

Excavations at Portchester Castle

Vol. V: Post Medieval 1609–1819

by Barry Cunliffe and Beverley Garratt



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

Reports of the Research Committee
of the
Society of Antiquaries of London
No. LII

Excavations at Portchester Castle

Volume V: Post Medieval 1609–1819

By

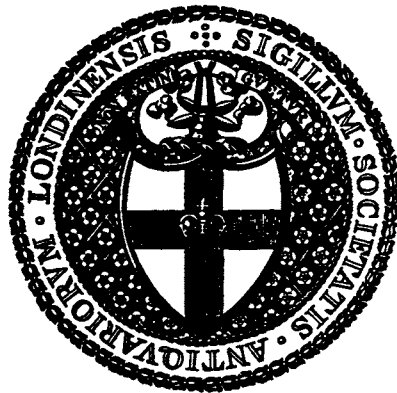
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Published by
The Society of Antiquaries of London

1994

This volume is published with the aid of a grant from English Heritage.

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ISBN 0 85431 264 1

PRINTED IN ENGLAND BY
ALDEN PRESS LIMITED,
OXFORD

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PREFACE

The production of this fifth volume of the Portchester Castle excavation reports has taken longer than it should. After the publication of Volume IV in 1985 the material for the final volume began to be assembled. On the face of it the task was comparatively simple for the various military uses to which the castle had been put in the period from 1609 to 1819 had left little structural mark on the fabric and the below-ground archaeological traces were uncomplicated. There was, however, a formidable collection of artefacts to be dealt with and a documentation of unfathomable proportions. The principal task of structuring the excavation archive and cataloguing the small finds was undertaken by Beverley Garratt in 1985–7. She then proceeded to draft reports on the different categories of objects and to search the prolific PRO files, especially *ADM* 98, for references to the castle. When she left Oxford in 1987 the archive was in excellent order.

That it has taken so long to write the excavation report after such an auspicious beginning is entirely the fault of the present writer. Portchester Vol. V has had to be a leisure activity fitted in between professional duties and ongoing programmes of field-work. It has proved to be a fascinating task, full of tempting byways, encouraging a degree of dallying to prolong the pleasure, but now is the time to draw the project to a close.

To strengthen my resolve I have been greatly helped by those who have contributed to the text in various ways and by my colleagues at the Institute in particular Bob Wilkins, Paolo Scremin and Jennie Lowe for providing photographs for publication, Alison Wilkins and Simon Pressey for the line drawings and Lynda Smithson for producing an immaculately typed text, making, *en route*, innumerable sub-editorial corrections to my untidy manuscript. I am also greatly indebted to Jonathan Coad who read the completed text and made many helpful comments all of which I have gladly incorporated and to Ruth Daniel whose sharp editorial eye has scoured the manuscript.

The excavations at Portchester Castle took place over nineteen seasons: the preparation of the five-volume report has taken marginally longer. The considerable length of both aspects of the project is a reflection of the enormous historical, architectural and archaeological richness of the site which our programme has gone some little way to explore.

Oxford, 1 February 1993

Barry Cunliffe

I. INTRODUCTORY SECTIONS

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The programme of excavations began at Portchester Castle in 1961 in the outer bailey and continued each year until 1972. Thereafter, until 1979, excavations focused on the inner bailey extending the work of earlier trial trenches. Much of the evidence generated by this activity reflected the Roman, Saxon and medieval periods and has already been published (Cunliffe 1975, 1976, 1977; Cunliffe & Munby 1985), but everywhere traces of the times when the old enclosure was used as a prison camp in the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries have come to light. It is these remains which form the basis of this fifth and final report covering the period 1609–1819.

For the most part structural activity was slight being confined largely to the construction of timber or brick structures of which those remaining were thoroughly demolished when the military occupation came to an end. Elsewhere medieval masonry was patched, doors cut and walls removed. Traces of these activities together with the structures of drains and cesspits and layers of metalling for the open yards make up the archaeological record. These comparatively meagre remains are greatly enhanced in their interest by large numbers of small items lost or discarded by the prisoners and their guards, by the voluminous, and still largely unindexed, documentary record and by the graffiti carved by the prisoners on various parts of the castle walls.

In the report to follow we concentrate on presenting a full record of the archaeological remains recovered during the excavation and on offering a selection of the documentary and epigraphic evidence sufficient to provide an historical and social context for its better appreciation.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE

In 1609 John Norden surveyed the castle at Portchester for the king. His report was not encouraging. The new buildings erected in the east of the inner bailey were already 'almost uncovered' and in need of glazing while the western ranges were derelict owing to the removal of roofing lead, their appearance being 'darke and malincolye'. He went on to suggest that the keep should be halved in height so that the chimney smoke from the building around would rise more freely. There would also be some advantage in stripping the remaining lead from unused buildings and selling it. Finally he suggested that the administration of the castle should be united with the Governorship of Portsmouth. Norden's survey provides a brief glimpse of a noble castle at the end of its useful life. Fortunately the keep was left standing but Norden's advice was, in part, taken when later in 1609 the castle was granted to the Earl of Pembroke to be held with Portsmouth (*Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1603–10, 551).*

*Hereafter full references to the historical sources quoted will be found in the calendar of documentary sources, Fiche 1:A3–D7.

In 1628 consideration was given for converting the castle into a naval store complete with dry dock. Cogent reasons in favour were given but the cost, estimated at £9500, was considered to be too great and in 1632 the site was sold to a local landowner Sir William Uvedale. Thereafter whenever the castle was required for use by the Crown it had to be leased back, often at considerable expense.

The first such occasion came during the Civil Wars when, in 1644, it provided quarters for 4000 horse and dragoons of the Parliamentary army. A few years later, in 1652 at the outbreak of the First Anglo-Dutch war (1652–4), the suggestion was made that the castle should be converted into a hospital for war casualties. Dr Daniel Whistler found the ‘ayre and water healthfull’ but doubted the wisdom of spending money on repairing the old ruinous castle rather than building afresh – nothing came of the suggestion. But at the outbreak of the Second Anglo-Dutch war (1665–7) James, Duke of York, gave the order for Portchester ‘to be fitted for seamen infected or likely to be infected by the plague’. There is a later reference to the removal of Dutch prisoners to make way for plague victims but in August 1665 394 Dutch prisoners were recorded to be resident in the castle so it is possible that the Duke’s order was never enforced. The prisoners were evidently in rebellious mood: a letter from Commander Thomas Middleton to Samuel Pepys reports that they refused to work on the grounds that if they did their wives at home would get no relief from the States of Holland. It may have been during this unrest that the church, where some of the prisoners were housed, was set on fire: it was not restored until 1706.

The War of the Spanish Succession (1701–12) saw the castle brought into use again as a prison. On 17 July 1702 Lord Nottingham wrote to the Sick and Wounded Board telling them to acquire Portchester ‘upon the best and cheapest terms you can, for keeping prisoners’. The intensity and duration of the occupation by French and Spanish prisoners is unrecorded but as the war was drawing to a close in 1711 the Treasury asked the Admiralty for an opinion on the possibility of turning the old installations into a naval brew house. In a report sent on 24 August 1712 Francis Tranlend concluded that he could ‘by no means ... think Portchester a proper place for a brewery for His majesty’s navy’. The matter was not pursued.

Throughout the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–9) the castle saw much activity. Spanish prisoners were in residence by the end of May 1740 and by December 1742 French captives had arrived. Other nationalities included Irish and Polish but a number of the latter opted to join the British navy rather than be incarcerated at the castle. Throughout this period there was much discontent among the inmates reaching the proportions of a serious riot in February 1743 during which much damage was done. A year before there had been a complaint about living conditions as the result of which a committee of enquiry had been set up. The report, while admitting that drainage might be improved, found the prison to be clean and watertight. Whatever the justice of the report there can be little doubt that the prisoners were confined to exceedingly cramped quarters and this must have exacerbated the tensions. Another frequent source of discontent was the length of time prisoners had to serve before being allowed to return home in exchange for the freeing of English captives. The expectation seems to have been about a year. Being incarcerated longer than this gave rise to grievances, petitions and riots.

To try to relieve some of the tensions, it was decided, in January 1745, to create a fenced airing yard in the outer bailey where the prisoners could take exercise and recreation. The yard lay 'in the field adjoining to the castle wall' very probably between the inner bailey and the east gate.

The Jacobite rebellion caused further problems for the prison authority. It seems that 'rebels' had been identified at Plymouth trying to make contact with prisoners presumably to stir up trouble. To better isolate the prisoners at Portchester, who were to be augmented by 500 new arrivals from Plymouth, the guard was much enlarged and new barrack blocks erected to house them.

By May 1746 there were 1100 French prisoners at the castle and the expectation that more would be brought in from Dover brought a warning letter from the Transport Office to the Admiralty pointing out that though the castle could house 1800, to crowd in so many would create a serious threat to health. In November, however, the order was given to fit up more accommodation so that the complement could be extended to 2450. The total number of French and Spanish prisoners held in Britain at this time was 33,600. By mid December 1747 the Transport Office were again concerned with the capacity of Portchester which should not 'exceed 2500, which number, with those on parole and in the hospital, may make about 3,500'.

A plan of the castle, drawn in 1740, shows the layout of the prison accommodation (Pl. I). The keep and forebuildings were unroofed and Assheton's Tower was unused. Cooking facilities were provided in the west range while dormitory accommodation occupied the south range, the north range (together with an additional structure built on to it) and much of the east range. The buildings in the south-east corner were set aside as store buildings with accommodation for petty officers above. A fenced road led from the Land gate to the gate of the inner bailey, watched by a guardhouse with officers' room attached. The area of land enclosed by the wall linking the Land gate to the inner bailey gate was designated as a garden plot. Access between the barrack blocks outside the fort and the guardhouse was by means of a postern gate through the outer bailey wall. The drawing of 1760 (Pl. Xa) shows a bridge crossing the moat just in front of the postern.

In the brief period between the end of the War of the Austrian Succession in 1749 and the outbreak of the Seven Years War in 1756 the castle continued to be used as a naval store but in October 1755 estimates were being prepared to fit out the old buildings to house 1951 prisoners at a cost of nearly £2000. Work was evidently put in hand and by December 1755 the castle was ready once more to receive French prisoners.

Throughout the Seven Years War (1756–1763) Portchester housed both French and Spanish prisoners. For a while Edward Gibbon, then a captain in the Hampshire Militia, was in charge of the garrison. On 6 September 1760 he wrote a letter giving his impression of the place which deserves to be quoted *in extenso* for the insight it provides into the organization of the prison at the time:

I went upon a command to Portchester to relieve Captain Milday in the guard of French prisoners there. My detachment consisted of 4 subalterns, 7 serjeants, 9 corporals and 214 privates to guard about 3,200 prisoners. The place was agreeable for officers who boarded in a neat private house and lived very well, but it was very bad for the men. The prison was very loathsome and the men's barracks not much better.

The barracks at this time occupied the area outside the castle to the north and west. Another building, in the village, presumably one of the houses along the lane leading south from the village square, served as the hospital. It was identified by the resident medical officer, Dr Maxwell, as a possible site for the hospital in May 1756. But by September 1758 the number of prisoners had increased to such an extent that further accommodation for the sick was desperately needed.

The castle was leased by the Crown from a private owner, Mr Thistlethwaite, and the lease was due to end on Lady Day 1761. Mr Thistlethwaite was evidently reluctant to renew the arrangement and contingency plans were made lest the prison should have to be moved. However a compromise was reached when the new lessees, Gillam and Twynham of Portsmouth, agreed to sublet to the military for a seven-and-a-half-year term.

As hostilities ceased following the Treaty of Paris signed in 1763 the prisoners were embarked for home, first the French in April and then the Spanish of whom only 136 still remained under guard by late July.

For the next 30 years little is known of the fate of the castle though for the early part of that period it may have been retained by the Crown. But when, in 1793, the Revolutionary War with France broke out the need again arose for prison accommodation. Accordingly in June 1794 arrangements were being made by the Admiralty to lease Portchester once more and eventually a 21 year lease was secured from Mr Thistlethwaite. By August 13 timber buildings had been erected each able to house 500 men, in total 6500, though it was pointed out that such a density would be ill-advised until the weather became colder. It was planned at this time for the complement to be about 4700. Estimates were also given for fitting out the keep to take a further 1000 men. By 1797 pressure on space had become so intense that the Government decided to moor a fleet of prison hulks in the nearby creek, Portchester Lake, to absorb the overflow.

The castle continued to house prisoners until the Peaces of Luneville and Amiens brought hostilities to a temporary end in 1801. In the September of 1802, the prisoners having been released, it was decided to find an alternative use for the installations. Eventually on 5 October 1802 the Admiralty made over the premises to the War Department on condition that they would be given up at three months' notice should they be required to house prisoners again. A somewhat schematic plan attached to the correspondence shows the layout of the prison buildings and compounds in the outer bailey (Pl. II).

Comparison with the plans produced in 1815 (Pls. III and IV) suggests that very little change took place during the period when the castle served as an ordnance store. In January 1803 the installation was inspected by the director of the Board of Ordnance. General Morse, who carried out the enquiry, reported that the site was well suited to being an ordnance store and indeed was already being used to store ordnance. Several companies of artillery would occupy the barracks 'ready for any suddern service'. The only serious shortcoming he discovered was the filth which tended to accumulate in the moat. The problem would be overcome by constructing a sluice and narrowing part of the moat to create a strong cleansing current.

Throughout much of the period when the castle was being used as an ordnance store it was garrisoned by the King's German Legion but on 17 November 1809 the officers gave a Farewell Ball and Supper 'to all respectable Portchester families with who they have been

quartered for the past 4 years'. Change was in the air. Already in the previous May a sale of surplus military stores had been carried out and in September it was ordered that the castle was once more to be turned into a prison camp to accommodate 7–8000 prisoners of war.

On 10 January 1810 Captain C.W. Paterson, R.N. was appointed 'agent for Prisoners of War at Portchester Castle'. By this time the buildings were being prepared. Work continued throughout January and February. Boilers were on order, the hospital was being completed and estimates were obtained for chalk and gravel to level and surface the airing yard. On 14 February it was reported that the Ordnance Board had sent in a requisition for 200,000 bricks to be delivered from the ordnance kilns at Stokes Bay. Work continued throughout the spring. The airing yard was surfaced at the end of March, more land was rented outside the fort walls and fenced off to provide a sentry zone and, in April, night privies were prepared at a cost of £23 each. On 9 May the Transport Office wrote to Captain Paterson asking when the works would be completed since 4000 prisoners were expected to arrive shortly and early in July the first 1500 reached the castle from Spain 'many destitute of clothing'. By the beginning of November 6000 prisoners were in residence and the available accommodation was full, a fact acknowledged by the Transport Office by the middle of December, though eventually the number of inmates rose to 8000.

Throughout the four years when the castle was used as a prison minor building works were undertaken. In October 1812 the airing yard was regravelled and the next month approval was given for the erection of cooking houses in the northernmost part of the airing ground. In August 1813 part of the curtain wall was quarried for materials to repair prison floors but otherwise no other structural work seems to have been undertaken.

On 16 May 1814, following the Peace of Ghent, it was announced that the release of the prisoners would begin. The exodus was rapid not least because the victualling contract was due to expire by 24 May and by the 30th of the month the *Hampshire Telegraph* could report that the depot had been cleared of inmates. The formal closure of the prison came on 12 July 1814 when a considerable volume of equipment and building materials from the depot was auctioned to the public and on the same day the commission of Rear Admiral Lock, who had replaced Captain Paterson as Agent for the prisoners, came to an end.

The old prison hospital was retained in use and already in early June was receiving sick and wounded soldiers from the Duke of Wellington's Army; between 19 July and 29 October 45 men died and were buried there.

In February 1815 the castle was fitted out once more as a prison this time for captured deserters who had previously been confined in two prison hulks moored in the Medina River on the Isle of Wight. It was to remain in commission until 24 June 1819 when the last of the prisoners were removed and the old buildings finally abandoned. The castle and its lands were then returned to the Thistlethwaite family in whose hands they remain.

During the Crimean War the possibility of converting the castle to a hospital was considered but rejected on the sensible grounds that there could hardly be 'a less suitable place'. Thus the abandonment of the final prison in June 1819 marks the end of a history of continuous use which began more than 1500 years before. The peace of the castle has been disturbed for only two short periods since then; the first in the years following 1926 when the structure was placed under the guardianship of the then Office of Works and clearance and consolidation was carried out, and later between

1961 and 1979 when the programme of excavations reported in these volumes was undertaken.

The history of the castle from the time of the Norden survey in 1609 until the final abandonment of the site by the military authorities in June 1819 will be considered in far more detail below (pp. 130–163) after the full range of evidence has been presented. This preliminary overview has been given here to provide a framework within which the topographical, archaeological and documentary evidence can better be understood. For ease of reference the sequence may be tabulated as follows:

Period 1: 1609–1740

- a. 1609–1665 no significant activity
- b. 1665–1667 hospital and prison during the Second Anglo-Dutch War
- c. 1667–1702 no significant activity
- d. 1702–1712 prison camp during the War of the Spanish Succession
- e. 1712–1740 no significant activity

Period 2: 1740–1794

- a. 1740–1749 prison during the War of the Austrian Succession
- b. 1749–1755 naval store
- c. 1755–1763 prison during the Seven Years War
- d. 1763–1794 no significant activity

Period 3: 1794–1810

- a. 1794–1802 prison during the wars with the French Republic
- b. 1802–1810 Ordnance Store

Period 4: 1810–1815

- a. 1810–1814 prison during the wars with the French Empire
- b. 1814–1815 hospital for British soldiers

Period 5: 1815–1819 prison for British deserters

Period 6: 1819– abandoned to the curiosity of visitors

Given that there is such close historical dating for the individual periods and phases the scheme may seem to be over elaborate but it provides a convenient means of correlation with the somewhat tenuous archaeological data.

II. CARTOGRAPHIC AND TOPOGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE

There exists a rich and varied array of illustrative material depicting the castle and its immediate environment in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and even more material dating to the Victorian period by which time the castle conformed to the contemporary ideal of the picturesque. In addition a few manuscript plans survive illustrating aspects of the prison layout.

The castle was sufficiently impressive to have been featured by William Stukeley in 1723 (Pl. VIa) and S. and N. Buck in 1733 (Pl. VIb). Stukeley's view from the sea was sketchy and showed little detail while Buck's was an idealized bird's eye rendering frequently copied by later engravers and of little value to the present discussion. A far more important source is a series of drawings by Francis Grose (1731–91). Grose was an amateur artist with a particular interest in topography. He joined the Second Battalion of the Surrey Regiment of Militia and by 1759 had risen to the rank of Lieutenant and adjutant. Throughout the early 1760s his unit was moved from base to base throughout southern England to garrison forts and guard prisoners of war. It was during this time that he produced pen-and-wash sketches of Fareham, Odiham and Portchester Castle. He was promoted to the rank of Captain in 1766 but resigned in 1769 when he inherited his father's estate. For eight years thereafter he indulged his passion for painting, exhibiting in the Royal Academy and elsewhere but when the legacy ran out he took up writing as a career publishing, in serial form, *The Antiquities of England and Wales* (1773) and later *The Antiquarian Repertory* (1784) illustrated with engravings based on his earlier sketches. In 1778 he rejoined the militia when France allied itself with Revolutionary America and remained in service until his death in 1791.

His Portchester drawings fall into two groups, the first executed between 1760 and 1761 when he was stationed at the fort. Of these ten survived in the collection of the Hampshire historian Mr Bingly and were subsequently acquired by Portsmouth City Museum in 1987 (nos. 3–9 and 11). Three formed the basis for later engravings (nos. 8, 9 and 11) and it is possible that another, executed at the time but now missing, was the inspiration for another published engraving (no. 10). Grose returned to Portchester between 1779 and 1782 (though whether on military service or not is unclear) and executed three more drawings, no longer extant, upon which engravings nos. 14, 15 and 16 were based. During this later period, as the illustrations make clear, the castle was not in active use by the military though a garrison remained.

It was probably in *c.* 1790 that the artist Edward Dayes (1760–1804) visited the castle and painted a series of romantic but highly accurate water-colours. Only one of the originals is known to survive (no. 20) but two engravings, nos. 21 and 22, are based on his originals.

The castle was taken back by the military in 1794 after which a few engravings were made based on drawings by J. and W. Orme. But once again Portchester was fortunate to have as one of its serving officers a competent water-colourist, Captain Durrant, who is believed to have been seconded from the West Yorkshire Regiment to the Leeds Volunteers. He served at Portchester in 1813 during which time he produced a number of water-colour sketches of the castle (nos. 24–37). The album containing them, together with many others, was

purchased at auction in 1990 by the Hampshire County Museum Service. Durrant's sketches add welcome colour to the map of 1815 (Plan no. 4, Pl. III).

A picture of Portchester at the end of its active life is provided by a naive bird's eye view of the entire fort, probably painted by a soldier and dated 1817. It was at this stage that it housed deserters. Two years later the army moved out for good.

In the catalogue which follows we list the maps first followed by the topographical illustrations. The numbering system adopted is to give each view a unique number identifying subsequent editions by the date of publication in brackets afterwards. Each series is assumed to begin with original artwork whether or not it survives.

A sample of the more significant illustrations have been selected for reproduction here (Pls. I–XXV).

CATALOGUE OF PLANS

- Plan 1 Plan of the inner bailey 1740
(Pl. I) (PRO ADM1/3528)
An accurate plan to scale of the buildings of the inner bailey and the guardhouse flanking the road to the Land gate. The principal interest lies in the way in which the medieval ranges were fitted out to provide accommodation for prisoners. There were, at this stage, no buildings outside the outer bailey as there were in the Grose illustration drawn 21 years later. The plan shows buildings as they were fitted out at the beginning of the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–49).
- Plan 2 Plan of Portchester Castle 1740
(PRO ADM1/3528)
An accurate plan of the entire castle including the outer bailey. This plan is complementary to Plan 1 and shows the same inner bailey arrangement though in less detail. Apart from the church, in its enclosure, the rest of the outer bailey is empty. The only additional detail of note is that the south-east corner bastion is shown intact. By 1815 it had been removed and the gap walled across (see Plans 4 and 5).
- Plan 3 Highly schematic sketch plan of the castle accompanying a letter from John
(Pl. II) Trotter to the Right Hon. Secretary for War, dated 14 September 1802
(PRO WO40/16)
The plan shows the layout of the buildings and fences in schematic form at the end of the period of intensive use as a prison camp 1794–1802. The north compound contained nine barrack blocks for prisoners. To the south was the church compound and airing yard. The western part of the outer bailey was divided by fences into two smaller compounds one on each side of the road containing two and three barrack buildings respectively. Compared with the plan of 1815 (Plan 4) it shows how little the arrangement changed during the period 1802–10 when the castle was used as an ordnance store.

- Plan 4
(Pl. III) Plan of the castle dated 31 May 1815
Counterpart of a lease from Thomas Thistlethwaite to H.M. Commissioner for Barracks at Portchester Castle for 14 years. Rent £280 p.a.
(PRO 4 M 53)
This plan is a highly accurate rendering of the prison camp at its most developed, suggesting that there had been little change in the general arrangement of the buildings since 1802. Points of particular note relevant to the excavated evidence are: the building at the south side of the road in the south-west compound; the fence dividing the inner bailey into a north and south half, and the door leading through the east range and east curtain wall.
- Plan 5
(Pl. IV) A detailed plan of the castle and its environment undated but 1815 entitled 'Plan of Porchester Castle showing in Red the proposed Alterations and Additions to render it fit for the reception of Prisoners of War'
(PRO MPH/516)
Drawn at the scale of 50 ft to the inch the plan includes the castle and the adjacent buildings in the fields to the west and north. The layout within the castle walls is closely comparable to that shown on Plan 4 but with additional details added including elevations of some of the prison buildings and the positions of cisterns, wells and drains. The hospital range along the west wall is shown with its internal divisions and the functions of the individual rooms identified. In the area outside the walls the positions of the garrison buildings are shown and the structures are identified. A note indicates 'Proposed Guard H^s' outside the west wall just south of the Land gate. The plan of Nov. 27th 1815 (Plan 6) notes here 'New Guard House' and hence post-dates Plan 5. The relative dates of Plans 4 and 5 cannot be deduced from internal evidence but Plan 5 with its proposed alterations is likely to be later than Plan 4 which is part of a lease.
- Plan 6
(Pl. V) Land gate and curtain wall of the outer bailey entitled 'Sketch of the entrance into Portchester Castle Showing the situation of the late Picket fence and Guard House Privies removed' John Holliday, Nov. 27th 1815
(PRO ADM/98/252)
The picket fence, 7 ft high, is mentioned in a Transport Office letter of 13 March 1810 when the Office agreed that the fence should be built to 'prevent the sentinels from trespassing on the adjoining field'. Presumably the privies were for the comfort of the sentries. The plan also shows the old guardhouse to the left of the entrance and a new guardhouse to the right which was built when the castle was being modified to accommodate British deserters.

CATALOGUE OF DRAWINGS, PAINTINGS AND ENGRAVINGS

- 1 (*c.* 1720) Portchester by William Stukeley.
Original not located.
- 1 (1723) *Portus Magnus 12 Sep 1723 Portchester Stukeley d.*
(Pl. VIa) Distant view of the castle and adjacent shore from the sea with hulks in the foreground (274 by 70 mm).
- 2 (*c.* 1730) Portchester by S. and N. Buck.
Original not located.
- 2 (1733) Engraving entitled 'The North West View of Porchester Castle in Hampshire
(Pl. VIb) S and N Buck delin. et sculp^t 1733' (344 by 144 mm).
General view of the entire castle with water-filled moat flanking the north and west wall.
- 2 (*c.* 1800) Engraving entitled 'View of Porchester Castle in Hampshire Engraved for
the Modern Universal British Traveller.' (267 by 164 mm).
Copy of Buck. The keep is taller and supports more luxuriant growth.
- 2 (1801) Engraving entitled 'Portchester Castle'. From C. Cruttwell, *A Tour Through
the Whole Island of Great Britain* Vol. II (1801), opp. p. 164 (125 by 84 mm).
Copy of Buck.
Numerous subsequent copies were published.
- 3 (1761) Ink and water-colour by Francis Grose endorsed in ink on reverse 'A view of
Portchester Castle, Portsmouth, Gosport, and the Isle of Wight. Drawn from
Ports Down, March 30, 1761 NB It was not quite High Water' (272 by
188 mm).
The panorama shows the castle but too small to indicate significant detail.
(Portsmouth City Museum IP/1987/7).
- 4 (1760) Pen-and-wash sketch by Francis Grose endorsed 'from the Water 1760' (266
(Pl. VIIa) by 90 mm).
Simple sketch showing the entire south wall with the Water gate in the centre
and castle and church behind.
(Portsmouth City Museum IP/1987/3 (35b)).
- 5 (1760) Pen-and-water-colour by Francis Grose endorsed in ink on the back 'N.N.W.
(Pl. VIIb) View of Portchester Castle, Seven Miles from Portsmouth In Hampshire
April 15th 1760.' (268 by 98 mm).
View from the sea looking at the north wall with part of the west wall to the
Land gate visible. The illustration shows that many of the castle buildings,
including the Land gate, had steeply pitched roofs. A channel leads from the

- sea to the castle ditch. In the meadow north west of the keep is a two-storeyed building with a central door and a window on each side on the ground floor and three windows above. There are tall chimneys at each end (cf. 17 (1784)).
(Portsmouth City Museum IP/1987/2 (35a)).
- 6 (1760)
(Pl. VIII) Pen-and-wash drawing by Francis Grose endorsed 'North West View 1760' (216 by 143 mm).
Detailed view with keep in the foreground centre showing also Assheton's Tower and the Land gate. There is a considerable build up of soil around the base of the keep. A simple timber bridge is shown leading to the postern gate in the west wall while a guard and sentry box are evident outside the north wall. A timber structure, probably a latrine, is shown jettied out above the north wall. The north forebuilding and Land gate are both shown with steeply pitched roofs.
(Portsmouth City Museum IP/1987 (32a)).
- 7 (1760/1)
(Pl. IXa) Pen-and-wash drawing by Francis Grose endorsed in pencil on the back 'Portchester Castle Hants' (287 by 145 mm).
A view from inside the outer bailey looking towards the inner bailey with the keep in the centre background. The illustration shows the Land gate with pyramidal roof and the ranges of the inner bailey with steep-pitched roofs. A three- or four-storey building occupies the space between the Land gate and south-west corner tower built against the outer face of the inner bailey wall. Another long building lies against the main curtain wall immediately north of the Land gate: it is of at least two storeys with five dormers in its steeply pitched roof. A single-storey building with a chimney lies just outside the gate to the inner bailey. It is probably the guardhouse shown on Plan 1 (1756). Two other low buildings are shown against the inner bailey wall east of the gate and another low building seems to lie just inside the Land gate to the south of the road. In the foreground are fences flanking the road through the fort.
(Portsmouth City Museum IP/1987/4 (75)).
- 8 (1761)
(Pl. IXb) Pen, pencil-and-wash drawing by Francis Grose endorsed on reverse in ink 'The Inside of Portchester Castle, March 24th 1761' (411 by 165 mm).
A view from the centre of the fort looking along the rutted road to the Land gate with the castle buildings to the right. The road is flanked by fences, head height to a guard, with guard boxes at intervals along the northern fence. The buildings between the Land gate and the inner bailey wall are depicted in the same detail as in 7 (1760/1) but indicate more clearly the steep roofing of the south-east corner tower and the east range of the inner bailey. Lines of washing festoon the buildings and prisoners exercise in the compound north of the road. In the fenced enclosure south of the road a double gabled

building is shown. It appears to have been of one main storey with attics in the roof space. Another single-storey building, apparently plank-built, flanked the road further to the west close to the Land gate. Beyond it a lean-to building occupied part of the space against the fort wall between the Land gate and the first bastion to the south. The illustration is of particular value in the interpretation of the archaeological evidence discovered in the southern half of the enclosure.

(Portsmouth City Museum IP/1987/5 (31)).

- 8 (c. 1780) Engraving entitled 'An Inside View of Portchester Castle in Hampshire. Dedicated to the Officers of the Militia. Engraved from a drawing taken on the Spot by an Officer J. Peak Sculp.'
Based closely on 8 (1761) with figures added.
- 9 (1761) Pen-and-wash drawing by Francis Grose endorsed on the back in ink 'A view of Part of Portchester Castle March 30th 1761' (272 by 216 mm).
(Pl. Xa) View of the north-west corner of the castle from outside the north wall, opposite the postern gate looking westwards towards the keep showing, from left to right, the Roman bastion, Assheton's Tower, the north forebuilding and the keep. The north forebuilding is roofed with a pitched roof. Across the foreground is a timber bridge spanning the moat with a sentry box opposite the end against the fort wall. Mounds of accumulated soil are piled high against the keep and fort wall. In the distance, at the extreme right, is a building with a pitched roof.
(Portsmouth City Museum IP/1987/6 (73)).
- 9 (1772) Engraving entitled 'Portchester Castle, Hampshire May 1 1772 R Godfrey Sc'
(Pl. Xb) (153 by 102 mm).
Based closely on the original drawing 9 (1761). From F. Grose, *The Antiquities of England and Wales* Vol. 2 (1774). The text records 'This view, representing the outside of the keep, was drawn in the year 1761.'
One sentry stands on the bridge.
- 9 (1784) Engraving entitled 'Porchester Castle, Hants. Pub. 30th June 1784 by S. Hooper Sparrow Sc.' (153 by 102 mm).
Based closely on 9 (1761). From R. Warner, *Collections for the History of Hampshire* Vol. 1 (1795), pl. 7 opp. p. 88.
One soldier on guard, two standing on the bridge.
- 9 (c. 1770) Engraving (183 by 108 mm).
Based closely on 9 (1761).
One soldier on guard, one man standing on the bridge. Other minor differences distinguish it from 9 (1772) and 9 (1784).
- 10 (1761?) Original artwork, presumably by Francis Grose, unlocated.

- 10 (c. 1760)
(Pl. XI) Engraving entitled 'Porchester Castle in Hampshire. Published by Alex^r Hogg. N^o 16 Paternoster Road according to Act of Parl. Sparrow direxit' (171 by 116 mm). Presumably based on original artwork by Grose.
View of west wall of the castle from the keep at the north-west corner to the postern gate beside the modified Roman bastion. A timber bridge crosses the moat to a path which leads to the postern gate. The approach is guarded by a sentry standing near a sentry box.
- 11 (1761)
(Pl. XIIa) Pen-and-wash drawing by Francis Grose endorsed on the back in ink 'The North side of the Old Church in Portchester Castle March 30th 1761' (249 by 165 mm).
The Priory Church from the north looking south: roofed in tile with grave-stones in the foreground.
(Portsmouth City Museum IP/1987/10 (34)).
- 11 (1785)
(Pl. XIIb) Engraving entitled 'Portchester Church, Hants: Sparrow fe. Published 28th of July 1785 by S Hooper.' (153 by 107 mm).
Based closely on 11 (1761) with figure added. From F. Grose, *The Antiquities of England and Wales* Vol. 5. A note states 'This view was drawn anno 1761.' The identical engraving with same title was reprinted in R. Warner, *Collections for the History of Hampshire* Vol. 1 (1795), pl. 6 opp. p. 86.
- 12 (1761)
(Pl. XIIIa) Pen-and-wash drawing by Francis Grose endorsed on the back in ink 'Church in Portchester Castle 1761 Hants' (216 by 144 mm).
The Priory Church from the south west showing west front and south side with porch within a post-and-rail fence in the foreground.
(Portsmouth City Museum IP/1987/8 (33a)).
- 13 (1760/1)
(Pl. XIIIb) Pen and water-colour drawing by Francis Grose endorsed in ink on the back 'E View of the Church of Portchester Castle, Hampshire, March ye 19[]' (213 by 152 mm).
South side of the Priory Church showing porch. Some tombstones in the foreground.
(Portsmouth City Museum IP/1987/9 (33b)).
- 14 (1770s)
(Pl. XIV) Pen-and-water-colour, possibly by Francis Grose. Delicate drawing delineated in red/brown ink with multicoloured water-colour wash showing the castle drawn from within the middle of the inner bailey looking west. In double frame (192 by 302 mm).
(Hampshire County Library, Portsmouth: Local history collection).
The drawing is accurately copied in the print of 1783.
- 14 (1783) Print in red ink with wash over entitled 'Porchester Castle Hants Pub. April 1783(?) by Rich^d. Godfrey N^o 120 Long Acre.' (295 by 184 mm). NB The date 1783 is unclear and has been read 1733 but for internal reasons this is likely to be incorrect.

EXCAVATIONS AT PORTCHESTER CASTLE

- View from inside the inner bailey looking west with the keep to the right and the Richard II range to the left. Two figures in the foreground. The ground level is high coming up to the sills of the windows in the west range. The flanking wall of the external stairs leading to the first floor of the forebuilding is shown.
- 15 (1779) Original artwork, presumably by Francis Grose, unlocated.
- 15 (1781)
(Pl. XVa) Engraving entitled 'Inner Court of Porchester Castle N Aspect Godfrey Sc. Pub by Richard Godfrey, N^o 120 Long Acre April 1 1781' (223 by 150 mm). From F. Grose, *The Antiquarian Repertory* Vol. 4 (1784), opp. p. 75.
View of inner bailey looking south west showing the Richard II range with two figures to the left. The view is complementary to no. 14.
- 16 (c. 1779) Original artwork, presumably by Francis Grose, unlocated.
- 16 (1785)
(Pl. XVb) Engraving entitled 'Gate to Porchester Castle, Hants. Publish'd Oct^r. 25, 1785 by S Hooper. Engraved by J Newton' (202 by 128 mm). From F. Grose, *The Antiquities of England and Wales* Vol. 5. The same engraving retitled (wrongly) 'Gate to Portchester Priory, Hants' was published in R. Warner, *Collections for the History of Hampshire* Vol. 1 (1795), opp. p. 89.
General view looking through the gatehouse of the inner bailey. Two figures in the foreground, one in the distance.
- 17 (c. 1780) Original artwork by J. Orme unlocated.
- 17 (1784²)
(Pl. XVI) Engraving entitled 'Porchester Castle and Barracks, Hampshire J Orme del^t. C.J. Williams Sculp^t.' (146 by 100 mm).
View from outside the castle to the north looking south towards the keep and Assheton's Tower across barrack field showing two two-storeyed barracks and a pair of more substantial two-storeyed buildings with sash windows with a single-storeyed structure, possibly a wash house, in between. To the left foreground two sentries and a sentry box.
- 18 (1798?) Original artwork by W. Orme unlocated.
- 18 (1799)
(Pl. XVIIa) Engraving entitled 'Porchester Castle. From an original Transparent Drawing by W. Orme. Sold & Published May 1, 1799 by Edw^d. Orme. N^o. 59 New Bond Street, corner of Brook Street, London. The first Inventor of Transparent Paint. Where may be had a great Variety, and every requisite for drawing them.' (oval, max. 262 by 228 mm).
Inner bailey at night facing keep and forebuildings. The steps leading up in front of the forebuilding are evident with a sentry and sentry box on the wall walk. Man with lantern accompanied by a child in the foreground.
- 19 (1801) Engraving entitled 'View of the Saxon Keep and the Norman inner Court at

Portchester. A.C delt. J. Storer Sc' (191 by 149 mm). From E. King, *Munita Antiqua* Vol. 2 (1801), pl. XXI.

An inferior engraving of the north-west corner of the inner bailey probably copied very inaccurately from no. 14.

- 20 (c. 1790) (Pl. XVIIIa) Water-colour entitled 'Porchester Castle, Hants' by Edward Dayes (b. 1760 d. 1804) (206 by 132 mm).
View of the inner bailey gatehouse from the outer bailey looking north with the keep in the centre background. Two figures stand by the gate. No post medieval buildings are shown built against the inner bailey wall.
(British Museum. Department of Prints and Drawings: LB 2a 41011).
- 20 (1811) (Pl. XVIIIb) Print entitled 'Porchester Castle, Hampshire. Drawn by E. Dayes. Published July 13 1811 by W^m. Clarke New Bond Street. Etch'd by Lambert' (197 by 146 mm).
View as above but with south-east tower of inner bailey in addition.
- 21 (c. 1790) Original drawing by E. Dayes (presumably Edward Dayes b. 1760 d. 1804) not located.
- 21 (1797) (Pl. XIXa) Engraving entitled 'Portchester Castle, Hampshire. E. Dayes del. J Aitken fecit. London Published April 3 1797 by Darting and Thompson [illegible]' (247 by 167 mm).
Keep of Portchester from outside looking south west showing soil mounded up against the walls and trees and bushes in the foreground.
NB. The same print also exists endorsed 'Sold by R. Martin, Book & Print Sellers, Great Queen Street, Lincolns Inn Fields' in place of 'Darting and Thompson' etc.
- 21 (1805) Engraving entitled 'Porchester Castle. Engraved by S. Noble from a drawing by F Nicholson for the Beauties of England and Wales London; Published by Vernor & Hood, Poultry Dec.1.1805' (148 by 98 mm).
Based closely on 21 (1797) but with exaggerated perspective and less accurate details. Presumably F Nicholson, claimed as originator of the 1805 print copied the 1797 print.
- 22 (c. 1790) Original drawing by E. Dayes (presumably Edward Dayes b. 1760 d. 1804) not located.
- 22 (1811) (Pl. XIXb) Engraving entitled 'Porchester Castle, Hampshire. Drawn by E Dayes. Published July 13, 1811 by W^m. Clarke, New Bond Street. Etch'd by Lambert' (198 by 147 mm).
A view of the Land gate from outside the fort showing the approach road, fenced, and much vegetation. There are no guardhouses and the gatehouse appears to be unroofed. The engraver has misunderstood the artist's impression of the relationship of the bastion, curtain wall and gatehouse.

- 23 (c. 1790) Original artwork not located.
- 23 (1791) Engraving entitled 'View of Portchester Castle. Morris sculp^t. London (Pl. XVII**b**) Published Janu^y. 1st 1791, by C Forster N^o. 41 Poultry' (oval 204 by 128 mm). From *Literary Magazine & British Review*.
View of keep, Assheton's Tower and the north wall from the north with a beached ship in the foreground and harbour in the left background.
- 23 (c. 1800) Engraving, entitled 'Porchester Castle Hampshire. Eastgate sculp', undated. View as above but even more stylized.
- 24 (1813) Water-colour. Entitled below 'Portchester Castle – general view from below – Sept 1813'. By Captain Durrant: 1813 (156 by 260 mm).
General view of the castle from the sea to the south looking north with Portsdown Hill in the background.
Hampshire County Museum Service: FA 1990.23/111.
- 25 (1813) Water-colour. Entitled below 'Portchester Castle from Above'. By Captain Durrant: 1813? (180 by 360 mm).
General view of the castle from the edge of Portsdown Hill.
Hampshire County Museum Service: FA 1990.23/112.
- 26 (1813) Water-colour. Entitled below 'Portchester Castle from Horsea Island. Sept 1813'. By Captain Durrant: 1813 (333 by 143 mm).
General view of Portchester Castle from the sea to the north east showing the military buildings outside the north wall of the fort and ships to the south.
Hampshire County Museum Service: FA 1990.23/113.
- 27 (1813) Water-colour. Entitled below 'Portchester Castle, from the water. S.E view'. By Captain Durrant: 1813? (295 by 144 mm).
General view of Portchester Castle from the sea to the south showing the east wall of the fort with the Water gate roofed. Within are shown the roofs of the barrack blocks occupying the north side of the outer bailey.
Hampshire County Museum Service: FA 1990.23/115.
- 28 (1813) Water-colour. Entitled below 'Portchester Castle and Barracks. Sept 1813'. (Pl. XX**a**)
By Captain Durrant: 1813 (334 by 170 mm).
View of the castle from the sea shore to the north east looking south towards the north wall of the fort. In the foreground is Barrack Field enclosed with a low post and rail fence within which is the powder house. Beyond, between Barrack Field and the fort wall are three large multistoreyed barrack blocks, two with stairs at the ends leading to balconies running the length of the ranges. A number of smaller one- and two-storeyed buildings are also shown. The detail enlivens Plan 5 (Pl. IV).
Hampshire County Museum Service: FA 1990.23/114.

- 29 (1813)
(Pl. XXb) Water-colour. Entitled below 'Towers. Portchester Castle from the Barracks outside the Walls. Oct 1813'. By Captain Durrant: 1813 (217 by 143 mm). View of Assheton's Tower and the keep from just outside the north wall, showing the bridge across the moat and a clapper board building nearby. Other buildings of the barrack complex are to be seen in the distance. Compare with Pl. Xa.
Hampshire County Museum Service: FA 1990.23/117.
- 30 (1813)
(Pl. XXIa) Water-colour. Entitled below 'Great Tower, Portchester from B^k Yard. Oct 1813'. By Captain Durrant: 1813 (215 by 145 mm). View looking towards the keep from outside the fort north west of the Land gate. The mound of soil and rubble around the base of the keep is reached by a path, partially fenced. To the right, a group of one-storeyed buildings are shown built against the north wall of the fort. Above, the wall walk is provided with a hand rail. To the left of the keep are two two-storeyed buildings and a smaller cook house(?) of the barrack complex. These are shown on the plan of 1815 (Plan 5, Pl. IV).
Hampshire County Museum Service: FA 1990.23/116.
- 31 (1813)
(Pl. XXIb) Water-colour. Entitled below 'Landport exterior view – Portchester. Oct 1813'. By Captain Durrant: 1813 (215 by 292 mm). View of the Land gate from outside the fort. There are two guard houses, both single-storeyed. That to the right was demolished soon after 1815. The guard house to the left, with a fronting verandah, survived until 1965 when it was demolished by the Ministry of Works. Post and rail fences enclose the fields on either side of the road.
Hampshire County Museum Service: FA 1990.23/G.
- 32 (1813)
(Pl. XXIIa) Water-colour. Entitled below 'Land Port Portchester Castle Interior view Nov 1813'. By Captain Durrant: 1813 (171 by 220 mm). Detailed view of the Land gate from inside the fort showing two brick-built structures attached to the gate on either side of the arch. To the left (i.e. south of the gate) are shown the brick buildings belonging to the hospital complex.
Hampshire County Museum Service: FA 1990.23/H.
- 33 (1813)
(Pl. XXIIb) Water-colour. Entitled below 'The Prison Market, Portchester Castle October 1813'. By Captain Durrant: 1813 (212 by 142 mm). From the road inside the outer bailey of the fort looking towards the inner bailey with the keep in the distance to the left. The road is bounded by a high post and rail fence roughly 3 m high upon which sheets have been spread to dry. Beyond the fence the prisoners can be seen and beyond them, to the right, the roof of one of the prison accommodation blocks. A soldier stands guard in the road.
Hampshire County Museum Service: FA 1990.23/120.

- 34 (1813)
(Pl. XXIIIa) Water-colour. Entitled below 'Small tower and Court Portchester Castle'. By Captain Durrant: 1813? (224 by 171 mm).
From inside the inner bailey looking towards Assheton's Tower. The high post and rail fence dividing the inner bailey dominates the scene. It is draped with sheets drying and a small door is shown in the centre. In the foreground, outside the fence, is a sentry box with one guard and two other figures nearby. The wall walk of the north wall of the fort is protected with a hand rail. Assheton's Tower sports a flag-pole.
Hampshire County Museum Service: FA 1990.23/119.
- 35 (1813) Water-colour. Entitled below 'Small tower, Court – Portchester Castle'. By Captain Durrant: 1813? (248 by 167 mm).
Similar view to no. 31.
Hampshire County Museum Service: FA 1990.23/I.
- 36 (1813)
(Pl. XXIIIb) Water-colour. Entitled below 'Great Tower and Prison Portchester Castle Oct 1813'. By Captain Durrant: 1813 (292 by 204 mm).
From inside the inner bailey looking towards the keep, showing the fence which divided the inner bailey running to the south-east corner of the north west range. Another fence runs from this point diagonally to the northern buttress on the east range. The forebuilding and east range are ruinous and without roofs but the north west range is roofed and the first-floor windows are blocked. This building served as a prison or 'black hole'. In the southern part of the courtyard there is a sentry box and another small building, perhaps a storage shed, close to the wall of the south west range against the porch. A guard and three other figures occupy the courtyard.
Hampshire County Museum Service: FA 1990.23/118.
- 37 (1813) Water-colour. Entitled below 'Portchester Church within the Church Yard at the time a prison for French in the Castle Nov 1813.' By Captain Durrant (292 by 200 mm).
View of the church and churchyard from the north west. The only sign of the military occupation is a sentry box and guard to the extreme left.
Hampshire County Museum Service. FA 1990.23/121.
- 38 (c. 1815) Original artwork not located.
- 38 (1817)
(Pl. XXIV) Engraving entitled (incorrectly) 'The Chapel at Porchester Castle, Hants Engraved by J. Greig from a Drawing by L. Francis for the Antiquarian Itinerary. Published for the proprietors Sep^r. 1817 by W. Clarke New Bond Str' (75 by 62 mm). From the *Antiquarian Itinerary*.
View of inner bailey looking towards the porch of the Richard II hall with barrels heaped in the corner.

39 (1817)
(Pl. XXV)

Painting entitled 'A Birds Eye View of Portchester Castle Nov^r. 1817 (438 by 272 mm).

Naive painting lacking perspective but full of interesting detail. Shows fenced airing yard, the inner bailey, the prison buildings to the south of the inner bailey and the northern exercise yard with only one barrack block remaining. This is an important source for the last years of the military use of the castle. (Portsmouth City Museum 350/1980).

III. THE STRUCTURAL SEQUENCE: ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The excavations of 1961–1979 uncovered a range of evidence relevant to the occupation of the castle from the early seventeenth century until its abandonment by the military authorities in 1819. The details are presented here in the following order.

Outer bailey

- Area south of the Land gate
- Main area excavations in the southern part of the enclosure
- The Water gate
- Trial trenches by the churchyard gate
- The wall of the outer bailey

Inner bailey

- The north west range
- The west range
- The south western inner chamber
- The hall of Richard II
- The kitchen of the Richard II palace
- The south east range
- The east range
- Assheton's tower
- The north range
- The keep and the forebuildings
- The courtyard
- Summary of the development of the inner bailey

Barrack Field

- Excavation for the lavatory block

Details of structures

We have, of necessity, been selective. All structural data and all individual features have been presented but repetitive descriptions of the layers which blanket the outer bailey have been omitted from the published account. A complete listing is available in the site archive.

From the copious documentary sources available it is possible to construct a finely textured history of military activity at Portchester which falls naturally into five major periods each with subphases (above, p.6). This scheme, supported by the cartographic and topographic sources, provides the framework within which the archaeological and structural evidence can most effectively be discussed.

No attempt has been made in this volume to reproduce all the drawn archaeological sections, published in previous volumes, which show post medieval features. Instead reference has been given to the earlier publications.

THE OUTER BAILEY (Fig. 1)

Excavations in the outer bailey were largely restricted to the south-west quadrant of the Roman enclosure where two large area excavations were undertaken. The first took place in

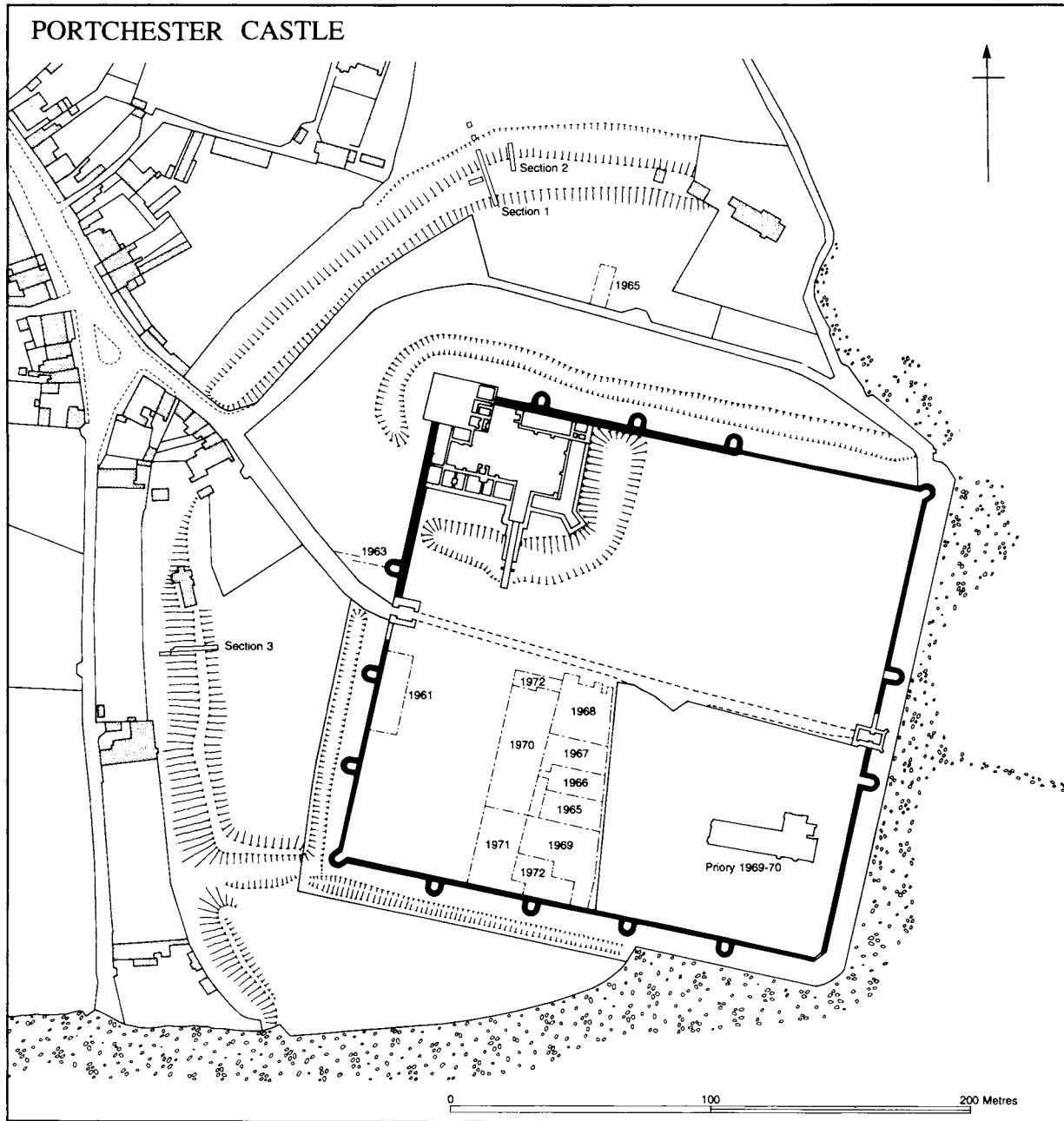


FIG. 1 General plan of the castle.

1961 and was sited against the west wall of the fort south of the Land gate: it was later extended to the south wall of the Land gate in 1962 and 1969. Later, from 1964–1972, a much larger area was excavated in a strip extending from the main east–west road to the south wall of the fort immediately to the west of the west wall of the churchyard. Trial trenches at the west gate and near the churchyard gate in the centre of the fort revealed some details of post medieval features.

The area south of the Land Gate (1961, 1962 and 1969) (Fig. 2)

In 1961 a plan was drawn up for a new block of public lavatories to be built against the west wall of the fort immediately south of the Land gate. In advance of this proposed work a rescue excavation was carried out in order to strip the area, 30 by 100 ft (9.1 by 30.5 m), designated for the building. The site was divided into five trenches (numbered 1–5) with 2 ft (0.6 m) baulks between which were eventually removed. Further exploratory work took place in 1962 and later, in 1969, the area between the north end of the excavation and the south face of the Land gate was examined. Fortunately, for the visual integrity of the castle, it was eventually decided to locate the new lavatory outside the walls.

The excavation revealed a number of post medieval features including the remains of the prison hospital. Several distinct phases can be recognized which may be interpreted in terms of the scheme set out above (p. 6).

Period 1 (1609–1740)

In period 1 the area appears to have been open ground. No structural activity was recorded.

Period 2 (1740–1794)

To this period can be assigned six pits (pits 1, 5, 10, 15, 21 and 25) varying in size but, with the exception of pits 10 and 25 all rectangular. They were cut down through the Roman and medieval soil accumulations and to the natural clay. For the most part the fillings were of grey soil incorporating brick and tile and tips of redeposited natural clay. It is most likely that they served as cesspits during the time when the fort was used as a prison camp in the middle of the eighteenth century and were refilled deliberately with any material to hand when the castle was cleared in or soon after 1763. Thereafter the site remained open for thirty years.

Period 3 (1794–1810)

In 1794 the castle was fitted out to accommodate a new influx of prisoners. The camp remained in active use until 1802 when it was converted to an ordnance store. To this phase may be assigned a building (building 1), which is shown on the schematic plan of 1802 (Pl. II) and also on the more detailed plans of 1815 (Pls. III and IV), and a brick-built drain (F83).

Building 1 was represented by its wall trenches which averaged 2 ft (0.6 m) wide and up to 1 ft (0.3 m) deep. They had evidently been dug to take brick-built foundations which had subsequently been robbed leaving only loose mortar, brick rubble and broken tiles. The presence of small pieces of plaster painted ochre and blue on one side and with lath marks on

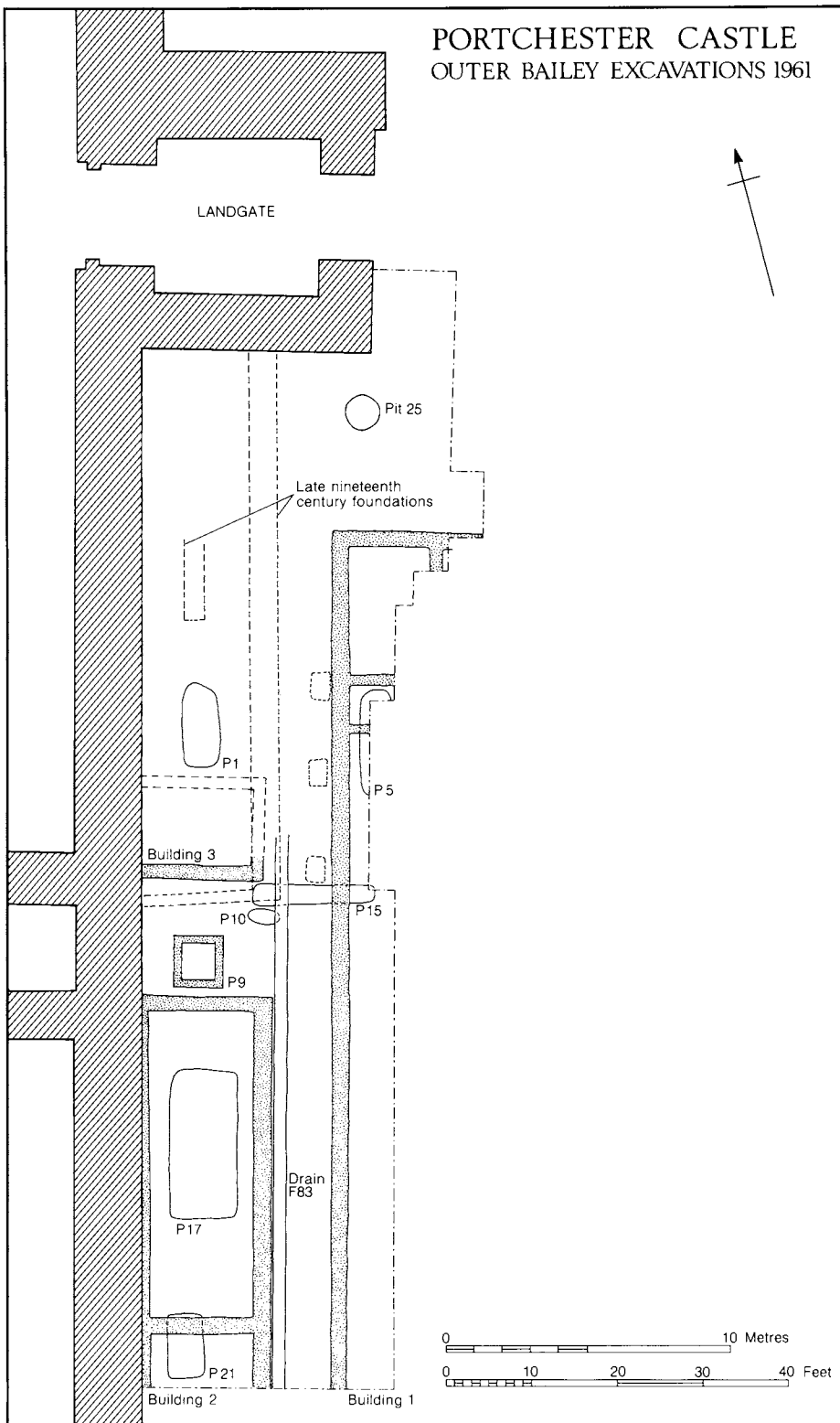


FIG. 2 Outer bailey excavations 1961.

the other gives some indication of the style of the internal partitions. The western wall was traced throughout the length of the excavation to its north-west corner. Three internal partitions were seen at the north end.

This building is one of three similar structures shown on the plans of 1802 and 1815; from the latter its size can be estimated as *c.* 110 by 23 ft (33.5 by 7 m). Its function is unrecorded but it may have served as a barrack or hospital accommodation. During the period 1802–1810 it may have been used to store ordnance but by 1815 it was definitely part of the hospital.

Parallel to the west side of the building was a brick-built drain (F83), circular in cross section, some 2 ft (0.6 m) in external diameter (Pl. XXVI*b*). It was constructed of bricks laid with long edges outwards in a foundation trench which had been backfilled flush with the contemporary surface.

Period 4 (1810–1815)

Building 1 was still standing when the prison camp was recommissioned in 1810 and remained in use throughout the five years of its existence (Pl. XXII*a*). It was during this time, probably in 1810, that a new range of buildings was constructed against the fort wall to the west of the barrack leaving a passage 7 ft (2 m) wide between.

The two new buildings (buildings 2 and 3) are both represented by foundation trenches *c.* 2 ft (0.6 m) wide up to 1 ft (0.3 m) deep which originally took brickwork, subsequently robbed leaving only building debris (Pl. XXVI*b*). The foundation trench for the east wall of building 2 could be shown to have cut through the foundation trench for the brick sewer thus confirming its later date. The lowest courses of the brickwork of the west wall survived in places built hard against the curtain wall.

The two buildings are shown in detail on the plan of 1815 (redrawn as Fig. 41) and building 3 appears on the water-colour drawing of 1813 (Pl. XXII*a*). Building 3 was a small square structure while building 2 was a long range some 165 ft (50 m) in length overall. One of the cross walls, shown on the 1815 plans lay within the excavated area. The more detailed of the 1815 plans (Pl. IV) identifies the larger (northern) room as a wash house while the smaller room next to it was designated a 'foul liner store'. The rest of the range was offices for the surgeon. The plan also incorporates an elevation of this structure showing it to be of one storey copiously supplied with doors and windows.

Between buildings 2 and 3 was an open space occupied by a brick-lined cesspit (pit 9) built against the back face of the Roman fort wall (Pl. XXVI*a*). It was rectangular, measuring 6 ft 6 in by 5 ft 6 in (2.0 by 1.7 m) externally and was dug to a depth of 3 ft 9 in (1.14 m) below the contemporary surface: 15 courses of the brick lining remained. The walls were one brick length thick and were laid without following a regular bonding pattern. The pit was filled with brown soil mixed with brick fragments and domestic rubbish. The plans of 1815, though lacking in detail, suggest that the cesspit was protected by some kind of structure.

The passageway between the original barrack block and buildings 2 and 3 was gravelled with up to a foot (0.3 m) of shingle.

Period 5 (1815–1819)

In the summer of 1815 when the camp was converted to house British deserters many of

PORTCHESTER CASTLE
 AREA EXCAVATION 1964-1978
 POST MEDIEVAL FEATURES

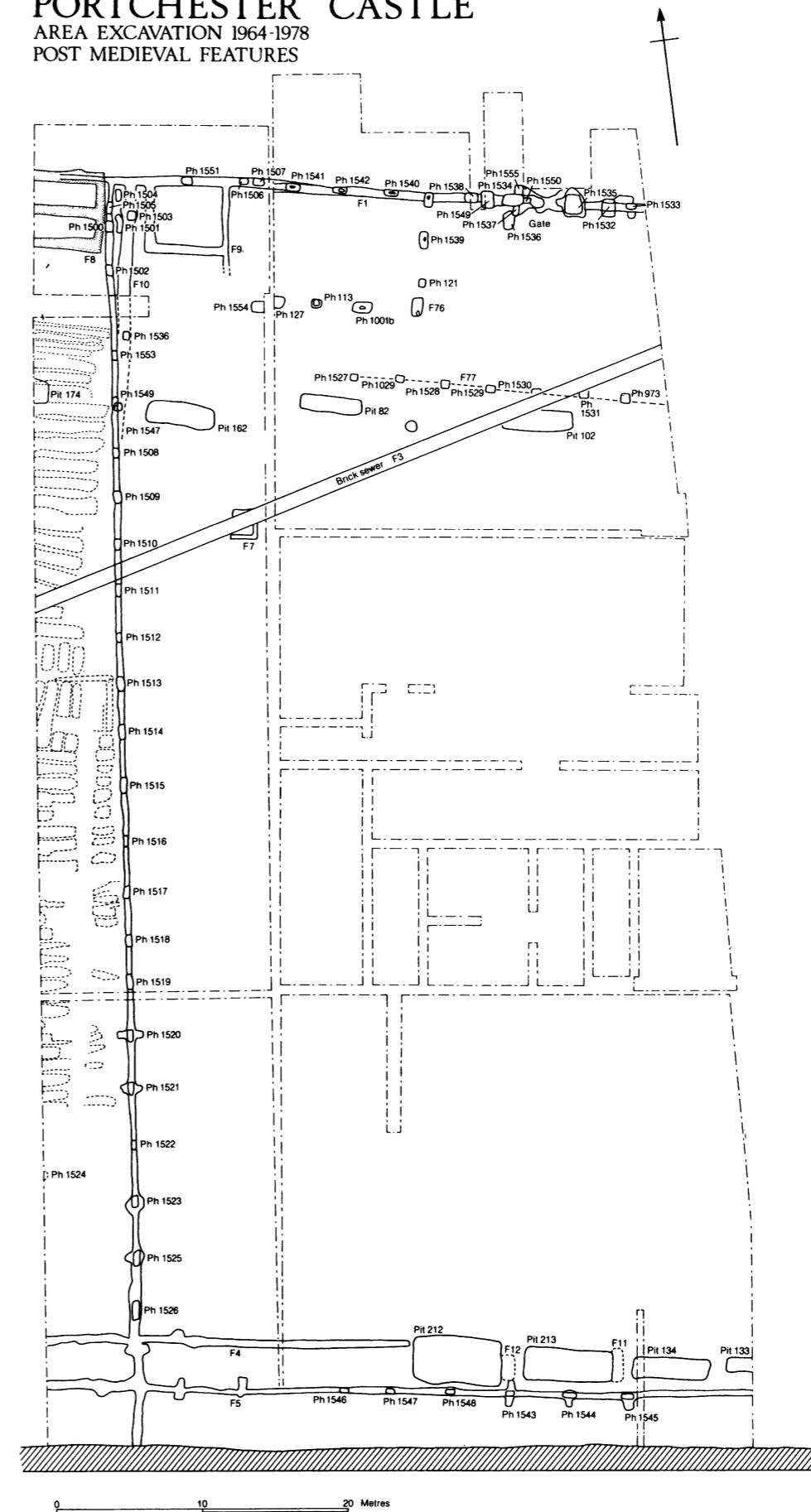


FIG. 3 Area excavation 1964-1978. Post medieval features.

the buildings at Portchester were dismantled and the materials carted off to Fareham for sale. The robbing of the buildings may have taken place at this time. Layers of ash and charcoal found in buildings 1 and 2 probably represent the burning of rubbish during this period of clearance. Pit 17 measuring 17 ft 6 in by 8 ft (4.9 by 2.4 m), which may have been dug at this time, was filled with gravel, clay and mortar rubble.

The later nineteenth century

In the post Napoleonic phase, probably dating to the latter part of the nineteenth century a brick building was erected against the curtain wall destroying part of the wall trench of building 3 and cutting down into the drain. Three rubble and concrete bases in front of it are probably of the same date. The building was still standing in 1930 by which time it had become a pig sty. It was planned in detail by the Office of Works before its partial demolition and conversion of one end to a public lavatory, eventually removed in 1965.

The main area excavations (1964–1972) (Figs. 3, 4 and 42)

Between 1964 and 1972 an area of some 40,600 sq ft (3772 sq m) was stripped by hand in the south-west quadrant of the fort between the main east-west road and the south curtain wall. The eastern limit of the area was marked by the west wall of the present churchyard. In total more than half of the south-west quarter of the walled enclosure was examined.

A general plan of the layout of the trenches and the positions of the published sections is given in Volume I (Cunliffe 1975, fig. 219) and is reprinted here (Fig. 42). The section drawings, showing features and layers of all dates, including post medieval, are to be found in the same volume as figs. 210–216.

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries while the fort was being used as a prison camp, the area served as an exercise yard but a number of associated features were discovered. Evidence of the five separate periods of use outlined above (p.6) have been recognized.

Period 1 (1609–1740)

From the 1520s to the early years of the seventeenth century much of the area was occupied by a masonry-built store house, described in detail in Volume III (Cunliffe 1977, 42–4). The building was demolished just before 1609 resulting in a general spread of building rubble. Thereafter a layer of grey stony soil of varying thickness accumulated, though there is some evidence of the deliberate tipping of soil to make up the ground in trench 96. Overall the soil varied from 6 in to 1 ft 4 in (0.15–0.4 m) in thickness. Chronologically the soil development took place between 1609 and the middle of the eighteenth century when the first structures of period 2 were imposed on the site but soil continued to develop during the latter part of the eighteenth century and was no doubt continually churned up by the trample of feet in wet weather until the area was finally gravelled in 1810.

Period 2 (1740–1794)

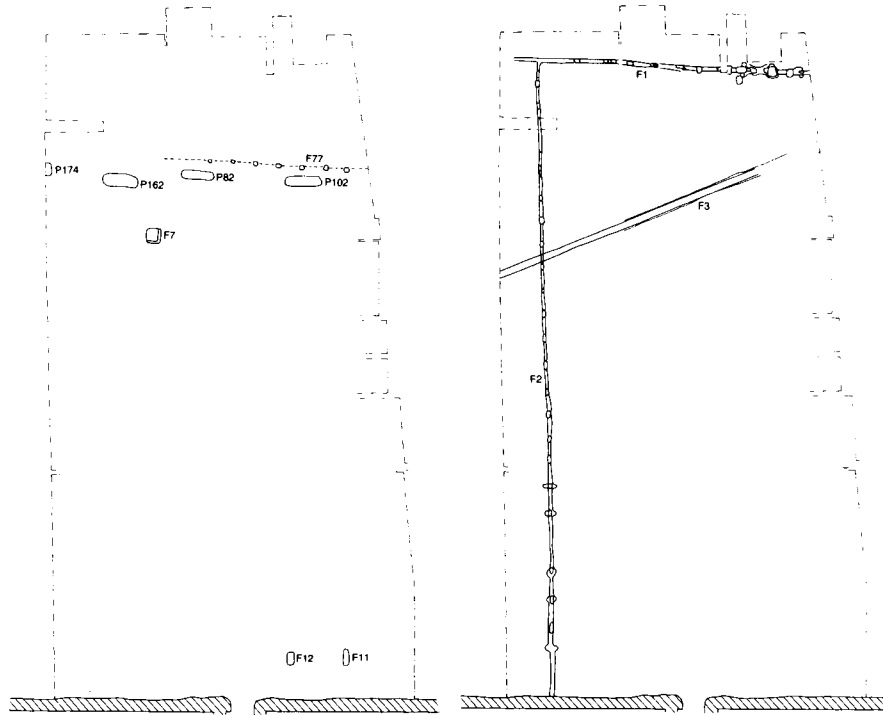
The structures which can be assigned to the second phase include a line of four rectangular

EXCAVATIONS AT PORTCHESTER CASTLE

PORTCHESTER CASTLE

PERIOD 2 1740-1763

PERIOD 3 1794-1810



PERIOD 4 1810-1815

PERIOD 5 1815-1819

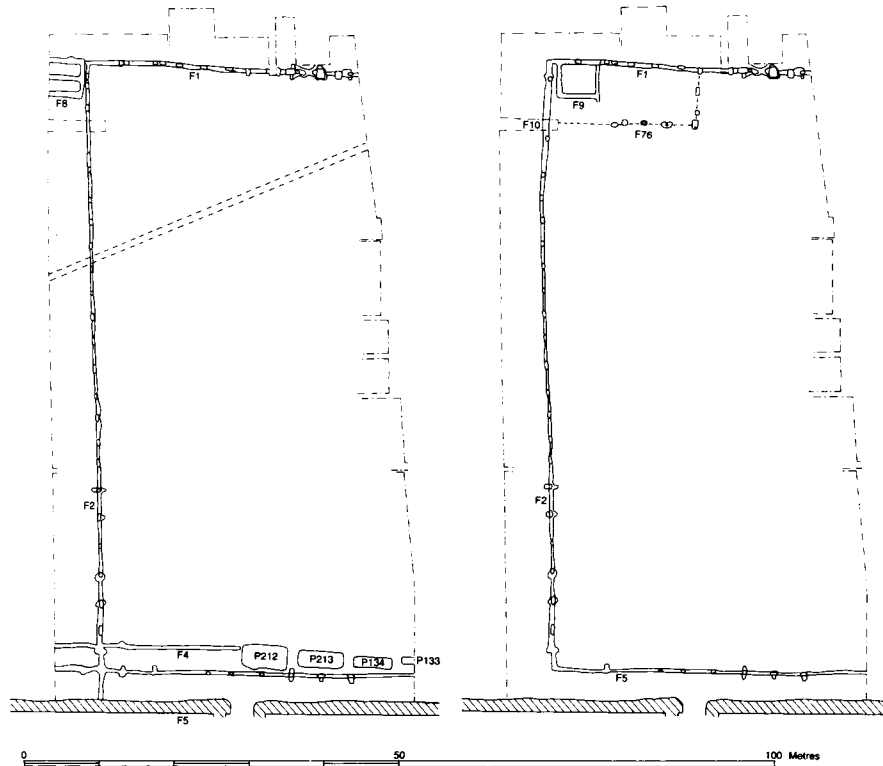


FIG. 4 Phase plans showing the development of the airing yard.

pits (pits 82, 102, 162 and 174), a fence (F77) nearby and two grave pits (F11 and 12) dug close to the curtain wall.

The cesspits, as will be apparent from the plan and the detailed descriptions given below (pp. 53–9) varied in size but averaged about 15 ft (4.6 m) by 5 ft (1.5 m) and were cut to depths of from 3 to 6 ft (1–2 m) below the contemporary surface. The fillings consisted largely of grey clayey soil incorporating bricks, tiles, flints and occupation debris. All evidence points to them having been cleared out periodically during use and then filled with material to hand in a single operation. Pit 82 produced a halfpenny of George II (1738).

Parallel with the pit alignment, immediately to the north of it, the post-holes of a fence (F77) were located. In all, seven holes were recognizably part of the structure. They were all rectangular, averaging 1 ft 6 in to 2 ft (0.45–0.64 m) across and were dug to *c.* 3 ft (1 m) below the contemporary surface. The individual timbers were spaced at intervals of *c.* 8 ft (2.4 m). There is a strong possibility that the line continued further westwards but the posts were not recognized where they were cut through disturbed soil and did not penetrate natural gravel.

The graves (Pl. XXIX) lay to the south close to the back of the curtain wall. Both grave pits had been partially cut away by two large cesspits (pits 212 and 213) and may therefore be only the surviving parts of a more extensive row of burials. F11 measured 7 ft by 3 ft (2.1 by 0.9 m) and contained three complete skeletons and the skull and upper arm of a fourth (Pl. XXIX*a*). One of the bodies had been buried with a rosary (Pl. XXIX*b*). The grave was filled with grey soil. The second grave pit, F12, was 5 ft 5 in (1.65 m) by in excess of 5 ft 2 in (1.55 m). It contained a single complete skeleton. The grave was filled with grey soil and some redeposited natural clay.

The only other feature which can tentatively be assigned to phase 2 is a rectangular cesspit, F7, which was constructed in the angle of the wall and buttress of the sixteenth century store building. This required only two of its sides to be brick-built. Originally the pit would have measured 4 ft (1.2 m) square internally with walls one brick length thick. Nine courses survived. The pit was partially destroyed by the later brick sewer, F3 (Pl. XXVII*a*).

The dating evidence for the features assigned here to period 2 is not particularly precise but associated finds are of the middle and later years of the eighteenth century. Stratigraphically the row of pits and the fence pre-date the sewer pipe and probably also the western fenced boundary to the airing yard of period 4 for which a date of 1794 is argued below. The grave pits pre-date cesspits which are probably broadly contemporary with the layout of the airing yard.

The best indication of date is provided by a small water-colour sketch by Francis Grose of the interior dated 1761 (Cat. No. 8; Pl. IX*b*) whence the print by J. Peak was derived. The sketch shows a very wide rutted road running through the fort to the Land gate. On the south side of the road is a fence of close set timbers with a double gabled building within. The building might be judged to lie just beyond the western limit of excavation but the fence is evidently that represented by the post-holes of F77. Some indication of the structure of the fence can be gleaned from that shown in more detail in the same water-colour lying to the north of the road. It was constructed of a series of widely spaced

uprights, some braced, with two horizontal rails between, one close to ground level the other at the top. To the rails are attached close spaced vertical timbers with pointed tops. To judge by the height of the sentry the serrated top would be at about 5 ft (1.5 m) from the ground. One final detail is worth noting: the very wide road between the fences is shown deeply rutted. The excavation showed that the entire area north of fence F77 was scored with wheel ruts, those closest to the fence line running exactly parallel with it. It is a nice confirmation of contemporaneity.

The features of period 2 are likely therefore to pre-date 1761. Some elements probably date to the time of the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1749). The creation of a fenced yard in the outer bailey to provide an ‘airing place’ for the prisoners was ordered in January 1745. The detailed specification stated ‘the fence to be with two rails to each pannell, each pannell to be ten feet in length and five feet six inches high from the ground to the top. The posts to be cut out of whole Deals and planed to be 4 inches wide each and 3 inches space between each to be pointed sharp on top, with lantern Hooks on each top, to be well nailed and done in a substantial workman like manner for the sum of £58.15.6.’ (PRO ADM/98/2, 199). The total length of the fence was 580 ft (176 m). The details would fit well with fence F77. If so the structure, erected in January 1745, served for more than 15 years. The cesspits within the enclosure would have been maintained during this period to provide for the prisoners’ everyday needs.

Period 3 (1794–1810)

In period 3 the exercise ground or ‘airing yard’ as it came to be known was modified and refenced. Of the new arrangement the entire western side and part of the north side lay within the excavated area while in the north-west corner of the yard a small building was later constructed, separated from the airing yard by a fence. Outside the western boundary fence the land was cultivated. A sewer was constructed across the area.

The palisade fences were encountered on the north (F1), west (F2), and south (F4 and F5) sides of the airing yard (Pl. XXVIII*a* and *b*). They were represented by continuous trenches 1 ft (0.3 m) wide and up to 3 ft (1 m) deep. At intervals of about 10 ft (3 m) a rectangular hole had been dug deeper to take a vertical timber. Where evidence survives this was usually a halved trunk 9 in (0.23 m) in diameter. Shallow trenches, not always surviving, were dug at right angles to these posts, presumably to take diagonal bracing timbers. In structural terms, therefore, the palisade consisted of widely spaced main posts, very probably with two or more horizontal rails between them to which were attached close spaced vertical timbers, their bases bedded in the continuous trench. This is very much of the style of the fence depicted in the 1761 sketch and that shown to the north of the road on the water-colour of 1813 (Pl. XXII*b*).

The north side of the enclosure presents a complex picture suggestive of several alterations and rebuildings but the details cannot easily be sorted out because of the shallowness of the stratigraphy. The simplest explanation would be to assume that in period 3 the fence (F1) was originally continuous and joined by the west fence (F2) at right angles. The complex of post-holes on the northern fence line towards the eastern limit of the excavation and the exceptional size of some of them, is indicative of a gate reconstructed on at least one occasion.

The western fence (F2) led straight to the fort wall and was crossed by two fence lines, F4 and F5. There is no stratigraphical evidence of the exact chronological relationship of the various elements but the schematic plan of 1802 shows the west fence running right up to the wall with no southern fence(s) present. It is likely therefore that they and the associated cesspits belong to the arrangements introduced in 1810 and will therefore be considered below.

One further feature belonging to period 3 is the brick-built sewer (F3) which ran diagonally across the site draining from the vicinity of the buildings constructed against the west wall of the fort (Pl. XXVIIa and b). It cut through the fence and cesspits of period 2 but its construction pre-dated the digging of the cultivation trenches dug west of the main west fence.

The sewer was brick-built, circular in cross section with an external diameter of 3 ft 5 in (1.6 m). It was set in a trench dug down into the natural clay. In those places where it had been broken into the filling of brown crumbly soil was exposed, producing animal bones, clay pipes, bronze buckles and buttons of metal and bone.

The airing yard itself was unsurfaced at this stage and in consequence the ground surface would have been churned by the feet of prisoners in wet weather. The only stratigraphical evidence of occupation of this period was a patch of *in situ* burning in trench 73 (layer 8) represented by a layer of ash and charcoal mixed with some fragments of stone and mortar.

The area to the west of the western fence was evidently cultivated during period 3. The method used to bring what must have been a rank pasture into cultivation was to dig, and refill, a series of parallel trenches averaging 2–3 ft (0.6–0.9 m) wide and up to c. 1 ft 6 in (0.45 m) deep – a technique known to gardeners as ‘double digging’. The procedure not only broke and turned the soil but also allowed lime mortar, collected from the exposed core of the Roman wall to be dug in to counteract the acidity (Pl. XXVIIIa). After this initial phase of preparation, regular more shallow digging continued to disturb the soil but only to a spade’s depth. The discontinuity seen in the lines of the trenches on the plan (Fig. 3) represents the line of the footing of the sixteenth century store house which no attempt was made to breach.

The structures of period 3 belong stratigraphically to the period between those of period 2, which are best assigned to the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1749) and the Seven Years War (1756–1763), and period 4 which begins in 1810. In all probability therefore, they represent the fitting out of the castle in 1794 to provide accommodation for prisoners taken during the French Revolutionary Wars.

Period 4 (1810–1815)

The fourth phase is marked by the metalling of the airing yard with a thick deposit of beach gravel. The instructions to undertake the work were given in a letter from the Transport Office, dated 1 February 1810, to the Agent Captain Paterson. He was ordered to purchase 1000 tons of gravel to metal the yard in anticipation of an influx of new prisoners (PRO ADM 98/252). The area to be metalled was carefully levelled with tips of soil and chalk in preparation and the gravel spread to a thickness varying from 1–12 in (0.03–0.3 m). Beyond the northern palisade the gravel was laid to form a wide cambered path. West of the

western fence the gravel spread was thinner and discontinuous. The water-worn shingle did not bind particularly well and would have presented a somewhat fluid surface which could be scuffed by feet. It is hardly surprising therefore that many small objects, particularly buckles and buttons, became incorporated in it.

For the most part the fences of the previous period remained in use. It was probably at this stage that the southern fences (F4 and F5) were constructed. Fence F5 was evidently designed to keep the prisoners clear of the fort wall to prevent them from availing themselves of the easy footholds offered by the exposed masonry core. Fence F4, some 10 ft (3 m) to the north of the southernmost fence, may have been intended to provide an additional hindrance to escape: it ended on line with a battery of cesspits backed up against fence F5.

The four large cesspits (pits 133, 134, 212, 213) which lay within the excavated area were all rectangular, averaging between 17 ft and 19 ft (5.2 and 5.8 m) long but varying in width from 4 ft 9 in to 11 ft (1.5–3.4 m) (Pl. XXVIII*b*). The depths of three were about 4 ft (1.22 m) below the contemporary surface but the fourth was significantly deeper at 5 ft 7 in (1.7 m). For the most part the fillings were of grey soil containing tips of chalk, mortar rubble, flints and bricks all thrown in when the pits had ceased to serve their function and were abandoned at the time when the site was being cleared probably in 1815.

Just outside the north-west corner of the yard, flanking the road, a small brick building, F8, was discovered. It was represented by four robber trenches which had once held the footings of brick-built walls. There is some evidence to suggest that the building was erected just before the gravel metalling was laid since in one place the metalling seals what appears to have been the foundation trench filling. The building was still standing in 1815 when it appears on the contemporary plans which also show the fenced airing yard in its final form with its southern boundary in position. On the more detailed plan it is identified as offices for the agent and a lodge for the turnkey. It is shown as a single storeyed structure with two chimney stacks.

Period 5 (1815–1819)

The situation in the final period is well illustrated in the painting of 1817 (Cat. No. 23; Pl. XXV) which shows the fence of the airing yard still in position. Building F8 had by now been demolished to be replaced by a new building constructed in a fenced enclosure carved out of the north-west corner of the original airing yard. The posts of the fence were found (F76) defining an area 24 ft 6 in by 32 ft (7.47 by 9.75 m) and it was probably at this time that the northern length of the west fence was reconstructed (F10) taking a somewhat divergent line.

Within the enclosure traces of the building shown on the 1817 drawing were found represented now by three slots averaging 1–2 ft (0.3–0.6 m) wide and dug to a depth of 1 ft 6 in (0.45 m) below the contemporary surface. All three were filled with soil containing mortar and brick rubble (109 layers 52, 57 and 62) suggesting that they had once supported walls of brick. The function of this building is unclear but it could have served as a guardhouse.

The Water Gate (Fig. 5)

The excavation of the Water gate in 1962 and 1963 brought to light two post medieval pits: pit 32 was 7 ft 6 in (2.3 m) wide at the top and of undefined length or depth since it extended beyond the excavation and was not excavated to the bottom. It was filled with grey clayey soil. Pit 27 was a brick-lined cesspit cut close to the back face of the wall. It was only partially examined and contained a fill composed of loose bricks and chalk.

Pit 32 is likely to pre-date the installations of 1794 since a fence line, shown on the 1802 and 1815 plans, would have run across the top of it. Pit 27 may well belong to the 1794-1815 phase serving the barrack block constructed nearby of which the slot for the east wall was traced.

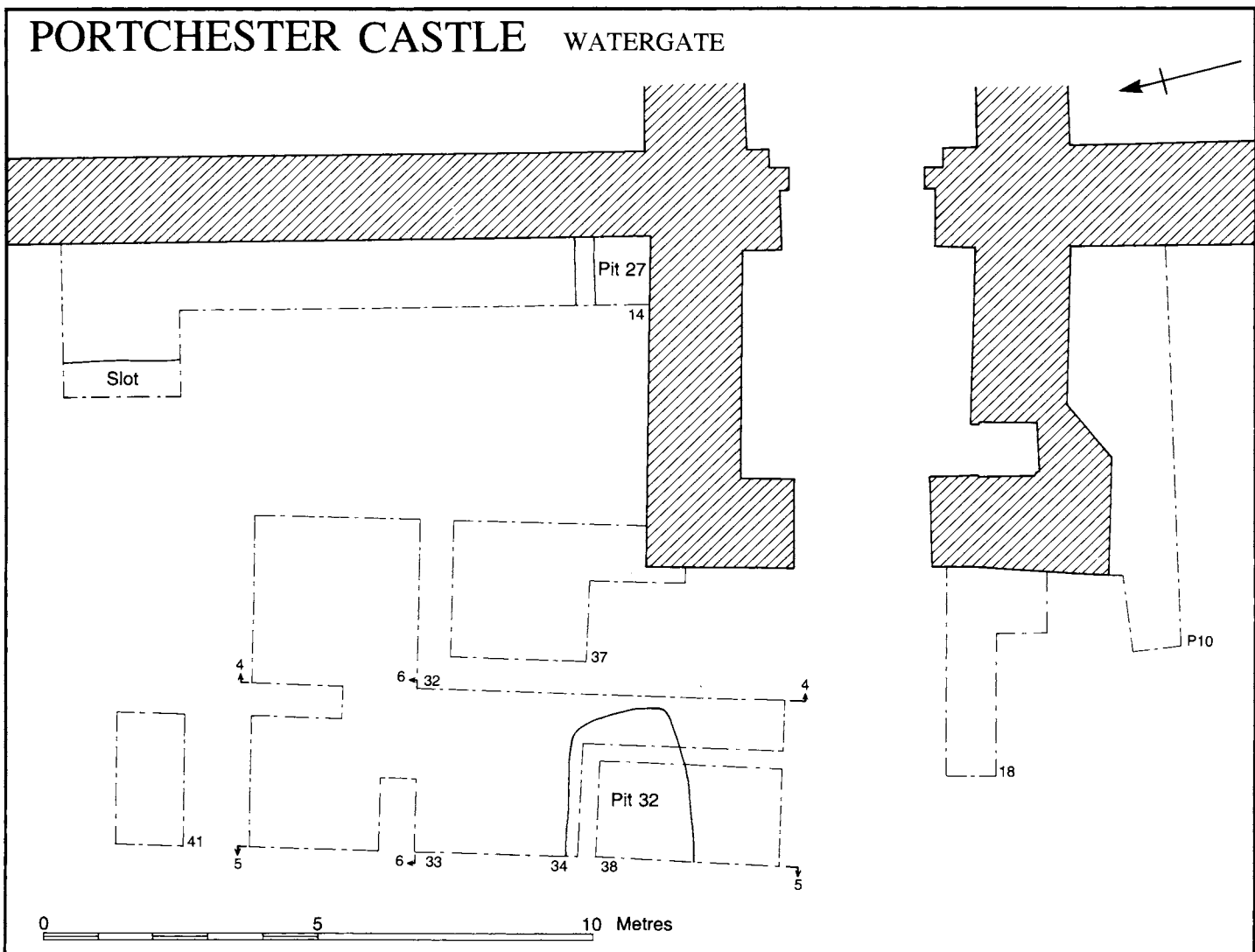


FIG. 5 Water gate.

Trial trenches by the churchyard gate

Four trial trenches were dug in 1966 on either side of the present road close to the present churchyard gate. Apart from superficial accumulations associated with the use of the road the only post medieval feature to be recorded was a brick-built drain, evidently a continuation of the drain (F3) found in the main area excavation. The drain turns to run along the line of the road to leave the fort through the Water gate. Traces of its continuation can sometimes be seen exposed on the shore and the line is marked on the detailed plan of 1815.

The wall of the outer bailey

The original Roman wall enclosing the outer bailey remained in use throughout the life of the prison camp serving as a secure outer perimeter. Although it had been patched and refaced at various stages during the medieval period it must have been in a ruinous condition by the beginning of the eighteenth century and thereafter was in need of more or less continuous repair. Evidence for repair to the external facing and to the wall walk can be seen all around the walls. For the most part reused ashlar and flint was used with brick strengthening at intervals. An impression of the extent and style of the refacing can be gained from Pls. XL*a*–XLII*b*.

THE INNER BAILEY (1973–1979) (Figs. 6–11 and 43)

The medieval buildings of the inner bailey survived largely intact into the eighteenth century but by this time the floors had rotted and the roofs had fallen. The dereliction of the castle is vividly depicted in the engravings of 1781 and 1783 (Cat. Nos. 14 and 15; Pls. XIV and XV*a*) which show that the ground surface had risen to such an extent that it was now above the sills of the windows of Richard II's palace. It was presumably upon this surface that activities of the prison camp were enacted for when a similar view was published less than a century later the scene was little changed. That the general surface now is a good 3–4 ft (0.9–1.2 m) lower is the result of the site clearance undertaken by the Office of Works in the 1930s at the time when the monument was being prepared for consolidation and display. It need hardly be stressed that the lowering of the ground to the late medieval level destroyed all the stratified surfaces and shallow structures belonging to the eighteenth and early nineteenth century occupation leaving only the truncated remains of those features which had been dug down well into the underlying levels. The archaeological record is therefore partial but it can be augmented to some extent by considering the above-ground structural modifications to the surviving walls.

The excavations in the inner bailey uncovered a substantial area within the Norman curtain wall (Fig. 43). For the most part only the medieval and post medieval layers were removed leaving the Roman surface untouched where it survived. Only where the Roman levels had been destroyed by medieval levelling was the excavation taken down to natural brickearth.

PORTCHESTER CASTLE

WESTERN AREA, POST MEDIEVAL FEATURES

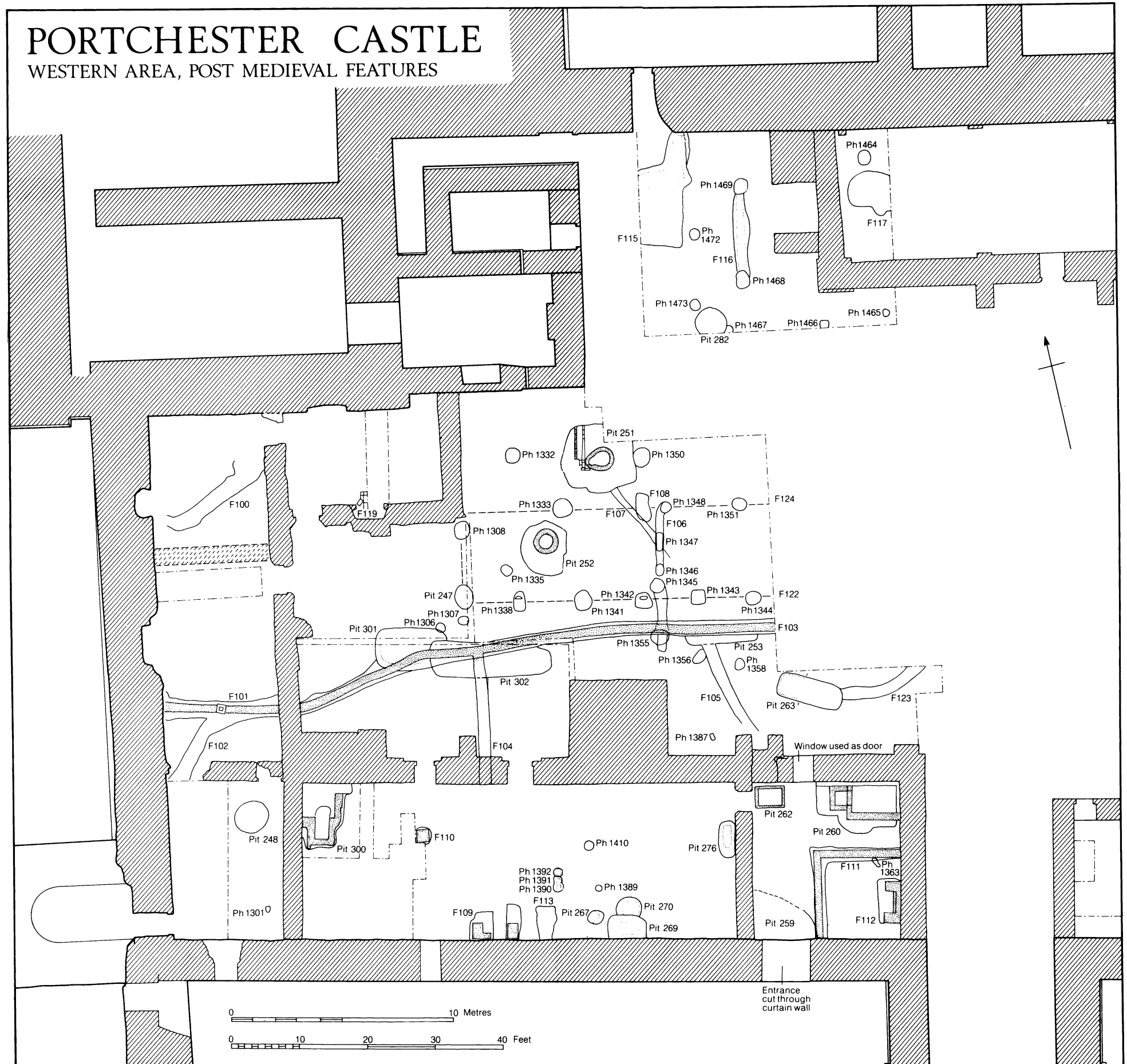


FIG. 6 Western area: post medieval features.

In the descriptive text to follow it will be convenient to describe the post medieval remains in terms of the medieval ranges which provided the shells within which the late occupation was to take place. After the structures have been considered the general development of the castle buildings will be summarized.

The North West range (Fig. 6)

At some time in the post medieval period the floor had been removed and the soil within the range dug out to the level of the natural clay (about 4 ft (1.2 m) from the present surface) leaving only a thin wedge of the original Roman soil along the foot of the east wall. Thereafter a grey mortary soil (C37 layer 8) accumulated against the east wall as the result of weathering and erosion. It was probably at this time that the soil exposed beneath the footings of the south wall began to erode leaving the footing undermined. Eventually the structure was stabilized by underpinning the entire length with reused ashlar and large flints set in a cream-coloured gritty mortar which was allowed to spill onto the bottom of the excavation (C37 layer 7) for a foot or so from the wall. Immediately thereafter the room was filled with tips of soil and rubbish thrown in in quick succession. First came a uniform deposit of grey soil containing large numbers of flints (C37 layer 6). This was followed by a tip of black ash and clinker mixed with pottery and bottle glass which was heaped up against the south wall. After this a thick deposit of mortar, stones, flints and bricks was dumped (C35 layers 4 and 3). The equivalent layers in trench C32 were more mixed and varied but consisted essentially of the same tips of rubbish (C32 layers 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8). How thick this deposit really was is impossible to say because it was truncated by the 1930s levelling.

There is no close dating evidence to suggest at what date the original floor was dug away to create the deep pit bounded only by the medieval walls, nor is it clear what the function of the clearance was but it is known from documentary evidence that the chamber served as a dungeon or 'Black Hole' for the punishment of difficult prisoners during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. The deepening could well belong to this period. The underpinning and filling seems to be of the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. The plan of 1740 notes only that the chamber was a 'spare room'. The medieval superstructure bears little evidence of post medieval activity except for some patching of the walls with brick. There are however two rectangular recesses for the ends of timber baulks in the east wall and one in the south wall between the fireplace and the door. The bottoms of all three were at *c.* 9 ft 6 in (2.9 m) above the present ground surface. It is possible that they took floor or roof timbers of eighteenth or early nineteenth century date.

The West range (Fig. 6)

The floor of the southern part of the west range had also been dug out in the post medieval period and at some later stage was filled back again with tips of soil and rubble leaving only the fourteenth century cross wall and the original medieval levels to the north of it undisturbed. Two drainage gullies and, later, a brick culvert were cut through the fill of the southern room and through the medieval levels in the northern room. Gully F100 crossed the northern room: it ran from the west wall to the north-east corner of the room averaging 3 ft (0.9 m) wide and up to 3 ft 6 in (1 m) deep from the modern floor level. The filling (C31

layers 11, 17 and 22) was of brown soil with varying amounts of chalk, flint and occupation debris. Gully F102, in the southern room, was partly cut away by the culvert (F101). It ran from the south-west chamber, through the doorway between the two rooms and diagonally across the west wing to exit through a hole in the east wall beyond which its course was obscured by the culvert: it probably ran into the large cesspit (P302) sited in the courtyard. The trench was *c.* 2 ft 4 in (0.71 m) wide and was cut to *c.* 3 ft (0.9 m) below the present surface. It was filled with grey brown mortar soil (C33 layers 3 and 5).

The latest recognizable feature was a brick culvert (F101) which ran across the southern room in a trench 2 ft 6 in (0.76 m) wide dug down into the natural clay to a depth of 2 ft 6 in (0.76 m) below the present surface (Pl. XXX). The culvert began outside the fort, beyond the west curtain wall and ran across the inner bailey to join with the seventeenth-century drain which opened through the Norman eastern curtain wall into the ditch. Where it passed across the west range it was built of two parallel walls of brick 6 in (0.15 m) apart and was capped with bricks laid side by side, their ends resting on the tops of the walls. Part way along its length was a square inlet formed of six bricks. To the east of this point the culvert was lowered by one brick course. The culvert was filled with clayey brown soil and some brick rubble (C33 layer 4). Its function was clearly to provide a main drain through the inner bailey flowing from west to east. The fact that it began outside the fort wall suggests that it might have been flushed with water pumped up from the moat.

The layer of soil which sealed the culvert and covered the rest of the room had been disturbed in the 1930s.

The standing walls showed few signs of modification in the post medieval period. The main fireplace had however been relined with brick while the smaller fireplace to the north seems to have been opened up by removing some of the masonry from the front of its chimney hood. At some stage during the post medieval period a simple lean-to roof was constructed relating to a line of corbels inserted high in the curtain wall. The roof sloped down steeply, its lower edge resting on the ledge for the first floor of the medieval range projecting from the inside of the east wall of the range. Chasings for the roof are still visible cut into the south wall of the keep demonstrating the steepness of its pitch (Pl. XXXVIIa).

No satisfactory close dating evidence survives for the various phases but the plan of 1740, which shows the dividing wall still standing, notes that the west wing was 'where they boil their provisions'. The relining of the fireplace could have been carried out at this time and it could be that the two early drains (F100 and F102) relate in some way to these activities. The brick culvert is stratigraphically later and may belong to the phase of refurbishment undertaken at the beginning of the French Revolutionary Wars in 1794. The plans of 1815 shows that the wall dividing the range had been removed by this stage.

The South Western 'inner' chamber (Fig. 6)

Only the eastern half of the floor area of the chamber was excavated. The early layers had been dug away to a depth of 3 ft (0.9 m) exposing the Roman clay bank, all medieval and Roman occupation layers having been removed. Cut into the clay the top of a circular pit (pit 248), measuring 5 ft (1.52 m) in diameter was planned but not excavated. A single rectangular post-hole (ph 1301) was seen. At some later stage the room was filled with tips of

gravel, rubble and soil including many bricks (C36 layer 2). There is little trace of any modification to the medieval structure except for a doorway cut at ground level into what would have been the base of the Roman bastion. The door opening was lined with brick and ashlar.

The plan of 1740 shows the room divided to provide sleeping accommodation for prisoners taken during the War of the Austrian Succession. It is difficult to see why the floor should have been lowered at this time unless it was to provide space to accommodate several floors or else tiers of bunks. The dumping of the rubble probably dates to the later phase of use during the Revolutionary or Napoleonic Wars.

The Hall of Richard II: the South range (Fig. 6)

In the late medieval period the hall range was divided at basement level by several cross walls which supported the floor of the hall at first-floor level. The easternmost of the cross walls continued at first-floor level to divide the pantry from the screens passage and hall. Throughout the period of neglect which followed, the floors rotted or were removed and at least 3 ft (0.9 m) of soil and rubble accumulated in the basement rooms and courtyard outside covering the window sills. When the range was fitted out to accommodate prisoners in the middle of the eighteenth century it seems that those cross walls which survived were demolished to the then ground level creating a single chamber 23 by 63 ft (7.0 by 19.2 m). The plans of 1740 and 1815 show it in this state. In the early 1930s all the soil was removed from the wing down to the medieval basement floor levels destroying all stratified eighteenth- and nineteenth-century floor levels but exposing once more the stumps of the medieval cross walls.

The entire area of the hall basement, except for the south-west corner was excavated to the surface of natural clay exposing the lower levels of a number of isolated post medieval features including four structures, four pits and five post-holes.

In the north-west corner of the room was a brick structure (pit 300) comprising a small rectangular compartment opening into a larger square brick-lined pit set in the corner, making use of the medieval walls to close two sides. An opening in the east wall may have allowed access to a drain. Within the smaller compartment and extending into the larger the floor had been dug away to create a soakaway pit 7 ft 7 in (2.31 m) by 1 ft 8 in (0.51 m). The brickwork survived only as the lower two courses of what must originally have been a deep cesspit. The lower filling consisted of grey soil, flints, bricks and tile (C28 layer 4) sealed by a black soil 3-9 in (0.08-0.23 m) thick containing brick rubble and clay pipes (C28 layer 2).

Opposite the western door a small circular hole had been dug (F110) containing a square brick foundation 2 ft (0.62 m) across (C47 layer 23). The brick probably represented either the basal course of a pier or the base for a vertical timber, possibly to support a beam holding an upper floor.

Against the Norman curtain wall the foundation of the chimney breast of a fireplace was uncovered (F109) built astride the stump of a late medieval cross wall. Because of the wall two separate pits had been dug down into the natural clay on either side of the footing and two separate brick-built foundations were constructed in them, the bricks being set in a hard chalky mortar. The overall effect was to create a fireplace 6 ft 6 in (2 m) in maximum exter-

nal width with the cheek walls projecting 2 ft 6 in (0.76 m) from the fort wall and 1 ft 6 in (0.46 m) from the brick fire back.

The fourth structure (F113) comprised a rectangular pit 3 ft by 5 ft (0.9 by 1.5 m) the bottom of which was lined with a compacted spread of greensand chippings up to 3 in (0.08 m) thick (C44 layer 7). Finds include a halfpenny of George II. The function of the foundation is uncertain.

Four pits of varying sizes had been dug within the room. Pit 267 was a small circular pit filled with soil, mortar lumps and greensand. Nearby was another small circular pit, pit 270, with a similar filling. It was cut by a larger rectangular pit, pit 269, dug against the curtain wall and filled with dark brown soil containing some flints, bricks and tile fragments. Another rectangular pit, pit 276, possibly a soakaway was found against the east wall. It was filled with blocks of stone and flints. Details of the pits are given below (pp. 57–8). In addition five post-holes were found, measurements of which will be found in the fiche section (Fiche 1:F3).

One final structure, which did not survive the 1930s levelling, deserves to be mentioned. Somewhere, perhaps against the north wall of the old hall between the two doors a latrine, probably a urinal, had been constructed. The only evidence for this is the trench for the drain which was cut through the sill of the window and continued as a slot, F104, to join the main brick sewer (p. 44).

Turning now to the superstructure the position of the first floor is indicated by the implants for cross beams cut into the inner face of the wall of the inner bailey. The undersides of the beams are now at 10 ft (3 m) from the present ground surface which is probably at least a metre lower than its eighteenth-century level. The wall was cut by a doorway immediately opposite the medieval west door. The sill of the door, once presumably at ground level, is now 3 ft 8 in (1.1 m) above the present surface. To the west of the door the inner bailey wall was pierced by a square-cut window opening 4 ft (1.2 m) wide and 3 ft 3 in (1 m) high. It was later blocked by a skin of bricks flush with the outer face.

The plan of 1740 shows that the basement of the hall was fitted out as a dormitory for prisoners being divided into four units by timber partitions. It seems probable, therefore, that the pits and the bases of the masonry structures belong to the later phase of use during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.

The kitchen of the Richard II palace (Fig. 6)

The site clearance of the 1930s had removed all of the post medieval stratigraphy leaving only the lower parts of features and structures cut from an unknown height.

The most substantial structure lay in the south-west corner of the room. Within the area defined by the medieval drain (Volume IV, 30–2) the soil had been dug out very probably to create a well (pit 259) which the archaeological excavation did not pursue. The upper filling was of grey soil packed with bricks and tiles (C42 layer 8) sloping steeply down into the pit. This was completely sealed by a layer of concrete composed of small flints set in a cream-coloured chalky mortar (C42 layer 7) surviving to a maximum thickness of 1 ft 6 in (0.46 m). The concrete capping had evidently been laid before the fill of the well/pit had consolidated because a void had developed between them. In all probability the concrete was spread at

the time when it was decided to cut a doorway through the Norman curtain wall at this point.

The south-east corner of the room had been partitioned off to form a separate room 12 ft (3.66 m) square internally with its own fireplace built against the east wall (Pl. XXXIII). The brick walls, a brick and a half thick, survived to a height of seven courses but showed no regular bonding. They were mortared but the mortar was not pointed (C42 layer 13). The walls were set in a foundation trench (F111) cut down into the underlying levels. Within the room thus formed the earlier stratigraphy had been removed to a depth of *c.* 2 ft (0.6 m) below the modern surface. The reason for this is not immediately clear unless it was intended to create an air space beneath a joist and plank floor. This is supported by the fact that no sign of trampling was found on the exposed ground surface. Eventually, presumably after the building had gone out of use, the space was filled with tips of grey stony soil, slate, roofing tile, water-worn boulders and mortar (C42 layer 2).

The brick fireplace constructed within the room (F112 in C42 layer 15) was set in a large rectangular foundation pit. It was built of bricks set in a white mortar, laid so as the headers created the exposed face. The structure measured 6 ft (1.8 m) wide with cheek walls projecting 2 ft 6 in (0.76 m) from the wall and 1 ft 9 in (0.53 m) from the fire back. The space between the brickwork and the pit edge was filled with redeposited natural clay (C42 layer 6).

In the north-east corner of the room a brick cesspit (pit 260) had been constructed in a large irregular pit (Pl. XXXIII). It comprised a rectangular pit measuring internally 7 ft by $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft (2.1 by 1.4 m). It was not bottomed in the excavation but over 3 ft (0.9 m) of wall height was exposed. Attached to the west end was a smaller rectangular pit with a bottom 2 ft (0.6 m) below present surface, which opened into it. The south wall of the main pit was a brick and a half thick: the west wall and the walls of the smaller pit were one brick thick. The foundation between the pit edge and the brickwork was filled with redeposited Roman and medieval occupation layers (C42 layer 10): the pits were filled with pebbly grey soil including bricks, tiles and lumps of mortar (C42 layers 11 and 12). The structure probably served as a cesspit and resembles that found in the north-west corner of the hall.

In the north-west corner of the kitchen a rectangular brick-lined pit was discovered (pit 262). The lining was half a brick thick and survived to a height of only four courses. It measured internally 3 ft 5 in (1.0 m) by 2 ft 6 in (0.76 m) and was filled with black soil and bricks (C42 layer 37). The only other post medieval feature to survive was a single post-hole, ph 1363, cut by the wall, F111.

The principal alteration to the medieval superstructure was the cutting of a door in the south Norman curtain wall. The position of the first floor is indicated by scars left in the medieval masonry. A main N-S beam was set centrally its ends recessed into the walls. Slots cut at the same level in the faces of the east and west walls mark the positions of subsidiary beams to take the floor. It is evident that the floor did not respect the medieval door and window openings. A new door, represented now by a ragged hole, subsequently blocked, gave access from this chamber to the hall to the west. Its base, 4 ft 3 in (1.3 m) above the present level, indicates the contemporary ground level.

In 1740 the room was used as a dormitory for prisoners: it is unlikely, therefore, that any of the surviving features, except perhaps the post-hole, belongs to this period. Strictly the next

structure in succession was probably the deep well or pit in the south-west corner. The possibility however remains that the original structure may have been medieval and that only the upper filling was post medieval.

To understand the final stage we must remember that the ground surface was considerably higher than at present and, as the plan of 1815 makes clear, the doorway was the medieval window in the centre of the north wall the sill of which had been lowered to provide sufficient headroom. Another door had been cut through the curtain wall opposite it to provide access to the building constructed against the south curtain wall. A passageway was left between the two doors. To the east was the room with a fireplace – possibly a guard room – with a large cesspit built in the corner to the north. The smaller cesspit occupied the north-west corner. This rearrangement is likely to belong to the period 1794–1815.

The South East range (Fig. 9)

The plan of 1740 shows that by this time the medieval oven built at the east end of the range and the adjacent walls had been removed creating an L-shaped shell with the Norman tower projecting from the corner. Within this shell three narrow partition walls had been built providing four separate rooms. Of these new walls only that which cuts off the corner tower survives. The tower had been floored with bricks laid on a bed of mortar (C49 layer 43) and along the edge of the brick pavement, closing the open side of the tower, was the wall foundation composed of a row of large stone blocks (F120, C49 layer 41) which presumably formed the base for a timber partition. Within the tower, sealing the brick pavement was an accumulation of grey soil 1 ft (0.9 m) thick containing quantities of roof tile and some flints and limestone blocks (C49 layer 42). A similar layer but rich in animal bone (C49 layer 40) was found just outside the tower lying on medieval layers.

Within the principal chamber of the medieval south east range all post medieval levels had been removed in the 1930s, leaving only the truncated remains of four features cut into the medieval layers. Against the south wall was an elongated trench 1 ft (0.3 m) deep filled with grey soil and some brick (C49 layer 5). A little to the west a circular pit (pit 277) had been dug. It was about 3 ft (0.9 m) in diameter and survived to 1 ft 6 in (0.16 m). The filling was entirely of fine textured white clay possibly fulling clay (C49 layer 4). In the centre of the room was a small square brick feature two courses deep (C49 layer 6), possibly the base for a vertical timber.

The standing walls bore evidence of a number of modifications. Most notable was a deep recess cut into the curtain wall. Originally, according to the 1740 plan, it was a door. Later it was blocked but provided with a small window barred by an iron grille providing a view of the approach to the gatehouse. Elsewhere the masonry was patched with brickwork.

The plan of 1740 shows that the four rooms created out of the medieval south east range and the southern end of the east range served as 'store rooms with lodging rooms over them for the petty officers'. The only door functioning at the time was the original medieval door in the north-west corner of the medieval range. The lower rooms all communicated with each other internally. The features cut into the floor could have belonged to this phase but could equally well have been later. By the time that the

detailed 1815 plan had been drawn the door had been blocked and another cut in the north-east corner: the north-south partition had also been removed and replaced by one further to the west with a central door. The plan identifies a 'Carp[en]ters shop' in the room created in the south end of the east range, a 'Room' in the west end of the south east range and an 'oven' inserted into the corner bastion.

The East range (Fig. 9)

By the time that the 1740 plan had been prepared the medieval east range had been divided into two unequal parts by a new partition wall, probably of masonry. The wall no longer exists but must have been built on the filling of a large irregular trench (recorded as pit 274) which crossed the range and had been packed with mortary soil, flints, limestone and bricks (C45 layers 16 and 64 and C48 layer 2). The date of this feature is uncertain but it could be shown to pre-date other features of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The southern part of the range, thus divided, intercommunicated with the south east range in 1740 but by 1815 had been separated from it by a cross wall of which no trace remains. Within this southern room a complex of drains were uncovered. The first was the seventeenth-century drain which flowed from the courtyard westwards to pass through the curtain wall and empty into the moat. Eventually, by the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, after the drain had ceased to function effectively, it was partially replaced by a new brick-built drain which linked with the earlier drain just outside the west wall of the east wing and turned first south and then west, following the medieval walls, to exit through the curtain wall through a new gap (Pl. XXXIIa and b). The implication is that the length of seventeenth century drain, crossing the courtyard diagonally, continued to function and it was into this that the brick drain, which ran through the western part of the site, emptied. The new brick drain (F118) was circular in cross section *c.* 1 ft 8 in (0.51 m) in diameter externally and was set in a foundation trench cut down into the natural clay. Two rectangular openings allowed effluent to flow into it. One, close to the doorway, served a shallow brick-built drain running from the courtyard (below, p. 46). The other was a sloping vent possibly serving a latrine built against the wall (Pl. XXXIIb).

The northern room had been divided into two by a passageway, flanked by timber partitions, which led from the medieval door in the west wall to a new door cut through the curtain wall. The partitions were represented by trenches *c.* 1 ft 6 in (0.45 m) wide by 1 ft 6 in to 2 ft (0.45 to 0.61 m) deep. They were filled with limestone blocks and grey soil (C45 layers 9 and 10) serving as a packing around vertical timbers. The charred stump of one timber remained *in situ*. Within the passageway, against the curtain wall, were two shallow slots 6 in (0.15 m) deep set at right angles. In all probability they served as the base of timbers supporting a step or steps leading to the door.

In the room to the north of the corridor three pits were found: pit 271 was rectangular and occupied the north-east corner of the room. It was excavated only to a depth of 1 ft 4 in (0.41 m) and was not bottomed. The filling (C45 layer 7) consisted of grey soil with brick fragments and produced glass, coins, buttons and pottery. The pit cut into an earlier rectangular pit (pit 272) which occupied the north-west corner of the room. It had been cut

to only 1 ft 6 in (0.45 m) below the present ground surface. The filling consisted of grey soil, bricks, stone and mortar (C45 layer 8). Finally, in the south-east corner a small circular pit (pit 273) had been dug. Only the upper 1 ft (0.3 m) of the filling was excavated. It consisted of grey soil mixed with mortar, greensand, tiles and bricks (C45 layer 56). Several isolated post-holes were also found.

In the room to the south of the passage two rectangular foundation pits were found (ph 1474 and 1475). They measured between 3 ft and 3 ft 9 in (0.92 and 1.14 m) square and 5–10 in (0.13–0.25 m) deep. Both were filled with compacted white mortar probably to form a base for a stone pad taking a vertical timber. Such an arrangement could have served to support joists of a timber floor at first-floor level.

The medieval walls bear evidence of extensive post medieval alterations. There was much patching of the masonry with brickwork most notably the inside face of the inner bailey wall the southern part of which was provided with a new facing of brick up to 2 ft (0.6 m) extending the full height of the inner face at this point.

The plan of 1740 shows that the southern third of the wing was part of the suite of rooms in the south-east corner of the inner bailey. At this stage the northern two-thirds served as dormitory accommodation for prisoners. The construction of the drain was probably part of the improvements made in 1794 (below, pp. 47–9). The division of the northern room by the cross passage probably dates to about the same time or a little later. That part of the range to the north of the passage was occupied by a succession of cesspits while the new room to the south remained clear of encumbrance except for the two verticals supporting a first floor. The painting of 1817 (Cat. No. 23; Pl. XXV) shows the northern room as unroofed while the room south of the partition had a high-pitched roof. The painting also shows the doorway cut through the curtain wall with steps leading down from it.

Assheton's Tower (Fig. 9)

No archaeological levels were examined associated with Assheton's Tower and the superstructure remained largely unchanged except that the wall dividing the basal chamber and the medieval garderobe chute was breached. A blocked up hole in the Roman curtain wall may indicate the point at which the famous escape attempt of 1797 was made (below, p. 150).

The North range (Fig. 9)

The north range had been extensively cleared out during the 1930s leaving no medieval or post medieval stratigraphy inside apart from the bases of features cut deep enough to survive. Only the western part of the range was excavated exposing a single post-hole (ph 1464) and a shallow hollow (F117) 10 in (0.25 m) deep filled with grey chalky soil (C52 layer 4). The finds included sherds of Westerwald stoneware dating to 1700–1750.

The west and south walls of the range fell or were demolished some time during the nineteenth century removing any evidence of changes to the superstructure. However the plan of 1740 shows that the shell of the medieval building had been fitted out as dormitory accommodation which appears to have been reached by the door set in the west wall approached by a flight of steps – an arrangement dating from the medieval period. This suggests that the dormitory was on the first floor. The plan also shows another door set in the south wall at

ground level which must have provided access to the ground floor beneath. The gap in the wall footing is still extant.

The keep and the forebuildings (Figs. 7 and 8)

The main structure of the keep was largely unaltered in the post medieval period. The only modification to the masonry was the cutting of a wide doorway at basement level through the east wall of the keep replacing an earlier opening of the late fourteenth century. The new opening was finished in brickwork with timber lintels resting on supporting timber plates. Lateral horizontal timbers were set in the walls.

Inside the keep was fitted out with new floors laid on major north-south joists. This arrangement, together with the wooden stairs providing access, survived largely intact until 1926 when the Office of Works assumed responsibility for the castle. The structural details were carefully recorded at the time: the main elevations are reproduced here with only minor modifications (Figs. 7 and 8). As part of the restoration work which followed some of the floors were removed and the stairs realigned but all the main joists were left in position, some of them still retaining their iron hammock hooks (Pl. XXXIX*a*). At the time when the castle was taken over by the Office of Works the keep was roofed with a tiled roof of double pitch with central valley running along the line of the east-west spine wall. It was almost certainly the original early nineteenth-century structure. As part of the restoration it was totally removed (Pl. XXXIX*b*) and the present flat roof installed.

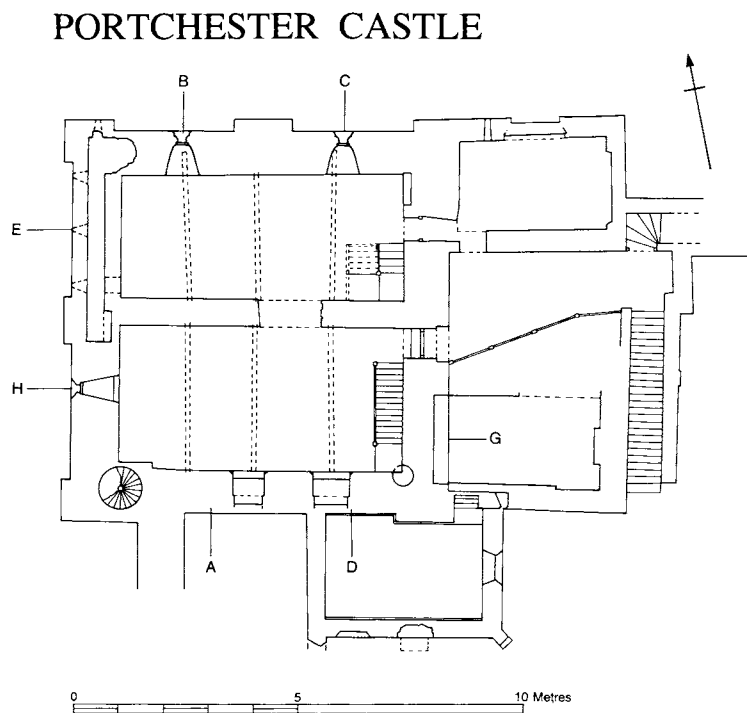
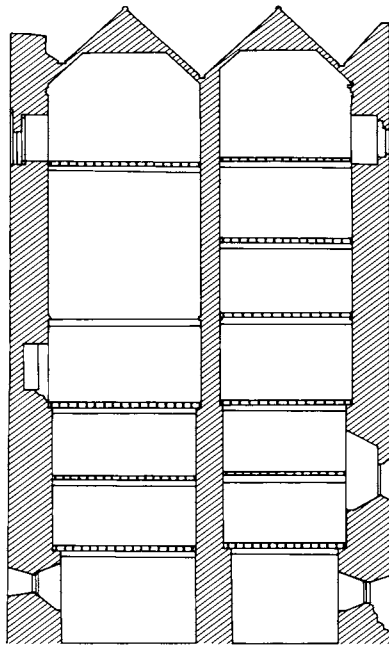


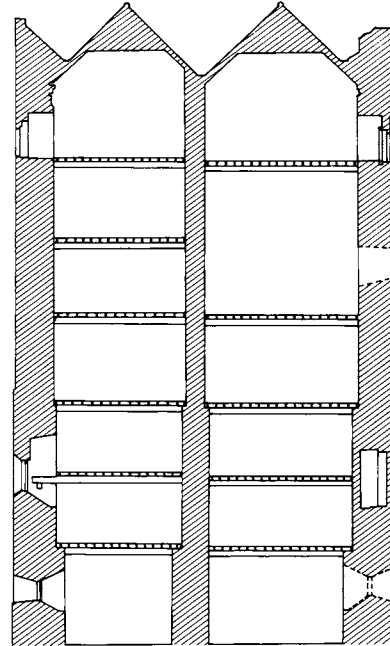
FIG. 7 Plan of the keep as it was *c.* 1930 before the removal of the post medieval stairs.

PORTCHESTER CASTLE

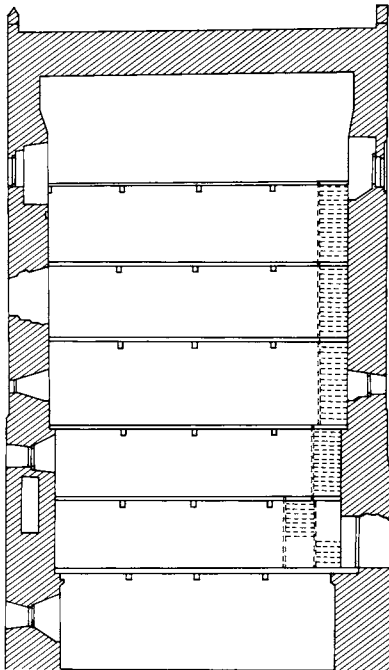
SECTION A-B



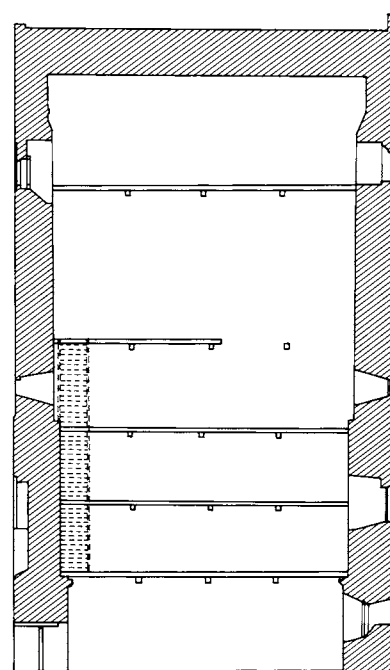
SECTION C-D



SECTION E-F



SECTION G-H



0 5 10 Metres

FIG. 8 Sections of the keep showing the late eighteenth-century floors. The sections were drawn *c.* 1930.

PORTCHESTER CASTLE

EASTERN AREA, POST MEDIEVAL FEATURES

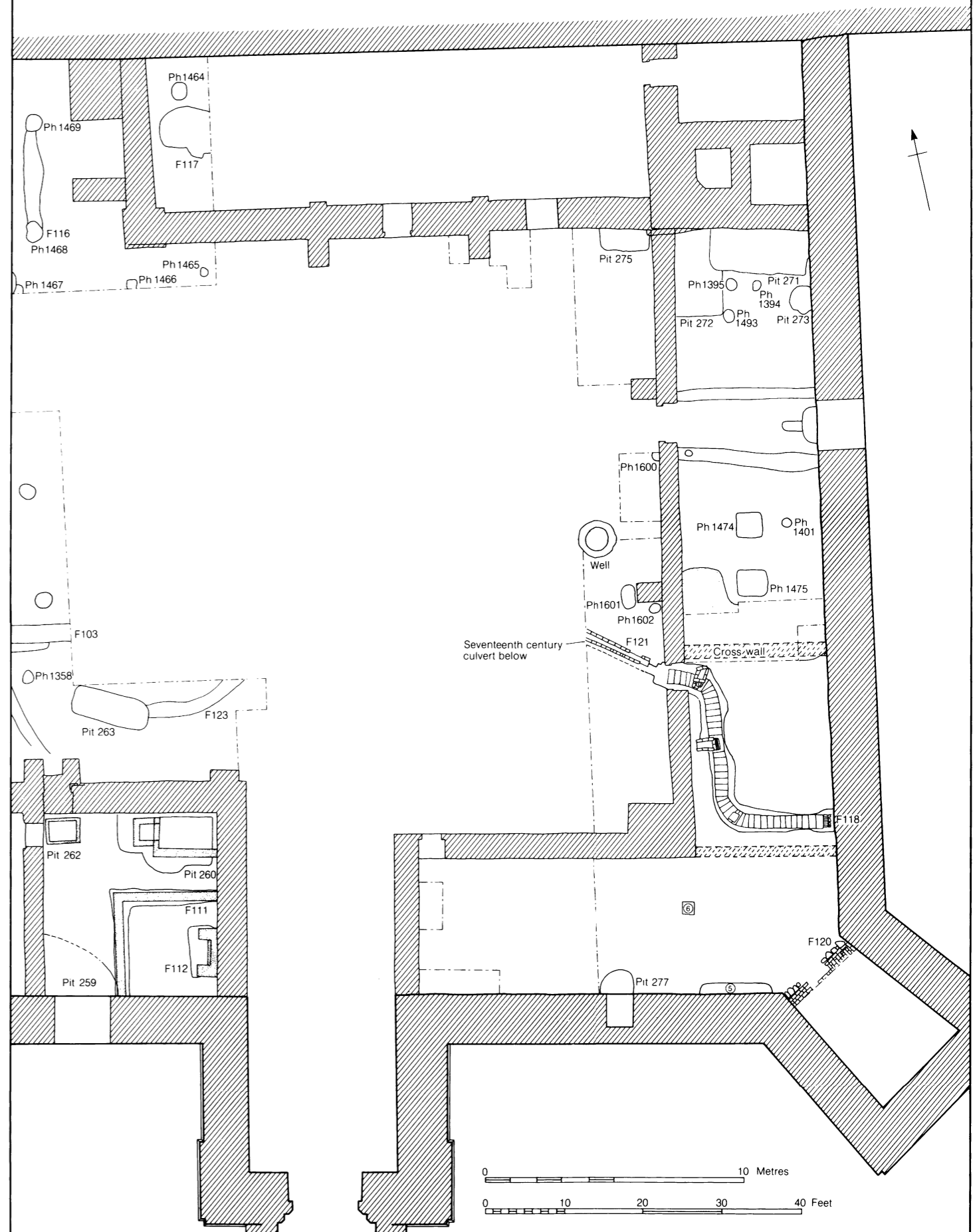


FIG. 9

In its most developed form, *c.* 1815, the keep had six floors. The first was at the level of the Norman first floor while the third corresponded with the roof of the original Norman first-floor hall. The early nineteenth-century second floor was inserted between, cutting the original hall into two. The fourth floor was equivalent to the level of the floor of the later Norman second-floor hall while the sixth floor corresponded to its roof. The fifth floor therefore divided the Norman second-floor hall approximately into two. The general character of these modifications is best appreciated from the elevations (Fig. 8) and the photographs of the structures as they survive today (Pl. XXXIX*a*).

The six floors as they survived in 1926 reflect the latest of the early nineteenth-century arrangements. Evidence for an earlier layout is provided by the painted decoration which can still be made out on the south side of the central dividing wall between floors 4 and 6 where it is evident that the design was painted before floor 5 was inserted (Pl. XXXVIII*a* and *b*). Although much decayed it is clear that the painting was of high quality. Above a red dado two ornate rectangular panels were depicted each containing smaller oval panels with more detailed paintings, now largely destroyed. Between the rectangular panels is a small circular painting of the castle. The much decayed state of the decoration belies its quality. There is no direct dating evidence for this scheme but they are most likely to belong to the period immediately following the re-establishment of the camp in 1794 and before the latest floors were inserted in 1810.

The forebuildings had been largely reduced to first-floor level at the end of the eighteenth century. An external stair, attached to the east side gave access to this level and to the wall walk at a higher level. This arrangement can be seen on the plan of 1740 and remained in operation throughout the life of the prison camp. A photograph taken in *c.* 1926 (Pl. XXXVII*b*) shows the stair still in position its flanking wall built of reused ashlar and brick while a contemporary plan (redrawn as Fig. 7) gives the general arrangement. This wall was removed as part of the restoration of the castle but holes cut in the Norman east wall to take the timbers of the stair treads can still be seen.

The courtyard (Figs. 6 and 9)

The excavation of the courtyard was divided into three separate areas. The most extensive covered the western part of the inner bailey; a smaller area was examined to the north of it against the north curtain wall. In the eastern part of the courtyard a strip was excavated just outside the west side of the east range.

The western area (Fig. 6)

The most informative sequence of structural evidence came from the western part of the courtyard where several chronological relationships could be demonstrated: some of the features could be related to dated maps and illustrations. In summary the earliest phase is represented by a series of cesspits and the drains leading to them. These were replaced by a brick sewer to the north of which three successive phases of fencing were discovered. Within this fenced area was a well and water cistern (Pls. XXXIV and XXXV). The structures will be considered in this order.

The earliest group of features comprise four rectangular cesspits: pits 253, 263, 301 and 302 and the drain leading to them. Pits 301, 253 and 263 were subrectangular between 9 ft and

10 ft 6 in (2.8 and 3.2 m) long and 3 ft 6 in to 5 ft (1.1 to 1.5 m) wide dug to a depth of *c.* 3 ft (1 m) below the present surface. Pits 253 and 263 were both filled with an accumulation of grey soil and bricks. Pit 301 had been allowed to silt with a 4 in (0.1 m) thick layer of grey soil but had then been filled with a deliberate tip of building rubble including slate, moulded stone from fourteenth- and sixteenth-century windows, brick rubble and mortar. Some time afterwards a new pit, pit 302, was dug cutting into the fill of pit 301. It was larger than the others measuring 16 ft 6 in by 4 ft (5.03 by 1.22 m). Its filling consisted of grey stony soil containing slate, tile and animal bone. The simplest explanation of the sequence is that pits 253, 263 and 301 were in use first and were cleared out as need arose. Pit 301 was then filled and a new pit, pit 302, dug to replace it. Thereafter pits 253, 263 and 302 continued in use for some time until they were abandoned.

It is unclear whether the pits had latrine structures above or simply served as soakaways: the latter seems the most likely since all three were fed by drains. The pair, pits 301/302, received a drain from the inner chamber of the west wing (F102); pit 253 received a drain from the vicinity of the kitchen (F105); and pit 263 was served by a drain coming from the north (F123) probably from the building, shown on the plan of 1740, attached to the north wing. The drains seem to have been open and were apparently unlined. While they may have led from urinals set against the wall it is more likely that they were designed to remove surface run-off from the roofs.

The soakaway (or cess) pits were replaced by a brick-built drain (F103) continuous with the drain uncovered in the west wing (F101). It was set in a trench 2 ft (0.6 m) wide dug to a depth of *c.* 1 ft 8 in (0.5 m) below the present surface. The culvert was constructed of brick walls four courses high on a base 1 ft 4 in (0.41 m) wide. The capping was of single stretchers laid across the culvert resting on the side walls (Pl. XXXIa and b). One subsidiary culvert (F104) led into the main drain from within the south range. At the point of junction the brick base and part of the side wall survived but for most of its length the brickwork had been removed leaving only the trench which could be traced southwards cutting into the soil accumulation in the courtyard and through the sill of a window in the fourteenth century range. Beyond that, within the range, all relevant stratigraphy had been removed. No other subsidiary drains were traced.

Three fence lines were found within the western part of the courtyard. The earliest (F106) ran northwards from the north-east corner of the porch of Richard II's palace and was represented by a trench 1–2 ft (0.3–0.6 m) wide filled with grey soil and building debris (C40 layer 11). Four deeper holes for posts were found along the line of the trench (phs 1345–8). It cut the shallow gully F107 but was cut by the brick culvert (F103). Stratigraphically therefore it belongs to the same phase as the soakaway pits. The two other fence lines both ran east–west and both were represented by large posts set in individual post-holes. Fence F122 comprised seven large post-holes, six on the east–west line the seventh against the south-east corner of the north west range to which the fence returned at right angles. The post-holes averaged 2–2 ft 6 in (0.6–0.76 m) in diameter and were dug to a depth of up to 2 ft (0.6 m) below the contemporary surface. In two of the post-holes the soil-filled voids of split trunks *c.* 1 ft (0.3 m) in diameter were evident. Presumably the fence was of post-and-rail type with vertical close boarding nailed to the rails between the main uprights. The fence is, in fact, shown on the contemporary painting of 1817 (Pl. XXV).

The second east–west fence (F124) was represented by three large post-holes, of comparable size to those of fence F122, running in a direct east–west line from the south-east corner of the north west range. A fence in this position is shown on the water-colours of 1813 (Pl. XXIIIa and b) and the plans of 1815 and therefore pre-dates fence F122.

Within the later fenced enclosure (F122) was a well and a water-storage cistern. The well (pit 252) was circular in plan and built of worn and reused yellow and red half bricks laid in two skins (Pl. XXXVIa). The upper part of the east side shows evidence of having been rebuilt. Internally it measured 3 ft 4 in in diameter (1.02 m) with walls 8 to 10 in (0.20–0.25 m) thick. The structure was set in a pit 6 ft 10 in (2.08 m) in diameter packed with redeposited soil and clay (C39 layer 10). It was excavated to a depth of 9 ft (2.74 m) but continued deeper. The filling (C39 layer 8) consisted of large stone blocks and water-worn boulders with washed-in soil between them at the top but air spaces below.

Nearby was a water-storage cistern (pit 251). The structure, beehive-shaped in profile, was built of whole bricks set in white mortar (Pl. XXXVIb). The exact form and size of the original mouth is unknown but it rapidly belled out to a maximum diameter of c. 10 ft (3.05 m). It had been constructed in a large circular pit which had been filled back with redeposited soil and gravel (C39 layer 7). The filling (C39 layer 5) consisted of grey soil with chalk fragments, flint and stone. It was excavated to a depth of 6 ft 8 in (2 m) from the top but the bottom was not reached. The mouth of the pit was lipped to the west, the lip being served by a brick culvert of which only the lowest course survived. This would suggest that the function of the cistern was to receive rain water from the vicinity of the forebuildings of the keep.

The detailed plan of 1815 (Pl. IV) shows a trough with an adjacent pump on the site of the cistern. The same features appear on the painting of 1817 (Pl. XXV). The well, pit 252, is not shown on either and may therefore have been out of use by this time.

The only other features surviving in the western part of the courtyard were a length of gully (F107), which appears to have pre-dated both the fence (F106) and the water cistern (pit 251), and nine isolated post-holes (Fiche 1:F1–4).

There is no reliable close-dating evidence from the fillings of the individual features but the stratigraphical relationships and the documentary and cartographic data, together with the plan of 1815 and the painting of 1817 allow a broad sequence of development to be worked out.

The earliest structures were the rectangular cesspits (or soakaways) and the drains leading to them. It is most likely that they served the dormitory accommodation set up in the south range and a separate building attached to the north range in 1740. As we have seen two of the drains came from the south wing while one probably came from the north. The pits were probably cleared out at intervals: one new pit (pit 302) was dug to replace an earlier one (pit 301). Eventually they were allowed to silt up during a period of inactivity. It was possibly during this early phase that the north–south fence (F106) was set up but it does not appear on the plan of 1740 allowing the *possibility* that it may have belonged to a later phase.

In the second major phase the brick drainage system (F101/F103/F104) was installed cutting through the tops of three of the pits. It is probably best assigned to the renovations set in train in 1794 when the castle was being made ready to receive a new intake of prisoners. It

was to this period that the brick sewers in the outer bailey probably belong (p. 29). The well, pit 252, may also be of this date.

At this time or a little later the east–west fence, F124, was erected dividing the buildings of the inner bailey into two separate compounds.

A possible context for this is suggested by a letter from the Transport Office to the site agent dated 3 December 1810 instructing him to erect a wall to prevent communication between ‘the Great Tower and the tower guard’. This is the fence line which appears on the water-colours of 1813 and the plans of 1815. The cistern, pit 251, is of this phase.

Finally, after 1815, the fence was replaced by a new fence, F122, 14 ft (4.3 m) to the south.

The northern area of the courtyard (Fig. 6)

A small area of courtyard was examined against the north curtain wall beneath the fore-buildings and the west end of the north range. The levelling of the 1930s had removed all post medieval stratigraphy with the exception of the lower parts of features dug down through the earlier layers. These comprised a pit, a shallow hollow, a fence slot containing two post-holes and seven other isolated post-holes (Fiche 1:F1–4).

The pit (pit 282) was circular *c.* 4 ft 6 in (1.37 m) in diameter and of equivalent depth. It was filled with a layer of grey soil containing bricks and fragments of slate (C51 layer 17). In the north-west corner of the excavation a large irregular excavation (F115) was discovered cut to the depth of about a foot (0.3 m) into the earlier stratigraphy. It was filled with tips of mortar soil, fragments of slate, bricks and tiles (C51 layer 16). It is not clear what original function it may have performed.

The slot (F116) was evidently a structural feature since it was associated with two substantial post-holes (phs 1468 and 1469). The slot was 2 ft (0.6 m) wide and was cut to a depth of *c.* 1 ft (0.3 m). It was filled with grey soil flecked with charcoal and mortar (C51 layer 3). One possible interpretation is that the feature was the wall of a range of dormitory accommodation erected in 1740 against the west wall of the north range. One of the post-holes, ph 1466, may have belonged to a structure shown on the 1740 plan extending south from the north range. The function of the other post-holes is uncertain.

The eastern area of the courtyard (Fig. 9)

A strip of courtyard was excavated along the west wall of the east range. Several features survived the levelling of the 1930s.

Along the line of the seventeenth-century drain a brick-built culvert had been constructed (F121). It was built in a similar manner to the culvert, F103, with a base of bricks placed side by side supporting walls laid parallel: only one wall course survived. It was evidently leading to the square inlet to the brick-built drain just inside the range (p. 39). The height of its base shows that it cannot have been a continuation of F103 which had probably tapped into the seventeenth-century drain below somewhere to the west.

Two holes were found close to the wall of the range just north of the doorway. One of these, ph 1601, is probably the easternmost timber of fence F122 found to the west. Another post-hole (ph 1600) further to the north was probably the last of fence F124.

The only other feature discovered was a rectangular pit, pit 275, in the extreme north-eastern corner of the courtyard. It measured 6 ft by 2 ft 6 in (1.83 by 0.76 m). The upper filling was of black soil (C46 layer 5) but only the upper four inches (0.1 m) were removed in the excavation.

In the south-east corner of the courtyard an area of stone and brick metalling survived the later levelling (C50 layer 3).

Summary of the development of the inner bailey

Having described the details of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century modifications to the inner bailey it is necessary now to stand back and look at the development of the old castle buildings in terms of their changing functions in the context of the prison community which they housed. This can most conveniently be done in terms of the chronological scheme presented on p. 6.

Period 1: 1609–1740 (Fig. 10)

The use of the castle as a prison during the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665–1667) and the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–12) has left little recognizable mark on the fabric of the site. The only features which may tentatively be assigned to this phase are the gully F107 and the later north–south fence, F106, which ran between the porch of the Richard II hall and the wall of the stairs leading up to the entrance to the keep. This fence would, conveniently, have divided the inner bailey into two parts isolating the keep and the old palace range from the eastern part of the enclosure around which the buildings, renovated by Cornwallis in the early seventeenth century, would have been in much better repair and thus suitable to accommodate the guard. The keep and old palace would have provided ample space to house the few hundred prisoners incarcerated during this period.

Period 2: 1740–1794 (Fig. 10)

During this period the castle was used to house prisoners on two occasions, first during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1749) and later during the Seven Years War (1755–1763). For the first occasion we are fortunate to have the detailed plan of the installation dated 1740 (Cat. No. 1; Pl. I). This shows the inner bailey functioning as a whole without divide. At this time the keep and forebuildings were apparently unroofed to begin with. The plan records that they were designed to be roofed: it is not clear if this was ever done. The north west range was ‘a spare room’ while the west range served as the prison cook house. Accommodation for the prisoners, fitted out with ‘beds covered with boards’, occupied the entire south range, the north range and the northern part of the east range. In addition a new building was attached to the south wall of the north range and two slighter structures were built on to the west face. In the south-east corner, where presumably the seventeenth-century rooms were still largely intact, the range was fitted out as storerooms below with ‘lodging rooms over them for the Petty Officers’. A slight structure built in the external corner may have been a stairway leading to the upper lodgings. It is not immediately clear if the petty officers referred to were prisoners but the supposition is that they were. The guardhouse lay outside at the approach to the

PORTCHESTER CASTLE

INNER BAILEY, POST MEDIEVAL 1702-1763

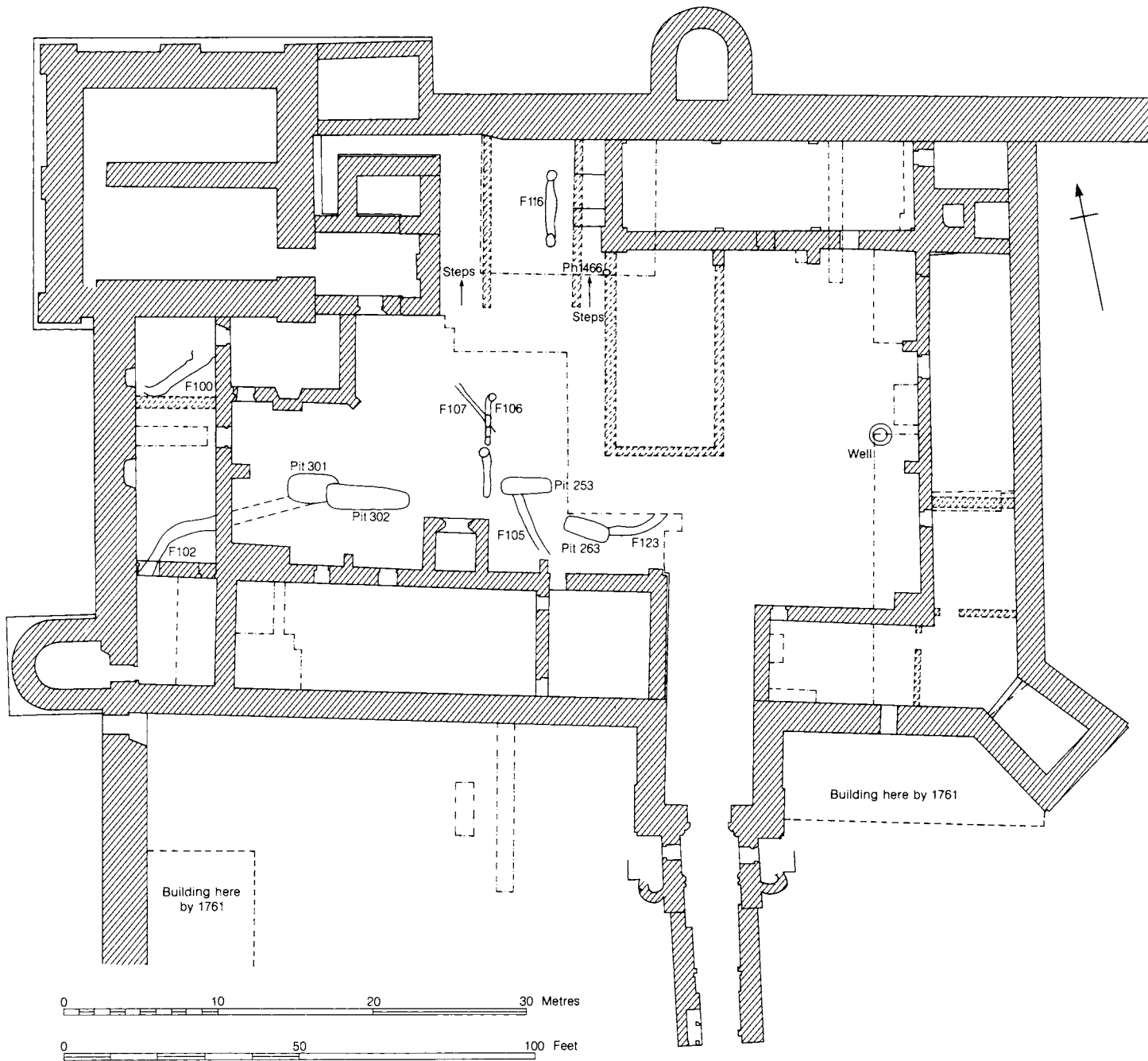


FIG. 10 Inner bailey: post medieval 1702-1763.

inner bailey gate and the barracks for troops were outside the fort to the north and north-west.

We know that by 1760 about 3200 prisoners were held in the castle. If the keep had been fitted out to house them as well as the ranges then there would have just been sufficient accommodation within the inner bailey.

The archaeological evidence for this period is comparatively sparse. It is possible that the soakaway pit, pit 301, and its drain belonged to the early occupation of 1740–1749. More certainty attached to the three pits, pits 302, 253 and 256, which were designed as cesspits for the occupants during the 1755–1763 period. The length of fence, F116 and the post-hole, ph 1466 were probably part of the structures built on to the north range at about this time or perhaps in the earlier period.

Between 1763 and 1794 there is no documentary evidence to suggest that the castle was used as a prison. The two engravings of the inner bailey 1781 and 1783 show general dereliction and rooflessness. By this stage the building attached to the north wing had been removed.

Period 3: 1794–1810 (Fig. 11)

The works put in hand in 1794, to create a prison which was in active use until 1802, brought about significant changes. The inner bailey was divided into two parts by a fence, F124, which ran east–west across the courtyard from the corner of the north west range to the centre of the east range. The northern half, which included the keep, the north range, Assheton's Tower and the northern part of the east range, provided space and accommodation for prisoners. The part of the courtyard available to them had a water cistern.

It was at this stage that a passageway was constructed through the east wing giving access between the courtyard and the north compound within the outer bailey where nine prison huts provided accommodation for 4500 prisoners. This, together with the keep and the north range where perhaps another 2500 were housed would have given the complement of about 7000. The latrines for the inner bailey were probably at wall-walk level but additional cesspits were provided in the unroofed section of the east range north of the passage. To the south of the passage was a small two-storey building of unknown function. The use of Assheton's Tower at this time was probably restricted. The basement was used as a cachôt or 'Black Hole' for the incarceration of recalcitrant prisoners while the upper floor is recorded in local tradition to have been an autopsy room. The passageway through it, at wall-walk level, was part of the patrol route used by the guard.

The southern sector of the inner bailey was the preserve of the prison guard. It was drained by the brick-built sewer running from west to east flushed with water from the castle moat. It was probably in this period that the brick well, pit 252, was constructed.

The provision of a fireplace and brick-built cesspit in the old hall range of Richard II suggests that it was probably roofed to provide accommodation for the guard. The principal entrance to the compound lay through the medieval gate to the inner bailey but an additional passage was constructed through the old kitchen giving access to a substantial two-storey building constructed against the south wall of the inner bailey between the Land gate and the fort wall. A small guard chamber with its own fireplace was built within the kitchen to control passage while the rest of the old kitchen was provided with ample cesspits. Another

PORTCHESTER CASTLE

INNER BAILEY, POST MEDIEVAL 1794-1819

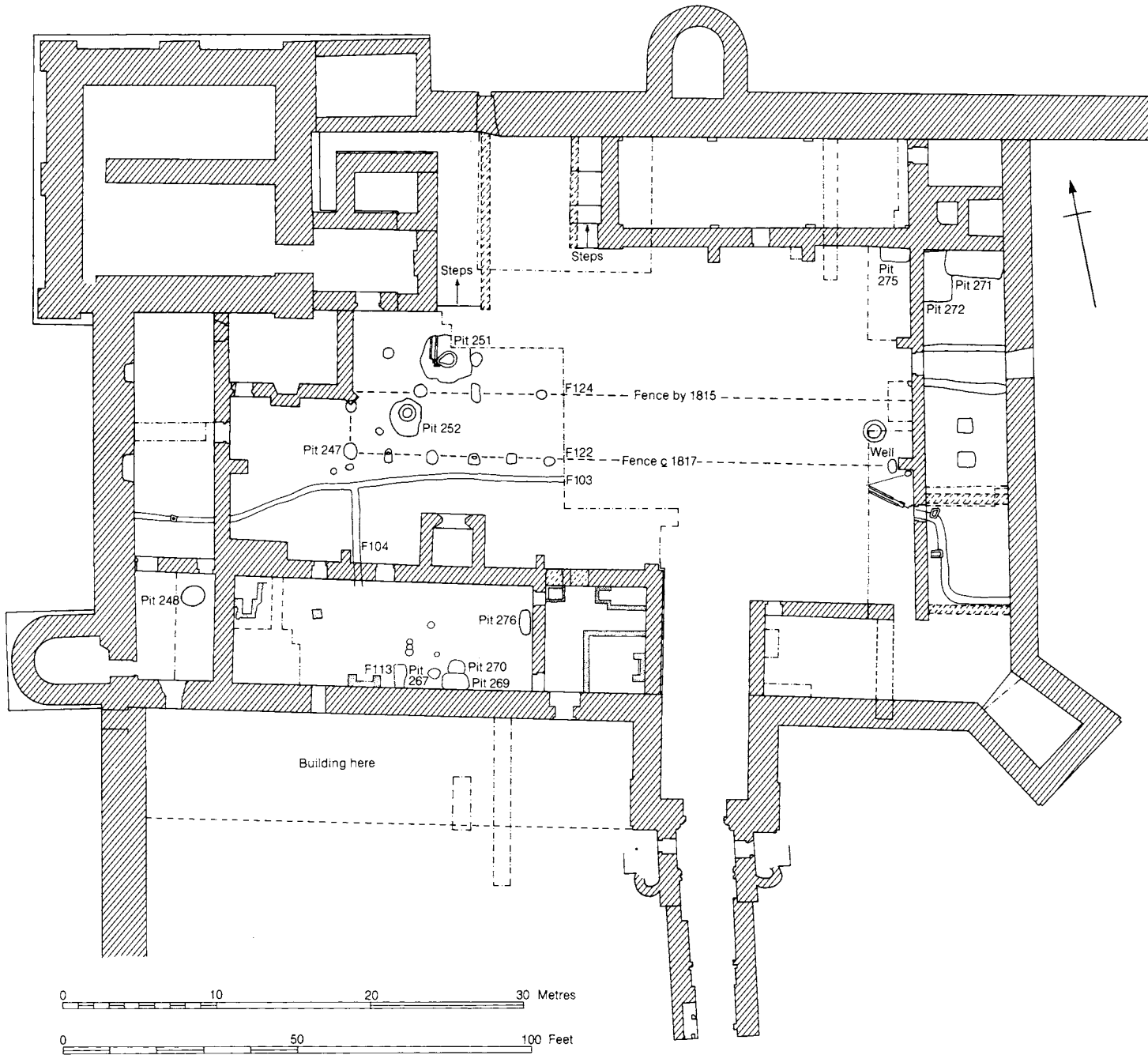


FIG. 11 Inner bailey: post medieval 1794-1819.

doorway cut through the inner bailey wall gave access between the new range and the old Richard II hall.

Little is known of the west and north west ranges at this period except that the north west range served as another cachôt or black hole. It was probably to make it more impregnable that the floor was deliberately lowered. The cell was conveniently within reach of the prison guard. The south east range was roofed at this time presumably for the convenience of the guards: a look-out point to oversee the corner of the prison compound was created within the wall. The south-east corner tower was walled across to create another cachôt.

Period 4: 1810–1815 (Fig. 11)

The refitting of the castle to serve as a prison in 1810 following eight years when the site was 'mothballed' and used as an ordnance store, probably had little structural effect on the buildings. But it was probably at this time that the old well, pit 252, was filled and an oven inserted into the south-east corner tower. The fence (F122) was now set up.

Period 5: 1815–1819 (Fig. 11)

Of the final use of the castle as a prison for deserters little is known. Indeed it is not known whether they occupied the keep and inner bailey or were housed in the prison huts in the north compound but the fence line (F122) dividing the inner bailey remained in use suggesting that the old castle buildings were still functioning. The derelict state of the castle in 1819, the year they left, is well depicted in a contemporary print (Cat. no. 24, Pl. XXIV).

BARRACK FIELD (Fig. 1)

In 1965 it was decided to build the public lavatory, originally destined for a site inside the fort immediately south of the Land gate excavated in 1961, on a more appropriate site outside the fort to the north of the road leading from the car park to the sea. To test the archaeology of the area a trench (trench 51) 15 by 31 ft (4.6 by 9.4 m) was excavated to the late medieval ground surface. A 3 ft (c. 1 m) wide trench along one side was taken down to natural brickearth (Pl. XLIIIa, Fig. 12).

The pre-eighteenth-century stratigraphy consisted simply of a dark brown subsoil with some small stones merging up to a stone-free turf line sufficiently developed to suggest that the area had been undisturbed pasture land for some centuries. Thereafter two layers of well-trampled chalky marl had been laid separated by a lens of grey chalky soil. The surface of the upper chalk layer was sealed by a layer of loose beach shingle up to 8 in (0.2 m) thick. Before the lower chalk make-up had been laid several parallel gullies had been cut into the old turf line. They averaged 9–12 in (0.2 to 0.3 m) wide and of equivalent depth. The profile varied but generally it was U-shaped.

The gullies by virtue of their discontinuous plan and varied profile were not part of a structure but are best interpreted as drainage gullies. The lower level of chalk make-up fills and seals them. Thereafter the chalk surface was exposed and a layer of chalky mud containing occupation debris was allowed to accumulate thickening to the south. The

EXCAVATIONS AT PORTCHESTER CASTLE

TRENCH 51

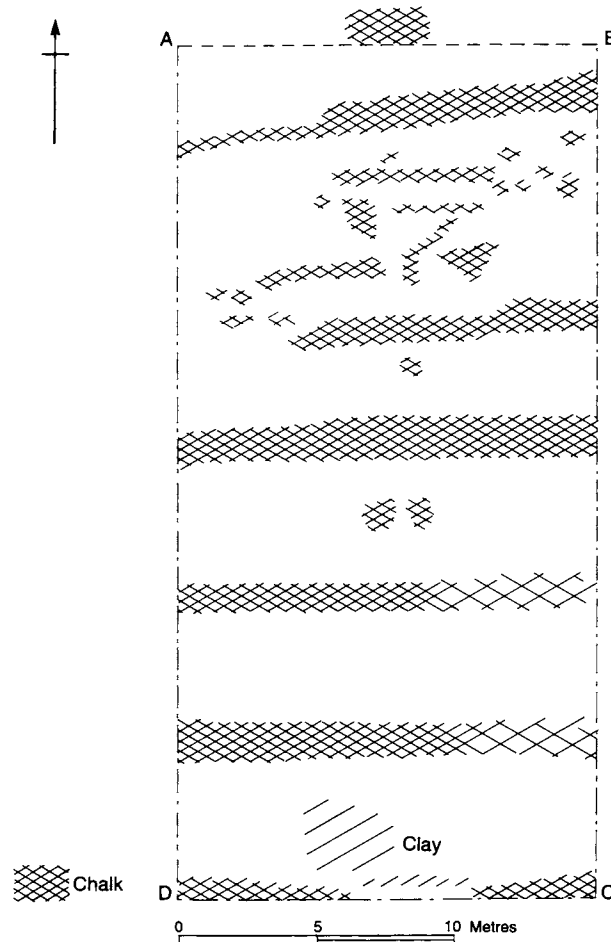


FIG. 12 Trench in Barrack Field showing chalk-filled gullies.

upper chalk spread sealed the entire area and served as a base for the spread of gravel.

It is apparent from the detailed plan of 1815 that the trench had been cut within the 'Parade ground' immediately to the north of the eastern barrack building. The archaeological evidence is entirely consistent with this.

DETAILS OF INDIVIDUAL STRUCTURES

In the following section brief details are given of the pits encountered in the area excavations in the outer bailey and in the inner bailey. Other correlations relating structural evidence to site codes and providing a variety of measurements will be found in the fiche section (Fiche 1:E1-F4).

The Pits

All pits found in the outer bailey and within the castle are summarized below. Details of the pottery will be found in the pottery report (pp. 70–83). The small finds from each major context have been listed in full in the fiche section (Fiche 1:G1–7). For details of the finds it is necessary to consult either the summary finds catalogue in the fiche section (Fiche 2:A3–D13) or the fuller descriptions given in the site archive.

Pit 1 (PC61, trench 1 pit A; trench 2 pit A) Phase 2

Profile shown on section 26 (Vol. 1, fig. 217).

Subrectangular pit cut against the wall of the fort measuring 9 ft 3 in by 4 ft 3 in (2.82 by 1.30 m) with sides sloping to a flat bottom 5 ft 2 in (1.58 m) below the contemporary surface.

The filling was of one phase and consisted of loosely packed stone, tile and flint and bricks in a grey clayey soil.

Pit 5 (PC61, trench 1 pit E; trench 2 pit B) Phase 2

Profile shown on section 26 (Vol. 1, fig. 217).

Subrectangular pit dug against the fort wall measuring 12 ft 6 in by 3 ft 6 in (3.81 by 1.07 m) with vertical sides and a flat bottom. Cut to a depth of 4 ft 6 in (1.37 m) below the contemporary surface.

Uniform fill of dirty orange gravel mixed with tile and flint.

Pit 9 (PC61, trench 3 pit A) Phase 4

Pl. XXVIa

Brick-lined cesspit built against the back face of the Roman wall measuring internally 3 ft 9 in by 4 ft 3 in (1.14 by 1.30 m) and dug to a depth of 3 ft 9 in (1.14 m) below the contemporary surface. The lining was one brick-length in thickness: a maximum of 15 courses survived. The bricks were laid in white mortar without regular bonding.

The filling was of brown soil mixed with numerous broken bricks and mortar rubble.

Pit 10 (PC61, trench 3 pit B) Phase 2

Not illustrated.

Oval-shaped pit cut against the back face of the fort wall, measuring 3 ft 6 in by 1 ft 9 in (1.07 by 0.53 m) and dug to a depth of *c.* 2 ft (0.6 m) below the contemporary surface.

Filled with black soil and flints.

Pit 15 (PC61, trench 3 pit G = layer 6) Phase 2

Not illustrated.

Subrectangular pit cut against the back face of the wall measuring 14 ft by 2 ft 6 in (4.27 by 0.76 m) dug to a depth of *c.* 4 ft 6 in (1.37 m) below the contemporary surface.

The uniform filling consisted of dark brown soil with patches of redeposited natural clay.

Pit 17 (PC61, trench 4 pit A = layer 2a) Phases 4–5

Profile shown on section 29 (Vol. 1, fig. 217).

Large subrectangular pit, dug against the back face of the fort wall, measuring 17 ft 6 in by 8 ft (4.89 by 2.44 m). It was excavated to a depth of 6 ft 6 in (2 m) below the contemporary surface but the bottom was not reached.

The filling, dumped in in one operation, consisted of clayey gravel mixed with lumps of mortar, some of which had been burnt, and bricks.

Pit 21 (PC61, trench 5 pit A) Phase 2

Not illustrated.

Rectangular pit, cut against the back face of the fort wall, measuring 7 ft 6 in by 4 ft (2.15 by 1.22 m). It was excavated to a depth of *c.* 3 ft (0.9 m) below the contemporary ground surface but the bottom was not reached.

The filling was of ashy grey soil and bricks mixed with patches of redeposited natural gravel.

Pit 25 (PC62, trench 8 pit A) Phase 2

Profile on section 1 (Vol. 1, fig. 209).

Circular pit, 4 ft (1.2 m) in diameter dug to a depth of *c.* 3 ft (0.9 m) below the contemporary surface.

Uniform filling of grey stony soil and bricks.

Pit 27 (PC62, trench 14 pit A) Phases 3–5

Not illustrated.

Brick-lined cesspit.

Filled with loose brick rubble and chalk.

Pit 32 (PC63, trench 38 layer 2) Phase 2

Profile shown on section 5 (Vol. 1, fig. 210).

Subrectangular pit 7 ft 6 in (2.29 m) wide and in excess of 9 ft (2.74 m) long. Excavated to a depth of 4 ft (1.2 m) below the contemporary surface but not bottomed.

Filled with a uniform deposit of grey clayey soil.

Pit 82 (PC68, trench 75 layers 55 and 8) Phase 2

Not illustrated.

Rectangular pit in outer bailey measuring 13 ft 3 in by 3 ft 8 in (4.04 by 1.42 m) and cut to a depth of *c.* 4 ft (1.22 m) from the contemporary surface.

The lower fill (layer 55) consisted of a dark brown clayey soil mixed with brick rubble and flints. Above this (layer 8) was a layer of mortar rubble mixed with large blocks of limestone and quantities of animal bone and charcoal.

Pit 102 (PC68, trench 75 layer 5) Phase 2

Not illustrated.

Rectangular pit in outer bailey measuring 15 ft 4 in by 4 ft 10 in (4.67 by 1.47 m) dug to a depth of 3 ft 4 in (1 m) below the contemporary surface. Cut by sewer trench F3.

The single phase filling consisted of grey soil and chalk marl mixed with large flint nodules, bricks, tiles and animal bone.

Pit 133 (PC79, trench 91 layers 6 and 45) Period 4/5

Section shown on section 7 (Vol. 1, fig. 211).

Rectangular pit, cut against south wall of fort in outer bailey, measuring 4 ft 8 in (1.42 m) wide and of unknown length. Cut to a depth of 5 ft 7 in (1.70 m) from the contemporary ground surface.

The lower fill (layer 45) consisted of dark grey gravelly soil mixed with some chalk which had eroded in naturally.

The upper fill (layer 6) extended also across the top of pit 134. It consisted of grey/brown soil with chalk containing brick rubble, flints and mortar together with fragments of human bones and broken pieces of gravestones.

Pit 134 (PC69, trench 91 layers 6 and 61; PC72, trench 107 layer 39) Phase 4/5

Section shown on section 8 (Vol. 1, fig. 211).

Rectangular pit, dug against south wall in outer bailey, measuring 16 ft 10 in by 4 ft 9 in (5.13 by 1.45 m) dug to a depth of approximately 4 ft (1.22 m) from the contemporary ground surface.

The lowest fill (trench 91 layer 61) consisted of brown soil mixed with chalk and contained fragments of human bone and broken pieces of gravestone. The upper fill (trench 91 layer 6 and trench 107 layer 39) has been described above for pit 133.

Pit 162 (PC70, trench 98 layers 20 and 40) Period 2

Not illustrated.

Rectangular pit in outer bailey, measuring 15 ft by 5 ft (4.57 by 1.52 m) cut to a depth of 3 ft (0.9 m) below the contemporary ground surface.

The lowest fill (layer 40) was brown soil mixed with tips of redeposited natural clay and large flints. The upper fill (layer 20) consisted of brown soil with flecks of chalk and mortar and small flints.

Pit 174 (PC70, trench 99 layers 51 and 101) Period 2

Section shown on sections 16 and 21 (Vol. 1, figs. 214 and 216).

Rectangular pit in outer bailey, of undefined length but measuring 5 ft 7 in (1.70 m) wide at the top, narrowing to 4 ft 8 in (1.42 m) wide at the bottom. Dug to a depth of 5 ft 3 in (1.60 m) from the contemporary surface.

The earliest fill (layer 101) consisted of black soil mixed with wads of redeposited natural clay which had been eroded from the side. The pit was then cleared out leaving part of this deposit *in situ* in the east end. The recut was deeper than the original. The later fill (layer 51) was a single deposit comprising dark brown soil with tips of bricks and flints.

Pit 212 (PC72, trench 107 layers 10, 11, 13, 14, 16;
trench 108 layers 4, 5, 8, 9, 10) Periods 4/5

Section shown on section 12 (Vol. 1, fig. 212); also Pl. XXVIII*b*.

Rectangular pit, cut against the south wall of the fort in the outer bailey, measuring 19 ft by 11 ft (5.79 by 3.35 m) at the top. The sides slope inwards to a flat bottom 8 ft 4 in (2.54 m) in width. Cut to a depth of 4 ft (1.22 m) from the contemporary surface.

The lowest fill (trench 108 layer 10) consisted of a silty grey/black soil with some gravel and a few large flints. The layer was the result of natural erosion. Then came a 6 in (0.15 m) thick deposit of charcoal (107 layer 18 and 108 layer 9). This was sealed by a thick deposit of grey soil with tips of bricks, flints and gravel (107 layer 8 and 108 layers 5 and 8). Above this came a tip of yellow mortar with large flints and other lumps of stone (108 layer 4), the fill finally being sealed by a deposit of chalk in brown soil (107 layer 10). The fill can be regarded as the result of a single rapid process and the finds are considered together.

Pit 213 (PC72, trench 107 layers 6, 7, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 24) Period 4/5

Pl. XXVIIIb

Rectangular pit against south wall in outer bailey, measuring 18 ft 9 in by 7 ft (5.71 by 2.13 m) cut to a depth of 3 ft 9 in–4 ft (1.14–1.22 m) below the contemporary ground surface.

The lowest fill (layers 19 and 20) consisted of a greenish-grey clayey soil mixed with flints, chalk and brick. This was sealed by a layer of black soil with flecks of chalk (layers 15 and 18) above which, over the eastern side of the pit was a layer of clay (layer 17) which had probably slipped in from the side. Next a layer of grey/black soil mixed with bricks, flints and lumps of limestone was thrown in (layers 6 and 7) and finally, over the western half of the pit the filling was sealed by dark brown sandy soil mixed with bricks, chalk and flints (layer 24).

Pit 248 (PC74, trench C36) Unphased

Circular pit in inner south-west chamber 5 ft (1.52 m) in diameter. Unexcavated.

Pit 251 (PC75, trench C39 layers 5, 6, 7) Period 3/4

Pl. XXXVIb

Brick-built water-storage pit in western part of the inner bailey courtyard with a narrow diameter at the mouth widening out to a maximum diameter of *c.* 10 ft (3.05 m). The depth was not ascertained but the filling was removed to a depth of 6 ft 8 in (2.04 m). Constructed of bricks set in white mortar (layer 6). Set in a large foundation pit packed back with redeposited natural clay and chalk (layer 7). The filling within the cistern consisted of grey soil mixed with flecks of chalk, flints and some stones (layer 5).

Pit 252 (PC75, trench C39 layers 8, 9, 10) Period 3/4

Pl. XXXVIa

Circular brick-built well in western part of the inner bailey courtyard measuring 3 ft 4 in (1.02 m) in diameter externally with walls one brick length in width. The bricks were both yellow and red and some had been reused (layer 9). Part of the eastern side had been rebuilt. Set in a well pit 6 ft 10 in (2.08 m) in diameter packed back with redeposited clay and soil (layer 10).

The well was not bottomed but was excavated to a depth of 9 ft (2.74 m). It was filled with grey soil and large lumps of stone including water-worn boulders all thrown in deliberately to fill the shaft (layer 8).

Pit 253 (PC75, trench C40 layer 6) Period 2

Rectangular pit in western part of the inner bailey courtyard measuring 10 ft 6 in (3.20 m) long. The width could not be ascertained because the pit was cut by the sewer (F3). It was cut to a depth of *c.* 4 ft (1.21 m) below the contemporary surface. Filled with black stony soil containing bottle glass and clay pipe stems.

Pit 259 (PC76, trench C42 layers 7 and 8) Periods 3/4

Large pit or well in the south-west corner of the Richard II kitchen cut within the arc made by the medieval drain. The well(?) was excavated only to a depth of *c.* 3 ft (0.9 m). Its upper fill (layer 8) consisted of grey soil mixed with bricks and tiles. The filling had subsided considerably and the hollow was then filled with concrete composed of small flints set in a cream-coloured chalky mortar (layer 7). Subsequently the filling sank again creating a void between the concrete and the upper fill.

Pit 260 (PC76, trench C42 layers 10, 11, 12, 13)

Periods 3/4

Pl. XXXIII

Brick-lined cesspit set in the north-east corner of the Richard II kitchen in an irregular foundation pit. The brick structure consisted of two conjoining brick-lined pits the smaller being significantly shallower than the larger. The larger measured 7 ft by 4 ft 6 in (1.37 m) internally. It was not excavated to the bottom but only to a depth of *c.* 3 ft (0.9 m). The smaller chamber at the east end measured 2 ft by 2 ft 2 in (0.61 by 0.66 m) and its bottom lay at 2 ft (0.6 m) below the present surface. The south wall of the larger pit measured a brick and a half thick; the other walls were only a brick length thick (layer 13). The space between the brick structure and the side of the foundation trench was filled with redeposited soil and clay (layer 10).

The filling within the pit consisted of grey stony soil mixed with bricks, tiles and lumps of mortar (layers 11 and 12).

Pit 262 (PC76, trench C41 layer 2 and C42 layers 37 and 38)

Period 3/4

Brick-lined cesspit in the north-west corner of the Richard II kitchen. The brick walls (C41 layer 2 and C42 layer 38) were a brick-width thick and survived to a height of four courses. The pit was filled with black soil and bricks (C42 layer 37).

Pit 263 (PC76, trench C43 layer 4)

Period 2

Rectangular pit in the western part of the inner bailey courtyard measuring 9 ft by 3 ft 6 in (2.74 by 1.07 m) dug to a depth of *c.* 3 ft (0.9 m) below the contemporary surface. The filling consisted of grey soil, mixed with flints and stone lumps.

Pit 267 (PC76, trench C44 layer 8)

Period 3?

Small circular pit within the Richard II hall, measuring 2 ft (0.61 m) in diameter. Surviving now to a maximum depth of 1 ft 3 in (0.38 m). Filled with dark grey soil containing lumps of greensand and mortar (layer 8).

Pit 269 (PC76, trench C44 layer 10)

Period 3?

Rectangular pit within the Richard II hall, measuring 5 ft 8 in by 3 ft 4 in (1.73 by 1.02 m) surviving to a maximum depth of 2 ft 5 in (0.74 m). Filled with dark brown soil and redeposited natural clay mixed with flints and brick and tile.

Pit 270 (PC76, trench C44 layer 11)

Period 3?

Circular pit within the Richard II hall, measuring 3 ft 8 in (1.12 m) in diameter surviving to a maximum depth of 1 ft 6 in (0.46 m). Filled with grey gritty mortar and redeposited natural clay. Pit 270 was cut by pit 269.

Pit 271 (PC77, trench C45 layer 7)

Period 3/4

Large rectangular pit set in the north-east corner of the east range, measuring 12 ft by 5 ft 8 in (3.66 by 1.73 m). Excavated to a depth of 1 ft 4 in (0.41 m) but not bottomed. Its filling consisted of grey soil with brick fragments and glass.

Pit 272 (PC77, trench C45 layer 8)

Period 3/4

Rectangular pit set in the north-west corner of the east range, measuring 11 ft 6 in by 6 ft 4 in (3.51

by 1.93 m). Surviving to a maximum depth of 1 ft 6 in (0.46 m). It was filled with grey soil mixed with lumps of stone, mortar and brick.

Pit 273 (PC77, trench C45 layer 56)

Irregular-shaped pit cut against the inner bailey wall in the east range, measuring 2 ft 4 in by 2 ft 2 in (0.71 by 0.66 m). Only the top foot or so was excavated. Filled with grey soil mixed with lumps of greensand, mortar, tiles and bricks.

Pit 275 (PC76, trench C46 layer 5)

Period 3/4?

Rectangular pit cut in the extreme north-eastern corner of the courtyard. It measured 6 ft by 2 ft 6 in (1.83 by 0.76 m). It was filled with black soil containing bricks. The filling was excavated to an arbitrary depth of a foot below the surface.

Pit 276 (PC77, trench C47 layer 4)

Period 3/4?

Oval-shaped pit cut against the east wall of the Richard II hall. It measured 4 ft by 2 ft (1.22 by 0.61 m) and survived to a depth of 4 ft (1.22 m). It was filled entirely with stone blocks and flints with a grey gritty soil between. The filling suggests that the pit had been dug as a soakaway.

Pit 277 (PC78, trench C49 layer 4)

Period 3/4?

Circular pit dug against the south curtain wall in the south east range. It measured *c.* 3 ft (0.9 m) in diameter and survived to a maximum depth of 1 ft 6 in (0.45 m). The filling consisted of a very fine white clay laminated in such a way that it had clearly been laid down as the result of settling out from a clay and water suspension. The clay may have been intended to be used for fulling.

Pit 282 (PC79, trench C51 layer 17)

Periods 3/4

Section is illustrated on section 5 (Vol. 4, fig. 19).

Circular pit in the northern part of the inner bailey courtyard measuring 4 ft 6 in (1.37 m) in diameter surviving to a depth of 4 ft 6 in (1.37 m). The fill, deposited at one time, consisted of grey soil mixed with bricks and slates. The lower part was more pebbly and had probably washed in from the sides just prior to filling.

Pit 300 (PC68, trench C28 layers 2 and 24)

Periods 3/4

Brick-lined cesspit composed of two rectangular conjoined compartments of different sizes set in the north-west corner of the Richard II hall range. Only the lower two courses of brickwork have survived the 1930s levelling. Within the floor of the larger compartment the floor had been dug away to create a pit 7 ft 7 in by 1 ft 8 in (2.31 by 0.51 m). The lower filling (layer 4) consisted of grey soil, flints, bricks and tile. It was sealed by black soil containing brick rubble (layer 2).

Pit 301 (PC73, trench C34 layer 5 and trench C35 layer 5)

Period 2

Rectangular pit in the western part of the inner bailey courtyard. It measured 10 ft by 5 ft (3.05 by 1.52 m) and was dug to a depth of *c.* 3 ft (0.91 m) below the courtyard surface. The lower fill was of soil which had been washed in from the sides. Thereafter the pit was filled deliberately with tips of slate, moulded stone, mortar and brick rubble. Cut by pit 302.

Pit 302 (PC73, trench C35 layer 4)

Period 2

Pl. XXXI*b*

Rectangular pit in the western part of the inner bailey courtyard. It measured 16 ft 6 in by 4 ft (5.03 by 1.22 m): the pit was not bottomed. The filling was of grey stony soil containing slates and tiles. Cut into the filling of pit 301.

IV. DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

The documentary sources relating to life at Portchester Castle from the time of Norden's survey in 1609, which was taken as the terminal date for Volumes III and IV in this series, and the year 1819, when the last prisoners – British deserters – were marched out of the camp and this volume comes to an end, are copious and varied. We make no claim to have trawled every possible source or even to have identified the existence of all the relevant documents. We have been selective throughout concentrating on the sources which have documented structural and functional changes to the castle and noting in passing those which reflect upon the life of the people who lived at the site – the prisoners, their guards and the military garrisons. Sufficient has been discovered to provide a tight chronology for the changing uses to which the castle has been put and to explain and date the significant structural modifications observed in the standing structure and the archaeological evidence. Over and above this it is all too easy to stray into the realms of social history. It is a temptation which we have not rigorously shunned, in the belief that the physical record of the site's history is most appropriately explored against the background of the people who lived there, but nor have we allowed ourselves to indulge too wantonly in the mass of fascinating detail available to the social historian of this period. What we offer in the final synthesis is, we hope, a judicious balance appropriate to an excavation report. The full story of Portchester as a prison remains to be written.

In the sections to follow we offer some brief comment on the sources available together with transcripts of the more important texts dealing with structural changes to the castle. A calendar of texts arranged in chronological order will be found in the fiche section (Fiche 1:A3–D7).

SOURCES IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE BY MICHAEL T. THORNHILL

A number of archival materials relating to the Admiralty's use of Portchester Castle as a prisoner of war camp can be found at the Public Record Office in Kew, London. The scope and nature of these surviving records has yet to be properly assessed and attempts to achieve this task are likely to be hindered by the vague and sometimes imprecise forms of indexing which often characterized record-keeping in the period under review. It is the purpose of this note, therefore, to offer some preliminary guidance as to the best means of navigating a course through the vast mass of Admiralty archives in the search for relevant material.

The administrative structures which lay behind the creation of the prisoner of war records centred on the proceedings of the medical departments, namely the Sick and Wounded Board from 1653 to 1796 and then the Transport Board up until 1817. The civilian commissioners who ran these departments were responsible for the relief of sick and wounded seamen as well as the detention of prisoners. Their work was overseen by the Navy Board

which reported directly to the secretary of state. This was the main organ responsible for the civil administration of naval affairs including the upkeep of dockyards, the maintenance of repair bases around the world, and the purchase of raw materials and supplies. All major policy decisions and matters involving large amounts of money were referred by the medical departments to the Navy Board. At the foot of this hierarchy was the Agent for Prisoners who was charged with the day-to-day running of a particular prisoner of war depot. Enough material has survived to give a valuable insight into the interaction of all three tiers in this chain of command.

Information on the physical development of Portchester Castle as a prison can be found in a number of record groups. ADM 97 and ADM 98 (respectively, letters received and letters sent by the medical departments) probably contain most material although information regarding building work and general improvements can also be found in the miscellaneous papers of the Sick and Wounded Board and the Transport Board in ADM 105. The surviving material, however, appears to be of a somewhat fragmentary nature at least until the beginning of the Napoleonic Wars after which it does become more extensive. Furthermore, the indexing of the individual files in these categories is of a very general nature so the researcher should be prepared for a long trawl through many documents in the search for specific evidence. There are, of course, exceptions to this rule such as the excellently organized files listed as 'Letters to the Agents at Portchester' (1810-15) contained in ADM 98/252 and ADM 98/253.

An examination of ADM 105 (files 59 to 66) offers a glimpse into the daily concerns of life at Portchester during the Napoleonic period. Papers relating to the appointment of various members of staff including the turnkey and the prison hospital's matron and steward are deposited here as are the terms of contract for these positions. The Transport Board issued numerous directives on how the prisoners were to be looked after, specifying, for instance, basic standards for meals, stating that prisoners' clothing was to be kept in good repair, and ruling that each prisoner was to have a blanket to sleep under. To ensure that the depots were run according to regulation an inspector of prisons was periodically appointed by the Admiralty. In 1797 an Admiralty inspector visited Portchester and papers relating to this visit can be found in ADM 105/59 and /60. Merchants, bakers and traders all vied with one another to win contracts from the Transport Board (and before that the Sick and Hurt Board) to supply the Admiralty's prison depots with their essential requirements. Some of the contracts entered into between the years 1806-1816 have survived and can be found at ADM 98/305-307. They include the agreements to supply Portchester Castle with clothing and blankets, bread and fish, candles and soap, as well as port wine for medical purposes.

Registers of the prisoners detained at Portchester after 1794 can be found in ADM 103. The files in this category are in the form of general entry books compiled by the agent in charge of prisoners. The data recorded includes the prisoner's name, his rank or occupation, the circumstances of his capture and the means of his eventual disposal. The registers are arranged by nationality and there is no general index of names. Lists of prisoners taken in earlier eighteenth-century wars tend not to be indexed and so the search for registers is likely to be protracted. It is possible that some lists may lay hidden in the lengthy miscellaneous sections of ADM 97, ADM 98 and ADM 105.

For those interested in placing Portchester Castle into the wider context of Admiralty and, ultimately, governmental machinery, an examination of the Transport and Sick and Wounded Boards' relationship with other Admiralty departments, particularly those concerned with fiscal policy, is a good way to proceed. At ADM 10/14 there is a schedule of accounts and papers covering the years 1794 to 1816 for the section of the Transport Board concerned with prisoners of war. General policy questions concerning prisoners of war as well as detailed information on particular prison depots, including Portchester, can be found in ADM 99. This record group consists of the minutes of meetings held by the Transport Board to discuss P.O.W. matters. There are 170 files for the twenty years after 1796 (references 92 to 262). Less specific references include the ledgers of the Admiralty's Committee of Accounts at ADM 106 and the papers of the Admiralty's Treasurer in ADM 15, ADM 16 and ADM 20. These files are organized in date order and begin in the seventeenth century. Letters sent by the Treasury to the Transport Department from 1781 to 1818 are at ADM 108/4A to 8.

A brief survey of the Admiralty's archives shows that the records from the Napoleonic period are not only wider in range than those relating to earlier wars, but also more detailed. The magnitude of the Napoleonic Wars is clearly significant in this respect. Also important, however, is the fact that many valuable sources from earlier conflicts may have been either lost or destroyed due to the manner in which records were stored in the eighteenth century. This problem was first addressed by the Record Commissioners who met between 1800 and 1807. Their report stated that many government records were 'unarranged, undescribed and unascertained, . . . many of them . . . exposed to erasure, alienation and embezzlement and . . . lodged in buildings incondious and insecure.' It was not until the 1838 Public Records Act that action was taken to rectify these problems by establishing a central repository – there were more than fifty different repositories in London at this time – in which the records could be sorted, repaired, listed and shelved (Martin & Spufford 1990, 1–2). A comparison of the records from the Napoleonic period with, say, the Seven Years War or the War of the Spanish Succession suggests, however, that the 1838 Act may have come too late to save large parts of the Admiralty's prisoner of war records.

Finally, mention must be made of the War Office files. The War Office file WO6/187 contains out letters referring to the exchange of prisoners during the Napoleonic Wars while WO5/34–110 is a valuable source for the marching orders of the militia serving as the Portchester Guard between 1740 and 1814. Other PRO records consulted include the Treasury records for 1706–12 catalogued as T1.

The key problem facing the researcher is one of judging the amount of evidence available and knowing where to find it. This guide has concentrated on the archives of the Admiralty's Medical and Transport Boards because they were the departments specifically charged with matters relating to prisoners of war. A thorough examination of the files in these categories is thus likely to yield a relatively high return of material on Portchester. Specific information relating to the interaction of these departments with other Admiralty and government departments is likely to be more difficult to locate. In any case the best place to begin researching a particular subject is with *Kew Lists P.R.O. (fiche edition) H.M.S.O. Books (1988)*, the official guide to Britain's public records.

OTHER DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

The parish registers for Portchester, preserved in the Portsmouth City Record Office, provide details of baptisms, marriages and deaths from 1665 offering an insight into aspects of the lives of many of the men serving in the militia and of their families.

Events at Portchester during the Napoleonic Wars were sometimes reported in the *Times* (after 1794) and more frequently in the *Hampshire Telegraph* (after 1799).

Several secondary sources also contain stories of prison life. Among the most useful, since it draws on personal reminiscences, is W. Woodward, *Portchester Castle, its origins, history and antiquities* published at Portsea in 1845. A later account, making use of Woodward's anecdotes but adding more based on some original research is Colonel Cooke's *History of Portchester Castle* (c. 1920). Francis Abell's *Prisoners of War in Britain 1756 to 1815. A Record of their Lives, their romance and their sufferings* (Oxford University Press 1914) Chapter XII is also worth consulting for the colourful account of prison life. All three, as might be expected, are not referenced and contain inaccuracies.

Of the contemporary writings, of outstanding value is the account written by Louis Garnary, who spent eight years as a prisoner, held for most of the time on the hulks moored off Portchester. It was first published in English as *The French Prisoner* (Merlin Press 1957).

SELECTED DOCUMENTS

From among the copious documentation referring to the castle four letters have been selected for full presentation. Each provides a vignette of the castle at a specific moment reflecting upon the use of the buildings and the changes thought to be necessary to bring them into a state to serve their contemporary uses. The letters, in addition, throw an interesting light on contemporary government bureaucracy.

1. 24 August 1712

Letter from Isaac Townsend, His Majesty's Dock Yard near Portsmouth
To Robert Earl of Oxford, Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain
My Lord

In pursuance of your lordships commands to me to view Portchester Castle to give my Opinion whether the same be a fitting place to erect a brewhouse for her Majesty's Navy.

I have accordingly viewed the said Castle, carefully weighed everything touching that affair, and humbly return my thoughts thereon as followeth.

That within the walls of the castle there is ground sufficient to build a brewhouse with all other conveniences for such purpose but that none of the materials thereof will in my opinion be of any use for such service.

That there is but one overall well in the castle, in depth Twenty Three feet, Diameter Three, and in it 6 ft. 9 in. Water, where by computation contains no more than One Tunn and three quarters, And when this well is drained according to the information of

One William Fisher that lives in the castle as also other people of the Neighbourhood it will rise up in twelve hours or thereabouts to the above height again. Viz. 6ft 9in water.

That it is very difficult in night time or foggy weather to go to, of from Portchester in a laden boy with a Leading Gale, but more so , if contrary, from the windings and narrowing of the upper part of the Channell, besides all Southerly and southwester winds within these parts generally blow two thirds of the year and so dead upon that shoar. Detain all vessells getting from Portchester unless they chance to be very moderate.

That it is from Portchester Castle to the dockyard. Estimation four miles.

Having thus given a just account of what has ocured to my observation I can by no means, for the reasons, think Portchester Castle a proper place for a brewery for His majesty's navy, it being certain to give due dispatch to the public service and more specially at a Port that is capable to fitt out so many ships upon any Imergency that the said Brewery ought to be placed as nigh to the Centre of Business as possible which otherwise as in Distance there from, will of course in proportion to much obstruct the service, And therefore most humbly coceive that point of very great import to settle. All the other Offices (that excepted) being accomodate at hand to send such stores as the officers shall think proper to demand for their better Conveniency of stowage / in fitting out the Queens Ships for Sea Service.

This is what I have humbly to offer in Obedience to – your Lordships commands on the subject matter as is being submitted to your Lordships consideration.

I remain with all the duty full respect.

My Lord.

Your Lordships most obedient and most faithfull humble servant.

PRO T1/151/22

Cal. T.P. 1708–1714 CL1, 22

2. 18 March 1742

Letter from Sick and Wounded Board to Thomas Corbett

Apon the receipt of your letter of the 10th instant relating to a complaint of the Prisoners in Portchester Castle, to the Right Honourable the Lords Commisioners of the Admiralty, “That most of the Rooms in the said castle were exposed to the Inclemency of the weather at top and full of mire and mud underneath, which had destroyed their health”. We desired Mr Hills, who was then at Gosport, to take a strict veiw of the Prisoners appartments in the castle, and let us know what truth there was in the said Complaint; and having this day received a report of the matter from him, a copy of it is herewith enclosed, and we desire you to lay it before their Lordships.

Sir your most humble servants

WB CA.

Extract of a letter of the 16.3.1742, from Commissioner Hills to the other Commissioners of sick and wounded seamen.

I have only plainly to answer Mr Corbett's letter to you relating to the petition of the Spanish prisoners complaining of the leakage of the top of the Castle, and their lodging Rooms being very nasty; by which means their health was much impaired, I enquired strictly into the first of these Articles, and could neither see nor hear of any leakage from the top or sides of their lodgings, they have brooms to sweep out their Apartments which is done every other day, and the dirt carried out and thrown into the ditch. The area of the Castle was cleaner than ever I saw it, only there was some holes in which the water stood for want of a drain to carry it away into a common sewer. The cook Room is at present very bad which might easily be repaired with some – loads of gravel, high enough for the water to run off.

PRO ADM/98/1, p. 120

3. 30 January 1745

Letter from Sick and Wounded Board to Thomas Corbett

Apprehending some time since, that the Inner Bailey Court of the Castle of Portchester, which is all the Prisoners have to Air themselves in, was not quite extensive enough for the purpose in point of Health, and the outer wall of the castle being so much gone to ruin, as not to afford any security for them, were they permitted to be between the two walls in the day time, nor to be repaired without great charge, and there being a field of about three acres, between those walls, which would very well answer the end, were it properly fenced in, We caused an Estimate of the expense of doing it to be made, which is herewith enclosed, and We desire you to lay it before the Rt. Hon the Lods Commissioners of the Admiralty, humbly proposing to the consideration of their Lordships, whether it may not be very right to give the airing place so secured as a means not only to preserve health amongst them, and perhaps many lives, which may otherwise be lost, but even to save great part of that Expense, which sickness may otherwise occasion to the Crown.

We are Sir Your most Humble Servants

WB, NH.

19.1.1744/5 Portchester Castle

An estimate of fencing in the field adjoining to the castle wall with palisades of Fir? timber from the corner of the Guard Romm to the lower end wall eastward containing 580 feet in length.

The fence to be with two rails to each pannell, each panell to be ten feet in length and five feet 6 inches high from the ground to the top.

The posts to be two feet and six inches in the ground, and six by five inches square.

The posts to be cut out of whole Deals and plained to be 4 inches wide each and 3 inches space between each to be pointed sharp on the top, with lantern Hooks on each top, to be well nailed and done in a substantial workmanlike manner for the sum of £58.15.6.

To putting a double door and case with locks and hinges into the north wall where Centinels goes through to relieve the guard.

£2.2.0

To mending two breaches in the east wall one 7 feet by 4 feet square, and one 7 feet

by 7 feet 6 inches square, to be 2 feet in thickness.

£2.2.0

To mending 4 breaches in the north wall one 20 feet by 5 feet square, one 4 feet by 2 feet square, one 6 feet by 4 feet square and one 4 feet by 4 feet square. The square thickness as above.

£ 5.10.0

To making good to the above mentioned door case with brickwork.

£0.8.6.

PRO ADM/98/2, 199

4. 29 October 1745

Letter from Sick and Wounded Board to Thomas Corbett

We desire you to acquaint the Right honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that upon our receiving your letter of 4th of this month touching on information that the rebels had been tampering with the prisoners of war at Plymouth. We dispatched circular orders to our Agents at the ports, to take all possible care to prevent any intercourse between the prisoners in their custody, and other people, either by letter message or conversation, but what they should read or hear according to the instructions they were under in that behalf.

That Mr. Brooke Our Agent for French prisoners at Portsmouth apprehending that when the 500 lately ordered to him from Plymouth should become to Portchester, the usual number of Centinels might not be sufficient to prevent some such Correspondance between the rebels and the prisoners; he consulted the Commanding Officer of the troops at that place, about an Augmentation of the Guards and this having been agreed by them to be necessary, and in Consequence thereof, that the guard house or Barrack should be enlarged in proportion, or some fit place hired instead of so doing, the village of Portchester not being capable in their opinion of quartering the reinforcement, which should be rent to the party. Wherefore the Agent to save us an estimate of the charge which would attend the work desiring our directions upon the matter.

And,

That thereupon we ordered a proper person, who had been often employed by us upon like occasions to consider of and let us know, which way the work might be best done to answer the End, what the expense of it would be, and to make provisional contracts for it, this he has done, and a copy of the particulars of that expense is here inclosed which we desire you to lay before their Lordships, humbly proposing to their consideration, whether there is now any real occasion for a stronger guard than was thought sufficient heretofore when 1100 prisoners were in the castle since if not, all the proposed expense may be saved, except that which relates to a privy for the Guard; and We the rather propose this question, because we have not yet been able to learn there has ever been any such tampering as is above mentioned with the prisoners at Plymouth, and are therefore apt to believe there has been none at any other place.

We are Sir,

YMHS WB,NH,CA,TC.

Estimate of the Charge of Additional Barracks proposed to be built for the Guard appointed to look after the prisoners of war in Portchester Castle.

Raising the Castle Wall and sloping it £3.0.0.

A foundation 1 1/2 ft deep 1 1/2 Brick thick £6.15.0.

Outer walls 7 feet high, 1 brick thick £15.15.0.

Paving of the best of common brick at the beds feet £1.17.0.

Two stacks of chimneys to be 4 1/2 ft wide in the clear and funnels about 20 ft high £8.0.0.

Plaintiling plastered to the Cin[?] £21.0.0.

A floor under the beds below, joists of oak not above a foot apart, boarding of single yellow Deal clear of sap £15.0.0.

A Story of stairs £1.5.0.

A floor in the cavity of the roof £6.1.6.

Five two light Window frames of oak, a casement to each glazed with common glass; A door case of oak, door of yellow deal, with hinges, lock, catch and bolt £5.9.0.

Roof of spruce poles rined, not to exceed a foot apart plates 7 by 5

Beams, every ten foot, 8 by 1 of yellow firr £18.4.6.

Two substantial iron grates with cheeks, fender and poker £5.0.0.

Total £107.7.0.

32 Men in 16 Beds below.

22 Men in 11 Beds above.

Brickwork £5.0.0.

Tyling £3.4.0.

Flooring £4.10.0.

Roofing £2.8.0.

Doorcase, door and window frames etc. £2.2.0.

Altering the door now leading to the Dungeon and making a new way, with a chimney where the door is £3.12.0.

A grate and utensils £1.14.0.

Total £22.10.0.

This room for Officer commands the whole place.

A necessary house for Officers on one side and private men on the other £3.0.0.

V. EPIGRAPHIC SOURCES

A number of prisoners incarcerated in the castle amused themselves inscribing their names, and sometimes other details such as the dates of their sojourn, on the walls of the castle in places where the building materials were sympathetic to such a treatment. The amount of useful information provided by these graffiti is comparatively limited and for this reason no systematic attempt has been made to list each one but since they are a part of life in the castle to omit reference to them altogether would be to neglect an aspect of the available evidence.

The interest of the graffiti lies in part in the places chosen by the prisoners to execute them. Two particular clusters, one in the room above the Land gate, the other in the south-east corner tower of the inner bailey reflect the work of prisoners who had committed some misdemeanour, usually attempted escape, and were locked up as punishment in a Black Hole or cachôt. Another group, at the top of the spiral staircase leading to the roof of the keep probably owe their existence to the agreeable nature of the spot where the prisoners could relax in light and fresh air and this may also be the reason for another concentration on the northern outer face of the corner tower of the inner bailey. Other names scattered about the castle, particularly on the ashlar of the inner bailey wall, are more likely to have been encouraged by the smooth, even-textured quality of the stone which made it easy to cut.

The graffiti themselves sometimes give details of the reasons for incarceration and duration of the sentences but more often are simply names or initials frequently with dates. The names sometimes incorporate details of origin while the dates correspond with the periods when the castle was used as a prison.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE PRINCIPAL INSCRIPTIONS

A brief survey of some of the more informative inscriptions and a selection of photographs will give some impression of the range of detail available.

The south-east tower of the inner bailey (Pls. XLIV–XLV)

Inside the south-east tower there is a small group of well cut contemporary inscriptions. The fullest (Pl. XLV) was carved by Joseph Sochet of Dollondu Duc(?) giving his date of incarceration as 22 April 1756 and recording that he was exchanged on 31 March 1761. Another prisoner, whose name appears to read F.B. Rechard, also records the dates 1756 and 1761 (Pl. XLIV*a*) presumably his term of imprisonment. Other names include Jean de Vin 1756, Thomas Demigue (Pl. XLIV*b*), M. Lavrant (Pl. XLIV*c*) and Vincent, possibly the same as Jean de Vin whose name appears several times in different forms (Pl. XLIV*d* and *e*). All the names here were of men captured during the Seven Years War.

Keep, top of the stairs (Pls. XLVI–XLVII)

A considerable group of names and initials were inscribed where natural daylight hit the wall of the spiral staircase as it opened onto the roof of the keep. The clearest and most precisely carved are the names of P. Gourdon de la Rochelle.1745; I. Cergand.1745.de Cognac; P(indecipherable) de Xaintonge; P. Caborit.1745.de Marsili. This collection of names is carved on two adjacent blocks in similar lettering and presumably represents a group of sailors, mainly from Western France, taken together in 1745 (Pl. XLVI). The other names are mostly single and are carved in a variety of styles (Pl. XLVII). Most appear to be French but at least one Dutchman, Piet Vanghent, was present. Many are dated: 1745 (7), 1756 (3), 1759 (1), 1763 (2), 1781? (1), 1797 (9).

Gateway to the inner bailey

A collection of names and initials are carved at random on the walls, those dated covering a wide range of dates: 1745, 1747, 1757, 1759, 1768, 1797 (twice) and 1814.

Inner bailey curtain wall

Names appear at intervals along the curtain wall but the largest concentration is low on the outer face of the north side of the corner bastion. The names, often abbreviated or reduced to initials, where recognizable were all French. The dates recorded are 1796 (2), 1797 (9), 1799 (1), 1800 (2), 1805 (1), 1808 (2), 1810 (2), 1811 (3). It is interesting to note that there are no dates of the middle of the eighteenth century here presumably because prisoners were not allowed free access to the outer bailey until the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.

The upper chamber of the Land gate (Pls. XLVIII–LI)

The inscriptions in the Land gate are altogether more complex. The majority of them were carved in good light on the jambs of the two west-facing windows or on the jambs of the nearby door. In addition to names and dates several include a reference to the offence – DEZART (desert) for which the individual was incarcerated, and a record of the time spent. One of the clearest (Pl. XLVIII) records Jean Le Gras of Lorient who received 140 days for desertion in 1756 and another (?)40 days for attempted desertion ('pour avoir dezarte') in 1757. Another Frenchman Nicholas Naxrielle of Avallon was locked up for desertion for 130 days in 1757. Several others are dated to 1756 and 1757. There is also a group of English, or more likely American, names belonging to the period 1796 to 8 – John Yarold, F. John Gill, Thomas Collins and John Rigby. One possible Dutch name, L. Van Loge (Pl. XLVIII) was inscribed without a date. A selection of the inscriptions is given in Pls. XLVIII–LI.

VI. THE POST MEDIEVAL POTTERY

The quantity of pottery recovered is not large nor is it of particular value for dating contexts. Much of the pottery comes from general layers associated with the airing yard where residuality is likely to be high and disturbance considerable. However 15 pits and six other contexts produced well-stratified assemblages and these are presented here in full together with a few other sherds selected for their intrinsic interest. The quantifications and descriptions are by Beverley Garratt and Richard Osgood. Ken Barton kindly read the text and made many helpful comments which have been adopted.

The stratigraphical evidence allows the pits to be divided into four groups as follows:

Phase 2:	1740-63	- Pits 1, 8A, 10, 82, 102, 263
Phase 3:	1794-1810	- Pits 133, 212, 213
Phases 3-4:	1794-1815	- Pits 260, 267, 269, 273, 282
Phase 5:	1815-17	- Pit 5

The pottery groups are in no way exceptional. Their interest lies solely in the fact that they reflect military supplies. Assemblages of this kind are rarely encountered on archaeological sites. As might be expected most of the pottery comprises mainly locally manufactured earthenwares which would have been supplied in bulk under contract. The most useful comparative collection comes from Oyster Street, Portsmouth (Fox & Barton 1986) to which reference should be made.

FABRICS

By far the highest percentage of the pottery is of local manufacture and would no doubt have been supplied by contractors to the military authorities. The finer wares may have come from the detritus of the garrison or as the result of trade between the prisoners and the local population.

Red earthenwares

Coarse red earthenware with a clear glaze sometimes streaked with iron. Probably manufactured in the region but the source or sources have not been identified.

Verwood wares

Sandy fabric ranging from white/grey to red/brown with a green to yellow glaze. Manufactured at Verwood in the New Forest.

Donyatt ware

Buff fabric with white slip finger sgraffito under a lead glaze. One fragment only. Manufactured at Donyatt in Somerset.

Surrey white wares

Fine white/cream earthenware with rich green glossy glaze probably from kilns in the Surrey/Hants border region.

The finer wares occur in much smaller quantities. The most common are grey/brown mottled stoneware flagons or tankards probably manufactured in London (Fulham) or Bristol: some of the tankards bear WR or GR excise marks. There are also a few fragments of Westerwald stoneware. Other fabrics come mainly from the Staffordshire production centres and include transfer-printed white wares, slip ware, Jackfield ware and Pearlware. There are also a few sherds of tin-glazed earthenwares with a blue decoration from Bristol or London.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE STRATIFIED GROUPS (Figs. 13–18)

Pit 1 (PC61 1 pit A; 2 pit A) Phase 2a–c: 1740–63

1. Straight-sided dish with kiln scar on the rim. Coarse buff earthenware: green–yellow glaze inside (10 sherds).
2. Jug. Buff grey earthenware: green–yellow glaze over decoration of incised wavy lines (1 sherd).

Total assemblage: 16 sherds representing 6 vessels. 858 gm

Buff earthenware 858 gm: 16 sherds (not illustrated, 5)

Pit 10 (PC61 3 pit B) Phase 2a–c: 1740–63

3. Ointment pot. White tin-glazed earthenware: traces of cobalt blue decoration (complete).

Total assemblage: 1 sherd representing 1 vessel. 190 gm.

Pit 17 (PC61 4 pit A) Phase 5: 1815–19

4. Chamber pot. Red earthenware with internal yellow glaze over white slip (12 sherds).

Total assemblage: 15 sherds representing 4 vessels. 740 gm

Red earthenware 696 gm: 14 sherds (not illustrated, 2)

Stoneware 44 gm: 1 sherd (not illustrated)

Pit 25 (PC62 8 pit A) Phase 2a–c: 1740–63

5. Jar. Red earthenware: internal glaze (7 sherds).
6. Dish. Coarse red earthenware: glazed inside (6 sherds).
7. Jar. Buff earthenware: green glaze (24 sherds).
8. Jug. Buff earthenware: partial green glaze (10 sherds).
9. Jar. Buff earthenware: partial iron-streaked glaze (6 sherds).
10. Jug. Buff earthenware: green glaze outside (7 sherds).
11. Jar. Buff earthenware: green glaze inside (4 sherds).
12. Dish. Buff/grey earthenware: green glaze inside (3 sherds).
13. Dish. Buff earthenware: green glazed inside (1 sherd).
14. Dish. Buff/grey earthenware: yellow/green glaze inside (1 sherd).
15. Dish. Buff/grey earthenware: yellow/green glaze inside (1 sherd).

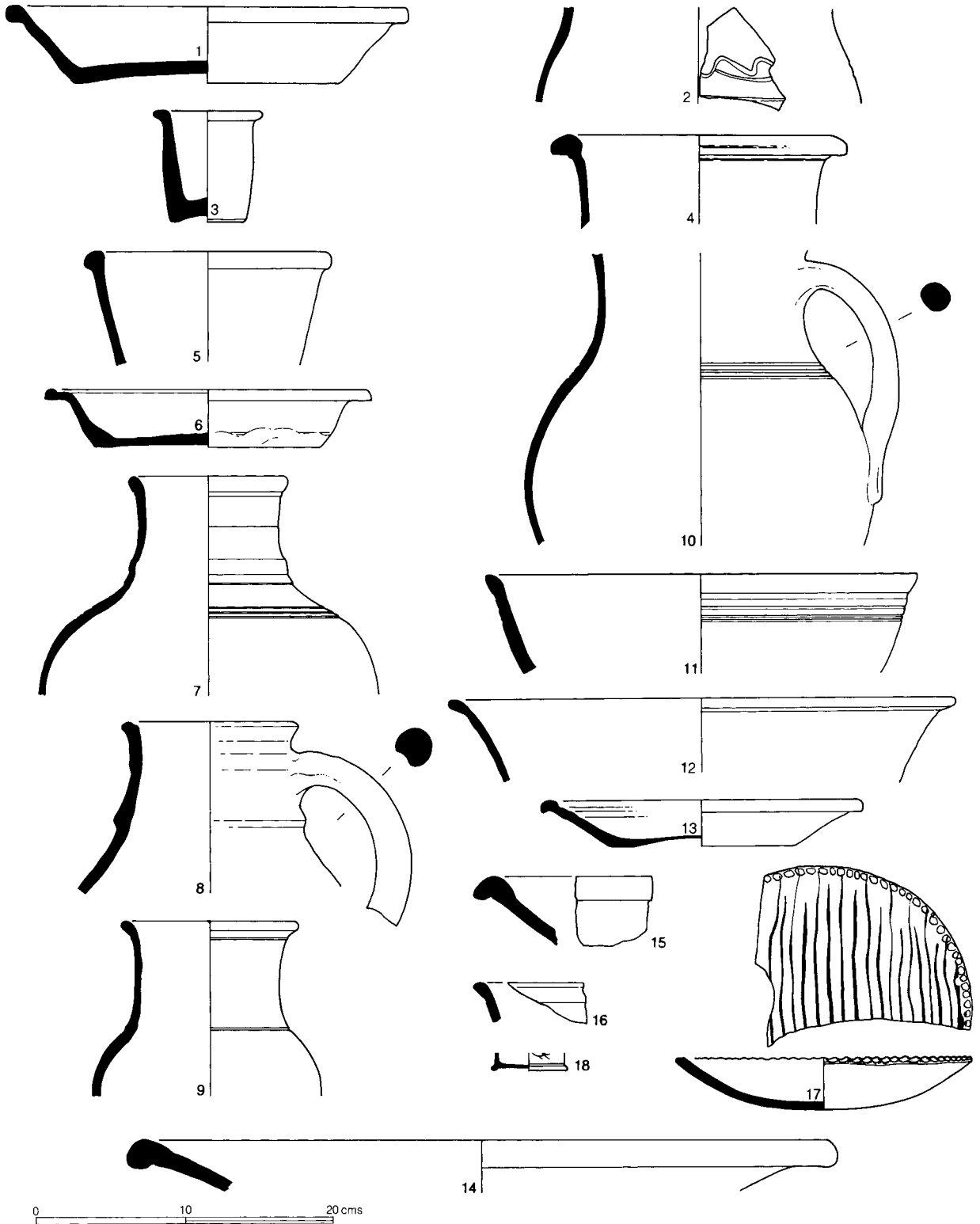


FIG. 13 Pottery.

16. Jar. Buff/grey earthenware: green glaze inside (2 sherds).
17. Dish. Buff earthenware with yellow and brown slip beneath clear lead glaze. Probably Staffordshire or Bristol (3 sherds).
18. Jar. White salt-glazed stoneware with dark blue decoration. Staffordshire (1 sherd).

Total assemblage: 127 sherds representing 20 vessels. 4931 gm
 Buff earthenware 3586 gm: 84 sherds (not illustrated, 29)
 Buff/grey earthenware 528 gm: 18 sherds (not illustrated, 11)
 Red earthenware 532 gm: 13 sherds
 Grey earthenware 271 gm: 11 sherds (not illustrated)
 Staffordshire white stoneware 14 gm: 1 sherd

Pit 82 (73 layers 8 and 55) Phase 2a–c: 1740–63

19. Shallow bowl. Coarse red earthenware: iron streaked glaze (4 sherds).
20. Jar. Red earthenware: iron-rich glaze on the inside. Signs of sooting (1 sherd).
21. Jar. Red earthenware: iron-rich glaze (1 sherd).
22. Lid. Red earthenware: splashes of white slip giving a yellow glaze inside (1 sherd).
23. Dish. Coarse red stoneware: yellow glazed inside. Sooted (2 sherds).
24. Dish. Buff earthenware: yellow green glaze inside, sooted outside. From Verwood (2 sherds).
25. Jug. Pink/buff earthenware: green glazed outside and inside of neck. From Verwood (3 sherds).
26. Dish. Buff/grey earthenware: green/yellow glaze inside. Sooted. From Verwood (1 sherd).
27. Jar. Buff/grey coarse earthenware: green/yellow glaze. From Verwood (1 sherd).
28. Drug or ointment jar. White tin-glazed earthenware (1 sherd).
29. Tankard. Grey stoneware, probably German (1 sherd).
30. Tankard. Buff stoneware: iron dipped at top. 'WR' excise mark. From Fulham (13 sherds).

Total assemblage: 47 sherds representing 28 vessels. 1493 gm
 Red earthenware 413 gm: 13 sherds (not illustrated, 4)
 Buff/red/grey earthenware 281 gm: 16 sherds (not illustrated, 9)
 Fine white earthenware 39 gm: 1 sherd
 Stoneware 560 gm: 17 sherds (not illustrated, 3)

Pit 102 (75 layer 5) Phase 2a–c: 1740–63

31. Dish. Coarse buff/red earthenware: yellow glazed. From Verwood (3 sherds).
32. Jar. Buff/red earthenware: yellow glazed inside. From Verwood (1 sherd).
33. Jug. Buff coarse earthenware: green glazed. From Verwood (1 sherd).
34. Tankard. Buff stoneware: iron dipped. 'GR' excise mark (1 sherd).

Total assemblage: 14 sherds representing 10 vessels. 498 gm
 Red earthenware 158 gm: 7 sherds (not illustrated)
 Buff earthenware 274 gm: 5 sherds
 Stoneware 66 gm: 2 sherds (not illustrated, 1)

Pit 133 (91 layer 6) Phase 3: 1794–1810

35. Jar. Coarse red earthenware: internal glaze sooted at rim (2 sherds).

36. Jar. Buff/grey earthenware: green internal glaze. From Verwood (1 sherd).

Total assemblage: 4 sherds representing 3 vessels. 758 gm

Red earthenware 675 gm: 2 sherds

Buff/grey earthenware 73 gm: 1 sherd

Stoneware 10 gm: 1 sherd (not illustrated)

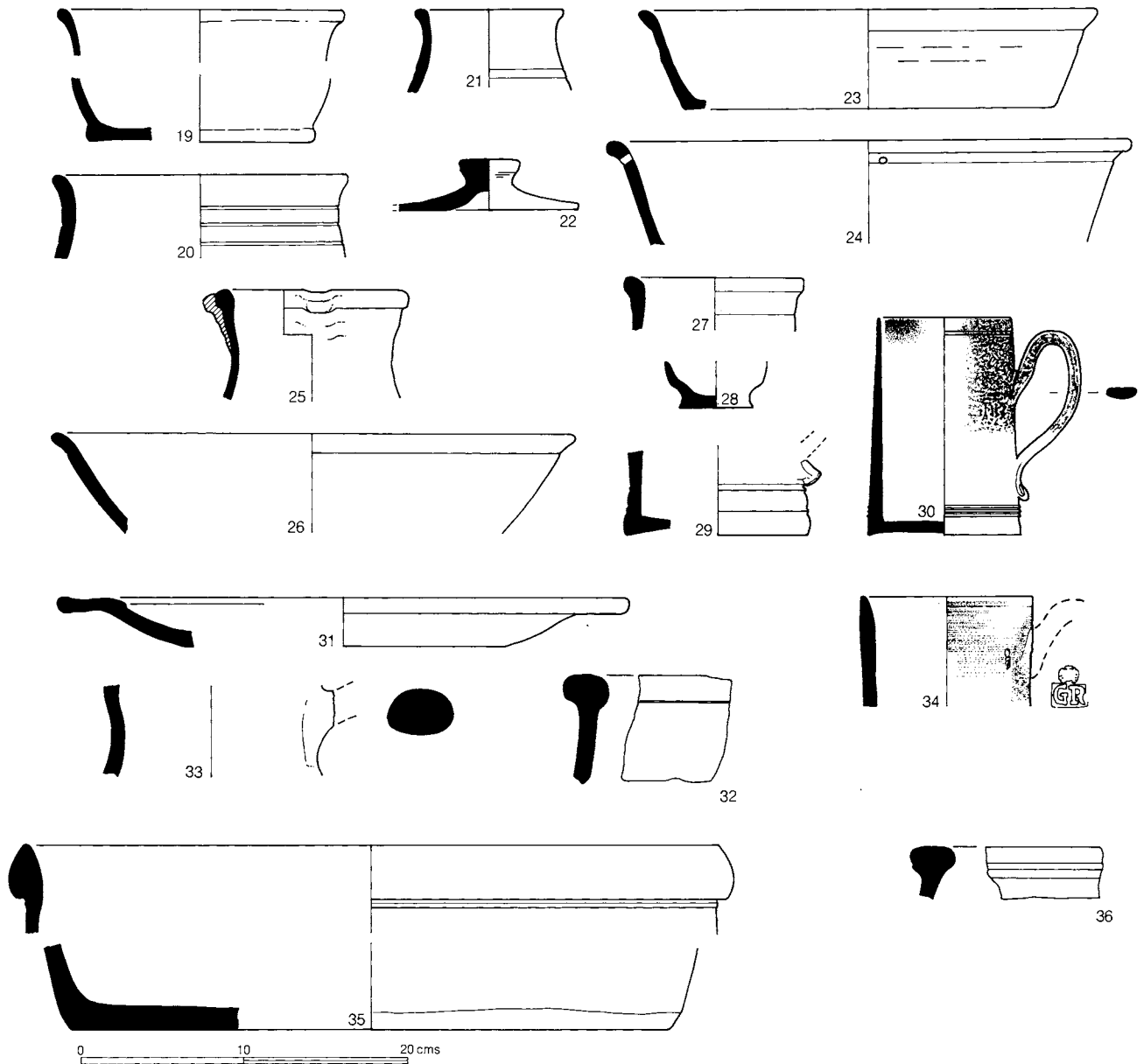


FIG. 14 Pottery.

Pit 212 (108 layers 4, 5, 10 and 11) Phase 3: 1794–1810

37. Cup. Pearlware: lead glaze (2 sherds).
38. Dish. Refired white earthenware: lead glaze (1 sherd).
39. Plate. Pearlware: lead glaze (1 sherd).
40. Dish. Pearlware: lead glaze (8 sherds).
41. Bowl. Refired white earthenware. Marbled and painted slip in brown and white on brown, green rim under lead glaze. Staffordshire (14 sherds).
42. Bowl. Refired white earthenware. '22' in dark blue under clear glaze (1 sherd).
43. Salt cellar. White earthenware: tin glazed (1 sherd).
44. Dish. Coarse red earthenware: internal glaze (1 sherd).
45. Dish. Coarse red earthenware: internal glaze (1 sherd).
46. Jar. Coarse red earthenware: internal glaze (3 sherds).
47. Jar. Coarse red earthenware: internal glaze (2 sherds).
48. Jar. Coarse red earthenware: internal glaze (1 sherd).
49. Jar. Coarse red earthenware: internal glaze (1 sherd).
50. Jar. Coarse red earthenware: internal iron-rich glaze (1 sherd).
51. Chamber pot. Coarse red earthenware: internal glaze (2 sherds).
52. Bowl? Coarse red earthenware: black iron glaze (2 sherds).
53. Bottle. Red/buff earthenware: green internal glaze (1 sherd).
54. Dish. Buff/red earthenware: yellow/green glaze (1 sherd).
55. Plate. Buff earthenware: yellow/green glaze (1 sherd).
56. Bottle. Grey stoneware: iron dipped (2 sherds).
57. Bottle. Grey stoneware: iron dipped (1 sherd).
58. Jar. Grey stoneware: cream slip inside, iron-rich glaze outside (2 sherds).

Total assemblage: 264 sherds representing 111 vessels. 7553 gm

Pearlware 3542 gm: 161 sherds (not illustrated, 150)

White or cream ware 310 gm: 33 sherds (not illustrated, 16)

Coarse red earthenware 2440 gm: 43 sherds (not illustrated, 29)

Buff earthenware 98 gm: 3 sherds

Stoneware 1163 gm: 24 sherds (not illustrated, 19)

Pit 213 (107 layers 15, 17 and 18) Phase 3: 1794–1810

59. Plate. Pearlware: clear glaze. 'Pearlware' (1 sherd).
60. Plate. Pearlware. 'Feather edge' decoration with blue infilling (1 sherd).
61. Dish. Coarse red earthenware: internal glaze (1 sherd).
62. Jar. Coarse red earthenware: internal glaze (2 sherds).
63. Dish. Coarse red earthenware: internal glaze (4 sherds).
64. Jar. Coarse red earthenware: internal glaze (1 sherd).
65. Jar. Coarse red earthenware: internal glaze (1 sherd).
66. Jar. Coarse buff earthenware: green glazed (1 sherd).
67. Jar. Red/buff earthenware: yellow green glaze (2 sherds).
68. Jar. Coarse buff earthenware: green glazed and sooted (2 sherds).

Total assemblage: 19 sherds representing 12 vessels. 724 gm

Pearlware 90 gm: 4 sherds (not illustrated, 2)

Red earthenware 533 gm: 9 sherds

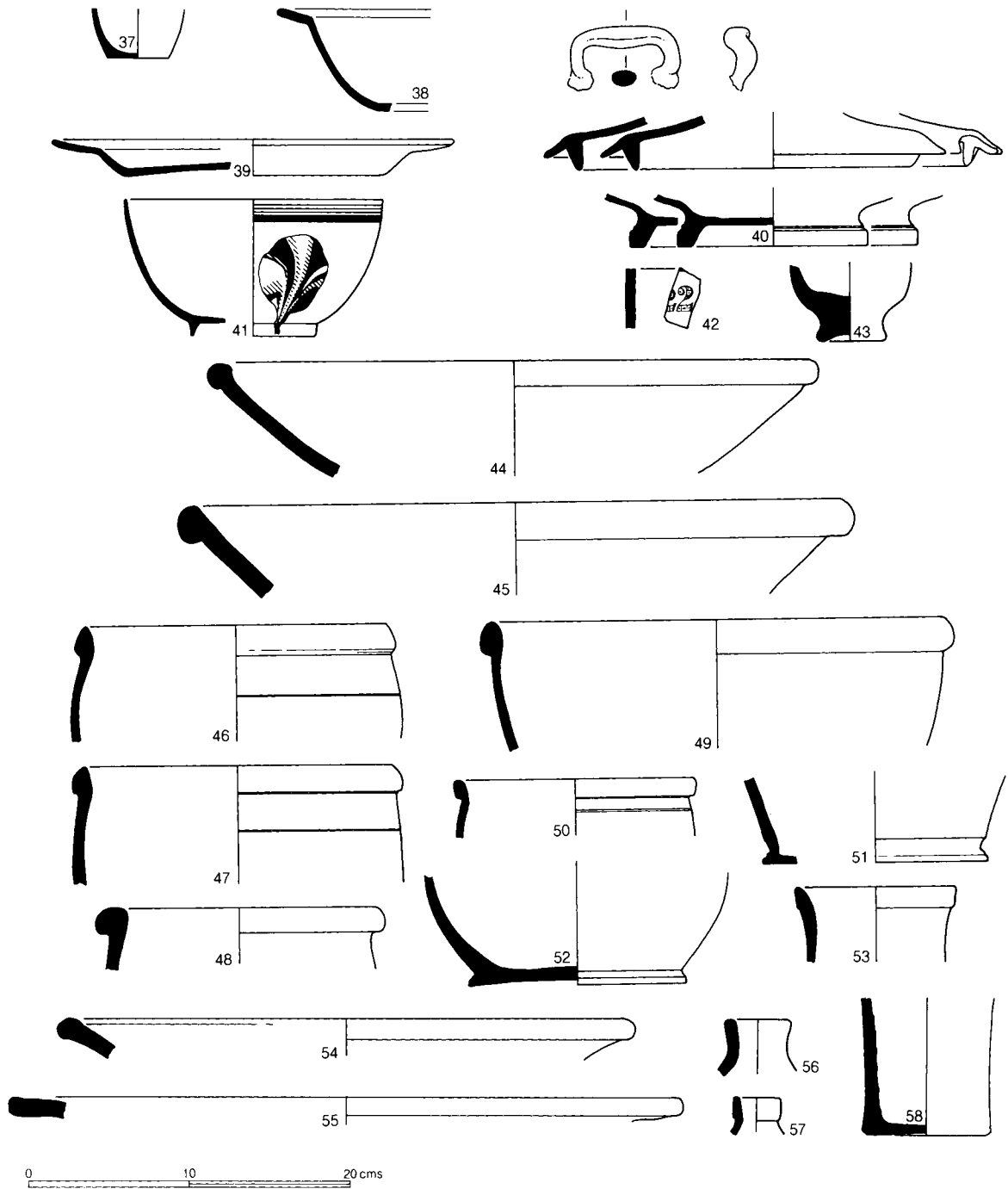


FIG. 15 Pottery.

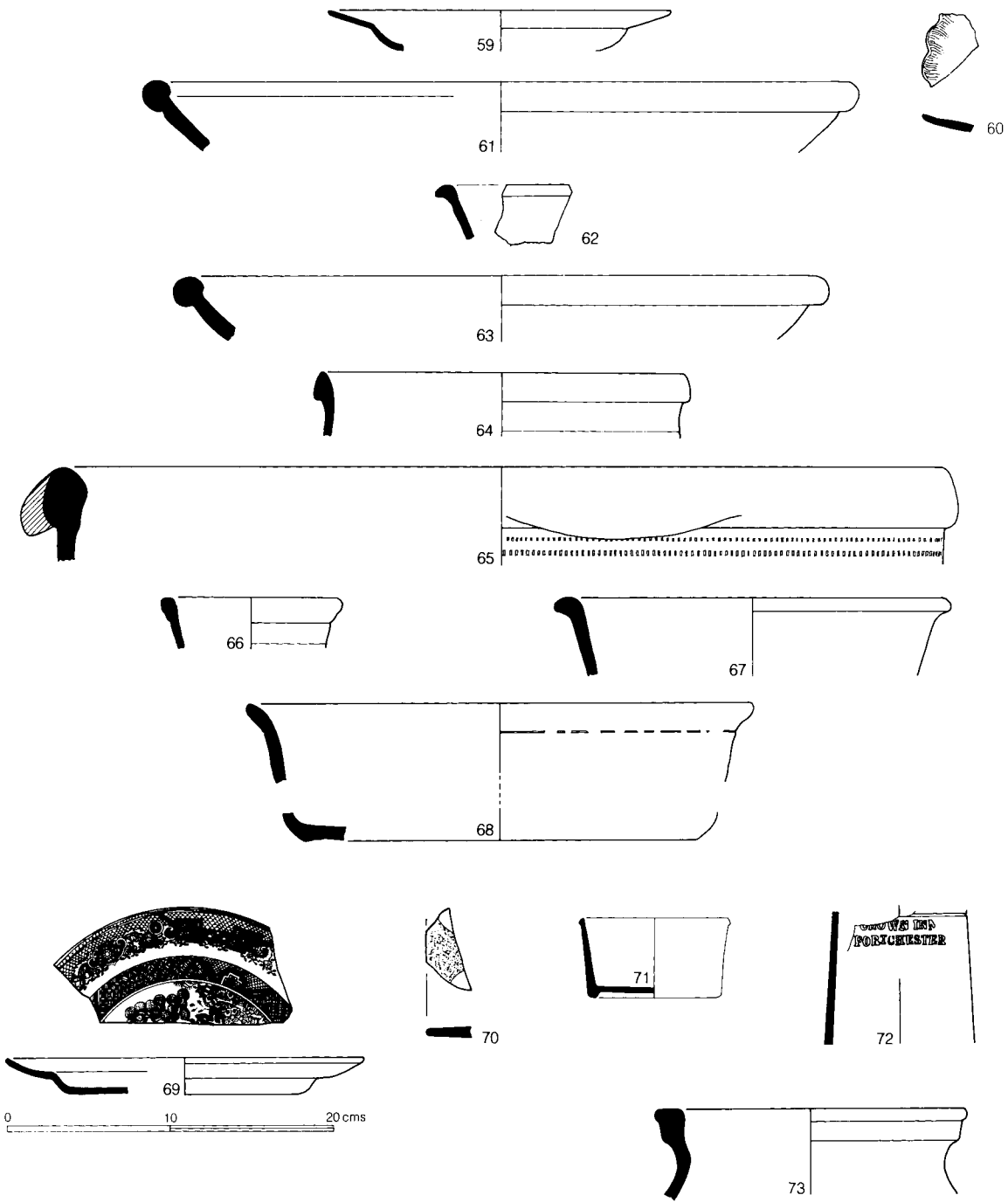


FIG. 16 Pottery.

Red/buff earthenware 149 gm: 5 sherds
 Grey stoneware 2 gm: 1 sherd (not illustrated)

Pit 260 (C42 layer 11) Phase 3-4: 1794-1815

69. Plate. Transfer printed ware with blue transfer decoration. 'New Faience' stamp on back. 'Staffordshire' (11 sherds).
70. Plate. Cream earthenware: manganese dusted under tin glaze (1 sherd).
71. Paste pot. China (4 sherds).
72. Tankard. Grey stoneware: brown iron slip. Metal die stamped 'Crown Inn Portchester'. From Fulham (1 sherd).

Total assemblage: 36 sherds representing 11 vessels. 696 gm
 Pearlware 130 gm: 3 sherds (not illustrated)
 White earthenware (Staffordshire?) 140 gm: 20 sherds (not illustrated, 9)
 China 68 gm: 4 sherds
 Cream earthenware 6 gm: 1 sherd
 Coarse red earthenware 158 gm: 3 sherds (not illustrated)
 Stoneware 188 gm: 5 sherds (not illustrated, 4)

Pit 263 (C43 layer 4) Phase 2: 1740-63

73. Jar. Grey earthenware: green glaze. From Verwood? (1 sherd).

Total assemblage: 2 sherds representing 2 vessels. 82 gm
 Grey earthenware 70 gm: 1 sherd
 Red earthenware 12 gm: 1 sherd (not illustrated)

Pit 267 (C44 layer 8) Phase 3-4: 1794-1815

74. Handled cup. Buff earthenware: green glaze inside and over rim. From Verwood (2 sherds).
75. Handled cup. Buff earthenware: yellow glaze inside: sooted. From Verwood (3 sherds).

Total assemblage: 8 sherds representing 5 vessels. 198 gm
 Buff earthenware 182 gm: 6 sherds (not illustrated, 1)
 Red earthenware 6 gm: 1 sherd (not illustrated)
 Stoneware (Westerwald) 10 gm: 1 sherd (not illustrated)

Pit 269 (C44 layer 10) Phase 3-4: 1794-1815

76. Jar. Coarse red earthenware: green glazed. Sooted (2 sherds).
77. Jar. Coarse buff earthenware: green glazed. From Verwood (1 sherd).
78. Base. Coarse buff earthenware: green glazed. From Verwood (1 sherd).
79. Tankard. Westerwald stoneware. Blue horizontal bands (2 sherds).
80. Tankard. Westerwald stoneware. Blue horizontal bands (1 sherd).

Total assemblage: 10 sherds representing 7 vessels. 306 gm
 Coarse red earthenware 174 gm: 5 sherds (not illustrated, 3)
 Coarse buff earthenware 50 gm: 2 sherds
 Westerwald stoneware 82 gm: 3 sherds

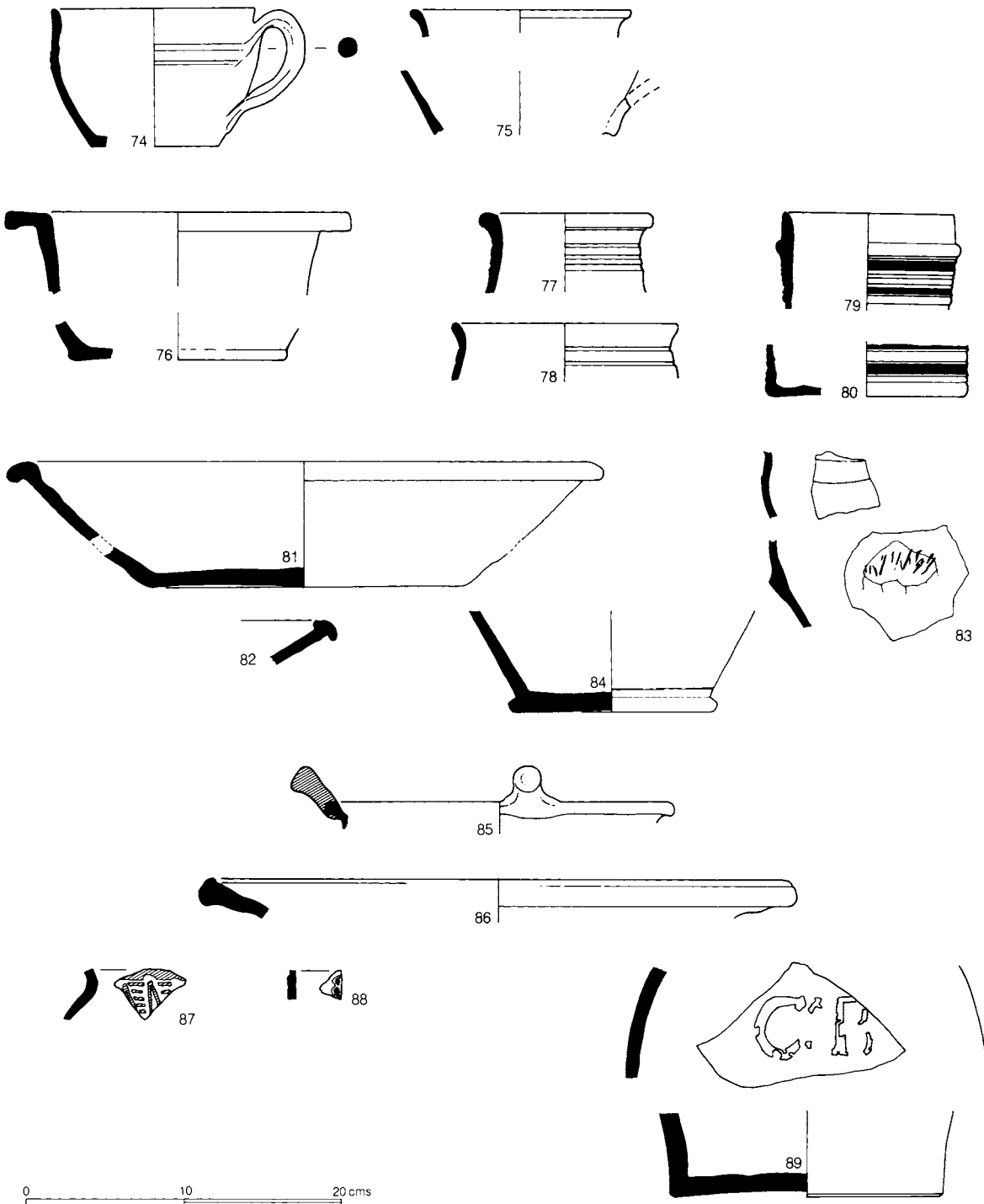


FIG. 17 Pottery.

Pit 273 (C45 layer 56) Phase 3-4: 1794-1815

81. Dish. Coarse buff stoneware: glazed inside. From Fulham? (5 sherds).
 82. Dish. Buff coarse earthenware: yellow green glaze. From Verwood (2 sherds).
 83. Jug. Buff coarse earthenware: partially green glazed. Sooted. From Verwood (5 sherds).
 84. Jar. Buff coarse earthenware: splashes of glaze. Sooted. From Verwood (8 sherds).

Total assemblage: 48 sherds representing 11 vessels. 1554 gm
 Coarse red earthenware 1188 gm: 15 sherds (not illustrated)
 Red/buff earthenware 248 gm: 24 sherds (not illustrated, 9)
 Surrey border white ware 16 gm: 3 sherds (not illustrated)
 Stoneware 12 gm: 6 sherds (not illustrated, 1)

Pit 282 (C51 layer 7) Phase 3-4: 1794-1815

85. Chafing dish. Coarse red earthenware: green glaze (1 sherd).

Total assemblage: 4 sherds representing 4 vessels. 41 gm
 Coarse red earthenware 30 gm: 1 sherd
 White earthenware 6 gm: 1 sherd (not illustrated)
 Surrey border white ware 4 gm: 1 sherd (not illustrated)
 Porcelain 1 gm: 1 sherd (not illustrated)

Feature 109 (C44 layer 20) Phase 3-4: 1794-1815

86. Plate. White earthenware: yellow slip, dark green glaze (Surrey border white ware) (1 sherd).

Total assemblage: 5 sherds representing 4 vessels. 116 gm
 Coarse red earthenware 52 gm: 4 sherds (not illustrated)
 Surrey border white ware 64 gm: 1 sherd

Feature 113 (C44 layer 7) Phase 3-4: 1794-1815

Total assemblage: 7 sherds representing 3 vessels. 254 gm
 Pearlware 54 gm: 5 sherds (not illustrated)
 Coarse red earthenware 200 gm: 2 sherds (not illustrated)

Feature 117 (C52 layer 4) Phase 2?: 1740-1763

87. Jar. Coarse red earthenware: green glazed. Slip finger sgraffito decoration. From Donyatt (1 sherd).
 88. Tankard. Westerwald stoneware: blue decoration, floral (1 sherd).

Total assemblage: 4 sherds representing 4 vessels. 30 gm
 Red earthenware 24 gm: 2 sherds (not illustrated, 1)
 White ware ('Staffordshire') 4 gm: 1 sherd (not illustrated)
 Westerwald stoneware 2 gm: 1 sherd

Feature 118 (C48 layers 4, 5, 6 and 7) Phase 3: 1794-1810

89. Flagon. Grey stoneware: iron dipped. Initials 'C.B.'(?) written on side in white slip (5 sherds).

Total assemblage: 11 sherds representing 6 vessels. 708 gm
 Grey stoneware 620 gm: 5 sherds
 Pearlware 26 gm: 1 sherd (not illustrated)
 Staffordshire 12 gm: 1 sherd (not illustrated)
 Coarse buff/grey earthenware 50 gm: 4 sherds (not illustrated)

Feature 121 (C50 layer 5) Phase 3: 1794–1810

90. Dish. Coarse red earthenware (1 sherd).

Total assemblage: 10 sherds representing 7 vessels. 257 gm
 Red earthenware 177 gm: 3 sherds (not illustrated, 2)

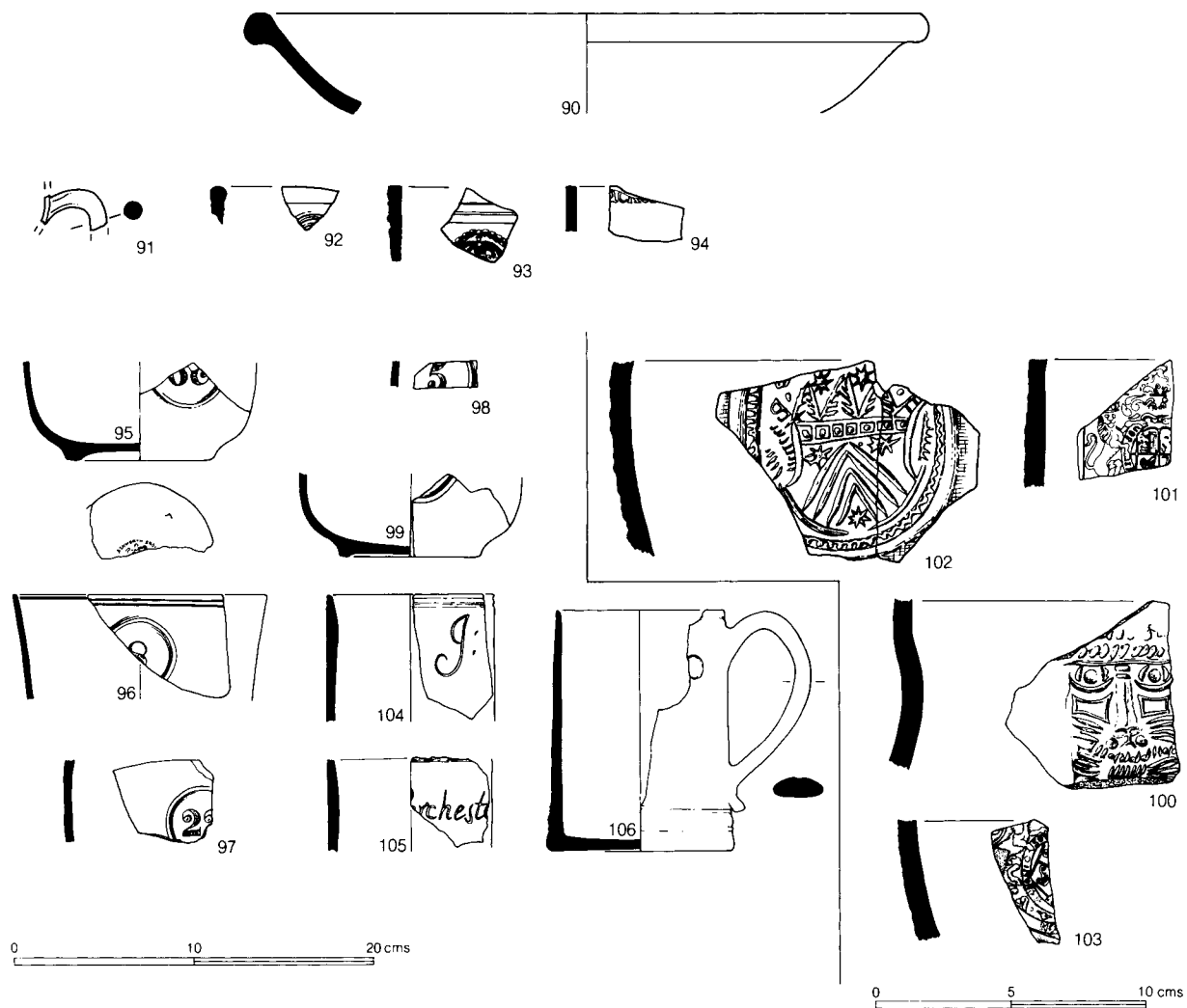


FIG. 18 Pottery.

Coarse buff/grey earthenware 74 gm: 6 sherds (not illustrated)
 Surrey border white ware 6 gm: 1 sherd (not illustrated)

Palisade trench (91 layer 22) Phase 3-4: 1794-1815

Total assemblage: 14 sherds representing 8 vessels. 469 gm
 Red earthenware 395 gm: 8 sherds (not illustrated)
 Pearlware 66 gm: 4 sherds (not illustrated)
 Staffordshire 8 gm: 2 sherds (not illustrated)

Palisade trench (94 layers 21 and 76) Phase 3-4: 1794-1815

91. Handle. Hard grey earthenware: iron-rich black glaze. Jackfield ware (1 sherd).
92. Rim. Red earthenware: dark brown glaze (1 sherd).
93. Tankard. Westerwald stoneware. Blue decoration and moulded medallion probably of William III (1 sherd).
94. Tankard. Grey stoneware: iron dipped. Metal die stamped '...acks...' ? Jackson. From Fulham (1 sherd).

Total assemblage: 20 sherds representing 17 vessels. 308 gm
 Pearlware 6 gm: 1 sherd (not illustrated)
 Coarse red earthenware 116 gm: 5 sherds (not illustrated, 4)
 Coarse buff earthenware/Verwood 114 gm: 7 sherds (not illustrated)
 Surrey border white ware 22 gm: 3 sherds (not illustrated)
 Jackfield ware 12 gm: 1 sherd
 Grey stoneware 24 gm: 2 sherds (not illustrated, 1)
 Westerwald stoneware 14 gm: 1 sherd

Palisade trench (101 layer 14) Phase 3-4: 1794-1815

Total assemblage: 6 sherds representing 6 vessels. 70 gm
 Red earthenware 24 gm: 2 sherds (not illustrated)
 Coarse buff earthenware 36 gm: 3 sherds (not illustrated)
 Surrey border white ware 10 gm: 1 sherd (not illustrated)

Palisade trench (107 layer 2) Phase 3-4: 1794-1815

Total assemblage: 2 sherds representing 2 vessels. 72 gm
 Grey stoneware 72 gm: 2 sherds (not illustrated)

Palisade trench (109 layer 12) Phase 3-4: 1794-1815

Total assemblage: 2 sherds representing 2 vessels. 24 gm
 Coarse red earthenware 18 gm: 1 sherd (not illustrated)
 Grey stoneware 6 gm: 1 sherd (not illustrated)

Miscellaneous contexts

95. Dish. China with transfer 'Asho-th Brot' on underside. Number in roundel in dark blue. (102 layer 8)
96. Dish. China: blue rings around rim and painted blue '8' within roundel. (102 layer 8)

97. Dish. China: painted blue '22' within roundel.
(102 layer 8)
98. Dish. China: painted blue '5' within roundel.
(88 layer 2)
99. Dish. China: painted blue roundel.
(102 layer 8)
100. Bellarmine bottle. Brown salt-glazed stoneware.
(97 layer 3)
101. Bellarmine. Grey stoneware with brown glaze. Crest on outer face.
(94 layer 3)
102. Bellarmine. Brown salt-glazed stoneware. Crest on outer face.
(101 layer 2)
103. Bellarmine.
(100 layer 22)
104. Tankard. Grey stoneware with iron-rich glaze. Letter 'g' on outer face. From Fulham.
(CA2 layer 1)
105. Tankard. Grey stoneware with iron-rich glaze. Stamped '...rchest...' (?Portchester). From Fulham.
(95 layer 2)
106. Tankard. Pale grey salt-glazed stoneware. Light/mid brown ferruginous wash on upper body. From Fulham.
(93 layer 10)

VII. THE GLASS

By WAYNE COCROFT

A total of 511 sherds of post medieval glass were retained from the excavation. This included 307 identifiable forms the rest being body sherds. The sample was however biased by the fact that while all identifiable fragments were kept, sherds were for the most part discarded, only a small sample being retained usually from contexts which produced no other identifiable fragments.

The 307 featured pieces belonged to the following categories:

wine bottles	111
bottle seals	2
other bottles	22
phials	54
stoppers	8
drinking glasses	37
miscellaneous	16
window glass	57

The individual items of glass are listed and described in the site archive. The fragments chosen for illustration here are separately listed in the fiche section (Fiche 2:A4-5) where the site code and small finds number is given.

Wine bottles (Fig. 19)

Of the 111 fragments of wine bottle 73 come from bases the rest from necks and shoulders: no complete profiles were reconstructable. All were dark green in colour.

Using the typology developed by Hume (1961) and modified by Haslam (1984) the earliest examples from Portchester belong to Noel Hume's type 2 dated to 1655-65 (sf 2319 and 3229): both have crudely applied string rims. Both come from later deposits and are therefore residual in the contexts in which they were found.

The next group (nos. 1-8), chronologically, belong to Haslam's type i, characterized by a single circle of glass applied below the lip and usually tooled down to give a triangular profile: the lip is often slightly down turned. A feature of the Portchester bottles is that the neck is often constricted below the string rim. No. 3 is very similar to an example from All Souls College, Oxford dated to c. 1760 (Haslam 1970, fig. 10 no. 1a). Their single string rims conform to Hume's types 13-15 and 19 to which he assigns the date range of 1730-70. Amongst this group are several with crudely made string rims on long necks suggesting a late eighteenth-century date.

The blending together of the lip and the string rim is a feature of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (nos. 9-13). These belong to Haslam's type ii rims of which our no. 9 probably represents an early development where the neck has been thickened but not

THE GLASS

85

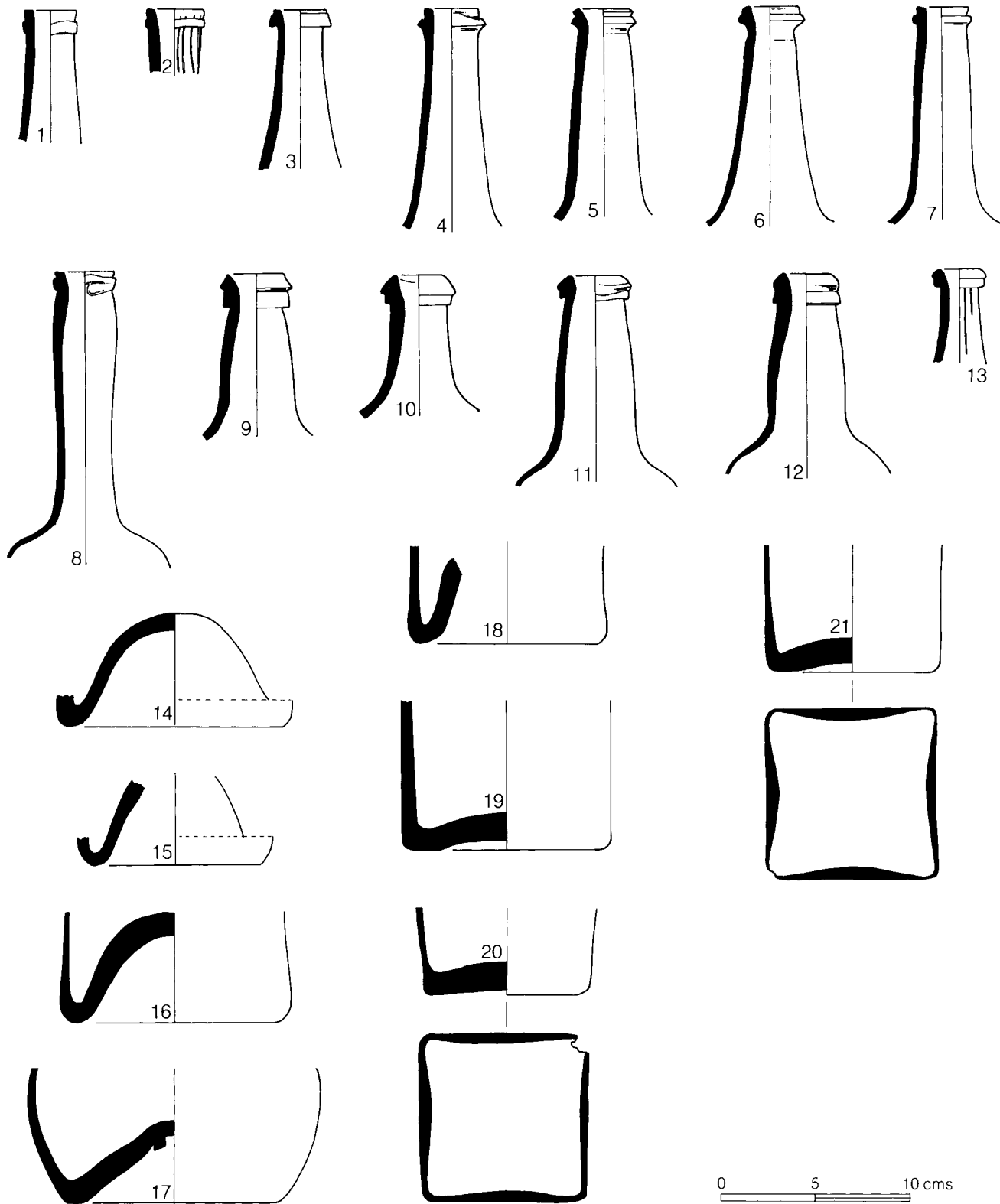


FIG. 19 Glass bottles.

turned over the string. Later examples where the trail of glass has been applied around the lip and smoothed over the string are illustrated by nos. 10 and 11. These belong to Noel Hume's type 21 dated to 1770–1800.

Turning now to the bases (nos. 14–19), a number of bases with a parabolic basal profile were found. These are generally dated to the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (Hume 1961, figs. 3 and 4). The majority of the base sherds were of mid- to late eighteenth-century forms with cylindrical sections and vertical sides. The sherds were too fragmented to allow body heights to be constructed.

The contexts from which the wine bottles were recovered spanned the period from *c.* 1740 to 1819 but since there was much rubbish lying around the site and being reincorporated in later layers the glass tends to be residual. The palisade trench defining the airing yard constructed in period 3, in or soon after 1794, produced a complete base and part of a side (sf 3147) of Hume's type 26 for which he gives a date of 1750–80, together with many sherds of type 19. Pit 212 of the same phase, but probably not filled until *c.* 1810, produced mid-eighteenth-century types 14–16 and a single late eighteenth-century base (sf 3146). The bottle sherds from the gravel of the airing yard laid in 1810 were all of late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century types. In short, the contexts offer generalized support for the conventional dating of bottles but the bottles do not of themselves provide tight dating for the site.

Two wine bottle seals were recorded (Pl. LII, nos. d and e). One bears an anchor design possibly representing a local tavern of that name. The other is too fragmentary for identification.

Other bottles (Fig. 19, nos. 20 and 21)

Twenty-two fragments of bottles, other than wine bottles were recovered. Of these five were of the square type generally known as case bottles, being so designed as to fit neatly into packing cases. They are usually thought to have been used for spirits but may have served a variety of functions.

Phials (Fig. 20, nos. 22–50)

Fifty-four fragments of glass phials were recovered, 24 rims and 30 bases. The range of variation in size and form is indicated by those selected for illustration. The majority were blown from green metal but two were of clear glass.

Two principal base types are represented, those with flat bases and those with kick ups: the latter are generally larger. In one example (no. 37) the base has been ground flat.

Phials are difficult to date since there is little change of form throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Those from Portchester were deposited in the period 1794–1819, though many may have been old when discarded.

Vessels of this type were probably used for pharmaceutical products and may well have been thrown out from the prison's hospital.

Glass stoppers (Fig. 20, nos. 51–56)

Eight glass stoppers were found of which a selection are illustrated. Six were made from

THE GLASS

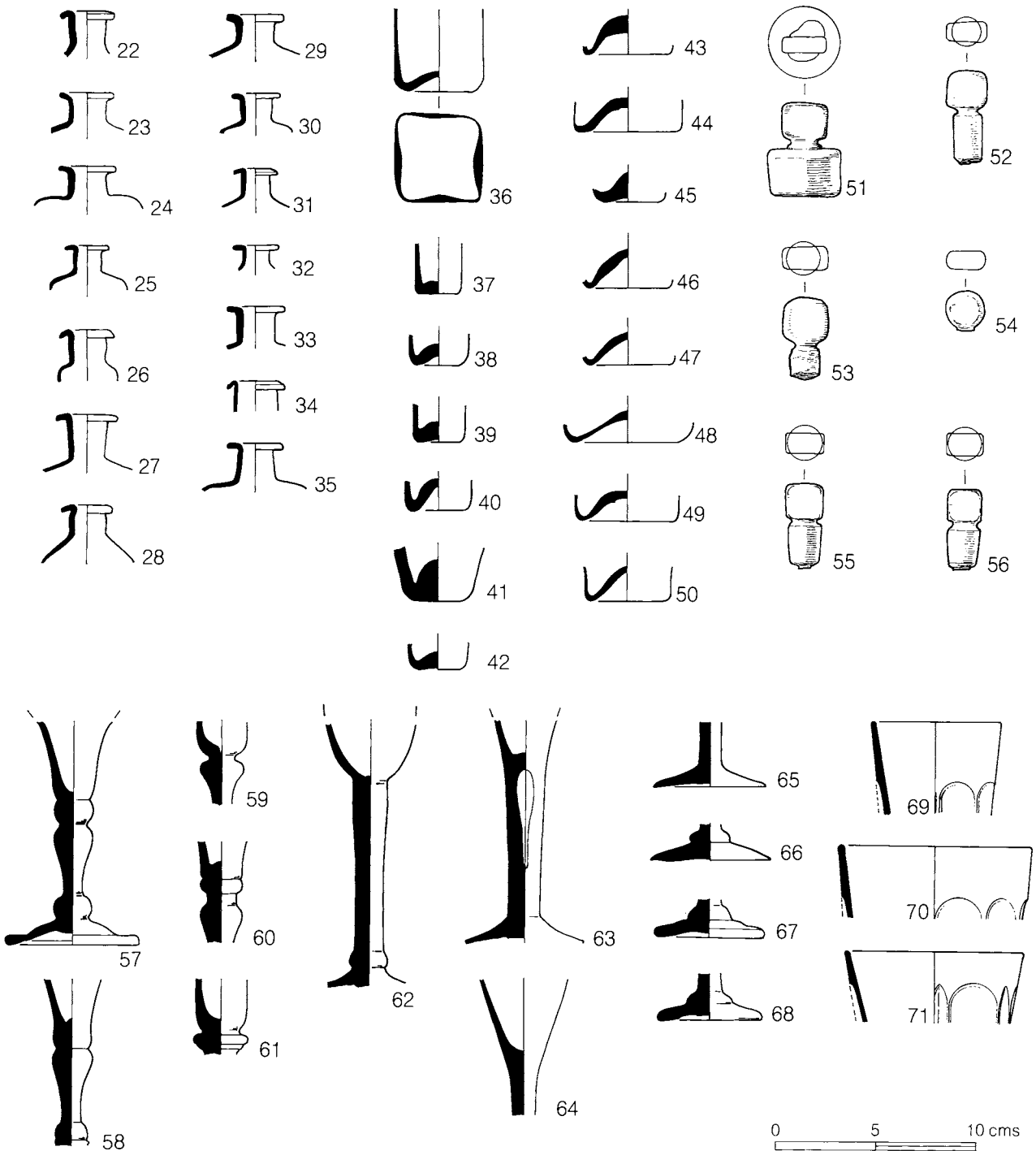


FIG. 20 Glass phials, stoppers and wine glasses.

green metal, one was clear and one blue. All but one were found beneath the metalling of the airing yard laid in 1810.

Drinking glasses (Fig. 20, nos. 57-71 and Pl. LII)

Thirty-seven fragments of drinking vessels were found mainly from stems and bases. The majority were made from clear metal, probably lead glass, but three were coloured, one green, one blue and one turquoise.

Two types of foot were represented, a conical foot with rim folded inwards and a solid conical foot. The stems divide into three types, plain, baluster and twisted. Only one example of the twisted variety was found (Pl. LII, no. 3); it was a triple twist with a central red twist surrounded by a white and green corkscrew which was in turn surrounded by an air twist. No complete bowl was recovered but sufficient survives of the bowl bases to show that trumpet, bell and ovoid bowls were represented.

The earliest glasses represented in the Portchester collection may date to as early as the seventeenth century but the baluster stem is common from the late seventeenth to mid eighteenth century. The plain stems are more likely to date to the middle years of the eighteenth century while the triple twist stem belongs to the period 1755-75 (Barrington-Haynes 1948, 170). All but one of the bases have prominent fontal marks which were usually removed after *c.* 1780 (Wills 1966, 215).

In addition to the stemmed vessels three fragments of tumblers were found (nos. 69-71). One (no. 71) was blown from blue glass, the others were clear. All had panelled decoration down their sides. Tumblers rarely occur before the last quarter of the eighteenth century and do not become common until the nineteenth.

Most of the wine glasses were associated with features and layers dating to 1794-1810 and must therefore have been quite old when discarded.

Miscellaneous

This category includes a fragment of a bowl, a small jar, part of a thermometer, an imitation precious stone, three beads and seven fragments of candle lanterns.

Window Glass

Fifty-seven sherds were recovered mostly from rectangular panes. A number, with thickened edges, were derived from crown glass.

VIII. CLAY PIPES

By BEVERLEY GARRATT

Clay pipe fragments were plentiful at Portchester. During the excavation all bowls, decorated pieces and stamps were collected but stem fragments were retained on a more haphazard basis simply to indicate presence within a particular context. In all 133 bowls were recovered including examples dating to after 1819 which are also covered in this report. A full list is provided in the site archive. Here only a summary account is offered. Context details of those illustrated are given in the fiche section (Fiche 2:A6).

THE MANUFACTURERS

The following pipe makers have been identified:

Edward Bryant Southsea. 1841–51 (Oswald 1975, 171).

One bowl decorated with ribs and leaves along the seam. The initials EB occurred in relief on the spur (Fig. 21, no. 1).

Arthur Coster Fareham. Born 1752, died 1816: mentioned in a directory as a pipe maker in 1784 (Fox & Hall 1979, 20).

Five examples, four with garter arms on the bowl with the initials AC in relief on the spur (Fig. 21, no. 2) (ibid., fig. 16 no. 108). The fifth example had a masonic design on the bowl.

Thomas Coster Fareham. 1823 married, 1823–6 children baptized (Fox & Hall 1979, 20).

One bowl with floral pattern with initials TC in relief on the spur (Fig. 21, no. 3) (ibid., fig. 16 no. 112).

John Edmonds (3rd) Portsmouth. 1726–54 parish register entries; 1751 listed as burgess (Fox & Hall 1979, 16).

Four stems with incuse stamp within a cartouche (Fig. 21, no. 4) (ibid., fig. 3 no. 12).

James Frost Portchester. Born 1743; 1754 apprenticed to John Bray of Fareham; died 1827 (Fox & Hall 1979, 18).

Ten bowls. Seven had Prince of Wales plumes and arms on the bowl, all with initials IF on the spur (Fig. 21, no. 5) (ibid., fig. 9 nos. 60 and 63). One pipe commemorated the Battle of Trafalgar: it bore the word Trafalgar between figures of Nelson and Britannia (Fig. 21, no. 6) (ibid., fig. 10 no. 66). Another bowl had a simple ribbed design (Fig. 22, no. 7) (ibid., no. 61), while another bowl was plain (Fig. 22, no. 8) (ibid., fig. 9 no. 62).

James Goodall Fareham. Born 1806, married 1829 (Fox & Hall 1979, 21).

One bowl with masonic symbols and initials IG on the spur (ibid., fig. 17 no. 115).

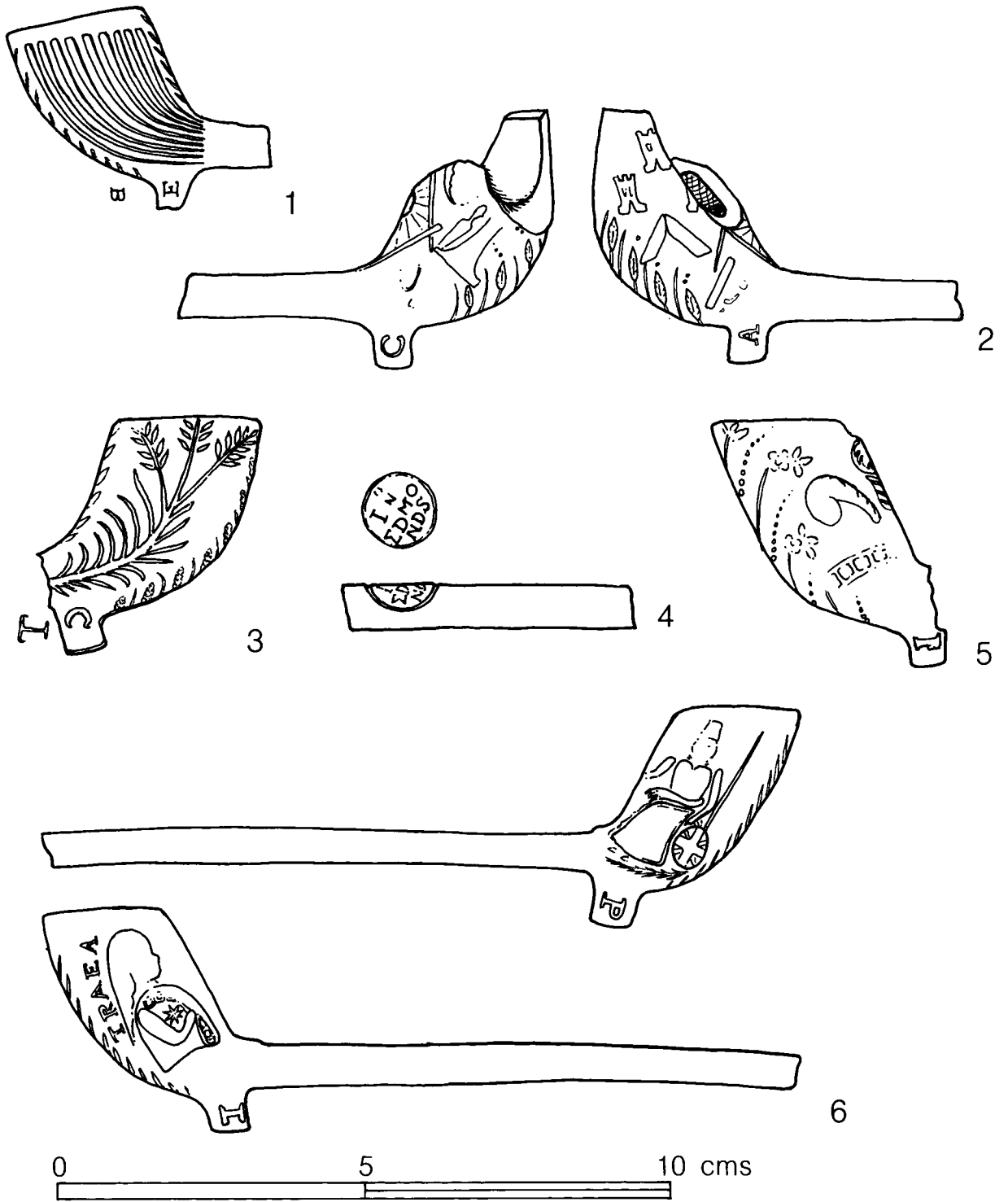


FIG. 21 Clay pipes.

Richard Goodall Gosport. Mentioned in directories 1841–67 (Fox & Hall 1979, 21). Two bowls, one with ribbed decoration with a leaf pattern along the seams. The initials RG are in relief on the spur (*ibid.*, fig. 18 no. 126). The other had a rose and thistle motif on the bowl and, again, with leaves up the stem (Fig. 22, no. 9).

Henry Leigh Portchester. Born 1816. Founded business 1840. 1855–78 mentioned in directories at Castle St., Portchester: retired *c.* 1883 (Fox & Hall 1979, 18).

Eight examples of his varied work (Fig. 22, no. 10). Three examples have decoration along the seams: one with leaves. Another fragment shows a soldier (Fig. 22, no. 11).

Robert Pottell Fareham. Appears on apprentice rolls 1711 (Fox & Hall 1979, 20).

Fifteen examples. Four bowl fragments were plain: all are spur types. All stems bear round incuse stamp (Figs. 22–3, nos. 12–14).

John Russell Southampton. 1794–1803 from polls and directories (Oswald 1975, 173).

One bowl with garter arms decoration. The initials IR were in relief on the spur (Fig. 23, no. 15).

Russel (James) and Gates (John) Portchester. 1855–9 in directories (Fox & Hall 1979, 19).

Ten examples. Six had relief moulded leaf patterns on the seams and bases. These had neither spur nor base but had an incuse stem stamp (Fig. 23, nos. 16–18). Two others had leaf designs on seams and a ribbed pattern over the bowl: initials R and G in relief on spur (Fig. 23, no. 19) (*ibid.*, fig. 14 no. 97). One had a cannon and drum motif on the bowl and a leaf design on the side: initials on the spur (Fig. 23, no. 20). Another had a plain bowl with initials on the spur (*ibid.*, fig. 14 no. 95).

Uncertain Two pipes stamped EB on spur. Possible makers include Edward Bates (Winchester 1713), Edward Boyes (Winchester 1678), Edward Bryant (Southsea 1841–52).

OTHER DECORATED AND UNMARKED EXAMPLES (Figs. 23–5, nos. 21–32)

21. Heart in Hand motif. Either an Oddfellows device or a public house sign. Two local public houses of this name are known, one in Union St., Portsea (*c.* 1867) the other in Montagu St., Landport (Fox & Hall 1979, 23 and fig. 20 no. 144).
22. Garter arms. Possibly a product of Arthur Coster or John Russell. Late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.
23. Garter arms. Probably a product of Arthur Coster. Late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.
24. Rose and thistle motif. Probably Richard Goodall. Mid nineteenth century.
25. Masonic decoration. Probably James Goodall. Early nineteenth century.
26. Prince of Wales plumes. James Frost. Late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.
27. Prince of Wales plumes. James Frost. Late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.
28. Bowl in shape of barrel with grapes at the base. Probably nineteenth century.
29. Bowl in shape of barrel. Probably nineteenth century.

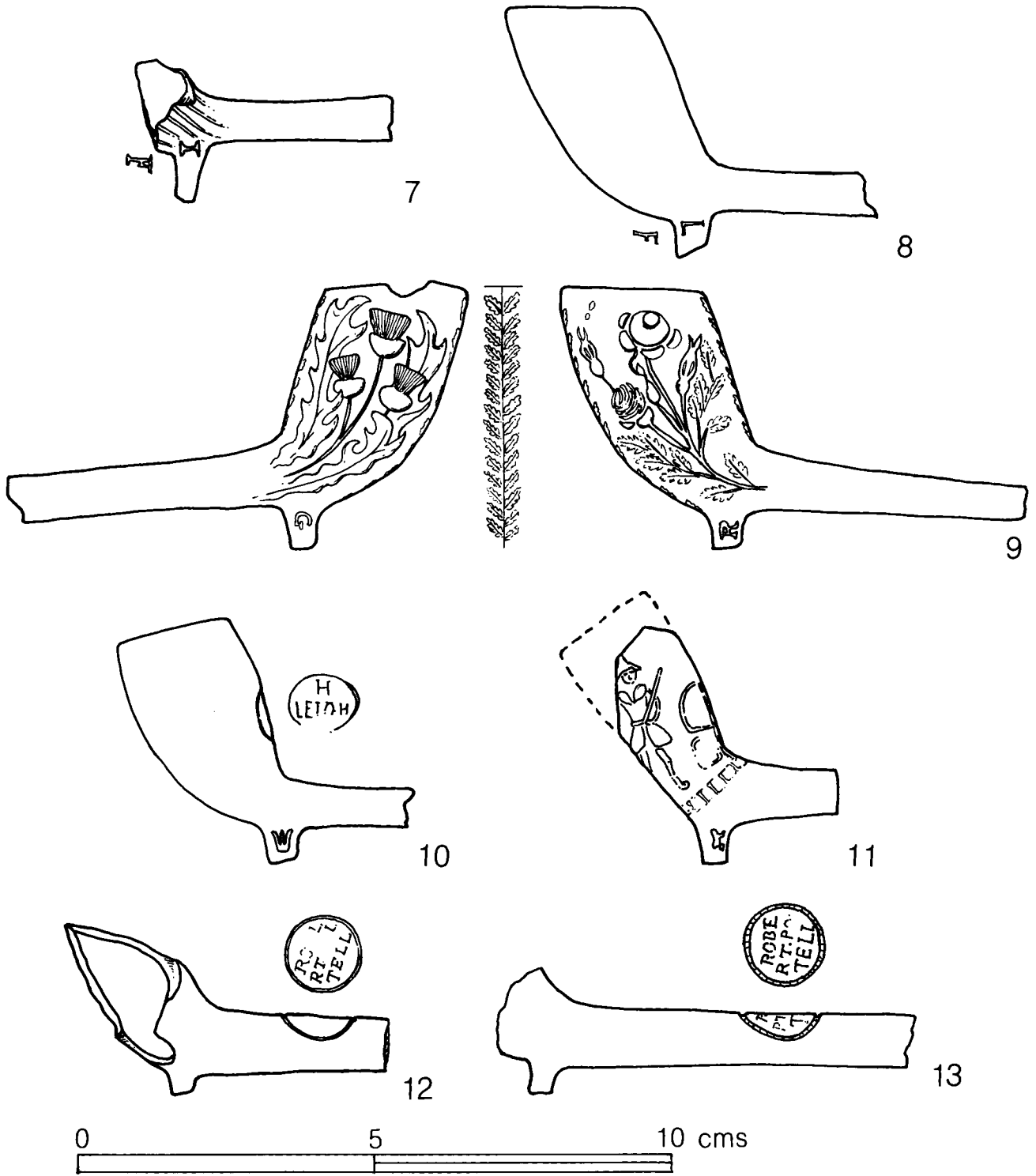


FIG. 22 Clay pipes.

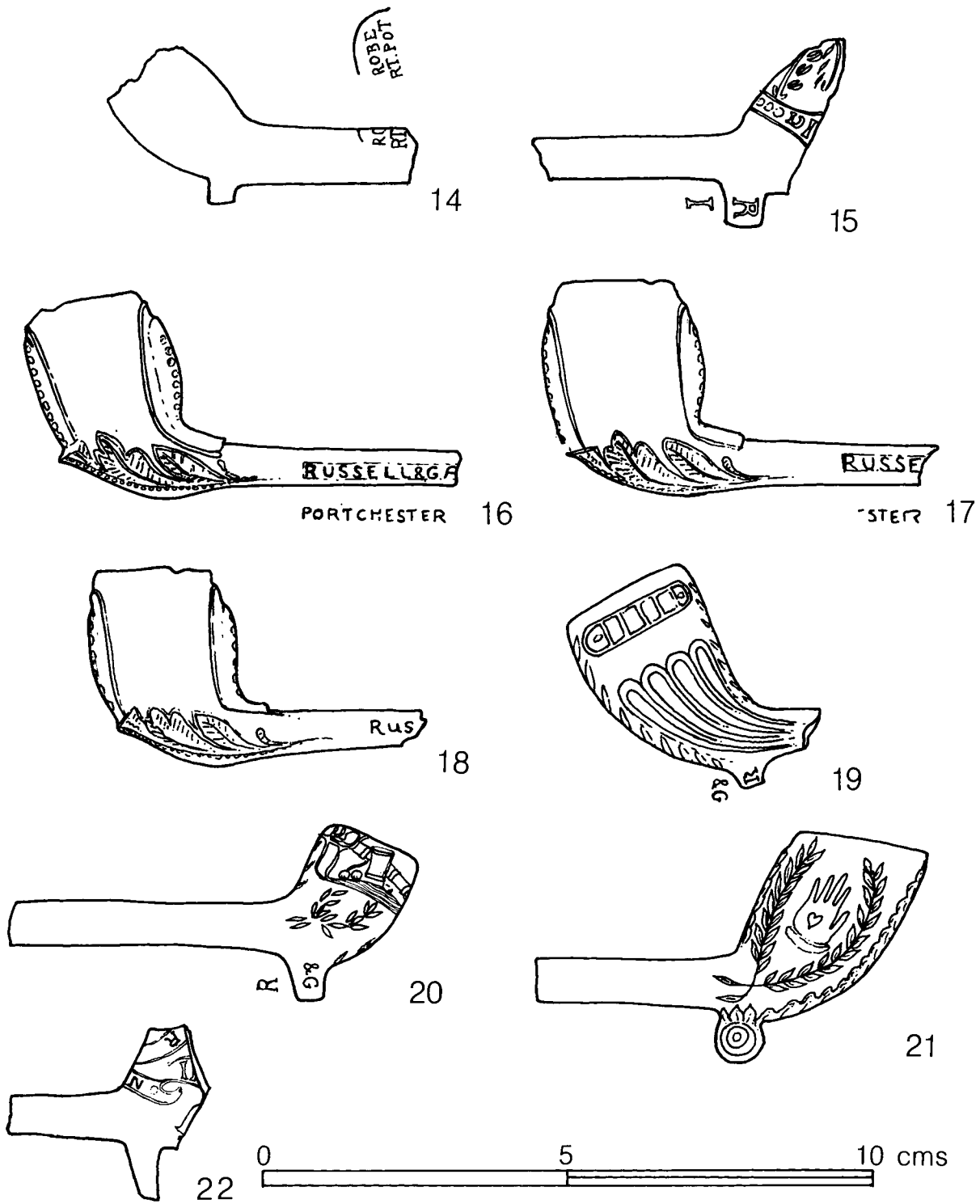


FIG. 23 Clay pipes.

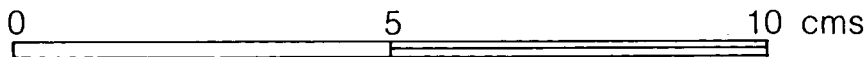
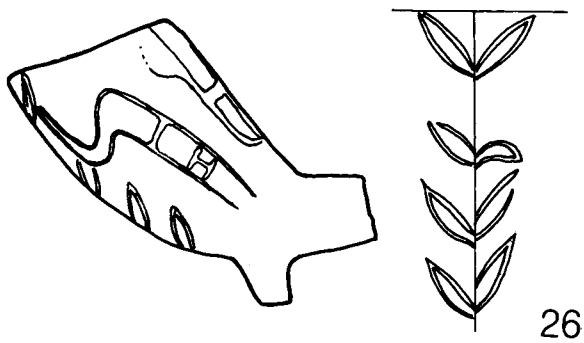
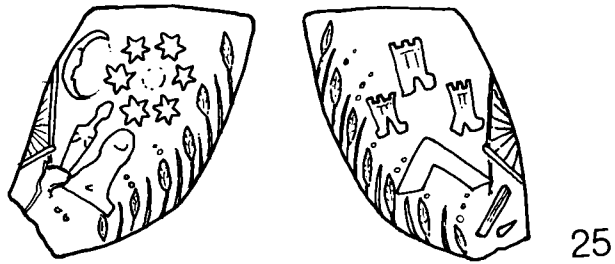
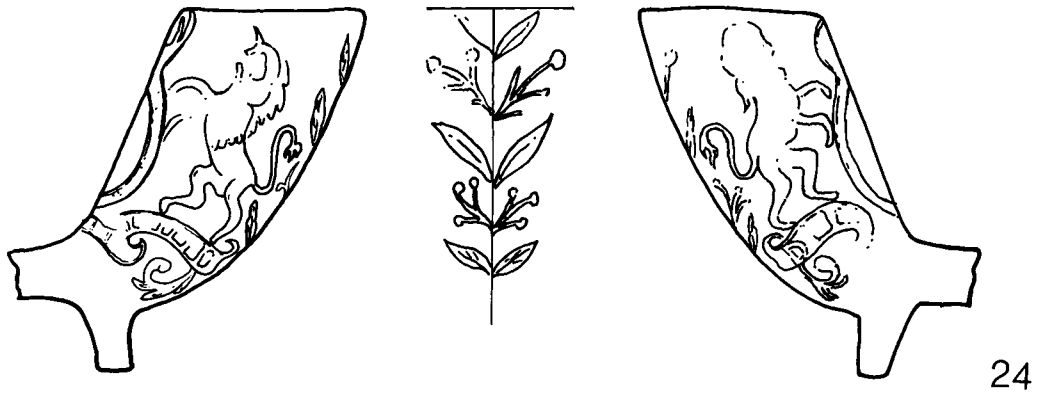
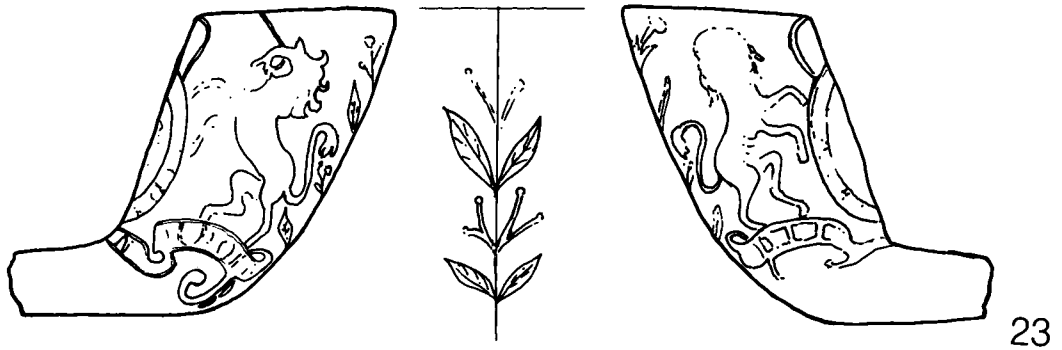


FIG. 24 Clay pipes.

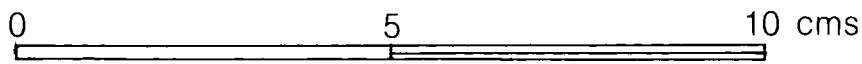
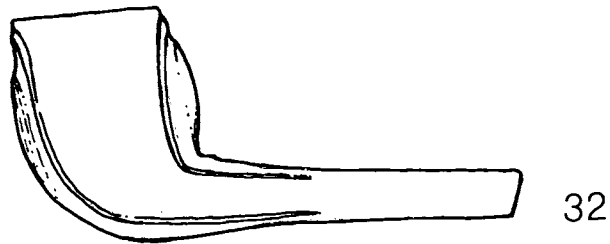
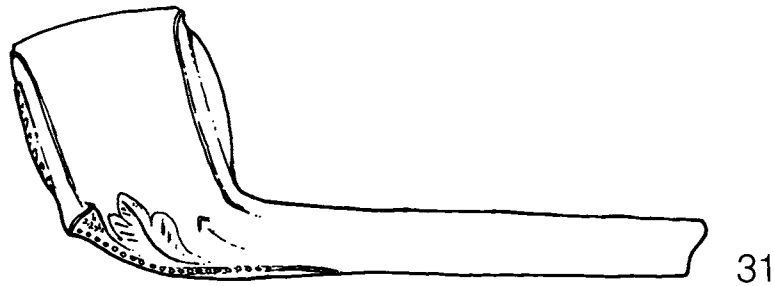
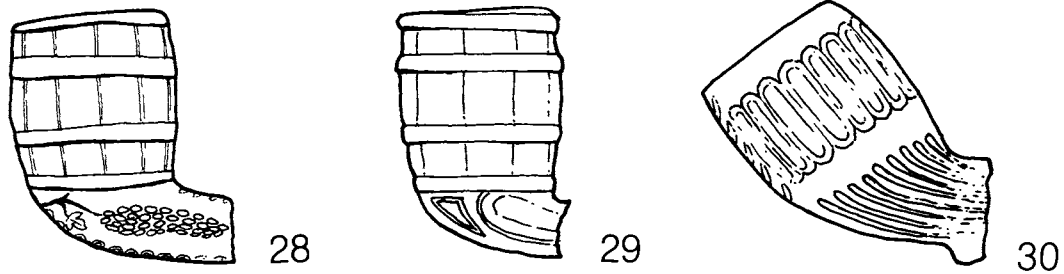


FIG. 25 Clay pipes.

- 30. Bowl with simple ribbing. Probably a product of Russel and Gates. Nineteenth century.
- 31. Bowl with leaf on base and stem. Probably a product of Russel and Gates. Nineteenth century.
- 32. Bowl with simple ridging. Probably a product of Russel and Gates. Nineteenth century.

BOWL TYPES

Seventy-three bowl fragments could not be ascribed to maker but may be approximately

dated using Oswald's typology (Oswald 1960 and 1975) and Atkinson & Oswald's (1969) London types (prefixed L). The simple outlines are given on Fig. 26 drawn from Portchester examples.

1.	Types 3, L4	c. 1580-1610	2
2.	Types 4, 4a, L5, 7	c. 1600-1640	1
3.	Types 5, 4c, L10	c. 1640-1660	16
4.	Types 17, 4d, L9	c. 1640-1670	6
5.	Types 18, 6c, L14, 15	c. 1660-1680	2
6.	Types 6, L12, 13	c. 1660-1680	9
7.	Types 8, 7b, 8a, L20, 22	c. 1680-1710	3
8.	Types 19, L19	c. 1690-1710	9
9.	Types 20, 9b, L23	c. 1690-1730	9
10.	Types 21, 9a	c. 1700-1740	1
11.	Types 11, 10c, L25	c. 1730-1760	1
12.	Type 12	c. 1730-1780	5
13.	Type 22	c. 1730-1780	1
14.	Types 23, L26	c. 1760-1800	6
15.	Types 14, 11b, L28	c. 1820-1840	2

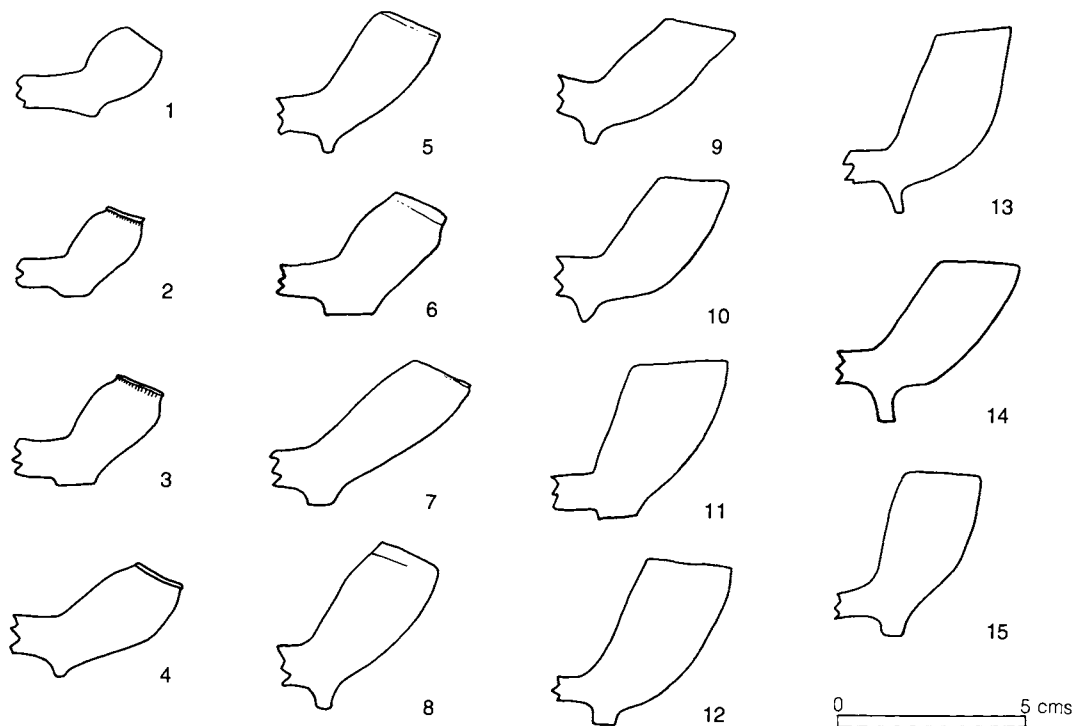


FIG. 26 Clay pipe shapes.

GRADES OF FINISH

One hundred-and-thirty bowl fragments were graded according to finish following Davey 1981, with the following results.

Grade 1:	highly polished with no casting seam visible	68
Grade 2:	well finished with no casting seams and tidy trimming	51
Grade 3:	poorly finished with casting seams crudely trimmed	11

DISTRIBUTION

The majority of the fragments were found in the gravel metalling of the airing yard and were therefore dropped in or soon after 1810 but 21 of the bowls found in superficial layers in the 1961 excavation against the west wall of the fort and dating to 1840-1883 were associated with the brick pig sties and the related farming activities. Pit 82 belonging to phase 2 (1756-1794) produced 12 fragments dating from 1640-1780 suggesting that old pipes must have remained in use for some time among the prisoners.

IX. THE SMALL FINDS

By BEVERLEY GARRATT

A large number of small objects were recovered during the excavation, reflecting upon life in the prison camp. For ease of discussion they have been divided into the following categories:

- Coins
- Tokens
- Buckles
- Buttons
- Objects of Bone
- Objects of Copper alloy
- Objects of Iron
- Objects of Lead alloy.

A complete catalogue listing each object has been prepared giving the small finds number, the archaeological context and phase, and a full description. The catalogue forms part of the site archive. A summary version will be found in the fiche section (Fiche 2:A3-D13).

In the sections to follow each category of object is discussed but only in a detail reflecting its general merits and its specific significance to Portchester: a selection of the more typologically interesting and better preserved items has been made for illustration.

No systematic attempt has been made to indicate the chronological and spatial distribution of material, the reasons being that in a prison camp equipment would have remained in use longer than in normal circumstances because of the inherent need to recycle anything useful. Added to this the great majority of the items were recovered from the airing yard in the outer bailey. Some came from the general soil accumulation which served as the surface throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries until the yard was finally metalled in 1810. In such contexts material of all dates will have become intermixed by the constant trampling and churning to which the area was subjected. Another batch of finds came from the tips of chalk and soil used to level the area in 1810. The chalk was brought in by contractors but the soil was derived from within the enclosure and will have contained much residual material. One of the largest collections was derived from the gravel of the airing yard first laid in 1810 and repatched subsequently in 1813. The gravel was a shingle brought from the beach. Since it had no cohesion, items dropped on the surface could be trampled in and redistributed when the gravel was raked and levelled.

The most reliably stratified groups came from the various cesspits found about the castle and from the sewer which had been laid across the outer bailey in 1794. It should, however, be stressed that all the pits seem to have been deliberately filled with any debris to hand at the ends of their lives, while the contents of the sewer will have accumulated gradually over the period 1794-1819.

COINS

The excavations yielded 137 coins from a variety of contexts within the inner and outer bailey. The collection may be summarized as follows:

British

Charles I (1625-1649)	halfpenny	1
Charles II (1660-1685)	farthing	1
James II (1685-1688)	?	1
William and Mary (1689-1694)	halfpenny	2
William III (1689-1702)	halfpenny	4
George I (1714-1727)	halfpenny	5
	penny	1
George II (1727-1760)	farthing	1
	halfpenny	60
	Irish halfpenny	1
George III (1760-1820)	halfpenny	4
	Irish halfpenny	1
	penny	1
	sixpence	1
Victoria (1837-1901)	farthing	2
	halfpenny	4
	penny	6
George V (1910-1936)	farthing	2
	halfpenny	5
	penny	3
George VI (1936-1952)	halfpenny	1
	penny	2
Unidentified	halfpenny	9
	penny	1
	sixpence	1

French

Louis XIV (1643-1715)	6 deniers	4
	1 liard	1
Louis XV (1715-1774)	1 liard	1

Unidentified

11

The contexts of the coins were of little use for dating. Those from the well defined features are as follows:

Pit 82	George II halfpenny (1738)
F133	George II halfpenny (date illegible)
Well pit filling (pit 252)	George II halfpenny (1740)

North fence trench	George II halfpenny (date illegible)
	Louis XIV 6 deniers (date illegible)
West fence	George II halfpenny (date illegible)

The majority of the rest, up to the reign of George III come from the surfaces of the airing yard.

A complete listing is given in the site archive.

TOKENS

A total of 22 tokens and imitation coins were recovered from the excavations. They were issued in various parts of Britain, those clearly identified coming from:

- Battersea (sf 536)
- Cornwall (sf 483)
- Leeds (sf 2830)
- North Wales (sf 232 and possibly sf 1735)
- Portsea Island (sf 874)
- Portsmouth (sf 755, sf 855 and sf 1115).

The majority were found in the airing yard or later rubble spreads and topsoil. Those from features included:

- Pit 271: Two (sf 2830 and sf 2831) the former dating to the late eighteenth century.
- West fence: One (sf 1581), second half of the eighteenth century.
- Sewer F3: One (sf 1953), eighteenth century.

A detailed listing is given in the fiche section (Fiche 2:A7-8).

BUCKLES (Fig. 27 and Pls. LIII-LV)

A total of 125 metal buckles were recovered from the excavation. The majority were shoe buckles and came from the outer bailey excavations of 1963-73 mainly from late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century contexts. Of the 125, 97 were of copper alloy, 18 of iron and 10 of lead alloy. A detailed list will be found in the fiche section (Fiche 2:B3-10).

The constituent parts of a typical buckle are shown on Fig. 27. Not all elements have survived in all cases and some examples were composed of more than one metal.

The *copper alloy* buckles may be divided into the following types:

shoe	73
knee	14
stock	2
other	3
unidentified	3
	<hr/>
	97

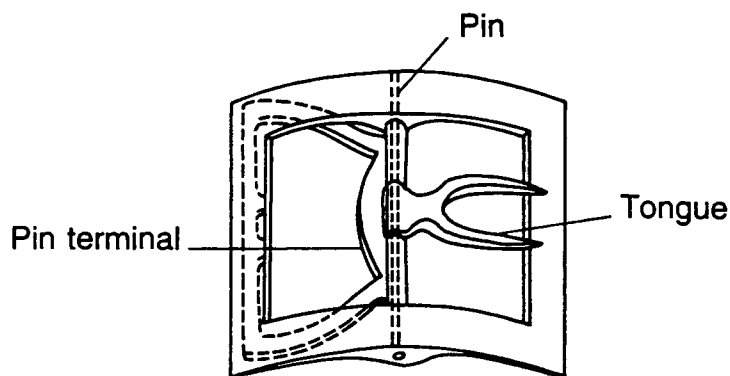


FIG. 27 The elements of a generalized buckle.

Of these, seven shoe buckles, two knee buckles and two others had iron pins and/or chapes. Two of the best preserved (of which no. 5 is an example) were knee buckles; one was a shoe buckle. Five of the shoe buckles and one of the belt buckles contained a high percentage of zinc giving rise to an alloy of deep yellow colour possibly pinchbeck (p. 104). Six of the shoe buckles were higher in tin producing a rather greyer metal. Three buckles were coated with silver.

The *iron* buckles may be divided as follows:

shoe:	frames	6
	chapes	4
knee:	chapes	1
belt:	frames	2
chapes:	unidentified	2
unidentified		3
		<hr/> 18

All were highly corroded and were, for the most part, examined by X-ray.

Of the *lead alloy* buckles all were shoe buckles. Four had either iron back pieces or pins: one was coated with silver.

It is convenient to discuss the buckles by type.

Belt buckles (Pl. LIII)

Four belt buckles were recovered, all different. Three (e.g. no. 2) had a simple tongue or spike. In two cases this was attached to the side whilst on no. 2 it was attached to the central pin. The fourth buckle (no. 1) has a large chape attached by a hinge to the central pin with a heart shape and oblong cut out. It would have had a single tongue fastener which has disappeared. All four were of a different overall shape, D-shaped, oval, rectangular and square.

From the stratigraphic evidence the D-shaped, oval and rectangular examples belong to the eighteenth century and one (sf 1363) may be a military type (Mollo & MacGregor 1972, 223 pl. 272). The square buckle is early nineteenth century.

Knee buckles (Pl. LIII)

Fifteen knee buckles were found, 14 of copper alloy and one of iron. Knee buckles first became popular in the 1720s to fasten breeches (Swan 1981). All except one appear to have had a rectangular frame: the exception (no. 8) was oval framed. Twelve were plain or with a simple line design incised into the frame. Three buckles (including nos. 9 and 10) are represented by chape fragments only. Two are of the same type with pinders or loops with two small spikes one at either side. Both were cast. Usually knee buckles have anchor chapes, e.g. no. 5 which in this case is made of iron.

One of the decorated buckles appears to have a tooled design rather than being pressed or moulded. Two (nos. 4 and 7) were pressed and therefore date to after 1769 when machine stamping was introduced. One example (no. 7) was silver coated.

All but one of the knee buckles were found in the outer bailey excavations of 1963–73. Two (nos. 3 and 6) were found together in pit 82 but are of different type; no. 11 was found in pit 162. These contexts are mid-eighteenth-century in date. The rest were found in contexts dating to between 1794 and 1819 though this does not preclude that they were old when buried.

Shoe buckles (Pls. LIII–LV)

In total 94 shoe buckle fragments were recovered:

copper alloy	(frames)	57
	(chapes)	12
	(both)	5
lead alloy	(frames)	8
	(frames and chapes)	2
iron	(frames)	6
	(chapes)	4

Seventy-eight frames or fragments of frames were found the majority coming from the outer bailey excavation. With the possible exception of no. 27, all appear to have come from men's shoes. The majority were decorated.

It was not until the reign of George II that shoe buckles became popular among all classes (Swan 1981). The early shoe buckles were usually small and square or oblong (e.g. no. 27). In the 1730s shoe buckles became more ornate and were usually squarish in shape (e.g. no. 29). This tradition continued until 1760 when a greater variety of shapes was introduced (square, oblong and oval). From 1769 onwards shoe buckles come increasingly to be machine-made using the stamping machine invented by John Pickering (Abitt 1973, 26). Buckle faces could thereafter be pressed from prepared dies. During the

next 20 years shoe buckles grew in size but in the early 1790s they had ceased to be fashionable among civilians although they continued in use on military uniforms into the nineteenth century and after.

A variety of decorative forms were employed from openwork scrolls and floral patterns (e.g. nos. 23 and 26) to simple linear designs (no. 31). A few were silver coated (e.g. no. 28). The styles are difficult to parallel elsewhere in Britain but this may reflect the fact that the majority of the Portchester examples were brought to the site by French prisoners. The fleur-de-lys incorporated into the design of no. 22 would add some support to this view.

The archaeological contexts are not helpful in providing dates or typological sequences. Most (61 of the 94) were found in the airing yard of the outer bailey. One (no. 35) came from pit 162 which probably dates to the period of the Seven Years War. Eleven were found in the infill of the sewer trench (F3) and are therefore likely to pre-date 1794. A further four from the infill of the fence trench take with them a similar *terminus ante quem*. Those found in later contexts, especially the gravel surface of the airing yard which was not laid until 1810 show that shoe buckles were still in use, at least in the prison camp milieu, well into the nineteenth century.

Stock buckles

Two possible stock buckles were found both made of copper alloy. One (no. 17) came from the infill of the culvert trench in the inner bailey and consisted of three rivets for attachment to the stock. The other, from the outer bailey (no. 18) was round with a central pin to which a strip of copper alloy sheet with two iron rivets was used to secure one end to the stock.

Chapes and back pieces (Pl. LIII)

Of the buckle fragments, 28 provided evidence of fastening.

Anchor chapes A hinged metal piece shaped like the tail of an anchor (e.g. no. 15). Five examples were found, three from shoe buckles (e.g. no. 29) and two from knee buckles (e.g. no. 5).

Pitchfork tongue chapes A metal pinder or loop with two spikes (e.g. no. 14) or one spike (e.g. nos. 12 and 13) with which to attach the anchoring strap and a separate tongue made in the shape of a pitchfork (e.g. no. 16) to secure the other strap. The loops or pinders are all ogee-sided with curved sides and either a flat or slightly rounded (no. 13) top. In all 15 were found all from shoe buckles. A type common during the reign of George II (Swan 1981).

Single pitchfork tongues The tongue consists of a single piece of copper alloy or iron wrapped around the central pin (no. 2) or attached to one side of the frame (no. 21). Six examples of this type were found.

Other chapes One pinder or loop was found with no indication of buckle type (no. 20). It was rectangular in shape and probably belongs to a late buckle of nineteenth-century date.

One belt buckle (no. 1) had a large chape piece to attach it to an anchoring strap: the pin is missing. Another shoe buckle was found with two central pins one with a small spike (no. 19); presumably the strap was threaded between the pins and anchored by the spike.

BUTTONS (Fig. 28 and Pls. LVI–LVII)

In total 236 buttons were found mostly dating from the periods of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. Of these 210 were of metal, 24 of bone, one of ceramic and one of textile. A detailed list will be found in the fiche section (Fiche 2:B11–C12).

Non-metallic buttons

The bone buttons, the majority of which were probably made at the castle, are discussed below (pp. 110–12).

The single ceramic button was made of a hard gritty clay with a black lacquered surface. The word 'excelsior' was written on the face. From the airing yard surface.

The textile button was made by crossing threads over a wire ring (Peacock 1978, 50). It bore a cross pattern on its domed surface and was probably a thread back type (Fig. 28). From beneath the airing yard.

Metal buttons

Of the 210 metal buttons 177 were of copper alloy, 25 of tin/lead alloy, 7 of lead/tin bronze and 1 of tin. The great majority, 192, came from the outer bailey excavations.

Copper alloy buttons. Of the 177, 21 appear to have some form of tin wash while 19 were gilded: 2 were silver coated.

The composition of the buttons varied considerably. Some had a high zinc content giving a bright yellow appearance. This alloy is known as pinchbeck after Christopher Pinchbeck who introduced it in the early eighteenth century (Houart 1977, 15). Others had a high tin content producing a greyer metal.

Lead/tin alloy. The 25 buttons of this alloy, essentially pewter, were dark grey in colour: none were gilded. Some were cast and two were so roughly made that they might have been made at the castle.

Lead/tin bronze alloy. The 8 examples of this kind were shiny with the appearance of speculum. All had been lathe turned.

Manufacturing processes

By the late eighteenth century copper alloy buttons were produced by a series of standardized procedures. First the blanks were cut from strips of metal using a lever press. If the button was to remain flat it was then rolled between steel rollers to round off the rough edges. If, however, it was to be domed the blanks were placed in a second press of the required shape. The domed element was then fixed to a flat back plate by means of a die and punch

which folded the edges of the domed piece over the plate. In those cases where an embossed design was required an additional pressing, using a more powerful stirrup press, was carried out before the back plate was added. Several of the domed buttons from Portchester were packed with sandy clay to help retain the shape. Finally shanks were soldered on to the back and the finished item was cleaned in dilute nitric acid. More expensive buttons could be tinned or gilded.

A few of the buttons, including those of lead alloy, were cast.

Shank types

The variety of shank types in use are illustrated on Fig. 28. Of the total assemblage of metal buttons 154 had recognizable shanks.

Loop shank. A total of 68 were found. The shank consisted of a metal wire bent so that both ends could be inserted into the back of the button. The type was in use from the seventeenth century. Some of the loops are fitted into bone backs with a single central hole and are very similar to the pin head shanks described in the section on bone buttons. The loops were quite often made of a metal different from that of the button: iron loops are quite common.

Cone shank. A total of 28 were found. They are similar to loop shanks except that there was a cone-shaped build up of metal at the base of the loop. Eighteenth or nineteenth century (Abrahams 1983).

Alpha shank. A total of 18 were found. These are one-piece buttons with a loop shank. They consist of a cast or hand-wrought disc with a hand drawn wire brazed to the back. They were only made in the eighteenth century.

Two- or four-way shanks. A total of 15 were found, 11 four-way and 4 two-way types. The shank consists of a hollow square of metal attached to the back of the button with either one or two holes drilled through. Of the 15 found at Portchester 14 were French army buttons and one was a British naval button.

Sew through type. A total of 12 were found. This was the simplest type with holes made so that the thread could be passed right through the button or button back. The number of holes varied. Of the five-holed type (5) 4 were plain with a copper alloy domed cover. Four of the backs of this group were made of wood, one of a thin metal sheet. These were probably all eighteenth-century in date. Of the four-holed type only 2 were found, both of metal, one domed the other dish-shaped. These were probably early nineteenth-century as was the one example of the two-holed type.

Key shank. A total of 13 were found. The type had a flat metal shank with a hole drilled through it. Five examples were completely plain, 2 had glass inlays, 1 bore a flower design and 1 was enamelled or painted. The plain buttons are most likely late eighteenth-century but the decorated examples may be early nineteenth-century.

Omega shank. A total of 9 were found. The shanks were in the form of the letter omega with the wire bent out at the base to provide easy attachment. All were machine made and were probably early nineteenth-century. Of the 9 recovered 7 were military, 4 French and 3 British.

Self shank. Only one example was found in metal although the type was common in bone (p. 110). The button was cast in one piece and a hole bored through the raised shank.

EXCAVATIONS AT PORTCHESTER CASTLE

Loop shank type.



Cone shank type.



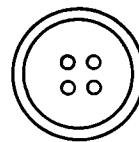
Alpha shank type.



Two or four way shank type.



Sew through type.



Omega shank type.



Self shank type.



Threadback shank type.



FIG. 28 Button and shank types.

Military buttons

The majority of the buttons from Portchester are likely to have come from military uniforms. It was not until 1762 that the French adopted the system of adding regimental numbers to their badges; the British army followed suit five years later. This suggests that the buttons found at Portchester with regimental numbers on them are most likely to date to the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.

Before 1762 for the French and 1767 for the British, lower ranks wore plain pewter or lead alloy buttons and officers had gilt or silver-coated buttons with wooden or bone backs.

The button backs themselves changed between the early eighteenth century and 1820–30. To begin with buttons were domed with wood or bone backs, then flat single-piece buttons came into vogue. These were followed by convex open-backed buttons which eventually gave way to convex closed-back buttons. The different styles of development overlapped chronologically and are therefore of little use for precise dating without reference to design or shank type.

Early officers' buttons had die-stamped decoration of a non-regimental type. To this category belong sf 641, sf 1473, sf 1480, sf 2591 and sf 2833 all of which came from contexts which pre-date 1794 and may therefore have belonged to prisoners captured during the Seven Years War.

A selection of military buttons are illustrated in Plates LVI–LVII. These may be briefly described.

French Army (Pl. LVI)

1. 4th Infantry. 4 within a horn encircled (one example) (sf 860).
2. 14th Infantry. 14 within a horn (one example) (sf 2056).
3. 16th Infantry. 16 within a horn (one example) (sf 2326).
4. 65th Regiment. 65 encircled (one example) (sf 1056).
5. 66th Regiment. 66 encircled (three examples) (sf 1553).
6. 82nd Regiment. 82 encircled (one example) (sf 2346).
7. Garde de Paris 1st Battalion. 1 encircled (one example) (sf 593).
8. Garde de Paris 2nd Battalion. Grenade at top of crossed cannons encircled (one example) (sf 1105).
9. Veterans Cannoniers. Crossed cannons encircled (one example) (sf 252).
- 10, 11. République Française. Fasces with republican cap on top, encircled by oak leaves (11 examples) (sf 300, 1971).
- NI 1st Regiment? Grenade at the top of crossed cannons encircled (sf 792).

French Navy (Pl. LVI)

12. Anchor encircled by rope (sf 576).
13. République Française. Anchor and 2 crossed cannons, rope around edge (two examples) (sf 1654).
- 14, 15. République Française. Anchor with republican cap on top, rope around edge (three examples) (sf 950, 1954).
- NI Fragment with oak leaves. Naval? (sf 633).

British Army (Pl. LVI)

16. Somerset Regiment, 1st Battalion. 1 with crown on top. There is no record of this regiment at Portchester (sf 242).
17. 12th (East Suffolk) Regiment of Foot. 12 with crown on top encircled by oak leaves. The regiment was stationed at the castle between May and July 1795 (sf 942).
18. Shropshire Militia. Crown encircled by faint line. The regiment was stationed at Portchester between 1798 and July 1800 (sf 2009).
- 19–21. Royal Ordnance Artillery. 3 cannons and balls with a shield. Several men from the Royal Ordnance Artillery are recorded as having died in the castle hospital in 1814 (four examples altogether) (sf 2724, 1966, 1952).
- NI 34th (Cumberland) Regiment of Foot. 34 with crown on top. There is no record of this regiment at Portchester (sf 2321).

Royal Navy (Pl. LVI)

22. Anchor (sf 392).
23. Anchor (sf 1051).
24. Anchor and two ropes (sf 1438).
25. Anchor encircled by a rope (sf 1675).
26. Anchor encircled by two ropes (sf 2327).
27. Anchor encircled by a wreath. Silver coated. Possibly an officer's button (sf 782).
28. Anchor with rope design around the edge. Gilded. Possibly an officer's button (sf 2453).
29. Flag and rope encircled. Merchant navy, c. 1820 (sf 856).
- NI Anchor and crown within oval. Rope design around the edge. Gilded. Possibly an officer's button (sf 2819).

Plain military buttons

Forty-four plain buttons of military type were recovered. Of these 18 were represented by copper alloy or lead/tin alloy domed covers. Ten domed buttons were found with the remains of the back pieces, made of copper alloy, wood or bone, present: 5 had a clay infill presumably designed to keep the cover in shape. Eighteen of the buttons were flat and of these half were coated with tin or silver. Three others, spherical in shape, were composed of two hemispheres soldered together.

Apart from buttons bearing British manufacturers' marks, most are likely to be French.

The great majority of the buttons came from the outer bailey excavations of 1963–73 and date to the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1792–1815).

Non-military buttons (Pl. LVII)

Twenty-two buttons of non-military type were recovered. All were made of copper alloy. The majority have some form of linear decoration most commonly floral. On the basis of diameter, 6 of the larger buttons are likely to be eighteenth-century (nos. 30–35), the rest belonging to the early nineteenth century. All but one come from the outer bailey excavations. A selection are illustrated here.

30. Gilded (sf 1160).
31. Floral design, tin-coated (sf 2008).
32. Circular design (sf 2468).
33. Leaf design (back) (sf 2570).
34. Gilded (sf 2591).
35. Curved incised lines, gilded (sf 2833).
36. Linear cross design, gilded (sf 358).
37. Floral design, gilded (sf 428).
38. Linear design (sf 429).
39. Ornate, gilded (sf 726).
40. Honeycomb decoration (sf 733).
41. Gilded and domed (sf 641).
42. Glass inlay type, glass missing (sf 1547).
43. Symmetrical pattern (sf 1725).
44. Faint decoration (sf 1957).
45. Floral design (sf 2113).
46. Gilded (sf 2127).
47. Glass inlay, glass missing (sf 2929).
48. Floral design over bone back (sf 1514).

Buttons with stamped initials (Pl. LVII)

Two buttons had initials stamped on to the head.

49. Button of lead/tin alloy stamped H. Probably from a coat worn by a member of a foxhunt club (Epstein 1968, 43–5). Late eighteenth century (sf 1072).
50. Button of lead/tin alloy stamped SPW on the head. The reverse is also stamped and includes an N and U in an otherwise illegible stamp. Probably early nineteenth century (sf 1914).

Makers' marks and back inscriptions (Pl. LVII)

From about 1800 button makers began to put identifying marks on their products (Parkyn 1956, 3) and from about 1820 some of the gilded buttons were stamped 'gilt', 'double gilt', and 'treble gilt' with the intention to give them greater prestige to customers though their quality was seldom superior (Houart 1977, 52–3).

51. I Nutting and Son, King St, Covent Garden (sf 242).
52. L. McCowan. London (sf 392).
53. Gilt (sf 683).
54. Plated. J & T & R (sf 782).
55. Kenning. London (sf 856).
56. ... saur ... Paris (sf 860).
57. R. Bushby, St. Martin's Lane (sf 1426).
58. Double gilt (sf 2360).
59. Treble gilt H.T.D. (sf 2819).

In addition there are buttons recording 'Williams.London' (sf 1535), 'Will Harris, Birmingham' (sf 1676), 'ON...LE...' (sf 2828) and 'Sheffield.W.N.Gilt' (sf 246).

OBJECTS OF BONE (Figs. 29–33 and Pl. LVIII)

Animal bones were extensively used by the prisoners to manufacture a wide range of items some for their own personal use others to be sold to the local populace or to dealers. Bone ship models and bone boxes made in the prison camps were much appreciated at the time and have since become collectors' items of considerable value.

As might be expected the excavations at Portchester have produced a number of bone artefacts and bone-working debris which will be summarized below under the following headings:

- buttons
- fasteners
- handles
- personal items
- boxes
- gaming pieces
- musical instruments
- medical items
- religious objects
- miscellaneous.

A selection of the more typical pieces are illustrated in Figs. 29–33.

A full listing of all the items will be found in the fiche section (Fiche 2:A9–B2).

Buttons (Fig. 29, nos. 1–19)

A total of 24 finished buttons were found, the majority coming from the layers of the airing yard. From the quantity of wasters found it is evident that manufacture took place on the site. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries bone buttons were generally used for undergarments, shirts and trousers: they were rarely put on jackets or coats. The buttons from Portchester were plain or roughly finished suggesting that they were for the personal use of the prisoners or were unfinished. Buttons manufactured for sale were generally ornate like those from the prison camp at Norman Cross near Peterborough which had had painted scenes on them.

Three types of bone button were found at Portchester:

Self shank types (Fig. 29, nos. 1–9) Disc with convex face and cylindrical shank cut from a single piece of bone. The shanks were generally perforated for attachment. One (no. 7) also had a central hole through the entire button, created during the manufacturing process in order to fix a rod for turning on the lathe but it had been plugged on the face. Three of the self-shank type were found in the fill of the sewer trench (F3) and showed signs of burning. They were identical in shape and size and probably came from the same article of clothing. Eleven buttons of this type were recovered.

Pin head shank type (Fig. 29, nos. 10–17) A flat disc of bone with a central hole. A loop of metal would have been threaded through the hole to form a shank. Some show signs of

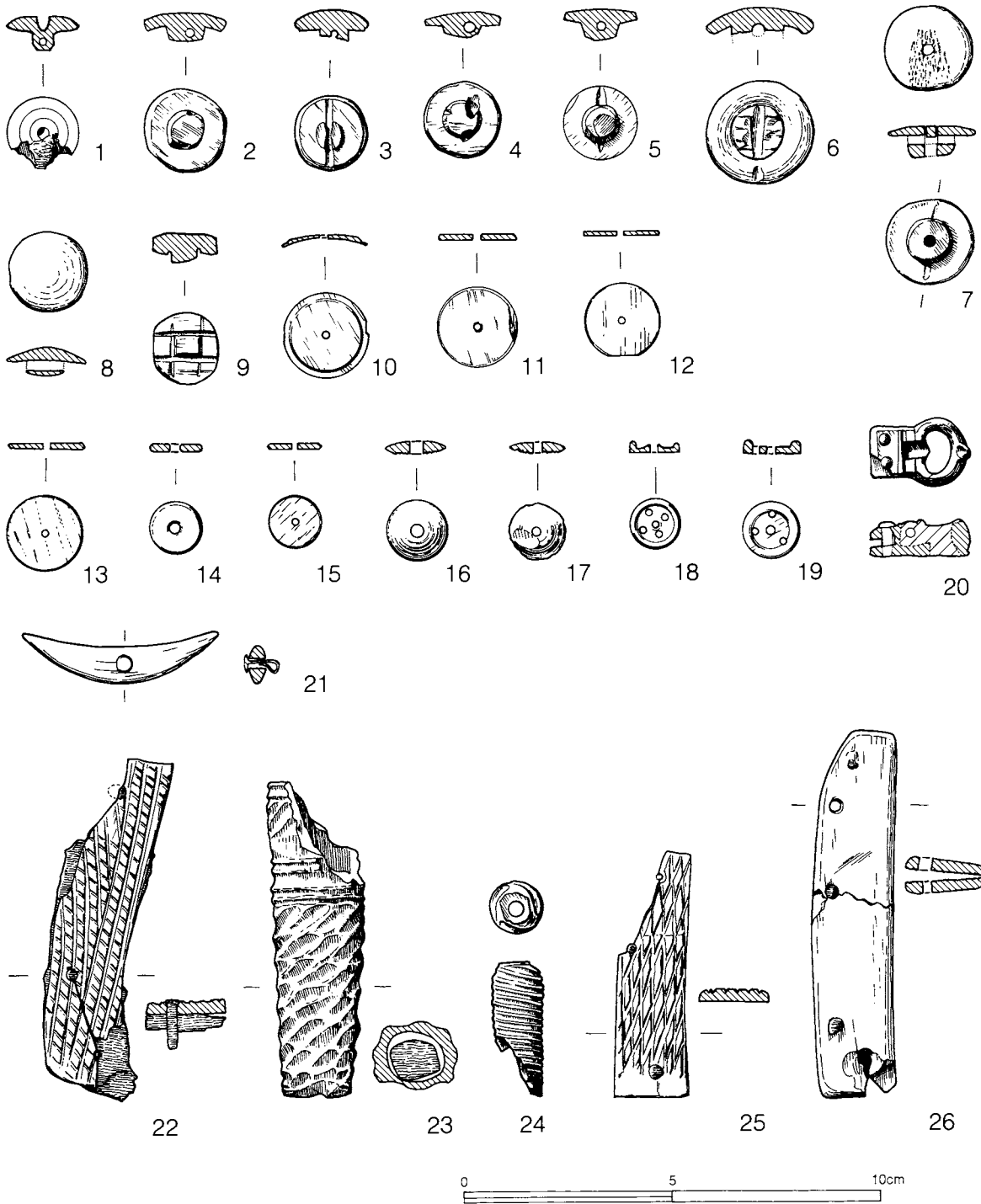


FIG. 29 Objects of bone.

copper staining. The type was common in the eighteenth century. Eleven were found at Portchester.

Sew through type (Fig. 29, nos. 18 and 19) A simple disc with a central perforation surrounded by a number of other perforations, normally five. The form is typically of the eighteenth century. Two were found at Portchester.

A quantity of debris from button manufacture was found, representing the creation of a minimum of 207 buttons, all of pin head shank type (Pl. LVIII). The sizes varied:

diameter (mm)	number	percentage
9	58	28
12	52	25
14	34	16
16	27	13
18	13	6
20	23	11

The buttons were drilled first from one side and then from the other. A centre bit with a curving profile was used to cut the bone. The bit had an extended central point which penetrated the whole button and could therefore be used as a marker when the other side was cut. Similar wasters have been found at Exeter (Allan 1984, 350-1, fig. 195, B.46-B.47) and King's Lynn (Clarke & Carter 1970, 42, 313-14, fig. 143, nos. 25-28).

All the pieces were found within the boundary of the exercise yard from contexts dating from the metalling of the yard in 1810. Much of it came from pits 212 and 213, the rest from the layers of 1810-19.

Fasteners (Fig. 29, nos. 20 and 21)

Two fasteners, 1 buckle and 1 toggle were found both coming from early nineteenth-century contexts.

Handles (Fig. 29, nos. 22-6 and Fig. 30, nos. 27-35)

Bone was commonly used to provide handles for a variety of items: in all 20 individual handles have been identified which may be classified as:

kitchen knives	5
clasp/pen knives	3
knives (indistinguishable)	7
razor or scalpel	2
mirror/fan	2
spoon	1

Most of the knives represented were of the type which had plates attached on either side of a strip tang. Only two were whittle tang knives. Some of the knives had an iron bolster separating the tang from the blade: this was a common feature of the late eighteenth century. Several of the scales were highly decorated and were therefore probably manufactured for sale as were the mirror/fan handles. Five fragments of unfinished handles were found thus demonstrating on-site manufacture.

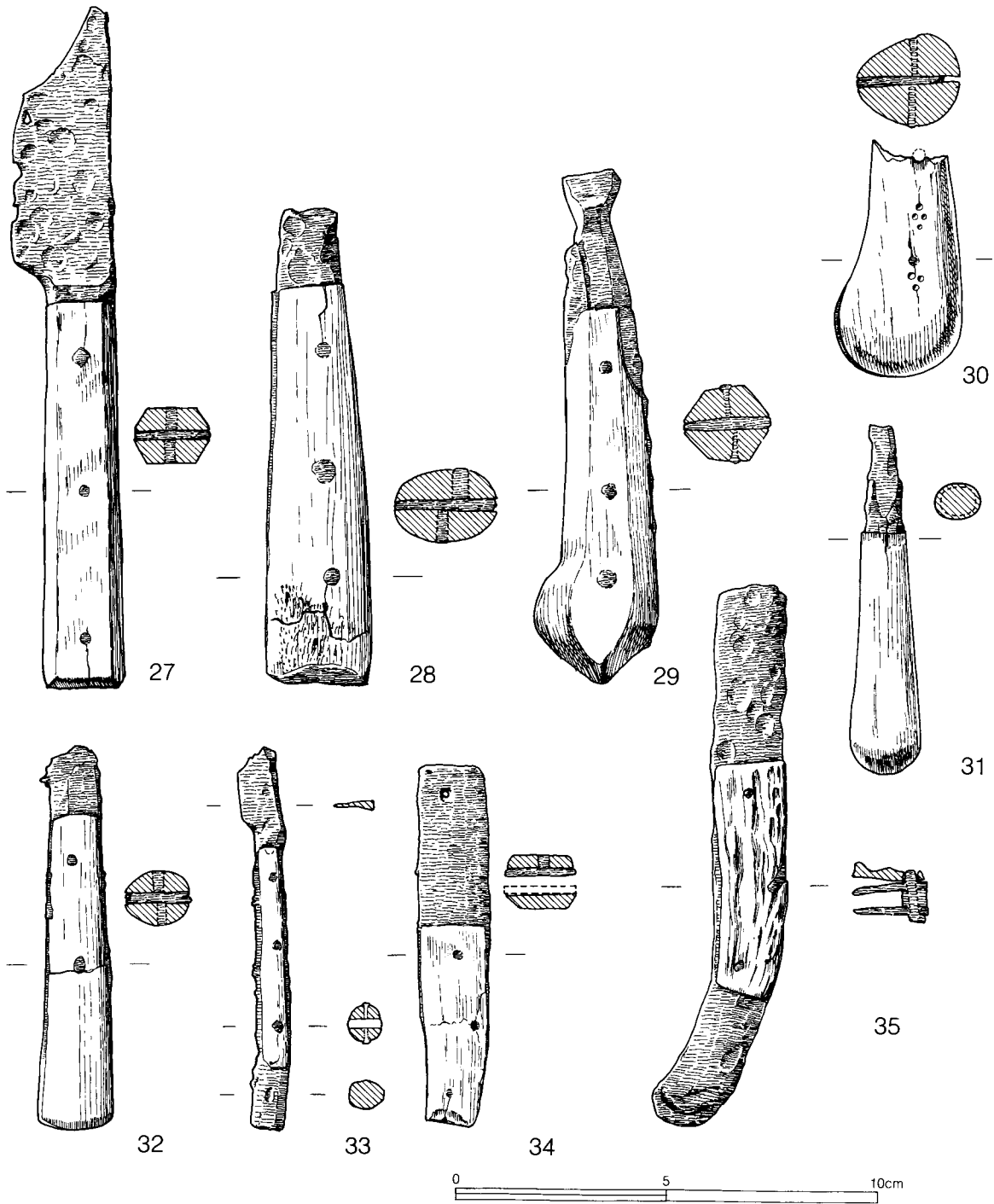


FIG. 30 Objects of bone.

Personal items (Fig. 31, nos. 36–45)

Under this category we list:

brushes	4
combs	3
hair pin	1
nail cleaner	1

Of the 4 brushes one (no. 39) was a tooth-brush the rest were larger. All would have had multiple tufts of bristles anchored by copper wire: copper staining was found in two examples. The brushes were probably made by the prisoners for their own use rather than for sale.

The combs (nos. 40–42) were of the double sided type with an H-shaped frame. The teeth were fine and cut parallel to the grain of the bone. One (no. 45) was much coarser.

Of the other items the hair pin (no. 44) was unfinished and the nail cleaner (no. 43) was incomplete. It was probably intended to form part of a manicure set for sale.

Boxes (Fig. 32, nos. 46–8)

Three fragments of small boxes were found. The two plainer sides (nos. 47 and 48) were unfinished but were intended to be polished in the same way as the finished and decorated side (no. 46). Each was connected to others by means of tail joints and small metal pins. The lid of no. 46 was attached by a copper alloy hinge. Boxes of this kind were made to hold gaming pieces.

The three examples came from the airing yard.

Gaming pieces (Fig. 32, nos. 49–70)

Counters Two plain examples were found, both wasters.

Cribbage pegs (Fig. 32, nos. 49–52) Six cribbage peg blanks were found together (trench 15 layer 1).

Dice (Fig. 32, nos. 53–9) Seven dice were recovered, all from the outer bailey. Two from the early plough soil (nos. 53 and 54) may date to the seventeenth century and are closely similar to dice from Exeter dating to the 1660s (Allan 1984, 350–1, fig. 195, B.40–B.41). The rest were of the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. Manufacturing waste was represented by one offcut and a test piece with experimental ring and dot design.

Dominoes (Fig. 32, nos. 60–65) Six dominoes were found. The game was introduced into Britain in the late eighteenth century by French prisoners and sets, usually of 28, were made and sold in wooden or bone boxes.

Fish (Fig. 32, nos. 66 and 67) Two gaming fish were found in the outer bailey. They were used in connection with card games such as quadrille and are mentioned by Jane Austen in *Pride and Prejudice* published in 1813.

Miscellaneous Two wasters were found of pieces belonging to different games. One (no. 69) was the central piece from a ‘cat’s cradle’ game. This involved creating a frame of string held in both hands which when moved by the fingers sent the middle piece spinning. The second

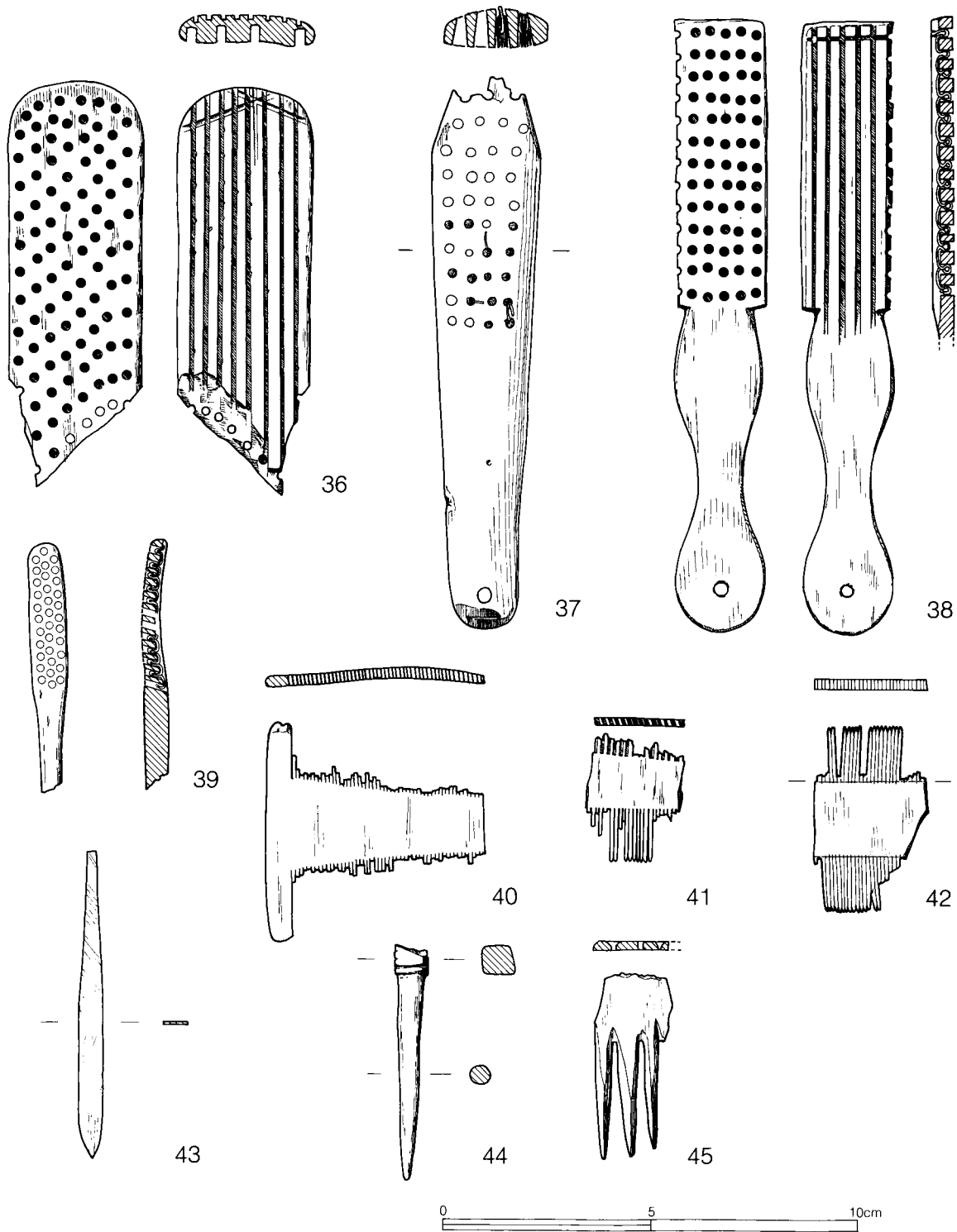


FIG. 31 Objects of bone.

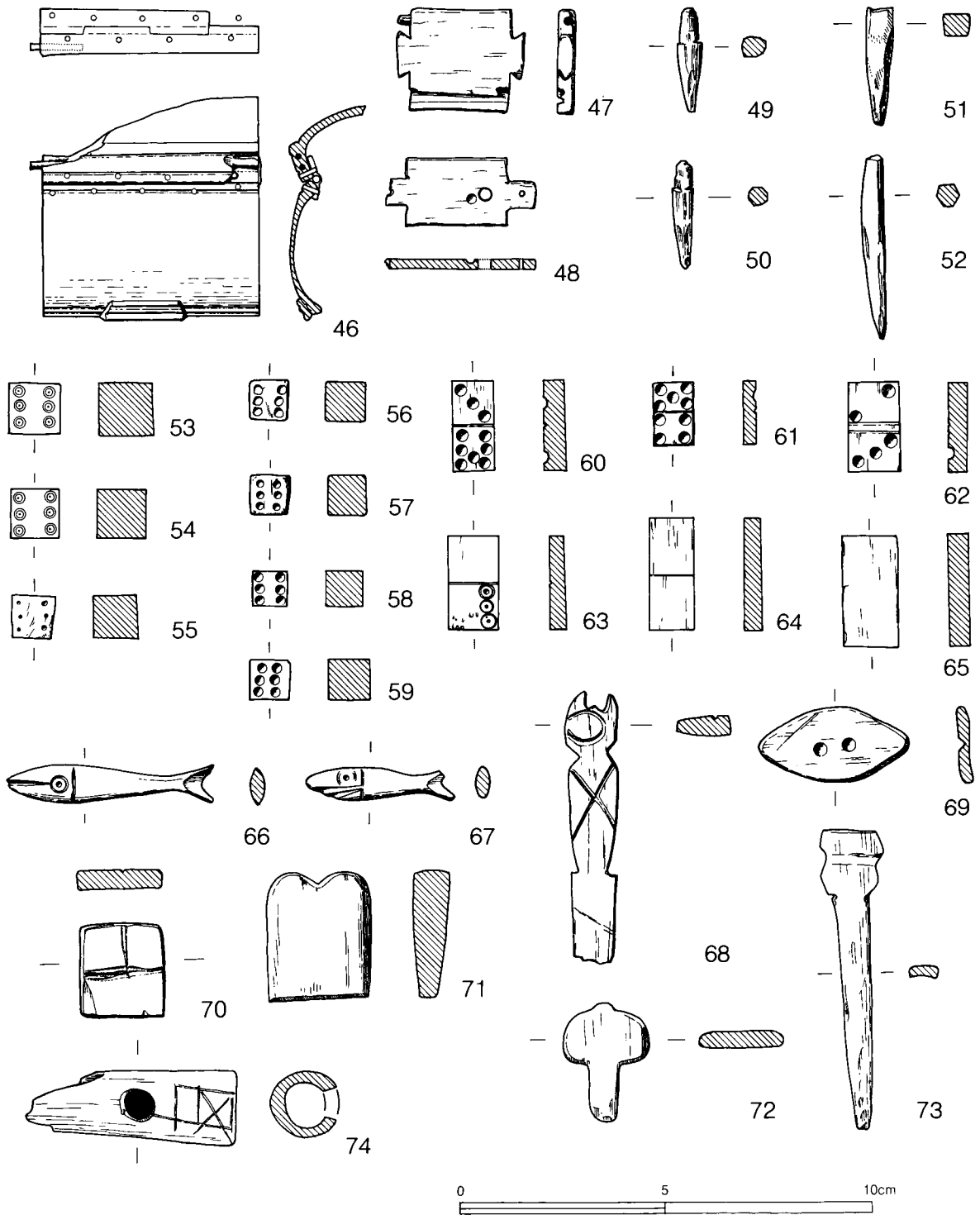


FIG. 32 Objects of bone.

(no. 68) was a hook from a 'Jack straw' game which involved hooking sticks from a pile one at a time without disturbing the rest.

Musical instrument parts (Fig. 32, nos. 71-4)

Musical instruments were represented by 6 fragments: 3 tuning pegs for fiddles (nos. 72 and 73), 2 fiddle bridges (no. 71) and 1 fragment of flute (no. 74). In all probability they were made on the site. The flute can be paralleled at Exeter (Allan 1984, 349-50, fig. 195, B.1-B.3 and B.5-B.7).

All came from contexts pre-dating the gravelling of 1810.

Medical items (Fig. 33, nos. 75-83)

In this category we list parts of 9 syringes. These were composite items consisting of four basic parts: a nozzle which screwed into a small barrel which was connected to a larger barrel containing the liquid. A plunger would have been attached to the end but none has survived. Syringes of this type would have been used to deliver an enema. The surviving fragments represent two different types of syringe, one with a small one-piece barrel with a nozzle screwing directly into it, the other with a separate plate screwed into the barrel which in turn screwed onto the nozzle.

These types of syringes were common c. 1800 and it is unlikely that they were much earlier in date. At Portchester they all pre-date the gravelling of the airing yard in 1810. Seven out of the 9 examples came from trenches 88 and 89 hinting that they may have been discarded at one time.

Religious objects (Fig. 33, nos. 84 and 85)

Three religious items of bone were found in the outer bailey excavation. One was a complete rosary composed of bone beads and a copper alloy crucifix (below, p. 119), another comprised the beads only (no. 84). Both were found in the graves close to the south wall most likely to be those of Roman Catholic prisoners taken during the Seven Years War (1756-63). The third item (no. 85) was part of a cup for holy water which would have been part of a crucifix set. The base and lid were missing. It was found in pit 212 which cut through the graves allowing the possibility that it may have eroded into the pit from the side of an exposed grave.

Miscellaneous items (Fig. 33, nos. 86-97)

- 86. Blade with hooked end ?for netting.
- 87. Scale of a handle.
- 88. Handle with scooped end.
- 89. Sawn antler.
- 90. Elaborately decorated handle with projecting peg at one end for a fan or mirror.
- 91. Handle with iron pin at one end.
- 92. Needle.
- 93. Needle.
- 94-7. Finely turned handles.

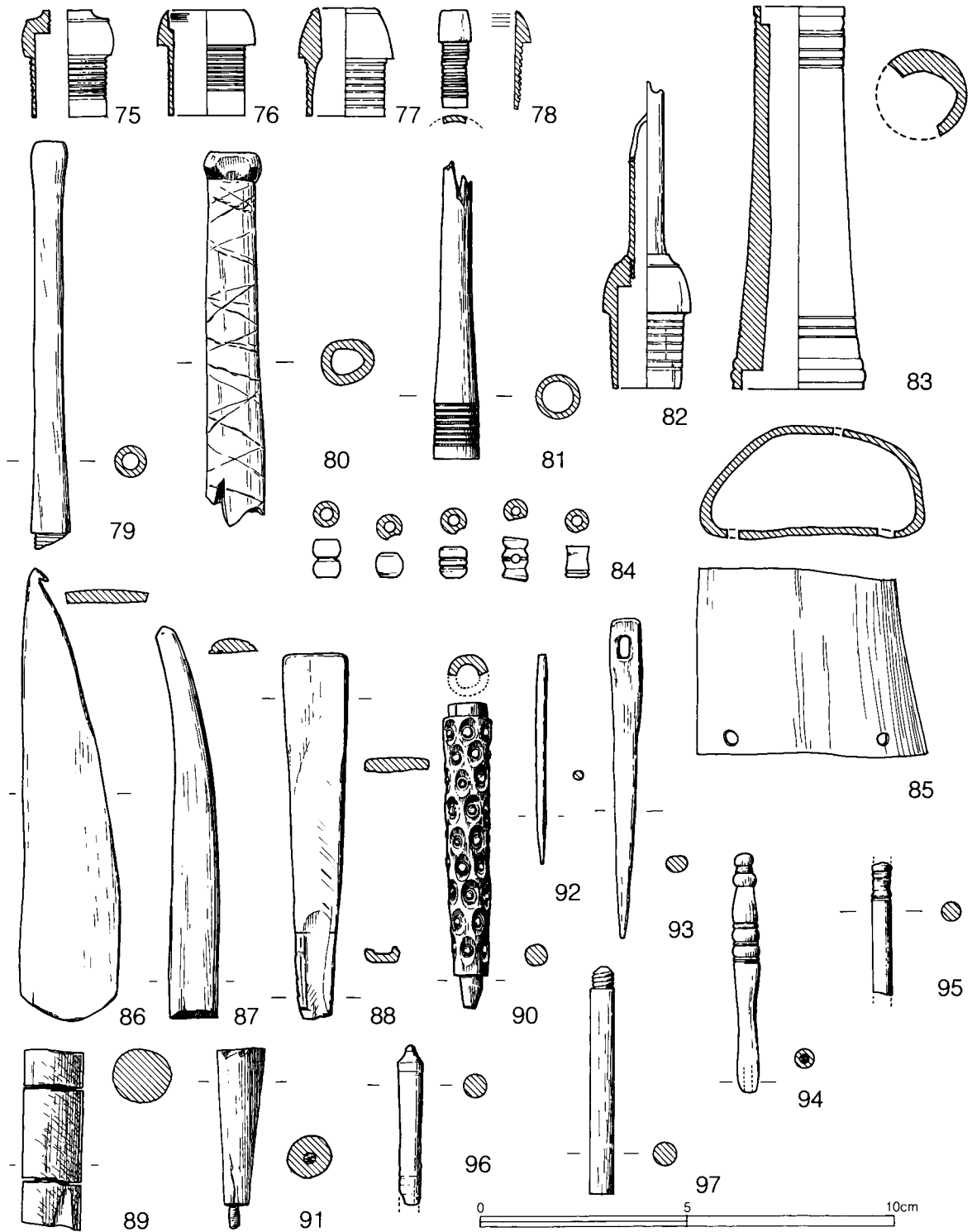


FIG. 33 Objects of bone.

OBJECTS OF COPPER ALLOY (Pl. LIX and Figs. 34-6)

A total of 166 objects of copper alloy were found, mostly in the excavation in the outer bailey. The main categories are listed below and a selection of the items have been chosen for illustration. A complete listing is provided in the fiche section (Fiche 2:D1-5).

Crucifixes (Pl. LIX)

Two crucifixes were discovered. One (Pl. LIXa) came from the grave pit F12 dug against the south wall of the fort. The crucifix was buried with the body. It was attached to a rosary of bone beads. The second crucifix (Pl. LIXb), in the form of a cross of Lorraine attached to a wire link chain, was found in the inner bailey in the side of the trench dug for the brick drain F118.

Pins (Fig. 34, no. 1)

In all 72 pins of 'dressmaker' type were recovered. Of these a group of 64 from pit 213 were all of the same size, approximately 20 mm in length and with heads 1.5 mm across. The remaining eight were similar in size and form but showed signs of tinning.

Spoons (Fig. 34, nos. 2-6)

Five spoon fragments were found: all are illustrated. No. 4 is included because it has the appearance of a spoon stem but this is not entirely certain. No. 3 is silver-coated. No. 6 differs from the rest in that it was clearly not used for food but may have been a measure for powders.

Blank discs (Fig. 34, nos. 7 and 8)

Five blank discs were found no doubt serving a range of functions. Two had square holes cut in the centre.

Plates or tags (Fig. 34, nos. 9-15)

Seven plates or identification tags were recovered, some were press stamped. Nos. 15 and 16 were silver-coated.

Military equipment (Fig. 35, nos. 16-20)

Six items were identifiable as belonging to military equipment:

- 16. Hilt guard from rapier.
- 17-18. Ram rod holders originally attached to the undersides of muskets.
- 19. Shoulder belt plate or badge. Press stamped.
- 20. Badge. Press stamped with motto of the Royal Engineers (incomplete) 'Honi Soi Mal y Pense' encircling G.R.
- NI Naval commemorative medal. Front two figures C.A.N.O.D.O., reverse H.I.D. Found unstratified 1930.

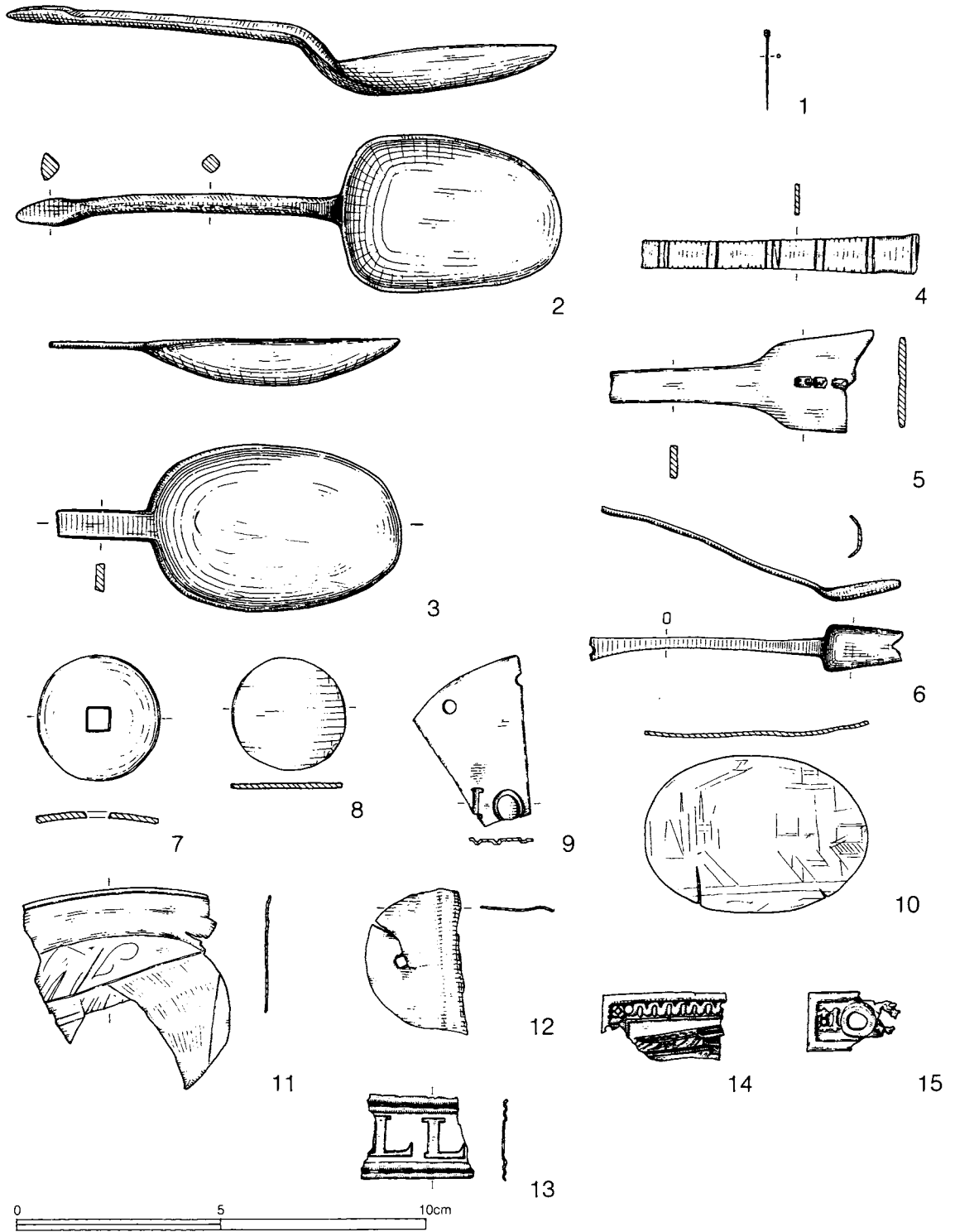


FIG. 34 Objects of copper alloy.

Rings (Fig. 35, nos. 21-5)

Six rings were found of varying kinds. The unillustrated example was plain.

Nails

Three nails were found two of which were square in cross section.

Strap ends and clasps (Fig. 35, nos. 26-32)

Eight strap ends and similar attachments were recovered of which seven are illustrated.

Miscellaneous items (Fig. 36, nos. 33-50)

Among the small collection of miscellaneous items found the following are the more distinctive though not necessarily of readily recognizable function.

- 33. Tweezers.
- 34. Harness bell.
- 35. Conical stud head.
- 36. Cast fitting ?for furniture.
- 37. Key.
- 38. Furniture handle.
- 39. Decorative fitting.
- 40. Turned rod.
- 41. Cast cylinder.
- 42. Cap: lathe-turned with screw thread.
- 43. Wing nut and strip.
- 44. Jew's harp.
- 45. Faceted rod.
- 46. Faceted rod.
- 47. Attachment.
- 48. Sheets riveted together.
- 49. Iron razor with copper alloy handle plates.
- 50. Cast bowl.

OBJECTS OF IRON (Figs. 37-9)

In total 410 pieces of iron were found in post medieval contexts but of these 174 were too fragmentary or too badly corroded to be identified. All items were X-rayed and catalogued and a selection are illustrated here. A detailed list will be found in the fiche section (Fiche 2:D6-11).

Forks (Fig. 37, no. 1)

Seven incomplete forks were found, five were of two pronged type and two had four prongs. Two had decorated bolsters and one a conical bolster.

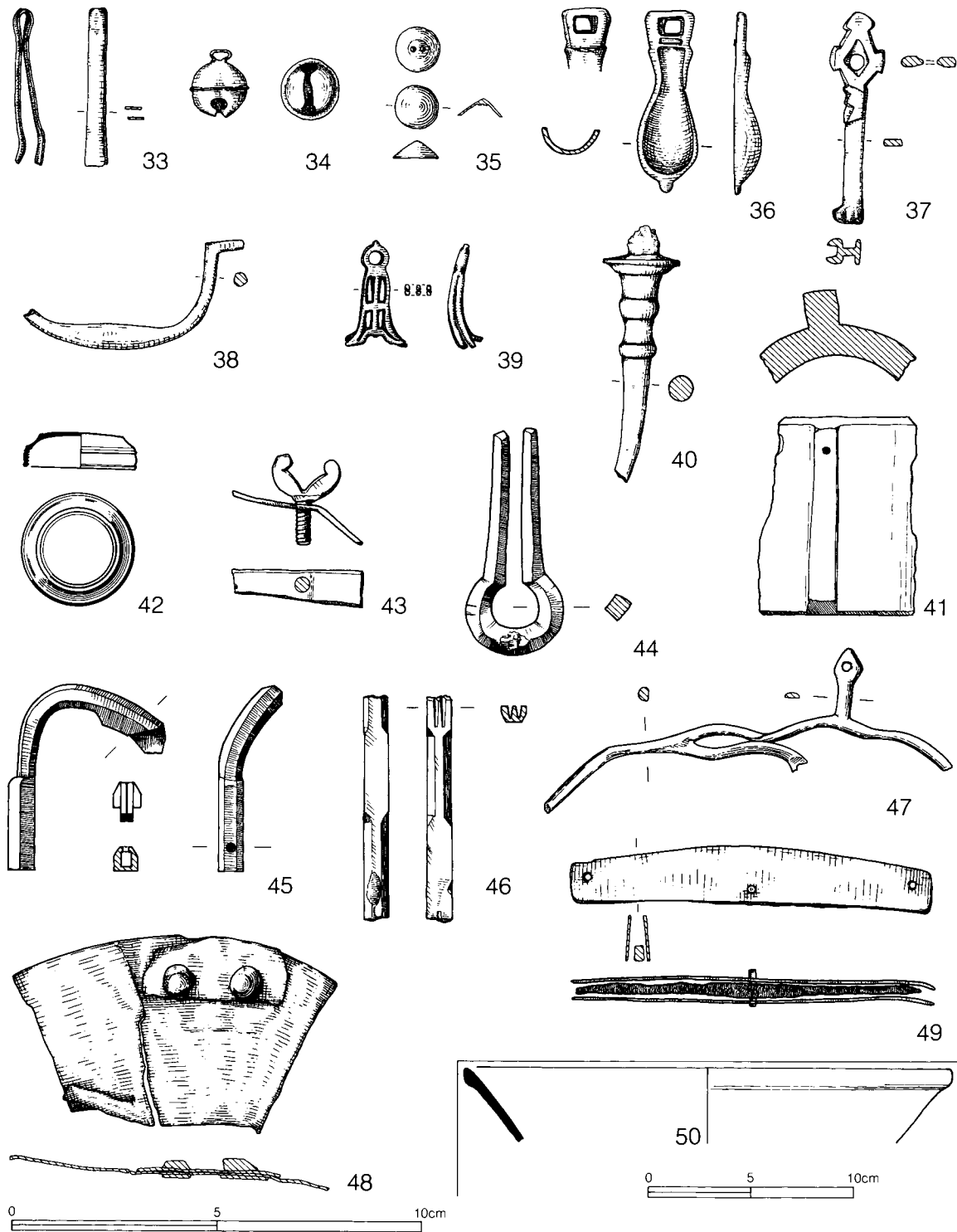


FIG. 36 Objects of copper alloy.

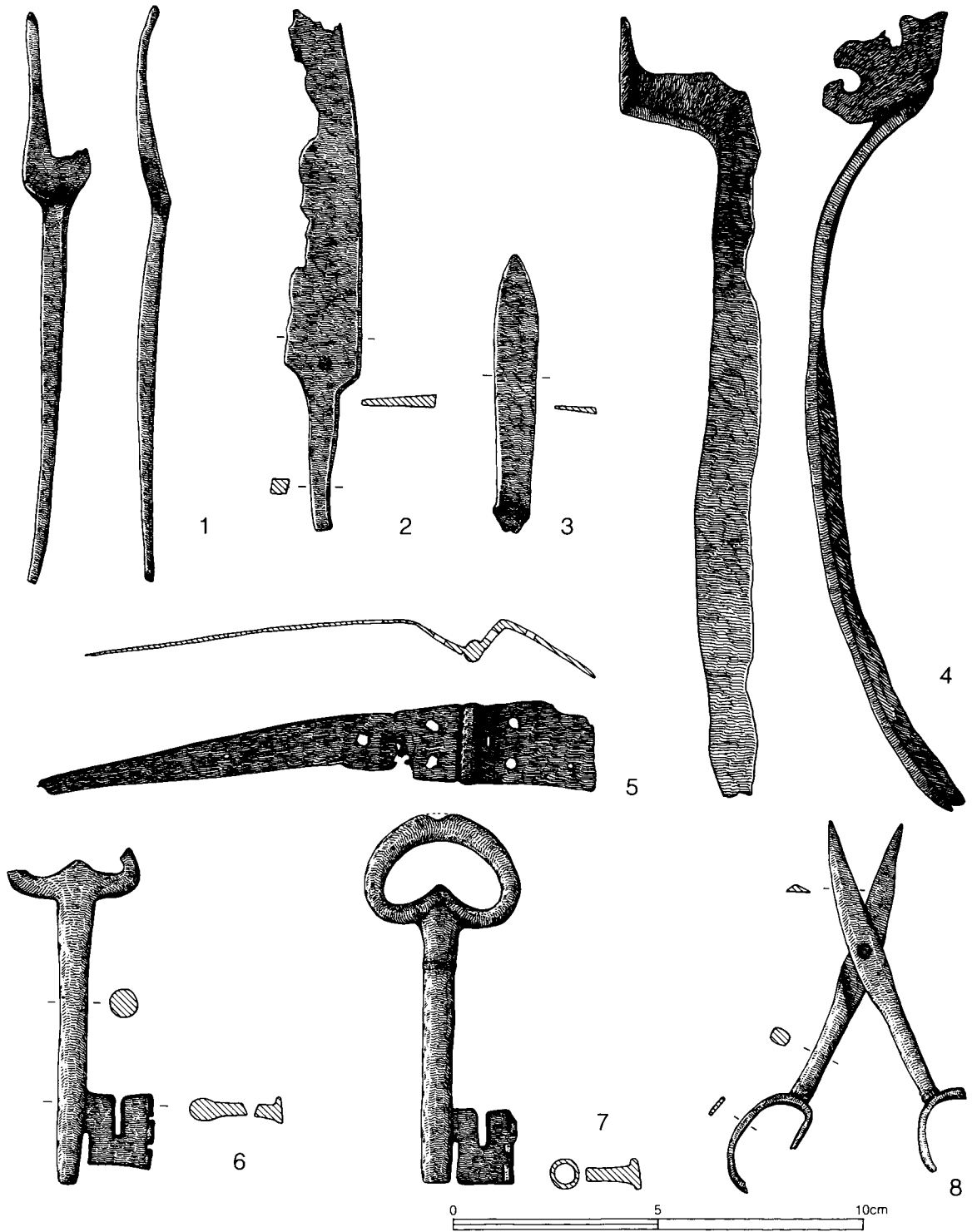


FIG. 37 Objects of iron.

Knives (Fig. 30, nos. 27–35 and Fig. 37, nos. 2 and 3)

Sixteen fragmentary knives were recovered. All were badly corroded but appear to be kitchen or domestic knives. Both whittle and scale tang knives were represented.

Handles (Fig. 37, no. 4)

Four handles were found all of a form and size which suggests that they came from doors.

Hinges (Fig. 37, no. 5)

Eight hinges were found. All were of a leaf hinge type. Two, one of which is illustrated, came from the same context and were probably a pair.

Keys (Fig. 37, nos. 6 and 7)

Six keys were recovered, all with symmetrical bits. Five had tubular ends to fit over a pin in the lock, the other had a solid end and this came from a different form of lock. One had an oval bow the rest had kidney-shaped bows.

Locks (Fig. 38, nos. 9 and 10)

Three lock mechanisms were found. One (no. 9) was a padlock, the other two came from doors.

Hooks and fittings

Sixteen items have been recovered which belong to this general category of which 12 are simple hooks of various kinds. In addition two pintles were found (pintles are right-angled brackets used with a loop hinge to hang a door or window). The remaining two items had rounded sides and a tapering arm ending in a point: two rivet holes enabled them to be attached to wood.

Scissors (Fig. 37, no. 8)

Eleven pairs of scissors, mainly fragmentary, have been found. All were of similar type.

Spools

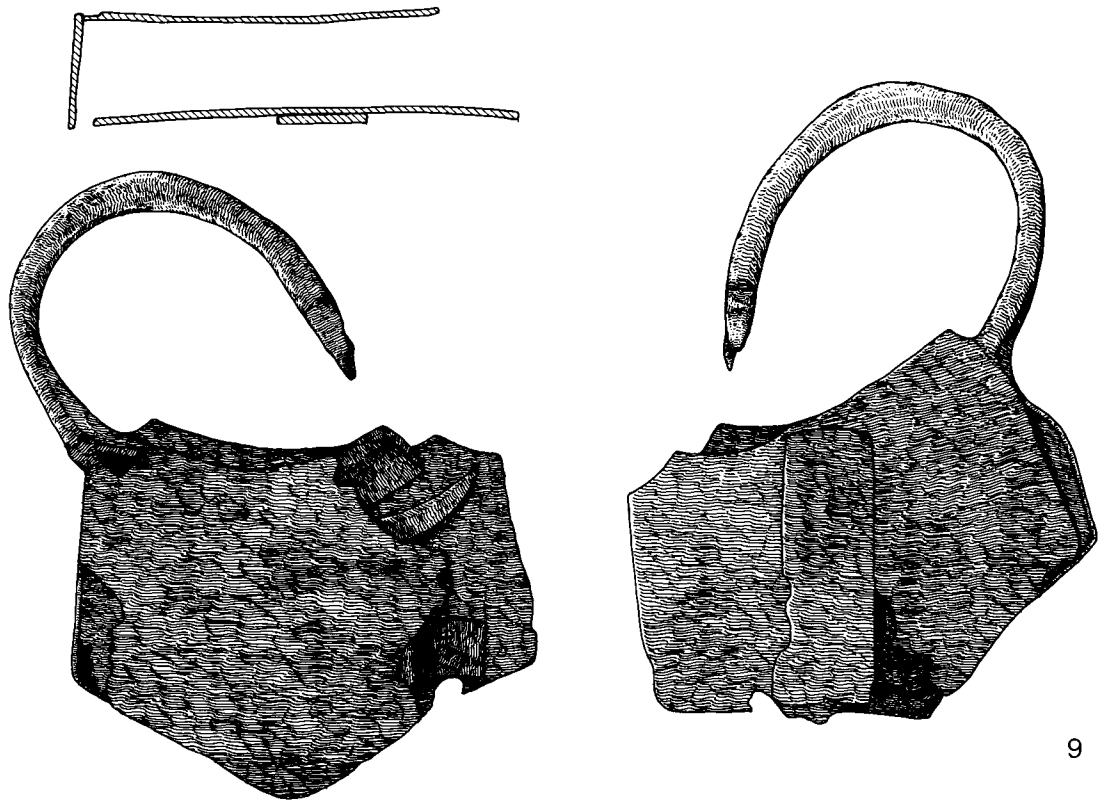
Nine rings were found made from sheet metal with raised edges. It is likely that they were used as spools for twine.

Tools (Fig. 39, no. 11)

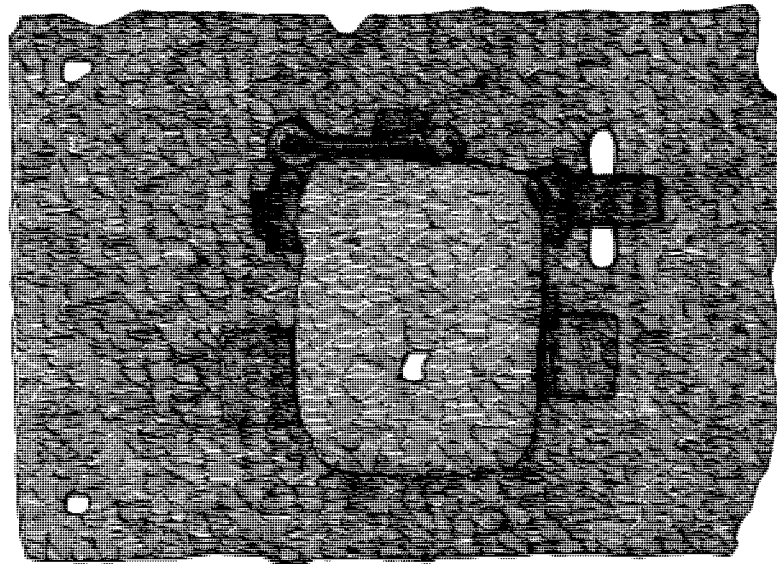
The tools recovered include a broken and burred chisel, four dome-headed awls, an axe head with a fan-shaped blade, a small hammer with claw end (no. 11) and a shaft hole hammer.

Nails

Eighty-five nails were recovered all blacksmith-made with square-sectioned shanks and flat or slightly domed heads.



9



10

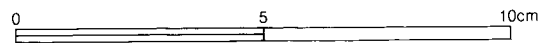


FIG. 38 Objects of iron.

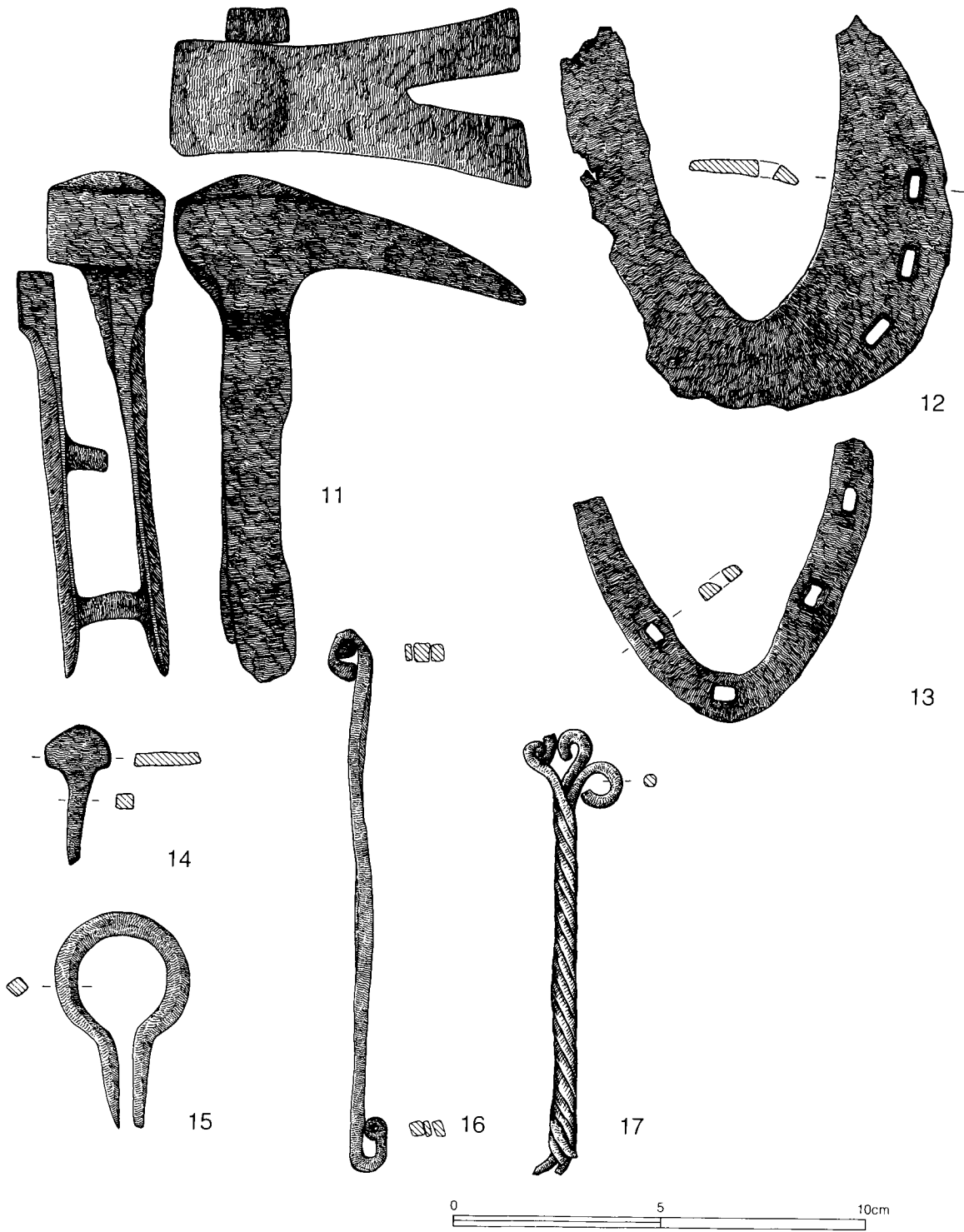


FIG. 39 Objects of iron.

Horseshoes (Fig. 39, nos. 12 and 13)

Six horseshoes were recovered.

Miscellaneous (Fig. 39, nos. 14-17)

Among the 93 miscellaneous items may be listed:

14. Peg with oval head.
15. Jew's harp.
16. Rod with decorative terminal.
17. Rod composed of four strands of twisted wire.

Most of the rest of the 93 miscellaneous items are mainly fragments of plates and rods but includes seven cartridge cases.

OBJECTS OF LEAD ALLOY (Fig. 40)

A total of 26 items of lead alloy excluding buttons described above were recovered: a selection are illustrated here. A detailed list is provided in the fiche section (Fiche 2:D12-13).

Enema syringe (Fig. 40, no. 1)

Pewter syringe comprising a nozzle attached to a straight barrel. The top of the barrel is threaded on the exterior over which a retaining cap fits to secure the plunger. The base of the plunger is designed to facilitate the attachment of a wood or fabric washer to effect a tight seal.

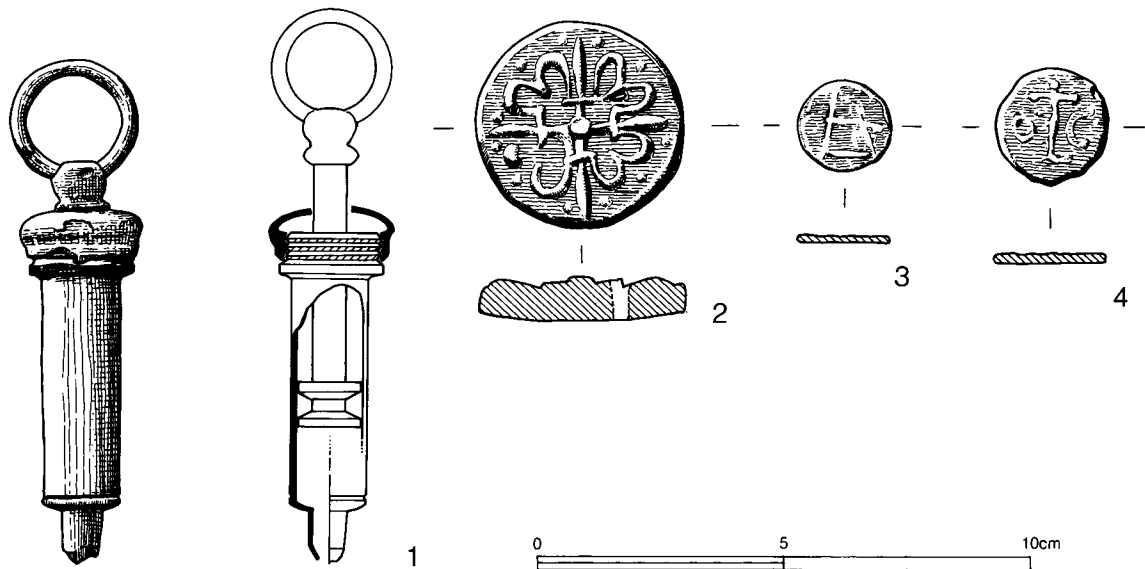


FIG. 40 Objects of lead alloy.

The syringe was found in the gravelling of the airing yard first laid in 1810 but raked and patched after that. It may indeed be one of the syringes referred to in a Transport Office letter of 1810 referring to medical syringes being sent from London (ADM/98/252). A similar item is preserved in the collection of the Musée d'Histoire des Sciences, Geneva (Bennion 1979, fig. 18).

Spoons (not illustrated)

Four spoons were found during the excavations of the 1930s. They were all of early eighteenth-century type. The spoons have comparatively narrow bowls two of which have the remains of a 'rat's tail' on the underside, a feature characteristic of this period.

Lead discs (Fig. 40, nos. 2-4)

Six lead discs were found. Three were blank and of them one was pierced. The remaining three were decorated. One (no. 2), larger and heavier than the others, displayed a well-moulded design of four conjoined fleurs-de-lys. It was pierced by a small triangular-shaped hole. Of the others one bore an anchor flanked by the letters OC, the other a simple geometric setting of four lines. The reverse side of this piece had also once been decorated but the design was now indecipherable. The discs may have served any of a variety of functions but were most likely gaming pieces.

Shot (not illustrated)

Four pieces of musket shot were recovered, one flattened by firing. The rest were 17.5 mm in diameter and weighed respectively 30, 31 and 32 gm.

Of the other items of lead all were scrap which may have been collected by the prisoners to make buttons or counters.

X. SYNTHESIS: THE MILITARY AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF PORTCHESTER CASTLE, 1609–1819

The wealth of documentary evidence for Portchester Castle in the post medieval period provides a fascinating insight into the management of prisoners of war from the time of the Second Anglo-Dutch war of 1665–7 to the end of the wars with Napoleon in 1814 – a century-and-a-half of almost continuous warfare during which tens of thousands of prisoners had to be cared for. But life of the castle during this period reflects on other things as well – on the continuous attempts by the Crown to utilize the redundant medieval buildings for a variety of military and naval purposes, on developing medical practices in the services, on the trivia of day-to-day administration in the Admiralty and on the attitudes of local Hampshire society playing unwilling hosts to hordes of foreign nationals. The history of Portchester during the two centuries which concern us here provides a welcome redress to the familiar history of great men and their politics.

In this section we draw together, in a continuous narrative, the evidence gleaned from a variety of sources, much of it presented in detail in the preceding pages. We have, of necessity, been selective. What emerges is, at best, a contribution to the study – it can never be the final word.

SEARCH FOR A USE: THE CASTLE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The seventeenth century opens with the castle under the care of the Constable Sir Thomas Cornwallis, appointed by James I, and later to become Groom Porter to Queen Elizabeth. Cornwallis inherited a rapidly decaying and antiquated structure which can hardly have been suitable for occupation. Immediately he set about renovating the north, south east and east ranges, on the better lighted and more airy side of the inner bailey courtyard, to provide up-to-date, if quite modest accommodation for himself and his retinue; he also extended the gatehouse. The cost was in excess of £300 (Vol. IV §§ 146–7). Timber for the construction was being supplied in 1608 but it is possible that the work was never completely finished for in the following year John Norden, in a comprehensive survey of the castle, describes the ‘building not long since newly erected’ as being ‘almost uncovered’ and in need of glazing. Of the rest of the castle the western half was derelict and only of value for the materials which could be salvaged. Nor was the keep thought to be of much use for he suggests partial demolition to alleviate the trouble caused by chimney-smoke hanging about the buildings (Vol. IV §§ 146–7).

Norden’s final recommendation was that at the appropriate change of governorship the custodianship of the castle should be attached to the Governorship of Portsmouth. His advice was taken, and later in the year the castle was granted to the Earl of Pembroke to be held with Portsmouth (*Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1603–10, 551). It seems possible, however, that

Cornwallis was allowed to remain in residence until his death in 1618 when he was buried in the church where his memorial is still to be seen.

In 1628 the suitability of Portchester for conversion to a naval store and dry dock was considered. The report listed five potential advantages

- its position
- any wharf built would be protected from tidal forces as at the harbour mouth
- the navigation channel leading close to the castle was edged with safe, soft ooze
- between the channel and the castle wall the chalky ground was stable enough for the construction of a dry dock and wharfs
- building materials were readily to hand.

The estimate of the costs involved was, however, considerable. The cost of creating the hards and wharfs was established at £6100; the repair of the walls and gates would amount to £300; the fitting out of the old buildings as lodgings was estimated at £1000 while the construction of new buildings for storage would add a further £2000. The castle was already leased to Sir William Udall (i.e. Uvedale) for the term of a life and to buy this back would have cost £100. In all the project was considered to be uneconomical and the scheme was not pursued.

Four years later in 1632 the castle and manor were finally disposed of by the Crown when they were conveyed by sale to Sir William Uvedale whose descendants, the Thistlethwaites, still retain ownership. For two centuries thereafter the State found it necessary to enter into expensive lease back arrangements whenever a military need arose that the old installations could satisfy.

The fortifications provided a convenient place to quarter troops and during the Civil War some of Sir William Balfour's 4000 horse and dragoons made use of the castle on 21 March 1644. The detachment quartered here were probably cuirassiers (the Lobsters) under the command of Sir Arthur Hasterig who six days later was to march against the Royalists at Cheriton (*Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1664-5, 519).

With the outbreak of the First Anglo-Dutch war in 1652 large numbers of sick and wounded were brought back to Britain for care and treatment. The system in operation at the time, administered by the Admiralty Board, involved contracting out the well-being of the invalids to local people in whose houses they were lodged. In regions like Portsmouth, where thousands of men in need were being landed, the situation fast became chaotic – contractors were in short supply and payment was erratic. Nevertheless the problem was tackled with great energy and enthusiasm by the surgeon in charge of all naval patients, Dr Daniel Whistler. The idea of building a hospital where all the sick and wounded could be cared for together was evidently being considered and on 21 March 1653 he wrote to Sir Henry Vane expressing the view that 'the expense of one man scattered ... is so much as I believe would suffice two in hospital.' He went on to say 'I understand by lettre from Dr. Primean[?] and Dr. Bates that the Council upon this, or better reasons are in consideration of erecting a hospital heereabouts, and that Portchester was named as convenient, which upon view I likewise found soe for situation and for ayre and water healthfull, but whether it may not cost as much to repaire an old ruinous castle, as to build a new house by, I referre to the

judgement of the surveyor in architecture.' (S.P. 18/34/28 and 46.) By the next year the war was over and nothing came of the suggestion but the theme of Portchester as a hospital was to recur many times in the course of the next two centuries.

During the Second Anglo-Dutch war (1665-7) the castle was used to house Dutch prisoners. A War Office record of 14 August 1665 notes the existence of 394: 12 had already died and four had escaped (WRO 865/431) but a letter written the next day, from Commander Thomas Middleton to Samuel Pepys at the Admiralty mentions '500 Dutchmen are received into Portchester Castle, many of them very sick.' (*Cal. S.P. CXXIX*, 1664-1665, 37.) Later in the month, on 27 August, Middleton again writes to Pepys about unrest in the camp. 'The Dutch prisoners confined in Portchester castle refuse to work, on the plea that they are servants of the States of Holland and their wives would get no relief from their masters if they worked for the King of England.' He went on to add, 'There is much sickness in the town, but few deaths.' (*Cal. S.P. CXXIX*, 1664-1665, 41.) On 4 September a War Office return records that of the 378 Dutchmen remaining in the castle, 158 were ill (WRO 865/431).

The illness which was on everyone's mind that year was of course bubonic plague which was rampant throughout the country and also among the armed services. On 20 November James, Duke of York wrote to an unknown correspondent noting that the Dutch prisoners 'who were lately kept in Portchester Castle' had been removed and giving the order that the castle should be fitted out for the reception of seamen infected with the plague so that they could be kept in isolation (WRO 865/426). It is not clear whether or not the order was carried out.

To convert the castle into a prison for 300-500 men and to use it later as a hospital need have caused little alteration to the structure. The only feature discovered, which could have been of this period, was the fence which ran from the porch of Richard II's hall to the steps leading to the keep. Such a fence would have isolated the keep and its forebuilding, the north west range, the west range and the hall end of the south range providing more than adequate accommodation for prisoners and subsequently for patients, leaving the more congenial and recently modernized buildings of the north, east and south east ranges for the prison guard.

Dutch prisoners were also housed in the old Priory Church in the south east corner of the walled enclosure. The fact is recorded in a petition written to the Treasury by Edward Wilcox of Portchester on behalf of the parishioners in 1706. 'In the Dutch war their Parish Church, . . . being by our late Sovereign King Charles the Second made use of together with the Castle of Portchester for securing Prisoners of War, was by them sett on fire and the greater part thereof ruined. . . .' So extensive was the damage that it was estimated to cost £400 to repair and would require £125 worth of timber to complete (PRO T1/97/117). The work was put in hand and the church restored. The petition implies that the act of firing the church was deliberate. If so it could have resulted from the unrest fermenting at the end of August 1665.

There is no evidence that the castle was put to any further use for the rest of the century.

PORTCHESTER CASTLE, 1815

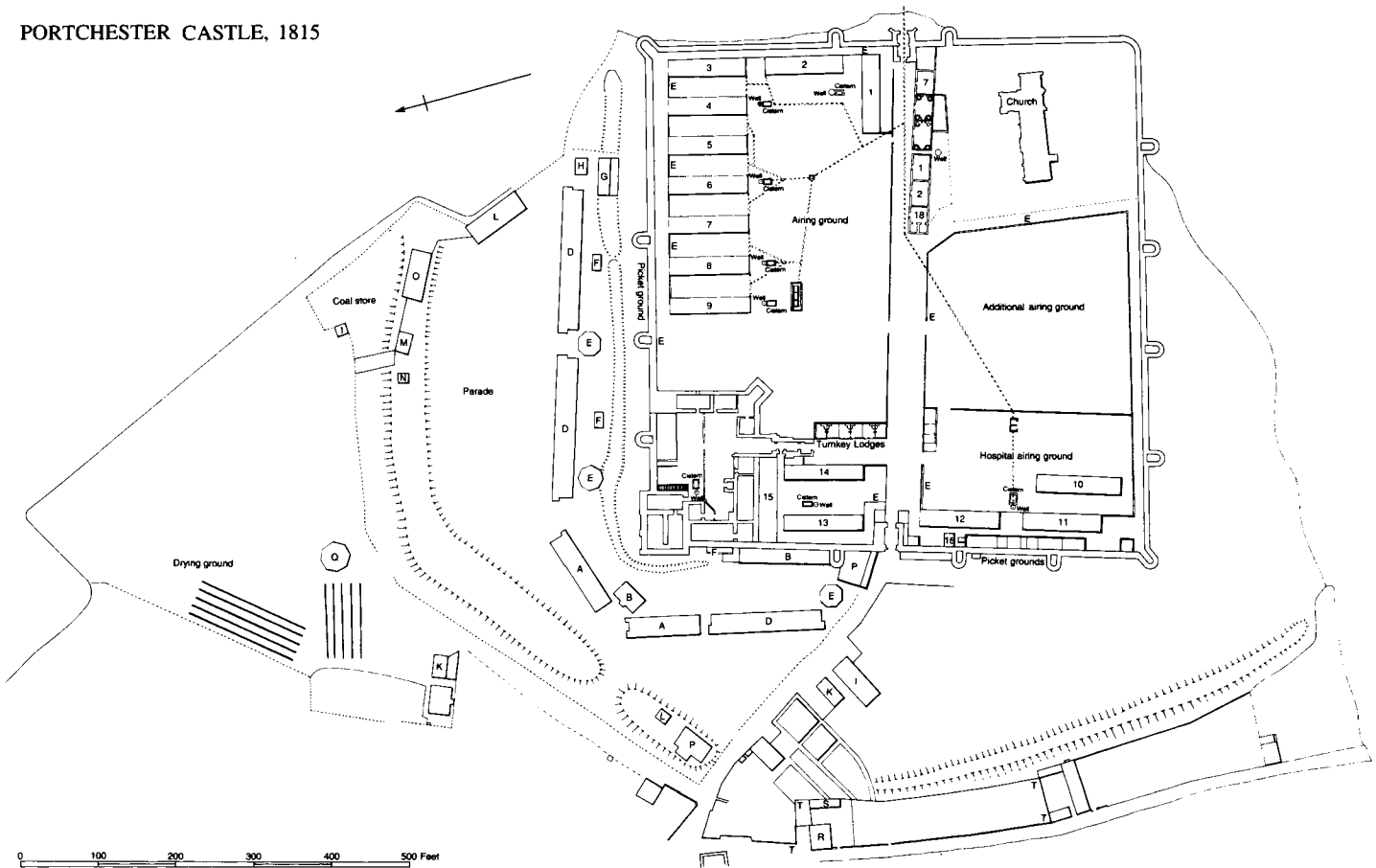


FIG. 41 The prison camp in 1815: plan drawn after Pl. IV.

THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION 1701-1713

Britain's involvement in the War of the Spanish Succession, fought mainly in the Netherlands, Germany and Italy, and at sea, was episodic. The use of Portchester during this period is somewhat unclear but there was a flurry of activity in 1702. On 1 July Lord Nottingham wrote from the Admiralty to the Sick and Wounded Board, who were charged to look after prisoners of war, to give direction about the housing of captured French officers. Among his requirements was that those held at Portsmouth be moved to Winchester and Southampton 'unless Portchester Castle be procured for and ready for them and that case to be removed thither'. He also ordered that no pen, ink and paper be allowed to any of the prisoners without leave (ADM/97/98, 37). On 17 July he wrote again in answer to the Board's reply, which evidently outlined the difficulty of acquiring the lease, telling them to 'agree for Port Caesar Castle upon the best and cheapest terms you can for keeping prisoners' (ADM/97/98, 59).

Little is known of the number of prisoners held or the duration of the use of the castle as a prison. However, as hostilities neared an end in 1712 the Treasury asked the Admiralty for the Victualling Board's opinion of whether Portchester Castle could be converted into a brewery. Two members of the Board visited the site to investigate the possibilities. The report, sent to the Treasury on 24 August 1712, noted the lack of suitable building materials, poor water supply and difficulty of access by ship concluding that 'I can by no means, for the reasons, think Portchester castle a proper place for a brewery for His Majesty's navy.' (PRO T1/151.) For the second time in 60 years the castle was condemned to a brief oblivion for its inadequacies.

THE MIDDLE YEARS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: 1740-1763

In the period from 1740-1763 Britain was engaged in a period of near continuous warfare with Spain and France, a period which can be divided into two cycles of aggression, the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1749) and the Seven Years War (1756-1763). Throughout much of this period Portchester served as a prisoner of war camp principally for French and Spanish captives but also for a variety of other nationals in much smaller numbers. The documentation for the early part of the period is copious, the most informative sources being correspondence between the Admiralty and the Board of Sick and Wounded Seamen who were in charge of prisoners of war and from the Admiralty Transport Office to the Agent at the castle responsible for its day to day running.

The first phase of the prisoner of war camp, 1740-1748

The first Spanish prisoners, taken from the Man of War 'Princessa' were already in residence by the end of May 1740 when two companies belonging to Lt General Fielding's Regiment of Invalids from Fareham were ordered to relieve the garrison at Portchester guarding the Spaniards (WO/5/34, 96). Thereafter the prison remained in active use until 17 November 1748 when final arrangements were put in hand to release the last of the prisoners still at Portchester and Southampton which together numbered only 2899 (ADM/98/5, 8).

The structure of the prison camp

In October 1740 consideration was given to the possibility of converting Portchester into a hospital for sick and wounded seamen. There was much to commend the site most notably the outer wall which would prevent the sailors from absconding or, as the report more circumspectly put it, so that they 'could not have it in their powers to straggle about, and commit such disorders . . . to the occasioning of relapses, and extraordinary and unnecessary expenses to the crown' (ADM 1/3529, 31/3/1741). Nothing came of the scheme which was costly, requiring the expenditure of £1800 to provide accommodation for only 1100 men, and in the end a purpose-built hospital was erected at Haslar (Coad 1989, 293-302) leaving Portchester to continue to house its complement of foreign prisoners.

The layout of the prison at this time is clearly shown on the contemporary plan (Pl. I) of 1740 which we have considered in some detail above (Plan 1, p. 8 and Pl. 1). Most of the

ranges of the inner bailey were fitted out as dormitory accommodation on one level except for the north range where two floors were in use and the south east range where the accommodation for Petty Officers (presumably prisoners) was above store rooms. The west range at this time served as kitchens while the keep and forebuildings were unroofed. The approach to the inner bailey gate from the Land gate was walled and fenced creating an area designated 'garden plot'. At the approach to the inner bailey gate was a spacious guardhouse for the soldiers with an attached officers' room both provided with fireplaces. A small postern gate, medieval in origin, gave access from Barrack Field outside the fort, through the garden plot to the guardhouse.

It seems, then, that the prisoners were housed in the buildings of the inner bailey. The accommodation was undoubtedly cramped and, according to the prisoners, excessively unhealthy. In March 1742 they petitioned the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty complaining 'That most of the Rooms in the said castle were exposed to the Inclemency of the weather at the top and full of mire and mud underneath, which had destroyed their health.' To investigate their complaint Commissioner Hills of the Sick and Wounded Board was ordered to 'take a strict view of Prisoners apartments in the castle and let us know what truth there is in the said Complaint' (ADM/98/1, 120). His report, delivered on 16 March, was forwarded to the Admiralty. In it he says that he 'could neither see nor hear of any leakage from the top or sides of their lodgings, they have brooms to sweep out their Apartments which is done every other day, and the dirt carried out is thrown into the ditch. The area of the castle was cleaner than ever I saw it, only there was some holes in which the water stood for want of a drain to carry it away into a common sewer. The Cook Room is at present very bad which might easily be repaired with some . . . loads of gravel, high enough for the water to run off.' (ADM/98/1, 120.)

How fairly Hills's report dealt with the prisoners' complaint it is impossible to say and whether the authorities took any notice of his recommendations is unrecorded but in early February 1743 the prisoners rioted and caused much damage to 'the apartments prepared for them' (ADM/98/1, 230). Poor conditions and overcrowding must have been contributory factors exacerbating their general discontent.

It was probably to relieve further tension that the Sick and Wounded Board wrote to Thomas Corbett at the Admiralty putting forward a plan to provide the men with improved facilities for exercise. 'Apprehending some time since', they wrote, 'that the Inner Bailey Court of the Castle at Portchester, which is all the Prisoners have to Air themselves in, was not quite extensive enough for the purpose in point of Health, and the outer wall of the castle being so much gone to ruin, as not to afford any security for them . . . there being a field of about three acres, between those two walls, which would very well answer the end, were it properly fenced in, we cause an Estimate of the expense of doing it to be made. . .' The reason for asking the Admiralty for permission to carry out the work was that the creation of any airing yard would 'not only preserve health amongst them, and perhaps many lives, which may otherwise be lost, but even to some great part of that Expense, which such sickness may otherwise occasion to the Crown' (ADM/98/2, 199). Such an argument was irresistible to their lordships and accordingly the airing yard was constructed in the southern half of the fort. The fence posts and the cesspits inside were found in the excavation in the centre of the fort in 1964-72.

The prisoner community

The number of prisoners held in the castle varied throughout the nine years that the camp was in use. In March 1744, 1800 prisoners were recorded in the Portsmouth area, the bulk of them presumably at Portchester (ADM/98/2, 217). By April 1746 Portchester was regarded as being so overcrowded that prisoners were being decanted to Southampton (ADM/93/3, 254). The question of overcrowding was taken up a month later by the Transport Office in a letter to Thomas Corbett at the Admiralty

although it is that Portchester Castle might, in case of Necessity contain 1800 people, yet we humbly submit to their Lordships judgement, whether it may not be very dangerous, in point of health, to crowd so many into it if that can possibly be avoided and especially in a season of the year in which heat may every day increase more than another.

The letter (ADM/98/3, 269) goes on to observe that there were already nearly 1100 French prisoners at the castle and the proposal to bring more from Dover would increase the number to nearly 1500 leaving little space for the constant influx expected through Portsmouth. Given the problem the Office suggested that increased provision should be provided at Southampton. On 10 November 1746 they returned to the question of overcrowding reiterating the need for additional accommodation at Southampton and Carisbrooke but adding that

one part of Portchester Castle may be fitted up for the reception of 650 men, at the charge of £364.17.6, according to an estimate which has been made us of it, and if this is done the place may contain 2,450. (ADM/98/4, 51-2.)

The order was subsequently given and acknowledged ten days later. In March of 1747 there were only 1600 prisoners in residence (ADM/98/4, 144-6) but the number increased throughout the year and on 16 December the Transport Office advised that in the interests of health the numbers should not exceed 2500 which, together with those on parole and in hospital would make about 3500 'provided for in the Port of Portsmouth'. The letter went on to suggest that:

the most healthy of the last comers of the prisoners now in Portchester Castle may be the most proper to remove, to prevent the causing of the Distemper now in the Castle to the place or places wither they may be sent. (ADM/98/4, 374-5.)

The numbers of prisoners at Portchester may be compared with the totals in the country as a whole. In March 1747 the Transport Office reported that the total number of French prisoners taken was 26,620 with the total of Spanish reaching 6974. Of these, of course, a number had died and a greater number had been released by exchange. A better indicator of those held at any one time is given by a return of February 1748 which records the total number of prisoners held in Great Britain to be 12,087 (ADM/98/4, 386-7). This would mean that Portchester was accommodating more than a quarter of the prison population at that time.

Few prisoners would have expected to have been kept in captivity for long. A system of

exchanges had been instituted between the British Government and the Governments of France and Spain to facilitate the return of nationals. The correspondence between the Board of Sick and Wounded Seamen and the Admiralty frequently concerns itself with exchanges. Preference seems to have been given to those who were sick. On 10 February 1743 the Office wrote to the Admiralty suggesting that a French boy being treated for consumption at the prison hospital in Fareham was too ill to be returned to Portchester and instead should be sent back to Spain (ADM/98/1, 231). The general expectation appears to have been repatriation after a year or so. A letter of 4 September 1745 notes that five prisoners from Portchester claimed that they had been there for 15 months without being exchanged. An enquiry however established that two had been there for 12 months and 14 days and another for only seven months and nine days. It goes on to say that they would be in France now had it not been for preferential treatment given to sick prisoners from Plymouth (ADM/98/3, 24-5). Although prisoners could, and frequently did, petition the Admiralty directly for their release the management of the exchanges was in the hands of the local Agent and in September 1748 we hear of the oldest prisoners at Portchester claiming that the Agent was behaving unfairly. The Agent, needless to say, denied the charge (ADM/98/4, 498).

The prisoners were a very mixed body of various nationalities, though at this time French and Spanish accounted for by far the greatest percentage. To begin with Portchester seems to have housed only Spaniards. In December 1742 two Frenchmen were in residence but they may have been mercenaries in the service of Spain. As the war proceeded the number of French increased and in 1744 the first expenditure is recorded for French at Portsmouth. Exact figures are not available but if the global numbers quoted above are a reliable guide by 1747 the French probably outnumbered the Spanish by nearly 4 to 1.

Animosities could develop between different nationality groups. One recorded incident happened in May 1745 when French prisoners misbehaved believing that Spanish were being given preference in exchanges. The riot was eventually put down by the Agent who required the rioters to ask for pardon before the rest of the prisoners, holding over them his power to delay the date of their exchanges (ADM/98/2, 275).

Another incident of some interest is referred to in a letter of 9 August 1744 (ADM/98/1, 349). At this time the castle housed a number of Polish soldiers, 52 of whom volunteered, or were persuaded, to offer themselves for recruitment to the British land forces. For their own safety, to prevent retaliation from their own comrades and the French, they were taken out of the castle and housed in a nearby barn. A letter of complaint about the defection from Captain Wilkonski was forwarded to the Admiralty. How common changes of allegiance of this sort were is not evident in the existing documentation but another incident when two French seamen sought to join the British is recorded in December 1742 (ADM/98/1, 84).

Of the other nationalities present, an Irish mercenary, Joseph Blake, was captured from a French merchant ship while travelling from Galway to Spain to 'receive full orders'. Blake seems to have been of particular interest since instructions were given to have a 'particular eye on him' (ADM/98/1, 268).

It is difficult to judge the standard of treatment which the prisoners enjoyed. We have already seen that the questions of health and overcrowding were constantly in the minds of

the Transport Office not least because hospital treatment was expensive. By constantly exchanging prisoners, particularly those who were ill, the problem was kept under control and the exercise yard created in January 1745 must have had a beneficial effect. Prisoners' complaints were also dealt with rapidly. The question of unhealthy accommodation which arose in March 1742 was investigated immediately and some remedial action suggested. Another complaint from Count de Mausepas concerning ill-treatment of prisoners in port prisons, especially Portchester, was however dismissed as unfounded (ADM/98/3, 93-5).

Officers were evidently afforded certain privileges. In a letter of 17 July 1745 (ADM/98/2, 354) the Transport Office suggested to the Admiralty that

half the Officers prisoners at Portchester Castle may be permitted to air and refresh themselves in the village of Portchester, on Mornings, and the other half, afternoons, provided they have a soldier to attend, and see them again into the castle.

The proposal came in response to a complaint by the officers that this privilege had recently been suspended by the Agent. In a significant last paragraph the Transport Office letter goes on to suggest that to make the privilege more valuable to the officers as well as to the villagers, it might be a good idea to pay the king's subsistence in cash, rather than provisions, the implication being that this would encourage them to spend money in the village.

All prisoners at this stage received subsistence from the Crown. In 1748 the rates were 6d per prisoner on parole and 4½ d-5d to a man in prison. Those who were sick received an enhanced sum of 9½ d-10d per man (ADM/98/4, 386-7).

The estimated cost of feeding a prisoner was 6d per day and the weekly diet was carefully prescribed. The regime issued by the Transport Office on 14 December 1744 may be taken as typical (ADM/98/2, 138).

SCHEME OF THE DAILY VICTUALLING ALLOWANCE – EACH
PRISONER OF WAR IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

	Dry fish lb	Beer quart	Bread lb	Beef lb	Butter oz	Cheese oz	Pease pints
Sunday	—	1	1½	$\frac{3}{4}$	—	—	$\frac{1}{2}$
Monday	—	1	1½	$\frac{3}{4}$	—	—	—
Tuesday	—	1	1½	$\frac{3}{4}$	—	—	$\frac{1}{2}$
Wednesday	1	1	1½	—	1	—	—
Thursday	—	1	1½	$\frac{3}{4}$	—	—	$\frac{1}{2}$
Friday	1	1	1½	—	1	—	—
Saturday	—	1	1½	—	4	or 6	$\frac{1}{2}$
Total	2	7	10½	3	5	or 6	4

This was a modification of a schedule issued the previous May which laid down that each prisoner should receive 1lb of meat or fish and 1lb of bread per day (ADM/98/1, 326-7).

While in theory the diet was quite substantial, and not entirely ill-balanced, much depended on the honesty of the victualling contractors. No complaints are recorded but 65 years later Louis Garnary gives a vivid account of the abuses which could occur (p. 161).

The costs of maintaining such a large number of prisoners was a considerable drain on the British Treasury. The following figures for 'Portsmouth' are taken from Transport Office accounts (ADM/98/4, 402-4).

	French	Spanish
1740		£6,431.6.11
1741		£10,463.11.7
1742		£12,547.0.4
1743		£7,344.17.6 $\frac{3}{4}$
1744	£4,849.18.5 $\frac{1}{2}$	£4,788.15.3 $\frac{1}{2}$
1745	£6,476.8.4 $\frac{3}{4}$	£2,147.2.7 $\frac{1}{4}$
1746	£14,873.7.9 $\frac{3}{4}$	£531.6.7 $\frac{3}{4}$

The administration of the prisoners

The overall responsibility for running the prison camp rested with the Admiralty and was organized by the Board for Sick and Wounded Seamen. The daily running of affairs was in the hands of an Agent residing either in Portsmouth or at Portchester itself. The Board for Sick and Wounded Seamen reported to, and sought permission to act direct from, the Admiralty. The Admiralty's Transport Office issued instructions to the Site Agent.

The first Agent whose name is recorded at Portchester was Mr William Rickman whose responsibility was for the Spanish prisoners. Among his duties were the arrangement of exchanges between the Spanish and English authorities, the ordering of bedding and clothing for the inmates, the organization of paroles and the administration of justice in all except the most serious crimes. The French prisoners also had an Agent to look after their interests. The first major influx of French was in 1744 in which year Mr Pusey Brooke was in post. Both Rickman and Brooke still held their Agents' offices in January 1747 when they were named together with Thomas Barrett, turnkey and Salter Andrews, surgeon (ADM/98/3, 37). The surgeon was based at the time at the hospital at Fareham.

In June 1748 the total cost of the establishment at Portsmouth was given as

1 Agent for Spanish Prisoners	£50 p.a.
1 Agent for French Prisoners	£50 p.a.
1 Turnkey	£30 p.a.
1 Assistant to the French Agent	£39 p.a.
2 Clerks	£91.5.0 p.a.
Rent of Castle	£30
Total	£290.5.0 annually

The disciplining of recalcitrant prisoners was a significant part of the Agents' duties. After a

prison riot in February 1743 causing considerable damage to the fabric of the lodgings it was proposed to put all prisoners 'on half allowance of provisions and keep them so till the damage be made good by the other half' (ADM/98/1, 230). It would have been William Rickman's duty to impose the punishment. In September 1745 two Spanish prisoners were caught by the turnkey, supported by a party of soldiers, causing damage. They were 'committed to a confining hold' and the Agent was directed to 'put them on half Allowance of Provision pursuant to the Article of the Regulation hung up in the Prisons' (ADM/98/2, 354).

A few months earlier, in May 1745, however when French prisoners were causing trouble because they thought the Spanish were being given preferential treatment over exchanges a Mr Allix was brought to Portchester to reason with them. It was he who withdrew the officers' privilege to walk in the village (ADM/98/2, 275 and 354) which led to the officers petitioning the Admiralty for the return of the concession two months later. It is not clear in what capacity Mr Allix was acting.

The castle garrison

The military garrison based at the castle was responsible to the War Office and therefore administered quite separately from the prison camp which was the Admiralty's concern. Various War Office records, together with the parish records, listing marriages and deaths, allow something of the troop movements to be reconstructed. The principal troop movements may be briefly summarized.

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| 31 May 1740 | Two companies of Lt General Fielding's Regiment of Invalids at Fareham to relieve guard at Portchester. (WO/5/34, 96) |
| 27 April 1741 | A subaltern and 50 men with non-commissioned officers from Major General Handasyd's Regiment of Foot to relieve Invalids at Portchester. (WO/5/34, 400, 437) |
| 3 September 1741 | Two companies of Brigadier General Cornwallis's Regiment of Foot at Salisbury to Fareham, Titchfield, Portchester and Havant, to guard Spanish prisoners. (WO/5/35, 39 and 66) |
| 8 April 1742 | Two companies of Lt General Barrell's Regiment of Foot at Bristol to Fareham, Portchester, Titchfield and Havant, to guard Spanish. (WO/5/35, 151) |
| 10 August 1742 | Two companies of His Majesty's Regiment of Foot to Titchfield, Portchester, Fareham and Havant. (WO/5/35, 433) |
| 3 November 1743 | Two companies of Lord Harry Beauclerk's Regiment of Foot at Fareham, Titchfield, Portchester and Havant. (WO/5/36, 59) |
| 14 August 1744 | Two companies of Colonel Mordaint's Regiment of Foot to bring prisoners from Petersfield to Portchester. (WO/5/36, 168) |
| 13 April 1745 | Three companies of Lt General Roger Handasyd's Regiment of Foot to Portchester, Fareham, Titchfield, Wickham and Southwick. (WO/5/36, 398) |
| 26 September 1745 | Four companies of Col. Nicholls Regiment of Foot to Portchester, Titchfield, Fareham, Wickham, Southwick and Havant to relieve 5 companies of Major General Blakeney's Regiment. (WO/5/37, 37) |

Although the record of marching orders is clearly incomplete, and nothing is known of the situation after September 1745, sufficient survives to show that from 1740 to early in 1745 a guard of two companies' strength (about 40–50 men) was regarded as sufficient to oversee the prisoners in the area of the Portsmouth command. The guards were changed once or twice a year.

The dispatch of the two companies of General Fielding's Regiment to Portchester in May 1740 created certain logistical problems. At the time there were only five public houses in Portchester and none had any beds to spare and the detachment comprised Lieutenant Francis Tuckey, one sergeant, one corporal, one drummer and 40 privates. To provide temporary respite the Agent, William Rickman, hired a barn of one Farmer Cleverly and the guard was comfortably housed until mid July when an unguarded candle set fire to the roof and damaged several neighbouring buildings. The Admiralty immediately ordered that the barn should be repaired at public expense but ignored the rest of the damage. A petition sent on 9 September 1745 (ADM/98/3, 20) by the owner of the adjacent property claiming compensation was met with a refusal to admit liability. The barn seems to have continued to serve as garrison accommodation until 1745 when, in response to the unrest and fears of prison riots at the time of the Jacobite rebellion, the guard was increased. By April it had risen to three companies, a month or two later to five but by the end of September it had been reduced to four. Nothing is known about the barrack accommodation up to this time but it is probable that one or more purpose-built structures had been erected.

At the end of October in anticipation of trouble from rebel agents an increase in the size of the guard was agreed and an estimate prepared for the construction of additional barracks comprising a two-storey building providing accommodation for '32 men in 16 beds below and 22 men in 11 beds above' (ADM/98/3, 90–2). There is insufficient detail to show where the barracks were situated but the most probable location is the field immediately to the north of the castle, later known as Barrack Field, where a print of 1784 shows a number of two-storey barracks with ancillary buildings already in existence (Pl. XVI). Matching the details of the estimate with the illustration, insofar as this is a profitable pursuit, suggests that the building on the right-hand edge of the print is probably the best fit in that it possesses the 'two stacks of chimneys . . . about 20 ft. high' together with the five window frames and single door. If the identification is accepted then the building must either have been added to an existing building or extended.

From what has been said it is clear that, at this time, the provision of accommodation for the military guard was the responsibility of the Admiralty. The issue of the troops' equipment was however in the hands of the Army's Ordnance Office. There survive a few rather ponderous letters signed by Charles Bush ordering the issue of sentry boxes in 1740, 1742 and 1744 and, on 6 December 1745, 22 bedsteads presumably to fit out the new barracks. Another requisition of 3 June 1747 orders the store keeper at Portsmouth to deliver to Major Fox at Portchester 9lbs of musket shot, 100 flints and four sentry boxes. These must be typical of the vast mass of paperwork, no longer surviving, generated by the highly bureaucratic system. Together with the Admiralty documents they provide an invaluable insight into the running of this tiny aspect of the British military enterprise.

The interlude: 1749–1755

For about six years Portchester was without prisoners. Little is recorded of the period but it seems that some of the military equipment was withdrawn from the castle to judge from a letter of Charles Bush's fussing about bedsteads.

The second phase: The Seven Years War, 1756–1763

As war approached the Admiralty turned their attention once more to providing accommodation for prisoners at the castle and in a flurry of letters between the Sick and Wounded Board and the Admiralty throughout October and November 1755 the terms of a new lease were agreed for Portchester Castle and for land and buildings at Fareham where the hospital had been based during the previous year. On 24 November 1755 the Board could report that 'Portchester Castle will be fit to receive prisoners some time next week' (ADM/98/5, 252) and on 8 December, in anticipating the arrival of the first batch of some 120 French prisoners at the castle and 30 sick at the hospital, they requested that a proper guard should be in residence at least a day in advance (ADM/98/5, 260).

The structure of the prison camp

Since so little time had elapsed between the last use of the castle for prisoners in 1749 and the preparation for new inmates in 1755 it is highly likely that the old arrangements were still largely intact and little structural work was needed to make ready.

By April of 1756 the castle was reported to be full and more prisoners were expected (ADM/98/5, 395) and in January 1757 an estimate was being prepared to fit up the castle to accommodate more than 1100 prisoners (ADM/98/6, 155). The guard, too, was in need of more living space. In February two sheds were being fitted up as barracks: by April they were ready and equipment was being requisitioned (ADM/98/6, 194 and 250).

In September 1757 it was reported that the castle was full. The overflow of prisoners was now being housed on the Boyne, a prison hulk moored in the deep water channel nearby. Worn hammocks were needed to fit out the hulk (ADM/98/6, 471).

By December of that year an estimate was obtained for 'additional quarters' very probably for troops. The size of the estimate, £769.1.0, implies that substantial new buildings were under consideration (ADM/98/7, 62). No details of location are given but the sketches of 1761 (Pl. IXa and b) are informative. They show two buildings not present on the plan of 1740, one built against the curtain wall adjacent to and just north of the Land gate, the other constructed against the outside of the inner bailey wall between the gate and the corner tower. The western building was of two principal storeys with an attic lit by dormer windows while the north-eastern building appears to have been of four storeys. The western building was butted up to the north side of the Land gate blocking the original door to the staircase leading to its upper storey: to maintain access it was necessary therefore to cut a new door in the east face of the gate. This is shown on the illustration. The Land gate seems to have been used at this time as a 'black hole' to punish recalcitrant prisoners.

The function of the two new buildings is not immediately apparent. The western building which looked out across the garden plot behind the guardhouses was almost certainly the

additional quarters for troops mentioned in the letter of December 1757. The north-eastern building is more problematical. The sketch shows no doorways opening into the outer bailey and it therefore remains a possibility that it was prison accommodation communicating through the wall of the inner bailey to the south east ranges. According to the 1740 plan a door already existed in a convenient position. If the north east range is indeed a prison block it might have provided the additional accommodation estimated for in January 1757.

The 1761 sketch also shows that a variety of structures had been erected in the southern part of the outer bailey and against the wall south of the Land gate. The latter, a single storey lean-to was probably a privy built over a large cesspit (pit 1) found in the excavation of 1961. Pressure on space was considerable and by September 1759 had reached a crisis point. On 7 September, 1840 men were stated to be the maximum number it was possible to house but three days later an additional 3090 prisoners were being considered. The influx of prisoners over the autumn and winter period reached such proportions that the only solution was to release as many as possible as soon as exchanges could be arranged and at the end of February the order was issued to send home all soldier prisoners of war (ADM/98/8, 174-5). Thereafter the crisis abated and pressure on space is not again mentioned. Various works, costed at £222.14.0, needed to be completed (ADM/98/9, 156-7) but there is no mention of new building programmes.

The final repatriation of the prisoners began in April 1763 with the French prisoners who were to be shipped home from Portsmouth Harbour (ADM/98/9, 351-4). The Spanish prisoners from the south east were concentrated at Portchester before being shipped to Plymouth for release. By late July only 136 remained in the castle.

The prison community

Throughout the Seven Years War the prison community was composed largely of French with smaller numbers of Spaniards. Other nationalities present included Irish (ADM/98/5, 402), Italians (ADM/98/8, 329-30) and prisoners from the West Indies (ADM/98/9, 167). Compared with the preceding period the camp of 1756-63 was comparatively free of disturbances. A complaint about abuse of prisoners and the poor quality of the rations, in September 1760, was quickly investigated by Dr Maxwell, the Board's surgeon, and found to be 'extremely void of foundation' (ADM/98/8, 245). Two months later four Petty Officers from the Centaur petitioned to be sent home on parole but were deemed to be not of sufficient rank (ADM/98/8, 277). But discontent of this kind was low key and did not lead to large-scale disturbances. Escape, however, was constantly being contemplated and a number appear in the records. On 19 July 1756 two escaped prisoners were caught at Wokingham and returned, on 6 December 1760 another was taken near Newbury and on 8 June 1763 23 Spaniards broke free. A more serious incident occurred in late September 1762 when a prisoner was shot dead by a guard while attempting to escape. The Coroner's inquest found that the killing was justifiable. At or about this time four other prisoners made good their escape but were subsequently recaptured (ADM/98/9, 213-4). The recorded incidents are probably the tip of the iceberg, many more men must have broken out and retained their freedom.

The well-being of the inmates was a matter of concern to the Admiralty. In the early months when the camp was being set up in 1756 the question of providing a suitable

hospital was exercising the medical advisers. The old buildings at Fareham which had housed the hospital during the previous war had been re-acquired but were soon considered to be inadequate and in April 1756 Dr Maxwell advised acquiring a house and grounds at Portchester for conversion to a hospital (ADM/98/5, 326). The house, until recently known as Hospital House still stands and the road running past it from the village green to the shore is still called Hospital Lane. At the end of the lane, on the foreshore, the skeletons of patients whose care was unsuccessful, are still exposed from time to time by the sea. Pressure on hospital beds became so considerable that by September 1758 additional space was sought locally, though to no avail, and it was necessary to ask the Admiralty to sanction the building of a new double ward at the Fareham hospital (ADM/98/7, 109).

The general level of comfort of the prisoners seems to have been quite high. In September 1756 the Board reported to the Admiralty that

The Prisoners are lodged in Portchester Castle on Guard beds; and each man is allowed 2 ft 6 ins in breadth and 6 ft in length to sleep on. Each man is furnished with palliasse (a hessing or canvas case filled with straw such as used for soldiers when sick) and a coverlid. (ADM/98/5, 441.)

A later account mentions that some have hammocks (ADM/98/9, 132-3). Officers from men o'war, merchant ships and privateers were allowed parole in designated towns and all were provided with an allowance of 6d per day. Among this group the King's Own Officers were the elite. They received 1s per day and were allowed to ride or walk up to four miles from their place of residence: for the others the distance was a mile. Any officer breaking his parole and deserting (except for the King's Own Officers) was fined between £50 and £100 according to rank or was sent to jail (ADM/98/5, 441). At the other end of the social scale Dr Maxwell reported that at the Fareham Hospital there were 60 prisoners so destitute that they possessed no clothes (ADM/98/8, 337).

An interesting insight into life in the camp is provided by the marriage, on 11 February 1760, of Louis de la Rivière of Poiter to a local girl Catherine Privett. Their daughter Mary was baptized on 3 March 1763 (CHU 27/1C and IA no. 2).

The administration of the prison

The administration of the prisoners was much as before though the staff had increased, presumably reflecting the greater number of prisoners housed. In August 1763 it was listed as follows

- 1 Acting Agent
- 1 Clerk
- 2 Other Clerks
- 2 Turnkeys
- 1 Assistant Turnkey
- 1 Barrack Master
- 1 Surgeon

- 1 Clerk to the Surgeon
- 1 Steward
- 2 Assistant Surgeons

(ADM/98/9, 422)

The Acting Agent, Thomas Ryder, was standing in for or had just replaced the Agent Leonard Hamm.

In June 1762 the number of French prisoners was so great that it was necessary to require their Agent to be resident at the castle (ADM/98/9, 156–7). There is no mention of an Agent for the Spanish and it may be that their numbers were so few throughout that the post was never established.

Mr William Rickman, who had served as Agent for the Spanish during the last war and had also been Mayor of Portsmouth, is now found bidding for the contract to supply bread for the prison. He had been turned down on the first occasion but in September 1757 he was offering bread at 2d per hundredweight cheaper and won the concession (ADM/98/6, 480, 487).

The administration was also faced with the problem of renewing the lease on the castle which was due to expire on Lady Day 1761. It was the Agent's task to negotiate new terms with the owner, Mr Thistlethwaite, but Mr Thistlethwaite wanted such an exorbitant sum for a new agreement that plans were made to vacate the castle by transferring prisoners to Forton, Haslar and Winchester (ADM/98/8, 333–6). The evacuation was actually carried out at the end of March. However, on 28 December 1761 it was reported to the Admiralty that the lease had been acquired by Messrs Gillam and Twynham of Portsmouth who were offering it to the Admiralty on a 7½-year let: their offer was readily accepted (ADM/98/9, 70) and in January 1762 the castle was fitted out once more.

The castle garrison

The arrangements for the guarding of the prisoners were the same as during the previous war and from War Office records it is possible to reconstruct a list of some of the resident units, though the list is incomplete.

8 January 1756	Detachment of 200 Marines from Gosport to Fareham, Cosham and Portchester. (WO/5/43, 47)
12 May 1756	Detachment of 12th Regiment of Foot. (WO/5/44, 293)
30 April 1757	Col. Brindenell's Regiment of Foot. (WO/5/44, 281)
–	Norfolk Militia.
3 October 1759	Warwickshire Militia (relieving Norfolk Militia). (WO/5/91, 32)
19 October 1759	67th and 72nd Regiment of Foot (relieving Warwickshire Militia). (WO/5/91, 36)
6 September 1760	Hampshire Militia. (Edward Gibbon. <i>Letters</i>)
–	19th and 21st Regiment of Foot.
17 March 1761	Surrey Militia (relieving 19th and 21st Regiment of Foot). (WO/5/92, 42)
–	Dorset Militia.
29 December 1762	Cornish Militia (relieving Dorset Militia). (WO/5/95, 125)

The housing of the garrison posed problems throughout even though barrack buildings had been erected during the wars of 1740–9. The barn, used then, was hired again and in February 1757 we learn of two sheds being fitted up for troops (ADM/98/6, 194). By December of that year, estimates for new quarters were being prepared (above, p. 143). If we are correct in our identification of the western building as new barracks then the overcrowding must to a large extent have been alleviated.

An amusing insight into the bureaucracy of providing for the garrison is given by a letter of 5 April 1757 from the Board to the Admiralty. It appears that the garrison had provided a list of equipment they needed to furnish the new barracks, including bedding, a stove and a range of cooking equipment and cutlery. They were promptly told that it was not the navy's responsibility and they should apply to their Army Barrack Master (ADM/98/6, 250). The last word may be left with the young Edward Gibbon, then a militia man not yet embarked upon his career as a great Roman historian. He writes:

I went upon a command to Portchester to relieve Captain Milday in the guard of the French prisoners there. My detachment consisted of 4 subalterns, 7 sergeants, 9 corporals and 214 privates to guard about 3,200 prisoners. The place was agreeable for the officers, who boarded in a neat private house and lived very well, but it was very bad for the men . . . , the prison was very loathsome and the men's barracks not much better.

THE INTERLUDE: 1763–1794

For 30 years Portchester slumbered. Engravings of the period from 1772 to 1783 show the castle in a state of dereliction and ruin, though an army guard complete with sentry boxes was usually in evidence, and the engraving of 1784 depicts a range of barrack blocks in Barrack Field to the north of the castle still in a good state of repair. A small detachment may have maintained the barracks and there are references to military personnel in the church records for 1769 and 1780.

THE PRISON CAMP DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR: 1794–1802

On 14 June 1794 the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty wrote to the Sick and Wounded Board asking them to enquire into the possibility of hiring Portchester Castle 'for the service of prisoners of war'. Prisoners were already being housed at Hilsea Barracks and more were expected. In their reply two days later the Board reported that matters were in hand and advised that they should be allowed to appoint the Revd Henry Blenkinsop as agent for the anticipated prisoners at a salary of £200 per year (ADM/98/16, 291–2). On 9 July they reported progress. Apparently the army had already acquired the lease to the site and had begun fitting out the castle as a barrack for troops though they were aware it might be needed from time to time for the reception of prisoners of war. Colonel de Lancey told the Board that he had

erected buildings which according to the customary mode of lodging prisoners will hold

very conveniently 6,500 men with such store houses and places for cooking and other conveniences as appeared to be requisite and that of these buildings sufficient of the accommodating of 4500 with the store houses will be ready by the 12th instant and the remaining buildings, being ready framed and upon the spot will be erected in the course of the week following (ADM/98/16, 304-9).

De Lancey had negotiated a lease for 21 years with the owner Mr Thistlethwaite and he agreed that when the necessary paperwork had been completed the castle and the new building would be transferred to the Admiralty.

The Board were also concerned about the need for a hospital. They examined the old hospital and burying ground near the castle which had been rented during the Seven Years War but found it so ruinous that they advised that any sick prisoners should be cared for at Forton but were 'of the opinion it will be advisable to have an infirmary fitted at the Castle' (ADM/98/16, 304-5).

Progress was rapid and on 13 August the Board could report that the castle was ready to receive prisoners (ADM/98/16, 343-4). Three weeks later, on 29 August they gave a detailed account of the installations to the Admiralty.

The number of buildings are thirteen and it was intended that 500 prisoners should be accommodated in each which would have made prison room for 6,500 but Dr Johnston [the surgeon] informs us that to put that number into them at present would be the source of certain destruction and that the weather must be very cold before it would be prudent to condense them into so small a compass. By the returns received on Monday it appears that there were 2933 confined there and when all which are intended to be removed from Forton ... the number there will be about 4700.

... Our surveyor at Portsmouth is of opinion that the double tower of the castle at Portchester with some of the buildings adjoining which were occupied by prisoners in the year 1755 may at present be converted into a prison to contain 1000 prisoners and that can be filled in less time and at less expense than erecting two more wooden buildings capable of containing 500 prisoners each.

The estimate for fitting out the tower 'including the hammock posts' was £187.10.0 (ADM/98/16, 359).

We have argued above, on the basis of the archaeological evidence, that the inner bailey was at this time divided by a fence into two halves, the northern half, including the keep and the north range, housed prisoners, while the southern half, including the southern hall range and the south east range was fitted out as accommodation for the guards. The south range intercommunicated with a new range of buildings constructed against the outside of the inner bailey wall. This was one of a set of three buildings facing a central area which were presumably erected at this time on the garden plot shown on the 1740 plan replacing all the earlier buildings in this area. The entire complex must have served as accommodation for the guard.

The northern part of the inner bailey, set aside for prisoners, communicated with a fenced compound occupying the rest of the northern half of the Roman walled area. Seven accom-

modation blocks were arranged along the northern side, end on to the wall, with two further blocks at the east end. The southern part of the enclosure was divided into three compounds, one for the church and its cemetery, one serving as an airing yard where the prisoners could take exercise, while the third, close to the west wall, contained three buildings the rest of the area being given over to vegetable gardening as the excavation showed. The function of these buildings is unclear. Finally there were two further buildings flanking the central road north of the church: they appear to have been cook houses. The overall arrangement is shown on the schematic plan of 1802 (Plan 3, Pl. II). The plan also shows the two lodges for the turnkeys which were built inside the Land gate on either side of the entrance. These were erected in October 1794 at the cost of £86.16.0 (ADM/98/16, 412).

The arrangement of the prison camp remained little changed throughout the six years of its use. No other building work is recorded and even after a further period of prison use much the same basic arrangement survived until 1815.

By September 1802 the last prisoners had left and Portchester was no longer required by the Admiralty. Accordingly on 4 October the Transport Office was instructed to hand over the installations to whoever was authorized to receive them by the Secretary of State for War on the condition that the War Department should pay the rent and agree to hand back the castle and its buildings at three months' notice should they be needed again for the confinement of prisoners (WO/40/16, 23).

The prison community

The life of the prison community was organized very much in the way it had been during previous periods of incarceration. The community was, for the most part, composed of Frenchmen but as the war at sea spread across the Atlantic so other nationalities were drawn in. In November 1795 the poor condition of distressed American prisoners is raised as a cause for concern (ADM/98/17, 276–7) and the next month Dr Johnston drew to the Board's attention the 'considerable number of blacks and mulattoes' who were brought to Britain from the West Indies and who were beginning to feel the effects of the cold 'many of whom he has no doubt will, when severe and frosty weather sets in, lose their lives' (ADM/98/17, 297).

Specific instructions were given in September 1794 that women and children were not to be sent to Portchester (ADM/98/16, 392). How long this order was enforced it is difficult to tell but later there is evidence that both women and children were held at the castle. In February 1795 it was suggested that French boys should be released to serve on British merchant ships (ADM/98/17, 39) and in August there were two requests for named French boys aged 9 and 14 to be released to serve as servants to British officers (ADM/98/17, 200, 215). The presence of women is less well authenticated but the marriage of Patrice Binsse and Josephine Desperoux on 1 September 1799 is a possible indication (PCRO CHU 17/1C).

The health of the community was a constant concern. In March 1795 Dr Johnston advised that old and infirm prisoners should be sent home (ADM/98/17, 60–1). This was, in part, a way of reducing the cost which their care would impose on the Government but it must also be seen against an epidemic which was raging at the time. Already in February the surgeons at Portchester and Forton had been asked to

explain why there had been so many deaths and how they could be stopped (ADM/98/17, 49-50) and on 6 March Dr Blair had been sent to inspect Portchester and report on conditions there (ADM/98/17, 62). Exact statistics for the death rate among prisoners are difficult to obtain but the record of deaths among soldiers and their families buried in the church at Portchester showed a frightening rise in deaths from August 1794 to a peak in June 1795 when 18 individuals died that month. The deaths of prisoners cramped together in ill-ventilated barracks must have been very considerable: 609 prisoners are reported to have died in 1794 and 1795. The cause of some of the garrison deaths is recorded in the church register to have been smallpox. While nothing like the same peak is apparent again, highs are found among the garrison in March and April 1796, October 1798 and March 1800. These were presumably a reflection of the fluctuating death rates among the prisoners. But the prisoners' health was not always mirrored in that of their guards. At the beginning of January 1798 the resident surgeon, Mr Blatherwick, reported a rapid increase of illness (ADM/98/18, 375). It may, however, be that this particular outbreak was not fatal.

The need for proper clothing was well understood. The West Indians were warmly clothed and throughout the winter of 1795-6 there are several records of additional clothing being sent to Portchester (ADM/98/17, 296, 330, 349). The problem was exacerbated by some of the prisoners selling their clothing. This may be the way POW clothes were found in the possession of some British soldiers on board the sloop *Betsey*: the soldiers were duly prosecuted (ADM/98/17, 66). Another problem was that the French Government refused to accept the responsibility to clothe their own men and it rested with the Admiralty to supply the need.

To escape the tedium and hardship of prison life some prisoners were prepared to transfer their allegiance to the British. On 6 April 1795 four young men aged 17-19 agreed to serve on HMS *Saturn*. Most of them had been at sea since the age of 10 or 11 (ADM/98/17, 99) and on 17 April of that year 11 American POWs volunteered to serve on a merchant ship. It seems that the French dissidents were also interested in recruiting Frenchmen to their cause. In May 1795 French emigrant officers were looking for conscripts at Portchester and the Board thoughtfully wrote to the Admiralty to ask if the turnkeys were allowed to receive money from them for procuring recruits from among the prisoners (ADM/98/17, 115).

Officers continued to receive their privileges. In February 1795 a group of French officers of the 31st Battalion of Infantry wrote to the War Office complaining that they were being kept in prison instead of being allowed parole. The War Office duly wrote to the Admiralty ordering their release (WO/6/187, 4). They were freed on parole on 18 February whereupon they then petitioned for arrears of pay, claiming 1 shilling per day less the cost of rations for the six months they had been wrongfully imprisoned! The War Office wrote to the Admiralty ordering that the money should be paid subject to the facts being correct (WO/6/187, 10).

The intervention of the War Office in the affairs of French officers increased during the war. In April 1797 the Admiralty was informed that a request from the Duc d'Harcourt soliciting the release of M. Louis D'Orieval should be met: no reason was given (WO/6/187, 78). At the end of May they wrote again ordering that two French officers captured

on board the privateer the *Heriondella* should be returned to France on parole at the request of a Richard Gardinier (WO/6/187, 187). In both cases the petitioner was French but this was not always the case for in March 1799 the release to France on parole of Captain Philponet of the privateer *Tègre* was ordered as the result of a supporting letter received from Colonel The Hon. A. Hope (WO/6/187, 225). Other releases followed in April and May of that year.

The fate of non-belligerents caught up in the war was also given careful consideration as two particular cases illustrate. In March 1795 an Admiralty letter refers to prisoners such as merchants, planters, inhabitants of property and those in civil employment being given parole (ADM/98/17, 61-2) and in July 1799 the War Office ordered the unconditional release of five French fishermen taken by HMS *Arethusa* (WO/6/187, 231).

There is little evidence of any sustained unrest during this period but there were several serious incidents. A local newspaper report on 9 June 1800 describes the discovery of 40 illicit knives made by prisoners from old barrel hoops with the intent, it was alleged, of murdering the sentries and presumably escaping. Another escape attempt, in February 1797, was reported fully in *The Times*. Information about an escape tunnel came to the notice of the authorities and after the prisoners had been locked up for the evening a detachment of guard officers and soldiers swooped on the potential escapees:

The prisoners from this disappointment grew riotous and very refractory and continued so the whole of the night keeping in lighted candles, singing Republican songs and behaving in a disorderly and alarming manner so much so that it was found necessary to fire some ball cartridges among them. This was attended with no other effect than procuring order and silence in a short time. On the next morning (Saturday) disorder and tumult again prevailed, the centinels were insulted on their duty and it became necessary to make some example. One man, misattempting to get out from one of the ventilaters at the top of the building, was shot through the back; the ball was abstricted by the shoulder blade and went out at the neck; the wound however is not mortal. Very soon after, more provocation was given and another Frenchman was shot through the heart and died ... the unfortunate man was a sailor, taken in the Republican frigate *Le Jacobin* in the West Indies, his name Augustine Bonnette. (*The Times* 22.ii.1797, 3.)

A coroner's inquest was held and the verdict of justifiable homicide returned.

The question of prison security was always a concern particularly as the number of prisoners increased. The same page of *The Times* reports that a series of prison hulks moored in the deep water channel were to be brought into commission and towards the end of the occupation, in August 1801, we learn from a local newspaper that prisoners were being moved from the castle to the hulks for better security. It seems likely that the hulks would have been used throughout in preference to the castle for particularly difficult internees.

There was frequent communication between the prisoners and the outside world. Many officers, as we have seen, were on parole in neighbouring towns and the officers imprisoned at the castle were given the right to walk, under guard, in the village. Village people were also allowed into the castle, to the wide fenced road that ran through the fort

to trade with the prisoners who had handicrafts to sell. It is not clear at this stage how the civilian movements were controlled but in October 1794 there had clearly been some trouble when the turnkeys had stopped people getting into the fort to buy prisoners' clothes and food (ADM/98/16, 400). The system was clearly open to abuse and had to be carefully watched.

The administration of the prison

The administration of the prison was run on a similar system to that imposed during the Seven Years War but the greatly increased number of inmates required a larger staff.

The two issues which dominate the surviving records are the supply of clothing to the prisoners and the question of their health. Early in the war we hear of the appointment of a store keeper (ADM/98/16, 439). It would have been his responsibility, among other things, to order clothing for the prisoners and to make sure it was fairly distributed, a problem made more difficult by the willingness of some of the inmates to sell their clothes to guards or the general public.

But it was the question of the care of the sick that was uppermost in the minds of the administration. The officer principally concerned was Dr Johnston, resident commissioner for sick and wounded seamen, who was based at the hospital at Haslar. Much of the advice given during this time came from him whether it be the repatriation of the elderly and sick or the special care needed for the prisoners of African origin. The daily care of the prisoners was in the hands of a physician who also had responsibility for Forton (ADM/98/17, 277). It was his task to arrange the necessary medical supplies and services from contractors. This is made explicit in a letter of 31 January 1798 which mentions that the surgeon, Mr Blatherwick, had placed the contract with Messrs Vocher and Coopman to

furnish every necessary article of provision for the service and use of the sick French prisoners ... likewise to furnish all medicines, medical assistants and attendance ... (ADM/98/18, 395).

Clearly there were problems inherent in such a system for in February of that year Mr Thomas Price, assistant surgeon at Portchester was fired after accusing the dispenser of giving medicines to a private person (ADM/98/18, 406).

Sick prisoners were treated not only at the hospitals at Portchester and Forton but also on the hospital ship *Pegase* moored in the harbour. The transfer of sick Dutch prisoners from Portchester to the hulk allowed the number of medical staff at the hospital to be reduced (ADM/98/18, 436).

The prison guard

Throughout the duration the prison guard was made up of infantry militias. Some indication of the units in residence is given by records of marching orders and the local parish registers which lists the births, deaths and marriages of soldiers and their families. At some stages more than one unit was present and the records show that some units were being augmented with further detachments during their stay. The actual size of the guard varied but units of eight or even 12 companies are recorded. Discipline among the troops

seems to have been good with the single recorded exception of three soldiers of the Oxford Militia who were jailed in Winchester for stealing from stores at Portchester (ADM/98/16, 407).

The parish registers provide an interesting insight into military life. Some of the men married local girls and the number of banns called tended to increase as soon as it was announced that a unit was to be withdrawn. This was particularly noticeable on 17 April when the Surrey Militia was about to be withdrawn: three sets of banns were read in the church that Sunday. Some units were evidently more popular with the local girls than others. The Northants Militia, for example, held the record with 16 marriages during their ten months of service at the castle. A number of wives stayed in Portchester after their husbands' units had moved off, a fact recorded in the register of births. Life in the barracks at Portchester would have been infinitely preferable to service abroad.

PORTCHESTER AS AN ORDNANCE DEPOT: 1802-1810

Negotiations concerning the use of the castle took place in September and October 1802. On 4 September 1802 John Trotter, a government official, wrote to Captain Pattern, resident agent of the Admiralty's Transport Office at Portsmouth expressing an interest in 'the buildings lately occupied by the prisoners of war at Portchester' for 'the pressing wants of another department of Government' and offering to pay 'Ten pounds per annum more than any other person shall give'. Ten days later, on 14 September he sent a copy of his letter, together with a covering letter and a schematic plan (Pl. II) to the Secretary of State for War, extolling the virtues of Portchester as a safe and secure place for an ordnance depot (WO/40/16, 23). On 4 October the Transport Office issued the order which transferred the castle to the War Office.

In late December or early January 1803 the castle buildings were inspected by General Morse on behalf of the Board of Ordnance to see if the accommodation was suitable for storing ordnance

The General has reported that it is well calculated for the purpose, and a large quantity of ordnance stores are actually depositing there. Several companies of Artillery will be constantly in the Barracks ready for suddern service. (*Mottleys Naval and Military Journal* 3.i.1803, 3.)

Negotiations were completed early in the year and on 1 July the Portchester Vestry Proceedings could report that the 'castle be charged to the Poor Rate agreeable to the custom of the parish' (PCRO CHU 27/30 no. 1). A substantial part of the walled area was released by the military for civilian use. In October the Vestry Proceedings recorded that a Mr Kitson should be charged for 'the House and Lands in his occupation within the Castle walls' valuing the house at £16 per annum and assessing the land at 6 acres. Mr Kitson appealed against the settlement and it was agreed that the land assessment should be reduced to 4 acres. This raises the problem about which areas were retained under army control and which were released. The simplest explanation would be to see the southern part of the enclosure as the area leased to Mr Kitson.

The last Poor Rate Assessment was on 7 January, 1810. Three days later a new Agent for Prisoners was appointed and work began reconverting the castle to a prisoner of war camp.

Preparations for the change of use began in June 1809 when there was a major sale of surplus stores. The list is interesting for the light it throws on the victualling and supply of the army:

14 casks of Oatmeal, 16 ditto of Scotch barley, six ditto of Linseed meal, five ditto of Pearl Barley, eight ditto of brown sugar, ten ditto of sago and a quantity of Tow, small leather Pillows, and sundry loose feathers, Oil jars, Wooden legs, fracture boxes, Arm slings, Oil cloths, linen and flannel rollers, Bay trusses, steel ditto, 25 skins of white leather, Writing paper, brown ditto, surgical instruments and instrument cases, Bearers for wounded men, two slipper bars, and a variety of other articles. (*Hampshire Telegraph* 5.vi.1809.)

The first official announcement of the impending change came in September when a local newspaper reported that the castle was to be fitted up for the reception of 7–8000 prisoners of war.

Throughout the period when the castle served as an ordnance store it continued to be garrisoned. From November 1802 to the end of 1803 several regiments were present including the 40th, the 44th, the 26th Regiment of Light Dragoons and the Carmarthen Militia. In December 1803 the rapid turnover of troops came to an end with the arrival of the King's German Legion who remained in residence until the end of 1809.

The parish records provide some insights into military life. The militia suffered serious epidemics from April to July 1806 when 12 men died and from August to October 1809 with the death of ten. April to June 1807 saw another dramatic serious increase in mortality. The German troops remained a somewhat closed community. Of the 21 marriages recorded at Portchester parish church during their stay all but four or five were to German or Scandinavian brides. Somewhat surprisingly only four baptisms were recorded but this may reflect the fact that young wives preferred to return home rather than remaining in the Portchester barracks. When the long stay of the King's German legion eventually came to an end the officers gave a farewell ball and supper to 'all respectable Portchester families' with whom they had been quartered (*The Times* 17.xi.1809, 3).

During the latter part of the year 1809 a variety of other troops were temporarily housed at Portchester, including the Worcester Militia and the 4th, 19th, 33rd and 70th regiments. It was clearly a time of much coming and going as the ordnance depot was being run down in preparation for the reconstitution of prisoner of war camp.

THE PRISON CAMP: 1810–1815

The intensification of war with France brought with it the need to house increasing numbers of prisoners. For some years the prison hulks had sufficed but by the summer of 1809 it was clear that the castle would have to be recommissioned as a prison camp once more. The local newspapers carried the story in late September (*Hampshire Telegraph* 25.ix.1809, 3).

On 10 January 1810 Captain C.W. Paterson, R.N. was appointed Agent for the Prisoners of War at Portchester and given a written brief.* Building work was in progress and he was asked to report immediately on progress. His reply apparently did not satisfy his masters at the Transport Office and on 22nd of the month he was ordered to tell Mr Wilmott the surveyor of works to hasten their completion.

Comparing the plans of 1802 and 1815 it is clear that the basic structures of the preceding period were simply taken over intact. The only apparent difference was the construction of a six-roomed building, possibly guard accommodation on the east side of the approach to the inner bailey gate, and a long narrow brick-built structure along the back face of the curtain wall south of the Land gate. A kitchen block, referred to in the Transport Office correspondence for November 1812, was added on the south side of the road impinging on the airing yard. The yard was also provided with a southern fence to create a sentry patrol path between it and the fort wall. Much of the construction undertaken throughout the winter of 1809–1810 was work of restoration and rehabilitation rather than large-scale building.

In late January we learn of the supply of ten iron boilers each of 250 gallons. These were eventually delivered in February or early March when 12cwt of old iron barrel hoops were acquired to make the fittings necessary to attach the boilers to the brickwork. Late January saw the fitting out of a new building for the clerks and the provision of a ceiling in the hospital where the erection of a room for the steward was also being considered.

Something of the bureaucracy involved in prison administration is well illustrated by the gravelling of the airing yard. The area, fenced in 1794, had not been surfaced in any way with the inevitable result that in wet weather it would have become a quagmire. The new regime decided that it was necessary to surface it with gravel and on 27 January 1810 wrote to the Agent, Captain Paterson, asking what quantity of gravel was needed, at what price it could be obtained, could chalk be procured to provide a first levelling and for how much? Having received Paterson's reply the Transport Office wrote on 1 February ordering that 1000 tons of gravel be obtained from Messrs Burrigge & Sons. Two days later they were querying the costs of gravel and chalk again but on 9 February wrote instructing Paterson to have three labourers lay the gravel. Presumably Paterson sent in an estimate of costs for the labouring work and this was finally approved in a letter of 15 February. On 26 February the surely by now exasperated Captain received a letter approving the supply of gravel and chalk as mentioned but warning him that it was not in future to be done without sanction. Finally on 27 March the Office authorized Paterson to allow the contractor to draw £200 on account for the gravel and chalk supplied. The simple process of gravelling the yard had generated seven letters of instruction and approval!

Another, only slightly less labour intensive, act was acquiring a strip of land outside the west wall of the fort to provide a sentry zone. The Transport Office sanctioned the idea on 21 February and on 13 March wrote to say that agreement had been reached with the owner, Mr Thomas Hyde, to rent the land from him for £10 per annum. It

* Hereafter all Transport Office correspondence is filed in ADM/98/252 and 253. The pages are unnumbered.

now had to be fenced with a fence 7ft high to prevent the sentries from trespassing on the adjoining field, and the old stables adjoining the prison wall were to be taken down. On 17 February, having previously received the surveyor's estimate of £99.15.0 for erecting the fence, they gave approval for the work. Five days later another letter instructed Paterson to apply to Mr Hyde to remove his stables immediately. Meanwhile, Paterson was dealing with the Commanding Engineers of the Ordnance Board at Portsmouth over an order for 200,000 bricks from the ordnance kilns at Stokes Bay (being required to confirm in May to the Transport Board that 225,000 had been supplied), arranging for night privies to be built at a cost of £23 each and enquiring into the appropriateness of paying £3000 to the carpenter Thomas Barrow for works and materials. The sum paid suggests that Barrow was a major contractor. He cannot have been entirely unmoved by a letter from the Office dated 9 May demanding to know when works would be complete.

The supply of 200,000 or more bricks implies building work on some scale. One of the structures built in brick at this time was the range along the southern wall, a point confirmed by the water-colour of 1813 (Pl. XXIIa), the plan of 1815 (Pl. IV) and the archaeological evidence. The other was the guardhouse mentioned specifically in a letter of 24 April 1810 as one of the structures for which the bricks were provided. This is almost certainly the six-roomed range (each room with a fireplace) which flanks the approach to the inner bailey gate. The painting of 1817 (Pl. XXV) shows it to have been a two-storey structure. It is also possible that the two long buildings between the churchyard and the road just west of the Water gate were rebuilt in brick at this time. It may have been here that the boilers were housed.

The arrival of large numbers of prisoners in June 1810 did not bring the building works to a halt. In August the main airing yard, and possibly Barrack Field north of the castle, were given surfacings of gravel and in October a fence was built across the inner bailey courtyard to separate the prisoners from the guard. Finally that year came the saga of the castle gates. On 26 October the Transport Office wrote to Captain Paterson informing him that Major General Whelham had advised that two strong additional gates were required one at the Land gate and one at the Water gate. These were to be erected immediately. The diligent Captain put the work in hand but on 7 November received a letter telling him that the construction of the gates was to be stopped. Six days later another letter arrived saying that gates were to be erected in strong oak at least 4 in thick! It is tempting to believe that when, on 3 January 1811, the Captain received notice that he was to proceed to the command of HMS Puissant, he breathed a small sigh of relief.

Building work was however, not at an end. Apart from small-scale modifications and repairs little was done throughout 1811 and most of 1812 but in the autumn it was decided to regravell the airing yard again and in November the Transport Office authorized the building of a cooking house to replace temporary buildings put up by prisoners. The following July (1813) permission was given for the prisoners to build a bread oven.

August 1813 saw a programme of maintenance in operation. Prison floors and yards were repaired, some with stone from the demolition of the more derelict parts of the

hospital, and old oak boarding was brought in to replace rotten floors. That the work undertaken was limited is a reflection of the solidity of the installations put up by the army in 1794.

Prison life

Prisoners began to arrive at Portchester in March 1810, in the first instance decanted from prison hulks in the harbour, filling up the available space as it became available. In early May Captain Paterson was advised that 4000 would arrive shortly and be sent to Portchester and on 16 May he was asked when the prisoners could be delivered. The main influx took place between June and October many of the men being brought from the Mediterranean and from Portugal. By the end of October Portchester was at capacity or so Captain Paterson informed the Transport Office. However, in a rather terse note of 2 November the Office wrote back pointing out that the facilities were designed for 7000 and since there were only 5900 in residence Portchester could take more. A few days later *The Times* reported that Portchester had been completely filled with upwards of 6000 (*The Times* 5.xi.1810). Deaths, paroles and exchanges made space for another 2-300 arriving later in November but eventually on 17 December the Transport Office agreed that the camp would receive no more at the present.

There are few recorded influxes throughout 1811-1813 but constant incomings were accommodated at the castle or on the hulks and there was interchange between both. On 6 November 1811, for example it was announced that 582 prisoners were due to arrive from Malta, the sailors would be housed on the hulks while the soldiers would be sent to the castle. And in April 1813 the order was given that all German and Italian prisoners from the castle should be transferred to the hulks. Sending prisoners to the hulks was also a form of punishment, as we shall see later.

There was a constant, and understandable, desire on the part of the authorities to reduce the prison population. Sending prisoners on parole to small towns in the region was one favoured method (Crimmin 1987). In September 1810, for example, of the 1200 new prisoners to be sent to Portchester 400 were to be put on parole and distributed to places listed by the Office. Women and children were also selected out and returned to France as quickly as possible. In one case, on 1 October 1810, Paterson was instructed 'you will give the women and children received by you on the 29th [September] notice to prepare to embark for France in a few days.' A further letter on the 9th approving of his 'having procured assistance for the two pregnant Frenchwomen' gives some idea of the range of the Agent's concerns.

Another way in which numbers could be reduced was by enticing prisoners to enlist in His Majesty's services. There are numerous recorded instances of this. On 22 June 1810 Paterson was informed that Lieutenant Spillebont of the staff of the Foreign Depot was due to visit Portchester to enrol volunteers and that he was to 'release to him any he enlists provided they are not Frenchmen or Italians of suspicious appearance'. Two months later, on 27 August, French and German volunteers were being recruited for the navy and in October *The Times* reports an incident sparked off by the recruitment of 120 German and Swiss prisoners for the Sicilian Regiment:

When they were sent into the prison to get their clothes, the Frenchmen refused to let them out again and threatened to kill them. The drum immediately beat to arms when the

Worcester Militia and part of the Northhamptons directly marched into the castle; and with the assistance of the artillery and dragoons order was restored without any bloodshed. (*The Times* 16.x.1810, 3.)

The enrolment of nationals other than French was widely practised. The Germans were again the target in July 1813 when a recruiting party from the King's German Legion was busy at the castle and in August of that year the order was given to:

Release and deliver to Admiral Sir R. Dukerson all such Dutchmen among the prisoners in your custody as are willing to enter into the service of his Serene Highness the Prince of Orange.

Finally there is the case of Israel Waterford, a black American, who was released 'to beat the drum of the Middelsex Regiment' in August 1811. Later, attitudes hardened and on 30 July 1812 it was ordered that:

no negroes or men of colour who are or may have been subjects of France are to be discharged into H.M. Service.

A year later, on 18 September 1813, the prejudice was more overt when the nationality constraint was dropped and it was announced that their Worships did not approve of any blacks and men of colour being received into His Majesty's service.

The well-being of the prisoners was a constant problem for the administration. After health care, clothing was the most serious problem. On 28 May 1810 it was announced that 3000 suits of prisoners' clothing were to be forwarded to the castle and two days later this was itemized to include 3000 shirts, pairs of stockings, hats and shoes and 100 night caps. Louis Garnary in his book *The French Prisoner* gives further details. When he arrived on board the prison hulk Prothée on 15 May 1806 he was stripped of his French uniform, given an ice-cold bath and dressed

in short trousers and waistcoat, all of an orange yellow colour; the material had been skimped in the making, so that the trousers ended at the knee and the waistcoat did not meet across the chest. These two garments were stamped with a huge T.O. in black, the initials of the Transport Office.

Clearly identifiable prison clothing was evidently an advantage to the authorities at times of escape: it also hindered the sale of clothes to local people, but not among inmates. The problem of the 'down and outs' constantly recurred. In February 1811 the Office approved of the Agent's action in partitioning the lower part of one of the prison blocks

in order to keep prisoners who are in the habit of making away with their bedding or clothing separate from the others.

But in August of that year the Office was writing in exasperation to the Agent asking how he could keep out of sight

the prisoners whom you have reported to be in a state of nakedness in consequence of their practice of disposing of the clothing repeatedly supplied to them.

Evidently, by October the situation had not improved so the Board instructed Captain Woodruff, who was in command of the hulks, to make ready a small ship to house the prisoners who were 'in a state of wretchedness' in consequence of their habit of constantly disposing of their clothes and bedding. These matters rested for a while but the problem was to recur again the next July.

In general there seems to have been little overt unrest during this period. Rumours of a possible uprising had reached the authorities in September 1810 but a spy had been placed and was reporting back. Trouble did break out in October, as we have seen, when 120 German and Swiss prisoners volunteered to join the British army. Another incident was prevented when three prisoners who had caused some damage and threatened to stab the turnkey were put in irons until further notice and on short allowances to make good the damage done by them. It was decided as the result of this incident to close the upper storey of the tower.

One event, in March 1813, brought the Portchester prison community some notoriety when a prisoner, Jean Lequey, was stabbed to death by his fellow, Antoine Tardiff. Tardiff was convicted of murder at the Winchester Assizes in August and was taken to the prison yard at Portchester to be hanged in the presence of 7000 prisoners who

conducted themselves in a most peaceful manner expressing astonishment at the novelty of the sight, it being the custom in their country either to shoot or guillotine criminals. (*Hampshire Telegraph* 9.viii.1813, 4.)

Tardiff's body was given to the castle surgeons for dissection: his victim, Lequey, was buried in the churchyard, his funeral paid for by his fellow prisoners.

Many escapes were attempted and some succeeded throughout this period and particularly during the year 1811. Various means of escape were favoured: tunnelling is mentioned several times, on one occasion a rope was used to help the prisoners scale the wall and in August 1812 the possible complicity of the turnkey was investigated. Escapees, when caught, were confined to the Black Hole on reduced rations for a period and the inevitable enquiry was held. The reward for capturing an escaped prisoner was one guinea.

The prisoners amused themselves in a variety of ways. Some found employment with the administration. Some were employed as labourers at the rate of 3d per day (August 1810), some as masons laying floors (August 1813), others for emptying the privies at the rate of 1 shilling (December 1810). But not all performed menial tasks. In June 1810 approval was given for the appointment of four assistant French surgeons. They were to be paid 1s per day and were allowed to sleep in the castle at night and go out freely in day time to up to a mile from the prison. Some prisoners were employed to give French lessons to British officers but the Transport Office, on hearing of this, ordered that the classes should be stopped.

The majority of the prisoners would have been involved in making things for their own use and for sale to the villagers who were allowed into the fort for this purpose. In the autumn of 1810 the prisoners were encouraged to make their own shoes and a workshop was set up by the authorities. More popular, because it brought profit, was the manufacture of items of straw work and of bone, two particularly cheap materials, which could be sold to traders.

Game sets in bone boxes and ship models were particularly sought after. Louis Garnary, incarcerated on the hulks, made a comfortable income as a painter selling his work through agents in Portsmouth.

The authorities were not always keen to encourage such enterprise as the case of lace-making well illustrates. On 16 August 1813 the Transport Office wrote to the Agent enquiring how many prisoners were making lace. Captain Lock replied that it was about 5000. The Office responded immediately instructing that a total stop 'be put to this manufacture' and expressing their 'very great surprise that a manufacture of such consequence and so injurious to a numerous class of British subjects should have been permitted'. The issue was of sufficient importance for *The Times* to report it on 4 October. The matter did not end there. The master lacemakers had been identified and sent to a prison ship but many skilled men remained and illicit manufacture started up again. At the end of February 1814 the Transport Office wrote to Captain Lock directing him to 'stop the market until the lacemakers are discovered'. It did not take long: four men were sent to the hulks and the market was allowed to reopen within days.

Another activity which caused the authorities some concern was the counterfeiting of coins and bank notes. Forged notes were being passed by prisoners in November 1811 and in March and June of the next year prisoners were caught making coins and sent to the prison ships.

The market which developed inside the fort (Pl. XXII*b*), as local villagers and entrepreneurs came in to barter for and buy items made by the prisoners, provided a wide range of opportunities not only for the counterfeit money to be offloaded on the unsuspecting but also for illicit deals of various kinds. No doubt the production was cheap but high quality French lace found a ready market among dealers who cared little for the effects of such an intensive production on the local economy. And through the palisades of the prison compound and airing yard passed commodities that the prisoners wanted. The authorities were sufficiently concerned, in October 1812, to ban the sale of such necessities by the outsiders to the prisoners – except for fish. One reason for this stern line is reflected in a letter sent in November of that year in which they enquired if the girl, detected in selling spirits to the prisoners, was still about the prison.

For entertainment the prisoners organized a theatre in the basement of the keep and news of this reached the Transport Office. At the end of January 1811 they wrote to the Agent asking if any prisoners were in the habit of performing plays and if so by what authority. Two days later they made these concerns rather more explicit by asking if any locals or strangers had been admitted and what admission fees had been paid. The fact that the local inhabitants and gentry from some distance around were indeed in the habit of attending and willingly paid for the privilege was not to their liking and on 1 February they ordered that all theatricals must stop. No doubt strong representations were made on the prisoners' behalf and eventually at the end of March they recanted saying that they no longer had any objection to 'theatrical representations' so long as they were provided only for prisoners. The theatre must have provided a very welcome relief from the tedium of prison life but in the hot house atmosphere of the camp it could also provide a focus for friction. The killing of Jean Lequey, so the local newspaper had it, was because his murderer had 'conceived an expressive

jealousy against the deceased on account of his superior tallant in writing these little pieces for the stage' (*Hampshire Telegraph* 8.iii.1813, 4).

The Administration

The essential administrative staff of the prison camp was appointed within the first two weeks of January 1810; it consisted of:

Agent	Captain C.W. Paterson, R.N.
Surgeon	John Rann Gaunt
Dispenser	Mr Ellis
Chief Clerk	John Bell (appointed 12 February)
Second Clerk	I.J. Colepeper
Steward	James Cheesman
Turnkey	C.W. Hamilton

As the year progressed and the administrative load increased so the staff was augmented. An assistant surgeon was appointed in April, an assistant dispenser in May and four French assistant surgeons and two English hospital mates, in June. An extra clerk was also taken on in May. Six different turnkeys are named during the year suggesting that more than one was employed as the number of prisoners increased. Not all the appointments were successful. The chief clerk, John Bell, was replaced by Mr Light in June, Bell having been discharged for excessive drunkenness.

The Agent, Captain C.W. Paterson, served as we have seen, for only one year leaving Portchester to take up command of H.M.S. Puissant. He was immediately replaced by Captain Walter Lock who took up the post on 3 January 1811 and served until 13 July 1814 by which time the prisoners had departed. The month before his commission at Portchester terminated he had been raised to the rank of Rear Admiral. The status of both men shows that the post of Agent was now taken far more seriously by the Admiralty than it had been 60 years before.

Sufficient will have been said in previous pages to show the nature of the heavy administrative load which the Agent bore and the rather tedious control of minutiae which the Transport Office retained.

The Agent's prime concern was for the well-being of the internees. In meeting this he had to arrange and monitor a large number of outside contracts. In February 1810 the provision of food was divided into two separate contracts, one held by Messrs Lindsay & Co. for the prisoners in health, the other by James Westmore, for prisoners in sickness. These contracts were awarded for fixed periods and were publicly advertised. A typical advertisement appeared in the pages of the *Hampshire Chronicle* on 10 January 1814.

The Commissioners for conducting His Majesty's Transport Service for taking care of sick and wounded seamen, and for the care and custody of Prisoners of War – Do hereby give Notice that they will be ready at this Office on Friday the 25th of February 1814 to receive sealed Tenders and treat with such Persons as may be filling to contract for victualling prisoners of war in Health at Portchester Castle, for six months certain from the 1st of April 1814. Sum of £2000 for the performance of the contract.

Louis Garnary who enjoyed prison food for eight years on board the prison hulks gives a vivid description of it. 'It was the food', he wrote, 'which gave the English their best opportunity to vent their spite on us.' The contractor never honoured the rations knowing full well that no complaint would get a hearing. The food was delivered daily and it was the prisoners' task to cook it and oversee for distribution.

We breakfasted on dry bread; at midday we had soup with a little bread in it, and we kept the meat for supper. The fish days were the most unpleasant, for the salt herring was so rank that we sold it back to the contractors, who would bring it back the next Wednesday and again buy it back from us at twopence a ration. With the twopence we bought butter or cheese. I am convinced that some of those red herrings saw ten years service with the Navy.

A slight exaggeration perhaps but a reminder that the contract system was wide open to abuse. On one occasion at Portchester, in March 1811, the dispenser, Mr Ellis, sent a sample of dubious port wine, which had been delivered by the medical contractor, to the Transport Office for an opinion. They wrote back to the Agent informing him that they believed it to be a Spanish red wine and not port at all: it therefore was to be returned. It is difficult to judge from these isolated examples how widespread abuses of this kind were. Victualling for the Royal Navy at the time was of a high standard (Rodger 1986). It may simply be that the contractors passed off inferior victuals to the prisoners.

In addition to returning bogus port, the Agent had also to busy himself making sure that the burial contractor disposed of the bodies not less than 3 feet from the surface (11 June 1810), overseeing the contracts for the purchase of the manure and night soil removed from the privies (30 March 1811) and answering pointed questions about profits on the sale of beer (3 June 1810). Reading the Transport Office communications of this period one can only be impressed by the thoroughness of the organization and the superhuman forbearance of the successive Agents in the face of crushing bureaucracy.

The prison guard

Once more companies of militia were brought in to guard the prisoners. The Northants Militia and Worcestershire Militia were present throughout much of 1810 and 1811, the Norfolk Militia were resident during the winter of 1811–12 and the Inverness Militia for much of the rest of the year. Others who served at the castle included the 10th, 15th and 18th Hussars and the Cornish Miners.

Other army detachments were also present in the barracks. The Royal Artillery and Dragoons were in occupation in October 1810 when the prison riot occurred and the Marines remained at least into the next summer.

The disbanding of the prison camp

The general release of prisoners began soon after hostilities ended on 26 April 1814. In early May French officers were sent from Alresford, where they had been on parole, to superintend the embarkation of French prisoners for home. In all some 8000 prisoners had to be repatriated from Portchester alone. Embarkation began about 18 May and within

ten days the *Hampshire Telegraph* could report that the depot of Portchester had been cleared (*Hampshire Telegraph* 30.v.1814). It was a considerable feat of organization involving the use of a sizeable flotilla of ships. No detail was left to chance: the thoughtful Transport Office even arranged for a money-changer, John Zachariah, to be available in Portsmouth High Street for those prisoners who wished to change their sterling into francs. Their attention to detail even extended to sending a letter to the Agent reminding him of the necessity of clearing the site by 24 May because the victualling contract ran out on that day.

Soon after the release had been announced a letter was reported in the *Hampshire Telegraph*. It was dated 24 April 1814.

Commissioner – I cannot depart without begging you to accept my sincere thanks for the manner in which the French Prisoners of War at Forton, Portchester and the prison ships are victualled and taken care of. I likewise beg you will give my thanks to the officers commanding the several depots.

I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration,
The Rear Admiral Troude.

THE AFTERMATH OF WAR: 1814–1819

Captain Lock, promoted to the rank of Rear Admiral in June 1814 remained at Portchester until 13 July. The departure of the French prisoners in May was followed at the beginning of June by an influx of sick and wounded British soldiers – casualties from Wellington's Army. The military hospital, which the castle had now become, remained in operation until the end of the year while much of the old prisoner-of-war camp was dismantled and the useful equipment and materials were sold. The auction held at the castle on 12 July, Rear Admiral Lock's last full day in office, included

a number of iron boilers with brass cocks, grates, a quantity of lead and iron, nearly 100 lamp irons, posts, scale beams, scales and weights, paper stuff, wheel and hand barrows, pickaxes, about 40 sentry boxes, oak and elm planks, cleft rails, tubs and casks, four soil carts with 6" wheels, a tilted cart, window frames and sashes and numerous other articles ... (*Hampshire Telegraph* 4.vii.1814, 4).

It is a nice indulgence to think that Rear Admiral Lock looked on with satisfaction while the iron boilers, whose constant need of repair involved him in such lengthy correspondence with the Transport Office, were knocked down to the highest bidder.

Little detail survives of the military hospital. The first casualties arrived on 5 June 1814: the last to die in hospital was buried on 8 November. During that time 47 men died and were buried in the churchyard. They came from the King's German Legion, the Royal Artillery, the 7th and 15th Hussars, the 2nd and 3rd Guards and 23 different Regiments of Foot.

In February 1815 Portchester began the last chapter of its military history as a prison camp for deserters whose death sentence had been commuted to transportation to 'the

Africas or any other Colonies abroad'. Previously they had been confined on two prison hulks in the harbour. They were placed under the command of a staff captain (*Hampshire Telegraph* 27.ii.1815). The camp was eventually disbanded on 24 June 1819 and the castle reverted to the care of the Thistlethwaite family.

The last attempt to find a use for the ruin came in 1855 when the site was examined by Sir Frederic Smith and Dr Mapleton to see if it could be converted to become a hospital for victims of the Crimean War. They concluded that there could hardly be a less desirable site. In the event a new hospital was built at Netley and Portchester continued to enjoy its new career as 'a noble wreck in ruinous perfection'.

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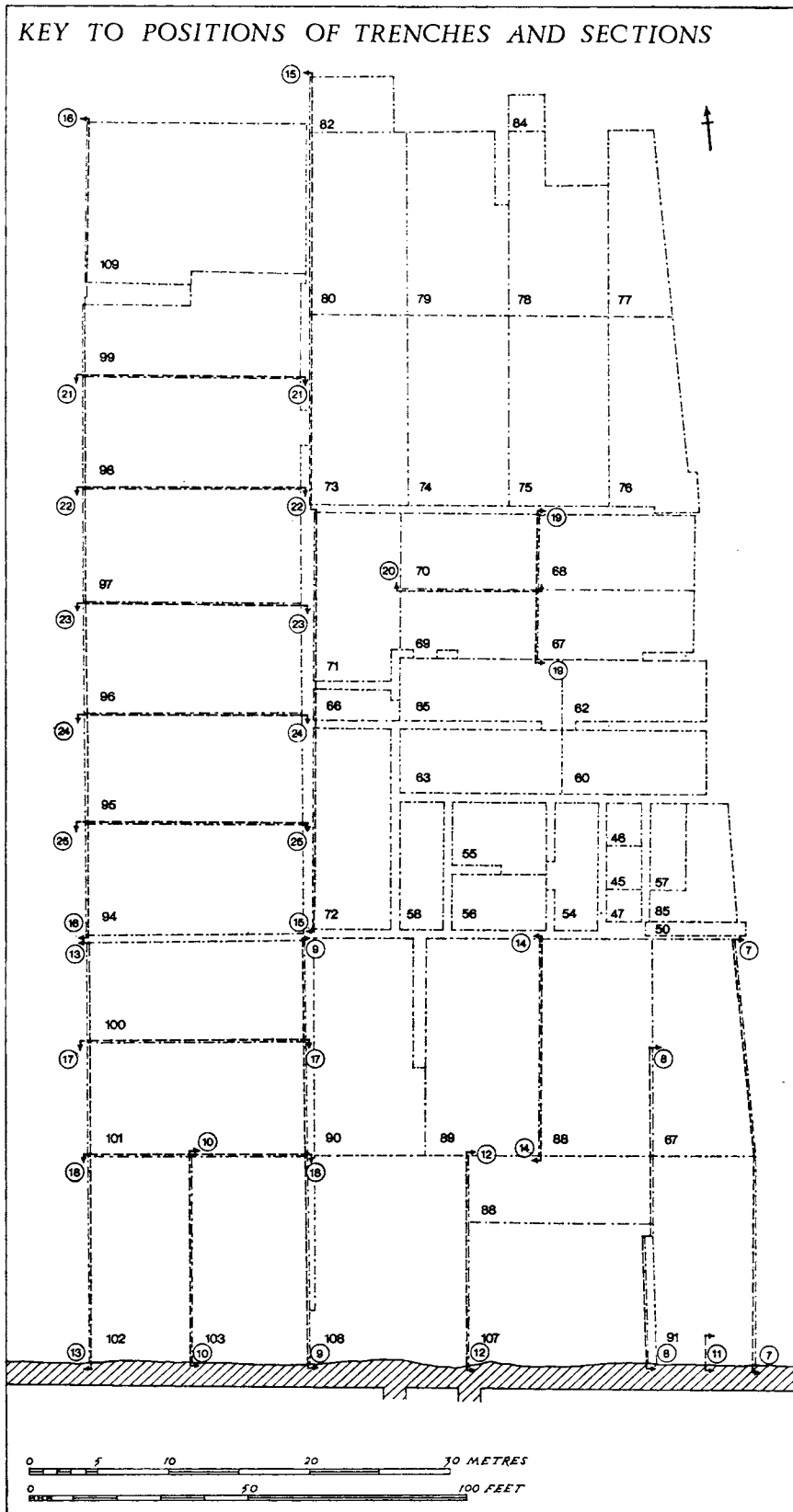


FIG. 42 The outer bailey: location of trenches and sections.

PORTCHESTER CASTLE Positions of trenches and sections

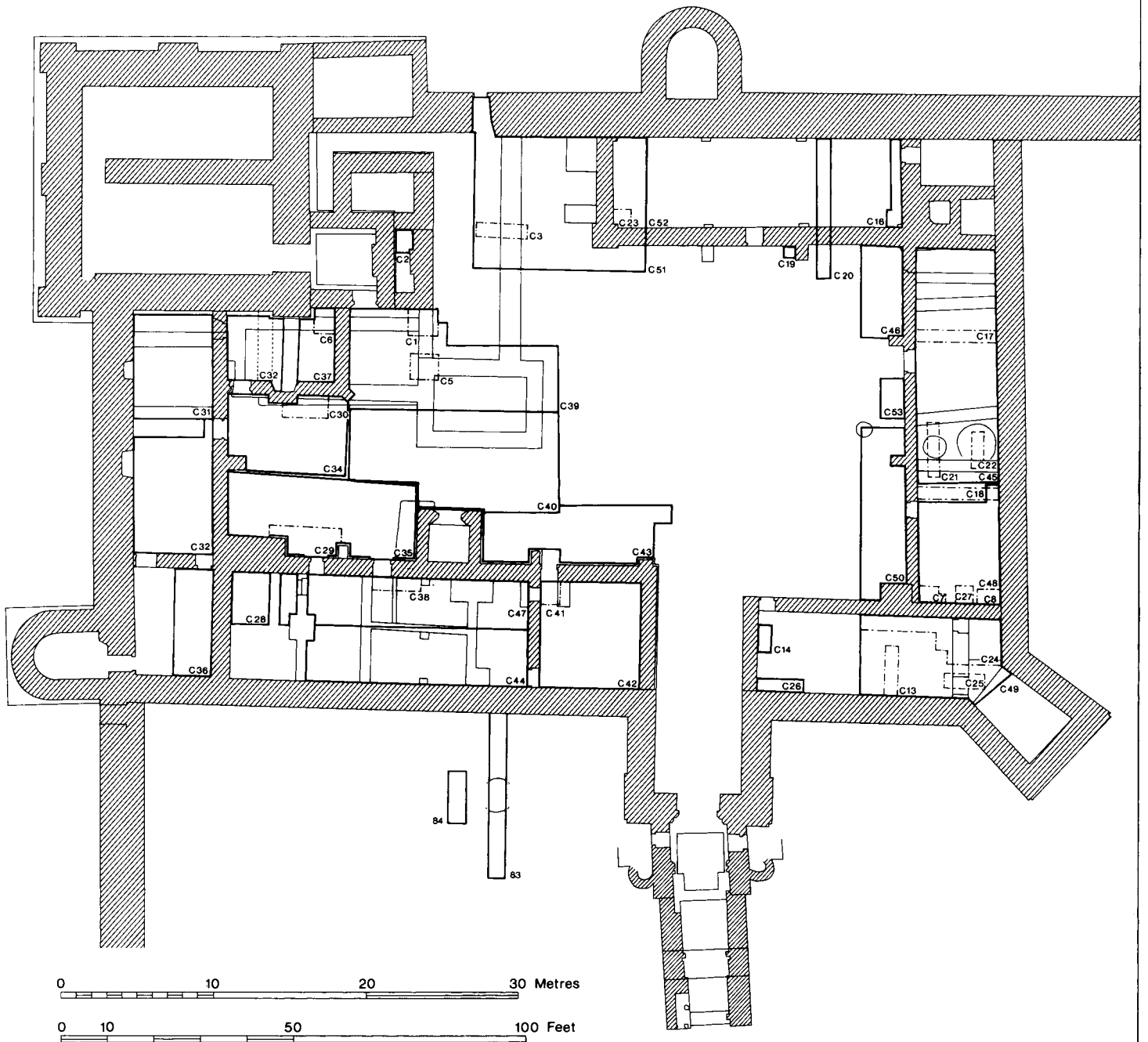


FIG. 43 The inner bailey: location of trenches and sections.

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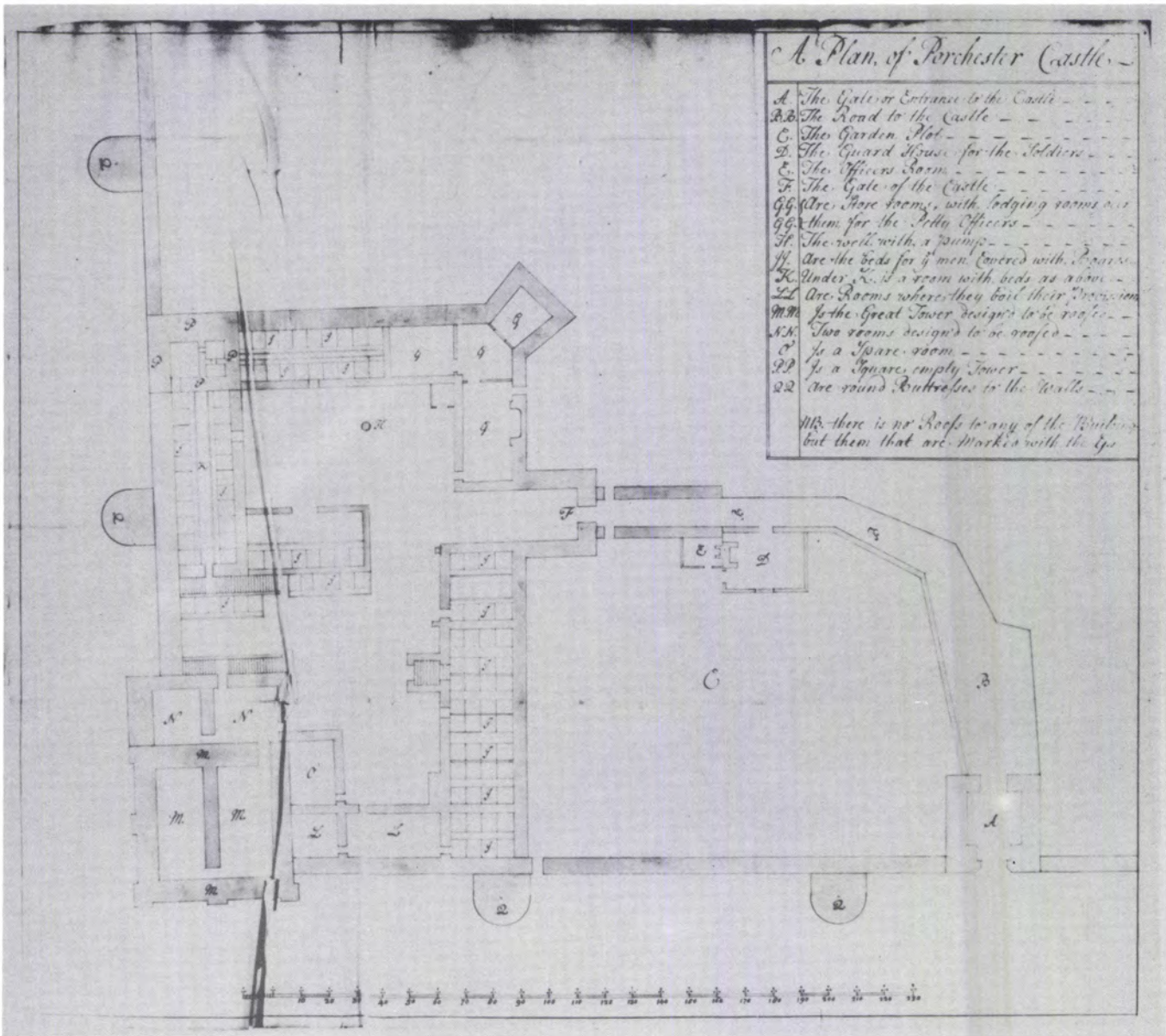
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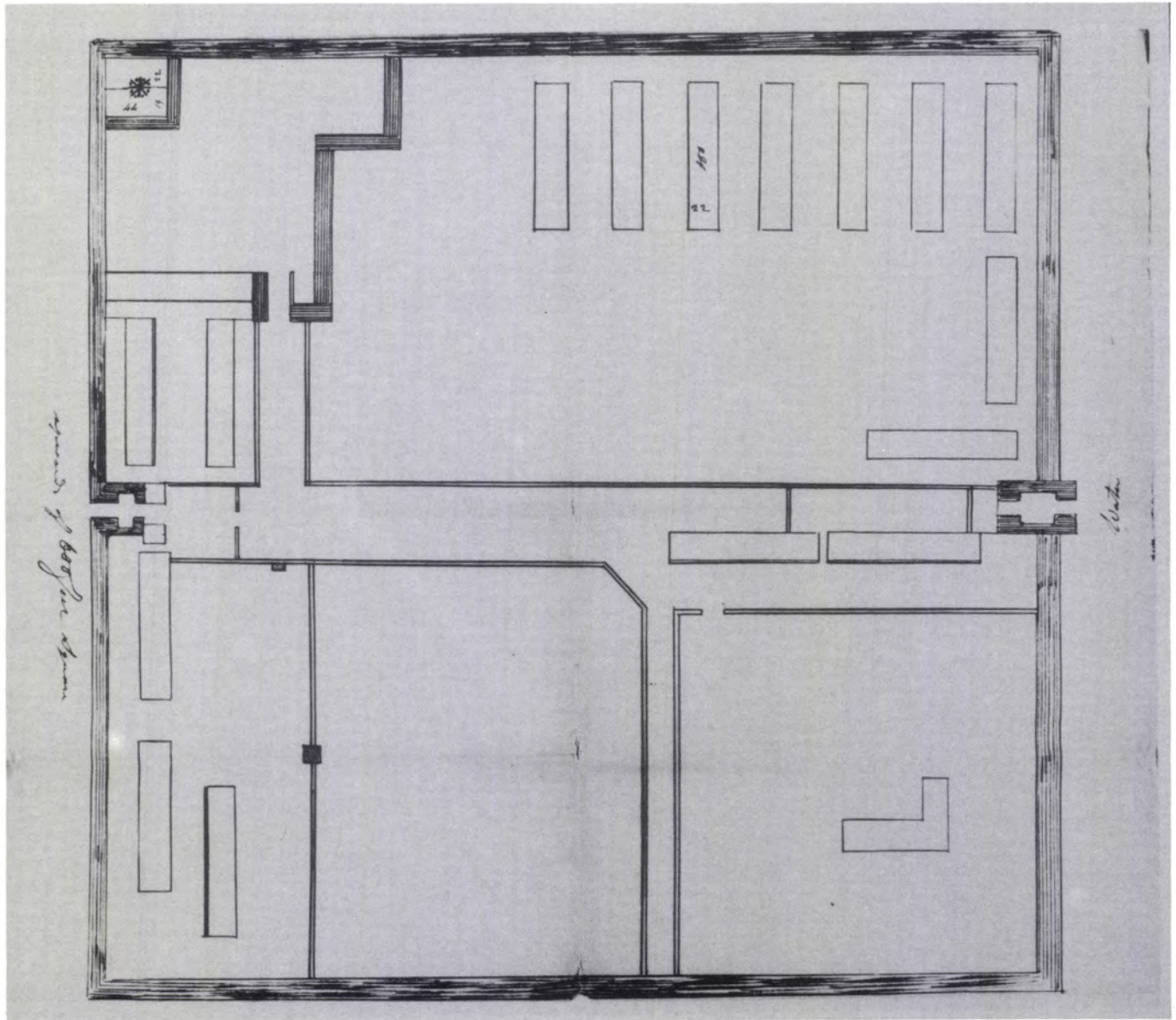
PLATES

PLATE I



Plan of the castle in 1756 showing the arrangement of the prisoners' quarters in the rooms of the inner bailey.
(Cat. Plan I)

PLATE II



Sketch plan of the castle in 1802. (Cat. Plan 3)

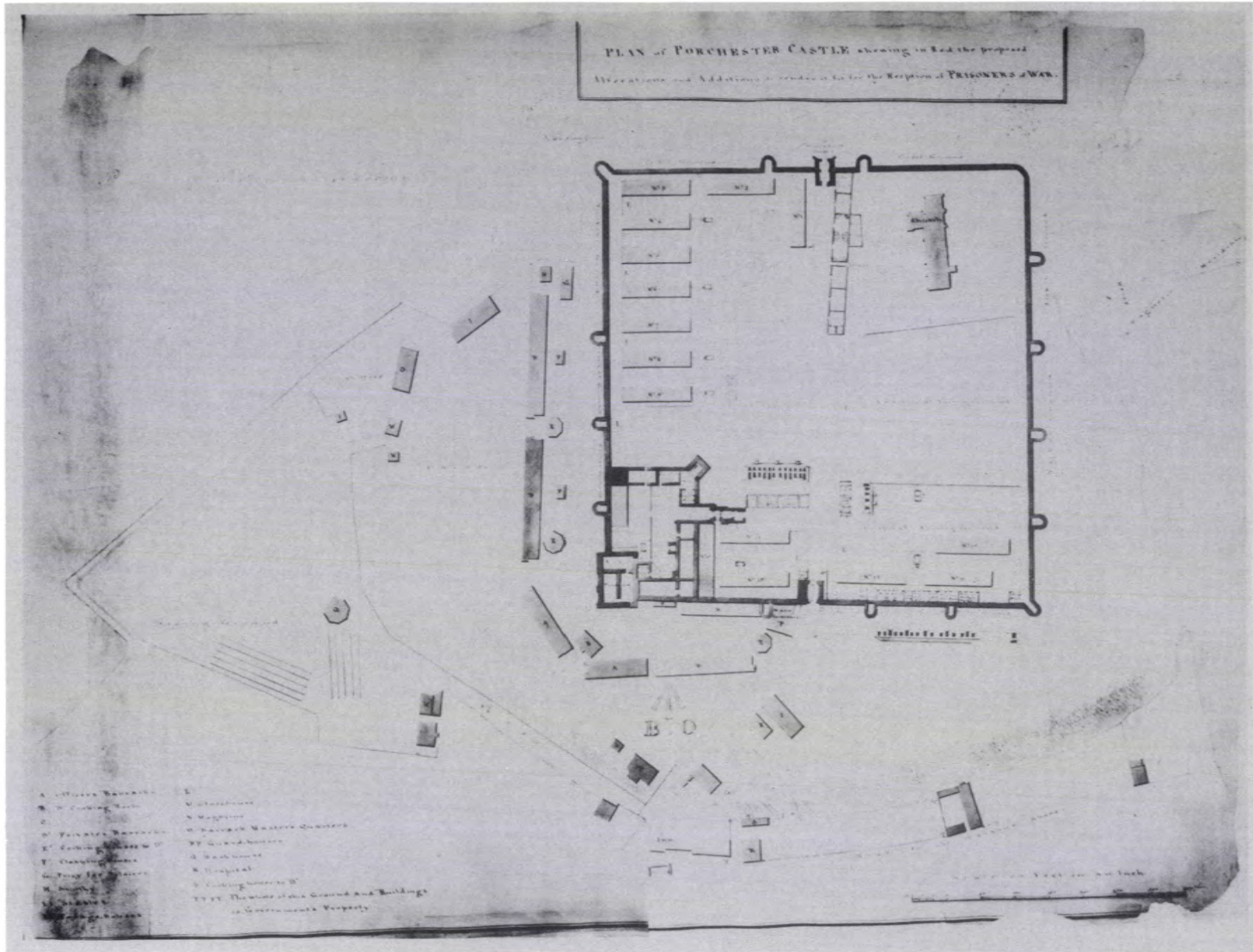


PLATE IV

Detailed plan of the castle in 1815. (Cat. Plan 5) (See also Fig. 41)

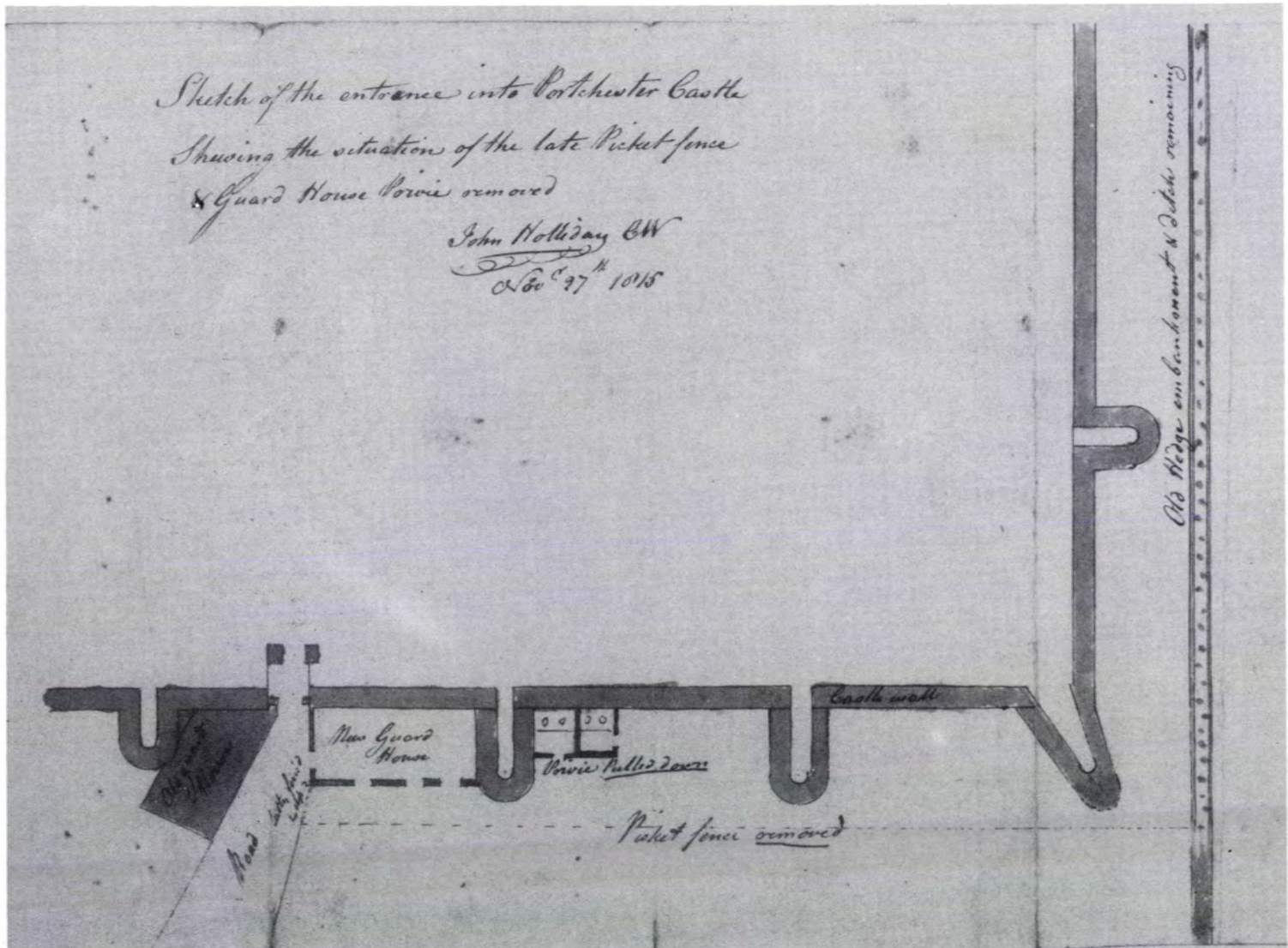
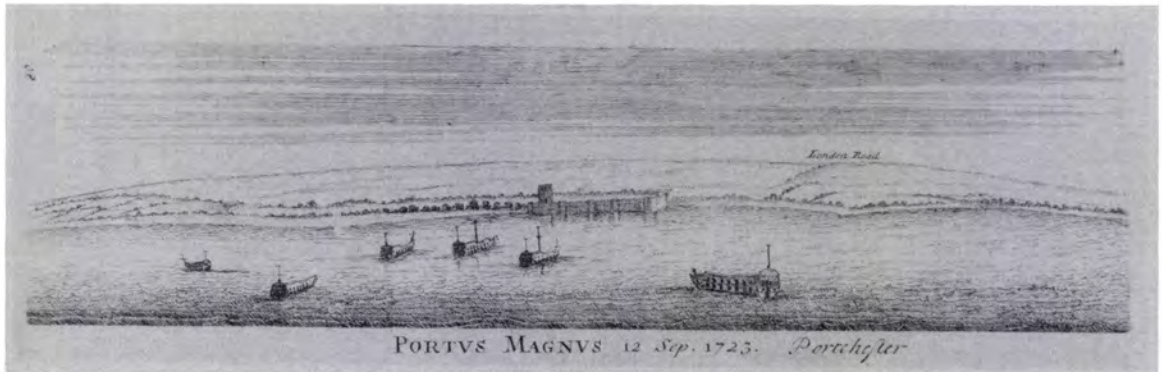


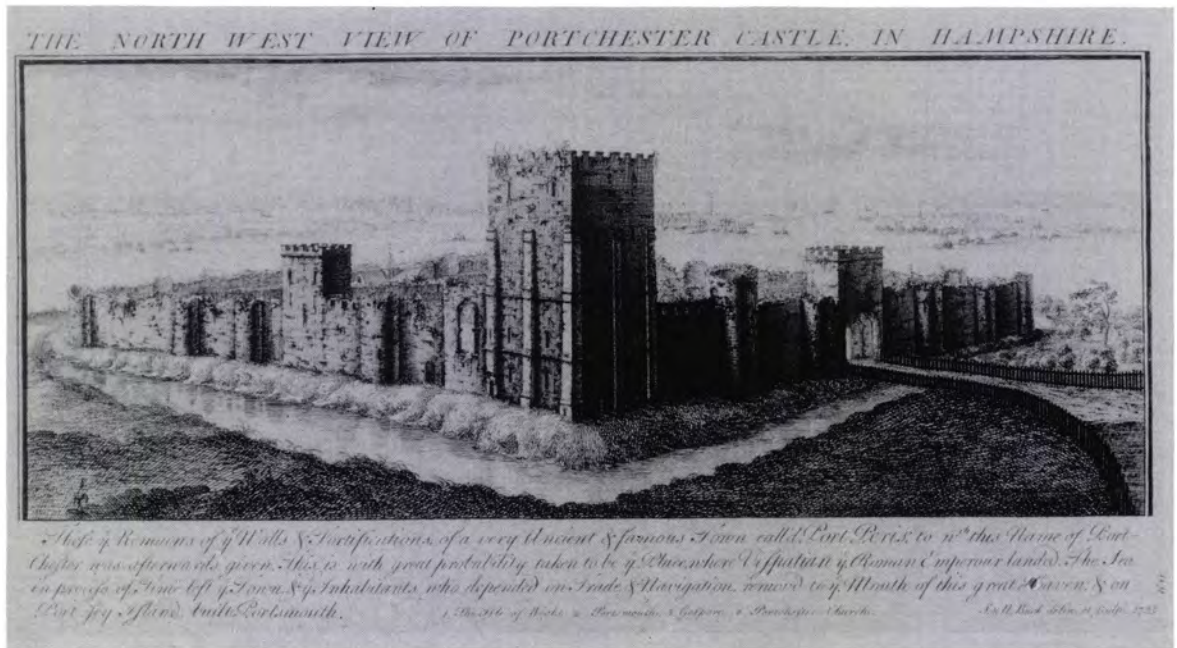
PLATE V

Sketch of the entrance to the castle: November 27th 1815. (Cat. Plan 6)

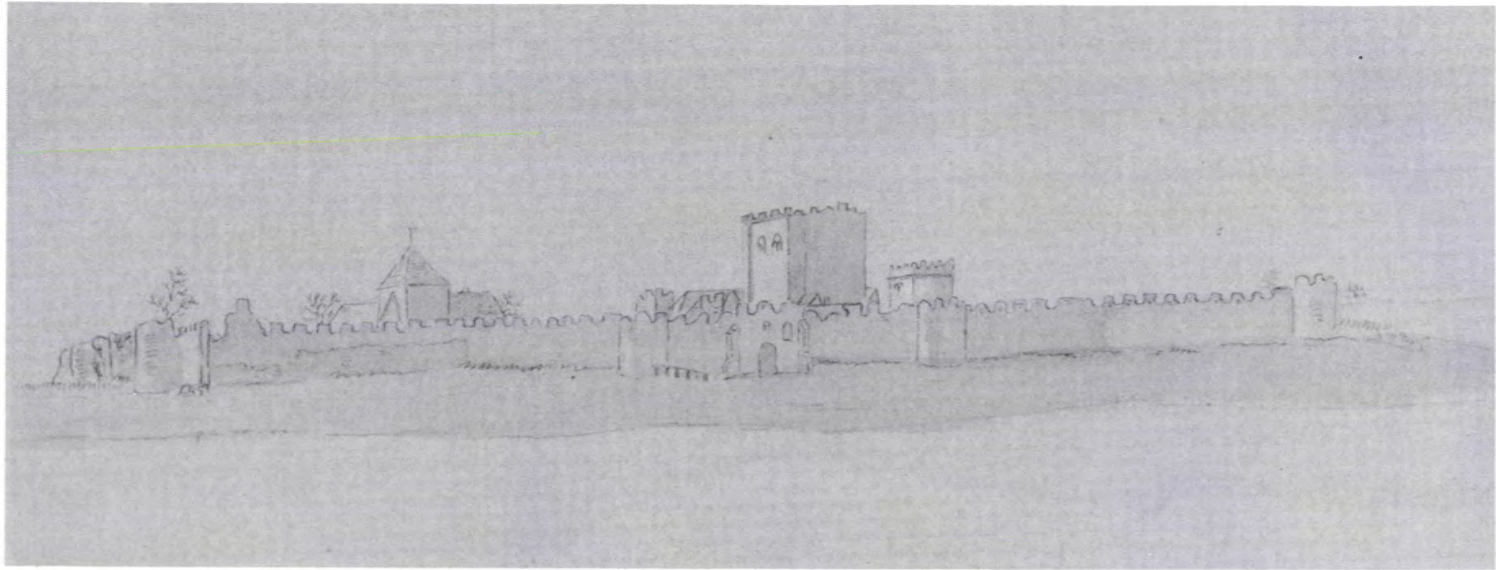
PLATE VI



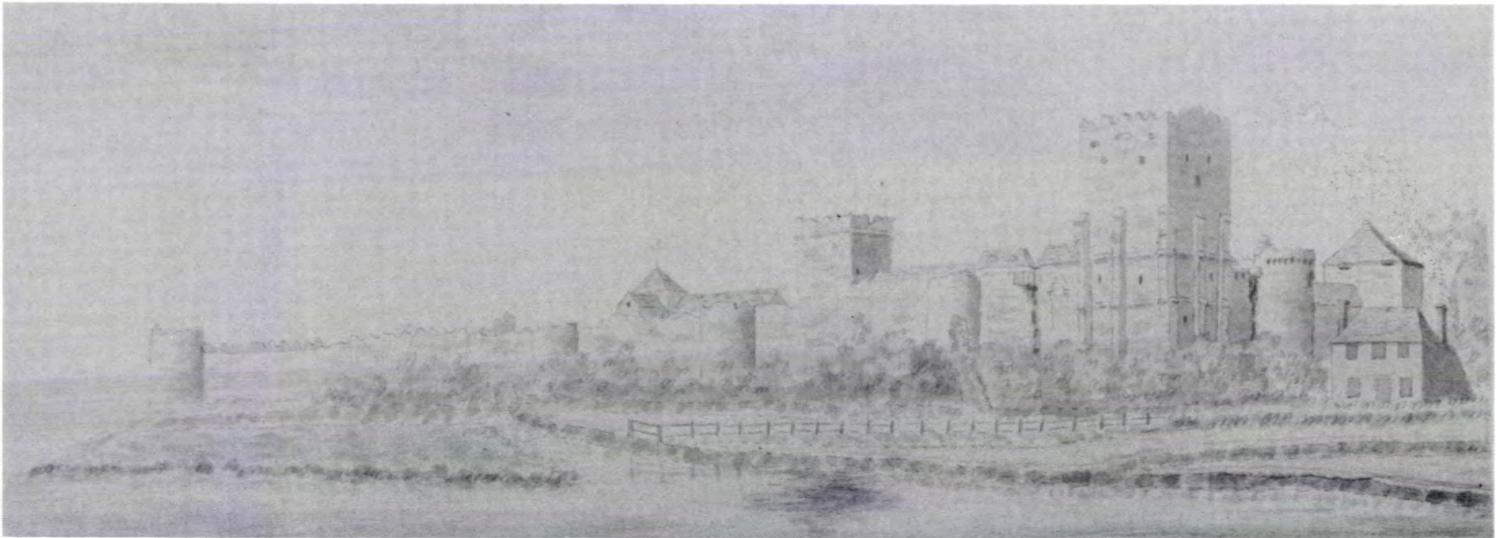
a. Portchester engraved in 1723 after W. Stukeley. (Cat. no. 1)



b. Portchester engraved in 1733 by S. and N. Buck. (Cat. no. 2)

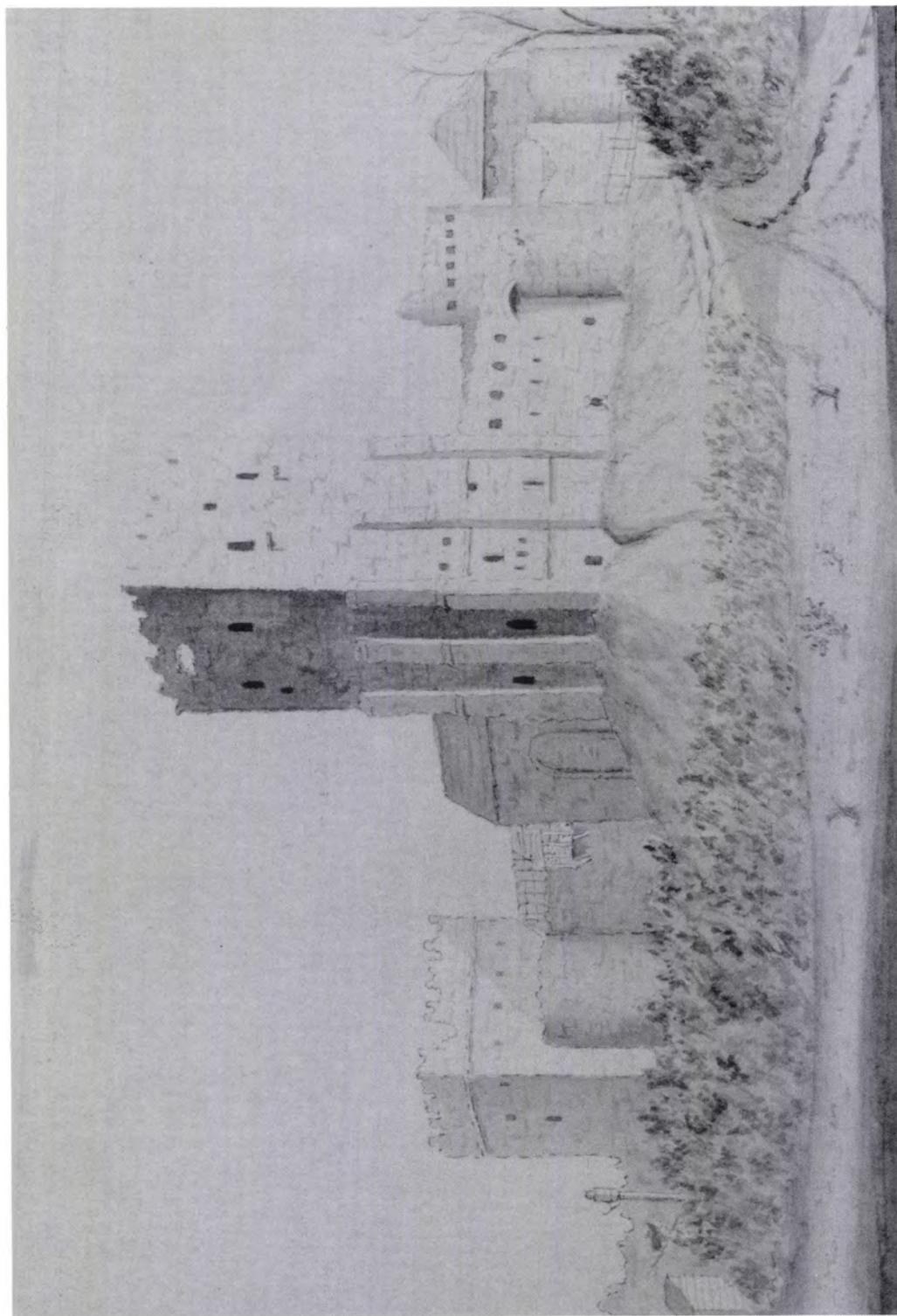


a. Portchester from the sea in 1760 by F. Grose. (Cat. no. 4)

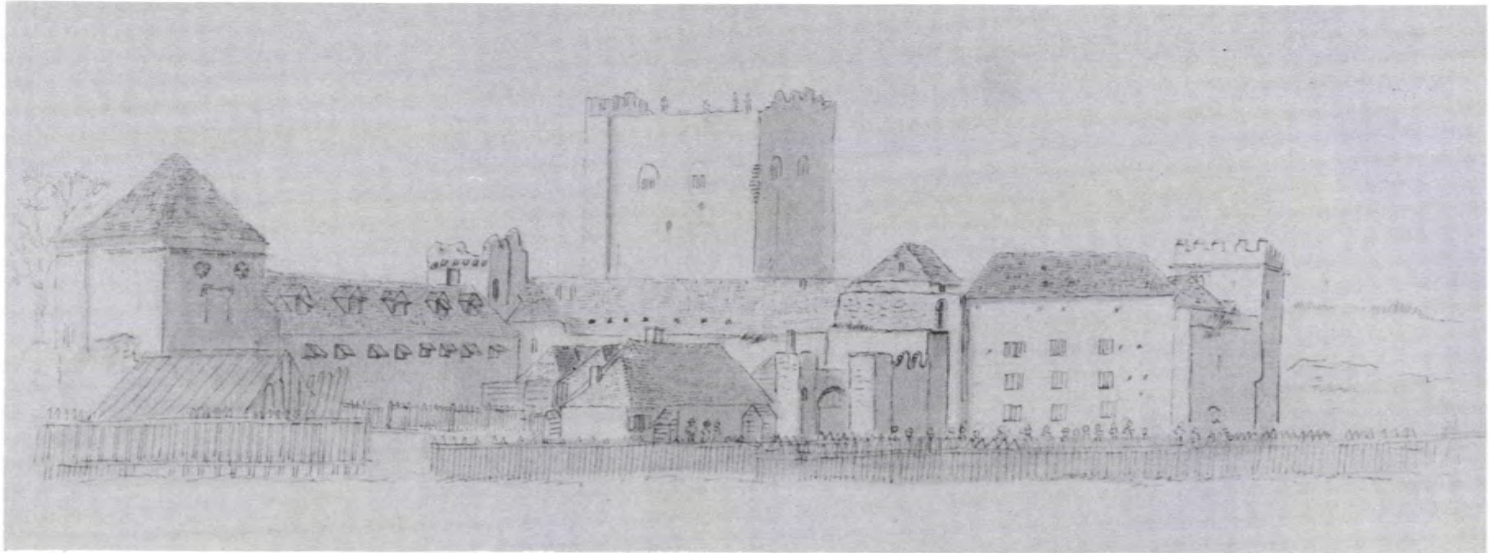


b. Portchester from the north in 1760 by F. Grose. (Cat. no. 5)

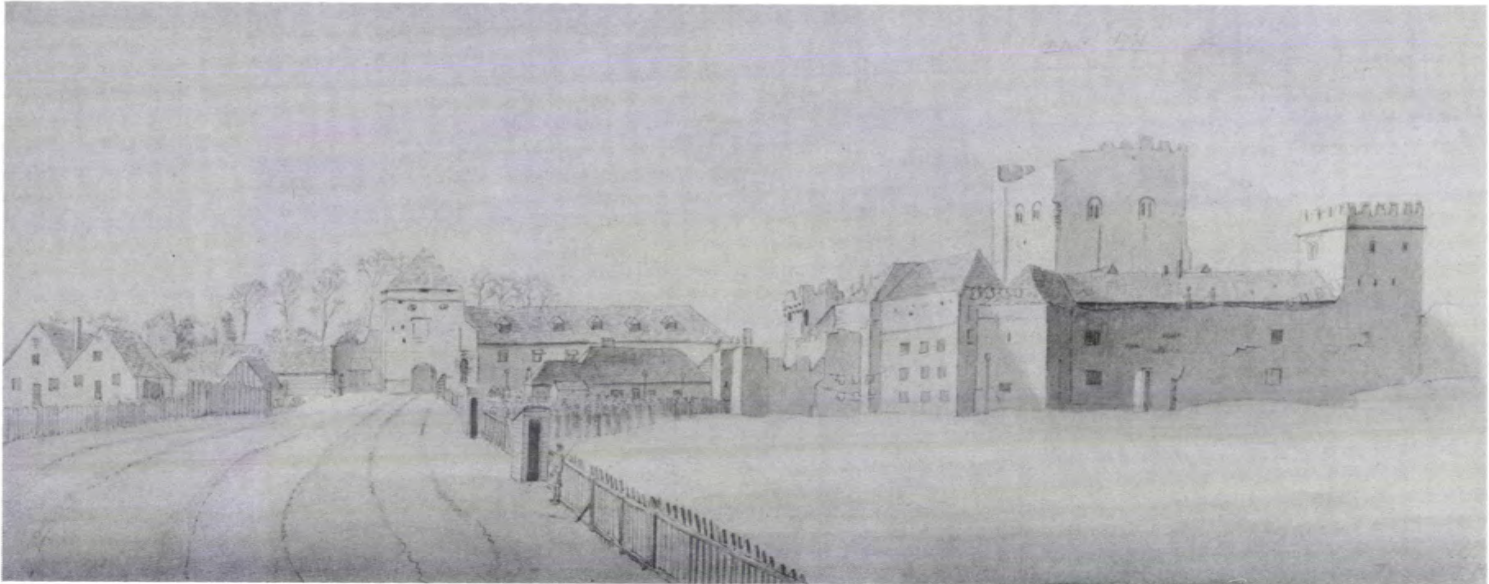
PLATE VIII



Portchester from the north in 1760 by F. Grose. (Cat. no. 6)

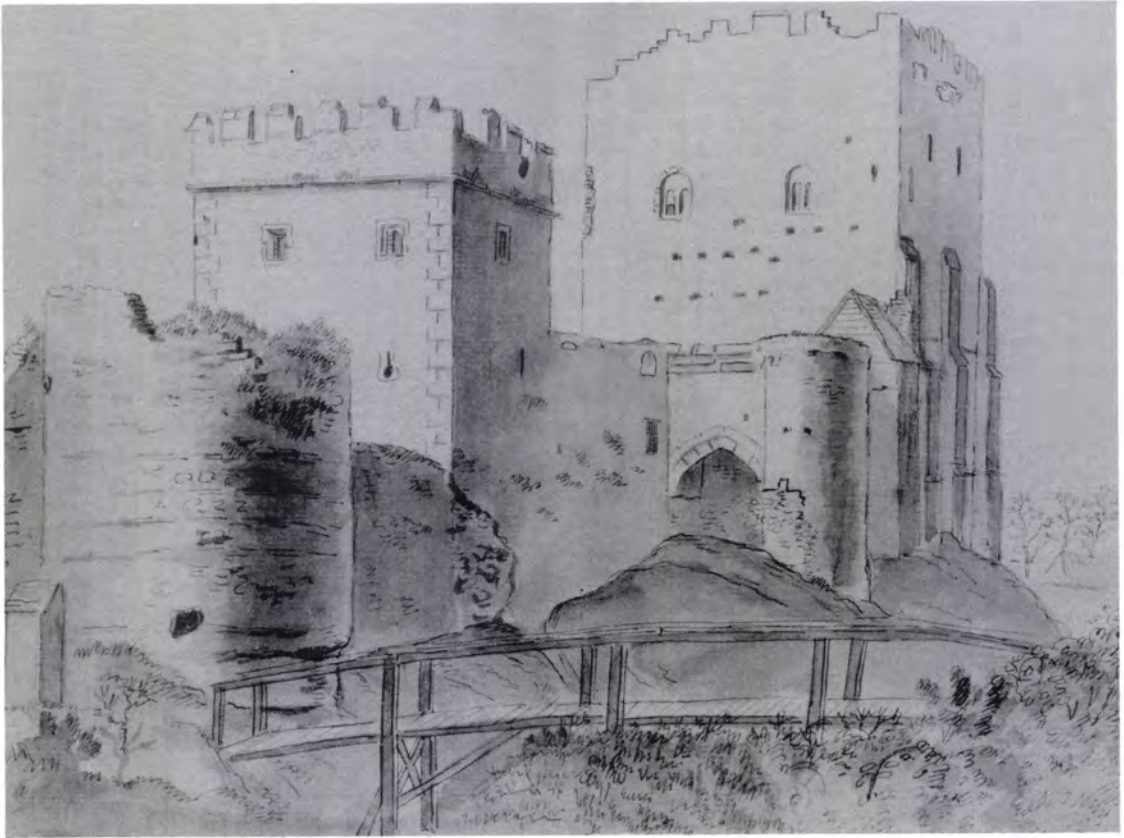


a. The inner bailey in 1761 by F. Grose. (Cat. no. 7)

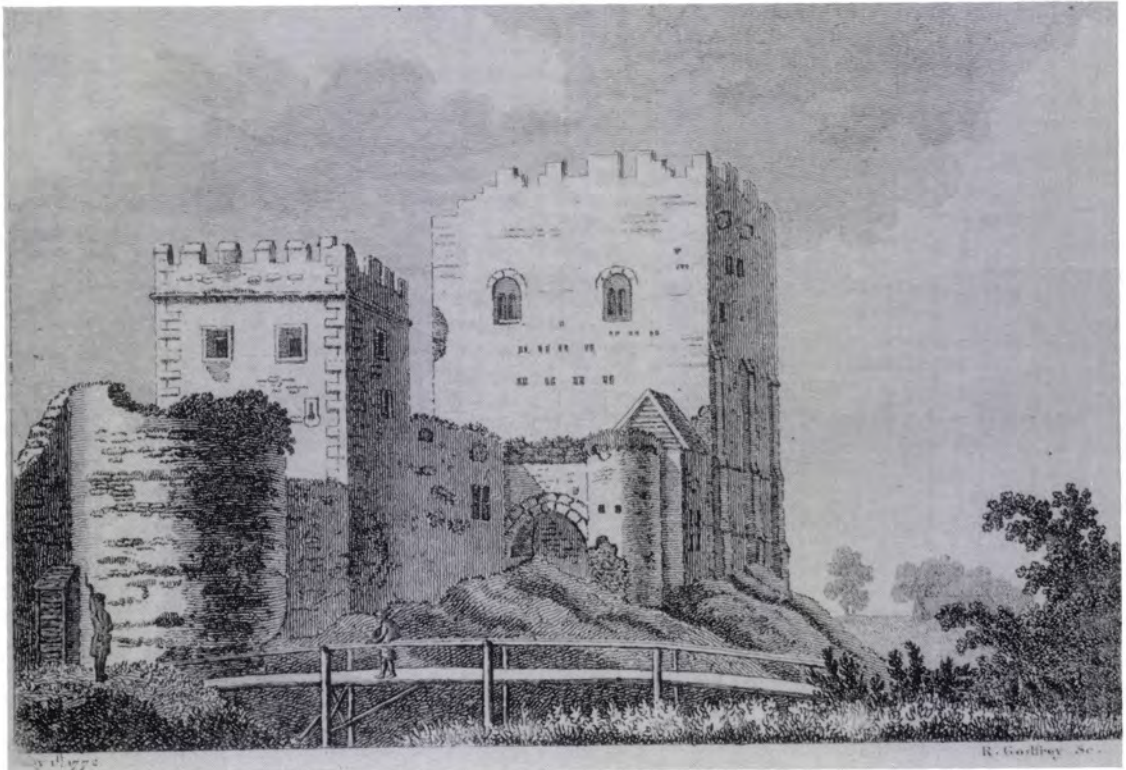


b. The inner bailey in 1761 by F. Grose. (Cat. no. 8)

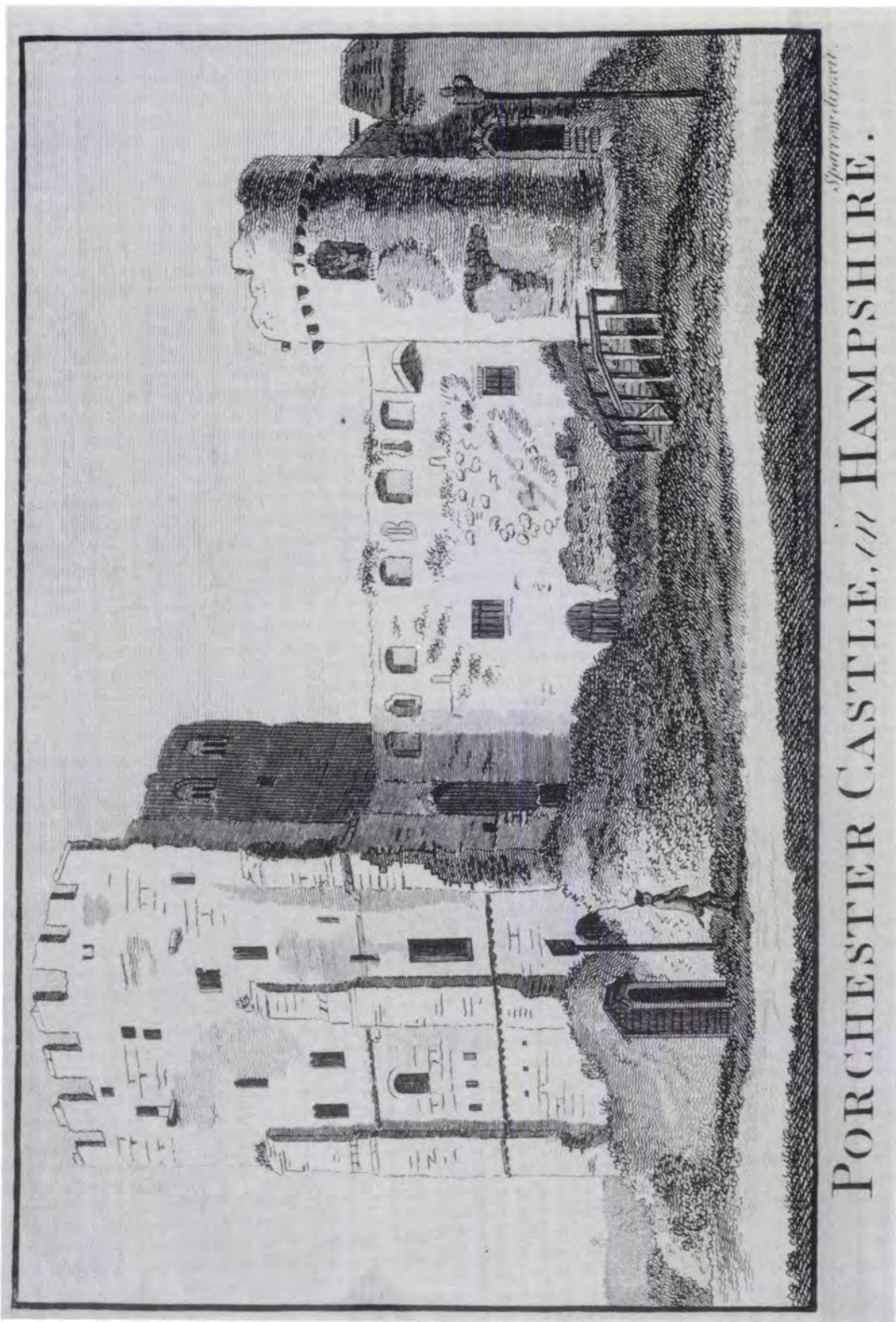
PLATE X



a. Portchester from the north in 1761 by F. Grose. (Cat. no. 9)



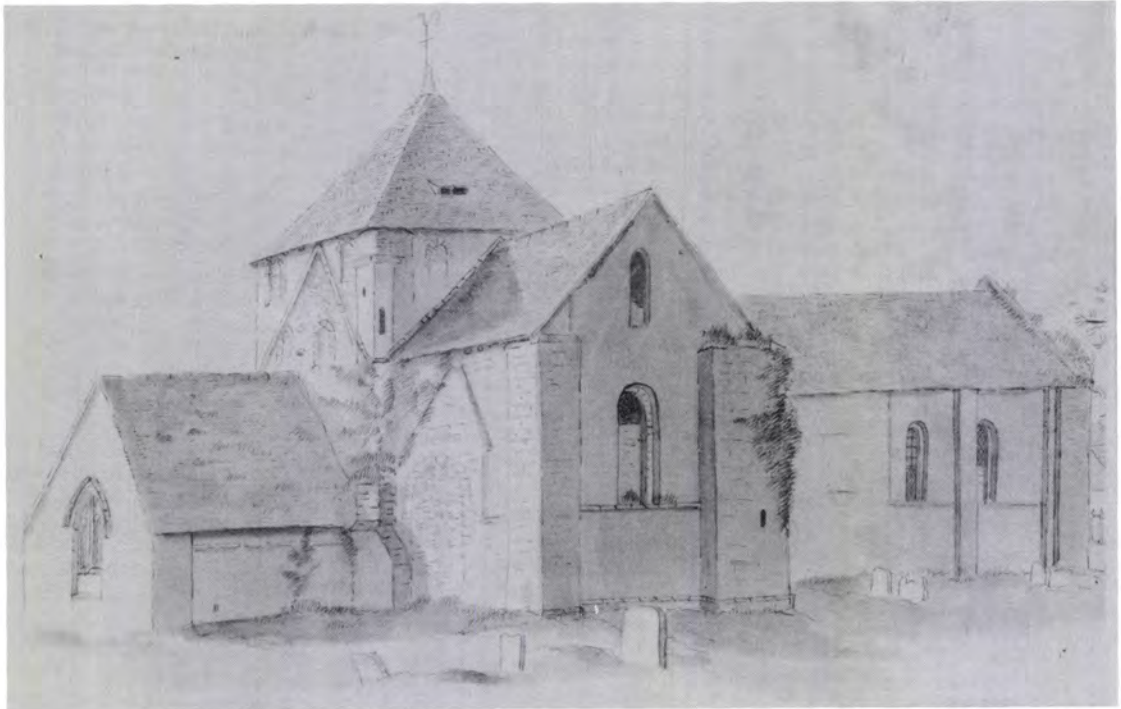
b. Portchester from the north engraved in 1772 after F. Grose. (Cat. no. 9)



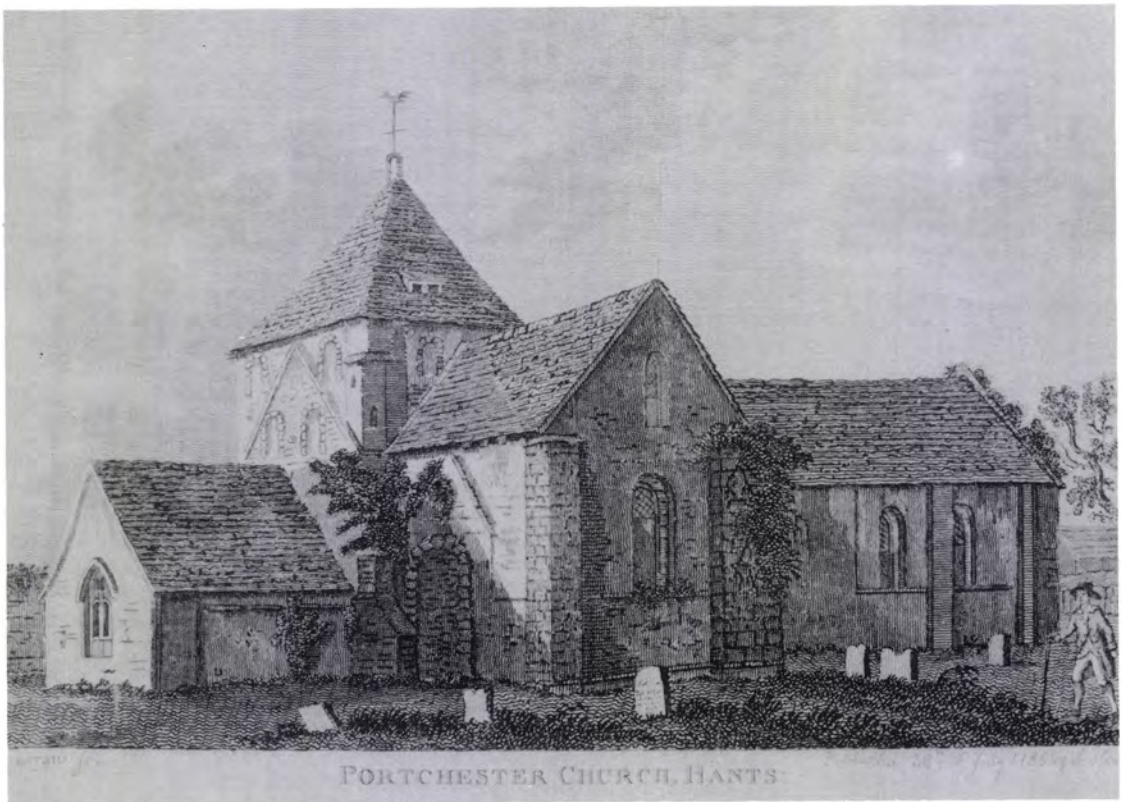
PORTCHESTER CASTLE, // HAMPSHIRE.

Portchester from the west engraved c. 1770 after F. Grose(?) (Cat. no. 10)

PLATE XII

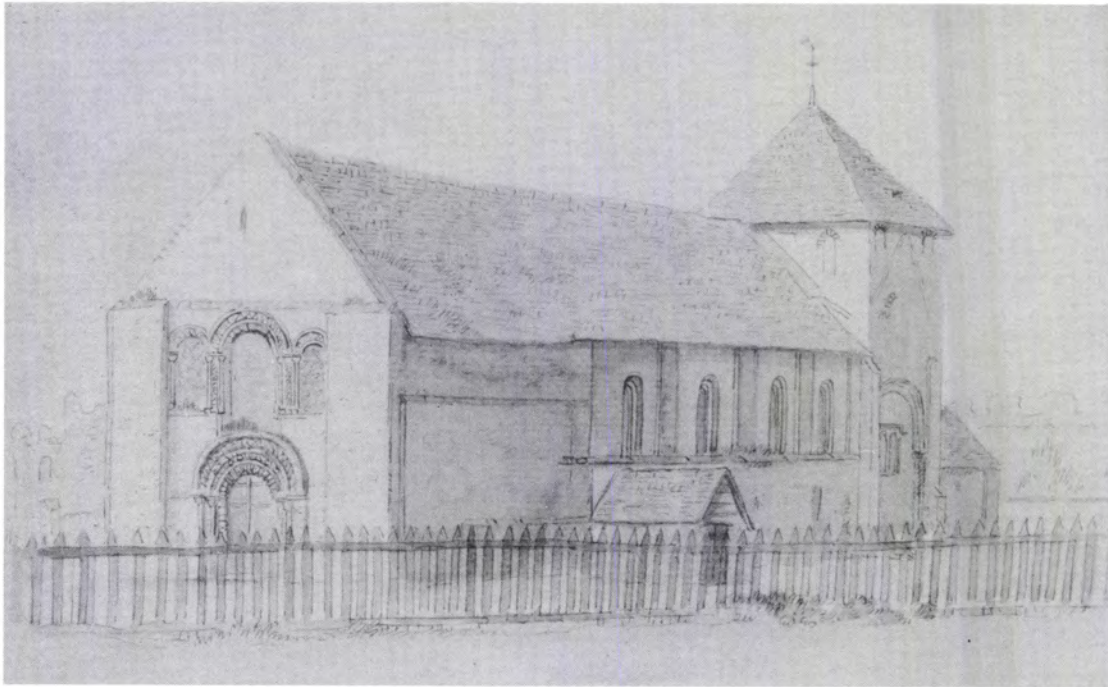


a. The church at Portchester in 1761 by F. Grose. (Cat. no. 11)

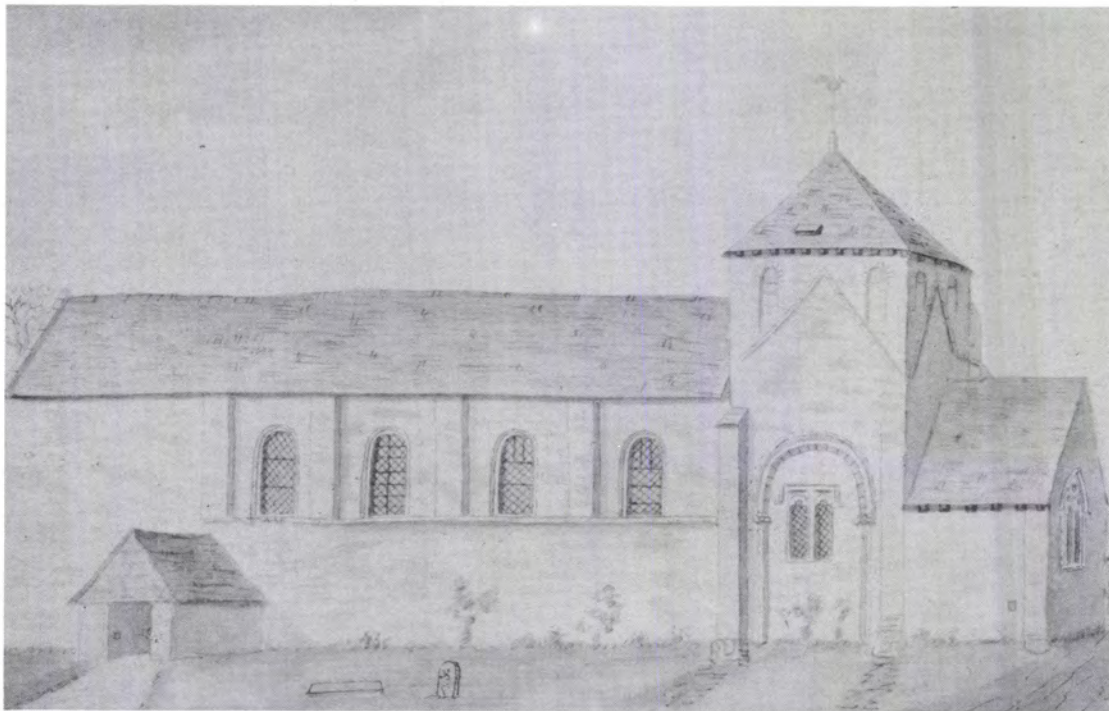


b. The church at Portchester engraved in 1785 after F. Grose. (Cat. no. 11)

PLATE XIII

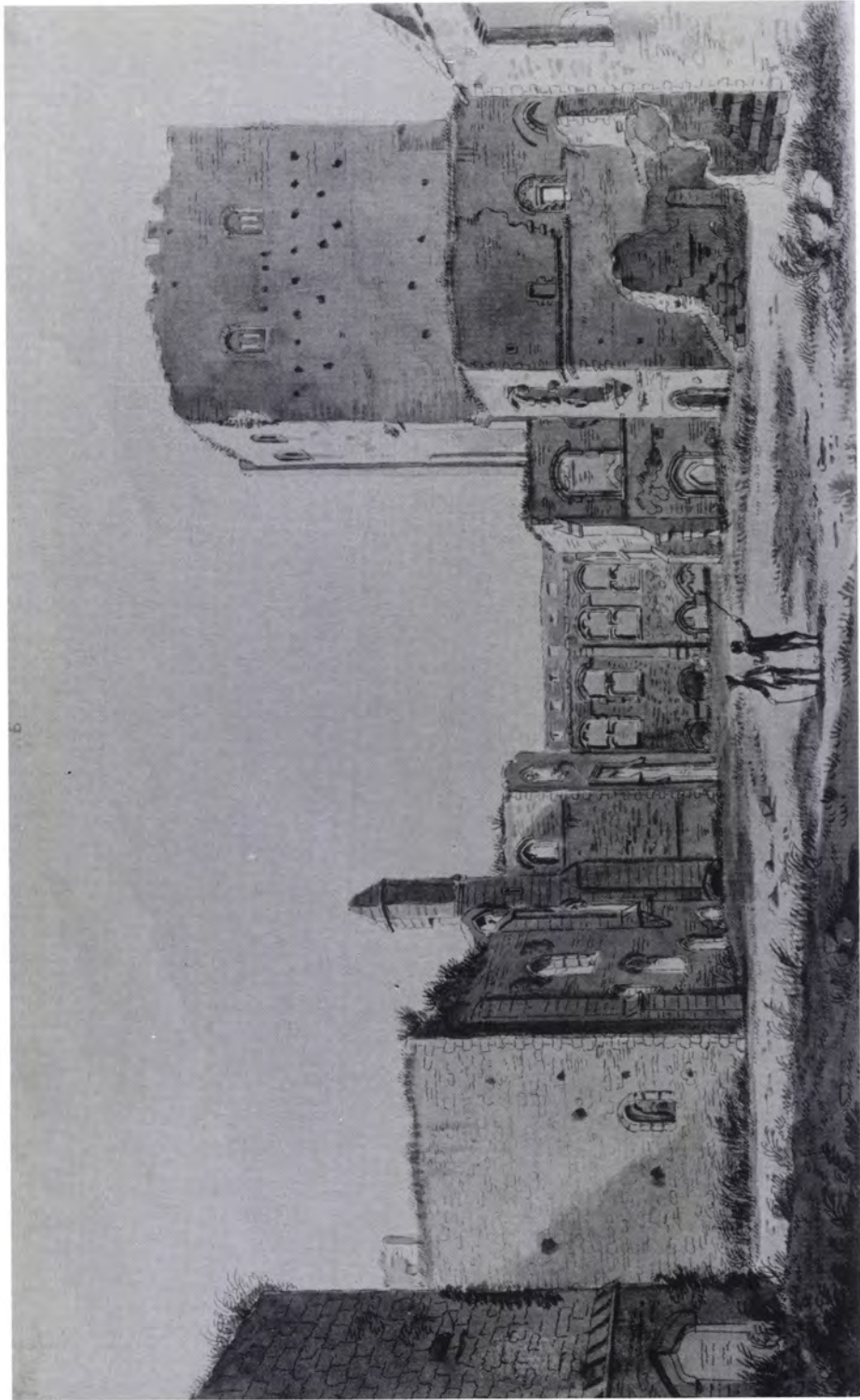


a. The church from the south in 1761 by F. Grose. (Cat. no. 12)



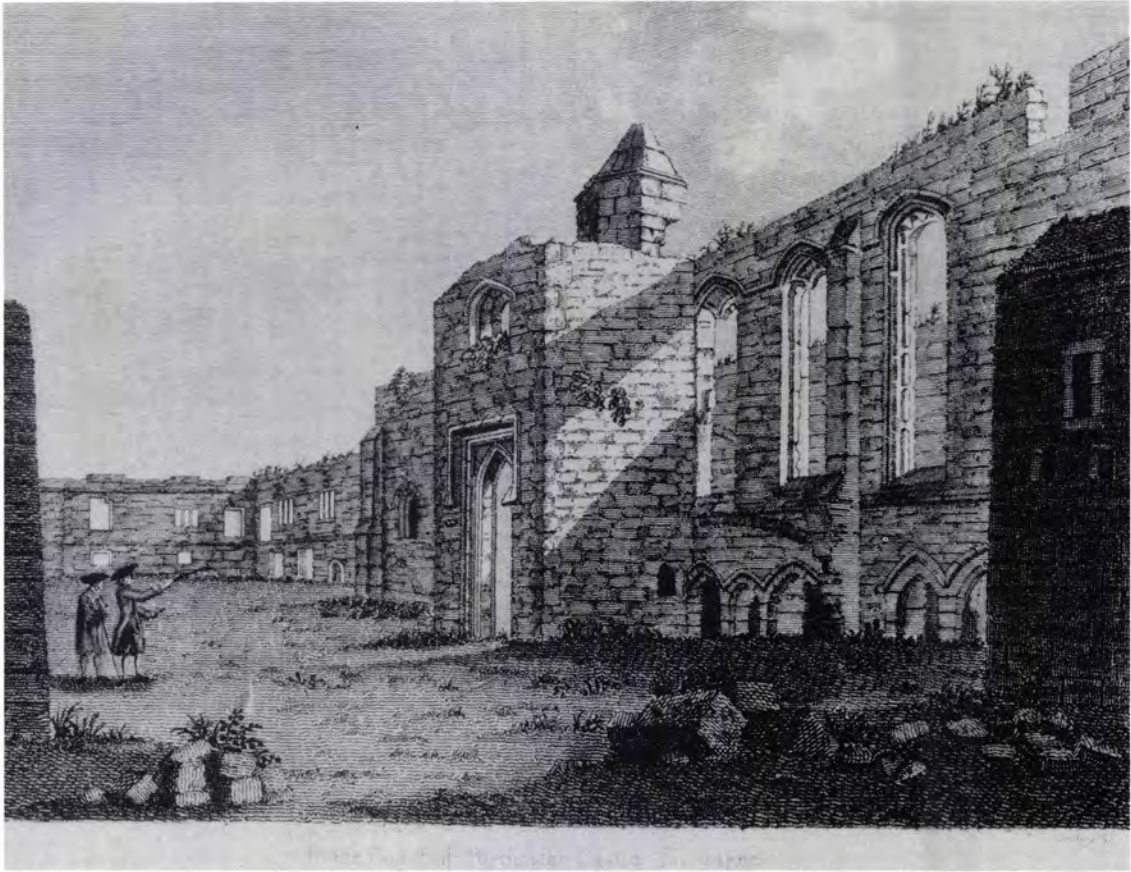
b. The church from the south-west in 1761 by F. Grose. (Cat. no. 13)

PLATE XIV



The inner bailey c. 1770. Artist unknown but possibly F. Grose. (Cat. no. 14)

PLATE XV



a. The inner bailey engraved in 1781 after F. Grose(?) (Cat. no. 15)



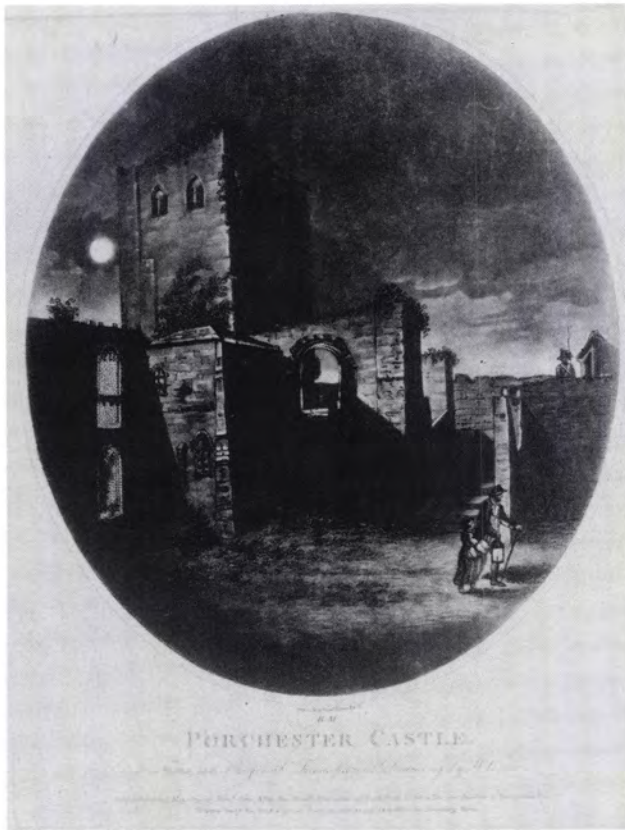
b. The gate to the inner bailey engraved in 1785 after F. Grose(?) (Cat. no. 16)



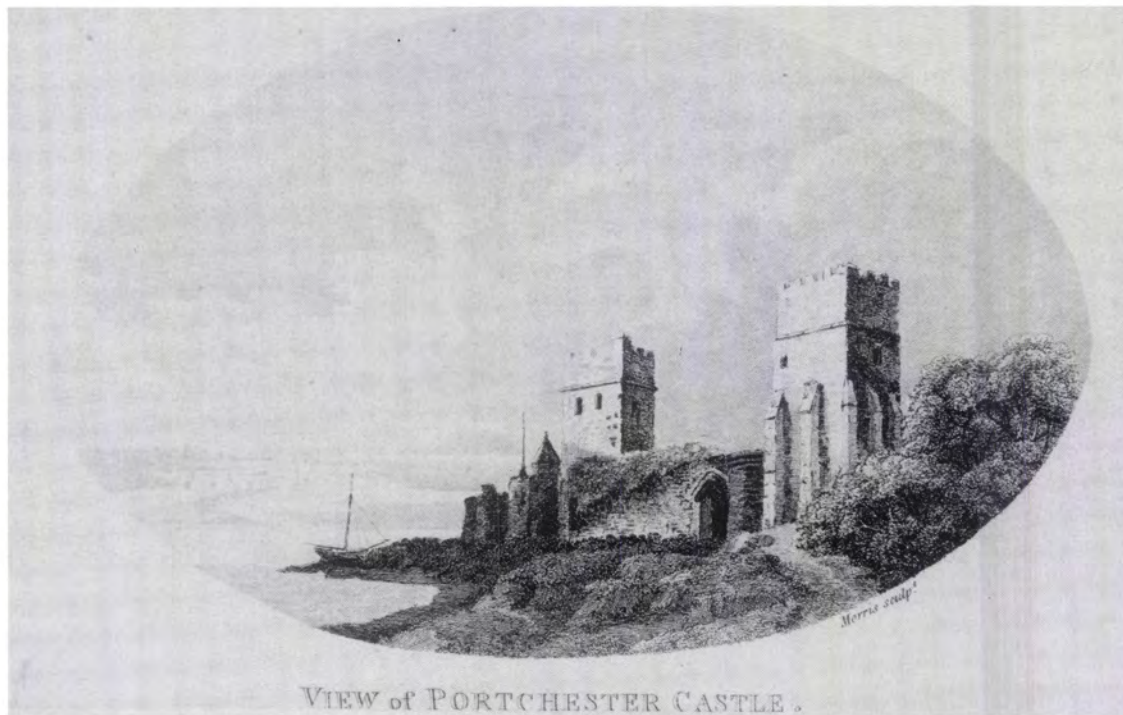
PLATE XVI

The barracks outside Portchester engraved in 1784 after J. Orme. (Cat. no. 17)

PLATE XVII



a. The inner bailey engraved in 1799 after W. Orme. (Cat. no. 18)



b. Portchester from the north engraved in 1791. Artist unknown, possibly W. Orme. (Cat. no. 23)

PLATE XVIII

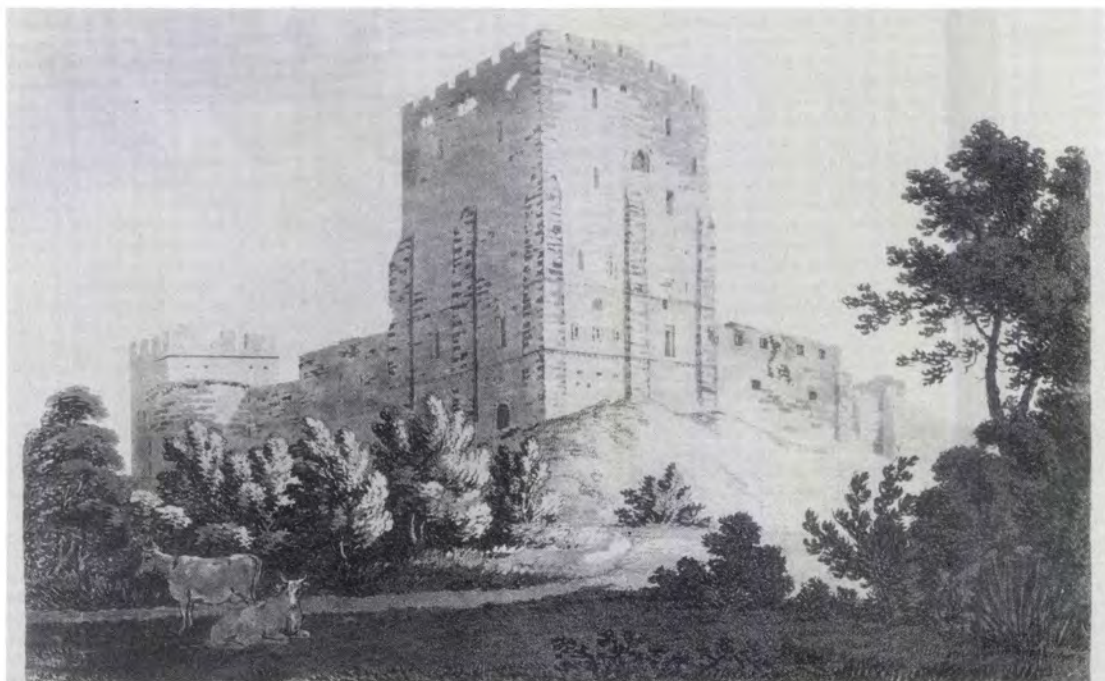


a. Entrance to the inner bailey *c.* 1790 by E. Dayes. (Cat. no. 20)

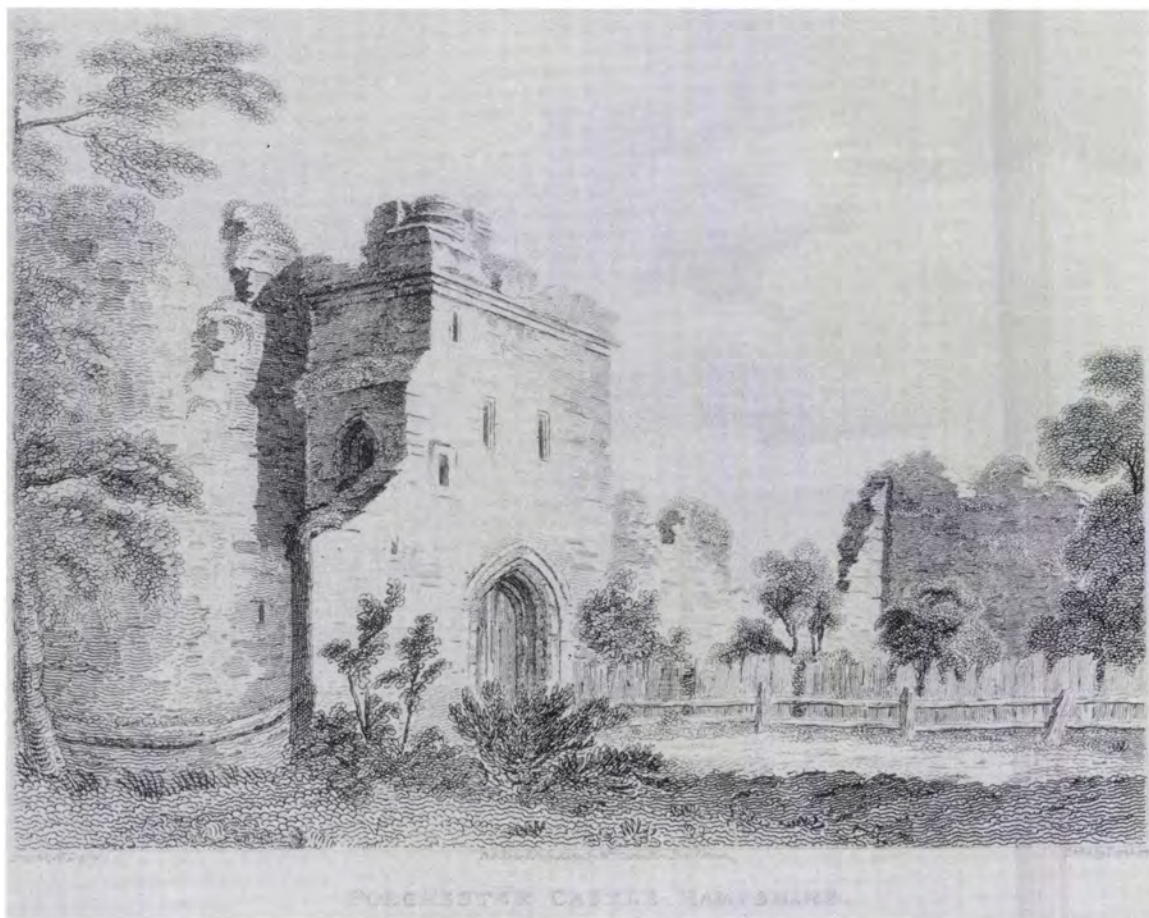


b. Entrance to the inner bailey engraved in 1811 after E. Dayes. (Cat. no. 20)

PLATE XIX

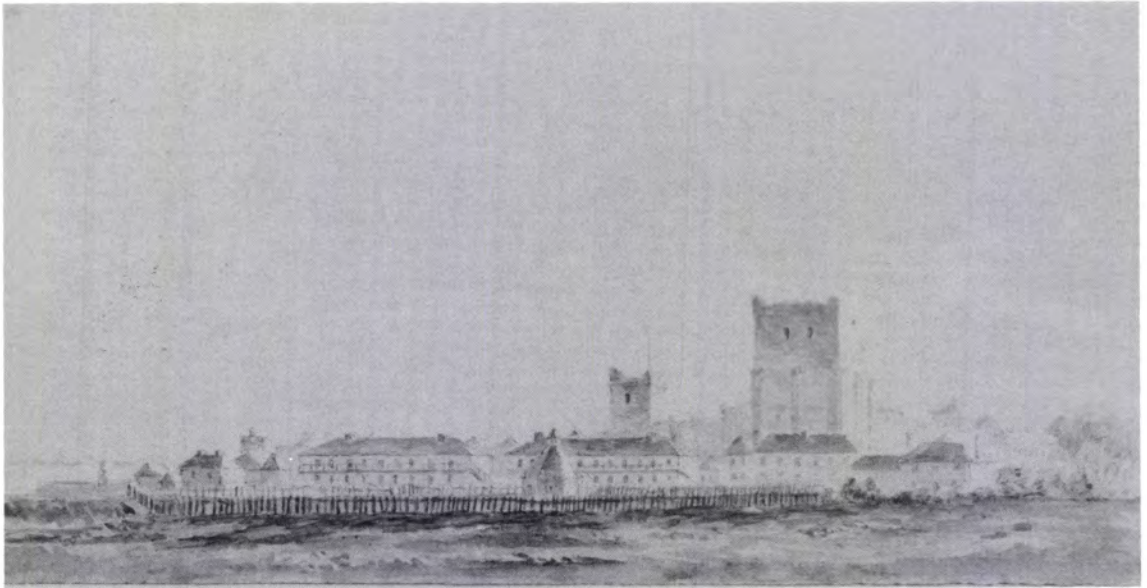


a. Portchester from the north engraved in 1797 after E. Dayes. (Cat. no. 21)

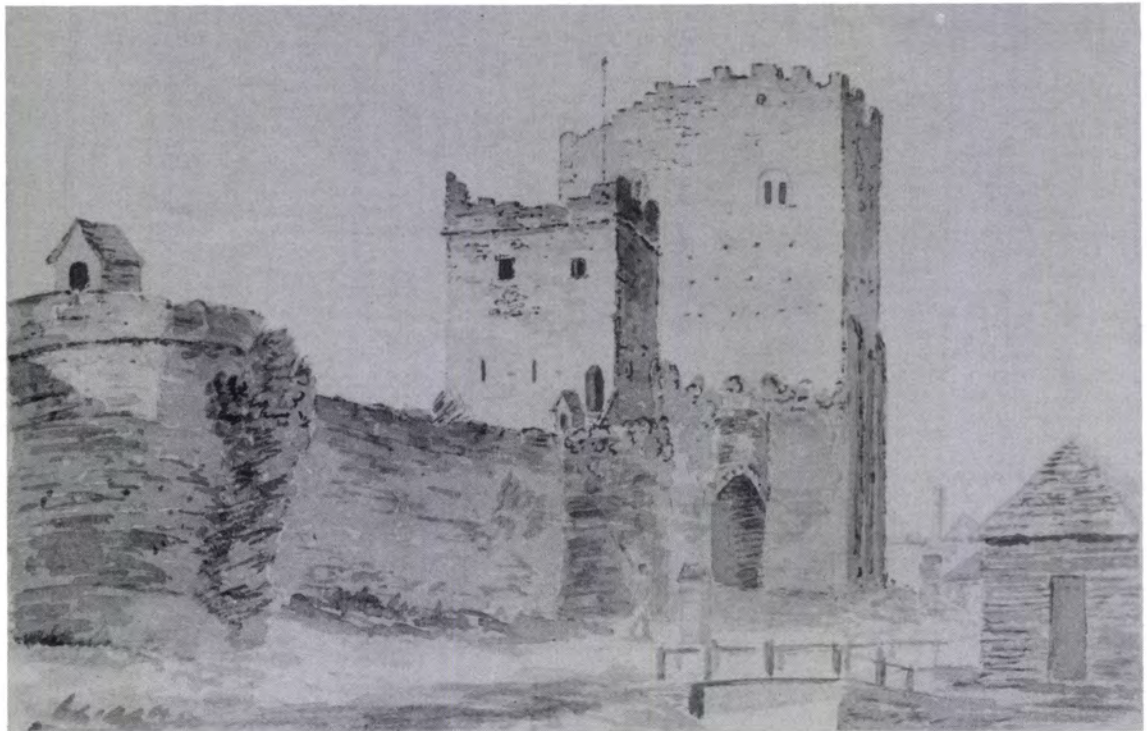


b. Portchester from the west engraved in 1811 after E. Dayes. (Cat. no. 22)

PLATE XX

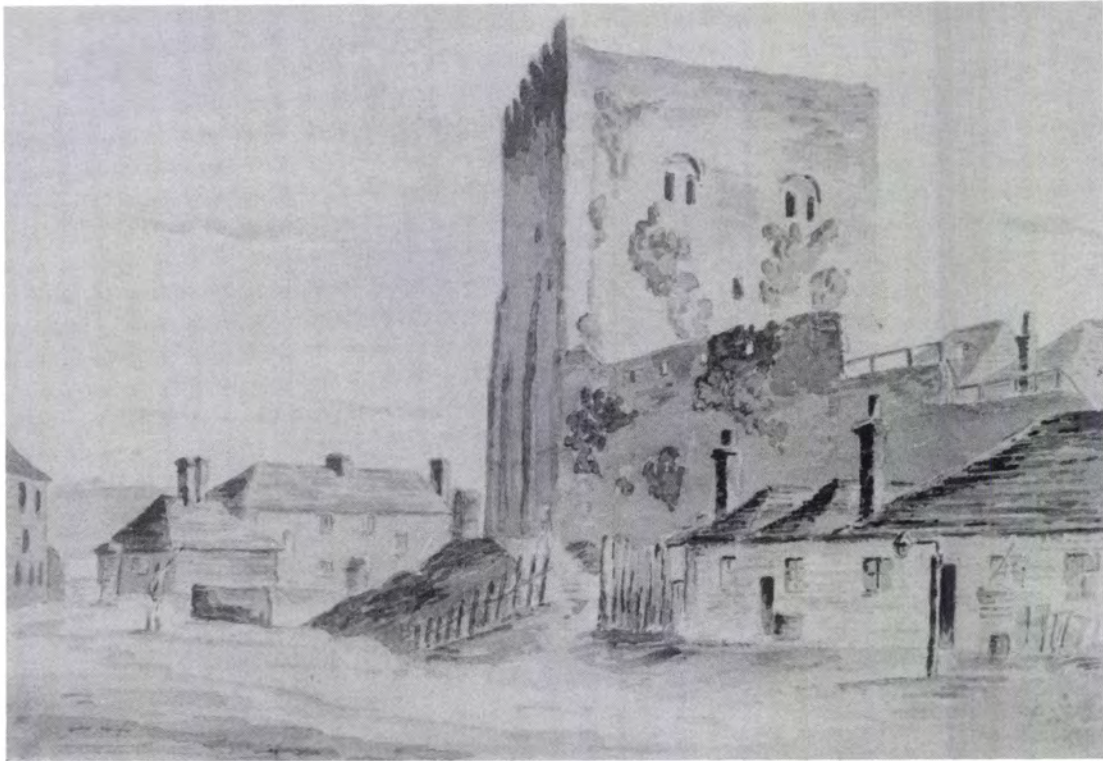


a. Portchester Castle from the east showing Barrack Field and the barrack buildings outside the east wall of the fort. Water-colour by Captain Durrant: September 1813. (Cat. no. 28)

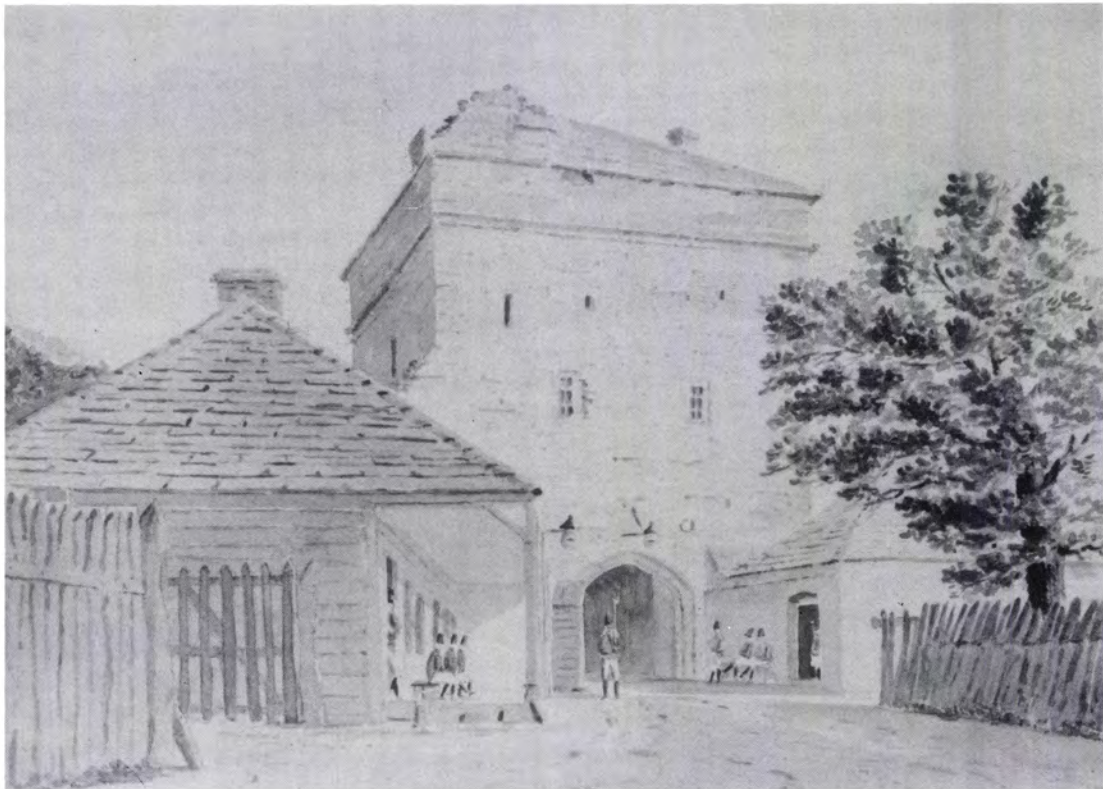


b. View of Assheton's Tower and the keep from outside the fort. Water-colour by Captain Durrant: October 1813. (Cat. no. 29)

PLATE XXI

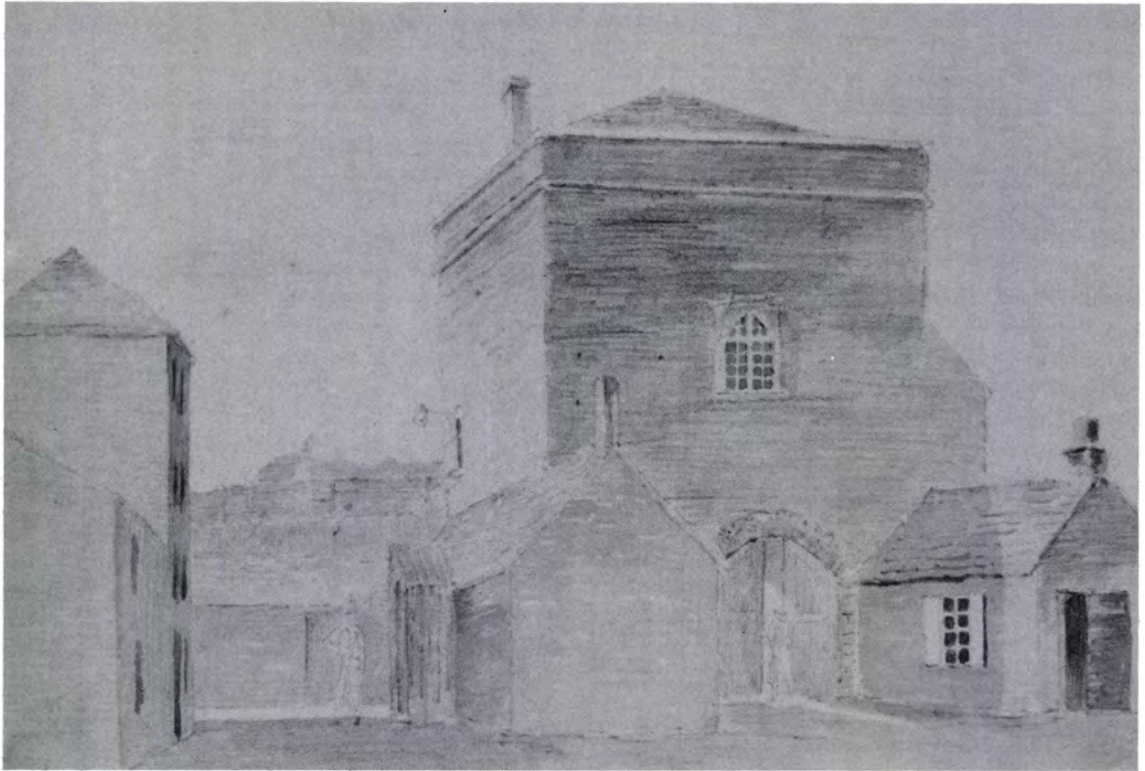


a. View from outside the north wall of the fort looking towards the keep. Water-colour by Captain Durrant: November 1813. (Cat. no. 30)

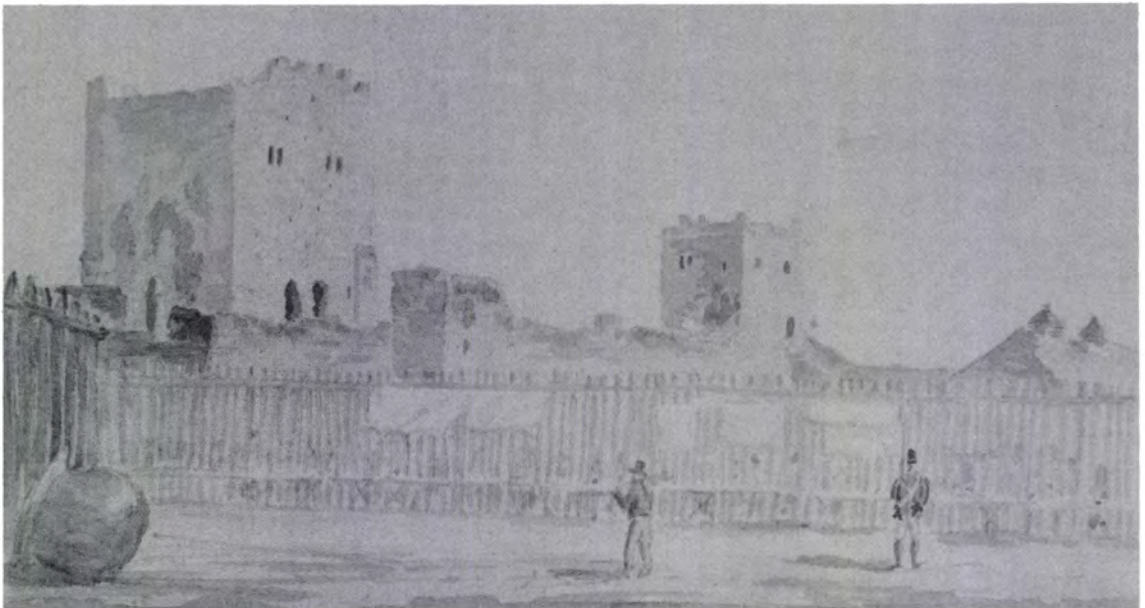


b. The Land gate from outside. Water-colour by Captain Durrant: October 1813. (Cat. no. 31)

PLATE XXII

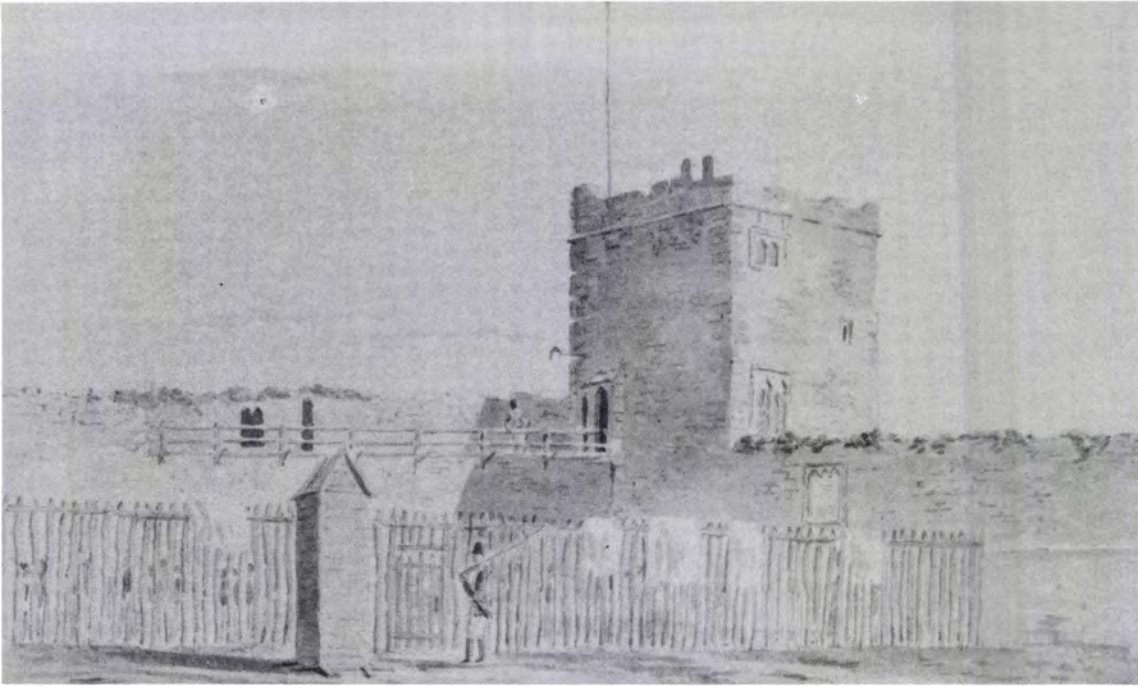


a. The Land gate from inside. Water-colour by Captain Durrant: November 1813. (Cat. no. 32)

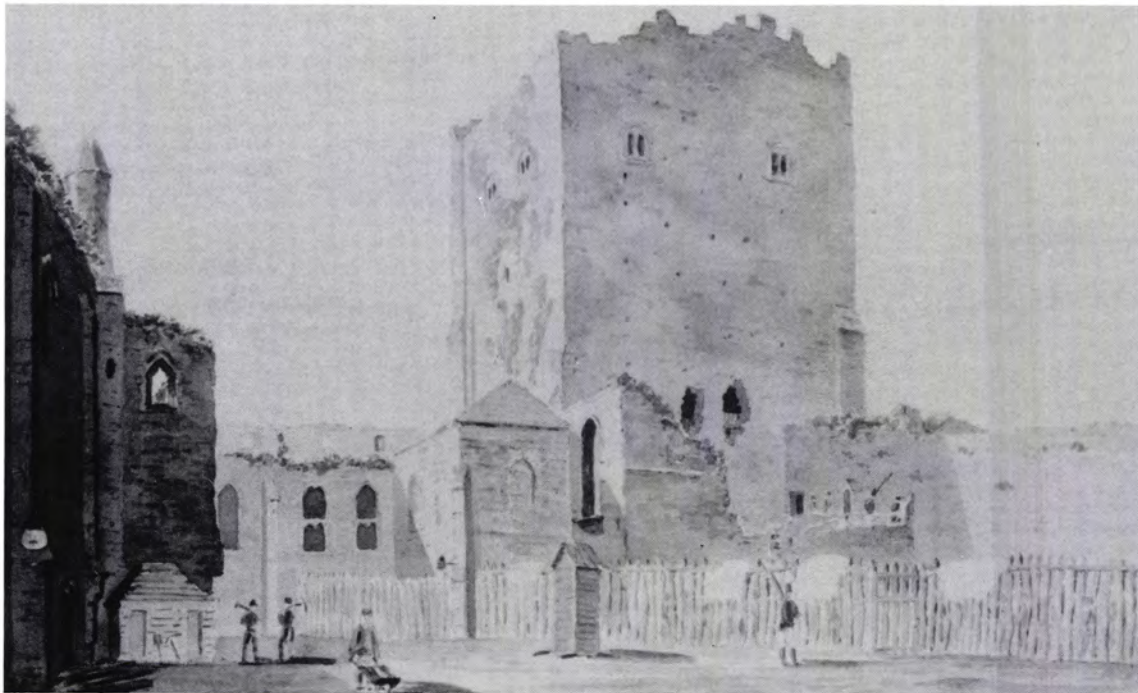


b. The 'prison market' within the outer bailey. Water-colour by Captain Durrant: October 1813. (Cat. no. 33)

PLATE XXIII

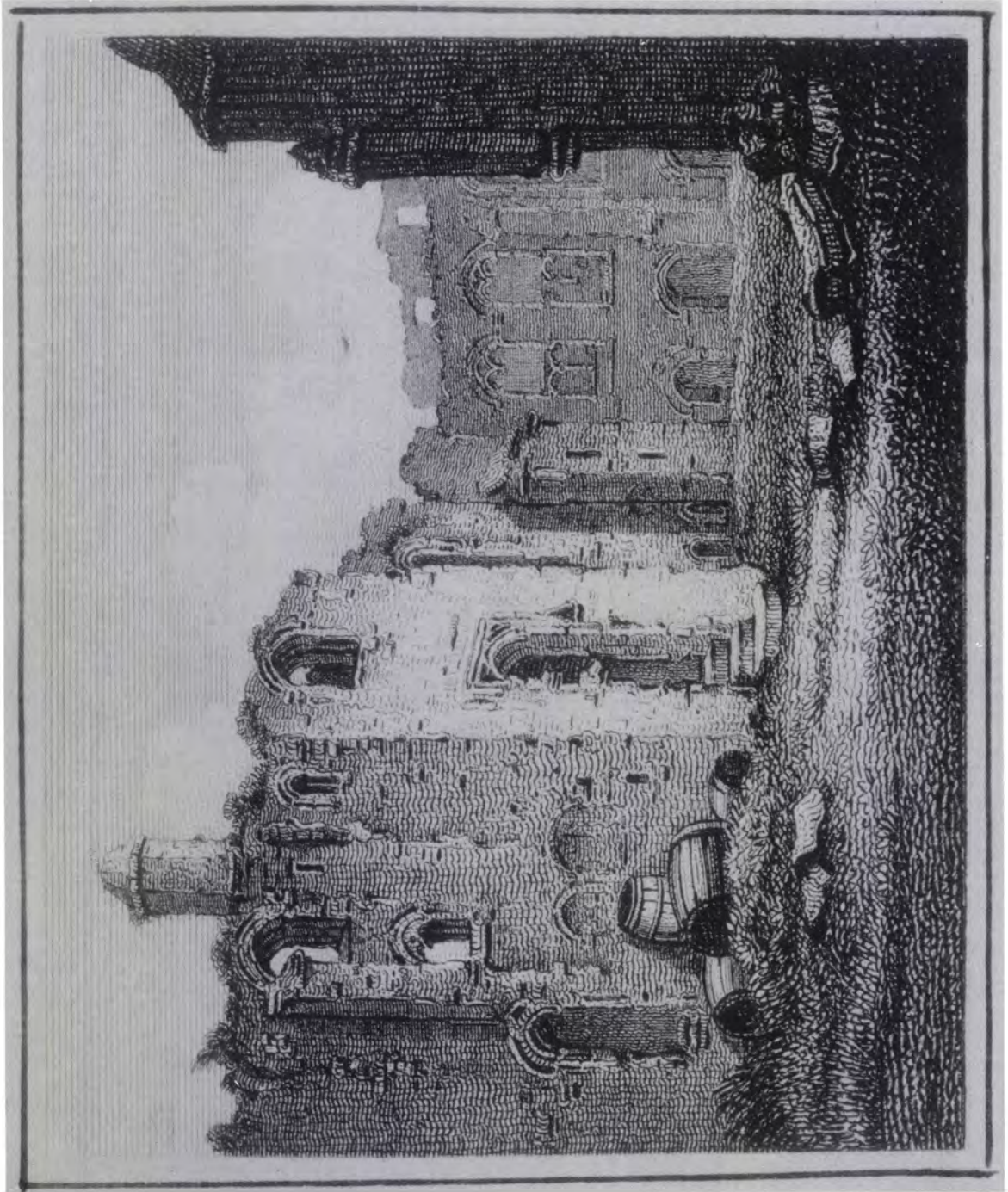


a. Inside the inner bailey looking towards Assheton's Tower. Water-colour by Captain Durrant: 1813.
(Cat. no. 34)



b. Inside the inner bailey looking towards the keep. Water-colour by Captain Durrant: October 1813.
(Cat. no. 36)

PLATE XXIV



Inner bailey engraved in 1817: artist unknown. (Cat. no. 38)

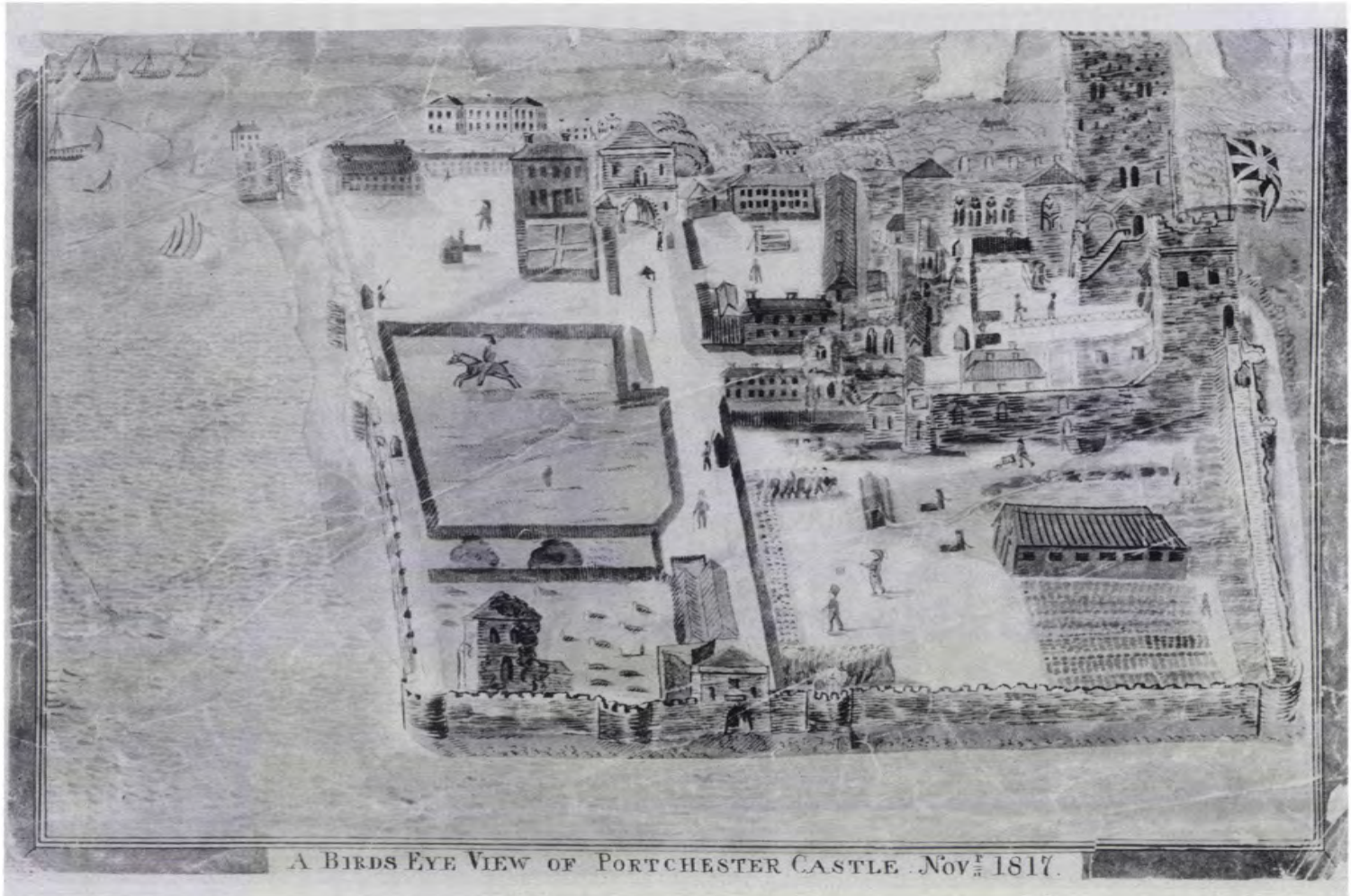


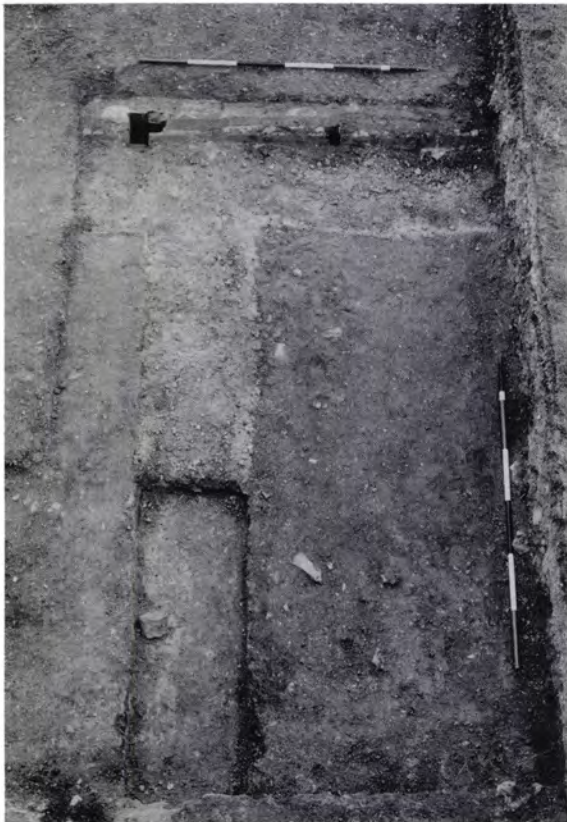
PLATE XXV

Bird's eye view of Portchester painted in November 1817. The artist is unknown. (Cat. no. 39)

PLATE XXVI



a. Brick-built cesspit, P9, built against the west wall of the fort.

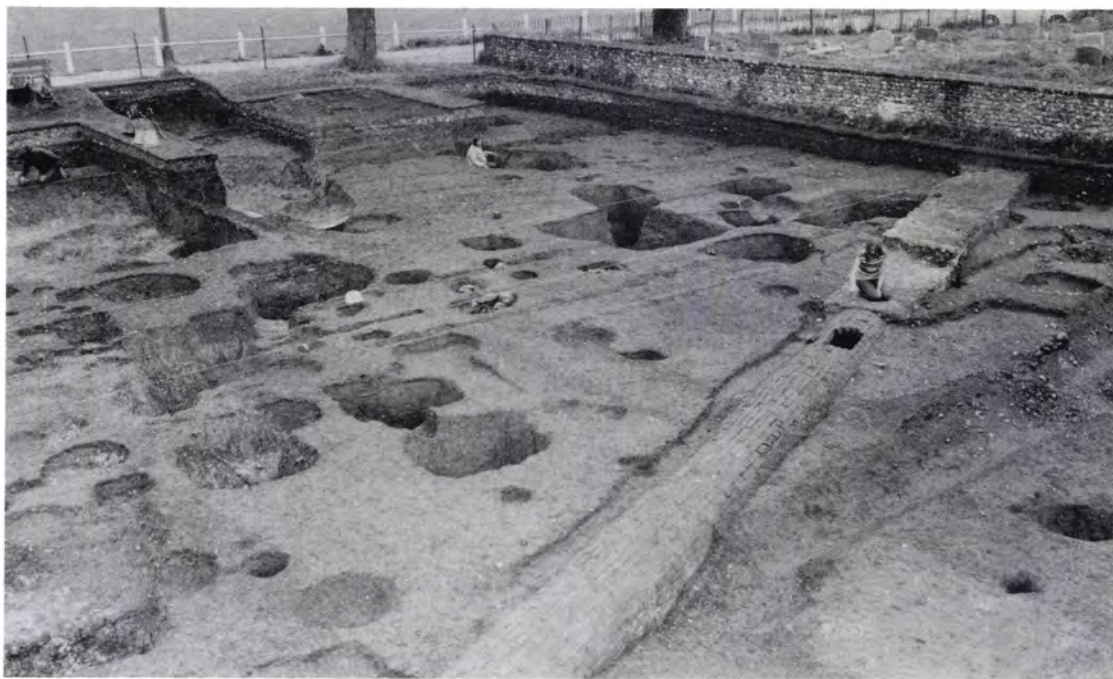


b. Robber-trench for the walls of building 2 built against the west wall of the fort with the drain F83 beyond.

PLATE XXVII

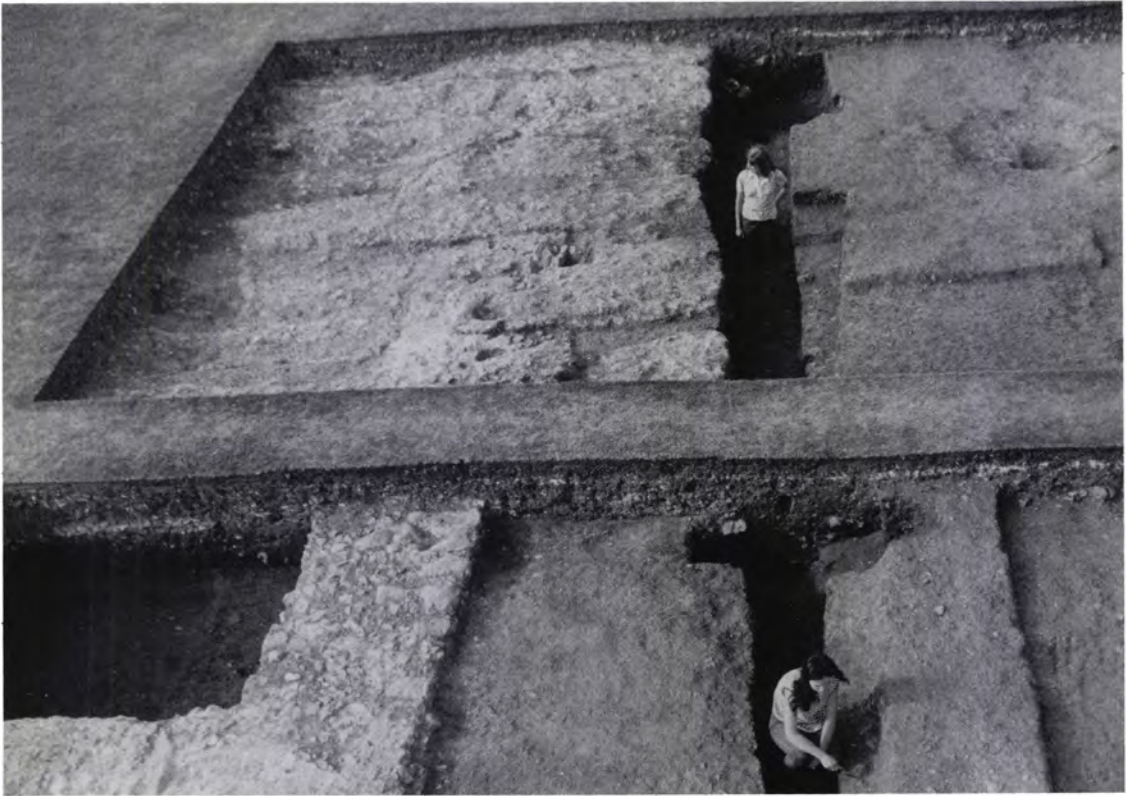


a. The main sewer F3 crossing the footings of the sixteenth-century store house and cutting through the brick cesspit F7.

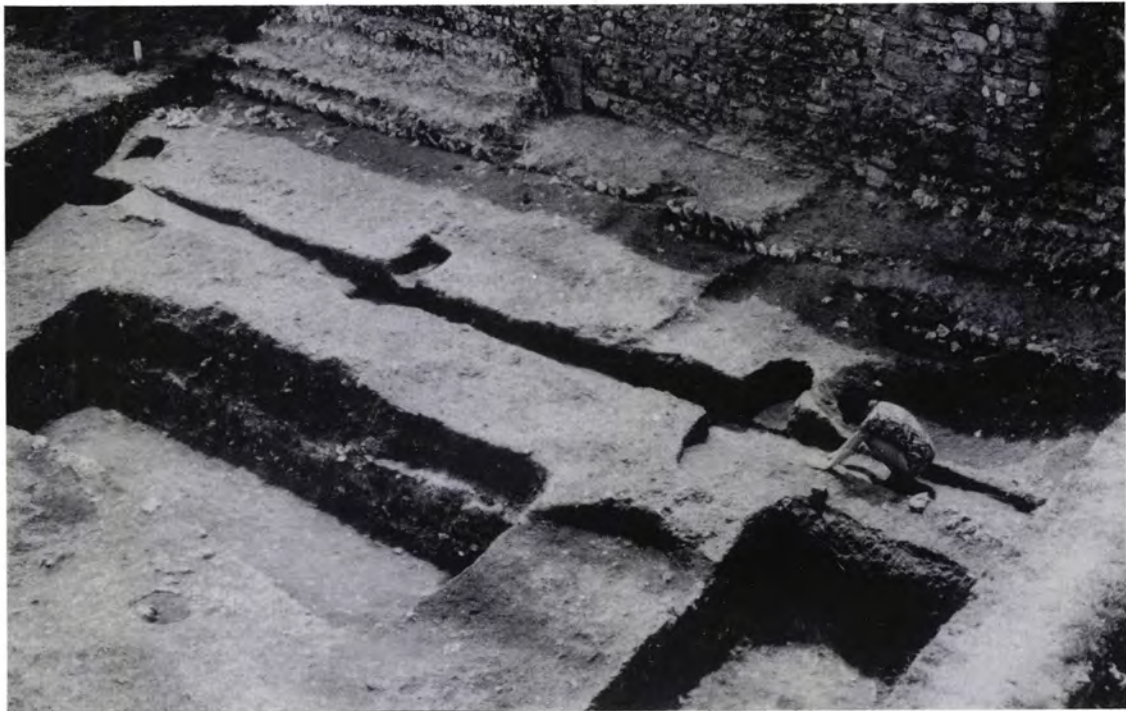


b. The main sewer, F3, crossing the airing yard.

PLATE XXVIII

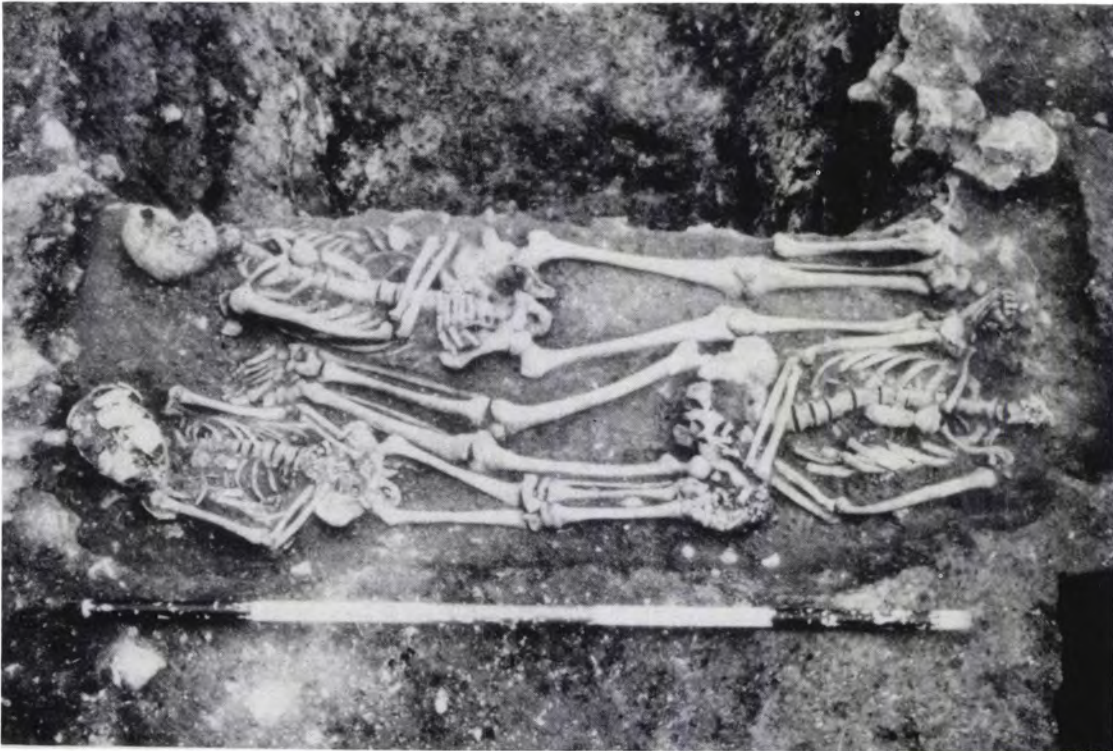


a. The fence slot, F2, with the figures standing in it. Top right the cultivation trenches can be seen.



b. The fence slot, with strengthening supports at intervals, running parallel to the fort wall. Pits 212 and 213 lie in the foreground.

PLATE XXIX

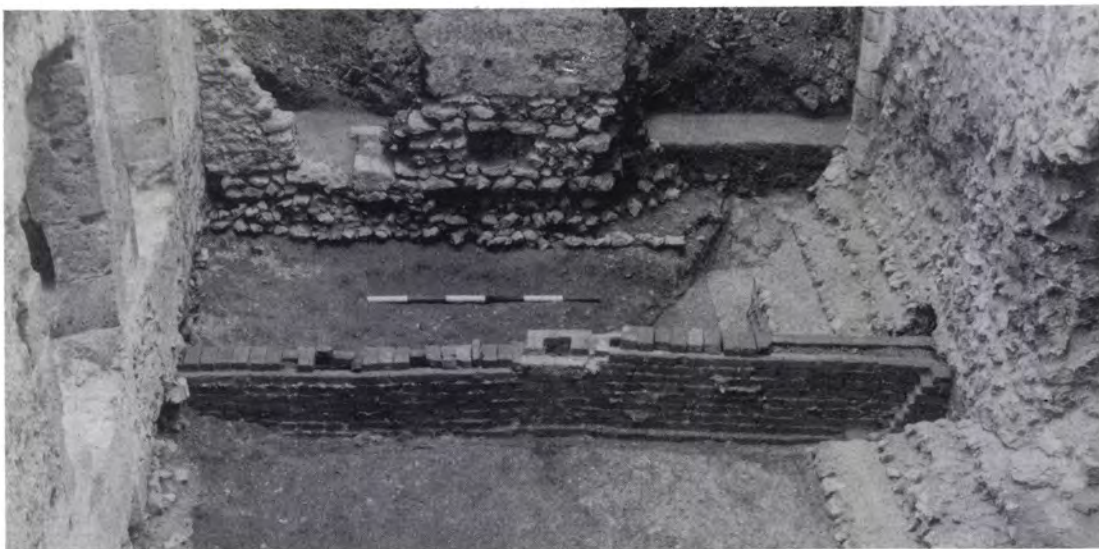


a. Three of the bodies in grave F12. Both sides of the grave were cut away by later pits.

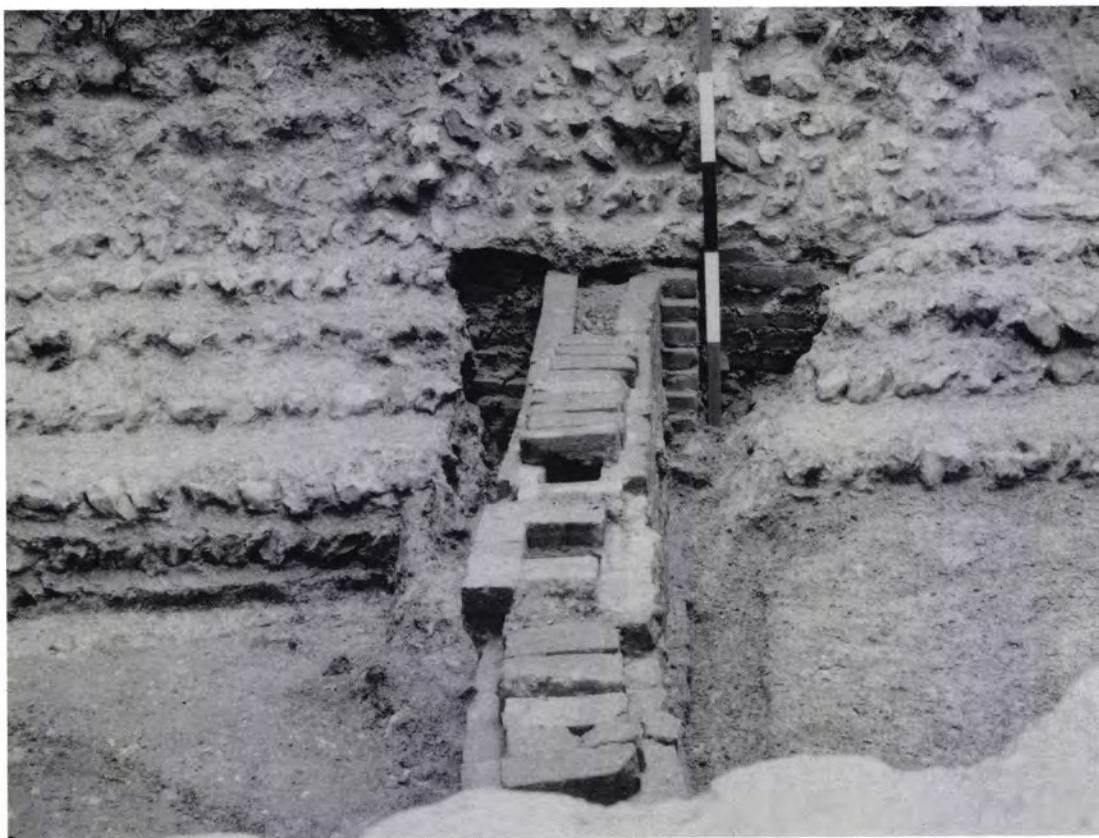


b. One of the bodies in grave F12 with the cross and beads of a rosary across his chest.

PLATE XXX



a. Brick culvert, F101, running across the west range. All medieval and post medieval levels have been removed.



b. The brick culvert, F101, where it cuts through the fort wall.



a. Brick culvert, F101, running across the inner bailey courtyard and crossing the filling of pit 302, which is only partly excavated.



b. Brick culvert, F101, running across the inner bailey courtyard.

PLATE XXXII



a. The brick culvert, F118, in the east range replacing an earlier culvert.



b. Brick culvert, F118, in the east wing, with a drain leading into it.

PLATE XXXIII



Post medieval structure built within the medieval kitchen. Top, room with a fireplace; bottom, cesspit.

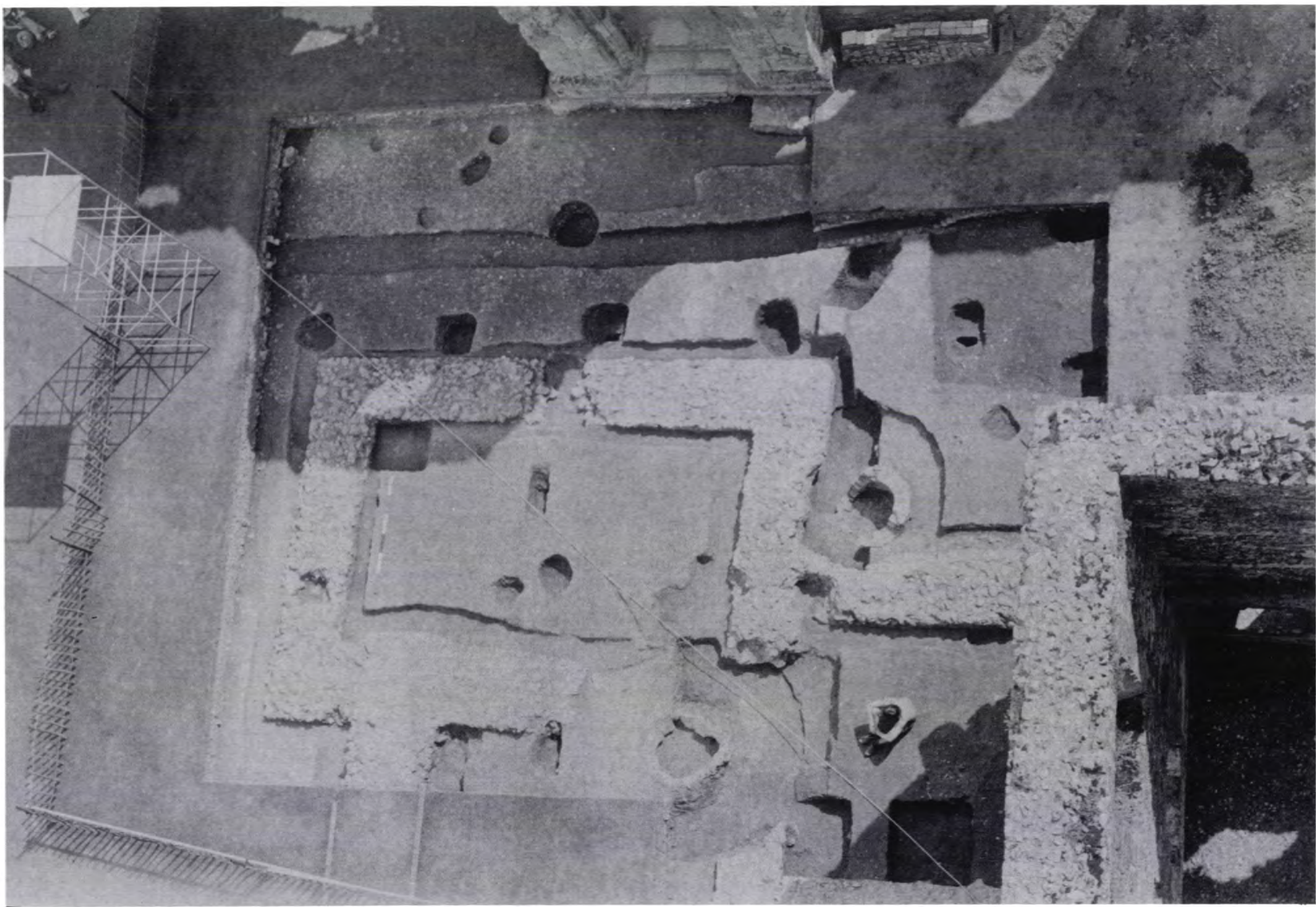


PLATE XXXIV

Part of the inner bailey excavation viewed from the keep showing the well (P252), the cistern (P251), the culvert, F103 (excavated) and post-holes of the fences.



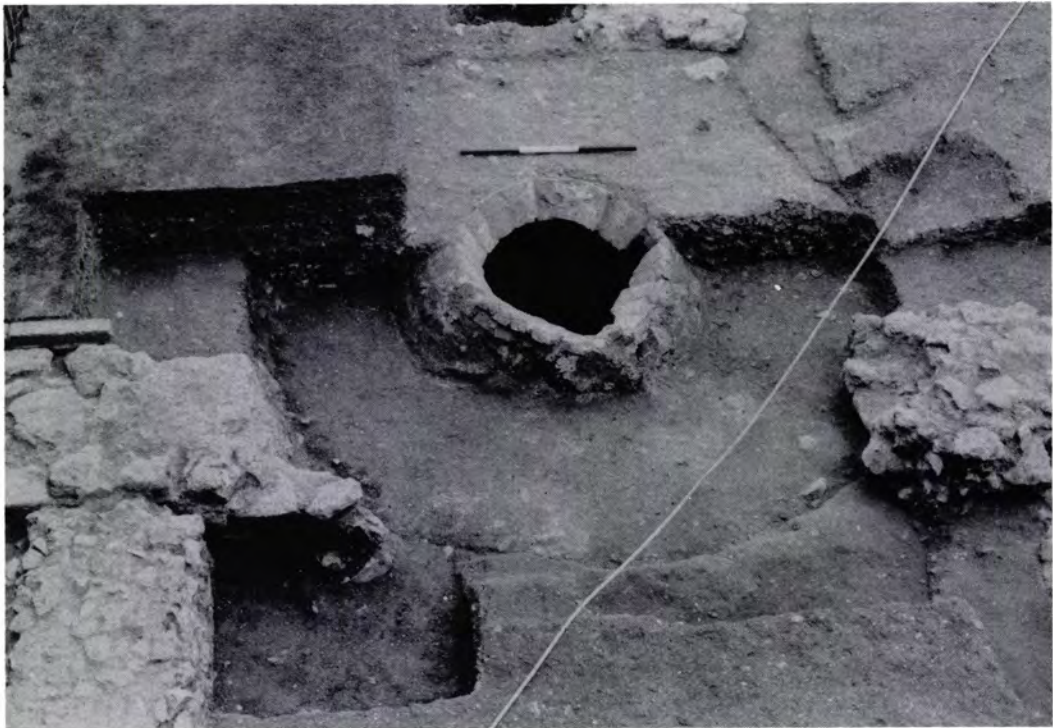
PLATE XXXV

Part of the inner bailey excavation showing the well (P252) and the cistern (P251).

PLATE XXXVI



a. Well (P252) in its well pit.



b. Cistern (P251) set within a large pit.

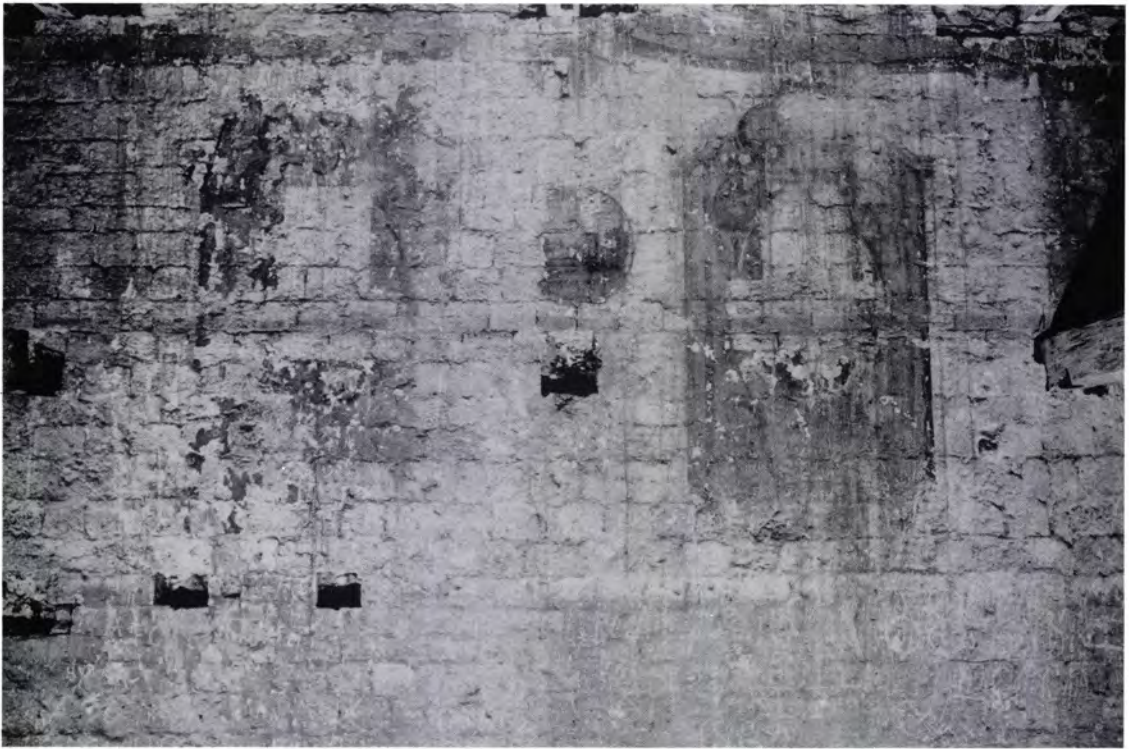


a. The east side of the keep *c.* 1930 showing the stairs against the outer wall of the forebuilding which were removed as part of the renovations.

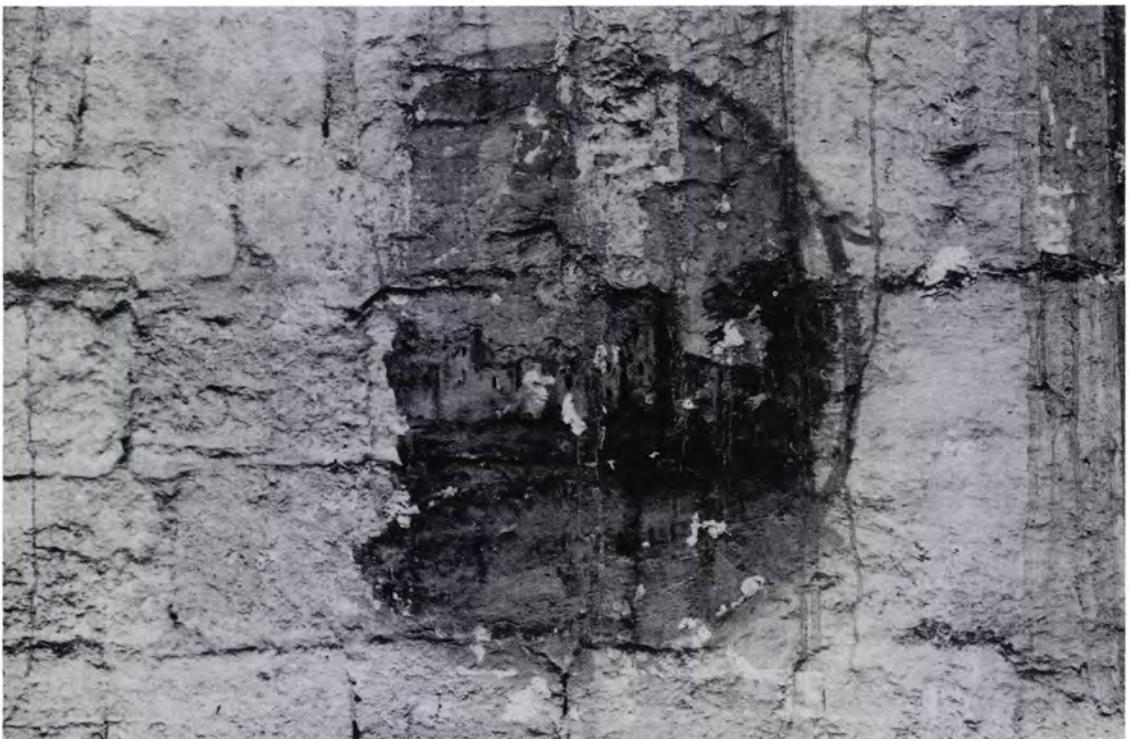


b. South wall of the keep from within the west range showing a roof line (the lower roof line) of post medieval date.

PLATE XXXVIII

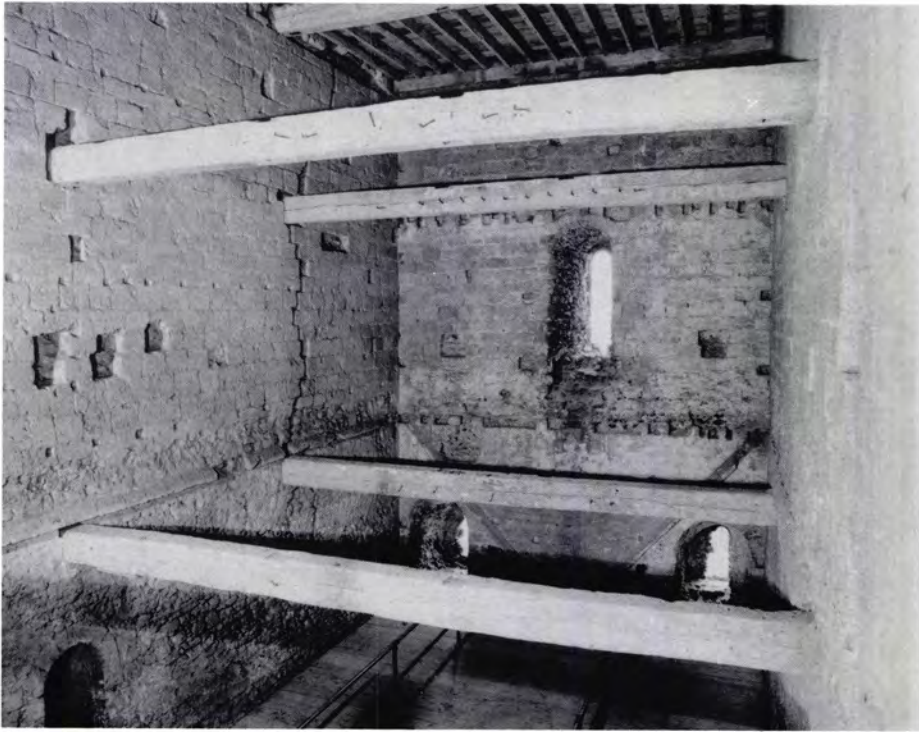


a. Mural paintings on the internal cross wall of the keep. The floor joists are later and represent the refitting of the keep to accommodate prisoners in 1794.

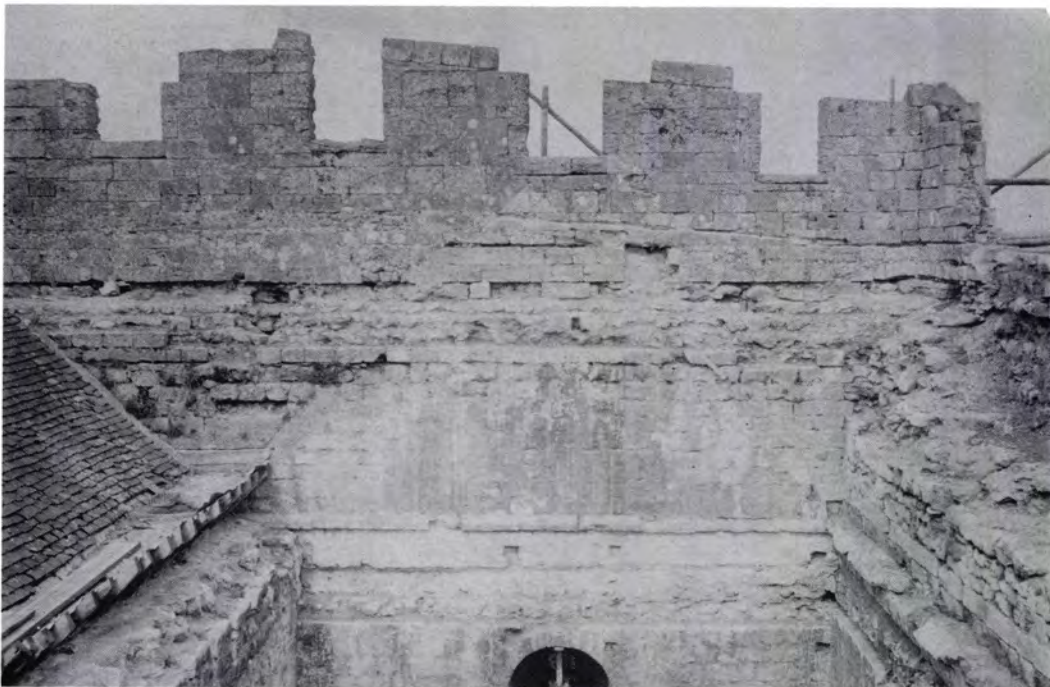


b. Central painting in the above composition. It appears to be a representation of the inner bailey.

PLATE XXXIX



a. Floor joists within the keep, belonging to the reflooring of 1794. Some still retain the original hammock hooks.

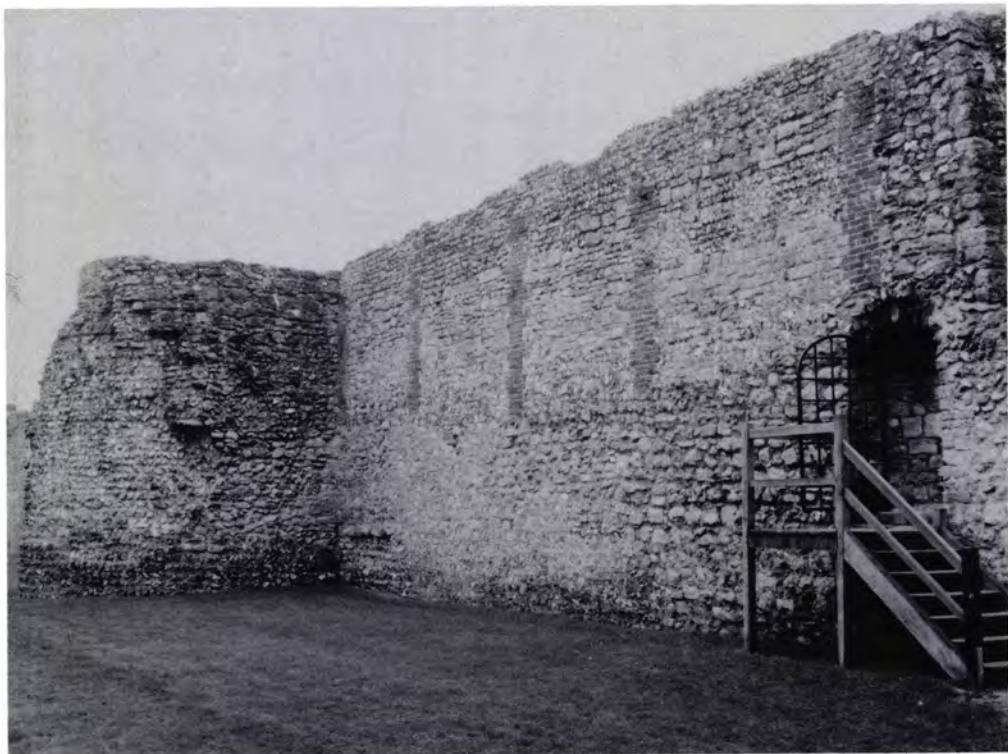


b. The eighteenth-century double pitched roof of the keep in the process of removal *c.* 1930.

PLATE XL

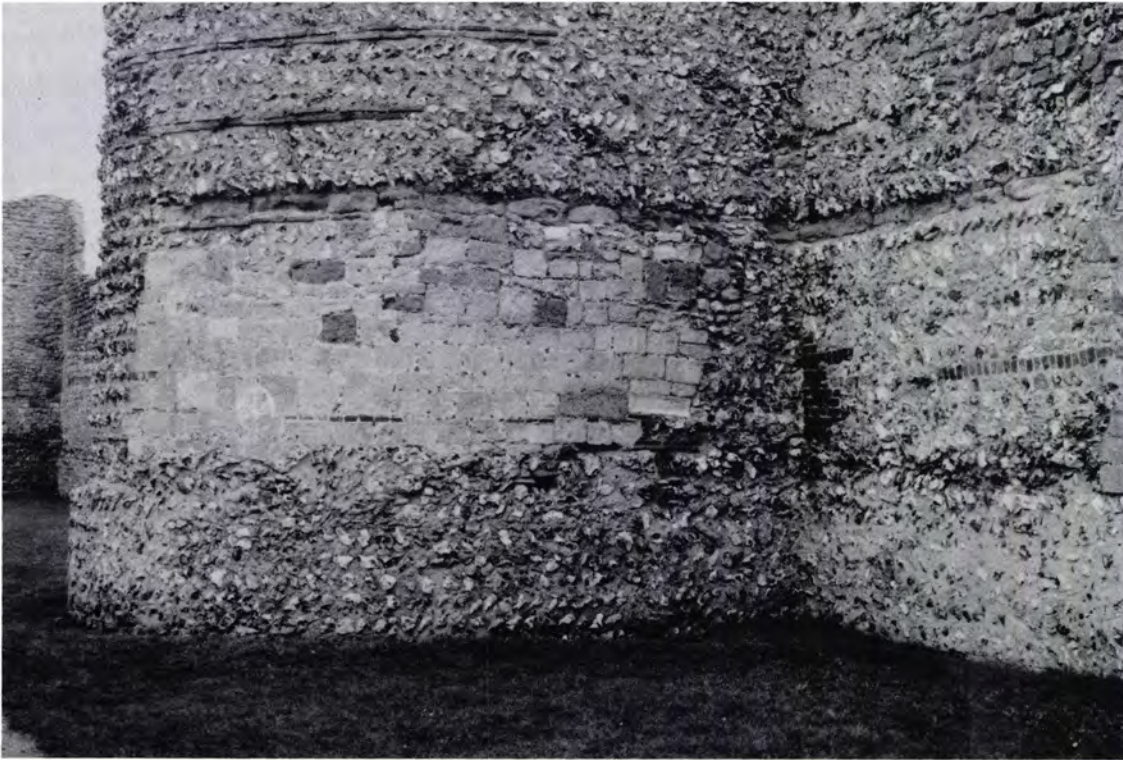


a. Land gate photographed *c.* 1960 before the Napoleonic guardhouse, left, was demolished.

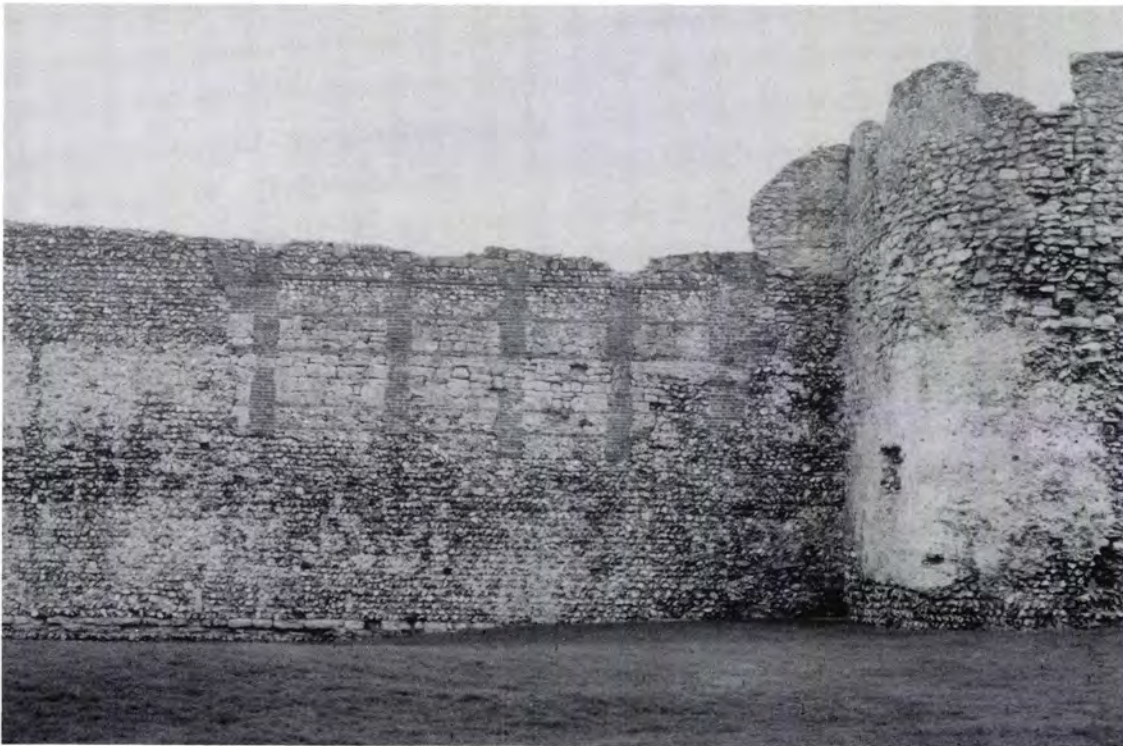


b. North wall of the fort, with the postern gate to the right, showing brick and stone refacing.

PLATE XLI

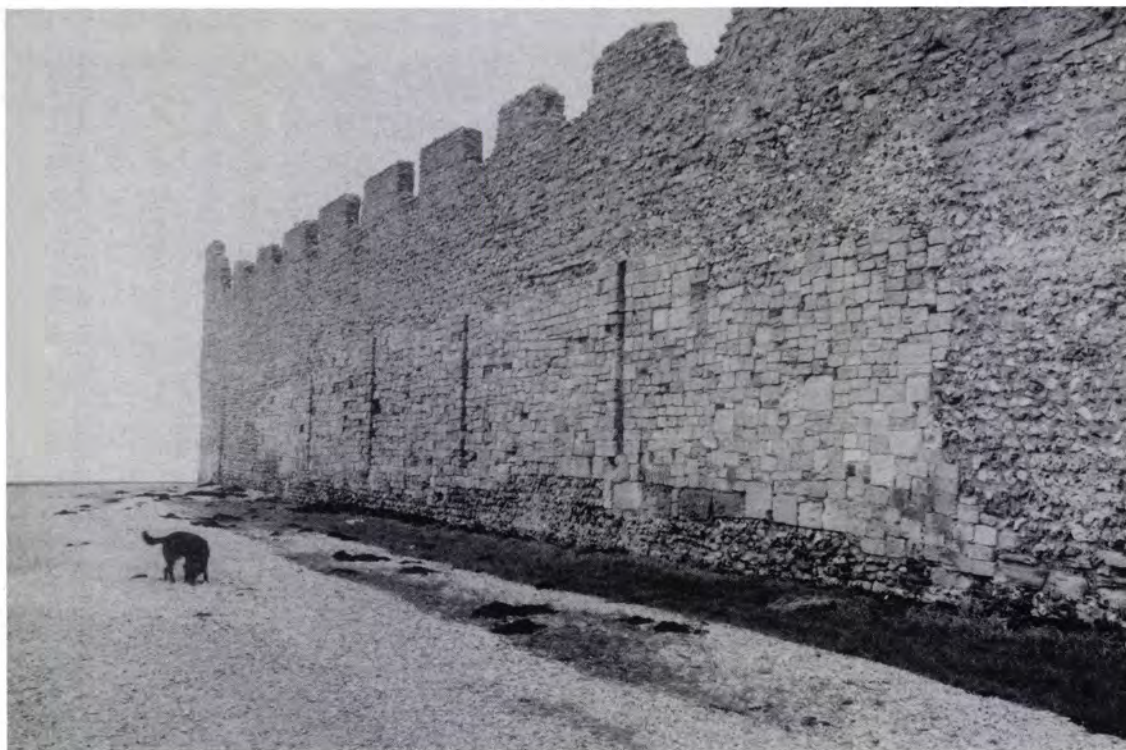


a. East curtain wall showing post medieval patching.



b. West curtain wall north of the Land gate showing post medieval patching.

PLATE XLII

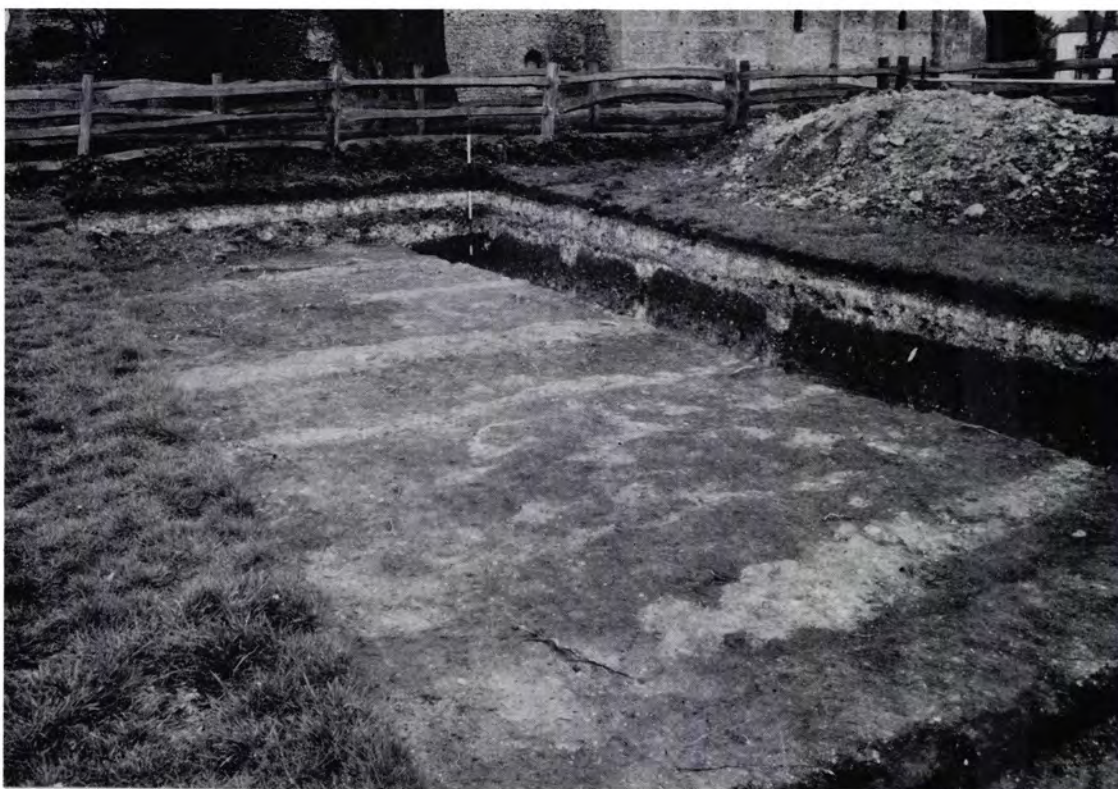


a. Portion of the now lost south-east corner bastion with post medieval patching.



b. Bastion on the south curtain wall showing different styles of post medieval patching with Roman work above.

PLATE XLIII



a. The chalk make-up of the parade ground north of the fort.



b. The powder house of the late eighteenth century built in isolation outside the fort to the north.

PLATE XLIV



a.



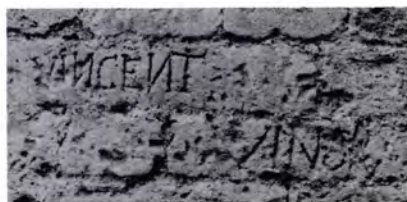
b.



c.



d.



e.

Graffiti carved on the inner face of the south-west corner bastion of the inner bailey.



PLATE XLV

Graffiti carved on the inner face of the south-western bastion of the inner bailey.



Graffiti carved on the wall of the spiral staircase in the keep close to the top.

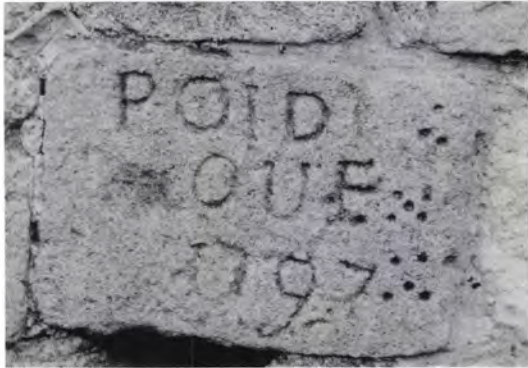
PLATE XLVII



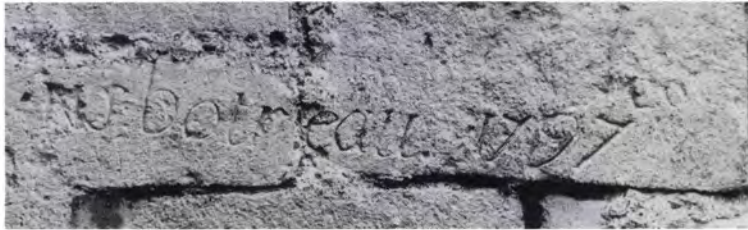
a.



b.



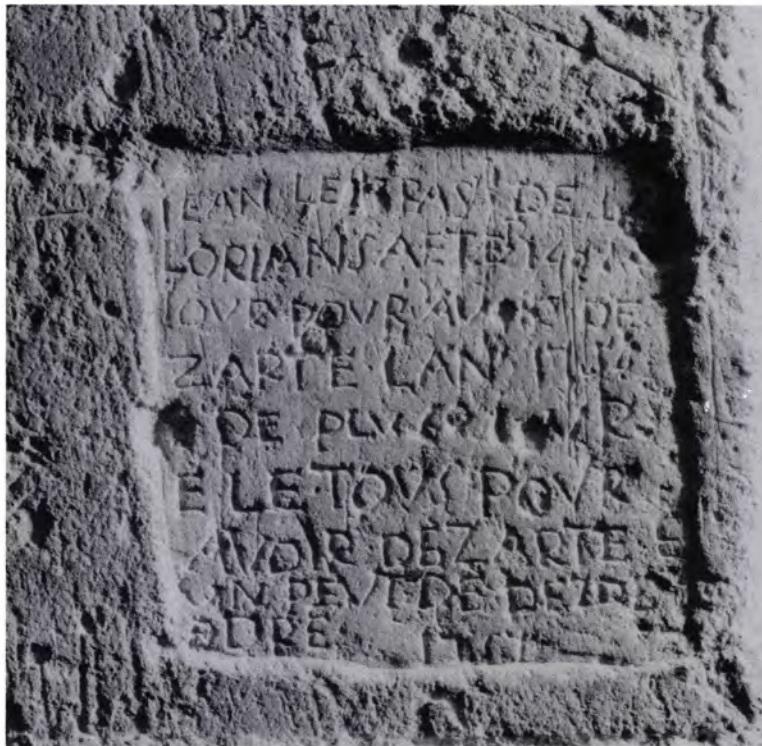
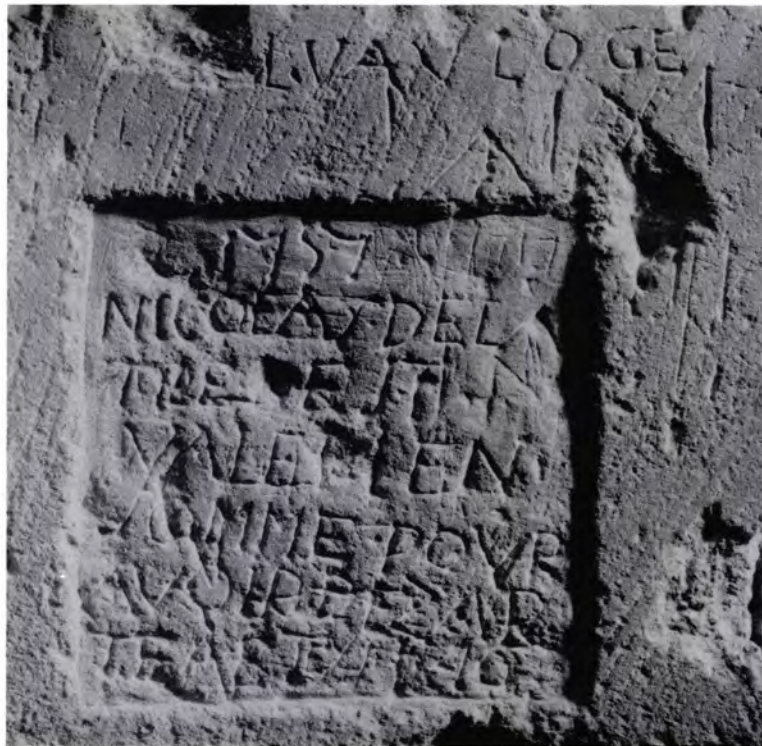
c.



d.

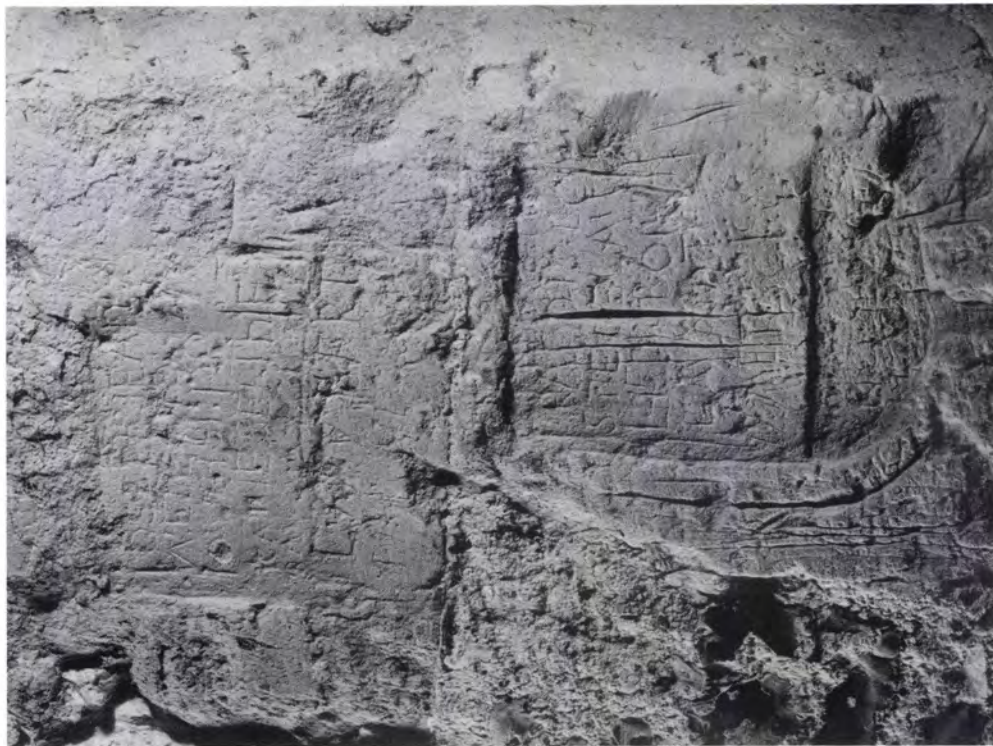
Graffiti carved on the wall of the spiral staircase in the keep, at the top, and immediately outside where the stairs open onto the parapet walk.

PLATE XLVIII



Graffiti carved on the window embrasures in the upper floor of the Land gate.

PLATE XLIX



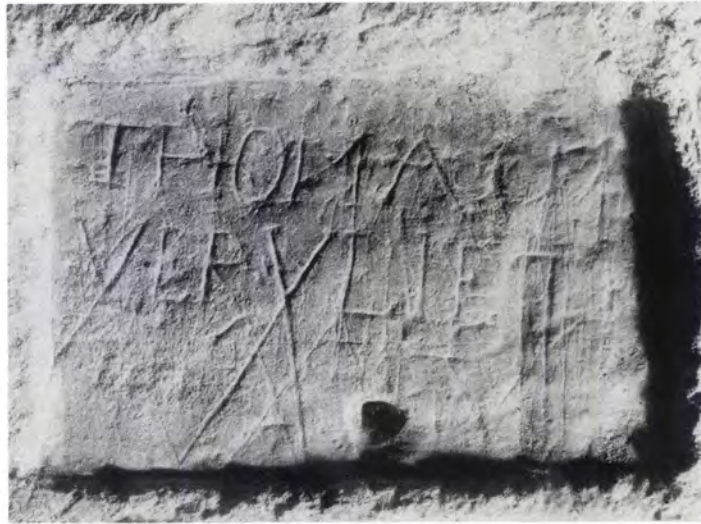
Graffiti carved on the window embrasures in the upper floor of the Land gate.



PLATE L

Graffiti carved on the window embrasures in the upper floor of the Land gate.

PLATE LI



Graffiti carved in the upper floor of the Land gate.

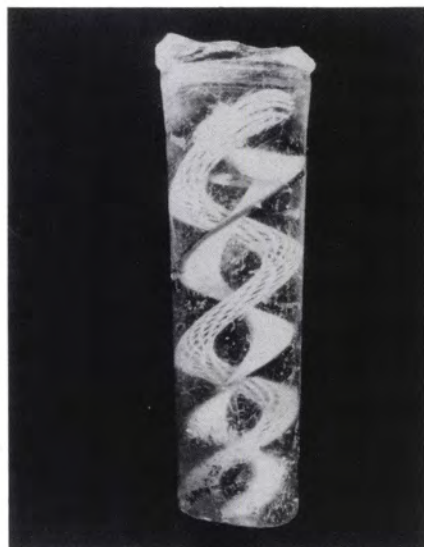
PLATE LII



a.



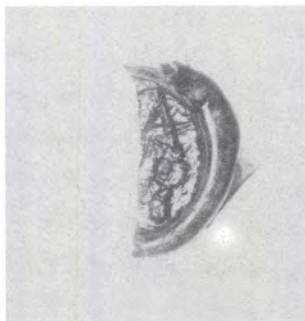
b.



c.



d.



e.

Glass wine-glass stems, a-c, and wine bottle stamps, d and e. Scale 1:1.

PLATE LIII



PLATE LIV



22



23



24



25



26



27



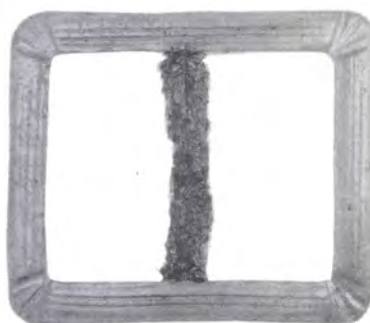
28



29



30



31



32



33



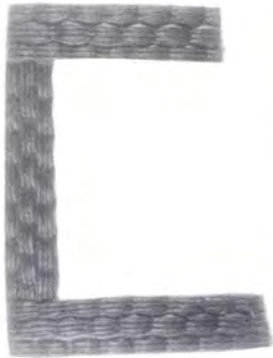
34

Buckles. Scale 1:1.

PLATE LV



35



36



37



38



39



40



41



42



43



44



45



46



47



48



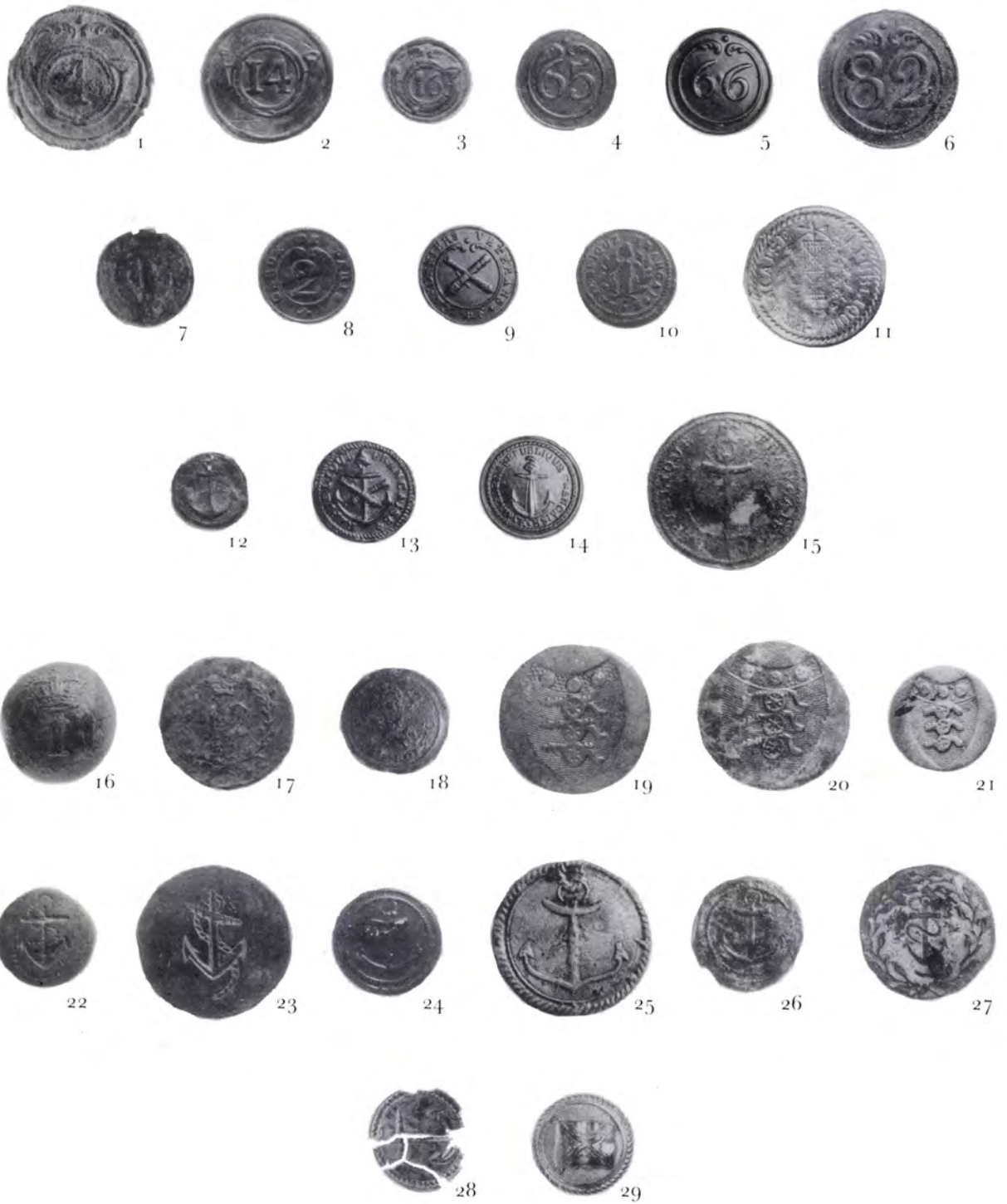
49



50

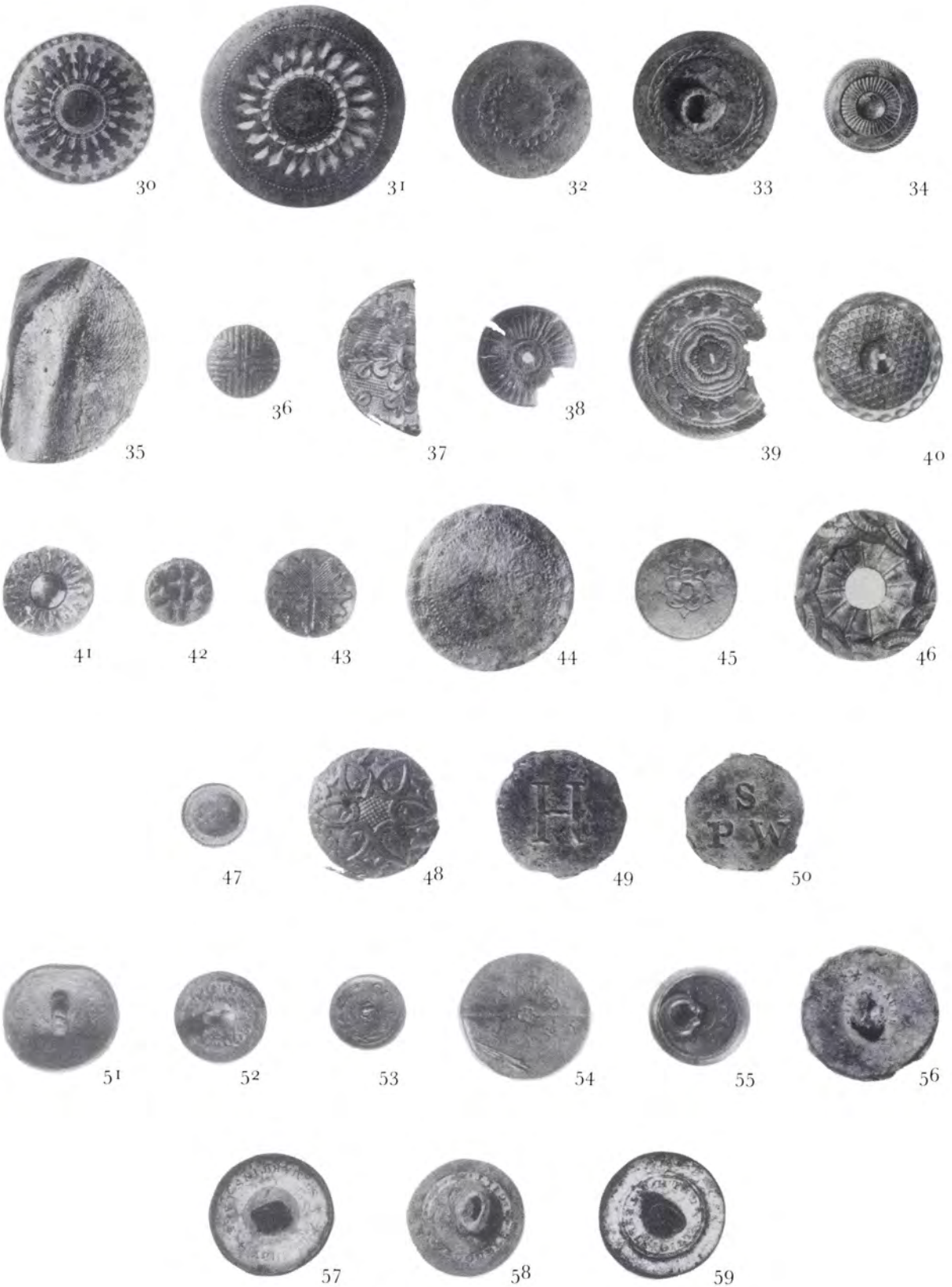
Buckles. Scale 1:1.

PLATE LVI



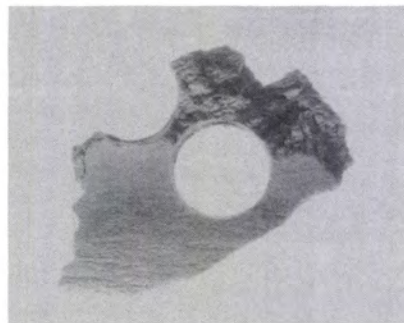
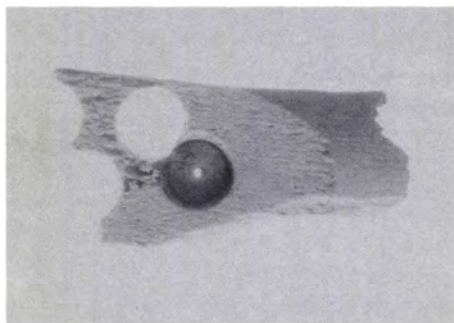
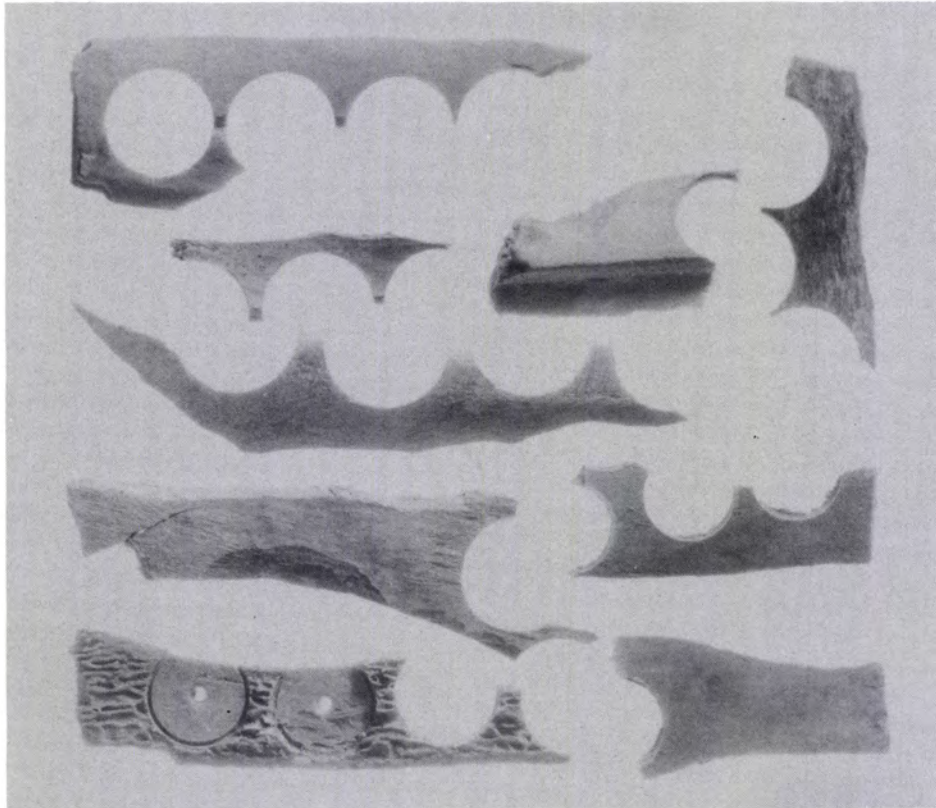
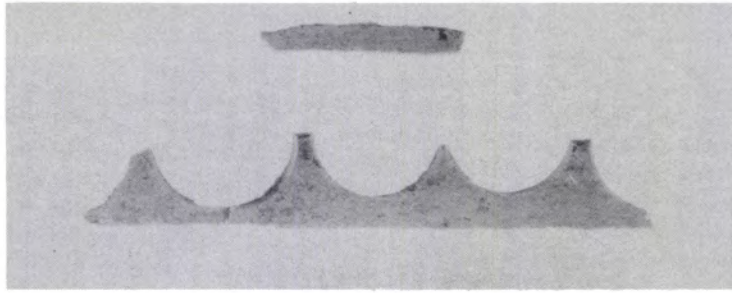
Buttons. Scale 1:1.

PLATE LVII



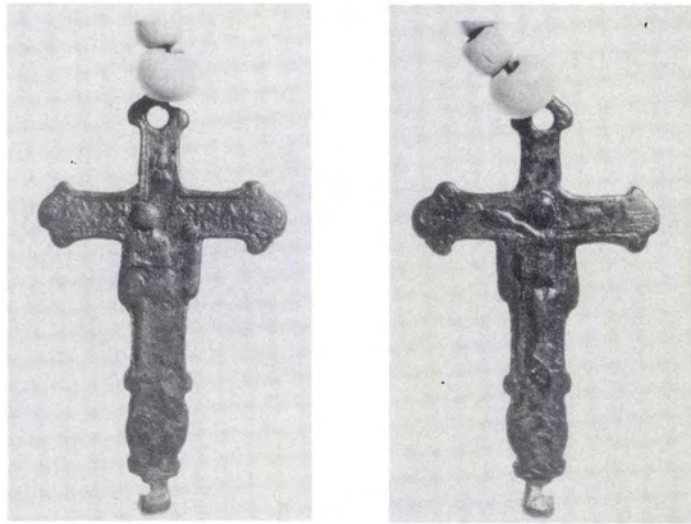
Buttons. Scale 1:1.

PLATE LVIII



Bone waste from button manufacture. Scale 1:1.

PLATE LIX



a.



b.

Bronze crucifixes from rosaries. Scale 1:1.