

u The course of the London to Brighton Roman road south of Burgess Hill

by Glen Shields

A new course for the London to Brighton Roman road in the Hassocks area and through the Clayton Gap is proposed and described. The existence of an unsuspected Roman road passing northward from the Hassocks area towards the ancient iron-working sites at Crawley is suggested, which has implications for a possible Iron Age road in the region, and for the Roman settlement at Ham Farm in Hassocks. The Clayton Gap findings clarify the changes that were made to the London to Brighton stage-coach road there between 1770 and 1818. Some discussion is given of the possible further course of the Roman road from the Clayton Gap to the coast.

INTRODUCTION

The discovery in 1994 of a section of Roman road on the new golf course at Hassocks¹ raised the question of how it fitted in with the other lengths of Roman road that had been recorded for the area. In examining the reports of the other roads it became apparent that the find could be a part of the main route through the region, the London to Brighton road, and that the presently accepted view of the path of that road here might need to be modified. A closer study of the evidence supported this idea. From the new line indicated for the London to Brighton road it appeared that its passage through the Clayton Gap to the south of Hassocks might also need modification. Again investigation supported the suggestion. The case for a revised path for the London to Brighton road in the Hassocks and Clayton Gap area is therefore set out here, and some implications and possibilities suggested by the proposed true route are discussed. In addition, the conjectured further course of the road from the Clayton Gap to the coast near Brighton is also briefly reconsidered.

THE LONDON TO BRIGHTON ROAD

The London to Brighton Roman road was discovered in 1779, on St John's Common in Burgess Hill. It was studied over the next two years by a local schoolmaster, Stephen Vine, who, from surviving remains, was able to trace it a good way northwards towards London.² Southward he could follow it for

only a short distance — at least to the present day Nightingale Lane/Potters Lane area of Burgess Hill (TQ309183), from its existence on land of the Rev. James Morris of Clayton.³ Vine was certain, however, that the road continued to the main pass of the Clayton Gap on a line just east of the modern road (A273), and ran through that pass nearly on the turnpike road of 1770 and he noted that it headed towards the coast near the mouth of the River Adur (Fig. 1).

Over the years other lengths of Roman road were claimed to have been found south of Burgess Hill, and there was much speculation as to their connection with Vine's road and the possible further course to the coast.⁴ In 1928 Ivan Margary began his studies of Roman roads in Sussex, through which, almost single-handedly, he established the picture we have of them today. He attempted to retrace Vine's road by looking for physical evidence of it along the line stated by Vine, publishing his results in 1936.⁵ Basically he confirmed Vine's route, and extended it northwards towards Streatham in London; but southwards he thought that, rather than continuing directly to the Clayton Gap from Burgess Hill, the road made a slight turn westward at a point just south of Friar's Oak Hotel (TQ303162), and then turned back again to the Gap and the original line near Ham Farm (Fig. 2). This belief was based on his finding what he thought were stretches of Roman road in Little Copse at Friar's Oak and in Bonny's Wood near Clayton. He supposed that the deviation was made in order to reach a Roman cemetery and presumed settlement that had been

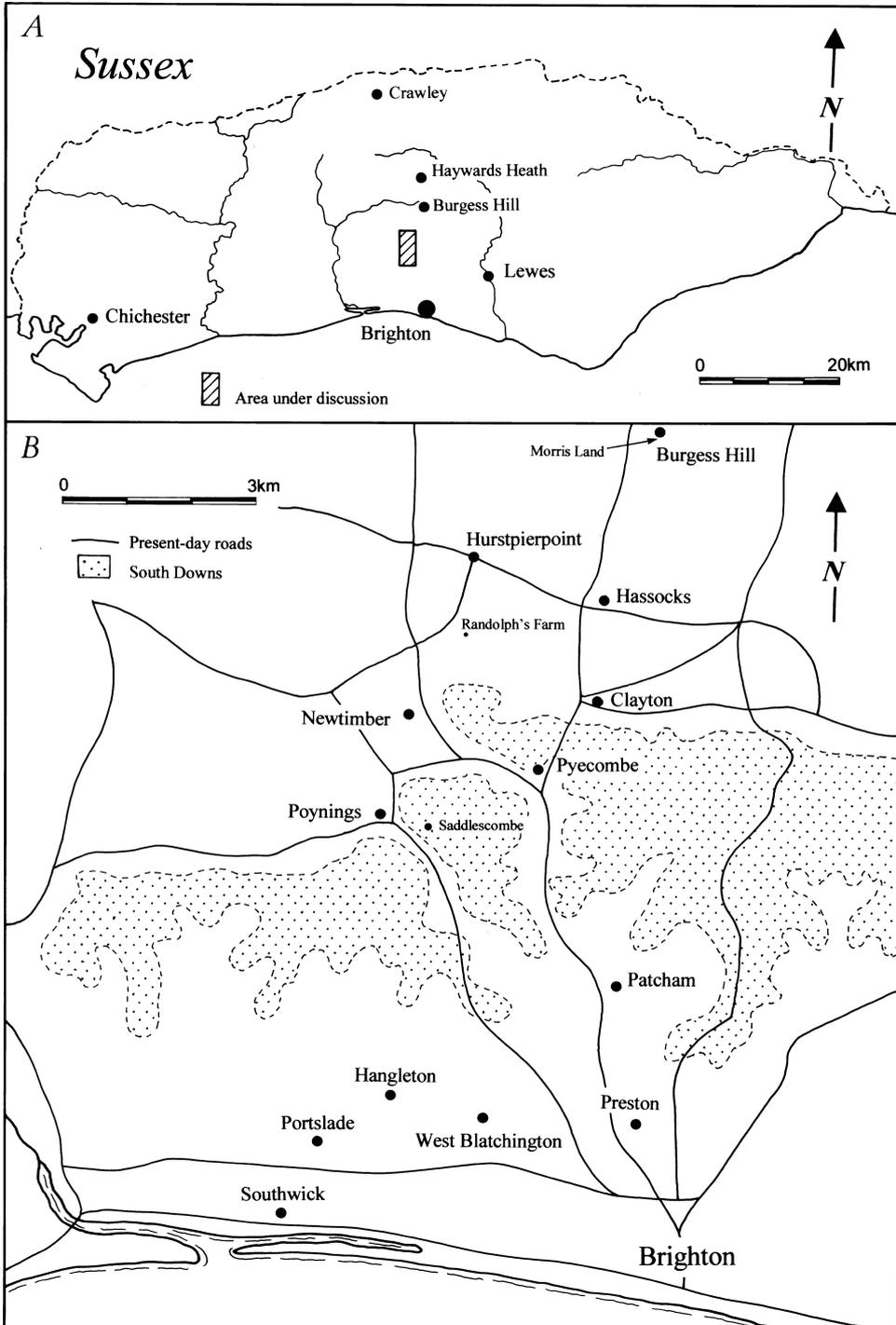


Fig. 1. Location plans: A) the study area; B) the general area.

discovered close to Ham Farm.

Within the Clayton Gap Margary believed he had found the Roman road in the track marked I in Figure 3. This is an obviously constructed road that leaves the modern road at a point 400 metres south of Clayton church, goes through the ridge of the pass by a shallow cutting at a property called Rockrose (TQ295134), and bends round the end of a small offshoot of the valley, Wish Bottom, that lies beyond the Gap. It then becomes overlain by a larger constructed road, Track II of Figure 3, which Margary took to be the 1770 turnpike road, and this continues on into the village of Pyecombe. From there Margary believed the Roman road followed the village street down to the present-day London to Brighton road (A23), and carried on along the latter's path, to reach the coast at Brighton rather than in the Adur mouth area.

Apart from a brief look at a section of it in Burgess Hill recently,⁶ no further work has been done on the Roman road since Margary's study, and it is his view of its course that has become the accepted one.

THE NEW ROUTE

The section of road found on the Hassocks golf course in 1994, reported by C. Butler, lay about 700 metres north-east of Ham Farm, and was shown to run in a south-westerly direction that would take it right by the farm (Fig. 2). It was about 7.6 metres wide, and consisted of a metalling of flints 0.07 to 0.24 m thick on a sand agger which was up to 0.42 m high, and which had a thin bedding layer of flints and underlying wood remains (Butler in prep.). Its position and direction suggest that it was part of a road seen by the Rev. Edward Turner in about 1860, described as running from north-east to south-west across two meadows to the north of Ham farmhouse, though Turner's road seems to have been more substantial, consisting of a layer of flints on a foundation of stones and chalk lumps, and with a surface of beach pebbles and chalk, the whole forming a very solid mass nearly 1 m (three feet) thick and 9–12 m (30–40 ft) wide.⁷

No continuation of the new road north-eastward was found, and it was suggested that it may have originated at a building close to the find spot. However, a map of the Friar's Oak area made about 1650 shows the remains of a road called 'the ancient [ancient] way' on the line of the 1994 road at about 300 to 400 metres beyond the find spot, and

connected to it by a belt of trees or shaw.⁸ It is highly likely, therefore, that the road did continue north-eastward, and projecting it onward from the end of 'the ancient way' (on the A273 at 100 metres south of a property now called Friar's Oak House) it would meet the Vine line at about 800 metres further on, near New Close Farm (TQ306174).

At Ham Farm the new road crossed another Roman road, discovered locally by J. E. Couchman, but studied mainly by Margary, who showed it to extend nearly 40 kilometres east and west and called it the Greensand Way.⁹ The crossing is evidenced by a finding made by James Dunning in 1924.¹⁰ A sandpit existed then on the site of the Roman cemetery, and Dunning noticed what he guessed might be a continuation of Turner's road passing through it in a south-westerly direction opposite the farm. Sections of a layer of broken stone, 0.2 m (8 in.) thick and covered by a layer of flints, had been exposed at 15–16 metres and about 50 metres south of the present day Hassocks to Hurstpierpoint road (B2116), which here coincides with the Greensand Way (TQ296156). Dunning was unable to be sure that this was a road, but the 1994 discovery makes it virtually certain that it was. Extending its line for only a further 370 metres onward brings it to a Roman road running from north to south reported by Couchman in 1925.¹¹

Couchman's road was a well-made, seemingly important one, 8.2 metres (27 feet) wide, well-cambered, with flint metalling averaging 0.13 metres (five inches) thick, and, where it crossed the Hassocks to Hurstpierpoint road (at about 200 metres west of Ham Farm), based on large blocks of stone and with a hard rubble surface. With no obvious reason for crossing it, the 1994 road would be likely to have turned south with this route, which was traced to Coldharbour Farm, and pointed straight for the Clayton Gap.

On the map Couchman's road may appear to be heading for the main pass of the Gap, but in fact it would have to have turned to a second pass a short distance west of the first, in order to avoid the very steep north front of a small hill, formerly called The Noor, or Nore, that lies between the two passes (Fig. 3). In Roman times there would have been little to choose between the two passes as regards height and ease of ascent. Today only a bridleway, that can be called the Nore Track, runs up to the second pass from the Coldharbour Farm area. Near the top this is joined by an old way coming in from the west

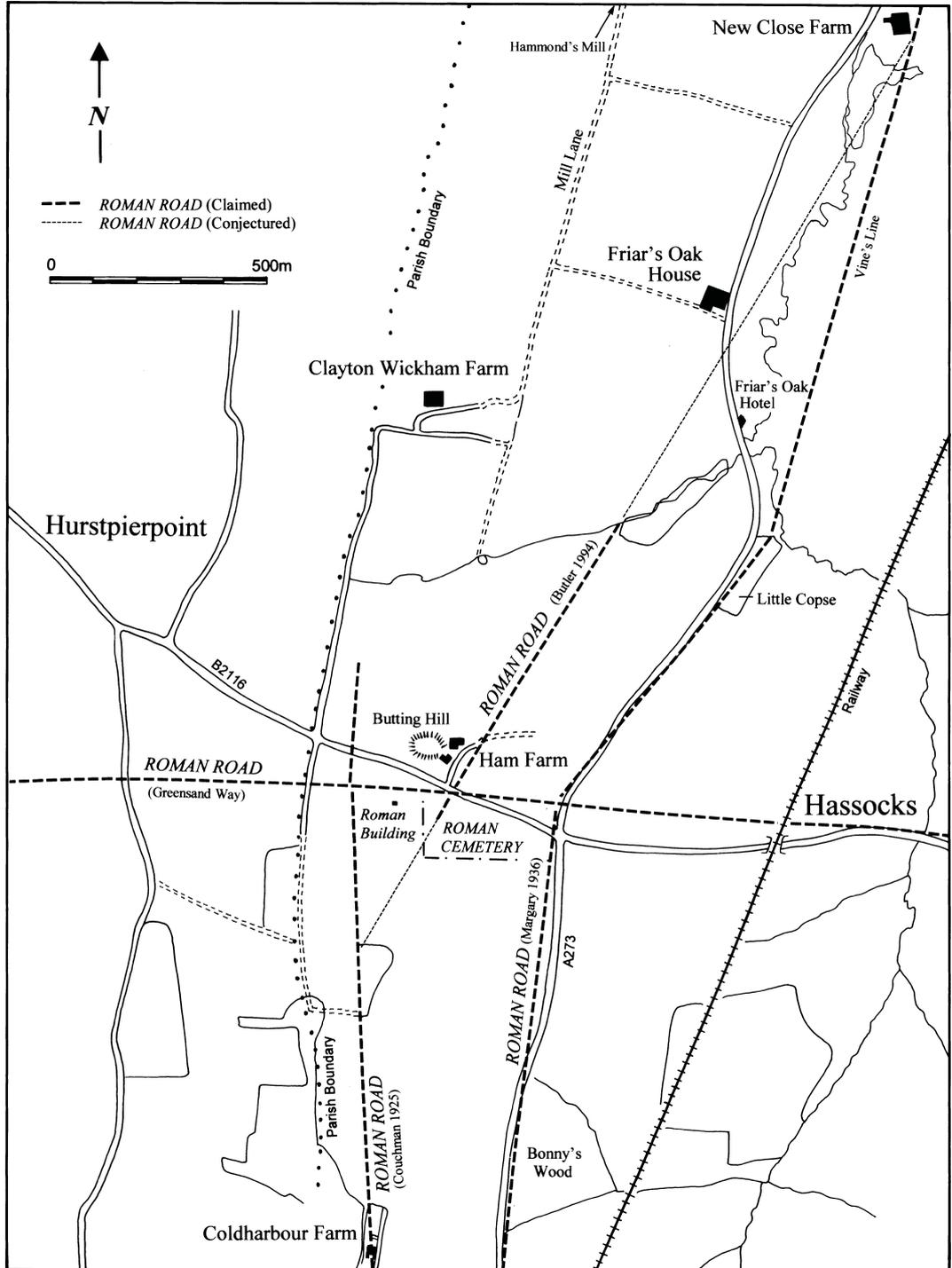


Fig. 2. The Roman roads of the Hassocks area.

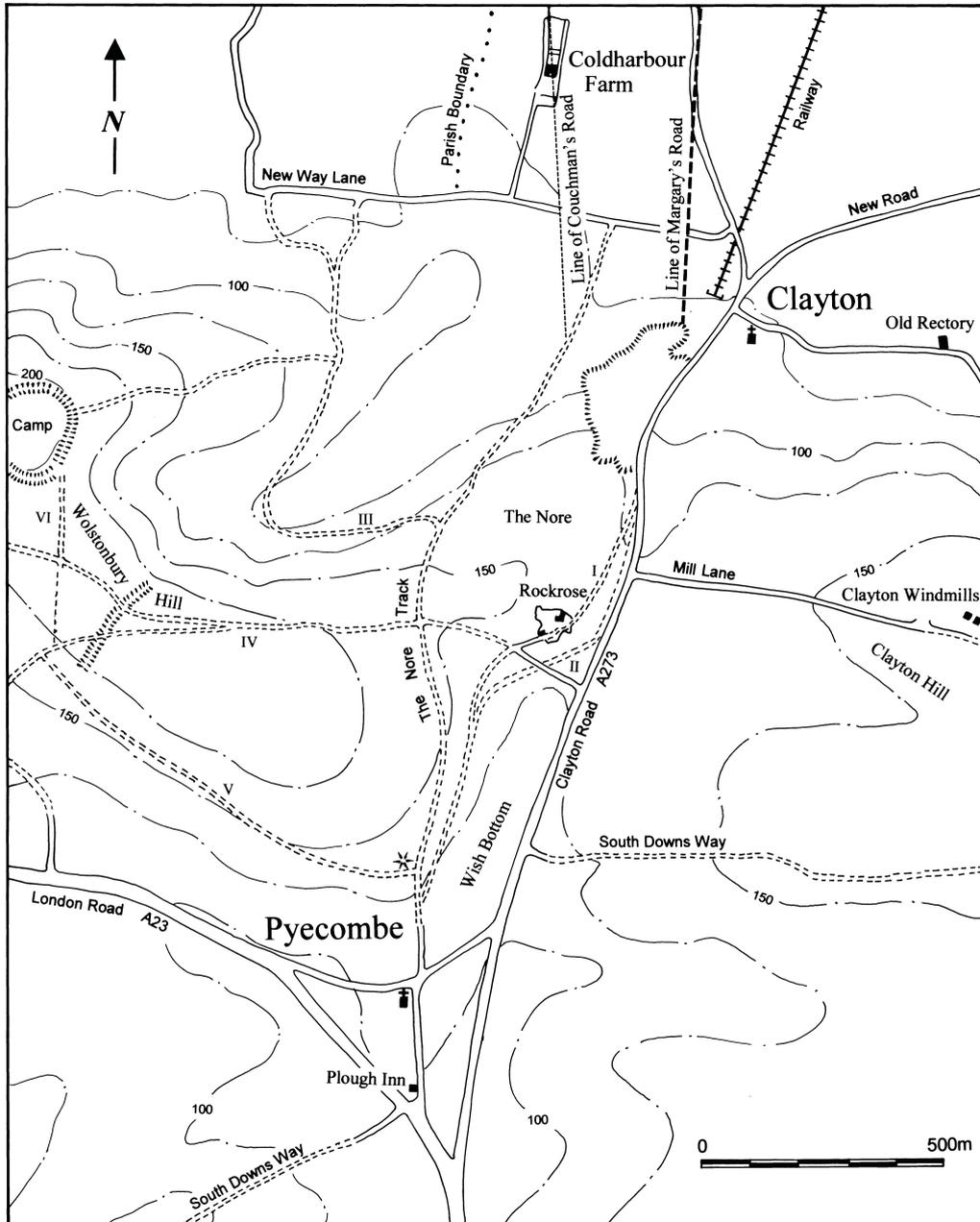


Fig. 3. The old roads of the Clayton Gap.

(Track III of Fig. 3), and at the summit of the pass it crosses another old way from the west (Track IV), and then continues as a terrace-way along the west side of Wish Bottom just above Margary's proposed Roman route. Shortly beyond a junction with a third

old way from the west (Track V) the terrace-way unites with Margary's route, and continues as the Pyecombe village street.

The terrace-way is a constructed one, cut into the hillside and built up on its outer edge, and was

probably over 4.6 m (15 ft) wide originally. It could be a remnant of the Roman road. It was once used by wheeled traffic (carts and wagons), as shown by the wear on a steep section at the Track V junction, where a succession of new ways bending progressively further westward had to be made as the older ways became unusable. However, similar wear at the Track III junction shows that most or all of this traffic derived from the Track III way rather than the Nore Track, which, north of that junction, has little obvious sign of vehicle wear. Documentary evidence reveals that Track III was a minor road from Hurstpierpoint, employed as a connection to Brighton via the Nore Track and to Lewes via Track IV (which was a branch of the ancient South Downs Way route running along the scarp top of the Downs), and that it was in use from before 1583.¹² Although lacking signs of vehicle wear, the north portion of the Nore Track was probably once more important than now appears: it is shown as a road on a map of 1666,¹³ and seems to be the one called Holy Wicke Lane in a Pangdean [Pyecombe] Manor Court Book entry of 1603, being then already deemed a bridleway.¹⁴ Other entries in the Court Book indicate that the crossing at Track IV was called Balcombe Cross, and this suggests that the Nore Track was the original way to the Pangdean manor's property at Balcombe, out in the Weald at 18 kilometres north of Pyecombe.¹⁵ Such a way, dating possibly from Saxon times, would probably have followed the Roman road of the area. A good likelihood that Couchman's road, and therefore the Vine road, passed by the Nore Track route to Pyecombe thus exists.

DISCUSSION

The case for Vine's road having followed the path outlined above seems a strong one. It is strengthened when one considers the evidence presented by Margary for the route proposed by him. His findings for the road south of New Close Farm appear weak overall, and are mistaken in at least one important respect.

Between New Close Farm and Little Copse Margary found no sure signs of a road, only a scattering of flints along the Vine line, with possible traces of solid layers beside hedges at two points. He believed this was because the route had been stripped of its material for use in repair of the nearby turnpike road, as was occurring for the stretch from

St John's Common to the Rev. Morris' land in 1779. However, his supposition that Morris' land lay in the Friar's Oak area was unfounded: it lay about 900 metres north of New Close Farm, in Burgess Hill.

The lengths of road discovered by Margary in Little Copse and Bonny's Wood were very simple in construction, and a Roman identification for them seems questionable. The one in Little Copse (now built over) was only a slight bank of sandier soil on the clay substrate, about 5.8 m (19 ft) wide and seemingly lacking any metalling; and the one in Bonny's Wood, though more substantial, consisting of a 7.6 m (25 ft) wide bank of earth containing chalk and sand, and with flint metalling 0.1 to 0.18 m (4–7 in.) thick, was still primitive. Neither length appears to have been as well made as the lengths on the proposed new route; and the suggestion that the turn they make towards Ham Farm was to gain the settlement there seems doubtful, since it assumes that the settlement preceded the road, whereas the opposite is more likely to have been the case. The settlement could, of course, have originated on Couchman's road or on the Greensand Way; but both of Margary's lengths may merely be early paths of the A273 road alongside which they immediately lie, and which, as a north-south route, presumably originated from a Saxon driveway between the Downs and the Weald after the Roman period. It should be said, however, that while a piece of Vine's road discovered in Haywards Heath in 1934 had a sandstone foundation,¹⁶ Vine himself described his road, from the stretch on the Rev. Morris' land, only as raised, 5.5 to 6.1 m (18–20 ft) wide, and with a bed of flints about 0.2 m (8 in.) thick. Couchman's road, too, lacked a solid foundation from just south of the Greensand Way, so it may be that the roads were less strongly built away from the settlement area.

With regard to the Clayton Gap: Margary was certainly mistaken in identifying Track I as a Roman road. It is, in fact, the first course of the 1770 turnpike road (the Brighton to Lovell Heath turnpike) in the Gap, and Track II is a second course of the same route.¹⁷ The story of this road is clear from documentary records and the evidence on the ground. In 1770 the road was built largely along the pre-existing old way between Clayton and Pyecombe, the path of which is indicated on a pair of old maps of 1746.¹⁸ The gradient between Clayton and the pass, called the Clayton Hill in old documents, was a difficult one, however, and in

1808, under pressure of proposals for a rival turnpike road through the nearby Newtimber Gap, it was improved by the making of the Track II road. From where Track I leaves the modern road the turnpike was shifted a little eastward, taken through the ridge of the pass by a new cutting on the west side of the present-day cutting, carried over the offshoot of Wish Bottom by an earth causeway presumably composed of the spoil from the cutting, and linked with the first route again to go on as a slightly widened way into Pyecombe.¹⁹ But the Clayton Hill gradient remained a severe one, and when the rival turnpike road (the Pyecombe to Staplesfield turnpike) was made in 1809, it began to take traffic away from the older route. In 1818, therefore, in an unsuccessful attempt to regain the initiative, the new cutting of Track II was lengthened and deepened to about its present proportion, and the road carried from it along the east side of Wish Bottom rather than the west side, on about the line of the modern road, so by-passing Pyecombe village. The final cutting incidentally broke the ancient Track IV road, which was then diverted to its present path to the modern road, and Mill Lane, to the Clayton windmills, made at the north end of the cutting.²⁰

The Track I and the Track II roads remain mostly well-preserved (they must be among the best surviving examples of roads from the stage-coach era in Sussex, and of particular interest as belonging to the famous Brighton Road in its early Regency period usage), and so does a length of the original old way from Clayton to Pyecombe. This length, not shown in Figure 3, leaves the west side of Track I at 150 m south-west of Rockrose, and runs southward beside it for 300 metres before rejoining the turnpike road. It shows little or no sign of having been a Roman road, being only a shallowly-hollowed way about 3 m (10 ft) wide. There is no obvious evidence of any other possible Roman road in the main pass area, but activity there over the past 200 years, including the making of a railway tunnel in 1839–41 as well as all the road works, could very possibly have destroyed remains.

There are other arguments that support the new route. A good reason exists for the turn at New Close Farm: it brings the road to a low ridge that runs southward from Ham Farm to the Downs, and the Romans favoured use of high ground for their routes where possible. In addition, by taking the road through the second pass of the Clayton Gap rather than the

first, it avoids the difficulty of crossing the offshoot of Wish Bottom that lies beyond the first pass.

The Ham Farm ridge was probably used as a way between the Weald and the Downs from very early on. A Mesolithic camp/worksite, where microliths were manufactured from flints collected on the Downs, was found at the cemetery sandpit, and Neolithic, Bronze Age, and Iron Age artefacts were also discovered there and nearby.²¹ In the Bronze Age a very interesting situation may have existed here. At Ham Farm the ridge terminates in a natural mound like a great round barrow, called Butting Hill, in the foot of which urn burials dated to the Bronze Age were made.²² Two similar, larger, mounds lie at the Downs end of the ridge, on either side of New Way Lane, and the ridge turns south-westward from them to continue as a spur up to the big domed summit of Wolstonbury Hill. A circular earthwork, Wolstonbury Camp, crowns the summit, and has recently been identified as a henge-type enclosure of the Bronze Age, a possibility which its structure, location, and the described topography supports.²³ Bronze Age peoples might well have seen great spiritual significance in the whole topographical arrangement. The Butting Hill burials may therefore be associated with the Camp, and there could have been a regular way of some sort along the ridge from the Camp to Butting Hill.

It is worth recording here that a way did run southward from the Camp's southern entrance (Track VI of Fig. 3). This was not noticed by E. C. Curwen in his limited excavation of the site, but is visible on his aerial photograph of it.²⁴ While its age is not certain, it appears old, and lies precisely where a track would be expected — skirting the end of a perhaps contemporaneous cross-dyke to head straight for the saddle between Wolstonbury Hill and Newtimber Hill, or alternatively turn along the Track V route to the south end of Wolstonbury Hill, where there is what appears to be an excavated round barrow.

If a Bronze Age way did exist on the ridge it could very possibly have remained in use in the Iron Age and developed as a road out into the Weald. Presence of an Iron Age road on the ridge would be a further strong reason for the Romans to have used it for their road. There were signs of a possibly pre-Roman route beneath Butler's road, and Couchman believed that the north–south lane on the parish boundary close by the northward extension of his road followed a British road (Fig. 2).²⁵

The northward extension of the Couchman Roman road beyond the proposed junction with the Butler road is intriguing. It seems too important to have been merely a local route, and the question arises as to where it went? According to S. E. Winbolt, Couchman himself, who believed his road to be the true Vine route, thought it veered north-eastward with Turner's lost fragment, and passed to St John's Common by way of Clayton Wickham Farm and Hammond's Mill.²⁶ An old green road, called Mill Lane in 1732, and probably Greenhill Lane in 1608–17, does run on about this line.²⁷ But Winbolt, who thought that Vine's line east of the A273 to the main pass of the Clayton Gap was correct, suggested that Couchman's road turned more sharply north-eastward above Ham Farm, and connected with Vine's road in the Friar's Oak area, thus implying that it was a branch of the Vine route. The 1994 discovery makes both the Couchman and the Winbolt proposal very unlikely. A possible alternative destination for Couchman's road is the important iron-working region in the Crawley area, 20 kilometres north of Ham Farm, opened in the Late Iron Age and expanded under the Romans.²⁸ This would allow for a route that arose in the Iron Age and was followed by the Roman road.

It must be mentioned here that a minor road called Ridge Lane ran on the supposed British road for 600 metres south from the B2116 highway, then switched to the Roman route to Coldharbour Farm, and turned along the farm's driveway to New Way Lane under the Downs. It was in existence from before 1644 to at least 1838, and may affect Couchman's observations on both the British and the Roman road.²⁹ The British road is continued southward beyond the switch to the Roman route as a ditch and bank that appear more like a boundary marker than a road.

A connection with the iron trade might help to account for the presence of a Roman settlement at Ham Farm, the existence of which is virtually certain (Butler forthcoming report). Couchman's northward road at least adds to the likelihood of there having been a communications centre of some sort there. With the London to Brighton road probably having carried on along the coastal plain to Chichester, and the Greensand Way linking it to two other Roman roads across the Weald (the London to Lewes road in the east, and the London to Chichester Stane Street in the west), the cemetery area is at a sort of hub of the Roman main road network in Sussex. If

the communications centre developed after the making of the London to Brighton road, a slight possibility that the road did originally follow Vine's line to the main pass of the Clayton Gap (towards which it heads very exactly), and that the new route was a second course of it made at a later date, remains.

It has to be said that Couchman did not think that his road went through the Clayton Gap. He believed that it forked south of Coldharbour Farm, with one branch going westward along the foot of the Downs to the Poynings Gap, and the other eastward towards Clayton. He was probably simply following A. H. Allcroft in this. Allcroft, who first noticed the possible existence of the Couchman road, produced a theory whereby Vine's road ran on about the line proposed by Couchman, and turned on New Way Lane to go to the Poynings Gap, where he claimed to have found a continuation of it to the Adur mouth area at Portslade; and he also suggested a link from it to the Roman villa that probably existed in the grounds of the Old Rectory at Clayton.³⁰ But while a link of some kind with the Clayton villa is quite likely, a main road that turns at right angles immediately before the Clayton Gap and passes westward parallel to the Greensand Way is extremely improbable.

Allcroft actually also proposed the presence of a road through the second pass of the Clayton Gap from the Couchman road, but only as a minor route to the Roman villa at Preston Park in Brighton. Dunning noted that Vine's road could have gone through the second pass, though he favoured Vine's path. Margary, who uncritically accepted Allcroft's main route to the coast as additional to his own, admitted that the Nore Track terrace-way was probably a Roman road connected with Couchman's road, and considered that the evident importance of the settlement at the cemetery made it not unreasonable that there should be two closely parallel roads from there through the Clayton Gap. Such a position is not really credible, however, although as already mentioned it is just possible that an original road to the first pass was re-routed later to go by the second pass. Margary did not discuss the northward extension of Couchman's road, and expressed puzzlement at Turner's lost fragment.

In conclusion, something should be said about the course of the Vine road south of Pyecombe. Vine's hint that the road went on south-westward to the mouth of the River Adur was bolstered when

a Roman villa was discovered in that direction, at West Blatchington, in 1818.³¹ It became accepted that a likely destination was a port in the Portslade area; and the finding in 1925 by Winbolt of a big Roman villa at Southwick, just beyond Portslade, strengthened this view.³² A road headed north-eastward from the villa, and Winbolt suggested that it continued by way of Portslade, Hangleton and West Blatchington towards Patcham, presumably to meet up with Vine's route near Patcham.³³ Later, however, he accepted a proposal by E. and E. C. Curwen that this road turned northward at Hangleton, to connect with Allcroft's claimed road in the Poynings Gap and follow the Allcroft path to Vine's route.³⁴ Allcroft's road is dubious; but if a Roman way did go through the Poynings Gap it would almost certainly have gone on northward to the Greensand Way and gained Vine's road by that path rather than by turning along the foot of the Downs. Perhaps it should be added that such a way would have met the Greensand Way at about Randolph's Farm, two kilometres west of Ham Farm, where there was yet another Roman villa.

Dunning thought that Vine's road probably went southward from Pyecombe, along the valley to Brighton in which the modern London road lies, passing through Patcham and Preston, and turning to Portslade along the coast at Brighton. Winbolt expressed some support for this idea, and Margary adopted it, adding his belief that the Brighton area was then more likely than Portslade to have provided a sheltered harbour. However, the Brighton valley carried a bourne, or intermittent stream, and was liable to severe flooding, and on the evidence

from the North Downs the Romans would probably not have put a road along its bottom.³⁵ The sides of the valley are difficult because of combs opening from it, and show no evidence of a significant road. It thus seems doubtful that a main Roman route did pass this way.

Despite Margary's belief, the geographical and archaeological evidence still favours Portslade, not Brighton, as the area aimed for, and a route on about the Vine line remains the likeliest proposition. From Pyecombe such a route could only have followed one path to begin with: along the South Downs Way. There would probably already have been a track on this ancient trail, and the Roman road might have continued with it through Saddlescombe to connect with the Curwens' road from Hangleton immediately south of the Poynings Gap. Alternatively, it could have gone more directly to Portslade on the line of an old road that leaves the South Downs Way a kilometre beyond the Plough Inn at Pyecombe and cuts across the Curwens' road well south of the Poynings Gap. The old road, which is shown on the Yeakell and Gardner map of Sussex of 1780, and is still visible for most of its length, was offered by Margary as an alternative to the Brighton valley route. Its direction makes it the likeliest choice for the Roman route, but the Curwens' road does appear to lie on a fairly important British way that was in existence from well before the Roman period. The suggestion that the Romans did not continue their road through the Downs, but simply used the existing British ways for further passage, seems unlikely from the situation in the North Downs, where the road carried on right through the hills.

Author: Glen Shields, 31 Lansdowne Street, Hove, East Sussex, BN3 1FS.

NOTES

¹ C. Butler, *Sussex Archaeological Society Newsletter* 74 (Dec. 1994), 6–7; C. Butler, in prep.

² For a copy of Vine's report see James Dunning, *The Roman Road to Portslade* (London: Hatchards, 1925), 53–6.

³ Roger Davey (ed.), *East Sussex Land Tax, 1785*, Sussex Record Society 77 (1990–91), 129, Keymer; West Sussex Record Office (hereafter WSR), Keymer Tithe Map, Lands 381, 382, 383, 403 and 404.

⁴ R. W. Blencowe, 'Roman remains in the neighbourhood of Hurstpierpoint and Danny', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter SAC) 14 (1862), 176–81; A. H. Allcroft, 'Some Roman roads in the south east', *Archaeological Journal* 72 (1915), 201–32; J. E. Couchman, 'A Roman cemetery at Hassocks', SAC 66 (1925), 34–61;

Dunning, 1–165; S. E. Winbolt, 'The Roman Road: Selsfield place to Clayton', *Sussex Notes and Queries* (hereafter SNQ) 2 (1928–9), 70–72.

⁵ I. D. Margary, 'The London–Croydon–Portslade Roman road', SAC 77 (1936), 26–59.

⁶ C. Butler, 'The Roman road at Burgess Hill', SAC 135 (1997), 301.

⁷ Blencowe, SAC 14 (1862), 176–81.

⁸ East Sussex Record Office (hereafter ESRO), DAN 2095.

⁹ I. D. Margary, 'A Roman road from Barcombe Mills to the west, through Streat and Hassocks', SAC 76 (1935), 6–34.

¹⁰ Dunning, 49, 63, 53 (map).

¹¹ Couchman, SAC 66 (1925), 34–61.

¹² Public Record Office (hereafter PRO) C8 194/16; ESRO DAN 2071, 2072, 2073; PRO CRES 5/56, f12 and 10d.

¹³ ESRO DAN 2097.

- ¹⁴ PRO CRES 5/56, f16.
- ¹⁵ PRO CRES 5/56, f10d, 11, 11d, 12.
- ¹⁶ I. D. Margary, 'The London-Brighton Roman road', *SNQ* 14 (1954-57), 240.
- ¹⁷ Public Acts. 10 Geo III [1770], Cap.XCV, in *Sussex Acts of Parliament*, vol. 8, Brighton Reference Library; *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* (hereafter *SWA*), 14 May 1770 — advertisement for labourers to make the turnpike road; PRO MR1704 — map showing the 1770 road. ESRO QR/E572, 22, gives some details of the road in 1773.
- ¹⁸ WSRO Cowdray MS1750, 49; ESRO DAN 2100. The Cowdray map is suggested to be of date c. 1775, but is clearly the companion plan to the DAN 2100 map, made by Thomas Pointin in 1746. Curiously, it shows the road from Clayton to the pass only as a field boundary along the east edge of The Nore, though the full road certainly existed then, and had done for centuries. See, for example, ESRO QR/E44, 18, which relates to this stretch of road in 1639.
- ¹⁹ *SWA*, 5 January 1807, 18 July 1808; PRO CRES 2/1321 — map of the 1808 road. The rivalry between the Newtimber Gap and Clayton Gap roads can be followed in *SWA*, 1 September 1806 to 18 July 1808, and *Journal of the House of Commons* 62 & 63 (1806-8).
- ²⁰ PRO CRES 2/1321 — two letters of 1817 with the 1808 map; PRO MPE 1533 — plan of the 1818 alteration; *Sussex Maps*, vol. 3, 3, 34A, Brighton Ref. Lib.; ESRO QDP/E89.
- ²¹ E. C. Curwen, *The Archaeology of Sussex*, 2nd edition (London: Methuen, 1954), 53, 55, 94-5, 265-6; Couchman, *SAC* 66 (1925), 59-61.
- ²² Blencowe, *SAC* 14 (1862), 176-7.
- ²³ P. Drewett, D. Rudling & M. Gardiner, *The South-East to AD 1000* (London: Longman, 1988), 69-70; S. Hamilton & J. Manley, 'Prominent enclosures in 1st-millennium BC Sussex', *SAC* 135 (1997), 93-112.
- ²⁴ E. C. Curwen, 'Wolstonbury', *SAC* 71 (1930), 237-45. A better copy of the photograph, showing the track more clearly, is in *Sussex County Magazine* (hereafter *SCM*) 4 (1930), 755.
- ²⁵ J. E. Couchman, 'Neolithic spoons and bronze loops', *SAC* 61 (1920), 65-79.
- ²⁶ S. E. Winbolt, 'The Roman road, Selsfield Place to Clayton', *SNQ* 2 (1928-9), 35-8, 70-72.
- ²⁷ ESRO DAN 2099 (note at foot of map), ADA 1, ff.7, 8d, 15, ADA 2, ff.5, 11.
- ²⁸ C. Cartwright, 'The excavation of a Romano-British iron working site at Broadfield, Crawley, West Sussex', *SAC* 130 (1992), 22-59.
- ²⁹ ESRO DAN 2073, deposition of Anne Mugglewick; ESRO QR/E137, 2, 55, QR/E161, 42, 43, QR/E176, 2, 4; ESRO ADA 228, maps 5, 6, 7; WSRO Clayton Tithe Map, 1838.
- ³⁰ A. H. Allcroft, *Downland Pathways*, 2nd edition (London: Methuen, 1924), 120-43.
- ³¹ Dunning, 56-60.
- ³² S. E. Winbolt, 'Southwick Roman villa', *SCM* 5 (1931), 422-7 & 479-85; S. E. Winbolt, 'Roman villa at Southwick', *SAC* 73 (1932), 12-32.
- ³³ S. E. Winbolt, 'Two notes on Roman Sussex', *SAC* 67 (1926), 84-92.
- ³⁴ E. Curwen & E. C. Curwen, 'Port's Road: the ancient road of Portslade', *Brighton and Hove Archaeologist* 3 (1926), 28-42.
- ³⁵ K. Maggs & P. De'Athe, *The Roman Roads of East Surrey and the Kent Border* (Westerham: The North Downs Press, 1987); Mary Saaler, 'Excavations of the Roman road at Caterham', *Local History Records* [of the Bourne Society], 8 (1969), 20-22. Copies of both documents in Bromley Central Library, Kent.