-2 WILLIAM DE ANNE & JOHN DONET joined Wat Tyler
1403 ROBERT JAN claimed money owed to him by STEPHEN GATEMAN
1403 JOHN WILLIAM master of a barge of Romney
1490 JOHN DAVY jurat
1490 STEPHEN CLOVER bequeathed property at S
1490 STEPHEN CLOVER bequeathed boards & planks in store at S
1493 LAURENCE PHILIP yeoman

Smallhythe economy

- 1326 Mariners from Smallhythe
1354 Firewood & wool shipped out
1367 Timber & other items for carpentry shipped across to Calais
1380 Philip Enterden, pirate
1390 Iron from London to Smallhythe (via Calais)
1394 *Marie* built-- 100 tons
1413-15 Timber & boards for building *Trinity Royal* at Greenwich shipped out
1421 John Hoggskynes, master carpenter
1488 'Calkers' hired from Smallhythe
1489-90 Bread, beer & other provisions available at Smallhythe
1493 Laurence Philippe, yeoman
Late 15th cent Nails & other iron objects bought by Mote Manor (Iden, Sussex)
from manufactory in Smallhythe
1449-1500 Half of Tenterden's Bailiffs inhabitants of Smallhythe
1512 Timber for *Great Harry* felled in Weald, prepared at Smallhythe, taken by
sea to Woolwich
1512 Old anchors shipped from Plymouth to Smallhythe where they were
remade
1544 7 tons of iron delivered to Smallhythe from Weald, from Bodiam by
lighters
1545 *Great Gallyon* (300 tons) & *Lesse Galleon* (200 tons) built at Smallhythe
1561 Appledore, Reading & Smallhythe decayed, where formerly ...'always
replenished with shipwrights. Where always a great number of
ships, crayers & boats were made, where at this present there cannot
be made a boat of 20 tons'
End 16th cent Shop at Smallhythe

Smallhythe topography

- 13th cent Shingle barrier beach to south of Rye swept away, resulting in better access to Rother
- 1255 Smallhythe on sea-coast
- 1308 Smallhythe on sea-coast
- 1326 On 'coast of the water'. Mariners from Smallhythe
- 1332 Knelle Dam constructed 'for preservation of land between that place and Robertsbridge' - main course of Rother subsequently flowed north of Isle of Oxney (until 1630 when dam breached)
- 1342 Ships from Smallhythe with Edward III's fleet to Brittany
- 1354 Harbour at Smallhythe -- ballast cast into harbour
French & Flemish ships visit ports of Rother
- 1364 Harbour at Smallhythe -- Le Gabriel set sail for Gascony, ship stolen at Smallhythe
- 1367 Mentioned as home port
- 1378 'bot de Smallheth'
- 1383 Commission to investigate lands between Smallhythe & Bodiam (silting, flooding, drainage)
- 1385 Ferry at Smallhythe
- 1394 100 ton ship *Marie*
- 1401 Harbour at Smallhythe - lastage cast into harbour
- 1413-15 Timber & boards taken by sea from Smallhythe to Greenwich
- 1415 Commission to investigate lands between Smallhythe & Romney (silting, flooding, drainage. Henry V visited shipyard at Smallhythe
- 1416 1000 ton ship *Jesus*. 120 ton balinger *George*
- 1429 Commission to investigate lands between Bodiam Bridge & Smallhythe (silting, flooding, drainage)
- 1440 Commission to investigate sea-coast & marsh between 'Smalehythe and a place called le Pendynge, and between Farnehille and a certain wall leading from Maytheham to Pendynge in the parishes of Tenterden and Rolvenden'
- 1445 King's highway through Smallhythe
- 1449-1500 Smallhythe stretched from Hemelsham in W & Dumbarne in E
- 1484 Smallhythe in the parish of Tenterden 'where the King's highway is crossed by a fairly large stream which is impassable except in a boat or little ship, for which all who have to cross over have to pay a fee'
- 1489 *Regent* built
- 1490-1 Bequest for repair of bad road between Tenterden church & Smallhythe ferry
- 1493 Paving stones carted from Smallhythe (for repairing above?)
- 16th cent Traffic along Rother from Weald carrying timber, iron
- 1546 *Great Gallyon & Lesse Galleon* built
- 1554 '... the ferry beyond the water called 'channell' flowing from Newenden to Appledore commonly called Smallhed ferry...'
£3 bequeathed to build bridge 'if one is to be built' (not built until 1636; on map 1688)
- 1561 Appledore, Reading & Smalled decayed because of innings in past 30 years, previously flourishing now 'there cannot be made a boat of 20 tons'

Smallhythe settlement

14th cent	Population c. 150 (?authority)
c. 1326	Property at Smallide worth rent 5 <i>d</i>
1356	Rent paid to St Augustine's, Canterbury
1385	Smalelyde ferry
1400	Called 'vill'
1422	'Towns or parishes of Smalehythe'
1445	Parcel of land 40ft wide in called Moorystown in Smalhithe: well or spring (<i>fons</i>) king's highway or road
1449	Ferry used for route from Rye to Tenterden
1460s/70s	Property in S held by Gerveis family
1463	Messuages & gardens: highway
1473	Messuage: footpath, stile, hedge
1484	Ferry across 'fairly large stream that crosses the king's highway
1483	Messuage & garden
1486	18 <i>d</i> for timber to repair jetty (& boat hire)
1489	14 <i>d</i> spent at baker's house
1490	Woodstore for planks & boards
1490	Property
1490	Bequest for repair of bad road between Tenterden church & Smallhythe ferry
1487	iijs viij <i>d</i> rent paid to Knights Hospitallers for 'firma terrar' in Smalehed
1490	Bequest to chapel
1509	'Oppidum de Smalhythe' burial rights in churchyard for shipwrecked sailors
1514	Great fire: chapel & ?other buildings destroyed
1540	Rent for small parcel of land 3 <i>s</i> 8 <i>d</i>
1517	Bequest for rebuilding chapel
1550	Bad road preventing inhabitants to go to parish church at Tenterden
C 1550	'100 of houselyng people & not above'
1554	Ferry

The economy and society of Smallhythe in its period of greatest prosperity as shipbuilding settlement, fourteenth to sixteenth centuries.

A descriptive analysis is given in Roberts (1995, chapter VII). This was based on the extensive research among primary sources by Taylor. A review of chapter VII in the light of more recent research and some primary sources indicates that Roberts' work can be utilised by Archaeology SE and the NT, bearing in mind the following few points.

Population and wealth in and around Smallhythe

Roberts gives a medieval population estimate apparently derived from the Lay Subsidy by Taylor. Taylor worked before the major analysis of the 1334/5 Lay Subsidy by Hanley and Chalklin (1964). The latter indicate the complexities in deriving population estimates from the taxation of local inhabitants, and the fact that only comparative rather than qualitative data can really be established.

The following can be said. The hundreds in and on the borders of Romney Marsh had unusually high population densities, as measured in the Lay Subsidy of 1334/5. Oxney, which included Wittersham, was one of only eight hundreds in this area with population densities similar to the highest in the county, i.e. NW Kent near London, and the central and eastern Downland. Oxney was also a 'wealthy' hundred. The hundred of Tenterden including Smallhythe did not in 1334/5 yet reflect the development of Smallhythe and Tenterden in the fourteenth century in terms of population or wealth (Hanley and Chalklin 1964, 65-8).

Timber and wood exploitation and occupations

Roberts (1995, 50) noted that timber came from the Weald for shipbuilding in the early fifteenth century (c.1430) but research for this project indicates more closely the role of Smallhythe men, and of Canterbury Cathedral Priory as landowner in growing and using timber, and at an earlier date. By the late fourteenth century, and probably much earlier, the brushwood and timber of the dens local to Tenterden and Smallhythe was being systematically exploited.³⁹ Local tenants had the rights to the brushwood; the feudal lords, often ecclesiastical houses, had the rights to the timber. In the 1380s and 1390s Canterbury Cathedral Priory recorded several new leases of its dens around Tenterden. The leases noted that the timber rights of the Priory had been invaded by recent tenants and the new leases asserted the priory's rights to the timber. It is likely that the growth of shipbuilding at Smallhythe since the 1330s had increased the demand for timber and its felling by local people.⁴⁰ The leases confirm the rights of the tenants to brushwood, and it is notable that this commodity is recorded as being loaded onto a ship at Smallhythe for provisioning London (Roberts 1995, 49.).

³⁹ Witney 2000, xxxiii, traces the growing use of timber and underwood in the eastern Weald with access to river transport back at least to the twelfth century.

⁴⁰ Some of the leases are dated 1381 and the relationship of these new leases to the Peasants' Revolt should also be considered, in part by examining any others for other Priory properties. This has been beyond the scope of this research.

The Priory leases describe groups of local men leasing the various dens of the priory around Tenterden.⁴¹ It appears that these groups of men had strong connections with each other and with a specific den, since one group, specified as being of Smallhythe had the lease of one particular den, that of Hockenden (Hockinden). The other dens were leased by men described as of Tenterden. These documents include important early references, from 1338 onwards, to families known as involved in the maritime economy of Smallhythe in the fifteenth century, e.g. Gilbert de Brickenden, the Haymes and the Blossom families. These documents require further full analysis and interpretation in their wider context (cf. Draper 2003b, 117 ff.). The men of Smallhythe also included one with the surname Teighlere (Tyler) undoubtedly derived from the Thomas Teighlere's occupation, or that of his forebears. Occupational surnames tended to become inherited in this locality by the early fourteenth century. Tiler may have referred to the laying or the making of tiles, which has been suggested as a possibility for the 'brick kiln found at Smallhythe (Bellamy and Milne 2003)'. Another occupational surname known at or near Smallhythe in the fourteenth century include Stephen le Carpenter (I), in 1326; another Stephen Carpenter (II), perhaps his grandson, owned a ship in 1412 (Roberts 1995, 48-49). One Stephen le Carpenter, presumably Stephen le Carpenter (I), is known in the Lay Subsidy of 1334/5 (Hanley and Chalklin 1964) and can be identified as of Smallhythe by the following method. Some men of Smallhythe were assessed for the lay subsidy in the hundred of Bewsborough near Dover in the fifteenth century since they were tenants of the Knights Hospitaller manor there (Roberts 1995, 48-9), and this presumably also applied to earlier subsidies. With further work, those of 1334/5 living at Smallhythe can be distinguished by name, including some involved in the occupation of barrel-making (Couperes). Mapping of the distribution of this occupational name in 1334/5 notably shows barrel-making to have been located only on the coast at New Romney, or along the long rivers of Kent, those reaching deep into the Weald including the Rother (northern course). At New Romney the trade of cooperage was associated with the fishing industry and this is likely also to have been the case at Smallhythe (Draper 2004) [more details can be supplied].

Portreeve's House

The reference to Smallhythe Place as possibly the portreeve's house is one of the few facts in Roberts that is not referenced (Roberts 1995, 48). This may be because it was local lore, and Roberts had no direct reference to such a portreeve's house at Smallhythe from Taylor's or his own researches.

Men known as *le portereve* are in fact known at Appledore over the course of the thirteenth century. There are eleven references among the *Chartae Antiquae* of Canterbury Cathedral priory.⁴² The Appledore charters concern small local land transactions, many concerned with local people giving property to the Priory, or with reclamation agreements between the Priory and local inhabitants (Draper, forthcoming). These references to *le portereve* are unusual. There are no others for the many other places in the *Chartae Antiquae*, although it may be said that few of these are similar to Appledore in their physical location on a navigable river close 'to the sea coast', as one of these charters terms it. Similarly the term *portereve* does not

⁴¹ CCA DCc CA I115, I124, 126, B280, B281, C392.

⁴² CCA DCc A120, A131, A132, A133, A134, A146, A147, A150, A152, A154, A155.

appear in the *Chartae Antiquae* of Appledore of other centuries, the twelfth, or the fourteenth to sixteenth, nor did it become a common surname (cf. for example the indexes to *Documents Illustrative of Medieval Kentish Society*).

The eleven references to men known as *portereve* at Appledore indicate the following. The term was applied to three different men, apparently all related. They all appeared not as parties to the charters but as witnesses. The positions of their names in the witness lists in some cases suggests they were a local official and/or the scribe of the charter. Although the men known as *le portereve* were apparently related, this is too early a period in this locality for the term *le portereve* to be merely an inherited by-name or surname.⁴³ Rather it suggests that it was an office and function carried by tradition or practice by men of a particular family, and was related to overseeing the operations of a near-coastal town. Appledore did not belong to the Cinque Port confederation as a limb or member, and this may be why it had an official, at least for a while in the thirteenth century, known by a term not usually used by members of the Confederation, where officials were generally mayors, bailiff, or jurats.

It may be that the suggestion of a port reeve (and his house) at Smallhythe has arisen by analogy with the one that existed at nearby Appledore, and because of the way in which this part of the Rother functioned as a maritime complex in the high Middle Ages. However, there is apparently nothing to connect *le portereve* to Smallhythe or Smallhythe Place.

Smallhythe, Tenterden, Rye and the Cinque Port confederation

Tenterden, including of course Smallhythe, is usually said to have been attached as a member of the Cinque Port confederation to Rye in 1449, in order to help Rye provide its quota of ships for ship service. This is on the basis of the charter of 1449. Clearly Smallhythe's flourishing port and shipbuilding centre was one reason, perhaps the main one, for Tenterden being able to provide the ships. But it should be noted that many notable Cinque Port towns had arrangements with their members to provide assistance with ship service before this is noted in a royal charter, and it is not necessarily the case that Tenterden began to do so *de novo* in 1449 (cf. Murray 1935, 44- 48). Rye, Tenterden's head port, had urban origins before the Conquest and it is identified with a new town noted in Domesday Book (1086). It was flourishing as a town from at least the late twelfth century.⁴⁴

The lack or loss of early Tenterden records (Murray 1935, 257) means that it should not be assumed that there were not important links between Tenterden, including Smallhythe, with Rye from much earlier than 1449. This included the provision of ship service, i.e. boats and men. For example 'in 1429, Rye agreed that they [its inhabitants] would obtain a rebate on £15 13s 4d of the taxes paid by Tenterden' (Murray, 1935, 221). This tax was the lay subsidy or 'tenths and fifteenths'. The basis for calculating the allowance or rebate was the amount of ship service owed by each town in the confederation. (Roberts, 1995, 37) noted that the usual story about the importance of the charter year of 1449 in the relationship between Rye and Tenterden

⁴³ They were sometimes known instead by the place where they lived, e.g. Andrew 'of Appledore', in a way which was common among the *Chartae Antiquae* of this period, Draper 2003b, 60.

⁴⁴ E.g., *Cal. Docs. France*, 52.

was invalid and based on the presumption of an undocumented major French raid on Rye in 1448. In fact ‘the true cause of Rye’s need of a regular long-term subsidy’ of ships and men from Tenterden was Rye’s ‘general impoverishment’ (Roberts 1997, 37): ‘the Town of Rye [was] one of the most ancient of the said ports and near the sea where the ingress of enemies and rebels into the realm can be made, [and] has come to such waste and poverty by the tides and by burnings committed by the said enemies’ that the townsfolk of Rye could no longer ‘find their contingent of the fleet.’⁴⁵ It is most likely that the 1449 royal charter formally recorded Tenterden’s contribution to ships for the fleet that existed from rather earlier, a contribution based on ‘the added bonus of easy access to the ship-building facilities of Smallhythe’ (Roberts, 1995, 37). The intention was that Tenterden, including the wealthy shipbuilding families of Smallhythe, should help Rye in supplying both a money contribution and ships for royal service (Roberts 1995, 40-42).

After 1449, the men of Tenterden and Smallhythe were in no hurry to do so. The Rye Chamberlains’ accounts show that Rye frequently had to send representatives to negotiate with Tenterden, and indeed pay the expenses of the Tenterden town officials, including Thomas Haymes, John Davy, Robert Brickenden and Thomas Caxton, probably the brother of William Caxton the printer. The Tenterden men’s expenses in 1453 included bread, ale, wine and fish (3s 6d). In 1449 the men of Rye also had to pay the ferry tolls (4d) at Smallhythe of their men negotiating with Tenterden, and 6d each time they passed back and forth from Rye for refreshments at the house of Thomas Roby of Smallhythe, possibly the Swan Inn (Roberts 1995, 40). John Davy’s son William bequeathed money for the repair of the bad road between Tenterden Church and Smallhythe ferry; the northern part of this route can be seen leaving Tenterden town centre on the Tithe Map and still exists as a byway. These Tenterden town officials often included the Bailiff, and were men of the maritime community at Smallhythe in the fifteenth century (Roberts 1995, 47).

After Tenterden became a member of the Cinque Ports under its head port of Rye, the burgesses of Tenterden could elect their own Bailiff to hold a fortnightly court in the town and hundred. The Bailiffs of Smallhythe recorded in 1325 and between 1354-60 should definitely be noted in this context (Roberts 1995, 13, 48). Between 1449 and 1500, half of the Bailiffs came from the southern half of Tenterden hundred near the course of the Rother, and half of these men from Smallhythe itself, several from ‘maritime’ families (Roberts 1995, 41, 46-7)

A small group of immigrant families from Holland and Germany lived in Smallhythe and were given royal protection in 1436. They included the Pers (Pearse) family who prospered and of whom at least one man became Bailiff. William Pearse married one Joan, who in the mid-fifteenth century brought into the family property of William Blossom, a former bailiff (above) (Roberts 1995, 45). Thomas Fowle, ‘owner of a ship of the river of Smallhythe’ in 1411, lived at West Cross, at the top of the Smallhythe Road (information from Judith Roberts). One of his descendants, William, became bailiff in 1480 (Roberts 1995, 46).

⁴⁵ A version of this charter is given in CPR Hen VI 1446-52, p.276, and later copies of the charter also exist, of which two were reproduced by Roberts 1995, 37-9.

The Cinque Ports had their own courts (Brotherhood and Guestling) that dealt among other things with disputes between freemen (barons) of the confederation. In 1517, the files of the Cinque Ports Courts recorded a report from Tenterden about the (earlier?) case of John Somer of Sandwich against Gyllys Forman of Smallhythe.⁴⁶ This case was apparently mentioned in the White Book of the Cinque Ports (f.165).⁴⁷ Possibly a search of the White and Black Books of the Cinque ports, the minute books of the courts of Brotherhood and Guestling, might reveal more information about such things as trade, transactions and disputes between Smallhythe inhabitants and those of other Cinque ports; however this was beyond the scope of this project. John Forman of Smallhythe, no doubt a relative of Giles Forman, is known as a shipwright in the will of Joan Polley in 1566. Other shipwrights of Smallhythe in the sixteenth century were Richard Younge (1550) and Richard Badcock (1590). Richard Payne of Wittersham was a shipwright (1566), as also Thomas Harman of Tenterden parish (and therefore probably of Smallhythe). Richard Aule and William Toes were bequeathed Badcock's tools of his occupation as shipwright; this may suggest that they also were of Smallhythe, and that shipbuilding was still being carried on there or nearby at the end of the sixteenth century.⁴⁸

In the seventeenth century there are financial records concerning Tenterden's relationship with Rye. These concerned matters typically discussed and disputed between members of the Cinque Ports confederation. One was the payment of the annual composition money to Rye and payments in connection with the discussion between the two corporations over a mutual dispute.⁴⁹ There are notes of payments by Tenterden for attending one of the courts of the Cinque Ports, the Guestling.⁵⁰

In 1762-4, Rye corporation brought a suit against Tenterden for its non-payment of the annual composition money towards ship service, presumably due in part to the decline and poverty of Smallhythe.⁵¹

Houses, the ferry house, shops and other buildings at Smallhythe

This section concerns five houses, and the ferry and associated houses:
The so-called "Priest's House" and the Chapel House in the Chapel Field rebuilt about 1730;
an old ruinous house substantially renovated in 1670-71;
a message included with other property (buildings and land) in a lease of 1694 [see another section], of which the details of the other property *may* possibly indicate it is the house that later became known as Smallhythe Place;
the house and shop of Henry Badcock of Smallhythe is discussed below.

⁴⁶ East Kent Archives Centre, Whitfield, CP/Bf/1/21.

⁴⁷ Murray (1935, 105) notes the earlier case heard by a Cinque Port court of Giles Sowere of Sandwich versus the mayor of Sandwich concerning the distraint of a horse. It is possible that this is the same case as that raised in 1517 as a precedent of some sort, with some mix up over the names of the parties.

⁴⁸ PRC 17/44/221; PRC 10/13/17-22, quoted in Roberts 1995, 52. n.38.

⁴⁹ CKS TE/FAc, under 1661.

⁵⁰ CKS TE/FAc, under 1635, 1637, 1641, 1647.

⁵¹ CKS TE/S/2-3.

The "Priest's House" and Chapel house

Winnifrith (1980, 363-66) reviewed Taylor's extensive research among the Smallhythe sources, both published and unpublished. Winnifrith concluded that the house now called the Priest's House at Smallhythe was not in fact the dwelling documented as provided for the Smallhythe chaplain in Robert Brickenden's will of 1517. Rather the thatched house which stood to the north of Smallhythe chapel until burnt in 1910 was probably the Smallhythe chaplain's or clerk's dwelling. This dwelling he identified with the Chapell House from entries from the Smallhythe Feoffees accounts referring to the chaplain's or clerk's dwelling in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The dwelling called the Chapel House was ordered to be pulled down and rebuilt in 1730 by the Feoffees. In Winnifrith's argument, this rebuilt house was the thatched house burnt down in the 1910s. There does not seem to be any reason to doubt this, not least because the timber-framed house now called the Priest's House clearly was not built after 1730. Roberts (1995, 51-53) concurred, although not quoting Winnifrith's work.

(No suggestion should be made that there was both a priest's and a chaplain's dwelling. Those serving at Smallhythe were known by different terms at different periods, priest, clerk, reader, chaplain, in the late medieval and early modern periods. The known names of those serving there are given on lists displayed in Smallhythe Chapel. Names of priests are given between 1488 and 1557; clerks 1549 -1975 (some dates); readers 1571-1600; chaplains 1608-1865. I take it that these lists were probably made largely from Taylor's work, and more recent information.)

Winnifrith attributed the application of the name Priest's House to the dwelling south of Smallhythe Chapel to the roles of Ellen Terry and her daughter Edith Craig between 1925 and 1947. Prior to the renaming the so-called Priest's House had been called The Cottage, and notably Smallhythe Place was 'the Farm'. In the Tenterden Tithe apportionment of c.1843 Smallhythe Place was simply called house, garden and buildings.⁵² The so-called Priest's House at the time of the Tithe survey was divided into two cottages.⁵³

Winnifrith (1980) gives a photo showing the two different buildings, the Chapel house (rebuilt 1730) and the 'Priest's House'. The original of this photo is in the Trust's collection at Smallhythe Place as at 13.1.05. He noted the site of the thatched Chapel House to the north of Smallhythe chapel was cleared and grassed over after the house was burnt down.

A map of 1793 of the Smallhythe Chapel Lands has a small drawing in perspective of a house just to the north of the Chapel, facing the road.⁵⁴ It is within what is marked as 'Chapelfield', which also encloses the Chapel itself. There are representations of a central front door, two ground-floor windows, three-first floor windows, a hipped roof and a chimney two-thirds of the way along the roof line. It may be a drawing of the Chapel house as rebuilt in c.1730. However it should be noted that the representation

⁵² The plot number on the Tithe Map on CD is not entirely clear, but could be checked by reference to the original map if permitted by CCA.

⁵³ Plot 2232a.

⁵⁴ CKS U442/P3. The map was evidently re-examined in 1877 when a new lease was made between the Chapel feoffees and John and Thomas Hope.

of the Chapel is stylistically conventional rather than realistic. In the close of the house, the map shows two small buildings to its NE.

An 'old ruinous house' at Smallhythe, 1670-1

There is interesting information on the renovation of this house, but it has so far not been possible to link it directly to any standing or lost house at Smallhythe.

In 1670-71 Mr William Aldcroft town clerk of Tenterden accounted for money he had spent on the repair of an 'old ruinous house' at Smallhythe.⁵⁵ The house belonged to John Gee of the Middle Temple, London.

John Gee's house was let to one Francis Wause, probably after its renovation.⁵⁶ It would be ideal to identify this house from other sources but so far this has not proved possible.⁵⁷ The Hearth Tax of 1664 does not (unsurprisingly) contain the name of Gee, Wause or Aldcroft at Smallhythe (Dumbourne borough). William Aldcroft himself lived in town borough at Tenterden in a large house with six hearths, and he was chargeable to hearth tax (*Kent Hearth Tax*, 431). Nevertheless the detail of the repair of this old ruinous house at Smallhythe is full of interest. Aldcroft wrote an account of his disbursements that the craftsmen and suppliers of materials signed or marked to indicate that they had worked or supplied at the cost charged to Gee.

It was repaired using 'one lade (or 1500) of tiles, plus tiles of special sorts including gutter, corner [?] and ridge tiles, total cost £1 15s. These were supplied by one John Searles, who signed the account.

'A loade (or 64 bushells of Lyme)' was supplied at a cost of £1 8s by Thomas Rasle, who made his mark on the account.

'Six loads of Bricks' at £8 were supplied by Richard Knight (his mark).

'Severall boards, Timber for setting up of an Oven [?], for Sells, for Mantle, and for several other materialls of Timber and for Carpenter's worke severall dayes', supplied at £5 13s by Thomas Wilsye (signed).

John Weller (who signed) charged £1 18s for '12 Loads of Sand, 19 Sacks of Lyme, 6 Loads of bricks, one loade of Timber, one loade of Tiles, 7 loades of Loame [?], and for Carrying away hills of stones and Rubbish'.

Eight shillings was paid for glazing by Stephen Hack [church?].

John Woodcocke Blacksmith (who made his mark) supplied 'A Gridiron for an Oven, for several sortes of Naile, and for other materialls of Iron used in and about repairing of Mr Gee's house at Smallhythe'.

Robert Austen of Tenterden bricklayer (who signed the account) charged £4 'for my Workemanshippe to pull downe and cleane the Old Chimney and Bricks and to neue make two chimneys, an oven and ffurnace in Mr Gee's house, all supplied plain and corner tiles, Latts, work of daubing, tilinge, underpinning and whiteing'.

⁵⁵ CKS TE/Z/5/2. The spelling of Wause should be checked; a Baule, shipwright, is known, at Smallhythe as late as 1590, Roberts 1995, 52.

⁵⁶ Some words in this documents are not clearly written, although with time they could be established.

⁵⁷ Aldcroft's role as Town Clerk is discussed extensively in Roberts 1995. Roberts 1995, 193, notes in general the difficulty of linking houses on the ground and in the records in the early-modern period in Tenterden. This is often the case, and I have discussed it extensively with J. Marshall, currently working on the history of houses in Kennington near Ashford.

This old ruinous house thus had one chimney replaced with two, although it is possible there may have been other chimneys in it. Two hearths was common for houses in Smallhythe (Dumbourne borough) in 1664 (*Kent Hearth Tax*, 434-5). Some houses in Tenterden with two hearths were said to belong to ‘persons chargeable’ under the Act and others not, since the persons chargeable were ‘exempted by reason of their poverty from the usuall taxes to church and poore and are not worth five pounds and soe not chargeable by the Act’ (*Kent Hearth Tax*, 430). Eight houses in Smallhythe with two hearths were judged chargeable to the Hearth tax and ten houses in Smallhythe with two hearths were judged not to be. Given further research, particularly among testamentary materials, it *might* be possible to link this house to a named person in the Hearth Tax, although it is likely that many people would be described as farmer in testamentary materials and there were many farms.

By the time of the Hearth Tax, Smallhythe was relatively poor compared to other parts of Tenterden parish in terms of the number of houses and the hearths they had. The yeoman farmers of the rest of Tenterden town centre, ‘the parish aristocracy’, built up holdings in the parish, grazing on Romney Marsh and some of them had fulling mills, for example the Skeets family. Such families, however, did not live at Smallhythe.⁵⁸

John Gee of the Middle Temple London, whose ruinous house was renovated and let out, was presumably a lawyer. Ownership of property in this locality by families rising to gentry status via cloth-making and the legal profession in London and Canterbury is known from the later sixteenth century (Draper 2003b, 298-90). Gee is apparently another example, as is the following. In a covenant of 1686 Mark Berry of St Giles Cripplegate, London, together with John Brett of the Middle Temple, London, ensured that Berry’s wife Elizabeth and his niece Mary Berry would have the use of his properties in Tenterden, Smallhythe and Canterbury after his death and during their lifetimes.⁵⁹ These examples and the listings of names in the Hearth Tax of 1664 indicate that the well-known Smallhythe men and families of the shipbuilding era (Brickenden, Donetts, etc) were replaced between the late fifteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries by others who were absentee landlords of houses, including men living in London.

A lease of 1694 concerning houses and lands at Smallhythe

A lease of one year made in 1694 records the letting of various lands and buildings in ‘a certain place called Small hithe’. These consisted of one messuage, one tenement, one barn, one stable, one garden, one orchard, one forstall, seven pieces or parcels of land, both arable and pasture, and one piece or parcel of fresh marsh of 34 acres.⁶⁰ These may well equate to some or all of the Chapel Lands because of the similarities of sizes of pieces of land (below), and/or it *may* include what became known as Smallhythe Place and its ancillary buildings; this is because of the references to Forstall, for which see below, although note that there was also a Forstall Farm near Leigh Green, Tenterden (Tithe Map). This could be further investigated, particularly

⁵⁸ Information from Dr Judith Roberts.

⁵⁹ CCA 106/15. This document has not been examined and to do so might establish the relationship to that in the lease of 1694 (CCA U106/22) or the account of 1671, CKS TE/Z/5/2).

⁶⁰ CCA U106/22.

via a full collection of the names of lessees and former tenants in the terrier of 1797 (below), and possibly via land tax assessments. The lessors in 1694 were Mary Furby, widow of Tenterden, Margaret Pope, widow of Tenterden and John Paine, gentleman, of Tenterden. The lessee was John Heath, gent., of London. Twenty-four acres of land at Pickhill (north of Smallhythe) and other lands in Tenterden and High Halden were also leased.

Some information on the parties to the lease or their families is given by Roberts. A Mrs Rebecca Furby, probably related to the Mary Furby the lessor, was involved with her mother Mrs Butler in a flourishing family shop. This shop lay in Tenterden town centre, during the last four decades of the seventeenth century and first decade of the eighteenth century. The shop dealt in grocery, drapery and millinery. Details are given in Roberts (1995, 185-7). Its supplies from London came by hoy via Maidstone, in contrast to the way Tenterden was supplied in earlier centuries via the Rother and Smallhythe. William Furby is known as a townsman of Tenterden in 1660 and another William Furby as First Sergeant in 1713 (Roberts (1995, 152, 198). As for the other parties to the lease, including the Pope family: Pope House lane was in the St Michaels area of Tenterden (Roberts 1995, 17,80, 161) and several other members of the Pope family are mentioned by Roberts. As for the Paine family: a Richard Payne of Wittersham, shipwright, is known in 1566. A John Payne is known in Tenterden in 1665 (details in Roberts 1995, 52, 97). The lessee was John Heath, gent., of London. A man of this name, attorney to the Duchy of Lancaster, is known as acting as Commissioner under the Act for the Wellgoverning and Regulating of Corporations' and, with several other wealthy and gentry men, 'appeared in Tenterden in 1662 to administer the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy (Robert 1995, 166).

Smallhythe Place

Although there is data about medieval and early-modern houses at Smallhythe it is not possible to link this data directly to Smallhythe Place or the "Priest's House". This is not least because these buildings were not part of the Chapel Lands held by the Smallhythe Feoffees, for which there is better evidence. A possibility for further investigation would be testamentary sources, particularly probate inventories. However, Dr Judith Roberts reviewed the probate inventory evidence for Kent (beginning in 1563) and for Tenterden including Smallhythe in great detail (Roberts 1990, 2, 4). She also discussed this with me. From her work on Tenterden, she was able to link inventories only to a small block of houses in the town centre on the High Street. In general she suggested that inventories in any case described 'room functions and rooms definitions' rather than 'actual structural space' (Roberts 1990, 161). They are therefore not very useful in conjunction with measured surveys, which she also carried out. The houses at Smallhythe all post-dated the fire of 1514, although there may be some house platforms of earlier date.⁶¹ The structure of 'Smallhythe Place' and the "Priest's House" are discussed in Roberts (1990, 99-101). See also below on Badcock's shop.

Whatever role Smallhythe Place had had in the late Middle Ages and early modern period, by the nineteenth or early twentieth century, it was a farm (Winnifrieth 1980). It was described as a house, garden and buildings in the Tithe Apportionment.

⁶¹ Information from Judith Roberts. The fire was recorded in the Tenterden Custumal, CKS TE/C/1.

The ferry and associated houses

A grant was made in 1561 of Smallhythe Ferry and two houses and gardens nearby, at least one of which was adjacent to the Ferry. The first messuage (house and garden) lay immediately to the 'north of the ferry of Smallid'. It was on the west side of Smallhythe Road, and the land of the heirs of John Goler lay to the west and north. Possibly it was the predecessor of the Ferry house demolished in the early twentieth century? The other messuage and garden was on the west side of the road, bounded by the land of John Mane, esq., to the east, the land of John Fygg and John Mane to the south, and the land of the heirs of William Hyllier to the north. These two properties were said to be in Tenterden and Wittresham in the county of Kent. The second property cannot be identified precisely on the ground and possibly it was on the far side of the ferry crossing, as it was in Wittersham. The grant was made by Martin Harlakinden of Grey's Inn in the county of Middlesex, gentleman, to William Playfer of London, gentleman, although there would have been local tenants and occupiers.⁶² It appears that essentially the ferry rights and tolls were being sold.⁶³

Deeds of the Ferry house and a ferry at Smallhythe, and of Malthouse Platt Smallhythe may be well be worth considering.⁶⁴ Those of two messuages and gardens at Smalhed and a 'water way called Smalhed Ferry' as well as the Ferry house may similarly be worth considering.⁶⁵ Full catalogue references of these have been obtained and kept.

In February 1772 the question of the right of the freemen of Tenterden to use the Smallhythe ferry free of toll was discussed by the Corporation of Tenterden.⁶⁶

Other houses outside the central part of Smallhythe

The East Sussex Record Office contains deeds relating to houses and other property at Smallhythe that are outside the property of the National Trust, specifically at Bulleigne Farm.⁶⁷

Deeds of a messuage in Smallhythe Street abutting to the High street could be examined but they clearly relate to the upper end of Smallhythe street'.⁶⁸

Shops at Smallhythe in the sixteenth century

One Henry Badcock had a house and mercer's shop at Smallhythe near the end of the sixteenth century, about 1582 (Roberts 1995, 56). The shop stocked a variety of cloths, 'haberdashery', and spices, etc, and general goods; Roberts (1995, 121) gives

⁶² Harvard Law School Library Deed 623.

⁶³ The ferry and crossing of the Rother at Smallhythe in the period should be considered in conjunction with Roberts 1995, 55-56; Eddison 1998, 1995; and the ongoing work of Terry Burke and the Small Ports Project on the Tithe maps of this area.

⁶⁴ ESRO DAP/Box 89/3 (1587-1808).

⁶⁵ ESRO FRE/494 (14 March 1621).

⁶⁶ CKS TE/S/2-3.

⁶⁷ ESRO DAP/Box 92/4 (1799); Box 105/13 (n.d.)

⁶⁸ CKS TE/TZ/1 (1628-59).

the detail. Roberts noted that Henry Badcock ‘lived in Smallhythe above the shop in a large timber-framed house, and in considerable comfort’.⁶⁹ The probate inventory does not name the house/shop, so cannot be identified with any specific building in Smallhythe, either now standing or lost. Roberts (1995, 122) thought the house must have looked rather like the “priest’s house”; he noted that Henry’s brother Richard was a shipwright in Smallhythe and had ‘a lighterage business along the river’, which might possibly suggest a house in family occupation close to the river and the known site of shipbuilding? Richard Badcock, the shipwright, and Henry’s brother, had debts owing to him from over forty customers in 1590. These debts amounted to over £140. The places where these customers lived reflected a trade at the shop based on river and local coastal trade (Roberts 1995, 52, 56, 122).⁷⁰

The floors, rooms and furnishings of Henry Badcock’s house/shop are summarised below.

Henry Badcock’s house and shop at Smallhythe

Floor:			Furnishings
Ground	Hall		Long table, two long benches, settle, cupboard with a desk, glass fronted cupboard, and cutlery, plates etc (details given)
	Shop		
	Parlour		Beds/chests
	Buttery		Expected goods (details given)
	Kitchen		Expected goods (details given)
	Quern room		Expected goods (details given)
‘upstairs’	bedchamber	Large, lofty room, over hall	Two bedsteads (and more details(
	[bed]room	Over shop	Beds/chests
	Room	Over kitchen	Stored food
	Room	Over quern room	Linen wheel, hemp, chest, and more
‘Garrets’	Garret	over parlour	Tallow
	garret	Above room over kitchen	

Badcock’s shop was supported by the wealth of the Smallhythe population until the 1570s, and seems to have been the last shop in Smallhythe. The Badcock family is listed in Lay Subsidies until 1576 (Roberts 1995, 54). They do not appear in the Tenterden Hearth Tax of 1664 (*Kent Hearth Tax*, 430-35). Roberts (1995, 122) attributed the loss of the Badcock’s business at Smallhythe near the end of the sixteenth century to the absence of any shipbuilding, apart from river barges at Smallhythe by then, although ‘Smallhythe was still flourishing and carrying on a useful river trade as a small inland port’.

⁶⁹ Inventory PRC 10/13/33, quoted in Roberts 1995, 56, n.60, 121, n.16. The probate inventory itself should be consulted.

⁷⁰ The reference to Richard’s inventory seems to be PRC 10/13/17-22.

Henry Badcock possessed a couple of valuable personal possessions suggestive of the wider sea-borne trade of this locality: a white Flanders stone pot with a lid, perhaps an early piece of delft ware, and a Venetian drinking glass. Henry had a large amount of personal and household possessions, suggestive of a large family and servants. Most goods were not of especially notable value, mostly pewter, brass and wood, with a silver goblet and two silver spoons. He also had a 'fringed silk hat'. Roberts (1995, 122) gives more detail. Henry Badcock also had a shop at Appledore (Roberts 1995, 121).

James Badcock of Smallhythe was assessed for taxation (the lay subsidy) in 1533, and the Badcocks continued to be also assessed there until 1576 (Roberts 1995, 54). More work could be done to compare their contributions with those of other Smallhythe residents such as the Brickendens and Donnetts. James Badcock was the last-named resident of Smallhythe in the protest to save Smallhythe chapel in 1546. Such lists of names usually reflect social status, with Badcock following members of the important Brickenden, Beche and other families, but not lumped in with 'all the other inhabitants of the said hamelet of Small Helthe' (Roberts 1995, 63).

At the end of the sixteenth century (1598), judicial proceedings took place under the Process of Withernam of the Cinque Ports. On one side were Sarah Thurbarne widow of Walter Badcock of Romney, tailor, and executrix of his will, together with her new husband Daniel Thurbarne of Romney, yeoman. On the other side were Robert Wright of Smallhythe, husbandman, and Alexander Cayfinche of Smallhythe, tanner. The documents are said to include an extract from Walter Badcock's shop book. It is interesting to note that there were shops owned by members of the Badcock family in three places: Henry at Smallhythe and Appledore (above) and Walter at Romney. The seven documents at East Kent Archives Office concerned with this process should be examined and the names of the parties followed up.⁷¹

A Tenterden tailor kept an account book in the late 1530s.⁷² This included some details of some of his customers, their professions and abodes. The tailor supplied Thomas Brykenden, of the Smallhythe family, with a yard of three quarters of white kersey cloth, and John Fyllype of Smalyd with ten yards of red cloth.

The town centre of Tenterden had a number and wide range of shops in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries (Roberts 1995, 119-20, 178 ff). Although there do not appear to have been shops in seventeenth- and eighteenth- century Smallhythe, there was a licensed victualler in 1705, Mary Holdstock, at the White Horse by the Smallhythe Ferry. There was similarly a licensed victualler at Redyng, William Johnson at the White Hart. Four others were to be found in Tenterden town centre.⁷³

⁷¹ East Kent Archives Office, Whitfield, Dover, EK NR/JW/117-118.

⁷² CKS TE/C/2. The account book is in the form of loose leaves, and the accounts are poorly written and many crossed out. The book has also been used for other purposes included writing practice, but would repay further examination for its information on customers at Smallhythe compared to those in Tenterden and the villages around such as Rolvenden, cf. Roberts 1995, 117, 119.

⁷³ Record of Licensing Sessions, 1705, quoted in Roberts 1995, 186.

The religious and cultural history of Smallhythe, fourteenth to seventeenth centuries

Smallhythe chapel in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries

The history of this Chapel has been extensively covered by Taylor (1914, 1915, 1942) and Lutton (1997), both from primary source materials, as well as Roberts (1995). Here some evidence for the earliest existence of the chapel is examined and its history in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries very briefly surveyed.

Smallhythe Chapel existed before the fire of 1514, after which it was rebuilt. Much land is known as being given to it from 1465, this partly reflecting the good survival of wills from this period. More land was given after it was burnt down to support its rebuilding. Both originally and later, the lands were given to aid both the chapel building and Smallhythe's own chaplain.

Smallhythe is known as a settlement in 1252 when 'Henry de la Smalelide alias Smelelide was killed in a riot in Tenterden parish church sparked off by a dispute over the appointment of a rector'.⁷⁴

Taylor (1942, 26) stated that the earliest name of which there is a reliable record of a chaplain at Smallhythe is from 1478. However, the appearance of Richard ate Capelle of Smalyde in the witness list of a deed of Smallhythe undoubtedly indicates his role as chaplain there rather earlier, in 1424.⁷⁵ This section examines the significance of the settlements of and around Smallhythe, as evidenced in the deed, in relation to the Chapel. Richard ate Capelle was witnessing an acknowledgement (quitclaim) by John Werthe, son of William Werthe of New Winchelsea to Thomas Haymes of four pieces of land in Tenterden parish, bordering land Thomas already held. The pieces of land were on the den of La Leghe (modern Leigh Green in Tenterden) where the Haymes family had held land as early as 1341 (Roberts 1995, 27). Roberts (1995, 2) provisionally identified La Leghe with Brentingesleah, a place known from Aethelbert's charter of 724. Bournothisland on the den of Leghe (Brentingesleah) is known by 1341.⁷⁶ This appears to be confirmed by the 1424 grant, in which the land granted is also bordered by that of John ate Borne.⁷⁷ An earlier John de Borne was vicar of Tenterden in 1333 (Roberts 1995, 28). The significance for Smallhythe of Leghe and Bournothisland is related to road and water-borne transport and developing markets in the thirteenth century.

Leghe was an early and major settlement, on or near which grew up Finchden, Maynards, Priory Farmhouse and Belgar as well as Leigh Green (Farmhouse). A well-used road ran westwards from Leigh Green to Morghew on the upper part of the Smallhythe Road (Roberts 1995, 100, 119). Bournothisland had access by road to the developing Tenterden town centre, which was developing by the fourteenth century; the N side being built up by 1373 (Roberts 1990, 21). Bournothisland also had access by road to Appledore, growing as a small market centre with several shops and stalls

⁷⁴ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Henry III, 1247-58, quoted in Lutton 1997, 71, n.1

⁷⁵ Harvard Law School English deeds, deed 459.

⁷⁶ BM Add. Charter 46959 quoted in Roberts 1995, 2.

⁷⁷ In 1509 William Borne gave a substantial bequest for ceiling the vestry of Tenterden church, Roberts 1995, 28.

by the early fourteenth century.⁷⁸ Bournothisland also lay to the north of Redyng and was accessible from the River Rother at an early period by water via what became Huntbourne stream through Shirley Moor. The Huntbourne Stream entered the Rother just east of Redyng (between the tenth and the sixteenth centuries, this watercourse narrowed considerably). This area of Brentingesleah (Bournothisland) is mapped by Roberts (1995, 9, 71). The Bourne family held land in the vicinity of this watercourse, with access down to the Rother and thus to Smallhythe. The connections of the Bourne family with Tenterden church from at least the 1330s may indicate their role in establishing a chapel at Smallhythe. From the early fourteenth century the Haymes family, closely associated with Smallhythe, also held land at Bournothisland (la Leghe, above) with its access to Tenterden and Appledore Road, and via the watercourse to Smallhythe.

Thomas Haymes, to whom the 1424 grant was made, was closely associated with important men of Smallhythe involved in the shipbuilding industry and ferry there in the early fifteenth century, John Davy and Robert Brickenden, who were fellow Jurats. Thomas Haymes was also a close associate of William Blossom and John Brickenden, another member of the shipbuilding family (Roberts 1995, 51-2). Together the three of them and others appeared together in Chancery in 1434 ‘to take the oath not to maintain peace-breakers’. This qualified landowners worth 40s a year, such as these men were, to take part in parliamentary elections (Roberts 1995, 45).

In addition to Richard at Capelle, other witnesses to the quitclaim included men known as Bailiffs of Tenterden or from families known as Bailiffs. First witness was William Blossom who had land at Morgheew near the Smallhythe Road. It is typical at this period and in this locality for men such as local town officials and chaplains to witness charters, and frequently the local town official was named first witness in recognition of his role and status (Draper 2003b, 79). Another witness was Thomas Presten, whose relative- perhaps son- William Preston was Bailiff in the 1460s (Roberts 1995, 45).⁷⁹

Smallhythe Chapel before and after the fire

Inhabitants of Smallhythe gave gifts to the Chapel both before and after the 1514 fire. William Blossom and Lora Blossom made bequests to Smallhythe chapel, as did four members of the Davy family, including John, and one of the Haymes family (Roberts 1995, 52). The Davys, a very wealthy family, with lands all around the area of Smallhythe, gave land for the chapel in 1468 called Elbow Garden. The Davys’ property included, notably, ‘le waterside’ and le verye [ferry] at Smallhythe. Robert Davy was a brewer and owned ‘berebruhos’ (beer brew house).⁸⁰ The Ashendens owned similar lands. Roberts (1995, 77) gives the details.

The chapel was largely rebuilt after the 1514 fire by members of the Smallhythe community, who subsequently (in the early sixteenth century) added to the lands contributing to its maintenance by further bequests of land or money. Notably, in 1510

⁷⁸ CCA DCc Register J, fols 62-3.

⁷⁹ The personal names and details of the parties could be further followed up via the websites used for this study.

⁸⁰ This may be identifiable with Brewhouse field, no. 2290 on the Tithe map, yet to be mapped

John Hoorne bequeathed ‘his house by the water’ as a ‘permanent investment’ (Roberts 1995, 52.)

In all, this deed points up the crucial importance of Smallhythe in the political and economic life of Tenterden in the fifteenth century; the chapel and the chaplain were part of this. The community of Smallhythe, and on occasion the town of Tenterden itself took responsibility for the maintenance of the Smallhythe chaplain and chapel via the Chapel lands. For example, Tenterden’s town accounts, Chamberlains’ accounts, record the cost of making a copy of a decree in Chancery about the lands of Smallhythe Chapel.⁸¹

In 1550 Sir Walter Hendley of Cranbrook bequeathed ‘to Richard Courert and Anne hys wyf the terme of the Oxney Ferye I bought of Thomas Spelman gent. Payenge to the Kyngs majestie according to the Indenture of the lease of the same viz. £7’.⁸² Hendley was a very wealthy man and very extensive landowner in the Weald. He held the ferme [lease] of certeyn lands and marshes at Redyng’ and ‘landes in Sharlysmore and Teyntwarden [Shirley Moor and Tenterden]. Holding the lease of the tolls of the Oxney Ferry, which may have been that at Redyng or Smallhythe, would have been economically very sensible.⁸³ Sir Walter was one of the two Commissioners before whom the inquiry into the status and future of Smallhythe Chapel was held in 1549 (Roberts 1995, 63). The arguments depended on the views of two groups: one stressed the shipbuilding industry and river-trade and importance of the community, the other its current state of decline (Roberts 1995, 63-4). In the mid-sixteenth century it was established that Smallhythe Chapel was a chapel of ease not a chantry chapel and so it was not dissolved (below).

In the early seventeenth century, there were strong complains about the ruinous state of Smallhythe Chapel. This was attributed to its neglect by the lessee of the rents of the Chapel Lands, but as usual the accusation was bound up with other issues. There was a well-educated curate at Smallhythe in 1618, Isaac Ward M.A, a young man. He was not licensed as a preacher, but was licensed to teach at the ‘schole at Tenterden where there is a Free Schole’. He was admonished to give up teaching at Tenterden, and obtain a licence to serve the Cure of Smalhead, which he did. He supplemented the small amount received from the Chapel property at this time to support him by helping at the parish Church in Tenterden (Roberts 1995, 65).

It was long established that the inhabitants of Smallhythe had the right to nominate their own chaplain. For example, in 1674 the inhabitants nominated to Nathaniel Collington, then vicar of Tenterden, one Stephen Haffenden to be priest in charge of the chapel at Smallhythe.⁸⁴ Nathaniel Collington had himself previously been curate of Smallhythe chapel, receiving a Preacher’s Licence in 1668.⁸⁵

This document of 1674 was exhibited in an ecclesiastical court case in 1762, indicating the right to choose the Smallhythe chaplain was still a live issue. The documents is signed by many inhabitants, and approved by the Vicar. The catalogue

⁸¹ CKS TE/FAc, under 1641.

⁸² CCA PCC 10 Coode and 30 Coode, transcribed by L. L. Duncan in the nineteenth century.

⁸³ Further research may make clear which ferry it was.

⁸⁴ CCA DCb/PRC/18/34/4.

⁸⁵ CCA DCb-VC/1A/11/3.

entry is not clear whether it is that of 1674 or 1762 that was signed by many inhabitants, but examination of the original would clarify this. In either case, the document indicates that Smallhythe was not depopulated at the time. The fact that many local inhabitants could sign their own names fits entirely with what is known of the long-established sophisticated religious and educational culture of Smallhythe itself and the locality in which it lay, i.e. the Romney Marsh area and the members of the Cinque Ports confederation around it, including Tenterden and Smallhythe.

Smallhythe residents and ecclesiastical cases in the seventeenth century

Other documents in the Archdeaconry Court Miscellaneous and Ecclesiastical Cause papers exist from the early seventeenth century. These give the names of some inhabitants of Smallhythe, which might be of interest in comparison with the names of earlier and later Smallhythe residents and families. The documents if searched might yield occupational information, and possibly references to buildings, but this is unlikely and so was not carried out. The surnames include Jervis, Crouchman and many others. The document details are listed here.⁸⁶:

The nature of religion centred on Smallhythe Chapel in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries

Smallhythe Chapel and the worship there were expressive of the identity of Smallhythe separate from that of Tenterden from the late fifteenth century. Religious practice was orthodox but rather unconventional. Smallhythe was not a seat of Lollard or unorthodox religious views that were prevalent in the Weald, and strongly among Tenterden parishioners (*Kent Heresy Proceedings, 1511-12*). The wealth devoted to the Chapel and the support of its own chaplain undoubtedly derived from Smallhythe's heyday as a shipbuilding centre, and particularly the prosperity of the Brickenden family.

Lutton (1997) made a study of the Smallhythe chapel, of the local community or 'strete' there, and its relationship with its parent settlement of Tenterden, c.1420 to c.1540. Lutton found that devotional practice at Smallhythe was rather like that of Tenterden in its general characteristics; it was open to new ideas, centred on Christ, and employed texts. Tenterden was a nucleus of the religious devotion, *devotio moderna*, which grew in popularity in the 15th century, and which focussed on Christ and his saving work rather than the intercession of the saints, for example, the Jesus Mass and the mass of the Five Wounds (Lutton 1997, 152, 206. 212-16).⁸⁷ There was also significant lay participation in funerary and commemorative ritual, and so in

⁸⁶ CCA DCb/J/J/11/72 Ecclesiastical cause papers 24 Sep 1605; DCb/J/J/12/85 Ecclesiastical cause papers 17 Jun 1606; DCb/J/J/12/126 Ecclesiastical cause papers 16 Dec 1606; DCb/J/J/12/134 Ecclesiastical cause papers 16 Dec 1606; DCb/L/B Licences: Certificates of Licences 1614 – 1826; DCb/PRC/18/14/90 Archdeaconry Court Miscellaneous 24 Sep 1617; DCb/PRC/18/20/31 Archdeaconry Court Miscellaneous 9 Oct; DCb/PRC/18/20/66 Archdeaconry Court Miscellaneous 6 Nov 1627; DCb/PRC/18/20/70 Archdeaconry Court Miscellaneous 6 Nov 1627; DCb/J/J/44/99 Ecclesiastical cause papers 16 Jul 1629; DCb/PRC/18/22/41 Archdeaconry Court Miscellaneous 10 Jul 1632; DCb/PRC/18/23/12 Archdeaconry Court Miscellaneous 31 May 1636.

⁸⁷ This piety was not identifiable with Lollardy, but then the Tenterden area had seen a great deal of repression of Lollardy. Six men said to have been Lollards had been accused of taking part in a rebellion in 1438 and hanged, drawn and quartered; many others were tried and imprisoned, Lutton 1997, i.

liturgy and ceremony. Funerary ritual, replacing standard chantry provision, ‘could be recited by the literate lay person’ and appreciated by others (Lutton 1997, 144-5).⁸⁸ From the evidence of wills, pious practice at Smallhythe also seems to have been a means for the people there to express their ‘collective identity’, and their separateness and their ‘otherness’ from Tenterden (Lutton 1997, 88, 96). In the dedication of its chapel to St John the Baptist, Smallhythe perhaps perceived itself as an industrial community that worked with its hands, as opposed to a pampered urban society. Lutton (1997, 82-4) drew out the very great significance of the dedication to St John Baptist. He did so by examining the texts of two of the most popular and widely-available saints’ lives and miracle books in the 15th century, the *Golden Legend* printed by William Caxton and *Mirk’s Festial* (Lutton 1997, 84). Features of St John the Baptist’s life described in them made him an appropriate dedication there (Lutton 1997, 83): St John was born ‘two miles unto Jerusalem’, in obvious parallel to the distance of Smallhythe from the urban centre of Tenterden. The saint’s ‘Wilderness’ life closely paralleled by the settlement of Smallhythe lying in a lonely place between Weald and Marsh; his role as a baptiser was performed upon a river; he had left the comforts and conveniences of his home with his father to live a hard life of manual work at a distance (Lutton 1997, 83). The wills of people in Smallhythe and the structure of the rebuilt chapel suggest an awareness in the community that it lived on the edge of uncertainty, and that it differed from most others around. In the 15th century the settlement and chapel were of relatively recent foundation, without an ancient core and parish church. The community supported its own chapel priest by making temporary or permanent chantries rather than making bequests to the saints in their wills. The unusual plain rectangular shape of the chapel, and probable lack of a rood loft, suggest the small degree of separation between priest and people, lay and clergy (Lutton 1997, 88). The community of Smallhythe, although an industrial one perhaps with elements of transience (Taylor and Aston 1999, 36), thus had a subtle and sophisticated form of spiritual practice in which scripture and texts were influential. This fits with the evidence of extensive learning and book-ownership by the Tenterden priest Master Morer in the late 15th century and with the indications that the settlements alongside the Rother leading into the Marsh, such as Redyng, Ebony and Appledore, had well-educated and literate clergy in the 14th and early 15th centuries (Draper 2003b, 258-69).

Developments in shipbuilding and natural processes, however, brought great change to the community and settlement of Smallhythe by the mid-16th century. Changes in methods of shipbuilding and the nature of docks occurred, and shipbuilding at Smallhythe was soon to be replaced by a ‘new, grand’ dockyard in north Kent at Chatham (Taylor and Aston 1999, 36-7).

Smallhythe chapel in the eighteenth century

At the end of the seventeenth century, the Chapel Lands were producing a much higher income for the Chapel than in 1546 even allowing for the high inflation of the intervening period (Roberts 1995, 188-89). This increase was largely due to the much greater value of the extensive marshes immediately to the S of Smallhythe Place

⁸⁸ Chantries in Tenterden and Sandwich in Kent, as in Bury St Edmunds and York were declining in the 1490s to 1520s as ‘testators favoured cheaper and newer forms of traditional Catholic devotion such as the trental and funerary arrangements’, Lutton 1997, 133.

(Cripplegate and Foreland Marshes – Figs 6 & 7). The marshes were more valuable since the northern course of the Rother had silted up and the flow diverted to the S of Oxney c.1635, allowing the marshes to be drained and used as good grazing land (cf. Roberts 1995, 65); In contrast the Chapel properties in Smallhythe itself were worth much less and the rent could not always be paid by the tenant.

In 1692 the Chapel House and associated grounds were leased to Thomas Kite who was clerk to the Smallhythe Feoffees (Trustees of the Chapel). The rent as assessed in 1692 was £2 5s. In 1705 the Smallhythe Feoffees let Kite off the unpaid back rent of about six years (£13s 4d) for the Chapel house and its close, and two other pieces of ground being part of the other chapel property: the ‘burnt spott’ and Muntreefield (formerly Mountaurye Garden). This was regarded as a ‘proper’ charitable act as Kite was an inhabitant of Smallhythe (Roberts 1995, 188-9). In the previous century, another member of the Kite family, John, received charity in the form of ‘a pair of hose, ‘being home-made and strong’.⁸⁹ A woman of the Kite family was prosecuted for ‘rioting’ with three others about ‘Samuell Dayes whippinge’ in 1653. Samuel Day was from a family whose members were considered ‘as vagrants disorderly persons lyinge and lodginge in and about Tenterden’ by the Justices under Cromwell’s Commonwealth (Roberts 1995, 150). Richard Kite was a carpenter who in 1653 supplied timber from his premises for the repairs of the Tenterden Court Hall and carried out the works (cf. Roberts 1995, 201, and other references). Possibly the trade of carpentry carried on at Smallhythe in its heyday, as a centre of shipbuilding had been transferred to the more usual one in the Weald of building and repairing houses.

Four poor inhabitants of Smallhythe Street, the community around the chapel, were given small sums as charity in the 1730s. This included three widows who received a couple of shillings each (Roberts 1995, 189).

In the eighteenth century Smallhythe chapel was served by clergy known as chaplains, who sometimes paid curates to do this duty. The chaplains and curates were local men, often combining the chaplaincy of Smallhythe with their roles as vicar of Rolvenden or Rector of Newenden (Roberts 1995, 189).

Smallhythe Chapel owned the property and lands as described in a 1797 Terrier.⁹⁰ It also owned the following items in 1797, giving a picture of the church interior at that time:

In 1797 the Chapel was described as ‘ancient building within and belonging to which Chapel’ were:

One Large Oaken Chest

One Bible in Quarto

One Surplice

Two Ladders

One Pulpit or Reading Desk with one huceling Stool and one pulpit Cushion

Two Common Prayer Books in Quarto

One Deal Form

One Bell with Rope.

⁸⁹ This is recorded in the Overseers and Surveyors accounts, but Roberts 1995, 158, does not give the year.

⁹⁰ CCA DCb/D/T/S/50.

Smallhythe chapel in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

A plan, in the form of a tracing on cloth, was made in 1856 concerning the making of a new parish of Smallhythe of out Tenterden parish, before that date Smallhythe being a chapel of ease.⁹¹ Smallhythe in the form of the borough (borgh) of Dumbourne became an ecclesiastical district in 1866 (Taylor 1914, 167). Lists framed and hung in the church reflect the changing ecclesiastical status of the Chapel in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. From 1866 to 1900 the names of perpetual curates are given, vicars from 1900-28, curates 1929-1975, and vicars from 1924-1990.

Bishop's transcripts of baptism and burials records at Smallhythe exist after it became a parish in the nineteenth century, with the first recorded baptism being 1866 and the first burial 1867.⁹² There are many gravestones of this period onwards. However, baptism and burials also took place at Smallhythe at an earlier period, which were recorded from 1549-1743 in Tenterden's parish registers.

Taylor (1914, 188-89) recorded the building at Smallhythe of a small church school in 1874, and a vicarage house in 1881, and the restoration of the church in 1884.

The records of Kent County Council Planning dept. concern listed buildings and buildings of architectural interest at Smallhythe, including the Priest's House (1950-1); Smallhythe Place (1963) and St John the Baptist church (1954).⁹³ The buildings know as The Cedars, Smallhythe, and 3 Smallhythe Road are also covered.⁹⁴

In 1929 Tom Pearman Stevens MA received a curate's licence for Tenterden (with charge of Smallhythe), with the condition that he reside at the Old Vicarage House, Smallhythe, presumably that of 1881 (above).⁹⁵ Frank Elliott received a curate licence for Tenterden with Smallhythe in 1935, to reside within one mile of the church.⁹⁶ In 1910 an addition to the churchyard at Smallhythe was envisaged⁹⁷, and carried out with the addition of a quarter acre to the east side of the churchyard (Taylor 1914, 191).

The lands of Smallhythe Chapel from 1308 and the landscape around Smallhythe Place

The lands of Smallhythe Chapel lie partly on the dens of Hemelsham and of Mersham. Some of the lands given to support the chapel at Smallhythe have been identified as lying on these dens, using documentary sources and analysis of the Tithe Map (Fig. 7). Some, if not most, of these lands were given for the Chapel before it was burnt down and then rebuilt in 1514 (Roberts 1995, 52). These lands included what was known in c. 1843 as Foreland Marsh. This is an important piece of land immediately to the S of Smallhythe Place and the National Trust property

⁹¹ CCA /CCRb/P/35. A warrant for a commission to enquire whether the chapel of Smallhythe (Smallhede) in Tenterden is a chapel of ease is in National Archives [PRO] E 314/6/8b.

⁹² CCA DCb-B/T/2/280A.

⁹³ CKS CC/C/PL/2/AHI-23/3, 23/12, 23-27.

⁹⁴ CKS CC/C/PL/2/AHI-23/6, 23/31 (1962, 1956-7).

⁹⁵ CCA DCb-F/D/1929/29

⁹⁶ CCA DCb-F/D/1935/17

⁹⁷ CCA DCb-E/C/2/S/24/1

immediately to the E. Foreland Marsh was just to the S of the area identified as an area of medieval shipbuilding and metal-working.

Furthermore, a notable grant identified in this study was made between local inhabitants of this den of Hemelsham as early as 1308. The grant described this area as the 'common foreland'. It suggests the shared use of the sloping edge of the former northern course of the Rother, probably for trade/maritime purposes. It fits exactly with the evidence of this activity mentioned in sources such as the Patent and Close Rolls from 1326 onwards.

The grant of 1308 concerned the transfer of land from two local inhabitants, Stephen and Simon de Emelesham [Hemelsham], sons of William de Emelesham to John Willem senior. The land conveyed was Stephen and Simon's part of 1.5 acres of the marsh (*brocus*) of Hechingheld.⁹⁸ It can be very closely located on the ground through analysis of the immediate landscape, the Tithe Map and the historical records of Smallhythe Chapel lands. To the S of the 1.5 acres lay the common foreland, which can be traced through to Foreland Marsh of the Tithe Map. To the north of the 1.5 acres lay the forestall of John Godfrey, traceable to the Fostall marked on the Tithe Map (Figs 4 & 6) just NE of Smallhythe Place. To the E and W lay the land of John Godfrey.

Forestall's 'basic meaning is undoubtedly, "a standing place" 'often referred to in Kent in the High Middle Ages as being before the gate of a (manorial) court. Ward (1961, 207-8) suggested 'that the forestall of a [Kentish] manor house was the rough pasture on which the horses of visitors could be tethered or let out while their owners were entertained within. From an early date houses were built not on but around the forestall and may well have been those of bailiffs, stewards, and the like'. If Ward was correct, it may be that the Fostall stood in front of a house on or around the site of the later Smallhythe Place, which was the centre of the administrative activity of a bailiff or steward. The approach to that house would have been via the Fostall, presumably from the direction of Tenterden, and this would have been down a track crossing Footway Field. This might account for the strange small rectangular jutting-out NE corner of land called Fostall which is still visible on the ground, and which is clear on the Tithe Map. That small rectangle may represent an early entrance to the Fostall at Smallhythe? I think there was a Holloway (or dry stream-bed?) running S from that rectangle, and that would have led towards the common foreland of 1308 and the area identified as a former wharf in 1797 (Little Plott, see below). I have not found evidence that Smallhythe Place was a portreeve's house in the medieval period, but this reconstruction does perhaps suggest that on its site at an early period may have been a house manorial/court type functions with adjacent buildings of the administrative officer of that court. It may suggest that any such early house was oriented towards Tenterden/Appledore area via a path through Footway Field and that the road, Smallhythe Road, which Smallhythe Place now faces was of lesser or later significance. Smallhythe Place was the successor of any such early building and might have had the same administrative functions. Its 'administrative' room was on the southern side, i.e. very close to the identified area of shipbuilding (Roberts 1990, 80, 482).

⁹⁸ CCA DCC *Charta Antiqua* H 151. The deed has been endorsed in a relatively modern hand, perhaps that of A. Taylor, with the words, Land in Hechingheld Wood.

John Willem senior was the recipient of the 1308 grant. Another member of this family, Robert Willem, is known as reeve of Christ Church Priory's nearby manor of Appledore, and as serjeant nearby of Fairfield and Agney manors on Walland Marsh between 1312 and 1330.⁹⁹ In c.1321 Robert, who was of Brookland parish, sold 14.5 acres of land at Agney, near Old Romney to the Priory, paying a *gersum* fine of £60. This compares with the *gersum* fine (essentially the sale price) of 15s which John paid for the grant of 1.5 acres at Smallhythe.¹⁰⁰ The name and spelling Willem is sufficiently distinctive among the Priory records to indicate that John Willem and Robert Willem were of the same family. Among Priory reeves and serjeants of the early fourteenth century, some wrote their own yearly accounts (the bedels rolls). This did not include Robert Willem, although it did include his predecessor at Agney and Fairfield, John Fige. There was a strong literate administrative culture among local men acting as Priory officials in this locality at this period (Draper 2003b, 91-99). The same applied to the writing of charters concerned with the transactions of small amounts of land among local inhabitants. These were often written locally by men from the villages and towns of the locality; these men were often named as last witness of deeds from as early as the 1250s (Draper 2003b, 78-96). There is no difficulty in envisaging that any house which was the predecessor of Smallhythe Place, and which perhaps had administrative functions in relation to the port, would itself have had a room where writing of documents such as accounts and deeds (charters) was carried out. Indeed the charter grant of 1308 was probably written at Smallhythe by its last witness, who was Jocus of Smaledde (Smallhythe). (Jocius the carpenter and Jocius the clerk appear in local charters concerned with marshland and other land including at Appledore and these references should be followed up.¹⁰¹ The personal and place names in this 1308 grant should also be checked via the relevant websites for further mentions and information).

There are references to the Bailiff of Smallhythe in 1325 and between 1354-60, with the details in Roberts (1995, 13, 48).

Other deeds concerned with Smallhythe

There is a group of deeds relating to Smallhythe in the Gordon Ward Collection, possibly brought together because of Ward's historical interests. They do not seem all to relate to the same property. They are catalogued as being eleven documents dating between 1398 to 1593.¹⁰² All these were reviewed and one was examined in more detail. This is a deed granting from Robert Brekynden to Robert Davy and his heirs a certain footpath leading from the stile of Smallhythe Chapel on the 'demean (demesne) of Hearnden in Tenterden' in 1472. A piece of land adjacent to Robert Davy's land called Pykheld (Pickhill) was also granted. (Pickhill appears twice on the Tithe Map of 1843, both W and E of the Smallhythe Road). The witnesses to the deed were Stephen Donett, Robert Broke, Stephen Assherynden, John Fougheler, Robert Franke and others. These are the names of men appearing frequently in records concerning Smallhythe in the fifteenth century. Of the other deeds, three were dated at

⁹⁹ CCA DCc Bedels rolls, Appledore 15, Agney 28-32, Fairfield 7-13, 16, 23.

¹⁰⁰ The other *gersum* fines for different kinds and areas of lands in the *Chartae Antiquae* of CCA could be compared to evaluate the value placed on this land at Smallhythe in 1308.

¹⁰¹ CCA DCc CA A118, 131, R38A

¹⁰² CKS U442/T99. In fact the deeds are numbered up to 15.

Smallhythe itself and others at Tenterden. They convey small pieces of land, for example one acre, between people with names familiar as local residents, including William Jamyn as a last witness (this may suggest a role for this man in writing the deed). Some of the deeds describe the property transacted as being on the den of Ekre (Acre) and Batysden and Emelysham [Hemelsham], and the manor of Godden. One or two relate to messuages lying on the W side of the king's highway, ie Smallhythe Road, such as Thomas Davy's messuage (deed 6, 1482). John Broke had a messuage described as at Smallhythe. There are many seals on these deeds, although not large ones. They give the impression that these deeds are those of solid or permanent members of this community accustomed to formalising their property transactions in writing. These deeds do not mention Smallhythe's successful maritime and shipbuilding role; on the other hand, they emphasise the prosperity of a group of local inhabitants, strongly reflecting a similar impression from their bequests to Smallhythe Chapel at the same time. These deeds are in contrast to groups of deeds from places on nearby Romney Marsh, for example near Lydd, which demonstrate the buying-up of land by wealthy individuals and outside institutions for consolidation as grazing land (Draper 1998). In one of the late documents (deed 13, 1589), an obligation of £40 of Agnes Pelham, widow of Smallhythe, to Thomas Brickenden, carpenter of Smallhythe, was recorded. On this, Agnes made her mark, presumably because she could not sign. This group of deeds needs further analysis for the full information to be extracted and interpreted.¹⁰³

There is a collection of deeds, the Holt collection, catalogued as covering 1515-1827, which is catalogued as including Smallhythe as one of the fourteen places covered by them.¹⁰⁴ A short review of this collection shows that it includes a large number of deeds, testamentary material and obligations (bonds), but no reference to Smallhythe could be found, and it is probably not worth pursuing.

Smallhythe Chapel Lands in 1546

The lands given to support Smallhythe Chapel have now been mapped and analysed. They were listed in 1546 and are tabulated below. They have proved extremely interesting in interpreting Smallhythe and the area of, and around, the National Trust property, particularly the area of the riverbank (foreland or foreshore) where shipbuilding and ironworking took place.

The lands that had been given to support Smallhythe Chapel were listed in 1546.¹⁰⁵ These lands were largely if not entirely given before the 1514 fire, several having been given in the period between 1465 and 1501 (Taylor 1914, 136-38), and one area on the foreshore (common forlond, later Foreland Marsh) can be traced back to as early as 1308 (above). These lands were given by the community ('strete') of the Smallhythe to support its own Chapel and chaplain in its own settlement. Those known as giving lands or other bequests included members of notable families with shipbuilding/maritime and retailing interests at Smallhythe: Brickenden, Donet, Haines (Haymes, etc), Davy, Beche, Jamyn/Gemyn and others. They are discussed elsewhere in this report. It should be noted that John Hoore left what is referred to as

¹⁰³ A start could be made with the work of Lutton 1997, e.g. p 117.

¹⁰⁴ CCA Add.MS 199.

¹⁰⁵ PRO Augmentation Office vol. VI, roll 29, Particulars for the Sale of Colleges, etc., quoted in Roberts 1995, 52-3.

‘his “house by the water” as a permanent investment’ for the Chapel; a basic list of grantors and bequests is included in Roberts (1995, 50-53).¹⁰⁶ Taylor (114, 147) described Hoore’s bequest as my tenement at Smalhith near the water there’ (1509-10). Another bequest of 1510-11 was of ‘a messuage of land and logge (sic) standing thereupon, lying upon the den of Ekre’ (Taylor 114, 147).

The lands given to the Chapel in 1465, 1471, 1473, 1490, 1491 and 1501, 1506-10 and also 1527 (Taylor 1914, 136-8, 147-9) could be matched to those described in 1546 and which are now mapped.¹⁰⁷ These are associated with various names of people of the Smallhythe community and what is known about them could be extended. However, these have been studied by Lutton (1997) and Clarke (Spring Lecture of the Romney Marsh Research Trust, 2005). The Brickenden family, especially Robert Brickenden whose shipbuilding accounts survive emerge as most important (Taylor 1914; Oppenheim, 1896). The names of the community of the street of Smallhythe recur in a great variety of records.

After 1514 the Chapel was supported by further gifts and bequests, largely directed towards its rebuilding in brick in ‘fashionable’ style in this prosperous community (Roberts 1995, 52).

It should also be noted that, as well as the Chapel lands, the 1546 listing recorded the existence of a chamber in which the chaplain then dwelt; the wording is slightly obscure: ‘a chamber lately built over by the inhabitants of the said town in which the said chaplain now dwells and is worth to let by the year iiis iiiid (3s 4d). This may refer to a chaplain’s house built on the N side of the chapel or a room built on the first floor of that or some other building. It was rebuilt in c.1730, as (Taylor 1914, 176) noted, but it was presumably the replacement that burnt down. As the building there burnt down in 1910 (Taylor 1914, 176) there seems little point in pursuing it. Taylor (1914, 151) refers to Robert Brickenden’s will in connection with this, and this should be followed up initially by reference to Taylor’s note and the work of Lutton and of Clarke.

Identification of the parcels listed in 1546 with those on the Tithe Map.

This was firstly based on the names and sizes of the pieces; secondly, on the notable ownership of a similar number of fields or plots at Smallhythe by Rev. Thos. Curteis, presumably as chaplain of Smallhythe Chapel.¹⁰⁸ These fields and plots were notably all occupied as tenants by John and Thomas Hope. (Rev. Curteis owned only three other plots in Tenterden parish, the house, garden etc, let out to William Bourner and

¹⁰⁶ John Hoore is not given a specific reference in Roberts but this was clearly from a will and could be traced. I very much doubt that the will contains any more detail about the house than this, otherwise Taylor in his manuscript notebooks or Roberts (1995) or Roberts (1990), who were all very thorough, would have collected it.

¹⁰⁷ These are associated with the following names: Ponte; Ingram (2 acres in the marsh); Petfield; Pickhill; Elbow Garden; ‘foughills bowe’ (Taylor 1914, 136-8). William Blossom also gave land, with conditions attached, in 1527, Taylor 1914, 150.

¹⁰⁸ The owner of the Tenterden parish tithes was the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral, who leased the great tithes to Edward Darell; the small tithes went to the vicar Rev Philip Ward, CCA Tenterden Tithe Apportionment Roll introduction; CCA DCc BB/4/708-709, letters from Rev. Ward concerning the chaplaincy of Smallhythe in 1846.

not apparently anywhere near Smallhythe, and a cottage and garden let to John Mosely, plot number 2212, awaiting mapping. The 1797 terrier, below, records that Mosely's cottage was on or part of the 'Chapel Field', although this cannot currently be tied in with the information on the Tithe Maps of Tenterden or Wittersham).

Table: summary of Chapel lands in 1546 with Tithe Map equivalents (see Figs 4 & 7)

KEY:

A=acreage

Y= mapped

TM=tithe plot or field number

Ref= reference number to same plot in the documents of 1692 and 1797 (note: the reference letters F and I have not yet been used for plots).

Description of Smallhythe Chapel's property in 1546	A		TM	Ref	Name of field in Tithe Map
Chaplain's chamber [note below]				C?	
Chapelfield upon the Den of Gwymlysh'm [Hemelsham] in tenure of Will.Beche	2	Y	2207	C	Chapel Field
In Tenterden upon the den of Mersh'm, submerged	6	Y	2205	A	Cripplegate Marsh
'Mountaurye Gdn' in Tenterden upon the den of Guylysh'm [Hemelsham]	1	Y	2209	M	Dumbourne Lane Field
<u>(1st of) 2 pieces latterly acquired by the inhabitants of the said town (Tenterden) from Robert Ponte now in tenure of Chris.Blossom</u>	-				
<u>(2nd of) 2 pieces latterly acquired by the inhabitants of the said town (Tenterden) from Robert Ponte now in tenure of Chris.Blossom Value together 6s</u>					
Upland [?ten.Pyers/Pelland]	2	Y	2208	K	Footway field
Marsh called 'Marsh Land' [?ten.Pyers/Pelland]	12	Y	2204	A?	1 st part of Foreland Marsh 12 ac.
Saltmarsh [ten.Pyers/Pelland] value together £4	-	Y	2202? and 2203?	A?	?Apple tree marsh 9a and And/Or 2 nd part of Foreland Marsh 10ac
One parcel 'there' between messuages of R Dunnett and J Morleyn. Value 3s	-	Y	? 2206	J?	Little Platt ?
<u>One piece in Tenterden at 'the brick oast' in tenure Will. Beche. Value 3s</u>	-				

Identifications of parcels in 1546: Mountaurye Garden was tentatively identified with Dumbourne Lane Field for two reasons. The first is acreage: Mountaurye Garden was described as one acre in 1546 and Dumbourne Lane Field as 3 rods, 30 perches in 1843 i.e. just under one acre. The other basis for identification is location on the den

of Hemelsham, with the other tightly-identified piece of land in this den being Chapel Field (2207), four fields to SW of Mountaurye Garden/ Dumbourne Lane Field. This identification was subsequently confirmed by the 1797 terrier. Little Platt (field 2206) was tentatively identified with the ‘one parcel there’, possibly meaning near the upland, marsh and salt marsh in the entry above it in the 1546 list. That upland, marsh and salt marsh has been identified with Footway Field to the NE of Smallhythe Chapel; and fields to the SE of Smallhythe Place, ie part of Foreland Marsh (2204) and possibly Apple tree Marsh (2202). Subsequently this was confirmed by later evidence as the area formerly used as a wharf, below.

These identifications leave four or five pieces or parcels of 1546 (underlined in table above, summarised in table below) that can presumably be matched with the four belonging to Rev. Curteis in 1843 so far unmatched.

Field or plot name (Tithe)	Acreage in TM	TM	Ref. via 1692/1797 documents
Apple tree field	2a, 3r, 36p.	2201	D
Orchard	0a, 1r, 14p.	2210	B
Loan field	3a, 0r, 22p	2200	L
Further Field	0a, 3r, 14p [almost one acre]	2211	E
Cottage occ. By John Mosely	0a, 0r, 14p	2212	C

Of these Apple tree field Orchard, and Further field (Elbow Croft) have been mapped. Lone Field remains to be located on Tithe Map and mapped. Unusually Lone Field was arable, and therefore probably upland, and from its name perhaps at some distance from the other Smallhythe Chapel lands. It appears as Loan Field in the 1797 Terrier which may give useful details but the abutments are only of other tenants and former tenants. Mosely’s cottage is discussed above.

The land linked to the name Ponte in 1546 was described when given in 1465 as two pieces of land with a barn upon them and two gardens adjoining, upon the den of Hemelsham (Taylor 1914, 136).

Note that in c.1843 the Smallhythe chapel trustees also had two fields in Wittersham parish as below. These have not yet been mapped. They had been given for the maintenance of a priest at the chapel at some unknown time before 1584¹⁰⁹, and may equate to some of the parcels in the 1546 listing. (Although the 1692 and 1797 documents (below) were not entirely consistent in how they dealt with the Chapel land parcels in Wittersham parish, the lands there can be correlated with those in the Tithe Maps by the acreages).

¹⁰⁹ Patent Roll 26 Eliz m1, quoted in Roberts 1995, 64.

(WTM=Wittersham Tithe map field/plot number)

Field name in Wittersham Tithe Map	occupant	WT M	Ref	Size
Chapel Land/Field in Wittersham	John Hope	318	H	2 ac
Chapel Land/ Field in Wittersham	Thomas Hope	319	G	3a, 3r, 3p

In the seventeenth century, there were disputes and negotiations about the lands supporting Smallhythe Chapel, not least because the chapel was in poor repair (Roberts 1995, 64-66).

Despite changes and temporary leases of the chapel lands and extra acquisitions, the location of the chapel lands in their essence can be traced between 1546 and 1843. Roberts (1995, 52-3) identification of some of the lands of Smallhythe Chapel as they were in 1546 can largely be confirmed and also extended from the Tithe Map analysis carried out by Small Ports Project and mapped here.¹¹⁰

Note that Roberts (1995, 53, cf.124) identified field 2206 as Brick Kiln Field. But in fact field 2206 is Little Platt field, owned by Rev. Curteis, occupied by the Hopes, and adjacent on the W to the bulk of the Hopes' land. It lies E of Smallhythe Place. Brick Kiln Field was number 2192, and remains to be mapped. Neither the Brick Kiln field identified here by myself in conjunction with the Small Ports Project, or erroneously by Roberts, is where remains of brick-making or possibly a lime kiln was found by Time Team.

The will, dated 1519, of one William Beche of Smallhithe in Tenterden, gives a description of his house: He wishes that Agnes his wife;

‘have yearly 53s.4d, during her life out of all my lands and tenements; also to occupy the south part of my house, viz., from the hall of the house southwards, both above and beneath, also in the kitchen necessary water, half the garden and half the fruit of the same, with free incoming and outgoing and other necessaries during her life’.

This description rather suggests that the house was one orientated N-S along the Smallhythe street. The William Beche who made this testament was perhaps the father of William Beche of the 1546 list, who held two parcels of the Smallhythe Chapel Lands: Chapel Field itself and ‘the brick oast’ (above).¹¹¹ Given the Smallhythe fire of 1514 and subsequent rebuilding of the Chapel and probably any adjacent houses, it is difficult to say which house William Beche (the father) was referring to in his 1519 will.

A William Beche, presumably this one, left all the tools of his shipwright's occupation to his eldest son Thomas. To his wife he left ‘the ware of his shop’.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ The data on the fields in the Tithe Apportionment for Tenterden was collected onto a spreadsheet by Terry Burke and Sheila Maddocks under the auspices of the Romney Marsh Research trust's Small Port Project, and analysed and mapped by Gill Draper. The data from about half the large number of fields and plots in Tenterden parish have so far been collected, concentrating on the Smallhythe area.

¹¹¹ Quoted by Cowper 1914, 130, reference from Helen Clarke.

¹¹² Quoted by Roberts 1995, 51-52, 56, who gives further details; Taylor 1914, 136-8.

Nicholas Beche was one of the inhabitants of Smallhythe who led the successful protest against the disposal of Smallhythe Chapel after the Dissolution, essentially on the grounds that it was a chapel of ease, not a chantry chapel. The full details of this are given in Roberts (1995, 62-65). The state of the chapel in the seventeenth century is described by Roberts (1995, 64-69).

Bellamy and Milne (2003, 367), refer to a Chapel Field as lying about 200m west of Smallhythe Place. There is no indication as to where this identification came from. This is not the field called Chapel Field on the Tithe Map (field 2207), which lies immediately adjacent and to the east of Smallhythe Chapel, as the work of Roberts (1995, 53) and the Small Ports Project shows.

The Chapel lands were surveyed and listed again in 1583 and 1692. It may be possible to complete the identification of the chapel lands from the 1546 listing from these surveys, of which that of 1692 is given in Roberts (1995, 188-89) and discussed below.

Table of Smallhythe Chapel lands as rented out in 1692 and 1797

The lands of 1692 are listed in Smallhythe Feoffees accounts, fol.2, kept in Tenterden Town Hall, quoted in Roberts (1995, 188-89).¹¹³

1692		Tenant	Rent	Ref
4 pieces marshland	37ac	Ric. Kennard	}	A
4 pieces marshland	9ac	Ric. Kenn.ard	}£39	?
Two pieces upland	6ac	Ric. Kennard	}	K/L/D?
Two pieces upland	6ac	Wm.Hobs	}£6	K/L/D?
1 piece marshland	3ac	Wm.Hobs	}	G?
Marshland at Wittersham	2ac	J.Viney	£1	H
Chapel House with close	-	Tho.Kite	}	C
Piece of ground called burnt spott	-	Tho.Kite	}£2 5s	B
Piece of ground called Muntreefield	-	Tho.Kite	}	M
Spott of ground called Elbow Croft	-	John Hull	10s	E
Spott of ground called Jenners	-	Heirs of Tho.Iggulden ¹¹⁴	10s	J

¹¹³ Further details about the leasing arrangements are given in this document. ‘Chapel house was ‘the dwelling house belonging to the Chappell with closer’, sic, presumably for close.

¹¹⁴ Note that Thomas Iggulden was a carpenter in mid-seventeenth century, Roberts 1995, 201. The den of Iggulden was in the area of Leghe, Roberts 1995, 70

Table (summary) of leases of Smallhythe Chapel property from a Terrier of 1797.¹¹⁵

Former name	Current name/use	Old size	Measured size in 1792	Ref
Burnt Spot	Now Orchard	0.5 ac		B
Elbows Croft	Further Field			E
Chapel Field and Chapel Yard, and Moseley's tenement on Field		2.5ac	2a 1r 32p	C
Freshmarsh in Peening Level Wittersham		4 ac		G
Little Marsh (Fresh Marsh) in Wittersham Level abutting to channel leading to Smallhythe ferry	Little Marsh			H?
One parcel lying in common with above called The Doggs or Jenners formerly used for a wharf [see note below]. This abutted 'the old channel or sewer' [ie predecessor of the Reading channel] to the South' and marshlands of the Chapel to the E, ie those below]	Little Plot [Platt, Tithe Map] now John Hope's	0.5ac	0-2-22	J
3 pieces fresh marsh called Cripplegate Marsh, Appletree Marsh and Foreland Marsh [abuts common channel ie Reading Sewer to south]	(Formerly in 8 parcels)	36ac	38-1-31	A
Upland called Apple Tree Field (lying to N of above three named marshes)				D
Loan Field [more details in survey] [3-0-22 in Tithe Survey]				L
Footway Field [2a, 2r, 2p in TM]				K
Mounts Piece (abutted Dumbourne Lane to E and S)	Muntree Field/Dumbourne Lane		0-3-30	M

The Wharf

The 1797 Terrier described one parcel called The Doggs or Jenners formerly used for a wharf. This abutted 'the old channel or sewer to the South'. This was clearly the old ditch still visible on the ground at Smallhythe Place, discussed above ('The River Rother, the Reading Sewer and features on the ground at Smallhythe including the old ditch'). To the east of The Doggs or Jenners parcel formerly used for a wharf, were in 1797 the marshlands of Smallhythe Chapel, i.e. Cripplegate Marsh, Appletree Marsh and Foreland Marsh, which in 1797 abutted to the south the common channel, i.e. the Reading Sewer.

The Doggs or Jenners parcel or wharf area is unequivocally to be identified by name and by size with Little Platt shown on the Tithe Map (Fig. 6). In 1797 it was known as Little Plot and it was measured in 1797 as 2 rods and 22 perches, the same as in the Tithe survey.

¹¹⁵ CCA DCb/D/T/S/50. This Terrier contains further information particularly the names of lessees and former lessees.

The names and occupations etc of those who occupied the Doggs or Jenners parcel, formerly a wharf, could be collected from the above and other documents. The 1797 document in particular gives the names of several previous occupiers of most pieces in the terrier. Of the names of tenants so far known, Thomas Iggulden was a carpenter in the mid-seventeenth century, Roberts 1995, 201.

Little Platt, the land of the ‘former wharf’ next to the shipbuilding area as identified by Time Team has been identified *pro tem* with the piece of land between the messuages of Robert Dunnett and John Morleyn in 1546 (above). If the association proves correct, references to Donet, Dunnett, Donne, Dunny, Dunne, Dunnee, in Roberts 1995 need following up because of the connections of this family with Maritime activity on the northern course of the Rother, for example, Stephen Donet of Smallhythe was added to the commissioners concerned with the Knelle Dam in 1341 and Thomas Donet of Tenterden was a ‘Shipman’ in 1418. The references are pp. 12, 27-30, 45, 48-50, 53-54, 58, 59, 68, 70, 79. John Morleyn is not otherwise recorded in Roberts (1995). The variants spellings from these references to Donet in Roberts should be followed up via the relevant websites. These variants and Morleyn’s name may suggest possible French/Flemish connections?

Little Marsh and the hythe on the Wittersham side of the former northern course of the Rother

This Doggs or Jenners parcel lay in 1797 in common with Little Marsh, which was freshwater marsh in Wittersham Level abutting to the channel leading to the Smallhythe Ferry. The Wittersham Tithe map and apportionment also identify a Little Marsh in Wittersham (Fig. 5). There were at least two Little Marshes in Wittersham in c. 1840. One was part of the ‘Indraught’ here and it was pasture of 1 acre, 1 rod, 2 perches in size.¹¹⁶ To its W lay marshes known by the name of Hythe: Lower Hythe and Great Hythe Marshes. (Great and Lower refers to the size of these marshes, not to that of two possible hythes on this Wittersham parish side of the channel, i.e. the channel known by this period as the Appledore channel (Eddison 1985, 104), or the Reading sewer and the approximate former northern course of Rother). It remains to be investigated whether these two marshes are named from a possible hythe on the Wittersham side of the channel or from the wharf (hythe) formerly on The Doggs /Jenners parcel on the Tenterden side of the channel. The long rectangular shape of the two ‘Hythe’ marshes on the Wittersham side is similar to that on the ground in the field Little Platt on the Smallhythe side, where the wharf was said in 1797 to have formerly existed. The map of the Chapel Lands in 1793, although badly damaged, also shows a Little Marsh in Wittersham, as part of the Chapel lands, and this is not equivalent to the Little Marsh above.¹¹⁷ The Little Marsh of the Chapel Lands has been mapped *pro tem* but further work is needed on this.

Smallhythe’s ‘decline’, sixteenth to seventeenth centuries

The records of marriages and births and deaths at Smallhythe were made in Tenterden parish registers between 1549 and 1743 (Taylor, 1914, 167-70). These give a large

¹¹⁶ CCA Wittersham Tithe Apportionment Roll, field 73 [this field number needs confirmation on the Tithe map].

¹¹⁷ CKS U442/P64.

amount of detail about the inhabitants (names, occupations, etc) up until 1743, which could be followed up. For example, ‘Mary Chittenden dawghtr of Richard Chittend’ yt dwells at the ferrie house in Smalhith Street bapt. ye 12th of March’ 1625.¹¹⁸ There were diminishing numbers of weddings, burials and baptism over the period.

Taylor (1914, 163-67) gives detail about the state of Smallhythe and its Chapel in sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. The following gives the flavour of it in the early seventeenth century, but clearly it needs interpreting in the light of contemporary circumstances and the whole body of the material. In 1614 the inhabitants stated that ‘our Chapel is altogether unfurnished of such ceremonial and sacramental ornaments of the beautifying God’s house and dignifying of our minister; as the want of a Book of Common Prayer, communion cloth, cup, surplice, register and font, by reason of the carelessness of such as should have had better regards unto the honor and worship of God, The ‘chest with three or four locks in our Chapel, to keep our writings in touching our Chapel-lands for the maintenance of our minister’ had been ‘most sacrilegiously embezzled away out of our Chapel’. They blamed the curate of Tenterden, one Percivall Brett, for misusing the income from the Chapel lands for ‘certain poor’ rather than repairing the Chapel (Taylor 1914, 164).

The items said to be missing in 1614, for example the surplice, were mostly said to be in the Chapel in 1797, as described above.

Smallhythe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

By the eighteenth century Smallhythe was almost purely agricultural, apart from the Ferry and the use of the Reading Sewer, via the Wittersham Levels S of Oxney, to transport goods such as coal from Rye.

At the end of the eighteenth century, Hasted described the hundred, parish and town of Tenterden largely in terms of its gentry ‘seats’ for minor notable local families.¹¹⁹ Most of these seats were the descendants of the dens and borghs of the area of earlier times. In one or two of these places new houses had recently been built, for example Homewood on Buggelsden in the north part of Boresisle borgh, and East Asherindin, Craythorne House. One house in the east end of the town was used as a boarding school for young ladies. One of the older houses, at Heronden, of Elizabeth’s reign had become ‘ruinous’ and had been pulled down. Another, Hales Place, had been pulled down in about 1740 and there was a ‘small dwelling or farm-house on the scite of it’.

In contrast to these, there was the ‘Hamlet of Smallhythe’. This was more than three miles from the town of Tenterden, at the southern boundary of the parish, close to the old channel of the river Rother, ‘over which there is a passage from it into the Isle of Oxney’. At the end of the eighteenth century, ‘only three or four straggling farm-houses’ remained on either side of the road leading down from Tenterden to Smallhythe, ‘and a few cottages in the street near the chapel’. Hasted’s map of Tenterden hundred c.1798 shows seven such buildings on the right-hand side of the road near or at Smallhythe, and seven on the left, with some outbuildings or farm

¹¹⁸ Date given in Old and New Style in the Register as 1625, 1626, quoted in Taylor 1914, 168.

¹¹⁹ Hasted’s *History*, vol. VII, 200-19.

buildings.¹²⁰ No buildings to the south of the chapel on the right-hand side are shown, i.e. the ‘Priest’s House’, nor the now-lost Chapel house, nor Smallhythe Place, nor the Ferry House. In these features the map appears to be impressionistic and this may apply to the courses of roads or tracks and of the water-courses that are shown.

The nineteenth century

An analysis of land use, owners and occupiers in the Tenterden Tithe Map and Award of c. 1843 gives a good picture of the society and economy of Smallhythe then. The lives of two substantial tenant farmers, John and Thomas Hope of Smallhythe, can be contrasted with that of Brett Elphick, a cottager, but from a parish gentry family. (The following should be read in conjunction with Figs 6 & 7).

John and Thomas Hope occupied the lands of Rev. Thomas Curteis’ at Smallhythe in 1843. These were mostly the Smallhythe Chapel Lands to the north and east of Smallhythe Place, and Curteis was the chaplain of Smallhythe.¹²¹ Ten of the Hopes’ fields were adjacent or close to the Reading Sewer and the fields were used as pasture, as they had been in the sixteenth century. The Hopes further leased two of the Rev. Curteis’ fields on higher land as arable: Lone Field and Further Field on the west side of Smallhythe street to the north of the Chapel.¹²² The Rev. Curteis rented all his property at Smallhythe to the Hopes, apart from one cottage rented to John Moseley.¹²³

Thomas and John Hope also occupied three properties owned by Herbert Curteis, a layman related to the Reverend Curteis.¹²⁴ These were Hope’s meadow (used as pasture), a cottage and garden, and the ferry house.¹²⁵ Presumably the Hopes were father and son or brothers, and one of them lived in the cottage, now Yew Tree Cottage, and the other in the Ferry house.¹²⁶ The latter was demolished in the early twentieth century, and there is a photograph of the house in the NT archive at Smallhythe Place.¹²⁷ A bridge was apparently made in the sixteenth century but the ferry tolls due may have been transferred to the bridge.

On the other side of the watercourse, the Reading Sewer, in Wittersham parish, the Hopes also occupied two fields both called Chapel Field and owned by the

¹²⁰ Hasted’s *History*, vol. VII, 199.

¹²¹ See section on Smallhythe Lands in 1546.

¹²² The location of Lone Field, number 2200, has not yet been identified on the Tithe Map. Its name suggests that it stood apart from the Hopes’ other lands. The names in the Tithe Apportionment were often those give by the occupier as relevant to their own holdings (Small Ports Project).

¹²³ Tithe Map and Apportionment property (field) number 2212, not yet identified on the Tithe map. When the analysis of Tenterden parish is fully complete, it is of course possible that other property occupied by Moseley will be revealed.

¹²⁴ When the full analysis of the Tithe Apportionment data by the Small Ports Project is complete, it might show that the Hopes held more land elsewhere in Tenterden parish or other parishes. However the likelihood is that their holdings were concentrated around the Smallhythe Place and ferry area.

¹²⁵ Tithe Map and Apportionment property numbers T 2233, 2234 and 2235. Ferry House is marked not in red as is usual with dwellings on the Tithe map, but in black, perhaps suggesting it was not regarded as a permanently occupied dwelling.

¹²⁶ Roberts 1995, 75, 89, gives detail about a member of the Hope family in the sixteenth century, perhaps the same family: Richard Hope, innholder, occupied a house at Ratsbury, just north of Broad Tenterden to east of road from Smallhythe to Tenterden, OS 1st ed 6” to one mile c.1850.

¹²⁷ Information from Paul Meredith.

Smallhythe Chapel trustees.¹²⁸ John Hope used one field as pasture, and Thomas Hope the other as pasture.¹²⁹ The Hopes also had lands of their own at Smallhythe, and together their pasture amounted to about 100 acres here. They had a few small fields that they used as arable, such as Further Field on the upland, an orchard and a filbert plantation. The extent of their lands has been partially mapped; those lands clustered around the Smallhythe Road and the marshes next to the Reading Sewer, close to the two houses the Hope occupied.

Brett Elphick lived in a cottage with garden of 1 rod and 9 perches (his cottage is marked on the Map). The cottage and garden lay on the east side of the street five plots or fields to the north of the chapel.¹³⁰ He did not occupy other property in Tenterden or Wittersham¹³¹. Possibly he was an elderly man. Of other members of the Elphicke family besides Brett, Walter Elphicke had been mayor of Tenterden in 1807 to 1815, and lived at Chestnut House in the Smallhythe Road. Chestnut House had been built in the early eighteenth century, and was next to The Cedars, 3 Smallhythe Road (at the upper end). Chestnut House was occupied in the 1790s by John Butler Pomfret and the Cedars was owned by Edward Curteis who had alterations and additions made to it in 1768 (Roberts 1996, 204, 216). The Elphickes were a local Tenterden family known as key-holders of a pleasure garden at Heronden (near the top of the Smallhythe Road), which had a ‘long pond’ and a ‘Wilderness, then much in fashion’ (Roberts 1995, 211). In 1835 one Thomas Elphicke had been elected to serve as a Councillor on the new Municipal Borough Council, which replaced the old civic structure of Mayor, Jurats, and Commons of Tenterden on 1 Jan. 1836 (Robert 1995, 217). As a trustee, he was owner of some plots in Tenterden with the heirs of Frances Crampton.¹³² Catherine Elphick, Eliza Elphick and Margaret Knight, no doubt all sisters, owned a house and garden probably in Tenterden town centre, and occupied by one Mary Ann Tong.¹³³

Brett Elphick’s cottage was owned by William Curteis and R.C. Shepherd. William Curteis was a grazier who owned land at Dumbourne to the NE of Smallhythe, and also owned several parcels of marsh land, presumably adjacent to a water course, perhaps nearby.¹³⁴ The same or another William Curteis was a butcher with a house and butcher’s shop in the town.¹³⁵ The Curteis family had been an important one in Tenterden for at least two centuries (below). The [Richard] Curteis Pomfret branch of the Rye bank was a new business in Tenterden about 1830 (Roberts 1995, 215-6).

¹²⁸ Presumably at Tenterden the person recording the tithe apportionment had named the Rev Curteis as owner of the Smallhythe Chapel lands as chaplain of Smallhythe Chapel. In Wittersham parish, the Rev. Curteis did not have this status, and so the owner was named as the Chapel trustees.

¹²⁹ Wittersham Tithe Map and Apportionment fields 317 and 318.

¹³⁰ Tithe Map and Apportionment property numbers 2237.

¹³¹ Unless further analysis by myself and the Small Ports Project demonstrates otherwise once all the data has been collected and mapped.

¹³² Plots 1880 to 1896. Plot 1894 was Forstall field (SPP analysis). [Another Forstall field was plot 377 in the ownership and occupation of William Peel Croughton, in town centre]. ‘Forstal’ in Taylor and Aston 1999, 37, and Clarke and Milne 2002, 15 (fig. 1, drawn by Bellamy) is quite a different field, equivalent probably to 2230 or possibly 2233 or 2231 in Tithe map.

¹³³ 307.

¹³⁴ Tithe Map and Apportionment property numbers T2243-2257.

¹³⁵ Tithe Map and Apportionment property number T300. R. C. Shepherd is not otherwise known in the Tithe Material so far analysed.

Something can be said about other occupiers of the cottages at Smallhythe to which Hasted referred. A house on Smallhythe street, which lay two plots to the north of Smallhythe Chapel, was divided into two semi-detached cottages.¹³⁶ In total the plot was one acre. Alfred Brooker lived in one cottage and John Masters in the other. Brooker is not known as an owner or occupier of other property in Tenterden, nor in Wittersham. Masters is not known as an owner or occupier of other property in Tenterden, nor in Wittersham, but he did occupy a half-acre plot used as orchard and pasture just up the road from his cottage on the other side of Smallhythe street.¹³⁷ The ownership of these cottages emphasises the great divide between the cottagers and the wealthy parish gentry of Tenterden. The two cottages in which Brooker and Masters lived, and Masters' half-acre orchard, were owned by George Curteis, and John and Frances Curteis. These three also owned over sixty other plots of lands in Tenterden parish in 1843, including some to the E of Smallhythe.¹³⁸ They drew their income from letting out these lands to one Adolphus Kingsworth. Kingsworth used some of the land as arable, and he grew hops, but most of it was used as pasture. One of his fields was named Great Sheep Wash Tun and Pound, another Little Sheep Wash. An important pillar of the economy of nineteenth-century Tenterden was sheep-grazing on the marshes in the southern part of the parish, including around the Reading Sewer at Smallhythe.

¹³⁶ Plot 2236.

¹³⁷ Plot 2276. This was called Orchard field and should be distinguished from another Orchard Field similarly used as pasture opposite John Masters' cottage, plot 2210.

¹³⁸ They had plots 2133 to 2199 on the Tithe Map.

5. GAZETTEER OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

The sites are listed consecutively by National Trust Sites and Monuments Record (NTSMR) number. All the sites are located on Fig. 2.

Summary of Archaeological Sites

NTSMR No.	Site Name	NGR (TQ)	Period	Type
130600	Field Boundary (Elfwick Field)	8912 2986-8932 2995	1602 or earlier	Boundary
130601	Earthworks (Elfwick Field)	8918 2995	Medieval	Earthworks
130602	Field Boundary (Elfwick Field)	8908 3015-8917 3005	Medieval	Boundary
130603	Field Boundary (Elfwick Field)	8908 3015-8915 3012	Medieval	Boundary
130604	Former Field Boundary (Elfwick Field)	8915 3012-8917 3005	Medieval	Boundary
130605	Former Field Boundary (Elfwick Field)	8917 3005-8928 3006	Medieval	Boundary
130606	Field Boundary (Elfwick Field)	8915 3012-8926 3009	Medieval	Boundary
130607	Pond (Elfwick Field)	8926 3009	Pre-1843	Pond
130608	Drainage Ditch (Forstal Field)	8940 2999-8952 3001	1602 or earlier	Boundary
130609	Drainage Ditch (Forstal Field)	8949 3015-8952 3001	Pre-1843	Boundary
130610	Field Boundary (Forstal Field)	8940 3014-8948 3015	Medieval	Boundary
130611	Earthworks (Forstal Field)	8945 3005	Medieval	Earthworks
130612	Thatched Shed (Garden)	8937 3014	Modern	Building
130613	Shed (Garden)	8938 3014	Modern	Building
130614	Sundial (Garden)	8937 3013	Modern	Garden feature
130615	Stone footpath (Garden)	8936 3013-8938 3013	Modern	Garden feature
130616	Well (Garden)	8936 3012	Pre-1843	Well
130617	Former Tennis Court (Garden)	8937 3010	Modern	Earthwork
130618	Pond (Garden)	8935 3004	1843-1870	Pond
130619	Pond (Garden)	8939 3004	Pre-1843	Pond
130620	Brick Structure	8938 3003	Modern	Undefined
130621	Pond (Garden)	8936 2997	1602 or earlier	Pond
130622	Smallhythe Place	8934 3000	16 th c.	Building
130623	Barn at Smallhythe Place	8937 3000	17 th c.	Building
130624	The Priest's House, Smallhythe	8934 3014	16 th c.	Building
130625	Yew Tree Cottage, Smallhythe	8932 2998	18 th c.	Building

130600
TQ 8912 2986 – 8932 2995
Field Boundary (Elfwick Field)
Plate 1

History

This comprises part of the Back Sewer mentioned in Eddison 1995, and thought to date from c.1602. There is a possibility that the ditch may in fact be older (Draper, this report), although presumably dating from after the abandonment of shipbuilding in the later 15th century.

Description

A 3-4m wide ditch capped on the track side by a hawthorn hedge, forming the southern boundary of Elfwick Field and the garden of Yew Tree Cottage (and NT boundary). The ditch is dry, and reaches a maximum depth of 0.5m, although it was probably originally deeper. It is barely visible in the garden of Yew Tree Cottage. It represents a former drainage channel with **130608** and **130621**.

Condition

Good condition – ditch now largely silted up. Some localised disturbance by burrowing animals (rabbits). Still forms a prominent landscape feature.

130601
TQ 8918 2995 (centred)
Earthworks (Elfwick Field)
Plates 2-4

History

Site has received some archaeological fieldwork by the TV programme *Time Team* (Channel 4, 1998) (Fig. 3). A geophysical survey produced anomalies suggestive of industrial activity, with possible settlement evidence in the eastern, higher part of the field. Two trenches were excavated across one of the mounds, revealing a brick structure interpreted as either a brick kiln or, more likely, a limekiln. This structure was on the edge of, and cut by, a linear channel identified as a possible slipway associated with shipbuilding. Thought to be remains of shipbuilding activity of medieval date (14th-15th century).

Description

A complex but subtle group of earthworks set at the foot of the natural slope. They comprise 3 low oval mounds, separated by 2 linear ‘channels’, all aligned roughly N-S. The ‘channels’ converge on an oval scoop cut into the hillside (and morphologically resembling a grassed-over chalk pit). The scoop is flanked to the south by a linear mound aligned E-W. Further, more subtle features may continue further east, but are difficult to characterise. The complex measures 90m E-W by 60m N-S.

Kent Sites and Monuments Record No. TQ 83 SE 52

Condition

Moderate condition – earthworks very ephemeral, but are largely stable under grass. However, the ground tends towards seasonal waterlogging, rendering it vulnerable to excessive human, animal and especially vehicular traffic.

130602

TQ 8908 3015 – 8917 3005

Field Boundary (Elfwick Field)

Plates 5 & 6

History

The small, irregular nature of the field bounded by this feature may be of medieval origin. There are references from 1512 of a number of men holding land in Queens Close (identified in this report as Elfwick Field), suggesting that the modern field was once subdivided into a number of smaller units, the boundaries of which are still visible as landscape features. SE portion out of use before 1843.

Description

A prominent positive lynchet, 1m high and 2.5m wide, forming the southern and western edge of a former small square field now subsumed into Elfwick Field (and NT boundary). The south-eastern stretch no longer functions as a boundary, and has been flattened and spread by ploughing. It is still visible as a low scarp, particularly from downslope. This part of Elfwick Field overlooks Chapel Field to the west, which slopes down towards Rushey Marsh. Forms boundary of small field with **130603** and **130604**.

Condition

Good condition – some moderate disturbance from animal burrows and hawthorn encroachment. Ploughed-out section is stable under grass.

130603

TQ 8908 3015 – 8915 3012

Field Boundary (Elfwick Field)

Plate 7

History

The small, irregular nature of the field bounded by this feature may be of medieval origin. There are references from 1512 of a number of men holding land in Queens Close (identified in this report as Elfwick Field), suggesting that the modern field was once subdivided into a number of smaller units, the boundaries of which are still visible as landscape features.

Description

Prominent negative lynchet, 0.7m high and 1m wide, forming north-western boundary of Elfwick Field (and NT boundary). It is flanked by a sporadic shallow ditch on the

NT side. Originally formed northern boundary of smaller field with **130602** and **130604**.

Condition

Moderate condition – some animal burrows and hawthorn encroachment evident.

130604

TQ 8915 3012 – 8917 3005

Former Field Boundary (Elfwick Field)

Plate 8

History

The small, irregular nature of the field bounded by this feature may be of medieval origin. There are references from 1512 of a number of men holding land in Queens Close (identified in this report as Elfwick Field), suggesting that the modern field was once subdivided into a number of smaller units, the boundaries of which are still visible as landscape features. Disused before 1843.

Description

An ephemeral ploughed-out linear depression, now *c.*10m wide, probably forming the eastern boundary of a former small field (with **130602** and **130603**). Southern end forms a staggered junction with **130602** and **130605**.

Condition

Poor condition – stable under grass, but barely visible.

130605

TQ 8917 3005 – 8928 3006

Former Field Boundary (Elfwick Field)

Plate 9

History

The small, irregular nature of the field bounded by this feature may be of medieval origin. There are references from 1512 of a number of men holding land in Queens Close (identified in this report as Elfwick Field), suggesting that the modern field was once subdivided into a number of smaller units, the boundaries of which are still visible as landscape features. Disused before 1843.

Description

Ploughed-out former lynchet, *c.*1m high and *c.*9m wide, forming the southern boundary of a former small field occupying the north-eastern corner of Elfwick Field (with **130604** and **130606**).

Condition

Moderate condition – stable under grass, and visible as an earthwork.

130606
TQ 8915 3012 – 8926 3009
Field Boundary (Elfwick Field)
Plate 10

History

The small, irregular nature of the field bounded by this feature may be of medieval origin. There are references from 1512 of a number of men holding land in Queens Close (identified in this report as Elfwick Field), suggesting that the modern field was once subdivided into a number of smaller units, the boundaries of which are still visible as landscape features.

Description

Irregular positive lynchet, c.1m high, forming north-eastern and eastern boundary of Elfwick Field (and NT boundary). The northern sector forms a low bank topped with a modern wire fence and sporadic hawthorn, the northern face of which has been truncated by landscaping of the garden and access drive of Gooden House. The eastern sector forms more of a steep scarp and incorporates pond **130607**. Forms boundary of smaller field with **130604** and **130605**.

Condition

Moderate condition – minor animal and vegetation encroachment evident.

130607
TQ 8926 3009
Pond (Elfwick Field)
Plate 11

History

Shown on 1843 Tithe Map (Fig. 4).

Description

Irregular oval pond (15m x 10m) deeply cut into the slope of Elfwick Field and the neighbouring garden (Salters Barn). Several mature trees evident around edge.

Condition

Good condition – maintained as garden feature. Some potential for damage from vegetation encroachment.

130608
TQ 8940 2999 – 8952 3001
Drainage Ditch (Forstal Field)
Plate 12

History

This comprises part of the Back Sewer mentioned in Eddison 1995, and thought to date from c.1602. There is a possibility that the ditch may in fact be older (Draper, this report), although presumably dating from after the abandonment of shipbuilding in the later 15th century.

This feature was trenched by *Time Team* in 1998. No finds or archaeological deposits were found.

Description

A stretch of drainage ditch running along the southern edge of Forstal Field, 5m in width and up to 2m deep. It is divided into two parts by an access causeway. The western part is water-filled and encroached by thick hawthorn scrub. The eastern part is largely dry. It continues beyond the NT boundary to the east, eventually joining the Reading Sewer. It is joined at the south-eastern corner of the field by **130609**. The ditch is probably the remnants of a disused drainage channel, and is a continuation of **130600** and **130621**.

Condition

Good condition – no longer maintained as an active land drainage sewer. Western stretch is overgrown, but provides an aesthetic water feature and windbreak.

130609
TQ 8949 3015 – 8952 3001
Drainage Ditch (Forstal Field)
Plate 13

History

Appears on 1843 Tithe map. May be considerably older. Possibly contemporary with **130600**, **130608** and **130621**. The boundary line itself may be of medieval origin, forming the eastern side of the access track to a medieval precursor to Smallhythe Place.

Description

A water-filled and tree-lined drainage ditch, 4m wide and up to 2m deep, forming the south-eastern boundary of Forstal Field (and NT boundary). The north-eastern boundary appears to have been a continuation of this ditch, subsequently backfilled, which is still visible as a dry linear hollow. Earthen causeway at southern end.

Condition

Good condition – not in active use for land drainage.

130610
TQ 8940 3014 – 8948 3015
Field Boundary (Forstal Field)
Plate 14

History

Historical evidence based on the field-name suggests that the boundary may be of medieval origin (see Section 5), forming an access lane to a medieval precursor of Smallhythe Place.

Description

Prominent negative lynchet, 1-1.15m high and 2m wide, forming northern boundary of Forstal Field (and NT boundary). Topped by mature hawthorn hedgerow. Shallow ditch and low counterscarp bank on NT side. The boundary curves around to the north at the north-eastern corner of the field, creating a narrow ‘tongue’ of land leading to a gate.

Condition

Good condition.

130611
TQ 8945 3005 (centred)
Earthworks (Forstal Field)
Plate 15

History

Time Team excavation in 1998 (see Section 1 above for details) found a feature interpreted as a buried medieval boat, together with many shipbuilding nails. Historical evidence (a terrier of 1797 – Draper, this report) indicates that the south-eastern corner was ‘formerly used as a wharf’, possibly one of a number mentioned in 1635 (there are references to goods being landed from 1326).

Description

Extremely subtle series of low oval ‘whaleback’ mounds, mainly aligned NE-SW. Form and full extent difficult to determine as they are very ephemeral. Interpretation also hampered by current ground cover – tussocky grass.

Condition

Moderate condition – stable under grass.

130612
TQ 8937 3014
Thatched Shed (Garden)
Plate 16

History

Post-1909 (Fig. 11).

Description

A small thatched building used as a storage shed. It measures 7m in length (4 bays) and 4m in width, and is timber-framed. The eastern half is enclosed with weatherboarding and has double doors in the south wall and glazed windows to the north. A small shuttered unglazed opening is evident in the eastern gable. The western half is open to the south, with a brick floor. The front is supported by three vertical re-used timbers seemingly of some antiquity. The roof timbers are all of modern appearance.

Condition

Good condition – well maintained.

130613
TQ 8938 3014
Shed (Gardens)
Plate 17

History

Post-1909 (Fig. 11).

Description

A small (3m x 2m) timber clad building on a brick base. Shingled hipped roof with flaring skirts (vaguely pagoda-like in appearance).
2 glazed windows with wooden louvred sliding shutters in south and east walls.
Doorway in south wall. Brick path to south.

Condition

Good condition – well maintained.

130614
TQ 8937 3013
Sundial (Gardens)
Plate 18

History

Too small to show on maps. Modern.

Description

A small bronze sundial set into the top of a dwarf sandstone pillar (0.53m high and 0.2m wide) crudely worked to resemble a medieval cross-shaft. It is set on a rectangular stone slab (0.6m x 0.33m), now broken into two pieces.

The sundial sits in the centre of a rectangular garden (6m x 4m) comprising four brick-edged parterres/raised beds separated by two brick paths. The sundial occupies a diamond shaped space where the two paths cross.

Condition

Good condition – well maintained garden feature.

130615

TQ 8936 3013 – 8938 3013

Stone Footpath (Gardens)

Plates 19-21

History

Modern.

Description

A stone footpath, 18m in length, set into the lawn. It comprises a central linear setting (or 'spine') of large slabs edged by smaller irregular pieces of stone and large beach pebbles. Several varieties of stone evident, much of it 'foreign'. The path ends in a prominent Y-shaped setting at the eastern end.

A large irregular slab at the western end marks a dog's grave, with an inscription on the upper surface:

BEN
1902-1913
DEAR DOG

The point at which the western end of the path passes through a hedge is flanked by two small stone pillars, 0.65m high, resembling small milestones. One is inscribed:

Chapel

Condition

Good condition.

130616
TQ 8936 3012
Well (Gardens)
Plates 22 & 23

History

The well is shown on the 1870 Ordnance Survey map (Fig. 8). Its absence from the 1843 Tithe map (Fig. 4) is probably not significant, and it may well have existed earlier – historical references to a well (exact location unknown) lying next to the king's highway in Smallhythe in 1445 indicates that the well-shaft may be of some antiquity, although the well-head is modern.

Description

Brick well set in the gardens. Well shaft, 0.93m in diameter, is lined with irregular stones and may be of some antiquity. The well-head is of brick, 0.64m high, with a stone plinth around the base and a flat stone coping. The iron and wooden windlass is supported on two timber uprights, and covered by a tiled, gabled roof with heavy stone ridge tiles (total height to top of roof – 1.3m).

The well is set within a brick platform (resembling a patio), flanked to the north-west by a semi-circular arrangement of dwarf stone walls (0.6m high) enclosing a crude stone-flagged surface made up of two large flat slabs (2m x 0.7m) surrounded by smaller stones. A brick path links the well to the Priest's House.

Condition

Good condition – well-maintained as a garden feature.

130617
TQ 8937 3010
Former Tennis Court (Gardens)
Plate 24

History

Modern.

Description

Rectangular sunken terrace (26m x 13m x 0.5m), formerly used as a tennis court.

Condition

Good condition – stable under grass.

130618
TQ 8935 3004
Pond (Gardens)
Plates 25 & 26

History

Early Victorian – 1843-1870. Pond is shown on 1870 OS map (Fig. 8) but not on 1843 Tithe (Fig. 4) (although other ponds are shown). Probably built as functional pond for farmyard.

Description

Wedge-shaped pond (11m maximum width), cut back into the slope. Steep banks with some mature tree growth at waterline. Solid base of unknown nature (thought to be brick). A substantial brick retaining wall (0.45m thick) at the lower end, constructed in English Bond, of red bricks bonded with grey cement mortar. The wall leans out slightly due to the water pressure.

Condition

Good condition.

130619
TQ 8939 3004
Pond (Gardens)
Plate 27

History

Shown on 1870 OS map (Fig. 8) but not on 1843 Tithe (Fig. 4), but may be part of small orchard plot. Resembles a truncated channel in appearance, unlike the deliberately constructed nature of **130618**. May be older than 1843.

Description

Water-filled and tree-lined linear depression (27m x 5m). It resembles a truncated drainage ditch, but no eastward extension is visible in Forstal Field.

Condition

Moderate condition – north side severely disturbed by rabbit burrows. Vegetation has wildlife value.

130620
TQ 8938 3003
Brick Structure (Gardens)
Plate 28

History

Modern.

Description

Remains of brick structure (2.9m x 1.2m) obscured by thick grass. Two parallel brick walls (each 0.24m wide) with a central passage (0.6m wide). Depth and nature of floor could not be determined. It is known by the ground staff as the 'sheep dip', and is said to date from the use of the gardens as a farmyard. However, although it resembles such a structure, its proximity to pond **130619** would seem to be hazardous to the sheep. Another possible interpretation is that it forms an overflow channel for pond **130618**, allowing excess water to flow into **130619** rather than towards the house and barn.

Condition

Bad condition – may not be structurally sound.

130621

TQ 8936 2997

Pond (Gardens)

Plate 29

History

This comprises part of the Back Sewer mentioned in Eddison 1995, and thought to date from c.1602. There is a possibility that the ditch may in fact be older (Draper, this report), although presumably dating from after the abandonment of shipbuilding in the later 15th century. Shown as pond in 1793, but appears decidedly kidney-shaped on the Tithe map (Fig. 4). Appears to have attained its present shape after 1909 (Figs 8-11).

Description

Large rectangular pond (35m x 11m), apparently formed by widening a truncated stretch of former drainage ditch **13066/130608**. Now water-filled with reeds around the margins. Stone steps at north-western corner.

Condition

Good condition – well maintained as part of gardens.

130622

TQ 8934 3000

Smallhythe Place

Plate 30

History

Built in early 16th century. Subsequently modified. Existed as high status, semi-administrative building, farmhouse, private house and museum.

Description

A long timber-framed, continuously-jettied house of the early 16th century, with much of its framing exposed to view externally. It originally incorporated a set of projecting windows, but only fragments of one of these now survive. It has an unusual internal layout with some rooms, apparently, designed for semi-public use. There are two front doors located side by side, one leading into the private part of the building and another, more elaborately finished doorway for 'public' access. The need to incorporate different layouts on the ground and first floors led to the use of some interesting and innovative details of construction. Two rear ranges were replaced by lean-to outshuts in the 17th century, probably when the building became a farm house, and it is to this period too that the present chimneys probably belong. Beneath the southern end is a cellar that appears to predate the house above. For a full account of the building and its development see David and Barbara Martin, 'An archaeological interpretative survey of Smallhythe Place, Tenterden, Kent' (Archaeology South-East, Institute of Archaeology, University College London, 2005).

Grade II* Listed Building

Condition

Very Good. Maintained by NT.

130623

TQ 8937 3000

Barn at Smallhythe Place

Plate 31

History

Built after 1650. Later additions. Became theatre in 1930.

Description

The barn dates from the second half of the 17th century and is timber framed, with weatherboarding to the lower parts of the external walls and daub infill above. There is a rear aisle, which returns at the western end in the form of a lean-to outshut. Formerly there was also a lean-to outshut at the eastern end. Much of the timber used for the frame was salvaged from earlier buildings. The barn is a good example of a Wealden agricultural building, combining crop storage and processing (including a corn hole) with cattle housing. Minor additions were made during the mid 19th century. It was converted into a theatre in 1930, and this remains its function. There are minor 20th-century additions to the south. For a full account of the building and its development see David and Barbara Martin, 'An archaeological interpretative survey of The Barn at Smallhythe Place, Tenterden, Kent' (Archaeology South-East, Institute of Archaeology, University College London, 2005).

Grade II Listed Building

Condition

Very Good. Maintained by NT.

130624
TQ8934 3014
The Priests' House, Smallhythe
Plate 32

History

Built in early 16th century. Largely unchanged.

Description

A timber-framed, continuously-jettied house of the early 16th century, with much of its framing exposed to view externally. For a house built during the transition from medieval to early modern living, it is of relatively standard plan, though its inclusion of a contemporary three-flue brick stack at the opposite end of the hall to the entrance is somewhat unusual locally. Despite having an upper floor throughout, there were originally two staircases and no interconnecting first-floor doorway. Good original projecting window on the ground floor at the southern end: one of a series which once existed within the house. Few subsequent alterations have been made: all are minor. The present screen dividing the cross passage from the hall is a modern import. Grade II* Listed Building.

Condition

Very Good. Occupied by tenant under NT ownership.

130625
TQ8932 2998
Yew Tree Cottage, Smallhythe
Plate 33

History

Built in late 18th century. Now occupied by NT Property Manager.

Description

A small brick-built house dating from the late 18th century. The two-storeyed part consists of a cellar, ground-floor room and first-floor bedchamber only, but all these are spacious and surprisingly lofty. The rear lean-to outshut houses the main stairs and cellar steps and is original, unlike the southern lean-to outshut which, in its present form, is largely (if not totally) of later date. What is certain is that this southern outshut replaces something on the same site.

Grade II Listed Building

Condition

Very Good. Maintained by NT.

6. GLOSSARY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL TERMS

Archaeological periods:

Palaeolithic	c.500,000 BC – c.10,000 BC
Mesolithic	c.10,000 BC – c.4300 BC
Neolithic	c.4300 BC – c.2300 BC
Bronze Age	c.2300 BC – c.600 BC
Iron Age	c.600 BC – AD 43
Romano-British	AD 43 – c.AD 410
Anglo-Saxon	c.AD 410 – AD 1066
Medieval	AD 1066 – AD 1485
Post-Medieval	AD 1485 - Present

Auger – a large manually operated drill shaped like a corkscrew, used to examine relatively shallow deposits.

Borehole – a hole mechanically drilled to determine the nature of deeply buried deposits.

Counterscarp – a low bank on the outside of a ditch, resulting from regular maintenance.

Dendrochronology – tree-ring dating. A method of dating ancient wood by counting the annual growth rings in the wood and comparing them with a unique master sequence to provide an absolute date.

Geophysical survey – scientific method of locating buried archaeological deposits (*anomalies*) by measuring their physical properties. *Resistivity* measures the resistance of buried deposits to an electrical current passed through the soil (*e.g.* the moist fill of a ditch will have a lower resistance than the drier surrounding soil). *Magnetometry* measures the distorting effect buried deposits such as kilns, hearths and pits have on the earth's magnetic field.

Lynchets – Linear bank of soil formed by plough action on a slope. The soil gradually moves downslope and piles up against a field boundary to form a *positive* lynchets. Below (*i.e.* downslope of) the boundary the same process removes soil to produce a linear hollow or *negative* lynchets.

Palaeoenvironmental – relating to those environmental elements which affected earlier human communities. Includes the study of ancient pollen, animal and plant remains

Residual – any artefact from an earlier period found within a (securely dated) later deposit, *e.g.* a sherd of Roman pottery found within a medieval pit, is described as residual. The opposite case (a medieval artefact found in a Roman feature) is described as *intrusive*.

Seismic refraction – a technique for mapping deeply buried deposits by analysing the manner in which they distort shock waves.

Stratigraphy – the succession of layers of soil and archaeological deposits making up a site. Generally (on an undisturbed site) the lower layers will be the oldest, having been laid down first.

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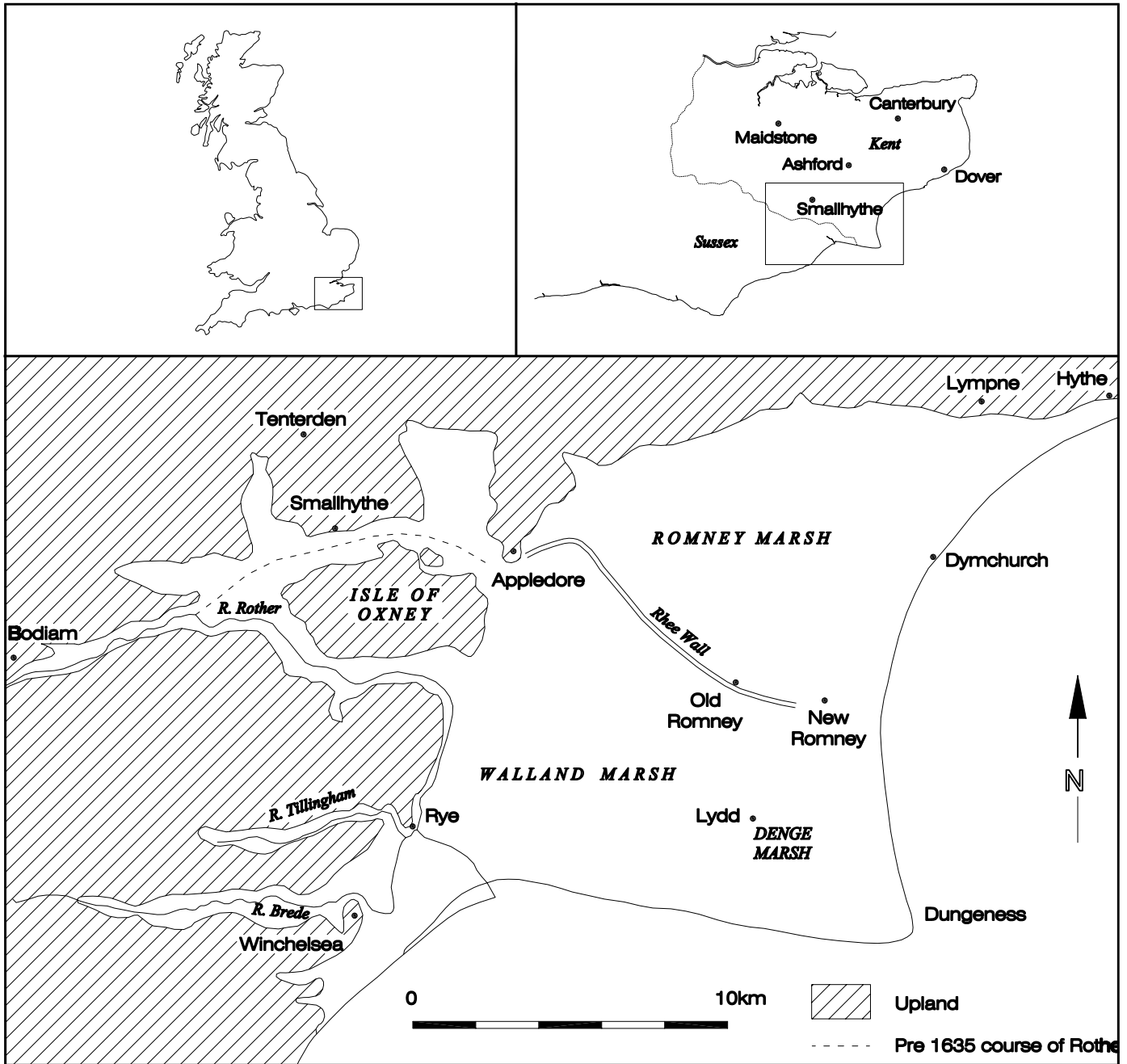
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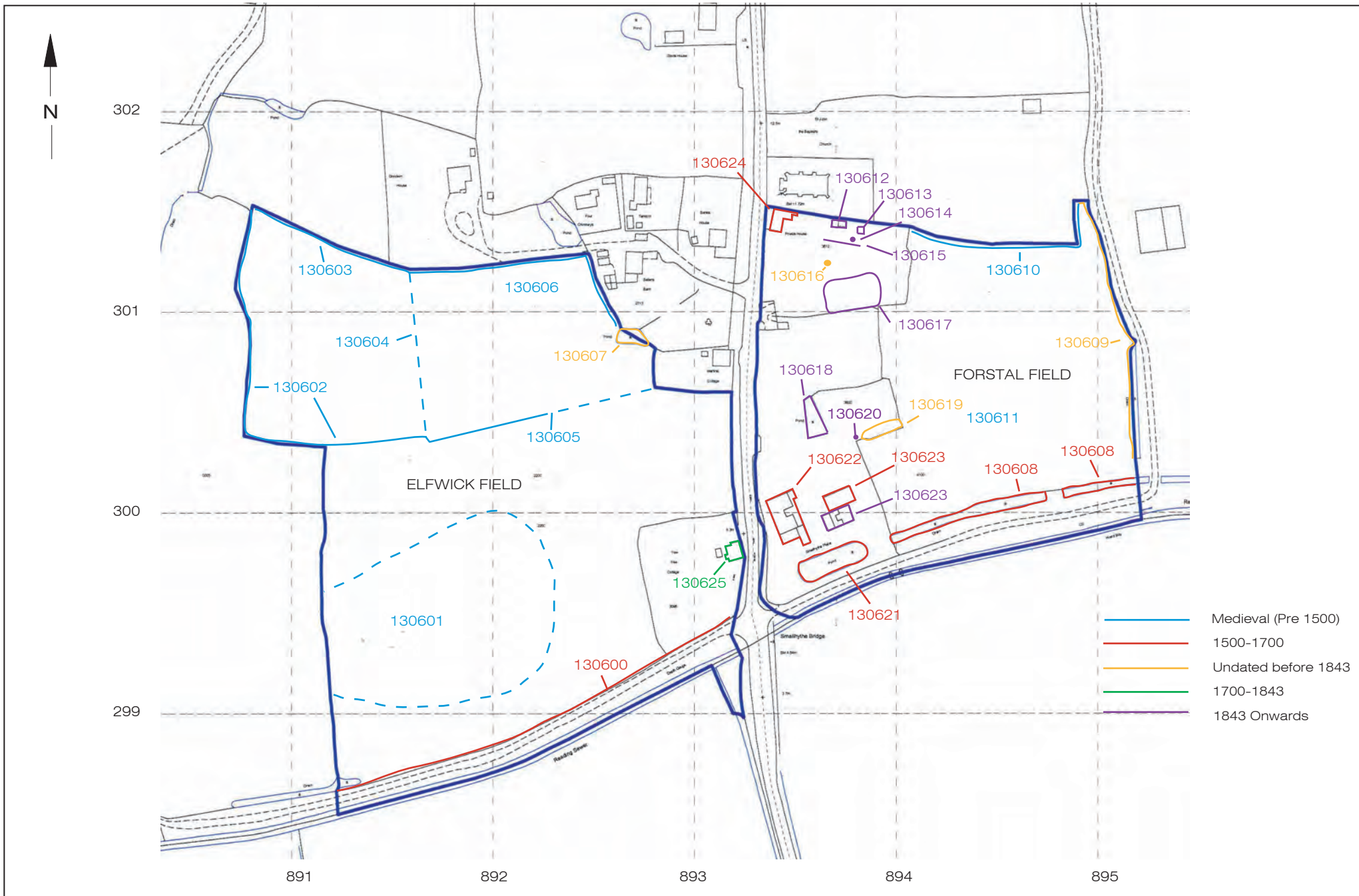
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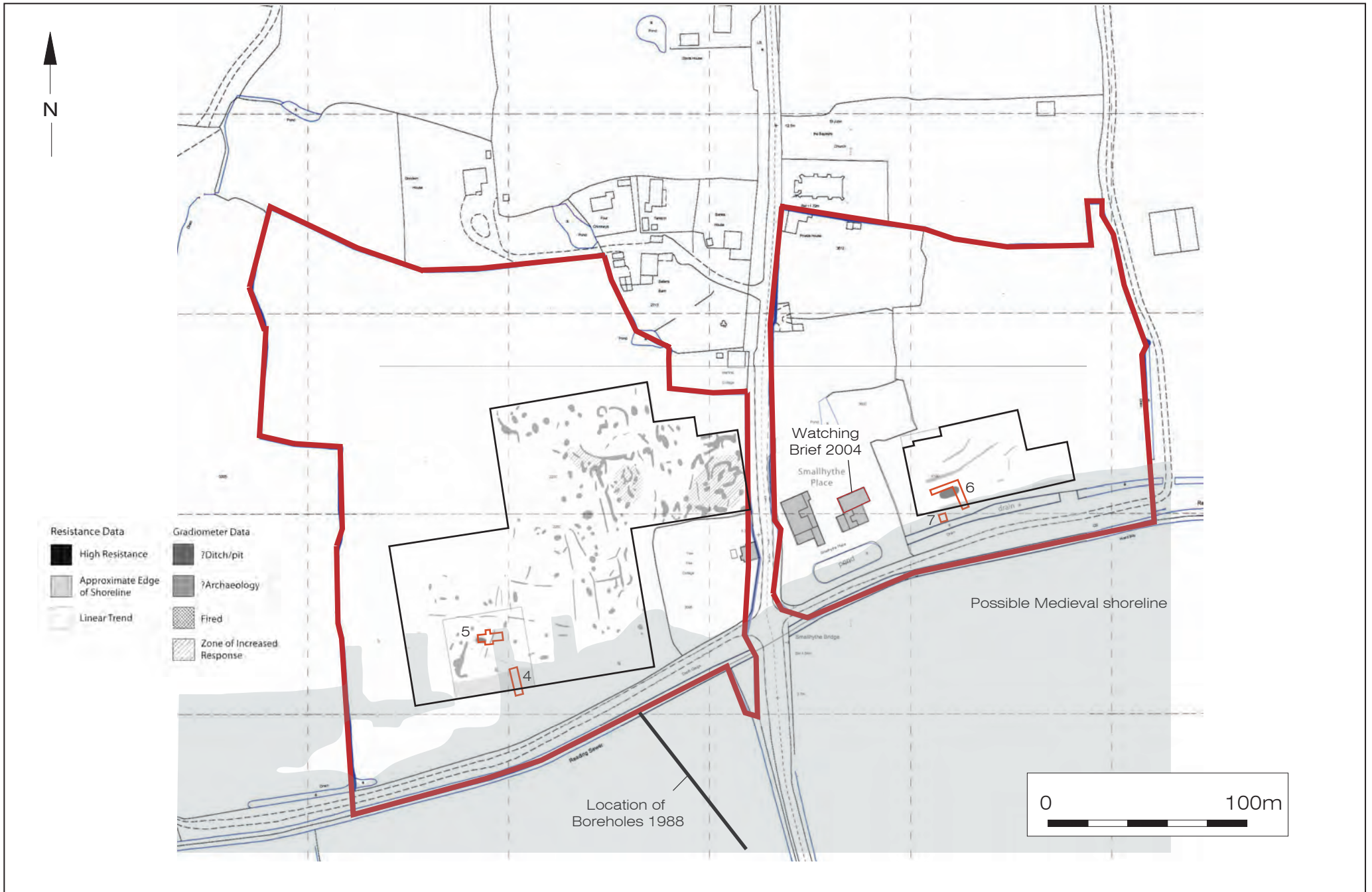
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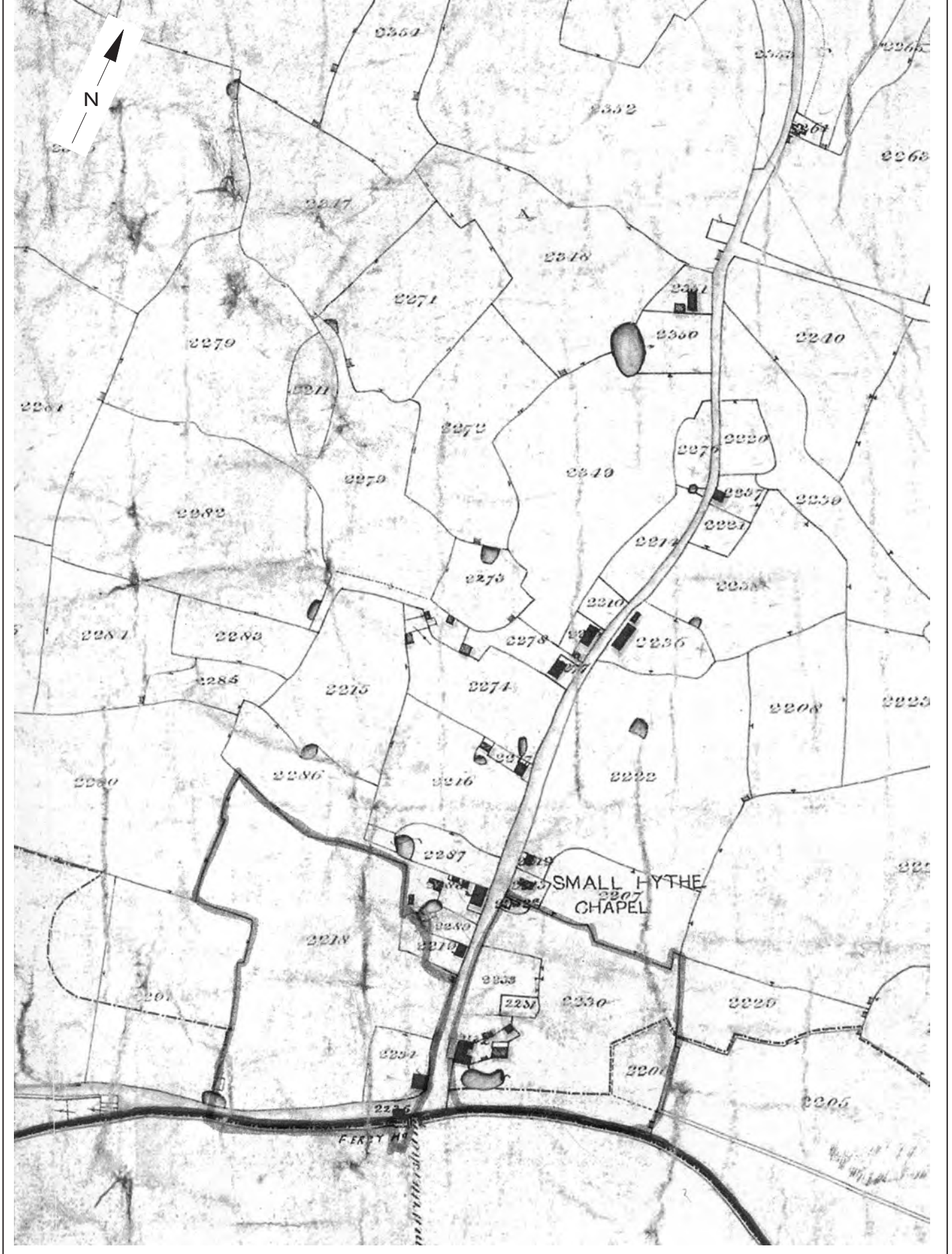
© ARCHAEOLOGY SOUTH EAST		Smallhythe Place	Fig. 1
Ref: 1967	March 2005	Site Location Plan	



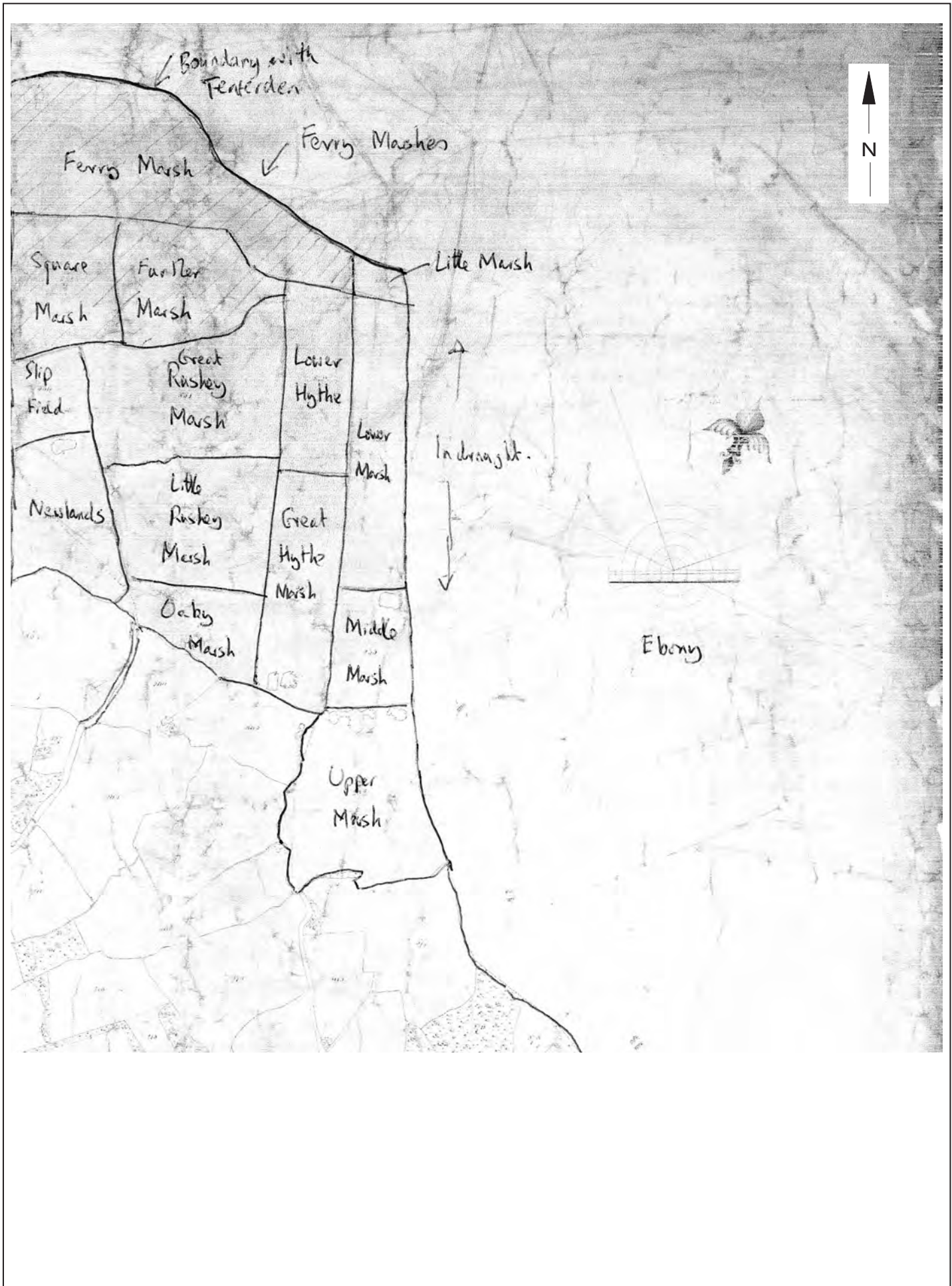
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Ref: 1967	March 2005	National Trust property showing sites of archaeological importance	



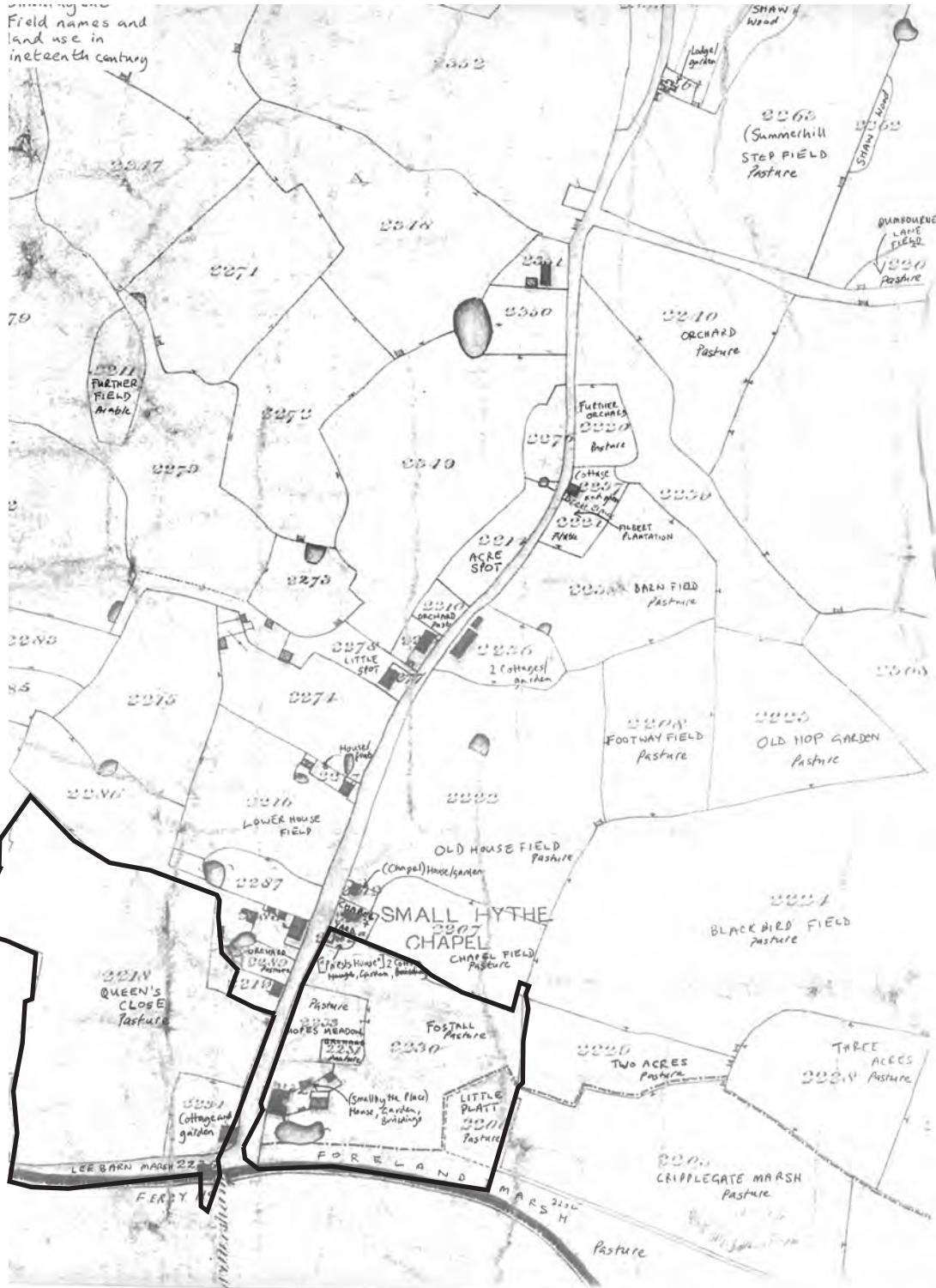
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Ref: 1967	March 2005	Location of previous archaeological work	



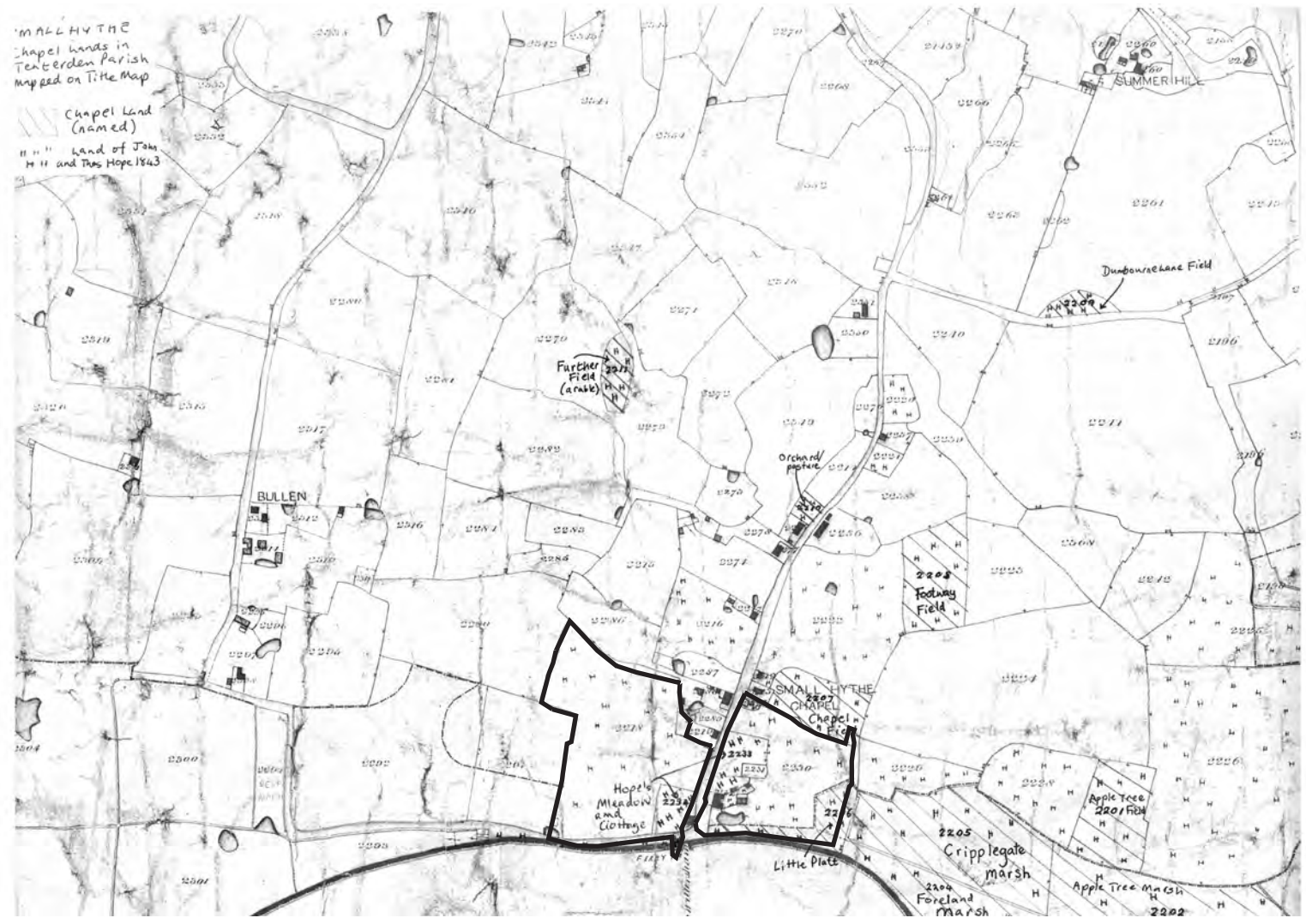
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Ref: 1967	March 2005	Tenterden Tithe Map 1843	
			Fig. 4



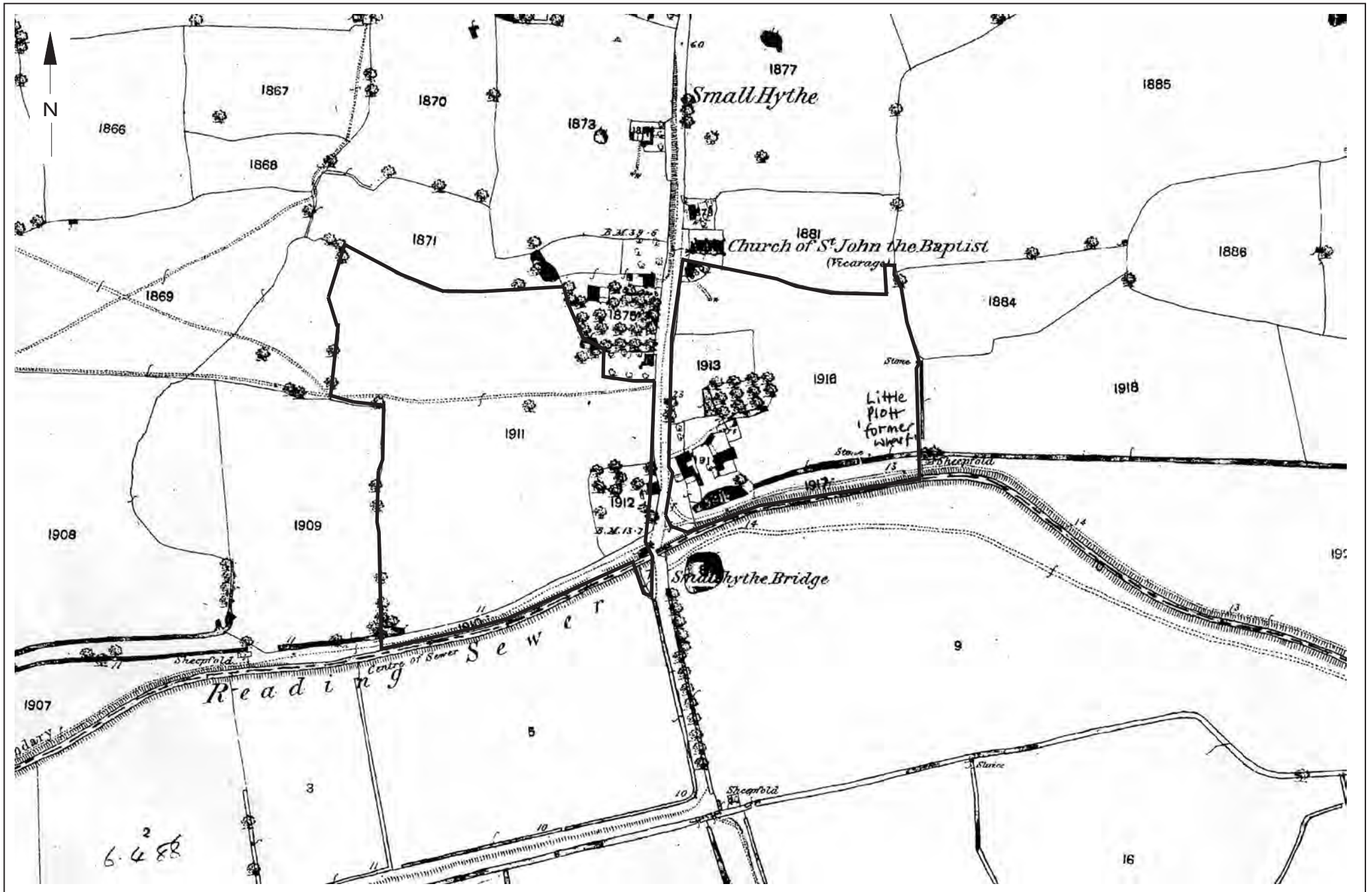
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Ref: 1967	March 2005	Wittersham Tithe Map (provided by Terry Burke)	



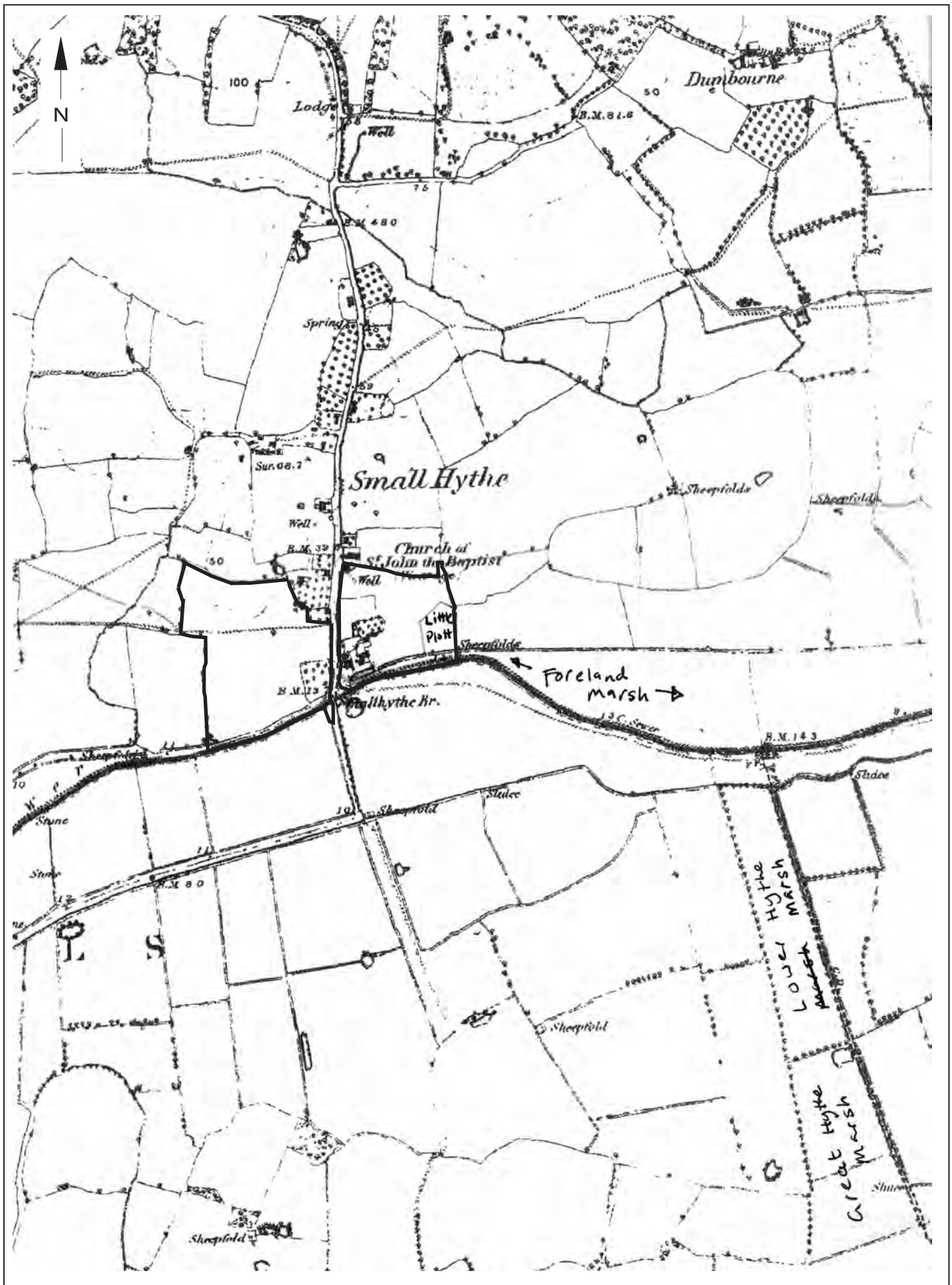
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Ref: 1967	March 2005	Field names and land-use, 19th Century		



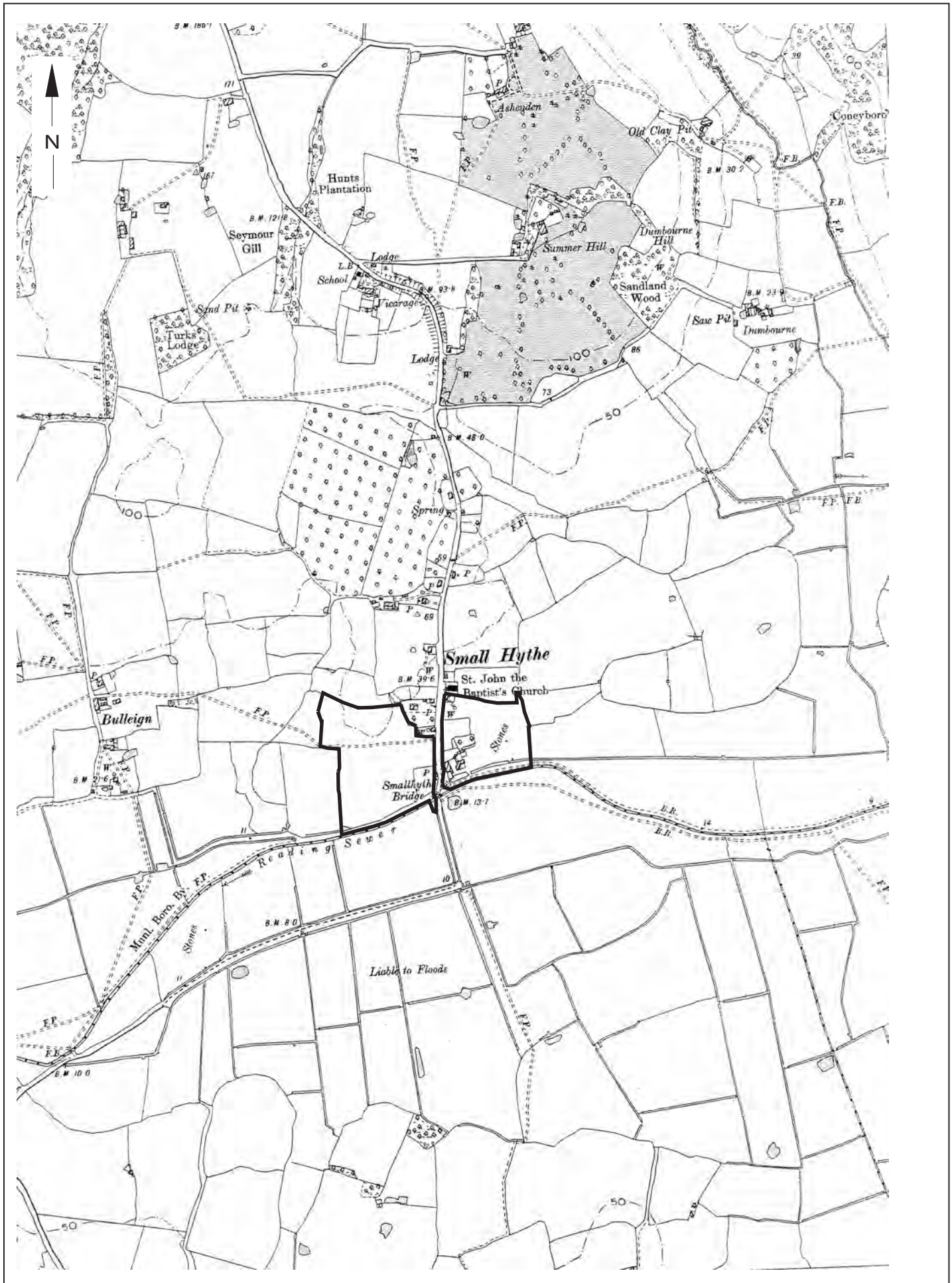
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Ref: 1967	March 2005	Chapel Lands in Tenterden Parish	



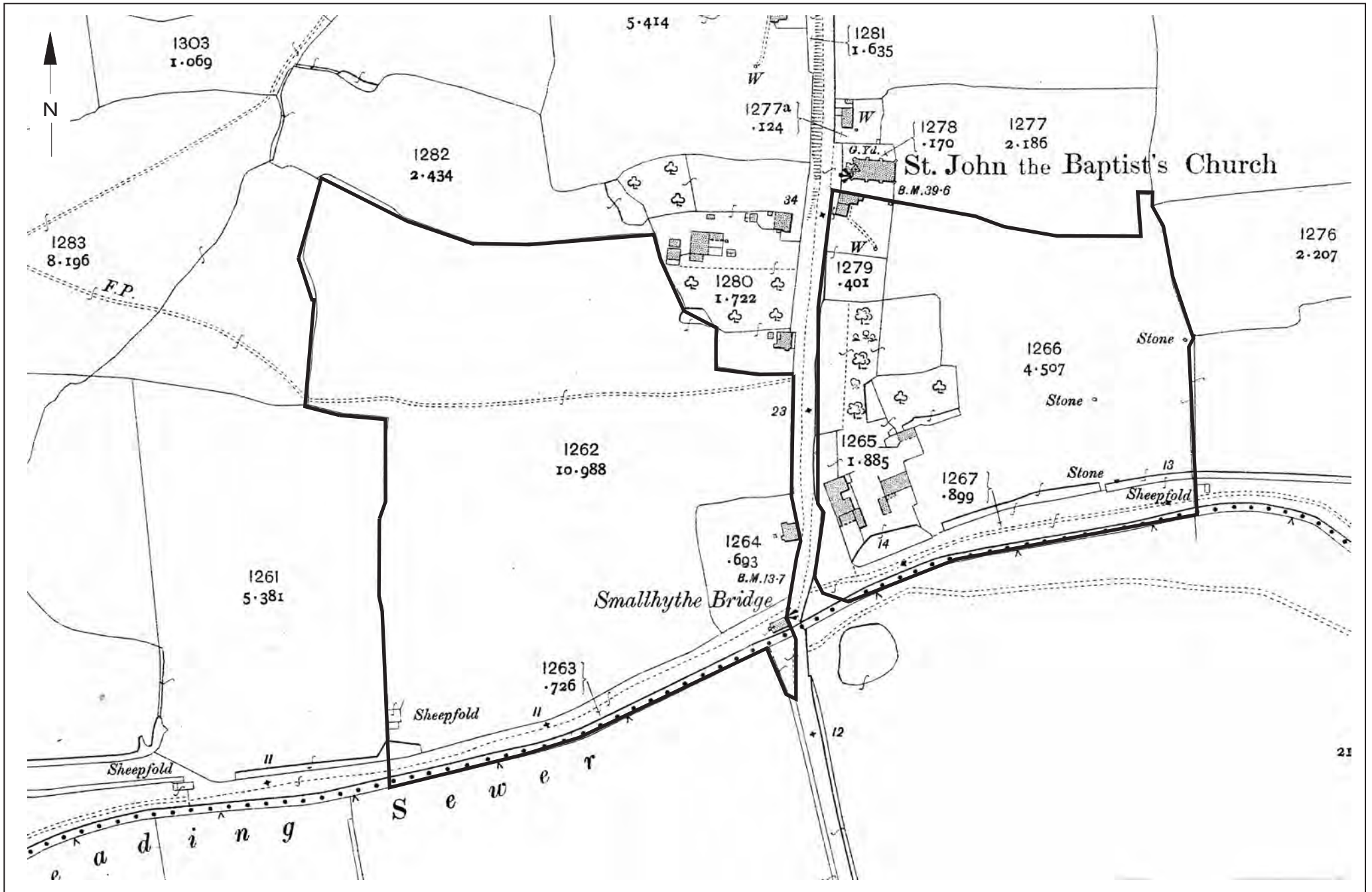
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Ref: 1967	March 2005	OS 25" sheet LXXIX.8, 1870	



© ARCHAEOLOGY SOUTH EAST		Smallhythe Place	Fig. 9
Ref: 1967	March 2005	OS 6" sheet LXXIX 1870	



© ARCHAEOLOGY SOUTH EAST		Smallhythe Place	Fig. 10
Ref: 1967	March 2005	OS 6" sheet LXXIX.NE, 1899	



© ARCHAEOLOGY SOUTH EAST		Smallhythe Place		Fig. 11
Ref: 1967	March 2005	OS 25" sheet LXXIX.8, 1908		



Plate 1



Plate 5



Plate 2



Plate 6



Plate 3



Plate 7



Plate 4



Plate 8



Plate 9



Plate 13



Plate 10



Plate 14



Plate 11



Plate 15



Plate 12



Plate 16



Plate 17



Plate 21



Plate 18



Plate 22



Plate 19



Plate 23



Plate 20



Plate 24



Plate 25



Plate 29



Plate 26



Plate 30



Plate 27



Plate 31



Plate 28



Plate 32



Plate 33



Plate 34



Plate 35