

This section of the *Collections* is devoted to short notes on recent archaeological discoveries, reports on small finds, definitive reports on small scale excavations, etc. Those without previous experience in writing up such material for publications should not be deterred from contributing; the editor and members of the editorial board will be happy to assist in the preparation of reports and illustrations.

**A Bronze Age palstave and other finds from Plumpton, East Sussex**

The Bronze Age palstave (Fig. 1) was found by Mr L. Gaston at a depth of 23 cm. on the north scarp slope of the South Downs near Warningore Farm, Plumpton (NGR TQ37611292) in April 1988.

A small trench was subsequently excavated on the precise site of the find in an attempt to establish whether the palstave was part of a hoard or an isolated find. However, apart from two small flint flakes nothing of interest was found.

A scatter of Roman coins, together with some other finds and pottery sherds have also been found in the same field; these, together with the palstave, are described below.

*The Palstave*

The palstave is 134 mm. long and 39 mm. wide at the cutting edge, and weighs 240 g. It is in very good condition, with little corrosion. However, there is an irregularity in one of the stop-ridges, probably caused by a casting fault, and the butt end appears to have broken off. Whether this breakage is due to usage, although this is not apparent from the rest of the palstave, or whether this is a ritual practice is unclear. Indentations on the final 28 mm. of the blade indicate that the blade had been hammered out to produce a cutting edge. It appears to belong to the Group 3 (plain) class of Narrow Bladed Palstaves (Rowlands 1976).

*The Roman Coins*

- 1) GALLIENUS, AD 253–268. Ae Antoninianus. Mint of Rome. Reverse: PROVID. AVG, Providentia standing left, holding globe and sceptre. Reference: *Roman Imperial Coinage* 270.
- 2) CLAUDIUS II, AD 268–270. Ae Antoninianus. Mint of Rome. Reverse: GEN[IVS AVG], Genius standing left. Type as *Roman Imperial Coinage* 47.
- 3) CLAUDIUS II, AD 268–270. Ae Antoninianus. Mint of Rome. Obverse: JC CLA[ ]. Reverse: [PROVID] ENT[AVG], Providentia standing left. As *Roman Imperial Coinage* 91.
- 4) TETRICUS I, AD 270–273. Ae Antoninianus. Reverse: [PAX AVG], Pax standing left. Type as *Roman Imperial Coinage* 100.
- 5) Mid–Late 3rd century. Illegible Ae Antoninianus.
- 6) Illegible Barbarous Radiate, AD 270–290. 20 mm.
- 7–8) Illegible Barbarous Radiates, circa AD 270–290. 14 mm. Reverse: Female figure standing left.
- 9–10) Illegible Barbarous Radiates, circa AD 270–290. 14 mm. Reverse: Uncertain.
- 11) ? Barbarous Radiate. 12 mm. Illegible.
- 12) Circa. AD 348–353. Ae 18 mm. Possibly Barbarous.

Reverse: [FEL.TEMP.REPARATIO], Soldier advancing left, spearing fallen horseman.

*The Roman Copper-Alloy Objects*

- 13) Winged bow ('Hod Hill' type) brooch. Length approximately 70 mm. The bow has four lateral lugs. cf. Collingwood and Richmond (1969) Group P, example 34. Claudian-Flavian.
- 14) Complete pin and part of the spring of a brooch. Length of pin: 73 mm.
- 15) Large fragment of a lozenge-shaped brooch. The front rises in steps to a sunken lozenge-shaped panel which



Fig. 1

contains traces of white enamel. In addition to traces of the catchplate, the back of the brooch has two pierced lugs from which the pin (which is missing) would have been hinged. 2nd/3rd century.

- 16) Simple ring. Outer diameter: 18 mm. Inner diameter: 10 mm.

*The Pottery*

- 17-19) Handmade grog-tempered wares ('East Sussex Ware'). Various fabric colours, includes one rim sherd.

*Acknowledgements*

I would like to thank David Rudling who identified and commented on the Roman coins and copper-alloy objects, Jon Wallis who conserved the palstave, and also Lawrence Gaston who found all of the items mentioned above. The finds have been deposited at Barbican House Museum, Lewes.

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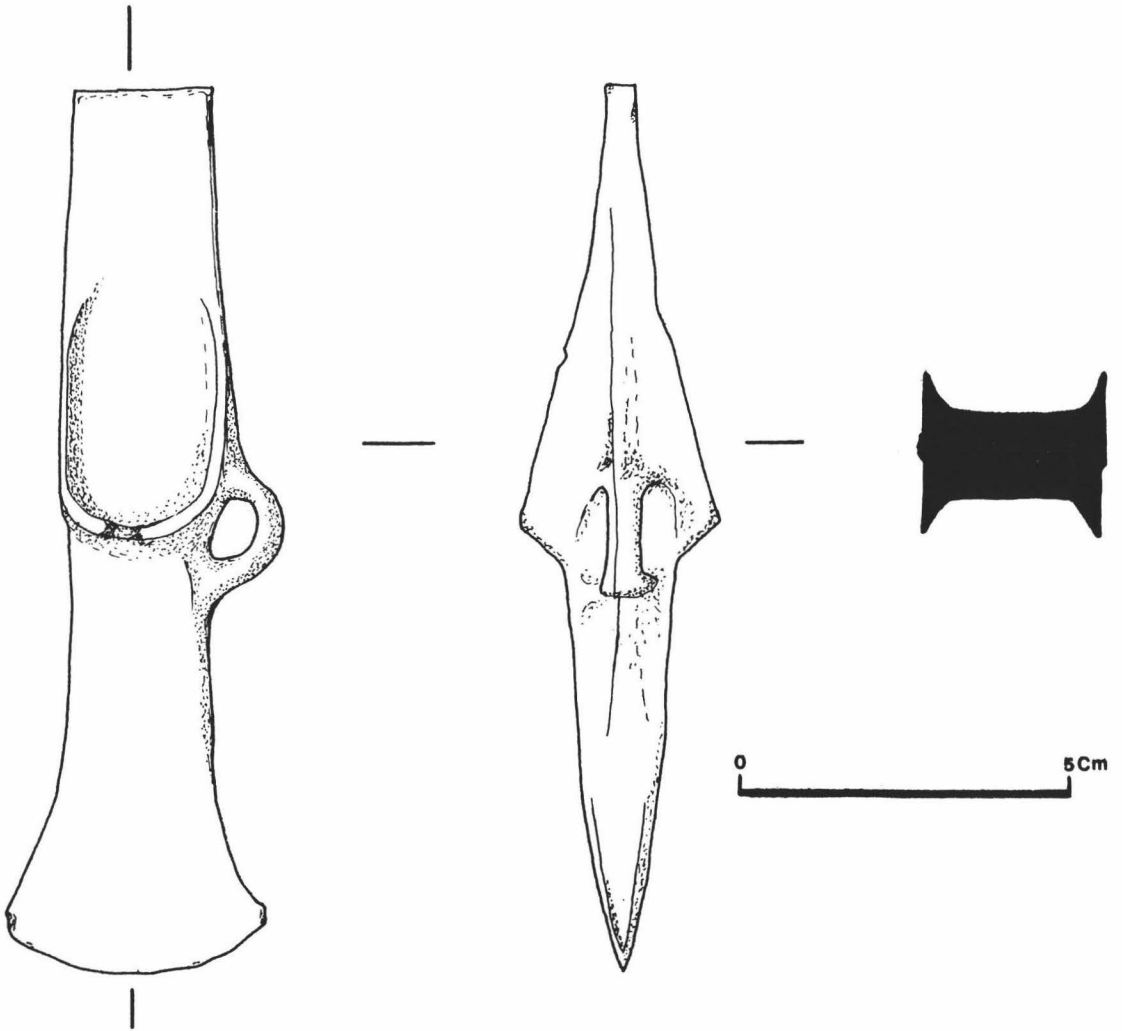


Fig. 1 (cont.)

Rowlands M. J. 1976 *The Production and Distribution of Metalwork in the Middle Bronze Age in Southern Britain*, British Archaeological Report 31, 36.

*Author: Chris Butler, 41 East View Fields, Plumpton Green, East Sussex BN7 3EF*

### Antiquarian Exploration and a Possible Ritual Pit near Ditchling

Whilst researching a completely different topic, the present writer came across two references to the levelling of a possible barrow and the excavation of an underlying pit on Streat Hill near Ditchling Beacon, (approx. TQ 349129) (*Sussex Daily News*, 6 and 7 February 1922). The account is interesting not only for illustrating the casual way in which local earthworks have been destroyed in the past; but also because it seems to throw some light on previously unknown antiquarian researches in the area.

The earthwork mound, 40 feet in diameter and five feet high, was situated on the highest point of Streat Hill and was being levelled to make way for a new reservoir for Streat Hill Farm:

During the levelling no prehistoric interment appears to have been discovered; but, just south of the centre of the mound the workmen, in trying to reach solid chalk, came across and excavated a peculiar pit over ten feet deep, with irregular steps leading down to the bottom. The pit at the bottom of the steps is about six feet by four and seems to have been filled with a mixture of chalk and mould. In the filling of the pit were found a few animal bones, apparently those of sheep and ox, a good number of oyster shells of extra large size and thickness, but, most puzzling of all the filling was mixed with dozens of broken wine bottles of the flagon type, and one or two Georgian coins (*Sussex Daily News*, 6 February 1922).

This discovery was examined by H. S. Toms then curator of Brighton Museum, who during his inspection uncovered further shells, bones, and an intact example of the wine bottles found in the fill.

This flagon was lying on its side at the bottom edge of the pit. Tipping up the flagon in the presence of a witness, a claret coloured liquid (about a wineglass full) poured forth. The flagon is seven and a half inches high, five and a half inches across the base, and of bottle green glass. Mr. Joseph Browne, the Brighton glass expert, to whom the flagon has been shown without mention of the circumstances of its discovery, pronounces it to be a sack bottle of early 18th century date (*Sussex Daily News*, 6 February 1922).

Toms' examination of the bones revealed that some of the fragments were from a human radius and fibula, and were probably of considerable antiquity. He postulated that these represented the remains of the interment originally contained in the barrow (*Sussex Daily News*, 7 February 1922). The two coins recovered were halfpennies one of which was defaced and indecipherable. The other was in good condition and was

a 1733 halfpenny of George II.

Several explanations are possible for the construction of this peculiar sequence of features. They could represent a Georgian rubbish dump resulting from nearby occupation or possibly from a large picnic or other social gathering, however the isolated and inaccessible position might render this unlikely and the pit would seem to be of extravagant depth for such a function.

An intriguing possibility is that the sequence of events represents the activities of a group of antiquarians who accompanied the barrow opening with a comfortable snack. The pit presents a problem however as its purpose is not clear in such a context, unless it too was an ancient feature excavated at this time, and backfilled with the expedition's debris. The presence of two coins in the fill is very fortuitous and seems reminiscent of later antiquaries' attempts to mark the date of their excavations with specially struck medallions. In the absence of these a low denomination coin might suffice. The human remains may have come from the mound above, if it was indeed a barrow, and been discarded when the excavators found and explored the underlying pit. Another possibility is that these bones are the remains of a burial within the pit. A number of pits or shafts found in other parts of the country have contained burials (Green 1986, 134). The steps in this feature may have been added to assist the workmen who would have been responsible for the heavy digging.

In the 18th and 19th centuries it was not uncommon for barrow openings to be accompanied by meals and other activities whilst waiting for interesting discoveries to be unearthed. At a barrow opening in which he participated Thomas Wright records just such a series of activities:

A plentiful supply of provisions had been procured for picnicing on the hill, and we remained by the barrow all day, watching and directing the operations. We contrived to pass our time, at intervals between digging and pic-nicing, in games of various descriptions—not exactly such as those which the builders of the mound celebrated when they laid the deceased on his funeral pyre—and in other amusements (Wright 1854).

The discoveries on Streat Hill would seem to fit well into such a context. However, as well as being an interesting possible example of 18th century antiquaries at work in the Brighton area, the discoveries have a wider significance. Assuming that the deep pit was in fact of ancient origin then it would seem to fit neatly into the category of such features known as ritual pits or shafts. At least two examples of this category of monument are known from Sussex, although Ross (1968, 265) would also include the shaft burials from Hardham.

The shrine at Muntham Court near Worthing excavated in the 1950s, had a deep shaft associated with it. Although interpreted as a well this may have had another function in relation to the Romano-British shrine found on this site (Burstow and Holleyman 1956, 196–198 and *S N & Q XV*, 250 & 280.) At the Caburn Lane Fox (1881) excavated a shaft 11 feet in depth which had been cut into the bottom of a depression. The pit had apparently been refilled shortly after it was dug (Lane Fox 1881, 445) and contained little except dog bones and pot sherds at the lowest levels. The upper fill and the fill of the depression contained a large number of

animal bones and a quantity of oyster shells. Although these might represent domestic debris, Ross (1968, 275) has noted the similarity of deposits occurring in ritual pits. Apart from the absence of wine bottles, the fill of the Caburn example is remarkably similar to that of the Streat Hill pit, which does raise the possibility that at least some of the bones and shells from the latter may have been part of the original backfill.

In general ritual shafts seem to originate in the Bronze Age and are a Pan European phenomenon (Ross 1968). In Britain, although occurring throughout the Celtic regions the heaviest concentration comes from the Belgic south east. The majority of such structures have a late Iron Age or Roman date. Of the Sussex examples Muntham Court has yet to be published, although the minutes of the Sussex Archaeological Research Committee state that late Roman pottery was found in the fill. At the Caburn a single sherd of Roman greyware from the lower fill of the depression suggests a Roman date. However as noted above the fill of the depression could be domestic debris deposited some time after the pit was refilled. Additionally Lane Fox's relic table and, his written description of finds do not tally, which complicates matters. Regrettably no dateable finds seem to have been made at the possible example at Streat Hill.

The exact location of the barrow under which the pit was found is a matter of some confusion. A six-inch Ordnance Survey map (1912 edition LIII N E) originally belonging to H. S. Toms and preserved in Brighton Museum, records the position of the Streat Hill Tumulus at TQ 34971286. Certainly this particular barrow is at the highest point of Streat Hill. The 1912 map records the existence of a trigonometrical station at this point. This is no longer extant and may have been removed when the barrow was demolished. Grinsell seems to have recorded the barrow during his extensive survey of barrows in Sussex (Grinsell 1934, 257). Although his dimensions differ to some extent from those recorded in 1922 the tumulus he lists with a deep depression in the centre seems to be the same as that indicated on Toms' map.

*Author:* **Oliver J Gilkes, 42 The Green, Southwick, Sussex. BN4 4FR**

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## Miss P. A. M. Keef's Excavations on a Roman Farmstead at Lambs Lea, West Sussex

### Introduction

In 1953 and 1954 the late Miss P. A. M. Keef and the West Sussex excavation group which she organised and ran, carried out with the help of some pupils from Seaford College, two seasons of excavation on a site near Lambs Lea in East Sussex (SU 916154), features interpreted as a timber building and associated corn drying oven, both possibly of late Roman date were uncovered. Three short notes were published (*Sussex Archaeological Society Research Committee Minutes, Suss. N & Q XIV*, 1954, & 1955, 67 & 104; and Taylor 1955, 143), but Miss Keef's death in 1978 and the loss of most of the finds and site records ensured that no full account was produced. The rediscovery of some of the records and finds in Brighton Museum and the British and Ashmolean Museums enabled the present writer to compile this short account, based on Miss Keef's rough notes.

The site is located on a southward facing spur situated in an extensive area of ancient fields. An area of the spur had been levelled, for which purpose a lynchet had been truncated. On this platform the features excavated by Miss Keef were constructed. Miss Keef's attention was first drawn to the site by an aerial photograph which showed indications of differential growth patterns in the levelled area.

### The Corn Drying Oven

A single corn drying oven of Morris' (1979) T furnace category was found (Fig. 2). The dryer which was 4.41 metres in length, 2.43 metres wide across the area of the drying floor, and 1.52 metres deep had been built within a vertical sided square pit cut into the chalk, the flue was constructed out of small chalk slabs set in a chalk cob matrix, and the upper course of the main flue had been corbelled inwards to provide an easy span for the drying floor. It is possible that further courses of chalk slabs may have continued the corbelling but had been robbed out, certainly the top course of slabs was uneven in height and did not appear to have its original surface. Towards the ends of the cross flues vertical tiles had been inserted, and further tiles were found in the bottom of the cross flues which may have been associated with these. The springers of the furnace arch had been carved out of the chalk. The arch itself, which may have been of similar cob and chalk construction as the main flue, had been demolished.

Ash from the final firings covered the floors of the firing chamber and flues, and burning could be traced 22 cm. up the sides of the main flue. The ash was found to contain carbonised grains of Wheat, Spelt, Barley, Oats and Rye. However, it was noted that the spread of grains did not continue into the cross flues. The kiln seems to have functioned in a simple manner, with the drying floor probably heated directly by hot air from below, this then venting out via updraughts built from tiles in the ends of the cross flues.

The dryer was abandoned for a period before being filled in. A layer of silt had formed over the ash in the stoke hole and main flue and a large quantity of snails found in the main flue may have found the cooler damper environment under the drying floor to be a desirable habitat. Before the backfilling the drying floor, presumably of reusable stone or



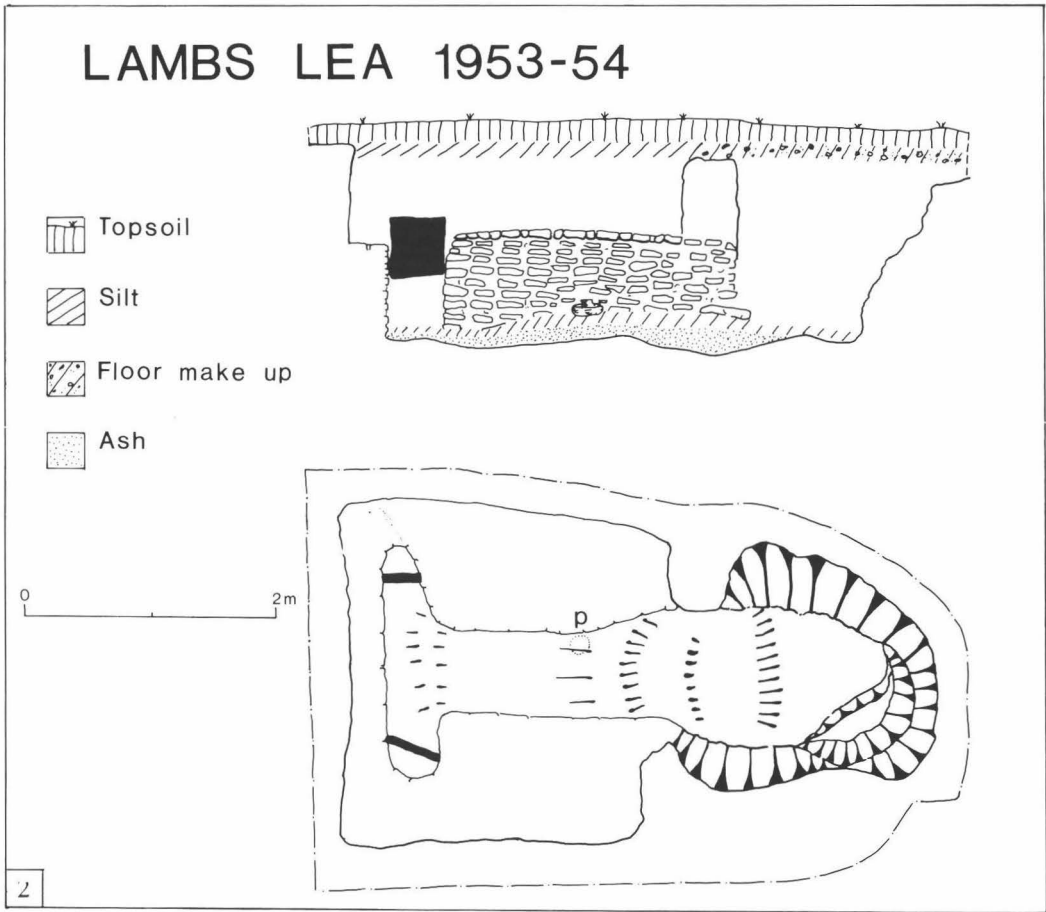


Fig. 2.

tile was removed. The stoke hole was filled with dumps of earth, chalk, burnt quernstone fragments and flint nodules. This was later covered by the floor of the building. In the main flue the filling was more substantial. Chalk cob and large flint nodules were rammed down to provide an exceptionally solid surface. Two radial grooves seen in the top of this fill seem to suggest that the surface created by the infilling of the dryer was intended to be the foundation of a reasonably weighty structure. Miss Keef was of the opinion that this could have been some form of grain mill. A final layer of deposition, probably of silt or rain washed topsoil indicates the final abandonment of the dryer.

The only dating evidence for the corn dryer comes from the infilling phase. Two complete pottery vessels were found on the bottom of the main flue (p on plan). The purpose of these is not clear. Possibly they represent part of an unurned cremation burial. The cremation itself may have gone unnoticed in the ash at the bottom of the dryer. Another possibility is that these vessels may have contained some form

of ritual offering, inserted when the dryer was backfilled. A single large sherd of a Black Burnished ware or imitation Black Burnished dish came from the fill of the stoke hole.

From the cross flue and associated with the dump of tiles was a large portion of the lower stone of a greensand rotary quernstone. Miss Keef reports that the stone's grinding surface had only a very shallow slope, which according to Curwen's typology would probably mean a 4th-century date (Curwen 1937, 143-144 and 1950, 50-52). This would tally fairly well with the pottery which, in so far as it can be dated, is probably also late-Roman.

#### *The Building*

Above and to the north of the corn dryer was excavated a feature interpreted as a timber framed building (Fig. 3). Unfortunately only a sketch plan of this structure survives which makes it difficult to reconstruct the arrangement. A make up floor 13.41 metres long by 3.65 metres wide with a southward projection at the west end, which brought its

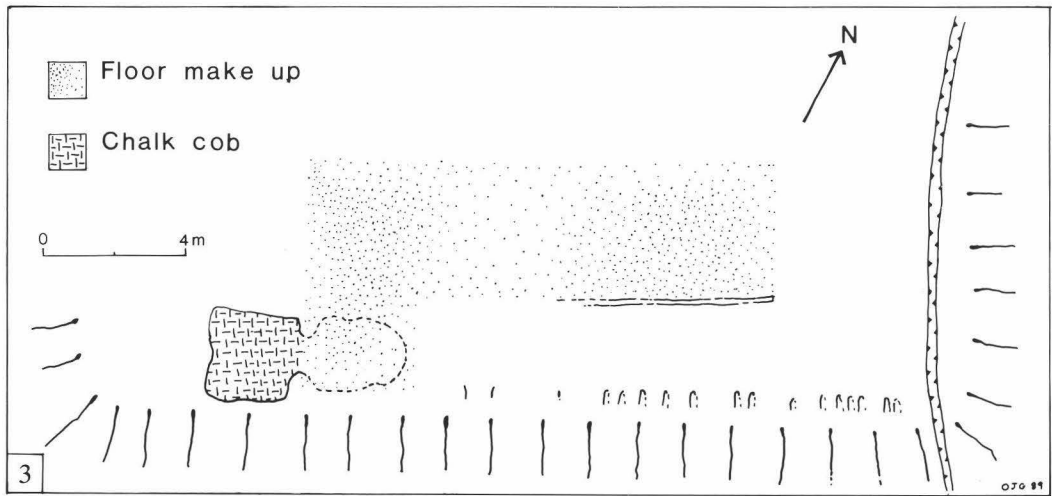


Fig. 3.

width at this point to 7.31 metres was excavated. Throughout the make up were scattered heavily abraded pottery sherds and fragments of Greensand rotary and saddle querns. This would tend to suggest that this make up represented an earthen occupation floor rather than the foundation for a plank or similar surface.

No postholes or other constructional features were found during excavation, which suggested that the structure was completely timber framed of beam and post construction. Uprights could have been set directly into the sill beams. On the south eastern side of the make up surface the edge definition was exceptionally good, which might suggest that a sill beam had been left to decay in position. The remainder of the surface showed few indications of spread and it appeared possible that sill beams had been laid directly onto the ground surface and the floor built up inside them. Although Miss Keef states that no internal features were found, her plan indicates a difference in the composition of the floor at the building's centre which might be indicative of the presence of a doorway. The interpretation of this feature as a building may be considered somewhat tentative, with the almost total lack of definite constructional features. However, buildings of similar construction are known from elsewhere in Britain, for example Skeleton Green (Partridge 1981), and given Miss Keef's experience as an excavator, the present writer is reasonably convinced by the original interpretation.

Along the southern side and 2.43 metres from the building a series of 14 parallel grooves each approximately 914 mm. long, 70 mm. wide and 70 mm. deep were found. It is possible that wooden billets counteracting a slope in the ground at this point, and supporting a timber floor outside the building or a fence line may have originally occupied these. Running along the eastern side of the building 3.35 metres from its end a gully 152 mm. wide and 101 mm. deep was traced for 23.77 metres. Miss Keef suggested that this acted as a drain, possibly to prevent rainwater from flooding two narrow terraces further down the spur.

The relationship between corn dryer and building is unfortunately not totally clear. Miss Keef was of the opinion that the building's southern wing may have been a later addition, possibly making the corn dryer contemporary with at least one phase of the structure. However it is clear that the building continued in occupation after the corn dryer was backfilled. Assuming that the dating via quern typology and pottery provides a reasonably correct date then the building must certainly have been in use during the 4th century; although the regrettable loss of the finds must mean that this date can only be approximate.

#### *The Finds*

(Note: Museum accession numbers are given where applicable.)

Most of the finds from the Lambs Lea excavation have unfortunately been lost in the intervening 35 years. It is clear that a considerable number of quernstone fragments were found both in the refilled corn dryer, and also in the occupation make up of the building. The two complete pottery vessels found in the corn dryer were presented to Brighton Museum and the British Museum and so have fortunately survived. No other finds seem to be extant.

- 1) Brighton Museum no. 250500, R 5083/2. Small jar with an everted rim and stepped neck in a light grey sandy fabric (Fig. 4).
- 2) British Museum reg. no. 1955 10-13. 1. Deep handmade dish made in a mottled orange/black fabric with a dark grey core and inclusions of chalk, grog and small fragments of organic matter, probably grass. The exterior is crudely burnished all over, and the scorch marks and poorly fired oxidised fabric are probably indicative of bonfire firing.

Vessels such as this were probably produced locally or on site and provide an interesting comparison to the handmade wares which were manufactured in East Sussex throughout the Roman period (Green 1980). Dating is difficult with domestically produced wares, as they have been

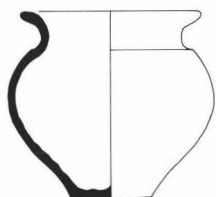


Fig. 4.

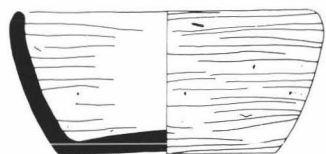


Fig. 5.

ignored by excavators until comparatively recently and thus few associations are known. Nevertheless, late-Roman grog tempered pottery is found in some quantity at Portchester (Fulford 1975) although the fabric is somewhat different, and this particular form does not occur. A further possible parallel of similar form and fabric, was found during excavations in 1986 on a Roman building at Meonstoke (Hants). This vessel was associated with the 4th century occupation (A. King pers. comm.) (Fig. 5).

#### Discussion

The site at Lambs Lea would appear to be part of a low status agricultural settlement. The site was probably occupied in the 4th century, although utilisation of the area could have begun at an earlier date. Unfortunately due to the loss of most of the finds any date will be approximate.

The lack of any certain domestic occupation in the form of hearths or rubbish pits, and the apparently large numbers of quern fragments found in the make up of the feature interpreted as a building might indicate that the complex was mainly intended for agricultural functions primarily connected with grain processing (see Arthur 1954 and 1957). It would be convenient in this regard to be able to consider building and corn dryer as contemporary, because similar conjunctions have been noted elsewhere (Black 1987, 131–2). The study of such possible linkages may help to elucidate the function of corn dryers, the traditional conceptions of which have recently been challenged (Reynolds and Langley 1979). However, although Miss Keef considered that the building had been extended southwards over the corn dryer the evidence on which she based this assumption is not clear and therefore it is not certain that the two features were contemporary.

The apparent absence of definite domestic occupation in the excavated area prompts the question of whether the complex at Lambs Lea was not an isolated or peripheral establishment. On the spur immediately to the west of the site (SU 913152) Miss Keef noted a series of depressions, which she considered might be indicative of buildings, and a scatter of Romano-British pottery. Another possible settlement site

is at East Dean to the south. Here (SU 924129 approx) drainage work in 1960 revealed a substantial layer of burning mixed with Roman building debris including painted wall plaster, on top of a heavily burnt layer of flints which may have been a house platform or floor surface. Coins of Trajan and the Antonine dynasty were found. The site at Lambs Lea could be associated with either of these, or possibly with an as yet undiscovered zone of occupation nearer to hand.

#### Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr T. W. Potter of the British Museum, Philip Bartholomew of the Haverfield Library Oxford and John Roles of the Brighton Museum for their assistance in pulling together the widely scattered items of information that make up this report.

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Author: **Oliver J. Gilkes, 42 The Green, Southwick, Sussex BN4 4FR.**

## A Survey of the Route of the Cuckfield Bypass

### Introduction

During 1988 a bypass was constructed to take through traffic away from the narrow streets of the village of Cuckfield, in West Sussex (Fig. 6), through which the busy A272 road runs.

The Mid Sussex Field Archaeological Team carried out a survey of the route after the topsoil had been removed, to see if there were any archaeological sites threatened with

destruction by the construction of the bypass, and to record as much about them as possible in the limited time available. The entire route was surveyed by members of the team, and finds were recovered from the revealed surface after the removal of the topsoil, the face of banks cut through by machinery, and from the contractors spoil heap.

No archaeological features were found during the survey, though soil stripping and the movement of heavy vehicles and machinery across the surface may have removed any which were present. Material was generally sparse, although a scatter of Mesolithic and later flintwork was discovered.

#### The Finds

##### Pottery

A fairly continuous scatter of post-medieval pottery was found along the whole route, together with numerous fragments of building material, and drainage pipes. A few sherds of late medieval pottery were recovered from the western end of the route, and there was also a single sherd of medieval pottery in a grey sandy fabric.

##### Flintwork

Eighty eight pieces of worked flint were recovered and

are listed in Table 1. The flint comprises four main types; light blue-grey, dark-grey to black, olive-green to orange and creamy white, all of these are typical of the natural flint found locally. From this flint, 15 pieces can be diagnostically assigned to the Mesolithic, comprising mainly blades and bladelets, some of which have been utilised as tools. The remainder of the flint appears to be later in date, and comprises mainly of waste flakes, but also a number of implements, such as scrapers. A single 'hollow based' arrowhead (Fig. 6, No. 4) was also found.

##### Other Finds

Also found were four pebbles, one of which may have been utilised at one end. A number of lumps of glass waste and two fragments of oyster shell were also recovered.

##### Discussion

Although no evidence for occupation sites was found, the artefacts collected show that there has been activity in the area since Mesolithic times. Prehistoric activity seems to have resulted from exploitation of the local resources and, from the range of tools discovered, probably related to hunting in one form or another.

The increase in activity in the post-medieval period may

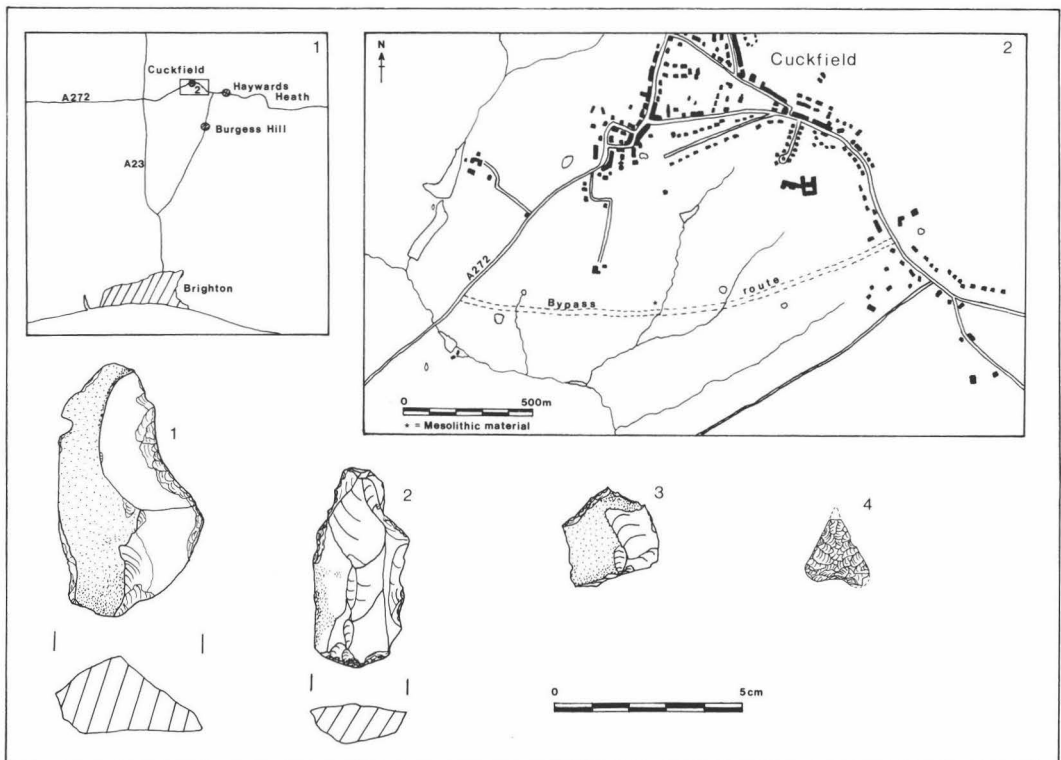


Fig. 6 Cuckfield Bypass; location map and route of the bypass. Flintwork: 1, Side scraper; 2, Fabricator; 3, Piercer; 4, Hollow based arrowhead.

TABLE 1  
Flintwork from the Cuckfield Bypass Route

<i>Debitage</i>	
Flakes	46
Blades/bladelets	4
Flake/blade fragments	8
Shattered pieces	8
Axe thinning flake	1
<i>Implements</i>	
Side scraper	1
End scrapers	3
Piercers	2
Notched flake	1
Notched bladelet	1
Retouched flakes	3
Retouched blades	4
Fabricator	1
Hollow based arrowhead	1
<i>Cores</i>	
Single platform flake core	3
Two platform flake core	1
	88
Fire fractured flint	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>98</b>

be due to the closeness to Cuckfield, and more recently to a golf course constructed towards the end of the last century, and long since disused, through which the bypass cuts.

*Acknowledgements*

I would like to thank the contractors, FARR Building and Civil Engineering Contractors, for allowing us to carry out the survey, and Lawrence Gaston of the Mid Sussex Field Archaeological Team who made all the arrangements with the contractors, and helped with the survey.

*Author:* Chris Butler, 41 East View Fields, Plumpton Green, East Sussex BN7 3EF.

**The Site of St Bartholomew's Hospital, Rye**

The location of the medieval hospital of St Bartholomew, near Rye has been unsuccessfully pursued since Holloway first offered an identification in 1866 (Fig. 7, A).<sup>1</sup> Excavations by Vidler on Holloway's site showed that there were indeed medieval remains there, but that these were of tile and pottery kilns.<sup>2</sup> Subsequently Vidler reconsidered the evidence and suggested a new location, a plot of land to the rear of the King's Head Inn, now the Top of the Hill pub (Fig. 7, B).<sup>3</sup>

In Spring 1989 an application was made for planning permission to build on the site identified by Vidler. In

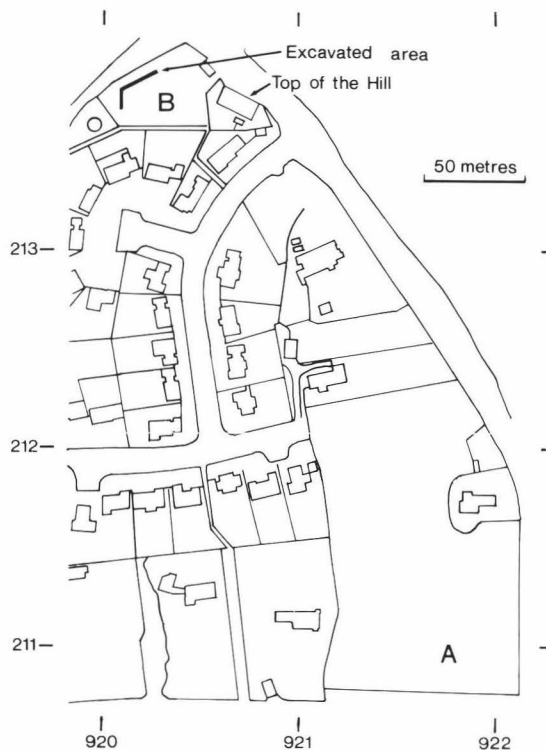


Fig.7 Rye Hill, showing Holloway's suggested location (A) of St Bartholomew's Hospital, Vidler's preferred site (B) and the excavated trenches.

advance of building work an assessment was made to determine if there were surviving archaeological remains. Two trenches were cut by machine along the axes of the proposed building, the first 20 metres long and a second trench ten metres long nearly at right angles to the first. The soil was removed in spits by a JCB 3D mechanical excavator using a three-foot toothless bucket to undisturbed clay and the base of the trench was then cleaned by hand. No medieval features were discovered during the assessment and only two sherds of pottery of this date were found.

The paucity of finds here can only suggest that Vidler's identification of the site of the hospital is incorrect. The evidence from which Vidler made his identification was primarily historical and secondly archaeological. He considered that the hospital was likely to be near the road into Rye and believed it to be on the half virgate of land granted as an endowment in c. 1200. He therefore looked for an area of land about 7½ acres in extent which he believed to be the size of the half virgate. He identified a group of fields nine acres in extent and noted that these included a small piece of land which was exempt from tithes. This he concluded was the site of the chapel attached to the hospital.<sup>4</sup>

The existence of a piece of tithe-free land is the most substantial piece of historical evidence adduced for the



precise location of the hospital. Vidler's argument was presumably that the chapel of the hospital would have been exempted from tithes, and that this privilege would have persisted even after the dissolution of the hospital. Re-examination of the Tithe Award shows, however, that the close did not pay tithes because it had been granted exemption. The land was a garden in the 19th century and it is more likely that it was for this reason that it did not pay.<sup>5</sup>

The second grounds for the identification of the hospital site were that stone foundations had been found when a road was constructed to the cemetery in 1855. Vidler himself also claimed to have seen the corner of a stone building when the water mains were dug in the 1930s.<sup>6</sup> These two sets of foundations had been observed in positions either side of the trenches dug in 1989. In the most recent work there was no trace of footings. It is therefore not certain that the foundations were connected with the hospital or indeed with each other.

The significance of the negative evidence from the assessment has been to serve to reopen the question of the location of the hospital, which had previously appeared to be settled.

#### *Acknowledgements*

I am grateful to Alan Dickinson for drawing the planning application for this site to our attention. The assessment was arranged with the co-operation of Dr Andrew Woodcock, Christopher McGrath, and Mr and Mrs P. Haydon. Miles Russell kindly assisted in the excavation.

*Author:* Mark Gardiner, Institute of Archaeology, University College London.

#### *Notes*

<sup>1</sup> W. Holloway, *Antiquarian Rambles Through Rye* (2nd ser., 1866), 13–17.

<sup>2</sup> L. A. Vidler, 'Floor Tiles and Kilns near the site of St Bartholomew's Hospital, Rye', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* 73 (1932), 83–101; L. A. Vidler, 'Medieval Pottery and Kilns found at Rye', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* 74 (1933), 44–64; L. A. Vidler, 'Medieval Pottery, Tiles and Kilns Found at Rye. Final Report', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* 77 (1936), 106–18.

<sup>3</sup> L. A. Vidler, 'St Bartholomew's Hospital at Rye', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* 83 (1943), 73–99.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 89–92.

<sup>5</sup> East Sussex Record Office, TD/E1, parcel no. 156.

<sup>6</sup> Vidler, 'St Bartholomew's Hospital', 89.

## **Excavations at Michelham Priory, 1988**

### *Watching Brief in the Barn Yard Area*

In February 1988 the author, assisted by the East Sussex Archaeology Project, carried out a watching brief on drainage works in the courtyard area of the barn. Three trenches were excavated by shovel by the firm H. Wilson Ltd.

The three trenches were 48 metres, 28 metres and 6 metres long respectively, and 0.40–0.50 metre wide and 0.30–0.60 metre deep, except in the south east corner of the

southern trench which was 1.09 metres deep. The layers and features recorded were of 20th century date and no damage was done to anything of archaeological importance.

### *Watching Brief by the Western Range*

In 1988 the author carried out a watching brief on the installation of a fire escape staircase which involved the unblocking of the first floor door in the west wall of the Prior's Chamber and the excavation for the footings of the external staircase.

The door was photographed before it was unblocked by hand by the firm H. Wilson Ltd. in February, 1988. The stone blocking (Fig. 8 a) was numbered and each piece examined after removal. Some of the blocking was made up of re-used stone, probably from the priory buildings, as three stones were partially moulded. Behind the external blocking was a gap containing cement, mortar, tile and brick. Beyond this was a roughly constructed blocking made up of two courses of bricks forming an arch supporting a layer of stone, below courses of bricks and, at the top, a layer of stones.

Externally the Tudor door has survived intact but the internal stone features do not remain. Inserted during the mid-15th century and approached by a flight of steps (Martin, 1988), the doorway was still in use in 1792 as can be seen from a watercolour 'Michelham Priory' by James Lambert Jnr in the priory collections. It was probably blocked during restoration of this range by J. E. A. Gwynne between 1896 and 1915.

In April 1988 trench 1 (Fig. 8 b) some 0.43 metre deep was made by the firm H. Wilson Ltd. to test the ground. Wall 1, visible to a height of 0.30 metre and running north-south, was found. It consisted of two courses of unworked sandstone blocks of various sizes and bonded by a crumbly, yellow mortar. The wall appeared to continue further north and south. Layers visible in the sections appeared to be laid down as fill for the laying of turf this century.

Trench 2 was excavated by shovel by the above firm in April 1988 for the foundations of the fire-escape staircase (Fig. 9 a & b). Wall 2, some 0.85 metre wide, remaining to a height of 0.55 metre and running west-east, was found. It was made up of two, possibly three courses of unworked sandstone blocks bonded by a crumbly, yellow mortar similar to that of wall 1. Further excavation in the south-east corner of the wall revealed that the wall butted the medieval west wall of the western range and post-dates it.

The construction trench for the wall is indicated by a change in soil colour at the most 0.40 metre west and east of the wall (Fig. 9 b). The west section showed packing of the construction trench for the wall. To the south of this were several very thin layers composed of mortar, sandstone fragments and pebble gravel which were probably related to a construction phase. Over these were layers containing sandstone, pebble gravel and tile. Later than wall 2 were, in the north-east corner, a large worked sandstone block 0.45 by 0.45 and 0.30 metre in height that was removed, and below it, a layer of light creamy mortar containing white sandstone fragments (Fig. 9 b).

Wall 1 appeared to continue further west and may return to wall 2. Although neither wall can be dated, they may be part of an approach structure for the medieval door to the undercroft, such as a timber porch with stone foundations, as

**MICHELHAM  
PRIORY 1988**

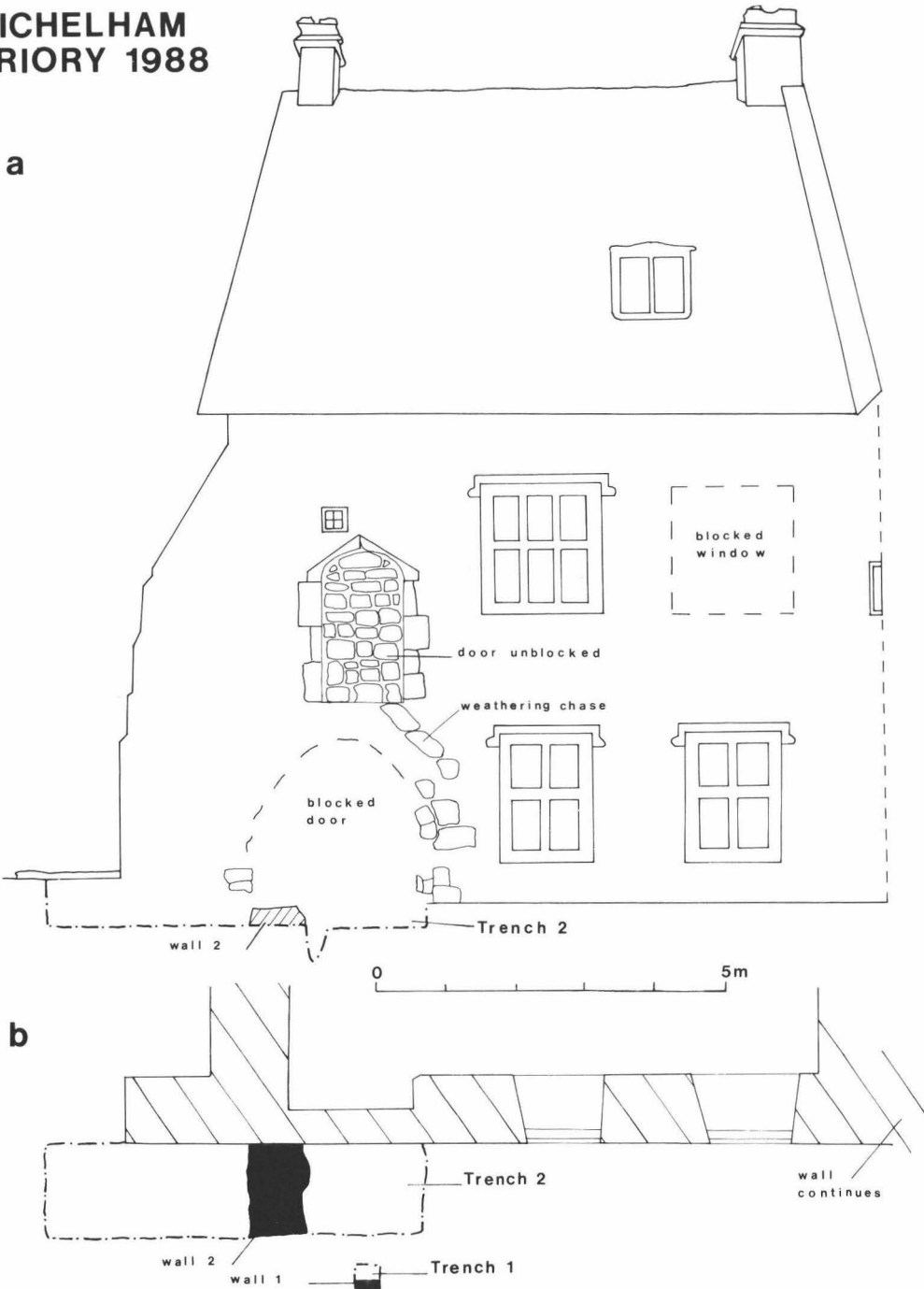


Fig. 8 Michelham Priory 1988. a) elevation and b) plan of the west wall of the medieval western range showing the position of builder's trenches 1 and 2.

## MICHELHAM PRIORY 1988

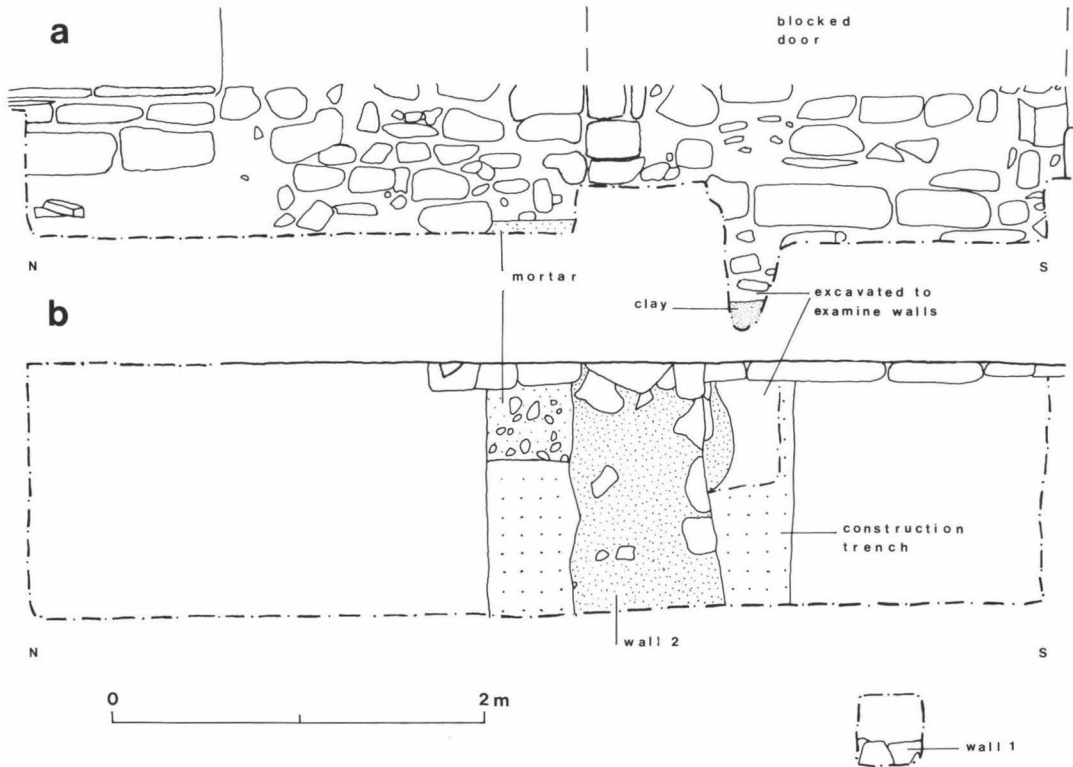


Fig. 9 Michelham Priory 1988. a) east section of trench 2 and b) plan of trench 1 and 2.

indicated by the weathering chase.

Alternatively, the walls could be part of an approach structure to the first floor Tudor door.

#### Acknowledgements

I wish to thank John Sitzia and members of the East Sussex Archaeology Project for their assistance during the watching briefs and Lawrence Stevens and Paul Smith for their advice.

*Note:* The archive for the above has been deposited at Michelham Priory.

*Author:* Jane Bellam, Michelham Priory, Upper Dicker, Hailsham, East Sussex BN27 3QS.

#### Reference

Martin, D. and B. 1988 'Arlington' *Michelham Priory Report* No. 1056 R.O.H.A.S.

### The Bellarmine witch-bottle and its contents, Michelham Priory

The Bellarmine stoneware jug on display at Michelham Priory was found during the digging of a trench for installation of main drainage at the priory in February, 1973. Commander G. W. R. Harrison, the late Curator, recorded that the jug was found in a trench that cut west to east across the west wall of the medieval cellarge range.<sup>1</sup> The Bellarmine was positioned just inside the line of the wall in the area of a threshold. It appears to have been buried within the building as the western range was still standing in 1667<sup>2</sup> although much of it had fallen into ruin by 1784<sup>3</sup>. The complete vessel was standing upright with its mouth 76 cm. below the surface. It was buried in a soil made up of clay, fine gravel and sand.

The stoneware Bellarmine has a rod handle and is covered by a mottled brown glaze (Fig. 10). The jug is 21 cm. high and the flat-footed, slightly flared base is 5 cm. in diameter. The hour-shaped mouth and rosette medallion are typical of mid-17th century types.<sup>4</sup> The jug is similar to Holmes type VIII.<sup>5</sup> It bears resemblance to fragments of another found at Parsonage House, Hangleton which are



Fig. 10 The Bellarmine witch-bottle (Photo: Mr J. Lewis).

assigned to a fire in 1666.<sup>6</sup> It is difficult to tell if Bellarmine of this date are of English or Continental manufacture.<sup>7</sup>

It is likely that the Bellarmine was buried as a witch's bottle in the mid-late 17th century. The jug was sealed at the top with clay and contained water, clay and gravel. It was washed out before the contents were examined in a laboratory. Examination of the remaining contents suggests that the bottle was used as a counter-measure to witchcraft to save the victim by throwing back the evil spell on to the witch who cast it. The furnishings of the Bellarmine, which included pins and, possibly an effigy, are typical furnishings of a 17th century witches-bottle.<sup>8</sup>

The custom of using Bellarmines as witches-bottles appears to have begun in Suffolk and rapidly spread to other areas. The Bellarmine at Michelham Priory is the only recorded example of a witch-bottle in Sussex and, together

with the witch-bottle found beneath the hearth at Hoath, near Herne Bay, in Kent,<sup>9</sup> is an outlier of the tradition. The burial of the bottle within the western range appears to conform to the East Anglian practice of burying inside buildings, either under the hearth-stone or under the threshold, rather than the London tradition of depositing in a stream or ditch, or of burial in a garden.<sup>10</sup>

During the mid-late 17th century, when the witch-bottle was buried, the priory was owned by the Sackville family,<sup>11</sup> who let the estate to tenants. Records show that John Lulham was the tenant from 1662-1678,<sup>12</sup> and that the Children family from Kent were Priory tenants from 1687 at least, but they had vacated before 1698—probably by 1693.<sup>13</sup>

*Contents of the Michelham Priory witch-bottle* (E. F. Freeman)<sup>14</sup>

The contents of the Bellarmine were submitted for examination to the Ancient Monuments Laboratory with a view to establishing if there was any evidence supporting the idea that it was a witch's curse or counter-curse. Such evidence might take the form of human hair, finger nails, textiles or wax.

As submitted for examination the contents of the Bellarmine consisted of a number of items. Of these, the largest was a number of pins, all broken and highly corroded, arranged in two regular and intersecting grids and cemented together by a material of glossy black appearance. Five smaller masses of pin fragments cemented together with ochreous or green patinations were also present; these were probably all parts of one complete mass before removal from the bottle. The remaining material consisted of a host of isolated pin fragments of varying sizes and a quantity of dark brown to light brown flakes.

X-radiography combined with visual inspection showed that at least 14 pin heads and 12 pin points were preserved, three of the heads being considerably larger (c. 4.0, c. 3.0 and c. 3.0 mm. in diameter) than the remainder (c. 1.5 mm.). The pin heads consist of globular spirals of twisted brass wire, suggesting that the time of manufacture occurred between 1543 and the late 1700s.

The composition of the larger conglomerations of pin fragments were investigated by several techniques. No metallic iron was present as shown by the null-response of the materials to a magnet. The glossy black substance cementing together the largest group of pins was shown to be essentially inorganic in nature by its lack of response to a heated modern pin. The lack of penetration by the red hot probe into the substance and the absence of any smoking or burning at the point of contact suggests that any wax, textile or other organic matter originally present has been lost. Furthermore, treatment of the black material with chloroform and petroleum spirit (40-60 C) did not produce any softening of the material, nor any waxy stains when pressed against filter paper. This is contrary to what would be expected of wax. Qualitative analysis using an X-ray Fluorescence Spectrometer (the 'Milliprobe') showed that copper, zinc, lead and a little iron were present, suggesting that the black material is merely the corrosion products of the brass pins themselves, probably being for the most part composed of cupric oxide. However, as the highly ordered arrangement of the pins suggests that some sort of binding matrix was present

at the time of burial, probably an effigy of some kind, it is possible that the corrosion products themselves have replaced the organic materials originally present to form a pseudomorph of the effigy. If so, as the remains are now so fragmentary, the nature of the effigy is now quite indeterminate.

The quantity of small brown flakes from the Bellarmine was hand-sorted by Mrs C. Keepax. One animal hair, probably human, was found, its clean and fresh appearance suggested that it was a modern, post-excitation contaminant. No finger-nails or other significant human biological material was seen. The brown material itself was largely soluble in sodium hydroxide solution, leaving as a residue a few small insect remains and some organic fibres. These fibres were probably of vegetable origin, probably modern plant roots.

Finally, the interior of the Bellarmine itself was examined, both by X-radiography and visually using a dentists' mirror. These examinations confirmed that all the contents of the bottle had been removed.

#### Acknowledgements

The late Mr E. Holden, Mr R. Merrifield, and Miss K. Steane.

Author: **Jane Bellam, Michelham Priory.**

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Commander G. W. R. Harrison's notes and sketches, held at Michelham Priory.

<sup>2</sup> Frank Child, 'Historical Sketch of Michelham' (1845) preserved at Michelham Priory.

<sup>3</sup> W. H. Godfrey, 'Michelham Priory', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **82** (1926), 1-24.

<sup>4</sup> J. G. Hurst, 'A Mid-17th century Group from the Parsonage House', in E. Holden, 'Excavations at the Deserted Medieval Village of Hangleton', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **101** (1963), 139-40.

<sup>5</sup> M. R. Holmes 'The So-called "Bellarmine Mask" on Imported Rhenish Stoneware', *Antiquaries Journal*, **31** (1931), 173.

<sup>6</sup> Hurst (1963) 139-40.

<sup>7</sup> A. Thwaite 'The Chronology of the Bellarmine Jug', *The Connoisseur* (April 1973) 255-62.

<sup>8</sup> R. Merrifield, *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic*, B. T. Batsford Ltd., London (1987) 163-75.

<sup>9</sup> H. E. Gough, 'Witch Bottle found at Hoath', *Kent Archaeological Review*, **15** (Feb. 1969) 19-20.

<sup>10</sup> Merrifield (1987) 163-75.

<sup>11</sup> L. F. Salzman, *The History of the Parish of Hailsham, The Abbey of Otham and the Priory of Michelham*, Lewes (1901) 254.

<sup>12</sup> Map drawn by Edmund Clifton, carpenter of Arlington, in 1667, and reproduced in Frank Child's Historical Sketch of Michelham, indicates that Michelham Farm was occupied by John Lulham. It is believed that Lulham had been resident at Michelham since 1662, at least, since the Hearth Tax Assessments for that year show him to have been taxed for 21 flues and Michelham was the only house in the parish which could have possessed this number

(Public Records Office E./17925). Parish register entries confirm his residence at Michelham until 1678, at least (East Sussex Record Office PAR 232/1/1/1).

<sup>13</sup> Kent Archive Office U.269/T.141/3; U.269/A.133/2; East Sussex Record Office WA.41/69. I have to thank Dr E. Doff for this information.

<sup>14</sup> Formerly of the Ancient Monuments Laboratory. Report AML 1973.

## Excavation of a Sheep Pond and Adjacent Lynchet, Eastbourne, Sussex

### Location

The site is situated on Mill Down on the south side of Ringwood Bottom valley, (TV 56739805) (Fig. 11 a and 11 b). The depression of the pond is situated about 50 metres from the Eastdean to Eastbourne road (A259) on the north-western facing slope of the valley which drops towards Chapmans Bottom. Once in the parish of Eastdean, it is now and has been since 1938, in the Borough of Eastbourne and forms part of that council's Cornish Farm.

The valley side appears to be Upper Chalk but the pond is situated on a localised capping of reddish Clay-with-Flints, which in the area under discussion, appears to be of considerable depth.

### History and Previous Observations

The pond is shown in an L-shaped plot 96 on the Eastdean title map of 1844. The pasture, called Mill Down and comprising 130 acres 33 perches, was at this time occupied by George Ashby and owned by John Davies Gilbert. As now, the plot is shown as being bisected by the Eastdean-Eastbourne Road. Large scale Ordnance maps since the 1875 six-inch edition, have shown the position of the pond.

In 1936 the pond was stocked (Shrubsole 1936) and in 1913 it was recorded as holding water (Richard Gilbert, pers. comm.). The writer first recorded a visit to the pond in August 1963, when it was described as a puddled pond with a muddy bottom, 62 feet (18.8 metres) in diameter. It had gorse growing in the bottom and was half-full of water, looked in fairly good condition, and was grazed by cows.

In August 1988, the writer visited the pond again and found it to be a waterless depression and suitable for excavation. The purpose of such an excavation was to examine the stratigraphy of the pond, the pond-maker's construction method and the pond silt.

### Method of Excavation

As can be seen from the plan (Fig. 11 c) and the profile (Fig. 12), the pond is situated adjacent to a field boundary fence and the main road. The pond is set deeply into the spur and was fed by a small embanked ditch from the road, which in Sussex is called a jatty.

A one-metre wide and 15-metre long trench was excavated from the north-eastern perimeter to the centre of the pond (section A-B, Fig. 11 c). A second smaller trench was cut into the south side across the jatty inflow (section C-D, Fig. 11 c).



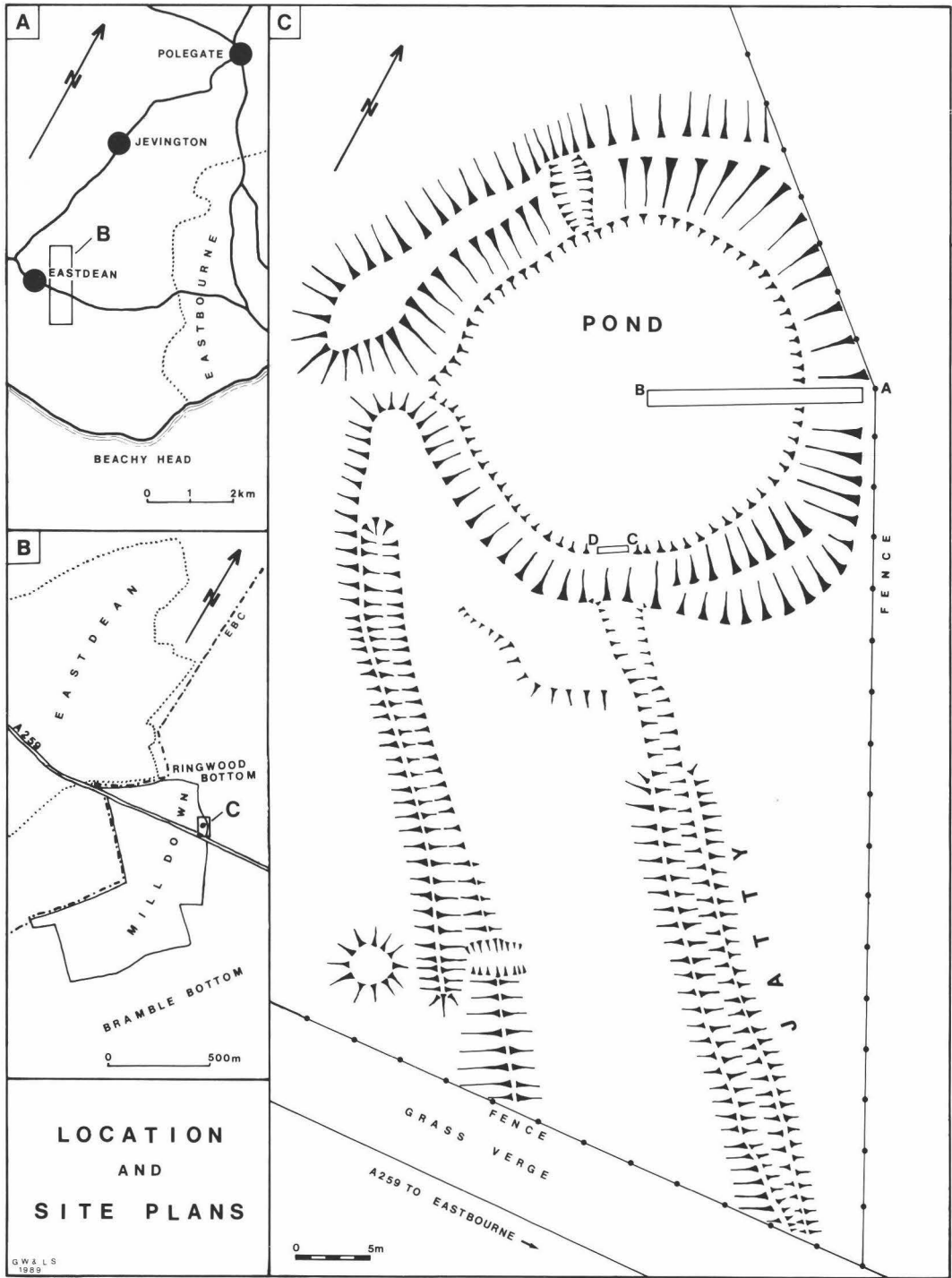


Fig. 11 Location plans (A) Eastdean and Jevington (B) Milldown and Ringwood Bottom (C) Plan of Pond and associated earthworks.

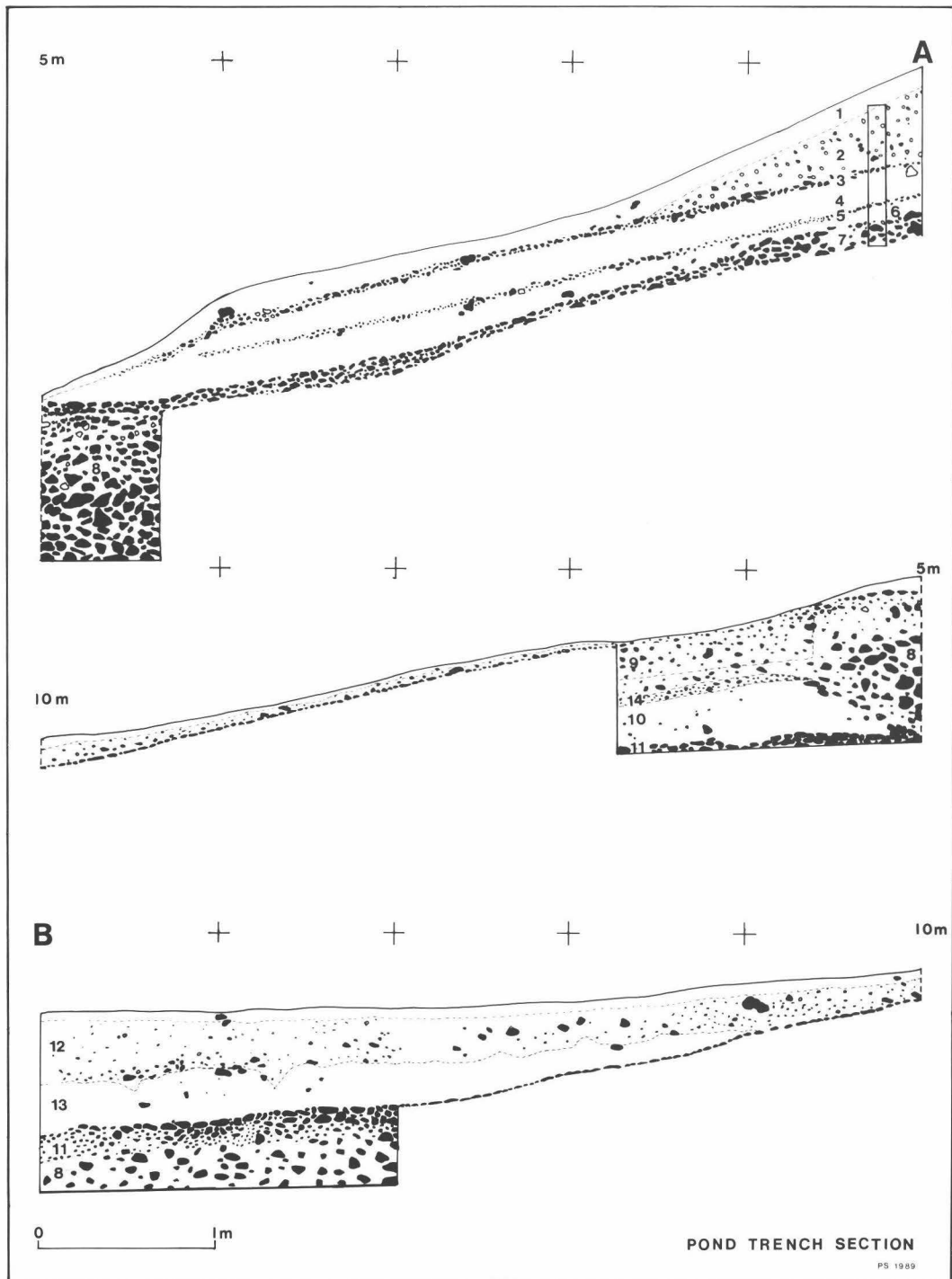


Fig. 12 Section drawing of excavation trench on the east side of the pond A-B.

*The Site*

The pond complex (Fig. 11 c) consists of the pond itself, dug just off the crest of the valley sides to the north, with its upcast piled on the northern half of the perimeter. Its profile shows a well-defined change in angle of the side, which represents the line of the collecting area outside the pond itself. Running southwards are two parallel linear earthworks. On the east the earthen embanked jatty ducted water into the pond. The other earthen embanked ditch, to the west is of unknown function and terminates at the road fence, where there is a small flat-topped mound to its west.

The eastern end of the excavation revealed evidence of an ancient field lynchet, composed of alternate layers of soil and flint (layers 4 to 6), in which pottery fragments were found.

The pond itself rested deeply in natural Clay-with-Flints which was probed to a depth of more than two metres. The rim of the collecting area was just below the lower edge of the lynchet and the bottom of the pond was 2.95 metres below the top of the lynchet. A layer of pitched flints formed the floor of the pond and there appeared to have been no detectable preparation of the clay below these flints. Above the flint floor of the pond there was a layer of silt (layer 13), in which there were some unremarkable finds. These included parts of a plough, broken glass, a jam jar (no doubt intended for the collection of 'tiddlers') and an ox cue. The silt contained a quantity of pea grit which had clearly entered the pond by way of the jatty. A section across the jatty where it entered the pond (C-D, Fig. 13) showed layers and lenses of pea grit and silt with pea grit, which it was assumed had been washed along the jatty from an early road surface.

*Layers of Pond and Lynchet Section A-B*

- 1 Turf and topsoil
- 2 Light grey/brown soil with minute chalk inclusions, flint and small pottery or brick fragments
- 3 Pitched field-flints
- 4 Fine brown, almost flint free soil
- 5 Dark brown soil with small flints
- 6 Fine brown almost flint free soil
- 7 Red/orange Clay-with-Flints

- 8 Red/yellow Clay-with-Flints
- 9 Red clay with flints
- 10 Orange/yellow clay almost flint free
- 11 Dark yellow clay with pitched flint
- 12 Dark grey silty loam with pea grit
- 13 Dark khaki coloured clayey silt almost flint free
- 14 Red/orange clay with fine flint.

*Layers of Jatty Section C-D*

- 1 Turf and topsoil
- 2 Fine pea grit
- 3 Grey/brown silt
- 4 Silt with very fine flint and chalk
- 5 Dark yellow/brown hard and clay-like
- 6 Dark brown crumbly silt
- 7 Yellow silty clay with chalk and a few flints
- 8 Dark brown clayey silt with numerous sharply shattered flint fragments

*Pottery from the Lynchet (J. C. Dove)*

Seventy-seven sherds of pottery (340 g.) were found in layer 6. All were abraded, some to an excessive degree, making identification very difficult. However, these sherds can be divided into two periods with reasonable certainty. The largest group of 69 sherds (315 g.) may be attributed to the Roman period and the remaining eight sherds (25 g.) to the late-Saxon period. The Roman group can be divided further into three sub-groups.

1. East Sussex Ware (Green 1977). 45 sherds (235 g.). This is a locally produced hand-made grog-tempered fabric, which is often found in association with smaller quantities of distinctively Roman wares in the surrounding area (Green 1978). The surfaces and cores of the sherds show considerable variation in colour, ranging from black to red. Among the group are five everted rims, while the fourth has two grooves on the outer surface, probably imitating a Roman form. The fifth rim is unusual, being a sharply everted square rim, which may have supported a lid. One body sherd has a raised thumb band decoration. Identical samples of this sherd were found at both Bishopstone and at Arlington reservoir.

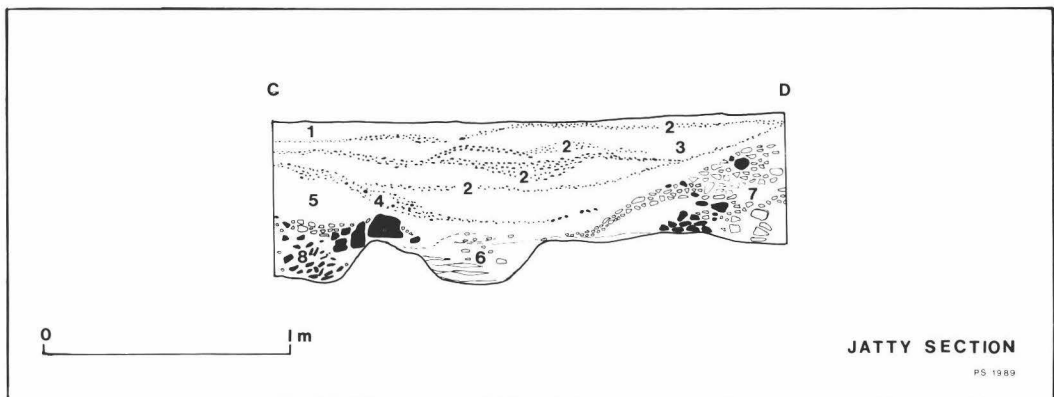


Fig. 13 Section drawing of Jatty C-D.

### 2. Sandy Ware. 19 sherds (75 g.)

At least four different fabrics are present in the group. Most have dirty grey or buff cores. Although these fabrics can be matched with other Roman pottery found in the area, it has not been possible to identify their source. They were not produced locally. Among the group are two rims, one round and one flat topped. Also, there are three fragments of bases. All are typical Roman forms.

### 3. Fine Ware. 5 sherds (5 g.)

Three of these sherds, although having severely abraded outer surfaces, are probably Samian ware. The other two sherds are off-white with very fine sand temper. Similar fabrics are occasionally found on late-Roman sites. The New Forest or Oxfordshire may be possible sources.

### Late-Saxon Ware

The remaining eight sherds (25 g.) are hand-made with coarse sand and quartz temper up to 2 mm. There is one small bead rim. These sherds are very similar to an unpublished group from the Bourne Valley site at High Street, Eastbourne. An 11th-century date is suggested (Vince 1985).

The abraded condition of the sherds suggest that they had been near the surface for some time, before being buried in the lynchet. Owing to the presence of a few late-Saxon sherds, this could not have occurred before the 11th century. The large number of Roman sherds suggests that there may be a Roman site nearby. The raised thumb band on East Sussex ware, together with possible Samian pottery, indicates a late 1st or 2nd century date for such a site. If the white ware was from the New Forest, then occupation probably continued into the late 3rd or 4th century.

### Soil Samples

Twelve soil samples were taken from the north section (see Fig. 12), ten of which have been set aside for further examination. Samples from silt layers 12 and 13 were floted and examined under a binocular microscope ( $\times 20$ ). Although seeds and plant remains were present, there was no evidence of mollusca.

### Conclusion

The lynchet is represented by three layers, two cultivation layers (4 and 6) divided by a flint scatter (5), which separates two distinct phases. Pottery from layer 6 suggests that early cultivation occurred some time during the late 1st century and may have continued into the 11th century. The second phase represented by layer 4, which was devoid of datable material may be interpreted as medieval or post-medieval, and immediately pre-dates the pond floor, layer 3.

The pond was an early sheep pond, in existence well before the middle of the 19th century. Its construction was a simple excavation into natural Clay-with-Flints, which was lined with flints for its protection. Water collection was assisted by the wide collecting area around the pond, which was also augmented by drain-off from the road.

Although the pond is the only clay pond in the Eastbourne Borough Council Downland capable of holding water, a few still exist in the 25 square miles of the Eastbourne Chalklands bounded by the Cuckmere valley to the west. The

pond opposite St James' Church, Friston, is a good example being on Clay-with-Flints and lined with flint. It is known to have existed early in the 17th century, for in September 1615, the parish register records it as having been 'cleaned and scowred'. However, at Kiln Combe, Cornish Farm, Eastbourne, there may have existed an even earlier example of a similar kind. During an excavation of a medieval farmstead in Kiln Combe, Eastbourne (Freke 1982), a clay-filled 'depression some 10 metres across was sectioned and revealed a thick layer of flints on the fill which Mr. Freke suggested was the rubble from the demolition of a house to the north of the pond. This flint layer may however, have been the protective floor of the pond. The medieval farm likely to have been associated with the pond is considered to have been worked between 1250 and 1550.

The pond under discussion was clearly an example of an early tradition of sheep-pond construction overtaken in the mid-19th century by the mortared ponds so common on chalklands today.

### Post-excavation Treatment

Using the information obtained from the excavation the silt just above the flint lining of the pond was skillfully removed by machine during August 1989. Silt and debris were similarly removed from the jatty so that water could once again flow into the renovated pond.

### Acknowledgements

The director acknowledges with grateful thanks those who assisted in the organisation of the excavation and giving permission for the work to take place; including Eastbourne Borough Council, Christopher Johnson, the farmer of Cornish Farm and Alan Ferguson, the Downland Ranger. The director also thanks all those who assisted with the excavation, including Arthur Sayers, Geoffrey Weyers, Geoffrey Turner, Timothy Martin, Mark Potter and Brenda Mason.

*Author:* Lawrence Stevens, 10 Calverley Road, Eastbourne, East Sussex BN21 4SR.

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This section of the *Collections* is devoted to short notes on aspects of local history. Those without previous experience in writing up such material for publications should not be deterred from contributing; the editor and members of the editorial board will be happy to assist in the preparation of reports and illustrations.

### Some Evidence for an Intended Collegiate Church at Pevensey

In the years immediately following the Norman Conquest a large number of new religious houses were founded and existing establishments reformed. Many of these houses were closely tied to their founder, serving almost as proprietary churches. That relationship is often apparent in the proximity of the religious buildings to the founder's residence. The collegiate church within the castle or at the gates, for example, was one of the common types of houses founded in the late 11th century.<sup>1</sup>

In Sussex, if this pattern prevailed, one might expect to find a college of secular canons or a monastery at, or close to the castles in each of the five Norman rapes. Certainly that was the case at Hastings, where the evidence for a college has been recently reviewed.<sup>2</sup> Founded or substantially endowed between 1068 and 1086, it stood within the castle held by the count of Eu.<sup>3</sup> At Lewes, William de Warenne founded and gave lands to the Cluniac priory below his castle at Southover established c. 1078 x 1082. His close relationship with the house is reflected in the elaborate tombs of him and his wife in the priory church.<sup>4</sup> Further west, William de Braose founded a college at Bramber at the gate of the castle in 1073, which however had a very short life; seven years after its foundation the college was dissolved and the church and lands granted to the abbey of St Florent.<sup>5</sup> In Arundel, Earl Roger founded a priory on a site to the west of the castle and appropriated to it 12 Anglo-Saxon secular canons from a minster church. The new priory shared the dedication of St. Nicholas with the English minster of which it can almost certainly be regarded as a refoundation.<sup>6</sup>

Thus for four of the five rapes there is evidence for the foundation of a religious house or the recasting of an Anglo-Saxon establishment close to the new Norman castle. In the fifth rape, Pevensey, the story is more complex. When the count of Mortain took possession of the rape of Pevensey it is probable that a collegiate church already existed on one of his principal manors. The church on the royal manor at Eastbourne had been granted to the abbey of Fécamp in 1054 by King Edward. This gift may have been made at the behest of Queen Emma who had family connections with the French religious house. With the church was granted an endowment of lands at Lamport in Eastbourne, at Horse Eye, and 12 houses and a saltern at *Caestra*. Though the last place might be Hastings as Round suggested, Pevensey seems a more probable identification since it lies nearer the church and the rest of the endowment.<sup>7</sup>

Domesday Book records two priests holding land near Pevensey. Roger possessed 'one hide at Horse Eye of St Michael's', which formerly had been held in common by clerics. He also had land at Cudnor, while a second canon, Godfrey, held one hide at Peelings nearby. Both had land on the count's larger manors, Roger at Eastbourne and Godfrey

at Willingdon. Finally, Roger and Godfrey were two of the four tenants of a vill at Peelings, the other holders being knights of the count.<sup>8</sup> It appears that, following Norman practice, land held in common before the Conquest by all the canons of the Eastbourne collegiate church had later been divided into separate prebends.<sup>9</sup>

It is evident from Domesday Book that some land of the endowment had been given after 1066, almost certainly by the count of Mortain. His purpose in enlarging St Michael's church at Eastbourne is not certain and nothing is known of its subsequent history; the parish church at Eastbourne is later found dedicated to St Mary.<sup>10</sup> It is possible that the count had intended St Michael's to be his proprietary foundation, but had later found its distance from his centre of administration at Pevensey inconvenient. It may have been for that reason that in the opening years of the 12th century he established a new religious foundation within his castle at Pevensey.

A charter of 1158 mentions that the chapel within Pevensey Castle was founded during the reign of Henry I, that is after 1100.<sup>11</sup> A *terminus ante quem* for the foundation is 1106, by which date the Rape of Pevensey had escheated to the crown following Count William's rebellion.<sup>12</sup> From the size of the endowment granted to the chapel it is evident that the count of Mortain's intentions were more ambitious than the mere provision of a place of worship for domestic use. The church of St Pancras and land attached to it at Arlington, the church of St Nicholas, Pevensey and a render of salt and *gavel*, that is a money payment, from the burgesses of Pevensey were granted to support the chapel.<sup>13</sup> Arlington was probably a minster church, a status suggested by its considerable holding of two hides of land. Like other wealthy minsters, it formed a very convenient endowment for a Norman foundation.<sup>14</sup>

It is very likely that the aim in granting these revenues to the chapel was to create a collegiate establishment staffed by canons who would serve the count in both spiritual and temporal capacities. There are no grounds for the assertion that the chapel had a parochial function: its purpose was more limited.<sup>15</sup> The project to create a college at Pevensey was, however, almost stillborn. It seems that the count had not fully endowed his foundation when the rape was resumed by the king; by comparison with Hastings College or St Nicholas church at the gates of Bramber castle, the chapel at Pevensey was not generously endowed.<sup>16</sup> In addition to the revenues mentioned, it may have possessed two and a half hides at an unknown location, but these are only recorded in a suspect charter.<sup>17</sup> The revenues could hardly have provided for a large staff.

With the seizure of Pevensey rape by the crown, the nascent college was reconstituted as a royal free chapel.<sup>18</sup> It was not typical of royal chapels for it had not originated as an Anglo-Saxon minster, nor was it well endowed and it had no parochial role.<sup>19</sup> At some time before 1130, when part of the



rape, including Pevensey itself, was granted to Richer de l'Aigle, the chapel was retained in the king's hands.<sup>20</sup> A few years later, in 1147 x 1152, the chapel and its endowment was given to Hilary, bishop of Chichester, to form a prebend in the cathedral church.<sup>21</sup> The position of the chapel within a castle not held by the king provided a source of friction on at least one occasion. That, coupled with the rather anomalous character of the chapel itself, may account for its disposal by the crown.<sup>22</sup>

#### Acknowledgement

We are grateful to John Bleach for his helpful comments on a draft of this text.

**Authors: Mark Gardiner, Institute of Archaeology, University College London; Christopher Whittick, East Sussex Record Office, Lewes.**

#### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> J. Cooper, 'The Church of St George in the Castle', in T. G. Hassall, 'Excavations at Oxford Castle, 1965-1973', *Oxoniensia* 41 (1976), 306-8; W. J. Blair, 'Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book', in *Domesday Book: A Reassessment* (1985) ed. P. H. Sawyer, 133-5.
- <sup>2</sup> M. F. Gardiner, 'Some Lost Anglo-Saxon Charters and the Endowment of Hastings College', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* 127 (1989), 39-48.
- <sup>3</sup> It must have been founded after Hastings was granted to the Count of Eu, but the college was in existence before Domesday Book was compiled. J. F. A. Mason, 'The Rapes of Sussex and the Norman Conquest', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* 102 (1964), 75; Gardiner, 'Lost Anglo-Saxon Charters', 45.
- <sup>4</sup> *Early Yorkshire Charters*, 8: *The Honour of Warenne*, ed. C. T. Clay (Yorkshire Rec. Soc. extra series 6), 54-5.
- <sup>5</sup> J. H. Round (ed.), *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France* 1 (1899), 396-9.
- <sup>6</sup> Domesday Book i, 23a; *Calendar of Entries in Papal Registers: Papal Letters* 4 (1362-1404), 239.
- <sup>7</sup> J. H. Round, 'Some Early Sussex Charters', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* 42 (1899), 77; D. Matthew, *The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions* (1962, Oxford), 20-21; A. Du Moustier (ed.) *Neustria Pia* (1663, Rouen), 223.
- <sup>8</sup> Domesday Book i, 20b, 21a, 22a.
- <sup>9</sup> Blair, 'Secular Minster Church in Domesday Book', 132-3.
- <sup>10</sup> H. M. Whitley, 'Eastbourne Church: its Dedication and Gilds', *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, 42 (1899), 104-10.
- <sup>11</sup> *The Chartulary of the High Church of Chichester*, ed. W. D. Peckham (Suss. Rec. Soc. 46 (1942-3)), 27, no. 115.
- <sup>12</sup> *Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora* 2, ed. H. R. Luard (Rolls series (1874)), 132.
- <sup>13</sup> Peckham, *Chartulary*, 68, no. 260.
- <sup>14</sup> Peckham, *Chartulary*, 42, no. 178; Gardiner, 'Lost Anglo-Saxon Charters', 44.
- <sup>15</sup> Cf. A. J. Taylor, 'Evidence for a Pre-Conquest Origin for the Chapels in Hastings and Pevensey Castles', *Chateau Gaillard* 3 (1969), 150. The reference in the licence cited by Taylor to the use of the chapel by *parochiani* and *transeuntes* does not imply that it had formerly enjoyed parochial rights. It was presumably echoing the words of

the petition emphasising the wide use of the chapel.

- <sup>16</sup> Round, *Documents in France*, 396-99; Gardiner 'Lost Anglo-Saxon Charters', 44-46.
- <sup>17</sup> C. Johnson, H. A. Cronne and H.W.C. Davis, *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066-1154*, 2 (1956), no. 1360; *The Chartulary of the Prior of St. Pancras of Lewes, part 1*, ed. L. F. Salzman (Suss. Rec. Soc. 38 (1932)), 145-6.
- <sup>18</sup> Peckham, *Chartulary*, 26, no. 110.
- <sup>19</sup> J. H. Denton *English Royal Free Chapels 1100-1300: a Constitutional Study* (1970), 13, 23.
- <sup>20</sup> *Victoria County History, Sussex* 1, 490, citing Pipe Roll 31 Henry I.
- <sup>21</sup> H. A. Cronne, R. H. C. Davis and H. W. C. Davis, *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066-1154*, 3 (1968), no. 184; Peckham, *Chartulary*, 68, no. 260.
- <sup>22</sup> Peckham, *Chartulary*, 28, no. 122.

### The Descent of the Manor of Burghersh

In a collection of local documents in private ownership which the present writer has been transcribing there occurs one which throws fresh light on the descent of the so-called 'second' manor of Burwash in the first half of the 16th century.<sup>1</sup> This manor is commonly accorded the name of Burghersh or Burghurst to distinguish it from the main manor of Burwash, though it will be seen below that earlier spelling was quite indiscriminate.

The manor was at the beginning of the 16th century in the hands of Edmund Dudley and, on his execution for conspiracy in 1510, was then held in trust for his sons. Subsequently, according to the *Victoria County History* (hereafter *V.C.H.*):

In 1538 his sons Sir John and Andrew Dudley sold the manor to Anthony Rouse. From him it appears to have been acquired by Thomas Wybarne of Ticehurst, who was holding Burghurst in 1559 . . .<sup>2</sup>

In fact, as the present document shows, Anthony Rous<sup>3</sup> indulged in some quick asset-stripping and sold the manor on, before the end of the same year, not to Thomas Wybarne but to William Wybarne and his son John.

The document recording this transaction, a parchment measuring 345 x 155 mm., has the signature 'Anth. Rous' on the bottom fold across a tag bearing traces of a lost seal, and is dated 20 November 30 Henry VIII [1538]. A separate document of the same date appoints Thomas Darell junior and Thomas Shoiswell as the deputies and attorneys of Anthony Rous for conducting the sale. Both documents are in Latin.

Shorn of its repetitive jargon, the main document may be summarised, in translation, as follows:

Know that I Anthony Rous, esquire, of Dennington in the county of Suffolk,<sup>4</sup> have given, granted and by this my present charter confirmed to William Wybarne, gentleman, and to John Wybarne his son all that manor and demesne called *Burghersh alias Burwashe* in the parish of Burghersh in the county of Sussex, with all its appurtenances, and also all those manors, lands, tenements, rents, reversions and services, woods and underwoods, roads and waters, with all their

appurtenances, lying in the parishes of *Burghersh alias Burwashe*, Ticehurst, Mayfield, Heathfield, Brightling, Westfield, Herstmonceux, Westham and Hailsham in the county of Sussex,<sup>5</sup> which I recently bought from a certain Andrew Dudley, son of Edmund Dudley esquire deceased.

But excluding and reserving to me, the said Anthony, my heirs and assigns all the following:

- those lands, meadows, feedings, woods and pastures, lying in Burghersh called *Courtelandes*<sup>6</sup> at present in the tenure and occupation of Henry A Wyke and Robert Foster;
- those lands with trees and woods growing on them which lie on either side of the road leading from the village of Burwash towards *Dudwell Parke* and between the lands called *le Rede* and the lands called *Courtelandes*;
- those lands, woods and pastures in Burghersh called *Glydwysh* now in the occupation of Henry A Wyke;
- those lands and woods lying in Heathfield called *Tottynsworth*, with their appurtenances, together with all parcels of the said lands in the tenure or occupation of William Roberts, the deputy and assign of Thomas Darell.

Excluding also the following:

- that parcel of land called *Smythscrofte* lying in Hailsham which I recently sold to a certain Nicholas Wyllard;
- all those trees which I recently sold to a certain Alexander Chamberleyn, as shown in the indenture then made bearing date 14 September 30 Henry VIII [1538].

[Here follow the usual *Habendum*, warranty and sealing clauses.]

Dated the 20th day of November in the 30th year of the reign of King Henry VIII [1538] . . .

The grant is endorsed, in a different hand, to record that seisin of the manor of Burghersh was delivered to William Wybarne by the deputies of Anthony Rous in the presence of 11 named witnesses. Below this, eight of the same witnesses attest the livery of seisin of *le Shrobbe*.<sup>7</sup>

The final agreement (or 'fine') for Anthony Rous's purchase of these lands was levied in the Michaelmas term of 30 Henry VIII, that is at earliest 7 October 1538. Not only did he dispose of all the property within six weeks, but he was obviously selling off parts of it before the final agreement was concluded. In view of the burgeoning of the iron industry in the area at that time, it is probably no coincidence that woodland figured prominently in the assets reserved to his own use. There seems little doubt that he had no intention of taking up the lordship of Burghersh and regarded the transaction essentially as a means of raising money. This is borne out by the fact that a new rental begun by the steward of the manor for Anthony Rous was overtaken by events and completed in the name of William Wybarne.<sup>8</sup>

William Wybarne, the new owner, was based in the area of Ticehurst and in Bayham, where he took on the forge in 1525. He was a man of substance (one of only five in the Rape of Hastings assessed at £100 or more in the subsidy roll of 1524), and it seems strange that the *V.C.H.* should not credit

him with the lordship of the manor of Burghersh; the more so as the Inquisition *post mortem* (hereafter Inq.p.m.) of 1540, quoted by the *V.C.H.*<sup>9</sup> in support of Thomas Oxenbridge's having held the 'reputed manor' of St. Giles in Burwash, is found on examination to state that 'the said manor of Gyles was holden of William Wyborne as of his manor of Burwash'.<sup>10</sup> Since two of the jurors at this Inq.p.m.—Godard Crotenden and Thomas Glasyer—were among the above-mentioned witnesses to the livery of seisin of the manor of Burghersh two years earlier, we may accept the statement as well founded. The court book of the manor is, moreover, quite unequivocal, containing the entry: 'First court of William Wybarne and John Wybarne lords of Burgherth . . . held there on 28 January 30 Henry VIII [1539]'.<sup>11</sup>

The court book subsequently records on 4 April 1551 a court held under John Wybarne, his father's death being noted as having occurred in 1549, and from then on courts are shown regularly in the name of John, associated at times with his wife Johanna. For this early part of John's lordship we also have independent testimony in a Common Pleas suit of 1570,<sup>12</sup> where it is reported that Thomas Goodsole of Burwash held lands (inherited from his father Stephen in 1551) 'of John Wybarne as of his manor of Burwash' and that he was still so seised of those lands when he, Thomas, made his will in May 1559. The manor remained in the hands of John Wybarne until his death in 1591, when it passed to his son William.<sup>13</sup>

It is difficult therefore to see how Thomas Wybarne could, as the *V.C.H.* says, have had the manor in 1559: the sole source quoted in support is the Inq.p.m. on one Thomas Morley who was said, at his death in January 1559, to have held certain lands 'of Thomas Wibarne as of his manor of Burryshe'.<sup>14</sup> But with John Wybarne documented as holding the manor before, during and after 1559, the claim of Thomas Wybarne—not otherwise mentioned in connection with Burwash—must surely be regarded as illusory. What is not in doubt, though, is that Burghersh remained in the possession of the Wybarne family for nearly 100 years from 1538 in a direct descent from William and John down to Benjamin, who finally sold the manor in 1630 to William Langham.

The ramifications of the Wybarne family tree, with its roots stretching across the Kent/Sussex border, are considerable, and the genealogy provided in 1855 by Somerset Herald<sup>15</sup> is unfortunately incomplete and in places inaccurate. A further study of the family would be valuable to both Ticehurst and Burwash historians, and might help finally to clear up the doubtful position of Thomas Wybarne in relation to Burghersh.

*Author: Derrick N. Steward, Highclere, Burwash Common, East Sussex TN19 7JT.*

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Copy held by E(ast) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice) ref. A 5316.

I am grateful to Mrs M. J. Smith for permission to publish this document, and to Mr C. H. C. Whittick for his considerable help and advice.

<sup>2</sup> *V(ictoria) C(ounty) H(istory)*, *Sussex* 9 (1937), 196.

<sup>3</sup> 'Rous' is the normal spelling of the family name.

<sup>4</sup> The family of Rous of Dennington was long-established in

Suffolk, with a line descending from the 14th century to the present Earldom of Stradbroke. Anthony Rous, later a knight of the shire and Justice of the Peace for Suffolk, was appointed Comptroller of Calais in 1542 and from 1536 was actively accumulating land in Suffolk, including Henham Hall, which became the family's main residence. Like his father Sir William, Anthony was a servant of Thomas Howard II during his ascendancy as Duke of Norfolk, and his position as Treasurer to the Duke may offer a clue to his brief incursion into Sussex.

<sup>5</sup> According to notes in the court book, lands of the manor of Burghersh from at least the 15th century were recorded as extending into the other parishes here named (see in particular E.S.R.O. ASH 206 f. 45 v.).

<sup>6</sup> These lands, bounded on the north by the R. Dudwell and on the west by the Burwash-Robertsbridge road, subsequently appear in 1567 in the *Survey of the Manor of Robertsbridge* (*Suss. Rec. Soc.* 47, 170) as being held freehold by John Hepden, 'late Henry A Wekes and before that Anthony Rowse'.

<sup>7</sup> The area of 'le Shrobbe' lay to the north-east of Burwash between the church and the R. Rother, i.e. along the present Shrub Lane. The separate livery of seisin suggests that the area was not regarded as part of the manor proper.

<sup>8</sup> E.S.R.O. AMS 5692/1 f. 50.

<sup>9</sup> *V.C.H., Sussex* 9, 197 n. 23.

<sup>10</sup> *Suss. Rec. Soc.* 14, 790, but quoted more extensively in W. D. Cooper, 'Notices of Winchelsea . . .' *Suss. Arch. Coll.* 8 (1856), 223.

<sup>11</sup> *Court Book of the Manor of Burghersh* E.S.R.O. ASH 206 f. 41.

<sup>12</sup> E.S.R.O. A 5316. Common Pleas, Trin. 12 Eliz., Ro. 679.

<sup>13</sup> *Suss. Rec. Soc.* 33, 115.

<sup>14</sup> *Suss. Rec. Soc.* 3, 4.

<sup>15</sup> C. Gaunt, 'Brass of John Wybarne A.D. 1490 . . . with some account of his family . . .' *Suss. Arch. Coll.* 8 (1856), 24.

visible. Truss B has a tiebeam, central post, and headbraces east and west to the purlin. The post lacks any other mortices. The tiebeam of truss C is not visible behind the plaster, but to be structurally sound it must be there, and it has a post, with an east headbrace supporting the purlin. The west face of the post is concealed, and so is the west end of the purlin. The western part, between truss C and the west wall, has a flat ceiling at wallplate level, concealing the belfry. In the eastern and central parts, the ceiling is crudely segmental, springing from about 60 cm. above the wallplates. Below the curve, the plaster is vertical, down to the inner wallplates, which can be made out as a slight change in plane on each wall between tiebeams A and C.

Because the external roof is gabled, and not curved, there must be a large space above the central purlin and below the top of the rafters, one metre or more in height. The purlin cannot be a ridgepiece. The posts cannot project above the purlin, except as a most unlikely extremely thin tenon. Lacking evidence for such a prolonged tenon, or any parallels elsewhere, this hypothesis should be discarded. Therefore, the purlin is a collar-purlin, and the posts are crownposts, not kingposts.

#### *Suggested explanation of the shape of the ceiling*

The central part is probably of the type common in the county, consisting of collar, sulaces, coupled rafters, and ashlar-pieces, boarded, lathed, or wattled, and crudely plastered. The collars rest on the visible collar-purlin, crownposts, headbraces and tiebeams. Clearly, truss A marks the east end of the nave. The chancel roof then is probably of the simpler and also common type, lacking a collar-purlin and therefore lacking crownposts.

#### *Conclusion*

Ceilings such as that at Greatham were once common, as may be seen on many of our churches by numerous nailholes in the timbers now normally exposed, but formerly obscured by boarding or plastering. The writer, too, momentarily thought the posts were kingposts, as the plaster conceals so much.

#### *Note on Terminology*

The 'collar-purlin' ought now to be called a 'crown-plate' (N. W. Alcock *et al.*, *Recording timber-framed buildings: an illustrated glossary* (CBA, 1989), 12).

*Author: Alan Stevens, 26 Lorna Road, Hove, Sussex BN3 3EN.*

## Greatham Church: The Interior of the Roof

In his recent article (Robin Milner-Gulland, 'Greatham Church: fabric, date, dimensions, implications,' *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, 126 (1988), 93–103), Mr Milner-Gulland says on p. 94 ' . . . there is a simple, old though probably not original, kingpost roof.' If old, a kingpost would be improbable in this area. Inside the church, walls and ceiling have been recently painted white or whitewashed, making form difficult to discern. Access to the parts concealed would be difficult, if not impossible; so the following is only an attempt at an explanation.

#### *Description*

The interior of the roof is in three parts. The eastern part is divided by a tiebeam. The central part has three partly visible trusses. Numbering from the east, truss A consists of a tiebeam, on which is a central post having a headbrace on its west side supporting a central purlin as broad as, or broader than, the post on which it is centred. There are no mortices on the east face of the post, and no purlin east of the post is

## Greatham church: a response

Mr Stevens' amplification of my very brief comment on the roof at Greatham is interesting and welcome—though aspects of it must remain speculative unless and until the space between the ceiling and the roof-ridge is inspected (which could have happened, incidentally, when repairs were made to the belfry-chamber after the 1987 storm).

What looks strange to my—admittedly non-specialist—eye is the purlin running above the three central tie-beams.

We may note that (if what is visible is its whole length) it is approximately a rod or perch long: equal in fact to the eastern interior width of the building. One might speculate as to whether it was originally a lateral tie-beam reused longitudinally when the roof was remodelled in its present form. Closer examination and perhaps scientific tests would be worthwhile. The presence of this purlin (with associated trusses) also seems of interest as perhaps a simple attempt to introduce a distinction between the elements of 'nave' and 'chancel', that is not apparent in the fabric of its walls, into the church's roughly rectangular plan.

The great importance of carpenters and of standard lengths of roof timbers in the setting-out of early churches has recently begun to be appreciated (cf. W. Rodwell in CBA Research Report 60, 1986). Even though the present roof at Greatham evidently does not date back to the church's construction, it has a significant place in its history, and its now uncommon retention of an internal ceiling emphasises Greatham's essentially unrestored state.

*Author:* Robin Milner-Gulland, School of European Studies, University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton.

### The Expences of an Election: Arundel in 1747

Valuable information concerning the cost of an 18th-century election can be found in the Beinecke Library in New Haven, Connecticut. Under the reference Osborn Files, Arundel, can be found the costs of the two defeated candidates, Robert Brudenell and William Leves. They were put up by the second Duke of Richmond, a leading court figure and the ally of the Duke of Newcastle, the greatest Whig political manager in Sussex. Arundel was a relatively expensive seat as the electorate was not small. The right of election rested with inhabitants paying scot and lot, a group that numbered 138 in 1751. In the previous election in 1741 a local landowner, Garton Orme, had been reelected after spending a considerable sum of money. His successful colleague was James Lumley who represented the Scarborough interest and thus held the estates that had belonged to the Earls of Arundel in the 16th century. In 1747 Lumley retired and the successful candidates that year were Orme and Theobald Taafe who had an estate near Midhurst. After the election Newcastle's brother Henry Pelham writing to Richmond mentioned 'the bribery of Orme and Taafe.'<sup>1</sup> It is not clear how much the victorious candidates spent, but the total spent on the election by all four candidates was clearly considerable and helps to explain why the constituency was regarded as venal in this period. Arundel ended the election with two M.P.s, one of whom, Orme, was suspected of having murdered his first wife, while the other, Taafe, was to be imprisoned in 1751 for cheating at cards in Paris.

Expence of the Arundel Election for George B. Brudenell and William Leves Esq.

The Poll was taken June 29 1747

1747				
Jan. 23	To the Duke of Norfolk's Keeper's Fee for a Buck	1	1	—
	To the Ringers, Runners and Stewers	5	5	—
	To the Gunners and Fidlers	2	15	—
	To Liquor where Mr Brudenel was met	10	6	
	To Messenger to Winchester for Mr Brudenell	1	1	—
	To two Messagers to Torton and Arundel		5	—
	To 2 Serjeants attending Mr. Brudenell	1	1	—
July 3d	To Mr Sefton for the Use of his House	21	—	—
	To d. <sup>o</sup> as Clerk for the Poll	1	—	—
	To His Maid a Gratuity	1	—	—
	To Mr Johnson for taking the Poll	1	—	—
	To Charles Verrall Victuals as per Bill	79	8	—
	To William Ferull d <sup>o</sup> as per bill	23	18	—
	To Thos King d <sup>o</sup> as per Bill		14	—
	To Mrs Gillum for Cockades, as per Bill	10	16	6
	To Mr Spurrier for Cyder as per Receipt		7	—
	To Mr Randal for Cyder as per Receipt	2	2	—
	To Mr Leves for Moody Hester as per Bill	16	2	—
	To Mr Bushby for a Suit of Cloaths for Thomas Baxold, and making	3	9	6
	To Thomas Baxold as Charity, as Mr Rich's present to him	10	10	—
	To Mr Birch for Wm Newman the same	20	—	—
	To a Goldwatch and Chain for Mr Carlton the mayor	30	2	—
		233	10	6
		66	9	6
		300	0	0

A had from B 300 0 0  
deduct the above amount 233 10 6

repay'd by B to A 66 9 6  
15 January 1748

*Author:* Dr Jeremy Black, Dept of History, University of Durham.

*Note*

<sup>1</sup> T. J. McCann (ed.), *The Correspondence of the Dukes of Richmond and Newcastle 1724-1750* (Lewes 1984), 248.

### Canvassing Lewes in 1767

Two letters in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California throw light on the election of Thomas Hampden at Lewes in 1768. Lewes was a seat where the Duke of Newcastle, the head of the Pelham family, had considerable property and influence and his support for Hampden was important in the election of the latter. Hampden (1746–1842) was the son of the 1st Viscount Hampden, and he wrote both the letters in question. Their recipient was a political connection, George Grenville, who had been first minister in 1763–5. Hampden's first letter was sent on 2 August 1767 and the relevant passage is as follows,

I have ventured to lay hold of the favourable disposition of the chief inhabitants of Lewes, backed up by the Bishop of Durham's, and the D. of Newcastle's interest there, to set him up, as a candidate for that burrough; and at present I have no apprehension of any competitor; and I hope also, from the present comprehensive, and dispassionate system, that he will not be involved in any future difficulties on that account.<sup>1</sup>

The Bishop referred to was Richard Trevor, Bishop in 1752–71, a close friend of Newcastle and Hampden's brother. On 24 August 1767 Hampden wrote again,

My son has not met with a single negative in his canvass: a few of the Gentlemen of the Place grumble a little at the Duke's going as far from home as Hertfordshire, to pick out a colleague for him; but no competitor has yet been, nor I hope, will be started. The old Duke did the honours of the county, and town surprisingly; and has great reason to be pleased with the unanimous respect shewn him by all his countrymen:—I don't foresee, at present, a single contest in the whole county of Sussex.<sup>2</sup>

Hampden's assessment was too optimistic. Though the county seats and the representation of Arundel, Chichester, East Grinstead, Horsham, Midhurst, New Shoreham and Steyning were uncontested, there were contests at Bramber and Lewes. Hampden topped the poll but the two letters are interesting in the context of what happened in the general election of 1768 for their revelation of the complacency of an important ally of the Pelham interest and of the sense of local unease about an outsider. The outsider was William Plumer, a Hertfordshire gentleman, who had been put up for Lewes successfully by Newcastle in the uncontested 1763 by-election. Plumer was approved as candidate for Lewes by a general meeting there on 18 August 1767 but, in the event, he preferred to stand for Hertfordshire, where he was elected without opposition. The sense of local feeling, revealed in Hampden's letter, helped to lead to the election of Thomas Hay alongside Thomas Hampden in Lewes in 1768. Thomas Hampden, the heir to the Trevor peerage as well as to the Hampden viscounty, also satisfied the requirements of local patronage. Clearly the Pelhams, in their management of Lewes, had to take note of local political sensitivity.

*Author:* Dr Jeremy Black, Dept. of History, University of Durham.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Hampden to Grenville, 2 Aug. 1767, Huntington Library,

Stowe papers, STG Box 22 (38).

<sup>2</sup> Hampden to Grenville, 24 Aug. 1767, Huntington Library, Stowe papers, STG Box 22 (39).

### Fairfield Folk at Bodiam and Rudgwick Fairs, 1841

The annual fair, one of the long-established institutions of internal trade, was losing its significance during the 19th century as a factor in the commerce of the country.<sup>1</sup> Yet for many people it continued to be an important social occasion. Writing in the 1870s, Richard Jefferies considered that perhaps the major attraction of the fair is 'that all the countryside is sure to be there. Each labourer or labouring woman will meet acquaintances from distant villages they have not seen or heard of for months. The rural gossip of half a county will be exchanged.'<sup>2</sup>

Many annual fairs were held in Sussex, though their number steadily declined from the 1830s.<sup>3</sup> There is much descriptive material readily available. Local newspapers often reported on them at some length, and accounts of fairs sometimes occur in volumes of reminiscences, such as Geering on Hailsham and Burstow on Horsham.<sup>4</sup> Useful though these sources undoubtedly are, however, they contain only very limited information on the people who ran the fairs.

In her recent book, Frances Brown gives life to a few of them. There was Jem 'Chewbacca' Matthews (1806–90), 'a fighting mush' who, if need be, 'could turn to any number of rural crafts and fairground activities to make money'. There was also Andrew Smith (1837–1937), the 'Charter Showman of the South of England', who attended the winter fair at Petworth regularly for more than 80 years. But her interesting narrative is as much concerned with tracing and recording the Matthews' family from the early 19th century as it is with the generality of fairfield folk.<sup>5</sup>

So, who were the stall holders and booth keepers, the strolling players and cheapjacks that tempted the pennies out of the purses of the visitors? Who were the cattle dealers that haggled with local and not-so-local farmers to a price that was acceptable to both parties? The following note is based on a rare coincidence of events which allows these very people to be glimpsed at two Sussex fairs towards the middle of the 19th century.

In 1841, both Bodiam and Rudgwick fairs were held on Trinity Monday, which fell that year on 7 June. Trinity Monday was the usual day for Rudgwick fair to be held, it being the shortened survivor of that granted to Alard le Fleming in 1260 for the three days of Holy Trinity, but the fair at Bodiam, also a truncated survivor from the middle ages, was held normally on 6 June.<sup>6</sup> The two fairs coincided only when Easter Day fell on 10 or 11 April. If on the former, Trinity Monday was 6 June, if on the latter, it was 7 June. If 6 June was a Sunday, as was the case in 1841, Bodiam fair would be held on the following Monday.

7 June 1841 was also Census Day. The census took place for the night of 6/7 June and, for the first time, the names of inhabitants were recorded. It is possible, therefore, to identify everyone at a particular place on that Sunday night and Monday morning. A close inspection of the Bodiam and



Rudgwick census returns allows the fairfield folk to be identified by name with descriptions of their occupations.<sup>7</sup>

#### *Bodiam*

The census return is a single schedule and the fairfield folk are clearly identified. They are listed first and their place of residence is given as 'Fairfield'.<sup>8</sup> The enumerator recorded a computed increase of people not normally resident in the parish of 53, and noted that 'the principal part of these persons are Booth and Stall Keepers'.<sup>9</sup> A total of 16 living units, probably carts or tents, can be identified at Fairfield. The list that follows (Table 1) is of all adults. Children, i.e. those under 16, have not been named unless they have a stated occupation. (Y) and (N) signify 'Yes' and 'No' in answer to the question, 'Were you born in Sussex?'

Early directories and guidebooks describe Bodiam fair as specialising in cattle and pedlary.<sup>10</sup> The occupations of the fairfield folk as recorded in the census return of 1841 indicate the presence of but a single drover, the elderly John Housily,

and the absence of any cattle dealers (compare Rudgwick, below). This suggests that at this time cattle were an insignificant element of the business of the fair.

In this context, it is interesting to peruse John Pinyoun's diary. A farmer of Sandhurst in Kent, he recorded his annual visit to Bodiam fair from 1828 to 1846 and only once, in 1828, does he refer to any dealings with stock.<sup>11</sup> By contrast, on 6 June 1832, he recorded that he went to the fair in the afternoon 'and in Castle for the first time'.<sup>12</sup> Could it be that for John Pinyoun the farmer, Bodiam fair had come to spell pleasure rather than business? Certainly, the occupations of the fairfield folk suggest he would have been better catered for in pursuit of the former.

Later in the century, however, the cattle trade appears to have returned, for Welsh-speaking drovers 'dressed in rough tweed or frieze with wide-brimmed hats', selling ponies as well as cattle, were attending the fair in the 1870s.<sup>13</sup>

The fair had disappeared from the official record by 1929.<sup>14</sup>

TABLE 1

<i>Unit</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Children</i>	<i>Total persons in unit</i>
1	William Mabb (Y)	30	None given		1
2	Thomas Petts (N)	45	Booth Keeper	3 all (N)	9
	Hester Petts (N)	50			
	Frederick Stacey (N)	20	Musician		
	John Blogg (N)	15	Musician		
	Benjamin Buxly (N)	35	Waiter		
	Edward Weston (N)	15	Waiter		
3	Jesse Kite (N)	40	Booth Keeper		3
	Harriott Kite (Y)	30			
	James Couchman (N)	15	Waiter		
4	James Rose (Y)	45	Stall Keeper		2
	Hannah Rose (N)	30			
5	John Rossiter (N)	55	Stall Keeper	2 both (N)	4
	Ann Rossiter (N)	50			
6	Richard Leonard (N)	30	Booth Keeper		2
	William Baker (N)	20	Waiter		
7	Charles Apps (Y)	50	Stall Keeper	1 (Y)	3
	Alice Apps (Y)	45			
8	Edwin Stelling (N)	30	Showman		1
9	Joseph Williams (N)	30	Showman		1
10	Thomas Fuller (Y)	45	Stall Keeper	7 all (Y)	10
	Ann Fuller (Y)	45			
	Thomas Fuller (Y)	20			
11	William Riley (N)	45	Showman		1
12	William Hayward (N)	25	Ag. Lab.		2
	Sarah Hayward (N)	20			
13	Timothy Daniels (Y)	30	Ag. Lab.	1 (Y)	3
	Jane Daniels (N)	25			
14	Thomas William Sutherland (N)	25	Basket Maker	1 (Y)	3
	Ann Sutherland (Y)	20			
15	William Roberts (Y)	25	Basket Maker	5, 3 (Y), 2 (N)	7
	Sarah Roberts (Y)	30			
16	John Housily (Y)	70	Drover		1

TABLE 2

<i>Place of residence</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Children</i>
King's Head	James Smith (N)	60	Farmer	
	Joseph Harpacre (N)	60	Farmer	
Cart	Joseph Ragless (Y)	45	Dealer	3 all (Y)
	Ann Ragless (Y)	45		
	Henry Ragless (Y)	17		
Cart	George Puttock (Y)	60	Dealer	
	Ann Puttock (Y)	50		
	Jane Puttock (Y)	20		
Cart	Charles Bailey (N)	40	Dealer	4 all (Y)
	Martha Bailey (Y)	35		
Cart	Francis Ragless (Y)	30	Dealer	4, 1 (Y), 3 (N)
	Hannah Ragless (N)	30		
Cart	John Mays (N)	45	Dealer	4, 2 (Y), 2 (N)
	Sarah Mays (Y)	44		
Cart	Edward Ragless (Y)	35	Dealer	4, 3 (Y), 1 (N)
	Catherine Ragless (N)	35		
Cart	Francis Rhoades (Y)	30	Publican	
	Ann Rhoades (Y)	35		
	Frederick Sopp (Y)	20	Waiter	
	William Charman (Y)	20	Waiter	
	Ann Tupper (Y)	20	Waiter	
	William Richesen (Y)	30	Bullock Dealer	
Cart	Thomas Greenfield (Y)	40	Gardener	
	Anon—male (ns)	30		
	Anon—male (ns)	25		
	Anon—male (ns)	20		
	Anon—female (ns)	20		
Booth	Alfred Hoar (Y)	21	Shoemaker	
	James Senfold (ns)	21	Ag. Lab.	
	William Stephens (ns)	30	Ag. Lab.	
	John Cole (ns)	25	Ag. Lab.	
	Thomas Foster (ns)	30	Ag. Lab.	
	(End of first schedule)			
Queen's Head at Bucks Green	James Grant (N)	36	Cattle Dealer	
	Clement Grant (N)	10	Cattle Dealer	
	Harvey Nash (N)	40	Cattle Dealer	
	William Curtis (N)	20	Cattle Dealer	
	William Bushby (N)	20	Cattle Dealer	
	Henry Duke (Y)	35	Farmer	
	William Duke (Y)	30	Farmer	
	Horia Etherton (N)	38	Cattle Dealer	
Woodshams	Edward Wood (N)	55	Drover	
	Anon—male (ns)	20	Drover	
Tent	Joseph Willis (Y)	35	Chair Bottomer	2, 1 (N), 1 (ns)
	Elizabeth Willis (ns)	25		
	(End of second schedule)			
Cart	John Willet (N)	50	Mat Maker	2 both (N)
	Elizabeth Wilson (Y)	52		
	William Willet (N)	20		
	Amelia Willet (N)	22		
	(End of third schedule)			

*Rudgwick*

The census return comprises three schedules. According to the enumerators' reports only the first two schedules contained computed increases, of 50 and 23 respectively. Both increases were due to the local fair being held that day which, as the enumerator of the second schedule observed, 'caused Cattle Dealers, Drovers, Pedlars, etc. in the district more than at other times'.<sup>15</sup> However, the identification of the fairfield folk at Rudgwick is not so straightforward as it is at Bodiam.

The list (Table 2) identifies 51 putative fairfield folk from the first schedule, 14 from the second, and six from the third. As the individual schedule totals do not agree with those of the enumerators on this point, some uncertainty surrounds the identity of the fairfield folk, though to judge by the occupation, place of residence or occasional anonymity of those listed below, there is little room to doubt that they were not normally resident in the parish and were there, in all probability, on account of the fair.

Like the Bodiam list, all adults and any children with a stated occupation are named. Where place of birth is concerned, (ns) signifies 'not stated'. 'Anon' indicates that no name was recorded in the census return.

In the late-18th and early-19th centuries, Rudgwick fair had specialised in horned cattle and sheep.<sup>16</sup> The occupations of the fairfield folk listed above show that cattle dealing, at least, continued to be a prominent feature of the day's business in 1841. The fair appears to have been in good heart. The *Sussex Express* of 8 June 1844 reported that Rudgwick fair, held that year on Monday, 3 June, 'was as well attended as usual'. Appearance in this case is deceptive however, for the fair was nearing the end of its life. According to the written recollections of Charles Tate, a past Rudgwickian whose daughter still lives in the parish, it never recovered from a fight that broke out between locals and the fairfield folk about 1850.<sup>17</sup> Certainly, by 1888, it had disappeared from the official record of fairs in England and Wales.<sup>18</sup> The fair day was remembered locally in the 1890s as being an excuse for 'beer and skittles' to be indulged in.<sup>19</sup>

That coincidence of events, the holding of the two fairs on Census Day, has allowed us to see, albeit ever so briefly, the people running the stalls and booths, buying and selling the cattle, and providing entertainment and refreshment to one and all. The assiduous student could, perhaps, through the painstaking study of much source material, provide biographical profiles of at least some of the fairfield folk. Suffice for this note to bring that possibility to the attention of potential researchers.

In a somewhat iconoclastic conclusion, a popular tradition may be laid to rest. Richard Jefferies wrote that 'It is a country maxim that it always rains on fair day, and mostly thunders'.<sup>20</sup> Frances Brown noted that it was 'traditionally wet' on Rogate fair day, and marks a song, heard there in 1862, which begins:

'Twas wet in the morning  
Just to keep up the Charter;<sup>21</sup>

The lie is to be found in the weather recorded on Bodiam fair day by John Pinyoun on the occasion of his annual visits from 1828 to 1846. One year, 1828, was 'thundery', 1841 and 1844 were 'showery', and 1829 was unspecified. With the exception of the late afternoon in 1840, when it turned wet,

the others were 'fine'.<sup>22</sup>

Author: **John Bleach, 29 Leicester Road, Lewes, East Sussex BN7 1SU.**

*Notes*

<sup>1</sup> J. A. Chartres, 'Country Tradesmen', in *The Victorian Countryside*, ed. G. E. Mingay (1981), 305–7.

<sup>2</sup> R. Jefferies, *Wild Life in a Southern Country* (Bradford-on-Avon, 1978 edn.), 115.

<sup>3</sup> 192 fairs in Sussex are listed in W. Robson, *Commercial Directory of London and the Six Home Counties* (1839), 'List of Fairs', unpaginated. Only 64 are recorded in 1888 in the *1st Report of Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls* (c. 5550), H. C. (1888), liii, 207–11.

<sup>4</sup> In June, 1848, for example, the *Sussex Express* reported on fairs at Brighton, Mayfield, Midhurst and Rotherfield. Such coverage was not unusual. See T. Geering, *Our Sussex Parish* (1925 edn.), 82–96. H. Burstow, *Reminiscences of Horsham* (1911), 70–74.

<sup>5</sup> F. Brown, *Fairfield Folk—a history of the British fairground and its people* (1986), Jem Matthews, 7–22; Andrew Smith, 67–79.

<sup>6</sup> Rudgwick: Grant to Alard le Fleming, *Calendar of Charter Rolls, 1257–1300*, 29. Bodiam: Charter of grant of fair for two days of St. Augustine in May to Edward Dalynngregg, knight, and Elizabeth, his wife, on 25 February 1383. *Ibid.*, 1341–1417, 281. St. Augustine's Day is 26 May. The change in the date of the fair to 6 June came about as a result of the alteration to the calendar in 1752. R. W. Muncey, *Our Old English Fairs* (n.d., c. 1935), 16–17.

<sup>7</sup> I was first drawn to study these particular census returns after reading two footnotes to the population tables published in the Victoria County History which mention fairfield folk. W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Sussex*, 2 (1907), 218, n. 7, and 223, n. 26. Note that the precise parish and county of birth are not given until the 1851 census, and that ages are normally rounded down to the nearest multiple of 5 years, i.e. someone of 33 would be returned as 30.

<sup>8</sup> According to maps of the mid-18th and mid-19th centuries, 'Fairfield' was located adjacent to the churchyard on the south side. The same maps show the field to the south of 'Fairfield' as 'Old Fairfield'. E(ast) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice) AMS 2511; E.S.R.O. TD/E99.

<sup>9</sup> E.S.R.O. XA 19/3.

<sup>10</sup> G. A. Walpoole, *The New British Traveller* (1784), 51; G. A. Cooke, *Topographical and Statistical Description of the County of Sussex* (n.d., c. 1830), 25; Robson, *op. cit.*, unpaginated.

<sup>11</sup> E.S.R.O. AMS 5595/2.

<sup>12</sup> AMS 5595/6.

<sup>13</sup> C. Skeel, 'The Cattle Trade between Wales and England from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries', in *Transactions Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, IX (1926), 147–48. I am grateful to Dr Brian Short for this reference.

<sup>14</sup> Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, *Markets and Fairs in England and Wales* (1929), pt. IV, 208.

<sup>15</sup> West Sussex Record Office MF 492.

<sup>16</sup> Walpoole, *op. cit.*, 51; Cooke, *op. cit.*, 28; Robson, *op. cit.*, unpaginated.

<sup>17</sup> The notebooks of Charles Tate are in the possession of his daughter, Mrs Francis of Rudgwick. I am grateful to Mr and Mrs Francis, and to Bill Stone, for this reference.

<sup>18</sup> *1st Report . . . on Market Rights . . .* (1888), 207–11.

<sup>19</sup> Charles Tate's notebooks.

<sup>20</sup> Jefferies, *Wild Life*, 114.

<sup>21</sup> Brown, *Fairfield Folk*, 58–9.

<sup>22</sup> E.S.R.O. AMS 5595/2–21.