

SUSSEX
Archæological Collections

RELATING TO THE
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY

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The Sussex Archæological Society



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 1967. Wimshurst, Mrs. Kay, Fox How, Copthorne, Felbridge, East Grinstead
 1967. Winmill, Mrs. Catherine, 34 Osborne Road, Eastbourne
 1967. Wolstencroft, Alan, 29 Bristol Gate, Brighton 7
 1967. Wood, L. A., 21 St. Paul's Road, Chichester

PART II. LIBRARIES, UNIVERSITIES AND INSTITUTIONS

1966. British Museum, Sub-Department of Prehistory and Roman Britain,
 London, W.C.1
 1967. Lewes Technical College, Lewes
 1966. Michigan State University, Library Department, East Lansing, Michigan,
 U.S.A.
 1967. University of California Library, Davis, California, 95616, U.S.A.
 1967. University of Kent, Canterbury, Kent
 1967. University of Western Australia, Nedlands, Western Australia

Sussex Archaeological Society



Report of the Council for the Year 1966

ELECTED MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL

Till 1967
 GARTH CHRISTIAN
 Canon GREVILLE COOKE, F.S.A.
 L. R. FISHER
 E. W. HOLDEN, F.S.A.
 Mrs. HUGHES
 Captain H. LOVEGROVE, C.B.E., R.N.
 I. D. MARGARY, F.S.A.
 R. T. MASON, F.S.A.

Till 1968
 W. IVOR GRANTHAM, O.B.E.
 G. D. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.
 H. S. MARTIN, C.B.E., D.L.
 The Venerable Archdeacon MASON
 Miss K. M. E. MURRAY, F.S.A.
 F. W. PAYNE
 L. F. SALZMAN, C.B.E., D.LITT.,
 F.S.A.
 F. BENTHAM STEVENS, F.S.A.

Till 1969
 E. BELHAM
 G. P. BURSTOW, F.S.A.
 ANTONY DALE, F.S.A.
 W. EMIL GODFREY, F.S.A.
 G. A. HOLLEYMAN, F.S.A.
 G. H. KENYON, F.S.A.
 Colonel T. SUTTON,
 O.B.E., F.S.A.
 E. A. WOOD, M.D.

1. MEMBERSHIP.—There has again been a decrease in the number of members of the Society but this was much smaller than in the previous year. The Council always realized that the increase in the subscription which took effect on 1st January, 1966, would entail some reduction in membership. It is considered satisfactory that this has been less than 10 per cent.; and there is now good ground for hoping for a gradual increase although it may be some little time before the previous high water mark of 1656 is reached.

The actual figures are as follows:—

	<i>Ordinary</i>	<i>Associate</i>	<i>Life</i>	<i>Honorary</i>	<i>Total</i>
1st January, 1966	1,277	187	94	10	1,568
1st January, 1967	1,255	176	95	9	1,535

The losses by death were less numerous than usual, but included the following:— Miss E. Bateman (1925), Miss Bennett (1925), Lindsay Fleming, F.S.A. (1926), Mrs. E. V. Piercy Fox, F.S.A. (1964), Mrs. G. D. Johnston (1946), the Reverend A. T. A. Naylor, D.S.O., O.B.E. (1946), Maurice G. Smith (1949) and W. N. Williams (1907).

Mr. Lindsay Fleming became a member of the Society in 1926 when he was already established at Aldwick Grange, Bognor, which was to be his home and the centre of his archaeological activities for the rest of his life. In 1939 he was appointed Local Secretary for Bognor and was also co-opted as a member of the Council. Pressing claims elsewhere led to his resignation from the Council in 1949 but in 1956 he was re-elected and continued to serve until ill-health compelled him to resign in 1960. He was an active and most generous member of the Council and was particularly interested in the Library. As the Society's representative he kept a most vigilant eye on all relics of the past in Bognor and the surrounding parishes and was quick to take up arms to defend anything of historic interest which seemed to be threatened. He was also much concerned with the preservation of Churchyards and the memorials in them. He was a frequent and valued contributor to "Sussex Notes and Queries". His industry and scholarship bore fruit in "The History of Pagham in Sussex", a voluminous and valuable work in three volumes published in 1949. He also edited for the Sussex Record Society "The Chartulary of Boxgrove Priory" which appeared in 1960 as Volume 59. Mr. Fleming was elected as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1957.

Mr. Maurice G. Smith first became connected with the work of the Society as long ago as 1923 when he was appointed Finance Clerk and Collector. With his wife's assistance during the war years when he was on active service he acted in this capacity until 1949. By that time the work of the Society had greatly increased and required a full time official, while Mr. Smith had qualified as a Solicitor. He therefore resigned and in recognition of his services was elected an Honorary Member. Mr. Smith however continued to be much concerned with the Sussex Archaeological Trust. In its formation he had taken some part in 1924, when, as may be seen in the printed Articles of Association, he had witnessed the signatures of the seven original subscribers who constituted the Trust. His early training in the office of a Land Agent and his subsequent legal experience gave him special qualifications for the work involved in the acquisition and management of the Trust's numerous properties, and in one capacity or another he handled its affairs throughout and was actively concerned on its behalf in various negotiations at the time of his sudden death.

Members will sympathize with Mr. G. D. Johnston, F.S.A., the Editor of "Sussex Notes and Queries", on the death of his wife who had always taken interest in the Society and its work.

2. OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.—At the Annual Meeting on 23rd March, 1966, Mr. I. D. Margary, F.S.A., was re-elected as President, and the other officers of the Society and the retiring members of the Council were also re-elected.

Towards the end of the year Dr. A. E. Wilson, F.S.A., intimated to the Council that in view of the urgent warning given to him by his oculist he could no longer continue to act as General Secretary even with the valuable help of Mr. Eustace Belham.

In these circumstances the Council felt it had no alternative but to accept Dr. Wilson's resignation though it did so with much regret, and at its meeting on 7th December it appointed Mr. H. S. Martin, C.B.E., D.L., as Acting General Secretary pending the next Annual Meeting of the Society. On the same occasion the members of the Council entertained Dr. and Mrs. Wilson to luncheon at which tributes were paid to Dr. Wilson for the outstanding work he had done for the Society as General Secretary since his election to that office in 1957.

The Council considers that the Society is fortunate in securing the services of Mr. Martin as its General Secretary. Mr. Martin first came to Sussex in 1930 as Deputy Clerk of the Peace and of the County Council of East Sussex. Subsequently in 1939 he was appointed Clerk of the Peace and County Council and held that appointment until his retirement in 1959. In this way he acquired an intimate acquaintance with East Sussex and he has many ties with the Western Division of the County.

Mr. Martin has been a member of the Society since 1950. In 1965 he succeeded Mr. F. Bentham Stevens as Secretary of the Sussex Archaeological Trust.

The Council at its December meeting also had the duty of nominating the President for the year 1967-68. Its members were unanimous in making an urgent request to Mr. Margary to continue in office for another year but he intimated that he had firmly decided that it was better that he should not do so. The Council's regret that Mr. Margary felt unable to accede to its request was to some extent mitigated by the suggestion that it should take the opportunity of showing its appreciation of Dr. Wilson's work for the Society by nominating him as the new President and by his acceptance of the proposal. Not only has Dr. Wilson acted as General Secretary for nearly 10 years but he has rendered distinguished services to archaeology in Sussex as a lecturer and a research worker and in many other ways.

The Council is confident that the Annual Meeting to be held on 22nd March will confirm with gratitude its recommendations both as to the Secretaryship and the Presidency.

3. MEETINGS.—The Meetings of the year have already been reported in the November, 1966 issue of S.N.Q. The first, which had been planned at Friston, unfortunately had to be cancelled owing to the continuous rain of the previous days. As will be seen in the notice of Meetings for 1967 Lord Shawcross has kindly said the Society may visit Friston in July. Meetings were held at Apuldram in May and at Amberley in June. In July over a

hundred Members took part in a walk from the Dyke to Edburton. The August Meeting was planned to coincide with the Worthing Museum's Exhibition, "Worthing Through the Ages." It was particularly interesting to visit the Church at Broadwater with the fine brass and tombs; then to see at the Museum documents and archaeological finds from the area and from other surrounding districts.

The Summer Meeting at Battle was held on 10th September to enable Members to visit the Battlefield, the Church and Battle Abbey; also to see the Bayeux Tapestry film. All these were made possible through the arrangements of the Battle Historical Society, and we are very grateful to the President and Members for all they did to make the day such a memorable one.

As always the Society is grateful to the many generous people who open their houses for Members to see; to the Clergy who welcome us to their Churches; to those who so ably explain the historical facts of the buildings; and finally to the various Women's Institutes who always provide a wonderful tea at the end of the afternoon.

The Autumn Meeting this year was held at Eastbourne on 29th October, when Members heard a very interesting lecture by Mr. A. J. Taylor, M.A., Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments and Hon. Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries. Mr. Taylor spoke about and showed slides of Anglo-Norman Castles 1066-1216. Illustrations were of Castles in Britain and in Normandy, particularly fine were the views of the great Chateau Gaillard. This meeting made a fitting conclusion to the 1966 programme.

4. PUBLICATIONS.—The usual two issues of *Sussex Notes and Queries* were published during the past year. The thanks of the Council are due to the editor, Mr. G. D. Johnston, and to those members who contribute so much useful and interesting material to this half-yearly journal.

Volume 104 of *Collections* was issued in January, 1967. In vol. 103, the preliminary matter occupied 68 pages; as only 35 pages were similarly used in vol. 104, an extra 29 pages were taken for articles in that volume. The reduction in the amount of preliminary matter is in accordance with the Council's decision referred to in last year's Report.

The interests of both Divisions of the County have been maintained in the current *Collections*. For East Sussex, Mr. A. J. F. Dulley writes on Pevensey in the Middle Ages, Mr. C. T. Chevallier on the Frankish origin of the Hastings tribe, and Col. C. H. Lemmon and Col. J. D. Hill on the Romano-British site at Bodiam. Miss M. C. L. Salt's long contribution on the Fullers of Brightling demonstrates the value of, and interest in, family papers.

Excavation reports relating to Amberley and Chichester are submitted by Dr. and Mrs. Ratcliffe-Densham and Mr. A. Down

respectively. Miss K. J. Evans contributes the usual record of archaeological work done in the Worthing area, and Professor Barry Cunliffe discusses pottery from West Stoke and Hollingbury; Dr. A. R. H. Baker gives consideration to the acreage of cultivated lands in the early 14th century. The Council is very grateful to all those who give of their knowledge and experience by sending papers for publication on such a wide variety of topics.

5. MUSEUMS.

Anne of Cleves House As forecast in last year's report, the major work accomplished during 1966 has been the construction of a "Period Room" at Anne of Cleves House. The room chosen is the one previously known as "The Parlour."

At the time of writing a delay in the electrical installation has prevented the Curator from proceeding with the furnishing of this room, but the first period envisaged is Victorian, and it is hoped that an interesting and comprehensive exhibition of Victorian furnishings will be on display in this room by the Summer.

A considerable improvement has been effected with the repainting of the shields of arms of Sussex families, which have for many years adorned the hall. We should like to thank Mr. Leslie Acott, who very kindly carried out this work.

Wilmington Priory Mr. Sanders is relinquishing the custodianship of Wilmington Priory after 6½ years good service, and is taking a post in the West Country, where we wish him well. His place is being taken by Mr. and Mrs. Gorrings, who are moving there from Priest House at their own request.

Priest House A new custodian has been appointed at Priest House. It is appropriate here to place on record our sincere thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Gorrings for their devoted custodianship over many years, during which time both the Museum and the garden have been looked after and maintained in such excellent order.

Michelham Priory The programme of Exhibitions and Events for the year is fully set out in the Michelham Priory report. This beautiful Museum is now one of the attractions of Sussex.

6. LIBRARY.—The successful conversion of part of the attic at Barbican House into an annexe of the Library has made necessary both the rearrangement of the shelves in the main library and the correction of the card index, well on its way to completion. The most notable accession has been the purchase of Horsfield's *History of Sussex*, enlarged to seven volumes, extra illustrated and containing the unpublished part of Horsfield's original manuscript. The first volume is unfortunately missing. It is hoped to have a detailed account of the contents of these volumes in either *S.N.Q.* or *S.A.C.*

Volume I (Brighton) was already missing when the set was sold some 30 years ago and the Librarian would welcome news of its whereabouts.

7. RESEARCH COMMITTEE.—The Committee met three times during 1966, its representatives consisting of active archaeologists and scholars drawn from many parts of the county. Numerous excavations, both major and minor, were reported, brief details of which appear regularly in *Sussex Notes and Queries*. A new venture was a Training Excavation at Bramber Castle when an average of 40 persons attended daily, receiving instruction in excavating techniques, simple surveying, electrical aids and allied subjects. A similar course at the same site is planned for August, 1967.

8. MUNIMENT ROOM.—For some time the Council has been concerned for the future care of the Society's muniments which are among the finest to be found anywhere outside an official records office.

From 1926 to the present day only two Honorary Curators of Deeds have had the charge of them; the first, the Revd. Walter Budgen, F.S.A., who built up the collection and calendared it; the second, Mr. K. W. Dickins, F.S.A., who followed on Mr. Budgen's death in 1952 and has with commendable diligence supplemented work already done and taken additional collections into custody. Without Mr. Budgen's enthusiasm and scholarship many of the historical records we now hold could have been lost for ever. This was in the days before county records offices existed when, only too often, archives of great value including occasionally manor court rolls were becoming lampshades or being burnt or just perishing in cellars for lack of care. The work of preservation was the province of the scholar and amateur archivist, but with the establishment of county records offices employing fully-trained staff the recognition of the country's archives as a national asset which must be preserved was complete. Continuity in their care and administration is essential if they are to survive intact and be of use for historical research, but sadly enough there can be no guarantee of a long succession of fully trained Honorary Curators of Deeds in the future. This fact was impressed upon the Council in October, 1965 when, following exploratory discussions, the East Sussex County Council made an informal offer to assume administrative responsibility, through the County Records Office, of the Society's muniments. An Archives Sub-Committee was formed and at its meeting in March, 1966 under the chairmanship of Miss K. M. E. Murray, F.S.A., it was decided to recommend acceptance in principle of the County Council's offer subject to certain assurances. These related mainly to legal ownership which must remain with the Society and the rights of its members. Negotiations which followed, always most friendly and helpful, have resulted in an agreement, endorsed by the Council, whereby the East Sussex Records Office will take over responsibility for the preservation and administration of the Society's muniments on the 1st April, 1967.

The County Archivist, Mr. C. G. Holland, B.A., will become Archivist to the Society attending meetings of the Council, and the resources of the Records Office such as repairs to documents, listing, boxing and provision of photo-copies will be made available. In return for these services the Society will contribute £50 a year and elect a County Councillor to serve on its Council while the Society will be represented by two members on the County Records Committee, thus protecting the interests of both parties. The Honorary Curator of Deeds will remain in office and work in consultation with the County Archivist and the muniments will continue to be housed in the Barbican.

Thus the Society's archives are assured of professional care and attention for all time which is a cause for great satisfaction and some relief. The Revd. Walter Budgen would certainly have approved this step in present circumstances, but it will never be forgotten that this great collection was originally brought together, fully calendared and cherished by him, an outstanding scholar and amateur archivist.

9. CHATEAU GAILLARD CONFERENCE.—This year the members of the Conference held their third meeting in Battle and on the 21st September visited the Castles of Arundel, Bramber and Lewes.

In accordance with arrangements made by Dr. Wilson, Mr. F. W. Steer at Arundel, Mr. E. W. Holden at Bramber and Mr. W. E. Godfrey at Lewes addressed the members. In introducing Mr. Godfrey, Mr. Arnold Taylor, the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, recalled the valuable work on the Castle and Barbican done by Mr. Godfrey's father, the late Mr. Walter H. Godfrey.

The members of the Conference were welcomed by Officers of the Society before the lunch at Steyning, sherry being provided by the Society.

At Lewes the members were entertained to tea by the Mayor and afterwards visited Barbican House and the Castle.

10. FINANCE.—The financial position is satisfactory as a result of the new subscriptions which show an increase over 1965 of £765 which includes £150 from three new Life Members. Membership as a whole is 33 less which should be rectified in the near future.

Liabilities have been met out of Income and accumulations on Bank Deposit Account for publications. From the latter the cost of the General Index of Volumes 76-100 has been met and from ordinary income £405 has been paid towards the cost of Volume 104 which has now been issued.

At the end of 1966 the cash in hand is £609—an increase on the year of £296.

General expenses show moderate increases as follows:—Office £53, Muniment Room £37, Donations £24, Library and Museum £235.

The Library and Museum payments include £260 for a copy of Horsfield's "History of Sussex," extra illustrated and containing the unpublished portion of Horsfield's original manuscript, together with a few early drawings of Lewes. These were obtained through the good offices of Mr. G. A. Holleyman.

The Margary Fund interest of £946 has been transferred to the Trust, making a total during 1964/1966 of £2,833. Similar transfers will be made until property repairs are complete. Details of this work are shown in the Trust report.

AFFILIATED SOCIETIES

Battle and District Historical Society

The Society played a full part in commemorating the Ninth Centenary of the Battle of Hastings. A commemorative volume entitled "The Norman Conquest; its setting and impact" was published early in 1966. It received wide approbation in the National Press and the initial issue of 6,000 copies was soon followed by a reprint of a further 6,000. An edition was also published in the U.S.A. On 30th September, a lecture was given by Professor Dorothy Whitelock on "William the Conqueror's 'Right' to the English throne." On 14th October, the actual day of the battle, a Commemoration Lunch was held in Langton Hall, Battle, whilst in the evening Professor David C. Douglas spoke on "King William and the Norman Influence" to a large audience, which included many visitors from France. The Commemoration Service in Battle Parish Church on Sunday, the 16th, was attended by the Bishop of Chichester and His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury preached the sermon. In addition to the above, members of the Society had taken an active part in other events in the neighbourhood and had acted as guides for several learned Societies, who visited the battlefield. The normal summer outings were necessarily curtailed but visits were paid to Glynde Place and Alciston Church; Allington Castle; Petworth Place and Easebourne Priory; and to Haremere Hall, Etchingham.

At the Annual General Meeting in November, Lieut.-Col. C. H. Lemmon, D.S.O., was re-elected President, Major L. C. Gates, M.B.E., M.C., was elected Chairman, vice Mr. B. E. Beechey and Brig. D. A. Learmont, C.B.E., Vice-Chairman.

Brighton and Hove Archæological Society

This year saw the Diamond Jubilee of the Society, founded by Herbert S. Toms in 1906. The anniversary date, 27th October, was celebrated, when the Brighton Museum authorities kindly invited the officers and Committee to tea in the Royal Pavilion, after which Dr. E. Cecil Curwen, O.B.E., F.S.A., spoke of the early days. His paper is reprinted in *Sussex Notes and Queries* xvi, pp. 261-4. Later Mr. J. L. Denman, founder member, opened a special display arranged in the Museum, illustrating the history and activities of the Society.

Mr. C. J. Sadler, who had been Hon. Treasurer for twelve years, and who had given much assistance in many other ways, retired from office this year and a presentation was made to him at the A.G.M.

Mr. J. Holmes, M.A., F.S.A., with a team of schoolboy helpers, uncovered a Roman well with 4th-century filling, and flint footings of the corner of a possible villa at Arlington.

Chichester Civic Society—Excavations Committee

The sixth season at Fishbourne was concerned with completing the excavation of the North Wing of the first-century Palace, and with the large-scale examination of the garden features found last year to occupy the open space enclosed by the masonry building. A good deal of the pattern of the beds and of the water system was elucidated; further remains of the surrounding colonnade in situ enable a clearer picture to be obtained of that feature.

Work on the Chilgrove Villa was concentrated on the Stockyard, and other country sites were trial-trenched at Upmarden (Pitlands Farm) and the second site at Chilgrove (Cross Roads Field). Within the City, features earlier than the burials of the Roman cemetery site on St. Pancras have proved most intriguing—perhaps belonging to the earliest legionary camp in the area. At the corner of East Street and St. John's Street over a hundred of the burials of the Black Friars' cemetery have been exhumed. In the Paradise of the Cathedral evidence was obtained of the apsidal east end of the Norman period, and of a preceding Roman tessellated floor. Various other sites in the City have also been examined.

The Cuckfield Society

During the year the Society has held one General Meeting, two Social Evenings and published three Newsletters for its members.

The Society has registered as a Charity and become affiliated to the Council for the Preservation of Rural England and the Footpaths and Commons Preservation Society.

The Footpath Sub-Committee has acquired maps of Footpaths and Rights of Way from the Cuckfield Rural District Council and the Cuckfield Urban District Council and corresponded with these bodies on the upkeep and signposting of footpaths. The Society had a working party engaged during the summer on clearing a thicket and remaking a lost footpath.

The present activity of the Society is the compilation of a brochure "This is Cuckfield," a directory of social, cultural and philanthropic societies, general information and a history of the town to be delivered free to every household in the parish.

Ditchling Preservation Society

During the year the Society has continued to attract increased support from a growing number of members and to preserve the historic character and pleasant appearance of Ditchling and the

countryside around it. The Society's associated body, the Friends of Ditchling, also continues to make progress with the laying out of the new Village Green.

Every winter the Society arranges a programme of lectures. These have recently included a talk on "How to Dig"—a very interesting and timely reminder of the importance of archaeology and of the very scientific methods now used, and also of the importance of correctly labelling any casual finds. To commemorate the Battle of Hastings a talk was also arranged on this subject.

More recently a Records Sub-Committee has been formed to explore more fully the history of the village and to expand the Society's growing collection of archives.

Eastbourne Association for Sussex Folk

During the past twelve months the Association has still maintained its strength, enthusiasm and keenness, the numbers still remaining in the region of 350. During the Autumn and Winter interesting talks and lectures have been given at which the average attendance has been between 80 and 100. In the Spring and Summer outings have been organised to Lancing College and Steyning, Hellingly and Chiddingly Churches, Brightling, Great Dixter and Northiam, Arundel and Uppark, Swanborough Manor and at Wisborough Green the Church of St. Peter ad Vincula. For this year a full programme is planned.

Hailsham Historical Society

The Society held regular monthly meetings throughout the year addressed by speakers on Historical and Natural History matters. It also organised an open meeting to see the Nature films of Dr. Richard Philps, the proceeds of a collection being donated to a charitable organisation.

It has been instrumental in the recovery and re-erection on site of one of the "Bow Bells" milestones.

In the name of the Society a stone has also been erected in Station Road marking the place where stood the old boundary stone of the Liberty of Pevensey. The original stone was lost when the road was widened.

The Museum was open as usual on Market Days from Whitsun until the end of September, manned by volunteers from the membership.

Friends of Lewes Society

The chief internal development of the Society has been the continuation of the issue of the quarterly Bulletin, which has now completed a full year.

Much disquiet has been felt generally in the town at a recent statement in the press by the Ministry of Transport, referring to the inner relief road. The Friends of Lewes Society is considering, as a matter of urgency, steps to be taken to draw attention to the fact that the people of Lewes do not want this road, and is trying to find a means of expediting the construction of a southern by-pass. In connection with this and with other planning matters, John Schwerdt and his associates are revising their alternative proposals for the town, and the Society is making these the topic for its Annual General Meeting on 17th March, 1967.

Littlehampton Natural Science and Archæology Society

The Society is making satisfactory progress, and is rapidly approaching a membership of 200. There have been summer excursions to Boxgrove Priory, Porchester Castle, Netley Abbey, Wiston House, the Blue Idol, and Shipley Mill, as well as to Findon, Steyning, West Grinstead and Coolham Churches. Saturday excursions included visits to the Trundle, Shulbrede Priory, Singleton and West Dean Churches. Illustrated lectures were given by Mr. P. Vine on London's Lost Route to the Sea, by Lady Mortimer Wheeler on Caravan Cities of the Desert. Excavations at Hangleton by Mr. Holden, and a film evening.

We have helped in efforts to keep open ancient footways, and bridle paths, and arrangements have been made to photograph and record the Old Workhouse at East Preston before demolition. An ancient Horse Gin has been photographed, recorded and it is hoped steps may be taken to protect it from damage.

THE SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY—ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS 1966

	RECEIPTS					
	1966		1965			
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions:						
Life members	150	0	0			
Annual subscriptions	3,119	1	3			
Income Tax Refund on sums received under Covenant	3,269	1	3	2,504	2	5
Grant from Ministry of Works to Vol. 102	246	16	7	232	6	1
Voluntary Contributions	101	14	0	120	3	0
Interest on £250 War Stock—Garraway Rice Bequest	8	15	0	8	15	0
Sale of Volumes	119	8	1	73	14	0
Sale of <i>Sussex Notes and Queries</i>	22	18	0	6	18	1
Sale of Tickets for Meetings	359	18	7	291	10	0
Interest on General Reserve Fund (see Note 1)	51	17	8	51	17	8
Interest on Margary Fund (see Note 2)	946	15	2	941	6	5
Interest on Library Deposit Account	6	19	4	—	—	—
Interest on Deposit and Trustee Savings Bank Accounts re Volumes	24	13	7	84	8	9
Sale of Library Duplicates	6	10	0	122	5	0
Contribution by Sussex Archaeological Trust	260	0	0	260	0	0
Donations	7	12	0	2	1	0
Miscellaneous	11	10	6	54	15	6
Total income	£5,444	9	9	£4,876	2	11
Cash at Barclays Bank on 1st January	313	11	10	511	0	2
Cash on Bank Deposit for Volumes	1,679	12	2	1,595	3	5
	£7,437	13	9	£6,982	6	6

NOTE 1. (a) On December 31st, 1966, the General Reserve Fund consisted of:

	£	s.	d.
£1,000 4% Consolidated Stock (at cost)	988	19	4
Deposit at Trustee Savings Bank	—	1	2
£326 16s. 7d. 3½% War Stock (at cost)	231	10	0
	£1,220	10	6

(b) During the year 1966 income received amounted to £51 17s. 8d., which was carried to current account

We have checked the above account with the books and vouchers and we certify it to be correct in accordance therewith.

S. E. GRAVES, }
D. M. ARNOLD, } Chartered Accountants, Joint Honorary Auditors.

13th February, 1967.

7 Pavilion Parade, Brighton

	PAYMENTS					
	1966		1965			
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions to Kindred Societies						
Library and Museum Payments	426	1	9	191	14	4
Muniment Room Payments	52	5	0	14	17	10
Printing and Stationery	174	4	10	312	8	3
Salaries	1,673	2	0	1,513	2	10
Postages	234	4	7	195	6	10
Telephone	22	12	2	30	4	4
<i>Sussex Notes and Queries</i>	263	2	9	409	12	10
Expenses of Meetings	366	10	2	290	3	6
Insurance	60	14	9	60	14	9
Volume 102	—	—	—	528	19	4
Volume 103	350	10	9	355	8	0
Volume 104 (on account)	405	10	6	—	—	—
General Index Volume 76-100	1,572	9	0	—	—	—
Travelling Expenses and Petrol	57	3	0	20	3	6
Donations to Excavations	50	5	0	16	5	0
Other Donations	—	—	—	10	10	0
Margary Fund Interest transferred to Trust (see Note 2)	946	15	2	941	6	5
Purchase of new typewriter	—	—	—	42	10	0
Miscellaneous	52	16	2	27	17	9
Total expenditure	£6,738	1	7	£4,989	2	6
Cash at Barclays Bank on December 31st	609	16	8	313	11	10
Cash on Bank Deposit for Volumes	10	16	2	1,679	12	2
Cash on Bank Deposit for Library	78	19	4	—	—	—
	£7,437	13	9	£6,982	6	6

NOTE 2. Mr. Margary's donation of £15,000 is invested in Trustee Securities. The income from them has been made available to the Trust for the time being for the repair of its properties.

SUSSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRUST

Annual Report, 1966

1. PROPERTIES. The number of visitors to the properties administered by the Trust continues to be satisfactory. The figures were:—

	1965	1966
Lewes Castle and Barbican House	21,734	22,896
Anne of Cleves House, Lewes ..	6,870	7,085
Wilmington Priory	3,055	3,560
Priest House, West Hoathly ..	1,952	2,095
Michelham Priory	34,300	39,967

2. FISHBOURNE ROMAN PALACE. During 1966 excavations have continued under Professor Barry Cunliffe, F.S.A. The work included the initial stripping of the gardens which is referred to in the report of the Chichester Civic Society. This has opened up a completely new field of study. The garden is the only one to be excavated in Western Europe and is far more elaborate and extensive than those found at Pompeii. When the study has been completed it may well prove possible to reconstruct it even to the type of flowers which were grown there.

The cover building over the North Wing of the palace referred to in last year's Annual Report has been completed and re-excavation and conservation of the Roman remains beneath the building has been begun. Expert mosaicists are being employed and assistance has been given by the Ministry of Public Building and Works in the treatment of the walls.

In addition to the gifts previously recorded, Mr. I. D. Margary, your President, has declared his intention to bear the cost of the projected Museum and Concourse and of the custodian's quarters and a store. It gives the Council the greatest pleasure to record these further examples of Mr. Margary's interest and generosity.

Progress has not been made in providing the access road and Car Park but new proposals for the development of the neighbouring land are maturing and it is hoped that negotiations will lead to a satisfactory arrangement in the near future.

3. MICHELHAM PRIORY. The 1966 season at Michelham was most successful with a record 39,967 visitors. Consequently both gate receipts and sales through the Dovecote reached a new high level. This entailed considerable hard work and long hours by all the voluntary helpers whose efforts and devotion to the Priory have been mainly responsible for making Michelham such a peaceful and delightful place to visit. There are now some thirty-four voluntary helpers who between them act as guides, work in and run

the Dovecote, arrange the Art Exhibitions in the Barn and special events and control the administration and finances. It is to this team of helpers that the Priory Committee and the Society are deeply indebted and members will, no doubt, wish to extend their sincere appreciation.

The programme of Exhibitions and Events for the year covered the Ancient Stained Glass from the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Alice Mummery Collection of Musical Instruments, the Turner "Edwardian" Dolls House, on loan from the Eastbourne Corporation, and Cartoons from the Towner Art Gallery, Eastbourne, in the House; various Art Exhibitions from May 23rd to Sept. 17th in the Great Barn; an Exhibition by the Sussex Rural Industries, an open-air concert by the Eastbourne Tudor Singers, a Flower Festival, a Concours d'Elegance of vintage and modern cars arranged by the Friends of Michelham and the County Produce Show of the East Sussex Federation of Women's Institutes. This latter event attracted three thousand five hundred visitors. It is encouraging to report that Michelham is rapidly establishing itself as one of the leading art galleries in the South of England. Miss Margaret Traharne, the stained glass artist, has given the Priory on permanent loan her large "Madonna" which is being hung in the Slype.

With the help of generous grants from the Ministry of Works and the East Sussex County Council, work has progressed on restoring the Gate House and should be completed early in 1967. During the year a new car park was constructed, additional and better toilet facilities provided, a new water main put in, extra heating installed in the caretaker's premises and the usual and ever increasing maintenance work carried out. There still remains a tremendous amount of work on the fabric and buildings which will have to be done over the next few years. Improvements have been made in the grounds with the help of the Friends of Michelham.

The Conservation Corps of the Council for Nature has been working steadily during the year on clearing the reeds from the moat and landscaping the banks and a start has also been made on constructing a new sluice gate at the North East corner. Michelham is indeed fortunate in having such an enthusiastic band of helpers to deal with its moat problem, a task which will take some years to complete.

4. REPAIRS TO TRUST PROPERTIES. The programme of major repairs will soon be finished. The torching of the roof of Wilmington Priory has been completed during the year and necessary repairs to the Barbican have been begun. In respect of the latter the Ministry of Public Building and Works have made a grant of £500.

5. LEGH MANOR. There has been a change of tenancy during the year. Mr. McGeorge wished to give up the last 5 years of his tenancy if arrangements could be made for a new tenant to take a

fresh lease. This has been done and Mrs. Huggett is the new tenant. This beautiful and interesting house is in excellent condition.

6. PARSONAGE ROW, TARRING. Last year it was reported that the cottage adjoining those vested in the Trust was offered for sale. The Trust however felt unable to take over the additional financial responsibility. It has since been learnt that the cottage has been purchased by the occupier.

The copy of the Tarring Market Charter granted on 11th June, 1444, which is exhibited in the Museum has attracted great attention.

7. LIST OF TRUST PROPERTIES.—The following properties are vested in the Trust. They are all open to members of the Society without payment. A list of them giving days and times of opening can be obtained on request from Barbican House.

LIST OF PROPERTIES HELD BY THE SUSSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRUST
ON 1ST JANUARY, 1967

1925.

1. Anne of Cleves House, Lewes (as Co-Trustee). Additional ground, 1928.
2. Wilmington Priory and the Long Man of Wilmington.
3. *The Marlipins, New Shoreham.*

1926.

4. Lewes Castle (as Co-Trustee). Additional ground, 1930. The Brack Mount, 1937.

1927.

5. Barbican House, Lewes.
6. Oldland Mill, Keymer.
7. *Nos. 6, 8 and 10, Parsonage Row, West Tarring.*

1935.

8. Legh Manor, Cuckfield.
9. Priest House, West Hoathly.

1936.

10. Bull House, Lewes.

1939.

11. Holtye Roman Road.
12. Ardingly Village Sign.

1940.

13. Pigeon House, Angmering. Additional land, 1948.

1959.

14. Michelham Priory.

1962.

15. Fishbourne Roman Site. Additional land, 1964.

1964.

16. Shovells, Hastings.

Note.—In the case of properties the names of which are printed in *italics*, the Trust acts only as legal trustee, and Local Committees are responsible for management and finance.

8. FINANCE. During the year expenditure amounting to some £4,500 on major repairs and conservation, forming part of the programme of works referred to in last year's and the previous year's annual reports, has been provided for. The greater part of this relates to Barbican House, Lewes Castle, the Barbican and Legh Manor Farm. This expenditure has been met with the help of the interest on the Margary Fund and by using part of the Meads legacy.

THE SUSSEX
Balance
as at 31st

1965 £		£	£
	QUALIFYING SUBSCRIPTIONS AND VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS to 31st December, 1965	3,412	
	Add Income from Margary Fund Investments ..	947	
	Subscriptions and Contributions received during year	38	
3,412		—	4,397
ENDOWMENT FUNDS			
	Thomas Stanford	11,624	
	Priest House	200	
	Holtye Roman Road	300	
	Ardingly Village Sign	100	
	Legh Manor	1,000	
	Sussex Photographic Record Survey	23	
13,222		—	13,247
TRUST FUNDS			
	Legh Manor	1,085	
	Fishbourne Equipment	20,000	
	Mrs. Meads Legacy	3,806	
	Holtye Roman Road	150	
25,046		—	25,041
REVENUE ACCOUNTS			
6,803	Net Surplus to date per Revenue Accounts ..		7,936
1,251	SUNDRY CREDITORS		486
	NOTE.—Special Repairs to various properties of the Trust were in hand at 31st December, 1966, the contracts for which amounted to £1,274 (£3,325)		
£49,734		—	£51,107

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SUSSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRUST
(An Association not for Profit incorporated under the Companies Act).

We have obtained all the information and explanations which to the best of our knowledge and belief were necessary for the purposes of our audit, except in so far as concerns Michelham Priory in respect of which the Council of the Trust has directed us to accept the Management Committee's Accounts which have been independently audited by another Chartered Accountant. In our opinion proper books of account have been kept by the Trust so far as appears from our examination of those books. We have examined the above Balance Sheet and accompanying summaries of the Revenue Accounts and these are in agreement with the books of account.

No figures have been included in the above Balance Sheet in respect of various properties which the Trust has received by way of gift, nor have adjustments been made for all items of accruing expenditure and income.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRUST

Sheet

December, 1966

1965									
£							£		£
20,591	EXPENDITURE ON PROPERTIES TO 31ST DECEMBER, 1965	..	..	..	..	..			20,591
	Add: Cost of Repairs to Lewes Castle, Barbican and Barbican House, less Ministry Grant received	..	..	..	..	..			3,313
									<u>23,904</u>
	Less: Endowment Fund and Specific Donations						3,472		
	Lewes Castle Repair Fund	..	..	..	..	..	2,362		
	Anne of Cleves Extension Fund	..	..	..	..	..	4,465		
	Oldlands Mill Fund	..	..	..	..	..	568		
	Wilmington Priory Repair Fund	..	..	..	..	..	<u>2,710</u>		
13,558									13,577
<u>7,033</u>									<u>10,327</u>
	ENDOWMENT FUND INVESTMENTS								
	Thomas Stanford	..	..	..	..	..	11,624		
	Priest House	..	..	..	..	..	200		
	Holtje Roman Road	..	..	..	..	..	300		
	Ardingly Village Sign	..	..	..	..	..	100		
	Legh Manor	..	..	..	..	..	1,000		
	Sussex Photographic Record Survey	..	..	..	..	..	<u>23</u>		
13,222									13,247
	(Market Value at 31st December, 1966						£12,491		
							1965 £12,646)		
	TRUST FUND INVESTMENTS								
	Legh Manor	..	..	..	..	..	1,085		
	Fishbourne Equipment	..	..	..	..	..	21,769		
	Mrs. Meads Legacy	..	..	..	..	..	1,960		
	Holtje Roman Road	..	..	..	..	..	<u>150</u>		
25,395									24,964
	(Market Value at 31st December, 1966						£25,246		
							1965 £25,720)		
801	SUNDRY DEBTORS	..	..	..	..	..			333
3,283	CASH AT BANK AND IN HAND	..	..	..	..	..			2,236
<u>£49,734</u>									<u>£51,107</u>

Subject to these remarks, in our opinion and to the best of our information and according to the explanations given us, the said Accounts give the information required by the Companies Act, 1948 in the manner so required and the Balance Sheet gives a true and fair view of the state of the Trust's affairs as at 31st December, 1966, and the Revenue Accounts give a true and fair view of the income and expenditure for the year on that date.

GRAVES, GODDARD & HORTON STEPHENS

7 Pavilion Parade, Brighton.
13th February, 1967.

Chartered Accountants

	Oldlands Mill Keymer		Shovells Hastings		Anne of Cleves House Lewes		Wilmington Priory		Priest House W. Hoathly		Lewes Castle and Barbican House		Long Man of Wilmington		Meads Legacy	
	This Year	Last Year	This Year	Last Year	This Year	Last Year	This Year	Last Year	This Year	Last Year	This Year	Last Year	This Year	Last Year	This Year	Last Year
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Income for the year	25	25	300	229	662	361	134	142	77	74	1,528	1,539	-	-	109	149
Less Expenditure	2	3	51	827	1,226	1,104	492	512	394	144	2,499	1,947	-	-	-	60
Surplus for the year	23	22	249	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	109	89
Deficit for the year	-	-	-	598	564	743	358	370	317	70	971	408	-	-	-	-
Surplus brought forward	158	136	-	211	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	55	-
Deficit brought forward	-	-	387	-	504	-	980	610	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	34
Amounts transferred	181	158	138	387	1,068	743	1,338	980	317	70	971	408	2	2	164	55
(a) Thomas Stanford Trust	-	-	-	-	-	239	-	-	-	-	651	408	-	-	-	-
(b) Pigeon House	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	317	70	-	-	-	-	-	-
Surplus carried forward	181	158	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	164	55
Deficit carried forward	-	-	138	387	1,068	504	1,338	980	-	-	320	-	2	2	-	-

SUMMARY OF BALANCES AS AT 31st DECEMBER, 1966

	Fishbourne Equipment		Michelham Priory		General Fund		Surplus	Deficit
	This Year	Last Year	This Year	Last Year	This Year	Last Year		
	£	£	£	£	£	£		
Income for the year	2,269	1,164	7,279	8,601	-	-	4,740	
Less Expenditure	336	217	7,398	6,429	258	286	722	
Surplus for the year	1,933	947	-	2,172	-	-	338	
Deficit for the year	-	-	119	-	258	286	159	
Surplus brought forward	1,476	529	1,207	-	-	-	33	
Deficit brought forward	-	-	965	-	-	-	206	
Amounts transferred:	3,409	1,476	1,088	1,207	258	286	20	
(a) Thomas Stanford Trust	-	-	-	-	-	286	181	
(b) Pigeon House	-	-	-	-	-	-	138	
Surplus carried forward	3,409	1,476	1,088	1,207	-	-	1,068	
Deficit carried forward	-	-	-	-	258	-	1,338	

Legh Manor: General	4,740
Endowment	722
Bull House, Lewes	338
Holtze Roman Road	159
Ardingly Village Sign	33
Pigeon House, Angmering	206
Sussex Photographic Record Survey	20
Oldlands Mill, Keymer	181
Shovells, Hastings	
Anne of Cleves House, Lewes	
Wilmington Priory	
Lewes Castle and Barbican House	
Long Man of Wilmington	
Meads Legacy	164
	6,563
	2,866
Fishbourne Equipment	3,409
Michelham Priory	1,088
General Fund	258
	11,060
	3,124
	7,936
	11,060
	11,060

Additions to Library to July, 1967

1. Mr. B. E. MALLOCK
H. Boswell, *Antiquities of England and Wales*. N.D.
2. Mr. M. J. LEPPARD
John Mason Neale. 1966 (author's pamphlet).
3. Miss V. SMITH
 - (1) Hy. Hoper, *Sermon at Visitation at Lewes*. 1829.
 - (2) Edm. Greenfield, *John Vinall's Remarks . . . answered*. 1822.
 - (3) Jos. Kerby, *Joseph and his brethren* (poem). 1816.
 - (4) S. B. Maitland, *The Brighton Pulpit*, No. 6: Sermon at St. James' Chapel. 1854.
 - (5) *Case of the Trust Governors of Free Chapel of St. James'*. 1813.
 - (6) *On the Supply of Fish for the Manufacturing Poor*. 1812.
 - (7) 16 non-Sussex pamphlets. 1760-1831.
4. Mr. E. C. APEDAILE
Byways round Horsham. 1929 (author's copy).
5. Mr. CLAUDE BISHOP
H. L. Smith, *Lead Font in Brooklands Church (Kent)*.
6. Mr. F. BENTHAM STEVENS
 - (1) Barcombe Par. Reg: Burials 1627-1682 (typescript).
 - (2) Barcombe Churchwardens 1614-1830 (typescript).
 - (3) 7 Lewes Pamphlets by Walter H. Godfrey.
7. Col. Sir TUFTON BEAMISH, M.P.
The Battle of Lewes Memorial. 1966 (author's copy).
8. Mr. KENNETH CHILD
Photos and MSS. relating to Child family at Michelham.
(deposited at Michelham Priory).
9. Mr. A. FAYLE
3 watercolours of Lewes Brooks and Barcombe, by L. W. Andrews, c. 1907.
10. EAST SUSSEX COUNTY COUNCIL
The Danny Archives, ed. Judith A. Wooldridge.
11. Miss GERTRUDE KEECH
Staplehurst and the Weald of Kent. 1966 (author's copy).

12. Dr. L. F. SALZMAN
H. E. Julyan. *Telscombe*. c. 1940
13. Mr. C. E. KNIGHT FARR
Alex. Cruden, *Concordance to the Holy Scriptures*. 7th edn.,
1824.
14. Mr. E. A. BILLENNESS
Brighton: Bishop's Trs. Burials, 1689-1701 (typescript).
15. Rev. E. MATTHIAS
History of the Parish of Chailey. 1967. (author's pamphlet).
16. Miss G. M. POWELL
(1) *Thakeham: Guide to the Church*. 1966. (author's
pamphlet).
(2) *Notes on Abingworth*. 1966.
17. Mr. J. M. BAINES
Report on a drain near Pevensey Castle (typescript).
18. Mr. F. C. SANDERS
Sussex Life: vols. 1 and 2. 1965-6.
19. Mr. E. W. HOLDEN
E. Walford Lloyd, *Sussex Cattle*.
20. Mr. HORACE BRIGHTWELL
Harting: 6 photos of monuments; 3 drawings of frescoes;
analysis of Par. Reg. 1825-1864; papers on Pucker-
idge Charity.
21. KENT RECORDS
Vol. xix: Felix Hull, *Cal. of White and Black Books of the
Cinque Ports*. 1967.
22. PARISH COUNCIL OF ST. SAVIOUR.
St. Saviours, Eastbourne; 1867-1967.
23. Mr. T. T. HARRIS
Dictionary of Mythology and Antiquities. N.D.
24. Rev. R. E. A. LLOYD
Hamsey and its Churches. 1967 (author's pamphlet).
25. Mr. C. R. MORLING (*bequest*).
Album of sketches of Seaford and district by H. H. Evans.
c. 1850-1900.

26. Miss D. ELLIS
St. Mary's, Bramber. 1966 (author's pamphlet).
27. Mr. I. D. MARGARY
Roman Roads in Britain; revised edn. 1967.
28. Mr. B. PORTER
St. Mary, Westham monthly mag. re Thatcher bequest.
29. Canon GREVILLE COOKE
Buxted Parish Church Guide. 1967 (author's pamphlet).
30. Mr. G. H. KENYON
The Glass Industry of the Weald. 1967 (author's copy).
31. Mr. L. S. DAVEY
Civic Insignia and Plate of Corporation of Lewes. 1967
(author's copy).
32. LIBRARIAN OF WORTHING
Heraldry in Sussex: Cat. of Worthing Museum exhibition
1967.
33. Mr. B. W. HOWE
Fletching: the Parish and the Church. 2nd edn. 1967.

PURCHASE:

- Horsfield's *History of Sussex:* author's copy enlarged to 6
(out of 7) folio volumes with extra illustrations and notes.
- F. W. Steer (ed.) (1) *Letters of John Hawkins to S. and D.
Lysons.*
(2) *Records of Diocese of Chichester*, vols. 1 and 2.
(3) *The Wilberforce Archives.*
- J. M. L. Booker (ed.) *The Clough and Butler Archives.*
L. P. Curtis. *Chichester Towers.*
Giles Jacob. *New Law Dictionary;* 9th edn. 1773.
Nairn and Pevsner. *Sussex.* (Penguin Books) (*replacement of copy stolen*).

FOR REVIEW:

- L. Grinsell. *The Preparation of Archaeological Papers.*
W. S. Bristow. *Emma the resolute Queen.*
Ronald Jessup. *Age by Age.*

Additions to the Museum to July, 1967 (1966)

1. Mr. G. HORSCROFT, Lewes. (24).
Part of pillar of lavaterium from Lewes Priory found in the River Ouse near Southerham Bridge.
2. Dr. L. F. SALZMAN, C.B.E., F.S.A., Lewes. (25).
Copy book published by Belch & Langford, 1838/39.
3. Miss J. M. DUNCAN *per* Mr. C. D. ASH, Lewes. (26).
Dress worn at christening of James Marriott Duncan, 27 March, 1825.
Waistcoat worn by James Marriott Duncan and also his sword.
4. Miss P. MARKWELL, Newhaven. (27).
Roman coin of Tetricus II from Newhaven.
5. Mrs. O. CHAFFEY, Willingdon. (28).
An Answer to a Letter of a Jesuit, by John Knox, 1572.
The Mystery of Self-deceiving, etc., by Daniel Dyke, 1628.
6. Mr. C. DINE, East Dean, Eastbourne. (29).
Iron governor from Friston windmill.
7. Mr. S. J. A. HARDY, Bexhill-on-Sea. (30).
Light dog cart built in 1892.
8. Mr. J. D. K. LLOYD, Garthmyl, Montgomeryshire. (31).
Oil painting of Dr. Thomas White, M.D., of Felpham, near Bognor (1750-1823).
Water-colour of Dr. White's house at Felpham by "R.B.M."
Notebook of the White family history *c.* 1840.
9. Mr. K. CHILD, Bosham. (32).
Sampler inscribed: "Catherine Child, Michelham, March the 10th, 1845."
Four recent drawings and water-colours of Michelham Priory.
10. Mrs. A. J. HATHWAY, Eastbourne. (33).
Stone axe found in King's Drive, Eastbourne.
11. Miss E. MACDERMOTT, Robertsbridge. (34).
Wooden pitchpipe.

12. Mr. L. N. REED, Uckfield. (35).
Shepherd's crook.
 13. The Misses N. and E. ROBERTS, Worthing. (36).
Needlework counterpane.
- (1967)
14. Mr. F. T. CHILD, Crowborough. (1).
Holy Bible belonging to the Child family, 1712.
Copy of drawing: "Thomas Child, 1794."
 15. Bequest of late Miss G. L. PARKER, Eastbourne. (2).
Oak vestment cupboard.
 16. Mrs. PICKARD SMITH, Glynde. (3).
Sundry agricultural and farmhouse bygones.
 17. Mrs. HALL, Lewes. (4).
Pair of Victorian white leather wedding shoes, lace shawl
and other bygones.
 18. Mr. A. T. GOULDEN, Horam. (5).
Silver mounted meerschaum pipe.
 19. Mr. H. A. BAKER, Lewes. (6 & 7).
Collection of old pharmacy equipment.
Prescription book of Albert Pam, chemist, of 59 High
Street, Lewes from 1844. (Loan).
 20. Mr. E. M. REEVES, Lewes. (8).
G.P.O. notice regarding street door letterboxes July, 1870.
 21. MINISTRY OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND WORKS. (9).
Finds from the Ministry's excavation at Hangleton Medieval
Village 1954. (S.A.C., vol. 102).
 22. Mr. H. A. DAVIS, Selmeston. (10).
Carpenter's mitre block.
Rebating planes.
Sash bar template.
Surgeon's scarifying instrument.
 23. Miss M. PATON, Bickley, Kent. (11).
Green satin dress, c. 1890.

24. Mr. D. THOMSON, Lewes. (12).
Two ticket holders and badge of Brighton Corporation Tramways.
25. Mr. J. HARTRIDGE, Kingston, Lewes. (13).
Barrel butter churn.
26. Miss WESTON, Lewes. (14).
Tinder box.
Maw's patent infant feeding bottle, with instructions.
Early Victorian scrap book with MS. poetry by Lewes inhabitants.
27. Mr. G. R. AVARD, Warbleton. (15).
Holy Bible, illustrated, 1792.
Foxe's Book of Martyrs, 1822.
Steelyard, 19th century.
28. Mrs. E. REEVE, Polegate. (16).
Iron fire basket.
Two pairs of forge bellows. (Loan).
Fire dogs.
Large iron kettle.
Steel trivet.
Shepherd's crook.
Milkmaid's yoke.
29. Mrs. WATKINS, Seaford. (17).
Pair of china feet for drying babies' socks.
Late Victorian blouse elaborately decorated with pearls, sequins, etc.
30. Mr. R. E. FERGUSON, Wellingham, Lewes. (18).
Unusual pair of steel candle trimmers.
31. Messrs. R. P. WILLIAMS & SON, Bullock Down, Eastbourne. (19).
Fifty selected silver coins from the 1964 Bullock Down Hoard of 3rd century A.D. Roman coins.
32. BY PURCHASE WITH DONATION BY MR. I. D. MARGARY. (63. 51 & 67. 21).
Additional coins from the Halland Park Hoard of 17th century silver coins.

33. Mr. T. WILLIS, Herstmonceux. (21).
 Further portions of vessel containing Halland Park Hoard,
 a bronze purse bar from same and the lead cap of the
 vessel.
 Three wine bottle seals depicting Pelham Buckle and horse
 emblems, found near Halland House.
34. Mr. F. C. SANDERS, Sharpitor, Devon. (22).
 Cast iron plaque probably from Gloucester Furnace, Lamber-
 hurst.
35. Mr. N. E. S. NORRIS, F.S.A., Brighton. (23).
 Crossbow.
 Victorian plated sugar bowl.
36. Mr. C. E. KNIGHT FARR, Lewes. (24).
 Flint axe, ground and polished, from Park Road, Hellingly.
37. Mr. G. A. HOLLEYMAN, F.S.A., Brighton. (25).
 Framed recruiting poster, with copperplate engraving, of
 Sussex Light Dragoons commanded by John Baker
 Holroyd (1st Earl of Sheffield) dated in ink 1779.
38. BY PURCHASE. (26).
 Collection of water-colours and drawings of Sussex views
 by Anthony Devis, James Lambert, T. Henwood, etc.,
 from the Baxter Collection.
39. Mrs. COOK, St. Leonards-on-Sea. (27).
 Oak dining chair, 16th or 17th century.

Accessions to Muniments Room for year ended June, 1967

Deeds: 1 of recently erected house abutting to Tott Farm, Hurstpierpoint, 1 Jan. 1777. (Accn. 1177. From Messrs. Stevens, Son & Pope, Burgess Hill).

25 of 48a Malling Street, Lewes, 1738-1926. (Accn. 1180. From Messrs. William Weller Ltd., undertakers, occupiers of the premises).

Several unsorted parcels relating to Courthope properties, mediaeval to 19th cent., additional. Accns. 1181-1190. From the executors of Mr. Robert Courthope, deceased).

36 of land in First Furlong "Next Home" in Hilly Laine, Brighton, 1721-1890. (Accn. 1196. From Mr. G. Reekie, Ditchling).

Plans: Tottingford *alias* Tottingsworth, Heathfield, 245a., with measurements, in colour, late 18th cent., resembling work of J. Marchant, 29in. by 23½in. (Accn. 1178. From Mr. R. C. Watson, auctioneer and valuer, Heathfield).

Hale and Ruck farms, Ticehurst, 1845. (Accn. 1190. From the executors of Mr. Robert Courthope, deceased).

Newhaven; building land near railway station, 1878, by George Fuller, surveyor, Lewes, printed copies. (Accn. 1195. Found amongst the Figg collection of working plans).

Sale Particulars: 23 including Manor and other farms, Chalvington, 1898; Wallands Park building estate, Lewes, 1898; 4956 a. of the Buckhurst estate in Withyham and Hartfield with Sackville Court and 26 farms, the *White Horse and Plume of Feathers* inns, and Bolebrook Mill, 1910; 541 a. of the Gilbert estate in East Sussex, 1918; Steyning estate of 537 a., 1924; Southease Rectory, 1944; Treemans and 1100 a. in Horsted Keynes and neighbouring parishes, 1857; also the contents of Eastbourne Manor, 1957, and furniture and stock of numerous farms, c. 1909. (Accns. 1179-1194).

Family, personal and estate: 9 boxes of unsorted family papers, probates, church and school affairs, partitions and enfranchisements, and title deeds; additional. (Accns. 1181-1190. From the executors of Mr. Robert Courthope, deceased).

Ancient Monuments in Sussex

A list of monuments in Sussex scheduled under the Ancient Monuments Act, 1913 (as amended by the Act of 1931), as being monuments the preservation of which is of national importance was printed on pp. lxxvii to lxxxi of Volume 100. This list comprised all monuments in Sussex scheduled down to 31st December, 1961. Supplemental lists were printed at p. lxxvi of Volume 101, p. lxxvii of Volume 102, p. lxxviii of Volume 103 and p. xxxv of Volume 104.

The following additional monuments have since been scheduled:

Alciston, three round barrows W. of Bopeep Chalk Pit.
 Alciston, group of round barrows S.E. of Bostal Hill.
 Alciston, two groups of round barrows S.E. of Firle Beacon.
 Alciston, round barrow S.W. of Bopeep Bostal.
 Alciston, group of round barrows on Bostal Hill.
 Alciston, two round barrows S.W. of Bostal Bottom.
 Arlington, Windover Hill round barrows.
 Barlavington and Duncton, round barrows S.W. of Burton Rough.
 Beddingham, round barrow N.W. of White Lion Pond.
 Beddingham and South Heighton, Fore Hill round barrow.
 Burpham, earthwork on Wepham Down.
 Bury and Houghton, two round barrows E. of Houghton Forest.
 Compton and Marden, Handle Down round barrows.
 Duncton and Petworth, round barrows on Duncton Common.
 Eastbourne, Pashley earthwork.
 Eastbourne, round barrow 500yds. E. of Pashley.
 East Chiltington, round barrow S.W. of The Beeches.
 East Chiltington, round barrow 200yds. S.E. of Blackcap.
 East Chiltington, group of round barrows 400yds. W. of Blackcap.
 East Lavington, round barrows on Lavington Common.
 East Lavington, Great Bury round barrow.
 East Lavington, cross ridge dyke on Crown Tegleaze.
 Falmer, Linear earthwork S. of village.
 Folkington and Wilmington, Hunter's Burgh round barrow.
 Fulking, round barrow 100yds. E. of Fulking Grange.
 Fulking and Poynings, round barrow E. of Adder Bottom.
 Glynde, three round barrows on Saxon Down.
 Glynde, round barrow 200yds. N.W. of Glyndebourne Pit.
 Glynde, two round barrows W. of Glynde Holt.
 Glynde, round barrow E. of Caburn Bottom.
 Glynde and South Malling Without, Ranscombe Camp.
 Graffham and Lodsworth, Gallows Hill round barrows.
 Hailsham, Saltmarsh Farm medieval farmstead.
 Hamsey, round barrow 300yds. N.W. of Mount Harry.
 Houghton, War Dyke entrenchment in Whiteways Plantation and South Wood.

- Iford, Front Hill round barrow.
 Iping and Trotton, round barrows on Trotton Common, Iping Common and Fitzhall Heath. (Additional area and change of title).
 Jevington, field system.
 Kingston, near Lewes, round barrow S. of Newmarket Bottom.
 Kingston, near Lewes, Newmarket Hill round barrow.
 Kingston, near Lewes, round barrow S. of Jugg's Road.
 Kingston, near Lewes, two round barrows N.W. of Breach road.
 Lewes, St. John (Without), round barrow 400yds. S.E. of Blackcap.
 Newtimber, two round barrows on Summer Down.
 Plumpton, round barrow on Plumpton Plain W. of parish boundary.
 Polegate, remains of Chapel at Otham Court.
 Poynings, Giant's Grave round barrow and Devil's Dyke camp (additional area).
 Rodmell, Heathy Brow round barrows.
 Rodmell, round barrow S. of Breaky Bottom.
 Rodmell, round barrow N.W. of Mill Hill.
 Seaford, round barrow on High and Over.
 Slindon, Stubbs Wood round barrows.
 Sutton, Dencher round barrow.
 Telscombe, Pedlersburgh round barrow.
 Telscombe, Telscombe Tye Dyke.
 Trotton, round barrow at Goldrings Warren.
 Upper Beeding, round barrow S. of Edburton.
 West Firle, Long barrow and two round barrows W. of West Firle.
 West Firle, Lord's Burgh round barrows.
 West Firle, two round barrows N.E. of Overhill Lodge.
 West Firle, round barrow E. of Beddingham Hill.
 West Firle, Firle Beacon, round barrow and two adjacent round barrows.
 Westmeston, Western Brow round barrows.
 Westmeston, Middle Brow round barrow.

Sussex Archaeological Society

EXCAVATIONS AT MICELHAM PRIORY

By K. J. BARTON, F.S.A., and E. W. HOLDEN, F.S.A.

Summary. This paper details the results of a series of trial excavations undertaken during August 1964. The principal results were the discovery of extensions on the southern range of buildings. The excavations were run as a training school for a fortnight and were attended by eighteen people.¹ The purpose was to give elementary instruction in archaeological techniques and, at the same time, to investigate possible archaeological remains.²

THE EXCAVATIONS

Trial cuttings were opened: (a) within the east end of the church; (b) on the alleged site of the Chapter House; (c) just outside the north transept; (d) to the west of the existing buildings (two cuttings); (e) along the south range.

The positions of the cuttings have been detailed and are filed at Michelham Priory.³

The results of these investigations are as follows:—

(a) The whole of the chancel was stripped and opened. It was found to have been completely dug away and back-filled with domestic rubbish in the early 18th century. Excavations were carried up to the concrete kerb. No construction features were observed.

(b) A trench 10ft. square was cut over the area marked as 'Site of Chapter House' on the Priory plan. No features were found; the whole area being in a mixture of clay and occasional pieces of chalk. This mixture could not have been constructed as a floor nor could this layer in any way suggest the proximity of a building.

(c) Two cuttings were made: one directly adjacent to the NE. angle of the N. transept buttress, the other cutting was slightly to the N. of the W. buttress. The NE. cutting showed a robber trench of a buttress which lies parallel to and slightly NE. of the concrete

¹ The writers are gratefully indebted to the Committee of Michelham Priory and, in particular, to Mrs. Hotblack for her hospitality, Commander Harrison for his organisation, and Mr. and Mrs. Hafernik for their excellent cuisine.

² No site plan is published in view of the scarcity of remains. References are made to a plan, not yet fully published, drawn by another excavator.

³ It was found during surveying exercises that the outlines of the demolished buildings, shown on the site plan referred to in footnote 2, above and as published in the 1962 Priory Guide Book, do not in all cases correspond with the positions of the concrete kerbs set into the ground N. and NE. of the existing buildings.

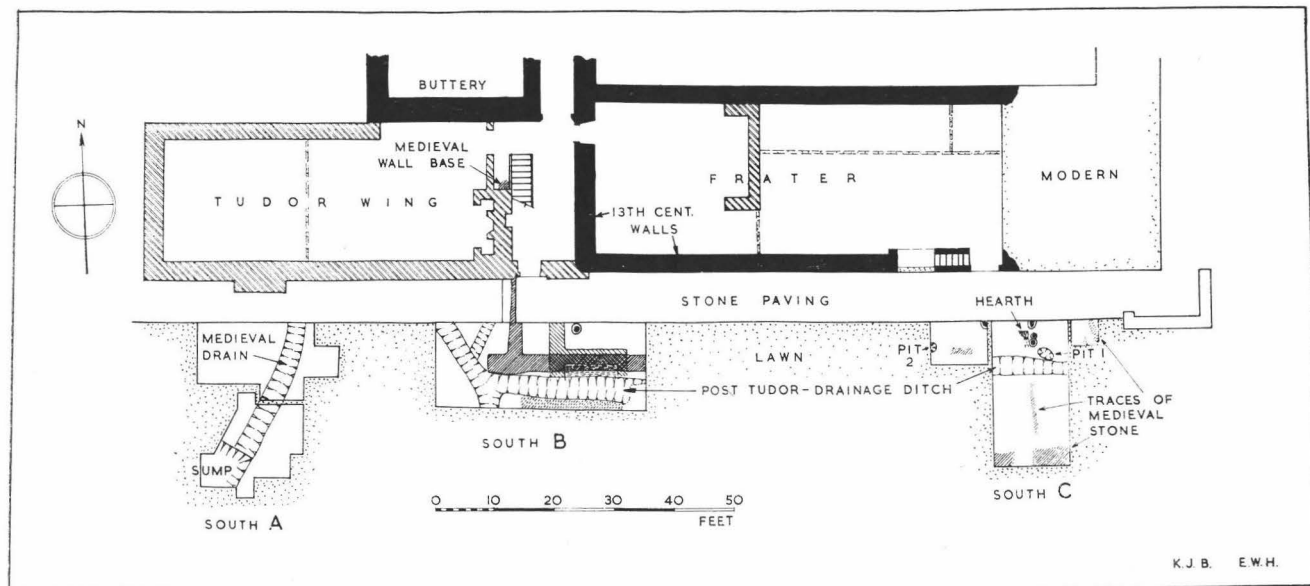


FIG. 1. South Range and Excavations, South A, B and C

outline plan. This trench had been backfilled with wall rubble, plaster and roof tiles; a coin of Richard II (c. 1390) was found in this rubble. The cutting complex around the NW. buttress revealed a butt-ended wall built of re-used material including early post-medieval pottery (c. 1450-1500). It is suggested that this wall is probably the remains of a garden wall. Scattered fragments of medieval and post-medieval pottery were found here.

(d) Two cuttings were made, one slightly S. of a large ruinous buttressed wall and the other to the W. of the 'buttery' on a large ridge which runs across the lawn. The first cutting proved a clay floor on which lay fragments of decorated floor tiles (Fig. 5) and building rubble together with a large number of oyster shells. This indicated that there was a building here of which the buttressed wall could be a remnant. The second cutting showed the ridge to be part of a deliberate tipping following the destruction of buildings. The occurrence of Flemish greyware, Tudor green pottery and a late 14th century French and a c. 1490 Nuremberg jetton would suggest a late 15th century date, for this tipping probably related to the conversion of the building following the Dissolution. Fragments of 13th/14th century pottery were found in the buried soil levels.

(e) Excavations against the southern range were conducted in three areas, named 'South A', 'B' and 'C'.

South A (Fig. 1) revealed a length of ditch running southwards to a rectangular sump (this was not fully excavated). This ditch had, prior to its abandonment, been used as a rubbish dump and a large quantity of food bones was found in it together with a group of medieval pottery, Flemish bricks and a complete ridge tile of standard inverted 'V' shape. This ditch was ultimately sealed with an 18in. thick layer of clean yellow clay over which was deposited rubble containing early post-medieval pottery (see also 'The Finds').

South B (Fig. 2) was a cutting 36ft. long x 14ft. It was very disturbed by the cutting, or re-cutting, of a large post-Tudor drainage ditch which bisected it. This ditch had been in use as late as the early 20th century as evidenced by deposits of ceramics at the bottom of it. (Three late drains and culvert led to this ditch). On removal of these features a complex of walls and pits was revealed; three of these pits contained 17th century pottery. The wall complexes comprised two sets of footings. The uppermost (post-medieval) consisted of a footing made up from re-used chalk, broken tile and Greensand stone. This wall had been struck at right angles from close to the junction of the Tudor buildings with the medieval frater. A blocked door in the S. wall lies to the E. of this junction. This wall footing terminates in a large fireplace which faces the south. This fireplace contains a large hearth comprising roof tiles laid on edge, all of which are heavily burned. Associated with this feature was a large post hole which cut through the medieval

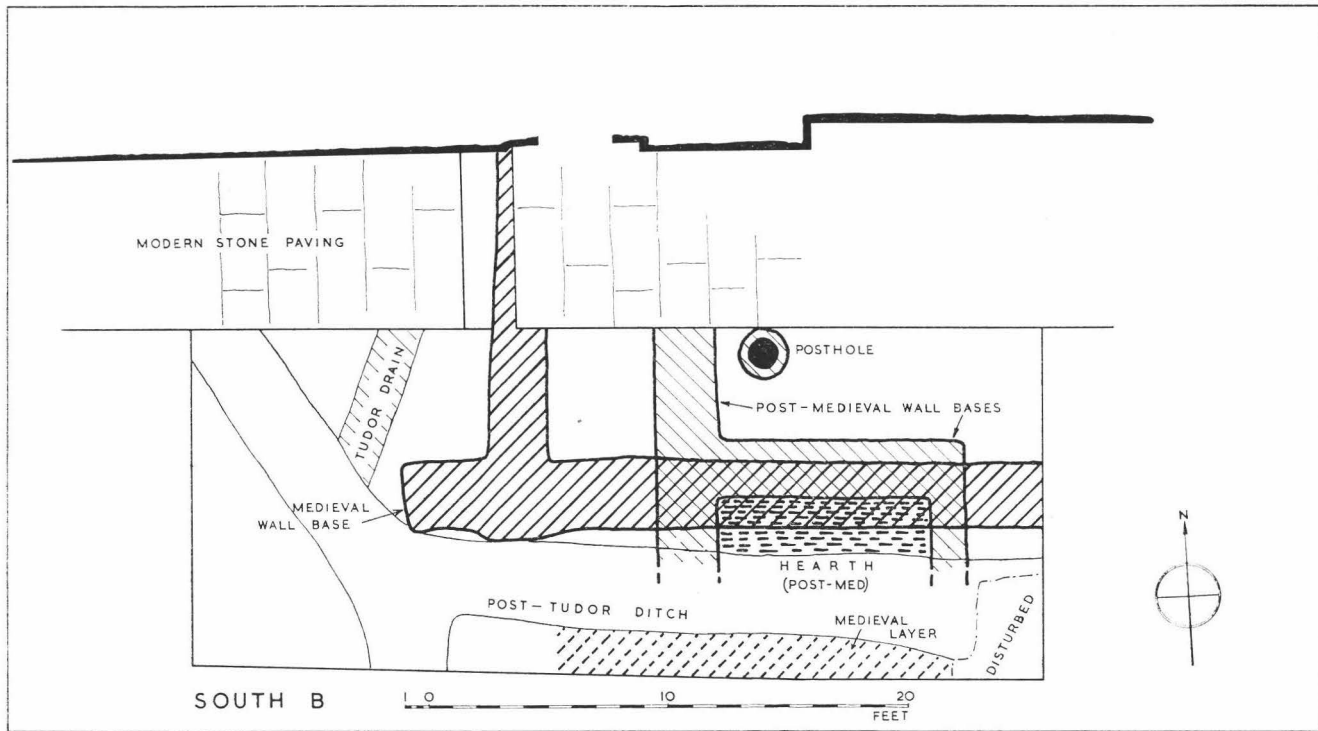


FIG. 2. South B Excavation

levels. Both the flanking walls and the hearth have been truncated by the post-Tudor ditch. No traces of the hearth were found to the S. of this ditch. To the W. of the hearth wall was a spread of many food bones associated with early post-medieval pottery: a small drainage ditch of the same period was also found. Underneath these features were the footings of a large wall, 3ft. thick, built from mortared blocks of chalk, which ran parallel to the S. wall of the frater and was buttressed at its western end before returning to the north. This was traced to the S. wall of the Tudor wing where it was seen to go under the wall and it was traced again under the staircase at the rear of the fireplace. This feature runs parallel to the W. wall of the frater and links with the doorway of the slype. It carried a lean-to roof, the line of which can be seen from the main staircase inside, and on the wall outside, the building. This footing was, therefore, a slype or corridor wall containing entry to the frater. The clay levels associated with this wall contained fragments of Rye medieval pottery.

South C (Fig. 1). An extensive exploration showed this area to have been seriously defaced, as the other areas, in the 19th century. The large drainage ditch cut through all the layers, but several features remained in a fragmentary state. Situated in the NE. corner of the trench, these comprised the remains of a hut of two periods. The latest period was indicated by a wall footing angle with associated rough tile flooring in which were fragments of green glazed and SW. French medieval pottery, to the W. of this was a 19th century drain leading to the main drain. Under the wall was a row of post holes indicating an earlier structure on the same plan. To the W. of this were the remains of a small rectangular fireplace, made of roof tiles laid on edge. This was also associated with a floor of roof tile wasters and green glazed medieval pottery.

CONCLUSIONS

As can be seen from the foregoing, the results of the investigations showed that the areas examined were all too badly disturbed to warrant further investigation. It was possible, however, to show the extension to the Priory and the subsequent Tudor additions on the southern side following the Dissolution.

THE FINDS

There were a large number of finds of varying types from the site, of which two groups are of particular interest, (a) contents of the ditch, *South A*, and (b) roof tile wasters, which will be dealt with as notes. Of the other material only outstanding items or groups of items are listed. All the finds, notes, plans etc. are held at Michelham Priory.

Medieval Ditch, South A (Figs. 1, 3 and 4)

As shown, this drainage ditch was sealed by an 18in. layer of puddled clay above which lay fragments of early post-medieval pottery. The contents of this ditch comprised medieval pottery

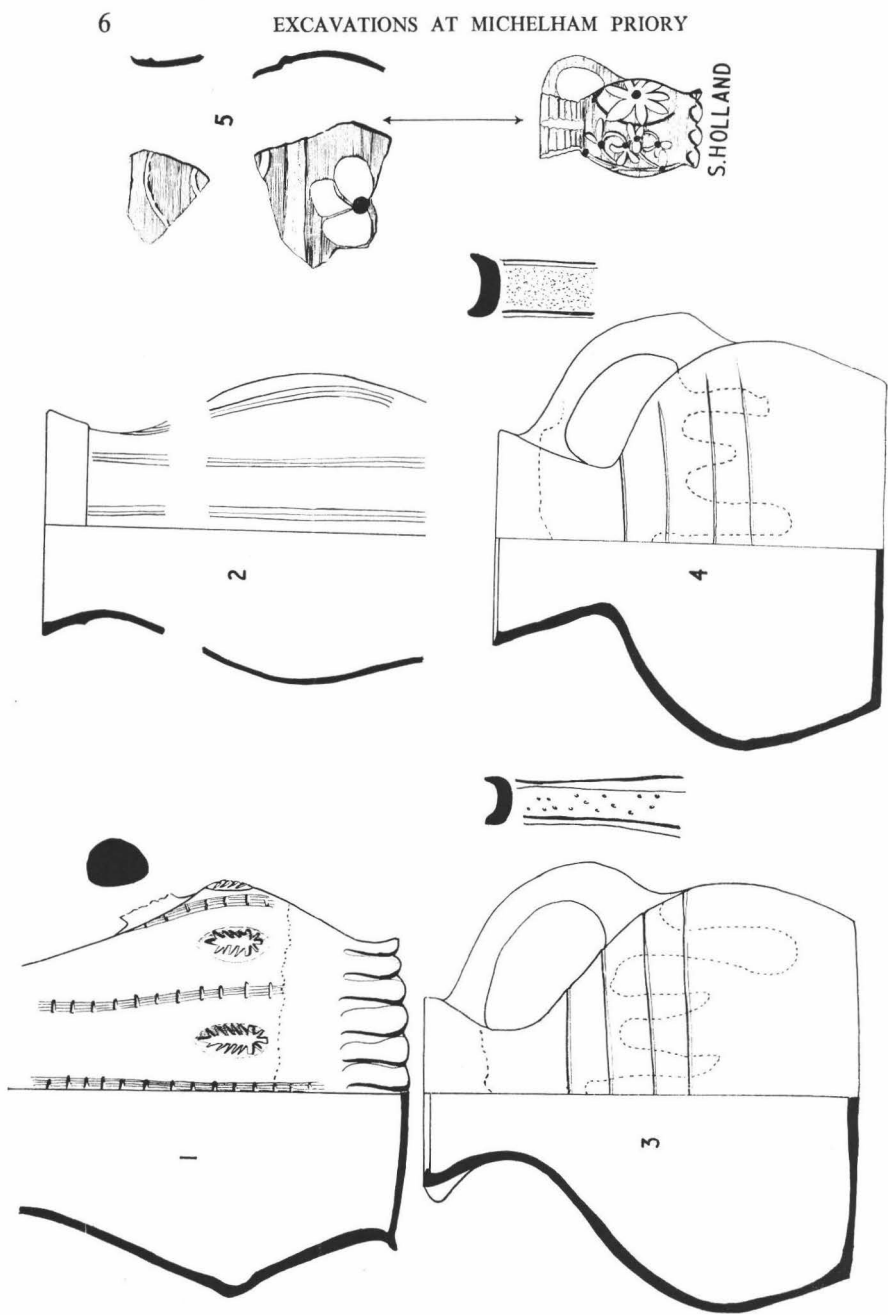


FIG. 3. Pottery. Jugs 1-5 from Medieval Ditch, South A

(including jugs and cooking pots), roof tiles and a large quantity of food bones and oyster shells.

The Pottery—Jugs (Fig. 3)

No. 1. Fine red sandy body, rich green/brown external glaze. Decorated with a leaf rib stamp on raised bosses placed towards the base of the vessel alternately between vertical rows of combed stripes stabbed across horizontally at regular intervals.

No. 2. Fragments of a vessel in a coarse red, sandy body with an orange glaze. Decorated with regular stripes made with a 3-pronged comb.

These two vessels are typical products of the kilns at Rye.¹ Although the types are not illustrated in Vidler's report they can be seen in the collections at the Ypres Tower, Rye.

Nos. 3 and 4. Fine hard grey body with some calcitic inclusions. Strap handles heavily pierced with a fine needle-like tool. Vessel decorated with horizontal grooves only. Glazing restricted to upper zone only.

The source of these two vessels is not known. Examples of similar types have been seen at Hailsham.² However, at least two medieval kilns near to Michelham produced coarse wares of similar form, the recently discovered kiln wasters at Abbots Wood close to Michelham and the kiln site at Hastings known as Bohemia.³

They are paralleled also at Pivington, Kent,⁴ where examples of similar form, decoration, handle treatment and body were found. This may suggest that the Michelham finds belong to a West Kent/East Sussex regional group.

No. 5. Three fragments in a red body with a grey interior, decorated with trailed and applied white slip in the form of flowers and tendrils, the centre of the flowers embellished with a pellet of brown slip.

These fragments do not bear characteristics similar to those of any local products, the nearest parallels to this form of decoration and body being the products of Flanders, and they could, therefore, be considered as Flemish imports.⁵

Fragments of many other jugs were found, the bulk of which were undecorated Rye types.

Cooking Vessels (Fig. 4, Nos. 1-7)

Nos. 1-5. A large group of cooking pots, of which these illustrate the principal rim forms. All unglazed with flat bases, only one with an applied slip decoration.

Nos. 6-7. Fragments of one large meat dish with two hollow octagonal handles, glazed inside in a brown/green. No. 7 may be one of the round corners of this dish with a pouring spout, or it may be from the end of a standard type oval fish dish.

¹ Leopold A. Vidler, 'Medieval Pottery and Kilns at Rye,' in *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (abbreviated hereafter to *S.A.C.*), vol. 74 (1933), pp. 45-64.

² In Hailsham Museum.

³ *S.A.C.*, vol. 11 (1859), pp. 229-30 and vol. 12 (1860), pp. 268-9. Bohemia material in Hastings Museum.

⁴ S. E. Rigold, 'Excavation of a moated site at Pivington,' *Archeologia Cantiana*, vol. 77 (1962), pp. 27-47 and fig. 4, nos. 8-10.

⁵ See: *Catalogue of Exhibition 'In Kannen en Kruiken,'* Boymans van Breunigan Museum (Rotterdam 1963), plate 35, South Netherlands.

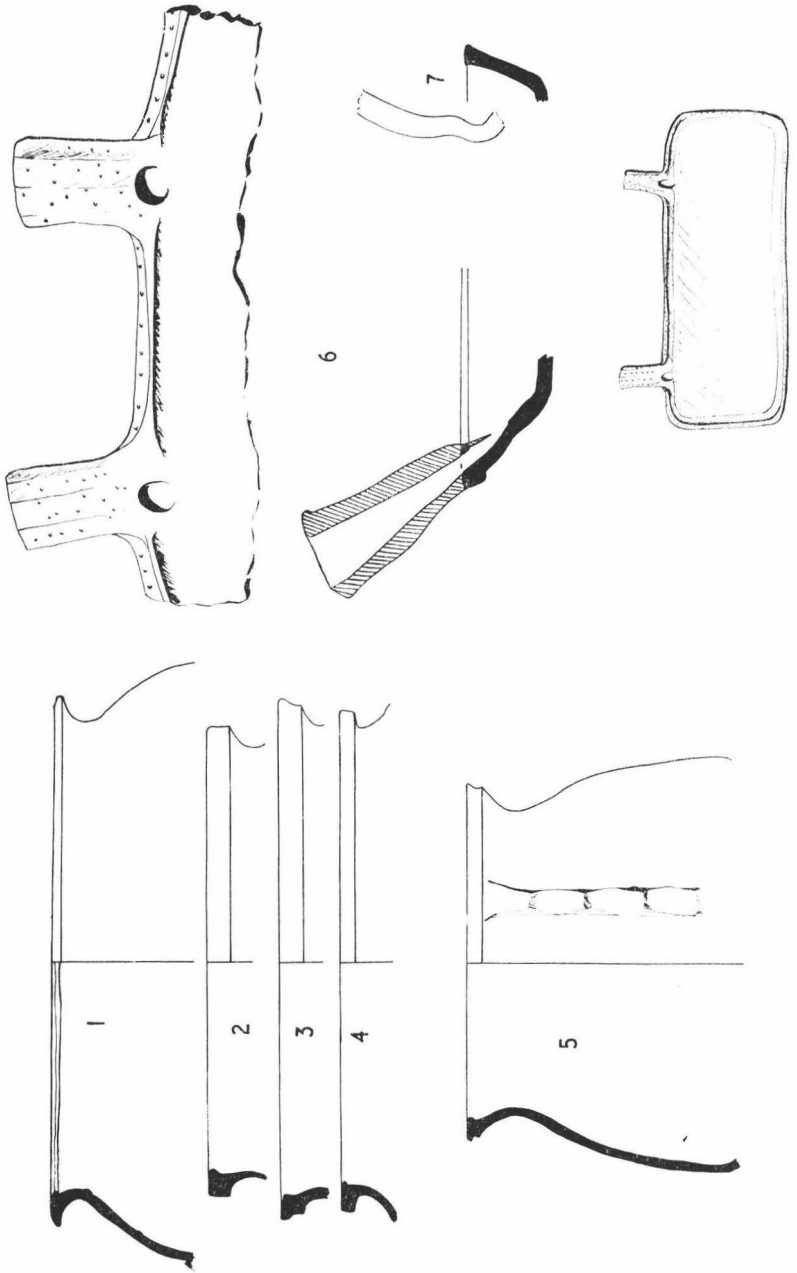


FIG. 4. Pottery. Cooking Vessels 1-7 from Medieval Ditch, South A

In the case of all these coarse wares, the body is well filled with flint and calcite. The body colour varies from red (soft) to orange to black (hard). The quality varies according to the oxydisation/reduction process, the latter being the harder. This heavily filled coarse body is probably derived from the same source, and compares very favourably with the Abbots Wood kiln wasters.

OTHER MATERIAL NOT ILLUSTRATED

Medieval Roof Tiles. Large quantities of roof tiles were found: Flats all measuring 11 x 7 x $\frac{1}{2}$ in.—some have round peg holes, others square peg holes pierced as a diamond shape.

Medieval Ridge Tiles. One complete example and fragments of many others. Two forms—inverted 'U' form, poor quality, glazed dark green or treacly brown, and inverted 'V' form—no glaze, some pierced for a nail at the top. One is set back at the end at an angle of 30°. None of the ridge tiles on this site have crenellations or other form of decoration.

Hip Tiles and Valley Tiles. Fragments of both types were found here. Two tiles have imprints of sheep/goat footprints.

Bricks—so-called Flemish bricks. Three complete examples, 6 x 3 x 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. moulded, two yellow, one red. All in a very soft sandy body with inclusions. Red example probably a reduction colour. Three fragments of others.

DISCUSSION

The pottery found in this ditch (*South A*) is probably the most important find made during the investigation. Being well sealed it is a group which should help to throw considerable light on the ceramic sequences in this area. Three facts arise: the association of Rye vessels with those of another kiln, the Flanders imports and the large quantity of roof tiles, etc. This drain was abandoned, perhaps during a period of rebuilding in the vicinity, but it is not possible to say exactly how long it continued to be open as a receptacle for rubbish. However, the continuous occupation of the area nearby suggests that the drain would soon be filled, and it does not seem unreasonable to assume that the deposits accumulated over a relatively short space of time. Here then we see fine wares and the unexpected flint-filled coarse wares in contemporary association. The Dutch date Flemish wares to c. 1300, which we have long considered as being 'late 13th century' as it is found elsewhere in association with French wares to which this date is given. However, the form of the two vessels from another source suggests a slightly later date than this and it is considered that a probable date should be c. 1300-1325 A.D.

Roof Tile Wasters. Quantities of used and wasted roof tiles were found in many levels throughout the site, particularly in *South C*. Traces of what may be a roof tile kiln were reported to have been found in the nearest adjacent field to the S. of the Priory (Field No. 433) during deep ploughing in 1944. Investigation of the area

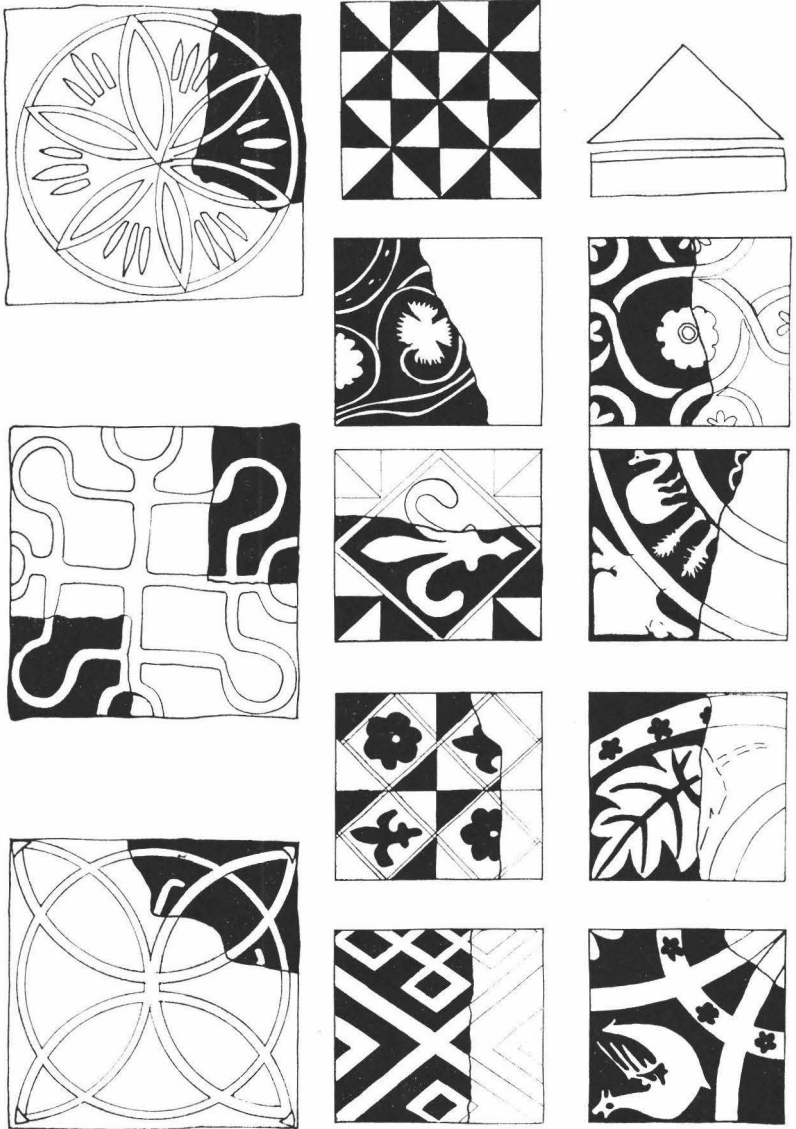


FIG. 5. Medieval Floor Tiles

failed to re-discover this site. There is, in all probability, however, a kiln adjacent to the Priory and, as shown at Binsted (W. Sussex), roof tile manufacture can coincide with pottery making.

Pottery. The bulk of the medieval pottery found all over the site could be attributed to the Rye kilns. No fragments of a date earlier than the mid-13th century were found. In the groups of post-medieval pottery found were Flemish grey stoneware, Tudor green, and two examples of Sussex type white painted ware. This group can be dated 1450-1550. The later post-medieval periods are well represented with fine red earthenwares, tin glazed earthenwares and later with white salt glazes and early porcelains.

Floor Tiles. Many fragments of decorated and undecorated floor tiles were found from all over the site, a selection of the more interesting examples being shown in Fig. 5. All are in a red earthenware with a brown or black glaze over an impressed or printed white slip pattern.

Slate. The fragments of roofing slate found throughout the various cuttings correspond with slates found elsewhere in Sussex dating from the 12th to the 15th centuries, and which are thought to come from S. Devon.¹

*Coins and Jettons*²

Coin found NE. transept buttress. Richard II, halfpenny, London, late group (towards 1390) with Lombardic M's.

Jettons all found W. of buttery.

25mm. French official, late 14th century. A hybrid struck from two almost identical reverse dies (as on *Barnard*, pl. V, 21, etc.). Cross flory in quatrefoil, A V E M in spandrels (flanked by annulets on one face and saltires on the other).

21mm. Early Nuremberg, c. 1490. Obv: Imperial crown. Rev. Wing or winged helm, star and two annulets behind. Garbled legends in broad Lombardic letters.

25mm. Nuremberg, Hans Krauwinckel, fl. 1580-1610. Usual 3 crowns/Reichsapfel type. Roman letter. 'Gluck beschert ist ungewert.'

BONES FROM THE MEDIEVAL DITCH AND TUDOR FIREPLACE (contributed by Mrs. B. Westley³)

The osteological material from this site comprises 867 identifiable fragments, and shows a fauna as follows:—

	Medieval Ditch	Tudor Fireplace
Horse, <i>Equus caballus</i>	1	1
Pig, <i>Sus scrofa</i>	282	44
Fallow Deer, <i>Dama dama</i>	43	1
Sheep/Goat sp.	19	6
Dog, <i>Canis familiaris</i>	1	—
Hare, <i>Lepus europaeus</i>	2	—
Cattle, <i>Bos</i> sp.	317	143
Bird. Probably fowl, <i>G. domesticus</i>	4	—
Fish	3	—

¹ E. W. Holden, 'Slate Roofing in Medieval Sussex,' in *S.A.C.*, vol. 103 (1965), pp. 67-78.

² We are indebted to Mr. Stuart Rigold for the identifications.

³ The writers are indebted to Mrs. Westley for her assistance with this material.

Discussion. The sheep/goat bones are all very fragmentary, yielding no evidence of age or sex, but there is one complete radius (from the Tudor fireplace), measuring 145mm. overall, which indicates a small animal of a size comparable to the primitive Soay sheep. The cattle are also small animals, for the most part, and the only complete bones fall within the size range given by Cornwall for *Bos longifrons*, the 'Celtic Ox'. The complete bones are a metatarsal, 203mm. (medieval ditch) and two metacarpals, 175 and 181 mm. (medieval ditch and Tudor fireplace). Among the 460 fragments there are, however, traces of a much larger-boned bovid. These might be accounted for by sexual dimorphism; it is not known how big were the bulls of *Bos longifrons*. The larger bones, all very fragmentary, might also indicate a second and larger type of cattle. The large-animal fragments come mostly from the medieval ditch. Many of the cattle bones are cut or sawn and bear knife marks or marks of gnawing.

Fallow deer and pig seem unusually numerous and denote a wooded environment. The pigs are mostly represented by small skull fragments and appear to be a small domestic breed, slaughtered about the age of two years. There are no 'baby' or weanling bones among either the pigs or the cattle, but such bones might well not survive. Most of the animals appear to have been slaughtered at much the same stage as they are butchered today. The fallow deer are also represented mostly by teeth and by skull fragments. The fragments of limb bones are all small ones except for one complete metatarsal (ditch). This, and the long-bone fragments, do not show any cut or saw marks, though one would suppose the animals to have been eaten. A full report on the bones has been deposited at Michelham Priory.

Food Shells

Many thousands of oyster shells were found from all over the site. Only two whelks and fragments of a few mussel shells were found.

THE EXCAVATION OF MONEY MOUND

By S. G. BECKENSALL

INTRODUCTION

Money Mound is a barrow of unusual structure built in the Beaker period. It attracted interest in the last Iron Age and remained of "religious interest" throughout the Roman period. In the early 18th century it was considerably disturbed, particularly in the centre.

LOCATION

TQ.2377 2877. The barrow lies on a ridge of Tunbridge Wells sandstone which runs in a general N.E.-S.W. direction. It is in Lower Beeding parish, north of Hammerpond Road near its junction with the present main road from Handcross to Lower Beeding, at Ashfold Crossways.

It lies a few yards south of an important routeway which was a main road until 1780, when the present Lower Beeding-Handcross road was built. The hollow way is still very distinct; to the east it can be traced to Handcross, but to the west its course is not clear beyond Bradburys.

The land to the south and north slopes steeply towards stream valleys, and there are links with the Colgate-Pease Pottage trackway along ridges running roughly northwards.

DISCOVERY

Excavation began in February, 1961, after Mr. Child, the owner, had found two Roman coins on a slight rise in the ploughsoil. He took them to a display of coins at Horsham, organized by the Workers' Educational Association. Mr. J. Jones of Horsham saw the mound, which was again under the plough, and he realized its importance.

THE NAME

Money Mound was the name given to a local mound from which rabbits had exposed coins. Within living memory earthen mounds of some sort have been ploughed in an adjoining field to the west, but there are no surface traces of them. The name was appropriate and was retained.

PREVIOUS REFERENCE AND OTHER INFORMATION

Sussex Archaeological Collections, vol. 25, pp. 229, 230 and *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xi, p. 71, may refer to this mound. The finding of a Roman onyx cameo and a Roman coin is in keeping with other finds of the Roman period here. In the early 1950s the field was cleared of trees, bulldozed and ploughed. A mass of sandstone was removed from the surface and some attempt was made to drag

out other lumps but this was abandoned as too difficult. There were no large trees on the mound itself. A 19th century Ordnance Survey map shows the area as a cleared field.

EXCAVATION TECHNIQUE

A grid system of 6ft. x 3ft. was set out along the N-S and E-W axes. The grid system then expanded from the centre outwards. Long strips were excavated at the edges. It took from February, 1961 until September, 1962 to complete the excavation. The mound was trowelled at every stage.

GENERAL FEATURES

A ditchless, composite bowl barrow, Money Mound originally consisted of two roughly concentric circles of sandstone, each approximately 6ft. wide, the diameter of the outer circle being approximately 60ft. and the inner circle 30ft. Between the two circles was a hard, compact mass of white "silt" (geological use of this term, based on grain size and texture). It was approximately 6ft. wide. The cementing qualities of this silt enabled much of the original structure to survive. The core was earthen, with some scattered stone. It was about 2ft. 6in. high in the centre. The whole structure was based upon "natural," a fairly hard sandstone overlaid by a thin, fawn-coloured sand.

There were four main areas of disturbance:

- (i) The whole of the central core.
- (ii) A gap through both circles of stone and silt in the west.
- (iii) A gap through both circles of stone and silt in the south.
- (iv) A gap through the eastern part of the outer circle, a removal of the adjacent part of the inner circle, but only a superficial removal of silt.

There were peripheral disturbances where plough and bull-dozer had scattered stone.

DETAILED DESCRIPTION

1. THE UNDISTURBED PART OF THE BARROW

(a) The variety of colour of the sandstone blocks, particularly in contrast with the white silt, would have been artistically pleasing. The method of placing the stones in the circle varied slightly, but in all cases large blocks defined the inner edge of the *inner circle* (see Plate I), and the circle was then built outwards.

(b) The *white silt* was then brought in. It contained soil and charcoal. The presence of a microlith at its base suggests that it was a surface deposit, and the lines of soil and charcoal in it suggest that it was brought in by the basketful. The presence of charcoal could have been a deliberate feature of the funeral rites (if, for example, it came from a domestic hearth). It is clear, particularly from the north part of the barrow, that the silt was packed against the outer edge of the inner circle (see Plate IIA). The charcoal and soil lines clearly show this, and the silt overlaps the stones.

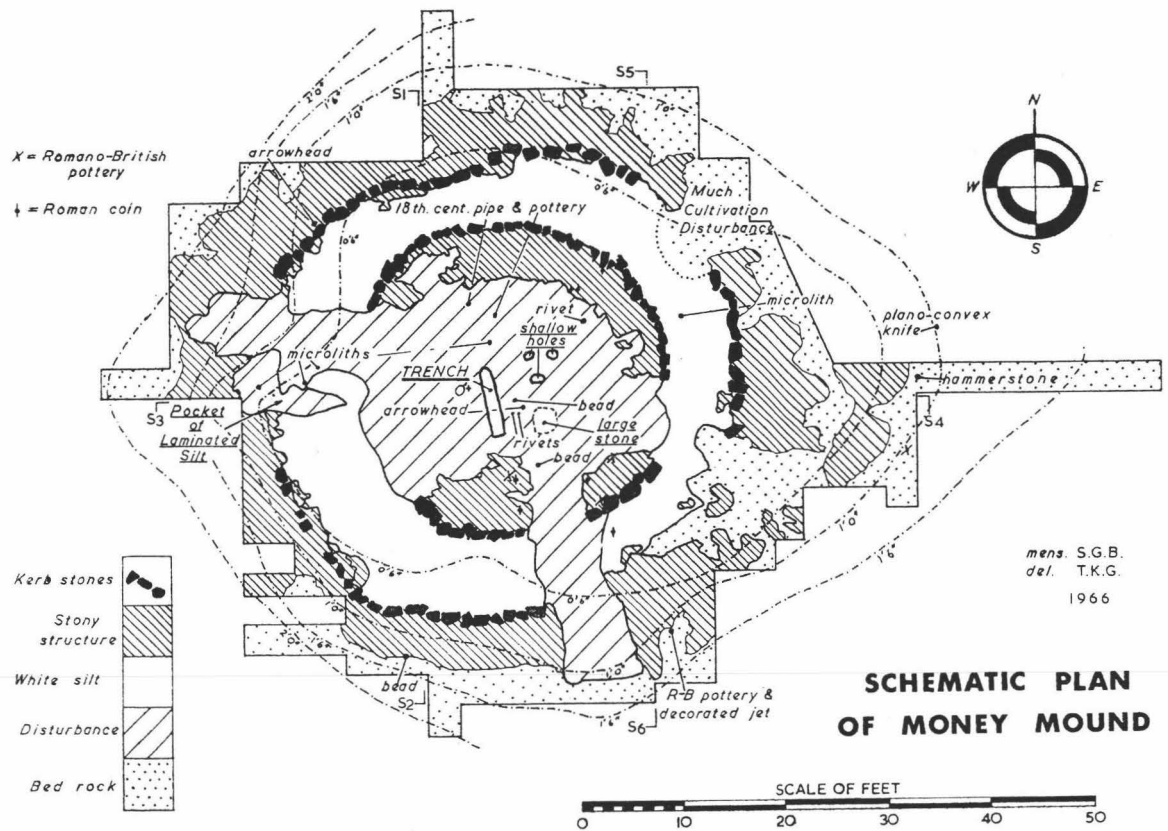
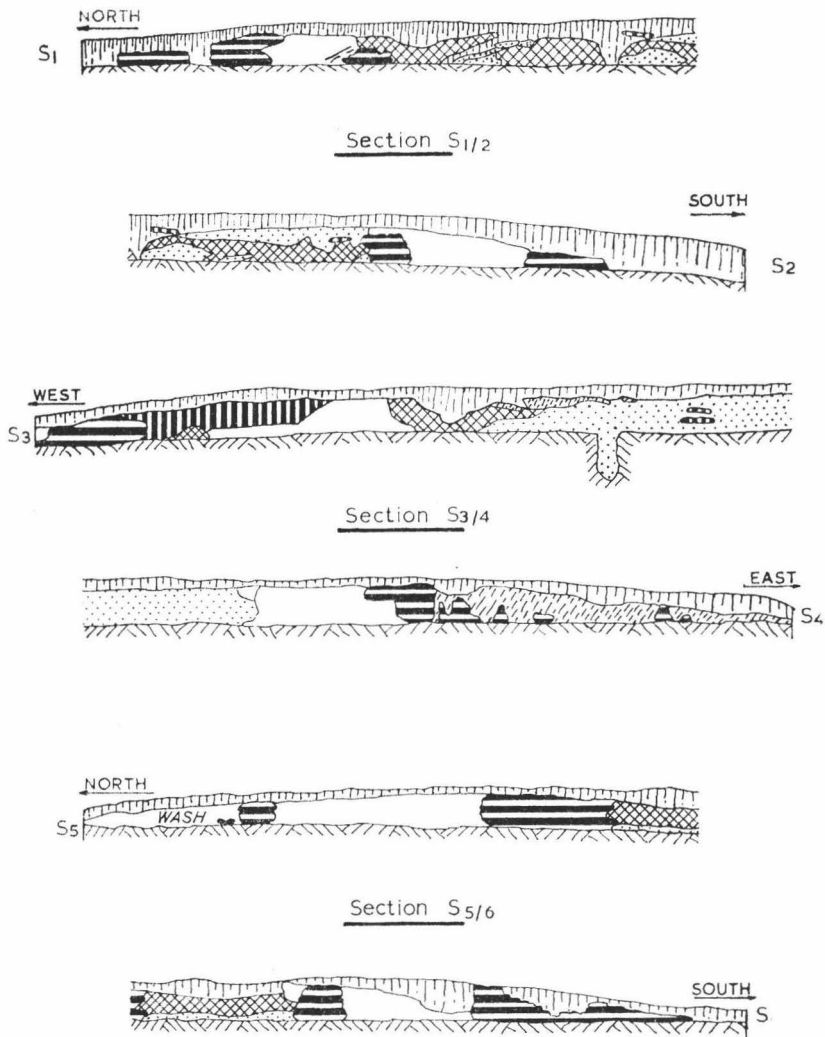


FIG. 1. Plan of Money Mound

THE EXCAVATION OF MONEY MOUND



KEY

Plough soil		White silt		Laminated silt	
Black humus		Mottled soil		Charcoal	
Stony structure		Other disturbed soil		Tun. Wells sandstone	

mens. S.G.B.

del. T.K.G.

1966

SCALE OF FEET



FIG. 2. Sections of Money Mound

(c) The *outer circle* had a clearly defined inner edge of large stones but in some cases these had been covered with white silt, and then additional stones were placed on the silt. Again, this shows how the barrow was built from the centre outwards. On the whole, far more smaller stones were used in making the outer circle.

(d) *Choice of materials.* Stone and silt were local, but apart from its availability the following points recommended its use: (i) it looked spectacular; (ii) the silt had some of the qualities of cement; (iii) if the Beaker people were used to the Downland, the white silt was the closest that they could get to the glaring white of freshly-made chalk barrows.

2. THE DISTURBED AREAS

All the dateable evidence came from disturbed areas; the finds ranged from microliths to a 19th century clay pipe; charcoal and flint were present everywhere. It is impossible to attribute any specific feature of disturbance to one period of time.

(a) *The West* (see Plate IIIA). Although an entrance to the core of the barrow had been made, it was possible to trace the position of the inner circle by depression in the natural base. Part of this entrance may have been open for some time: disturbed silt had been washed down to form a colourful lamination. There was no significant material in this gap other than three microliths lying on the natural, charcoal, and a few pieces of flint.

(b) *The core.*

(i) *Finds:* the whole of the core was disturbed, and fragments of beaker, late Iron Age and Roman pottery, Roman coins, bronze rivets, a glass bead, sling stones, flint flakes, 18th century pottery and a clay pipe were scattered at all levels and in no chronological sequence. Everywhere there were small pieces of charcoal, and the floor was liberally sprinkled with charcoal (see Fig. 2).

(ii) *Core material:* the earth contained a few laminated silt layers (see Plate IIIB) and much sandstone rubble. Some of the sandstone had pick-marks.

(iii) *The central trench:* there was a rectangular trench 6ft. 3in. long and 13in.-16in. wide cut near the centre. It was clearly defined in the natural, and bracken root followed it down. The sides were vertical, and the ends sloped towards the centre of the trench, making a V-shape. There were impressions at the southern end, as though flat stones may have covered it in part. During the excavation, the trench became the main drain. Water percolating through it before and during the excavation carried some humus; a careful examination of the rubble inside the pit produced no evidence of its purpose. It is very unlikely that the trench had anything to do with the burial, particularly because it was so narrow and because the funerary objects that had been broken and scattered were unlikely to have been dug neatly from such a narrow trench. A large stone,

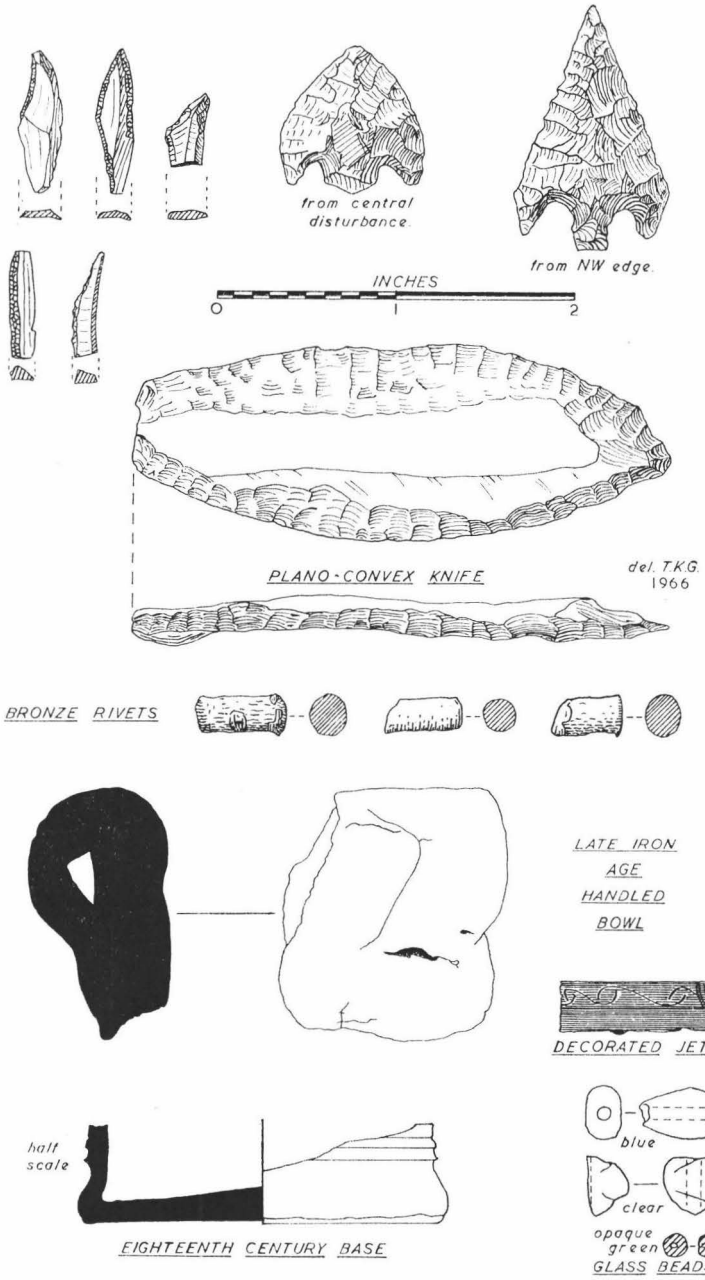


FIG. 3. Some finds from Money Mound

the largest found, stood in a disturbed area near the trench. It would have probably come from the inner circle.

(c) *The East* (see Plate IIB). Some stones of the inner circle had been removed and plucked from the wall of silt, the latter remaining compact and stained with iron from the sandstone. East of this the silt had been hacked away to some extent, and the stones of the outer circle disturbed, but it seems that by this time the "diggers" had tired both of finding the silt unprofitable and of hard work. The most interesting feature of this disturbance was a small overhang of silt. If the earth core had been removed and left open, this ledge of silt would have collapsed (as it did later after rain). The evidence shows that the earth was shovelled back immediately in the gap left by the removal of stones. The earth contained Roman coins.

(d) *The South* (see Plate IVA). Here the intrusion was the most systematically executed. The stratigraphy showed that the outer circle had been removed first, then the silt had been thrown back to fill the gap, and so on, until the centre of the core was reached. Again, the material which the intruders had removed from the central core contained Roman and Iron Age pottery, and Roman coins.

CONCLUSIONS

The mound was built in the Beaker Period, but it is not known whether it was for a cremation or an inhumation. There was no large pit of the type normally associated with a crouched, or other type, of burial. If the body had not been cremated it might have been surrounded by a small cairn of stones within the core of the barrow. As the soil is very acidic there was little chance of any survival of bone. The amount of charcoal could indicate either ritual funeral fires, or perhaps a cremation. The burial, whatever kind it was, was accompanied by a beaker (type A) with a chevron pattern, and a beautifully worked equal barb and tanged arrowhead (see Fig. 3). A second arrow of the same type, came from the outer circles, where it could have been placed deliberately or thrown out accidentally during subsequent disturbance. A plano-convex knife (see Fig. 3) was found on the edge of the outer circle, and although this is an interesting object in itself, corresponding in date to the arrowheads, it was not necessarily connected with the burial. Three bronze rivets (see Fig. 3) were found in a central position in the core, and they could have come from a knife of the period.

When the barrow was being built, 101 flint pieces (some of which were worked and of the Mesolithic type of flaking and typical of other sites in the area) were incorporated in the material of the mound, probably accidentally. There were also 17 smooth pebbles (again characteristic of other local sites) probably used as sling stones. Although I have assumed that four of the five micro-liths were lying on the surface of white silt when it was dug for the

barrow (and thus were tipped to the bottom of it), they are such good specimens—slender and very delicately worked (see Fig. 3)—that one cannot exclude the possibility of their being deliberately placed.

Fragments of late Iron Age pottery (four different pots) of the Wealden type represent the beginnings of a “religious” interest in the mound. Obviously the proximity of the trackway would keep the barrow in sight, and an oral tradition about it may have survived. The Roman conquest would not necessarily have led to a great change in the type of pottery produced and used locally, and one could ascribe the Wealden type pottery in this case to the early Roman period.

The Roman period. Perhaps the most important fact about Money Mound is that Roman and Romano-British objects were deliberately buried in the barrow. Although these objects were disturbed in the early 18th century, the distribution of Roman material suggests that it was buried in the centre of the mound. The Roman coins and pottery were buried as votive offerings: there is no other explanation. Thus Money Mound must have been regarded as a wayside shrine on a well-known trackway. We know that pottery accompanies Roman burials, and we know that a coin can mean Charon’s fee for ferrying the dead across the Styx. If the onyx cameo (described in *S.A.C.*, vol. 25) was found in this barrow, the importance of “sleep and death,” the two figures leaning on inverted torches is obvious. Another point to remember is that Money Mound could have been used for a secondary Roman burial, and the coins, etc. could have been a result of a persistence of the memory of such an event. It is not only the presence of Roman material that is important, however, but the time span it represents. Those of the 156 coins that can be identified begin with the reign of Vespasian and end with Flavius (from 69-388 A.D.) and include the reigns of twenty-six emperors, two Faustinas and Julia Domna. The pottery includes Samian and Castor ware fragments and some Romano-British of the 1st to 3rd centuries: 16 different pots in all. A small piece of decorated jet (see Fig. 3), possibly an inlay from a box, and some glass beads (see Fig. 3) which may all belong to the Roman period, help to show clearly how the population of the Weald—and elsewhere—in Roman times recognized and venerated barrows built centuries before.¹

The eighteenth century. As the excavation progressed, it became more and more unlikely that the Romans were responsible for the widespread disturbance that we encountered. The major object which showed that the mound had been dug in the early 18th century was a broken clay pipe buried under the tumble of the north part of the inner circle. The pipe itself could be dated, and nearby,

¹ See S. Piggott *The West Kennett Long Barrow Excavations*, 1955-56 (H.M.S.O., 1962), pp. 55-56, and W. F. Grimes *Excavations on Defence Sites*, 1939-45 (H.M.S.O., 1960), pp. 221-222.

a foot down, was a piece of pottery which coincided in time. The curio hunters of that century used picks and shovels to break into the mound, smashed pottery and mixed Roman with Bronze Age objects. They seem to have used a backfilling technique—certainly in the gap that they made in the south. They also realized the futility of digging into too much silt—if it were summer, the silt would have been extremely hard, like cement. Even with picks and shovels they must have located something of antiquarian value, for what is left must represent only a small part of what was there originally. Fortunately sufficient of the barrow's original structure and of its contents were left to give a picture of what happened. Perhaps the finding in the topsoil of an an 19th century clay pipe with a Roman coin jammed firmly in its bowl was an adequate symbol for us.

The mound has now disappeared. The owner of the site used the stone after we had discussed many alternatives. There is a comprehensive record of the excavation from its beginning, in photographs, drawings and slides. The finds are at Barbican House, Lewes, together with soil and carbon samples which are to be kept for the future in case some new technique is developed which can tell us more about the mound. There is also at Lewes a model of the mound as it might have been when it was first built. The British Museum has carbon samples for C14 dating.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To Mr. Child, the owner of the site, for so generously doing all in his power to enable us to do the job; Mr. T. Green for his invaluable assistance; Mr. J. Jones for discovering the mound and making the initial survey; pupils of local schools, particularly Ifield Grammar School (I must mention Jill Moon, Barbara Lawes, Weaver, Keenlyside, Fogelman, Malcomson, Burrows, Zade, Barker, Cruddas); a host of adult helpers from everywhere; to my colleagues on the Research Committee for their interest and help; the Institute of Archaeology; the British Museum (Messrs. J. W. Brailsford and Carson); Messrs. Youngman Ltd. of Crawley, for equipment; and Mrs. Pamela Taylor for typing.

APPENDIX 1

GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION

Sandstone is a vital factor in the distribution of prehistoric remains in the area, because it affords a reasonably well-drained shallow soil, with a natural vegetation of bracken, birch and gorse. Movement through the central Weald along the forest ridges would have been quite easy. There are many well-known "flint sites" in the area, ranging from Mesolithic to early Bronze Age, which take full advantage of light, sandy soils with easy access to water.

APPENDIX 2

SOILS

The following notes help to explain features encountered during excavation:

(a) *White silt* occurs in patches in the Upper Tunbridge Wells sandstone. When it is ploughed and harrowed in hot weather it crumbles into a powder rather like flour or plaster of Paris. When wet, it flows sluggishly as we had ample opportunity to observe in our trenches during wet weather. The white silt was used until quite recently as sand in cement. There is a small quarry near the *Wheatsheaf*.

(b) *Mottled soil*. A few experiments with our spoil heaps showed how "mottled" or "patchy" soils occurred. When the white silt was mixed with top soil, the silt became coloured with minerals in the soil, particularly iron, and produced a range of colours varying from light chocolate to deep grey.

(c) *Isolated laminated layers* occurred when patches of wet silt became compressed in other soil. When wet, the white silt spreads slowly, and where it has become thickly layered or laminated in the west, this could represent a period in which a series of rainstorms washed disturbed soils down to fill a hollow.

(d) A "black" layer or *forest soil* contained larch cones, and the blackness was obviously due to the normal changes brought about by conifers on local soils, and not to burning.

(e) *Light brown soil* encountered in the central core must have been typical of the core before disturbance, for when one moves in a disturbed area towards the silt, "mottling" begins.

(f) *Buff-coloured sand* came from among the sandstone blocks, probably as a result of weathering. It became mixed with other soils when the core was disturbed.

APPENDIX 3

SANDSTONE BLOCKS

A careful examination of the sandstone blocks showed two types:

(a) Rounded stones, often blackened, which probably came from a stream bank or bed; (b) angular stones, probably quarried fairly easily on a valley slope. The colours of these stones varied considerably: they were white, yellow, orange, maroon, red, grey, black. The stone was soft and easily weathered or broken. The silt with which the stone came into contact was considerably stained in the undisturbed part of the barrow.

POSITION OF THE INNER CIRCLE

At the end of the excavation, we removed all the stones and saw how centuries of pressure had made considerable impressions which were identical to those discovered during excavation.

APPENDIX 4
FINDS (see Fig. 3)

(A) FLINTS (see Fig. 3)

Microliths: three came from the western disturbed part, one was sealed below the silt, along with charcoal, on the NE. The smallest point came from the central core.

Flint waste: some was rough and unworked. Other pieces were definitely flakes, two showing secondary working.

Pebbles: these were smooth, and between $\frac{3}{4}$ in.-1in. in diameter. Probably sling-stones.

Hammerstone: This was circular, like a cricket ball, with signs of battering. It was found outside the barrow area.

Arrowheads: The larger was of black flint, and was magnificently worked. The smaller was honey-coloured, and similarly worked.

Plano-convex knife: This specimen was found outside the outer circle. Another came from an adjacent field.

(b) BRONZE RIVETS (see Fig. 3)

The three rivets were about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, and could belong to the same period as the beaker.

(c) BEADS (see Fig. 3)

(i) The smallest bead was only $\frac{1}{8}$ in. long, with a tiny hole bored centrally. It was green and does not appear to be made of glass; (ii) there was a blue bead about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, slightly pear-shaped, with a hole $\frac{1}{12}$ in. in diameter bored roughly centrally; (iii) fragments of one or two green-tinted glass beads on the edge of the outer circle are from roughly circular beads $\frac{5}{12}$ in. in diameter with a hole approximately $\frac{1}{14}$ in. in diameter.

(d) JET (see Fig. 3)

Two small pieces of jet found; one is about 1in. long, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide and $\frac{1}{12}$ in. thick and has a design scratched on it. The two pieces may have provided an inlay for a box.

(e) CLAY PIPE

The importantly-placed clay pipe was dated by Mr. D. R. Atkinson to about 1730-60.

(f) ROMAN COINS

Period	Coins with identifiable emperors	Fragments	Total
69-200 A.D.	53	19	72
200-388 A.D.	41	42	83
Undateable	—	1	1
	94	62	156
	—	—	—

The soil is very acidic, and attacks bronze, yet a great number of coins could be identified by Mr. Carson as follows:

<i>Period and Denomination</i>	<i>Date</i> <i>AD.</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Depth</i> <i>ft. in.</i>
Vespasian uncertain	aes 69-79	—	1 8
Flavian period (Vespasian or Titus) uncert. sestertius	" 69-79	—	2 1
Domitian	" 81-96	—	3
Trajan	" 98-117	—	5
"	" "	—	10
"	" "	—	2 0
"	" "	—	1 2
"	" "	—	1 4
"	" "	—	1 6
Hadrian	" 117-38	—	1 8
"	" "	—	1 6½
"	" "	LIBERALITAS	2 2
"	" "	—	1 2
"	" "	—	1 3
"	" "	—	1 2
Hadrian <i>sestertius</i>	" "	—	1 10½
Hadrian	" "	—	2½
"	" "	—	1 6
"	" "	—	1 9
"	" 134-8	RESTITUTOR	1 0
Antoninus Pius	" 138-61	—	1 1½
" <i>dupondius</i> " uncert.	" "	—	1 11
Antoninus Pius	" "	—	8½
" " <i>dupondius</i>	" "	—	3
" " "	" "	—	1 3
" " "	" 157-8	LIB. VIII	1 9
" " <i>dupondius</i>	" 138-61	—	spoil
Marcus Aurelius	" 138-61	—	1
"	" "	—	4
Faustina I "	" 140	—	1
" "	" "	—	1 7
" "	" "	—	1 6
" " uncertain	" "	—	1 10
" "	" "	—	2 3
Faustina II "	" 161-76	—	1
" "	" "	—	10
" "	" "	—	1 8
" "	" "	—	1 7
" "	" "	Fecundita	2 3
" "	" "	—	10½
Faustina II DIVA	" 176-80	—	4
Marcus Aurelius	" 161-80	—	1 3½
" "	" "	—	1 4
" " <i>dupondius</i>	" 166	—	1 10
" "	" 161-80	—	1 8
" "	" "	—	1 7½
Marcus Aurelius (?)	" "	—	1 2
Commodus Dupondius	" 177	—	1 11½
" "	" 180-93	—	1 11½
Commodus uncert. <i>sestertius</i>	" 180-93	—	3
Commodus	" "	—	1 5
Julia Domna uncert.	" 193-216	—	8½



PLATE 1. Money Mound, from south-east, near close of excavation.



PLATE IIA. Inner circle stones, with silt behind.

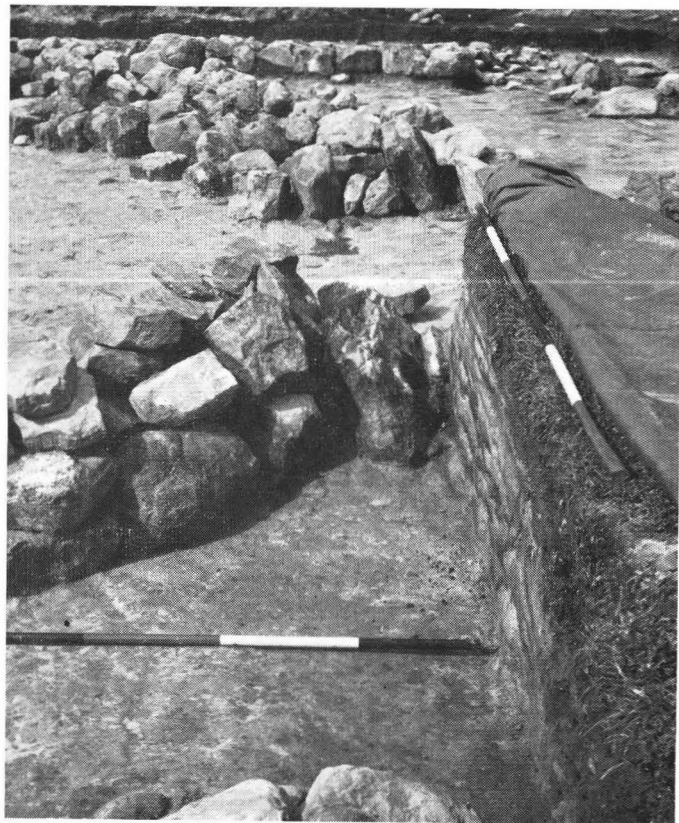


PLATE IIB. Eastern side with disturbance.

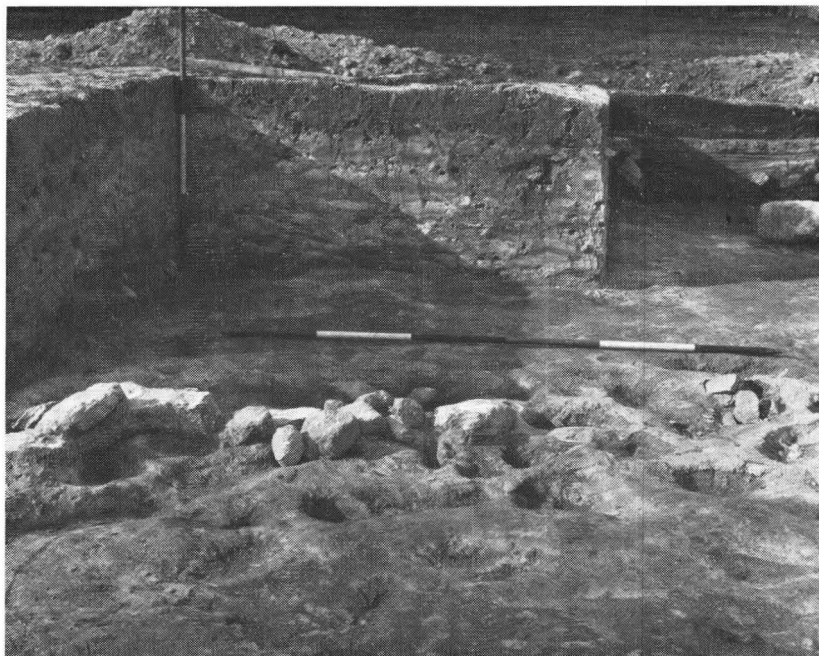


PLATE IIIA. Hollows representing 18th century disturbance of the western inner circle.

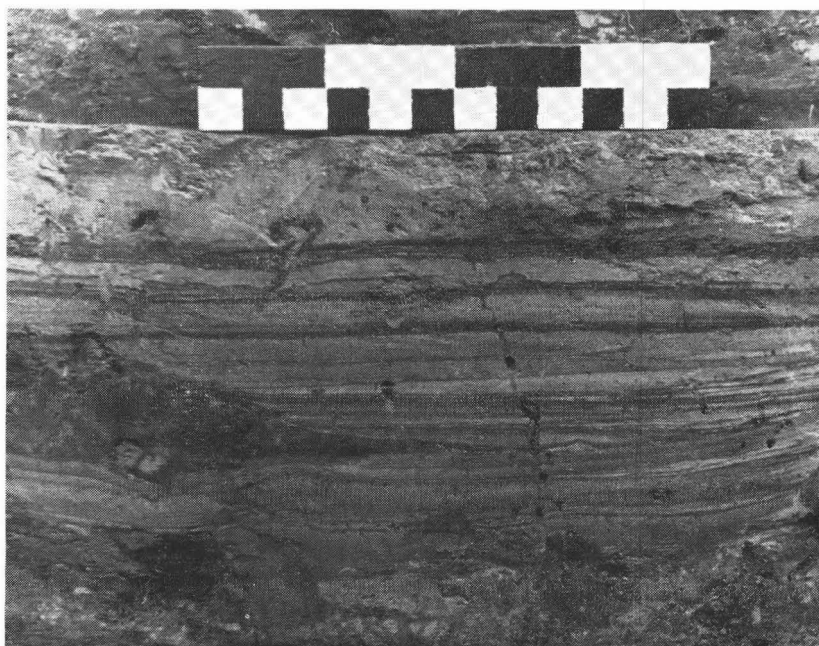


PLATE IIIB. Laminated layers of silt.

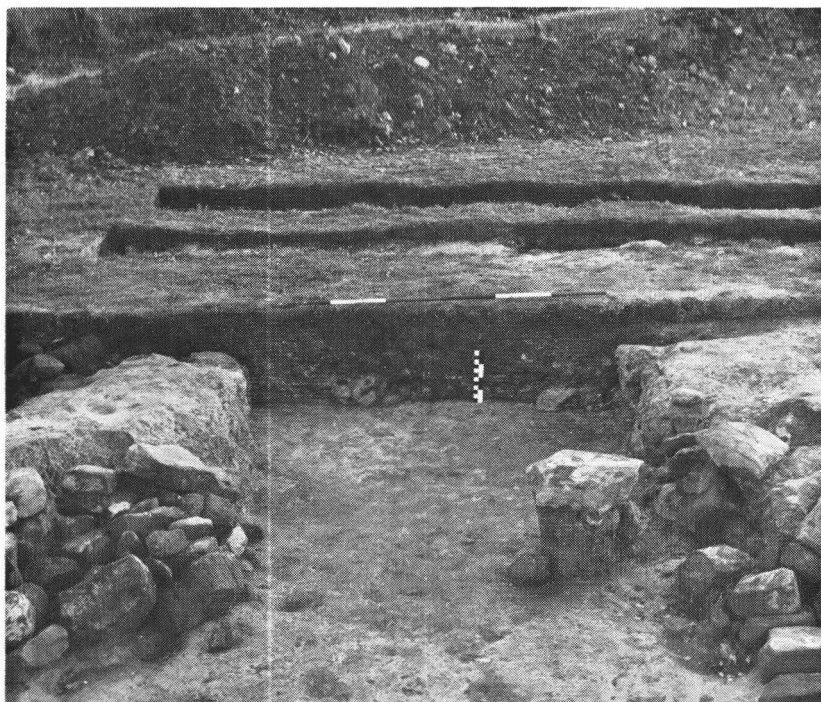


PLATE IVA. Southern gap in inner circle and silt ring behind.

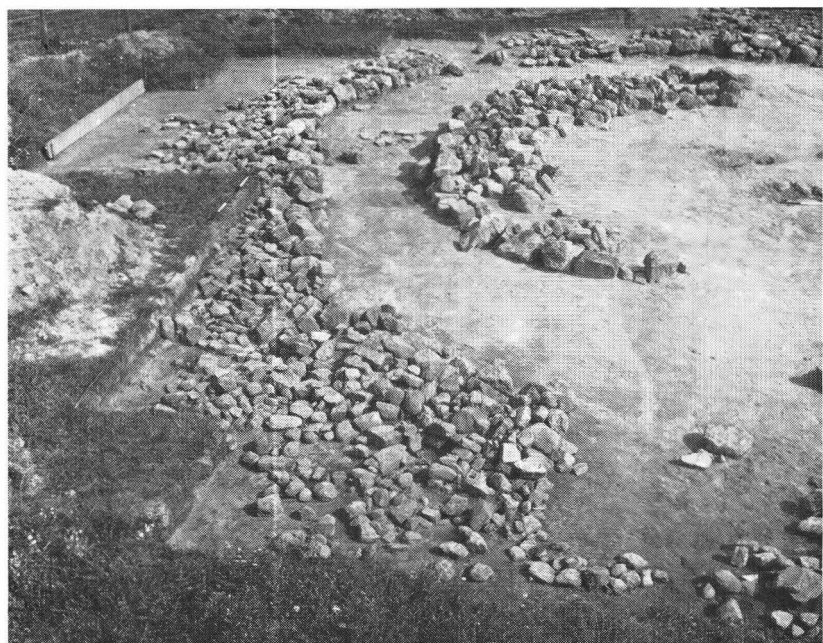


PLATE IVB. Final appearance of northern half of Money Mound.

			ft. in.
Caracalla denarius	199-200	VIRT AUGG.	1 6
Gordian III	238-44	Iovstator Sc	9
Otacilia	244-9	Pudicitia Aug.	1 4
Gallienus (sole reign)	259-68	—	2 2
			above cavity
Postumus	—	Laetitia Aug.	1 2
Claudius II	268-70	—	2 0
—	—	—	1 3
Tetricus I	270-74	—	1 10
—	—	Laetitia	1 6½
—	—	—	5
Radiate imitation prototype			—
Claudius II	c270+	Consecration altar	9
Allectus	293-6	—	1 6
Maximian	295-305	Follis Genio Populi Romani (mint uncert.)	10
Constantine I	307-313	Soli Invicto Comiti (mint uncert.)	4
—	—	Soli Tavieta Comiti	9½
—	—	Soli Invicto Comiti	spoil
		TIF PLN = London	
Constantinian	313-17	Sol	1 1
Constantine I	313-31	Soli Invicto Comiti SIF PLN	1 11
—	313-20	Victoriae Laetae Princ. Perp. (London mint)	1 8
—	317-20	Soli Invicto Comiti SIP PLN	1 10½
Fragmented Constantinian	c320	—	1 10
Constantinian period	c320	Beata Tranquillitas type	11½
Constantine I	320-24	Beata Tranquillitas Votis XX PTR	2 1
—	—	Beata Tranquillitas (mint uncertain)	6½
Crispus	317-24	—	8
—	c320	VOT X PTRV	4½
—	320-24	Beata Tranquillitas	4½
Constantine I	330-35	Gloria Exercitus 2 standards	10½
Constantius II or Constans	346-50	Fel Temp Reparatio hut type (mint uncert.)	5
Constantius II or Constans	—	Fel. Temp. Reparatio Phoenix	1 6
Constantius II	346-50	Fel. Temp. Reparatio Phoenix on orb	1 5½
?Constantius II	c360	Vota	1 9
Magnentius	350-51	Felicitasper publicae	2 4
			(floor)
Valens Æ 3	367-75	Securitas repulvae	1 3
House of Valentinian	364-78	—	1 3
Valentinian I or Valens	—	Gloria Romanorum	1 4
Valentinian or Valens	365-78	Securitas republicae (mint uncertain)	3
—	367-375	Securitas republicae (siscia mint)	1 3

			ft. in.	
House of Valentinian	„	365-78	Securitas republicae (mint uncertain)	7
Valentinian or Valens	„	364-375	Securitas republicae	1 5½
Gratian	„	378-83	Reparatio Res pub.	7
Flavius Victor	„	387-88	Spes Romanorum	1 2½

The 62 fragments are:

Mid 1st Century-Mid 2nd Century (17). These include Aes and Sestertius. Depths range from the top of the mound to the natural.

Late 2nd Century. One fragment at 2ft. 0½in.

2nd-3rd Century. One fragment. Reverse has clear figure with staff and S.C. 1ft. 10½in.

3rd Century-4th Century. 34 ranging from the top of the mound to the bottom.

4th Century. 8 fragments ranging from 4in. to 1ft. 9in.

Completely unrecognisable. One at 1ft. 9in.

(g) POTTERY

“Wealden” late Iron Age

(a) Pot A. Late Iron Age or early Romano-British. This appears to be a shallow bowl. There is a small handle on a rim (see Fig. 3), a piece of base, and possibly 3 fragments belonging to the same pot. It is black with a “soapy” feel. The grain is coarse, with large pieces of orange in the paste. (Handle found at 1ft. 4in. deep, and base at 1ft. deep).

(b) Pot B. Late Iron Age or early Romano-British. Two pieces of base, found together, fit together. It is approximately ¼in. thick, feels smooth, and the material is dark in the centre, with orange on either side of this, and traces of a dark coating on the outside. Found at 1ft. 6in.

(c) Pot C. Late ?Iron Age (Wealden). There are two small pieces of rim, found together and which fit together. It is approximately ¼in. thick, feels smooth, has a dark brown/black grain, and is coated black on the outside. Found at 1ft.

(d) Pot D. Late Iron Age (Wealden). There is one piece of thick base, and other smaller related fragments—all Iron age. The thickness of the base varies from 2/10in. to ½in. and consists of a dark, fairly large-grained paste coated with orange and then black. It has a “soapy” feel, and is similar in many ways to “B,” but thicker. Its base was found at 2ft. 3in. and 2ft.

(e) There are several other fragments, all found at depths between 1ft. 3in. and 2ft. 1in. of possible Iron Age pottery, but they cannot be identified easily.

Roman Pottery

(a) Castor ware. There were 26 small pieces of Castor ware scattered through the central core.

(b) Samian ware. There were two large pieces and four small pieces that appear to come from a shallow bowl. One piece is cracked and the glaze has worn away.

The following pots are *Romano-British*:

Pot 1. Six fragments belong either to the 2nd or 3rd centuries. Three pieces of rim are included, $\frac{2}{10}$ in. thick, of light sandy paste coated with black and found at depths from 5in. to 2ft.

Pot 2. Four pieces (two fitting together, and one found with a coin of Crispus) made of black sandy paste with brown coating on one side. They feel like very smooth sandpaper, and are $\frac{3}{10}$ in. thick, found at depths from 4½in. to 1ft. 1in.

Pot 3. Fragments of a (?)2nd century pot included a rim and part of a base. Coarse-grained dark paste coated on either side with orange and then black; widely scattered at depths between 10in. and 2ft. 1in.

Pot 4. Four pieces found 9in. deep, above the scattered stones of the outer circle. It is base, wire-marked, and of dull brown sandy pottery.

Pot 5. One fragment of dark sandy paste with what might have been an orange coating. Found 1in. deep.

Pot 6. Very small piece of a dark brown sandy paste, coated black.

Pot 7. Two pieces of light white sandy or "silty" grain, coated black on a smooth exterior found at 1ft. 6in. and 2ft. 2in. deep. This may have incorporated local white silt in its manufacture.

Pot 8. Eight fragments, probably all belonging to the same pot; sandy, smoothly finished; the fragments include a rim. Found between 1½in.-2ft. 2in. deep.

Pot 9. Base, probably Romano-British, of sandy light-brown paste with a smooth black coating outside.

?Pot 10. A coarse, orange sandy fragment, found 6in. deep.

Pot 11. A coarse, grey sandy rim, found 1ft. 7in. deep.

?Pot 12. This has an orange, sandy grain, coated dark brown on one side and black on the other. On the black side there are marks resembling the bark of a tree or a rope. The fragment is twisted.

Pot 13. ?Romano-British. Rim; whitish sandy paste, finely symmetrical, ½in. thick. Found 9in. deep.

Pot 14. Two pieces of rim and a piece of base, apparently belonging to a bowl. The paste is dark and sandy, and the pot is coated black inside and out. The base is approximately $\frac{2}{10}$ in. thick, but the rim is markedly thicker, about $\frac{4}{10}$ in., the pot itself apparently thinning out between the base and the rim.

OTHER POTTERY

There was a group of mixed pottery fragments on the southern part of the outer circle, together with a small piece of jet and two pieces of charcoal.

This group included:

(a) A large Iron Age rim from $\frac{2}{10}$ in.- $\frac{4}{10}$ in. thick (belonging to a large pot. It has the characteristic "soapy" feel.

(b) A piece of sandy, fine grained light brown Romano-British pottery.

(c) A rim of light brown sandy pottery different from the above.

(d) Pottery fragments with a dark paste, orange coated.

(e) Fragments of pottery with an orange paste.

(f) Other fragments, some of which may be Iron Age, and others Romano-British.

Medieval. One small fragment came from the plough soil.

Modern. A large base of early 18th century pottery (see Fig. 3) came from a depth of 11in. near the place where the clay pipe was found.

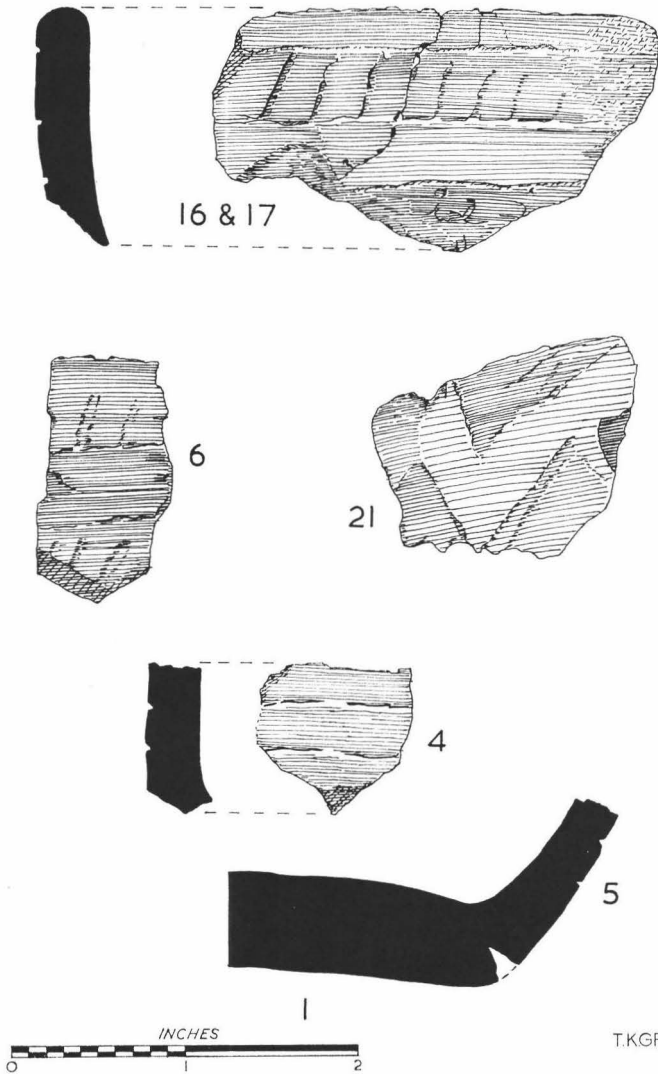


FIG. 4. Beaker fragments from Money Mound

(h) THE BEAKER (see Fig. 4). (Description contributed by Mr. T. K. Green).

Not enough fragments were recovered to make reconstruction possible, but enough remained to find its diameters at rim and base and to get some idea of the type of decoration. The incurved portion of the rim indicates that it was a necked beaker. 37 fragments were recovered. The base was almost completely intact, and this and other significant pieces are illustrated. The fabric is a characteristic reddish-brown on the outside, but more brownish-grey on the inside, particularly so on the base. The surface texture is dry, without the soapy feel noted in the majority of beakers in Sussex.¹ The "oatmeal texture" (Musson's characteristic D) is present as an inner layer in the material of the base. Very few traces of gritting appear: there are some small concretions visible in the base, but only in fragment 22 are any foreign grits visible—four minute fragments of flint, the largest being about .05in. across.

The curvature of the rim suggests an internal diameter of 5.5in. or an external diameter of 6in. The approximate base diameter is 3.1in. Decoration is formed by incision, with individual strokes. There is no decoration inside or on top of the rim, but three continuous parallel lines run round the outside of the neck. Between the top and middle lines are strongly scored strokes 20° off vertical and spaced at about .2 inches apart. Between the middle and lowest line is a plain band, but hatching appears immediately below with the lines now 30° off the vertical and about .15in. apart, forming panels on either side of a chevron. It seems that this pattern formed a band below the third line. The chevron's edges are outlined and the hatching lines begin from this. On one fragment (21), the angle of hatching has been made to diverge from the adjacent edge of the chevron, thus heightening the contrast. Nothing further can be deduced until the base is reached: here two parallel interrupted lines ran round the lower body.

An attempt has been made to isolate those traits whose analysis is the subject of Clarke's article² and form some picture of the beaker's probable shape. This can be done only to a limited degree, since Clarke's basic reference—waist diameter—is unknown in this instance. Traits 15 (externally straight/convex neck and rim), 34 (dished base) and 23 (complex zone fillings based on hatching between fringes) appear and it is possible to show mathematically that either traits 3 and 8 or 2 and 7 could have been present. These are ratios between rim waist diameters (2 = 1.10-1.20, 3 = 1.20-1.40) and foot waist diameters (7 = 0.40-0.60, 8 = 0.60-0.70) and are worked out on the basis of the known rim and base diameters. Totalling the

¹ C. R. Musson "An Illustrated Catalogue of Sussex Beaker and Bronze Age Pottery," in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. 92, pp. 106-24.

² D. L. Clarke, "Matrix Analysis and Archaeology with particular reference to British Beaker Pottery," in *Proc. Prehistoric Soc.*, vol. 27, pp. 371-82.

number of instances cited by Clarke when each feature is associated with each of the others—a valid statistical method—one finds that the balance of probabilities lies slightly in favour of the Money Mound beaker having been rather long in the neck. This would, firstly, suggest that the burial took place in the later phases of the Beaker Period and, secondly, that the necessary depth of neck—2.5in. plus—could have been present to allow the running chevron to appear below the three bands on the neck.

Parallels to the decorative scheme, such as it is, are more elusive to trace. Firstly, all the Sussex beakers, save the Bell Beaker from Beggars Haven (Musson No. 051), are decorated by stabbed or rouletted patterns, instead of the continuous incisions of the Money Mound example. The chevron motif occurs near the rim of the necked beaker from Telscombe Tye; it also occurs in an elaborated form, stabbed on the fragment of neck, now in Weybridge Museum, and is the only relic of a necked beaker from Oatlands Park, Surrey. Further afield, the necked beaker found with skeleton 2 in the Wick Barrow,¹ Somerset, has this running chevron design on both neck and belly, though again it is stabbed. However, the structural concept of Wick Barrow shows a remarkable link with Money Mound, having a clear drystone wall encircling the central burial area, to say nothing of attentions during the Roman era.

¹ H. St. G. Gray "Report on the Wick Barrow Excavations," in *Proc. Somerset Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, vol. 54, p. 1ff.

CHAILEY FRIENDLY SOCIETY

By N. CAPLAN

The idea of joining together in a fund to provide cash and other benefits in time of illness and old age developed rapidly in England towards the end of the eighteenth century, although the oldest friendly societies dated from the beginning of the century. It was estimated in 1803 that there were almost ten thousand societies with a membership of over 700,000.¹

The friendly society movement spread also in Sussex, particularly in the Western Division. In 1856, the Registrar of Friendly Societies published a consolidated list of all the Sussex societies and this recorded 238 societies in 156 different towns and villages, as registered up to the end of 1855.² Registration, however, was permissive, not mandatory, under the Act of 1793 for The Encouragement and Relief of Friendly Societies and it is possible that some of the earlier societies in Sussex were not registered. The important advantage of registration was that a society could then require its treasurer to deposit a bond and thus to insure against default or impropriety in the custody of its funds.³

It is evident that the Sussex societies were limited in operation to their stated objectives, unlike a good many of the societies formed in the new industrial areas of England; in the case of the latter, the relief given by the Act of 1793 to association provided the only means by which workmen could join together in their efforts to improve conditions of employment without incurring the drastic penalties against trade union combination. Many of the early societies in Sussex were supported and fostered by local landowners and farmers who saw the friendly society not only as a means of encouraging thrift, but also as an effective counterpoise to the efforts of agitators to stir up trouble in the countryside. It is significant that of the 156 places with societies, 109 were in the more markedly rural Western Division, including almost all the older societies.

As elsewhere in England, there was the closest association between the Sussex societies and the village inns. Only a handful of the earlier societies met elsewhere than at the "local."⁴ The early

¹ P. Colquhoun, *A Treatise on Indigence* (1806), quoted Halevy's *History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century*.

² The Registrar sent a copy of his printed list to the Clerk of the Peace in 1857 and this survives as QDS/3/EW3, in East Sussex Record Office, Lewes.

³ A number of these bonds of Treasurers survive as QDS/3/E1; the oldest is dated 13 March 1800, and was entered into by George Sawyer, shopkeeper of East Grinstead, in the sum of £2,000.

⁴ The Ditchling Amicable Society, whose Rules were first certified in 1794, was not shown as meeting at an inn but this may have resulted from some omission by its Clerk in making a return to the Registrar. After about 1835 efforts were made to form friendly societies linked with temperance and a number of the later Sussex societies met in the Church of England's National Schools, for example, Eastbourne (1835), Shipley (1841) and Stanmer and Falmer (1844).

societies were built round convivial gatherings at the inn and were as much "clubs" as insurance societies, but in any case there was no other meeting-place in most of the villages.¹

The oldest of the Sussex friendly societies which registered its rules under the Act of 1793 appears to have been the Chailey Friendly Society. This was instituted in 1782 and it met at *The Five Bells* inn. Happily, the Chailey Society's *Rules, Orders, and Regulations* have survived and these give a comprehensive account of the organisation and work of a typical village friendly society.² These rules were drawn up at a meeting at *The Five Bells* on 19 October 1818 to replace an earlier set which evidently had not been registered under the Act of 1793.³ The 1818 rules were witnessed by sixty-nine members, including eighteen who witnessed by making their mark. Many of the better-known Sussex surnames feature in the list, including Langridge, Beard, Coppard, Harman, Markwick, Holman, Funnell, Pickett, Newnham and Peckham.

The Society's motto was taken from 1 Peter 2, v. 17: "Love the Brotherhood—Fear God—Honour the King." There were twenty-one rules to implement the Society's primary objective of:

raising a Fund by Subscription of the Members; to be applied to their relief and maintenance in Sickness, old Age, and Infirmary; also to the relief of their Widows, and to such other purposes as are detailed in the Rules for its Government.

The first three rules regulated membership of the society:

Every person desirous of becoming a Member of this Society, shall deliver to the Stewards thereof, a true and regular Extract from the Parish Register of his baptism, and *shall* declare in writing his age, trade or occupation and residence. He shall also candidly, truly, and unequivocally answer all enquiries submitted to him by the Stewards, who are expressly directed and required not to admit any one under 14, nor above 30 years of age—nor any one who shall have been subject to the Gout or Rheumatism or afflicted with the King's Evil, Leprosy, or rupture; or who shall have *been* in any other respect ailing or unsound . . .

Bailiffs or Bailiffs followers cannot be admitted, and any Member accepting of either of these offices shall be excluded.⁴ . . . No person of drunken or disorderly habits, or of bad character can be admitted.⁵ . . .

¹ The Sussex list of 1856 may have some interest for those who wish to trace the careers of old inns in the county; the list suggests that the most numerous inn signs c. 1800-1850 were those of the *Bell, Swan, White Horse and Red Lion*.

² Rules of the Chailey Friendly Society, QDS/3/E2. The writer gratefully acknowledges the ready help of the East Sussex Record Office, Lewes.

³ It is unlikely that the form of the rules adopted in 1782 would have been compatible with the requirements of the Act of 1793, but it is somewhat surprising that the Chailey Society took so many years to revise their rules and enrol them.

⁴ One is led to wonder whether this exclusion of bailiffs and their followers reflected the hazards of personal injury to such persons or simply the traditional dislike of these officers.

⁵ But this stipulation can hardly have been as restrictive as it sounds, given the lenient treatment of insobriety, profanely cursing or swearing and challenging to fight in the Society's list of forfeits, *infra*.

A continuance of three successive years in this Society shall constitute a Free Member, and entitle to all the benefits of this Institution; provided that all payments shall have been made good during the whole time . . .

Any Member engaged in His Majesty's Service by Land or Sea, shall be excluded; but should he return with Limbs Health and Constitution unimpaired, he may be readmitted . . ."

The Chailey Society required an entrance fee of five shillings from members between 20 and 25 years old and of ten shillings from those between 25 and 30, but members under 20 were admitted free. The regular subscriptions were three shillings at each quarterly meeting, one shilling at the quarterly meetings next after the death of "Free Members," one shilling on the 4th June for the expenses of the annual "Club Feast" and ninepence at each quarterly meeting from the members present towards the drink and food provided (members absent paid ninepence into the general funds of the society). These were, of course, substantial sums in 1818, particularly for members who were employed as labourers. The Society lost no opportunity of augmenting its funds by stipulating forfeits for a lengthy list of offences; there were twenty-one such offences for members with several more applying to the Stewards, the Treasurer, the Clerk and the Landlord of the inn 'where the Club is held.' The scale of the fines throws a good deal of light on the attitudes and customs of Sussex village life of the times. The most serious offence in terms of the size of the forfeit was: 'For publickly or privately using expressions, either by speaking or in writing, tending to the dissolution of this society, or division of the stocks' which carried a forfeit of ten shillings. The attitude to Royalty was not as solemnly respectful as we are inclined to suppose—the forfeit was sixpence only for 'Speaking disrespectfully of the existing Royal Family'; perhaps the close association between the Royal Dukes and the county had something to do with this relative impunity for such an offence. One senses sound realism in the small fines imposed for swearing and for 'coming into the Club Room when not sober'—sixpence and threepence respectively.

The forfeits imposed on the Stewards were more severe; insobriety in the Club Room cost a Steward one shilling and it was five shillings 'For losing his Key.' The latter forfeit is understandable in the context of Rule 15:

The money and securities, constituting the Society's Fund, are to be deposited in a secure Box, having five Locks varying in their wards. The key of one of which is to be kept by each Steward, and the fifth, or remaining key, is to be kept by the Treasurer, or such other person, bound by sufficient security for the safety of the Box and its contents, to whom he shall entrust it. The nomination of the person so to be entrusted is to be submitted to a General Meeting for its approbation, prior to any such appointment—which appointment a General Meeting shall at any time have power to withdraw, and to return to such person and his surety the securities given.

The four Stewards were elected to serve by seniority in rotation. In addition to their important part in the regular conduct of club

business, they were directly responsible for payments of benefits and for visiting those claiming benefit; Rule 18 required that:

The whole of the Stewards are in turn weekly to visit all sick and lame Members residing within ten miles of the usual place of meeting, and to deliver to such Members their respective allowances from the Fund. They shall also report to the Society the state and condition of the sick, lame and infirm at every General Meeting.

By consent of the Club, the Stewards may respectively be allowed three pence per mile for every mile above four which it shall be necessary for them to travel upon the Society's business, to be computed from the usual place of meeting, and upon extraordinary occasions, such compensation as shall be agreed upon . . .

The benefits available to members were set out in Rules 7 to 12 and the Society took good care to avoid what the Rules termed 'deceit or concealment.' Under Rule 7:

Every Free Member rendered incapable of working at, or following his Trade, profession, or business, by sickness or lameness, not the consequence of venereal disorder, nor of offensive fighting, or other unlawful conduct, shall be entitled to receive one shilling per day, whilst he remains so disabled:— But no member shall be paid less than three days of such indisposition. Every sick member is permitted to write or sign papers; also to give directions to his servants, or other persons employed in his own business and concerns. Every Member, labouring under such sickness or lameness, whose place of residence shall not be less than ten miles from the usual place of meeting, must transmit to the Stewards a Certificate of the nature of his case, signed by the officiating Minister and one Churchwarden of the parish in which he shall be resident; and also by the medical person attending him. Each sick Member receiving benefit from this Society shall, if required, deliver to the Stewards weekly, an Account of his expenses, to shew that the money allowed has been expended only upon articles necessary for him in such state of infirmity:— and every Member refusing to give a true, or delivering a fictitious account thereof upon demand, shall be excluded . . .

Rule 8 regulated the payment of a form of pension to the aged or permanently disabled members:

When the majority of votes at a quarterly meeting shall adjudge any Free Member to be unable to work for his living through age or permanent infirmity, he shall no longer be entitled to the benefits allowed to a sick or lame member by the last Article; but shall be assisted by the Institution in the following manner, so long as the Quarterly Meetings shall consider him as continuing under such disability:— Upon the Quarterly night in August, the Meeting shall enquire into the state of the last year's Account, and if it shall be found that the Surplus, of the proceeds of that year, above the disbursements on account of Sickness, Deaths, and the casual expences of the Society, when equally divided among such aged, and permanently infirm Members, will admit of four shillings per Week being paid to each, the Meeting is then to direct such payments (but no greater) to be made to each of them during the ensuing year:— But should it appear, upon such enquiry, that such surplus, so divided, will not admit of four shillings per Week being paid to each of such Members, the Meeting is then to decide upon the scale of weekly payments for the ensuing year;—which is to be taken as high as such surplus will admit of. All those who shall be added to the list of aged and permanently infirm Members within the Year, shall receive the same weekly payments as the rest.

Even imprisonment did not necessarily disqualify members from benefit; under Rule 9:

Any Member confined in Prison for debt (not incurred by notorious Idleness or Extravagance) shall have two shillings per Week remitted to him for his subsistence, until such time as he shall have obtained the allowance directed to be paid by Creditors to Debtors under the Statute;—provided that such Debtor shall take the earliest opportunity of applying for such Statute Allowance.

But any member who became a pensioner in any hospital where he was wholly provided for ceased to be eligible for benefit, except that his widow could still qualify for the death and funeral grants, provided that the member had kept up all his regular subscriptions. The death grant to widows was a substantial one:

At the death of a Member of this Society, having been ten Years or upwards in the Club, and having paid all the dues imposed upon him by these Rules and Regulations, his Widow shall be entitled to, and shall be paid on the next Quarterly Meeting after his decease the sum of fifteen Pounds Sterling. Unmarried Members, and Widowers, under the same circumstances may bequeath forty shillings to whom they please.

The funeral grant was three pounds for a Free Member and thirty shillings for a Free Member's wife; the Stewards were specifically required to see that 'the Money allowed for his interment be frugally and properly applied.'

The Chailey Society was much concerned with its social occasions and the quarterly meetings at *The Five Bells* were decidedly convivial occasions with each member paying the ninepence a head for the drink and food which were to be 'called for by the Stewards alone, if present.' In the winter, the meetings were held from 5 until 8 p.m. and in summer from 7 until 10 p.m. The Stewards were charged with ensuring that 'the Meetings are supplied by the Landlord with everything requisite and of good quality.' The landlord of *The Five Bells* was under a forfeit of five shillings for:

Not providing a decent and convenient room for the use of the Society, at its usual times of meetings, cleared of all other company, and provided with a good *fire* when requisite.

Socially, the Chailey Society's big day was 4 June—the Annual Feast—and Rule 13 regulated the proceedings on this day:

Annually, upon the 4th of June, a Feast Day and General Meeting shall be held by this Society. The Members are to assemble at ten o'clock in the Forenoon, and at the expiration of half an hour the names of the whole Club shall be called over, in order to ascertain who may be absent. The Members present then shall proceed to Church in regular procession, by two and two, for the purpose of hearing divine Service. On the occasion of this Meeting such sum as shall be necessary (not exceeding two shillings for each Member belonging to the Club, whether present or not) is to be disbursed by the Fund to defray the expence of the Feast.

The Society's Rules provided for a proper record of its activities to be kept by the *Clerk*:

The Clerk is required to enter in a book, to be provided by the Society, a just and perfect Account of all proceedings—he is to register, upon the admittance of Members, their respective ages, and places of Residence—and Annually, upon the feast day, to correct if necessary the account of the residence of every Member for the ensuing Year—and deposit in the Box all registers of Baptism

received subsequent to the preceding Feast Day. He shall assist the Treasurer and Stewards in all Accounts, Registers, letters and other writings whatsoever.

For his recompence, he shall, if a member, be entitled gratuitously to all the Benefits of the Club during such time as he shall continue to fill the office of Clerk, and shall be paid annually from the Fund two Pounds in addition. If not a Member of the Society, he shall be paid such annual Salary as may be settled and allowed by the decision of a Quarterly Meeting.

Unfortunately there is no trace of the Clerk's records of the Chailey Society; nor are there any records or relics at *The Five Bells* of the house's long association with the Society—perhaps somewhere in the Chailey district there are some papers which would throw more light on the society's work.

No doubt, some of these early village friendly societies in Sussex were more successful as convivial gatherings in the local inn than as effective providers of insurance against sickness and old age, but we have to remember that their work, like that of the Chailey Society, was in a community which knew nothing of national insurance and benefits beyond the despised meagre subsistence of the Poor Law. Those local worthies who organised these Friendly societies deserve to be remembered with gratitude.

LINCH AND ITS IRON RESOURCES

By LOUISE COCHRANE

The parish of Linch lies in the westernmost part of the Weald of Sussex and forms part of the Vale of Fernhurst. It is within the Sussex Downs Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty,¹ and one needs considerable imagination to picture the present woodlands as once having been the site of iron mines with men at work digging ore for blast furnaces. Traces of minepits still exist, however, and their location has been recorded on the detailed maps prepared by the Geological Survey team working in the area in 1957-60.

The sites are referred to by B. C. Worssam in the *Proceedings of the Geologists' Association* in 1964.² It happens that the map accompanying Mr. Worssam's article stops just short of the Linch boundary, but he mentions that 'scattered occurrences of pitted ground in the Vale of Fernhurst for three miles westward of North Park Furnace have been noted by Mr. S. C. A. Holmes.' With the permission of the Director of the Geological Survey, I studied the six-inch field maps which show the minepits in Elmers Copse, Pit Copse and Luckins Copse at SU 855281 to SU 865280.

The notes indicate in Elmers Copse old pits to a maximum of five feet; in Pit Copse, uneven loamy ground and old pits about five feet deep in sand with ferruginous sandstone. In Luckins similar old shallow pits occur in silt with fine yellow sandstone. Mr. Worssam's article explains the geological background of iron working in the Vale of Fernhurst and shows that furnace sites are related to the seams of clay ironstone which provided the source of ore.

The blast furnace at North Park (SU 879282) was just under a mile east of these minepits and another furnace at Inholms was just over a mile away (SU 856262) to the south-west. Earlier references to the history of the parish recorded that Linch had paid a tithe of iron ore in 1342 and Ernest Straker, the authority on Wealden iron, had suggested that there might be a bloomery site in Linch adjacent to these minepits.³ For this reason I decided that it would be interesting to trace the economic history of the parish and see what was the earliest date at which a relationship could be established between the prosperity of local residents and the existence of these mineral resources.

The first important result of my research was the discovery of a mistranscription in the early references to Linch tithes. The original

¹ Under the Provisions of Section 87 of the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act, 1949.

² B. C. Worssam, 'Iron Ore Workings in the Weald Clay of the Western Weald', *Proceedings of the Geologists' Association*, Vol. 75, Part 4 (1964), pp. 529-546.

³ Ernest Straker, *Wealden Iron* (1931), p. 427.

error was made by Dallaway, and subsequently Lower made the same mistake.¹ Referring to the Nonæ roll for 'Lynch', Dallaway italicised in his quotation '*Itm decima ferri ec'c'e pd'c'e valet p. annu' x s.*' In the text Dallaway stated, 'He [the rector] had likewise 10 sol as a composition for the tythe of iron-ore which was an early instance [1342] of minerals having been made subject to decimation.'

I have consulted both the official transcription² and the original membrane³ and found that the tithe paid by the parishioners of Lynch was the more familiar one of hay. FENI had been misread as FERRI. A full translation of the document reads as follows:

'Inquisition was held in the presence of Henry Husee and his colleagues assessors and vendors of the ninth of sheaves of corn, fleeces and lambs in the County of Sussex at Lewes Wednesday after the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary in the 15th year of our lord King of England and his second year as true King of France concerning the ecclesiastical value of Lynche which is valued at 8 marks after the oath of William the Woodman, Roger at the Wood, Ralph the Thatcher, and Richard Whitemay parishioners of the aforesaid parish who say on their oath that the ninth part of sheaf corn of the aforesaid parish is worth this year 41s. 8d. And the ninth part of fleece of this parish is worth this year 3s. And the ninth part of lambs is worth this year 2s. The total is 46s. 8d. and not more and it does not correspond nor is it related to the Surveyed value of tithes, and that the rector of the aforesaid Church has there one messuage with garden which is worth per annum 6s. 8d. and 20 acres of arable which is worth 20s. and 4 acres of pasture which is worth per year 8s. Item the tenth of hay of the aforesaid Church is worth per year 10s. and the tenth of cider is worth 20s. Item the aforesaid rector has pasture belonging to his church which is worth per year 6s. 8d. Item they say that there are small tithes of the aforesaid parish whose payment is worth per year 13s. 4d. Total 6 marks 4s. and 8d. And they say that there are not in the said parish any other cardinal benefits or merchants but parishioners who work of the lands and by their labours. In witness of this act then the seal of the aforesaid assessors and vendors and the seal of the aforesaid jury are separately affixed to the deed. Given at Lewes the above-mentioned day and year.'

The photocopy of the original membrane (Plate 1) shows how easily the mistake could have been made. This was especially true

¹ James Dallaway, *History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex*, Vol. 1 (1815), p. 300. M. A. Lower, 'Ironworks of the County of Sussex', in *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (abbreviated hereafter to *S.A.C.*), Vol. 2 (1849), pp. 178, 214.

² *Nonarum Inquisitiones Tempus Edward III* (1807), p. 360.

³ P.R.O., E 179/189/17. Note: I am indebted to my neighbour Professor David Knowles for assistance with the translation.

since Dallaway was writing just as the Wealden iron industry was in its final phase.

The next important question was whether the existence of mineral resources was in any way related to the prosperity of rising yeomen in the 16th century, at the time of the expansion of the Wealden iron industry. Viscount Montague of Cowdray was well to the fore in this development. In lists of ironworks prepared for Queen Elizabeth's Council in 1573 and 1574 there are several references to 'another new furnace sett upp in Haselmore by my Lord Montague' and to 'the Lord Montague, a furnace called Pophall'.¹

Pophall in Linchmere, the parish adjoining Linch, was presumably the nearest furnace at this time. It later became a hammer and was probably operated in conjunction with the furnace in North Park. According to Ponsonby, Pophall was described as a hammer in the Linchmere court roll for 1615. North Park was established in 1614 according to his transcription of the Linchmere court roll:

'Item the homage do present the [honorable] Noble third Viscount Montagu and Thomas Gray, gent., for buildinge an Iron Mill on the above said coppiehold called Peerish and for makinge of highwaies through the said ground and for digging Myne pitts and for makinge of san [sawe] pitts and coale pitts to the great advantage of the Tennant to the same.'²

In 1582 the 1st Viscount Montague bought the manor of Linch.³ It had previously been thought that the existence of a medieval iron industry in Linch might have influenced his purchase. Now it is questionable whether the iron resources were a factor; it is more likely that Viscount Montague was interested in timber, of vital importance for the making of charcoal. At any rate he bought the manor at a time when he was selling off other portions of his estate and consolidating his position near Cowdray.⁴

By 1582 two very substantial leaseholds of ten thousand years each had been granted to yeomen within the manor of Linch. William Ayling had acquired the leasehold of Chalcrofts at Woodmans Green and must have been responsible for building the 16th century house known as Woodmans Green Farm which is described in the Victoria County History⁵ and listed as a building of special

¹ *Calendar of State Papers Domestic* (abbreviated hereafter to *C.S.P.D.*) 12 Elizabeth. Vol. 95, nos. 48, 50, 51, 128, 131; Vol. 96, nos. 111, 113B; Vol. 117, October 1577. See also Straker, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

² Arthur Ponsonby, *The Priory and Manor of Linchmere and Shulbrede* (1920), pp. 152, 180, 182. At this date it was, however, the 2nd Viscount Montague; 'Noble third' should read 'honorable' and for 'san' read 'sawe'.

³ Edwin H. W. Dunkin (ed.), *Sussex Manors, Advowsons, etc. Recorded in the Feet of Fines Henry VIII to William IV (1509-1833)*, Vol. 1, Sussex Record Society (abbreviated hereafter to S.R.S.) Vol. 19 (1914), p. 288.

⁴ A. A. Dibben (ed.), *The Cowdray Archives*, Vol. 1 (1960), Introduction, p. 9. Viscount Montague had already acquired some lands in Linch through his inheritance of Easebourne Priory lands, Tanner's *Not. Mon.*, p. 563.

⁵ *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, Sussex* (abbreviated hereafter to V.C.H., *Sussex*), Vol. 4 (1953), p. 65.

architectural or historic interest by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government.¹ My identification of this house as being the original Chalcrofts is proved in two ways. First it is the only house at Woodmans Green to have a cellar, and William Ayling, yeoman, who died in 1718 left seven barrels in his cellar, according to his inventory.² In his will, Chalcrofts was left to a niece, Sarah Ayling,³ who subsequently married John Butler, the man responsible for restarting the iron works at North Park.⁴ In John Butler's will Chalcrofts is still described under its old name⁵ but in his son's will it is described as Woodmans Green Farm.⁶ This is the second and conclusive proof.

I have not been able to establish a connection between the 16th century yeoman and this later William Ayling who owned the house at the beginning of the 18th century.⁷ There is no question, however, that the first of this name to appear prominently in the district was a man of far greater importance. He was financially in a position to buy the manor of Woolbeding where he built a new hall, traces of which still remain in Woolbeding House.⁸ According to his will,⁹ Elizabeth, his wife, was to have the use of the chamber over the new hall in his house of Woolbeding for the term of her natural life. She was to have ten bushels of wheat, four bushels of rye, ten bushels of barley and ten bushels of oats yearly from the farms,

¹ Under Provisions of Section 32 Town and Country Planning Act, 1962. Provisional List 2246/11/A, p. 37. It is noted that a photograph of the house is with the National Buildings Record.

² West Sussex Record Office (abbreviated hereafter to W.S.R.O.), inventory of the goods and chattels of William Ayling, late of Linch, yeoman, 8 August 1718.

³ Will of William Ayling of Linch, yeoman, 1718, Chichester Consistory Court, Vol. 32, No. 164.

⁴ W. W. Capes, *Rural Life in Hampshire* (1901), Appendix E, p. 273, gives pedigree of Butler family. Marriage to Sarah Ayling is noted in Linchmere court book, 1724, W.S.R.O., Cowdray Archives, No. 264, p. 118.

⁵ Hampshire Record Office 10M50/195. Incomplete copy of the will of John Butler of Bramshott, proved 3 June 1775, P.C.C.

⁶ Hampshire Record Office 10M50/196, 52. Certified copies of will of John Butler of Bramshott, 7 September 1785; codicil 24 May 1790; no probate.

⁷ A pedigree of the Aylings is given in William Berry, *County Genealogies: Pedigrees of the Families in the County of Sussex* (1830), p. 208. No forebears are given for William Ayling, but it is possible that he is the son William mentioned in the will of Richard Ayling of Woolbeding, C.C.C., Vol. 5, Folio 133. If William Ayling of Linch, yeoman, who died in 1718 was descended from William Ayling of Woolbeding it could only have been through the marriage of Mabel Gray, granddaughter of William Ayling of Woolbeding, to Nicholas Ayling of Stedham, who died in 1641. C.C.C. M. Dean 9. The children mentioned in this will are recorded in Stedham and Woolbeding parish registers as those of Nicholas Ayling and Mabel his wife.

⁸ Provisional list No. 2246/11/A op. cit, p. 89.

⁹ Will of William Ayling of Woolbeding, yeoman, 1583, P.C.C. 21 Rowe. Inquisition post mortem in L. F. Salzman (ed.), *A Calendar of Post Mortem Inquisitions Relating to the County of Sussex*, S.R.S. Vol. 3, pp. 158-60. For acquisition of manor, see Dunkin, op. cit, S.R.S. Vol. 20, p. 503.

Inquisicio capta apud Hamp. Insuper et omnino omnes assessores et venditores non erant, vellet etiam in domo Insuper apud
 Castellis die Martij p[er] post finem amercionis de omni. lino. p[er] domo regis lino. et. Item vero omni p[er]tinencia ad de
 valore eam de Lincorne que extendit ad unum mare p[er] mare. Gilt. Cudem. Post actu. Vadi. theberge
 et via. Chremis post eam p[er] dicit p[er] mare. Item qd non p[er]tinet post p[er]tinet. hoc anno. et. d. unum
 d. Et non p[er]tinet vellet. eusdem post. valer. hoc anno. m. d. Et non p[er]tinet. act. valer. hoc anno. q. d. In
 dicit. unum. d. et non plus. et non p[er]tinet. in. amercionis. potest. ad. d. am. extendi. eo qd. vacat. eam. p[er]tinet. h[ic]
 ibidem. unum. mare. p[er]tinet. in. eadem. qd. valer. p[er]tinet. unum. d. unum. d. et. xx. non. t[er]t[er]e. p[er]tinet. que. valer. p[er]tinet. annu. d[omi]ni
 d. Et. unum. d. p[er]tinet. que. valer. p[er]tinet. annu. unum. d. Item. decima. sem. eam. p[er]tinet. valer. p[er]tinet. annu. d. Item. de
 omni. dicit. que. valer. p[er]tinet. annu. xxx. d. Item. p[er]tinet. vacat. h[ic] p[er]tinet. ad. eam. omni. p[er]tinet. que. valer. p[er]tinet. an
 nu. unum. d. unum. d. Item. dicit. qd. numerus. dicit. p[er]tinet. post. in. oblat. valer. p[er]tinet. annu. unum. d. unum. d. Item. unum
 mare. unum. d. unum. d. Et. dicit. qd. non. omni. in. d[omi]ni. post. aliqua. bus. cardinal. neq[ue] p[er]tinet. act. act.
 post. qui. omni. de. d[omi]ni. et. laborib[us] act. In. unum. p[er]tinet. restrom. tam. vult. p[er]tinet. assessores. et. vend. qui
 vult. p[er]tinet. unum. p[er]tinet. p[er]tinet. ab. omni. appensa. Item. qd. Castellis. die. et. anno. unum. d[omi]ni.

PLATE I. The Inquisition referred to on page 38

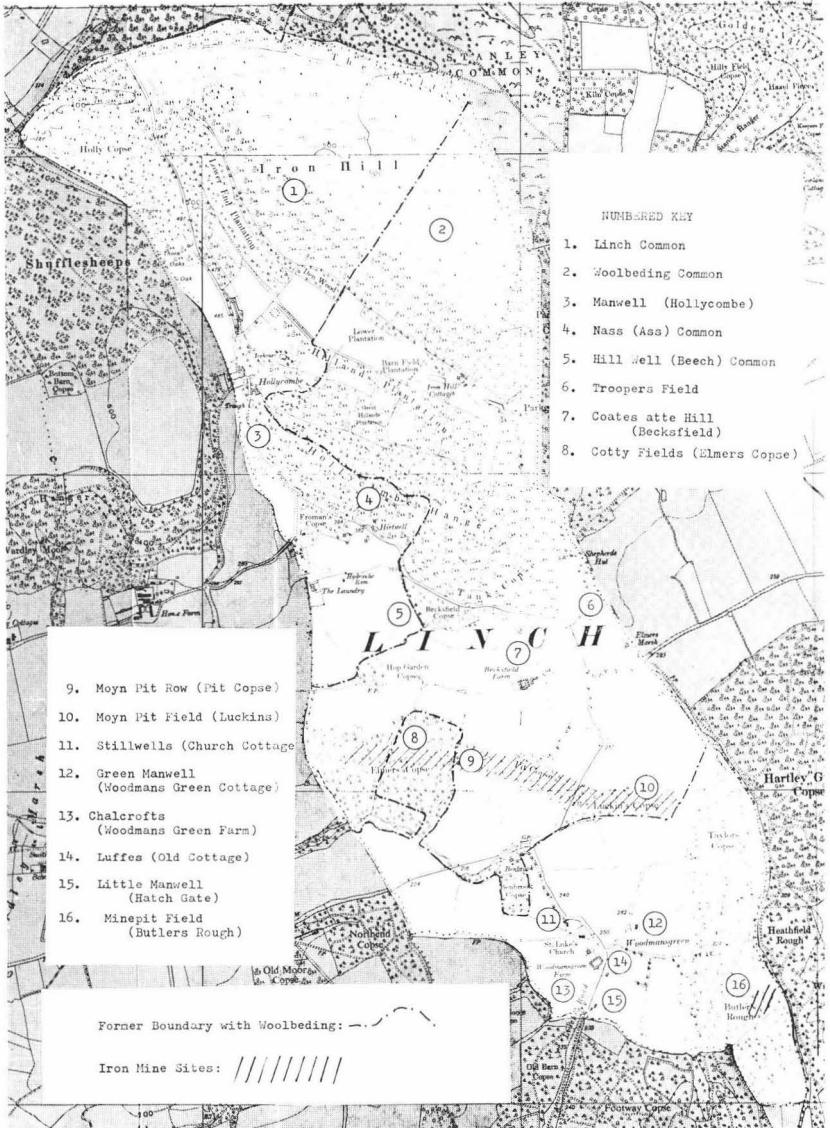


PLATE II. The Parish of Linch

*Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.
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the keeping of four kyne during her natural life, and £15 a year from a farm called Ruge Farm at Rotherwick.

William Ayling had no male heirs. His son John had died in 1578¹ and was buried in Woolbeding. His father requested that he be buried beside him. He then divided the rest of his property among his daughters. Joan, the eldest, who had married Edmond Gray in 1563,² received the manor of Woolbeding, Farthings and White Lynes Barn. Elizabeth, the wife of John Locke, received Baldwins, Hollist in Easebourne, and other properties in Easebourne, Graffham and Heyshott. Another daughter (also called Elizabeth) inherited tenements and lands containing eighty acres called Cottess att Hyll in the hands of Thomas Bettsworth, and a tenement occupied by Stillwell's widow purchased from Thomas Ayling of Stedham. Agnes (Annys), the wife of William Moser, inherited Chalcrofts:—

‘I give and bequeathe unto Agnes my daughter the lease of Chaulcrofts otherwise Chailcroft which is now in the tenure and occupation of Thomas Ayling my brother containing by estimation four score and six acres of land be it more or lesse situate lying and being in Woodmans Greene in the Parish of Linch in the sayde Countie of Sussex, also one crofte of Lande containing by estimation four acres be it more or less and now in the tenure and occupation of my aforesaide brother lately purchased of Thomas Ayling of Stedham in the sayde Countie of Sussex to have and to hold the sayde lande and crofte of land with all and singular of their appurtenances as to the aforesaid Agnes and the heires of her body Lawfully begotten by her . . .’

The first reference to Chalcrofts in the Linch court book is the transfer of the property after William Ayling's death:³

‘28th Year of Elizabeth (1586) . . .’

‘To this Court came William Aylwyn having died, William Moser, his heir. William Aylwyn held Chalcroft or Chalcroot for ten thousand years . . . and his best living beast being due to the Lord on his death and no store beast having been added to his Lordship's cattle, William Moser, his heir, pays a fine.’

Three years later another transfer is recorded and Edmond Gray takes the property over from his brother-in-law.

There is no evidence that William Ayling's prosperity derived from any but agricultural pursuits. He was succeeded by his son-in-law as lord of the manor and in 1600 Edmond Gray's eldest son, Thomas, inherited the Woolbeding estate.⁴ Chalcrofts went to

¹ Will C.C.C., Vol. XII, p. 60.

² Transcript of Woolbeding parish register seen at Woolbeding House. I am indebted to Mrs. Edward Lascelles and Miss Alice Lascelles for help on Woolbeding records. A pedigree of the Grays is given by Comber, *W.S.R.O., Comber Papers*, Vol. 17, pp. 65-73.

³ W.S.R.O., Cowdray Archives, No. 297, f. 2, para. 102.

⁴ Will of Edmond Gray, P.C.C. 12 Woodhall, 17 May 1600; proved 4 February 1600/1.

John, the fourth son, who was presumably responsible for the 17th century additions to the house.¹ Through his brother there may have been some association with the North Park ironworks, founded by Thomas Gray and Viscount Montague, but no documentary evidence exists for this. Chalcrofts remained in the Gray family's possession until 1660.²

Another prosperous yeoman buying property in Linch in the middle of the 16th century was Thomas Bettesworth. In 1564, 'Henry, Earl of Arundel, joining with John, Lord Lumley and Jane his wife, demised certain lands in Linch called Little Manwell, Green Manwell and Hirtwell to Thomas Bettesworth, yeoman, for a term of ten thousand years. Herriot on death or alienation the best beast or forty shillings; and seven shillings for a relief.' Little Manwell can be identified as Hatch Gate, Green Manwell as Woodmans Green Cottage. Hirtwell still has its original name.³

The Thomas Bettesworth who bought the leaseholds in Linch does not seem to be the same as the even more prosperous Thomas Bettesworth of Trotton (or Milland, which was part of Trotton). He had a very big estate and died in 1594 seized of the manors of Iping, Deane (a manor which included Wardley), Rogate Bohunt and Milland.⁴ In his will he left instructions that he was to be buried at Tuxlythe, another name for Milland.⁵ The heir to this estate was Sir Peter Bettesworth of Milland. The estate became rather encumbered by 1635 and some was sold to Henry Hooke of Bramshott, the prosperous ironmaster then developing Waggoners Wells just over the border in Hampshire.⁶

I have studied both the will and the inquisition post mortem of Thomas Bettesworth, gent., of Milland, and can find no reference to property in Linch. It must have been just a coincidence that Linch produced its own Thomas Bettesworth at the same time. He could have been the Thomas whose father held Little Manwell in 1526.⁷ His property seems to have been divided between a son,

¹ W.S.R.O., Cowdray Archives No. 297, op. cit. John Gray is recorded as having built a 'gateroome' at Chalcrofts, f. 6.

² Ibid, f. 13.

³ A document entitled MSS. B Cowdray is quoted by Dallaway op. cit., p. 299. I have not been able to trace it in the Cowdray archives but the court book references to these holdings would confirm its authenticity. My identification of these houses is based on references in the court book cross-checked against wills and inventories. Hatch Gate (17 cent.), Woodmans Green Cottage (17/18 cent.) and Old Cottage (17 cent.) are mentioned in the Provisional List aforementioned 2246/11/A. They were renewed or rebuilt, therefore, later than Woodmans Green Farm.

⁴ Chancery Inquest P.M. Series 2, ccxxxviii, p. 61. Summarised by F. W. I. Attree (ed.), *Notes of Post Mortem Inquisitions Taken in Sussex Henry VII to 1649 and after*, S.R.S., Vol. 14 (1912), p. 27.

⁵ P.C.C. 74 Dixey.

⁶ W. W. Capes, op. cit, p. 167.

⁷ W.S.R.O., Cowdray Archives, No. 297, op. cit. f. 1. There were other noteworthy Bettesworths in neighbouring parishes. See W.S.R.O., Miscellaneous Papers, No. 335, 324-328. Pedigrees in Berry, op. cit., pp. 34 and 304.

William, and a son, Thomas. William died in 1591 and bequeathed Hirtwell and Green Manwell to his son Lawrence.¹ Thomas died in 1597 and the court book indicates that Richard then inherited Little Manwell after his mother's death.²

There are two other cottages at Woodmans Green whose early records I have investigated. The Old Cottage was probably one for which William Luffe paid 10*d.* heriot in 1586. Stephen Stillwell, who is mentioned in the court book in 1588, and in 1603 sought a licence to let a cottage (formerly a chapel) and garden at Woodmans Green, was probably responsible for the first building on the site of Church Cottage.

The church or chapel at Woodmans Green had been built when the centre of population for the parish moved from Linch Down, the southern part of Linch, to the Wealden outcrop at Woodmans Green. Both the original church near Bepton and the chapel at Woodmans Green completely disappeared. The fact that the church at Linch fell into disuse caused a certain amount of confusion, with the result that local residents occasionally described themselves as 'of Lynchmere.' The present³ church at Linch was rebuilt in 1700 under the leadership of Peter Bettesworth who lived at Green Manwell (Woodmans Green Cottage).

In my attempt to discover whether there was any relationship between the prosperity of local residents and the exploitation of iron, it was necessary to discover both where the common land had been situated and where the original boundary had been between Linch and Woolbeding. When William Ayling of Woolbeding purchased the manor of Woolbeding it had been held, as had that of Linch, by the Earls of Arundel for about two centuries. After Viscount Montague bought the manor of Linch it apparently became necessary to re-determine the boundary of Linch Common where it had become separate from Woolbeding. This was done in 1588 and duly recorded in the court book:⁴

'... and that we William Bettesworth, Thomas Bettesworth, Stephen Stillwell and William Bettesworth the younger doe present it to your worships as followeth viz:

First, from Freeman's corner eastward to Freeman's oak, and there directly to the upper way from plain north [a layne north] over the Quash (Guash) to Spicher's style, then directly to Law style, from Law style to Lyme oak westward to Chitteley corner to beside a mile stone, from beside a mile stone to the west end

¹ Will of William Bettesworth of Linchmere (*sic*) 1591, C.C.C., Vol. XIV, p. 221. Green Manwell and Hirtwell are mentioned in Lawrence Bettesworth's Inventory, W.S.R.O., Ep. I/29, 1624/25.

² W.S.R.O., Cowdray Archives, No. 297, op. cit., f.3 and 119.

³ F. Vere Hodge, *Linch Parish Church and Iping Marsh Church* (1958), pp. 10-11.

⁴ W.S.R.O., Cowdray Archives, No. 297, op. cit., f. 2, para. 113. Quoted by Dallaway, op. cit., p. 299. Dallaway gives 'plain north'; this should read 'a layne north'.

of Dean's bottom, from Dean's bottom south to Manwell, from Manwell to Freeman's lane end. These marks, names, and bounds, in our lifetime we have known to be true and do keep the same names to this day, and they be such as our forefathers have told us to be true, for the separating of Lynch and Woolbeding . . .'

Freeman's or Fromans still provides the name of a copse. A Luc [Luke] Fromund is mentioned in the subsidy lists for 1296. Manwell was just north of Fromans on Hollycombe Hill, near where Hollycombe House stands to-day. It is another name that dates from the 13th century.¹ 'Manwell' meant 'common spring' according to the late Eilwert Ekwall, editor of the *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Place Names*. He was kind enough to reply to a query from me about this point shortly before his death. Green Manwell, he thought, might take its name from a common spring near a village green. This was of further assistance in identifying Green Manwell as Woodmans Green Cottage, the house adjacent to the former green.

Study of a map in the County Record Office of the commonable lands of Linch, dated 1812, has enabled me to establish (Plate II) where most of the original common land was before enclosure.² None of the iron mining sites identifiable to-day were on common land. Even more interesting, however, was the discovery that the principal sites were not in Linch but in Woolbeding, as evidenced by the tithe award maps.³ Ore was mined in adjacent fields called the Cotty Fields, now in Elmers Copse, and in one field in Linch called Mine Pit Field, on the tithe award map at SU 867273, but these are the only possible sites within Linch's boundaries at the time in question.

Having established the exact location of the sites with reference to the various holdings, however, I was naturally anxious to discover at what period the iron mining took place. There was no mention of iron in the wills and inventories of men living on the various holdings which might have been involved in the late 16th or early 17th centuries.

Some of the Woolbeding land involved undoubtedly formed part of William Ayling's holding called Coates atte Hill or Cottes atte Hill. The name might have been the basis for the fields called

¹ William Hudson (ed.), *The Three Earliest Subsidies for the County of Sussex in the Years 1296, 1327, 1333*, S.R.S. Vol. 10 (1910), p. 100.

² 'A Plan of Commonable Land In the Parish of Linch in the County of Sussex Belonging to Stephen Poyntz, Esq., Lord of the Manor, William Barlow, 1812.' W.S.R.O., Cowdray Archives, No. 1698. A boundary stone on the present Linch/Fernhurst boundary is also recorded in the Ministry of Housing and Local Government List 2246/11/A, Map Reference No. 15, Sheet 3. The dates on the stone are 1679, 1791 and 1802. This must have been one of the boundary stones to show the extent of Woolbeding commonland.

³ W.S.R.O., TD/W76; W.S.R.O. TD/W152.

Cotty Fields. Coates atte Hill was later known as Hilllands.¹ The tenant of Mr. Gray's farm at Woolbeding called Hillhold was William Bettesworth, according to a mid-17th century reference in the Linch court book.² In his inventory, 1656, he had 20 bushels of oats, 18 bushels of barley and some fitches of bacon which were worth recording. Lawrence Bettesworth (of Hirtwell and Green Manwell) who died in 1624, had fat hogs, cattle and farm implements. His son Lawrence refers to timber in his will. The impression one gets is that the community was predominantly agricultural.³

Mining must have taken place, however, in the first half of the 17th century. A detailed map based on a survey of Thomas Gray's Woolbeding estate in 1652 lists 'the moyn pits', 'moynpit field row', and 'moynpit field',⁴ in Pit Copse and Luckins Copse exactly where the bellpits are recorded by the Geological Survey. The ore must, therefore, have been exploited during the first period of the North Park furnace.

I have not traced any detailed records with regard to John Gray's or Thomas Gray's involvement in the local industry. North Park apparently ceased to function in the middle of the century. Whether this is connected with the Civil War must be a matter for conjecture. In December 1643 William Waller's forces surprised the Cavaliers occupying Cowdray, left their own garrison there and went on to besiege Arundel. According to Mrs. Roundel, Cavalier forces hid in the woods near Fernhurst and harried Roundhead outposts. The control of various Wealden ironworks was of considerable importance to Cromwell, so there would have been sound reasons

¹ A list of lands belonging to Thomas Gray, Esq. (great nephew of Thomas Gray of Woolbeding who succeeded Edmond Gray in 1600—see Comber Papers, op. cit.) mentions 'All that Messuage, tenement or farm of the said mannor called Coates at Hill alias Hilland.' The list is included in a copy of the *Abstract of Title of the Right Hon. Lord Robert Spencer to the Manors and Estates of Woolbeding and the Advowson of the Church*, which Mrs. Lascelles of Woolbeding House allowed me to consult.

² W.S.R.O., Cowdray Archives, No. 297, op. cit.

³ W.S.R.O., Ep. I/29, op. cit. Lawrence Bettesworth, 1624; William Bettesworth of Woolbeding, 1656. Will of Lawrence Bettesworth 1677, C.C.C. Vol. XXVI, 128b.

⁴ 'The Survey of the Demesnes of the Manor of Woolbeding situate and lying in the Parish of Woolbeding in the County of Sussex surveyed in the year of our Lord 1652 together with a farm lying in the North part of the Manor which have been severally particular as Bendbrook, Webbs, Becksfield, Elmers Mill land, Hedgers and Readons both taken by Thomas Ayling for Thomas Gray Esq. and now redrawn into one draft for the Right Worshipful Sir John Mill Bart. by me Nicholas Ayling.' (Sir John Mill married Thomas Gray's daughter.) Shown to me by Mrs. Lascelles of Woolbeding House.

A map, 'Platforme and Contents of Estate of Thomas Gray, Esq., 1652,' W.S.R.O., Add. MS. 1052, does not give details of this northern part of the estate, but includes an excellent miniature drawing of the 17th century Woolbeding House.

for military activity. The map names Troopers Field and Cavalry Quarters also serve to reinforce this local tradition.¹

William Yalden, Viscount Montague's steward at the time of the Civil War, arranged with the Commissioners to lease the Cowdray estate.² The Yalden family, as ironmasters, enjoyed a considerable period of prosperity judging from Lord Leconfield's book.³ William Yalden of Blackdown became M.P. for Midhurst in 1659.⁴

In 1664 North Park appears on a list of ironworks as 'ruined'.⁵ Apparently there was anxiety that an industry which had once employed a large number of workers was threatened by foreign competition; and that with the renewed Dutch war there was justification for reviving ironworks which had been allowed to fall into disuse. Pophall was listed as continuing, but in need of encouragement.

An estate map for North Park in 1660 describes Moynepit Field and Furnace Field as arable, so it would seem to confirm the fact that mining had ceased. Some minepit and coppice land was reserved, however, and not let out to farm.⁶ Seventeenth century blast furnaces needed a great deal of timber for charcoal and it is likely that a period of re-growth for the coppices was required.

A terrier and map prepared for Sir Richard Mill of Woolbeding in 1724 shows that the farm where the 17th century iron ore was mined had continued as part of the lord's demesne.⁷ This means that at the time of John Butler's revival of the industry, the Woolbeding estate would have benefited again if further ore was mined. John Butler, meantime, acquired other property in Linch in addition to Chalcrofts, and he owned the Cotty Fields.⁸ These fields are in present day Elmers Copse where old bellpits are discernible. The only field called Minepit Field in Linch at the time in question lies within an area now known as Butler's Rough. According to S. C. A. Holmes, this was also a geologically possible site, and some traces of iron mining pits remain to-day.

John Butler was a successful entrepreneur and became a very significant property owner in Hampshire, where his second wife

¹ Mrs. Roundel, *Cowdray, the History of a Great English House* (1884), pp. 80, 154. Cavalry Quarters appears on Ordnance Map; Troopers Field on Tithe Map of Woolbeding, op. cit.

² C.S.P.D., Vol. G 105, p. 515.

³ Lord Leconfield, *Petworth Manor in the 17th Century* (1954), pp. 93-103.

⁴ Mrs. Roundel, op. cit., p. 156.

⁵ J. L. Parsons, 'Sussex Ironworks', in *S.A.C.* Vol. 32 (1882), p. 19.

⁶ W.S.R.O., Cowdray Archives, No. 1640.

⁷ 'A Map of the Manner of Wolbeding in the County of Sussex being part of the estate of the Honourable Richard Mill, Bt. surveyed in 1724.' The terrier accompanying the map includes a perambulation of the manor of Woolbeding which lists in detail the exact boundaries between the manors. Seen by kind permission of Mrs. Edward Lascelles at Woolbeding House.

⁸ W.S.R.O., Cowdray Archives No. 297, op. cit., ff. 43-57, gives details of Butler holdings.

was the eldest daughter of the lord of Bramshott.¹ At the death of his son the property in Linch went to a daughter married to John Newland, surgeon of Petworth. Chalcrafts was sold to John Turner and must subsequently have been bought by Sir Charles Taylor, as it became part of the Hollycombe Estate. Sir Charles Taylor acquired the Cotty Fields in Linch direct from Newland.

Lord Ponsonby had thought that the earliest Linch ironworkings had something to do with the furnace at Inholms Copse.² In an attempt to discover whether any early mention of mining in Inholms Copse existed I spent considerable time on Stedham records, since Inholms is in fact in Stedham. The earliest reference to the digging of mines in Stedham which I could trace was in 1739.³ Moreover, S. C. A. Holmes in a report to the Geologists' Association describes a field trip to Inholms in June, 1962, and in connection with it records

'An examination of one-inch and six-inch Ordnance Survey maps and detailed maps by Gream (1795) and Greenwood (1825) shows that, though not in existence when surveys were made around 1775-1795, the lake was fully established before 1813 and remained fully in being at least until 1823-24; after this it was eventually drained, to be restored as an amenity, some time after 1872 and before 1910. The hammer-pond and furnace, with some bellpits nearby, were located not on the main outcrop of sandstone with associated clays with ironstones, but on an inlier of these beds, very restricted in lateral extent, and supplies of ironstone must soon have been exhausted. Was this furnace indeed only a late and short lived enterprise? The topographical evidence of Gream's survey, whereon this site is shown as open fields, certainly suggests this.'⁴

This is indeed interesting because it is an indication that iron-working continued in the district for some time after John Butler's death in 1775. This is borne out by the fact that copies of leases for North Park and Pophall subsequent to John Butler's tenancy exist in the Cowdray archives. In November 1769 the ironworks were leased to Joseph Wright and Thomas Prickett for 21 years, and in 1774 a similar lease is drawn up for James Goodyer.⁵ This might mean that there was still an industrial aspect to the community when Sir Charles Taylor had a cottage ornée built at Hollycombe

¹ W. W. Capes, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

² Ponsonby, *op. cit.* p. 183.

³ W.S.R.O., Stedham court book, Add. MS. No. 729.

⁴ S. C. A. Holmes, 'Field Meeting to Midhurst: A Traverse of the Western Part of the Vale of Fernhurst, Sussex', in *Proceedings of the Geologists' Association*, Vol. 74, Part 1 (1963), p. 87.

⁵ W.S.R.O., Cowdray Archives No. 1443, 1444. There has previously been some confusion about where John Butler's ironworks were, as they are usually referred to as in Fernhurst. Another furnace site is located at Surney Hatch. The North Park works involved land in both Fernhurst and Linchmere. These leases refer specifically to terms previously accorded John Butler in his lease of Pophalls and North Park.

from designs prepared by Nash. Since Sir Charles Taylor subsequently acquired the manor of Stedham,¹ he may also have acquired the ironworks at Inholms which later became part of the Hollycombe Estate.

It is my hope that one day further records for both North Park and Inholms will come to light, so that a more detailed picture of their operation and their economic role can be produced. Beyond the leases I have mentioned the only other documents in the Cowdray archives which might be related to the local industry are a statement of disbursements made for carriage of coal, iron, sows, etc. to Pophall Hammer dated 1683-86,² an 18th century account of the cost of converting a ton of scrap iron into bar iron, and the cost of wood necessary for such an operation.³

As for those first successful yeomen whose families built the houses in which a number of residents in Linch still live, presumably they derived their opportunity from the misfortunes of the Earls of Arundel in the time of Elizabeth I and their money from their 'work of the lands and by their labours', without the added benefit of iron resources.

I am particularly indebted to Mrs. Edward Lascelles of Woolbeding House and to the County Archivist, Mr. Francis Steer and his staff, for their unfailing interest and co-operation in this research. I should also like to express my appreciation to Mr. B. C. Worssam and Mr. S. C. A. Holmes (District Geologist) of the East Anglia and South-Eastern District Geological Survey of Great Britain, for their advice and help on geological background; also to my distinguished neighbour Professor David Knowles for his help with the translation of the Nonæ return for Linch, 1342.

¹ V.C.H. *Sussex*. Vol. 4, op. cit., pp. 65, 89.

² W.S.R.O., Cowdray Archives, No. 5128.

³ W.S.R.O., Cowdray Archives, No. 96.

THE SPRING PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION AT HASTINGS, 1640

By JOHN K. GRUENFELDER

The themes of the Spring elections of 1640, fought in an atmosphere of turbulence and tension caused by the Scottish revolt and marked by the court versus country struggle, were sharply etched in the Hastings election contest. Like many other boroughs and shires, Hastings rebelled against court pressure. The Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports had traditionally enjoyed some influence in the choice of the port's members and, at his request, courtiers, non-resident in Hastings, had often been chosen as burgesses for the port. This traditional pattern was severely challenged in the Spring contest, challenged by the freemen of Hastings. Their action was part of a more national phenomenon. As in other boroughs, they demanded a greater voice in the election, urged the selection of a local candidate and conducted a vigorous campaign in their candidate's behalf.

The principal contestants reflected the major theme of the Spring contests, the struggle between court and country groups. Robert Read, the Lord Warden's nominee, was non-resident, a relative and employee of Sir Francis Windebank, a principal Secretary of State and member of the Privy Council. Read's ties to the court were obvious. Thomas Eversfield, of Grove in Hollington, Sussex, was his opponent. Eversfield was no stranger to Hastings; he owned property there and was, therefore, a local man in the eyes of his supporters. More important, Eversfield seemed to be a potential opponent of the court. His father certainly had been; he had fought the forced loan of 1621 and even faced the fearsome Star Chamber after a dispute with the local vicar. Thomas Eversfield was thought to have similar views. These two candidates, in themselves, illustrated the clash between the court and country opposition.

Within a few days of the decision, taken early in December, 1639, to summon Parliament, the court began its attempts to secure parliamentary seats for its nominees.¹ Both the Lord Warden, Theophilus Howard, Earl of Suffolk, and the Earl of Dorset supported Read's candidacy at Hastings. Suffolk also nominated John Ashburnham as well. Dorset's secretary, John White, was very

¹ W. Scott and J. Bliss, eds., *The Works of Archbishop William Laud* (7 vols., Oxford, 1847-1860), iii, 233, 282-283; Bellievre to de Chavigny, 22 Dec., 1639, P.R.O., French Trans., 3/71; Wentworth to Radcliffe, T. D. Whitaker, *The Life and Original Correspondence of Sir George Radcliffe* (London, 1810), 187; Windebank to Hopton, 13 Dec. 1639, R. Scrope and T. Monkhouse, eds., *Clarendon State Papers* (3 vols., Oxford, 1767-1786), ii, 81-82; King to the Lords of the Council, 6 Dec., 1639, P.R.O., St. P. Domestic, 16/435: 37; Vane to Rose, 21 Feb., 1640, P.R.O., St. P. Domestic, 16/446: 3; Nicholas to Pennington, 12 Dec., 1639, P.R.O., St. P. Domestic, 16/435: 64.

active indeed, too active, in Read's behalf during the campaign.¹ Read was also nominated at several other boroughs, a mark of the court's zeal in the Spring elections.²

It was in Hastings, however, that Read's election would be won and the battle fought. The opposition group was already working vigorously amongst the freemen to deny Read the victory. Their candidate was Eversfield and the campaign in his behalf was hectic; in fact, it must have appalled the Mayor of Hastings, Thomas Barlow. 'Some of Eversfield's party,' he wrote, 'went about privately from house to house to get things to a writing . . . for his election.' Eversfield's men were preparing a petition, urging that he be admitted to the borough so he could stand for Parliament. The petitioners carried their document all over Hastings, hoping to get the signature of every freeman. Some of Eversfield's followers were his tenants, while others were his neighbours; they all laboured 'for him strongly in the Taverns . . . at Alehouses, and at private assemblies.' Eversfield was also engaged, sending letters to the freemen but, the Mayor complained, ignoring the Mayor and Corporation. These letters urged the freemen to continue their opposition to the port corporation although it promptly denied Eversfield's admission to the borough, thereby hoping to halt his campaign before any votes were cast. By this act, as well, the corporation hoped to secure Read's election.³

To make the campaign all the more bitter and decisive, a local issue was involved which brought one Robert Underwood to the fore. He became one of Eversfield's strongest and most able supporters. Underwood was a London fishmonger and, from all the mayor's reports, a most insolent one. He first came to the attention of the civic dignitaries by initiating a suit against the town corporation for closing an alehouse, which, the Mayor asserted, was operated by 'an ill conditioned fellow and his wife [who were]

¹ Ashburnham to Nicholas, 31 March, 1640, P.R.O., St. P. Domestic, 16/449: 44, 'Declaration of the Freemen of the Port and Town of Hastings in Sussex,' 20 March, 1640, P.R.O., St. P. Domestic, 16/448: 45; 'Deposition of William Parker and John Jackson,' 1 April, 1640, P.R.O., St. P. Domestic, 16/450: 7.

² Pescod to Lord Charles Lambert, 6 Jan., 1640, P.R.O., St. P. Domestic, 16/441: 48. Read was possibly a potential candidate at Southampton sometime before 6 January, 1640, but probably was refused there since other candidates, put forward by the Earl of Portland and the Duke of Lennox, had the field to themselves. Read was also recommended to Boroughbridge, Yorks., by the Earl of Strafford while the Earl of Suffolk, Sir John Manwood, lieutenant of Dover Castle, and Sir Francis Windebank all wrote to the Port of Rye in his behalf as well. The Earl of Strafford to the boroughmaster and boroughmen of Boroughbridge, co. York, 17 Jan., 1640, P.R.O., St. P. Domestic, 16/442: 31; The Earl of Suffolk to the Mayor, Jurats and Commonalty of Rye, 8 Feb., 1640, Sir John Manwood to the Mayor of Rye, 26 Feb., 1640, Sir Francis Windebank to the Mayor of Rye, 8 March, 1640, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *MSS. of the Rye and Hereford Corporations, et. al.*, 209, 210.

³ Mayor and Jurats of Hastings to Read, 7 April, 1640, P.R.O., St. P. Domestic, 16/450: 39, enclosure I.

put down divers times for disorder and abuses.' Underwood, the Mayor fervently believed, should have stayed with his fish buying, but instead he constantly intermeddled with affairs that were no concern of his. Earlier, Underwood had also vexed the local fishermen. They had complained about his activities, arguing that Underwood required the approval of the town officers before he could purchase fish. The Mayor's interview with Underwood was a stormy one; Underwood, the Mayor claimed, was insolent and scornful, putting his hat on and ignoring the Mayor's questions. Since that instance, Underwood 'has born an inveterate malice against us, labouring in all companies to entrap us and disgrace us . . . writes threats, combines, conspires all he possibly can, [and] screws himself into the affections of the discontented.' The Mayor's suspicions were further aroused since Underwood, formerly a needy man unable to pay his bills, was now suddenly affluent; he had money enough even to maintain a suit against the corporation.¹

The election contest was a wonderful opportunity to cause further trouble for the corporation and Underwood seized it with both hands. He rushed about the town and countryside 'saying that the town of Hastings is basely governed by a company of base corrupt fellows, a company of knaves and that they do not do justice.' Worse than that, claimed the flustered Mayor, he was never quiet, 'but runs from house to house, from man to man amongst the freemen and others, makes parties, divisions, gets them in companies' and had, the Mayor incredulously reported, secured a large following against the freemen 'by tipling, drinking and consulting their intended combination.' Eversfield, too, was deeply involved, often visiting Hastings to see Underwood and his faction. Underwood was Eversfield's "main agent" amongst the freemen. From the harassed Mayor's point of view, Underwood was nearly the devil incarnate; for Eversfield, Underwood was a superb agent and organiser.²

On 17 March, the Mayor informed Read and Sir John Baker that they had been elected. He urged them both to take the freeman's oath for the borough as soon as possible.³ Read must have thought he had been elected without incident but, within three days, the storm broke over his victory at Hastings.

Read, so the freemen charged, had employed bribery to win the election. Their declaration, prepared and signed on 20 March,

¹ Mayor and Jurats of Hastings to Read, 7 April, 1640, P.R.O., St. P. Domestic, 16/450: 39, enclosure I; 'Evidence Against Underwood,' 1 April, 1640, P.R.O., St. P. Domestic, 16/450: 8; Mayor and Jurats of Hastings to Read, 9 April, 1640, P.R.O., St. P. Domestic, 16/450: 52.

² 'Evidence Against Underwood,' 1 April, 1640, P.R.O., St. P. Domestic, 16/450: 8, Mayor and Jurats of Hastings to Read, 7 and 9 April, 1640, P.R.O., St. P. Domestic, 16/450: 39, enclosure I and 16/450: 52.

³ Mayor and Jurats of Hastings to Robert Read, 17 March, 1640, P.R.O., St. P. Domestic, 16/448: 19.

asserted that after the writ was received and various letters of recommendation read, 'one Mr. White [Dorset's secretary] in the behalf of one Mr. Robert Read did make this proffer: that if the Mayor, Jurats and freemen would be pleased to make choice for him for one of the burgesses, he would . . . give to the poor of the said town of Hastings 20 pounds down, and 10 pounds a year during his life and 2 barrels of powder yearly for the exercise of youth.' Several of Read's supporters approved of White's declaration, but the Mayor, sensing opposition amongst the freemen, adjourned the meeting to a later date. In the interval, the freemen claimed, Read and his friends 'procured divers letters of recommendation from certain noblemen.' With the new letters in hand, the now more confident Mayor scheduled another assembly for 17 March. When the freemen arrived at the hall, the Mayor read the new letters recommending Read. After allowing a brief time for the consideration of the missives, the Mayor, speaking for the corporation, asked the freemen if the letters were acceptable. Although the freemen approved of the letters "as letters of recommendation," they remained adamantly opposed to Read. An impasse had been reached. The frustrated members of the corporation replied by threatening 'that as many [freemen] as would not give consent should answer it at Dover Castle'; the freemen were being menaced with the wrath of the Lord Warden. With this, all hopes of compromise vanished and many of the embittered freemen now strode out of the hall, gathering at the bottom of the stairs. The Mayor, determined to proceed, asked the few remaining if they approved of the letters. 'Some few of them answered Aye' and the Mayor promptly declared Read elected, without, the freemen alleged, ever nominating him.¹ The Mayor's account of the incident agreed on one point: he admitted that a number of freemen, he claimed fifteen, left the hall 'in a rude and contemptuous manner' and refused to return, despite his earnest entreaties to do so. He also admitted that those that left were threatened with a fine, but said nothing about the alleged threats against the freemen at the hands of the Lord Warden. He claimed a proper election had taken place wherein 'all except 4 declared themselves unanimously for Sir John Baker and Mr. Read.'²

Read's opponents had a good case. The charge of bribery was valid. John Ashburnham, a court candidate at Hastings who failed to exert himself in the contest since he was going north with the King's army, wrote Edward Nicholas about the Hastings affair. He had tried to reassure some of those who were questioning Read's election. Ashburnham was confident Read would deny the bribery

¹ 'Declaration of the Freemen of the Port and Town of Hastings, in Sussex,' 20 March, 1640, P.R.O., St. P. Domestic, 16/448: 45.

² 'Certificate from the Mayor and Jurats of Hastings in the manner of the election of the burgesses for this borough,' 7 April, 1640, P.R.O., St. P. Domestic, 16/450: 39, enclosure II.

charge, 'which, let me tell him, will be no ill advice for him.' Ashburnham then made a most revealing comment: 'were he [Read] not my friend, I should question his election myself and Mr. White, his impertinences and over busying himself in that place.'¹ Even the Mayor of Hastings, although denying the bribery charge, had to admit 'that a friend both to us and the said Mr. Read, upon occasion given him here in town, made some propositions to us for the general good of the town but we elected not the said Mr. Read in respect of them.'² Whether the Mayor's hair-splitting was right or not, the main point was clear. One of Read's active supporters, White, had offered a bribe to secure the election. White was a very active election agent for the Earl of Dorset in the spring campaign; he may well have decided to stop at nothing so that Read might triumph. The freemen had a substantial foundation for their charges and, as the Mayor, the corporation and Read would soon discover, this was just the beginning of their difficulties in Hastings.

Eversfield, Underwood, and the freemen continued their active campaign to both overturn the election and embarrass the port corporation as well. Underwood, no doubt, was spreading the charge of bribery far and wide. Not content with this, he and Eversfield were soon demanding that the Mayor account for all the ship money collected in the port. The freemen, too, continued to pursue their 'factious' ways. Sir John Baker, attending the Court Hall to take his oath as a freeman, was joined by some twenty freemen, who, before the Mayor's shocked eyes, 'publicly told Sir John that he was not elected and that there was no election made of the barons to the parliament.' The freemen also attacked the town clerk 'with much scornful and despitiful affronts and threats,' blaming him for Read's election, even Read's candidacy! They waxed eloquent on this occasion, claiming that 'children unborn' would curse the town clerk for his actions. The clerk, terrified by it all, refused to leave his house, not even for the King's business.³

Although the distraught Mayor begged Read to inform the Lord Warden of all his difficulties so that Eversfield and his supporters could be stopped, Eversfield and his group appeared to be unstoppable.⁴ Supposedly Eversfield had '500 pounds to spend upon the town' to keep the opposition alive and, to the dismay of Mayor Barlow, he also involved himself in the alehouse difficulty previously

¹ Ashburnham to Nicholas, 31 March, 1640, P.R.O., St. P. Domestic, 16/449: 44.

² 'Certificate from the Mayor and Jurats of Hastings of the manner of the election of the burgesses for this borough,' 7 April, 1640, P.R.O., St. P. Domestic, 16/450: 39, enclosure II.

³ 'Deposition of William Parker and John Jackson,' 1 April, 1640, P.R.O., St. P. Domestic, 16/450: 7; Mayor and Jurats of Hastings to Read, 1, 7, and 9 April, 1640, P.R.O., St. P. Domestic, 16/450: 6, 16/450: 39, enclosure I and 16/450: 52, enclosure I.

⁴ Mayor and Jurats of Hastings to Read, 1 April, 1640, P.R.O., St. P. Domestic, 16/450: 6.

raised by Underwood. He spread the news of the 'election all about the country' but still had time for frequent visits to Hastings where he encouraged his followers and urged them to prepare and sign a petition against the election. He was sure Parliament would overturn Read's victory.¹ The attempt was made. The freemen of Hastings petitioned the House of Commons on 14 April, asking that the election be investigated since, they alleged, there was no free election as required by the laws of the realm. Nothing, apparently, came of the petition since it is nowhere mentioned in the journals of the house.²

Many important aspects of the Spring election contests were illustrated in the Hastings election. As in other boroughs and shires, the court candidate ran into heavy weather in the election. Read was fortunate to win; many of his fellow court nominees were not so successful. As William Poley wrote, 'there is labouring on all hands for places' and Hastings was no exception. Prior to 1640, the Lord Warden could and did recommend candidates to Hastings without much fear of trouble or failure. The Spring election marked a significant change which was a reflection of the troubled times. Read was aware of the changed election atmosphere, noting in a letter the heavy traffic for burgess-ships and sadly commenting that 'we who were made sure at first of burgess-ships are as likely to miss them as others, men being not able to perform what they promise.'³ In Read's case, the Mayor carried out his promise to the Lord Warden at considerable cost. Had it not been for his chicanery at the Court Hall, Eversfield might well have won. In any case, a free election would have been very close.

Hastings was also a remarkable example of an opposition or "country" group campaign. Thanks to the skilful agitation and organisational abilities of Underwood and Eversfield's constant encouragements to the freemen, Hastings found itself partaking of and witnessing a very aggressive and well-led effort to defeat the court candidate. The campaign, fought on a door to door, man to man and alehouse to alehouse basis, was, no doubt, a novel experience for the Mayor, corporation and citizens of Hastings. It was not novel or unique for the Spring elections. In other boroughs and shires, such as Sandwich, Essex or Gloucestershire, campaigns of a similar nature were conducted. It is probably too much to say that the country faction conducted a nationally organized campaign in the spring of 1640; their resources and experience were perhaps not adequate for such a task. But it was an interesting

¹ Mayor and Jurats of Hastings to Read, 7 April, 1640, P.R.O., St. P. Domestic, 16/450: 39, enclosure I.

² 'The Humble Petition of the Greater Part of the Freemen of the Ancient Town and Port of Hastings in the County of Sussex,' 14 April, 1640, P.R.O., St. P. Domestic, 16/450: 83.

³ Poley to D'Ewes, no date, British Museum, Harleian MS. 383, f. 144; Read to [Windebank], 20 Feb., 1640, P.R.O., St. P. Domestic, 16/445: 80.

feature of the Hastings election and others that court candidates often found themselves fighting for their parliamentary lives against opposition candidates supported by a well-disciplined and devoted group.

National issues and attitudes played a role in the election struggle at Hastings. Eversfield was attractive as a candidate, not because of any utterances on national questions, but because his father had been an active Puritan and opponent of the court.¹ Mention was also made of a grievance that affected the whole country. Eversfield and Underwood both raised the issue of ship money and demanded an accounting from the Mayor. Another theme, clearly shown in Hastings, was the preference for local candidates in opposition to non-resident courtiers. Too, the freemen of Hastings, like many of their brethren in other boroughs, demanded a greater voice in the port election. They had their own candidate and, despite every effort of the corporation, waged a bitter battle in his behalf.

The Hastings contest was unique in one respect: the bribery charge set it apart from other spring elections. It perhaps indicated nothing more than the lack of skill displayed by White; perhaps, too, it indicated the desperate urgency felt by the court to ensure the placing of its candidates. White proved himself a most inept election agent, at least in Hastings. Ashburnham criticized him severely for his blunder and admitted that were Read not his friend, he would believe the bribery charge. The Mayor also felt obliged to mention, in a roundabout way, that an offer was made to the town by one of Read's supporters. Read won his election through bribery and the Mayor's determination to follow the Lord Warden's recommendation.

The election of March, 1640, was one of the most stirring Hastings ever witnessed. But it was more important than that since it marked the development of an organized and determined opposition group, a group which would, as Read learned to his sorrow in the elections to the Long Parliament in the fall of 1640, carry Eversfield to victory. Thus, the Hastings contest was more than a locally nerve-wracking battle between local and court interests; it was part of a national story: the bitterly fought spring elections of 1640.

¹ M. F. Keeler, *The Long Parliament, 1640-1641* (American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1954), 170.

A HOARD OF 'BARBAROUS RADIATES' FROM GORING-ON-SEA

BY HAROLD B. MATTINGLY

Hoards of bronze imitations of the Roman 'silver' coinage (the *antoniniani*) from A.D.260 to 274 have long attracted the interest of numismatists and historians in this country and in recent years the problems which they raise have come rather nearer solution. The present hoard was found as long ago as 1907 in the Courtlands brickfield and has remained unpublished. Apart from one regular coin of Claudius II it consists entirely of imitations—432 in all, together with two 'blanks' or unstruck flans prepared for coining. Fifty years later about a mile east of the Goring find-spot a similar, but much larger, hoard was unearthed at Worthing, concealed in a pot comparable in shape and fabric to the one which contained the Goring coins. Obviously the Goring and Worthing hoards had to be studied together and in July 1965 I was enabled to do this at Nottingham University and to compare both with the 1938 hoard of 'barbarous radiates' from Hove.¹ The general pattern of these hoards is virtually the same. All contain copies of Gallienus' 'silver,' which are somewhat rare in this irregular coinage, and both Claudius II and the contemporary Gallic usurper Victorinus are well represented, although copies of the latter's successor Tetricus and his son easily and predictably swamp all other classes.² Another type of rare copy is found in all three hoards. On 13 Worthing, 5

¹ For the Worthing hoard see *Numismatic Chronicle* 1964, pp. 189-199 (a report by G. D. Lewis and myself). Drawings of the two pots by Mr. Lewis appear on p. 190. I first heard of the Goring hoard from Mr. Lewis, who reports it briefly in our article ('just over 500 coins'). My figures represent the state of the hoard today and the 1907 figure may be someone's rough estimate. The Claudius II *antoninianus* is *Rom. Imp. Coin.* v. 1, no. 186 (Siscia mint). I am very grateful to the present owner of the hoard for letting me study and publish it and to Mr. L. M. Bickerton, Curator of the Worthing Museum, who readily agreed to extend still further the period of loan for the Worthing hoard and has generously given every other help required. I must also thank Mr. Jack Dove, Curator of the Hove Museum, for similarly allowing me to study at leisure the Hove hoard, which my father published (with three plates) in *Sussex Notes and Queries*, vii (1939), pp. 234-239.

² There are four Gallienus copies at Worthing, two at Hove and one (rev. type only) at Goring. Apart from coins with at least part of his name and those with his portrait Victorinus' beaked nose and benign smile can often be glimpsed in much less specific copies, including some with a Tetrican legend. The same is true of Claudius II's stern features. Copies of his own coinage or bearing his imperial title are rare, but the posthumous 'Altar' type with the obv. legend DIVO CLAUDIO is very commonly imitated. There are at least 150 examples at Worthing, 50 at Hove and 40 at Goring. Many have a recognisable portrait. The preponderance of Tetrican portraits and legends is due to the fact that the vast issues of regular 'silver' from their reign (A.D. 270-274) massed up over all earlier debased issues in the decade when the copies flourished, as can be seen from any typical Gallic or British hoard of the period.

Goring and 1 Hove coins the head on the obverse is turned to the left. Elsewhere I have suggested that this phenomenon might be used to date the burial of the hoard where it occurs well on in the reign of Probus (A.D. 276-282), since left-facing busts occur so much more commonly in his coinage than in that of his predecessors.¹ Copies of Probus himself do not appear in the Goring hoard and the latest certain originals imitated are of A.D.274. Two coins, however, have the mint mark $\frac{1}{1111}$ on their obverse, which would seem to be derived from the Lugdunum issues of Tacitus—an Emperor quite certainly copied in the Worthing and Hove hoards, which also contain Proban imitations.² The Goring and Hove hoards are closely comparable in their range of module, the copies going all the way down from full-size to 10mm. in diameter or even less. But the proportion of copies under 12mm. (often called 'minims') is considerably smaller than in the Worthing or Verulamium hoards.³ There is no trace in the three Sussex hoards of any Emperor or coinage after Probus and the general conclusion of my earlier studies still seems secure. The great period of production of 'barbarous radiates' coincides with the reigns of Tacitus and Probus. Repression followed vigorously under the latter, though it may not have been completely successful until midway through the reign of Carinus (A.D.283/4).⁴

Like most other hoards of imitations the Goring hoard has revealed die-linked groups which must be of local mintage. Such groups of coins were normally broken up by the time they travelled any distance from their mint. The largest group consists of nineteen coins from the same obverse and reverse dies (Pl. I, 1-3). Seven 'minims' also share both dies (Pl. I, 4) and reinforce a feeling that at least one irregular mint lay very near indeed to the find-spot of the hoard. The presence of two blanks—as at Calverton—strongly

¹ See *Num. Chron.*, 1964, pp. 191, 196. The occasional left-facing bust may be due to an ignorant copyist forgetting to reverse the direction of the type when working from a coin to produce his engraved die. This must explain the rare occurrence of back-to-front reverse types (eleven in the Worthing hoard, two at Goring), where the legend usually appears mirror-wise as well. Such blunders occur in all the 'barbarous radiate' hoards, whereas left-facing busts seem to come only in hoards which bear other signs of lateness, and are certainly rarer.

² Since I wrote in *Num. Chron.*, 1964, further study has advanced my knowledge of the Worthing hoard. I can now add a third Tacitus copy (with—ACITV—on the obv.) and two more probable Probus copies (with—ROVBCV—? and—PROB—) making four in all. The Hove hoard has one copy with obv. legend—CIITVSPA—, a 'Victorinus' copy with mint-mark $\frac{1}{111}$ and two Proban copies (—PROBVS—and—ROBVSAV—).

³ For more details on this question see *Num. Chron.*, 1964, p.191 with n.2; for the Verulamium hoard see T.V. Wheeler, *Num. Chron.*, 1937, pp. 211-226 and Plates XI-XXX.

⁴ See *Num. Chron.*, 1964, pp. 194-198.

supports this view.¹ A third group of eight coins shows three different obverses linked by one reverse die, which is succeeded by a second reverse die matched with the third obverse (Pl. I, 5-7). These too could be products of the 'Goring mint.' Finally I must note an isolated pair of die-linked 'minims' (Pl. I, 8: obv./rev. identical) and a similar pair of larger copies, which couple a good portrait of Claudius II with a reverse type of 'Providence' with cornucipiae, sceptre and globe.

Die-links between the Goring and Worthing hoards were to be expected and the only surprise is their fewness. No doubt a still more rigorous scrutiny of the forbidding mass of Worthing material would reveal several that I have missed. There are also coins in both hoards which suggest common origin by a more general similarity of style. I will start with one of these. The obverse shown on Pl. I, 9 has the same triangular arrangement of dotted hair over the forehead as a group of Worthing coins, one of which comes especially close to it in the details of the Claudius II portrait.² Another copy has a left-facing obverse (Pl. I, 10) which is die-linked with four Worthing coins, but its reverse type ('Altar') is quite different from theirs.³ A second obverse die-link with Worthing is shown on Pl. I, 11. There were in fact no less than fourteen coins from this die in the Worthing hoard, but the reverse dies used with them seem to number eight and the Goring coin adds a ninth! This is really rather an unusual phenomenon.⁴ Finally I show one side only of two more Goring coins (Pl. I, 12-13). Similar in their obverse style each was struck from the same two dies as a Worthing copy.

Scholars once thought that this imitative coinage had essentially only local circulation in Britain, but evidence disproving this has been steadily accumulating and the Goring hoard adds more. Pl. I, 18 shows the obverse of a coin from Calverton (Notts.) and the reverse of one from Goring; these two, struck from the same pair of dies, were found some 160 miles apart.⁵ This is the only non-local die-link which I was able to establish, but two groups of copies in the Goring hoard certainly belong by style and reverse to 'mints'

¹ The Calverton hoard contained three blanks and has four really large groups of die-linked coins (obv./rev.), which were also strongly represented in the smaller hoard found later in the same village. For this see p. 24 f. of my article in *North Staffs. Journal of Field Studies*, iii (1963).

² See *Num. Chron.*, 1964, Pl. XVII, 7-12 (especially no. 12).

³ *Num. Chron.*, 1964, Pl. XVII, 22-23 and p. 193. Neither obverse has come out well on the photograph, but the coins leave no doubt about identity. The head faces left. The Worthing reverses show standing female figures—either 'Peace' or 'Providence.'

⁴ *Num. Chron.*, 1964, Pl. XVII, 25-39. In my text (p. 193) I recorded only nine coins with six reverse dies; further study revealed the others.

⁵ For the Calverton reverse see *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, 1960, Pl. 1, 20 (facing p. 10). The war-god is shown striding left with spear and with a trophy on his shoulder (*Mars Victor*).

represented strongly both at Worthing and Calverton. The first 'mint' is characterised by stern, tight-lipped portraiture and a number of variants of the *Pax Aug.* reverse, where 'Peace' carries a palm, a cornucopiae or a caduceus over her left arm. There were some 33 of this class at Worthing, 15 at Goring and 5 at Hove. I show one typical obverse and two reverses of the Goring group on Pl. I, 15-17. The new evidence from Sussex makes me wonder whether I was right in locating this 'mint' in the midlands. There are not more than 27 certain coins of this group in the Calverton hoard and the only die-links are found in a small sub-division comprising four coins.¹ The same phenomenon is found in the Worthing and Goring hoards. On Pl. I, 14 I show the obverse of one of a die-linked pair of Goring coins, whose reverse closely resembles no. 17. Clearly the obverse also is of the same general style as the group under discussion. The same can be said of two coins already mentioned, which were found in both Sussex hoards and are illustrated by one face only on Pl. I, 12-13. The group as a whole, it seems, was issued from a 'mint' somewhere between Calverton and Worthing and its products were then imitated locally, giving rise to small die-linked sub-divisions of the class. Nothing would seem more natural than that vigorously circulating copies should be themselves copied as well as regular coins.² This means, of course, that it is not always possible to associate copies confidently as a mint-group on style alone. Nevertheless I still feel reasonably sure that the main bulk of the coins which I have assigned to this particular group were produced at a single mint, whose location has yet to be precised, and that its products include the copies identified as such in the Whitchurch, Richborough, Verulamium and Rhineland hoards.³ I would, however, regard as derivative local copies the coins in this general style found in the Lightwood (Staffs.) and Agden (Cheshire) hoards.⁴ After this necessary revision of view I can now turn to the second group of copies specified above.

¹ For some of the Worthing coins see *Num. Chron.*, 1964, Pl. XVI, 34-56 with p. 198f. (notes on the plates); for Calverton examples see *North Staffs. Journal*, iii (1963), pp. 23-25 and 33 with Pl. II, 18-31 and III, 14-20. The die-linked sub-division is illustrated on Pl. III, 14-15.

² For my earlier view see *Num. Chron.*, 1964, pp. 192 and 198f., where I did at least allow the possibility of what I am suggesting here.

³ See *North Staffs. Journal*, 1963, Pl. II, 19, 21, 27 and 29 and III, 21 (Whitchurch) and II, 32-33 and III, 19 and 22 (Rhineland); *Num. Chron.*, 1937, Pl. XXVII-XXVIII, no. 655 (Verulamium) and 1964, Pl. XVI, 57-58 and XVII, 2 (Richborough) and XVI, 53 (Whitchurch). These almost all stood out when I first examined the hoards.

⁴ See *North Staffs. Journal*, 1963, Pl. I, 10-11 and II, 25-26 (Lightwood). The Agden coin in style and fabric is not unlike the two from Lightwood. I am grateful to Mr. Petch, Curator of the Grosvenor Museum, for allowing me to re-examine and list some 80 'barbarous radiates' from the Agden hoard, which was published by F. H. Thompson in *Num. Chron.*, 1962, pp. 143-155.

This time there can be little doubt that we are dealing with a midlands 'mint.' The group is distinguished by harsh, squat portraits of Tetricus I and the reverse usually shows the sun-god striding left with his whip (*Invictus*), though the 'sacificial implements' type (*Pietas Augg.*) is also found. The group is best represented and with most variation in the Calverton hoard and one of the Calverton copies shares both dies with a coin from Lightwood.¹ Fifteen coins of this group were found in the Worthing hoard and 5 at Goring, but none appeared at Hove. I show one Goring and one Calverton obverse and one Goring *Pietas* reverse—with two Calverton reverses for comparison (Pl. I, 19-20 and 25-27). Two further products of this mint have turned up as site-finds at Ancaster (Lincs.) and I show their obverse and reverse respectively (Pl. I, 23-24).²

Study of the Sussex hoards led me to a renewed attack on the Richborough hoard in the British Museum. This time I also went through all the unpublished part of the hoard (312 coins), much of which is hardly legible. I failed to find any direct links with the Sussex material, as I had hoped, but the search was not vain. It revealed one more certain member of the Calverton/Worthing *Pax Aug.* group, which unfortunately proved no good for photographing even when cast. Two coins of the second group which I have been discussing also turned up rather unexpectedly. Their reverses were too indistinct for illustration, though one appears from the cast to have been *Pietas Augg.* But their obverses leave no doubt of their origin and it is a pity that the photographs (Pl. I, 21-22) have come out considerably less convincing than the casts.³ A third group of copies links the Calverton, Worthing and Richborough hoards and I have now one more piece of evidence to add. It comes from the Ancaster site-finds and not from study of the Goring and Hove hoards, but it still seems appropriate to record it here. The copies under discussion have a blurred, spongy fabric and rather neat obverse and reverse style, but are extremely difficult to photograph satisfactorily. A specimen has now appeared at Ancaster, sharing both dies with two others from Calverton and S. Witham (Lincs.). I show the obverse only of the Ancaster and Calverton specimens (Pl. I, 28-29). Fairly clearly this group of copies was produced in a midlands 'mint,' as I had already argued.⁴

¹ See *North Staffs. Journal*, 1963, p.22 and Pl. II, 5-15.

² For some Worthing examples see *Num. Chron.*, 1964, Pl. XVI, 31-33. I found the Ancaster specimens whilst working through the collection of excavation-coins and site-finds which Mr. Malcolm Todd is building up at Nottingham University.

³ I am most grateful to Mr. R. A. G. Carson for having these and other Richborough coins cast for me.

⁴ See *Num. Chron.*, 1964, p. 192 with n. 5 and Pl. XVII, 3-6. The casts unfortunately came out badly in the photographs and suffered further from reproduction. But there can be no doubt that these coins do belong together and the triple die-identity is certain.

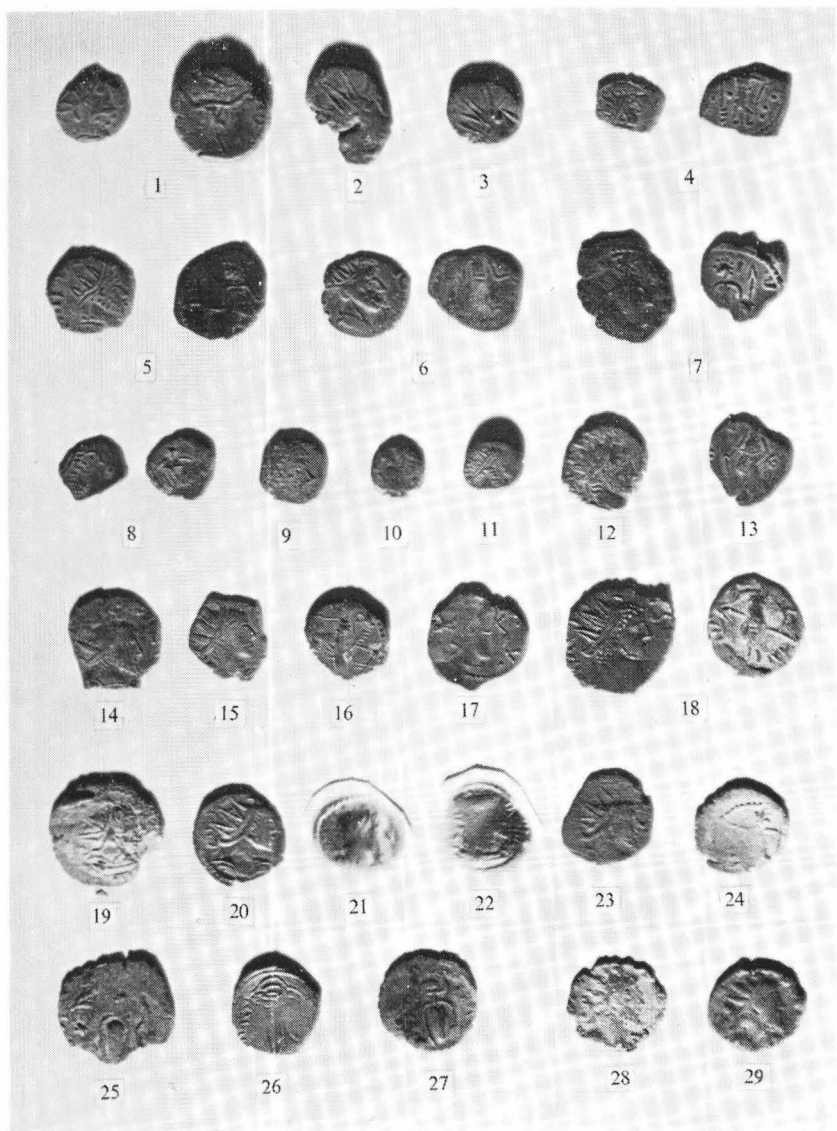


PLATE I

From all that I have said it will be obvious that the Goring hoard helps considerably in the struggle to understand the behaviour of this imitative currency, to assess its circulation-areas and to precise its 'mints.' Where it helps less—and this is true of all the hoards—is with the difficult problem posed by the very existence of the currency. In what kind of economy could the circulation and use of coins of all different sizes and weights alongside the official currency be tolerated? How were the 'minims' in particular tariffed or did all values depend on custom and acceptance, which seems more likely? Meanwhile we must frankly face the fact that these copies flourished and circulated in the decade A.D.274-284, fulfilling undoubted economic needs and at the same time reflecting the spirit of resistance to Aurelian's victory that lingered on in Gaul and Britain after the collapse of the Tetrici and the Gallic Empire. Aurelian's currency reform should properly have been extended to the recovered western provinces, leading to the devaluation of the great flood of debased *antoniniani* whether Roman or Gallic. In fact the Emperor's coinage in Gaul betrays his embarrassment by its omission of the mark of value. Not till the end of Probus's reign—at the earliest—were the irregular moneyers of the west put out of business and full acceptance of the reformed *antoninianus* in Britain may have been delayed until c.A.D.290, when Carausius allowed the tariff mark XXI to appear on his new billon issues of the reformed pattern.¹

NOTES ON PLATE 1

Nos. 1-17, 18 (rev.) 19 and 25 are from Goring; 18 (obv.), 20, 26-27 and 29 are from Calverton; 21-22 are from the Richborough hoard and 23-24 and 28 are site-finds from Ancaster.

Nos. 1-3. I show the obverse of three coins, since the type does not appear completely on any one; the rev. type appears to be Jupiter.

Nos. 5-7. There are three specimens of obv. (a), two of obv. (b) and three of obv. (c), only one with rev. type (b).

No. 12. The rev. shows 'Peace' standing left with a palm over her left arm, a branch in her upraised right hand and an altar to her right. It is a fusion of the *Pax* and *Salus Aug.* ('Imperial Welfare') types.

Nos. 25-27. The essence of the design is the bulbous jug used in religious services; the other 'implements' of piety have disappeared.

Nos. 28-29. The rev. of these coins probably shows *Salus* ('Welfare') feeding a snake at an altar to her left.

¹ For all this see my father's interesting contribution to *Studies in Roman Social and Economic History in honour of Alan Chester Johnson* (1951), pp. 275-289.

MEMOIR AND LETTERS OF JAMES DALLAWAY, 1763-1834: A POSTSCRIPT

By FRANCIS W. STEER, F.S.A.

*Sitting still and wishing, makes no person great,
The good Lord sends the fishing, but you must dig the bait.*

When preparing a paper on any subject, its author can make the fullest verbal inquiries, search the most unlikely sources, write numerous letters and travel long distances, all in the hope that his work will be as complete and accurate as possible. Once, however, his paper has reached paged proof stage, some execrable force seems to come into operation which produces material previously hidden. When the paper has been printed, the friends and correspondents to whom the author has sent offprints give yet more information and kindly point out errors. The sharing and accumulating of knowledge is surely one of the rewards of antiquarian (and probably other) research; the author who waits until he is certain of having collected every grain of information on any topic will never print anything. It is with such thoughts that I preface *addenda et corrigenda* to the 'Memoir and Letters of James Dallaway, 1763-1834' which appeared in *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. 103, pp. 1-48. I am most grateful to all who have added to, or corrected, what I wrote about Dallaway.

1. *General*. Mr. F. B. Bengier's paper, 'James Dallaway, Antiquary, Vicar of Leatherhead 1804-1834,' in the *Proceedings of the Leatherhead and District Local History Society*, vol. 2, no. 7 (1963), pp. 214-219, includes an excellent reproduction of a 15th century Book of Hours that belonged to Dallaway and is now the property of Dr. L. S. Penrose, F.R.S.; Mr. Bengier also briefly discusses Dallaway as vicar of Leatherhead. Further useful information is available elsewhere in the same *Proceedings*, but particularly in vol. 2, no. 9 (1965).

2. *Memoir*, p. 2, note 5. The story about Dallaway's failure to secure a Fellowship at Trinity College, Oxford, is repeated in *The Annual Biography and Obituary*, 1835, vol. 19 (London, 1835), p. 404.

3. *Memoir*, p. 2, note 6. When sorting and listing the vast accumulation of episcopal archives belonging to the Diocese of Gloucester, Miss I. M. Kirby found the papers (E1/1785) relating to Dallaway's ordination as deacon. These papers comprise: (a) a copy, 4 June 1778, of the entry of Dallaway's baptism, 18 March 1763, at St. Philip and St. James, Bristol; (b) nomination, 21 Oct. 1785, by Samuel Lysons, rector of Rodmarton, Gloucestershire, of James Dallaway 'to perform the office of a Curate in my Church of Rodmarton aforesaid, & do promise to allow him the yearly sum of Thirty Pounds for his Maintenance in the same'; (c) testimonial,

22 Oct. 1785, of the President and five Fellows of Trinity College, Oxford, addressed to Samuel Hallifax, Bishop of Gloucester. The actual place and date of Dallaway's ordination as a deacon still eludes me, but it either took place in Gloucester cathedral or was on letters dimissory.

On 29 Sept. 1786, Dallaway signed the Rodborough vestry minutes for the first time (as "curate");¹ on 8 Oct. 1790, he subscribes on being licensed to the curacy of Rodborough on the nomination of H. C. Jefferys, rector.² Dallaway's letters testimonial on this occasion were signed, 2 Oct. 1790, by the vicar of Longney and the rectors of Hartpur and Sandhurst.

The papers (E2/1793) for Dallaway's ordination in Gloucester cathedral, 13 Oct. 1793,³ comprise: (a) his *si quis* witnessed by the churchwardens of Rodborough and (b) letters testimonial to Richard Beadon, Bishop of Gloucester, signed by the rectors of Rudford and Matson and the vicar of Sandhurst, three parishes within a radius of four miles of Gloucester.

4. *Memoir*, p. 3. A letter earlier in date than any printed in the *Memoir* is in Gloucestershire Record Office (ref. 548 F2/1); it is addressed to Nathaniel Winchcombe of Stratford House, Stroud.

Gloucester May 6th 91

Dear Sir!

I am happy to comply with your request respecting the several Inquiries w^{ch} arose on our Investigation of the Clifford Pedigree.

"*Beanpeny*" as we understood it, is *BEAUPENY* of Somersetshire, a Family descended from [?a] Flemish Merchant settled at Cirencester in the reign of Edw: iij. The Arms of Middleton of the County of Salop are "Vert a Chev: btw: 3 Wolves' heads erased argent." As to the Admission of other Quarterings of *Baynham* and *Walsh*, I will subjoin some notes (w^{ch} I think you will allow with me) sufficient to barr your Claim. [Here follows a pedigree showing two generations from the marriage of Thomas Baynham and Alice Walwyn].

The Case of *Baynham* is decidedly against your using that Coat; but with respect to *Walsh* I could not find amongst Mr Bigland's Papers any Documents which would determine whether they are extinct or not [here follows a pedigree showing three generations from the marriage of Sir John Walsh and Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Poyntz; the pedigree ends with Walter Walsh, and the letter continues] of whom nothing more is said, than that he sold Sodbury in 1610 to Attorney Gen^l Stephens,⁴ who is buried at Stroud,—the Progenitor of the Lypiatt Family.

Leticie Berkeley, I find to be the Dau'r of Maurice Fitzharding, the first who took the name of Berkeley.

¹ Glos. Record Office, P272, VE 2/2. Dallaway's stay at Rodmarton was therefore less than a year.

² Glos. Diocesan Records, 307, p. 381 and 319A, p. 114.

³ For his subscription, see Glos. Diocesan Records, 307, p. 440.

⁴ For the Stephens family of Lypiatt, see P. H. Fisher, *Notes and Recollections of Stroud, Gloucestershire* (2nd ed., 1891), pp. 194-198. Nathaniel Winchcombe does not seem to be mentioned by Fisher.

Jane Dau'r of Sr T. Bell who married T. Dennis was Sister of your Ancestor, and had the Black Fryars in Glouc^r as her marriage Portion.

I will not make an Apology to you for so miscellaneous a Letter, but beg you to favour me with any Queries, in this Way, that may occur to you, as within my Opportunities of answering. It is seldom, that I meet with those who either understand or value this particular Pursuit; I need not add, how very highly gratified I shall be, if you will favour me with such Applications.

I am Dear Sir

Your Obedient & Obliged Servt

J^s Dallaway

5. *Memoir*, p. 8, lines 37, 38 and p. 14, line 5. Mr. Irvine Gray, F.S.A., suggests that the friend at Dudbridge was probably John Hawker, esq., who died 10 June 1826, aged 78.

6. *Memoir*, p. 9, line 25. Maynir. Mr. D. W. Pye writes: 'This is the ancient Magnesia ad Sipylum (so called to distinguish it from Magnesia ad Maeandrum). The town was on the river Hermus near Mt. Sipylus. Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, 6, 146ff.) tells the story of Niobe, who was changed into a stone on Mt. Sipylus. Dallaway is mistaken in thinking that Ovid states that the town (or mountain) is called Niobe.'

7. *Memoir*, p. 9, line 27. Mr. D. W. Pye writes that Virgil refers to the golden sands in 'auro turbidus Hermus' (*Georgics*, 2, 137).

8. *Memoir*, p. 9, note 3. Mr. J. H. Harvey, F.S.A., tells me that the form 'Brusa' is also correct; the former Ottoman capital city acquired sufficient standing for its name to be accorded a permanent English form. The gazeteer in *The Oxford Atlas* (1951), however, gives the spelling as 'Bursa'.

9. *Memoir*, p. 10, line 8 and note 1. Polieis. Mr. D. W. Pye writes: 'The correct feminine form is Polias. There was a cult of Athena Polias at Athens from very early times. Her temple at Priene dates from the 4th cent. B.C. Another, at Pergamum, is of the 3rd cent. B.C. Polieus is the masculine form, and we hear of Zeus Polieus. The name means 'defender of the city'.'

10. *Memoir*, p. 10, line 33. *For* If not, let is pass *read* If not, let it pass.

11. *Memoir*, p. 10, note 4. Mr. J. H. Harvey, F.S.A., tells me that the modern official Turkish spelling of Sighajik is Sigacık (the first i dotted, the second not).

12. *Memoir*, p. 11, note 1. Mr. Irvine Gray, F.S.A., draws my attention to an error here: the Tryes were of Hardwicke Court, and later of Leckhampton. There is no house in Gloucestershire called Brandon Court; see pedigree of Trye of Hartshill in *Burke's Landed Gentry*, and Daniel Lysons, *A Sketch of the Life and Charac-*

ter of the late Charles Brandon Trye, Esq. F.R.S., Senior Surgeon of the Infirmary at Gloucester (1812).

13. *Memoir*, p. 12, line 27. The late Mr. Lindsay Fleming, F.S.A., told me that the Campo Santo at Pisa was destroyed by American gun fire in the Second World War. See also *Works of Art in Italy: Losses and Survivals in the War* (H.M.S.O., 1945), photograph opp. p. 42.

14. *Memoir*, p. 15, line 17. 'A Virgilian couplet'. Mr. D. W. Pye comments as follows: 'A rather strange expression, used, I see, by J. Fowler in . . . *Sussex Notes and Queries* to which you refer. The great surviving works of Virgil are in successive hexameters. There are couplets only a few short poems of doubtful authenticity. 'Multum ille et terris jactatus et alto' forms the last five feet of the third line of the *Aeneid* (seventh line if the four introductory lines preceding 'Arma virumque cano . . .') are included). 'Jamque petit placidam sub libertate quietem', a metrically correct hexameter, was not, I think, written by an ancient author, and it may well be the work of Dallaway himself. 'Placidam quietem' may be a reminiscence of 'placida quiete' (*Aeneid*, 5, 836). But I suspect 'sub libertate', which suggests to me 'under a régime in which freedom is possible'; a phrase which might have been written by Tacitus, with a meaning hardly intended here. So I should have preferred 'a few words of Latin verse, in part quoted from Virgil'.

15. *Memoir*, p. 15, note 4. In Guildford Museum and Muniment Room (ref. 52/7/4) is an exercise book, 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ in., bound in grey paper covers; on the front cover are figures of Mrs. Yates and Mrs. Abington in the characters of the tragic and comic muses. The book comprises 54 pages (there were originally 56, but a leaf has been cut out between the present pp. 6 and 7) of paper watermarked 1806. The front cover is inscribed—Letherhead by Mr Dallaway the Vicar. The contents of the book are as follows:—

p. 1 [title]. Miscellaneous Collections for an Account of Letherhead in the County of Surrey. J.D. 1807.

p. 2 [blank].

pp. 3-6. Of the site, name, &c. [A leaf has been cut out after p. 6].

pp. 7-9. Of the Manor, Hamlets & other Estates.

p. 10. [A note referring to p. 11].

pp. 11, 12. Randall's in Pachesam.

pp. 13, 14. Of the River Mole & the Bridge.

p. 15. Memoranda of references to the River Mole by Drayton, Milton and Pope.

p. 16 [blank].

pp. 17, 18. Thorncroft.

pp. 19, 20. The Village.

pp. 21-24. Other Estates in Letherhead.

pp. 25-34. Of the Church, Rectory and Vicarage.

pp. 35-40. Monuments & Extracts from the Register [coats of arms on monuments are noted in this section].

p. 41. Extracts from the Register with Notes. ['Goody Rumming buried July 4, 1663. Robert Rumming bur. 4 Ap. 1669'; c.f. *Etchings of Views in*

the Vicarage of Letherhead (see *Memoir*, p. 33), where there is an etching of 'Elinour Rummin's House.' See also P. Henderson (ed.), *The Complete Poems of John Skelton* (London and New York, 1964), pp. 112-130, for 'The Tunning of Elinour Rumming'].

pp. 42-48. Brief pedigrees of the families of Sandes, Akehurst, Dacres, Ballard, Bludworth, Dalton and Gore.

p. 49 [blank].

pp. 50-53. Pedigree of Boulton.

p. 54. Memorandum concerning Harriet Mary Cholmondeley who was buried 8 Oct. 1806. '£20 were given to the Poor at her funeral. J. D. Vicar.'

The pages are not closely filled with writing and while there is no evidence to suggest that this was Dallaway's draft for the essay prefacing his wife's *Etchings* (1821; see *Memoir*, Plate IV), it is written in the same style. In the notebook, Dallaway begins his description of the then village of Leatherhead: 'The banks of the river Mole have long been celebrated by the lovers of picturesque beauty, and chosen for a residence by those whose taste or opulence have induced them to select scenes of singular amenity, for a summer retreat.'¹ Of the River Mole and the Bridge, Dallaway writes: 'The course which the river Mole takes through the parish of Letherhead extends about 3 miles. From Norbury Park to Letherhead bridge it intersects, and from thence to Pachesham it forms a boundary. During the summer months, between Norbury & Thorncroft, it is absorbed in the soil, where it disappears for many yards together . . .'² As a third example, we may quote 'Of the Manor, Hamlets & other Estates.' Dallaway, in the notebook, says: 'It appears, that when the parochial name of Ledred was established, that the manor of Thorncroft was held as of the Honour of Gloucester, under the De Clares, and that the other manor of Pachesham or Ledred was consolidated . . .'³

16. *Memoir*, p. 17, note 3. The second inverted comma should come after March. 8. 1806 instead of after 13 March 1806.

17. *Memoir*, p. 18, note 2. This note conveys a wrong impression: I ought to have made it clear that it was Dallaway who stated in *Etchings* (p. 3) that Leatherhead derived its name from John de Leddrede.

18. *Memoir*, p. 33, line 3. After much searching, Miss I. M. Kirby found that 'James Dallaway Clerk of the Parish of St Benedict near pauls wharfe London' (the parish in which the College of Arms is situated) and Harriet Anne Jefferis of the parish of St. Michael in the City of Gloucester, were married at the latter church, by licence, on 26 June 1800. Neither the marriage bond nor the affidavit(s) seem to have survived.

¹ cf. *Memoir*, p. 34.

² cf. *Etchings*, pp. 14-16.

³ cf. *Etchings*, pp. 2, 3.

19. *Memoir*, p. 40. *Anecdotes of Painting in England; with some account of the principal artists; and incidental notes on other arts; collected by the late Mr. George Vertue; digested and published from his original MSS. by the Honourable Horace Walpole; with considerable additions by the Rev. James Dallaway*, were printed at the Shakspeare Press, by W. Nicol, for John Major in Fleet Street, London. Volumes 1 and 2 were published in 1826, 3 and 4 in 1827, and 5 in 1828. The 'advertisement to the present edition' on pp. v-viii of vol. 1 is above the name, James Dallaway, and is dated from Herald's [*sic*] College, London, 1826. Dallaway sent the first volume¹ to Bernard Edward, 12th Duke of Norfolk, with this letter:—²

Letherhead April 30. 1826.

My Lord Duke,

Allow me to request a place, in your Grace's library, for my enlarged edition of Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England*. I have inclosed the first volume, which will soon be followed by a second, in which I have endeavored to give an ample and authentic account of the Arundelian collection. I trust, that the whole may be completed in the course of two years. I shall be made happy, if may be found [*sic*] to deserve your Grace's recommendation.

I received a letter from Sir G. Nayler,³ this morning, with the catalogue, which I return. If the article mentioned were in London, instead of Manchester, I think I could decide as to the carving being a genuine portrait of Lord Nottingham.⁴ There is one at Worksop Manor.⁵ But I have reasons to distrust the account of it, altogether. That it was the work of Fiamingo⁶ is an ignorant conjecture. Fiamingo was not born 'till some years after the defeat of the Armada, and is known to have confined himself to classical subjects only.

During the many years, in which the late Duke,⁷ gave me directions to purchase books and pictures for him, he never gave me an unlimited commission, and I am sure that he never allowed the possessor of anything he wished to purchase, to make a price, at his own option. Similar portraits carved in ivory were certainly not very uncommon in the reign of Elizabeth and even earlier, but seldom of very superior workmanship.

¹ This is inscribed: To His Grace The Duke of Norfolk &c., &c., &c. From his most obliged and faithful Servant The Editor [*the last word written over Author which has been partially erased*], Herald's College, April 29, 1826.

² Arundel Castle MSS., Misc. Letters, 19th cent.

³ Sir George Nayler (1764?-1831; see *D.N.B.*), Garter King of Arms.

⁴ Charles (Howard), Lord Howard of Effingham (1536?-1624; see *D.N.B.*), created Earl of Nottingham, 22 Oct. 1597.

⁵ Nottinghamshire. A seat of the Duke of Norfolk until 1840 when the estate was sold to the Duke of Newcastle; see R. White, *Worksop, "The Dukery," and Sherwood Forest* (1875), esp. pp. 75-80.

⁶ 'il Fiammingo was François Duquesnoy (1594-1644); see C. Harcourt-Smith and G. A. Macmillan, *The Society of Dilettanti, its regalia and pictures* (1932), p. 28.

⁷ Charles, 11th Duke of Norfolk (1746-1815), Dallaway's patron (see *Memoir*, p. 15.)

From this consideration, I should not recommend your Grace to purchase, excepting that it were previously submitted to your inspection.

I am My Lord,

Your most obliged and faithful Servant

James Dallaway

Addressed: His Grace The Duke of Norfolk, &c., &c.

20. *Memoir*, p. 41, note 6. In the Hempstead Court, Glos., sale, 1887, were oil paintings of the Rev. Samuel Peach (1746-1803), rector of Compton Beauchamp, Berks., and of his wife, Susannah, daughter of Dr. Bradley, the Astronomer-Royal. Also in the sale was a watch made by the celebrated George Graham (1673-1751; see *D.N.B.*) for Dr. Bradley who used it in connexion with his observations on the aberration of light and the fixed stars. This additional information was sent to me by the late Mr. Lindsay Fleming.

21. *Memoir*, p. 43, notes 4 and 5. Mr. J. H. Harvey, F.S.A., kindly informed me that portraits of Philip Bury Duncan and John Shute Duncan are in the Posers' Room at Winchester College. See also T. F. Kirby, *Annals of Winchester College* (1892), p. 415.

22. *Memoir*, p. 48. *Some Account of the Cistercian Priory of Ripa Mola*. This was published in 1836 (not 1837) in *A Descriptive Catalogue of some Pictures, Books, and Prints, Medals, Bronzes, and other curiosities, collected by Charles Rogers, Esq. F.R.S., F.A.S. and now in the possession of William Cotton, M.A., F.A.S. of the Priory, Letherhead, Surrey*. It is a book of xiv plus 207 pages; an edition of 25 copies was printed by Samuel Bentley, Dorset Street, London. An ornamental letter C enclosing the arms of Cotton is on the title-page.

The account of the "Priory" attributed to Dallaway is printed (pp. 2-7) in the form of a letter to 'N.C. Esq. Secretary of the Antiq. Society, London',¹ and dated 1824. To have published this ridiculous "history" of a spurious priory as a serious piece of work by James Dallaway was the quintessence of bad taste: nobody could have believed in the existence of Philip Fisticuffe or Peter Puddencake. Mr. F. B. Benger refers to this fictitious account in *Proceedings of the Leatherhead and District Local History Society*, vol. 2, no. 7 (1963), p. 218, and no. 9 (1965), p. 253, and quotes the late Mr. H. E. Malden's views on it. It need hardly be said that the letter to Carlisle is not among the archives of the Society of Antiquaries. Cotton said: 'To him [Dallaway] I am indebted for the ingenious and satisfactory account of the Cistercian Priory of Ripa Mola . . . and . . . the benevolent reader will be . . . delighted with the truly antiquarian zeal and research by which so important a fact in the annals of the parish of Letherhead has been rescued

¹ Nicholas Carlisle, secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

from oblivion'. In the copy of this book in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, the words 'ingenious and satisfactory' have been deleted and 'imaginary' written above in ink.

23. In November 1966, a bookseller in Sutton Coldfield offered for sale an important collection of letters and records relating to the Best,¹ Gardner and Dallaway families. Some of this material was of genealogical interest, but the letters written by James Dallaway during his journeys to and from Constantinople² would have been desirable additions had it been possible to acquire them at a price within the modest resources of either the Gloucestershire or West Sussex Record Offices.

¹ See pedigree between pp. 2 and 3 of the *Memoir*.

² See *Memoir*, pp. 6-15.

GREY FRIARS' CHURCH, CHICHESTER: THE PROBLEM OF THE NAVE

By The Rev. T. D. S. BAYLEY, F.S.A.

A full account of this building was written by Mr. F. W. Steer, F.S.A., in 1955 in a brochure which is No. 2 in the *Chichester Papers* series. In it a number of reasons are given for holding that the church never possessed a nave. These are all cogent indeed and not to be gainsaid, and to them yet another may be added. During the long hot summer of 1959, when I was in charge of admissions to the Museum, then housed there and open to the public, I took particular care to watch daily the parched turf for any indications of foundations beneath, but nothing of the kind was apparent. Nevertheless, a house which formerly stood here and is shown as Plate 2 in Mr. Steer's brochure may have obliterated any such traces. Mr. Steer's view is echoed by Ian Nairn and Nikolaus Pevsner in the Sussex volume of the *Buildings of England* (1965), pp. 169-70.

Nevertheless it is permissible to harbour misgivings about this conclusion. By no means is it the purpose of these notes to prove that a nave did at one time exist, nor to repeat or to contradict what has already been written about the building. But it seems worth while to draw attention to one or two features which may have escaped the notice of earlier writers, and which appear to be more easily interpreted on the assumption that a nave did, in fact, at one time exist. After building up a reasoned case for a former nave, the fatal objection must then be met which appears to stultify it.

Standing then within the building and looking up at the west wall, it will be readily conceded that the fine and complete arch indicates an original intention to have a nave, whether or no a change of plan was later determined, while the doorway and staircase on the south side must have been meant to provide access to a rood loft. The point at issue is whether such a rood was ever installed. It will be observed that the first stone above the capital on each side of the arch is of a lighter hue than those above it, while about a foot therefrom, again on either side, a chase may be discerned in the string-course which begins here and continues along both north and south walls (Plate 1A). Aymer Vallance, who made a close study of church screens, from time to time noticed the renewal of a stone in this position to be a reliable indication, with or without chases in the same area, of a demolished screen. The suggestion is strong that a beam at one time crossed the church, its ends resting above the stones forming the capitals of the arch, and that some kind of loft was associated with it, the end members being accommodated in the two chases. It is difficult to believe that these grooves could ever have been made by the masons in readiness for the carpenters

who were to follow them, for to determine the precise position where they would be required could never have been accomplished with absolute exactness. It can only have been when the carpenters were fitting their work into place that they would call for the chases to be provided. More probably they cut them themselves.

Two points in this connection at once invite comment: (1) It is well known that, in a medieval church, the rood was the most striking object on entering the building, it being stationed above the screen separating the chancel from the nave. But this was not so in a monastic church. In such case the rood was placed above a second screen west of that at the entrance to the monastic choir.¹ We must therefore now turn round and note that there would originally have indeed been another screen to the east of the present arch. Its site is clearly indicated by the ends of the two short lengths of stringcourse which extend from the west wall for a few feet just over the north and south doors, respectively leading to cloister and rood loft, and then abruptly cease (Plate IB). Here, it would appear, was a wooden screen, solid presumably, with a central doorway and returned stalls backing against it on the east side, as at Carlisle. Thus there would be formed a vestibule between the two screens, the friars entering from the cloister and turning left in the centre to pass into the church. (2) It will also be at once observed that it is not now possible for a beam to span the arch and lodge above the capitals, for the west wall protrudes too far into the church. It is remarkable that this wall, now covered with plaster, is nowhere bonded into the arch, and no part of the moulding is encased by it. This wall projects some 16 inches into the church. At its sides and around the arch the plastering is chamfered to avoid concealing the mouldings. Now, if the lower part of this portion of the building was originally a stone screen, its short sides being at right angles to the remainder of the wall, the beam carrying the rood crossing above it, a reasonable interpretation is that the present west wall came into being by the filling of the space above the screen, in a manner comparable with Boxgrove and elsewhere, the whole being then plastered. It may also be noticed that the west window, which gives every indication of being contemporary with the others in the church, is not quite centrally placed, being set a trifle too far to the south of the doorway below it; this gives some support to the view that it was removed and reset here when a nave was abandoned (Plate IIA).

It may be that the screening at Chichester had a parallel in the Grey Friars' church at Gloucester. Thomas of Eccleston wrote that, between 1231 and 1235, Agnellus of Pisa 'deprived one of the friars of his hood for having painted the pulpitum . . . and the guardian for having permitted it to be done'.² The Bishop of

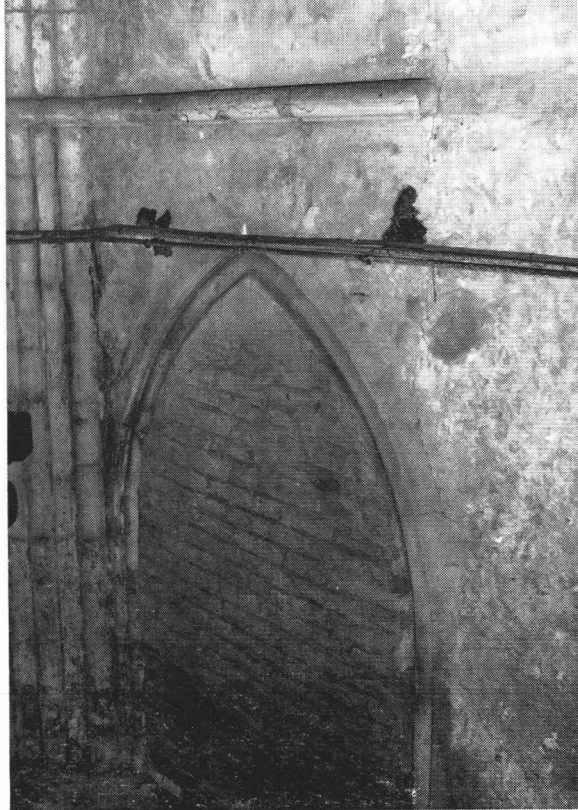
¹ Aymer Vallance, *Greater English Church Screens* (1947), p. 21.

² Aymer Vallance, *op. cit.*, p. 13, quoting *The Coming of the Friars Minor to England*, translated from Eccleston by E. Gurney Salter (1926).

Ripon (Dr. J. R. H. Moorman) has very kindly confirmed that the word used by Eccleston is *pulpitum*, meaning presumably a screen and not a 'pulpit' in the modern sense. Dr. Moorman remarked that the Friars' churches were intended for preaching and a nave of some size was considered desirable for the purpose.

Standing now at the site of the inner western screen and looking eastward, it may be pertinent to envisage the church, now bare and gutted, in medieval times. The arrangements at the extreme east end afford a puzzle which has so far eluded a solution. But it seems clear that the high altar was not placed directly under the east window, but stood a distance away from the wall, to be in a position in harmony with the sedilia, and that behind it was a screen, probably of wood with a doorway on either side. Within the church there must have been minor altars, images with lights (a niche for one such remains), and there may have been tombs. The friars were notable preachers and a pulpit, with perhaps a font, would be required; and stalls on either side to accommodate the friars and novices reciting their offices, with a lectern in the midst for antiphons and lessons to be chanted. Now, on the assumption that a nave was never built, it was in this building that Archbishop Pecham of Canterbury held a large ordination.¹ Consider then this ceremony and those attending it, for St. John Hope used to declare that you could never understand an ancient building unless you imagine how it was used. Pecham, himself a friar, was notably conscious of the dignity and privileges attaching to his high office, and this central figure would be accompanied by his assistants in the liturgical service and his retinue of attendants; eleven of the candidates for orders were Friars Minor, and surely every member of the establishment would be there on this great day in the lives of their brethren, and to witness holy orders conferred by this distinguished member of their order. Then one would think the high dignitaries of the Cathedral could hardly miss the opportunity of making their presence known to the most august and influential churchman in the land who was visiting the city. As will presently be suggested, there is every reason to believe that the Archbishop was here to take care of his own concerns rather than to confer with the local ecclesiastics. Nor can one believe that the Primate can ever have officiated in Chichester without a number of the leading citizens being present, while the candidates themselves might reasonably be expected to have at least one relative or friend apiece to support them on such an occasion. I consider it a generous estimate that the area available for the ceremony was some 50 by 25 feet, but no small fraction of it would be occupied

¹ The details are printed in C. T. Martin (ed.), *Registrum Epistolarum Johannis Peckham, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis* (Rolls Series), vol. 3 (1886), p. 1029. The form 'Pecham' is now preferred for the Archbishop's surname; see F. M. Powicke and E. B. Fryde (eds.), *Handbook of British Chronology* (1961).



Grey Friars' Church

PLATE IA. South side of choir arch, showing chase and renewed stone over capital

PLATE IB. Length of stringcourse over cloister door

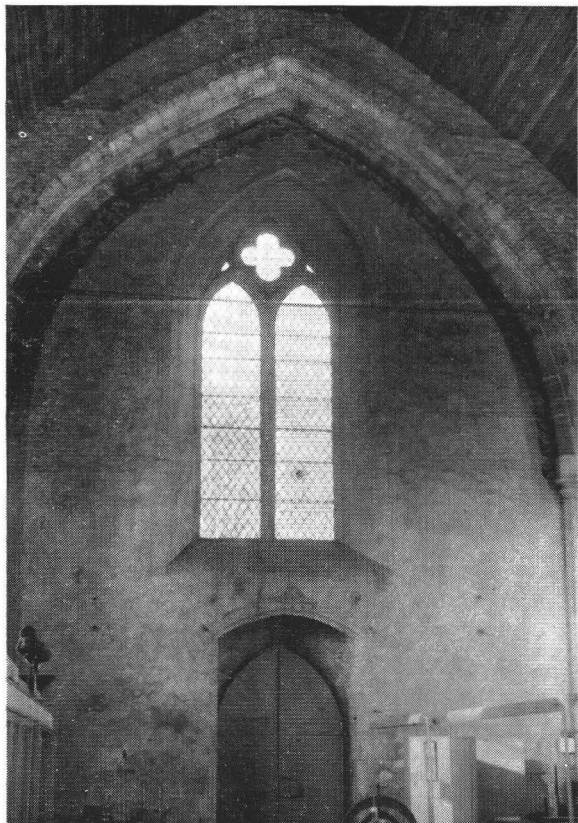


PLATE IIA. West wall interior



PLATE IIB. S.W. corner of choir. From a photograph by Lindsay Fleming

Grey Friars' Church

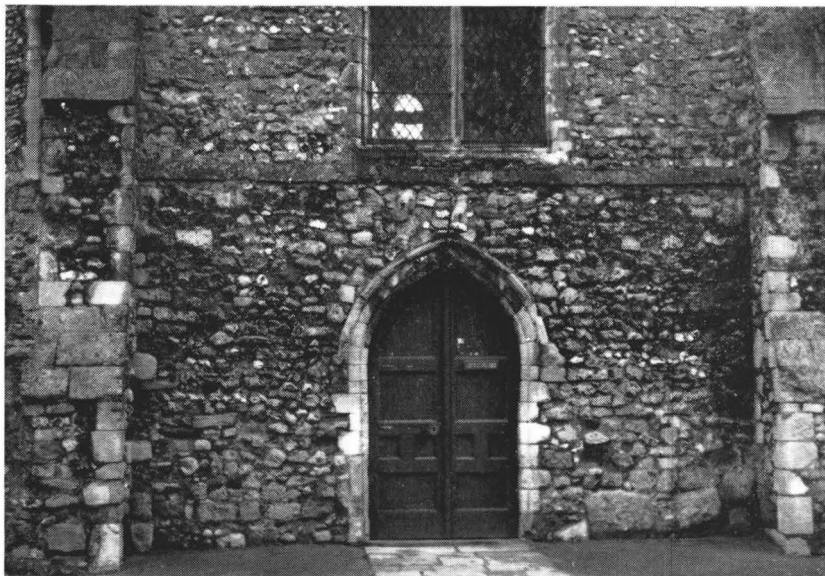


PLATE IIIA. Grey Friars' Church—West front. From a photograph by
Lindsay Fleming



PLATE IIIB. East Lavant—West front

by furniture and divers fittings. Thus the church appears already crowded before the entry of the candidates, 57 of them—8 acolytes, 4 subdeacons, 18 deacons and 27 priests. Quite large ordinations did indeed take place in medieval times at bishops' manors, where the chapel would be less cluttered, or in fairly small churches. But limits there certainly were. Pecham himself ordained from time to time in his chapel at South Malling. But for the Lent ordination in 1287, when there were above 100 candidates, the ceremony took place in the (former) Collegiate Church there (op. cit., p. 1042).

It is idle to try and ascertain the number of square feet required for the men to lie prostrate during the Litanies, or to estimate the space needed for 27 priests to concelebrate with their ordaining prelate. If this ordination indeed took place in the present building on Ember Saturday, Trinity Eve, 23 May 1282, some discomfort must have been experienced and we may hope that, for this long ceremony, it was not a very hot day.

Emerging now to examine the exterior of the west wall, attention may first be drawn to features which continue to point to a former nave, before noticing finally those which seem to demolish entirely the theory hitherto put forward. The central doorway, then, could well have served as the passage through a stone pulpitum, as at Westminster or Norwich; and over it is a transom composed of brick-shaped stones that could easily have marked the top of such a screen, in the manner that a set-off does now at Boxgrove. And a very good case can be made for the view that the masonry above the transom is not contemporary with that below it; the texture of the materials differs, and the lower half exhibits a noticeably darker colour following heavy rain (Plate IIIA).

Mr. Steer very rightly listed among his reasons for believing that a nave was never built the two buttresses against the west wall, observing that these give an unmistakable impression of being of medieval date, if not contemporary with the rest of the building. Moreover, these buttresses are situated nearer the middle than the remains of incipient nave walls on either side of them, and are flanked on their inner sides by stones bonded well into the wall. If the argument that there was formerly a nave carries sufficient weight, the extreme difficulty arises of giving an approximate date to these buttresses, which can only have been erected after the nave disappeared.

Every indication conspires to disprove the obvious suggestion that they were built following the Dissolution, and there is nothing whatever in this west wall to hint at a 16th century date. Such a view, often implied by writers in some such phrase as 'the choir only survives,' has nothing to commend it; and yet when did it happen? Can it be credited that the nave, just possibly incomplete or in some way unsatisfactory, was abandoned at quite an early

date? This appears to be a most improbable happening, and yet such a demolition does conform to the evidence. To find a parallel for similar treatment of a 13th century church would be difficult. But in one respect an unexpected and surprising parallel does exist only two miles north of Chichester. The west door of East Lavant church is finely moulded and of the 12th century, and must always have been in that situation; but its surround corresponds in design exactly to the west end of the Grey Friars' church. The stone transom above the doorway, the two buttresses; and, particularly remarkable, the stones abutting on the inner sides of these buttresses bedded well into the wall, and which extend from the ground up to the transom and, as at the Grey Friars' church, are not continued above it (Plate IIIb). This can hardly be coincidence. Let it be admitted that extensive restoration has changed much at East Lavant, while old drawings, made when the building was covered externally with plaster, do not confirm the details mentioned. But one conceivable explanation of the singular resemblances of the two west walls comes to mind. East Lavant was a peculiar in the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and are we looking at the handiwork of craftsmen who were centred on Canterbury, or accepted instructions from there? Pecham was a highly efficient and austere friar, and a practical man withal. He might have decided that the Grey Friars' church did not warrant the expense of maintaining a nave, for the friars could do their preaching in the open air or even in the cathedral nave, and bidden the same masons who removed it to attend to repairs at East Lavant. East Lavant also possesses in the chancel the remains of stalls with misericords. Do they possibly also resemble those supplied for the friars' church? Such stalls, although not commonly found in the churches of small village parishes, do occur in such.¹

A further point may be mentioned. East Lavant has a tower at the south east corner of the nave. Not uncommonly found in this position in the south of England, north of the Thames such a tower is highly unusual, and the only one in Essex which comes to mind is at Stisted, which is another peculiar of the Archbishop's. But this is not all. Something must have been amiss with both these towers. East Lavant and Stisted towers were both rebuilt much later (in the 17th and 19th centuries respectively), and yet the foundations and lowest few feet were so sound that they were suffered to remain and form part of the new construction. What of a tower at Grey Friars? I hazard the opinion that it was similarly situated. Mr. Steer quotes from the inventory at the Suppression that there were then 'in the steeple 2 bells.' Since these were included among the fittings of 'the Choir,' the steeple was definitely attached to, or at least associated with, that part of

¹ A fine set in St. Andrew's, Belchamp St. Paul's, in Essex, may well have had some connection with St. Paul's Cathedral.

the building. No position appears to be more likely than at the south-west corner, adjoining the turret which encloses the rood staircase. Lighting this staircase are two slit windows, such as are commonly found on tower staircases, but rarely for one used only occasionally for access to the rood. It may be observed that the steps are worn and rounded. The opening at the top of the stairs faces west and has puzzled writers. I suggest that its purpose was in some manner for access to the steeple and bells. Of the four corners of the choir this is the only one which is difficult to interpret (see Plate IIb). Looking again at the drawing of the former house at the west end (Plate 2 in Mr. Steer's work), a large round-headed window can be seen in about the position which such a tower as that being considered would have occupied. Although perhaps a fanciful suggestion, it would seem just possible that the outbuildings of the house incorporated at least the lower part of a medieval tower.

Now conjectures without supporting evidence are often eschewed by the antiquary, lest another wiser than he proves him to be wrong. But it may not be completely wide of the mark that Archbishop Pecham's influence accounts at least for the similar west ends of the Grey Friars' and East Lavant churches. From the *Rolls Series* volume already mentioned it would appear that the Archbishop was indeed visiting his peculiars in the summer of 1282. He was at Mortlake until 12 May, and was certainly stationed at Slindon from 19 May to 24 June, thereafter visiting Tarring and South Malling. There are no references to a stay in Chichester, and thus for the ordination on 23 May he would have travelled some 8 or 10 miles from Slindon. It is a slightly shorter distance from Slindon to East Lavant, and it is hardly to be believed that the Archbishop did not take the opportunity to ascertain the state of affairs at the church there while he was so near. For the same cause it is reasonable to assume that Pecham came to Chichester, not only to ordain, but to view his peculiar in the Pallant. Indeed he had instituted a rector to All Saints' church there only five days before the ordination (op. cit., p. 1017).

It cannot be maintained that the west wall of Grey Friars represents building activity of a date subsequent to the Dissolution. For even if old materials were used and an archaic technique deliberately employed, the eye of the expert is not deceived. And it is the judgment of the expert and the architectural historian which needs to be brought to bear on this problem, and it may be that these notes may stir a fresh consideration by competent authorities who walk in specialist fields of study with some facility.

It may here be recorded that Mr. Lindsay Fleming, F.S.A., who was much interested in the Grey Friars' church, spent the last afternoon of his life in the building, talking about it and taking photographs. We parted as the wintry light faded on 8 February 1966, and he died peacefully a few hours later.

NOTES ON THE SUSSEX FAMILY OF SAVAGE

By W. E. P. DONE, M.C., F.S.A.

THE NAME SAVAGE

The earliest known member of the Sussex family of Savage is one Robert who is recorded in Domesday Book as holding various manors under William de Braose, tenant-in-chief of a division of the County which was later called the Rape of Bramber. Little is known of him or his successors in the next three generations, also called Robert, except that their names are recorded as witnesses to various transactions, mostly connected with the affairs of the de Braose family (see below).

The earliest records are in Latin and the name appears as [Rober-tus] *Silvaticus* or *Salvagius*. These words are adjectives derived from the Latin *silva*, meaning woodland, and could be applied to a person, animal, or place associated with wild or forest country. In Old French *silvaticus* became *sauvage* or *salvage*, and *salvagius* became an alternative Latin form. It is clear from contemporary documents that the Robert of Domesday and his successors bore the descriptive title *le Sauvage*. Probably he brought it with him from Normandy. The description presumably derived from the character of the country in which the family was established. In one document of the time of William I two witnesses (Robert and Geoffrey) are so named, indicating that the title had by then become attached to the family (France 396).¹

¹ The following abbreviations have been used in this paper:—

Abb. Plac.	<i>Abbreviatio Placitorum</i> (1811)
AD	<i>Catalogue of Ancient Deeds</i>
Cal. Gen.	<i>Calendarium Genealogicum</i>
Chichester	W. D. Peckham (ed.), <i>Chartulary of the High Church of Chichester</i> , S.R.S., vol. 46
CR	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i>
Dall.	J. Dallaway, <i>History of the Western Division of Sussex</i> , 2 vols., 1815-32
FF	<i>Feet of Fines</i>
FRANCE	J. H. Round, <i>Calendar of Documents preserved in France</i> , (1899)
IPM	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem</i>
Pat	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i>
PN	A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, <i>The Place-Names of Sussex</i> (1929-30).
SAC	<i>Sussex Archaeological Collections</i>
SF	L. F. Salzman (comp.) <i>An Abstract of Feet of Fines relating to the County of Sussex</i> , S.R.S. II, Ric. I-33 Hen. III; VII, 34 Hen. III-35 Ed. I; XXIII, I Ed. II-24, Hen. VII.
SPL	L. F. Salzman (ed.) <i>Chartulary of Priory of St. Pancras of Lewes</i> , S.R.S., vol. 40.
SRS	Sussex Record Society.
VCH	Victoria County History, <i>Sussex</i> .

It has been suggested that the description was originally applied to a member of the family in a figurative sense, referring to some personal characteristic for which he was known (SAC, 8, 33). This seems unnecessary. But if the suggestion were correct the word need not have been used in a derogatory sense. On the contrary, in the 13th century "savage" was used to mean "indomitable, intrepid, valiant" (Oxford English Dictionary). Its unpleasing connotation seems to have developed later.

THE RAPE OF BRAMBER AND THE SAVAGE MANORS

Following the Conquest the security and control of Sussex became matters of vital concern to King William. Situated across his most direct lines of communication with Normandy, on which he was still largely dependent, the county was an essential link in the government of both parts of his dominion. Sussex had already been divided for administrative purposes into 'Rapes,' the origin of which is uncertain. William reorganised them on feudal lines. Six Rapes were eventually established, each under a tenant-in-chief who had proved himself worthy of the royal trust. The divisions between the Rapes ran roughly from the coast to the northern boundary of the county. Each Rape was based on a town and harbour which were dominated by a fortress held by the lord.

We are concerned with the Rape of Bramber, as it came to be called. Its boundaries can be described roughly as follows: nine miles along the coast between Goring and Portslade, and nine miles along the northern boundary of the county between Stane Street and Crawley. The distance from south to north was about twenty-three miles. The east and west boundaries were irregular, depending on the shape of the Hundreds, nine of which were comprised in this Rape. The width of the area varied from nine to twelve miles. That was the region which King William entrusted to William de Braose about the year 1073 (SAC, 102, pp. 77, 86). His title derived from the lordship of Braose in Normandy (now spelt Briouze) about 16 miles south-west of Falaise, the Conqueror's home town.

The Rape was based on Steyning, then a port of some note four miles up the river Adur. On a hill commanding the port de Braose built his fortress, Bramber Castle, of which a small part survives. Bramber was a hide of land belonging to the manor of Washington.

William de Braose received in all 41 manors in Sussex, besides others in Hants and Dorset (Dall. II, 175). He conferred large benefactions on the Church, particularly the Abbey of St. Florent at Saumur in the diocese of Auger. A French document dated 1073 records that when he 'crossed the sea and went to Maine in the army with William King of the English,' he gave to St. Nicholas of Bramber (inter alia) the tithes of his revenues from, and the demesne in his possession of, the following manors: Bedinges (Upper Beeding), Eringeham (Erringham in Upper Beeding and

Shoreham), Hortone (in Upper Beeding), Sudewic (Southwick), Sorham (Shoreham), Luvenhest, Anningtona (Annington), Wassingtone (Washington), Belingetone (Bidlington in Bramber), Sicumba, Abestela, Scapeliia, Tortentona (Tottington in Upper Beeding), Bodingtona (Bunton), Fintona (Findon), Essingtona (Assington), Tacaham (Thackham), Monham (Muntham), Clopeham (Clapham). Also tithes of the tolls at Steyning and Bramber Castle (France, 405).

Thirteen years later Domesday Book (1086) was compiled, containing a detailed description of all manors, with the names of their holders—manors held directly by the lord and those distributed among his Knights and followers on feudal terms. Among the latter was a group held by the Robert who is clearly identifiable as Robert le Sauvage.

The following is a list of his holdings as recorded in Domesday:

Broadwater	18 hides 19 ploughs
Durrington	1 and 2 hides
Worthing	9 and 1½ hides
Sompting (part)	Possibly Sompting Weald, a detached part of the manor in Itchingfield, where the family held land.
Lancing	12 hides
Ashington	
(part of Washington)	5½ ploughs
Bunton	11 ploughs

(See V.C.H. I. 447 for full text)

The principal manor held by Robert was Broadwater.¹ The following Domesday description is taken from V.C.H., I, p. 447:

“ Robert holds of William (de Braose) Bradewatre.

Wigot held it of King Edward. Then it was assessed for 29 hides. Of these 9 hides are in the Rape of William de Warene (at Aldrington, Rape of Lewes) and William de Braiose has 2 hides in demesne. What Robert holds has paid geld for 6 hides. There is land for 7 ploughs. On the demesne are 2 ploughs, and there are 30 villeins and 4 bordars with 10 ploughs. There is a Church and 3 serfs, and 1 mill yielding 7 shillings, and 60 acres of meadow. Woodland yielding 20 swine. Of this land, 1 knight holds 1 hide. The whole in the time of King Edward and afterward was worth 15 pounds, now 14 pounds.”

It is interesting to note how Robert's manors dovetailed in with William de Braose's own defensive dispositions. William kept in his own hands Shoreham on the east side of the river Adur and the manors running west from Steyning (Wiston, Washington and Sullington); also Findon on the passage through the Downs from Washington to the coast. Robert's Lancing, backed by the Downs, commanded the mouth and western bank of the river. His Broadwater, with Worthing, covered the coast end of the Findon passage, while his Durrington covered the western approach from Arundel. The important cross-roads at Washington were in de Braose's hands, with Sullington on the Pulborough road, and were covered

¹ For a full description and history of Broadwater Manor see Henfrey Smail, *Notable houses of Worthing*, No. 2 (1950), pp. 49-76.

on the north and north-east by Robert's Ashington and Buncton. The association between the two men must have been pretty close.

Not mentioned in Domesday but probably dating back to the 11th century, the Lord of Broadwater also acquired a substantial holding at Sedgewick, two miles south of Horsham in the forest country of north Sussex, where the hunting provided not only a favourite sport but also an important contribution to the food supply. Horsham had provided swine pasturage for the community at Washington in Saxon times (PN, 227). The Lords of Bramber as holders of that manor now developed the association. At Chesworth, two miles from Horsham and 1½ m. from Sedgewick the de Braoses established a residence, originally no doubt a hunting lodge, but later a mansion at which kings were entertained (SAC, 6, 48).

Particulars of the Sauvage connection with Sedgewick are given below. It formed a detached part of the manor and parish of Broadwater. An early road system connected the two areas.

Itchingfield, three miles south-west of Horsham, was another area in which the lords of Broadwater had interests. It may have been the manor of Sompting Weald, a detached part of Sompting manor mentioned in the Domesday list (above). In 1222 a later Robert le Sauvage bought the advowson from John de Keinen for 40 shillings and a rent of 12 pence per year out of a tenement on his Sedgewick property (SF, 6 Hen. III; SRS, II, 172). The earliest known presentation to the benefice was made by his daughter Hawys in 1270.

The story of Sedgewick Castle is of much interest. It will be found mainly in two articles in *S.A.C.* The first, written in 1856 by the Rev. Edward Turner (vol. 8, p. 31), contains a description and plan of the site as he knew it, abandoned for centuries to ruin and decay—a quarry for stone. The second, written in 1925 by S. E. Winbolt (vol. 66, p. 83) gives a full and illustrated account of the scientific survey and excavation carried out by himself upon the site. There is also a record of the history of the site and buildings from the 11th century to modern times. These articles may be read in conjunction with the extracts from Norman sources which are set out in the following pages. Reference may also be made to *A History of the Castles, Mansions and Manors of Western Sussex* (1876) by D. G. C. Elwes and C. J. Robinson, p. 54.

The Park was 400 acres in 1326 (Tower Records, 90). In 1608 when it was disparked it comprised 624 acres (SAC, 8, 38).

THE SAUSAGE FAMILY IN THE NORMAN PERIOD

The Domesday estates of the family of le Sauvage in Sussex were held in the direct line for six generations—five Roberts and a daughter Hawys. On her death they passed to her husband's descendants. Our knowledge of the early history of the family is limited to such

references to individuals as appear in contemporary records which have survived. These are collected in the following pages.

For convenience the five Roberts have been numbered I to V, but the dating of their respective periods, except the last, is conjectural.

The family estate in north Sussex was separated from the remainder by ROBERT (V) and passed in turn to his son, grandson and great-grandson. This is as far as we can actually trace a continuous Norman succession. But we can trace the spread of the family throughout the centuries from its original centre across a considerable part of the county.

1075. Charter of Foundation of Priory of St. Peter, Sele, Upper Beeding, by William de Braose. The numerous witnesses include ROBERTUS (I) SALVAGIUS (earliest mention of the name). (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, IV, 668).

(Probably about same date) ROBERT (I) LE SAUVAGE granted the Priory of Sele a moiety of the great tithes of Durrington (Dall., II, 16-17).

Undated letter of William de Braose to his son and all his lieges recording benefactions to St. Gervase of Braose and St. Florent. Witnesses include ROBERTUS (I) SILVATINUS (*sic*) and GAUFREDUS (Geoffrey) SILVATICUS. (France, 396-7).

1080. King William settles a dispute over title to lands, at Caen. ROBERTUS (I) SILVATICUS in King's suite. (France, 398).

1086. Domesday Book. List of manors held by ROBERTUS (I). (See above).

1096. Philip de Braose confirms gifts made by his father, William (including St. Peter Sele, St. Nicholas Bramber and Prebend of Geoffrey of Bramber). Witness: ROBERTUS (I) SALVAGIUS. (France, 401).

1130. Gifts of land at Shoreham made by William de Braose. Witnesses: ROBERTUS (II) SALVAGIUS and SALVAG. (SPL).

1164. Settlement of dispute between Abbey of Fécamp and J. de Tresgoz. Witness: ROBERTUS (III) SALVAGIUS. (France, 48-49).

1170. Gift by Simon of Edburton of 18 acres and pasture for 100 sheep. Witness: ROBERTUS (III) SALVAGIUS. (SPL).

1180-1204. Settlement of dispute re presentation to Chapel at Buncton. Witnesses included William de Broase and ROBERT (IV) SALVAGE (SPL).

1195. Resettlement of dispute of 1164 (above). Witness: ROBERTUS (IV) SALVAGIUS. (France, 48, 49).

1197. ROBERT (IV) LE SAUVAGE gave King John 20 shillings to have his plaint in the King's Court against John de Combe for the marriage of John's daughter which ROBERT claimed to be in his gift. (Madox., *Hist. Exch.*, 540).

1199. Grant of 2 shillings p.a. by ROBERT (IV) SAUVAGE to Holy Trinity, Chichester. (Chichester).

1199. Ric. de Knelle and Wife Isabella to SIBYLL LE SAUVAGE and son ROBERT (V) half hide at Durrington. Also agreement re tenure of three hides formerly owned by THOMAS LE SAUVAGE. (SF. 1 John, SRS., II, 39).

1200. ROBERT (IV) LE SAUVAGE lord of Broadwater and ROBERT (V) his son sold one virgate at Durrington to Richard de la Knelle and Isabella his wife. (Dall. II, 16-17).

1204-7. Grant to John de Sumeri. Witness: ROBERT (IV) SAUVAGE 'Sergeant of the County of Sussex.' (Chichester).

1218. Four knights' fees at Thakeham and Clayton (in Washington) held by ROBERT (V) LE SAUVAGE of Stephen le Poer, who held of Reginald de Braose, chief lord, were henceforth to be held by Stephen of Robert and by Robert of de Braose. (SF, 2 Hen. III, 138; SRS, II; CR., 1242-7, 436).

1220. Gift of land at Lordington to Priory. Witness: JAMES SALVAGIUS (SPL).
1222. Grants of vicarage of Lancing. Witness: WILLIAM SAVAGE (Chichester).
1222. ROBERT (V) LE SAUVAGE bought advowson of Itchingfield from John de Keinen for 40 shillings and a rent of 12 pence p.a. out of a tenement on his Sedgewick property. (SF. SRS., II, 172).
1223. ROBERT (V) LE SAUVAGE bought house and land at Itchingfield from Hugh de Mabel and Susannah. (FF, 7 Hen. III).
1234. ROBERT (V) LE SAUVAGE was appointed custodian of Pevensey, Bramber and Knepp Castles owing to danger of war with France. (Pat., 18 Hen. III, 58; SAC, 5, 144 and 18, 142, 145).
Also appointed guardian of William de Braose during minority. (SAC, 8, 31).
- 1235-41. ROBERT DE SAUVAGE witness to settlement of dispute between Bishop of Chichester and Earl of Pembroke. (Chichester).
1242. 'ROBERT LE SAUVAGE holds 4 knight's fees in Brawat (Broadwater) Sedgwyke and Garingle (Goringlee, part of Broadwater). Stephen le Poer holds 4 knight's fees of the same Robert in Techeham (Thakeham) and Clayton.' (*Testa de Nevill* II, 689).
- 1246-48. ROBERT (V) LE SAUVAGE Sheriff of Sussex.
1246. Sir ROBERT (V) LE SAUVAGE, Sheriff, witness to grant of land at Edburton (SPL).
1246. Death of John Nevill, husband of HAWYS daughter of ROBERT (V) LE SAUVAGE.
1247. HAWYS married Sir John de Gatesden, Sheriff of Sussex, 1235-1238.
1249. ROBERT (V) LE SAUVAGE granted to John Maunsel a lease for life of the manor of Sedgewick and also 'all the land which he has at any time held of the Abbot of Fescaump in the parishes of Northurst (Nuthurst) and Horsham lying outside the park of the manor of Segewyke.' He also covenanted not to part with his interest in the manors of Broadwater, Worthing, Sedgewick and Goringlee in Sussex and Steyneby (Stainsby) in Derby. (SF, 33 Hen. III; SRS, II, 450). Maunsel was a trusted counsellor of Henry III and a notorious pluralist.
1256. ROBERT (V) LE SAUVAGE granted the manor of Broadwater to John de Gatesden and HAWYS and the heirs of John. (SF, 40 Hen. III; SRS, VII, 604).
- 1258 and 1262. John Maunsel obtained from the King grants to strengthen 'his house of Seggewick with fosses and a wall of stone and lime to crenellate and fortify it.' These were the first of such grants in Sussex. (Pat. 43 Hen. III, M.15 and 46 Hen. III, M.13).
1262. John de Gatesden died. His widow HAWYS assumed the name of Nevill(e) her first husband.
1263. John Maunsel was forced to flee the country.
1265. He died abroad.
1266. Lawsuit between JOHN LE SAVAGE and William de Braose who claimed Sedgewick as having escheated to him on the death of John Maunsel overseas. The court found for John le Savage. (Abb. Plac., 174, 52 Hen. III).
1267. Dispute between JOHN LE SAVAGE and William de St. Omer about the manor of Sedgewick and its appurtenances. (CR., 51 Hen. III, 383).

We are able to identify JOHN LE SAVAGE beyond doubt as the son of ROBERT (V) and brother of HAWYS DE NEVILLE and of JOAN LA SAUVAGE. The records state that his mother was Aldeluya (or Adelmia) the wife of ROBERT LE SAUVAGE, that his wife's name was HAWYSIA and that they had two sons, ROGER, b. 1256, and JOHN, b. 1266. He died, c. 1273, possessed of properties in Sussex and of the manor of Staynesby (Stainsby), Derby, which he held of the King as tenant-in-chief. His mother and his widow received dower of his estate and the latter

obtained an order enforcing her right to administer his Derby estate. (Abb. Plac., p. 264, 2 Ed. I; IPM, 3 Ed. I (1275), No. 13 and 4 Ed. I (1276), No. 16; Cal. Gen., pp. 221, 234). The Stainsby manor had belonged to ROBERT (V), as shown by the reference to it in his lease to John Maunsell (1249 above). Further, John's relationship to Robert came directly in issue in the 1266 litigation (above). From the record it appears that Robert, who had granted to Maunsell a lease for life of the Sedgewick properties, had died before Maunsell's death in 1265. John then claimed the properties as Robert's son and heir against William de Braose who claimed an escheat. John succeeded in establishing his title and recovered possession. (Abb. Plac., 52 Hen. III, p. 174).

1268. Fine of agreement between William de Braose and HAWYS DE NEVILLE, whereby the latter's obligation for *Muragium* (contributions to fortifications at Bramber due from military tenants of William's Sussex fief) was compounded for 96 marks. The document is endorsed with a "claim" by JOHN LE SAUVAGE and JOAN his sister recording their interest in the transaction. (SF, 52, Hen. III; SRS VII, 729-730).

Here we have a view of the Savage estates in 1268 at their peak and shortly before they passed into other hands. Hawys daughter of Robert (V) le Sauvage held them in dower as widow of John de Gatesden to whose heir they would pass on her death.

The result of the fine in 1218 (*supra*) was that ROBERT (V) held eight fees of the chief lord, of which four were represented by his own inheritance—Broadwater (with Durrington) Sedgewick and Goringlee (*Testa de Nevill*)—and four by Thakeham with its appurtenances which continued as before to be held by the family of le Poer, but now under Robert.

The fine of 1268 shows that Hawys then held, clearly as in dower, all eight fees. It further lists 12 lesser estates comprised in the le Sauvage holdings. These were:—

Worthing (a hamlet belonging to Broadwater).

Walecot (probably on the borders of Durrington and Clapham).

Mondeham (probably Muntham in Findon, held of the head manor of Thakeham. Part of Muntham adjoined Itchingfield).

Hechyngefild (Itchingfield, included in the four fees of Buncton comprising Thakeham which passed to Robert as chief tenant, 1218).

Essington (Ashington, a chapelry).

Garyngeleye (Goringlee, Thakeham, PN. 181).

Launcynges (Lancing).

Annyngedon (Annington in Botolphs just south of Bramber).

Bongeton (Buncton).

Changeton le Boys (Chancton in Washington, part of Broadwater).

Thornwyke (in Storrington).

Rowedell (in Washington).

(See Article by Dr. J. H. Round in SAC, 59, 17-23).

1269. John de Gatesden deceased and HAWIS DE NEVILLE "sometime his wife." Grant by King to Robert Walerand of certain manors of the deceased (including Broadwater and Durrington) saving to Hawis her reasonable dower. (IPM, 706. 53 Hen. III).

1272. JOHN LE SAVAGE and his son ROGER exchanged Sedgewick Manor, Park and Castle with William de Braose for other lands held under the Honor of Bramber. The 'other lands' may well have been Burbuck, Lower Beeding, which was a park belonging to the lords of Bramber, about 4 miles east of Sedgewick. (Abb. Plac., 185; CR. I Ed. I; SAC, 8, 35).

1276. ROGER LE SAVAGE confirmed by release and quitclaim to William de Braose and his heirs for ever the exchange of Sedgewick (*supra*). (CR, 4 ED. I).

c. **1275-80.** HAWYS DE NEVILLE died. Her Sussex estates held in dower from her second husband reverted to Margaret de Gatesden his heir who married John de Camoys. From the Camoys family the estates eventually passed through co-heirs to the Rodmyll and Lewkenor families.

1280. EDMUND LE SAUVAGE endorsed claim re messuage and land at Ferring, Goring and Chiltington (north of Storrington) (SF, 8 Ed. I; SRS, VII, 935).

1301. Following the death of ROGER son of JOHN LE SAUVAGE (*supra*) it was found upon Inquisition (County of Derby) that the deceased held nothing of the King but the manor of Stanesby by the service of a sore-coloured sparrowhawk yearly. Fealty for the manor was then taken of JOHN, son and heir of ROGER. (CR. 29 Ed. I, p. 468; Cal. Gen., 12 Ed. I, No. 7, p. 340).

This John is the last of those bearing the family name whom we can definitely place in the line of succession from Robert (I). No doubt younger sons and their descendents, less conspicuous but distinguished by the name, had taken their appropriate places in the social order of the district during the two centuries which passed since Robert followed William de Braose to Bramber. The names of a few such have survived and have been already mentioned:—

Geoffrey, contemporary and perhaps brother of Robert (I); Thomas 1199 who held three hides at Durrington, one of the Domesday manors of the family; James 1220; William 1222; Edmund 1280 who was interested in lands in Ferring and Goring near Broadwater and at Chiltington close to the Savage holdings at Thakeham.

As the centuries pass the family name is found in growing numbers over a constantly increasing area of Sussex. Of these persons in most cases we know little but their names and it is seldom possible to group them into families. Their interest lies less in the individuals than in the picture they present of the Savage family as a whole.

A COWDRAY INVENTORY OF 1682

By FRANCIS W. STEER, F.S.A.

The destruction of the major part of Cowdray [House] by fire on 24 September 1793 was a disaster which robbed Sussex of one of its stateliest mansions. The ruins give us some idea of the size of the house and have acquired, after the passage of nearly two centuries, a sort of romantic charm which is enhanced both by their beautiful setting and by the way in which they are maintained by the Cowdray Estate. The history of the property and of its owners, and an impressive architectural description, were written by Sir William St. John Hope and published as a luxurious book in 1919 entitled *Cowdray and Easebourne Priory*. The immense and reliable detail of Hope's work, enriched with splendid illustrations and plans, makes any further comment on the building and its owners almost superfluous.

In more recent years, the present Viscount Cowdray generously deposited his archives in the West Sussex Record Office; a catalogue of this vast collection was ably prepared by Mr. A. A. Dibben and published by the West Sussex County Council in two volumes in 1960 and 1964. The catalogue is prefaced by a long introduction and bibliography which are complementary to Hope's great book and to Mrs. Charles Roundell's *Cowdray: the history of a great English house* which was published in 1884. Among the items offered at a sale of the contents of a house in Midhurst in 1959 was an inventory of Cowdray taken immediately after the death of the 3rd Viscount Montagu; this interesting document was purchased by Mr. Geoffrey Allin of Midhurst who has kindly allowed me to transcribe and print it.

Francis (Browne), 3rd Viscount Montagu died on 24 October 1682, aged 72 years, and was buried in Midhurst church on 27 October;¹ the date of death and place of burial of his widow, Elizabeth, daughter of Henry (Somerset), 1st Marquess of Worcester, are not recorded, but as her will was dated 9 May and proved 8 December 1684, she must have died in that year.

The inventory was taken on 31 October 1682 and written on paper 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 16 inches; it is enclosed in paper covers endorsed with a contemporary and a much later title and a note that the 3rd Viscount died on 2 November 1682.² The inventory was compiled by James Keith, who does not feature in any of the Cowdray archives, and John Morison whose identity is uncertain.³ Among the Cowdray archives⁴ is an incomplete inventory, probably a little later than that

¹ The dates are given in Midhurst parish register (Diocesan Record Office, Chichester, Par. 138/1/1/3); the date of burial is wrongly given as 2 November in *The Complete Peerage*, vol. 9, p.101.

² Taken from Mrs. Roundell's book, p.83.

³ See below, p. 86.

⁴ W.S.R.O., Cowdray MS. 93.

printed below, but certainly not a copy of it as the variations are considerable. It is hoped that this second inventory will be the subject of a paper in a future volume of our *Collections*.

Several important features may be noted in the document now printed; for example, it gives the principal contents of one of the great Sussex houses in the 17th century and shows that a high proportion of the 99 apartments mentioned were sparsely furnished and that many items are described as old; unhappily, the inventory omits any personal belongings and any valuation so it was not compiled for probate purposes. It is not possible to relate the inventory to the plan opposite p. 92 of Hope's book and any attempt in that direction would be conjectural. The Montagus had suffered much as Roman Catholics and in the Royal cause during the Civil Wars;¹ those facts may account for the perhaps unexpected inferiority of some of the mansion's contents, but attention must be drawn, however, to the types of hangings and especially to the quantities of gilt leather. The Turkey work upholstery,² the Spanish (i.e. mahogany) furniture, enamelled brass andirons and steel andirons with wreathed decoration, and a billiard table, are among the more important items. There were paintings on the wainscot but as only two of the few paintings are named we must rely on W.S.R.O. Cowdray MS. 93, and the catalogue of the Cowdray pictures printed in 1777 (reproduced in Hope, pp. 59-63) for information on this aspect of the furnishings. The wide variety of domestic utensils in the kitchen, stillroom and similar chambers is worth noticing. The extent of the linen and the relatively small amount of silver plate are what one would expect for the size of the house and the troublous times which it and its owners had experienced; the linen was obviously checked on at least two subsequent occasions because there are checking notes in the margin and later notes following some of the items. Of the eleven stags standing on pedestals in the great hall, some are shown in S. H. Grimm's coloured drawing done in 1782.³ As the house seems to have had only one portable clock, the residents were probably mainly dependant on that on the inner and outer faces of the court gatehouse which is shown in other Grimm drawings.⁴

Some of the persons whose names are associated with rooms listed in the inventory may be identified:—

¹ Hope, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 25.

² A coloured plate of a chair covered with 'Turkey work' forms the frontispiece to Francis W. Steer, *Farm and Cottage Inventories of Mid-Essex, 1635-1749* (1950).

³ Reproduced in Hope (Plate XXVII), Roundell (Frontispiece), and in *Sussex Views selected from the Burrell Collections* (Sussex Record Society, 1951), Plate III; the latter book contains reproductions of other drawings of Cowdray (Plates 110, 112, 113).

⁴ Reproduced in Hope (Fig. 1, Plates VIII, IX and XX), Roundell (*opp.* pp. 28, 111, 131) and A. A. Dibben, *The Cowdray Archives* (Part I, 1960), Plate V.

Mr. Adames: probably Paul Adames, witness to a deed, 28 July 1651 (MS. 86)¹ and the accountant of household accounts, 1685-1686 (MSS. 94, 95).

Catherine Browne: presumably Katharine Browne, sister of 3rd Viscount Montagu; she married William Tyrwhitt of Kettleby.

Francis Cumplin: witness to a lease, 8 March 1684/5 (MSS. 4481, 4482).

Mrs. Huds[h]on: not identified.

Mr. Lucas: probably William Lucas, described as gent. and servant of the 3rd Viscount in 1641 (MS. 27), as gent. and overseer of the will, 27 July 1642, of John Edmonds (MS. 4476), writer of a letter to Goodwife Complin in 165- (MS. 5128), and witness to leases, 1651, 1654 (MSS. 86, 4477).

Mrs. Moor: not identified.

Mr. Morrisson: probably John Morison, witness to a lease, 21 Jan. 1680/1 (MS. 92); John Morrison described as a gardener, 1683 (MS. 4480), was presumably father of Thomas Morrison, party in a suit, *Rex v. Morrison*, 1722 (MS. 4776) and *may* have been the joint compiler of the inventory.

Lady Teynham: see under Lord Teynham.

Lord Teynham: Christopher (Roper), 5th Baron Teynham, married Elizabeth, daughter of Francis, 3rd Viscount Montagu. See *The Complete Peerage*, vol. 12 (part 1), pp. 682, 683.

Mr. Throckmorton: probably a member of the eminent Roman Catholic family of Throckmorton or Throgmorton.

Nicholas Tournier: probably steward of the household in 1685 (MS. 94); third son of John Tournier, gent. (MS. 4486); witness to deeds in 1651 (MS. 86), 1677 (MS. 88), 1680/1 (MS. 92), 1683 (MS. 4480) and 1702/3 (MS. 32).

Miss Younge: may be Anne Young who witnessed the will of Gilbert Hannam in 1674 (MSS. 89, 90).

The original spelling of the document has been retained, but the use of capital letters has been regularized and a very limited amount of punctuation inserted. Most of the items in the inventory present few problems of identification if it is accepted that much of the spelling is phonetical; a few definitions of the less common words are given in a glossary at the end of the transcript.

fo. 1 AN INVENTORY of the goods & chattells, and household stuff remaineing and being in and about Cowdrey house at the time of the Decease of the Right Hon^{ble}: Francis Lord Viscount Mountagu taken the last day of October: 1682.

¹ All such references to the Cowdray MSS. in the West Sussex Record Office.

Imprimis

IN THE GREAT HALL

One long shuffle board table, with benches on either side fixed to the wall, and round about the great bay window there wainscotted and hanged about with printed callico hangings, with eleven staggs standing upon pedestalls.

IN THE WINTER PARLOUR

One ovall table, two Spanish tables, three Turkeywork carpets, eighteen bach chaires of Turkey work, thirteen stooles of the same, one armeing cane chair, fire shovell, tongs, and a paire of doggs.

IN THE PASSAGE GOEING UP THE GREAT STAIRES

One Spanish table, and one round folding table.

IN THE WITHDRAWING ROOM NEXT TO THE PARLOUR

Two Spanish tables with carpetts to them, eighteen guilt leather chaires, stuf hangings with guilt leather sticks, tongs, brass andirons, & a paire of small doggs.

IN THE GUILT LEATHER ROOM

Hangings all round of flowered guilt leather, eighteen chaires of the same, two paire of brass andirons enamelled, with tongs, fire shovell, & snufers suteable, & a paire of doggs, table & stands of ordinary wood, one looking glass with a black frame, & supporters enamelled, 9 chinae potts.

IN THE MUSICK ROOM

Six armed chaires of flowered stuf covered wth red bayes, six small chaires with a couch of ye same, table & stands, with one paire of small brass andirons, one paire of tongs, & one paire of little doggs.
fo. 1v.

IN THE BACK BAY WINDOW CHAMBER

One bedstead, one featherbed, bolster, pillow, three blanketts, one old green rugg, counterpane, teaster, [*torn away ?*&] curtaines of figured drugitt, four stooles, one armeing chaire, two small chaires & window curtaines of the same, tongs, fire shovell, & doggs, one Spanish table with a carpet of the same stuf, one little table with a square frame.

IN THE FORE BAY WINDOW CHAMBER

One feather bed, bedstead, bolster, pillow, three blanketts & a green rugg, with old curtaines, valens & teaster, one armeing chaire, two stooles, one paire of cast andirons, three curtaine rods to the window.

IN THE FOOTMENS ROOM

One halfe headed bedstead, one flockbed & bolster, two blanketts, and a gray rugg, one Spanish table, & one old stoole.

IN MR KEITHS CHAMBER

One bedstead, one feather bed and bolster, two blanketts, & one green rugg, with curtaines & valens of old green stuf, one table with a red carpet, two old chaires, bellows, fire shovell, tongs, & doggs, one old chest of deall.

IN MY LORDS CHAMBER

One bedstead, two bed matts, a canvas quilt, curtaines valens, &

teaster of green sarge laced with green & yellow lace, one armeing chaire, another chaire & two stooles suteable, one armeing chaire of red velvett, one red foot stoole, one old purple coulloured couch, two tables with carpetts, three blanketts, & a bolster, and a green counterpane, one folding bed with a feather bed, and two blanketts in it.

IN THE CORNER DINEING ROOM

One Spanish oval table, one round folding table, one square Spanish table, twelve chaires, two couches of green sarge, window curtaines of the same (two Turky work stooles belonging to the winter parlour), tongs, fire shovell & doggs, one paire of bellowes.

fo. 2

IN THE NEXT ROOM TO IT

Two old armeing chaires, and six other chaires of green cloath, one old fashion cubbard table, one paire of doggs, one Spanish table, and a gray sarge carpet.

IN THE PORTER'S LODGE

One halfe headed bedstead, featherbed & bolster, two blanketts, & a coverlead, one old table, two old stooles, & a chaire, one paire of cast andirons, wth fire shovell tongs & bellowes.

IN M^{IS} YOUNG'S CHAMBER

One bedstead, one featherbed, two bolsters, two pillowes, four blanketts, one coverlead, and a counter pane, curtaines & valens of old striped stuf, one cubbard-press of deale, two chaires & three stooles of severall sorts.

IN M^{IS} CATHERINE BROWNES CHAMBER

One bedstead, featherbed, bolster, & two holland quilts, three blanketts, curtaines, double valens, & teaster, of worsted camlot, lined with cherry coulloured sarsnet, with a counter pane suteable, six chaires, & two stooles, suteable, two tables with carpetts of the same stuf, one paire of brass andirons, fire shovell, tongs, doggs, & bellowes, one paire of stands, four peices of tapistry hangings, four window curtaines & rodde, one looking glass.

IN THE NEXT LITTLE ROOM

One halfe headed bedstead, a matt, & a press for cloathes, & a little table.

IN THE LOWER SOUTH CORNER CHAMBER

One bedstead, one feather bed, bolster & pillow, one bed-matt, two blanketts, & one old rugg, valens & teaster imbrodered, curtaines & counterpane of white & yellow stuf, two tables, one old armeing chaire, fire shovel tongs, bellowes & doggs, one joint stoole.

IN THE DARY

Five long formes to sett trayes on, four shelves, one great side board, & two tables.

IN THE OUTER DARY

One side board table, two other tables, one forme, six milking bucketts, one brass kettle, two runing tubbs, one cheese press with

a little table by it, one high tubb to make butter in, six trayes for milk, four vates and hoops.

fo. 2v.

THE ROOM WITHIN THE EATING HALL

One table with a drawer to it, twelve Turkey leather [*sic* ? chaires omitted], eight folding stools of the same, one leather carpet, one great paire of cast andirons, one paire of tongs.

IN THE INNER ROOM TO IT

One folding table with a carpet of tapistry, one Spanish table, twelve Turkey leather chaires.

IN THE EATING HALL

Two long standing tables with benches fixed behind them, four formes, three chaires, and a little side-table, two high andirons, fire shovell, tongs, and an iron forke, one paire of bellows.

IN THE WETT LARDER

One great salting trough, one stone trough, three powdering tubbs, one tubb, & two kevers, two great trayes, one great dresser, & two dressers fixed, one iron beame, with scales, & eight iron chaines belonging to them, one planke forme, & a chopping block.

IN THE OUTTER PANTRY

One table with a frame, one forme, one bench, one cast andiron & a cesterne leaded.

IN THE INNER PANTRY

Two binnes, six cubbards with locks and keyes, one glass case, one press for linnen, two chests, two leather chaires, four shelves, one old paire of playing-tables, one great copper cesterne wth rings & feet, one pewter cesterne, two paire of port assiettes, three dozen of brass candlesticks with sockets to them of severall fashions.

IN THE SMALL BEER CELLAR & WINE CELLAR

Forty three hoggsheads for beer and cyder, five stands to sett hoggs heads upon, three drapping tubbs, a great cesterne leaded, eight ale vessells, one great cyder tun.

IN THE KITCHIN

Twelve dozen of plates, six sawcers, two large pewter dishes, ten of a lesser size, five of a lesser size, seven port assiette dishes, six massareen dishes, four other little dishes, three old dishes, two long copper pannes

fo. 3

with covers to boyle fish in, one large pewter pasty plate, & two pewter pye plates, two brass cullenders, and one tinn cullender, nine brass sawce pannes, two skellets, three porrige pots with covers, two possenets of brass with covers, four brass patty pans, five stew pannes, two brass fish pannes, two stew-pannes with covers, two brass kettles, four brass-skimmers, two brass ladles, and three brass spoones, one great jack, seven spitts, two iron dripping pans, two great racks, one iron to guide the spitts with, three frying pans, two little iron trevetts, one great iron trevett,

one copper chaffing dish, two other iron chaffing dishes, one large brass panne to boyle lye in, fourteen brass tarte pannes, sixteen petty patty-pans, one great iron peelee, one beef furnace, one great iron range, firehovell & tonges, one iron fender, two grid-irons, one iron pestle & mortar, one little cleaver & a chopping knife, one old broaken cast iron furnace, two small bird spitts, two water buckets, & a piggin, three trayes, two rencing kevers, one iron beef-fork, two joint stooles, & one chaire, a wooden skreen to sett before the meat, one tinn dredger, one tinn grater, three great dressers, & one dresser to sett pewter on.

IN THE PASTRY

A flower tubb, & in the room over it, a table, three joint stooles, & two cubbards.

IN THE SPICERY

Eleven great pewter dishes with six massareens to them, eleven large dishes of the next size, twelve sallet or port assiette dishes, eight little dishes & mazareens past use, six dozen of new trencher plates never used, six new sawcers, never used, six brass skonces, one dozen of old tin skonces, one new pewter flaggon never used, two old pewter flaggons past use, one old pewter bedpane, one old tinn pasty pane, a nest of drawers for spice,

fo. 3v.

and an old table, one old tinn grater, two wooden guilt skonces, one new brass chaffing dish never used, a tinn panne wth a cover to carrie a pye in.

IN M^r ADAMES CHAMBER

One halfe headed bedstead with a canopy, one feather-bed, and quilt, one bolster & pillow, three blanketts, & one rugg, one table, one leather chaire, & one joint stoole.

IN M^r NICHOLAS TOURNERS CHAMBER

One halfe headed bedstead, with a canopy & curtaines of dark coullored printed paragon, a matt, a feather bed, bolster & pillow, two blanketts, & a sad coullored rugg, one little table with three green matted chaires, & one middle sized deall press, one great table, one leather chaire, one red sarge chaire, tw[o] red sarge stooles, one joint stoole, one red carpett of calves skin, one paire of cast andirons, fire hovell, tonges, and bellowes, one map of England four sheets.

IN THE GREAT DINEING ROOM

Four peices of Turkey work hangings, two armeing chaires of crimson velvett, & two dozen chaires of the same covered with red bayes, one table & stands of walnutt, one great paire of brass andirons of open work, & one paire of little ones, with firehovell, tonges, bellowes, & two hookes for the forke & tonges, two paire of white dimithy curtaines with rodde, one paire of iron doggs.

IN THE GREAT WITHDRAWING ROOM

Seven peices of hangings Turkey work, fourteen armeing chaires

& six other chaires of blew damaske covered with blew bayes, one table and stands of inlaid work, one large looking glass with a black frame, one large Italian cabinet standing upon a black frame, two paire of brass andirons enamelled, with fire shovell, tongs, bellows, & hookes of the same, one paire of iron doggs, one paire of white dimithy curtains with a rodd.

fo. 4 IN THE LITTLE ROOM NEXT MY LADY'S OLD CHAMBER

One bedstead, a bed matte, featherbed, & bolster, three blanketts, a red rugg, two pillowes, a counter pane, curtaines, & valens, of a dark coullored worsted stuf, one table, one red chaire, four folding Turkey leather stooles, one old sarge window curtaine and rodd.

IN MY LADY'S OLD CHAMBER

One bedstead, one strawbed, one featherbed, & bolster, one quilt, one pillow, two blanketts, one painted quilted caleco counterpane, curtaines & valens of cloath imbrodered & lined with clouded sattin, with teaster & counterpane of the same of the lining, six peices of Turkey work hangings, with a foot carpet of Turkey work, two tables, and one paire of stands, one plaine looking glass, two armeing chaires, six stooles, two table carpetts all suteable to the bed, one paire of large brass andirons, with fireshovell, tongs, & hookes of the same, one paire of iron doggs, one paire of callico curtaines with a rodd.

IN THE ROOM BELONGING TO THE BLEW CHAMBER

One bedstead, matt, featherbed, & bolster, three blanketts, one red rugg, two pillowes, curtaines, teaster, & carpet, of a sad coullored paragon, one table, one chaire, & one stoole of sad coullored sarge, one paire of old sarge window curtaines, and a rodd.

IN THE BLEW CHAMBER

One bedstead, a strawbed, a featherbed, & bolster, three pillowes, one quilt, three blanketts, a quilted counterpane of painted caleco, curtaines, & valens of gray cloath lined with sky coullored sarsnet, counterpane, & teaster of the same sarsnet, a large looking glass, two tables with a paire of stands, two armeing chaires, four other chaires, six stooles, & a carpet all of the same cloath, four peices of Turkey work hangings, & a Turkey work foot carpet, one paire of white dimithy curtains & a rodd, two paire of wreathed steele andirons, with tongs, fire shovell, hookes, & bellows suteable, one paire of iron doggs.

f. 4v.

IN THE GREAT GALLERY¹

One billiard table, thirteen pictures with guilt frames of severall sorts of persons,² two tables of philosophy with guilt borders round

¹ A later pencil note refers to this as the North Gallery.

² In the inventory in the West Sussex Record Office (Cowdray MS. 93), ten of these thirteen pictures are described as William the Conqueror; Sir Anthony Browne, K.G.; Anthony, 1st Viscount Montagu and Anthony Browne his son; Anthony 2nd Viscount; Francis, 3rd Viscount and Francis Browne his son; 'a picture of two twens Browns'; 'an antient picture of one of the Brownes'; 'Henry Arundell lord warder' [Wardour].

them, three other pictures with black frames,¹ two guilt armes for skonces, one large peice of painting on wainscott, representing severall battells,² one folding bed.

IN THE GALLERY CHAMBER

One bedstead, a strawbed, a featherbed, and bolster, two quilts, two blanketts, curtaines & valens of sad coullored sarge lined with painted caleco, & a counterpane & teaster of y^e same caleco, one table & stands, two armeing chaires, four other chaires, four stooles, & a carpet, all suteable to the bed, one paire of window curtaines of sad coullored sarge & a rod, one looking glass, one paire of brass andirons, with fire shovell & tongs, of the same, one paire of iron doggs, five peices of tapistry hangings.

THE LITTLE GALLERY CHAMBER

A bedstead, a matt, a featherbed, bolster, & quilt, three blanketts, a green rugg, curtaines of red bayes, one table with an old imbrodered carpet, two leather chaires, one paire of cast andirons, tongs, & fireshovel, a peice of old tapistry hangings over the dore.

IN M^{IS} HUDSHON'S CHAMBER

A bedstead, a matt, a feather bed, bolster, & pillow, three blanketts, a sad coullored rugg, curtaines of sad coullored sarge, four chaires, three stooles of a sad coullored stuf, one table & stands, one old red window curtaine, & rodd, a paire of iron doggs, tongs, fire shovell, & bellowes.

IN THE NEXT ROOM

One old large press, one old table with a drawer.

IN M^R THROCKMORTON'S CHAMBER

A bedstead, a strawbed, featherbed, bolster and pillow, two blanketts, & a green rugg, & old green curtaines to the bed, two tables, one red armeing chaire, & three old Turkey work stooles, a paire of cast andirons, tongs, and fire shovell.

fo. 5

IN MY LORD TEYNHAMS DRESSING ROOM

Seven peices of Turkey worky [*sic*] hangings, twenty chaires suteable, one table & stands of walnutt, one Spanish table, one paire of dimithy window curtaines, and a rodd, one large gilded skonce of wood, one paire of large brass andirons, fire shovell, & tongs suteable, one paire of doggs.

IN THE UPPER SOUTH TOWER CHAMBER

One bedstead, strawbed, two quilts, bolster, & pillow, two blanketts, curtaines, valens, counterpane, & teaster all of gray camlot, one armeing chaire, six other chaires, five stooles, & one carpet of the same camlot, two tables, & a paire of stands, one small looking

¹ In Cowdray MS. 93, these are called 'Three pictures of Severall out landish princes.'

² A pencil note describes this as the Battle of Pavia (see St. John Hope, *Cowdray and Easebourne Priory*, pp. 44, 46, 61); Cowdray MS. 93 merely describes it as 'One greate picture of a battell.'

glass, six peices of Turkey work hangings, one paire of sarge window curtaines with a rodd, one paire of middleing brass andirons, with tongs & fireshovell suteable, one paire of iron doggs, the room all matted.

IN THE LITTLE ROOM BELONGING TO THE AFORES^d. CHAMBER

One halfe headed bedstead, bedmatt, feather bedd, bolster, & one pillow, two blanketts, one red rugg, one red stoole, one side table, one old sarge window curtaine wth a rodd.

IN THE UPPER GATEHOUSE CHAMBER

One bedstead, bedmatt, feather bed, & bolster, two blankets, curtaines, valens, teaster & counterpane all of green sarge laced with green lace, one armeing chaire, one other chaire, & two stooles suteable to the bed, four peices of Turkey work hangings old, one table, one paire of cast andirons.

IN THE UPPER NORTH TOWER CHAMBER

One bedstead, a strawbed, one featherbed, & bolster, one quilt, one blankett, curtaines & valens of gray camlot, lined with Issabella sarsnet, with counterpane and teaster of the same, two armeing chaires, three other chaires, three stooles with a carpet suteable to the bed, six peices of old Turkey work hangings, two paire of window curtaines, Viz^t. one paire of red bayes, the other paire of sarge, with two rodts, one table, one paire of small brass andirons, tongs and fire shovell suteable, one paire of iron doggs.
fo. 5v.

IN THE LITTLE ROOM BELONGING TO IT

One bedstead, one bedmatt, curtaines, valens & a counterpane of old dark coullored sarge.

IN THE FIRST CHAMBER IN THE GALLERY CALLED RASKALLS ROW

One halfe headed bedstead, with an old canopy, bedmatt, featherbed, bolster, & pillow, three blanketts, one old counterpane, one joint stoole, one table, one old chaire.

IN THE NEXT ROOM TO IT

One halfe headed bedstead, bedmatt, two feather beds, one bolster, two blanketts, one old sad coulloured rugg, one table.

IN THE NEXT ROOM TO IT

One folding bedstead, a flock bed, a feather bolster, one blankett, one coverlead, one table, & an old chaire.

IN M^r FRANCIS CUMPLINS CHAMBER

One bedstead, bedmatt, feather bed, bolster, one pillow, three blanketts, one green rugg, curtaines & counterpane of blew bayes, two tables, two old Turkey work chaires & one stoole with a carpet of the same, a leather carpett, three window curtaines of linsey-woolsey, with rodts, one paire of doggs, fire shovell, and tongs, one large press for cloathes, two green chaires of sedge with green cushions.

IN THE EVIDENCE CHAMBER

Two tables, one red chaire, & one red stoole, two old green curtaines, a press with nine cubbards, a paire of iron doggs.

IN THE NEXT ROOM TO MR CUMPLINS

One bedstead & matt, one flockbed, one Spanish table, and a forme.

IN THE NEXT ROOM

One halfe headed bedstead with canopy & curtaines of dark couloured bayes, a bedmatt, a featherbed, & bolster, three blanketts, a coverlead, two tables & one old wooden chaire.

fo. 6

IN MY LADYES ANTI CHAMBER

One little black table & a paire of stands, two couches, one paire of large brass andirons, one paire of little ones, with tongs & fire shovell of the same, one paire of dimithy curtaines with a rod, one joint stoole.

IN THE CLOSETT BY MY LADY'S CHAMBER DOOR

One small cabinet, two little stooles covered wth red bayes, & one joint stoole.

IN MY LADY'S CHAMBER

One large bedstead, one straw bed, two quilts, one bolster, two blanketts, curtaines, valens, teaster, & counterpane of crimson couloured flowered damask, with a housse of printed paragon of the same coullor, two tables, & one paire of stands wth covers to them of the same of the housse, four armeing chaires, eight other chaires, & two stooles all of flowered damask, one large looking glass with a black frame, a skreen of the same damask, four peices of Turkey work hangings, two paire of plaine steele andirons, fire shovell, tongs, & hookes of the same, one paire of iron doggs, a foot matt under the bed, one flowered damask bolster the same of the bed, one clock going with a spring.

IN THE LITTLE CLOSET WITHIN MY LADY'S CHAMBER

One feather bed, three blanketts, one bolster, two pillowes.

IN MY LADY'S GALLERY

The hangings of dark couloured sarge, six couches of needle work covered with red bayes, nineteene pictures of severall sorts with guilt frames, and four with black frames.

IN THE CALLECO CHAMBER

One bedstead, strawbed, featherbed, & bolster, two quilts, three blanketts, with curtaines, valens, teaster & counterpane of painted calco, with a housse of red bayes, one little table & stands of ordinary wood, four armeing chaires, six other chaires, four stooles, hangings, window curtaines & carpet of same callico, one paire of brass andirons, tongs, fire shovell, & hooks of y^e same, one paire iron doggs, one small looking glass.

fo. 6v.

IN THE LITTLE ROOM WITHIN THE CALECO CHAMBER

One halfe headed bedstead, with a canopy, bedmatt, feather bed, bolster, two pillowes, & one blankett with a counterpane, hangings,

carpet, & window curtaines of Kiddermister stuf, one table, one chair, one joint stoole.

IN THE GREEN CHAMBER

One bedstead, featherbed, two quilts, three blankets, one bolster, a painted callico quilted counterpane, one foot carpet, curtaines, counterpane, teaster &c: of a browne flowered damask, with a housse of printed paragon of ye same coullor, one black table with stands, one large looking glass wth a black frame, & supporters to the glass, four armeing chaires, & four other chaires of cane, four peices of Turkey work hangings, two paire of white dimithy window-curtaines with rodde, two paire of wreathed andirons, fine shovell, tongs & hookes of steele, one paire of iron doggs, one little dressing table, the chamber is all matted, eight cushions the same of the bed.

IN THE LITTLE ROOM BELONGING TO THE GREEN CHAMBER

One bedstead, matt, featherbed, bolster, three blanketts, one green rugg, with curtaines & teaster of Kiddermister stuf, two stooles, & a chaire of Turkey work, one table with a carpet the same of the bed.

IN THE GATEHOUSE CHAMBER

One bedstead, strawbed, one featherbed & bolster, three blanketts, with a painted callico quilted counterpane, curtaines & valens of cloath, lined wth lemmon coullored sarsnet, with a counterpane and teaster of the same, four peices of Turkey work hangings, & one Turkey work foot cloath, two tables, one paire of stands, one cloath carpet, two armeing chaires, six other chaires, four stooles, all of the same cloath, one small old-fashioned looking glass, one paire of white dimithy curtaines with one rod, two paire of cast brass andirons, with fire shovell, tongs, bellows, & hookes of the same, one paire of iron doggs.

fo. 7

IN THE NEXT ROOM TO IT

Nothing but a great deall of old lumber, and a few history bookes in Lattin & Spanish.

IN THE ROOM NEXT WITHOUT THE DOOR OF S^r FRANCIS HIS GALLERY

Nothing but a new press of deall for cloathes, and an old sideboard table.

IN THE STILL HOUSE

Two cold stills of pewter, a great stove to dry sweatmeats in, one large table, & a forme, a little cubbard standing upon a long dresser fixed to the wall, one armeing chaire, & two little chaires with flagg bottomes, one joint stoole, two stone mortars, & two pestles, two copper pannes to boyle sweetmeats in, one brasse panne for the same use, one copper pott to boyle broath in, two great skellets, & two little ones, one copper pott to boyle diet drink in, two paire of brass scales, fire shovell, tongs, bellows, & one cast andiron, five tinn pannes to bake biskitt in, one tinne tunnell, one grater, one pewter pint pott, two tinn hoopess to bake cake in, a brass ladle, a pewter limbeck for distilling, thirty sives for drying of sweetmeats,

one silver bason, one large silver cup with a cover to it, one silver porringer wth a cover to it, another silver porringer guilt with a cover to it, three silver spoones, a wooden peelee, a basket to carrye cake [a pye, *deleted*] in, three haire strainers, a small iron tresle.

IN THE ALE BREW HOUSE

One brewing furnace, one brewing vatte, two deep tubbs, seven cooling kevers, one great trough to pound apples in, a cyder press with two iron barrs, one long wooden spoute to carrye water.

IN THE OTTERMANS CHAMBER

Two bedsteads, two bed matts, two flockbeds, two flock bolsters, one feather bolster, two blanketts, one yellow rugg, one coverlead, one sideboard, one joint stoole, & one old wooden armeing chaire.

fo. 7v.

IN THE WASH HOUSE

A copper to boyle linnen in, two bucking tubbs, three washing tubbs, one dresser fast to the wall, one moveing dresser, one long narrow table, one press to press linnen.

IN THE LANDRY

Three tables to smooth linnen upon, one long dresser to fold cloathes on, one cubbard, one deall press, one leather chaire, one joint stoole, one paire of cast andirons, firehovell, tongs, & bellowes, eight smoothing irons.

IN THE ROOM OVER THE LANDRY

Two halfe-headed besteads [*sic*], two matts, two feather beds, two feather bolsters, five old blanketts, two old green ruggs, one yellow blankett, four pillowes, one table, one forme.

IN THE UPPER ROOM OVER THE LANDRY

One halfe headed bedstead, three tables standing upon trestles to lay cheese on.

IN THE BAKE HOUSE

One table, one dresser board, one flower tubb, one great baking keever, two little ones, a bushell measure, a great iron peelee, a fire hovell & a raker, one skellet.

IN M^R MORRISSONS CHAMBER IN Y^E GARDEN

One halfe headed bedstead, bed matt, featherbed, bolster, & pillow, one coverlead, one table, & a nest of drawers, one paire of cast andirons, fire shovell, tongs, and bellowes.

IN THE NEXT ROOM

One small flockbed, & bolster, two coverleads, and two odd chests.

IN THE FRUIT CHAMBER

Benches round to lay fruit on, two joint stooles.

IN THE BANQUETTING HOUSE IN THE GARDEN

The hangings of green printed paragon, & guilt leather, twelve armeing chaires with cane backs and bottomes.

fo. 8

IN MY LADY TEYNHAM'S OLD CHAMBER

One great bedstead, bedmatt, featherbed, & bolster, one blankett,

curtaines, valens, teaster, & counterpane, all of green cloath laced with green lace, the curtaines lined with green sarsnet, a Turkey work foot carpet, a peice of old tapistry over the door, two armeing chaires, four other chaires, six stooles, with two carpetts all suteable to the bed, two tables, & one paire of stands, one paire of middleing brass andirons, firehovell & tongs suteable, one paire of iron doggs.

IN M^{IS} MOOR'S CHAMBER

One bedstead, one matt, one featherbed, & bolster, one quilt, a pillow, three blanketts, & a sad coulloured rugg, one white quilted blankett, curtaines & teaster of a sad coulloured sarge, two tables wth drawers, two chaires, two stooles, one paire of doggs, tongs, fire shovell, & bellows, a great cubbard covered with leather, two old red curtaines with rodts, one hanging shelve.

IN THE WARDE ROBE

Three foot carpetts of Turkey work belonging to my Lady's chamber, twenty eight peices of Turkey work hangings new and old, two quilts, a bedstead with all things belonging to my Lady's bed that came from London, two straw beds, one bolster, ten blanketts, three pillowes, curtaines & valens of cloath lined with green tabby, with a quilted counterpane of green taby, two leather carpetts, two green curtaines, one imbrodered old counterpane, two old curtaines of Kiddermister, three sadd coulloured sarge curtaines lined with painted caleco, with a balk of the same, and a teaster of canvas lined with ash coulloured sarsnett, one peice of painted callico hangings, four great red bayes curtaines, with two carpetts, & five small peices of the same bayes, one old green sarge carpett laced, a long peice of red buckorum, one guilt leather skinn, one skreen of red bayes with five leaves, & another skreen of sad coulloured

fo. 8v.

sarge with five leaves, a peice of mazareen blew printed paragon, never used, a peice of new red and green stof figured that was never used, two dozen of chaires of a light gray camlot, & one dozen of stooles of the same camlot, three leather carpets suteable to the coullor of the chaires, two armeing chaires of a mixed camlot, with six other chaires of the same camlot, two armeing chaires, two other chaires, and eight stooles all of them gray cloath, the frames being black, four bedsteads with curtaine rodts to them, two paire of large brass andirons, & one paire of little ones, three great peices of Portugall matt, two great guilt skonces of wood, fifteen peices being covers for chaires of painted caleco, with a carpet of the same, another large peice of the same callico, with a peice of new stof rowled up, & all put up in deall box, one very large chest, three large tables, one couch not covered, one paire of large cast andirons, one forme, one flockbed and bolster, another new bedstead.

IN THE INNER WARDEROBE

Two old chests, one paire of cast andirons, an old flock bed, & the wooden mould to cast my Lords armes in.

IN THE HOUSE KEEPERS CHAMBER OVER YE KITCHEN

One bedstead, one matt, one featherbed, one bolster, one pillow, one blankett, & a yellow rugg, the teaster and curtaines of the bed, all of striped Kiddermister, two old yellow sarge curtaines with rodds before the door, a stove press to keep sweetmeats in, a large press to put fowle linnen in, another large new press of deall to keep sweetmeats in, one deall table wth two drawers, another little deall table, a paire andirons, with fire shovell, tongs & bellowes, a great square table in the middle of the chamber, a little old green cloath stoole, three flagg bottomed chaires, three great old strong trunks to keep linnen in, with two old Turkey work carpetts on them, two little old trunks

fo. 9

with a mixed stof carpet on one of them, one very large chest to keep linnen in, two large deall boxes to keep linnen in, three great bow potts of ordinary purslane, four small flower potts of the same purslane, four shelves fixed to the wall.

IN THE HOUSE MAIDS CHAMBER

One halfe headed bedstead, with a canopy, curtaines & valens of striped Kiddermister, one matt, featherbed, bolster, and pillow, four blanketts, & a coverlead, two tables, whereof one with a drawer, & a sideboard, one old Turkey work chaire, one old red velvett stoole, one joint stoole, a paire of old andirons, fire shovell, tongs, & bellowes.

IN THE CHAMBER OVER AGAINST IT

One bedstead, matt, featherbed, quilt & bolster, three blanketts, one green rugg, with counterpane, curtaines valens & teaster all of blew sarge, two armeing chaires, four stooles, & a carpet all of the same sarge, two tables, one leather stoole, one sute of old tapistry hangings round the room, one paire of iron doggs, fire shovell, tongs, and bellowes.

IN THE CLOSETT IN THE SAME CHAMBER

One large old table, & one old red armeing chaire.

IN THE TURNEING ROOM

Nothing but old lumber, & a great old oaken trunk all plated with iron.

IN THE PASSAGE BETWEEN THE TURNEING ROOM & THE UPPER FOUNTAINE CHAMBER

One large old table.

IN THE UPPER FOUNTAINE CHAMBER

One bedstead & matt, with teaster, curtaines and counterpane all of striped Kiddermister, one sute of hangings round the room with a window curtaine of the same sort & a rodd, one old red sattin

armeing chaire imbrodered, one side board table, one paire of iron doggs, one large press fixed to the wall.

fo. 9v. IN THE NEXT ROOM TO THE UPPER FOUNTAINE CHAMBER

One bedstead, matt, feather bed, & bolster, two blanketts, the bed hanged with red bayes curtaines, two red cloath chaires, and two leather stooles, one paire of cast andirons with a fireshovell.

IN THE NEXT CHAMBER ON THE RIGHT HAND IN ST FRANCIS HIS GALLERY

One bedstead, straw bed, flock bed, bolster, & pillow, three blanketts, a coverlead, two old chaires, one great old table, one paire of cast andirons.

IN MR LUCAS'ES CHAMBER

One featherbed, bedstead, feather bolster, flock bolster, pillow, three blanketts, & a green rugg, old say curtaines & valens, two green window curtaines & rodde, with a carpet all of linsey woolesey, one old green cushion, two old armeing chaires, one old red stoole, & a leather stoole, two large old tables, one great oaken chest, one paire of cast andirons, with fire shovell, tongs, and bellowes.

IN THE CHAMBER OVER AGAINST MR LUCAS'ES CHAMBER

One bedstead, matt, featherbed, bolster, & pillow, three blanketts, one red rugg, with curtaines, valens, & teaster of sad coullored paragon, the hangings round the room of Kiddermister, two tables with drawers, & two gray cloath carpetts, one armeing chaire imbrodered with gold, one red stoll, two red chaires, one paire iron doggs, fireshovell, tongs, & bellowes, one looking glass with a black frame, one windowe curtaine of the same of the hangings, with a rodd, & window shutters of deall.

IN THE CLOSET IN THE SAME CHAMBER

One side board table with two drawers, one red armeing chaire, one carpet & two window curtaines of sad coullored sarge, with rodde to them.

IN THE ROOM OVER AGAINST THE PRIVY HOUSE

One halfe headed bedstead, with an old imbrodered canopy, one matt, feather bed, bolster & pillow, three blanketts, two coverleads, one old armeing chaire, one paire of cast andirons.

fo. 10

LINNEN BELONGING TO COWDREY HOUSE

Twenty dozen of holland diaper napkins [*in another hand* 1 doz. $\frac{1}{2}$ wanting].

Forty six holland diaper table cloathes.

Twelve dozen French diaper napkins.

Thirteene French diaper table cloathes.

Twenty dozen flaxen napkins [*in another hand* 3 doz. wanting; *in a further hand* 22 doz.].

Fourteen paire of middleing holland sheets.

Twelve spitting sheets to that middleing holland.

Seven paire of the finest sort of holland sheets.

Six spitting sheets of the finest holland.

Thirteene paire of course holland sheets.
 Seven spitting sheets to the course holland sheets [*in another hand*
1 wanting].
 Sixty nine paire of flaxen & canvas sheets, whereof part of them are
 much worne.
 Fourteen new holland diaper table & sideboard cloathes.
 Twelve dozen new holland diaper napkins.
 Six new holland diaper towells.
 Five dozen & a halfe of new flaxen napkins.
 Six new flaxen towells.
 Four damask table cloathes.
 Six damask sideboard cloathes.
 Five dozen & ten [*altered in another hand from eleven*] damask
 napkins.
 Eight hall table cloathes.
 Eighteene fine holland pillowbeers.
 Two laced closestoole cloathes.
 Thirty pillow beers of a courser holland.
 Twenty one pillowbeers of the coursest sort.
 Thirteene diaper towells.
 Fourteen flaxen towells.
 Sixteene close stoole cloathes.
 Nine fustian blanketts [*in another hand 19*].
 Four flaxen sideboard cloathes.
 fo. 10v.
 Six close stoole boxes old & new, with pannes to them of pewter,
 four pewter chamber potts and two bedpannes.

SILVER PLATE BELONGING TO THE PANTRY

One large silver cupp wth a cover and a server.
 One great guilt tankard.
 One lesser guilt tankard.
 One bossed cup guilt with a cover to it.
 One silver tankard [*in another hand both deleted* disposed of by
 yo^r La^{pp}].
 One little silver cup with a handle [*in another hand* disposed of by
 yo^r La^{pp}].
 One great salt with three spriggs & four nozells to them [*in another*
hand All theis disposed of by my Lady.].
 Seven silver trencher salts [*in another hand* all disposed of by my
 Lady.].
 Twenty four silver spoones [*in another hand* 4 of theis disposed of
 wth other plate].
 Eighteene forkes.
 One great silver spoon guilt.

NEW PLATE NEVER USED

One great bason and ewer.
 One ladle for porridge.

Two paire of small silver candlesticks [*in another hand* & one silver warming pann].

IN MY LADY TENHAMS CLOSETT¹

One picture of Anthony Viscount Mountague my now Lords grandfather when he was a young man, another picture of Sr Anthony Browne tilting on horseback.

fo. 11

IN THE GARDEN

Four seats with backs standing in the fountaine garden, forty great flower potts with little ones fitted into them, two dozen of other potts, four dozen of mellon glasses, two tinne gouges, two watering potts, two garden rakes, three hoes, one long hooke, two short hookes, four sythes and sneads, one paire of sheers, one footing iron, one line and iron reele, three dung forkes, one spade, one bucket, two wheele barrows, three wooden rowlers, one haveing an iron frame, three stone rowlers with iron frames, one large wire sive, two ladders, one flasket, two other basketts [*altered from flasketts*], one turfeing iron, two square glass frames and a box to sow mellon and cowcumber seed in. [*In another hand*] Twelve paire of bowles, and two jacks, six bowle baggs, two hammers, one mallet and chisell, one iron frame without a rowler.

Wee whose names are here underwritten doe certifie that this is a true inventory of the goods in Cowdreie house.

James Keith
John Morison

fo. 11v. [blank]

fo. 12 [*In a hand different from that in which the inventory is written*]

PLATE DELIVERED AT COWDREY HOUSE UNDER M^{RS} WOOWARD THE HOUSEKEEPERS CHARG[E]

2 porringers with covers.

1 silver bason [*in another hand* Changd to a preserving pann.].

1 great cawdle cupp wth a cover.

3 silver spoones.

In pencil, also in a 17th century hand. One flocke bedd & bolster, two blanketts & a coverlidd & a halfe headed bedstead carried up to the stables for the carters by M^r Brownes order taken [*of deleted*] out of the ottermans chamber.

fo. 12v. [blank]

Paper cover. *On inside front, written in reverse in a hand different from that in which the inventory is written.*

IN YE PORTERS LODGE one Boulster

IN M^{RS} YOUNGES CHAMBER one Tirky worke chaire

¹ This line and the contents of this closet all written in another hand.

GLOSSARY

- Armeing chair*: an arm or elbow chair.
- Baize* (bayes): a coarse woollen material, having a long nap (*O.E.D.*).
- Balk*: perhaps 'bulk' in the sense of a framework.
- Bucking tub*: a wash tub.
- Camlet* (camlot): a fabric made of combinations of wool, silk, hair, and latterly cotton or linen (*O.E.D.*).
- Diet drink*: A drink prescribed and prepared for medicinal purposes (*O.E.D.*).
- Dimity* (dimithy): undyed stout cotton cloth, woven with raised stripes and fancy figures, used for beds and hangings (*O.E.D.*).
- Flagg bottomes*: rush seats for chairs.
- Gouges*: gauges.
- Haire strainers*: sieves with the bottoms made of hair, finely woven, used for straining liquids.
- House* (housse of printed paragon, or of red bayes): bed drapery, probably hanging from the tester; the term may also include an inner set of curtains.
- Issabella sarsnet* (Isabella sarsenet): silk material of a greyish yellow colour.
- Kever*: a cover; or, especially in Sussex, a shallow tub.
- Kiddermister stuf*: a kind of carpet (originally manufactured at Kidderminster in Worcestershire) in which the pattern is formed by the intersection of two cloths of different colours (*O.E.D.*).
- Mazarine* (massareen) dishes: deep plates, usually of metal.
- Paragon*: A kind of double camlet (q.v.) used for dress and upholstery in the 17th and early 18th centuries.
- Piggin*: usually a small wooden pail with one stave longer than the rest serving as a handle (*O.E.D.*).
- Porte-assiette*: a plate stand.
- Purslane*: a succulent herb used in salads, or as a pot-herb, or for pickling.
- Rencing kevers*: a shallow tub used for rinsing.
- Sad coloured*: of a dark or sober colour.
- Sarge*: serge.
- Sarsenet* (sarsnet): fine, soft silk material used chiefly for linings (*O.E.D.*).
- Spitting sheets*: *Diary . . . of Samuel Pepys*, ed. by Richard, Lord Braybrooke, vol. I (1924 ed.) p. 381: 21 Nov. 1662, 'To bed this night, having first put up a spitting-sheet, which I find very convenient.' A will of 1684, also quoted in *O.E.D.*, mentions 'One paire of spitting sheetes now used upon my bed.'
- Tabby* (taby): silk taffeta, originally striped, but afterwards of a uniform colour waved or watered (*O.E.D.*).
- Turkey work*: a woollen material worked on a loom in imitation of an Oriental carpet.

THE EXCAVATION OF A MOTTE AT LODSBRIDGE MILL, LODSWORTH

BY E. W. HOLDEN, F.S.A.

Summary. This report describes a small motte apparently built in the 13th century. After temporary occupation the top was heightened and a light palisade may have surrounded the motte top at that time. Impressions of crosstrees were found in the centre, presumably for some structure above. Finds favour, but do not prove convincingly, this as a windmill base c.1700. Alternatively, the crosstrees might represent the base of a small central tower or look-out platform put up in the 13th century.

INTRODUCTION

The excavations were undertaken for two weeks in 1964 by the Brighton and Hove Archaeological Society at the invitation of the owner, Mr. Evelyn de Rothschild, who afforded every facility for the work and generously bore the cost of the expense involved.

Topography (Fig. 1). The motte lies towards the southern end of Lodsworth parish on its western side, a few yards from the boundary with Selham parish. Geographically it is closer to Selham village which is $\frac{1}{4}$ mile south, whereas Lodsworth village is $\frac{1}{4}$ miles north. The National Grid Reference is SU 93372103: 6in. O.S. Map 22 SW. The site is midway between Petworth and Midhurst and 1 mile south of the main road joining the two towns. The mound is situated in the grounds of Lodsbridge Mill, once a watermill, now a private residence. The River Rother, which served the mill, flanks the north-west side some 50ft. below the top of the motte, where the river has cut down, leaving a wide stretch of alluvium westwards towards Midhurst. A small stream joins the Rother close to the south-west side of the motte. A narrow road bends around the east side of the motte to cross a small late-18th century bridge, Lods Bridge, 260 yards to the north-west. Northwards, the land rises gradually, and there are extensive views to Chanctonbury Ring in the east, westward to the Hampshire Downs, while the escarpment of the South Downs is 3 miles to the south.

Geology. The bedrock in the vicinity of Lodsbridge Mill is the Selham Ironshot Sands, a lenticular formation locally present in the Lower Greensand. These strongly cross-bedded ironstained sands consist of predominantly medium-grained quartz sand with a varying content of polished black limonitic grains and scattered pebbles up to $\frac{1}{4}$ in. across of vein quartz and 'lydites.' Ramifying veins and concretionary masses of iron pan of secondary origin are also

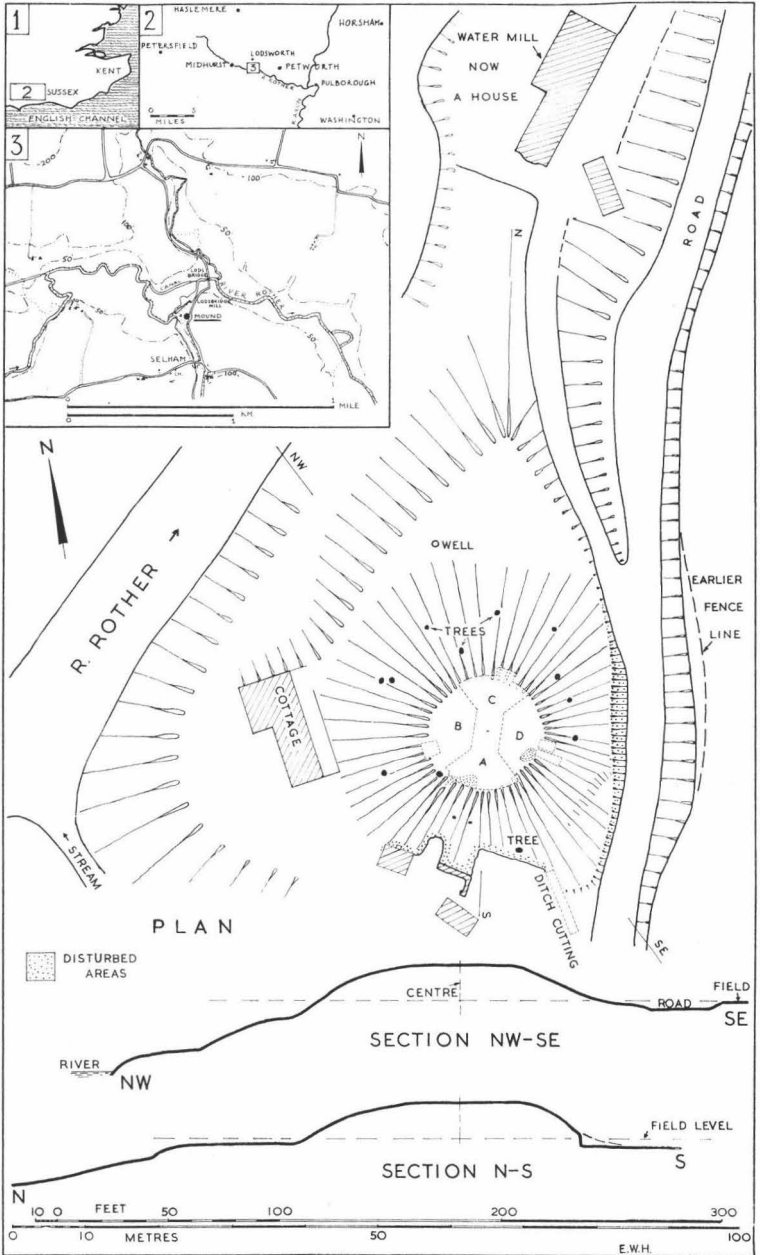


FIG. 1. Site Plan (upper left). Plan and Sections of Motte

characteristic of the deposit.¹ The mound is composed of this sand, which varies in colour here from purplish-brown to yellowish-brown, although it is generally orange-brown. In a section through the ditch on the south-eastern side of the mound and also at a modern disturbance on the south side, river terrace gravel (shown as 'valley gravel' on the published Geological Survey New Series lin. Chichester (317) Sheet) is present: 15-18in. of gravel overlies a thin layer of yellowish sand, with more gravel of unproved thickness below. All of these are naturally occurring deposits undisturbed by man except where the quarry ditch has been dug.

History. Few useful historical details of the site have been forthcoming. The present title deeds of the Mill property go back only to 1909 when the owner was Sir W. D. Pearson (Cowdray Estate). The mill land seems to have been a small property on its own not forming part of the farms on either side, and there appear to be no records of leases with helpful descriptions. Estate maps have proved useless, with one exception, that of a coloured map of Fitzlee Farm (in W. Sx. C.C. Record Office), dated 1629, showing the southern part of Lodsworth parish. This map shows the mound, called 'Lodg Mill Hill,' with a house close to its west side. No structure is indicated on top of the mound and the watermill itself would be below the border of the map. The house, which is likely to have been the miller's cottage, still exists, and has a 16th century appearance. The map shows the narrow road passing the east side of the mound, but the confluence of the small stream and the river is drawn rather more westerly.

Domesday Book records a mill in Lodsworth, which is suggested to be on the site afterwards occupied by a mill on the Rother where the river divides this parish from Selham.² The Selham tithes in 1241 included 5s. for a mill and in the 15th century it seems (as Seleham mill) to have been given to the Hospital of St. John. This may be the Lodsbridge mill, although the latter is in the parish or Liberty of Lodsworth, yet right on the border of Selham parish. Lodsbridge mill is mentioned by Holinshed in the 16th century and the Cowdray Estates in 1763 included 'a message and water-corn-mill called Lodgebridge Mill in Lodsworth,' and in 1822, 'Lodge Bridge Mill.' In the Cowdray Estate Act of 1805 it is included in the properties which could be sold, described as 'Lodgebridge Mill in Lodsworth,' let at £50 a year. It is shown and called 'Lodgebridge Mill' in maps of 1795 and 1813. The present structure probably dates from the 18th century and was in use as a watermill until some time in the 1930's.

The Motte (Fig. 1). The mound, or motte, basically is a truncated cone with a bottom diameter of c.130ft. and a somewhat oval flat

¹ D. W. Humphries, 'The Stratification of the Lower Greensand of the South-West Weald,' in *Proc. Geol. Assn.*, vol. 75 (1964), pp. 39-61 (see p. 52).

² *Victoria County History, Sussex*, vol. 4 (1953), p. 73.

top at 86ft. O.D., with axes of *c.*53ft. and 47ft. Measured from the flat field level to the east, the mound is *c.*16ft. high, but it appears 3-4ft. higher from the road, which is below the field level. The east side of the mound has been cut back recently during road widening and the south face has suffered damage from small buildings and a timber and coal yard. The ground to the west has been landscaped into two steps falling towards the river. A triangular area to the north is not likely to be a bailey, but seems to be the product of landscaping at some time in the past. The well in this flat area is steined with *c.*17th century brickwork. Coniferous trees are present on the slopes of the mound, but the grass-covered top was clear, apart from some scrub, in 1964. Despite the acidity of the sand, the topsoil had been worked by worms, a few of which were seen in the top 6in. of soil. A war-time slit trench dug in Quadrant D and a hollow in the perimeter in the south-west part of Quadrant A were the only signs of damage to the top. There was no footpath or other means of easy access up to the top of the mound. The disturbances in Quadrant A might represent the top of an earlier access, but erosion, modern damage, trees and heavy undergrowth on the south side prevented investigation. There are no traces of earthworks in the field to the east and air photographs showed no archaeological features apart from the motte.

The mound was constructed in part from a quarry ditch discovered at the south-east side and presumed on the east and south. The natural fall of the land down to the river on the west and north-west possibly inhibited the use of a ditch at those points. It was not possible to examine the lawn north of the mound. The remaining sand required could have come from the landscaped parts of the mill plot.

STRUCTURAL SEQUENCE

Two periods or phases are indicated:—

Period 1 (Figs. 3 and 4). The mound was erected to within $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4ft. of its present surface. Two hearths were utilised on top and some pottery was broken. Some clayey sand in the shape of a letter L appears to have been deposited on top and was trampled flat. Specks of charcoal, presumably blown from the hearths, were on this clayey layer. The delay between Periods 1 and 2 was insufficient for any turf to form.

Period 2 (Figs. 2 and 4). The mound was heightened by at least $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4ft. of sand and the hearths were covered. Either at this time or subsequently, a palisade or fence was erected near the edge of the top, roughly circular in plan, averaging 47ft. diameter. Crosstrees for a superstructure were laid down. Two dogs were buried between the depressions of the crosstrees on the south and

west sides. The preservation of the bones suggest that the burials were not made in medieval times.

DATING EVIDENCE

The upper 5ft. of the mound between the centre and Hearth 2, to within 6in. of the surface, contained 13th century pottery. The deeper central cutting then became barren of finds. Cuttings in Quadrants A and C were sterile at 4ft. down (Figs. 2, 3 and 4). Similar wares, bases and rims appeared throughout the deposits, glazed wares being remarkably sparse. A fair quantity of late-17th to early-18th century pottery was found in the upper 12-14in., some sherds dating to c.1550-1600 in the crosstrees depressions (and two sherds at about the same level not in the crosstrees). There was a total absence of 14th and 15th century wares. A few 19th and 20th century finds were just below the turf. The small number of metal finds below the top layer fall within the 12th or 13th century.

THE EXCAVATIONS

Method of Excavation. It was intended to strip the whole of the top of the motte, but owing to the depth of sand removed, two quadrants were required for dumps, there being no other places for the excavated soil. Quadrants A and C therefore were connected by a 12ft. wide cutting. Shovels imported from Holland, which have a flat base and sharp cutting edge, were used for skimming down the sand an inch at a time, after the removal of the turf. This method was most successful in permitting changes of colour in the sand to be seen where postholes or other features occurred and trowelling was resorted to only when finds were made. Such postholes or features were outlined with matchsticks pressed vertically into the soil immediately they were discovered, but the colour did not disappear or fade upon exposure. (The doubtful postholes outside the perimeter of Quadrant D are discussed later). On completion the cuttings were refilled and the turf relaid. An old watermain iron key, c.2ft. long was inserted below the turf in place of the centre (estimated) survey peg. The latter was about 15in. north of the centre of the crosstrees depressions.

No ditch was apparent, but there was one place on the south-east side where a cutting was possible without damaging paths or lawns, and a 4ft. wide trench, 30ft. long was sunk there. The road apparently follows the line of the ditch on the east side.

Ditch (Fig. 4). The trench had been dug to a maximum depth of 6ft. 9in. without reaching the bottom, when the loose material on the north-east side collapsed, making further digging unsafe, and the trench was refilled. After removing wall foundations, a cobbled

floor, pit fillings and other disturbances of post-16th century date, in which a little late pottery was recovered, sandy gravel was exposed at each end of the trench. This layer had been cut through when the original ditch was excavated. The 4ft. of brown sand which had eroded from the mound into the ditch contained no finds. The red-brown sand below the brown sand, which was equally barren, appears to have been derived from the yellow ochre coloured natural sand layer beneath the gravel and which had deepened in colour by chemical action from the brown sand above. The bottom of the ditch was not reached, but the existence of a quarry ditch was clearly demonstrated.

Period 2 (a) Perimeter Postholes (Pl. IA, Figs. 2 and 4). Turf and about 6in. of dark brown sand were removed from Quadrants A and C and later the two areas were joined by the central cutting. The sand then gradually changed to an orange-brown colour which was removed in thin layers down to c.12-14in. below the surface, but rather less at the northern perimeter where the ground fell away. The perimeter postholes showing as grey patches had this dark sand removed. Those in C were at about 3½ft. centres with a gap between PH. 1 and 2. The bottom of PH. 9 was only discovered when more sand was removed, so it is possible that there was another hole between PH. 1 and 2. The postholes in A were less regular in plan and spacing, and there was a double posthole (PH.8) and another (PH.11) set back 2-3ft. behind the main line. No holes contained any packing stones. The possible diameters of posts varied from 5in. to 12in., more than half being c.6in.; the depths measured from the surface were 15in. to 24in., with an average of 18in.

Objects in the postholes were scarce and were near the top of each hole when found. PH.2, which had two depressions at its base, but which resembled a single posthole when first revealed, had a fragment of roof tile, which could be medieval, 3in. below the general excavation level. PH.4 contained a piece of harder, more modern roof tile at 2in. down; PH.6 had a post-medieval sherd on top and a fragment of pig jaw 3in. down. This bone fragment was much decayed and may be presumed to be medieval. The finds in the postholes, which were all in Quadrant C, being so close their tops are of little use in endeavouring to assign a date to the erection of the palisade or fence. Pottery dating from the late-17th and early-18th centuries and a sprinkling of 13th century sherds were found in the 12 to 14in. of sand removed over the cuttings. None of the later pottery was found more than an inch or two below this level. The medieval sherds in this upper level were confined to the central cutting and Quadrant A.

An extension was made in C going down the slope of the mound without revealing any postholes. Two cuttings were made outside the perimeter in D. The northerly one showed no features, but

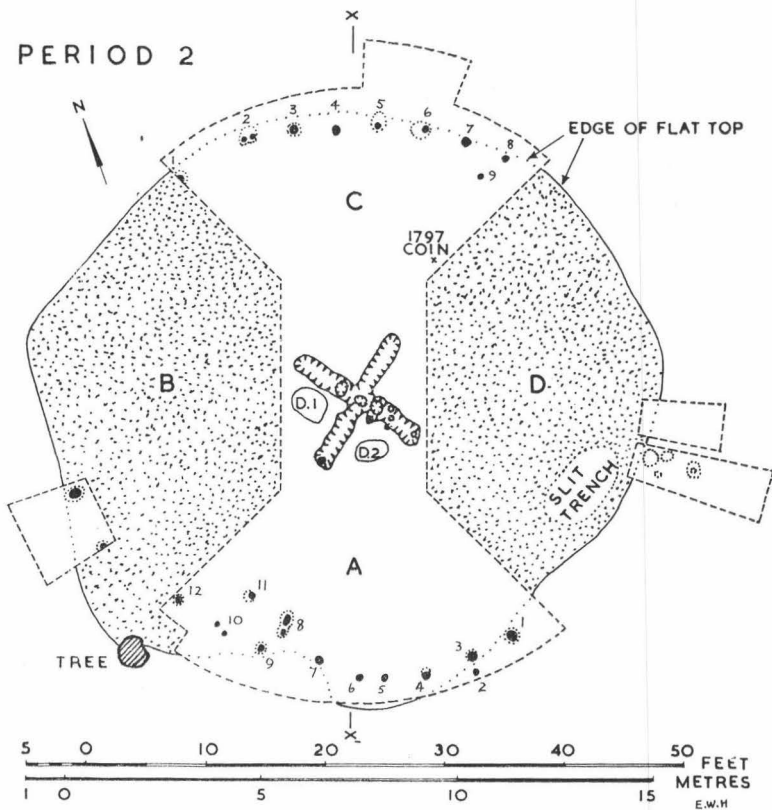


FIG. 2. Period 2. Plan of Motte top excavated 12-14ins. below surface

the southerly one had some wet patches of sand (there had been heavy rain the night before) which started to appear at *c.*30in. below the flat surface of the motte top. The wet sand was removed and apparently it ceased at *c.*54in. below the surface in the hole nearest the perimeter. The other holes were indefinite. While these may be postholes associated with either Periods 1 or 2, some other shapeless damp patches could be seen in the baulk rising to the surface, and in view of similar patches in B, they are considered more likely to be sand earlier occupied by trees or roots.

The cutting on the perimeter of B showed two more Period 2 palisade postholes at 5ft. centres, as patches of darker sand. They were cleared and found to be 24in. and 26in. deep below the surface. The south-western part of this area was dug to 29in. below the top surface, but all that showed was an amorphous mass of irregularly shaped damp patches of sand which obviously were not postholes.

The conclusion drawn was that they had some connection with earlier tree roots.

(b) *The Central Feature* (Pl. IB, Figs. 3 and 4). At 12-14in. below the surface a cross-like feature showed faintly as dark grey sand, c.13ft. SW.-NE. and 12ft. 6in. SE.-NW. Each arm was c.18in. wide and from 3-5in. deep, as hollows. The darker sand continued deeper in places to form several shallow depressions and possible stake holes. It was noticeable that the sand removed from this feature contained numerous small fragments of flint valley gravel, up to 1½in. by 1in. in size, as many as a dozen to each square foot of the hollows. The number of these chips of flint exceeded all those found throughout the whole of the Period 2 excavation. They must, therefore have been spread deliberately below and before the crosstrees of the superstructure were laid down. One sherd of pottery c.1700+, 8 sherds of c.1550-1600 and 12 13th century sherds were in the dark sand of the cross. The 16th century sherds were mainly in the centre of the cross and two similar sherds were found in the bottom of the 12-14in. of sand removed, south of the crosstrees.

(c) *Dog Graves, D.1 and D.2* (Fig. 2). No signs of the graves were seen in the exposed sand at 12-14in. below the surface, the skeletal remains being discovered while removing sand to a lower level. When sectioned, the edges of grave D.1 could be seen faintly, but the sand did not change colour. The depths of the graves were between 30in. and 36in. below the surface.

(d) *Coin Burial* (Figs. 2 and 4). When removing sand at the east side of C, a 1797 penny was found at 22in. below the surface. While no outline of a posthole or pit was seen in plan, there were faint traces at the vertical east edge of the cutting to show that a small hole had been dug to bury the coin, but there was nothing else in that part of the hole which was excavated.

Period 1 (Figs. 3 and 4). Sand was removed to a depth of 5ft. 9in. from the surface at one point. It was only here that some traces of stratification could be seen (see section in Fig. 4), which are interpreted as tip lines. Elsewhere, parts of A, C and the central area were dug down to between 3ft. and 4ft. from the surface. Postholes A.6 and 7, and C.7, 8 and 9, were cut away, but no earlier postholes were discovered. A 2in. layer of clayey sand, which was no more than material taken from the river bank, was uncovered at c.39in. below the surface, and it sloped slightly to the south (see Pl. IA), passing below grave D.1. The top of this material was flecked with charcoal. No structural features were found associated with this clayey layer. Its shape, rather like a reversed letter L, may have no significance and in the absence of any obvious explanation the layer is considered fortuitous. Its irregular flatness suggests that it was trampled underfoot. There is a possibility

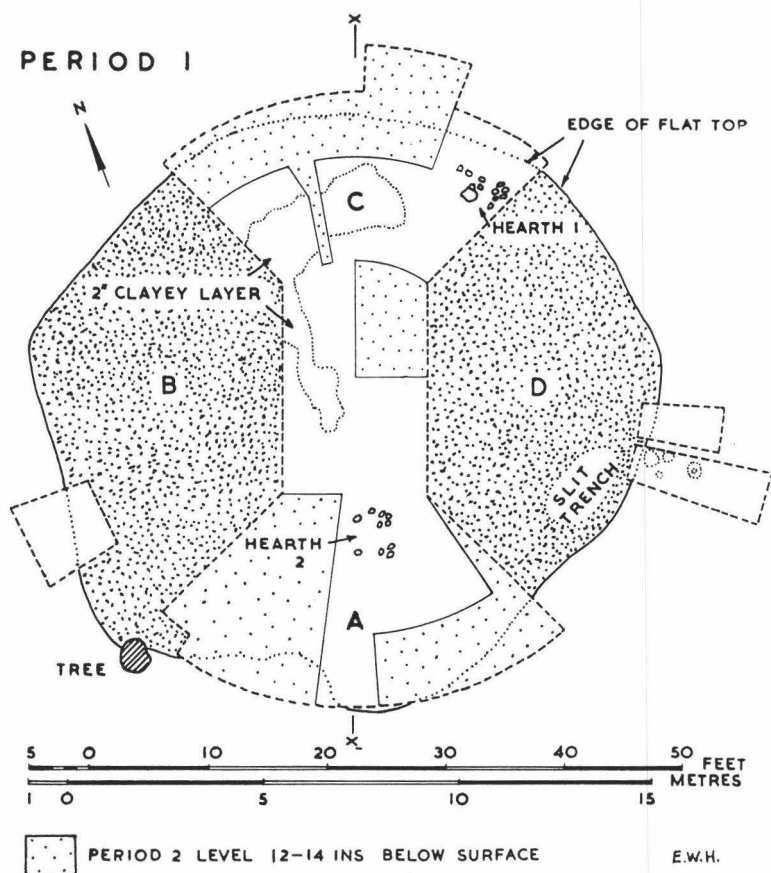


FIG. 3. Plan of Motte top excavated to Period 1 level

that the clayey layer may have been associated with some light-weight temporary shelter while the hearths were in use, the stake-holes of which left no marks in the sand, but this is but a suggestion and has no factual basis.

Two hearths were found, each roughly delineated by groups of large stones from the valley gravel, Hearth 1 in C and Hearth 2 in A. Associated with both hearths were fragments of charcoal and 13th century pottery. About one quarter of a cooking pot (shown as 'C.POT' in section on Fig. 4, and see Fig. 6, 26) was at the base of Hearth 2 in a charcoal layer below the stones.

In addition to 13th century sherds throughout the upper part of the mound, two pieces of decorative bronze stripping were found;

one piece on top of the clayey layer in C (Fig. 6, 37), another 6in. deeper, just north of Hearth 2 (Fig. 6, 36) and two pieces of a bronze pin; one with the head (Fig. 6, 38) which came from immediately above and the other (not drawn) from below the clayey layer in C. The shank of the pin passes through the hole in one of the strips and may belong to it. Such bronze stripping is considered to be of 12th or 13th century date.¹ A piece of wavy-edged iron horseshoe (Fig. 6, 40) came from the deeper central excavation between 4ft. and 5ft. below the surface. The iron arrowhead (Fig. 6, 39), c.13th century, is from the same cutting at 4ft. 3in. down. A few animal bones and iron fragments, much decayed, and some charcoal, were recovered throughout the excavation.

DISCUSSION

The 13th century pottery, the bronze decorative stripping (often found in castles and mottes), the arrowhead, as well as the general appearance of the mound suggest that the earthwork is a medieval motte, though without a bailey. Protected by the river on the west and north no bailey would perhaps have been essential and mottes without baileys are not uncommon.

The occupation of the motte as a defensive position, as at Abinger,² or as depicted on the Bayeux Tapestry, was not definitely established. There must have been a halt in construction when the hearths were in use, but this need not have been for any lengthy period. The palisade could not have been erected during the life of the hearths, for the postholes were at a higher level and those in C are close to Hearth 1. One cannot conceive a motte being constructed of sand with the central part of the top lower than the upper edge of the outer slope. Even had this form been adopted the sand behind the posts would need revetting, but of which there was no sign.

No archaeological evidence was produced to date the erection of the palisade, but if, as discussed below, the cross feature represents the base of a later windmill, the latter would hardly need a fence around it. On balance, therefore, the palisade may be associated with the 13th century, but there can be no certainty. Postmills were sometimes winched around with the aid of posts, but Mr. Rex Wailes considers that the perimeter posts would not have been strong enough because of the instability of the soft sand. Despite careful excavation, no signs of corner posts of a central tower were found as at Abinger.³

The impressions of crosstrees in the centre of the motte top have been suggested to represent the base of a post mill, a type of mill in use from the medieval period until the 19th century, where

¹ For references, see p. 124.

² B. Hope-Taylor, 'The Excavation of a Motte at Abinger in Surrey,' in *Arch. Journ.*, vol. 107 (1952), pp. 15-43.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

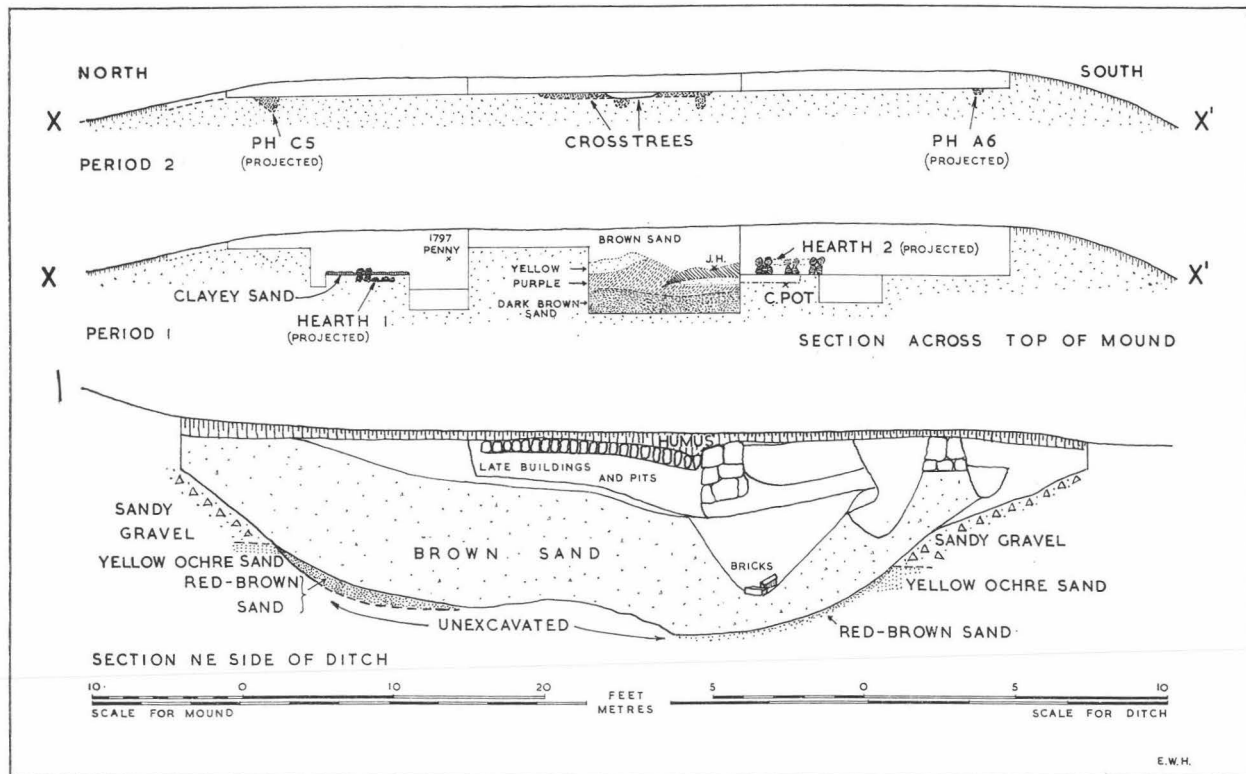


Fig. 4. Upper: Sections, Periods 1 and 2. Lower: Ditch Section

the body of the mill revolves on a central post secured to the bottom crosstrees. The two dog graves may be significant in that they are placed *between* the arms of the crosstrees depressions. While it is possible that this is by chance alone, had the timbers of the crosstrees been in position when the graves were dug, then the latter would have of necessity to be excavated between the arms. If this is accepted, then the good state of preservation of the dog skeletons, as compared with other animal bones, suggests a post-medieval date. There is no windmill shown on the 1629 estate map, or on Budgen's map of 1724,¹ and the possibility of the crosstrees being the base of a Napoleonic period signalling station may be discounted, as O.S. map, sheet 9, dated 1813 (in the B.M.), shows a signalling station on the Downs south-west of Selham, thus demonstrating that signalling stations were plotted, but nothing is entered against Lodsbridge Mill. The crosstrees are unlikely to have been the base of a gallows, because there is in Lodsworth parish, to the south, a 'Gallows Hill.'² The fact that all but two sherds of the pottery c.1550-1600 were found roughly in the centre of the crosstrees depressions may suggest that the structure was erected after that date. The pottery around 1700 in the upper 14in. of sand could be associated with the period of the structure.

There is still some doubt in the mind of the writer that it was a windmill. There was no sign of the accidental scraping of a tailpole or ladder, or a circular path, or stepping stones used by the miller when pushing against the tailpole as at Lamport mill.³ Only a dozen fragments of clay pipe stems were found—which may mean only that all millers were not heavy smokers! There were but six fragments of iron nails recovered, no tools, chisels, bolts, or any parts of a mill, whereas the second mill at Lamport, of 17th century date, left behind 1,500 nails and bolts. Even had a mill been dismantled carefully, there would surely have been more nails to be found although the whole top of the mound was not excavated. Despite the acidity of the sand, some ironwork was seen to survive.

¹ *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (abbreviated hereafter to *S.A.C.*), vol. 20 (1868), p. 204. A letter describing the effects of the great storm of 1703 in Midhurst and its neighbourhood was sent to Defoe in 1704. This does not contain references to any windmills having been damaged, although houses, barns, trees and Cowdray House suffered. This evidence does not help in establishing whether or not a windmill existed at Lodsbridge in 1703.

² Parish boundaries were often marked by 'cross-dowles' cut into the ground, but the parish boundary here passes the base of the mound on its south-western side and not across its centre. See *S.A.C.*, vol. 23 (1861), p. 243 for an example dated 1656; or *Surrey A.C.*, vol. 60 (1963), p. 87, at Shalford in 1734 regarding the perambulation of a parish boundary, '... where we renewed an old mark being a cross cut in the ground at the top of the hill.' No indication of the size of such a cross is given. Mr. R. W. Williams kindly drew attention to the Surrey reference.

³ M. Posnasky, 'The Lamport Post Mill,' in *Journ. Northants. N.H. Soc. and F.C.*, vol. 33 (1956), pp. 66-79.



PLATE IA. Quadrant C, showing Period 2 postholes and Period 1 clayey sand layer

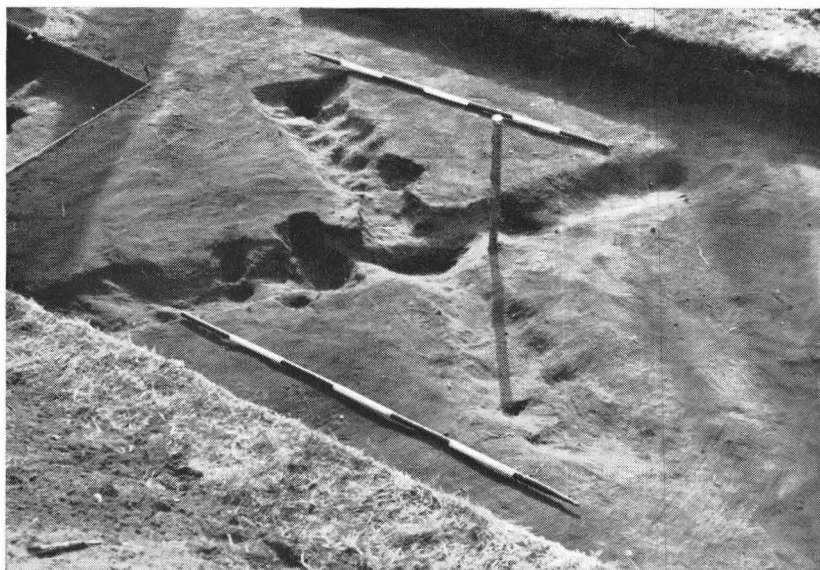


PLATE IB. Period 2, impressions of crosstrees from north-east

Further doubt was felt as to the necessity of a windmill close to a watermill, but this association is not unknown, as Mr. Wailes has kindly explained, because more work could be achieved at busy times and a windmill would be invaluable should the water supply fail. The latter contingency was never likely at Lodsbridge.¹ Another factor against a windmill in this position is that there is no (now visible) path to the top. It would have been a most laborious task manhandling sacks up and down the slope of the mound, although not an impossible one.

While the balance of opinion of other archaeologists who visited the excavations favours the structure on top of the mound as a post-medieval windmill, it cannot be said to be conclusive. Should the dog graves have missed the arms of the vanished crosstrees, the 16th century sherds were dropped, again by chance, so as to descend naturally into the central part of the crosstrees, and the pottery around 1700 found all over the area just below the topsoil represents but the remains of numerous picnics, then the central feature could be of earlier date, even a medieval windmill. As an alternative to the windmill theory, is it not possible that some form of central tower was put up in the 13th century, not with corner posts sunk into the sand, or descending to the natural soil at the bottom of the mound, but on a timber foundation resting on the surface? This could have contained diagonal crossbraces below a rectangular timber base, c.8ft. square,² on which a small tower or observation platform might have been erected. If a windmill can stand erect on heavy crossed timbers, so could a small tower, as its own weight would be sufficient to keep it in position and the method of construction would spread the load over soft ground instead of concentrating the pressure at the corners. The discolouration of the sand suggests that the palisade posts rotted in position and were not removed. The same applies to the crosstrees, though any structure above (and there is no proof that there was one) is likely to have been taken away.

It is to be regretted that firm evidence of dates cannot be assigned to the palisade and the crosstrees. Differing suggestions of the sequence of construction are summed up below.

After the final topping-up of the mound following the use of the hearths in the 13th century:—

- (a) The work was abandoned, or,
- (b) A palisade was erected around the perimeter not long after the topping-up in the 13th century. The small amount of medieval pottery in the upper 14in. and none in the ditch silting suggests limited use.

¹ Information kindly provided by Dr. R. G. Thurrell.

² The Abinger tower was 12ft. square. Mr. Hugh Braun kindly answered some queries regarding mottes in general before the excavations were conducted. In his letter he suggested that the main posts of timber towers could be founded on massive horizontal timber sills instead of corner posts requiring postholes.

(c) A tower, windmill, or other structure with crosstrees as a base was put up at the same time as the palisade in the 13th century, or,

(d) The period of abandonment lasted until c.1700 when a post windmill was erected, the superstructure of which was removed carefully after a few years.

(e) The palisade or fence might also be c.1700.

Strategically, a motte (if it ever was used as such) at Lodsbridge would seem to be of little military value. It was small and could not hold many men; but this is a problem common to other small mottes. A large force would not be deterred by such a meagre garrison and could bypass it easily. The river is narrow and would not be difficult to cross up or down stream. Perhaps it could have been used as a strong-point for policing the neighbourhood in troublous times, such as the insurgency suggested in West Sussex in 1216.¹

WORK STUDY

The time taken to construct the Lodsbridge motte is conjectural because the labour output of medieval people is unknown. The following attempt to calculate the number of man-hours required is not without interest and demonstrates that the making of this comparatively small mound was not a task to be undertaken lightly.

The volume of the mound, being a frustum of a cone, 130ft. bottom diameter, 50ft. top diameter and 16ft. high above ground level, comes to 4020 cubic yards. Making some provision for a fall of land towards the river we may allow for a volume of c.4500 cu. yds., or 121,500 cu. ft. For this exercise it will be assumed that the mound was made on level ground from an encircling quarry ditch. Using R. J. C. Atkinson's empirical formula for chalk²

$$H = \frac{V(120 + 8L + 2F)}{1000}$$

where H equals the total man-hours required, V is the volume of chalk in cu. ft., L (lift) is the vertical distance and F (fetch) the horizontal distance between the centres of gravity of the mound and the ditch. At Lodsbridge, L is about 10ft. and F, 85ft. Thus $H = 121.5(120 + 80 + 170) = 44,955$ or, in round figures, 45,000 man-hours. Chalk is much harder to dig than sand, so reference was made to B. Price Davies' textbook³ where the following data is given in man-hours per cu. yd.

¹ *S.A.C.*, vol. 22 (1870), p. 18.

² *Antiquity*, vol. 35 (1961), p. 295, n. 7.

³ B. Price Davies, *Estimating for Buildings and Public Works*, 9th edn. (1939), p. 203.

	<i>Firm Sand</i>	<i>Soft Rock</i>
Excavating, using hand-tools	0.8	3.0
Basketing, per 60ft.	1.0	1.5
Spreading	0.3	0.3
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	2.1	4.8
Add 50% to basketing for 85ft. instead of 60ft.	0.5	0.75
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	2.6 man-hrs.	5.55 man-hrs.
	<hr/>	<hr/>

Working on this basis, we have $2.6 : 5.55 :: H : 45,000 = 21,081$ man-hrs.

Compare these figures with the digging of a trench and building a bank in chalk at Overton Down, Wilts.,¹ where $F = 20\frac{1}{2}$ ft. and $L = 5$ ft. The overall rate there, including depositing the excavated material, using primitive tools was 3 cu. ft. per man-hour and 3.58 cu. ft. for modern hand-tools. Ignoring the difference in Fetch and Lift and allowing for, say, an average of 3.30 cu. ft. per man-hour, and for the difference between sand and chalk, we have:

$$\frac{121,500 \times 2.1}{3.3 \times 4.8} = 16,108 \text{ man-hrs.}$$

Basketing a further 60ft. on Davies' reckoning would need another hour per cubic yard. Thus $16,108 + 4,500 = 20,608$ man-hours, which is less than $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ below those calculated from Atkinson's formula. If a little more time is allowed for the lift being twice as high as at Overton Down, a total of somewhere in the region of 21,000 man-hours would appear to be reasonable, which is almost the same as the calculation based on Atkinson's formula.

Thus, 50 persons, working a ten-hour day, would require 42 days of reasonably fine weather and longer if delayed by spells of heavy rain. A small task when compared with some of the enormous earthworks of prehistoric and later times, but nevertheless, a time-consuming chore if carried out by impressed labour from the neighbourhood and one to hinder normal agricultural operations.

THE FINDS MEDIEVAL POTTERY (FIGS. 5 AND 6)

Medieval pottery was sparse down to 14in. from the surface of the motte, then it became more frequent. Similar rim forms, bases and body sherds were found at all levels. From this it would appear that no great length of time elapsed during their deposition and they may be considered as a fairly homogeneous group. It is, of course, possible that part of the pottery was brought up from

¹ P. A. Jewell, ed. *The Experimental Earthwork on Overton Down, Wiltshire*, 1960 (Brit. Assn., Report of a Research Committee).

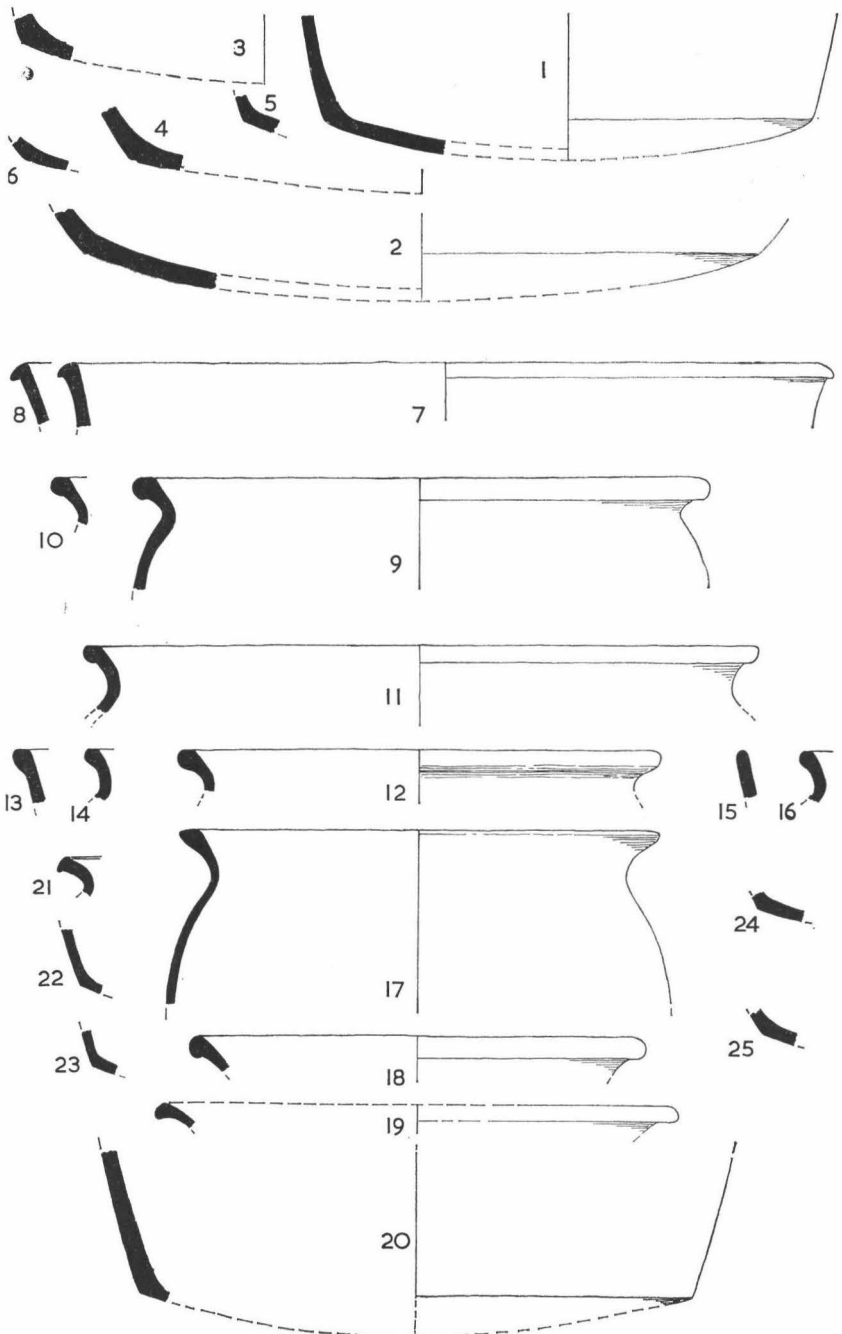


FIG. 5. Thirteenth century pottery, 1-25 (±)

ground level during the construction of the mound, but some sherds, particularly those from soot-blackened cooking pots, were found associated with the hearths and they do not differ substantially from the remainder. Coarse wares containing large-grained sand or flint filler, which are associated with the 11th and 12th centuries, were absent. The pottery was divided into four groups, A, B, C and D, according to the size of the filler, which in most cases is a quartz sand; but with the exception of the finer wares in group D, there is little difference between the others. No rims could definitely be associated with bases, apart from two complete profiles. The total weight of pottery found was 13lb. 4oz. and the majority of sherds came from cooking pots and storage vessels. Bowls are probably represented by nos. 7, 8, 18 and 19, jugs by nos. 29, 30, 34. The minimum number of vessels represented is: 36 cooking pots or storage vessels, 3 bowls and 3 jugs. All pottery is wheel-thrown. Only five pots bear traces of glaze.

Description of Medieval Pottery (Figs. 5 and 6). Only sherds deserving comment will be described individually.

Group A (Fig. 5, 1-8). A rough fabric, pale grey or red-brown externally, grey, buff or red-brown internally, all with grey cores. The filler in the clay body is of medium-size sand grains, plus some soft non-calcareous inclusions. No. 8 is about the same diameter as 7.

Group B (Figs. 5, 9 and 10). A rough fabric, buff inside and out, grey core. The clay body is the same as in Group A, but there are no soft inclusions. No. 9 contains a speck of shell and so does no. 1 in Group A. The diameter of 10 is perhaps a little more than 9. A number of body sherds (not drawn) are pale grey-buff externally, grey internally and with a grey core. They bear traces of a yellow or orange glaze externally, but so little of the glaze remains that it is difficult to be more exact as to colour. These sherds are from a large vessel or vessels and occurred from at least 14in. to 43in. below the surface, a little north of Hearth 2.

Group C (Figs. 5, 6, 11-31). A slightly smoother fabric than A or B, the colour externally and internally passing through buffs, pinks and browns. Cores generally are grey, except for 17, which has been oxidised, and 19 is black throughout, including the faces.

Approximate rim diameters are: 13-6in., 14-10in., 15-9in., 16-11in. and 21-10in.

25. A small sherd of convex base with traces of internal green glaze. From same level as clayey-sand layer.

26. Profile of cooking pot from the base of Hearth 2. It has the beginning of a convex base and there are traces of soot externally, and some black residues inside. Marked on section drawing as 'C.POT' (Fig. 4).

27. Similar colour and fabric to 26, with a more rounded basal angle, sooted outside. Found on clayey sand layer.

29. Rim and piece of handle from a jug, pink colour out and in. Decorated by rillings below the rim. There are some patches of green glaze externally and a patch of brushed white slip internally.

30. A well thumbled jug handle fragment bearing traces of yellow-green glaze, a pink colour below. Typical of 13th century large jugs. Marked on section drawing as 'J.H.' (Fig. 4).

31. Several body sherds (one drawn) brown in colour with a grey core, broadly and coarsely striated on the outer face. Black residues on some sherds externally.

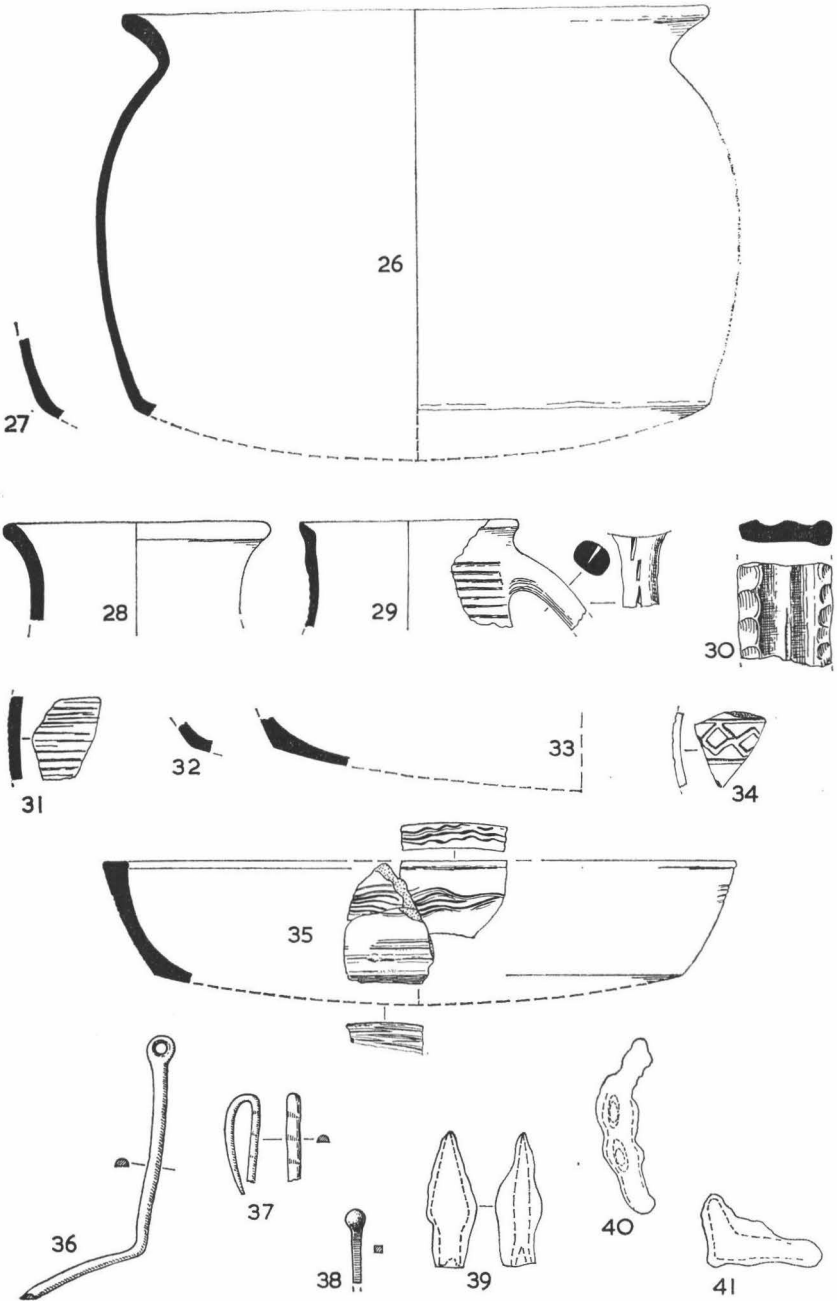


FIG. 6. Thirteenth century pottery, 26-35 (¼).
Bronze objects, 36-38 (½). Iron objects, 39-41 (¼)

Group D (Fig. 6, 32-35). A smoother fabric than C containing a finer sand filler. Very little of this pottery was found. Nos. 32-34 came from near Hearth 2.

32. Sherd of convex base with somewhat rounded basal angle, red-brown colour outside, grey inside, grey core.

33. Convex base (diameter is approximate), grey-buff outside, buff inside, grey core.

34. Green sherd from ? jug, pale brown outside, buff inside, grey core; patchy green glaze on outer face over roughly grooved excised decoration.

35. Shallow bowl with convex base, brown outside, red-brown inside, grey core. The flat-topped rim, which is slightly beaded inside and out, has excised wavy lines. The wall has been scratched similarly in a series of undulating waves. There is evidence of wiping the plastic clay with a coarse cloth, or crude turning, near the base and on the underside. From the upper 12-14in. in Quadrant A.

Dating of the Medieval Pottery. The dating of medieval pottery in Sussex, as in many other counties, is still beset with difficulty owing to the lack of closely dated groups, despite the number of medieval excavations conducted locally during recent years. Cooking pots are notorious for the long life of their forms and some of those from the Lodsbridge site (e.g. no. 26) might be dated as 12th century had their clay bodies been coarser with large gritty inclusions. Until more work is done, and stratified, dated groups of pottery obtained, any time range applied to our site must be considered as tentative. The remains of partly-glazed jugs, 29 and 30, on the analogy of those found at Hangleton¹ and elsewhere in Sussex, suggest a 13th century date. The few metal objects associated with the pottery cannot be dated to within a few years, so they are not of great help. Nevertheless, assuming they are not survivals, they would fit a 13th century context. From then on there is a long gap in the pottery sequences until the second half of the 16th century.

POST-MEDIEVAL POTTERY (FIG. 7)

Such pottery was not found lower than 16in. below the top of the mound. The total weight is only 5½lb., representing a minimum number of vessels: 21 shallow bowls, plates or dishes, 11 storage or similar hollow wares, 3 jugs, 6 finer cups and small dishes, 2 stone-ware jars. The earliest consists of a few body sherds of unglazed grey ware from part of the crosstrees depression and two more sherds nearby, which are c.1550-1600. Another gap occurs until the latter part of the 17th century. This pottery forms the bulk of that found which can be dated around 1700, plus perhaps 25 years, but which may go back into the closing years of the 17th century. The clay body of the coarser wares, 42-56, appears to Miss P. A. M. Keef to be of similar clay to that found in a 17th century kiln site at Graffham, which is not far from Selham (in course of excavation by Miss Keef), but the Lodsbridge pots did not emanate from that kiln.

¹ *S.A.C.*, vol. 101 (1963), pp. 128-131.

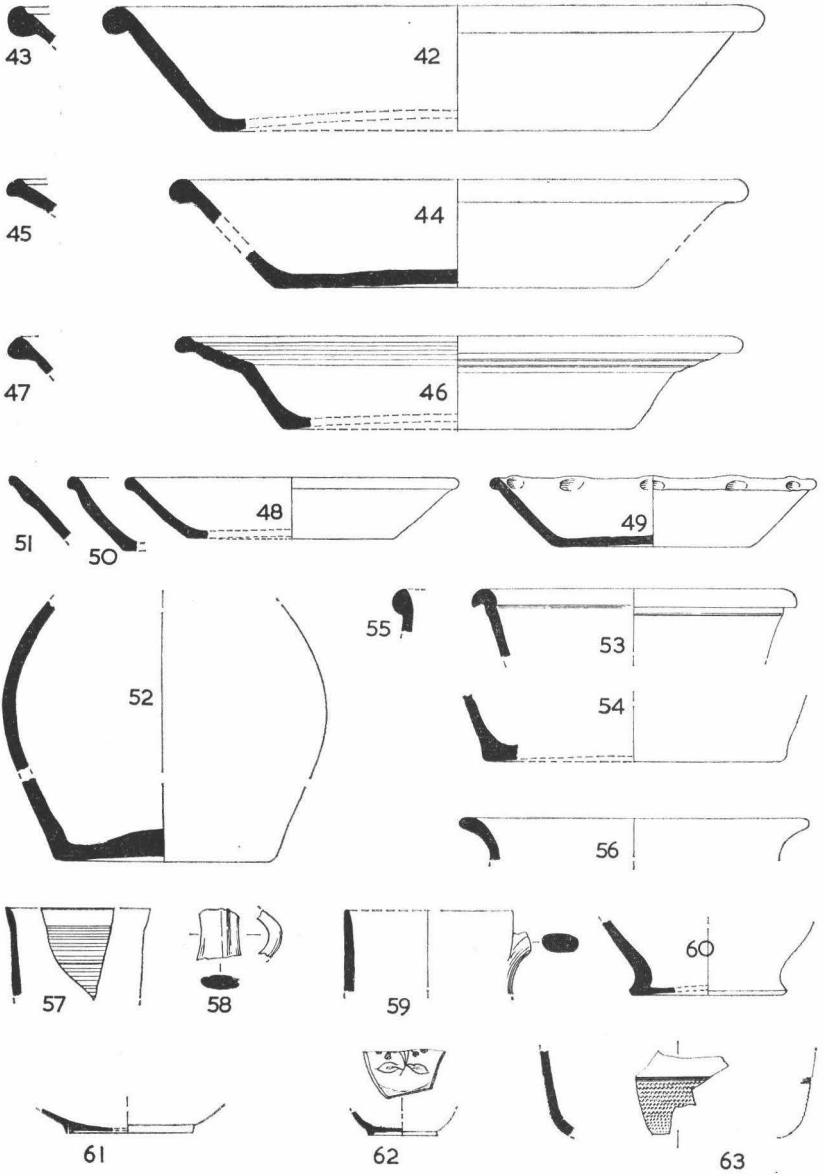


FIG. 7. Post-medieval pottery, 42-63 (¼)

Description of Post Medieval Pottery (Fig. 7).

Coarser wares. 42-50. Shallow bowls, plates and dishes mostly pink in colour throughout the fabric, demonstrating oxidising conditions, all glazed internally, including the rim, in green, yellow-green, or orange. 49 and 50 have some patches or spots of glaze externally.

51. Rim of unknown type of vessel, angle uncertain, possibly c.4½ in. diameter, grey fabric, green glazed inside and out.

52. Body of ? jug, pink both sides with grey core, some patches of thin green glaze outside and similarly inside on the base and lower part of the walls.

53. 54. Rim and base of ? storage jar. These sherds may belong to the same pot, provided it had a bulbous body. A pink fabric with a good orange glaze inside. 54 has splashes of yellow and green glaze on the underside of the base.

55. Rim of large ? storage jar. Pink fabric, orange-brown glaze inside.

Finer wares. 56. Rim of ? storage jar. A hard grey fabric, well glazed each side in an olive-green colour. From top of posthole C.6.

57. Rim of small ? jug with hard buff fabric, mottled brown glaze inside and out, with horizontal rillings around the body. Another sherd (not drawn) of similar fabric, glaze and decoration, but not from the same vessel, is part of the spout of a jug.

58. Part of a small jug handle. A similar ware and glaze as 57, but not the same vessel.

59. Rim and part of handle of small jug. The fabric is not so fine as 57 or 58 and is pink, glazed all over in green with mottled brown spots.

60. Base of a Bellarmine-type vessel of pale grey stoneware.

61. Base of a small bowl or dish, of thin, fine buff fabric, greenish-brown external glaze, brown glaze inside.

62. Base of cup, with hard buff fabric, white salt glaze inside and out, with painted flower and leaf decoration in three colours. This sherd was kindly dated by Mr. G. H. Tait to 1740-1750.

63. Lower body sherd of a bowl, brown salt-glaze on open-textured buff fabric. The lower part with a horizontal rouletted zone defined by two narrow grooves on the upper margin. Nottingham ware, probably mid-18th century and unlikely to be earlier than c.1720.

SMALL FINDS

The upper 14 in. of the mound top yielded 12 small pieces of clay pipe stem, a microlith, a gun-flint and a fragment of 1 in. thick plain unglazed medieval (?) floor tile, plus a little modern china, and some fragments of broken roofing tiles with a hard red body. Only six fragments of iron nails were recovered from the excavations, all of which were too corroded to be drawn. A possible bronze and iron safety-pin or brooch was found between 12-24 in. down, but the construction was not revealed by X-rays.

Metal Objects (Fig. 6).

36. A piece of bronze strip, approximately half-round in section, broken at one end. The other end is expanded and perforated with a bevelled hole. Found north of Hearth 2 at 42 in. below the surface.

37. Broken piece of bronze strip of similar section to 36, bent into a loop, probably by accident. One end is broken, the other reduces in thickness. Traces of diagonal gadrooning are visible on the rounded face. Found on clayey sand layer in Quadrant C.

38. Piece of bronze pin with square shank and rounded head. Found near 36. Another fragment of square pin came from below the clay layer.

The two do not join, but they are of about the same section, although it cannot be ascertained that they necessarily belong to one another. The pin with the head fits the hole in 36 and it could therefore have been the means of attachment to some other object not less than $\frac{3}{4}$ in. thick.

Decorative strips of bronze, or gilt-bronze, with or without attachment holes and gadrooning, have been found on fourteen castle and manorial sites of the 12th and 13th centuries. Professor E. M. Jope lists these sites in *Antiq. Journ.*, vol. 39 (1959), pp. 267-8. He suggests that such strips are the ornamental fixings from perishable materials such as leather or wood. To his references may be added: Long Buckby, Northants. (motte and bailey), *Journ. Northants. N.H. Soc. and F.C.*, vol. 33 (1956), pp. 60, Fig. 3, and in which other references are given, viz., 12th century site at Eaton Socon, Beds., *Proc. Woolwich Antiq. Soc.*, vol. 15, and *Trans. Camb. Ant. Soc.*, vol. 45 (1951), pp. 1-3, Fig. 1. Gilt-bronze strips were found at Bramber Castle excavations in 1966 (in progress), and Dr. J. Kent informs the writer that he found some at the motte and bailey of South Mimms (in progress). These decorative pieces of metalwork are thus fairly common, but their exact purpose is as yet unknown.

39. Iron arrowhead with socket, too decayed and corroded for cleaning, but X-radiographs enabled it to be drawn. The nearest parallels in *Lond. Mus. Med. Cat.* are Fig. 16, Type 10 and Fig. 17, 5, about mid-13th century. From the deeper cutting north of Hearth 2 at 51in. below the surface.

40. Part of iron horseshoe much covered with corrosion products. X-radiographs enabled two holes (suitable for fiddle key nails) and the wavy edges to be seen. Such shoes persisted from Norman times until at least the middle of the 13th century (*L.M.M.C.*, p. 115 and *Antiquity*, vol. 40 (1966), p. 305).¹ Found near jug handle (Fig. 6, 39) between 43in. and 62in. below surface.

41. An angled piece of iron, heavily corroded. X-radiographs show the original shape, but one end may be broken. It could be a door-pivot or part of an iron cramp or dog. Found near glazed sherd (Fig. 6, 34) between 14in. and 42in. below surface.

Coins.

Two Victorian halfpennies came from near the surface. One penny, dated 1797, was found in a small pit in Quadrant C, 22in. below the surface.

Animal Remains, based on a report by Mrs. B. Westley. The full report is filed at Barbican House, Lewes.

The upper 12-14in. of the mound top contained 3 fragments of sheep/goat and 6 of cattle. One of the latter was a distal humerus, worn flat on one side, that has apparently been used as a rubber or pestle. The animal was small, not as large as a modern breed. Between 14-24in. down, 2 molars, fragments of a deciduous molar and some indeterminate fragments, all of pig, were the only animal remains apart from the dogs. A maxilla fragment of pig came from Posthole C.6, 3in. from the top.

Dog Grave 1. A fairly large (greyhound size?) animal, an adult, but not old. The teeth are moderately worn. Also from this grave were some rib and vertebral fragments of sheep/goat and some rodent remains, possibly vole.

Dog Grave 2. This animal is younger and smaller than that in Grave 1. It is rather fox-like, though somewhat larger and sturdier than a fox. The teeth are unworn and healthy, the epiphyses of the vertebrae unfused, which shows the animal to be immature. Two deciduous molars of pig and indeterminate fragments were in the grave.

The dog bones probably are not modern, but are much younger than the other skeletal remains, most of which were decayed.

¹ Wavy-edged horseshoes and fiddle-key nails were found in 13th and 14th century contexts at Bramber Castle excavations in 1966, but until more clearly stratified deposits are found it is not certain that this form of horseshoe continued in use in the 14th century.

Mollusca.

One oyster and one cockle shell from upper 14in.; 2 fragments of oyster 12-24in. down.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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