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CONTENTS

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May 1984

ABBREVIATIONS

used in References and Notes in this volume

Add. MS.	Additional Manuscript
Agric.	*Agricultural*
Antiq.	*Antiquarian, Antiquaries, Antiquities*
Arch.	*Archaeological, Archaeology*
Assoc.	*Association*
Brit.	*British*
Bull.	*Bulletin*
Coll.	*Collections*
Econ.	*Economic*
Eng.	*English*
Geog.	*Geographical, Geography*
Hist.	*Historical, History*
Indust.	*Industrial*
Inst.	*Institute*
Jnl.	*Journal*
Lond.	*London*
Mag.	*Magazine*
N. & Q.	*Notes and Queries*
Prehist.	*Prehistoric*
Proc.	*Proceedings*
Rec.	*Record*
Rep.	*Report*
Rev.	*Review*
Sci.	*Science*
Soc.	*Social, Society*
Suss.	*Sussex*
Univ.	University

EDITORIAL

Sussex Archaeological Collections is one of the oldest county archaeological journals, the first volume having appeared as long ago as 1848. As the 125th volume approaches, the Society, which itself is nearing its 150th anniversary, can be proud of such a distinguished contribution to scholarship. The present is a time of great changes, however, and a good time, therefore, to consider the journal's role in circumstances very different from those in which it was founded.

The most obvious change in recent years has been the change in format, to the larger, squarer size now favoured by most local and national archaeological journals. At the same time volumes have increased in length. Chiefly this has been brought about by the great expansion in the profession of archaeology during the last ten years, since the foundation in 1974 of the Sussex Archaeological Field Unit of London University. But there are two main reasons why the Society has been able to publish more of the new material being produced: first, the introduction of Department of the Environment grants, of up to 75 per cent of cost, for the publication of reports of archaeological excavations funded by the Department; and second, the transformation of the Society's own finances in the mid 1970s, owing to the re-investment of capital, and to the very generous bequest received from the estate of the late I. D. Margary (d. 1976).

As archaeology has developed, reports of findings have become very much more detailed and more technical. Undeniably the resulting tables and lists of data set in small type have sometimes given the *Collections* a rather heavy appearance, especially since the chronological arrangement of articles, adopted in 1979, brings 'archaeology' into greater prominence than 'history'. In future volumes this effect will be much less marked, now that the Society has accepted the recommendations of the recent joint Department of the Environment/Council for British Archaeology report *The Publication of Archaeological Excavations*. The chief of these, as far as the *Collections* is concerned, is that reports of all excavations, whether or not they were funded by the D.O.E. (or its successor from April 1984 the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission), will be published partly in printed text and partly in microfiche. The present volume is the first volume of the *Collections* to use such a division, by which the interpretative part of an article (in the text) is separated from the supporting data (on microfiche); the result is that the former can be more easily grasped by the general non-specialist reader, while the latter can, if necessary, actually be fuller and more detailed than before. (Microfiche can also, of course, be profitably used by writers of 'historical' articles.) It is hoped that longer excavation reports may continue, as in recent years, to be hived off from the *Collections* and published in a separate monograph series.

Local history as a subject has also undergone a very rapid expansion in the last decade. But until recently this expansion has tended to be represented in Sussex largely in publications other than those of the Society. The period has seen the founding of several new journals: *Sussex History*, *West Sussex History*, the *Sussex Family Historian*, the *Sussex Genealogist and Local Historian*, and (covering Sussex as part of its area) *Southern History*. In addition there are the longer-established *Sussex Industrial History* and *Wealden Iron*, and various smaller journals published by local societies. One reason why so much enthusiasm has passed the Society by, is undoubtedly the historical accident of its name and of that of its journal. When the Society was founded in 1846 the term 'archaeology' covered a much wider field of enquiry than it does today; besides general 'antiquities', the list of subjects suggested for study in the first volume of the *Collections* includes ecclesiastical history, genealogy, and what would nowadays be called industrial archaeology and historical demography.[1] Written documents were thought of as an essential source for the study of 'archaeology'.[2] The word later changed its meaning, though as late as 1933 W. D. Peckham,

medieval historian and archivist to the Dean and Chapter of Chichester, could describe himself as an 'archaeologist' in connection with his researches into Chichester's medieval parochial structure.[3] Correctly to represent the same very wide areas of interest today as were outlined in 1848, the Society's journal would have to bear the cumbersome title (which is not advocated) of *Sussex Archaeological and Historical Collections*.

Another reason why the Society has been passed by, however, is the strongly *local* focus of the new interest in Sussex history, which sometimes has the bad result that localities are treated as if they were entirely self-contained, connections and comparisons with the county or wider region being ignored. A county journal, however, should certainly offer room for the results of detailed local historical research which *is* set in a wider context; other local workers elsewhere in the county can only benefit from the parallels and contrasts.

A journal such as ours, including the work of both 'professional' and 'non-professional' contributors and produced for an audience which is chiefly amateur, may help to perform one other very important function, in making for a rapprochement between the historian and the archaeologist, who have sometimes tended to take up antagonistic positions towards each other's disciplines. The suggestion of Professor Barry Cunliffe that there might be a case for regarding history as 'one aspect of the more recent part of the archaeological record'[4] can be countered by Professor Norman McCord's dismissive view of archaeology as 'one of the younger branches of history'.[5] But the interests of the two disciplines are the same in essence; the historian would concur in the importance of what Sir Flinders Petrie regarded as the business of the archaeologist: 'the reconstruction of past life'.[6] The common concern of contributors to *Sussex Archaeological Collections* and of readers of the journal is the 'reconstruction of past life', in the widest meaning of that phrase, in Sussex.

Notes

[1]*Suss. Arch. Coll.* **1**, 1–13.
[2]Ibid. **5**, 244.
[3]Ibid. **74**, 74 n. 35.
[4]Quoted in P. J. Fowler, *Approaches to Archaeology* (1977), 19.
[5]*Local Historian*, **13**(1), 23.
[6]Paraphrased at O. G. S. Crawford, *Archaeology in the Field* (1954 edn.), 30.

Sussex Archaeological Collections **122** (1984), 3–11.

SEEDS FROM ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS: RESULTS FROM SUSSEX

by M. P. Hinton

Little more than a decade ago few excavation reports included any reference to seeds, which were recovered only when they occurred in sufficient numbers to be obvious to the archaeologists. Now, mainly because of the use of flotation machines which make it possible to examine large quantities of soil, and to laboratory techniques of breaking down smaller samples, it is clear that few habitation sites are without some preserved plant remains.

There are four main means by which seeds may be preserved, and various methods of extraction. Firstly, the seeds may have been carbonized, or charred, in which case they will survive in almost any conditions and may often retain fine details of their form and structure. Carbonized seeds float readily and many samples of cereal grains are becoming available for study owing to the increasing use of flotation apparatus such as that described by French (1971) or Jarman *et al.* (1972). Some of the problems of interpreting finds of carbonized seeds are discussed below.

Secondly, seeds may be preserved because they have lain in continuously waterlogged conditions such as wells or damp ditches and pits, in places where the water-table is high and where the anaerobic conditions have prevented their decay. Flotation may be used if it is desirable to examine large amounts of soil but these deposits are often very rich in organic remains and small samples may be wet-sieved in the laboratory. This allows the recovery of all the plant remains, not only those which float. Preservation is often good and a wider range of species may be represented.

Seeds which have remained in certain conditions where there is much calcium in the ground water, such as in chalk subsoils, or in cesspits where calcium and phosphate may be derived from human faeces or other organic refuse, may become 'mineralized', i.e. they may be wholly or partly replaced by calcium phosphate. This third process of preservation is explained by Green (1979). These seeds rarely float and are usually encountered during wet-sieving or when samples of the residue from flotation are examined. Mineralized plant remains from cesspits and garderobes may provide direct evidence of diet.

Fourthly, seeds may have been incorporated into the fabric of pottery or daub or impressed into the surface while the clay was damp. These may survive as actual charred seeds within the fabric but if, as is usual, they have been completely burned away they may still be recognized from the resulting cavity. Latex casts made from impressions often reveal considerable detail of the original seeds. Of course impressions in pottery can only illustrate seeds present at the site of manufacture, which is not necessarily the place at which it was found.

As a result of the study of seeds discovered by these methods in different parts of the country many more reports have been published in the last few years or are in preparation, and still more samples are in process of analysis; thus there is gradually accumulating a body of data about the introduction and cultivation of the major crop plants and their weeds, and about other 'useful' plants which were gathered, cultivated or imported. This pattern of collection, analysis and publication is reflected in Sussex.

TABLE 1
Presence of Major Crop Species in Sussex

Location	Einkorn (*Triticum monococcum*)	Emmer (*T. dicoccum*)	Spelt (*T. spelta*)	Bread wheat (*T. aestivum*)	Indeterminate wheat	Hulled barley (*Hordeum vulgare*)	Naked barley (*H. vulgare* var. *nudum*)	Indeterminate barley	Oats (*Avena* sp.)	Rye (*Secale cereale*)	Peas (*Pisum sativum*)	Beans (*Vicia faba* var. *minor*)	*Reference*
NEOLITHIC (*c.* 4000 B.C.)													
Whitehawk							x[I]						Jessen & Helbaek 1944
Bishopstone		x			x	x							Arthur 1977
BRONZE AGE (*c.* 2000 B.C.)													
Belle Tout		x[I]				x[I]	x[I]						Arthur 1970
Telscombe						x[I]							Jessen & Helbaek 1944
Itford							x[I]						—— 1944
Lancing								x[I]					—— 1944
Plumpton Plain	x[I]					x[I]							—— 1944
Hassocks						x[I]							—— 1944
Bullock Down						x[I]							Drewett 1982
Itford Hill		x				x							Helbaek 1953; Helbaek 1957
Black Patch	?	x	x			x			x			x	Hinton 1982
IRON AGE (*c.* 700 B.C.)													
Park Brow					x								Wolseley & Smith 1924
Wickbourne Estate			x			x							Helbaek 1953; Arthur 1954
Bishopstone			x			x			x		x		Arthur 1977
Slonk Hill			x				x						Hartridge 1978
Oving			x		x	x			x				Bedwin, in preparation
Chichester Harbour			x[I]										Cartwright, in press

TABLE 1—*continued*

Location	Einkorn (*Triticum monococcum*)	Emmer (*T. dicoccum*)	Spelt (*T. spelta*)	Bread wheat (*T. aestivum*)	Indeterminate wheat	Hulled barley (*Hordeum vulgare*)	Naked barley (*H. vulgare* var. *nudum*)	Indeterminate barley	Oats (*Avena* sp.)	Rye (*Secale cereale*)	Peas (*Pisum sativum*)	Beans (*Vicia faba* var. *minor*)	*Reference*
ROMANO-BRITISH (A.D. 43)													
Thundersbarrow					x								Curwen 1933
Wickbourne Estate			x			x				?			Helbaek 1953; Arthur 1954
Bishopstone			x		x	x			x				Arthur 1977
East Dean			x	x		x			x	x			—— 1957
Falmer					x				x				—— 1957
Elsted		x		x									Redknap & Millett 1980
Bullock Down			x			x							Drewett 1982
Goring			x										Rudling, in preparation
Winchelsea					x				x				——, forthcoming
Boxgrove			x		x	x			x				Bedwin, in preparation
SAXON (A.D. 477)													
Bishopstone						x							Arthur 1977
Steyning				x		x						x	Hinton 1979
MEDIEVAL													
Stretham								x					Wilson & Hurst 1961
Glottenham					x				x				—— 1968
Bullock Down				x		x			x				Drewett 1982
Steyning				x		x							Hinton 1979
Selmeston						x							Rudling, forthcoming

Note: I = Impression. Remainder were carbonized.

The first record of ancient seeds at a Sussex site was the charred wheat found in 1921 in a pit in the early Iron Age settlement at Park Brow (Wolseley & Smith 1924). The next report was also of carbonized wheat, this time from a structure identified as a Roman corn-drying furnace at Thundersbarrow (Curwen 1933). Shortly before the last war Helbaek began a study of impressions in sherds from the British Isles and after a brief preliminary account (Helbaek 1940) he published with Jessen an important paper in which they brought together the evidence from pot impressions of prehistoric and early historic date from all parts of Britain, including several from Sussex (Jessen & Helbaek 1944). After the war Helbaek returned to England and was able to examine many more sherds and also some of the few finds of carbonized seeds, and he published a major survey (Helbaek 1953) of early crops in southern England. In this paper he included a preliminary account of a large deposit of carbonized grain found at the Bronze Age settlement at Itford Hill. Further discussion by Helbaek of this important find was included in the excavators' report (Burstow & Holleyman 1957), and this is the first comprehensive and detailed account of a large sample of grain from Sussex.

After these publications there were few reports of seeds from Sussex, apart from Arthur's comments on grain in a Roman corn-drying kiln at East Dean (Arthur 1957), his list of seeds incorporated and impressed in Beaker pottery at Belle Tout (Arthur 1970), and his reports of carbonized seeds from deposits of several periods at Bishopstone and Bullock Down (Drewett 1982). Since then further analyses of seeds from several sites in the county have been made by him and also by the writer, including the very large deposits of carbonized grain from Black Patch, Alciston (Hinton 1982).

Some caution is necessary when evaluating finds of carbonized seeds. Those at greater risk of accidental burning will be found more frequently but will not necessarily be of greater economic importance. In addition seeds are very rarely found at the location at which they became carbonized. Most flotation samples contain charred seeds which have been dispersed from various parts of the site and which have come to rest in post-holes, ditches and other sampled contexts and these cannot do more than demonstrate that they were present during the occupation of the site. Larger finds of carbonized material, often comprising grains, chaff and weed seeds, will provide more information, but these often come from pits which themselves show no evidence of burning, and the contents, apparently deliberately deposited after carbonization, do not necessarily represent the result of a single episode of burning. Even a rare find of carbonized grain in an undisturbed destruction layer cannot with complete certainty be taken as unmixed evidence of a single crop if nothing is known of the circumstances of its harvesting or treatment following removal from the field. However, despite the inevitable mixing of charred remains, many of them appear to derive from just one class of agrarian waste, namely the cleanings from grain sieving.

Table 1 summarizes the archaeological evidence so far available for the presence of the principal crop plants in Sussex. Except for the larger amounts of seed from Bishopstone, Wickbourne Estate, Itford Hill and Black Patch most of the records are for very small numbers of seeds, and in the case of impressions usually only one, but as an indicator of presence one seed is as informative as a larger number.

With the exception of a few grains of wheat and barley found in a Neolithic pit at Bishopstone, and which are therefore particularly valuable, all that we know of the crops of the earliest Sussex farmers has come from occasional impressions in potsherds. There is then a gap of some two thousand years before the seeds from the Late Bronze Age sites of Itford Hill and Black Patch provide opportunities for full analyses of samples from large deposits. From then on our information comes almost entirely from carbonized seeds.

Looking at the records for individual cereal

species there is again a reflection in Sussex of the pattern being built up from other parts of England.

There is very slight evidence indeed for einkorn (*Triticum monococcum*), or one-grained wheat, in Sussex, as there is for the country as a whole. Einkorn, a diploid species, is the most primitive of all the cultivated wheats with very brittle ears which disintegrate and sow seed easily, and in Britain it has probably never been more than a very occasional contaminant of other cereal crops. The impression of a spikelet in a sherd from Plumpton Plain was identified on the basis of its size, but the illustrated cast (Jessen & Helbaek 1944, 32) shows that unfortunately the impression was made by the abaxial side and so other criteria related to the height and width of the scar (Hillman, forthcoming) cannot be seen. The possible presence of einkorn at Black Patch was questioned solely because of the occurrence of one small part of a rachis (spike) with three spikelet bases which bore one or two of the diagnostic criteria of einkorn (Hinton 1982). It is probable that this small fragment was part of an atypical or immature ear of emmer wheat but because of the einkorn-like features the presence of this species of wheat could not be completely ruled out.

Emmer wheat (*Triticum dicoccum*) is another very ancient wheat, a tetraploid species which evolved from a cross between einkorn and a wild goat grass (*Aegilops* sp.). It was undoubtedly the predominant wheat of the earliest British farmers and remained so for several millenia. It was found at Bishopstone and also with the barley at Itford Hill and Black Patch but there is so far only one later record from Sussex where it appears to be replaced by spelt (*Triticum spelta*).

Spelt is a more complex, hexaploid, species which is more hardy and adapted to a wider range of soils and climatic conditions than emmer. It was the principal wheat of the later prehistoric and Roman periods in England but there is evidence for its earlier occurrence (Field *et al.* 1964, 373). It was present in small quantities in the Black Patch finds and it is probable that the 'wheat' from the Roman kiln at Thundersbarrow described and illustrated in Curwen's report was spelt (Curwen 1933, 121). The impressions from Chichester Harbour are of spelt chaff (glumes and spikelet bases) in fabric which may be daub or perhaps a fragment of briquetage derived from the sites of former salt production, now eroded by the sea. The use of spelt in the manufacture of briquetage has been recorded by Bradley (1975).

These three wheats, einkorn, emmer and spelt, are often referred to as 'glume wheats' because the grains are more or less firmly enclosed in the glumes. Threshing is made easier if the ears are 'parched', or partly dried, and it is probably due to accidental charring at this stage that we have many of our finds of carbonized wheat.

These wheats were eventually replaced by a species which could be threshed more easily. Bread wheat (*Triticum aestivum*) has a tough rachis and larger spikelets, each producing from two to six grains which fall readily when ripe, and from this species and the denser-headed form, club wheat (*T. compactum*), have developed the many hundreds of varieties of more recent times. There is some uncertainty about the first appearances of bread wheat in England, and some of the earlier identifications were incorrect as the distorting effects of carbonization were not understood (Jessen & Helbaek 1944). As far as Sussex records are concerned there is also doubt. There were some indeterminate grains from a Neolithic context at Bishopstone (Arthur 1977) and Arthur reported some grains of bread wheat among the spelt in a Roman drying kiln at East Dean (Arthur 1957). A few poorly preserved grains from Iron Age and Roman levels at Oving and Goring have some resemblance to bread wheat but unfortunately even in good condition these wheats are not reliably distinguished by the grains alone. Only when larger numbers of grains and other diagnostic parts of the ears are available can identification be sure.

Hulled barley (*Hordeum vulgare*), so called because the grains are tightly enclosed, occurs from earliest times until the present and the only records from Sussex of the naked variety (*H. vulgare* var. *nudum*), in which the grain is easily freed, are of impressions made in the Neolithic and Bronze Age periods and one carbonized grain from an Iron Age level at Slonk Hill (Hartridge 1978). On the present evidence naked barley appears to decline in England as a whole from the Iron Age. Most hulled barley grown today is the two-row form but all our earlier finds of grains seem to suggest, whenever there are sufficient available to study, a six-row form in which the grains occur in groups of three on either side of the spike. Occasionally this can be confirmed when fragments of the ear survive. At Black Patch measurements of the internodes, between these groups of three grains, indicated a range from a nodding, lax-eared form to a more erect, denser ear of barley.

Oats (*Avena* sp.) are recorded from many sites in the British Isles from the beginning of the Iron Age onwards, a time when many species seem to have first entered the country, possibly as a weed of other cereals before being grown as a crop in its own right. The earliest record from Sussex is the few grains which were found with the Black Patch samples. Unfortunately the wild oats (*Avena fatua*) and the cultivated species, common oat (*A. sativa*) and bristle oat (*A. strigosa*), can only be differentiated by the base of the floret, a fragile part which is rarely preserved. The modern cultivated oat has larger grains than the earliest cultivated species, the bristle oat, which in Britain occurs now only as an occasional weed; the one exception known to the writer is a small crop grown annually by a Shetland crofter for his cow.

Rye (*Secale cereale*), which became a crop of great importance in the Middle Ages, also has its first British records during the Iron Age. The evidence for early rye in Sussex is slight, being a possible identification at Wickbourne Estate (Helbaek 1953) and a deposit of germinated grain, probably charred during malting, accompanying other cereals in the Roman drying-plant at East Dean (Arthur 1957).

There are few archaeological traces of pulse crops. For one thing they are at less risk of accidental burning than the cereals. Another possible reason for their scarcity is their tendency not to float and so to be excluded from flotation samples. They have been found in waterlogged conditions elsewhere. Until recently the small broad beans (*Vicia faba* var. *minor*) were thought to have been first cultivated in England during the Iron Age but there are now more reports of impressions at earlier dates (Hillman 1981, 188) and a few carbonized beans were present at Black Patch (Hinton 1982, 383). Peas also are reported very rarely indeed. One was found in a Bronze Age level at Grimes Graves (Legge 1981, 92) and one in an Iron Age pit at Bishopstone (Arthur 1977, 274). A jar full of seeds closely resembling *Lathyrus* species (wild or cultivated leguminous plants with pea-like seeds) was found in the destruction level in the north wing of the Roman palace at Fishbourne (Greig 1971, 376). These are erroneously described as lentils in another account of the palace (Cunliffe 1971, 210). Sadly, these are the only plant remains recorded from Fishbourne.

So far the archaeological evidence discussed has been for the major crops, but seeds of other plants now regarded as weeds sometimes occur so frequently or in such numbers in samples of carbonized cereals for it to be suggested that they may have been cultivated. Seeds of chess or rye-brome (*Bromus secalinus*) constituted 40 per cent of the very mixed find of grain in the Roman kiln at East Dean (Arthur 1957), and Applebaum (1975) considered that the proportion indicated a field crop. In addition to this mixed deposit chess has been found at three other Roman sites in Sussex (Wickbourne Estate, Bishopstone and Boxgrove) and in each case in association with spelt. Helbaek (1953) thought its frequent association with that cereal meant that chess had been introduced as a weed of spelt and allowed to grow with it as its host crop. This would have ensured a secondary

harvest if the main crop were to fail. However, a lack of correlation between the evidence for chess and that of any other cereal in Holland led Hubbard (1975) to suggest that it may have been a field crop in its own right.

Many other plants will have been gathered for food, and perhaps at times cultivated, and fat hen (*Chenopodium album*) whose leaves may be used like spinach is the most frequently cited example. It is certainly found at many Sussex sites. Hillman (1978, 112) tells of a wide range of plants which older members of his family could recall being sent to gather when children in the Pevensey area as recently as the early part of this century, but plants used as leaf or root vegetables may leave little trace and the occasional occurrence of their carbonized seeds will not reflect their true value. More evidence of such food plants is likely to come from waterlogged deposits where other parts of the plants may be preserved. Cesspits of later periods in urban areas have yielded seeds of apples, pears, strawberries, blackberries, sloes, several varieties of plums, grapes and figs as well as fragments of beans and often many tiny comminuted fragments of vegetable matter, but few such contexts have been sampled in Sussex.

Many plants have been collected in the past for medicinal purposes and their seeds may be present in archaeological samples although we may never recognize their usage. Others have been used as fibres, and there is one record of flax (*Linum usitatissimum*) from Sussex, as a seed impression in an All Over Corded Beaker at Belle Tout. Of others which are sources of dyes, such as madder, dyers' greenweed and, of course, woad, there has so far been no record from Sussex. Reeds and rushes have provided roofing and flooring but of these too we have no archaeological record in the county.

Besides the 'useful' plants archaeological samples often include seeds of more unwelcome weeds, some of which are rarely, if ever, seen today. Two of the most troublesome weeds of earlier cornfields, presumably in Sussex as elsewhere, were corn cockle (*Agrostemma githago*) and darnel (*Lolium temulentum*). Both have large seeds, approximating to the size of the grain they contaminate, and for this reason were very difficult to remove by sieving. Corn cockle has a beautiful flower but its seeds if ground with wheat or rye impart a disagreeable flavour to bread and may cause sickness if too much is ingested. Its seeds appear very frequently in samples of medieval date in England and there is just one Sussex record, from Steyning (Hinton 1979), but the date of its first appearance in the country is unknown.

Darnel, a plant similar to rye-grass, will produce unpleasant and injurious effects if seeds which have been attacked by a fungus contaminate bread flour. Like corn cockle it is a formerly prevalent weed which probably entered this country with imported grain. The one record for Sussex is of two carbonized grains from Kiln Combe, Bullock Down, dated to the early 13th century (Drewett 1982, 32).

Another common weed found with carbonized grain is cleavers (*Galium aparine*) and this has recently acquired a new significance since it was observed at the Butser Ancient Farm (Reynolds 1981, 112) that while an autumn-sown crop was infested an adjacent spring-sown field was free of the weed. Cleavers seeds germinate in both autumn and spring. Whereas the preparation for spring sowing destroys the young plants from both seasons, autumn sowing, which usually takes place in early October just before the late October germination of cleavers, allows the weed to flourish. The presence of cleavers in deposits of grain may therefore indicate the practice of autumn sowing. In Sussex the seeds are associated with emmer, spelt and barley at Itford Hill and Black Patch and with spelt in the Roman period at Bullock Down. However, cleavers are also common weeds of hedgerows and waste land with seeds which cling annoyingly to clothing and animal hair and so might well be removed and discarded as rubbish. This perhaps could be the source of the seeds which occur in the smaller, scattered finds, for example as an impression in an All Over Corded Beaker at Belle Tout.

Seeds from archaeological sites may of

course illustrate the flora of the immediate vicinity, such as the seeds of damp-loving plants like sedges and spike-rushes which are frequently encountered in waterlogged deposits. Samples taken from the ground surface beneath a Bronze Age barrow at West Heath, which consisted mainly of charred heather roots, stems and leaves, also provided a clue to the season when the heather was burned. The samples included many well-preserved buds and immature flowers of both ling (*Calluna vulgaris*) and bell heather (*Erica cinerea*), and because the capsules still contained unshed seeds in their compartments, and even damaged capsules could be seen not to have split naturally, it was possible to suggest that the heather was burned early in the flowering season, that is in midsummer (Hinton, forthcoming).

Although the evidence from the county for most plant species and from most periods is undoubtedly scanty the study of ancient seeds is beginning to provide a picture of the crops grown by earlier farmers in Sussex. Hopefully in the future it will be possible to fill in more details and eventually to make comparisons between different parts of the county. As further samples of seeds are examined we may be able to resolve some of the problems, such as the doubtful presence of einkorn, the possibility of earlier appearances of a free-threshing form of wheat, and the circumstances of the introduction of oats and rye and the pulses.

Impressions in clay and the finds of usually small numbers of carbonized seeds by flotation provide sufficient evidence of the presence of plants, and the more soil examined the greater the chance of discovery of the less common seeds, but to answer other questions the more rarely discovered larger caches of carbonized seeds are more helpful. We need to know much more about the association of certain weeds and crops, and since weeds are indicators of the ecology they may tell us more about the fields, their cultivation, sowing, weeding and harvesting. The analysis of more samples of grain which also include fragments of chaff and other seeds may tell us what stage of processing had been reached at the time of carbonization, and Hillman (1983) has shown how the composition of samples may be related to the results of the various activities of parching, threshing, winnowing, sieving and preparation for storage, and even provide a clue to the function of an archaeological feature. But when attempting to interpret any find of carbonized seeds it must be remembered that only very rarely have they remained undisturbed where they were charred. Perhaps our only Sussex examples are the kilns, the jar full of seeds in a burnt-out room at Fishbourne and the heather covered by a barrow at West Heath.

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THE EXCAVATION OF A SMALL HILLTOP ENCLOSURE ON COURT HILL, SINGLETON, WEST SUSSEX, 1982

by Owen Bedwin

Trial excavations at the enclosure on Court Hill dated it to the early Neolithic. Analysis of the snail fauna from the enclosure ditch indicated that it was built in an area that had been cleared only to a limited extent, and perhaps only for a short time.

INTRODUCTION

Following the unexpected dating of the continuously-ditched enclosure on Bury Hill, Houghton, to the early Neolithic (Bedwin 1981), the assumption that all early Neolithic enclosures had interrupted-ditch systems (i.e. were causewayed enclosures) became untenable. The author therefore decided to examine the possibility that other enclosures similar to Bury Hill in appearance might also belong to the Neolithic. Attention was focussed on a major east–west ridge of chalk on the South Downs (Fig. 1), on or adjacent to which were sited five enclosures: the Trundle, Barkhale, Bury Hill, Court Hill and Halnaker Hill. The first two sites are classic causewayed enclosures; the last two are small, continuously-ditched enclosures of a size similar to Bury Hill. Both therefore seemed worthy of excavation, especially as both were undated, and partly ploughed. This report describes the trial excavations at Court Hill; a report on the work at Halnaker Hill will be forthcoming.

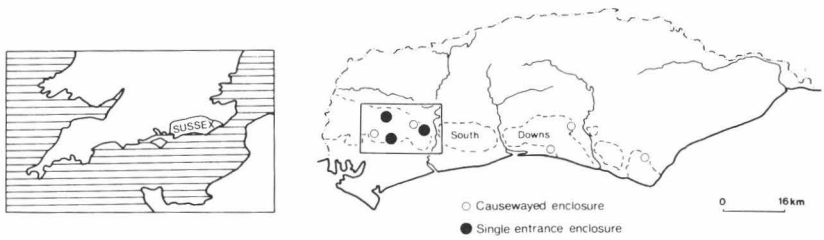
The feeble bank-and-ditch enclosure on top of Court Hill was first recorded by Eric Holden (1951). Other nearby features found at the same time included some small round barrows, an extensive field system to the north-west, and an unusual crescent-shaped earthwork, also a bank and ditch, on the slope just to the north of the enclosure (Fig. 1; Pl. I).

The enclosure itself has an irregular outline, with rounded corners. It measures up to 175 metres across, and has easy access from the east, but steep slopes on the other three sides. When first found, the enclosure was defined by a feeble bank and ditch, and there was no obvious entrance (Holden 1951). By 1982 regular ploughing had removed the bank and levelled the top of the ditch, except for a stretch in the wooded area (Fig. 2); the crescent-shaped earthwork had also been levelled. Trial excavation was undertaken, first, to date the site, and secondly, from land snail fauna, to obtain information about the environment in which it was built. Excavation was carried out for ten days in September 1982 by the Sussex Archaeological Field Unit under the direction of the author.

EXCAVATION

Four trenches were dug, all by hand; three sampled the enclosure ditch (trenches A, C and D in Fig. 2), and the fourth (trench B) investigated the crescent-shaped earthwork. The subsoil in all four trenches was Upper Chalk.

Trenches A and D revealed the enclosure ditch to be *c.* 1 metre deep, with sloping sides and a flat bottom (Figs. 2 and 3). The layers of chalky deposits within the ditch reflected a straightforward silting sequence with no sign of a re-cut. Trench A was extended to take in the area of the bank; no bank material survived, and there was not even a slight rise in the chalk



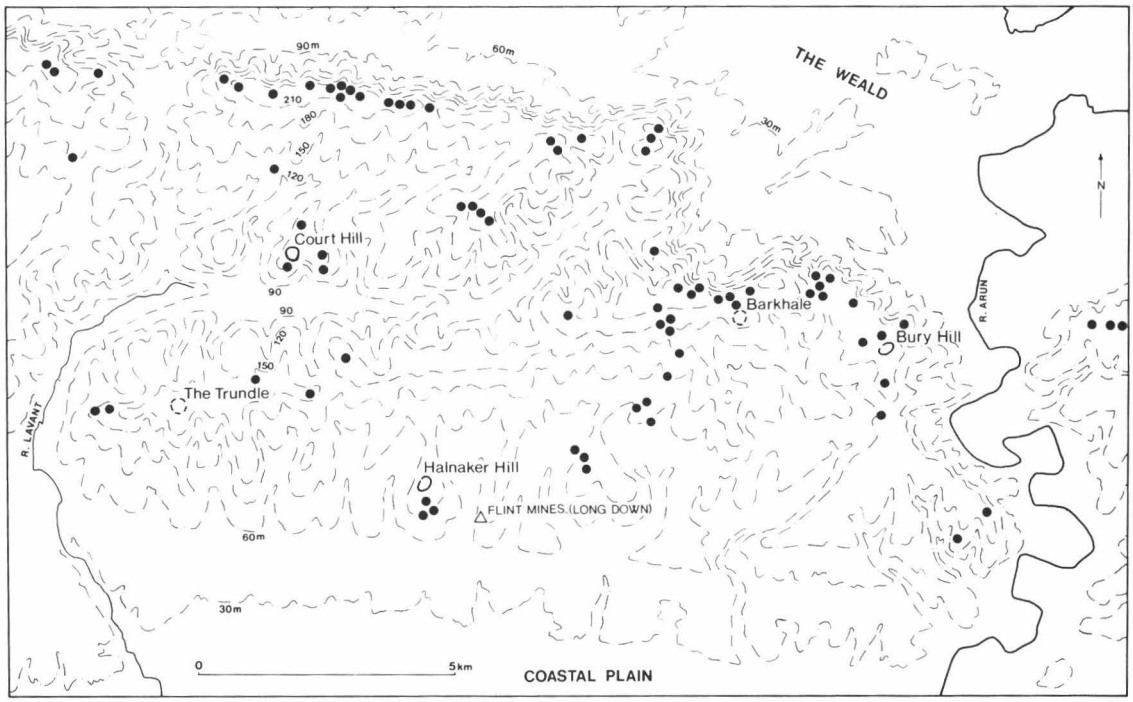


Fig. 1. Neolithic enclosures on the South Downs, west of the river Arun. Black dots represent round barrows. Contours in metres. (By F. G. Aldsworth)

bedrock to show its original position. There was no indication (e.g. post-holes) of any form of revetting.

Trench C, fortuitously, revealed a small ditch terminal, 0.5 metre deep.

Trench B, through the crescent-shaped earthwork, revealed a ditch profile and silting sequence very similar to that of the enclosure ditch. Again, no bank material survived, though there was a preserved rise in the chalk, corresponding to the original position of the bank. There was no sign of revetting. The bank would have been upslope from the ditch.

Finds were minimal. Trench C (with the ditch terminal) was sterile, and trench B yielded only nine flint flakes. From trenches A and D there were 43 flint flakes (four with retouch) and one plano-convex knife, plus 11 small sherds of pottery. These latter two trenches also provided a little animal bone (cattle, sheep and pig); there was fortunately just enough bone from the ditch floor in trench D for a radiocarbon date. Soil

Plate I. Court Hill. Vertical aerial photograph of the enclosure at Court Hill and the surrounding area. North to the top. (By permission of West Sussex County Council)

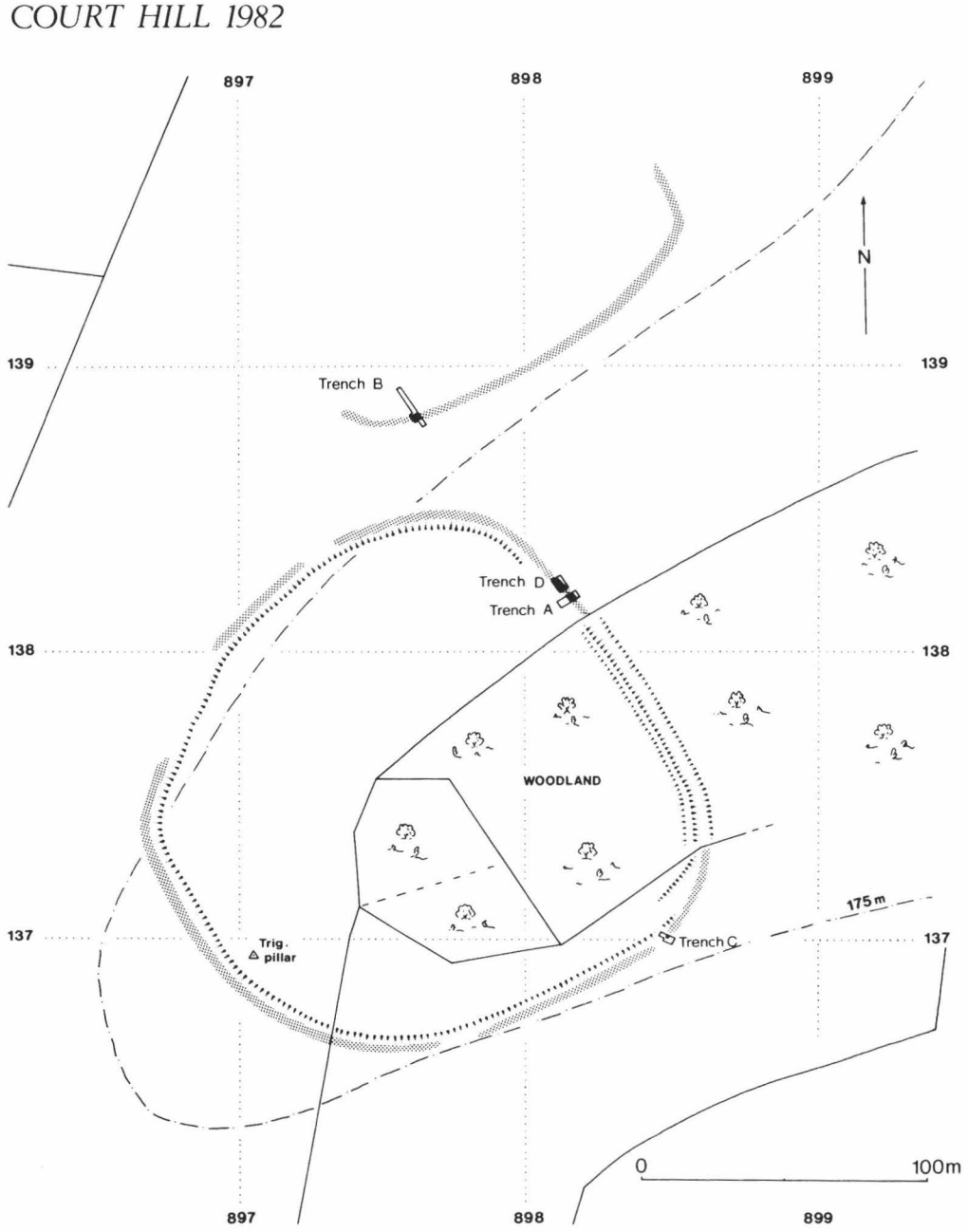


Fig. 2. Court Hill. General site plan. Contours in metres. (By F. G. Aldsworth)

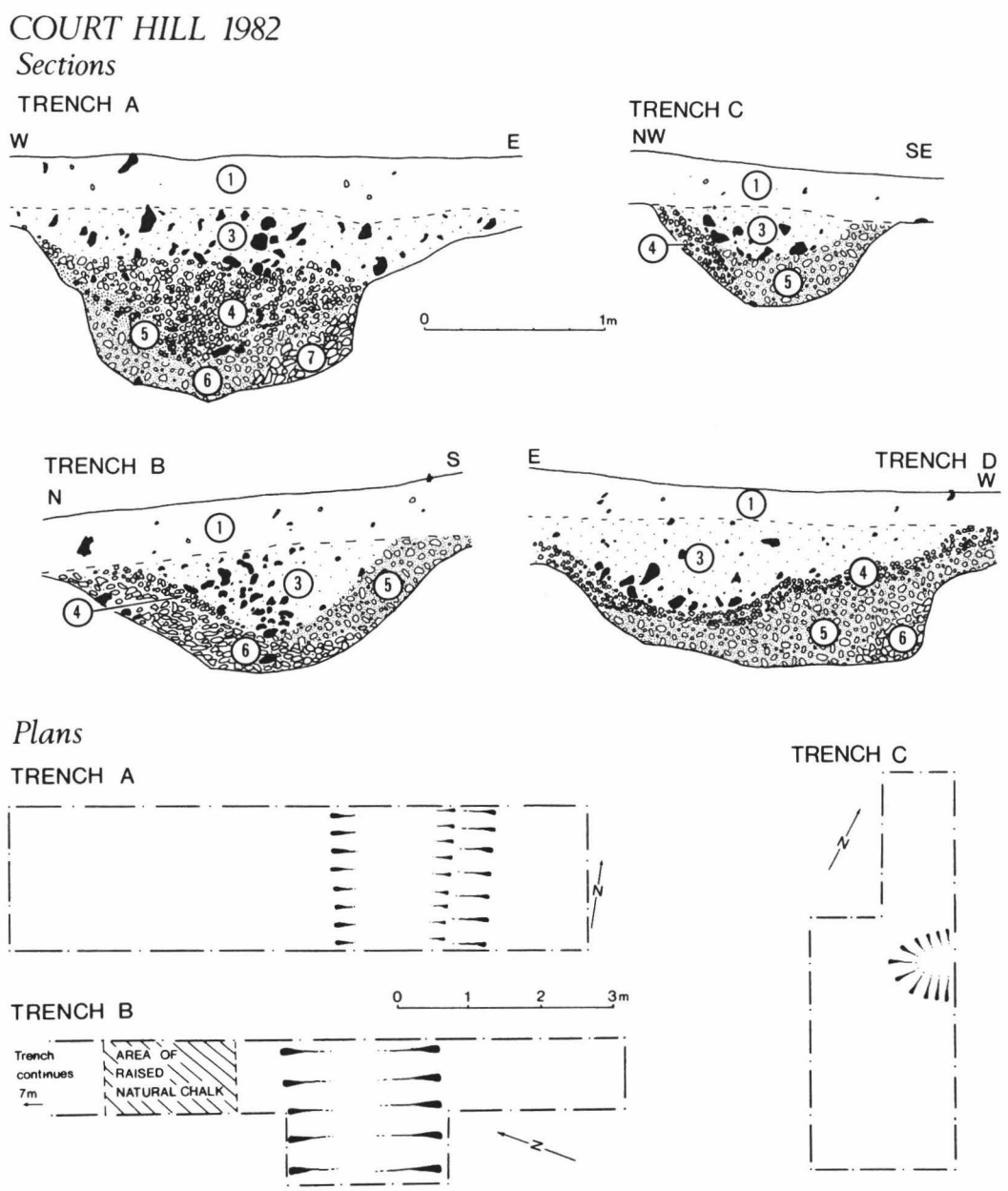


Fig. 3. Court Hill. Detailed trench plans and sections.

Key to layers

Trench A: 1 Modern ploughsoil; 3 Flint nodules in dark brown soil matrix; 4 Gritty fill of small weathered chalk chips in dark brown soil matrix; 5 Slightly weathered medium chalk chips in buff soil matrix; 6 Slightly weathered medium/large chalk chips in buff soil matrix; 7 Loose unweathered chalk rubble in white soil matrix.

Trench B: 1, 3, 4 As A1, 3, 4; 5 Loose, gritty weathered chalk chips in buff/brown soil matrix; 6 Loose unweathered chalk rubble in white soil matrix.

Trench C: 1, 3, 4 As A1, 3, 4; 5 As A6.

Trench D: 1, 3, 4 As A1, 3, 4; 5 As A6; 6 As A7.

samples were taken from the ditch silts in trenches A, B and D for molluscan analysis.

DISCUSSION

The dating evidence provided by the artefacts was imprecise, pointing only in the general direction of the prehistoric period. However, the small sample of animal bone from the ditch floor in trench D gave a radiocarbon date of 5420 ± 180 b.p., or 3470 ± 180 b.c., i.e. in the early Neolithic (date no. I-12, 893; the larger than usual uncertainty being due to the smallness of the sample). The limited artefact evidence (see below) is compatible with this; the molluscan fauna (also below) suggest a site environment in which the surrounding woodland had been removed only to a limited extent and possibly for only a short time. This would be plausible in an early Neolithic context.

The enclosure on Court Hill would therefore seem to belong to the same class of Neolithic monument as Bury Hill (Bedwin 1981; radiocarbon dates 4570 ± 80 b.p. and 4680 ± 80 b.p.). The environmental evidence for Bury Hill does, however, strongly suggest that it was constructed in a woodland clearing. Neither site has produced any clear evidence as to their function (or functions). The trial excavations at Court Hill were not intended, or expected, to establish the site's function; the aims were limited to dating and environmental evidence only. The far more extensive investigations at Bury Hill succeeded in defining only what the site was *not*; i.e. it did not appear to be a settlement or a stock enclosure, and one was left, by default, with ritual/ceremonial interpretations as the most likely. It should be noted that both Bury Hill and Court Hill later become foci of small (?E.B.A.) round barrow groups (Fig. 1). The function of an enclosure of this type will probably only be revealed by large-scale excavation of an unploughed example.

In the discussion of the Bury Hill enclosure (Bedwin 1981), the author contrasted Neolithic non-causewayed enclosures with the better known and commoner causewayed enclosures. With more information available (e.g. Drewett, forthcoming), it seems likely that this is a false antithesis. The author would now suggest that the early Neolithic technique of digging ditches in the form of pits which are linked together to a greater or lesser extent, can produce a continuum of ditched enclosure types. Thus, at one end of the range, we have Bury Hill, with all the pits linked up to form a continuous ditch with a single entrance; at the other extreme, there is the highly interrupted 'spiral' ditch of the Trundle, with intermediate forms like the innermost ditch at Whitehawk. If this is correct, the form of the ditch (i.e. continuous or discontinuous) may be of little relevance to the function of the enclosure, and hence the interpretation of the site will depend on other factors (Drewett, forthcoming). This would accord with the idea that the ditch is initially just a quarry for material to make the enclosure bank, and it is the bank which is the more important factor in defining the enclosure. Thus, where survival has been good enough and excavation has been sufficiently extensive, it looks as though the bank has fewer interruptions than the ditch (e.g. Offham: Drewett 1977). The aerial photograph of Court Hill (Pl. I) also indicates a bank that is more continuous than the ditch, e.g. on the western side.

Finally, we must consider the date of the crescent-shaped earthwork. Although only a few waste flakes came from the ditch deposits, the fact that its profile and silting sequence are so similar to that of the enclosure ditch, suggests that the two are broadly contemporary. It is unfortunate that insufficient snail species were recovered from the silts for any assessment of environment to be made (see below). As far as the author is aware, an earthwork of this form and siting is without parallel in southern England, and its purpose is hard to guess. It cannot be classified as a cross dyke because its position is atypical, being on a fairly steep slope below the enclosure. (A conventional cross dyke siting would have been across the ridge to the

east of the enclosure). A clue may be provided by Eric Holden's original observation of a so-called 'occupation site' lying outside the enclosure, broadly in the area to the north and east of trenches A and D (Fig. 2). This occupation site was defined by many irregular depressions, much calcined flint, and some flint-gritted pottery. The western edge of this area was delimited by the crescent-shaped earthwork, which may therefore have acted as a boundary. It is worth noting that, in 1982, there were no depressions, no concentrations of calcined flint and virtually no pottery in this area, indicating that this extremely interesting site has been entirely ploughed out. The small round barrows also mentioned by Holden (1951) have been levelled and are no longer visible on the ground.

SPECIALIST REPORTS

The Pottery (by P. L. Drewett)

Eleven sherds of pottery were found. One body sherd of hard, sand-tempered ware with fine flint grit (trench A, context 3) is probably pre-Roman Iron Age, while the remaining ten sherds are of Neolithic fabrics but are too small to be diagnostic. Nine of these sherds are coarse flint-tempered sherds of Fabric I, while one sherd is sandy fabric with calcined flint, Fabric IV (Drewett 1980). All sherds are probably from Earlier Neolithic round-based bowls, but as they are abraded could be residual.

The Flintwork (by P. L. Drewett)

Fifty-two pieces of struck flint were found. Forty-seven are unmodified waste flakes. Four flakes had some slight edge retouch. The only certain implement was an edge-retouched plano-convex knife from context 1 (topsoil) in trench D. This knife would fit well into an Earlier Neolithic assemblage. Table 1 summarizes the finds and their distribution.

Animal Remains

A total of 15 fragments of animal bone and teeth were identified from the ditch silts. Species represented were *Bos* (6), *Ovis* (5), and *Sus* (4). Seven fragments from the ditch floor in trench D (context 5) provided the radiocarbon date referred to in the Discussion, above.

Charcoal and Foreign Stone (by Caroline Cartwright)

Little charcoal was isolated; only *Corylus* sp. (hazel) and *Quercus* sp. (oak) were present, both from trench D, context 6. A single quernstone fragment of ferruginous sandstone came from trench D, context 3.

The Environment of the Court Hill Enclosure (by K. D. Thomas)

No trace of the enclosure bank survives so there was no old land surface or buried soil to sample. This report deals with the assemblages of land snails extracted from the ditch sediments. I thank Caroline Cartwright, Victoria Fenner and Stephen Carter for extracting the snail shells from the samples of soil.

The samples. Three sets of samples were taken, two from the enclosure ditch (trenches A and D) and one from the ditch of the crescent-shaped earthwork (trench B). Bulk samples of sediment were taken from each of the major phases of infill of the ditches (Fig. 3); thus, sample A1 is of sediment from layer 1 in trench A.

A1 Modern ploughsoil; 36% by weight of the soil is of particles coarser than 0.5 mm.

A3 Stony fill with many flint nodules in a brown clay-rich matrix; 14% of the soil is of particles coarser than 0.5 mm.

TABLE 1
Distribution of Finds according to Context

Object / *Context*	*Waste flakes*	*Retouched flakes*	*Plano-convex knife*	*Fabric I sherds*	*Fabric IV sherds*	*P.R.I.A. sherd*
A/1	11	2				
A/3	3			2		1
A/5	2					
A/6	2			3		
B/1	3	1				
B/3	5					
D/1	8	1	1			
D/3	8			3		
D/5	1					
D/6	4			1	1	
Totals	47	4	1	9	1	1

TABLE 2
Absolute Frequencies of Molluscs from Court Hill

Sample:	*A1*	*A3*	*A4*	*A5*	*A6*	*B1*	*B3*	*B4*	*B5*	*B6*	*D3*	*D4*	*D5*	*D6***
Sample weight (kg.):	*0.66*	*1.00*	*1.00*	*0.83*	*1.00*	*0.81*	*1.00*	*1.00*	*1.00*	*1.00*	*0.92*	*0.90*	*1.00*	*1.00*
Pomatias elegans (Müller)	–	–	1	2	2	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
Carychium tridentatum (Risso)	3	–	–	31	8	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	11	–
Cochlicopa lubrica (Müller)	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	6	–
C. lubricella (Porro)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	–
Cochlicopa sp.	–	–	–	21	11	1	–	–	1	–	–	2	9	–
Columella edentula (Draparnaud)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
Vertigo pygmaea (Draparnaud)	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Pupilla muscorum (Linnaeus)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	1	–	–	–	1	–
Vallonia costata (Müller)	2	–	–	–	3	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	–
V. excentrica Sterki	1	–	–	–	4	2	–	–	1	–	–	7	1	–
Punctum pygmaeum (Draparnaud)	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Discus rotundatus (Müller)	–	–	+	64	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	11	60	1
Vitrina pellucida (Müller)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	2	–
Vitrea contracta (Westerlund)	–	–	–	33	31	3	2	–	–	2	–	14	55	3
Nesovitrea hammonis (Ström)	–	–	–	14	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	7	11	–
Aegopinella nitidula (Draparnaud)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	41	2
Aegopinella sp.	–	–	–	6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Oxychilus cellarius (Müller)	–	–	–	8	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	42	–
Oxychilus sp.	–	–	–	–	6	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	–	–
Cecilioides acicula (Müller)	3	–	4	9	–	–	3	4	9	–	6	25	13	1
Trichia hispida (Linnaeus)	–	2	–	1	2	1	–	–	+	–	–	–	1	–
Arianta arbustorum (Linnaeus)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
Cepaea hortensis (Müller)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Cepaea/Arianta apices	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	–
Cepaea sp.	–	–	–	+	1	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–
Totals*	6	2	1	183	77	7	2	5	3	3	0	58	251	6

* Excluding *Cecilioides acicula*
Non-apical fragments represented as +
**This sample also yielded one cheek tooth of *Microtus agrestis* (Linnaeus)

A4 Slightly weathered chalk fragments in a dark brown, clay-rich matrix; 5% coarse material.
A5 Weathered chalk fragments in a brown clay matrix; 33% coarse particles.
A6 Slightly weathered chalk fragments in a buff-coloured soil matrix; 36% coarse material.
A7 Angular chalk fragments in a soft off-white matrix; 17% coarse particles.
B1 Modern ploughsoil; 25% coarse material.
B3 Stony layer with a brown clay-rich matrix; 7% coarse particles.
B4 Small weathered chalk lumps in a dark brown soil matrix; 40% coarse material.
B5 Loose deposit of weathered chalk fragments in a buff/brown soil matrix; 50% coarse particles.
B6 Slightly weathered chalk lumps in a buff-coloured matrix; 41% coarse material.
D1 Modern ploughsoil.
D3 Stones in a brown clay-rich matrix; 14% coarse material.
D4 Small weathered chalk lumps in fine, dark brown matrix; 31% coarse particles.
D5 Weathered chalk lumps in brown soil matrix; 30% coarse material.
D6 Loose fill of unweathered chalk lumps in pale buff clay-rich matrix; 38% coarse particles.

Method and results. Samples of soil weighing 1 kg., or otherwise of as much soil as was available, were extracted in the laboratory by wet-sieving (Evans 1972). All shell apices and other diagnostic fragments larger than 0.5 mm. were removed, identified and counted. The results are shown in Table 2. In general, the assemblages are rather depauperate and the whole sequence of samples from trench B will not be discussed here as all the assemblages are very small. Of the other two series of samples, only those from the early ditch deposits contain large numbers of shells. The species from these assemblages (i.e. from samples A5, A6, D4 and D5) have been assigned to various ecological groups, the percentage frequencies of which are shown in Table 3. The numbers of taxa assigned to each group are shown in Table 4. Sample A7 contained no shells and may have been derived from *in situ* rotted chalk or from chalky material which was rapidly washed into the ditch soon after it was dug. The relatively coarse nature of the samples cannot adequately account for the low abundance of shells recovered, since the largest assemblages derive from some of the coarsest deposits.

TABLE 3
Percentage Frequencies of Different Ecological Groups in Selected Snail Assemblages from Court Hill

Ecological group	*A5*	*A6*	*D4*	*D5*
Open-country	0.6	9.1	12.1	1.2
Catholic	13.1	18.2	5.2	10.0
Pomatias elegans	1.1	2.6	+	–
Shade-loving	85.2	70.1	82.8	88.8

TABLE 4
Numbers of Taxa in Different Ecological Groups in Selected Snail Assemblages from Court Hill

Ecological group	*A5*	*A6*	*D4*	*D5*
Open-country	1	2	1	3
Catholic	4	3	2	5
Pomatias elegans	1	1	1	—
Shade-loving	7	4	6	8
Total taxa	13	10	10	16

Samples A1, A3 and A4. Snail shells are so rare (and those recovered, badly pitted and eroded) in these samples that no environmental interpretations are possible. It is interesting to note that at the two other known Neolithic enclosures in the northern part of the downs in West Sussex, i.e. Barkhale (Thomas 1983) and Bury Hill (Thomas, in Bedwin 1981), preservation of mollusc shells in the recent soil was also poor. This might be associated with localized pockets of clay-with-flints which occur at these sites. The condition of the shells in these samples contrasts markedly with those in the samples described below, which were beautifully preserved.

Samples A5 and A6. These assemblages are dominated by shade-loving and other ecologically compatible elements. Open-country species are more abundant in layer A6 than in A5 (Tables 3 and 4), possibly indicating more open conditions around the site in the earlier phases.

Samples D4, D5 and D6. Very few snail species were recovered from sample D6 but all are of shade-loving species. However, this sample also yielded a single molar tooth of a field vole (*Microtus agrestis*), a species which is commonly found in grassland habitats or in open woodland with a grassy ground cover. This find might indicate more open environments in the early phases of the life of the site. The mollusc assemblages from samples D4 and D5 were dominated by shade-loving and other compatible species. Sample D5 had more open-country taxa than sample D4 (Table 4) but, paradoxically, sample D4 had a higher percentage frequency of open-country species (Table 3).

Discussion. I have discussed elsewhere (Thomas 1981) the problems of interpreting land snail assemblages from ditch deposits. In general, it appears to be the case that when ditches are dug in open-country environments, the assemblages of molluscs in the primary and secondary deposits of ditches contain a strong representation of open-country species. In the present example, samples A5, A6, D4, D5 and D6 yielded a total of only 18 specimens of four open-country species from a total of 575 identified individuals distributed between 21 species. Of these open-country species, *Pupilla muscorum* and *Vallonia costata* have been recorded living at low abundance in woodland habitats. However, the occurrence in these deposits of *Vertigo pygmaea* and *Vallonia excentrica*, along with the field vole, must suggest some grassland or open habitats in the vicinity of the site. These latter species never reach high levels of abundance in these samples and, possibly significantly, obligate xerophiles of chalkland habitats, such as *Helicella itala* (Linnaeus), appear not to have colonized the site. These observations might suggest that there were partial barriers inhibiting the migration of open-country species to the site and/or that open conditions at the site were short-lived so that open-country species never established large or diverse breeding populations.

Can the interpretation of an environment consisting of a clearing in woodland be sustained for this site? Possibly, but the absence of good woodland indicators, such as *Acicula fusca* (Montagu) or *Helicigona lapicida* (Linnaeus), and of certain other general indicators of woodland, such as the Clausiliidae, is a little worrying. It remains possible that the enclosure was constructed in a fully open landscape and that the mollusc assemblages described here represent only the peculiar conditions of the ditch micro-habitat. The paucity of open-country species militates against this interpretation. The ditch was rather shallow (less than 1 metre deep and 2 metres wide) and should have offered ecological opportunities for early colonization by open-country species, if they had been around to take advantage of them.

The low abundance of *Pomatias elegans* is intriguing. High abundances of this species have been used to infer clearance episodes at certain other Neolithic enclosures in Sussex, including Offham (Thomas, in Drewett 1977) and the Trundle (Thomas, in Bedwin & Aldsworth 1981). The species appears to have been unable to take advantage of the broken soil and rubbly conditions which existed in the past at Court Hill. Possibly soil conditions at the site were never very favourable to this shallow-burrowing species.

The virtual absence of snail shells in the tertiary fill of the ditch and in the modern ploughsoil makes any discussion of environmental sequences very difficult. I tentatively offer the following speculations:

1. In early Neolithic times a clearing was made in the woodland at Court Hill and the enclosure was constructed. This cleared area, of unknown extent, was colonized by a few species of animals with a preference for open habitats (four species of land snails and the field vole).
2. The absence of large numbers of open-country species, especially obligate xerophiles, from the lower levels in the ditch deposits might indicate that the clearance phase was of short duration or that the clearing was a localized one, or both. The evidence for the later environmental history of the site is inadequate and therefore cannot be used to sustain any particular hypothesis.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank the Goodwood Estate, through Mr. C. P. Nicoll, and the tenant farmer, Mr. John Holt of Droke Farm, for permission to excavate. Thanks are also due to those who helped on site: James Hadfield, Steve Tucker, Peter Reeves and Anna Finegold; to F. G. Aldsworth for his help and encouragement and also for providing Figs. 2 and 3; and to Peter Drewett, Caroline Cartwright and Ken Thomas for specialist reports and identifications. The finds are in Chichester District Museum.

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FIELD SURVEY OF CHICHESTER HARBOUR, 1982

by Caroline R. Cartwright

The coastline in Chichester Harbour from West Wittering to the west side of Thorney Island near Emsworth was systematically fieldwalked for evidence of saltmarsh utilization. A total of 72 sites were located along the tidal margins of the foreshore. Most yielded occupation/industrial debris in the form of much flintwork, largely Neolithic in character, with high proportions of scrapers. Other tools, waste material, cores, and hearth-like areas of fire-cracked flint were also much in evidence. Pottery sherds, mostly dating from the Iron Age and Roman periods, were also found. An important concentration of Iron Age and Romano-British material from an industrial and occupation site was located on Thorney Island near Prinsted. Erosion by the sea has resulted in the general spread of archaeological material along the foreshore of the Chichester Harbour area.

The field survey of the Chichester Harbour area was undertaken during August 1982, to assess the extent of coastal erosion of possible occupation sites from the Neolithic to the Roman periods. (It formed part of the Sussex Archaeological Field Unit's Neolithic-Bronze Age Settlement Project, and its Coastal Plain Project.) By the location of concentrations of flintwork, pottery and surviving archaeological features, it was hoped that clearer details would emerge of saltmarsh resource utilization in the area, and the extent to which these habitation and industrial sites are being destroyed through various coastal erosion agencies.

Over a ten-day period, the coastline from West Wittering to the western side of Thorney Island (near Emsworth) was systematically fieldwalked, and representative collections of material were made from each site. (As most of the sites were covered daily by the tide, certain stretches had to be examined more than once.) The results of the survey are detailed below according to site number, but a discussion of the sites in the context of the area as a whole follows.

Ecologically at the present day the area comprises vegetation and wildlife of saltmarsh, mudflats, shingle reaches and dunes. Since the Neolithic period, the conformation of the coastline has obviously altered somewhat in detail through erosion and re-deposition, but it seems likely that utilization of this type of saltmarsh environment spans the Neolithic (and earlier) through the Roman period.

Generally speaking, the flint utilized in most of the assemblages derives from the gravels, although some isolated examples may derive from the Chalk. Although this will be discussed in detail below, we may note here that most of the flintwork appears to be Neolithic in character, although there may be some Bronze/Iron Age, and in some cases certain Mesolithic elements. There are a few heavily-patinated coarse waste pieces, uncharacteristic of the material in general (and typically yellow/orange in colour) which may be associated with Palaeolithic flintworking.

Sites CH/1–CH/10

The tidal margins of the headlands and foreshore at West Wittering yielded much in the way of flintwork: waste material, tools, and fire-cracked flints. This flint material is found scattered along the coastline, both in the form of individual concentrations, and in the remains of occupation sites which now appear as 'mounds' (CH/4) or pits (CH/6); erosion of these sites by the sea accounts for the foreshore distribution of material.

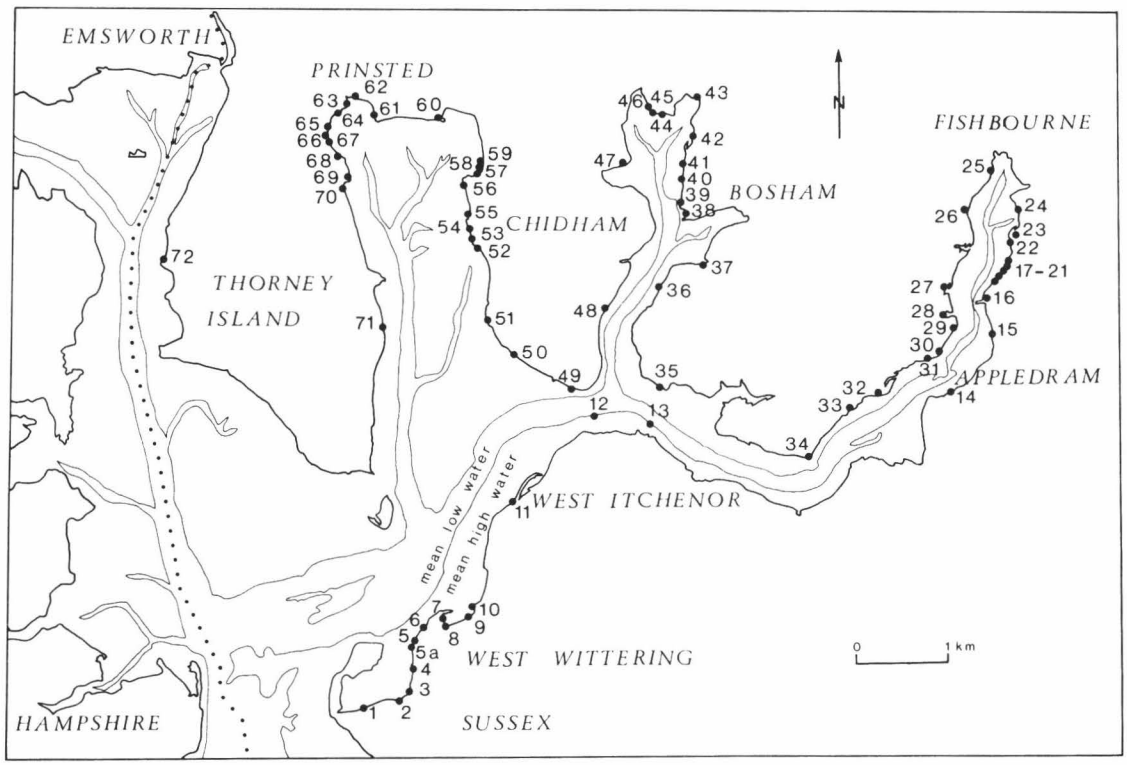

Fig. 1. Chichester Harbour survey. Distribution of sites.

Sites CH/11–CH/13

The coastal margins around the west of Itchenor consist of wide expanses of mudflats and saltmarsh (saltings) and collection of material proved hazardous. Fire-cracked flints, waste flakes, and some retouched flint material including scrapers were found, continuing the pattern of prehistoric coastal resource utilization.

Sites CH/14–CH/16

Certain sites have been included numerically on this survey where they have been noted as previously yielding relevant material. These areas have been re-examined to ascertain the present range of material available. Sites CH/14–CH/16 in the Appledram area are known to have produced Romano-British occupation and industrial material in the past (see below), but no such material was evident on the foreshore in the present survey. The material must evidently have derived from sites in fields adjacent to, but not immediately on, the coastal margins. Flintwork was in fact found in the field opposite Dell Quay by D. Goodburn (details below), again including retouched flints and scrapers. For this area therefore, we may either assume the destruction of sites in the immediate foreshore area or camouflaging of material at the present day due to depths of the mudflats, or a slight shift of emphasis in occupation trends from the shores to settlement and working sites slightly further inland. (It should be noted however that restriction of access along this stretch may have contributed to the overall paucity of finds in this immediate area.)

Sites CH/17–CH/24

Although mud expanses are still present in the 'northern' Appledram coastline area the concentrations of (Neolithic?) flintwork are evident along the margins of the Fishbourne Channel. Waste flakes, retouched flakes and blades, scrapers, a small blade core, and fire-cracked flints characterize the assemblages.

Sites CH/25–CH/26

CH/25, apart from structures and material currently being excavated by D. Rudkin, produced evidence for much Romano-British pottery in an adjacent drainage ditch, close to the foreshore. None was found in the tidal margins at CH/26, however, during the present survey.

Sites CH/27–CH/34

Sites along the coastal reaches from near Hook Lane to Longmere Point contain flintwork, and pottery ranging from Roman to post-medieval. CH/30 appears to resemble CH/4 in that it contains layers with fire-cracked flints, possibly representing the remnants of an occupation/industrial site in the cliff, currently being eroded away. Apart from waste material and fire-cracked flints, one core, one retouched blade ('knife') and one scraper were found.

Sites CH/35–CH/36

These sites, west of Bosham Hoe, yielded a small amount of waste material, and a fair amount of fire-cracked flints. (Access during the survey was restricted.)

Sites CH/37–CH/43

In the Bosham area, seven sites characterize the nature of prehistoric occupation, and include waste and retouched flakes, much fire-cracked flint, some scraper-type tools, a retouched blade (knife), and possibly an awl. Again the material appears to be strongly Neolithic in style.

Sites CH/44–CH/47

These four sites fringe the Cutmill and Chidham creeks; low cliff lines are visible at intervals along the saltings. Site CH/44 has much waste material and scrapers, and site CH/45 (similar to CH/30 and CH/4) reveals areas in the cliff where layers of fire-cracked and other flint material are at present being eroded out on to the shore by the sea. Waste material and fire-cracked flints derived from these horizons fan out over the tidal margins.

Sites CH/48–CH/51

Site CH/48 at Cobnor and sites CH/49–CH/51, west of Cobnor Point, produced mostly fire-cracked flints and waste material.

Sites CH/52–CH/59

Sites CH/52–CH/54 and CH/56–CH/59 contained material very similar in character to that excavated at CH/55 (see below), and it may be suggested that in fact all the material in this area is interrelated. Much waste material was found; also retouched and notched flakes, blades and other tools, many scrapers and some cores. Site CH/59 produced a flaked flint Neolithic axe. The nature of the flintwork from all these sites is largely Neolithic, as is much of the flintwork from the excavated site at Chidham (Drewett in Bedwin 1980). The pottery ranges in date from Early Iron Age to Roman.

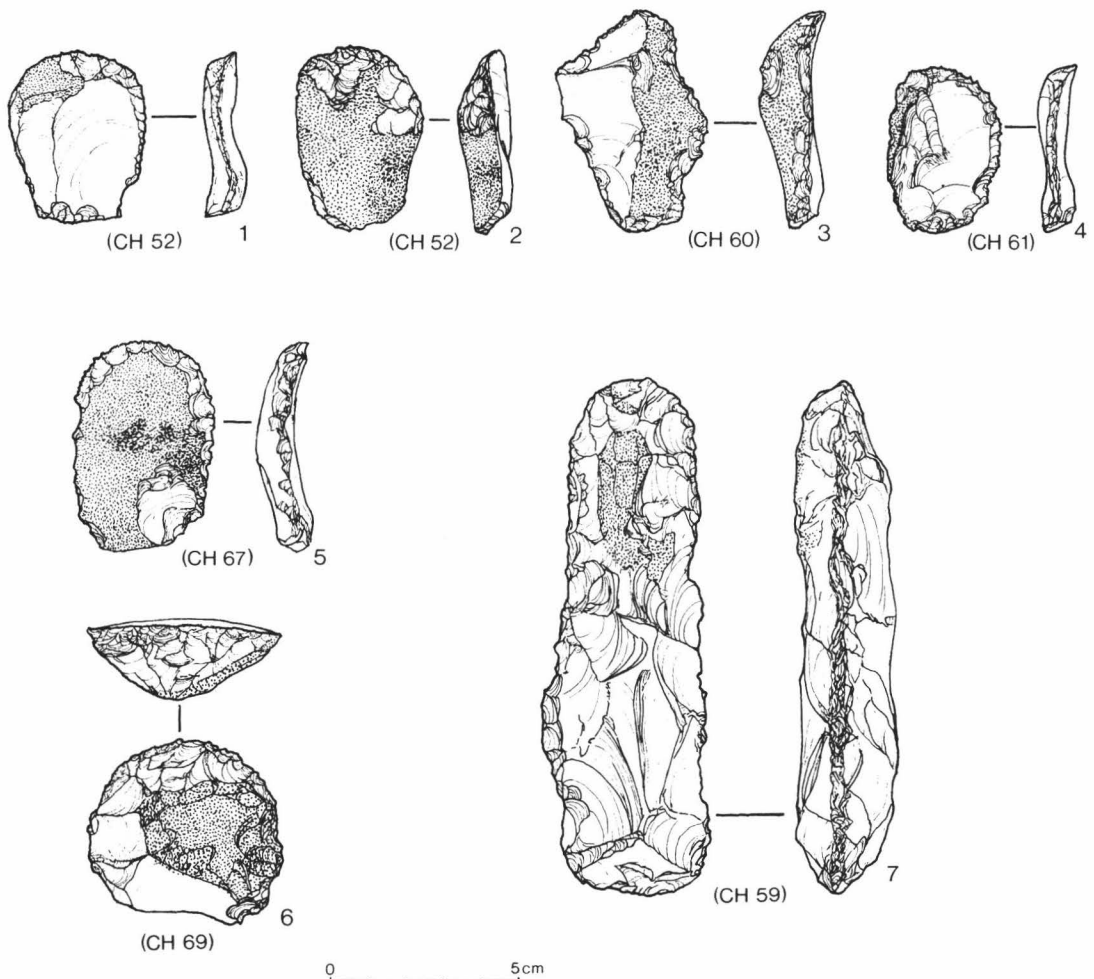

Fig. 2. Chichester Harbour survey. Some of the finds. 1–6: scrapers; 7: flaked flint axe. (Numbers in brackets refer to sites listed in text).

CH/55 is the Neolithic and Iron Age site excavated in 1978 by O. R. Bedwin (Bedwin 1980, 163–70). During the 1982 survey it was revealing to note the extent of present destruction by the sea of the archaeological features evident in 1978. Almost nothing remains of the site, as the low cliff line has receded rapidly. P. L. Drewett (in Bedwin 1980) has suggested that the high proportion of scrapers in the flint assemblage of CH/55 may be linked with hunting/fishing tool-preparation activities. The presence of similarly high proportions of scrapers in the sites found in the present survey of this area (and in the CH/65–CH/68 area) may plausibly be attributed to these activities also. CH/52 produced interesting impressions of *Triticum spelta* chaff in two Late Iron Age/Roman daub fragments (P. Hinton).

The reader's attention is drawn to the gazetteer by R. Bradley (in Bedwin 1980) of saltworking sites in the Chichester and Portsmouth Harbour areas.

Sites CH/60–CH/61

These sites contain material distributed from the shingle spit to the foreshore. The flintwork includes waste, retouched and notched flakes, a number of scrapers, a possible axe-roughout and an awl-blank. Concentrations of fire-cracked flints on the foreshore suggest hearth areas. Some Early Iron Age pottery sherds are also present. The Neolithic character of these assemblages (present in the flintwork) continues in the tradition of those clustering around the occupation site at Chidham itself (CH/55), and may also be compared with those at CH/65–CH/68.

Sites CH/62–CH/70

CH/62–CH/70 include sites associated with Iron Age/Roman occupation and possibly saltworking activities, again with the additional element of 'Neolithic-type' flintwork well represented. The occupation/industrial site foci are located at CH/65–66 and CH/67–68, but similar material is present in the outliers at CH/62–64 and CH/69–70 (Prinsted to Thornham Point). Overall characteristics appear generally to resemble those present at Chidham (CH/55) although it would appear that the Roman element is more strongly represented. This site-complex may date from a later period than that at Chidham; the relationship between the two, and the details of possible continuity of saltmarsh exploitation in this area, must await excavation.

At present these sites are being badly eroded by the sea's tides and much material is scattered along the foreshore. During the survey samples of the material were collected and comprise many waste flakes, retouched and notched flakes, scrapers, cores, blades, a hammerstone, an 'awl', and a 'borer', and a great deal of fire-cracked flint (details below). Again it is interesting to note the high proportion of scrapers, and, as at CH/55, many of these do not fall into easily classifiable categories (Drewett in Bedwin 1980). Much pottery is evident; some Early Iron Age sherds, over 256 Late Iron Age sherds, and Roman pottery sherds were found. (One sherd of post-medieval pottery was found at CH/62.)

Site CH/71

Neolithic/Bronze Age flints were found at West Thorney in 1959. During the present survey some waste and retouched flakes were found.

Site CH/72

From Longmere Point around the coast of West Thorney to Emsworth there is sporadic but regular scatter of fire-cracked flint, but only at CH/72 is there a cluster of fire-cracked material and a waste flake. Much of the coastal margin has been covered by modern debris or concrete slabs and overall access to the foreshore was severely limited.

CONCLUSION

Clearly in the Chichester Harbour area we have a number of sites yielding much material attributable to Neolithic and later activities. As detailed elsewhere, many of these habitation/strandlooping/industrial sites would afford valuable evidence through excavation of the nature and time-span of prehistoric saltmarsh utilization in the Chichester Harbour region. It is to be hoped that further investigations may be initiated as soon as possible to elicit as much information as there is before coastal erosion finally destroys these sites.

Details of the material found at each of the sites (CH/1–CH/72) are summarized on microfiche. Fig. 1 is a distribution map of sites found during the survey, and Fig. 2 contains a selection of the finds.

Acknowledgements

The concept of the survey of the Chichester Harbour area was originally devised by P. L. Drewett who, owing to other excavation commitments, entrusted the survey to the writer; my thanks to him for this and for helpful discussion. I should like to thank Captain I. S. S. Mackay, R.N., Manager and Harbour Master, Chichester Harbour Conservancy, for permission to conduct this survey. Thanks are also due to F. G. Aldsworth of the West Sussex County Council for providing maps with annotations of hitherto recorded sites; to O. R. Bedwin, D. R. Rudling and P. Hinton for specialist contributions; to Lysbeth Drewett for drawing the finds; to those who assisted throughout on the survey, Sue Browne, Myfanwy Stewart, David McDonnell, Elizabeth Bradshaw and Mark Taylor; and to D. Goodburn for providing additional fieldwalking information.

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Note

The finds are in Chichester District Museum; a copy of the survey archive is held by the West Sussex County Council Sites and Monuments Record.

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EXCAVATIONS AT HOLLINGBURY CAMP, SUSSEX, 1967–9

by John Holmes

INTRODUCTION

The hill-fort of Hollingbury, Sussex, was excavated by Dr. E. Cecil Curwen in 1931.[1] This was pioneer work, for at that time few hill-forts in Britain had been excavated and there was little previous knowledge. A special feature of Dr. Curwen's work was his discovery of post-holes which led him to investigate a double row of palisade posts associated with the rampart. Dr. Curwen was at first of the opinion that the rampart had never been revetted by any timber construction associated with this palisade, but he was able to discuss the matter on the site with Professor Bersu who told him that similar palisade posts were quite usual in Iron Age forts in Germany. Professor Bersu had himself shown that those posts formed part of a regular wall built of timber, stones and earth. Dr. Curwen then attempted a reconstruction of the Hollingbury defences; his conjectural restoration was published as a note in *Antiquaries Journal* for April 1933.[2] This restoration has been quoted in hill-fort literature many times since, but it has not always been remembered that it was conjectural.

The interior of the fort could not be excavated to any extent in 1931 because the whole area was then covered with gorse bushes, but narrow trenches were dug all along the footpath across the site. No pits were encountered and very little pottery was found. It is a reminder of the state of archaeological knowledge 50 years ago that Dr. Curwen, a leading archaeologist of his time, looked for pits but did not consider the possibility of finding hut-sites; the idea that prehistoric peoples lived in 'pit dwellings' was still latent in archaeological thinking and it was to be several years later before archaeologists commonly looked for the round huts which are now so familiar on Iron Age sites.

The only basis for estimating the date of the hill-fort was the handful of pottery which was collected in the course of excavation. This was examined by Christopher Hawkes, then of the British Museum, who pronounced the occupation to have lasted from roughly 450 B.C. to 250 B.C., which at the time was his estimate for what Reginald Smith, using the Continental terms, had called the 'Hallstatt-La Tène I' phase. It is unfortunate that, in drawing conclusions from this scanty evidence, Dr. Curwen was led astray in his dating of the fort. He argued that all the features of the site must be attributed to the span of 450 B.C. to 250 B.C. indicated by the pottery, since he had found no evidence of occupation at any other period. He therefore suggested that the Hallstatt settlement had originally been delimited only by the small bank and ditch which he traced across the eastern part of the camp but that the settlement was enclosed and defended by the main rampart and ditch at a much later date, say about 300 B.C.

In 1931 Hollingbury hill-fort could be fitted in well with the ideas then current about the nature of hill-forts. Christopher Hawkes summarized these in 1931 in an article in *Antiquity*,[3] where he said that warfare was exceptional but that 'from time to time hostilities broke out, the country folk with their stock crowded into the tribal stronghold and its defences were hurriedly re-conditioned to withstand assault'. According to this way of thinking, Hollingbury hill-fort was not built until there was some threat of war or invasion.

A decade later, Christopher Hawkes elaborated these ideas for the whole line of major hill-forts along the Sussex coast and into Hampshire. From his study of the excavated evidence, mainly pottery, it seemed probable that all had been constructed at one time, about the middle of the 3rd century B.C. Christopher Hawkes believed that there had been an incursion of people from the Marne district of Northern France and that it was the arrival of these Marnian invaders which provided the occasion for a wave of hill-fort building. To conform with this invasion hypothesis, Dr. Curwen then adjusted the date of Hollingbury hill-fort to about 250 B.C.

It is clear that new people had been moving into Britain from before 300 B.C. (the pottery and metalwork prove it), and certainly some hill-forts were built or rebuilt at that time, but it has subsequently become clear that Hollingbury was not one of them; much more work on hill-forts has been done and ideas about them have changed.[4]

The total, or almost total, excavation of a site first became possible during the 1939–45 war, when defence sites such as airfields were being stripped and levelled. For example, there was at Heathrow, Middlesex, a quadrangular enclosure defended by a single bank and ditch, very similar to Hollingbury fort but rather smaller in area. The interior was found to contain 11 round huts and the period of occupation was from Iron Age A continuing into Iron Age B, roughly the same as at Hollingbury.[5] Much work has been done since then in stripping the interior of hill-forts and it is now recognized that almost all hill-forts were inhabited sites containing huts in at least part of their area.

Air photography has also helped to reveal Iron Age settlements, including those within hill-forts. Arbury Banks, in the parish of Ashwell, Herts., is a small hill-fort of about the same size as Hollingbury. Some 'pit-dwellings' were found in the course of trial excavations in 1858 but the full extent of the settlement was only revealed by crop marks in an aerial photograph taken in about 1950 by Dr. St. Joseph. Several large circles probably indicate hut-sites and one is enclosed in a rectangular ditch. The whole area is full of post-holes, including several groups of four large holes.[6]

As knowledge of the complexities of hill-forts increased so the concept of Hollingbury as a refuge hastily constructed in a time of danger became less convincing. It became clear that there must have been a settlement within the defences and that remains of huts would be discovered if a large enough area could be excavated to reveal them. It became clear, too, that there was something wrong with the dating. The date-range attributed to the handful of pottery found by Dr. Curwen might well indicate roughly the period of occupation, but the dating of the defences to the end of that period could not be right. Dr. Curwen did point out that the design of hill-forts east of the river Adur contrasted strikingly with those in West Sussex but he explained this by suggesting that the river Adur was a political frontier in the 3rd century B.C.[7] It is now more pertinent to suggest that the hill-forts differ because they are of different dates. The style of the Hollingbury rampart, an earth wall in conjunction with a timber framework, is unlike the earthworks of dump construction which were built to enclose the later hill-forts. The timber-framed wall is well known from forts of the Hallstatt period on the Continent. Professor Bersu showed from his excavations in Germany that hill-fort building there began quite suddenly in Hallstatt B times, but that the use of a horizontal berm (as at Hollingbury) instead of an outer slope was a development of the latter part of Hallstatt C. For this, the continental dating is from late in the 7th century till early in the 6th century B.C., and it is this date which now ought to be given to the Hollingbury defences.

To understand and re-interpret Hollingbury hill-fort more facts were needed and the way to get them was to excavate as large an area as possible within the earthwork. This was the object of excavations which were undertaken by

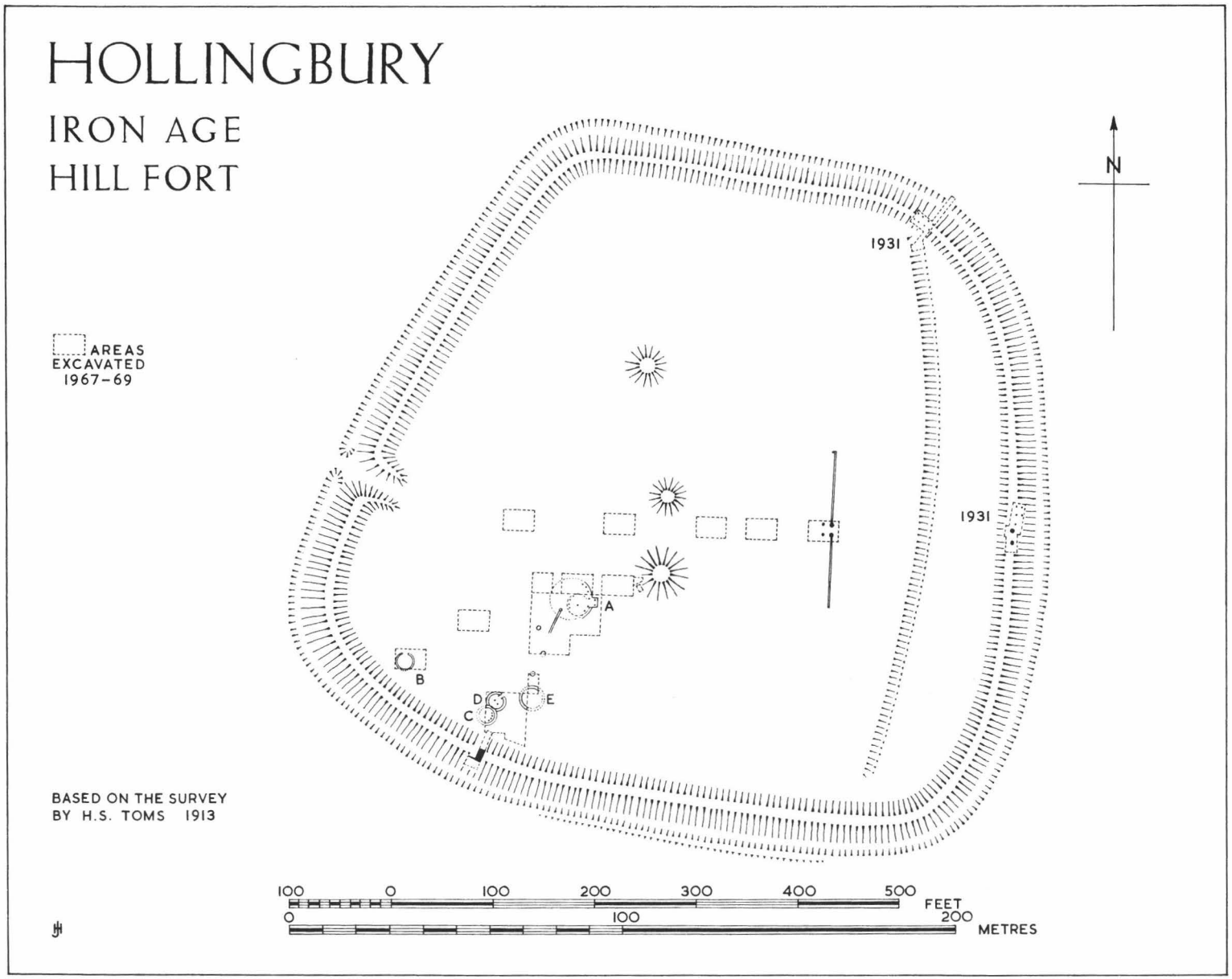

Fig. 1. Plan of Hollingbury Iron Age hill-fort.

the Brighton and Hove Archaeological Society in three summer seasons in 1967, 1968 and 1969.

EXCAVATION

Hollingbury hill-fort is situated on the Upper Chalk which here has a capping of clay-with-flints; the earthwork is on the eastern edge of this geological deposit. A trial excavation across the middle of the site revealed no archaeological features but showed that the natural deposit of clay-with-flints is very thin, being only a foot thick on top of the hill and only inches thick on the eastern slope. Most of the clay has been washed away, leaving only pockets of yellow clay in the hollows of the very irregular surface of the chalk. The geological deposit which remains is 'a mélange of local materials disturbed and partly re-sorted by local ice caps or snow fields' during the Pleistocene Ice Age.[8]

The method adopted to search for archaeological features was to strip large areas of turf and topsoil and to examine the exposed ground. A trial survey was done with a resistivity meter to see whether the detail of archaeological features could be detected by variations in soil resistance, but this was not successful. A series of strips, each 20 ft. wide, was then set out across the southern part of the site; each strip was tested by excavation and opened up as necessary wherever huts or other features were discovered (see Fig. 1 for sites excavated).

The hut floors were not easy to find since the material of which they are composed is very little different in appearance from the natural clay-with-flints. The material of a floor was found to be more compacted than the natural ground but the hard surface could often be located more by feel than by appearance. The presence of a hut was always indicated by the discovery of potsherds in some quantity, spread over the site of the hut and embedded in the surface of its floor. Once the surface of a floor had been cleaned, post-holes could sometimes be seen by the slightly darker colour of their filling, especially when the ground was damp, but again it was easier to seek for them by the loose feel of their filling.

It was a disappointment to find that the area occupied by hut sites had been badly disturbed by military digging during the 1914–18 war, so that only vestiges of huts were found. The hilltop had been used for practice trench digging by soldiers stationed in Brighton in training for France and this activity had destroyed much of the archaeological features. The hill is not known to have been used for any military purpose during the 1939–45 war, apart from an Observer Corps post which was dug into the rampart on the north side, but some small detachment must have been there for a short time because someone had dug pits which penetrated the floor of the large hut (Hut A). Near by there was a ring-mark on the grass which we at first suspected might be the site of a round hut of the Iron Age but which we later decided was the site of a war-time bell-tent; we thought that the circular mark had been caused by creosote used for camouflage being washed off the tent by rain.

HUTS AND OTHER IRON AGE FEATURES (Figs. 2 and 3)

Hut A was a large round hut which might have been about 40 ft. in diameter, judging by the surviving portion; the greater part of it had been destroyed by military digging. The floor appeared as a hard, flinty layer which was surrounded by a shallow gully about 2 ft. 3 in. wide. Six post-holes were found round the edge of the floor; each hole had been dug into the chalk to a depth of nearly 2 ft. from the floor surface and had held a round post about 9 in. in diameter. Each post had been packed round with stones and earth in which the impression of the round post remained after the post itself had decayed. The hut floor must have been laid after the posts had been erected, for their impressions showed at the surface of the floor as round patches of darker material.

The surrounding gully was interrupted

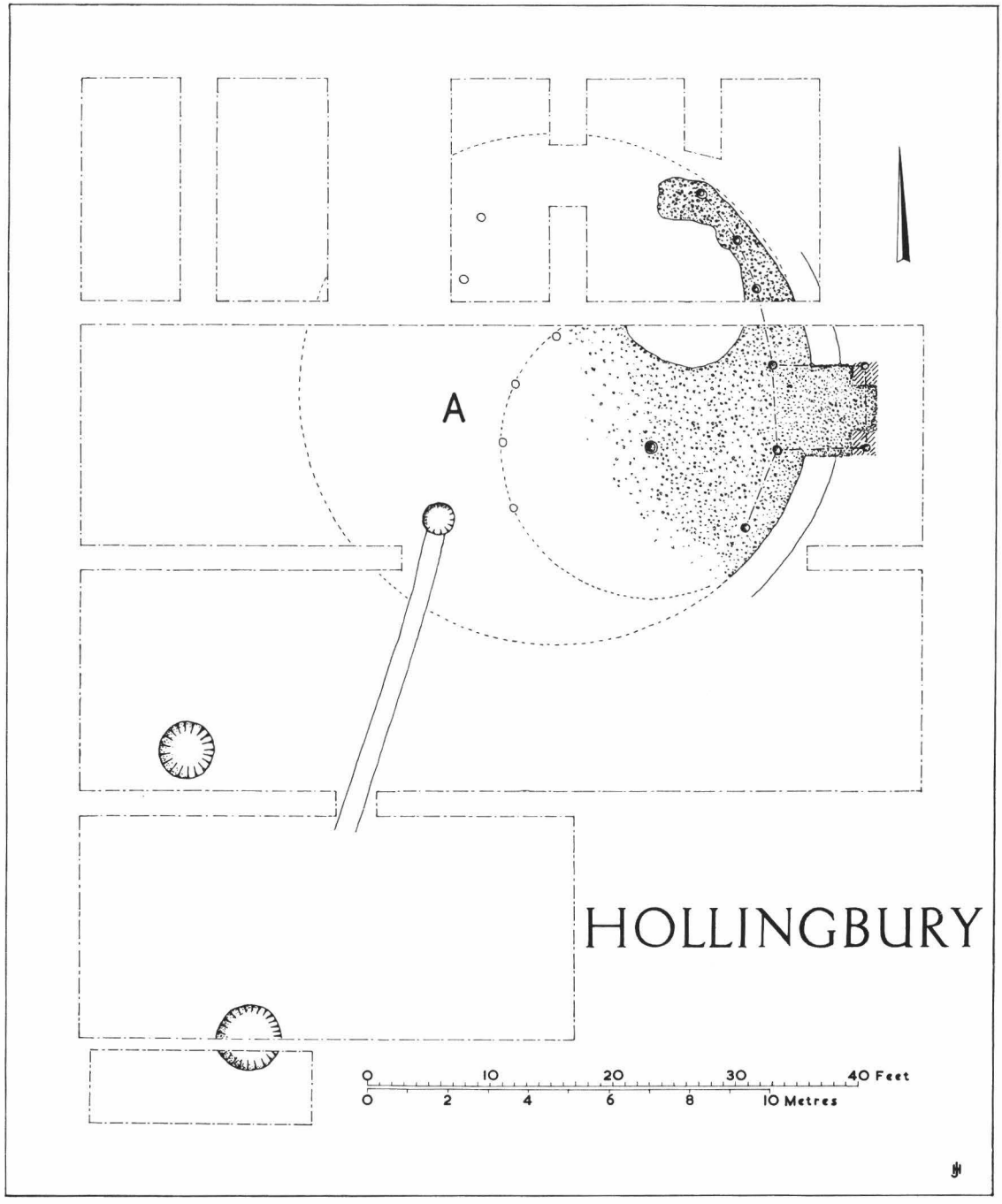

Fig. 2. Plan of Hut A.

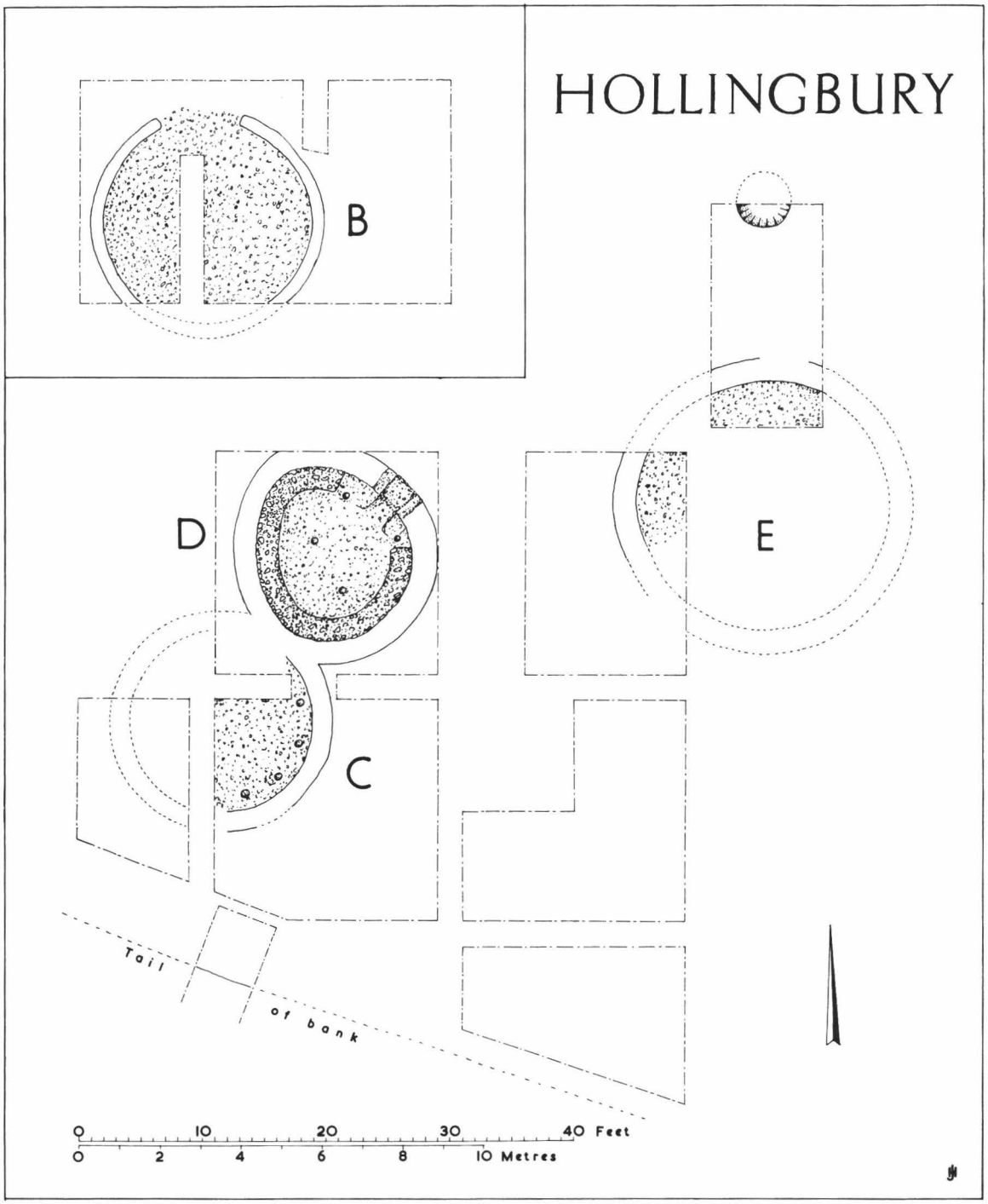

Fig. 3. Plan of Huts B, C, D, E.

opposite the entrance to the hut by a causeway above which there had evidently been a porch, for two smaller post-holes were found, each about 8 in. deep, one on either side of the entrance to the causeway.

It is possible that the large Hut A had been built over the floor of an earlier, smaller hut. Four post-holes were found arranged in a circular pattern round the edge of a hard, flinty surface which lay an inch or two below a damaged portion of the floor of the large hut. A single post-hole, 1 ft. in diameter and 1 ft. 8 in. deep, was found within the large hut, but it could possibly represent the central post of the earlier hut, for it would be difficult to account for this post-hole as part of the central structure of the larger hut.

Hut B was a small hut, 16 ft. in diameter, situated in the south-west part of the enclosure, in the shelter of the rampart. Soil has washed down the slope of the hill and accumulated against the inside of the rampart, so that the hut site lay buried and preserved under a thick layer of brown earth. The hut floor was formed of a layer of small flint stones in earth, about 7 in. thick, laid directly on the chalk subsoil, which here has no covering of clay-with-flints. The floor was surrounded by a narrow gully, less than a foot wide, interrupted at the entrance. The whole floor area and the ground to the east of it was littered with fragments of Iron Age pottery. Post-holes were sought both around the edge of the circular floor and in the centre but none were found; it must be concluded that the walls and roof of this hut had been lightly constructed in a way which did not require the support of upright posts.

Hut C was also a small hut, 15 ft. in diameter; much of it had been destroyed by military trenches but part of the circular floor was recovered. There were four post-holes round the edge of the floor and a gully 18 in. wide surrounded the hut. Many sherds of Iron Age pottery were scattered over the site of the hut. Hut C is intersected by Hut D which is at a slightly higher level. These two huts cannot have existed at the same time; Hut D must have superseded Hut C after the latter had fallen into ruin.

Hut D is shown on Fig. 3 as it was excavated but it is unlikely that it had originally been built in this distorted shape. The west side of the hut and its encircling gully had been so disturbed by the digging out and filling in again of a military trench that it was difficult to determine what had been its true shape. The hut, assumed to have been round or possibly slightly oval, was barely 14 ft. in diameter and had a small porch on the north-east side; there was a post-hole on each side of the doorway. The hard, flinty floor had a scatter of Iron Age pottery over it and its edge was defined by the stump, a few inches high, of the hut wall. This wall appeared to have been buried in its own debris, a mixture of clay, chalk and small flints, which lay thickly over the floor and filled the gully surrounding the hut. There were two post-holes, 5 ft. apart, inside the hut; a similar setting of two post-holes instead of a single central post has been noted in certain prehistoric huts elsewhere and has been thought to indicate the upright supports for a loom. An oval hut with a setting of two post-holes was in this way identified as a weaving hut at the Bronze Age site on Itford Hill, Sussex.[9]

Hut E was indicated only by some patches of floor edged by a circular gully. The floor was apparently about 20 ft. in diameter. No post-holes were found but there was a scatter of pottery fragments over the floor.

Several round pits were found in the area excavated. Three of these were between 4 ft. and 5 ft. in diameter and were about 18 in. deep from the present ground level. They would have been deeper originally, for it is apparent that the sloping ground surface has been considerably eroded since the Iron Age. They had filled up naturally with clay and flints at the bottom, loose earth and flints at the top. The only finds were a few Iron Age potsherds near the top of the filling.

There was a smaller hole, 2 ft. 3 in. in diameter, within the disturbed area of Hut A, and from it a shallow gully 18 in. wide led down

the slope of the hill towards one of the larger pits. The gully petered out before reaching the pit because the ground had been eroded and washed away.

Gullies associated with pits have been found on other Iron Age sites, notably at Maiden Castle, where it was evident that at least some of the gullies had been designed for conducting rain water into pits where it was stored.[10]

CONSTRUCTION OF THE HUTS

There was little to show how the huts had been constructed above ground but it is apparent that they were not all alike. The simplest is Hut B, which consisted of a circular floor bounded by a narrow gully but without any post-holes. A hut floor with no post-holes was found inside The Dyke hill-fort in 1935 and it was then thought that the gully had held a wall of contiguous vertical timbers.[11] More recent discoveries of similar huts in hill-forts have provided evidence for a different construction. A complete plan of a circular house was uncovered at the hill-fort of South Cadbury (Site B), where the soft yellow sandstone revealed the dark stains of holes for stakes about 2 in. in diameter, set about 6 in. apart. A narrow trench had been dug to take the base of the wall and the stakes had been driven into the soft bedrock along its line. Presumably withies would have been woven in and out of the uprights to make a structure like a large basket, and this wattle would have been plastered with a daub of clay and cow-dung to make it weatherproof. Other huts at South Cadbury evidently did have walls of split logs placed side by side but these were set in more substantial trenches up to 3 ft. deep.[12] Stake holes were not found in the gully surrounding the Hollingbury Hut B but they are not likely to have been preserved in the rough ground. The small size of the gully makes it more likely that it had held a stake and wattle construction rather than an array of split logs. Such a stake house cannot have supported a heavy thatched roof, and a beehive roof woven in the same way as the walls seems more likely.

Hut C had a ring of post-holes for posts 8 or 9 in. in diameter, substantial enough to have supported a thatched roof. The posts were set less than a foot from the edge of the floor, which was itself surrounded by a gully. The wall must therefore have been supported by the ring of posts and the gully was probably for drainage, to catch the run-off from the roof. One way in which a round hut with posts might be constructed is shown by the traditional huts which are still built by shepherds in Tuscany. The wall passes outside the posts and is made of a thick sandwich of straw and reed leaves between two faces of vertical reeds.[13] These shepherds' huts are occupied for only part of the year; a more permanent wall might be constructed of wattle work plastered with daub. No daub was found around the Hollingbury huts, but if such a wall disintegrated it is unlikely that it would leave much trace which might be distinguished by an archaeologist from the natural clay and flint soil.

The large Hut A is difficult to interpret, especially as the plan recovered by excavation is incomplete. It had a ring of post-holes like Hut C and we might expect the walls to have been built of wattle and daub. The gully which surrounded the floor was shallow and is likely to have served for drainage rather than for a wall.

The floor of Hut D was bounded by the stump of a wall about 2 ft. thick, standing a few inches high above floor level, but there was no ring of post-holes; the wall itself must have been built strongly enough to bear the weight of the roof. In regions where stone is plentiful, huts built with dry stone walls are normal and even in chalk regions huts with walls of chalk blocks have been found.[14] The wall of Hut D at Hollingbury is different from these because it appears to have been made of compact material, small flints in a matrix of clay and chalk, which needed no support from posts or wattle work. The material may be likened to the 'witchet' which was and still is used for walls of houses in Buckinghamshire, some good examples of which may be seen in the village of Haddenham. Witchet consists of a sludge of chalk and rubble

which is made into walls about 2 ft. thick and dries out like concrete. It remains weatherproof so long as it is capped with a ridge of tiles or a roof to prevent the penetration of water.

THE SETTLEMENT

These huts which have now been found in Hollingbury show that it was a permanent settlement and not just a 'camp of refuge' for people who normally lived elsewhere. It must be classed among the smaller settlements of the Iron Age and, although fortified, it must not be compared with those hill-forts of later date, such as Cissbury or The Dyke, which are of a size to be the strongholds of a tribe. The five huts which were excavated can only be a sample of the whole number which comprised the settlement and there is no doubt that more would be found if it were possible to excavate the whole interior of the earthwork. It is likely that most of the southern half of the enclosure would contain huts, the living huts being in the middle and others ranged in the shelter of the rampart. It is clear from the excavated sample that the occupation lasted long enough for some huts to become obsolete and to be replaced by others, but the pottery is all of a kind and the site must have been abandoned after not many generations, perhaps a hundred years at most. Hollingbury, therefore, has remained an uncomplicated site where we can see something of the pattern of occupation without the confusion caused by later enlargements and refortifications. Hut A is noteworthy because of its large size and central position, which hints at social grading of some sort; yet it may have been a communal hall rather than the dwelling of someone of superior status.

WEAVING

The identification of Hut D as a weaving hut is suggested by the two post-holes in the centre. The posts might well have been secured at their top ends to the roof timbers and might have contributed something to the support of the roof, but the reason for the twin posts, it may be suggested, was to allow room for the wooden framework of an upright loom. The posts could not have been part of the loom itself, for the frame of this type of loom was never strictly vertical but was inclined away from the weaver.[15] It may be observed that the position of the uprights in relation to the doorway of the hut is such that a weaver standing in front of the loom would not be in her own light, but the north light through the porch would fall obliquely on the work.

The primitive upright warp-weighted loom, which survived in Northern Europe until the 18th and early 19th century, was the type in common use in prehistoric Europe, at least from the Bronze Age. No actual remains of prehistoric looms have been found but the technical details of some of the surviving textiles and finds of stone and pottery loom-weights have provided evidence for the type of loom used. The loom itself is depicted on certain Greek vases of the Classical period, and there is a well-known picture scratched on a Hallstatt pot from Hungary which shows a woman weaving. This drawing suggests an upright loom with some woven cloth at the top, two rows of weights at the bottom and three sticks (sheds) across the warp in the middle.[16]

The looms still surviving in museums and old farmhouses in western Norway must give a good idea of what the prehistoric looms were like, even though the ancient looms might not have been identical with the modern looms in all details. The modern looms are about 6 ft. tall or more and have a heavy timber frame. Two rows of loom-weights add further to the weight of the implement, which was used leaning against the wall of the house or sometimes against a roof beam. One may visualize such a loom in the hut at Hollingbury leaning against a horizontal roof timber fixed across the tops of the two upright posts.[17] A convenient visual aid is provided by the photograph taken by E. W. Holden of a simulated loom which he had made for display at the Weald and Downland Open Air Museum.[18] No actual remains of a loom were found in the

Hollingbury hut, and there could be a quite different explanation for a small oval hut with a setting of two post-holes; however, the explanation that it was a weaving hut is likely to be correct because some fragments of a loom-weight were found in the ground just outside the hut.

Loom-weights, being of stone or clay, have often been found, sometimes lying in two rows just as they fell from the loom. More usually, only fragments are found. Several cylindrical clay loom-weights were found on the floor of the hut at Itford Hill, Sussex, these being the type of weight which was common in the Bronze Age. At Hollingbury some lumps of fired clay were found outside the hut, a few feet from the door; they are apparently pieces of a red clay triangular loom-weight of Iron Age type. These weights are normally in the shape of an equal-sided triangle, of side about 6 in. and thickness about 2 in., and they weigh 2–3 lb. The pieces from Hollingbury are too fragmentary for any restoration to be possible, but some show the triangular shape of the corners and have remains of the holes which pierced across each angle to take the cord by which the weight was secured to a bundle of warp threads on the loom.[19]

Many Iron Age loom-weights were found at Maiden Castle, Dorset. They were most commonly made of chalk in various shapes, pierced with a single hole, but some looms had been equipped with the better-quality triangular clay weights; these were in use throughout the Iron Age, for they occurred with all three cultures, A, B, and C.[20] Marta Hoffman pointed out that the warp-weighted loom was the only type known in the Roman world right up to the 1st century A.D., after which it was superseded by the horizontal loom which does not use weights. We therefore find triangular clay weights not only throughout the Iron Age but also in Roman contexts. This range is well illustrated by the series of triangular clay weights which have been found in Sussex. The Hollingbury pieces are the earliest and represent the first introduction of the type into Britain in the 6th century B.C., at the beginning of our Iron Age. Only slightly later are some pieces found on the Iron Age site on Park Brow, first excavated by Garnet R. Wolseley; these were from Site B, the Late Hallstatt settlement. Brighton Museum has one specimen from the site, restored from pieces (R. 3129/5). A corner fragment with perforation was found on Slonk Hill, Shoreham, associated with pottery of the 4th to 3rd century B.C. Brighton Museum has another specimen (R. 1393) which was found at Kemp Town in 1907 on an Iron Age site of the 3rd century B.C. Triangular loom-weights were found at the Muntham Court site in 1955, in an Iron Age context. The greater part of a triangular loom-weight was found in excavations at Newhaven in a 1st-century Roman level; this weight must be a Roman one because there was no trace of any Iron Age occupation on the site. Another Roman weight was a complete one picked up in 1967 in a ploughed field near Jevington where quantities of Romano-British pottery have turned up.[21]

WATER SUPPLY

The question has often been asked, and was asked by several visitors to the Hollingbury excavations: how did the inhabitants of a hill-top fort get their water? No ponds of Iron Age date have been recognized but some water might have been brought up to the Hollingbury settlement from springs. The sub-Atlantic climate of the Iron Age was considerably wetter than it is now, with the result that springs at the foot of the chalk would have been more active than at the present time. The animals could drink from any kind of puddle or stream as they grazed. It is known, however, from excavations at several Iron Age sites that arrangements were made for collecting surface water within the settlement area.[22]

Roofs have been used for collecting water at various times in history. Even in recent times, houses built in isolated districts in Cornwall have been provided with brick-built tanks for storing water collected from the roof. In Roman

times, the fort of Housesteads on the highest point of the Roman Wall had a water supply in stone tanks which collected water from the flat roofs of the towers.[23] At Hollingbury, the extensive thatched roofs of the larger huts were well suited for collecting rainwater, and these huts were provided with encircling gullies placed so as to catch the eaves-drips from the roof. There can be no doubt that the gully leading downhill from Hut A was one of a system of channels to conduct the water collected from the roofs into pits where it could be stored. Three of these pits were found in the excavations; all were sited downhill from the area of the huts, and the gully from Hut A was directed towards one of them.

Comparable arrangements for collecting water were found at Maiden Castle, Dorset, where an extensive system of channels leading into pits was excavated within the settlement area. This channel system suggested how, in a climate more humid than the present day, a water supply sufficient for cooking purposes had been made available in the vicinity of the huts. It was presumed that the pits had been lined with timber or skins to contain the water, although no trace of the lining was found.[24] A large cylindrical hole which had been used for storing water was found in excavations at the rather later Iron Age site at Camulodunum, Colchester, and here some of the timber lining had been preserved.[25] At Hollingbury, there was nothing to show whether the round pits had been lined with clay, or with leather, or with timber, or whether they had held wooden tubs to contain the water.

EXCAVATION OF THE RAMPART (Fig. 4)

When Dr. Curwen was trying to date the rampart, he reasoned that the site must at first have been enclosed only by the small bank and ditch of feeble profile, a remnant of which crosses the eastern part of the site. He had to regard the timber-revetted rampart as a later addition, enlarging the original refuge and strengthening it, probably with a view to permanent occupation. The huts which have now been found within the fort suggest, however, that it was not a refuge; it was a permanent settlement fortified with an enclosing rampart and ditch.

In an attempt to find some archaeological evidence for relating the rampart to the occupation within it, a cut was made into the rear of the bank at a point adjoining the excavations where Huts C and D had been found. A considerable thickness of soil eroded from the hill had silted over the tail of the bank, and this material incorporated within it fragments of pottery from the hut sites. A few pieces of pottery had become embedded in the natural ground surface below the silt and some fragments were found under the rear edge of the rampart itself. It is evident that the settlement had been established first and that the rampart was then built round it. Dr. Curwen recorded that in one of his cuttings he found a small hearth, with charcoal, some animal bone, four pot-boilers and fragments of Iron Age pottery, and that these were on the old ground surface underneath the rampart. This hearth can now be interpreted as a cooking place made by the builders of the rampart.

There would have been no object in 1969 in cutting a section right through the rampart since this had already been done by Dr. Curwen in more than one place. Instead, a cut was made into the front of the bank with the object of clearing away any tumbled material and exposing the original face of the rampart. As the rampart face was approached it became possible to loosen the earth with a trowel and tumble it away from the rampart, which was then revealed as an almost vertical wall, built mainly of compacted chalk rubble with a few large stones at the base. The face of this wall retained the impressions of three of the vertical posts of the timber frame which had interlaced the rampart (Pl. I). At the base of each impression there was a post-hole, dug a foot or more into the natural ground. Each hole contained loose material filling the space where the post had decayed, and the sides of the hole were lined with stones which had

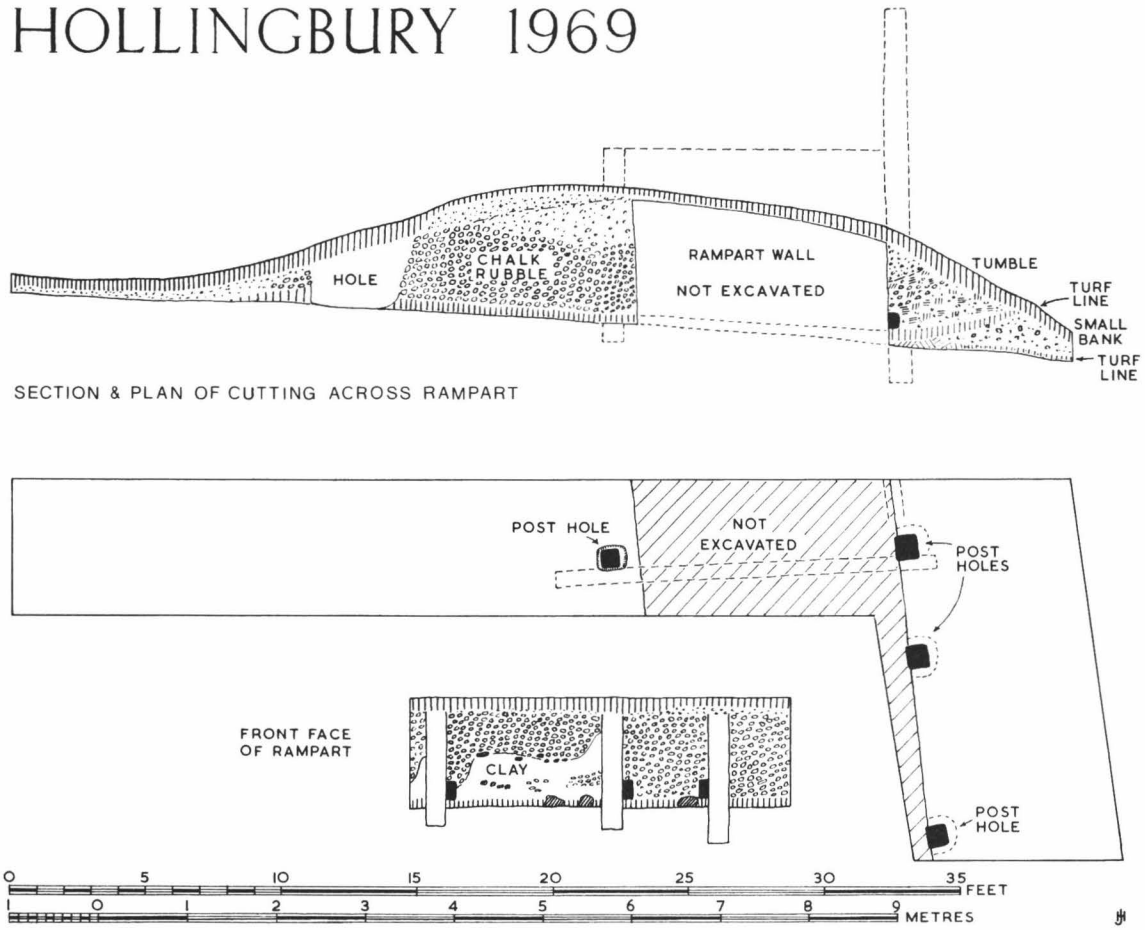

Fig. 4. The rampart excavation.

been packed against the post. When the loose material had been excavated, the impression of the post was very clearly defined by the packing stones. The posts were not round but had been roughly squared to a rectangular shape about 11 in. wide and 9 in. thick. The holes which Dr. Curwen found were round or oval, up to 18 in. across at the top but narrower at the bottom. All his excavations were on the east side of the hill where the natural solid chalk comes to the surface and it is clear from his drawings and photographs that he had dug out the original holes which had been made in the chalk to take the posts. He did observe the actual impression of the post, in section, in the chalk filling of two of the holes, but he was of the opinion that each had been roughly circular in section, about 6 in. in diameter. The 1969 excavation was on the south side of the hill where the natural chalk is buried under a layer of clay-with-flints. Here, the holes for the posts had been dug into clay, but the impression of the actual post had been preserved more sharply and exactly by the flint packing.

A post-hole was found in the cutting at the back of the rampart, corresponding to one of the

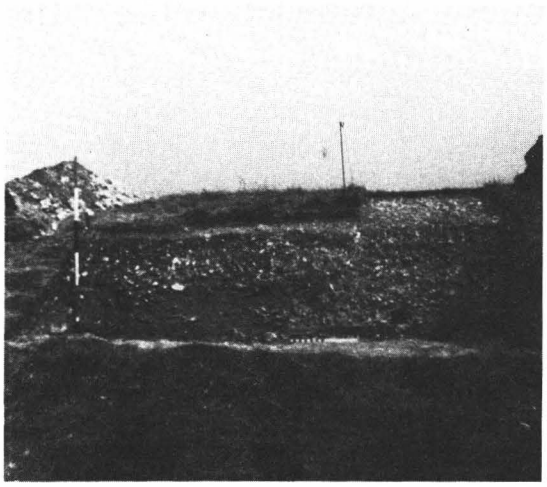

Plate I. Rampart face showing the impressions of three timber posts.

posts at the front. This pair of posts had been linked by a horizontal timber through the rampart; the hole left by the decay of the timber was observed at both the front and the back. Similar holes were observed on the front face of the rampart adjoining the other two upright posts. It appeared that each horizontal timber had been notched into the two uprights which it joined. There must have been other horizontal timbers connecting the uprights higher up the rampart but no holes for these were observed.

A group of about 50 beach pebbles was found on top of the rampart wall, while a few others were in the tumble in front of the wall. The stones were about 45 g. (1½ oz.) in weight. Dr. Curwen recorded that he, too, found six small beach pebbles on the rampart when he was excavating the east gate and he interpreted them as sling-bullets.[26] Beach pebbles were certainly collected by Iron Age peoples for use as sling-stones, as demonstrated by the hoards of thousands of stones placed at strategic points on the ramparts of Maiden Castle, Dorset.[27] Although such large hoards are found only on the Iron Age B hill-forts of south-west Britain, the Iron Age A peoples also collected beach pebbles and had some kind of sling; we are therefore justified in regarding the Hollingbury pebbles as sling-stones.

THE RAMPART WALL

The rampart, consisting of a carefully constructed timber frame packed with chalk rubble to form a wall, was not thrown up hastily in the face of a threatened attack; its builders were making a permanent wall for a fortified settlement. The lower part of this wall has survived to a height of some four feet but it must originally have been higher. The upper part has tumbled forward on to the berm, burying the lower part and protecting it from further collapse; some material will have slipped further and gone into the ditch. If the tumbled material were replaced, it would add another two or three feet to the height of the wall—six or seven feet altogether. Dr. Curwen estimated the original height by considering the amount of material that could be obtained from the ditch, and he showed a rampart about six feet high on his reconstruction drawing.

It is assumed that the timbers at the front of the wall were carried up to support a breastwork; this will have been their main function, for the chalk rubble composing the wall is evidently compacted tightly enough to stand up without additional support. However, the front face of the wall would have weathered and crumbled away unless protected by some form of revetment. There must have been something interposed between the rampart face and the tumble in front of it which separated them and left a thin earthy layer which could be scraped away in the excavation. This could not have been planks placed *behind* the uprights, otherwise the uprights could not have left an impression in the front of the rampart. It was probably turves, although this was not apparent when excavating and was not obvious in the section. The breastwork above the level of the rampart walk must have been of timber, strong enough and thick enough to give protection against a thrown spear, whether of bronze or iron. It would need

to be man high but with embrasures for the defenders. There is a hint of the embrasures in the spacing of the timber uprights; these are not evenly spaced, although not enough have been discovered, either in Dr. Curwen's excavations or in the 1969 excavations, for us to be sure that there is a regular pattern of wide and narrow spacings.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE DEFENCES

Although several other hill-forts in Sussex have been found to incorporate defences resembling those of Hollingbury, no excavation report since Dr. Curwen's tentative reconstruction has attempted to work out the full design. Fig. 5 is a reconstruction drawing based on all the evidence which has now been recovered from the Hollingbury excavations. The most obvious feature of the design is the double row of post-holes. Similar holes have been found on other sites and have been supposed to have held posts which supported the rampart; when those posts collapsed, the rampart supposedly fell down to become the mound which is there today. At Hollingbury, however, the posts did not collapse, nor did the rampart subside, nor could posts so widely spaced have held up a wall of chalk rubble, especially as the posts themselves were not self-supporting and stood in not very deep post-holes. In reality, the rampart wall was built on a skeleton of timber frames set up at

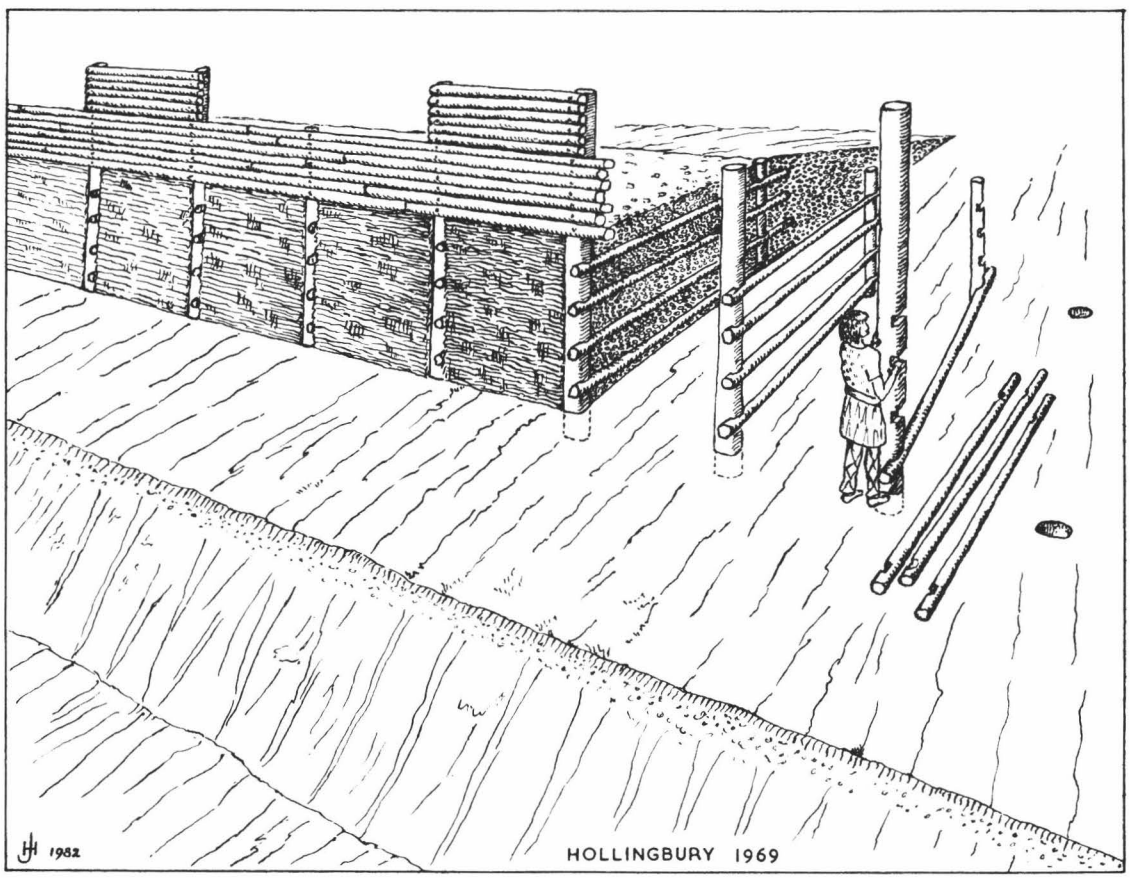

Fig. 5. Reconstruction of the rampart of Hollingbury.

intervals; the wall of chalk rubble and other materials dug from the ditch was built between and around the frames. The front member of each frame was a tall post which supported the breastwork above the wall; this post leaned slightly backward. The rear member was shorter and was set vertically in its hole. The uprights were tied together by several horizontal timbers passing through the thickness of the rubble; they were jointed into the uprights and were presumably nailed to them at the joints. The holes in which the feet of the uprights were set did not need to be deep, for the frame was held up by the rubble in which it was embedded. The front of the rampart, between the uprights, was faced with a wall which at Hollingbury seems to have been of turf, for no stone suitable for building was available locally.

In front of the rampart and separated from it by a space of about 10 ft. was a wide flat-bottomed ditch. As found in excavation, the upper parts of the ditch sides have collapsed under the action of frost and the weather but the lower part of the ditch has been preserved by the rapid silting which fills it. The original shape of the ditch can be deduced from the part preserved. The sides sloped steeply down to the flat bottom, the outer slope being cut more steeply than the inner; this feature seems to be deliberate, for it has been found on the ditches of other hill-forts.

This design of fortification was not devised in Britain but had its origin in the Hallstatt regions of Europe. Professor Bersu has taught us that the earliest defences of Hallstatt B forts in Germany were of stones piled high, with horizontal timbers across the bank to bind it together; the bank was built with a sloping outer face. The defences of Hallstatt C forts were slighter but they continued to be built with a sloping face. Later in the Hallstatt C phase something, perhaps changed methods of attack, caused the fort builders to change to a vertical wall with a horizontal berm in front of it. It is this feature of the horizontal berm at Hollingbury which enables us to date the defences with some certainty to around 600 B.C., or at least within the early 6th century, contemporary with forts of late Hallstatt C on the Continent.

Forts with this type of defence continued to be built in Germany for a long time; one of these is the La Tène II fort at Preist. An account of its excavation in 1938 was published in *Germania* but Professor Dehn's reconstruction drawing of the defences was later reproduced in the *Archaeological Journal*.[28] A comparison of this drawing with the reconstruction drawing for Hollingbury shows a very close similarity, the difference of detail being only because of the different local materials available. At Preist the wall was built of blocks of the local sandstone quarried from the ditch, while the Hollingbury wall was of chalk rubble, also dug from the ditch.

THE WEST GATE

The entrance is the weak point of any defensive enclosure and requires special measures for its protection. Although the gateway in the west side of the Hollingbury fortification has never been excavated, it is apparent that it has been carefully designed to resist attack. It seems to be intact, apart from the decay of the timbers and the collapse of the upper part of the bank on either side. The entrance is approached from outside by way of a causeway across the ditch. This leads into a passage through the rampart, flanked by the inturned ends of the rampart wall. Excavation of this passageway might be expected to reveal the complete arrangement of an Iron Age A fortified entrance, uncomplicated by later alterations. Gateways of this period have been excavated on other hill-forts but their interpretation has not usually been straightforward because of later re-arrangements. Two examples, one from Hampshire and one from Sussex, will suggest what might be found at Hollingbury.

The entrance of the hill-fort on St. Catherine's Hill, near Winchester, had as one of its three excavators Christopher Hawkes, who worked out its evolution through four periods.

The rampart ends are sharply inturned and the whole entrance passage was found to have been revetted with timber, backed with clay. The double gate was situated in the middle of the passage. A guardhouse was set into each side of the passage behind the gates, but these structures were dismantled after the first period. The four periods have now been reinterpreted as two.[29]

The east gate of The Trundle, near Goodwood, was excavated by Dr. Curwen, who found that there had been three stages; the first stage belonged to the Iron Age A phase of the hill-fort. The ends of the rampart are sharply inturned to form a passageway; the double gate was set up in the middle of the passage, in line with the crest of the rampart on either side. The gates were hung on double posts and they shut on to a central post.[30]

We might expect, by analogy with these two gateways, that at Hollingbury the actual gate would have been situated in the middle of the passage. The sides of the passage would originally have been vertical walls, so that anyone who tried to break into the gate would have been trapped and exposed to attack by men on the rampart above. When Professor Bersu visited Hollingbury, he told Dr. Curwen that he thought that the rampart walk would have been carried across the gateway by a bridge, because he had found evidence for this feature when excavating hill-forts in Germany.[31]

THE EAST GATE AND THE PALISADE

H. S. Toms in 1908 tested the causeway which crosses the ditch outside the east entrance and decided that it was solid; he concluded that the east entrance was original and not a modern gap. Dr. Curwen assumed that the east entrance belonged to the Iron Age fort but when he excavated it he found only two large post-holes where the gate had stood; these were set obliquely into the line of the rampart and they related oddly to the double row of post-holes in the adjacent rampart bank.[32] Nevertheless he did not doubt that this was the Iron Age gate, although his recent excavation of the east gate of The Trundle might have led him to expect a more carefully designed gate at Hollingbury.

It would be strange if the fort had been provided with an elaborately defended main gate on the west side but had been given an undefended back door, no better than a farm gate, on the east side. A careful examination of the eastern entrance during the 1967 excavations suggested that it was not an original gap in the rampart but that it had been created by throwing down a section of the rampart to make a causeway across the ditch. A track coming up from lower ground across this causeway enters the fort through the gap and leads on directly to the entrance through the palisade trench which Dr. Curwen discovered in the interior. Dr. Curwen noted that this palisade trench lies parallel to the eastern rampart and that the entrance through the palisade is opposite to the gateway in the rampart. This suggested to him that the palisade might be one of the latest features on the site, but he did not have any other evidence by which to date it more closely.[33]

The two post-holes of the entrance through the palisade were re-excavated in 1967 (see Fig. 6), and it was apparent that Dr. Curwen had dug them out to their full depth, for none of the original filling remained in them. Each hole was 25 in. deep from the modern surface and nearly 4 ft. in diameter. Each post had been 24 in. in diameter, judging by the round mark on the bottom of the hole. The width between the posts was 7 ft. Two smaller post-holes were found at a distance of 8 ft. behind the entrance; each was 20 in. deep and had held a post of diameter 11 in. The size of these four posts and the depth of the post-holes suggests a tall gateway of ceremonial character with a roof or bridge over it.

Since the track beyond the palisade has been found not to lead to any part of the Iron Age settlement, the two works associated with it, the gateway through the rampart and the palisade trench, might be related to some use of the deserted site in the Roman period, for Roman potsherds have been found on the hill. It may be

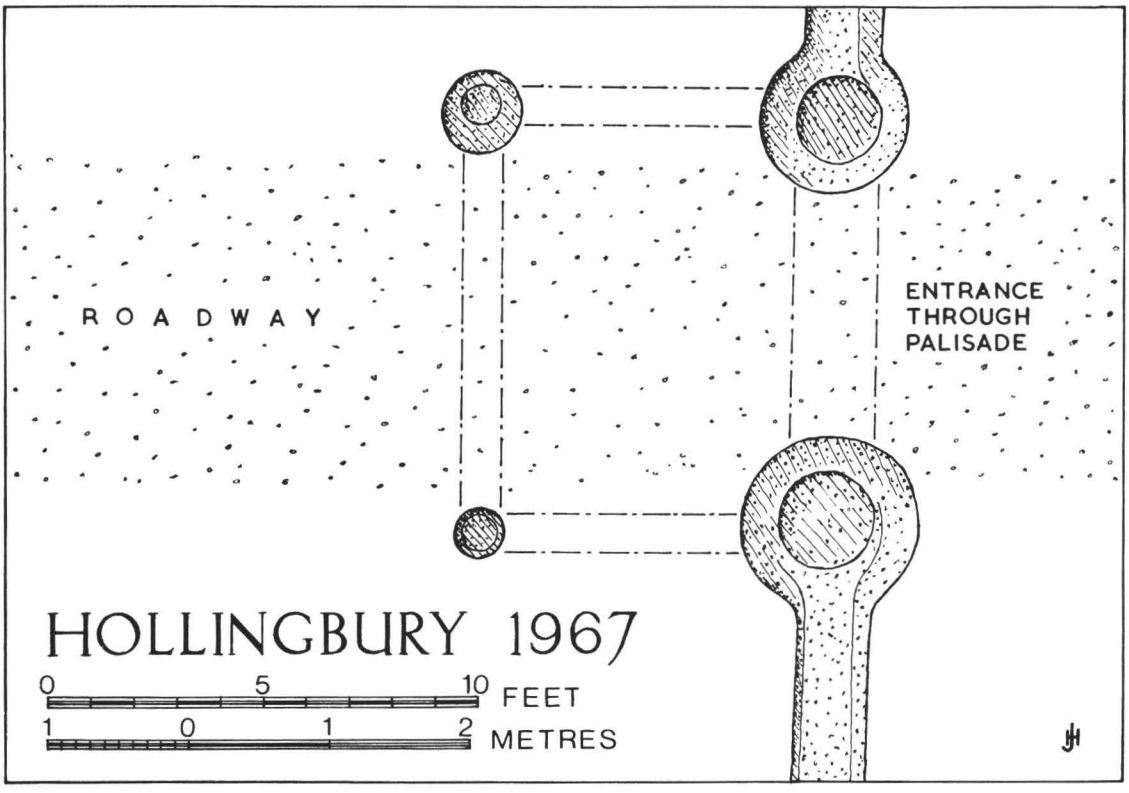

Fig. 6. Plan of entrance through palisade.

significant that Dr. Curwen found a sherd of Roman pottery when he was excavating the gateway; he found another in the ditch at the north-east corner of the fort. Seven more Roman sherds were found during the 1967 excavations, to the north of the Iron Age huts. There must be structures somewhere on the northern part of the hill to account for these stray pieces of Roman pottery.

The whole arrangement of a track barred by a gateway and leading up to an elaborate entrance through a palisade looks like the approach to a pagan sanctuary, judging from the evidence of other hill-forts where temples of the Roman period have been found; for example, at Maiden Castle the east gate of the hill-fort had been adapted to make an entrance to the temple precinct and a roadway had been constructed which led up to the temple.[34] No trace of a Roman temple, however, has yet been seen at Hollingbury, apart from some suggestive dark marks on an aerial photograph.

THE SMALL BANK AND DITCH

Dr. Curwen showed that the low bank and small ditch which cross the site from north to south are the remnant of an earthwork enclosure which preceded the hill-fort. In a cutting into the face of the rampart on the north side of the fort he found the ditch turning west to run under the north rampart.[35] A relic of this same enclosure was found in 1969 in the cutting into the front of the south rampart. The tail of the small bank can be seen in the section (Fig. 4) but the front of the bank and the ditch have been lost because

the ground at the edge of the fort ditch has collapsed.

It is important to notice the detail of the old turf line under the small bank and of the turf line which subsequently formed on top of it. The old turf line under the bank represents the soil which originally covered the hill before the small bank was built. It appears in the section in a reduced form; it is thin and diffuse and merges gradually into the mound above it. This results from the action of earthworms which, when the thickness of the overlying bank is not too great, bring up soil through the bank and deposit it on the surface; the soil brought up is added to new soil which gradually forms on top of the bank.[36]

The turf line on top of the bank shows clearly in the section and has probably remained undisturbed because it was buried under a considerable thickness of tumble from the rampart. It had nevertheless been subjected to the action of earthworms for a long time before it became buried. This is shown by the difference in thickness between the soil on top of the bank and the soil in the hollow behind the bank. Soil which has been loosened by earthworms tends to be washed downhill by rain, forming a greater thickness of soil over a hollow and reducing the thickness on top of the bank. It is known that this thickening over a hollow proceeds very slowly; it can be seen, therefore, that several hundred years must be allowed between the building of the small bank and the building of the rampart wall, which stands partly upon the hollow. This conclusion bears out Dr. Curwen's observation that the little ditch had become completely silted up by the time that the fort rampart was built over it. The old turf line marking the surface upon which the fort rampart was thrown up was clearly seen in his section running across the top of the silting of the little ditch and up over its accompanying small bank. A long time must have elapsed between the construction of the little ditch and the building of the fort rampart.[37]

If the hill-fort is now to be dated around or soon after 600 B.C., at what in Sussex seems to be the beginning of the Iron Age, then the earlier enclosure must be dated well back into the Late Bronze Age. There is no evidence that it could have enclosed a settlement, for no features or pottery of that period have been found within it. It must be assumed that the enclosure was for animals; if it were to serve even that purpose, the small bank must have carried some kind of fence, possibly a thorn hedge.

INTERPRETATION OF THE HILL-FORT SETTLEMENT

The Hollingbury earthwork has always been thought of as a fort for use in time of war, a place to be attacked and defended. Now that the excavation of huts in the interior has revealed that a group of Iron Age people lived there, it is proper to think of Hollingbury primarily as a settlement and to see the wall and ditch which enclose it as something secondary, made necessary by the conditions of society at that time. It was not a large settlement, but we cannot examine its status or economic background in much detail because so few artefacts and no bones or metalwork have survived in the clay soil.

The fact that the Hollingbury people did weaving implies that they kept sheep for the wool. Lacking the animal bones, there is no evidence to show whether they had cattle as well, but on other Iron Age sites the bones of cattle, sheep, and pigs have been found so we may assume that the wealth of the Hollingbury community was in their cattle and sheep; it is pertinent that there was room within the fortified enclosure for the animals to be driven in where they would be safe. The surrounding downland where the animals grazed was probably more wooded than it has been in recent times. We may infer that timber in large sizes was abundant locally, for it was used freely to build the fort wall and the larger huts.

There was little evidence for the cultivation of grain. Dr. Curwen found a fragment of quern stone in the bottom of the ditch; some fragments

of hard, gritty stone which might have been from querns were found in the 1967–9 excavations. There are no remains of Celtic fields to be seen around the fort or in the immediate neighbourhood but we can assume that the Hollingbury people, like all Iron Age peoples, had some land under cultivation even if we do not know where that land was. It is noteworthy that in the area explored so far no grain-storage pits have been found. This evidence, though negative, is sufficient to suggest that the agriculture practised by the Hollingbury people was not of the pattern which has been studied on Wessex sites, such as Little Woodbury or Gussage All Saints, where many grain-storage pits have been found. Grain-storage pits are never as early as this, but are first found towards 400 B.C. and then on later Iron Age sites.

No evidence for ironworking on the site of the settlement has been found at Hollingbury although, both in 1931 and in 1968, some ironstone was found which was at first mistaken for slag resulting from iron-smelting. Heavy rusty-brown nodules of ironstone occur naturally in the chalk; the iron constituent of these may be haematite or limonite or an amorphous form of marcasite, and nodules of weathered iron pyrites are also found. It is technically possible to make iron from this material. The Hollingbury people, however, were evidently not interested in it as a source of iron for they used some of it in building the fort wall.[38] A clue as to where the Hollingbury people did get their iron has been provided by Sue Hamilton's analysis of the pottery (see below, p. 55). She has been able to show that the fine wares were made from an iron-rich clay which must have been obtained from the Weald, most likely the Wadhurst Clay; it is from the Wadhurst Clay formation that much of the iron ore for the Wealden iron industry was obtained in historic times. This is a clear indication that the Hollingbury people were exploiting the Wealden iron; it also suggests how they did it. Ironworkers from the settlement would go out into the Weald, there to set up a furnace for making blooms of iron; with abundant fuel and suitable clay on the spot, they would also make pottery to be brought back to the settlement when they returned. This picture implies that ironworking and prospecting for iron ores were intermittent and seasonal occupations; there is no need to postulate any permanent settlement of Iron Age peoples in the Weald at this early date. This argument cannot be checked, however, by any reference to discoveries in the Weald, for no ironworking sites have been recorded, either by Straker or more recently by the Wealden Iron Research Group, which could be anything like as early as the 6th century B.C.

The pottery from Hollingbury is all of the Iron Age; in Hawkes's system of 1958, its classified place would have been in his 'Southern First A'. The fine-ware pottery consists of bipartite bowls, a form of vessel which is not found amongst Bronze Age pottery; although bowls of several forms, almost all from east and south of the Severn and Wash, occur throughout the Late Bronze Age, bipartite bowls are among the forms that mark the beginning of Iron Age pottery in Britain.[39] The bowls are better made than any pottery of the Bronze Age and they appear to be the work of practised potters; some have a decoration of incised lines on the shoulder in a triangular or herringbone pattern which is not in the tradition of British Bronze Age pottery. It is plain that we must look to the Hallstatt regions of the Low Countries or Eastern France to find pottery which is comparable in form or decoration or quality with these bowls.

The coarser pottery from Hollingbury consists mainly of jars of several different forms. They were not made from the ferruginous clay of the Weald but from clay of a sort which could be obtained locally, near the settlement. Some jars had been decorated with finger-tip impressions on the shoulder. Finger-tip ornament is not in the tradition of the later Bronze Age pottery of Britain, which was undecorated, although it is found on pottery of the Deverel-Rimbury culture of about the 12th century B.C., much earlier than the Hollingbury settlement. Finger-

tip ornament is, however, common on Late Bronze Age pottery in Europe, especially in the Urnfield cultures of France; the Hollingbury coarse pottery may well be following the traditions of the Continental Bronze Age.

The transition in Britain from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age has been the subject of much discussion and some controversy. There was a time when it seemed to some that the whole of our Iron Age A was an indigenous development out of the preceding Bronze Age, but this idea of native continuity can no longer be maintained. The Hollingbury pottery illustrates the break with native traditions which was brought about by the arrival of new people from the Continent at the start of our Iron Age in Sussex.

The only other artefact, besides pottery, which was found at Hollingbury was the triangular clay loom-weight; this, too, belongs to an alien tradition, for the type was not made or used in Britain until the Iron Age.

It used to be argued that the round houses of our Iron Age must be continuing a native tradition, for it was thought that the houses of Hallstatt Europe were all rectangular. In fact, practically nothing is yet known about houses in Europe west of the Rhine. What can now be seen is that the round houses of Hollingbury are completely different in style from the round houses of the Sussex Bronze Age and cannot possibly have developed from them.[40] The whole arrangement of the settlement is also different; whereas a Bronze Age settlement consists of a cluster of low, round houses in a family compound, the Iron Age settlement consists of a number of individual huts of different sizes and functions, scattered over the enclosed area. Such a pattern indicates an advance beyond the family group towards a tribal economy, with a more settled way of life, even if the group was hardly large enough to be called a tribe.

Everything we now know about Hollingbury is telling us that it was a settlement of new people from the Continent who came here not later than the early 6th century B.C. This is good reason for finally rejecting any later date for it such as 250 B.C. or 300 B.C., which have been current in the past, or the date towards 400 B.C. of our Early La Tène style pottery and metalwork, whether derived from the Marne or elsewhere. The arrival of the new people was described by Christopher Hawkes some 25 years ago in dramatic words: 'Lowland Britain had ironstone in plenty. Good land could be taken, iron worked and all this country settled. Lowland Britain could be colonized outright and by the middle 6th century the colonists were coming.'[41] The Hollingbury hill-fort settlement now stands out clearly as one of those colonies.

The Hollingbury colonists came with an Iron Age culture contrasting with the Bronze Age culture of earlier peoples, a contrast perhaps emphasized by the fact that almost nothing is yet known about the inhabitants of Sussex in the immediately preceding 7th century. Yet this distinction between Iron Age and Bronze Age is not everywhere so apparent; colonization must have taken different forms in other regions. Christopher Hawkes has told the author now[42] that though still firmly believing in a colonization, against objectors in the years intervening, he would deprecate suggestions that this was everywhere simultaneous. 'There were certainly Hallstatt venturers about 700 B.C., and different settlers in certain areas earlier; but in the century after the venturers the people who came in will have been immigrant groups, some combining with Bronze Age remnants, others as in Sussex rather late within the process, more foreign in their material and their hill-forts, yet all making settlements varying in their different localities. "Colonization" thus describes their aggregate effect.'[43]

A NOTE ON THE COLONIZATION OF SUSSEX AT THE BEGINNING OF THE IRON AGE

The coming of new people into Britain from around 600 B.C. onwards was something which affected the whole of the south-east; Hollingbury cannot have been the only colony to be

established in Sussex. The only hill-fort which has hitherto been claimed to have been fortified at the time of these earliest Iron Age invasions is Highdown, on the evidence of the First A pottery from the ditch. Two other hill-forts, Ranscombe and Chanctonbury Ring, have since been excavated and have also produced First A pottery. In addition, at Chanctonbury Ring a radiocarbon date was obtained from some animal bone in an Iron Age pit; conversion to calendar years brings the mean date to about 440 B.C. Whilst a single radiocarbon date must be allowed a large measure of uncertainty, it at least allows Chanctonbury Ring to be confirmed as of an early phase within the Iron Age. These three sites, therefore, can all be considered as occupied first at a time within the colonizing period.[44]

Additional evidence for interpreting them in this way can now come from a detailed study of their defences, using Hollingbury as a pattern. The profiles of the four earthworks are shown together on Fig. 7, taken from the excavation reports and redrawn all to the same scale. The profile of Hollingbury is made up from the section of the rampart excavated in 1969 combined with the berm and ditch section of Dr. Curwen's excavation. It can be seen at once that the basic pattern of rampart, berm and ditch is very much the same for all the fortifications, but there is also a close correspondence in the details.

The original shape of each ditch can be restored by considering the natural silting process of ditches as worked out by Dr. Curwen and more recently by studying the experimental earthwork on Overton Down.[45] The ditch develops a characteristic trumpet-shaped profile by the weathering of its sides. The lowest part of the original profile is preserved by the coarse silt which falls into the ditch in the first few years after it has been dug. Using this preserved profile as a guide, the original shape of each ditch has been reconstructed approximately on Fig. 7. It can be seen that all the ditches were alike: wide, flat-bottomed and with steep sides, the outer side being very steep, the inner side less so. This was surely a deliberate design; attackers who jumped down into the ditch would be caught in a trap, unable to scramble out again on the steep side and exposed to assault by slingers or spearmen on the rampart above.

Each ditch was separated from the rampart by a wide space, the berm, intended to keep the attackers at a distance. Weathering of the inner slope of the ditch removes some of this berm but, as the Overton Down experiment has shown, the process stops before reaching the front slope of the bank; the bank does not slip into the ditch naturally. A substantial amount of material from the bank was found in every one of the ditches and it must have been put there by human agency. At Hollingbury, Dr. Curwen thought that there had been some deliberate filling in Roman times. At Chanctonbury Ring, a great thickness of material containing much Roman pottery filled the ditch above the natural silting; the section suggests that the front of the rampart and the greater part of the berm have been pushed into the ditch. The present-day profile of Ranscombe seems to have been produced by ploughing on the adjacent hillside. At Highdown, the original rampart, which was a vertical wall like Hollingbury, has been altered; the original ditch was filled up and a new ditch was dug much nearer to the rampart. The front of the rampart was then dug away to form a steep slope, or glacis, from the bottom of the ditch to the crest of the rampart.

The rampart of Ranscombe contained a double row of post-holes like Hollingbury and there can be little doubt that it was built originally to the same design as the Hollingbury timber-framed wall. The Highdown rampart has been interpreted as a wall with a forward revetment of chalk blocks and a line of timbers at the rear; no forward line of post-holes was found. The posts at the rear were widely separated and were set in shallow holes; they could not have functioned as a support for the wall but could have acted as the rear members of frames in a Hollingbury-type construction. The impressions of the front members will have been largely obliterated by the scarping of the rampart face

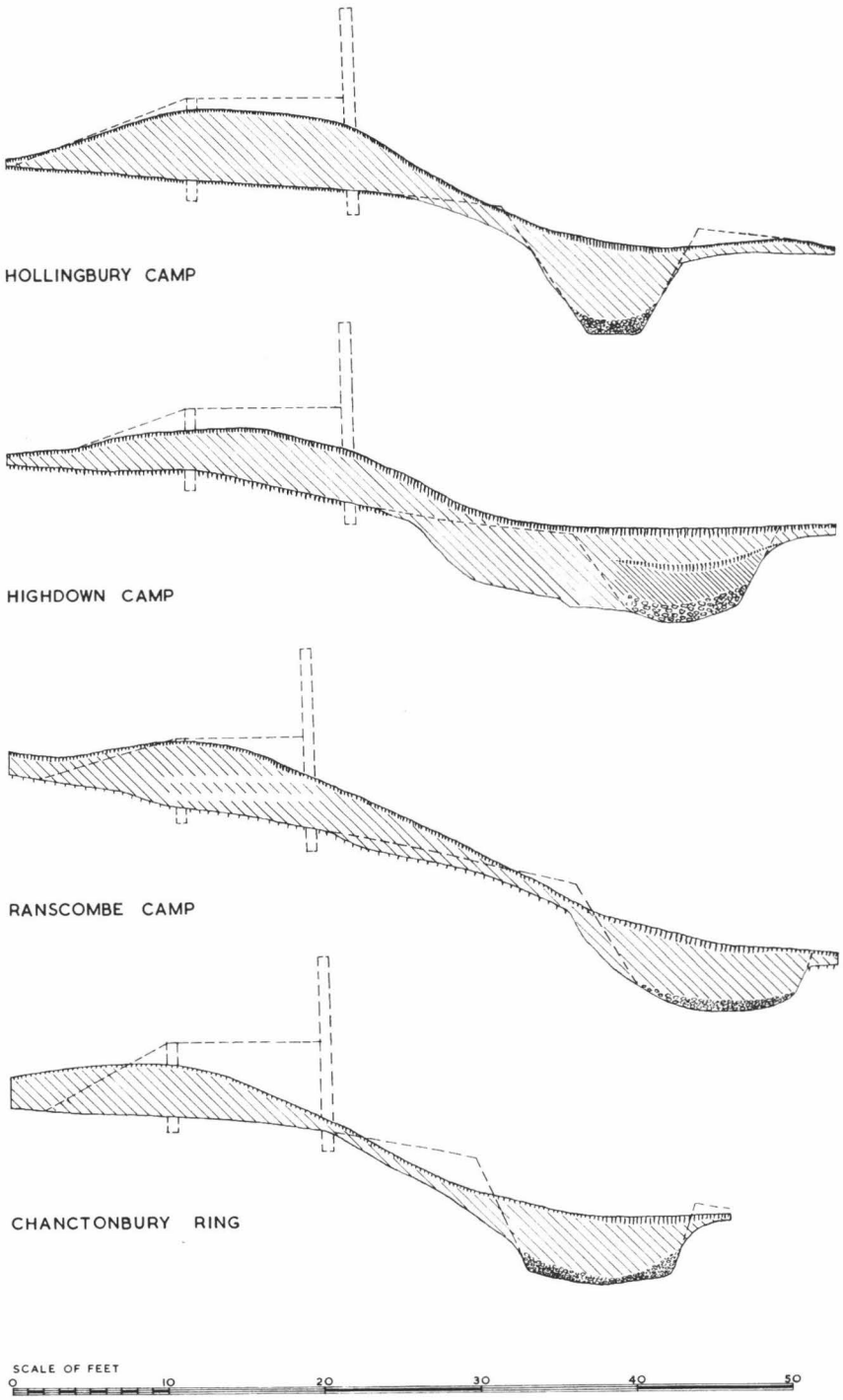

Fig. 7. Profiles of Hollingbury, Highdown, Ranscombe and Chanctonbury Ring hill-forts.

when the defences were rebuilt. No timbering was discovered within the Chanctonbury Ring rampart but again the front of the rampart has been destroyed. The back of the rampart is preserved as a wall backed by a ramp. It may be conjectured that this wall was constructed originally with timber frames in the Hollingbury manner for this would be in keeping with the design of the ditch and berm.

Both Highdown and Chanctonbury Ring are enclosures which may reasonably be interpreted as fortified settlements like Hollingbury, although their interiors have not been examined to see if they contained huts. The status of Ranscombe is less clear for it is not an enclosure; it extends for only some 600 ft. across the saddle in the manner of a promontory fort. It was certainly manned, as is evident from the pottery found in the ditch, but the inner side of the earthwork has not been extensively excavated and it is not known whether there were any huts there. The hilltop is now covered by the lynchets and ploughsoil of a Roman field system, obliterating any Iron Age features which might once have existed.

Only about 500 yd. to the east of Ranscombe is the hill-fort on Mount Caburn. There was an Iron Age settlement there long before the ramparts now visible were built. In the course of the excavations in 1937 and 1938 the site produced a distinctive kind of pottery which Christopher Hawkes called Caburn I ware and which he dated, over 40 years ago, to about 300 B.C. by comparing it with somewhat similar pottery from Wessex.[46] At that time Caburn I ware seemed to be unique in Sussex, but closely similar pottery has since been found on other Sussex sites including Hollingbury. Christopher Hawkes himself likened the cordoned Caburn I wares to a piece of cordoned pottery from Hollingbury found in 1931. Sue Hamilton has now compared the pottery from Hollingbury with the Caburn I pottery and finds them closely akin. She has commented that some sherds from bipartite bowls are strikingly similar in form and fabric to Caburn I bowls. This is good evidence that the settlement on Mount Caburn was exactly contemporaneous with the Hollingbury settlement and belonged to another group of the same colonists. Two huts belonging to the first Caburn settlement were partly excavated, one in 1937 and the other in 1938; one of them had been a round hut, about 22 ft. in diameter, with postholes and the trace of an encircling gully, like the Hollingbury huts.[47] It has been assumed that the settlement was an open one because no surrounding fortification has been found, yet postholes which could not be interpreted were found, sealed by the later banks. Some of these were in pairs and could have belonged to a timber framework of Hollingbury type. The question whether the settlement was fortified must remain undecided but it was at least protected by being sited on the top of a steep hill.

A burial was found just outside the settlement area, consisting of a cinerary urn of Caburn I pottery under a low, saucer-shaped barrow. This is the burial rite which was characteristic of the Celtic peoples of the Lower Rhine country in later Hallstatt times; to find it practised here at The Caburn is further confirmation that the site was a settlement of Iron Age colonists from the Continent.

The relationship between The Caburn and Ranscombe has always been a problem. If both sites belonged to the colonizing period and were in use at the same time, then they are so close that they must both have belonged to the same group of people. Clearly The Caburn was their settlement; Ranscombe might then have been a first attempt at making a fortified settlement which was abandoned unfinished or it might have been intended for the protection of animals.

The Iron Age colonists came to settle among Bronze Age folk evidently hostile towards the newcomers who were taking their land, for the colonists put their first settlements on the tops of hills and fortified them. Their successors had less need to live in hill-forts for they had spread into the surrounding country and acquired new land everywhere; the hilltop settlements ceased to be occupied. Hollingbury was deserted after

a few generations. The ditch of Highdown had silted up and thick turf had grown over it long before the second fortification was built. Chanctonbury Ring was abandoned from the 5th century B.C. The Iron Age folk did not build hill-forts again in Sussex until the immigrations of the so-called Marnians began towards 400 B.C. The new forts were of dump construction with steep banks crowned by a palisade, for by then the tradition had been lost of building a timber-framed wall in the Hollingbury manner. Further, their essential purpose had changed; hill-forts were now refuges and tribal strongholds for people who had their farms and their homes elsewhere. The original fortified hilltop settlements had long been obsolete and must have become derelict and overgrown. Some, like Highdown, were refortified for their new purpose, but Hollingbury was never used again.

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to the Department of the Environment for permission to excavate a scheduled monument and to Brighton Corporation, the owners, for their consent. I am most grateful to the Parks and Gardens Department for their help in preparing the site each year and for much assistance while the excavation was in progress. The excavation was carried out entirely by members of the Brighton and Hove Archaeological Society and their friends, of all ages, who volunteered their services and laboured painstakingly on very difficult ground. The work was done on a shoestring budget; the cost was met partly out of members' subscriptions and partly from personal donations. I am grateful to Brighton Museum for allowing me to examine the finds from Hollingbury in their care and for providing a photocopy of the original plan by Mr. H. S. Toms from his survey of 1913. My debt to Dr. E. C. Curwen is obvious. During the Diamond Jubilee celebrations of the B.H.A.S. in 1966 I was able to discuss with him the proposal to re-excavate Hollingbury, but his death on 4 May 1967 came before the excavations could be begun. Professor C. F. C. Hawkes was good enough to read a draft copy of this report and made some valued comments and suggestions: in particular, I am grateful to him for allowing me to quote his most recent assessment of the evidence for the colonization of Southern Britain in the Iron Age.

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APPENDIX: THE FLINTS

Eighteen worked flints were found in the course of the excavations. Four of these are implements, 13 are flint flakes and one is a modern gun-flint. Two of the implements are scrapers with a steeply-trimmed convex edge and the other two are hollow scrapers, all made from flakes.

There is nothing remarkable about these flints and there is no reason to connect them with the Iron Age occupation of the site. They were all found in topsoil and none were associated with any archaeological feature. Flints such as these have been found on the surface in many places all over the chalk downs. The scrapers are of types commonly attributed to the Bronze Age; the convex scrapers are suitable for scraping skins and the hollow scrapers for paring down the shafts of spears and arrows. This scatter of flints at Hollingbury therefore probably only indicates that Bronze Age people were using this piece of downland; the three round barrows which are now enclosed by the earthwork show that they certainly used the hilltop for burying their dead.

Notes

[1]E. Cecil Curwen, 'Excavations at Hollingbury Camp, Sussex', *Antiq. Jnl.* **12**, 1–16.

[2]*Antiq. Jnl.* **13**, 162–3.

[3]Christopher Hawkes, 'Hill-forts', *Antiquity*, **5**, 60–97.

[4]See the survey of the history of British work on hill-forts, interpretation of their features, and chronology by Michael Avery, 'Hillforts of the British Isles: a Student's Introduction', in *Hillforts*, ed. D. W. Harding (1976), 1–58.

[5]W. F. Grimes, 'Some Smaller Settlements: a Symposium', in *Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain*, ed. S. S. Frere (University of London Institute of Archaeology Occasional Paper **11**), 26, fig. 7.

[6]University of Cambridge, Committee for Aerial Photography. The photograph has been published in *The Uses of Air Photography* (1966), pl. 56.

[7] E. Cecil Curwen, *The Archaeology of Sussex* (1954 edn.), 237–9.

[8]R. W. Gallois, *British Regional Geology: The Wealden District* (1965 edn.), 61.
[9]G. P. Burstow & G. A. Holleyman, 'Late Bronze Age Settlement on Itford Hill, Sussex', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* **23**, 177, hut E.
[10]R. E. M. Wheeler, *Maiden Castle, Dorset* (1943), 91.
[11]G. P. Burstow & A. E. Wilson, 'The Dyke, Brighton: 1935', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **77**, 196–7.
[12]Leslie Alcock, *The Excavation of Cadbury Castle 1966–70* (1972), 135.
[13]Joanna Close-Brooks & Sheila Gibson, 'A Round Hut near Rome', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* **32**, 349–52.
[14]Wheeler, *Maiden Castle*, 94, hut DB2, fig. 18.
[15]W. J. Britnell, 'How Upright was the Warp-weighted Loom?', *Antiquity*, **51**, 238–9; see also *Antiquity*, **52**, 59.
[16]Audrey S. Henshall, 'Textiles and Weaving Appliances in Prehistoric Britain', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* **16**, 144–6 and fig. 3.
[17]Marta Hoffman, *The Warp-weighted Loom* (1964), her full study of the Scandinavian looms, published as *Studia Norvegica*, **14** (Norsk Folksmuseum, Oslo).
[18]E. W. Holden, 'Excavations at Old Erringham', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **114**, 309, pl. II.
[19]I am indebted to E. W. Holden, F.S.A., for examining the pieces and confirming their identification as pieces of loom-weight.
[20]Wheeler, *Maiden Castle*, 294.
[21]Park Brow: *Antiq. Jnl.* **4**, 347–59; Slonk Hill: *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **116**, 77, figs. 10, 12; Kemp Town: *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* **12**, 489–90; Muntham Court: Suss. Arch. Soc. Research Committee Minutes, 21 September 1955; Newhaven: *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **114**, 290, 296, fig. 44; Jevington: found by Miss E. Gibb and presented to Barbican House Museum, Lewes.
[22]Edward Pyddoke, 'Water Supply for Downland Camps', *Suss. N. & Q.* **13**, 89.
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[24]Wheeler, *Maiden Castle*, 54–5 and pl. VII.
[25]C. F. C. Hawkes & M. R. Hull, *Camulodunum* (1947), 65 and pl. V.1.
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[27]Wheeler, *Maiden Castle*, 49.
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[30]*Suss. Arch. Coll.* **72**, 118–33.
[31]*Antiq. Jnl.* **13**, 163.
[32]*Antiq. Jnl.* **12**, 7–8 and fig. 2.
[33]*Antiq. Jnl.* **12**, 10–11 and plan, pl. I.
[34]Wheeler, *Maiden Castle*, 77.
[35]*Antiq. Jnl.* **12**, 7.
[36]R. J. C. Atkinson, 'Worms and Weathering', *Antiquity*, **31**, 225–7.
[37]*Antiq. Jnl.* **12**, 4.
[38]*Antiq. Jnl.* **12**, 6–7.
[39]See for example John C. Barrett, 'The Pottery of the Later Bronze Age', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* **46**, 302. See the whole of this paper (pp. 297–319) for the Late Bronze Age forms. See also the re-assessment by Michael Avery in *Hill-Fort Studies, Essays for A. H. Hogg*, ed. G. Guilbert (1981), 28–64, with bibliography at 182 ff. This does not, however, affect the bowls (nor any coarse pottery) from Hollingbury.
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EARLIER FIRST MILLENNIUM POTTERY FROM THE EXCAVATIONS AT HOLLINGBURY CAMP, SUSSEX, 1967–9

by Sue Hamilton

INTRODUCTION

A total of 488 sherds were recovered during the 1967–9 excavations at Hollingbury. Of these 80 sherds had diagnostic features of form or decoration. Eighty-six sherds came from recently disturbed contexts. Pottery from stratigraphically secure contexts was distributed between five hut floors, two pits, the old ground surface below the rampart, the tail of the rampart and the tumble in front of the rampart. The pottery appears to be part of the same assemblage as the sherds recovered from the 1914 (Toms) and 1932 (Curwen) excavations and discussed by Cunliffe (1966). The pottery would seem to represent one general phase of 'Early Iron Age' occupation.* These conclusions are further considered below. In addition to the study of form and decoration the pottery received detailed fabric analysis.

POTTERY FABRICS

Fabric Analysis

Detailed studies of fabric and composition involved disaggregating sherds and separating inclusions which were then studied at ×30 magnification. The sherds were primarily disaggregated with the aid of a vice and thereafter a mortar and pestle. These and subsequent procedures of preparation and analysis have been described for similar Iron Age wares from Sussex (Hamilton 1982, 82). Segments on pie charts (Figs. 1, 2) visually summarize the relative percentage of inclusions for illustrated sampled sherds. The number of inclusions in a 1-g. sample is noted in the centre of each pie chart (see Hamilton 1977, 85 for discussion of the interpretation of such pie charts). Size categories of inclusions are noted according to the Wentworth Scale (Krumbein & Pettijohn 1938, 30).

Fabric Categories

The 'Early Iron Age' pottery comprised three main fabric types, namely sandy coarser wares, flinty coarse wares and a fine burnished ware with fine flint, sand and iron oxide inclusions. The coarser wares represented the main part of the pottery assemblage and are associated with shouldered jars together with straight-sided and convex-sided vessels. The sandy coarser wares are more often associated with the former vessel type and the flinty ware with the latter two forms. The burnished fine ware is exclusively associated with bipartite bowls. The sherds in other fabric have no diagnostic features of style. Fabric and context alone served as dating evidence. A small number of possible middle Bronze Age, late Iron Age, Roman and Anglo-Saxon wares was indicated on this basis.

The Coarse Wares

The major fabric division was between wares predominated by quartz sand inclusions and those predominated by flint inclusions.

The quartz inclusions are of low angularity and are dominated by medium and coarse sand size grades. The size, colouring and morphology

*The use of this period term is discussed under the section on affinities and date.

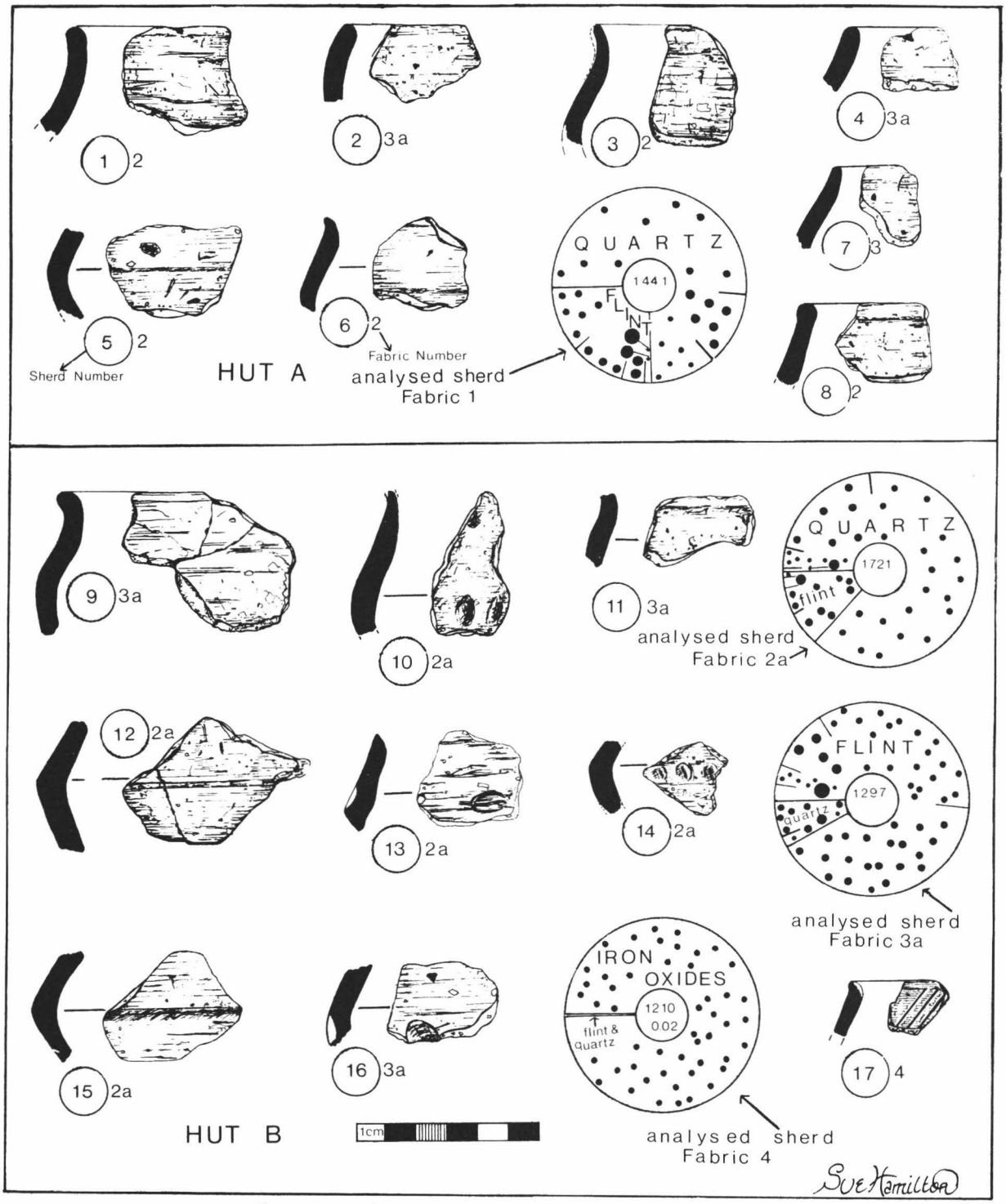

Fig. 1. Earlier first millennium pottery from Hollingbury, 1967–9.

of the quartz suggests the same source of quartz sand for each of the coarseware fabrics (see discussion of source). The quantity of quartz present is indicative of deliberately added temper.

The flint inclusions are calcined and angular resulting from the manufacture of temper by percussion of fire-cracked flint. Medium and then coarse sand size grades of flint predominate, with the exception of Fabric 1 which is coarser.

Some sherds were too eroded to ascribe to specific fabric categories but were clearly coarse wares rather than fine wares.

Fabric 1: sand and coarse flint (2.7%)

The sherds are thick with sections averaging 11 mm. The exterior and interior surfaces are variably red or black in colour and the cores are reduced. The fabric is distinctive in incorporating very coarse sand grades together with fragments of granule and pebble size of calcined flint tempering. These large flint inclusions visually dominate the surface of the fabric. Fine flint inclusions were lacking. The analysed sherd also incorporated substantial quantities of quartz sand.

The size and quantity of the flint inclusions resembles that found in local middle to later Bronze Age coarse wares. The ware can be compared with the analysis of Bronze Age Fabric 1a at Bishopstone (Bell 1977, 46; Hamilton 1977, 88). One sherd was found on the ground surface below the rampart. Others were found in clearly 'Iron Age' (six) or disturbed (five) contexts. The percentage of sherds in this fabric is similar to that for residual Bronze Age sherds on other Sussex sites (Hamilton 1977, 88). Alternatively the fabric may represent the extreme upper size limit of flint inclusions in the Iron Age flint-tempered wares. The sherds were not unduly eroded.

Analysed sherd: Flint (26%); P 0.5%, G 4%, VC 13.1%, C 36%, M 46.4%
Quartz sand (74%); M 70.2%, C 15.4%, F 14.4%*

Fabric 2: sandy ware (19.3%)

Sherds have reduced to buff-coloured exterior and interior surfaces and their cores are reduced. Their sections average 7 mm. thick. Large quantities of quartz sand are present while flint inclusions are negligible.

Analysed sherd: Quartz sand (99.8%); VC 1.6%, C 28%, M 66.7%, F 3.7%
Flint (0.2%); VC 3 inclusions, C 1 inclusion, M 1 inclusion

Fabric 2a: sand with flint (22.1%)

Sherds have reduced to buff-coloured exterior and interior surfaces and their cores are reduced. Their sections average 7 mm. thick. Substantial quantities of quartz are present and also a small amount of flint.

Analysed sherd: Quartz sand (87%); VC 0.9%, C 22.5%, M 72.9%, F 3.7%
Flint (13%); G 2.8%, VC 11.5%, C 43.8%, M 38.2%, F 3.7%

Fabric 3: flint (13.5%) and *Fabric 3a:* flint and sand (12.5%)

Sherds have a variable exterior and interior surface colour: black/red/buff. The cores are reduced. Sherd sections average 8 mm. thick. The sherds are dominated by flint inclusions. Fabric 3a has a minor amount of quartz sand.

Analysed sherd (Fabric 3a): Flint (92%); VC 7.4%, C 31.7%, M 57.9%, F 3%
Quartz sand (8%); C 18.2%, M 81.8%

Eroded sherds (Er) (9.6%)

These coarseware sherds have a proportion of their inclusions eroded out. The sherds are evenly distributed throughout most of the site's contexts.

The Fine Wares

Fabric 4: burnished with fine sand, flint and iron oxides (18%)

Sherds have black or grey exterior and interior surfaces and cores. The sherd sections are thin and average 6 mm. The better preserved sherds have burnished exteriors.

Analysed sherd: Iron oxides; M 98.9%
Quartz sand; M 0.5%
Flint; M 0.4%

Post Early Iron Age sherds (2.3%)

Grog ware (G)

Two grog tempered sherds were of the fabric type designated 'Cooking Jar Fabric' (Green 1976, 258) and renamed 'East Sussex Ware' (Green 1977, 154). The ware was commonly used locally during the later Iron Age and early Roman periods.

Multigritted ware (MG)

One sherd tempered with multicoloured grits was comparable to Fabric 2 of the Anglo-Saxon pottery from Bishopstone (Bell 1977, 228)

Romano-British grey ware (RB)

Six body sherds and one base sherd.

POTTERY SOURCES

The Coarse Wares

Deposits of clay-with-flints cap the Chalk both on and near the site. They occur to a thickness of greater than one metre and could have provided a source of local potting clay. Flint for tempering could similarly have been obtained locally either from the clay-with-flints or from the Chalk.

A riverine or littoral source for the sand tempering is suggested by its degree of particle size sorting and by the low angularity of the grains and their surface morphology. There is an absence of present-day river systems in the immediate vicinity of the site and the palaeodrainage systems are filled with Combe deposits

*Measurements along the longest axis; P = pebble 64–4 mm., G = granule 4–2 mm., VC = very coarse 2–1 mm., C = coarse 1–0.5 mm., M = medium 0.5–0.25 mm., F = fine 0.25–0.125 mm.: Wentworth's size classification (Krumbein & Pettijohn 1938, 80).

which suggests an absence of active rivers at any time during the Flandrian. It is possible that the sand could have been derived from small outliers of the Tertiary Woolwich and Reading Beds which occur on the South Downs near Brighton, Newhaven and Seaford (Edmunds 1935, 43). These deposits are sandier near their base where they rest on the Chalk. It is, however, the shelly clay beds of these deposits which are more accessible and which are known to have been exploited during the Iron Age and later as raw material for pottery and other ceramic products (Hamilton 1977, 92; Norris & Burstow 1950, 56). Field sampling, however, suggested the beach as a likely source for the sand tempering. The present beach is 4 km. away from Hollingbury. The Hollingbury sand tempering comprises transparent to translucent quartz sand together with quartz, rose quartz and flint granule and pebble inclusions. The medium sand and larger size grades have a frosted morphology typical of the abrasion associated with marine and littoral erosion processes. The larger granule and pebble inclusions are more clearly polygenetic than the lower size grades and in this respect, as well as in the surface morphology, the Hollingbury sand tempering is comparable with present-day samples taken from Brighton beach.

The Fine Wares

The iron oxide wares belong to a distinct group of fabrics which have been recognized at a number of Sussex sites (Hamilton 1980, 203). The substantial presence of iron oxide grains suggests a highly ferruginous clay source within the Wealden Series. The richest such ferruginous strata are associated with Wadhurst Clay (Gallois 1965, 26) and a High Wealden source has tentatively been suggested (Hamilton 1977, 93). The iron oxide wares could thus suggest a pattern of resource exploitation or pottery trade extending 20 km. inland from Hollingbury.

Conclusion

A consideration of 'Early Iron Age' pottery fabrics from Hollingbury suggests exploitation of resources from both north and south of the Downs and the possibility of trade up to 20 km. inland.

THE NUMERICAL PRESENCE OF SHERDS BY CONTEXT

						Fabrics				
1	*2*	*2a*	*3*	*3a*	*4*	*Er*	*G*	*MG*	*RB*	*Context*
1	10	8	15	4	12	6	1	1	7	Topsoil
7	51	13	12	14	21	10	—	—	—	Hut A
—	—	11	20	21	24	22	—	—	—	Hut B
2	12	7	7	—	4	—	—	—	—	Hut C
—	7	12	6	2	6	1	—	—	—	Hut D
—	5	14	1	—	2	3	—	—	—	Near Hut E
—	2	4	1	5	4	—	—	—	—	Near Pit DXLVI
1	—	3	4	4	4	1	—	—	—	Pit FXLV
—	7	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	Gully near Pit FXLV
—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Trial Hole
—	—	13	—	7	—	—	—	—	—	Tumble in front of rampart
1	—	16	—	2	9	2	1	—	—	Tail of rampart
—	—	2	—	1	—	1	1	—	—	Recent hole in tail of rampart
1	—	1	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	Ground surface below rampart

FORMS AND DECORATION (Figs. 1, 2)

The coarse wares: Fabrics 2, 2a, 3 and 3a

Diagnostic sherds comprised:

Tripartite shouldered jars; 10 flaring rims (e.g. Nos. 18, 22 and 28)

Bipartite jars/bowls; 2 proto-bead rims (e.g. No. 9)
1 upturned rounded rim (No. 7)
2 out-turned rounded rims (e.g. No. 3)
2 plain rounded rims (Nos. 4 and 8)

Convex-sided jars; 1 incurved rounded rim (No. 2)
1 flat-topped rim (No. 23)

Straight-sided, open-mouthed jars; 1 upright rounded rim (No. 25)
3 flat-topped rims (e.g. No. 21)

Bases; 21 sherds from flat bases (e.g. No. 5)

Decorations; 10 undecorated shoulder sherds (e.g. Nos. 6, 12, 15 and 26)
13 shoulder sherds with finger-tip impressions (e.g. Nos. 10, 13, 14, 16 and 24)
1 finger-impressed rim (No. 21)
1 fingernail-impressed shoulder (No. 27)

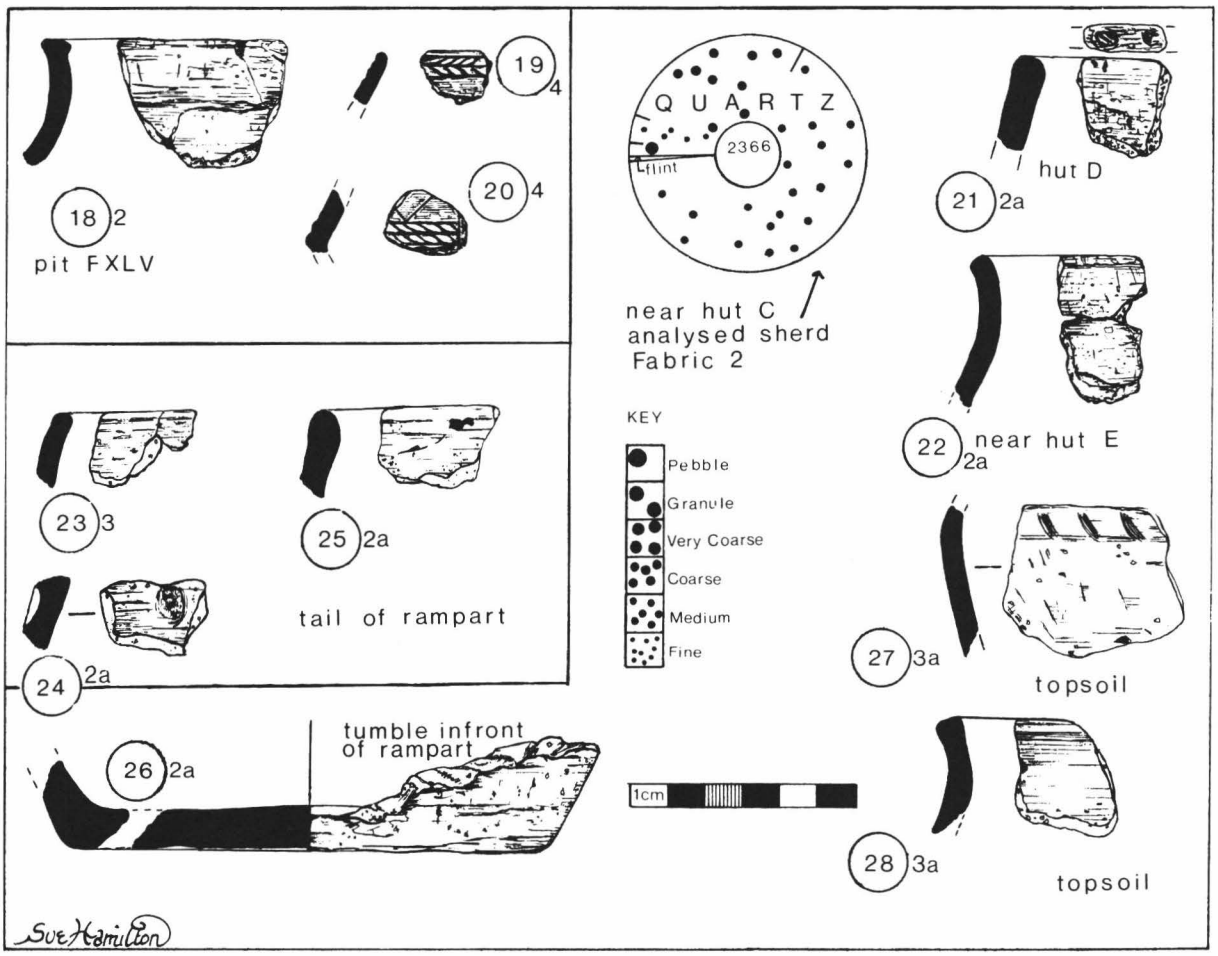

Fig. 2. Earlier first millennium pottery from Hollingbury, 1967–9.

The fine wares: Fabric 4
Diagnostic sherds comprised:
Bipartite bowls; 2 upright rims with slight bead (Nos. 17 and 19)
2 undecorated shoulder sherds
3 shoulder sherds variously with grooves and cordons decorated with incised herringbone design, a shallow tooled triangle and oblique tooled lines (Nos. 17, 19 and 20)
4 sherds from flat bases

AFFINITIES AND DATE

Both in fabric and form the pottery assemblage is closely comparable with the pottery from previous excavations at Hollingbury (Toms 1914; Curwen 1932). Cunliffe (1966), in reviewing the pottery from these earlier excavations, placed the Hollingbury material in the same style group as Caburn 1 ware (Hawkes 1939). He also recognized Caburn 1 type pottery from other Sussex sites including Stoke Clump, The Trundle and Highdown Hill (Cunliffe 1966, 117). The Caburn 1 assemblage was taken to include the following ceramic elements:

1. Tripartite shouldered jars with flaring rims. The vessels are of two qualities: fine, hard fabrics, usually with cordoned shoulder and

neck angles, and coarser gritty wares usually with fingernail-impressed decorated rims and shoulders.
2. Coarseware, straight-sided vessels with fingernail impresses or 'pie-crust' rims.
3. Fineware bipartite bowls with sharp shoulders and often beaded lips. The upper part of the body can be decorated with incised motifs and single and paired cordons.

The Hollingbury material fits within such an assemblage description.

Cunliffe later collated the Caburn 1 type material into his Kimmeridge–Caburn 'style zone' with a date range of 650–500 B.C. (Cunliffe 1974, 34). It is possible that this 'style' may represent a greater chronological span (Barrett 1980, 311) than originally allowed either by Hawkes (1939) or Cunliffe (1974). Sussex, however, lacks the necessary absolute dates to better define such a chronology. Reliance on comparisons from outside the region, for example the Thames Valley, indicates that shouldered jars with finger-tip decoration and bipartite bowls were current by the 8th century B.C., and this stylistic repertoire continued to develop in the 6th and 5th centuries (Barrett 1980, 306). The pottery from Caburn may represent the latter end of this tradition. It is distinct in both fabric and form. Sand-tempered finer wares, in both jar and bowl forms, are more prevalent than the coarse flint gritted wares that dominate some of the possibly earlier assemblages such as that from Highdown (Wilson 1940; Wilson 1950). The fine cordons and incised decoration associated with the finer wares at Caburn are similarly distinct. The fineware bowls from Hollingbury and the quantity of the coarser wares with predominantly quartz sand rather than flint tempering makes the assemblage more akin to the Caburn assemblage. Sherds from fineware bipartite bowls illustrated in the present report (Figs. 1, 2), together with a bowl previously published from Hollingbury (Cunliffe 1966, fig. 2.62), are particularly comparable in fabric and form to examples from Caburn (Hawkes 1939, fig. E.74).

A number of earlier first millennium sites in Sussex are potentially associated with datable later Bronze Age metalwork. Sites thus associated and with elements of Cunliffe's Kimmeridge–Caburn tradition would include Highdown Hill and Harting Beacon which have possibly 7th-century B.C. metal finds. None of the metalwork, however, is in stratigraphic association with the pottery (Champion 1980, 44). A perhaps similar association is the find of a looped socketed axe of Late Bronze Age type only a few kilometres from Hollingbury Hill. This axe type can be dated to the 7th century B.C. and might be considered as contributing to the pattern of such associations (Thomas 1983). While assemblages characteristic of the Kimmeridge–Caburn style group may represent an extended chronology of the 8th to 5th centuries B.C., the material from Caburn itself and from Hollingbury might be seen on both fabric and stylistic grounds to come after the earliest part of the tradition. The material from Hollingbury might be considered to comply with a mid 7th- to mid 6th-century date based upon the above metalwork and ceramic discussion. This date range spans the latest Bronze Age and earliest Iron Age period division. The ceramic discussion would seem to favour an earliest Iron Age description of the material.

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THE EXCAVATION OF THE EASTERN TERMINAL OF THE DEVIL'S DITCH (CHICHESTER DYKES), BOXGROVE, WEST SUSSEX, 1982

by Owen Bedwin and Clive Orton

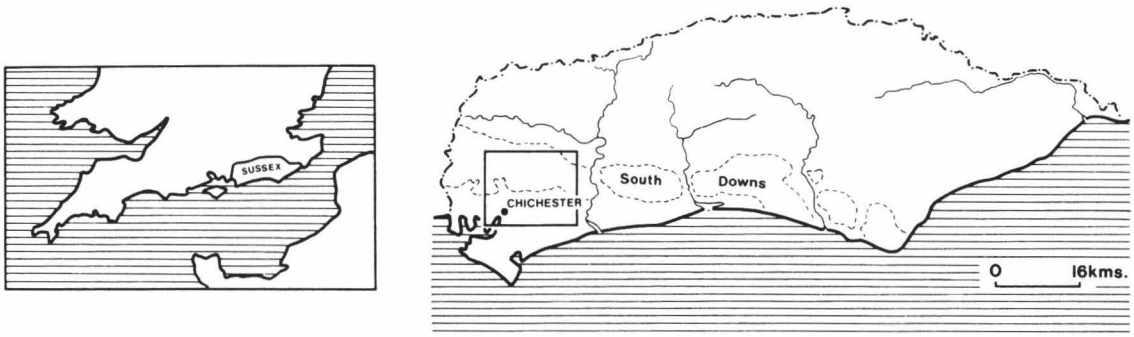
The excavation of the eastern terminal of the Chichester dykes (adjacent to an extensive Romano-British farm settlement) provided a large assemblage of pottery with which to date the construction of this earthwork. On balance, a late Iron Age date seems probable, though it is impossible to rule out an immediately post-conquest date.

INTRODUCTION

The complex system of rectilinear earthworks known as the Chichester dykes consists of extensive stretches of banks and ditches, running east–west over a distance of 10 km., just north of Chichester. There are also some north–south stretches, up to 2.5 km. long (Fig. 1). The widely accepted date for these earthworks is the late Iron Age, and they are envisaged as defining and/or defensive outworks, relating to an intensively occupied area on the coastal plain to the south, including, perhaps, a 'tribal capital'.

Evidence in support of the Iron Age date comes from two sources. First, the surface appearance and layout of the dykes, which closely resemble other late Iron Age dyke systems in southern England, such as the Lexden dykes at Colchester (Hawkes & Hull 1947). Secondly, there are the results of four excavated sections through the Chichester dykes themselves. The findings from two of these point strongly to late Iron Age origins (Murray 1956; Bradley 1971), but the other two sections, close together, near the eastern end of the dyke system at Halnaker, suggest a late medieval date (Holmes 1968; Bedwin 1982). The evidence from each of these excavations is discussed in Bedwin (1982), and it is clear that further sections across the earthwork are necessary to resolve these contradictory results.

One of the authors (O.B.) was therefore fortunate to be informed, via F. G. Aldsworth, County Archaeologist of West Sussex, of the discovery of a small ditch containing Roman pottery in the Amey Roadstone Company's gravel pit, 1 km. to the east of the dyke section excavated in Halnaker village in 1981. The find was made by the quarry foreman, Mr. G. Udell, and, when the site was visited, it became apparent that continuing gravel extraction would remove not only traces of Roman occupation in the vicinity, but also the extreme eastern end of the Chichester dyke system (the earthwork being known here as the Devil's Ditch: Figs. 1–3). It was therefore decided to carry out rescue excavation of an area to the west of Mr. Udell's discovery (i.e. westward from 'Ditch 1981' in Fig. 2) as far as the eastern end of the Devil's Ditch. Because of the proximity of the newly uncovered Roman material to the Devil's Ditch, it was hoped that excavation here might be more likely to provide firm dating evidence for the latter. In particular, the existence of nearby Roman occupation could mean either that there would be far more pottery or other datable artefacts in the ditch silts (previous dating has relied overmuch on the presence of just one or two sherds), or that there would be direct stratigraphic relationships between the Roman features and the dyke terminal itself.



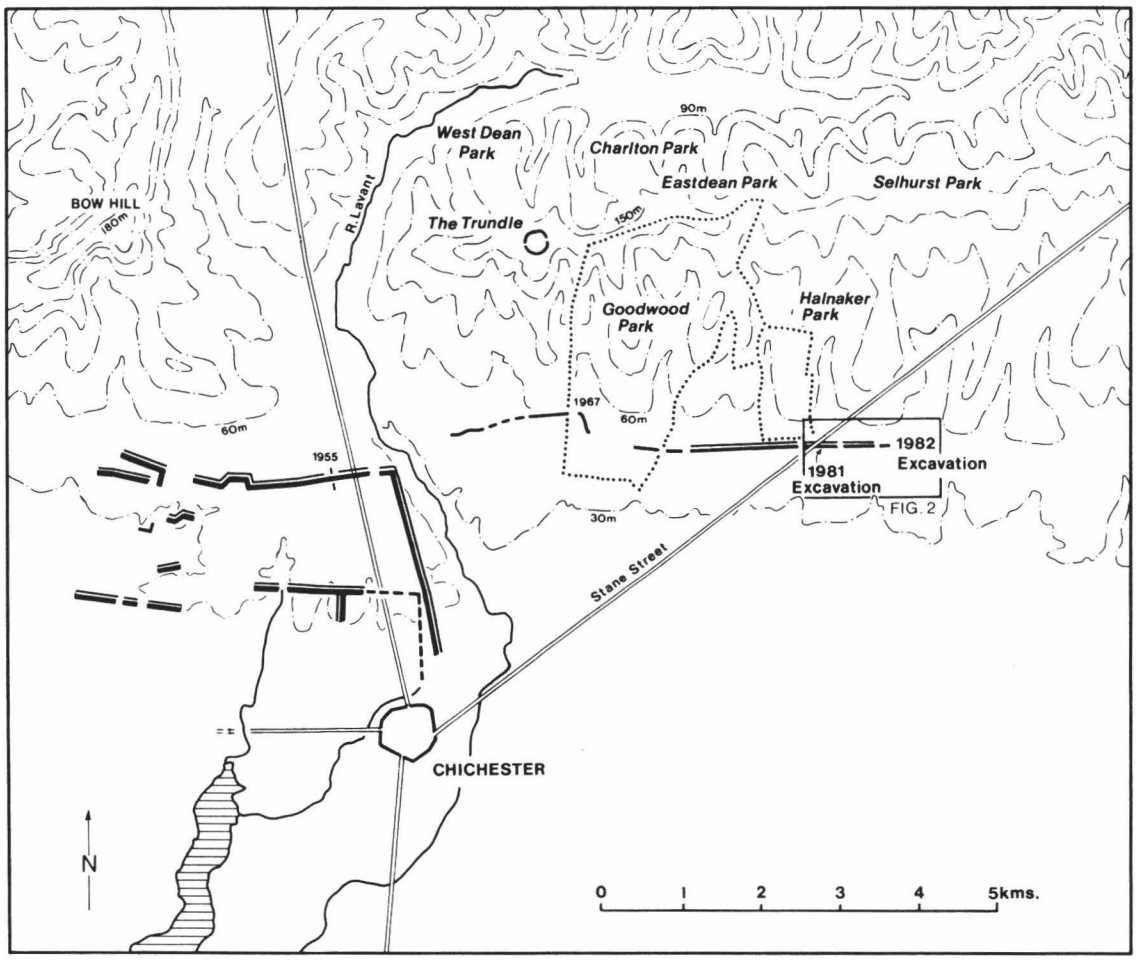


Fig. 1. Site location: general. (By F. G. Aldsworth)

Excavation was carried out by the Sussex Archaeological Field Unit under the direction of one of the authors (O.B.) for 14 weeks from June to September 1982. Apart from the Devil's Ditch terminal, part of a substantial Romano-British farmstead was uncovered (Fig. 3). As a second season of large-scale excavation was undertaken in 1983, with lengthy post-excavation work and writing-up to follow, it was felt more appropriate to present the results of the Devil's Ditch terminal excavation separately here. The Roman site investigated in 1982–3 has been given the name 'Ounces Barn' (Fig. 2) to distinguish it from other finds already made in the quarry, notably the considerable amount of palaeolithic material, summarized by Woodcock (1981).

EXCAVATION

The site lay on a gentle, south-facing slope (Fig. 2). The subsoil was a flinty silty head deposit. Until 1981, the area had been farmed as arable land, with a ploughsoil 25–30 cm. deep. Initially an area *c.* 70 metres east–west by 35 metres (maximum) north–south was stripped of topsoil by a D6 and scraper, and subsequently a JCB 3 was used for more restricted clearance within some slight subsoil hollows.

At the western edge of the cleared area, the rounded end of the Devil's Ditch was visible as a markedly greyer fill that was also much less stony than the surrounding gingery-brown subsoil. This difference was accentuated by weathering over the three and a half months of excavation. The ditch was totally silted up and there was no indication of a bank, which would have been to the south of the ditch, slightly downslope. Investigation of the ditch terminal revealed a complex silting sequence (Fig. 4), particularly where the shallow Roman ditch, context 37 (Fig. 3), had been cut into the terminal and had eroded it back, presumably as a result of accumulated surface drainage water running into it. Roman pottery was found in virtually all the layers in the Devil's Ditch, though there was none from the floor itself.

The ditch profile (Fig. 4) was slightly asymmetrical, and was 2.6 metres deep and 6.0 metres wide at the top. It therefore much resembles the profile from the other end of the dyke system, at West Lavant House (Murray 1956), but is quite different from that found 1 km. to the west in Halnaker village (Holmes 1968; Bedwin 1982).

DISCUSSION

The expectation that this excavation would provide good dating evidence for the Devil's Ditch (see introduction) was fulfilled. A total of 1,043 sherds was recovered from the Ditch terminal (see below) and this is a sound basis for dating its construction. The pottery assemblage suggests the following sequence, which crucially includes the north–south ditch, context 27 (Figs. 3 and 4); note that *absolute* dates cannot be established before episode 5 in this sequence.

1. Context 27, the north–south ditch, is cut.
2. There is dumping in this ditch (context 73).
3. Cutting of the Devil's Ditch, the bank of which largely fills the north–south ditch. The bottom of the bank thus corresponds to the very clean gravelly fills, contexts 72, 76 and part of 62, in the north–south ditch.
4. There is rapid primary silting in the Devil's Ditch, corresponding to steriie layers 161 and 159 (Fig. 4).
5. Then follows deliberate filling of the Devil's Ditch, corresponding to contexts 129, 152, 155, and 191 (Fig. 4, though context 191 does not appear in either longitudinal or transverse sections). On the basis of the pottery, this episode is dated to *c.* A.D. 50–60.
6. The Devil's Ditch is then recut, *c.* A.D. 60. The reason for this unclear; one author (C.O.) speculates that it could be seen in the context of a Boudiccan panic.
7. This is followed by filling (i.e. silting and dumping) of the Ditch (contexts 207, 208, 132, 130, 140, 192, 131) and the north–south ditch (contexts 69, 70, 31, 28, 71), dated to *c.* A.D. 60–70.
8. Finally, the Devil's Ditch is levelled up and

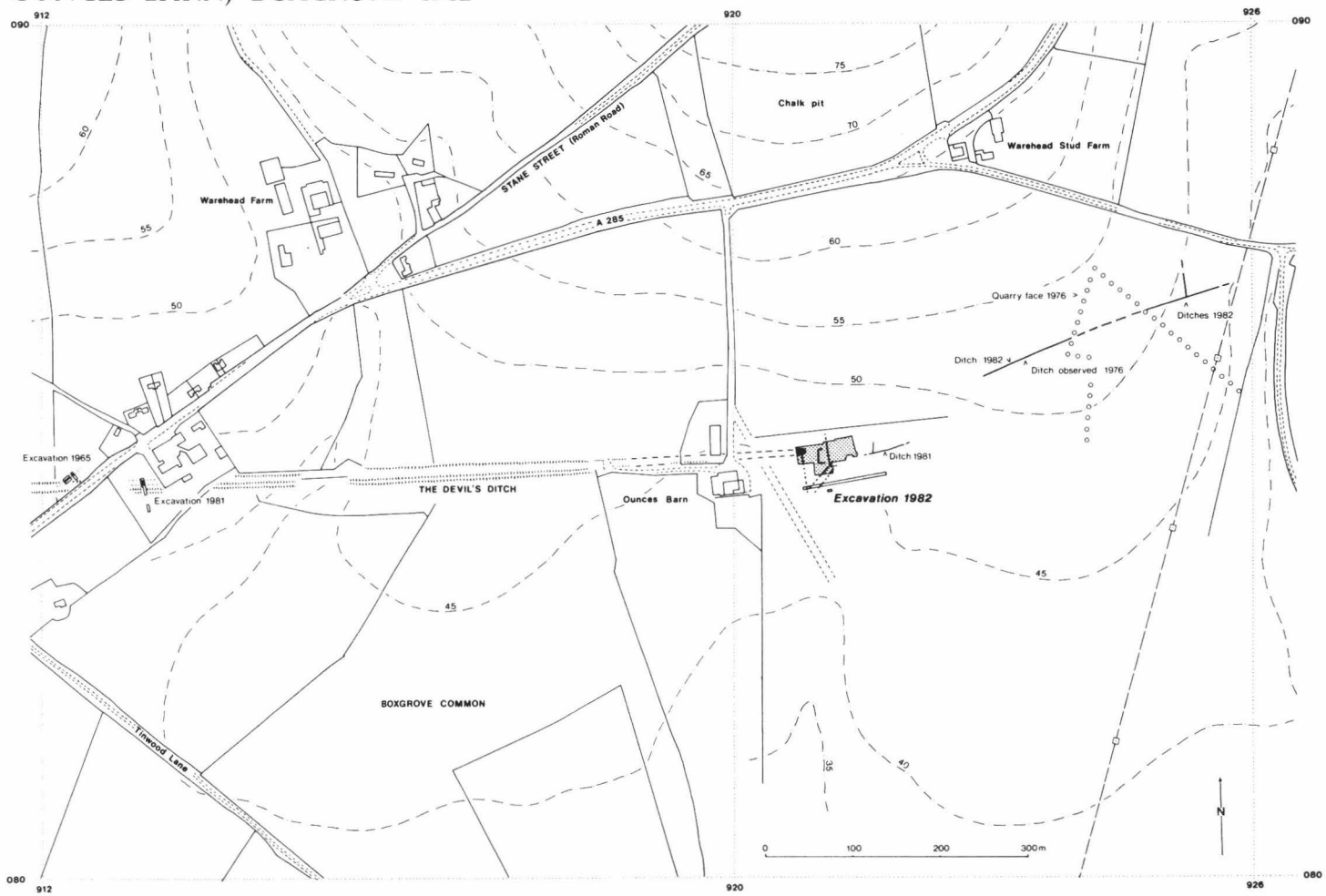


Fig. 2. Site location: detailed. (By F. G. Aldsworth)

Fig. 3. General site plan. (By F. G. Aldsworth)

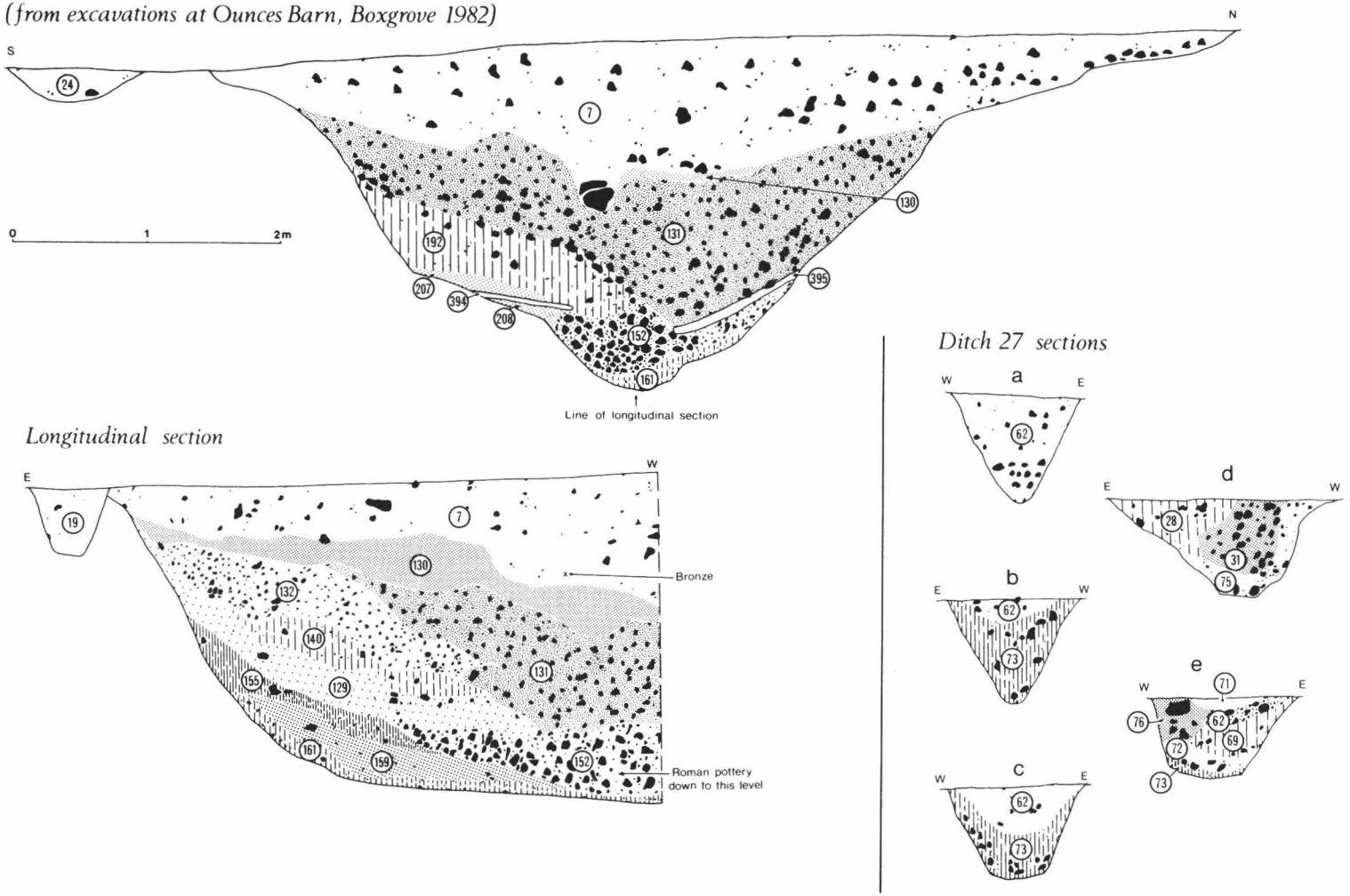


Fig. 4. Sections of the Devil's Ditch terminal and the north–south ditch, context 27. For location of sections a–e see Fig. 3.

consolidated, with context 7, from *c.* A.D. 70 to ? the early 2nd century. This would be during the occupation of the adjacent Romano-British settlement.

From this sequence, it is clear that the bulk of the material filling the Devil's Ditch was deposited during the very early Roman period, i.e. the second half of the 1st century A.D. However, the two earliest silts within the Ditch terminal (contexts 161 and 159) were both sterile, and so dating the cutting of the Devil's Ditch depends on a consideration of how quickly these layers might accumulate. Over the winter of 1982–3, it was possible to observe the open Ditch terminal silting up rapidly, especially in wet weather. It is thus likely that silting equivalent to contexts 161 and 159 could have formed within a few years of the Ditch being dug, *or* since the time it was last cleaned out. Because of this latter caveat, it is impossible to conclude definitely that the Devil's Ditch was *built* a few years prior to A.D. 50–60 (episode 5 above), i.e. that it dates either to the very end of the Iron Age or to immediately after the conquest. It might be better to argue that since the Ditch was deliberately filled to a considerable extent *c.* A.D. 50–60 (episode 5), it was by this time an obsolete feature of the landscape. This would strengthen the argument that it was an important factor in the Iron Age landscape (i.e. its origin lies in the late Iron Age), and was largely irrelevant after the conquest.

The 1982 excavation established the tightest date bracket so far for the silting up of the Ditch, but, as outlined above, cannot really provide the crucial distinction between a pre-conquest or post-conquest date. Furthermore, sections across the *ditch* of the Dyke system will always be slightly unsatisfactory because of the possibility of cleaning out or recutting. In terms of strategy, therefore, it might be preferable to excavate a series of sections across the *bank* of the Dyke system, to obtain material from the old land surface beneath. If the location of such sections were carefully chosen, e.g. adjacent to known Roman sites, like Richard Bradley's section in Goodwood Park, it would be possible to build up a pottery assemblage which predated Dyke construction, with a greater potential for distinguishing between pre- and post-conquest dates. It was particularly unfortunate that the bank terminal did not survive adjacent to the Ditch terminal at Ounces Barn.

How do the results of the 1982 excavation compare with other sections across the Chichester dykes? They are certainly compatible

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Key to layers:
7 Hard brown clayey fill;
19 Compact brown homogenous fill;
24 Compact dark brown homogenous fill;
129, 131 Softish grey-brown clayey fill;
130 Hard gritty orange-brown fill;
132 Hard orange clayey fill;
152 Hard stony brown clayey fill;
155 Compact gritty yellow-brown clayey fill;
159 Hard gritty brown clayey fill;
161 Hard layer with many small flints in yellow-brown clay matrix;
192 Hard grey-brown clayey fill;
207 Softish dark grey clayey fill with few stones;
208 Hard sticky light brown clayey fill;
394, 395 Fine brown clayey fill (?weathered/washed-in subsoil);
28 Hard orange-brown clayey fill;
31 Hard stony dark brown clayey fill;
62 Hard, very stony orange-brown clayey fill;
69 Hard orange-brown clayey fill;
71 Hard grey-brown clayey fill;
72 Hard gritty orange clayey fill;
73 Hard mid-brown clayey fill;
75, 76 Hard orange-brown clayey fill.

with the Goodwood Park excavation (Bradley 1971), and with the West Lavant House section (Murray 1956), if the sherd of saucepan pottery from well down in the ditch is considered residual. Thus, three different excavations, 7 km. apart, have produced results which are broadly in agreement.

However, the problem of the two sections in Halnaker village remains (Holmes 1968; Bedwin 1982): the evidence from both of these is consistent with a late medieval date, and the ditch profile there is totally different from the Ounces Barn section (Fig. 4) or the one from West Lavant House (Murray 1956). One explanation might be that the original line of the Chichester dykes had a gap which was filled in during the later medieval period, perhaps to complete the line of Halnaker Park (refer to Bedwin 1982, Fig. 1, middle). Only further excavation is likely to provide the answer.

THE POTTERY (by Clive Orton)

Introduction

This report deals only with the pottery from the terminal of the Devil's Ditch (context 6) and from the north–south ditch (context 27), apparently cut by the terminal, with the aims of providing dating evidence for the Devil's Ditch and contributing to the interpretation of the stratigraphic sequence of these features.

From the terminal 1,043 sherds (10.7 eves) were recovered, and a further 135 (1.8 eves) from the north–south ditch. An eve (estimated vessel-equivalent) is a quantity of pottery equivalent to one vessel (Orton 1975). Although relatively small, this is by far the largest quantity of pottery obtained from a section of the Devil's Ditch or an associated feature (see summary of earlier work in Bedwin 1982), and as such is important for the dating of the Chichester dyke system. The pottery was fragmentary (averaging about 100 sherds/eve) and in poor condition, being abraded and discoloured, possibly due to acid soil conditions and groundwater movement. Fine wares had generally lost their surfaces and become soft and powdery. Nevertheless, it was possible to reconstruct much of the pottery, and there was considerable cross-joining of sherds between contexts.

Method

The pottery was sorted into fabric groups (see below) by visual examination, taking into account the colour and texture of the clay, the nature, size and frequency of inclusions, the method of manufacture and the treatment of surfaces. Fresh breaks were examined to overcome problems caused by staining and abrasion, and a ×10 binocular microscope was used when necessary.

A complete catalogue of the pottery, quantified by sherd count and eves (based on rims and bases) has been made and is included in microfiche. This report describes the fabric groups, summarizes the forms, and interprets the stratigraphy in the light of the pottery evidence. Individual descriptions of illustrated sherds, and statistical analyses of the incidence of the fabrics in different contexts, and of the cross-joins between contexts, are included in the microfiche, which also contains illustrated sherds (Figs. 5–7). In this report, eves are rounded to the nearest 0.1 and percentages to the nearest 5%.

Fabrics

After the removal of Samian and Roman fine wares (groups S and F), the pottery was sorted into eight groups—A to E, I, J and M—described below. Each code could be qualified by the addition of O (for oxidized), (O) (partly oxidized) or /F, /G, /S for additional inclusions of flint, grog, or quartz sand respectively.

In the catalogue and illustrations, Nos. 1–50 are from the Devil's Ditch terminal and Nos. 51–62 from the north–south ditch.

Samian (Nos. 1–7)

Fifty-nine sherds (1.9 eves) of Samian were found in the terminal, and two sherds in the north–south ditch: all are South Gaulish. None are decorated, and cup forms predominate, with three Dr. 24/25s (Nos. 1–3) and two Dr. 27s (Nos. 4, 5), as well as smaller sherds probably of these forms, against only one Dr. 15/17 (No. 7). There is one potter's stamp: OF.LICN on a foot-ring base (Dr. 27) from context 129 (No. 6), probably LICINUS of Graufesenque, Claudian date (Oswald 1931, 164). A pre-Flavian but post-conquest date is indicated.

Samian comprises about 5% of the Roman pottery from the terminal by sherds, and 15% by eves, but is only about 2% of the pottery from the north–south ditch. In the terminal, it is present in all contexts with more than 40 sherds, and seems to be most common in context 155, but the figures may not be statistically significant. No trends are apparent.

Other fine wares (Nos. 8–18 and 51–2, Figs. 5 and 7, microfiche)

There are 159 sherds (1.4 eves) from the terminal and ten sherds (0.2 eves) from the north–south ditch. They have been divided into Terra Nigra, Terra Rubra, imitation Terra Rubra, imitation Samian (Pulborough) (see catalogue for descriptions, Nos. 9–13, 18 and 51), fabrics F1 and F2, and miscellaneous finewares.

Fabric F1 (No. 14)

White fabric, with moderate inclusions of very fine (<0.01 mm.) quartz and occasional pieces of red iron ore. Wheel-thrown. No surviving surfaces. The only form present is a flagon, No. 14, from the terminal, and one sherd, possibly of the same vessel, from the north–south ditch. Tiberio-Claudian date.

Fabric F2

Off-white to pale pink/buff fabric, sometimes with pale grey core. Moderate inclusions of very fine quartz and sparse very fine red and black iron ore, with occasional coarse pieces of red iron ore, giving a less fine 'feel' than F1. Wheel-thrown. No surviving surfaces. Forms present are butt beakers (Nos. 15–17) and a flagon (No. 18). The source is not local, but may be Colchester or north France. Claudio-Neronian date.

Chichester fine ware (No. 52, see catalogue)

Claudio-Neronian date.

Amphorae (No. 53, Fig. 7)

There are two small sherds of unidentified amphora (coded M) from the terminal (context 140).

Thirty-seven sherds (0.2 eves) of a Cam. 185a amphora (No. 53) were distributed in all pottery assemblages of the north–south ditch except context 73. Such amphorae are

usually given a Claudio-Neronian date (Green, C. M. pers. comm.). It comprises about 30% of the coarse ware from the ditch by sherds, but only 10% by eves.

Romano-British coarse wares

Fabric group A (Nos. 19–32 and 54–7, Figs. 5–7)

There are 341 sherds (3.3 eves) from the terminal and 27 sherds from the north–south ditch. The fabric is white or off-white, fairly soft, sometimes oxidized to light reddish-brown, especially in the margins. There are moderate, ill-sorted, greyish quartz inclusions, up to *c.* 0.5 mm. in size, which often give the fabric a dirty grey appearance, and occasional pieces of flint or grog. The smaller vessels appear to be wheel-thrown, and have lightly burnished surfaces, which on some examples are blackened (surface 'B' in catalogue). Larger examples appear to be hand-made and have less well finished surfaces. Extra quartz sand seems to have been added to the fabric of some of the smaller vessels (fabric A/S) and flint or grog (fabrics A/F, A/G) to the larger. Fabric A/S can be quite similar to fabric group E (see below).

The most common form, which occurs in fabrics A and A/G, is the high-shouldered jar with straight neck and outturned thickened rim (Nos. 19–22, 26, 30–2, 54–5 and possibly No. 56, which may be the base of No. 30 or a similar vessel). This form can be matched in many pre-Flavian groups, e.g. Chichester early Roman kiln (Down 1978, 208–12), and Fishbourne period I (Cunliffe 1971, types 161–4 and 180s), and other sites in Chichester (Down & Rule 1971, 32–5, 71; Down 1978, 217), although it does continue later.

Larger, 'storage' jars occur in fabric A/F (Nos. 28–9), which again can be matched in pre-Flavian groups at Chichester (see above), but which may continue longer.

There are single examples of bead-rimmed jar (No. 23, cf. Chichester type K.7 (Down 1978, 207)), carinated bowl (No. 25, cf. Chichester type K.4 (Down 1978, 205)), dish (No. 27) and platter (No. 57).

The parallels suggest a post-conquest but pre-Flavian date for this fabric group, which has not yet been matched *as a fabric* on other sites and does not seem to be present at Chichester (collections examined by the author). A very local source is suggested, probably from the Reading Beds clay, the nearest outcrops of which are only 2 km. south or 5 km. east of the site (Institute of Geological Sciences 1957).

This group is the most common fabric from the terminal (40% of coarse wares by sherds, 45% by eves), and is also common in the north–south ditch (20% of coarse wares by sherds, 50% by eves). It is the only fabric present in every context. It appears to be less common in the upper fill of the terminal (context 7 and possibly 131) than the lower.

Fabric group B (Nos. 33–4, 58, Figs. 6 and 7)

There are 42 sherds (0.2 eves) from the terminal and 20 sherds (0.1 eves) from the north–south ditch. The fabric is black, fairly hard, sometimes oxidized to red or brown, especially in the core or interior surface. Abundant inclusions of fine (<0.25 mm.) clear and colourless quartz. The exterior is burnished in zones, and often has a burnished lattice decoration. The general effect is similar to BB1 (Farrar 1973) but finer.

Only three forms are identified. (i) a jar or beaker with conical neck and carinated body (No. 33), examples from both terminal and north–south ditch. The form can be matched from pre-Flavian groups at Chichester (Down & Rule 1971, 32, No. 41) and *Clausentum* (Cotton & Gathercole 1958, 92, No. 14), and a similar vessel but with no carination was found at Hardham (Winbolt 1927, 97). (ii) an un-necked jar or bowl, wheel-thrown (No. 34). (iii) a wide bowl or jar with S-shaped profile in an oxidized fabric (No. 58), similar to 'Belgic' bowl forms.

The fabric is present at Chichester (Down 1978, 218, No. 17, examined by the author), but does not seem to be produced there. It appears to be in the local late Iron Age tradition, especially as it is very similar to fabric group I (see below), with quartz instead of flint inclusions. However, since this tradition continues until well after the conquest (e.g. until *c.* A.D. 70 at Hayling Island: King, A. pers. comm.), this pottery cannot by itself indicate a pre-conquest date. It is, however, more broken than the other coarse fabrics (210 sherds/eve against an average of 110), which suggests it may be earlier since it is not noticeably more fragile.

This group comprises about 5% (by sherds or eves) of the coarse pottery from the terminal, and about 15% by sherds (10% by eves) of that from the north–south ditch, where it is concentrated in the lowest fill (context 73). Otherwise, there are no significant trends in its distribution.

Fabric group C (Nos. 35–41 and 59, Figs. 6 and 7)

There are 181 sherds (1.8 eves) from the terminal and 20 sherds from the north–south ditch. The fabric is grey, fairly hard, sometimes oxidized to light yellow-brown at margins and surfaces. It is smooth between the inclusions, which are of moderate ill-sorted clear, colourless or pinkish quartz, up to 1 mm. or more in size. There are also sparse inclusions of mica. The vessels are handmade and surfaces may be wiped but are generally not burnished.

The most common form is the shallow flat-bottomed dish (Nos. 37–40, cf. Chichester type K. 6.8 (Down 1978, 206–7)), and there are also lids (No. 41, also at Chichester (Down 1978, 212) and Fishbourne period I (Cunliffe 1971, type 187)) and jars with shorter necks and less pronounced shoulders than those in fabric group A (Nos. 35, 36, 59).

This fabric is identified with the coarsest fabric from the Chichester early Roman kiln (Down 1978, 204–10; collection examined by the author), and should thus date to *c.* A.D. 45–60 (Down 1978, 210, 216).

This is the second most common fabric group from the terminal (25% of coarse wares by sherds or eves) and is distributed fairly evenly throughout the fill. It may be less common in the north–south ditch (20% by sherds, 15% by eves).

Fabric group D (Nos. 42–4 and 60, Figs. 6 and 7)

There are 44 sherds (1.1 eves) from the terminal and 6 sherds (0.1 eves) from the north–south ditch. The fabric is light grey, fairly hard, and the margins may be oxidized light brown. Moderate inclusions of very fine colourless quartz, and sparse mica. Vessels are wheel-thrown and surfaces are dark grey or black, often smooth and sometimes highly polished.

Forms are imitative of imported fine wares—small globular jars or cups (Nos. 42 and 60, cf. Holwerda types 280–300 (Holwerda 1941)) and 'Gallo-Belgic' platters (No. 43, copy of Cam. 14, and No. 44, with rim similar to Dr. 18).

This fabric is identified with 'the finer grey ware' from the Chichester early Roman kiln (Down 1978, 204–10), although the forms appear a little later, say in the 60s or later (Valery Rigby, pers. comm.). It is relatively rare in both the terminal (5% of coarse wares by sherds, 15% by eves) and the north–south ditch (5% by sherds, 10% by eves).

Fabric group E (Nos. 45–50 and 61, Figs. 6 and 7)

There are 119 sherds (0.7 eves) from the terminal and 9 sherds from the north–south ditch. The fabric varies in colour from mid grey to yellowish-red, and is hard. Abundant ill-sorted colourless and greyish quartz inclusions, up to *c.* 0.5 mm. in size; also sparse red and black iron ore, and occasional pieces of flint. Vessels are wheel-thrown, and the exterior surface may have a thin iron-wash coating. There is no decoration but some vessels have batchmarks (see below).

The most common form is the un-necked jar, Hodder

(1974) type 1 (Nos. 47–9). There are two examples of batchmarks (Nos. 48, 50). This form is known from the Rowlands Castle kiln, where production is dated 'mid/late 2nd century onwards', and several nearby sites (Hodder 1974, 86), including Fishbourne, where they appear in period II and are dated '3rd century, but probably began earlier' (Cunliffe 1971, 237). Similar forms are also known from the Hallcourt Wood kiln (Cunliffe 1961), where they are called type C and production is dated 'mid 1st century onwards, probably late 1st century'.

Other jar forms are also present (Nos. 45, 46), which are broadly similar to type D at Hallcourt Wood (Cunliffe 1961, 16).

Body sherds of the larger Hodder (1974) type 2 jars, with internal finger impressions, are present from the top fill of the terminal (context 7). They are dated '2nd–4th century' at Fishbourne (Cunliffe 1971, 249). Similar forms, rope-rimmed storage jars (type A), were also produced at Hallcourt Wood (Cunliffe 1961). Lyne & Jefferies (1979, 51) refer to similar vessels produced at Alice Holt, *c.* A.D. 180, as 'beehives', but there is no evidence for this function in the examples from the terminal.

There is a single example of a flagon form (No. 61).

This group includes products of the Rowlands Castle kiln (Hodder 1974), but may well include those of other local kilns. Dating is difficult, as these forms clearly had a long production life, the start of which is badly defined.

This group is more common in the terminal (15% by sherds, 10% by eves) than in the north–south ditch (10% by sherds or eves). Within the terminal, it shows a trend in its incidence, being least common in the lowest fill, and most common in the upper fill (context 7; see also discussion below).

Fabric group M (No. 62, Fig. 7)

This 'miscellaneous' group consists of sherds which do not seem to fit any of the above categories, or to form coherent groupings amongst themselves. Most are heavily oxidized, soft, and even more abraded than the other coarse-wares, making identification more difficult. There are 67 sherds (0.2 eves) from the terminal and one sherd (0.1 eve) from the north–south ditch.

Such rims as can be identified from the terminal are of jar form (one similar to Nos. 19–22, and one to No. 49, but larger). The sherd from the north–south ditch is a platter rim (No. 62; see list for description).

The softness and apparent unserviceability of many of these sherds suggests that they may be wasters.

Sherds of this group are only common in the top fill of the terminal (context 7) where they are 30% by sherds and 15% by eves; elsewhere they are 5% or less of the coarse wares.

Fabric group I

There are 18 sherds of these 'Iron Age' fabrics from the terminal and three from the north-south ditch. The fabric is black, sometimes with surfaces oxidized to a yellow-brown. Inclusions of finely crushed flint. The sherds are generally very small and abraded, giving little evidence of manufacture or surface finish. Horizontal grooving survives on the exterior of one sherd. They all seem to lie within the local Iron Age tradition.

Fabric group J

There are three sherds, all from the terminal, in a grey fabric with organic inclusions. All are very small and abraded; possibly Bronze Age.

List of drawn or individually mentioned sherds

The complete list forms part of the archived report. Only the lists of Samian and other fine wares and one 'miscellaneous' fabric are in the printed report. The numbers in brackets at the end of each description are the numbers in the original catalogue, and by which the sherds can be identified in store.

(a) Pottery from the Devil's Ditch

South Gaulish Samian (incorporating comments by G. B. Dannell)

1 Dr. 24/25. One sherd, context 155. Tiberio-Claudian. (40)
2 Dr. 24/25. Three sherds, context 129. Claudian. (43)
3 Dr. 24/25. Three sherds, context 7. Claudian. (45)
4 Dr. 27, rouletted rim. Thirteen sherds, context 155. Tiberio-Claudian. (41)
5 Dr. 27. One sherd, context 155, four from 152, seven from 129. Claudian. (42)
6 Foot-ring base, Dr. 27. Stamp OF.LICN, LICINUS of La Graufesenque. One sherd, context 129, four from 29. Claudian. (44)
7 Rim sherd, Dr. 15/17. One sherd, context 7. Claudian. (46)

Also, from the following contexts:

Context 155: two small sherds, one from a Ritt. 1. Claudian.
Context 152: three small sherds, two from Dr. 24/25 and one from Dr. 27. Claudian.
Context 129: one small base sherd, Dr. 18. Claudian.
Context 191: two small sherds from cups. Claudian.
Context 140: two small sherds, one from foot-ring of a Dr. 27, Tiberio-Claudian, and one from a cup, Claudian.
Context 131: five small sherds, one Dr. 24/25, probably Claudian, one Dr. 27, Tiberio-Claudian, and one possibly Dr. 18, Claudian.
Context 7: one large but very abraded sherd, pre-Flavian, and seven smaller, one from Dr. 24/25, all Claudian.

Other fine wares (incorporating comments by Valery Rigby)

Terra Nigra

8 Platter base. White fabric, abundant very fine quartz and sparse brown inclusions, possibly grog. Glossy black slip. Tiberio-Claudian. One sherd from context 129 and one from 131.

Terra Rubra

9 Beaker, form Cam. 112Cb with rouletting (Fig. 5). Fine orange-pink fabric with sparse very fine black (?iron ore) inclusions and occasional coarse red iron ore. Smooth exterior. Claudian, possibly military. Several sherds from contexts 155, 152, 129 and 191. (36)
10 Beaker, form Cam. 91 with rouletting (Fig. 5). Fabric as No. 9. Probably Claudian. Sherds from contexts 155, 129 and possibly 140. (37)
11 Pedestal beaker, form Cam. 74/79. Fabric TR1A (Rigby 1973, 11): orange with moderate very fine quartz. Deeper orange slip. Two sherds from context 129. (35)

Imitation Terra Rubra

12 Beaker, possibly form Cam. 120. Red fabric with moderate very fine quartz and sparse red and black iron ore. Black slip. One sherd each from contexts 129, 191 and 7. (38)

Fabric F1

13 Body and handle sherds of either small two-handled (Cam. 161) or large one-handled (Cam. 140) flagon. Tiberio-Claudian. Several sherds from contexts 155, 129 and 191; one each from 132, 131 and 7. (30)

Fabric F2

14–16 Butt beakers, possibly from Colchester or north France (Fig. 5). Claudio-Neronian.
14 One sherd each from contexts 161, 155, 152, and 191, two from 129. (32)

15 One sherd from context 155, two from 152, four from 191, one each from 129, 130. (34)
16 Seven sherds from context 129. (33)
17 Base of flagon. Probably not from Chichester (Down 1978, 204–10) or Wiggonholt (Evans 1974). Date uncertain. Several sherds from contexts 152, 129, 191 and 132. (31)

Also one sherd similar to No. 17, rouletted, from context 152.

Pulborough imitation Samian

18 Rim sherd of form Dr. 35/36 and two small body sherds. Yellow-red fabric with sandy feel although few inclusions are visible. Matt red slip, very worn. This is one of the plain forms known at Pulborough (Webster 1975, 168). First half of 2nd century. Context 7. (47)

The remaining list of individually described sherds (all coarse wares), Nos. 19–50 inclusive, is in microfiche.

(b) Pottery from the north–south ditch

South Gaulish Samian (incorporating comments by G. B. Dannell)

Context 31: one small sherd, Dr. 15/17. Claudian.
Context 28: one very small sherd. Tiberio-Claudian.

Other fine wares (incorporating comments by Valery Rigby)

Terra Nigra

51 Platter, form Cam. 5 (Fig. 7). Pale brown fabric, abundant very fine quartz and moderate fine black iron ore inclusions. Surfaces smooth but not highly polished; may be due to wear. Broken stamp, possibly MEDI. Tiberio-Claudian, more likely Claudian. Context 70. (52)

Fabric F1

One sherd as No. 14, possibly same vessel, context 31.

Other fine ware

52 Flagon, form Cam. 140 (Fig. 7). Pale grey fabric, oxidized to light red at surfaces. Abundant very fine clear, colourless and greyish quartz and occasional pieces of grog. Slight traces of white slip on exterior. Probably from the early Chichester kiln (Down 1978, 204–10), hence Claudio-Neronian. Context 28. (62)

Also two unidentified fine ware sherds from context 31.

Amphora (from comments by C. M. Green)

53 Amphora, form Cam. 185a (Fig. 7). Mid 1st century. Several sherds from contexts 69, 31, 28 and 71. (53)

The remainder of the individually described sherds (all coarse wares), Nos. 54–62 inclusive, are included in the microfiche.

Relative dating (summary)

A detailed statistical analysis of the pottery from the terminal and the north–south ditch suggests three phases of filling of the terminal, and two of the north–south ditch, correlated as follows:

I Context 73 (north–south ditch): deliberate fill
II Contexts 155, 152, 129 and 191 (terminal): deliberate fill
III Recut or cleaning of terminal, removal of part of II
IV Contexts 140, 132, 192, 131, 130 (terminal) and rest of north–south ditch: deliberate fill and/or silting with material redeposited from III, possibly with a little fresh material
V Context 7 (terminal): addition of fresh material, becoming mixed in with top of deposit IV

Absolute dating

Although some differences are apparent, the similarities between the contexts in terms of percentages of fabric groups (Table 3, archived) and forms, are remarkably stable, and suggest that the filling of both features (except possibly the addition of fresh material to context 7) took place over a relatively short period. The pottery evidence suggests a date span within the range A.D. 50–70, although some of fabric group D could be a little later and the dating of Rowlands Castle ware (in group E) is commonly put rather later (see above). Nevertheless, the absence of Flavian fine wares, or of distinctly Flavian coarse ware forms (e.g. corresponding to period II at Fishbourne (Cunliffe 1971, types 199–391), or Flavian levels at Chichester (e.g. Down 1978, 220–4)), makes a Flavian or later date unlikely.

Sources

The Roman pottery divides into about 70% local coarse wares, 15% Samian and 15% other fine wares, probably imports, although one or two may be local (Chichester). Within the coarse ware, about 45% (fabric group A) comes from an unknown but presumed very local source; about 35% (fabric groups C and D) comes from Chichester, some 7 km. to the south-west; about 10% (fabric group E) from Rowlands Castle (20 km. to the west) and kilns producing similar wares; and 5% (fabric group B) from a second unknown source. The remaining 5% consists of fabrics which could not be identified. There were also sherds of an amphora of Spanish origin.

Function

The Samian is unusual in consisting mostly of cups (Dr. 24/25 and 27), and is all plain. The other fine wares consist of beakers, platters and flagons. The majority of the coarse wares consists of jars (=cooking pots?), with shallow dishes, large 'storage' jars and lids well represented, but with no bowls, which are very common at this date, e.g. at Fishbourne period I (Cunliffe 1971, types 81–99). The assemblage thus seems rather unbalanced, though the reason is difficult to guess.

OTHER FINDS (Summary, by Owen Bedwin)

These included 16 badly corroded iron objects, one piece each of iron slag and bronze slag, 30 fragments of daub, 11 fragments of Roman tile and 24 pieces of worked flint. None of these objects offers the possibility of closer dating of the terminal than the pottery discussed above.

Archive

Copies of archived material will be stored as part of the larger area excavation archive (when complete) at the Institute of Archaeology, London, and with the finds in Chichester District Museum.

Acknowledgements

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the Samian, Valery Rigby for examining the other fine wares and a sample of fabric D, and C. M. Green for commenting on the amphora. Anne Bone enabled us to visit the Chichester Museum store and compare our material with examples from the Chichester kilns, and A. King gave us valuable advice on Rowlands Castle ware.

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SAXON SETTLEMENT AND LAND DIVISION IN THE WESTERN WEALD

by Mark Gardiner

The settlement history of two contrasting areas of West Sussex is considered. The first area is Kirdford parish and the immediately surrounding district, and the second consists of the hundreds of Dumpford and Easebourne. The positions of detached parts of manors are identified. Documentary evidence, place names and the morphology of parishes are used to interpret the positions of these outliers within a general framework of Saxon settlement and land division.

A recent study of the division of land and the development of settlement in the Kentish Weald during the Saxon and medieval periods is of considerable importance for the examination of similar processes in Sussex. K. P. Witney's study of the Weald of Kent[1] builds on the framework established by Jolliffe in his study of the 'Jutish South-East'.[2] Although the ethnic explanation for the similarities of Sussex and Kent cannot be sustained in the light of archaeological evidence, there nevertheless appear to be many parallels between the organization of land in the two counties.

Jolliffe argued that the subdivisions of the county of Kent, the lathes, have their equivalents in the rapes of Sussex.[3] Each lathe consisted of an area of older settlement and arable agriculture in the north and north-east of Kent, and an area of common land within the Weald. The common land was used for the pannage of pigs and the pasturing of cattle by the inhabitants of the settlements in the arable part of the county. It is surmised that the continued use of the same places within the Weald by drovers from the older settlements led to the establishment by squatters' rights of individual swine pastures or 'dens'. In this way the common land came to be partitioned between the settlements in the north and north-east of Kent. One of these settlements may have come to have a dozen or more outlying 'dens' within the Weald. The pattern of land division thus formed was such that parent manors which were close to one another usually had detached members which were similarly clustered within the Weald.[4] The function of outliers was thus to provide an area of land of the type not available around the home settlement, typically land for pannage and grazing. It is increasingly apparent that Anglo-Saxon estates were constituted so as to include a range of resources and hence to be largely self-sufficient.[5]

This sequence of development is used below to interpret the formation of Saxon settlement and land division in one part of Sussex. The region examined consists of two areas. The first is the land to the east of Petworth, particularly the parish of Kirdford. The second is the whole of the Wealden part of the rape of Chichester, that is, the hundreds of Dumpford and Easebourne, an area which is sometimes referred to as the Vale of the Rother (Fig. 1). These two areas are used to demonstrate the differences in the development of settlement. The Weald is defined here as meaning the entire area between the chalk escarpments of the North and South Downs.

The pre-Conquest documentation for Sussex is much less complete than that of Kent, and so it is necessary to use some less direct

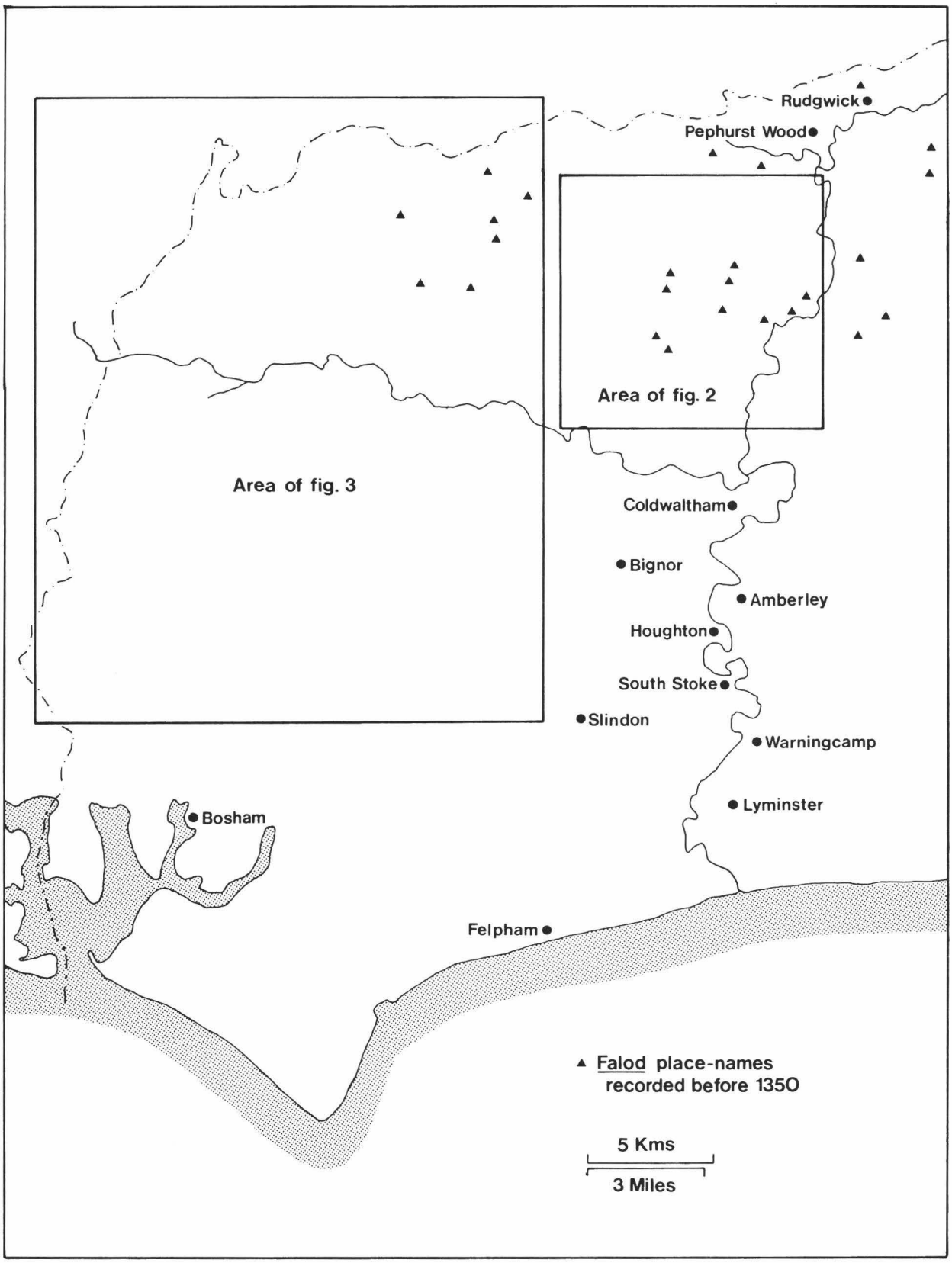

Fig. 1. Part of West Sussex showing the positions of some parent manors and the distribution of the place-name element *falod*.

methods to identify the outlying members of manors. W. J. Ford in his study of Warwickshire has suggested that this may be done by three different and complementary approaches:

(i) Domesday Book and later manorial documents may indicate such links;
(ii) ecclesiastical organization may reflect in the parochial structure and the relation of mother churches and chapelries the temporal divisions of land on which they were formerly based;
(iii) place names may also link a parent manor and its outlier.[6]

The use of medieval and post-medieval documentation, in some cases as late as the 19th century, in a study of Saxon land division requires some justification. The longevity of parish boundaries is now well established. Work in Dorset has demonstrated that the boundaries there delimit Saxon estates.[7] In some instances the boundaries may have been altered or modified in the medieval period, but such changes can usually be detected. The antiquity of common land is less well established. On general grounds it can be argued that the later boundaries of common land represent the minimum area existing in the late Saxon period. The trend during the medieval and post-medieval periods was towards the enclosure of common land and thus such land surviving in the later period is likely to be the remains of former common. Late records of manorial bounds cannot generally be extrapolated into the Saxon period with any confidence. In special cases, however, where detached members of a distant manor are recorded it is legitimate to consider that these might have had an origin in the partitioning of land during the Saxon period, because such arrangements were not usually made in the medieval period. On the contrary the Sussex folios of Domesday Book record the separation of some outliers from their parent manors to form new manors in their own right.[8] Thus where such features in the landscape do persist it is possible to make inferences about the Saxon period by using later documents.

The first area to be considered is the land to the east of Petworth, particularly the parish of Kirdford (Fig. 2). This parish was divided between a number of manors and many outliers. Within the parish were parts of the manors of Pallingham, Bedham and Petworth, and outlying members of the manors of Slindon, Bassett's Fee, Byworth-cum-Warningcamp, Bosham, Bignor and Lyminster.[9] These outliers were used for the pasture and pannage of animals from the manors further south in the county where the woodland was more restricted. In a grant of land to Battle Abbey, for example, the right was given for the monks to have a fourth pig in pannage in the woods of Buckfold and *Betlesparrioc* when the king had three pigs there.[10] Both these places are near Kirdford.[11] (The context of this grant is explained by W. D. Peckham in a letter to G. H. Kenyon where he dates it to 1123.[12]) Similarly, pannage in the woods of Sparrwood in Kirdford and Medhone Wood in Petworth is mentioned in a description of the lands of Bignor manor.[13]

Strudgwick Wood in Kirdford is described as being used by the manor of Bassett's Fee for pannage and herbage, and the manor of Byworth-cum-Warningcamp also had rights there.[14] The main part of Byworth-cum-Warningcamp manor was near Arundel, but it had outlying parts near Petworth as well as the piece of land mentioned in Kirdford. A 19th-century perambulation lists outlying members in the Weald belonging to the manors of Slindon, Bignor and South Stoke. Slindon had five separate pieces of land within Kirdford parish. South Stoke, although not holding land in Kirdford, had a number of detached parts in the nearby parishes of Wisborough Green and Rudgwick.[15] These, perhaps, are the places described in a charter of 975 when three outliers of Stoke are mentioned.[16]

Another Saxon charter, also of the 10th century, mentions swine pastures in this area.[17] These are described as at a place called *Boganora* at *Hidhirst* and at the common woodland pasture of *Palinga Schittas* and were the outliers of

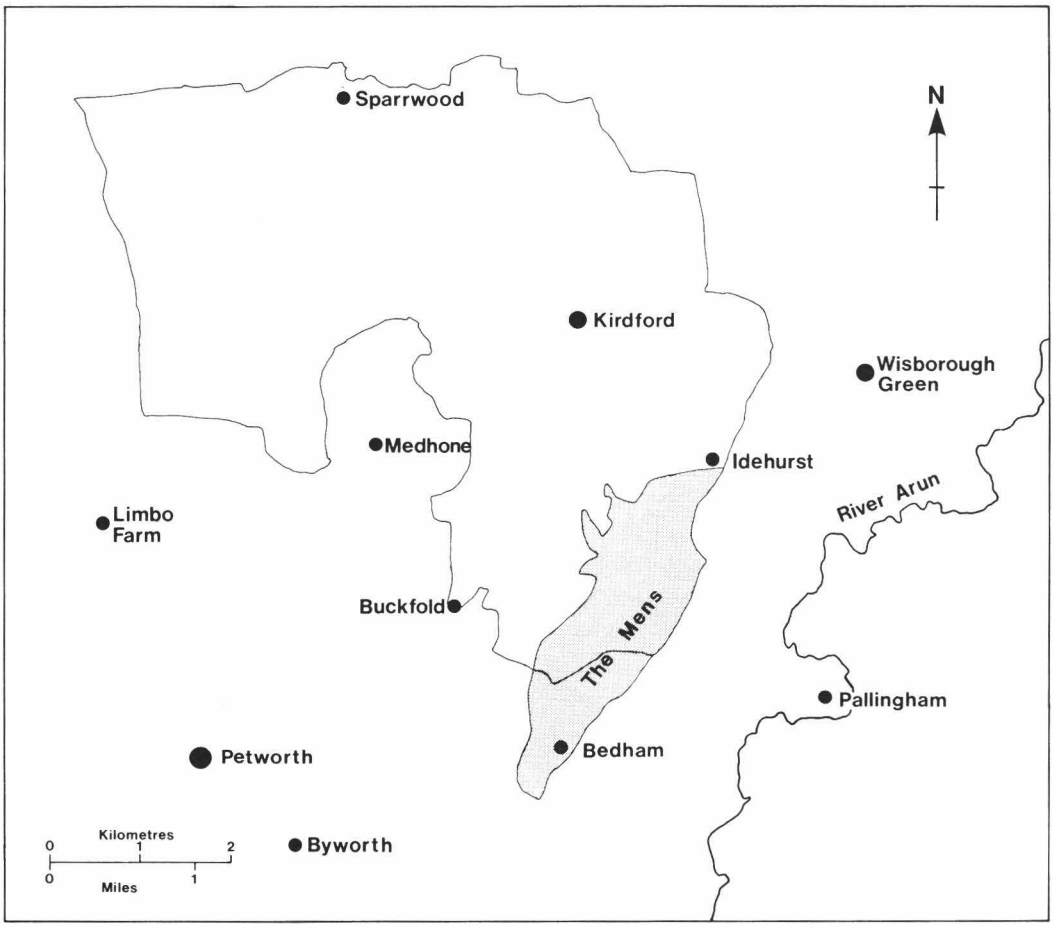

Fig. 2. The later parish of Kirdford, showing places mentioned in the text. Extent of The Mens after Tittensor.

Felpham, an estate on the south coast. *Hidhirst* has been identified as Idehurst in Kirdford, but two possible places have been suggested for the position of *Palinga Schittas*. Mawer and Stenton argue that it is Limbo Farm in Petworth,[18] but Tittensor, on the grounds that the place is a common woodland pasture, seeks to equate it with The Mens in Kirdford.[19]

The name 'The Mens' is of some interest, being derived from the Old English *gemaennes* meaning common property.[20] This word occurs in a number of place names in Sussex and in Kent. The manors of Amberley, Houghton and Coldwaltham had the right to have pannage for their pigs in *le Menesse*.[21] This is described as a 60-acre wood in Rudgwick parish[22] and must be the place referred to in a quitclaim by Ralph Paynel of trees and pasture on the highway from *Pibehurst* (Pephurst) Wood to Rudgwick 'as far as the gate called "between Menesse and Pibehurst"'.[23]

The Mens in Kirdford may therefore be seen in its context, not as a unique area of common woodland, but as a residual area that survived the division of this part of Sussex into individual outliers and continued to be used as common land into the medieval period and beyond. For this reason it acquired its name, at

a stage when areas of common land were contrasted with the individual outliers into which the land had been elsewhere divided.[24]

The process of settlement which took place by the formation of outliers has been described for Kirdford, and a similar pattern could be demonstrated for the surrounding parishes. The settlement pattern produced in this area is a series of dispersed farms. There is little nucleation of settlement. The division of land appears to be irregular, having arisen through the partition of woodland between the outliers of distant parent manors. The parishes are large in area and, reflecting the land division, amorphous in shape.

By contrast the second area to be examined, the Vale of the Rother, has a generally regular pattern of parish boundaries and nucleated villages, a feature which has attracted previous attention.[25] The parishes here have a strip-like form running approximately north–south, while the villages are situated in two rows so that they lie upon the fertile soils of either the Lower Chalk and Upper Greensand or the Sandgate Beds (Fig. 3). The parishes extend to include areas of poorer soils so that they contain both woodland for pasture and pannage, and arable land. Many of the villages have place names including the *-ingas* element and the *hām* element is used in at least one place name (Graffham) and possibly two others (Selham and Kingsham in Chithurst) suggesting early settlement.[26] Indeed the density of Old English names here is such that it has been argued that there was little room for later settlement expansion.[27]

The outliers in the Vale of the Rother tend to cluster in discrete groups. One such group is apparent from the parish boundaries and lies in the common land of Milland Marsh (Fig. 3). Near to the marsh must have been the lost place name *Buttesworth* which has been identified as being close to Can House Farm in Trotton.[28] Milland Marsh can therefore be identified as the place described as the common marsh of *Buttesworth*, which was used by the manors of Trotton, Chithurst, Treyford and Elsted.[29] The 19th-century parish map shows detached parts of Trotton, Chithurst, Terwick and Stedham here and since Terwick was formerly part of Treyford manor[30] the post-medieval evidence is largely confirmed by the medieval record.

A further group of outliers occurs in the northern part of the parish of Rogate. The large common of Harting Combe and Fyning Wood formerly occupied a major part of the parish.[31] As the name suggests, this common was formerly for the use of the inhabitants of Harting, but subsequently the people of Rogate, Terwick and Trotton were permitted to pasture their animals there.[32] To the north of this, Bramshott, a Hampshire parish, had two outlying members which gave access to the woodland in Rogate.

The largest group of outliers occupied the contiguous parishes of Easebourne, Fernhurst and Linchmere. This area may be treated as a single unit, for Fernhurst was originally a chapelry of Easebourne, only later becoming a separate parish.[33] Linchmere was also a late formation and probably before the 13th century constituted part of Cocking. The church at Linchmere was required to pay a pension to the church at Cocking which was the usual compensation when one church had lost revenue because of the formation of a new parish.[34] The association of Linchmere with Cocking is also demonstrated in the subsidy roll of 1296 when Johannes de Wlenchmere and Nicolaus de Poppehole were among the taxpayers in Cocking vill.[35] Nicolaus took his surname from a now lost place name in the extreme north of Linchmere.[36] It may therefore be concluded that Cocking had an outlier in the area which later formed the parish of Linchmere.

Heyshott, a manor adjacent to Cocking, also had land in this area. This is mentioned in the chartulary of Reading Abbey in the mid 12th century when all the land in Fernhurst which belonged to Heyshott was given to that religious house.[37] As Tudor[38] has noted, this must be the land referred to in the 16th century as lying in the parishes of Heyshott and Fernhurst. These lands were at that period part of the manor of Verdley

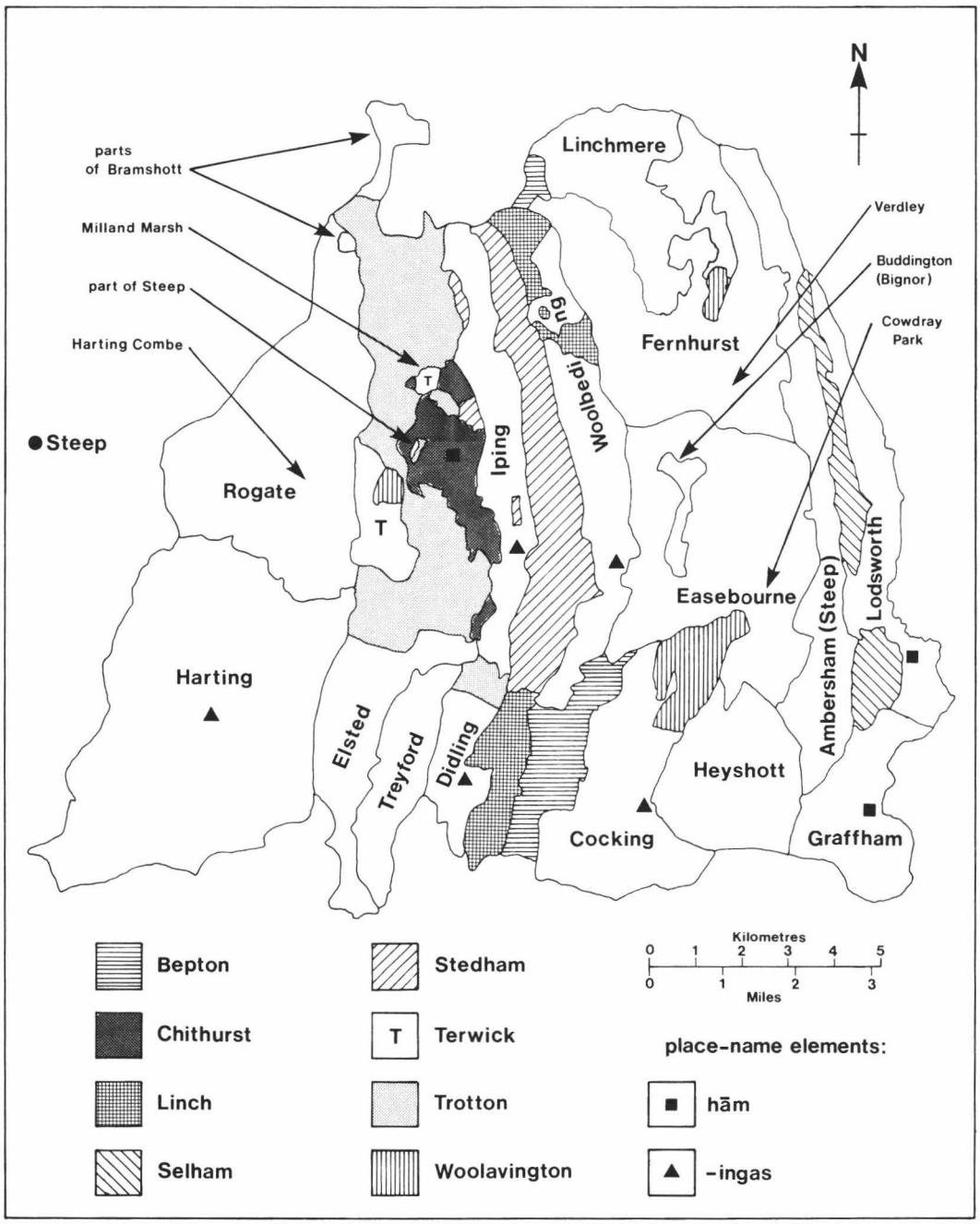

Fig. 3. The hundreds of Dumpford and Easebourne showing the parish boundaries in the early 19th century. The extra-parochial liberty of St. John is omitted.

and the place names show that this former outlier of Heyshott lay near Henley and Verdley.[39]

Nearby was an outlying part of Woolavington parish which lay immediately to the west of Fernhurst village. There was another detached part of Woolavington to the south of Midhurst which came to form the parish of West Lavington. The manor of Didling Dumpford is recorded as having land in the north of Fernhurst in a rent roll of 1773.[40] To the west of Linchmere at Brookham is a detached portion of Bepton parish. In Easebourne an isolated part of Bignor parish is marked by the tithing of Buddington.

The impression given is that this area later occupied by the parishes of Easebourne, Fernhurst and Linchmere largely consisted of the outliers of other manors. The use of this area for pasture and pannage during the Saxon period is recorded in a charter of 775 when East Dean, a settlement on the South Downs, is described as having a 'den' at *saengel picos.*[41] This has been identified as the northern part of Cowdray Park in Easebourne, which was called in the medieval period *La Sengle.*[42] The interpretation that this group of parishes were mainly a series of swine pastures is supported by documents in the Reading Abbey chartulary. Reference is there made to a gift of a piggery of ten pigs and one boar, and the right of pannage for a further 40 pigs in Fernhurst.[43]

Using this information it is possible to reconsider the pattern of the parishes and the evolution of early estates. Behind the superficial regularity of the strip parishes is a pattern of greater complexity. The sequence of long, narrow parishes is interrupted by the parishes of Harting and Rogate, and by the Easebourne-Fernhurst-Linchmere group. It is probable that the parishes of Harting and Rogate formed a single estate before the Norman Conquest. There is only a single entry in Domesday Book for the two places, namely that for Harting.[44] The figures given for Harting are so large relatively that the land referred to must have covered an extensive area. It is likely that Harting Combe was therefore originally not a detached piece of Harting, but a common within the estate which covered most of Harting and Rogate parishes. Only when Rogate became a separate manor was Harting Combe established as an outlying member of Harting rather than just part of the large estate.

The other irregular area of Fernhurst and the two adjoining parishes has been shown to have had a different origin from that of the other settlements in the locality. The differences between the strip parishes and these other parishes can be used to explain the pattern of settlement in the area. The strip parishes usually have place names including the elements *hām*, *hamm* or *-ingas* and appear early in the documentary record. Their villages are nucleated, clustering around churches some of which include Saxon fabric (for example, Chithurst, Elsted, Selham and Woolbeding),[45] and are situated on the Upper Greensand or Sandgate Beds. The manor and parish are approximately coincidental. By contrast Rogate consists of the four manors of Rogate Bohunt, Rogate College, Wenham and Fyning. Similarly, Easebourne consists of Todham and Cowdray manors, and Fernhurst of the manors of Fernhurst and Verdley quite apart from the outlying members of other manors.[46]

To summarize, two types of parish can be distinguished, those with a single manor in a strip-shaped parish and with a nucleated village, and those where the settlement was more piecemeal and the resulting pattern less regular.

The strip form of Ambersham parish suggests that it resembles the other parishes of this first type. It was not, however, an autonomous parish, but formed a detached part of Steep, a Hampshire parish. In 963 Ambersham was granted to the church at Meon; Steep was part of the episcopal manor of East Meon and originally a chapelry in East Meon parish.[47] It can therefore be inferred that Ambersham had initially developed in the same way as neighbouring parishes, with a strip shape to give access to land suitable for both pasture and arable, but was subsequently joined to East Meon.

It is likely that Ambersham after 963 came to function as an outlier of East Meon and Steep providing the use of an area of woodland in the Weald. An examination of the first-edition 1-in. Ordnance Survey map shows that communication between Ambersham and Steep was probably by means of a road running along the ridge of the Hythe Beds. This is likely to be the road mentioned in the chartulary of Durford Abbey and called the *Rigweye*.[48] Approximately halfway between the two parts of the estate and about 300 metres from the *Rigweye* is a detached part of Steep parish. It is situated in an area of common land appertaining to Chithurst[49] and although small in area it would have provided a staging point when stock was moved between the Hampshire portion of the estate and Ambersham. Such a system has been recognized in Kent where small 'drove dens' were situated at intervals along the droving routes.[50] Thus the apparent anomaly of Ambersham can be explained within the framework of settlement suggested.

Attention has been drawn above to the contrast between the mainly regular pattern of parish boundaries and nucleated settlement in the Vale of the Rother, and the large irregular parishes and dispersed settlement in the Kirdford area. In the Vale of the Rother the area of outliers is limited and the outliers were pertinent to manors usually situated within the Weald. In the Kirdford area the division of land appears to be irregular, having arisen through the creation of many outliers by parent manors which were generally beyond the Weald. The disparity between the two areas is reflected in the distribution of place names with the element *falod* meaning an enclosure for animals[51] (Fig. 1). Their sparsity in the western part of the region contrasts with their more frequent occurrence in the Kirdford area.

The pattern of parent manor and outlier in Sussex is generally such that the detached portion in the Weald is directly north of the parent manor.[52] In the part of the county considered here this layout is not completely adhered to. It would be expected that the manors of Slindon and Bosham would have outliers to their north in the Vale of the Rother, not in Kirdford. The land division of Dumpford and Easebourne hundreds allows little room for the detached parts of manors which lay outside the Weald. In the Vale of the Rother the land must have been partitioned before the outliers of the more distant manors could be established, a conclusion supported by the early place names there. To gain access to woodland, manors such as Bosham and Slindon formed outliers in the more distant Kirdford area where land was still available.

The development of settlement in the Kirdford district has been shown largely to resemble the pattern described by Witney for Kent. The Vale of the Rother just to the west of this had a different settlement history which gave rise to a distinct system of land division. It suggests that the ideas of Witney may be applicable to some parts of the Sussex Weald and future work should draw further on the Kentish evidence to explain parallel developments in Sussex.

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[39]P.R.O., SC 6/HEN VIII/3481.
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[42]Inf. from Mr. Peter Kitson, University of Birmingham; M. Roper, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: Selsey* (forthcoming); Mawer & Stenton, *Place-Names*, **1**, 17.
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[44]Morris, *Domesday Book: Sussex*, section 11, no. 6.
[45]H. M. & J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* (1965), 157, 234, 536, 684.
[46]*Victoria County History, Sussex*, **4**, 23–4, 50–1, 56.
[47]*Victoria County History, Hampshire*, **3**, 78; Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, no. 1114; Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 718.
[48]B.L., Cotton MS. Vesp. E xxiii, f. 38.
[49]W.S.R.O., QDD/6/W33.
[50]Witney, *Jutish Forest*, 89–90.
[51]Smith, *Place-Name Elements*, **1**, 164.
[52]P. F. Brandon, *The Sussex Landscape* (1974), 74.

Sussex Archaeological Collections **122** (1984), 85–100.

THE TOURNAI MARBLE SCULPTURES OF LEWES PRIORY

by Freda Anderson

The Cluniac Priory of St. Pancras at Lewes was founded directly from Cluny, between 1077 and 1080, by William of Warenne I and his wife Gundrada. It grew to be one of the greatest monasteries in the south-east. The Cluniacs had a reputation for magnificence and Lewes was probably no exception: the east end of its church was even a copy of that at Cluny itself. Surviving Priory sculptures, of which the Tournai marbles are a part, give an idea of the size, variety and artistic quality that past vandalism has destroyed. The Tournai pieces are an impressive group, yet little work has been done on them. There have been recent finds, one of which is extremely important. An attempt is made in this paper to deal with problems relating to the lithology of the stone, the place of manufacture of the carvings, their function in the Priory and their stylistic motifs. In particular, W. H. Godfrey's view that all the pieces came from the independent lavatorium off the cloister arcade is queried, and a new hypothesis suggested. The authorship of Gundrada's tombstone is discussed in relation to the Priory workshop for the existence of which, working in Tournai stone, good evidence is produced.

The use of the carboniferous limestone, popularly called Tournai marble, for sculptural purposes, in the 12th century, is well known. Yet Britain's national museums are deficient in examples of such work. The existence, therefore, of 35 carvings in this stone from Lewes Priory is very remarkable. They represent one of the largest and most important collections anywhere in the country.

IDENTIFICATION AND PRESENT LOCATION OF THE SCULPTURES

Table 1 shows that 28 pieces are now part of the collection of Priory sculptures housed in the Anne of Cleves House Museum, Lewes. Three of these, Nos. 18, 19 and 35, have never been recorded before. They were found by the writer in the garden of the Museum in 1981 on three different occasions. At some point, two more will be added: the double base and the tombstone fragment found by Mr. Richard Lewis during his excavations.[1] Outside the Museum are five others. Two are double bases. One is lodged in the centre of Southover Grange gateway, Lewes. The other, until recently, was on top of an ornamental arch in Southover Manor School; it has now been taken down and brought indoors. Rodmell church has another circular shaft and single base; until this year this was placed incorrectly on top of the shaft, as though it were a capital. The most splendid of them all, Gundrada's tomb slab, is in the church of St. John the Baptist, Southover. The function of one, No. 35, cannot be ascertained. This is a very small fragment and will be omitted from the analysis. With the exception of the two tomb slabs, all are architectural sculptures.

THE LITHOLOGY OF THE PIECES

Nothing can be written on this subject without some reference to the lithology of the stone. As every worker in this field knows, the geologi-

TABLE 1
The 35 Tournai Marble Pieces (Nos. 1–35)

	Description	*Present location*	*Museum catalogue number*	*Plate*
1.	Lavatorium slab	Anne of Cleves House Museum, Lewes	1980.48.36	I, II
2.	Double base	Ditto	1980.48.187	XVII
3.	Ditto	Ditto	1982.10.201	XVIII
4.	Ditto	Southover Grange gateway, Lewes		
5.	Ditto	c/o Mr. Richard Lewis, 11 Priory Crescent, Lewes		
6.	Ditto	Southover Manor School, Lewes		XV, XVI
7.	Demi-shaft	Anne of Cleves House Museum, Lewes	1980.48.22	IV
8.	Ditto	Ditto	1980.48.24	
9.	Ditto	Ditto	1980.48.25	
10.	Ditto	Ditto	1980.48.26	IV
11.	Ditto	Ditto	1980.48.32	
12.	Ditto	Ditto	1982.10.204	
13.	Demi-shaft, basketwork	Ditto	1980.48.4	
14.	Ditto	Ditto	1980.48.9	
15.	Ditto	Ditto	1980.48.21	
16.	Ditto	Ditto	1980.48.335	
17.	Ditto	Ditto	1980.48.336	III
18.	String course or impost	Ditto	1980.48.234	
19.	Ditto	Ditto	1980.48.329	XIX
20.	Single base	Ditto	1980.48.31	VI
21.	Ditto	Ditto	1980.48.204	VI
22.	Ditto	Rodmell church		V
23.	Quadruple base	Anne of Cleves House Museum, Lewes	1980.48.29	IX
24.	Circular shaft	Ditto	1980.48.23	
25.	Ditto	Ditto	1980.48.27	XX
26.	Ditto	Ditto	1980.48.28	
27.	Ditto	Ditto	1980.48.30	XX
28.	Ditto	Ditto	1980.48.205	
29.	Ditto	Rodmell church		
30.	Capital	Anne of Cleves House Museum, Lewes	1980.48.163	X
31.	Ditto	Ditto	1980.48.43	VII, VIII
32.	Ditto	Ditto	1980.48.44	XI, XII
33.	Tomb slab	c/o Mr. Richard Lewis		
34.	Gundrada's tomb slab	St. John the Baptist church, Southover, Lewes		XIII, XIV
35.	Unidentified	Anne of Cleves House Museum, Lewes	1980.48.444	

cal identification of Tournai marble is notoriously difficult owing to the fact that so many samples prove barren of the characteristic foraminifera. Samples of every piece, save two, were sent to the Geological Museum;[2] the exceptions were No. 35, and No. 12, the twin of No. 11. The Palaeontological Unit reported that ours too were barren. The samples and microscopic slides were then sent on to Professor R. Conil of Louvain University. From his long familiarity with the stone he replied that he 'believed' them to be Tournai marble, but unfortunately gave no reasons for his statement. External factors, however, are supportive. The

Plate I. Lavatorium slab (Table 1, No. 1).

Plate II. Lavatorium slab (Table 1, No. 1).

Plate III. Demi-shaft, basketwork (Table 1, No. 17).

Plate IV. Demi-shafts (Table 1, Nos. 7 and 10).

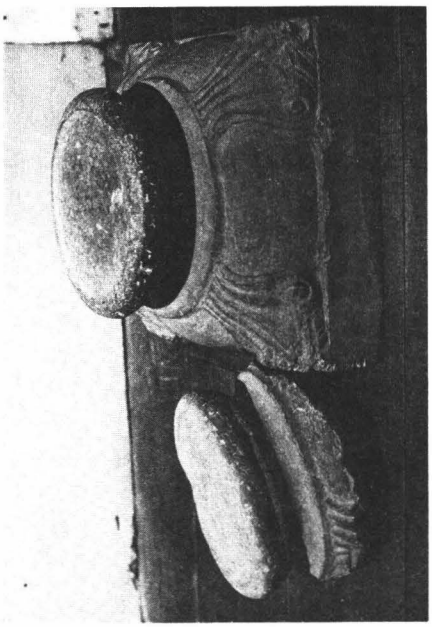

Plate VI. Single bases (Table 1, Nos. 20 and 21).

Plate VIII. Capital (Table 1, No. 31).

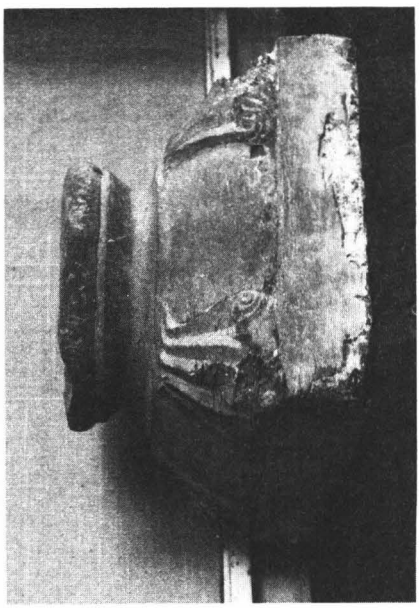

Plate V. Single base (Table 1, No. 22).

Plate VII. Capital (Table 1, No. 31).

Plate IX. Quadruple base (Table 1, No. 23).

Plate X. Capital (Table 1, No. 30).

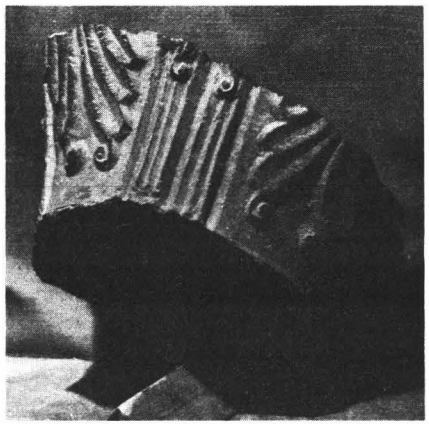

Plate XI. Capital (Table 1, No. 32).

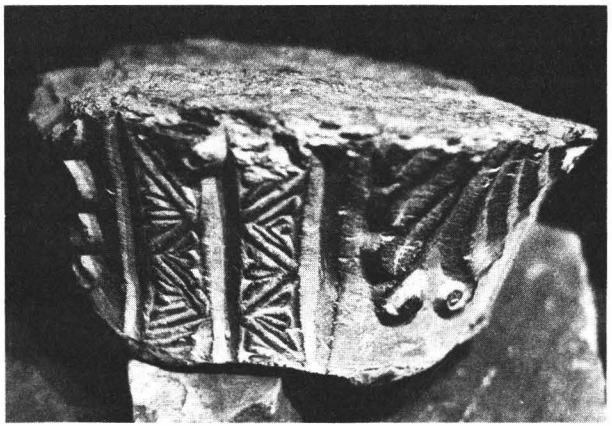

Plate XII. Capital (Table 1, No. 32).

Plate XIII. Gundrada's tomb slab (Table 1, No. 34).

Plate XIV. Gundrada's tomb slab (Table 1, No. 34).

Plate XV. Double base (Table 1, No. 6).

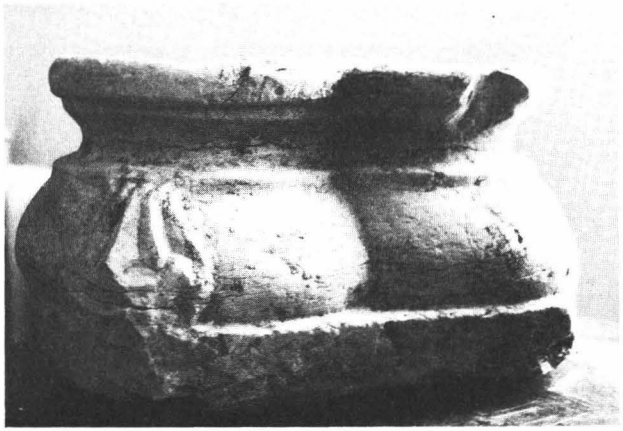

Plate XVI. Double base (Table 1, No. 6).

Plate XVII. Double base (Table 1, No. 2).

Plate XVIII. Double base (Table 1, No. 3).

Plate XIX. String course or impost (Table 1, No. 19).

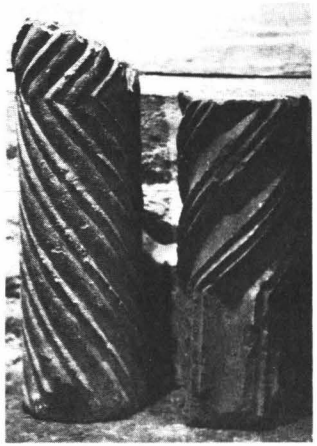

Plate XX. Circular shafts (Table 1, Nos. 25 and 27).

Museum pieces show either the natural colour range of blue to grey, or the black and brown appearance likely after treatment with wax. No. 10 is very obliging in this respect. At irregular intervals, apparently unrelated to atmospheric conditions, it becomes black and tacky, the surface wet to the touch. It seems like an exudation of impregnated wax. Then it dries up again, until the next time. All the pieces show the horizontal laminations so characteristic of the stone. This feature makes the rock friable for building purposes. The sculptors of the shafts and demi-shafts, as in Belgium, posed them all in délit; that is to say, against the natural alignment of the lamination. This seems significant. It is, therefore, very reasonable to feel that we are, indeed, dealing with this elusive material.

CONSIDERATION OF THE ARGUMENT OF W. H. GODFREY

The most notable scholar of Sussex architecture, W. H. Godfrey, was unaware of the existence of Nos. 5, 6, 18, 19 and 33; of these No. 6 is crucial. The other pieces, as he asserted on more than one occasion,[3] could be fitted into the complex of a cloister lavatorium. His knowledge of the subject and of the Priory itself was formidable, and all contemporary students owe him a great debt. Yet one has to disagree with this contention. It will be argued, firstly, that five pieces only can be fitted into such a setting with certainty. Secondly, another group (the demi-shafts and the string course or impost pieces) might conceivably be included although the odds seem against it. Finally, the problem of the disposal of the remaining pieces within the Priory will be tackled and the importance of the Southover Manor discovery discussed generally. It is hoped that a very important point will, by then, have been accepted, that these sculptures are not homogeneous. They are a fortuitous assemblage, united only by a common geological identity. It is reasonable to group some of them together, but great care is needed in drawing conclusions from these groupings.

THE LAVATORIUM GROUP (Nos. 1–5)

This group of five pieces fits into a lavatorium complex. There is no doubt about No. 1. It is a panel from the cistern of the lavatorium, 69 cm. high and 53 cm. wide. The decoration shows arcading supported on a respond with a scallop capital; the spandrel is carved with beaded strands, berries and a curling leaf. Stylistically, these motifs can be found on many other Priory pieces not worked in Tournai stone. The lavatorium is one of only four such independent structures discovered in Britain although there were certainly others. The excavations of 1900–2 uncovered the area it occupied; this was circular and large with a diameter of 19 ft. The cistern probably had a diameter of 10–11 ft. Comparative finds at Exeter and Much Wenlock[4] suggest a complex with the central basin surrounded by an arcade of twin arches, supported on double columns, capitals and bases. At intervals between the columns there would have been piers; there might have been an upper structure. It would have opened on to the cloister.

The four double bases with spurs, Nos. 2, 3, 4 and 5, seem to fit the panel stylistically. All can probably be dated to the late second quarter of the 12th century. They have the same simple profile and measurements. Their shaft-mouldings are all *c.* 18 cm. although the spur motifs are different. It is possible that the mutilated double base, No. 2, has a shaft impacted on its top surface. The area is raised above the shaft-moulding and in a few places there has been a spillage over it. Compressive or combustible pressures, or both, could have effected this and are in accord with the destruction of 1538. There are no surviving double capitals and the other shafts do not fit these double bases, as will be shown.

THE DEMI-SHAFTS AND STRING COURSE OR IMPOST (Nos. 7–12, 13–17, 18, 19)

All the demi-shafts, by their very nature, are possible to accommodate within the lavatorium complex. Whatever their diameters, they

TABLE 2
Other Pieces referred to in Text (Nos. 36-67)

	Description	*Present location*	*Museum catalogue number*
36.	Circular shaft	Ochier Museum, Cluny	
37.	Ditto	Anne of Cleves House Museum, Lewes	1980.48.87
38.	Ditto	Ditto	1980.48.88
39.	String course	Ditto	1980.48.68
40.	Ditto	Ditto	1980.48.69
41.	Ditto	Ditto	1980.48.133
42.	Double capital	Ditto	1980.48.46
43.	⅓ figure	Ditto	1980.48.92
44.	Decorated respond shaft	Ditto	1980.48.16
45.	Ditto	Ditto	1980.48.153
46.	Pilaster	Ditto	1980.48.375
47.	Base	Ditto	1982.10.207
48.	Gothic capital	Ditto	1980.48.157
49.	Ditto	Ditto	1982.10.216
50.	Nookshaft base	Ditto	1982.10.217
51.	Ditto	Ditto	1982.10.220
52.	Decorated respond shaft	Ditto	1980.48.11
53.	Ditto	Ditto	1982.10.203
54.	Ditto	Ditto	1980.48.8
55.	Ditto	Ditto	1980.48.16
56.	String course	Ditto	1980.48.109
57.	Decorated respond shaft	Ditto	1980.48.150
58.	Ditto	Ditto	1980.48.152
59.	String course	Ditto	1980.48.186
60.	Voussoir	Ditto	1980.48.146
61.	Springer	Ditto	1980.48.339
62.	Voussoir	Ditto	1980.48.147
63.	String course	Ditto	1980.48.148
64.	Base-spur	Ditto	1980.48.59
65.	Impost	Ditto	1980.48.18
66.	Respond capital	Kingston Manor	
67.	Double base	Prittlewell Museum, Southend, Essex	

might have backed on to the piers interposed between the double base arcade. The six smaller ones, Nos. 7 to 12, have diameters of 15 cm. They resemble the circular shafts stylistically with one exception, No. 7, which has an interlocking raised linear design. The others show variations on the same motifs: single-, double- or triple-stranded spirals alternating with chevrons between concave or convex mouldings. They have, as well, an identity of diameter with the circular shafts, and this may well be significant. It really seems more likely that they are part of this group of pieces.

The five demi-shaft fragments, Nos. 13 to 17, with the basketwork motif, have diameters of *c.* 19 cm., so they were certainly large. How many such demi-shafts the quintet makes up is not clear, as they are very mutilated. There was probably more than one, however. An interesting feature of this group is a possible connection

with Cluny. A shaft (Table 2, No. 36) in the Ochier Museum in Cluny resembles the Lewes pieces. It is a simpler version but has similar interlocking strands and floral infilling. It did not come from the Abbey but from one of the secular houses in the town,[5] and it reminds us that motifs do not have to originate in an ecclesiastical setting, even in Cluny. However, Nos. 13–17 are similar to Nos. 37 and 38, two large fragments of a circular Caen stone shaft, or shafts, in the Anne of Cleves House Museum collection, with a similar basketwork motif. The diameter of this couple is also *c.* 19 cm., and this may be significant. This stylistic similarity suggests that they were placed close together in the Priory; if so, they could not have composed such an ensemble within the lavatorium complex, as they would have taken up too much space. As before, therefore, it is possible that they were part of the complex, but not very likely.

The newly found pieces, Nos. 18 and 19, were designated either parts of a string course or parts of an impost; we cannot be sure which. They do not fit together; whether this is the result of mutilation cannot be ascertained. But they are certainly parts of the same architectural feature. Their profile is later than that of the double bases and this excellent reason would seem to rule them out of the lavatorium complex straightaway. Certainly this is true if they are part of an impost. If they came from a string course they just might have been added, as string courses are not usually load-bearing but decorative. They could have been functional as well; if they protruded, a ledge or shelf would be formed. We know the monks used towels[6] and it is tempting to think that this ledge might have provided a place to put them. But the evidence is against such a theory. Another consideration is that this kind of simple moulding was typical of the Priory from its earliest days. Indeed, some is still *in situ*, and the Museum collection has many examples of comparable pieces. The use of a string course, placed low on a wall, and not part of a larger feature like a portal, may therefore be an interesting architectural characteristic of Lewes, and present in the lavatorium, too.

THE SINGLE BASES, QUADRUPLE BASE AND CIRCULAR SHAFTS (Nos. 20–2, 23, 24–9)

None of these pieces can be included in the lavatorium complex. They are later in date and the wrong size; they cannot be fitted into the space in the lavatorium layout. Of the two single bases in the Museum, No. 21 is remarkably well preserved; above a square plinth it displays a profile of demi-roll, fillet, scotia, fillet, roll, plus a splendid spur with a curling leaf motif. A date in the third quarter of the 12th century seems likely. The Rodmell base-cum-capital, No. 22, seems identical, and so does the damaged No. 20. The quadruple base, No. 23, is very severely mutilated, almost bisected, but enough is visible to display the same profile. It, too, may have had a spur. No. 21 has a shaft-moulding of 15 cm. and No. 20 of 16.5 cm., while the two surviving shaft-mouldings of No. 23 are 15 and 16 cm. It is difficult to feel that such small differences in diameter are significant. The six circular shafts, Nos. 24 to 28, all have diameters of 15 cm. or very slightly larger. They could then have fitted the shaft-mouldings of these bases but not of the double bases.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE SOUTHOVER MANOR DOUBLE BASE (No. 6) AND ITS IMPORTANCE

Investigations had reached this point when the Southover Manor double base[7] was found by the writer in May 1982. From ground level it was not possible to determine the nature of the stone from which the object had been carved; it was dirty and covered with lichen. When closer examination showed a black Tournai section, the excitement of that moment was intense. Here was a fifth double base, with a profile different from the other four but similar to those discussed in the previous group. Subsequently, it was taken down to dry off indoors. It is very mutilated; the base has been hacked away and the shaft-mouldings are severely damaged. Accurate measurements are impossible, but it looks as though the base length was about 36 cm. and the

shaft-moulding had a diameter of *c.* 14 cm. This was near enough those of the previous pieces to make legitimate, a hypothesis that included them all.

What we seem to have is the layout of a cloister with alternating double and single bases and corresponding shafts. Romanesque cloisters supported the arcading in different ways. A layout similar to that suggested for Lewes can be found at Moissac. It may be quite coincidental that Moissac was also Cluniac. There is some evidence of links between them; for instance the Moissac capital, the Miraculous Draught of Fishes, shows a clear resemblance to the Lewes capital in the British Museum, Scenes from the Life of St. Peter. The smaller demi-shafts, certainly, and the larger basket motif examples, very probably, could also be accommodated. So could the string course, but now the possibility of its being an impost seems more plausible; it would have been large enough to fit a double capital. Only the quadruple base cannot easily be fitted into a claustral complex; it is too small for a corner position. It might have added variety to the general setting by being placed in the centre of a side. If so, it would have had three companions.

This remarkable double base, then, left for over a century to deteriorate on the top of a garden folly and discovered by happy accident, is the key to the disposal of the others. Without it, all options were open; with it, a reasonable and very important conclusion may be drawn. Our knowledge of the architecture of this Cluniac establishment has been increased enormously and a closer link forged with the great mother-house of the Order.

The temporal relationship of these cloister pieces to those of the lavatorium is that of later to earlier. The architectural history of the Priory is hard to date because of the paucity and imprecision of the surviving documents. A charter of William of Warenne III, however, suggests that the campaign that produced the Cluniac church and extended conventual buildings, was taking place in the 1140s.[8] One would expect the lavatorium to antedate the cloister, for the cistern had an underground conduit;[9] even today plumbing takes precedence over other constructional operations. The development in artistic style indicates that the work went on for a considerable period; long gaps between building campaigns are very probable. There was plenty of time for fashions to change.

THE THREE TOURNAI CAPITALS (Nos. 30–2)

One would be justified in expecting this group to be allied to the single bases and circular shafts. Examination, however, does not bear out this conjecture, although this may have been the sculptor's intention.

Everything about this trio is fascinating and perplexing. Firstly, all three are unfinished and each in a different manner. No. 30 has been pitched out. There are four semi-cylindrical mouldings separated by four extended vertical incisions. The mouldings are the same width, but at different heights above the necking: 1.6 cm., 2.6 cm., 3 cm. and 4 cm. The measurements are, therefore, quite unco-ordinated. For some reason the sculptor did not proceed with his work. The shaft-moulding of 15 cm., however, is complete; surprisingly the capital might, therefore, have been used, even in this state.

More work was done on No. 31, but it, too, is not complete. Of its four lower segments, one only is finished off. This shows a leaf motif with a strong central stem, imperfectly carved with a break in the middle. The other three segments show the central stem only. The sculptor's working method is apparent; therefore, he failed to go back to fill in these areas, all identical with the first. The necking is carved, but the base is quite smooth and has no shaft-moulding. It was never put into place.

No. 32 seems, at first sight, to be the surviving middle section of a fully carved capital; yet fragments of the necking can be discerned and traces of the upper section can be picked out. This capital, too, is not properly finished. Two only of the large leaf-sprays seem reasonably complete; one is on the right side of the pair

of patterned verticals. They are spaced out and veined. This is not true of the others. One, in fact, shows no more than a bulbous uneven outline. Neither has any veining. The paired tendrils of an upper and smaller group of similar leaves are visible. With the intermediate segments, there seems to have been a change of plan. Three of these are filled with pairs of triple verticals resembling fluted pilasters. The fourth is patterned. Unlike No. 31, the triple verticals cannot be the layout of a design the sculptor did not return to complete. Instead, he changed his mind about what he was going to do, or was experimenting. It is another simple design, reminiscent of chip-carving. The result is a muddle. It looks more like a try-out than anything else. The base area is broken away, so no comment can be made on the shaft-moulding.

They appear the work of the same sculptor. Nos. 31 and 32 have the same quadripartite division of the area, the same use of grouped parallel strands, the same attempts at simple leaf motifs. No. 32 is pitched out in the same manner: four areas, separated by four verticals. Their possible date is puzzling. All well-brought-up art historians know better than to date a sculptor's work on style alone. Even so, if we exclude No. 32 for obvious reasons, the work is not accomplished. It is flat surface carving with poor detail. In any other stone, one would have ascribed a date not later than the first part of the 12th century; the problem of dating the use of Tournai stone will be discussed later. (If No. 30 is typical with its shaft diameter of 15 cm., they would fit the group of cloister pieces, but stylistically they are too early for the bases). The most reasonable explanation, therefore, seems to be the following. The capitals may simply represent try-outs, or mistakes in the use of new material. After all, the sculptors had to learn how to work it; its texture alone would be strange to them after Caen stone and Quarr. The sculptor can, then, keep his technical competence and merely be unlucky to have his first efforts preserved rather than his subsequent and improved repertoire.

A fragment of tomb slab excavated by Mr. Lewis, No. 33, must also be included here. It is not suggested that we have the work of the same sculptor, but that the sculptor was not very talented or, once again, was experimenting with unfamiliar material. It has a border within which are asymmetrically interlocking triple-stranded and narrower beaded bands. An asymmetrical arrangement often shows an advance towards a more sophisticated approach, but not in this case. The triple-stranded groupings bend in the middle; some strands are flat, some curved within the same alignment; the right-angled turns have been guessed at; at least four strands of single beading are uncompleted; other beading is squeezed in unsuccessfully where sharp bends occur. One way and another, this piece also looks like a try-out. In fact, it is just possible that it is not a fragment of a completed tomb slab at all but simply a practice piece that, again, managed to survive when better products have vanished.

IMPORTANCE FOR ENGLISH ROMANESQUE SCULPTURE GENERALLY

There has been much speculation,[10] but no hard facts about whether the carving of Tournai pieces found in England was carried out here. At Lewes, we can be confident that these three capitals were carved in England, for it must be extremely unlikely that uncompleted and imperfect capitals would have been exported. Furthermore, as they were scattered with the rest of the Priory stones in 1538, the odds must be on their having been carved at Lewes itself. This conclusion is very important for the whole of English Romanesque art history.

It contains, of course, an important begged question: that there was a Priory workshop in existence. Medieval monks were great builders and they needed the continual assistance of masons for repairs to the fabric alone. Such men had their work-base and it was almost certainly on the site. But we are concerned with the more

important proposition that men worked on these sculptures as a team, with a recognizable style and possibly technique. The question may be posed, therefore, as follows: what evidence would incline us to believe that any piece in the Museum collection demonstrates the activities of a workshop on the site of Lewes Priory?

EVIDENCE FROM UNFINISHED PIECES

Firstly, unfinished pieces come into this category (see Table 2 for catalogue numbers). They are most unlikely to have been sent to Lewes incomplete, as has already been stated. For example, two pieces of string course, Nos. 39 and 40, both display fillets that were pitched out by incised lines but never completed. It was left for some post-Dissolution sculptor or sculptors to use these pieces for a quite different decorative purpose. Then, another complicated piece, No. 41, almost the most difficult example in the entire Museum collection to interpret, looks as though it was recut on at least three separate occasions during the medieval period, yet never finished. A fourth example is the beautiful double capital, No. 42. The shell motif on the better preserved face was intended clearly to be finished off like the more complicated version on the other face. Most impressive of all, and most controversial, is No. 43, the only example in the Museum collection and outside (excluding the British Museum capital and the Southover Manor School impost) of the carving of a human figure as distinct from a head only. But we have the lower third of a figure only. It has been maintained previously[11] that this piece is all that has survived of a niche-statue, the rest having been destroyed after 1538. Inspection of the piece does not support this assertion. The top surface shows no sign that anything was ever placed upon it; indeed, diagonal tooling is still visible. Mutilation leaves its scars behind, but none are to be seen here. It is true that the carving suggests a connection (in method, anyway) with the Chichester reliefs (the Raising of Lazarus and the Visit to Bethany); both used the small-stone technique. But even if this hypothesis is acceptable, this unfinished sculpture is unlikely to be an 'export'. It might have been carved by a Chichester atelier at Lewes, of course; but this presupposes a workshop and does not affect the argument.

EVIDENCE FROM RECUT PIECES

Secondly, pieces that were recut during the medieval period indicate a site workshop. One, No. 41, has been mentioned already. Others show the later conversion of earlier pieces to a different use. For instance, two decorated respond shafts, Nos. 44 and 45, have the remains of simple earlier voussoirs on their reverse sides; a pilaster, No. 46, was recarved later to form a piece of Gothic window tracery; and a base, No. 47, was recut, also in the Gothic period, to form a panel of an altar or a tomb sculpture.

EVIDENCE FROM UNUSED CAPITALS

Thirdly, there is the problem of the capitals. In those cases where the necking and base surface are not mutilated and may be inspected, to date, only four in the Museum collection have completed shaft-mouldings; they are the double capital and the Tournai example already mentioned, and two Gothic examples, Nos. 48 and 49. A fifth example is the one in the British Museum. Some show an incised diameter only; others, simply a groove. Two, at least, are completely smooth, including the Tournai piece, No. 32. In no case is there any sign of a dowel-hole that would suggest an alternative method of joining capital and shaft. Only these, therefore, could have been placed in position.

The other apparently unused capitals might have been 'exports', the task of making the shaft-moulding being left to the masons on the spot; otherwise, again, it is unlikely they would have been left incomplete. But this, once more, implies the existence of an indigenous workshop.

If the capitals were not, in fact, moulded to fit a shaft, they were left—somewhere. The odds

in favour of a place in a Priory workshop are very strong. Doubtless, they were in the way as well. Probably, at any one time, a pile of capitals accumulated, but it is difficult to believe this was intentional. Even if we exclude the burden of providing accommodation for them, their architectural function is such that, once installed, they could not easily be replaced. A new building campaign might even be needed. Capitals have this in common with dress, that they go out of fashion. A store of capitals dated *c.* 1150 would hardly be acceptable to a master of works in the 1190s. So lack of usage suggests either a miscalculation of the number needed, or some deficiency in the sculpture itself, or both. Either way, it was an indigenous product that became a reject. It took up its place in the workshop if it was lucky, or on a pile outside if it was not. The pieces were dispersed only in 1538, and the Tournai capitals may have been among them.

EVIDENCE FROM OTHER UNUSED PIECES

Other pieces seem to have remained unused as well. Bases are just as important as evidence; a shaft was designed to fit into a base below and a capital above. There are two pertinent examples, Nos. 50 and 51, in the same series. They are nook-shaft bases with an incised line, but no shaft-moulding. These, too, then, appear to be rejects, if the above hypothesis be acceptable.

EVIDENCE FROM COMMON STYLISTIC FEATURES

However, workshops are expected to display common stylistic features, so that on finding examples elsewhere the investigator would be inclined to ascribe them to Lewes. There are at least three such motifs. Firstly, there is the flat pellet at the centre of radiating strands, enclosed within crossing, bonded strands. This can be seen most clearly in a group of respond-shafts. Of these, Nos. 52 and 53 are particularly interesting because they are clearly later than Nos. 54 and 55, thus providing the important workshop factor of continuity of development. A piece of string course, No. 56, displays the same features. As a result, the writer was able to fit it together with Nos. 57 and 58; they could then be seen as part of a string course with attached shafts, a possible decorative feature of the chapter house, if Bristol may be cited.

Secondly, there is the motif of a central lobe between two scrolls, with filleted edgings. This occurs in its simplest form on a piece of string course, No. 56; a voussoir, No. 60; and a springer, No. 61. Another voussoir, No. 62, shows a slight variant where the lobe has a central dart. But a piece of string course, No. 63, shows a later livelier and freer version, where the scrolls have become curling leaves and the lobe is stranded and has virtually disappeared. Here again we have the development of a motif.

Thirdly, and most important in its implications, is the heart-shaped motif.[12] This shows heart-shaped tracery, stranded and bonded, with different varieties of infilling. It can be found on many different pieces, for example Nos. 64 and 65.

To sum up: in the light of all this evidence the existence of a Priory workshop seems proven and the treatment of the Tournai capitals is conformable with its practices.

THE WORKSHOP: FURTHER IMPLICATIONS

It might still be the case that the shafts, bases and double bases were imports. There are many similar examples in Belgium: in Ghent, for example, at the Abbey of St. Bavon and in Tournai in the Cathedral. We know, too, from the work of Paul Rolland,[13] that there was a flourishing export trade in these commodities, and also in fonts and tomb slabs; but not, incidentally, in slabs for cisterns of lavatoria. Winchester, for instance, has a font so like the one at Zedelgem that it is certainly an import; Winchester also has a double base with spurs, which could also have been an import. The other

six known Tournai fonts in England[14] all seem to be imports; so do four of the identifiable tomb slabs, at Bridlington, Lincoln, Salisbury and Ely.

Lewes has no font, nor are there any other examples from Sussex. It has its own splendid tomb slab which will be discussed in the next section. It had, however, this workshop; it could, therefore, have produced the commodities referred to above. The likelihood is that they were done here. The evidence at the moment, however, does not allow us to go any further.

The problem of dating the use of the material has already been mentioned. It was being used in its country of origin in the 11th century, but it is not at all clear when it first became popular in England, or why. At Lewes, it has been linked with the architectural expansion of the mid 12th century, which included the construction of the Cluniac church and the extension of the cloister. We have also suggested that the lavatorium, in style, antedates the cloister. A piece of exciting new evidence was uncovered in January 1984 at Prittlewell[15] in Essex. Prittlewell was a dependency of Lewes established about 1110. The writer found in the Prittlewell Museum a Tournai double base (No. 67) smaller than any at Lewes, with a very primitive spur. This is thin, flat and straight, with some feeble attempt at decoration at the tip only. It is quite atypical of Belgian examples, and Prittlewell was too small to have had a workshop with sculptors working in Tournai stone. Thus everything points to Lewes as the source of this piece. The implications could be very important indeed; this double base looks earlier than any others to be seen in England and, probably, in most of Belgium as well.

GUNDRADA'S TOMB SLAB AND ITS POSSIBLE CONNECTION WITH THE WORKSHOP

The date and authorship of this famous monument, No. 34, have been and still are the subject of controversy amongst art historians. It is quite different from the other four tombstones already mentioned. On this we all seem agreed, but we agree about very little else. The writer feels that the prima facie probability is for a Lewes origin. Gundrada herself was of local, not national or even regional interest. She was Flemish by birth and this may yet prove to have a bearing on the use of Tournai marble for her slab. Two factors discussed already in this paper advance the argument that this wonderful carving was done in the Priory workshop. Firstly, the existence of such a workshop, where sculptors were working in Tournai stone, has been established. At last, an actual, not just a hypothetical site has been provided. Secondly, the basis of the design is that same heart-shaped motif so characteristic of the Lewes workshop. No other stylistic feature is as prominent.

A third point may be made. The tomb slab shows a clear stylistic link with Glastonbury, especially in the narrow bonds of zig-zag infilling, for which there is no parallel at Lewes; this motif may be seen on the fragments of capitals in the Glastonbury Museum. Here the Lewes lavatorium panel is very important. It displays a clear resemblance to a similar panel from the Glastonbury cloister. Indeed, the latter looks like a later updated version of it, with stiff-leaf replacing scallop as the capital. This indication of a continuing artistic association between Glastonbury and Lewes is an important contribution to the solution of the problem. It has often been suggested that this link is Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester from 1129 to 1171 and Abbot of Glastonbury as well. As far as Lewes is concerned, the link is unsubstantiated. Henry took almost no interest in any of the English Cluniac foundations and his name is connected twice only with Lewes throughout his long career.[16]

It may be objected that nothing in the Museum collection shows the work of a sculptor or atelier sufficiently skilled to have been the author or authors of Gundrada's tomb slab. The discovery, however, of the Kingston Manor[17] Caen stone respond capital, No. 66, in May 1982

revealed a work of outstanding quality. Its liveliness and artistic merit surpass every other piece in the entire collection and its Priory provenance is indisputable. A workshop that could produce this could produce Gundrada's monument too; moreover, both seem to be datable to the last quarter of the 12th century.

In conclusion, it is exciting to realize that the first and always the greatest Cluniac foundation in England is the source of carvings important in themselves and for the study of English Romanesque art generally. Too little has been known about them, yet they merit scholarly concern and expertise. Like their fellows in the extensive collection of Priory sculptures, within and without the Museum, they are survivors from the cruel vandalism of past generations. They are clearly worthy of the respect and care of a more sensitive contemporary public opinion.

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Notes

[1]I should like to thank Mr. Richard Lewis, 11 Priory Crescent, Lewes, for the gift of photographs and slides of the double base, No. 5, and the tomb slab, No. 33.

[2]I am grateful to the Geological Museum for all its assistance, and in particular to Mr. Martyn Owen for analysing samples and giving lithological advice.

[3]W. H. Godfrey, 'English Cloister Lavatories as Independent Structures', *Arch. Jnl.* **106,** Supplement, 94; W. H. Godfrey, 'Architectural Fragments', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **85,** 112.

[4]W. H. Godfrey, 'English Cloister Lavatories'.

[5]I am grateful to the Conservateur, Mlle. Françoise Goddet, for this information.

[6]David Knowles, *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc* (1951), 26, 31, 32 ff., especially 85, where there is a reference to 'the towels hanging in the cloister'.

[7]I am grateful to the Headmistress of Southover Manor School for her permission to make several visits to this site.

[8]*Chartulary of Lewes Priory*, **2,** ed. L. F. Salzman (*Suss. Rec. Soc.* **40**).

[9]W. Figg, 'On "the Lantern" in the Cluniac Priory of St. Pancras Lewes', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **7,** 21 ff.; W. H. St. John Hope, 'The Architectural History of the Cluniac Priory of St. Pancras at Lewes', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **34,** 95 ff.

[10]T. S. R. Boase, *English Art 1100–1216* (1968 edn.), 56; G. Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Sculpture* (1951), **2,** 10 ff.; R. Stalley, 'A 12th Century Patron of Art', *Brit. Arch. Assoc. Jnl.* 3rd ser. **33,** 75, n. 1; E. Schwartzbaum, 'Three Tournai Tombstones in England', *Gesta*, **20**(1) (1981), 89–97.

[11]M. Thurlby, 'A Twelfth-Century Figure Fragment from Lewes Priory', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **120,** 215–22.

[12]F. Spurrell commented on this motif in 'Architectural Relics of Lewes Priory', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **7,** 253 ff., esp. figs. 4 and 5.

[13]P. Rolland, 'L'Expansion Tournaisienne aux XIe et XIIe Siècles', *Annales de l'Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique*, **22,** 175–219.

[14]C. H. Eden, *Black Tournai Fonts in England* (1909).

[15]Cf. R. B. Lockett, 'A Catalogue of Romanesque Sculpture from the Cluniac Houses in England', *Brit. Arch. Assoc. Jnl.* 3rd ser. **33,** 57.

[16]He was present at the dedication mentioned: *Suss. Rec. Soc.* **40**; he despatched Robert, a monk of Lewes, to Glastonbury at some date before 1136: see David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (1940), 282–3; L. Voss, *Heinrich von Blois* (Berlin, 1932), 119.

[17]I am grateful to Mr. Ralph Corfield for his permission to make many visits to this site.

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FIXING THE CUSTOM OF THE MANOR: SLINDON, WEST SUSSEX, 1568

by Michael Zell

In the late spring of 1568 a bill of complaint was sent to the court of Chancery by customary tenants of the manor of Slindon, West Sussex.[1] It charged that the lord of the manor, Anthony Kempe, Esq., had 'of late diversely, contrary to conscience and equity, devised and imagined by divers indirect means to break, annihilate and infringe' the ancient customs of the manor. After reciting the true customs at length, the petitioners asked the Chancellor to issue a writ of *subpoena* to force Kempe to appear before the court to answer for his evil deeds. In form and content the bill of complaint is not unlike scores of others from all parts of England which were addressed to the equity courts throughout the 16th century.

Bills like this formed the foundation of R. H. Tawney's seminal work, *The Agrarian Problem in the 16th Century* (1912), which painted a depressing picture of class relations in the rural England of that period. The price revolution and demographic explosion of the 16th century fostered a variety of changes in the structure and practice of agriculture. In the face of these trends many landowners reacted by attempting to exploit their estates in a more commercial way, while at the same time tenants, especially customary tenants, sought means to secure more effectively their tenures and their relatively low rents. The increased numbers made for increased pressure on available land, hence greater attention to and frequent conflicts over manorial wastes, commons and rough grazing. By the mid 16th century, if not before, the royal courts had become the venue for numerous suits between landlords and tenants over disputed rents, manorial customs, and rights to waste and common lands. The final rulings in such cases, especially those heard in the court of Chancery, became in effect permanent legal statements of customs and rights of lord and tenants. However, the texts of very few of the final judgments in such actions have survived, while the bills of complaint are extant in large numbers. In many cases the formal answer of the landowner is available, and sometimes in addition the replications and rejoinders of the parties.

In the case in question, only the tenants' bill is extant, but what has also survived is a formal enrolled indenture of *agreement* between the two sides, which shows clearly that the case is not at all what it appears from a reading of the bill alone. For the last clause of the long agreement specifies that:

> it is further covenanted and agreed that by the consent of the said lord and the tenants there shall be within ten days after the date of these presents one bill exhibited in the Queen's majesty's most honourable court of the Chancery containing the said several customs and usages . . . upon the which bill the said Anthony Kempe shall come in and by way of answer to be made, acknowledge the agreement and declaration of this present indenture.[2]

In other words, the tenants will sue Kempe in Chancery, and he will not contest the action—which is why there are no written proceedings beyond the bill. The judgment of the court will in effect ratify and fix the agreement about the customs of Slindon already reached by the landlord and the tenants.

What the parties were doing in 1568, using the courts merely to register and enrol their locally arranged agreements about manorial customs, was to become increasingly common later in the century. Buyers and sellers of land, after all, had for some generations used the court of Common Pleas to register land transactions, and in the later 16th century tenants and lords began to adopt the device of fictitious actions to enrol private agreements and thereby fix the custom of the manor for all time. Later, agreements were also ratified by private Acts of Parliament.[3] The importance of the Slindon agreement, which I will describe in some detail, is that it was one of the earliest of such agreements to be enrolled in the government archives by such a practice, and that it includes as a schedule to the main indenture a full rental of the cottagers and copyholders of the manor in Slindon. That the procedure was still in its infancy is underlined by the fact that the indenture was enrolled on the close roll rather than on the Chancery decree roll where it might be expected to appear. A final point of interest about the Slindon agreement is that as well as defining the 'ancient' customs of the manor, the agreement includes a bargain made between the tenants and the lord whereby the customary tenants are granted 120 a. out of the common land of the manor to enclose and hold in severalty. This again points to the pressure on manorial commons and the apparent desire of the customary tenants to obtain individually held pasture, distinct from the open commons which could easily become overstocked by the landlord himself, by other tenants, by other inhabitants who were not holders of customary estates, or by any combination of the three. Thus the Slindon agreement brings to mind questions which were universal in Tudor England.

Slindon, 3½ miles WNW. of Arundel, was one of the archiepiscopal manors which Archbishop Cranmer granted to the Crown in an exchange of 1542. It was valued at almost £38 a year in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535, with the rents of assize and manorial customs bringing in £20 11*s*. of the total. The manor was granted out to Sir Thomas Palmer in 1552, came back to the Crown, and was granted in March 1555 to Anthony Kempe, a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Queen Mary and a younger son of a leading Kentish gentry family. The grants included Slindon Park and the demesne of the manor, neither of which is included in the agreement made by Kempe and the tenants in 1568.[4] Also excluded from that agreement was the Wealden land attached to the manor of Slindon at Kirdford known as 'the ancient five yardlands', whose tenants held their land by a different custom and for smaller rents than the tenants of Slindon proper.[5] Slindon is not a particularly large parish, but it did have extensive common lands: almost 1,000 a. were enclosed in the 19th century.[6] Although the exact size of the manor is not known, that part of the manor held permanently by customary tenants can be estimated from the rental. Allowing about 15 a. to the customary yardland,[7] the 46 named tenants and cottagers probably held something over 400 a. The demesne was probably considerably smaller; it was farmed for under £5 a year in 1535. The size of the park is also uncertain. Forty-six tenants in all, of whom 32 were named in the indenture, paid just over £23 a year in customary or assized rents. The rents varied a good deal, but most cottages paid 12*d*., half yardlands around 6*s*. to 8*s*., and yardlands about 15*s*. In all, the 16 larger holdings of

TABLE 1
Customary Tenants and Cottagers of Slindon[8]

Type of tenant	*No. of tenants*	*(%)*	*Yardlands held*	*(%)*
Cottagers/ smallholders	24	(52)	—	
Half-yardlanders	6	(13)	3	(11)
Yardlanders	12	(26)	13	(48)
Tenants of two yardlands or over	4	(9)	10.5	(40)
Totals	46	(100)	26.5	(100)

one to three yardlands dominated the scene, comprising over 85 per cent of the tenanted land. In contrast to some manors in the Elizabethan period, there remained a strong contingent of medium-sized holdings, along with a very few large holdings and a considerable number of cottagers/smallholders.

Just why the tenants and Kempe needed to make an agreement about the customs of Slindon in May 1568 is unclear. There was no recent history of litigation in the equity courts over rents or customs at Slindon, and Kempe had held the manor for a dozen years before either the tenants or he had occasion to produce a formal statement of its customs. The brief Chancery bill of 1568 gives no hint of any specific conflict which had recently blown up, nor do the court rolls of the manor for the 1560s survive to provide any clues. The Chancery bill alleges only that Kempe had tried to infringe and break the old customs and had vexed the tenants by the common law. But such phrases are the conventional language of this type of Chancery bill, and no specific instances are given. Since there is no indication in the indenture or the bill that the customs as set forth in 1568 were any different from those in force earlier, the only change wrought by the agreement was the removal of 120 a. of land from common use. There may have been conflict over the use of common grazing land, but there is no hard evidence to prove it. What resulted from the negotiations of 1568 was a formal indenture between Kempe and 32 named tenants, which allows us to describe the detailed customs of the manor. They suggest what issues were most likely to be contentious and allow comparisons with the tenurial conditions that obtained in other manors.

The ancient customs of the manor of Slindon, or at least those that the tenants thought worth recording, take up the bulk of the indenture made between them and their landlord. The long document, of *c.* 2,500 words, was obviously drafted by a lawyer, and concentrates on three broad areas of customary law: the rules governing the inheritance and alienation of holdings; various rights of tenants; and wastes and the lord's right to seize holdings for wastes done by tenants. A short section describing the enclosure of 120 a. out of the common land appears in the middle of the description of manorial customs, and a final section details the fictitious action to be taken in Chancery in order to register the whole agreement. There is nothing in the customs about agricultural practice within the manor and almost nothing about common grazing rights, nor are the powers and duties of the manorial court defined.

The document makes clear that copyholders have estates of inheritance in their holdings. The 'old rents' will stand, but in return for an additional collective rent of £8 a year, to be apportioned among all the tenants according to their holdings, the lord promises that he and his successors will not require any dayworks, any services outside the manor, nor any licences for permission to marry or fines for marriages made without his licence. On this last point, it is hard to imagine that any recent lord of Slindon had successfully collected marriage fines, the ancient mark of servile tenures, nor is it likely that dayworks had been performed for several centuries. The agreement does not define what, by implication, is allowed, e.g. any other services performed *within* the manor in the nature of boonworks such as help with the lord's harvest or carrying services. It is therefore uncertain whether any services at all were still extracted from the Slindon copyholders; it is likely that all services had been commuted for several generations. The only requirements of tenants that appear in the document are the obligations to pay rents, to keep buildings in repair, and for the most recent tenant to serve as crier in the manor court personally or by deputy for one year.

All customary holdings are inheritable, the holding passing normally to the eldest son of the former tenant. If he has no issue, then the holding passes to his eldest brother, if no brother to his eldest sister, and if no siblings to his nearest

kin. Though not stated explicitly, a tenant's female issue would have priority over the tenant's siblings if there were no male issue. This provision understood as a whole significantly reduces the likelihood that holdings would ever revert to the lord of the manor. Widows' rights in the holding are guaranteed during their widowhood, for a fine of 1*d*. Heriots are payable at the death of a tenant, but a live heriot is only required of holders of one yardland or more. If any of them have livestock, the heriot is their best beast; if not, 10*s*. A payment of 6*s*. 8*d*. is the normal heriot for half-yardlanders, and 6*d*. for cottagers and smallholders. There is no mention of entry fines, either 'arbitrary' or fixed. Customary tenants of Slindon also had almost complete freedom to alienate their holdings. The document guarantees their right to surrender holdings, through the manorial court, to any other person or persons. The fine upon alienation of each yardland is 10*s*., and on each half yardland 6*s*. 8*d*.; for transferring a cottage it is 6*d*. The sole restriction upon tenants' right to sell their holdings is that they may not be sold piecemeal.

A second set of articles in the agreement defines certain rights of copyholders. In order to fulfil their obligations concerning the upkeep of their holdings, all customary tenants 'shall have and take from time to time forever hereafter sufficient timber and housebote for building and for the reparations of their houses, edifices and buildings in the several woods of the lord'. Equally important among the rights of customary tenants by the 16th century was the right to sublet holdings. It is quite likely that many of the holders listed on the rental of Slindon were not actually occupying their copyholds but had leased them to others. Several of the provisions of 1568 make it clear that subletting was commonplace. The formal acceptance of 'dead heriots' implies that holdings may well be leased out. The document treats subletting in a negative way, but the meaning is clear: leasing out copyholds was common and normal. The agreed custom only specifies that the lord may eject an unsuitable undertenant after one year's warning. The lord need only have a 'reasonable mislike' of a subtenant, but if he exercises this right, the customary tenant or copyholder may sublet his holding to any other person of his choice. The lord cannot prevent subletting as a general practice.

The tenants' access to grazing is described in only one short, dense paragraph of the agreement:

> The said tenants shall and ought to have from henceforth masting of their own hogs in the North Wood of Slindon for such as they do usually keep and bring up on their holds or tenements; and likewise the pasturing of their cattle and sheep in the said wood and in all other the lord's commons and wastes, as of right and old, ancient custom they have had and enjoy the same, paying for the ovissing or masting of every hog, two pence.

There is no mention of a charge for pasturing other stock than swine, nor is there mention of any stint or limit on tenants' animals. It is not known how much other common grazing there was beyond the North Wood, nor how many beasts could be accommodated. But it would appear from this that the agreement, in describing the North Wood by name, was dealing with part of the manorial common land to which access may have been in dispute.

The overriding concern with security of tenure appears again in the provisions of the agreement concerning the power of the lord to seize a tenant's holding for waste, i.e. not adequately maintaining the property or doing some damage in any sense. Two full articles deal with this issue, and both stringently limit the lord's right of seizure. The first declares that the lord cannot make any seizure until he has presented the waste at three successive manorial courts held six months apart, and if the damage has not been repaired within one month after the presentments, i.e. only after 19 months. It is

declared not a waste for a tenant to cut down trees on his holding for the purposes of 'firebote, housebote, ploughbote, gatebote or hedgebote'. Secondly, no seizure, even if carried out according to the above procedures, could defeat the right of the heirs to the copyhold, and would only continue for the life of the offender. These provisions, like several others in the indenture, suggest that the tenants were determined to limit most severely any threats to their security of tenure.

Buried in the middle of the statement of manorial customs is the agreement by the lord that the customary tenants may 'enclose and sever and severally hold to them, their heirs and assigns, in severalty forever, the number and quantity of six score acres of land, parcel of the land wherein they now have common'. The land to be enclosed was to be selected by the agreement of four 'indifferent persons', two appointed by Kempe and two by the tenants, before the coming Michaelmas five months ahead. It was for this bargain that the tenants paid a cash 'consideration' of £20 to Kempe; it is referred to in the Chancery bill but not in the enrolled indenture. Again in this case, the text of the agreement leaves as many questions unanswered as it answers. How exactly were the 120 a. to be divided, who among the tenants contributed to the £20 payment, and how much common grazing would be left after the enclosure of the 120 a. Which tenants stood to gain, and which to lose, from such an arrangement, and were all the tenants listed, down to the smallest cottager in the rental, equally interested in such a bargain? This leads on to a further question: was the whole arrangement an attempt to remove from common usage grazing land which formerly had been open to all inhabitants of the parish and not limited to the copyholders of Slindon manor?

What can be stated with some firmness is that the copyholders of Slindon won, or had confirmed, customs which were far less onerous than those of many of their neighbours in West Sussex. Given that in many manors in West Sussex there were 'arbitrary' entry fines and labour services, the Slindon tenants had comparatively beneficial customs and real security of tenure. The Slindon customs in fact were closer to those enjoyed by copyholders in East Sussex and in the Sussex Weald, although the details were not always identical.[9] Why this should be so can only be guessed at. The suggestion is that the customs of Slindon had been less onerous than in many neighbouring manors for some time; that a number of customary holders were relatively prosperous; and that an unknown number of these better-off tenants invested in legal advice with the dual purpose of fixing in perpetuity the existing customs of the manor (and perhaps improving them at the margins), and of obtaining private pasture land out of the formerly unrestricted manorial commons. That the landlord should have agreed to such an arrangement suggests that he felt it unlikely that the existing customs of the manor could be changed to his advantage; it was better for him to make something out of this situation, in this case a 35 per cent increase in the customary rents. The real value of the old rents was declining by the 1560s, if not long before, and Kempe was not to know that inflation would accelerate in the later decades of the century. The £20 cash payment was also not to be derided, and he probably had little to lose by allowing some of the manorial common to be enclosed by individual tenants for their own grazing. Thus the deal was struck, the formal indenture drawn up and copies made, and an action was begun in the court of Chancery. The Slindon case must make one wonder how many other such complicated and telling stories lie behind many of the bills of complaint in the archives of the Tudor courts which, taken at face value, suggest an entirely different interpretation of economic life in rural England.

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Notes

[1]Public Record Office (hereafter P.R.O.), C 3/196/25 (a bill only). A bill by Kempe (P.R.O., C 3/107/23) against tenants of the manor of Slindon probably refers to Wealden copyholders, as none of the tenants there named appear in the rental of Slindon tenants in Slindon at P.R.O., C 54/764, mm. 21–4. In all quotations from documents spelling has been modernized.

[2]P.R.O., C 54/764, mm. 21–4. I would like to thank Dr. Katherine Wyndham for pointing out this document to me. The case is not found on the Chancery decree roll (P.R.O., C 78).

[3]Eric Kerridge, *Agrarian Problems in the Sixteenth Century and After* (1969), esp. 54–5. A similar agreement to that described here was made for the manor of Barcombe, East Sussex, in 1604–5. It uses surprisingly similar language to the Slindon indenture of 1568: transcribed in J. C. K. Cornwall, 'The Agrarian History of Sussex, 1560–1640' (London Univ. M.A. thesis, 1953), 414–19.

[4]*Valor Ecclesiasticus* (Record Commission), **1,** 1; *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII,* **17,** no. 443 (15); *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1550–3,* 236; *1554–5,* 70; W. Berry, *Pedigrees of Kent,* 486.

[5]P.R.O., STAC 5/M 19, no. 7; 5/M 5, no. 14.

[6]*Suss. Arch. Coll.* **88,** 151.

[7]i.e. the traditional Sussex yardland, as suggested in Cornwall's thesis.

[8]The figures in this table and in the following paragraph are based on the 1568 rental of Slindon manor which is enrolled immediately after the indenture on the close roll: P.R.O., C 54/764, m. 24. Holdings are described in terms of yardlands or fractions of yardlands rather than in acres.

[9]Compare the many cases cited in Cornwall, 'Agrarian History of Sussex', esp. ch. 8. One specific difference between the custom of Slindon and that of many Sussex manors was that while borough English was widespread in Sussex, Slindon used primogeniture: cf. Cornwall, 'Agrarian History of Sussex', 279; *Suss. Rec. Soc.* **34,** 77.

Sussex Archaeological Collections **122** (1984), 107–26.

RYE AND THE DEFENCE OF THE NARROW SEAS: A 16TH-CENTURY TOWN AT WAR

by Graham J. Mayhew, B.A., D.Phil.

The Tudor period was marked by recurrent wars with France, followed by the threat of invasion from the Spanish Netherlands, placing the maritime counties of south-east England in the front line of England's defences. The Rye chamberlains' accounts record in considerable detail the income and expenditure of the town during the 16th century, providing a unique picture of the impact of war on one of the larger south coast ports. This article reconstructs the main features of Rye's military contributions, offering new insights into the conduct of Channel warfare in the 16th century and particularly into the importance of the town's privateering ventures which were both a major source of revenue and a substantial contribution to England's war effort.

INTRODUCTION: THE COSTS OF WAR

Very little has been written about the part played by the south coast towns in the defence of England in Tudor times. What there is, concentrates very heavily on the declining importance of the Cinque Ports and their traditional obligations to provide ships to transport troops across the Channel in times of war.[1] What is clear from the Rye Corporation records, however, is the relative unimportance of the traditional ship service of the Cinque Ports in comparison with other items of wartime expenditure by the town until the war with Spain in the later years of Elizabeth's reign. By far the major item of wartime expenditure until the 1580s was the cost of maintaining Rye's physical defences: the town wall, town ditch and suchlike.

The burdens placed on a town such as Rye by the demands of war were considerable and led to an approximate doubling of expenditure in the crisis years. That Rye was able to afford this and prosper says something for her wealth at this time, for the decline which hit the whole of the Cinque Ports Confederation reached Rye only in the late 1580s. What is perhaps more striking, however, is that Rye managed to fund much of its wartime expenditure through a tax levied on French prisoners taken by privateers operating out of the town, which, together with the proceeds of goods seized, largely paid for Rye's military expenditure up to 1563. What the main elements of that expenditure were, and how the money was raised, are the subject of this article, which, it is hoped, will stimulate similar studies elsewhere in what is at present a relatively unexplored aspect of 16th-century warfare.

From the end of the 12th century until the mid 16th, recurrent wars with France had made the south coast the front line of England's defences. Rye owed its strategic importance to its situation, at the north-westernmost point of the Camber, a vast natural bay formed by shingle banks at the mouth of the rivers Rother, Brede and Tillingham. In its heyday in the first half of the 16th century, the Camber formed the largest natural harbour of refuge in the eastern Channel, providing shelter, so it was claimed, for as many as three or four hundred ships.[2] Even as late as 1589 Rye was chosen as the rendezvous for the ships of London, Portsmouth and Dover for the transportation of the English force sent to Dieppe to aid the French King, Henri IV. It served as the principal embarkation point, with Dover, for troops from the south coast in 1513,

1543, and 1562; for Kent and Sussex forces in 1589; and, alone, for those of Sussex in 1592 and 1596.[3] It was also regarded as a potential site for invasion attempts: in June 1495 by Perkin Warbeck, who had some sympathizers amongst Rye's citizens;[4] in 1545 when the French galleys appeared off Rye and the countryside flocked to its defence; and again in 1588 when one plan of the Duc de Guise was to land troops from France and Flanders in the Camber from some of the smaller ships of the Armada force.[5]

In addition to its strategic importance, the area had a long tradition of seafaring and considerable expertise in shipbuilding. Henry VII's ship the Regent, at over 600 tons the largest ship built on the Camber, was launched at Redyng on the river Rother some nine miles north of Rye in the autumn of 1488 and towed down river to Rye for the stepping of its main mast there in the spring of 1490 before undergoing sea trials. It evidently needed several small boats to tow it in and out of Dinsdale Creek where it was laid up between Christmas and the Easter of 1491 before going into service.[6] Other great ships built there included the Marie Gilford (one of Henry VIII's ships in service in the 1520s), the Anne Gallant, and the Mistris.[7] In the 1590s a group of Rye merchants built the Hercules at Rye, at 150 tons burden the largest ship built there. It later saw service on the Cadiz expedition of 1596.[8]

Not surprisingly, from an early time there were plans for substantial fortifications to protect the Camber, leading to the construction in 1512–14 of 'the blockhouse' (which now forms

TABLE 1
The Relative Wealth of Rye and the County Towns in the 1524–5 Subsidy

Town	*Under £2*	*£2*	*£3–5*	*£6–9*	*£10–19*	*£20–39*	*£40–99*	*£100+*	*Total*
				Numbers of taxpayers					
Chichester[1]	114	105	46	22	25	11	6	1	332
Lewes	141	71	53	15	19	20	3	1	322
Rye[2]	—	—	3	5	25	20	16	7	76
				Total assessed wealth (in £s)					
Chichester	114	210	174	144	312	287	363	200	1,804
Lewes	141	142	219	83	208	475	120	100	1,488
Rye	—	—	15	36	285	462[3]	887	1,080	2,765[4]

Notes
[1]The figures for Chichester are based on the more complete returns of 1525.
[2]The Rye chamberlains' accounts for 1522/3 record a total of £7 15*s.* 8*d.* spent on a supplication to the King for remission of the loan money, which necessitated the Mayor riding up to Court in November 1522 When this failed Sir John Thompson was approached to sue further on the town's behalf at the following Easter. It was to no avail. The first instalment of the loan was paid on 18 May 1523 and the second part some two months later: RYE 60/5, ff. 119v.–122.
[3]The actual figure of £461 13*s.* 4*d.* has been rounded upwards for clarity of presentation.
[4]The actual figure of £2,764 13*s.* 4*d.* has been rounded up. Even this is substantially below the assessments of Rye Corporation of the wealth of its inhabitants; in the 1491/2 cesse, for example, the estimated wealth of those assessed was £5,303, and in that of 1595/6 it was £15,344: RYE 77/3; RYE 1/6, ff. 30v.–43.
Sources: The figures for Lewes and Chichester are taken from *The Lay Subsidy Rolls for the County of Sussex 1524–5*, ed. J. Cornwall (Suss. Rec. Soc. **56**). The Rye figures are based on assessments for the 1523 loan. Evidence from counties for which loan and subsidy returns both survive indicates that numbers of the wealthier citizens had their assessments reduced for the latter, but not to the extent that the comparison between Rye and other Sussex towns would be seriously affected. See e.g. J. J. Goring, 'The General Proscription of 1522', *Eng. Hist. Rev.* **86**, 681–705; A. C. Chibnall & A. V. Woodman, 'Subsidy Roll for the County of Buckingham, Anno 1524', *Buckinghamshire Rec. Soc.*, **13**, 91–4. Rye as a Cinque Port was exempt from the actual subsidy, but those assessed at £5 and upwards paid at the rate of 2*s.* in the £, or, for assessments over £300 at 2*s.* 8*d.* The total amount collected at Rye was £287 11*s.* 10*d.* (RYE 81/1–2), more than four times the total assessment for Chichester, and over ten times what was collected there by way of anticipation (*Suss. Rec. Soc.* **56**, pp. xxviii, xxxiv). For a fuller discussion of the wealth and relative standing of Tudor Rye, see my forthcoming University of Sussex, Centre for Continuing Education, Occasional Paper, *Tudor Rye 1485–1603, the Rise and Decline of a Cinque Port.*

the lower part of the central tower of Camber Castle), and finally to the completion of Camber Castle itself at a cost of some £15,760 between 1539 and 1543.[9] The ironwork for its windows, doorways, etc. was provided by William Gibbon of Rye, and one of the three commissioners entrusted with its construction was John Fletcher, Rye's most experienced sea captain and a leading member of the Corporation.[10] No doubt Rye and Winchelsea also provided most of the recruits for the labour force of some 1,272 men employed on its construction in the summer of 1540.[11] By the end of that year a garrison of some 25 men including the captain, Philip Chewte, were installed, a complement comparable in size to those at Portsmouth, Dover and the Downs.[12] As late as 1590 the castle's armoury of brass cannons, culverins and demiculverins equalled those at Dover and elsewhere along the south coast.[13]

Behind these fortifications lay two towns, Winchelsea, whose importance had waned with the silting up of its harbour early in the 16th century, and Rye, which only reached the height of its size and wealth in the middle years of the century, before it too fell into a sudden and irreversible decline. With a population variously assessed at some 2,468 persons in a government survey of 1565,[14] and over 5,000 persons plus an immigrant refugee population of 1,500 French and Flemings in 1573,[15] Rye was by far the largest town in Sussex and easily the wealthiest, as Table 1 shows. Even in decline, in 1580, Rye's 1,200 tons of shipping equalled half that of Hull, Bristol and Southampton and surpassed that of Exeter (or indeed of any other south coast port).[16]

This high level of wealth is reflected in the level of corporate activity indicated by the chamberlains' accounts, which, in the mid 16th century were running at a rate comparable to that of Exeter's, a city with an estimated population of around 7,000 in the 1520s.[17] From an average of less than £60 per year in the 1480s Rye's corporate income rose to around £400 in the early 1570s just prior to the sudden decline in Rye's economic fortunes. The accounts further demonstrate the impact of the demands of war on the town's economy throughout the period, necessitating such emergency methods of taxation as cesses (i.e. assessments levied on the lands or goods of inhabitants) in 1491/2, 1523/4, 1543/4–1544/5, 1557/8, 1563 and 1595/6;[18] the sale of town and church plate in 1545/6; and a special cesse on aliens in 1542/3.[19]

The strain which wartime expenditure placed on Rye's economy can be seen in Table 2. At the height of the war with France in 1491–3 approximately a third of corporate expenditure was directed towards the war effort. The same was true during Henry VIII's campaigns of 1513–14 and 1522–3 and the situation was getting worse. The invasion scare of the early 1540s and Henry VIII's Boulogne expedition of 1544 drained the town of nearly 60 per cent of its corporate income in the years 1543–6. The situation slightly eased during Mary's war with France in which corporate expenditure rose to a staggering £605 5*s*. in 1557/8 compared to barely half that sum the previous year. The situation was little better during Elizabeth's disastrous intervention in the first of the French religious wars in 1562, and by the late 1580s with the economy in decline it was becoming increasingly difficult for Rye Corporation to raise the necessary sums to finance wartime levels of expenditure—a situation made doubly difficult by Elizabeth's unwillingness to grant a general licence for privateers, which severely hit town income.[20]

Added to the town's own financial burdens were the increasingly regular demands of the Crown for extra-parliamentary taxation during times of war, to which Rye could not claim exemption by virtue of its Cinque Port status. In the spring of 1514 a cesse of £24 was gathered for payment in lieu of ship service, but was redelivered to the inhabitants when the King abandoned plans for a further summer campaign.[21] Rye's payment of £287 by way of a forced loan in 1523 came on top of moderately substantial corporate expenditure; and in 1542 and 1545

TABLE 2
The Costs of War: Expenditure from Rye Chamberlains' Accounts

Year	*Town defences* £ s. d.	*Weapons* £ s. d.	*Total (town defences and weapons)* £ s. d.	*Ship service* £ s. d.	*Soldiers* £ s. d.	*Misc.* £ s. d.	*Total military expenditure* £ s. d.	*Total year's expenditure* £ s. d.
1489/90	12 13 10½	2 17 10	15 11 8½			3 1 9	18 13 5½	55 14 7½
1490/1	18 3 4½	7 5	18 10 9½			1 9 5	20 0 2½	69 2 6
1491/2	7 9 3	1 2	7 10 5	10 0		1 15 1	9 15 6	52 17 4½
1492/3		1 1 8	1 1 8	20 16 2½		6 3 9	28 1 7½	93 17 2
1512/13	17 13 10	6 5 3	23 19 1		7 16 3	5 14 8½	37 10 0½	99 5 5
1513/14	1 13 0	5 19 0	7 12 0	44 18 3		16 11 10	69 2 1	205 13 8
1514/15	2 14 4	3 8 0	6 2 4		13 4	2 4 7	9 0 3	104 5 0
1521/2	12 4 10	5 3 4	17 8 2	2 6 8	8 14 4	2 18 5	31 7 7	88 14 8
1522/3	27 8 9	11 0 9	38 9 6	4 0	1 4	9 3 6	47 18 4	124 6 1½
1523/4	11 7 1	15 4	12 2 5		2 12 8	2 2 9½	16 17 10½	99 16 2
1543/4	51 18 4	11 11 0	63 9 4	32 0 6½	25 3 3	7 3 9	127 16 10½	337 17 8
1544/5	217 14 1½	5 15 9½	223 9 11	6 19 5	2 11 0	17 6 0½	250 6 4½	316 18 5
1545/6	55 0 9	35 0 4½	90 1 1½			4 15 7	94 16 8½	203 18 7
1555/6	4 7 7½	3 0	4 10 7½	11 5 6		8 14 5¾	24 10 7¼	272 17 1
1556/7	87 15 11½	5 19 6½	93 15 6	29 5 2½	16 10 11[1]	16 9 10	156 1 5½	307 14 9½
1557/8	170 12 11	34 11 7	205 4 6		13 0	137 3 3	343 0 9	605 5 0
1558/9	146 10 0½[2]	5 8 4	151 18 4½			11 7 4	163 5 8½	297 11 0
1559/60	93 9 2½	12 19 9½	106 9 0			21 14 3½	128 3 3½	259 6 2
1562/3	72 13 10½	1 3 1	73 16 11½	1 9 4[3]		11 10 10½	86 10 11	N/A
1563/4	91 6 7	20 11 3	111 17 10	2 0 2½[4]		13 0 6	126 18 6½	276 5 2
1587/8	153 5 2	11 12 4	164 17 6	26 17 1		21 16 8	213 11 3	345 8 8[7]
1588/9	2 1 7	7 16 0	9 17 7	38 17 6		4 8	48 19 9	357 12 3½[7]
1589/90	1 4 1	15 5 6	16 9 7	30 13 1		31 5 0[5]	78 7 8	280 16 10[7]
1590/1	33 14 7	13 8 6	47 3 1			12 0[6]	47 15 1	207 11 10[7]
1591/2	4 8 0	12 10 10	16 18 10	11 12 1		9 5 10	37 16 9	243 0 5[7]

Notes
(These figures relate only to known expenditure from the chamberlains' accounts. There may have been additional expenditure, as was the case with ship service in 1588 and again in 1596, most of the cost of which was levied by cesse and expended directly without passing through the chamberlains' accounts.)
[1]Conduct money, etc. for 80 pressed mariners.
[2]Includes building of new jetty accounting for over half this total.
[3]Arrears.
[4]Arrears.
[5]Includes £31 0*s*. 8*d*. paid to returning sick soldiers from 1589 expedition.
[6]Payment to sick soldiers.
[7]Land chamberlains' accounts only. No sea chamberlains' accounts have survived for the period 1587–96.
Source: RYE 60/3–9.

Rye's contributions of £170 10*s*. and £338 6*s*. to the forced loans and benevolences of those years merely added to the already substantial town exactions on inhabitants by way of cesse to finance the construction of the new town defences.[22] In October 1557, when Mary's government made further demands for a forced loan at a time of renewed expenditure on the town's fortifications, the Mayor and Jurats simply refused to allow its collection; the £40 which it cost the Corporation in Mayor Alexander Welles's expenses in the Fleet prison, to which he was committed for a week by the Privy Council, was no doubt seen as a small price to pay in escaping a far greater exaction. In fact 1557/8 marked the nadir of relations between Rye and the Queen's Council, with the enforced pressing of 80 mariners for the Queen's ships at Portsmouth coming on top of the service of two ships for dolling (see below) and substantial expenditure on the town's own defences, which led to the Mayor once again appearing before the Council, this time to answer them and sue them 'to preserve maryners from pesteryng according to our Charter'.[23] It was clearly to little avail. Under Elizabeth the pressing of mariners became a regular feature of government demands on the Cinque Ports.

TOWN DEFENCES

Wartime expenditure in Rye can be broken down into two main elements. First there were the town defences, including such items as work on the town walls and ditch, the erection of temporary barriers and barricades, the setting of booms in the harbour and the placing and maintenance of ordnance and other weaponry. Secondly there was military service, which took the form of 'dolling', the traditional ship service of the Cinque Ports navy in time of war, and the provision on occasion of soldiers, which seems to have been confined to Henry VIII's reign, at least as far as town expenditure is concerned. Of these two elements, the cost of the town's own defences was by far the major part.

As Plate I shows, Rye was a natural defensive site, built on a hilltop peninsula with cliffs to the east, south and west. Only on the north side did its natural topography expose the town to attack, and here, where nature failed, man had made good its defensive perimeter with a high wall and wide ditch, breached only by the Landgate (NE.), the Strandgate (W.) for vehicular traffic, and the Postern Gate at the base of Conduit Hill for foot passengers, with a removable wooden bridge across the ditch.[24] Apart from a narrow isthmus between the Landgate and Playden Hill (NE.) the sea surrounded the town to a depth of 20–30 ft. at some tides, constituting a source of major concern as in 1528 it was reported that 'ships could lie at a stone cast from the town wall and the town would not be able to resist them'.[25] This danger was somewhat lessened by the inning of St. Mary's Marsh in 1554, when a bank was constructed running in a northerly direction from the Strand quay, but the sea broke through again in 1571. The remains of two Elizabethan ships discovered in 1964, 150 yd. east of the Tillingham, confirm that the area north of the town wall was still capable of harbouring ships of nearly 20 ft. draught at the end of the 16th century.[26] It was almost certainly as a result of this potential danger from the north that a secondary line of temporary stone-filled wooden groynes or jetties was constructed on the water's edge along the northern perimeter of the town ditch as part of the town's wartime defences from the 1520s onwards. A similar arrangement was used at Ostend during the Spanish siege of 1601–4.[27]

It was towards the maintenance and improvement of these various elements in Rye's defences that the bulk of corporate expenditure was directed in time of war, although it was only as the 16th century progressed that many of these refinements were added.

In 1489/90 the major expenditure was on scouring out the town ditch, at a cost of some £11 6*s*. 8½*d*. The following year saw a further £17 8*s*. 5½*d*. spent on repairs to the town walls, which were linked to the cliffs by means of tem-

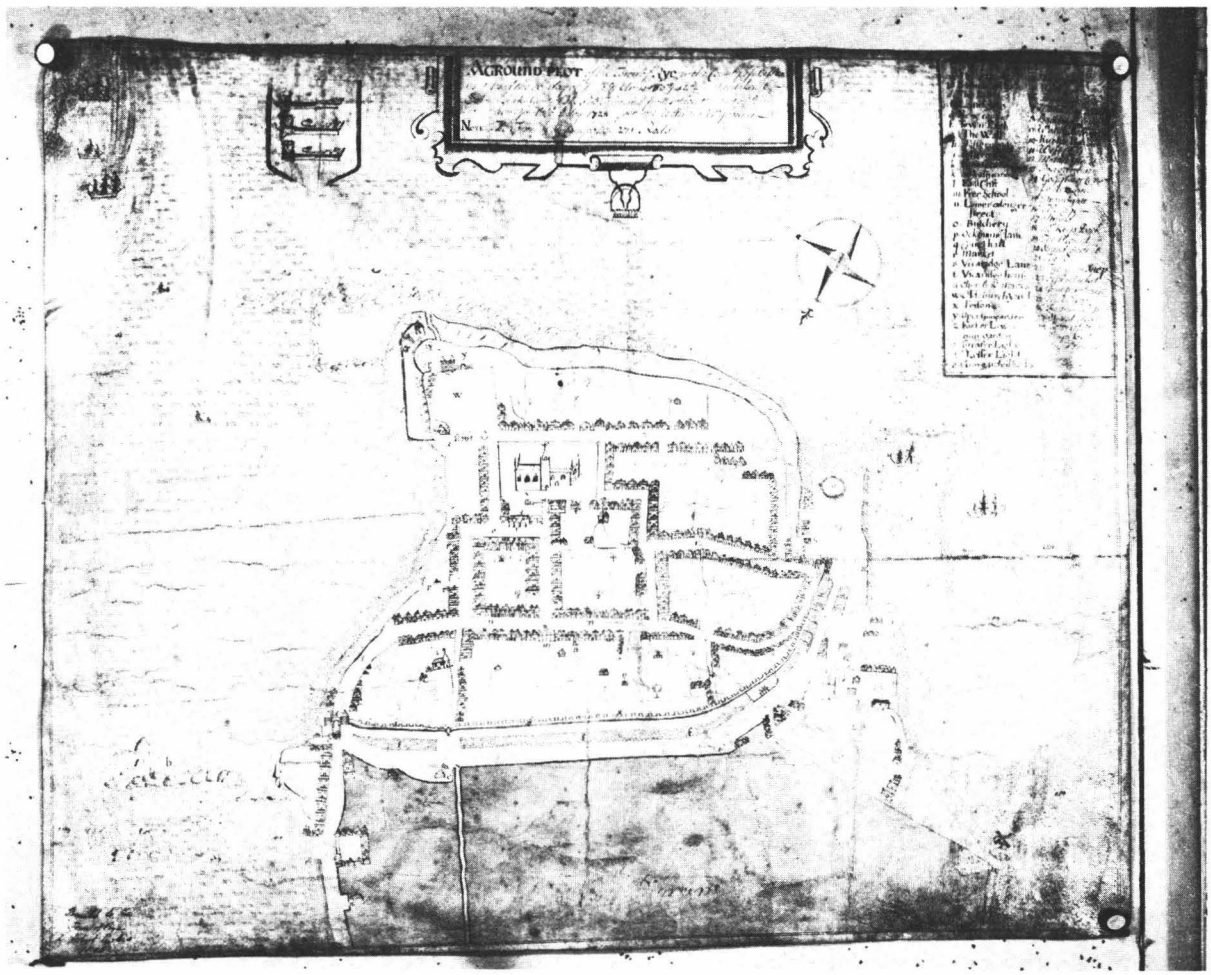

Plate I. Samuel Jeake's plan of Rye, 1666, copied 1728, showing extent of Tudor defences: E.S.R.O., RYE 132/15.

porary barricades of posts and rails surmounted by bundles of thorn. A similar arrangement operated at the end of the town ditch. Finally, in places where cliff erosion had provided possible avenues of attack, the cliffs were pared to render them more sheer. The quay at Strand was always a vulnerable point and it seems likely that the 'sege hous' which accounted for £5 5*s.* 5*d.* of expenditure in 1491/2 was an early bulwark with ordnance suitably placed to repel any attempted landing there.[28]

By the time of Henry VIII's first war with France in 1513 the town defences were evidently in need of some minor repairs. Grass growing on top of Landgate had to be cleared and in places where the wall had fallen down into the town ditch it had to be repaired. Otherwise, apart from some minor work on the 'bulwerke' at Strand the only substantial expenditure was on the erection of groynes outside Landgate and Strandgate involving some 63 loads of 'rysse' together with small amounts of timber.[29] Similar preparations for the town's defence were made in 1522–4, the main cost again being a new groyne at Strand which utilized the remains of an old ship which was towed to the site and

broken up, and quantities of turf, the whole apparently surmounted by brambles and bundles of thorns staked down at its head to discourage any attackers. The bulwark at Strand was evidently a fenced enclosure probably for guns since doors were being made for it in the autumn of 1523 and there was a similarly paled enclosure for guns on the cliff.[30]

Compared to this the programme of fortifications of the early 1540s was on an altogether more ambitious scale. Undertaken under the direction of royal Commissioners, who visited Rye to inspect progress in the spring of 1545, the scale of expenditure for these works was the highest of the century, necessitating emergency measures to raise revenue, including the petitioning of the Privy Council for letters of authorization for a particularly severe cesse of 1*d*. in the pound per month on the assessed wealth of all those of English birth valued at over £5, or ½*d*. per month for those valued at less than £5. In each case aliens and denizens were to pay double. Even servants were to pay 1*d*. per month for every £1 annual wages, with female servants paying half. Other clauses taxed 'rippiers', fishing vessels and merchant ships.[31] By the spring of 1544 work was under way on pales and rails for the Gun Garden by Baddings Tower, on the bulwarks at Strand, and on the town wall, which was evidently being strengthened for the placing of ordnance. By 31 May nine masons and ten labourers were working on the scaffolding at the town wall, rising to 15 masons and 15 labourers in the week ending 21 June. The stone and mortar was brought across from materials left over from the newly completed Camber Castle, and included 120 cart loads of mortar, 60 of fine mortar, and 60 of stone, and at least a further 137 tons of assorted stone, mortar and bricks. The fine mortar alone came to over 660 bushels.[32]

The building campaign of 1545 was chiefly concerned with the erection of timber bulwarks filled with stone, running from Salcot (i.e. Playden—presumably the bottom of Playden Hill) to Budgwell and eventually to a point beneath the shops at Strand. From the beginning of January a small but growing band of sawyers and carpenters were at work on Leasham Hill, just north-west of Rye, felling timber and making frames for 'the fortresse'. By 24 January the labour force had risen to 28, most of whom were helping set up frames against Mr. Byrchett's woodhouse. Between March and April some 14 men per week were digging down the cliff at the conduit head, while others set up the bulwark at Baddings (probably the Lower Gun Garden) and erected barriers at the top of the cliffs. By 18 April 47 men were employed, almost half of whom were working on the town wall and in the Gun Garden. The sense of urgency which such numbers indicate is borne out by various references to working through Sundays and at night unlading lighters carrying turf for the Gun Garden and elsewhere. Between June and September the main emphasis was on the rebuilding of the town wall east of Landgate, for which over 200 tons of dressed stone was brought in from Winchelsea and Camber Castle, at least 150 tons of it from the remains of St. Giles's church, Winchelsea, as well as a further 237 cartloads of earth. At the height of building works the new wall accounted for 14 masons and 16 labourers together with, during July, at least one group of French prisoners for whom bread and beer were provided. Other groups of French prisoners were set to work in the Gun Garden 'to make the lower fortress', presumably to stop anyone climbing up the cliff; in August they were working at Landgate and Baddings and filling the newly erected groyne at Strand with stones. This was evidently part of the new 'fortresse' there which involved pulling down 'the old shops' to make room for a railed way from Strandgate. By early autumn the work was largely complete at a cost of over £200.[33]

Work on the town defences in 1558/9 largely consisted of repairs and rebuilding. In 1558 there was work on a new jetty at Budgwell and on arming it with thorn; and on the jetty against the Almshouse which had been built since the previous campaign outside the Land-

gate on the west side of the highway, which itself seems to have been fenced in from that point to Landgate presumably to make a narrow and easily defensible passage into the town. Other major items of expenditure included the digging out of the town ditch between January and March 1559, which at its height was employing 51 men; the construction and erection of new portcullises for both Landgate and Strandgate between February and April; and yet more repairs to the town wall involving 18 masons and 14 labourers during July.[34]

The defences between the Almshouse and Landgate seem to have been only temporary, since in 1562 the accounts record the new erection of planks between the Almshouse and Budgwell and for fencing the way.[35] Otherwise the work that year seems to have been confined to routine repairs. The preparations against the Armada in the first six months of 1588 were on a rather larger scale, presumably because after more than 20 years' disuse the town defences were somewhat decayed. Something over 240 tons of timber was felled and utilized in repairs to the platform in the Gun Garden and the bulwark at the Strand. The town ditch was cleaned out and a bridge over it at the Postern Gate was taken up and rebuilt. In April 1588 bricks were bought to make the arches of the gunholes in Landgate and in May there was work to 'hedge in the flanker' there (i.e. to protect a flanking gun). Finally there was some activity in repairing the conduit and making a new grate for it, and stopping up some of the waterways in the town wall, such repairs to the water supply being another recurring feature of wartime expenditure.[36]

The only complete inventory of the town's ordnance is for 1569 and there are no surviving muster returns until 1598. Until the late Elizabethan period, therefore, any information on the town's weaponry has to be based on passing references (usually to repairs and the making of gunstocks and carriages, etc.) in the chamberlains' accounts. Nevertheless it is still possible to gain a reasonably clear impression of the nature and disposition of the town's ordnance in the earlier period.

In the late 15th century, when large guns were only just beginning to be deployed on a wide scale, Rye seems to have possessed at least three and possibly four pieces of ordnance: a great serpentine, which may or may not be identical with the 'great gun' which was had from Calais and for which new wheels were being made in early 1491; and two more guns which were bought for the town from Adam Oxenbridge for 21*s.* 8*d.* in 1493.[37] In 1513 the town bought two more serpentines, each with three chambers and forelocks, at a cost of £3 6*s.* 8*d.*, to add to an arsenal of at least four other guns which seem to have been stored in Baddings Tower. In 1514 there is reference to two more guns borrowed 'of Metfordes' and to ironwork for two sling guns. Eighty-one lb. of lead were bought for 4*s.* 8*d.* for pellets which were evidently used since there was a further purchase of lead for pellets (2*s.* 6*d.*) and John Bryket was paid 3*s.* 6*d.* 'for 26 pellettes shotyng for gonnes and for his other attendance arredying the gonnes and layinge of them'. Half a barrel of gunpowder had been bought (probably in London) for £3 6*s.* 8*d.*, but more was provided for the town by the King together with bows and arrows which had to be fetched from London. Finally, at the end of the war in 1515, the town bought an additional 'gret gonne' with one chamber from John Fletcher and his company, probably captured from a French prize, for £3 6*s.* 8*d.* By the end of Henry VIII's first war with France, Rye must have been able to dispose around ten or eleven guns on the town's defences.[38]

When war broke out again at the end of 1521 the town was therefore rather better prepared than hitherto, though the Corporation took the opportunity of 'setting Mr. Wymond to the blockhouse when he went unto the Kinges grace to sue for the same to be fynisshed'.[39] The following spring he was sent to the Council again with an urgent request 'for ordenaunce of the towre at Kevyle'. The accounts are somewhat

more informative at this point as to the disposition of the ordnance. There was apparently a paled gun enclosure on the cliff and other guns were coped in with board on the bulwark at Strand. At the end of 1523 two gunstocks were made for the great guns at Strandgate and there are the usual references to lead and iron pellets and the buying of gunpowder including 18 lb. 'bought of a Docheman'. The August 1523 payments of quarterly wages to town officers included for the first time reference to a gunner, Symon Belingere, who received 6*s*. 8*d*.; and the same summer the town bought a further two and a half slings of iron with four chambers from John Flecher, Adryan Blakeherd and James Poope, also no doubt from captured prizes, for a further £8.[40]

By early 1544 the Gun Garden was nearing completion and was presumably the site of 'the great brasen piece' which we are told was 'at Baddings'. Two and a half cwt. of gunpowder was bought at this time from the King's powder maker in London for £6 13*s*. 4*d*. together with ten 'shooting gloves'. In June there is mention of 'iron pieces' there. The following April, James Mercer was sent to the Council to ask for more ordnance which seems to have arrived late in May. It too was taken up to the Gun Garden. Other pieces were placed on the fortress at Strand and 'in Mr. Easton's garden' which backed on to the town wall. On 28 June a payment is recorded for fetching gunpowder out of the Camber from the Vice-Admiral. A month later, on 18 July 1545, the French fleet was off Brighton. On 21 July the Rye chamberlains' accounts record provision of a barrel of beer for the soldiers 'that came owte of the contrey when the Galles and Franche Shippes were before thys Towne'. On 22 July a French force landed at Seaford. Later, Rye had to reimburse the Captain of Camber Castle for the loss of three bows 'att the tyme of the contrey commyng in for the defence of our enymyes'. Evidently the town was in need of more gunpowder following this incident, since the following April they bought a further 8 cwt. from London at a cost of £20 10*s*. 8*d*., at the same time buying new gun chambers there.[41]

The succeeding years record the acquisition of more bows, arrows and morris pikes, the use of arquebuses, and the taking over of the north aisle of the chancel as a munitions store.[42] In 1557, at the start of Mary's war with France, the town apparently also owned seven shirts of mail which were in need of cleaning. One of the brass pieces was again set up in the Gun Garden and there is reference to a demi-cannon and another piece of ordnance at Landgate. In September a further 150 lb. of gunpowder was bought together with 13 shot 'of the great ordynance'. In late January 1558 five men were employed stocking the guns and making hail shot; and early in February the gunner was paid for placing the ordnance about the town. There was evidently further fear of the possibility of invasion since 12 dozen pikes were bought between March and July[43] together with gunpowder, shot and two iron cannons to shoot hail shot on 22 July at a cost of £5 15*s*. 10*d*. There was also expenditure on new ladles, rammers and tampkins for the guns. Gregory Sheppard's quarterly wages as gunner had risen to 25*s*. in 1557/8 compared to only 6*s*. 8*d*. in 1546, indicating the effects of inflation in the middle years of the century.[44]

The accounts for Elizabeth's first war with France in 1562/3 reveal little of additional note apart from the acquisition of two shot for the 'great ordnance' in December 1563 weighing 31 lb. each, and the acquisition of some dozen or so sets of ladles and rammers indicating a substantial arsenal of heavy weaponry,[45] a fact borne out by the indenture between the town and the Office of Ordnance for the ordnance and shot remaining in the town on 28 March 1569, the contents of which are set out in Table 3.

When the next invasion scare came, in 1588, Rye was well provided for in terms of heavy artillery quite apart from the protection afforded by Camber Castle. Preparations were therefore largely confined to work on the platform in the Gun Garden and on placing the ordnance there, at the Landgate and at Strand. By now, Rye was

TABLE 3
Ordnance at Rye 28 March 1569

Weapon	*Brass*	*Cast iron*	*Shot*	*Newly received shot*	*Newly received carriages*
Cannons	1		37		1[1]
Culverins	2		40	40	2
Sacres	7	4	75	300	11
Mynions	2[2]		15	100	2
Faucons	2	2	26	200	4
Portepieces[3]		3			
Fowlers[4]		4			
Arquebuses		39			
Morris pikes		30			
Fauconet shot			6		
Stone shot			65		
Serpentine powder		1 last			

Notes
[1]for a demi-cannon.
[2]includes a French mynion captured by Rye ships.
[3]with 2 chambers each.
[4]with 7 chambers.
Source: RYE 45/20.

employing a gunner on a permanent basis, not merely in time of war, at a cost of 33*s.* 4*d.* a quarter following further inflation. There was also now a proper gunhouse with racks for the town's pikes and bills, although repeated references to the drying-out of the powder periodically suggests that conditions were not perfect.[46]

In addition to the heavy ordnance the town was expected to provide a range of light weapons for the selected and untrained bands. In June 1574 the Commissioners to view the munitions ordered Rye to obtain more gun carriages, 100 new pikes, 50 calivers and substantial additional quantities of powder.[47] From 1577 annual musters within the Cinque Ports were being enforced, those selected being trained in caliver shot for four days both at Easter and in Whitsun week. The chamberlains' accounts indicate annual repairs to the butts each April or May, and there are considerable indications in the correspondence between Rye and the Lieutenant of Dover Castle that the Privy Council was determined to improve the preparedness of the Ports in view of the possibility of invasion. In 1589 Rye was ordered to increase the number of muskets in the town (it had only 29) and to replace the older calivers with them. When this failed, the Ports were ordered in 1590 to see that each Jurat supplied one or more muskets according to his ability at his own charge. Detailed rolls of the selected and untrained bands had to be submitted annually to the Lord Warden in order that these measures could be enforced. The earliest detailed return to have survived is the draft return of 1597/8 listing male inhabitants aged between 16 and 60 by ward together with their weapons. The results are set out in Table 4. The most noticeable feature of this return is the almost total phasing out of bows and arrows and their substitution by firearms as the principal weapon of foot soldiers in the later 16th century.[48] The town had also more than tripled its supply of muskets compared with nine years earlier. The return also reflects the social divisions within the town. The wealthier wards, Middlestreet and Market, have virtually no bills or pikes. The poorer wards, Watchbell and Baddings, have very few muskets.

MILITARY SERVICE

The second major aspect of defensive expenditure was military service, which itself can be

broken down into two elements: the provision of soldiers and naval service. The demand for soldiers to serve under the Lord Warden was a recurrent feature of each of Henry VIII's French campaigns. In 1513 Rye was ordered to supply six soldiers, two of whom were provided by its limb, Tenterden, although Rye seems to have paid all the charges and the Mayor of Rye rode with them to Dover Castle to present them to the Lord Warden there. At least five of them were bowmen. Each had a sword and harness (i.e. a leather jerkin for protection) and there is also mention of two bills and one poleaxe.[49]

In 1522 eight men were demanded for service at Calais. Among those who went were Robert Wymond, a future Jurat (who was on horseback) and Thomas Johnson, a freeman, but they may well have been part of the Lord Warden's personal entourage of 22 men from the Ports, for which special instructions were sent out in May.[50] In 1524 a further demand was made, this time for four men: Thomas Pynder and Richard Rucke, billmen, and Robert Hodson and Stephyn Gateworth, archers. Rucke was a future Mayor of Rye, so again the contingent was hardly made up of the common soldiery. Nevertheless there was growing irritation at the regularity of these demands, reflected in the comment in the chamberlains' accounts that this was 'contrary the great charter of the ports'. Two years later the then Mayor, Mr. Sutton, is recorded as having been imprisoned for not having prepared men in harness for service over the seas.[51]

Henry VIII's Boulogne campaign in the summer of 1544 was the last such enterprise of his reign. On this occasion, Rye had to supply 20 men. Their weapons included 20 swords, 20 daggers, 14 bows and sheafs of arrows, and 9 bills. Each man was fitted out with new hose, shoes, a white fustian doublet lined with canvas, a leather jerkin and a sword girdle. Forty yd. of red, blue and yellow cadiz cloth (the colours of the Cinque Ports coat of arms) and ten dozen silken arming pontes were brought from London and a quarter of an ell of red cloth was bought to set on their bills. The contingent again included Robert Wymond and they were each given 2*s.* conduct money to Dover.[52]

The main Cinque Ports contribution to military service in time of war was, however, ship provision. It was in return for such service that the Confederation enjoyed its coveted liberties and privileges as enshrined in the General Charter to the Cinque Ports, regranted by successive monarchs at the beginning of their reigns. Traditionally, by the end of the 15th century, this service had come to mean the provision of a variable number of ships, in theory 57, upon one month's notice, for 15 days' service when the monarch went to war. After that time, in theory at least, the King had to pay for any additional days' wages for the crew and hire charges and provisioning of the ships. Since the 14th century, England's traditional enemy had been France, so in practice this had come to mean the transportation of the King's army across the seas to Calais, England's last continental possession, from where they would sally forth in a brief summer campaign in northern France. Under the Tudors 'the King's Voyage' or 'dolling', as ship service was known within the Cinque Ports, was also successfully demanded on other, more ceremonial occasions, such as the transporting of the French Queen, together with the Princess Mary, to France in the autumn of 1514, or the conveying of King Philip overseas in 1556.[53] Sometimes this service seems to have been paid for by the Crown and there are no corresponding entries for expenditure in the Rye accounts, as for example for the transporting of the Emperor Charles V to England in 1524, or the transporting of the Duc d'Anjou and his party (suitor for Elizabeth's hand in marriage) in 1581.[54]

According to Oppenheim, ship service was demanded of the Cinque Ports in 1491, 1513, 1531, 1544, and 1556, and for the last time in 1562.[55] The Rye chamberlains' accounts record payments for ship service in the summers of 1492, 1514, and 1544, the autumn of 1556, and the spring of 1557, and minor sums relating to the provision of ships in 1562. There are further small sums for the sending of two ships to Calais and

TABLE 4
Private Individuals and their Weapons from the 1597/8 Muster Rolls

	Weapons								*Armour*					
Ward	*Bill*	*Sword*	*Dagger*	*Pike*	*Halberd*	*Bow and arrows*	*Musket*	*Caliver*	*Spanish murrion*	*Corselet*	*Skull*	*Cap*	*Headpiece*	*Cuirass*
Landgate	17	6	4	13	3	–	28	11	7	8	14	14	2	2
Strandgate	7	3	3	7	3	–	14	16	4[1]	3	1	1	–	2
Middlestreet	2	1	1	8	–	–	30	25	1	8	2	–	–	4
Market	4	3	3	5	4	–	11	17	3[1]	8	4	2	–	4
Baddings	7	2	2	10	2	1	7	15	6[1]	1	4	–	1	–
Watchbell	25	1	1	23	4	–	7	16	11	–	24	–	–	1
Total	62	16	14	66	16	1	97	100	32	28	49	17	3	13

Note
[1]includes one murrion (i.e. not Spanish).
Source: RYE 85/2.

one to Southampton in 1522 in connection with the visit to England of the Emperor Charles V, and again in 1545.[56] In 1492 the cost to the town seems to have been approximately £20 for providing five ships.[57] By 1514 expenditure had risen to just under £45 for the provision of seven ships to transport the King, though this seems to have included the ship service of the other Sussex Ports since Rye's income that year included £13 6*s*. 8*d*. from Hastings and Winchelsea towards the charges of transporting the King, together with £10 from Rye's limb, Tenterden.[58]

The next major demand for wartime service was in 1544 when three ships were sent to Dover for dolling at a cost of just over £32 including the wages of the crews, provision of coats, victuals, hire of the ships, and the charges of one of the Jurats, Mr. Wymond, riding to Dover 'to enter the ships that went a dollyng and for presentment of our Lord Warden's crew of men which he had owte of this towne'. Master and mate were paid at the rate of 6*d*. a day, ordinary seamen 3*d*. and the ship's boy 1½*d*.[59] The following year, in July 1545, a further two ships were sent to join the Lord Admiral 'in the West parts' and in September two more ships are recorded as having been sent bearing letters to the King's fleet, presumably in connection with the activities of the French fleet along the Sussex coast that year.[60] There are no references to the payment of wages for any of these ships so it may be that they were hired. Seven Rye ships appear in the Navy lists that August.[61]

In the spring of 1556 two Rye fishing boats were appointed by the Council to keep watch on the French coast. In April John Foster, master of a hoy, was paid 51*s*. 8*d*. for the hire of his ship and the wages of himself, five men and a boy, possibly in connection with the Council's request. The town provided the victuals: punchions of ship's biscuit, 661 lb. of beef, and 31*s*. worth of salt fish. In September came the demand for the full ship service. Rye sent two ships, the Savyor (50 tons) and the James (20 tons). Detailed accounts for their service survive, showing that the Savyor had a crew of 18, including its master, Allyn Bennett, who received 10*s*. for two weeks; a mate (5*s*.); a boatswain and a purser (5*s*. 4*d*. each); a master gunner (5*s*. 8*d*.); a trumpeter (3*s*. 4*d*.); one mariner who received 3*s*. 8*d*. and a further nine who were paid 3*s*. 4*d*. each; and two boys who received 3*s*. 4*d*. between them. The ship itself cost 65*s*. to hire and was victualled with five barrels of beer, one barrel of herrings, and 18 dozen 1*d*. loaves of bread, together with some butter, vinegar, and a dozen candles. The James which was hired for two weeks and three and a half days, carried a crew of 14, including its master, James Pottyn, a mate, a master gunner, 11 mariners, and a boy.[62] The total cost of both ships to the town was just under £30.

Under Elizabeth, ship service was first demanded in 1562 for the ill-fated Le Havre expedition. It was not needed again until the war with Spain and the Armada scare of the summer of 1588. As preparations began to be made for naval defences in September 1587, the Council demanded 12 ships from the Cinque Ports. By the following April this had been reduced to five, to serve for two months from 25 April, of which Rye was to provide one ship of 60 tons. The detailed accounts for the setting forth of this ship, the William, have survived in the Rye Corporation records and show that the total cost to the town was £286 7*s*. 2*d*., of which over £95 was still owing for various supplies the following January. Of the receipts, £119 came from Tenterden, but only £20 from the chamberlains' accounts which on this occasion are no guide to the scale of expenditure involved.[63]

The William was evidently well stocked with ordnance on this voyage since in addition to what it already carried the town supplied two brass pieces, two fowlers, 5 cwt. powder, 1 cwt. match, 15 muskets and 15 calivers from the town's store. Since the ship was hired from a French privateer, it must have been very well armed indeed.[64] It carried a crew of 59, including the master, William Coxson, a gunner and his mate, and Mathew Flory the French surgeon, a member of the 1,500-strong French protestant community in Rye since 1572.[65]

By the end of July the danger was past; the

Armada had been broken up by fire-ships from Dover and was being blown to its destruction by gales in the North Sea. In this last engagement 30 ships from the Cinque Ports had taken part at one day's notice, but there is no record of how many came from Rye.[66] In September, with the imminent danger over, but with fears of a possible further attempt the following year, the Cinque Ports were again ordered by the Council to supply ships, this time to the number of 13. Initially Rye was supposed to supply three ships, Dover five, Sandwich four and Faversham one. In the final proposal, however, Rye had to supply only two ships, the Blessing of God (100 tons) and the Diamond (20 tons), carrying a total of 95 men at an estimated cost of £126 13*s.* 4*d.* per month.[67] This service, as it happened, seems not to have been needed and the next major call upon the Cinque Ports for ship service was for the Cadiz expedition in 1596.

In August 1595 came the demand for five ships from the Cinque Ports. Initially the Western Ports (New and Old Romney, Lydd, Rye, Winchelsea, Hastings, and their members) were to have provided two ships, but this was later reduced to one ship and a hoy, which was hired in London. The ship chosen to serve by the Western Ports was the Hercules of Rye (150 tons). The Mayor of Rye, Thomas Hamon, together with two Rye Jurats, was appointed to make the necessary arrangements following an assembly of representatives of the Ports at Rye on 2 February 1596. The total cost of the expedition, allowing for the voyage lasting five months, was £1,600, of which Rye was assessed to pay £250.[68] Again the Rye chamberlains' accounts are silent on the matter but the assembly books record the levying of a special cesse of 4*d.* in the pound on lands and tenements or goods and chattels to raise an estimated £200 towards the costs of setting forth the ship and hoy.[69]

In addition to the 16 tons of ordnance already carried by the Hercules, Rye Corporation sold the Western Ports a further four brass pieces for £30 each, making £120 in all, together with 20 muskets and an unspecified number of pikes. The hoy (the Daisy) carried two demiculverins and ten sacres weighing 14 tons at a cost of £119, 12 muskets and 12 short pikes. She also carried a ton of shot for the sacres and demiculverins (£10) and 2,000 lb. weight of gunpowder (£100).[70] The Hercules carried a total crew of 50 including the captain, master, pilot, a master gunner, two gunner's mates and four quarter gunners, a trumpeter, a surgeon, a steward and a cook. The Daisy had a total complement of 27 including the master. They were all paid according to the current rates of pay in the Queen's ships.[71]

The ships were evidently well victualled. The Hercules carried 8,000 lb. beef, 3½ tons bread, 625 lb. cheese, 625 lb. stockfish, 375 lb. linge and 28½ tons beer, equal to a daily consumption of over 1 lb. beef, 1 lb. bread, 1⅓ oz. cheese, 1⅓ oz. stockfish, just under 1 oz. linge and just over 7½ pints beer per day.[72] The ships sailed early in April 1596. By the end of August they were back in port at the end of one of the most spectacular raids of the Elizabethan period, having ended Philip's hopes of organizing any further invasion attempts. Only one man appears to have been hurt, James Potten of Rye, who was allowed £5 for having been 'maimed' in the expedition.

Although Rye had to contribute an estimated £250 to the expedition, more than any other of the Western Ports apart from her limb Tenterden, the town itself clearly did quite well out of the affair. In the first place the Hercules was a Rye ship, hired from Rye owners, and, as its crew list shows, it was entirely crewed by Rye seamen. The ship was almost certainly victualled in Rye and on its return its brass ordnance was sold to Thomas Fisher of Rye, together with the new carriages made for them at the Ports' expense, for £110 (i.e. for £10 less than they had been bought by the Ports without any carriages). The remaining powder was sold for £83 6*s.* 8*d.* and a number of other items were landed, presumably for sale, at Hastings. Francis Bolton, Town Clerk of Rye, bought the remaining items in the ship and hoy belonging to the Ports for

£30. John Mynge, a Jurat of New Romney and one of the three Treasurers appointed by the Brotherhood to oversee the accounts for the voyage, evidently regarded these aspects of the affair as highly suspicious, though it may just have been sour grapes on his part.[73] Nevertheless, even allowing for the opportunities for private gain which the provisioning of such a ship afforded to a few wealthy individuals, the burden on the Corporation was substantial. Ship service under Elizabeth had become considerably more expensive both proportionately to income and in absolute terms than at any time during the Tudor period. The ships being demanded were far bigger and the length of service required was considerably longer than the traditional 15 days of Henry VIII's reign. But of course the main reason for this was that the nature of the enemy had changed. Warfare was no longer a matter of a brief summer campaign in France. Instead it had become an infinitely more expensive naval operation against seemingly the mightiest nation in Europe, Philip II's Spain. This change in the nature of late 16th-century warfare had a particularly severe impact on the Cinque Ports, whose strategic role was largely dependent upon the traditional rivalry between England and France. Their position was further weakened by the growing reluctance of the Elizabethan government to sanction licensed privateering which had long been a source of considerable profit to the Ports in time of war.

THE PROCEEDS OF WAR: PRIVATEERING

The extent to which Rye Corporation was able to offset wartime expenditure against the proceeds of wartime privateering ventures can be seen in Table 5. In 1492/3 the value of goods seized equalled half the costs of the ship service of that year. In 1513/14 receipts from 'head money' (a tax payable to the town for each prisoner captured and at this time set at 4*s*.) more than equalled the total of corporate expenditure that year on wartime activities and was over a third of total corporate income for the year. In the early 1520s during Henry VIII's second war with France, income from head money and goods seized from prizes again equalled military expenditure by the town. In the 1540s the percentage of expenditure which could be offset against the profits of war fell to about 50 per cent but at a total of nearly £250 still represented around 30 per cent of total corporate income. Most spectacularly of all the proceeds of 1557/8 almost doubled corporate income that year, pushing it for the only time in the 16th century to over £600.

The disappearance of head money and of sales of goods taken from prizes after 1563 marks a deliberate change of policy by the Elizabethan government. In former times it had become usual for governments to issue a general licence to set forth ships against enemy nations and their aiders and abettors in time of war, at their owners' expense but with the right to dispose of all the profits without interference by the Lord Admiral or Lord Warden. Sometimes these licences entailed putting up bonds, often locally in the home port, not to stay ships in league or amity with the English Crown. This seems to have been the case in Henry VII's reign when bonds of ships' masters, to keep the peace against the King's subjects and allies and all others having his safe conduct, have survived written into the back of one of the Rye chamberlains' accounts volumes for 1487 (1), 1491 (3), April 1495 (11), and 1 July 1495 (9).[74]

Head money itself, according to a letter from the Privy Council to Rye, dated 11 July 1545, was an 'ancyent custome paid to the Townes and by the inhabitantes off the same employed aswelle for mayntenance off the prysons as otherwyse for defence off the Townes agaynst thenymys' and 'ys alwayes paid aswelle on the Frenche syde as on thyssyde and runnethe uppon the charge off the prysoners and nott upon the takers'.[75] It was therefore additional to the other charges levied on prisoners by their captors for their ransoms and for their board

TABLE 5
The Proceeds of War: Income from Rye Chamberlains' Accounts

Year	*Number of prisoners*	*Head money* £ *s.* *d.*	*Goods seized* £ *s.* *d.*	*Total income* £ *s.* *d.*
1490/1		1 16 8		1 16 8
1492/3			10 9 0	10 9 0
1512/13		16 0		16 0
1513/14	*c.* 370	74 11 5		74 11 5
1514/15	46	9 12 10		9 12 10
1521/2	6[1]	1 6 0	3 3 4	4 9 4
1522/3	179	35 16 10	1 13 4	37 10 2
1524/5	104	20 16 10	24 7 4	45 4 2
1525/6			8 14 0[2]	8 14 0
1543/4	*c.* 400	97 10 8	31 19 6[3]	129 10 2
1544/5	*c.* 283	77 5 8		77 5 8
1545/6	*c.* 137	33 14 8		33 14 8
1549/50	226	56 9 4		56 9 4
1556/7	78	28 8 2		28 8 2
1557/8	465	145 14 4	111 19 4[4]	257 13 8
1558/9	125	38 9 8		38 9 8
1559/60	6	1 18 0		1 18 0
1562/3	*c.* 38	11 8 0		11 8 0
1563/4	161[5]	48 1 0		48 1 0

Notes
[1]French prisoners brought in by a Dutch man-of-war.
[2]Arrears of goods seized in previous year.
[3]Proceeds of a French fishing vessel taken in the haven.
[4]Includes 'wines etc seized from our men of war', £63 15*s.*; madder seized, £34 0*s.* 4*d.*; and other minor items.
[5]Includes one group 'which lay long and in the end were bought for the number of 12 men and so agreed by Mr Mayor and his brethren'.
Source: RYE 60/3–9.

and lodging whilst in captivity.[76] The money seems to have been collected from the prisoners at the time of their ransoms and paid by their captors to the Corporation as for example in this typical entry for 1557: 'Receyved the viith daye of Septembre of John Cheston for viij prisoners of Pollett taken by hym viij crownes Ls viijd.'[77] Throughout the period payment seems to have been fixed at one French crown, which rose in value from 4*s.* in the early 16th century to 6*s.* 4*d.* in 1557 as a result of the debasement of the English coinage.

The general licence to privateers was obviously of great financial benefit to the Ports in time of war and came to be regarded as almost a traditional right. When in May 1558 the licence was suspended and all privateers were ordered to return to their home ports within the month on pain of imprisonment and forfeiture of their ships, because so many mariners had gone that not enough were left adequately to man the Queen's own ships, Rye reacted speedily. In June they sent Mr. George Reynoldes, the previous Mayor, and Robert Jackson, the Town Clerk, to the Lord Warden at Dover and thence to the Lord Admiral of England 'to knowe his pleasure for the licence for the men of warre to go to the seas'.[78]

Privateering expeditions were undertaken by many of the leading captains in Rye. From 1513 John Fletcher's name occurs most frequently in this connection until his death in 1546. In 1545/6 eight captains are listed as bringing in prisoners: Thomas Fletcher, Davy Corke, John Bredes, Robert Maycott, John Barley, Edward Legat, John Stronge and Robert

Skinner. In 1549/50, of the 226 French prisoners taken that year, 79 were assigned to Richard Fletcher, 62 to Davy Corke, 28 to Thomas Dugard, 10 to John Huntrey, 9 to John Yonge, 8 to Andrew Churche, 7 each to James Johnson, Robert Bolle and Nicholas Raynold, 5 to Walter Elmer and 4 to Nicholas Love. In 1557/8 a total of 32 captains are listed as having taken a total of 465 French prisoners. Several of these masters were amongst the town's governing elite. John Fletcher, his sons Thomas and Richard Fletcher, John Bredes and John Yonge all served as Mayors of Rye, and several of the remainder were Jurats or holders of other town offices. Occasional references to privateers from neighbouring ports, such as Hastings and Lydd in 1558/9, indicate that such activity was common amongst the captains of the Kent and Sussex ports.[79]

The majority of the French prisoners whose origins are given in the accounts came from Dieppe and neighbouring ports on the Normandy coast. Others came from as far afield as Arromanches and Quilleboeuf at the mouth of the Seine and Boulogne in the north, indicating a wide theatre of operations for ships of both nations in the channel; the numbers of prisoners from each port are set out in Table 6.

Many of these prisoners provided valuable information to their captors, as for example in March 1523 when prisoners of Dieppe, Tréport and Seinehead confirmed the rumours that there were 24 French ships ready to go to Scotland and laden with ordnance. Some prisoners even seem to have volunteered information in return for their release, as with John Feu of Normandy who had been captured several times by John Fletcher and was allowed to return to France on pledges for his ransom and on his promise to gather what information he could on the movements of the French navy.[80] The Rye accounts for 1513/14 provide evidence of regular examinations of prisoners by the Mayor and Jurats throughout the war and on one occasion

TABLE 6
Origins of French Prisoners from Rye Chamberlains' Accounts 1544–63

	Number of prisoners					
Port of origin	*1544/5*	*1545/6*	*1556/7*	*1557/8*	*1558/9*	*1563/4*
Pollett	23	12		16	19	6
Dieppe	12	4			9	
Honfleur	16					
St. Valerie		6		8		
Ault		6			12	
Arot (Arromanches)			22			
Rouen				18		
Le Tréport				6		21
Kewld (Cayeux)				4		12
Boulogne				1		
Veules					16	
Port-en-bessin					12	
Abbeville					9	15
Lingerfilde (Longueville)					8	12
Barke (Berck)					8	8
Quilleboeuf					4	
Le Portel						20
Breufille (Bacqueville?)						9
Gagges (Grèges)						6

Source: RYE 60/6–7.

the taking of some of them to Dover and then to the Council in London, a pattern followed on other occasions.[81]

Such occurrences were not, of course, entirely one-sided. In August 1522, for example, it was reported that 'the Galleon' of Dieppe had come home from the north, having sold divers prisoners in England. The following year a group of Rye seamen lately returned from captivity in France confirmed the reports of French prisoners concerning the 24 ships bound for Scotland.[82] The Rye chamberlains' accounts are inevitably reticent about Rye losses since these would not normally directly affect the Corporation. But there are a few entries. In 1491 some Scots took a crayer from the harbour. In 1513/14 a young man who had helped some English prisoners escape was sent to the Council for a reward. The same year the Corporation paid out £5 for losses incurred by the loss of the Mary Hankyng.[83] In June 1564 four dozen 1*d.* loaves were bought for 'the botes when they went forth to rescue the fishermen' and there are other payments for riding to Court to inform the Council and for beer for the ships that went forth to rescue them.[84]

CONCLUSION

The evidence of the Rye Corporation records conclusively demonstrates the importance of the role played by south coast towns in the nation's defences in the 16th century. In particular two aspects of this role indicate the need for at least a partial revision to what has become the generally accepted view of the development of England's defences in the Tudor period. Firstly, it is clear that the provision of ships for the traditional Cinque Ports service in time of war formed only a very small part of the wartime expenditure of towns such as Rye. By far the bulk of corporate activity was directed towards the cost of maintaining the town's physical defences and the provision of ordnance. It was, in fact, only in the 1580s and 1590s, as a result of the war with Spain, that the Cinque Ports and other south coast towns were called upon to make major financial contributions towards ship provision; this is an important point since it was also at this time that Elizabeth's government was putting increased pressure on the Cinque Ports to become more fully integrated into the shire defences. Secondly, what emerges with regard to Channel warfare during the period of the French Wars is that a major part of that warfare was conducted by considerable numbers of privateers operating out of French and English ports. Again, it was not until the later years of Elizabeth's reign that this traditional method of warfare was largely replaced by the organization of a disciplined royal naval force in response to Spain's mighty armadas. Yet the role of privateering in mid-Tudor warfare has been almost entirely ignored as a result of too much concentration on the development of the Tudor Navy. It was the loss of Calais in 1558, effectively ending more than two centuries of Anglo-French hostilities, followed by the deterioration of relations between England and Spain, which shifted the focus of England's naval operations from the south coast to the western ports and ended the significance of the Cinque Ports. While France remained England's chief antagonist, towns such as Rye made a major contribution to the defence of Tudor England.

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Notes

[1]See e.g. M. Oppenheim, 'Maritime History', *Victoria County History, Sussex*, **2**, 143 ff.; J. Collard, *A Maritime History of Rye* (Rye, 1978), 17–27.

[2]East Sussex Record Office, RYE 99/1. (Later references to Rye Corporation MSS. are cited simply as RYE.) Even allowing for the obvious element of exaggeration in this claim, made in a draft parliamentary bill of 1548 for the preservation of the Camber, it is clear from numerous references in *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* (hereafter

cited as *L.P.*), that the Camber was the main harbour of refuge in foul weather for Channel shipping in the early 16th century.

[3]*Acts of the Privy Council* (hereafter cited as *A.P.C.*), *1589–90*, 98–100; RYE 60/4, f. 297; *L.P.* **19**(1), nos. 491, 546, 672; *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, ed. P. L. Hughes & J. F. Larkin (Yale, 1964), **2**, no. 497(5); P(ublic) R(ecord) O(ffice), SP 12/226/41; British Library, Harleian MS. 703. I owe this last reference to Dr. J. J. Goring, who kindly commented on an earlier draft of this article.

[4]RYE 60/4, f. 21.

[5]RYE 60/6, f. 108v.; P.R.O., SP 12/109/57.

[6]RYE 60/3, ff. 74, 82, 83, 88, 89v., 90, 92. For further reference to the Regent and other royal warships of the period, see J. D. Mackie, *The Earlier Tudors, 1485–1558* (1957), 268. Dinsdale is a creek running off the river Tillingham, south-east of Winchelsea.

[7]RYE 99/4.

[8]*Rye Shipping Records 1566–1590*, ed. R. Dell (Suss. Rec. Soc. **64**), p. xxxvii; K(ent) A(rchives) O(ffice), CP/Br/5/2.

[9]H. M. Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, **4**(2), 415–47.

[10]Colvin, 422–3, 428. For John Fletcher's political career in Rye see my article 'Religion, Faction and Politics in Reformation Rye: 1530–59', in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **120**.

[11]*L.P.* **15**, no. 598.

[12]*L.P.* **15**, no. 323.

[13]RYE 47/41/1 (writ of 12 Feb. 1590 to captains or constables of castles on Channel coast ordering surrender of certain brass ordnance, to be replaced by iron ordnance, for the use of the Navy: schedule detailing brass ordnance at each fort or castle).

[14]P.R.O., SP 12/38/28.

[15]RYE 47/7/68. Although probably an exaggeration it seems unlikely to have been a very great one, particularly since the amount of wheat and malt for which the town sought licence of the Lord Treasurer to import was 3,200 quarters and 6,100 quarters respectively: RYE 47/7/152. On the basis of Lord Buckhurst's calculations that the necessary provision for 1,000 soldiers in the 1589 campaign for ten days was 40 quarters of wheat baked, 3,200 quarters should have been sufficient to keep a town of at least 3,000 persons from the date of the request, 17 October 1573, adequately fed for ten months (i.e. until the following harvest), quite apart from any stocks of wheat held in the town or available for purchase locally: P.R.O., SP 12/226/62(1). There were also at least 1,500 French refugees in the town: P.R.O., SP 12/187/1.

[16]*Suss. Rec. Soc.* **64**, p. xxxv.

[17]W. T. MacCaffrey, *Exeter 1540–1640* (1978 edn.), 55–7.

[18]RYE 77/3; RYE 60/5, f. 143v.; RYE 60/6, ff. 53v., 87; RYE 60/7, f. 162v.; RYE 1/3, ff. 43–8; RYE 1/6, ff. 32–43. Neither the 1491/2 nor the 1595/6 cesses leave any trace in the chamberlains' accounts volumes.

[19]RYE 60/6, f. 119; RYE 60/6, f. 34v.

[20]See Table 5.

[21]RYE 60/4, f. 318.

[22]P.R.O., E 179/231/218; E 179/190/200.

[23]RYE 60/6, f. 178v.

[24]According to W. Holloway, *History and Antiquities of the Ancient Town and Port of Rye* (1847), 587–9, the ditch was 50 ft. wide.

[25]*L.P.* **4**(2), no. 5031.

[26]H. Lovegrove, 'Remains of Two Old Vessels Found at Rye, Sussex', *Mariner's Mirror*, **50**, 115–22.

[27]R. A. Skelton, *Decorative Printed Maps of the Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (1952), pl. 22.

[28]RYE 60/3, ff. 74–6, 80–4, 88–94, 98–104, 107–13.

[29]RYE 60/4, ff. 292v.–301, 310–23. The term 'rysse' has not been explained.

[30]RYE 60/5, ff. 104–110v., 119–122v., 128–135v.

[31]RYE 45/19. 'Rippiers' was the name given to those who transported fish from Rye to London overland by pack donkey.

[32]RYE 60/6, ff. 62–74v.

[33]RYE 60/6, ff. 91–114.

[34]RYE 60/7, ff. 165–183v., 198–206.

[35]RYE 60/7, ff. 290–9, 314–320v.

[36]RYE 60/9, ff. 271–279v.

[37]RYE 60/3, ff. 88v., 93, 113.

[38]RYE 60/4, ff. 292v., 295v., 310v., 317, 319, 321v., 322; 60/5, ff. 8v., 9v.

[39]RYE 60/5, f. 104v. It is not clear whether this is meant to indicate the presence of the King at the blockhouse or whether it was merely a preliminary visit to ascertain the exact state of the defences before riding to the Court. There is a reference to Mr. Wymond riding six days to the Council on this matter at about the same time: ibid.

[40]RYE 60/5, ff. 106v., 109v., 119, 123, 130.

[41]RYE 60/6, ff. 68v., 70v., 100v., 101v., 103, 105v., 107v., 108v., 109v., 124v.

[42]RYE 60/6, ff. 189, 191v., 193.

[43]RYE 60/7, ff. 148v., 149v., 165, 171v., 172–4, 177, 178, 180v.

[44]RYE 60/7, ff. 178, 179v., 182v.

[45]RYE 60/7, ff. 317–18.

[46]RYE 60/9, ff. 271, 272, 274, 277, 278, 279, 289v.

[47]Hist. MSS. Com. 31, *13th Rep. IV*, Rye Corporation (hereafter cited as *H.M.C.* **13**(4)), 32.

[48]*H.M.C.* **13**(4), 58, 63, 85, 90, 95; RYE 60/9, ff. 301, 325; RYE 60/10, ff. 56v., 65. The main weapon in use at musters in 1557 in Rye was still the bow and arrow: see RYE 60/7, f. 149, recording repairs to one of the town's bows broken during the musters.

[49]RYE 60/4, f. 301.

[50]RYE 60/5, ff. 108, 110v.

[51]RYE 60/5, ff. 132–3, 155v.

[52]RYE 60/6, ff. 66, 68v.–70.

[53]RYE 60/4, f. 323; 60/5, ff. 6v., 8v.; 60/7, ff. 120v., 124v.

[54]*L.P.* **4**(1), no. 398; *A.P.C. 1581–2*, 352.

[55]*Victoria County History, Sussex*, **2**, 143–4, 150.

[56]RYE 60/5, ff. 107, 109; 60/6, ff. 106v.–107.

[57]RYE 60/3, ff. 107–111v.

[58]RYE 60/4, ff. 311v.–321.

[59]RYE 60/6, ff. 65, 68, 70v., 72, 73v.

[60]RYE 60/6, ff. 106v.–107, 111, 114.

[61]*L.P.* **20**(2), nos. 27(2), 88.

[62]RYE 60/7, ff. 124v., 127v.–128v., 145–146v. There is also an entry under 7 August 1557 for 31*s.* for bread and beer supplied to John Cheston's boat in going on dolling. Since Robert Chandler and John King are mentioned as the owners of the Jesus and the James respectively and John Cheston was master of neither, this presumably relates to additional ship service, although there is no mention of any payment of wages in the accounts: RYE 60/7, ff. 146v., 150. This example shows the frequent difficulty of interpreting the Rye chamberlains' accounts, which abound with such stray references.

[63]*H.M.C.* **13**(4), 85, 87; RYE 72/1; RYE 60/9, ff. 274v. (5 tuns of beer for the ship at 40*s.* the tun, £10), 276v. (for money to send to the ship, £10).

[64]RYE 1/5, f. 132; *H.M.C.* **13**(4), 60–1. Captain Russell was among those of Rye fined for piracy in 1578.

[65]RYE 72/1.

[66]P.R.O., SP 12/213/72.

[67]P.R.O., SP 12/203/51; SP 12/216/250; SP 12/217/28.

[68]*H.M.C.* **13**(4), 111; K.A.O., CP/Br/5, 40.

[69]RYE 1/6, ff. 30v.–43.
[70]K.A.O., CP/Br/5, 12.
[71]K.A.O., CP/Br/2, 5, 40.
[72]K.A.O., CP/Br/42b. The hoy was supplied with 500 nails of beef, 3,500 lb. of bread, 14 tuns of beer, 156 lb. of butter, 312 lb. of cheese, 312 of stockfish and 187 of linge: K.A.O., CP/Br/12.
[73]*H.M.C.* **13**(4), 111; K.A.O., CP/Br/13, 15, 21. Further lists of goods landed at Hastings and remaining in the ship, differing in minor respects, survive amongst Francis Bolton's private accounts: RYE 145/4, 7.
[74]For the issue of such general licences see *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, ed. Hughes & Larkin, **1,** nos. 73, 243; **2,** nos. 435, 508. After the revocation of the general licence in 1564 there was a series of measures aimed at ensuring the full declaration of all prizes taken by English privateers and their delivery to the Lord Admiral for disposal: ibid. **2,** nos. 526, 654; **3,** nos. 730, 742, 743, 749, 764. The next general licence to be issued after 1563 was not until 1597 and again in 1602: ibid. **3,** nos. 790, 818. For bonds entered into by Rye ships' masters see RYE 60/3, ff. 115–117v.
[75]RYE 60/6, f. 86.
[76]Ibid.
[77]RYE 60/7, f. 160v.
[78]*Tudor Royal Proclamations*, **2,** no. 442; RYE 60/7, f. 179.
[79]RYE 60/6, ff. 120, 210; RYE 60/7, ff. 160v.–162.
[80]*L.P.* **3**(2), no. 2922.
[81]RYE 60/4, ff. 313v., 319v.–320; RYE 60/6, ff. 70v., 72.
[82]*L.P.* **3**(2), nos. 2459, 2922.
[83]RYE 60/3, f. 91v.; RYE 60/4, ff. 313v., 323. This loss may explain the reason why Cristian Barnham had to be restrained from 'scolding with the Vice-Admiral', for which she was later set on the cucking stool: RYE 60/4, f. 314v.
[84]RYE 60/7, ff. 318, 320.

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THE ORDEAL OF JOAN ACTON

by Wyn K. Ford

In 1635 Joan Acton was a domestic servant at Heathfield vicarage. She had already attracted the unwelcome attention of John Butcher, who was employed at the time by her stepfather at his tannery in Hamsey, and he planned to abduct her with the help of some accomplices. Towards the end of June she was taken from the vicarage by a trick. By stages she was taken to Newdigate church in Surrey, where the couple went through a form of marriage. The affair ended at Cuckfield, where the party was resting on the return journey. This article is based on the full account of the affair given in the records of the archdeacon's court at Lewes.

INTRODUCTION

For a long time it has been recognized that Sussex suffered from 'poverty, disaster and lawlessness . . . in the 17th and 18th centuries'.[1] Riots have attracted attention,[2] but the less spectacular forms of lawlessness seem largely to have escaped detailed investigation.

The number of cases brought before the assizes in Sussex increased markedly towards the end of the 16th century.[3] The incidence of violent crime is remarkable, and bears comparison with the figures for Essex: 68 per cent of cases between 1559 and 1603 from Sussex concerned larceny, burglary or robbery, compared with 73 per cent from Essex; homicide and infanticide, on the other hand, were much more common in Sussex, but assault and rape occurred more frequently in Essex.[4] Of assault cases from Sussex about 35 per cent concerned allegations made against a group (the proportion was twice as high in Essex and Hertfordshire).[5] The Sussex figures for the reign of James I show a trend towards violence: the incidence of homicide increased to 10 per cent (again much higher than in Essex), and the actual number of assault cases increased from 31 to 42, although the total of cases heard fell by almost 75 per cent.[6]

If crime reflected economic conditions, then matters can hardly have improved during the 1630s. Harvests were poor almost throughout the decade, and the level of prices fluctuated wildly. Between 1629 and 1631 they increased by a third, and a decline in 1632–3 was followed by a smaller rise in 1634; the same pattern was repeated in the following three years.[7] This state of affairs was a recipe for social unrest; even so, the events that lay behind a case before the church courts at that time aroused outright condemnation of the brutality that accompanied them.

The case concerned the attempted abduction of Joan Acton, a girl of 18 who had inherited a sizeable portion of her father's estate. Nicholas Acton, a yeoman of Ripe, had died some nine and a half years before.[8] The girl's mother, Margaret, had subsequently remarried; her second husband was William Lulham, a Hamsey tanner, who brought the action ostensibly on Joan's behalf to the archdeacon's court at Lewes after an unsatisfactory outcome at the assizes and at the Court of High Commission in London.[9] Since the business of the church courts at this period was with matters of morality as well as with church discipline and administration,[10] the depositions of evidence are noteworthy for their wealth of personal detail. Abductions were not unknown at this period;[11] but the circumstances of the present case,

coupled with the extensive evidence in the deposition books[12] concerning it, make it a story well worth the telling.[13]

THE ABDUCTION

About the beginning of June 1635 William and Margaret Lulham were living at Cooksbridge in Hamsey.[14] The nuclear family seems to have included, besides the three daughters surviving from Margaret's first marriage to Nicholas Acton, four children from her second, the youngest of whom, Richard, the only son, was still an infant. There seems to have been a strong bond of affection between the mother and her eldest child. Joan was fully of marriageable age at the time; the evidence suggests that she was rather shy, and her ability to read and write was considered unusual enough to call for special mention, although it seems to have been by no means unknown among yeoman families.[15]

The household also included three servants employed in William's tanning enterprise. Two were tanners: Thomas Michell, aged 30, who had been working there for nine years, and William Goodgroome, aged 23, a Willingdon man who had worked in the business for seven years. The third was John Butcher, the ringleader in the affair.

It is to Goodgroome that we owe an account of the early stages of the affair.[16] The matter had been frequently discussed by the three of them. Butcher repeatedly said 'that hee Cared not how hee Came by the sayd Joane Acton, so that hee Could have her & marry her'. He arranged with Michell to kidnap the girl from Heathfield, where she was staying, with a promise of 40*s*. for his co-operation. Since Goodgroome was privy to the plot, Butcher threatened to murder him if he divulged it to the girl's mother.

Perhaps, however, she had had wind of it already. There can be no doubt that it was her money rather than the girl herself that attracted Butcher. The debt to Michell of a substantial sum in wages suggests that Lulham's income was insufficient to cover his outgoings, and the impression is strengthened by a series of mortgage arrangements between 1636 and 1640.[17] It seems reasonable to suppose, although there is no clear evidence, that it was Butcher's interest in the girl that prompted her departure for Heathfield to stay in the household of Francis Killingbeck, who had held the living since 1619. Some witnesses stated that she was a servant;[18] if so, that would be further evidence of Lulham's straitened circumstances. Killingbeck had interests in Hamsey as early as 1628/9,[19] and presumably had become known personally to the Lulham family. Possibly he already knew Joan well.

Killingbeck's evidence was that Michell arrived at his house on the morning of Wednesday 24 June 1635, and told him and his wife, in Joan's presence, that the girl's mother 'was very sicke, & therefore was very desirous to see her . . . & that yf ever shee would see her mother alive, shee must goe with him presently'. He had been sent expressly to fetch her on horseback with 'a Pillian'. Mrs. Killingbeck thereupon told the girl to get herself ready for the journey, and 'after the sayd Michell had eate (!) his Breakfast . . . he tooke . . . Joane up behinde him & rod away with her'. Some days later Killingbeck was given to understand that Butcher had met the pair in the highway a mile or two after they had set out, and that the visit had been staged as a trick to get the girl away from his house.[20]

After leaving the vicarage at Heathfield, the couple went to 'an Alehouse Called Cross in the hand in waldron parrishe'. As they approached, they were met by Butcher. On seeing him, Joan 'was stricken with great feare', and suspected that she was the victim of a deception.[21]

At this point there arrived on the scene a husbandman named John Tutty, who was returning home to East Grinstead from Herstmonceux with his wife Anne and his unmarried sister Elizabeth. No sooner had they dismounted than Michell and Butcher approached John Tutty to ask for his help in dismounting Joan. The whole party then entered the alehouse, where they 'did eate & drinck together'. But

Joan 'seemed to bee much perplexed', and Butcher's intentions were clear enough, unless Anne Tutty deposed with the benefit of hindsight. She took Joan 'out into the backside of the sayd house', and asked her why she sighed so deeply. The girl replied that she did not know what was to happen to her or where Butcher was taking her, and remarked that she would like either to remain with Anne (who evidently had won her confidence) or to stay at the alehouse 'till shee Could send to her frendes to fetch her thence'.

Butcher however had followed the two young women outside, and interrupted their conversation. He took Joan inside, and forced her to sit beside him, 'and would not suffer her to wagg from him'. Although the girl was plainly distressed, 'Crying that shee would goe home to her mother', he drank to her; and when she refused to 'pledge him' (i.e. give him a formal promise of betrothal), he forced her to drink, and 'did fling A glasse of Beere into her bosome'. By this time Butcher and Michell had clearly demonstrated their intentions by their behaviour. Anne decided to quit the alehouse, and invited Joan to go with her; but Butcher 'layd handes on the sayd Acton & would not suffer her to stirr from him'. Anne Tutty saw that he was becoming angry. Fearing that he might create a disturbance, she hurried off with her husband, remounted and rode off, leaving the three of them at the alehouse.[22]

There is no reason to suppose that the alehouses patronized by Butcher and his cronies were sleazy dens; indeed, at least two[23] seem to have been the reverse. Butcher evidently believed sincerely that he was to gain considerably from the undertaking, and did not scruple to draw on the money Joan had with her. There was no reason for him to be content with the worst hospitality; on the other hand, he was not reckless enough to squander his resources on inns, since such ostentation would have drawn attention to his party, and Lulham would have heard of his whereabouts.

However, Butcher was faced with a problem. He was determined to marry the girl, but she was refusing to become formally betrothed to him. Had she done so before the witnesses at the alehouse at Cross in Hand (a situation that doubtless he had contrived), then she would have committed herself to him in a binding contract that needed no validation in a church service; if the couple subsequently slept together, this would put the matter beyond doubt.[24] But she was putting up a stiffer resistance than he had anticipated.

He therefore tried to pacify her with 'many fayre speeches' before lifting her up onto his horse behind him, and the three set off for 'the house of Thomas Holcombe in Hurstperpound', where they spent the night, the girl 'lying with the mayd of the house'.[25] Who Holcombe was we can only guess. He had at least one servant, and thus was a man of some standing. But there seems no trace of anyone with that name in Hurstpierpoint at that date. On the other hand, the name occurs in Keymer between 1618 and 1636,[26] and it may be that Michell's memory was at fault. Very possibly he was an acquaintance of the Butchers': within a couple of days Butcher's father had joined the party, and it may have been at that time that he realized that all had not gone according to plan.

Alternatively Holcombe may have been a customer of Lulham's; for the following day (Thursday 25 June) the party went to the house of a Cuckfield tanner, David Jessop. Here Butcher's violent nature seems to have been known already to George Reeve, who was employed in the tanyard. Reeve had been in Cuckfield for 12 years; as he was not a wealthy man, it seems most likely that he had not wandered far, save perhaps in the course of business. He seems also to have known Joan, for it was to him that the girl turned for help on the morning after their arrival, only to have her entreaties rejected for fear of reprisals from Butcher.[27]

Jessop seems to have been of Kentish yeoman stock; the Cuckfield parish register records the marriage of Davy Jessup of Penshurst and Joan Anstye, widow, in 1616, as well

as the baptism of two daughters of the couple, a year later and in 1620, and at the end of the preceding century there were two yeomen with that surname in the Hartfield and Withyham areas.[28] His tanyard may have stood on the north of the town towards Brook Street: there was a tanyard there in 1851.[29]

Joan must have had considerable stamina as well as a strong determination to return home to her mother. It seems that by that time Butcher had despaired of persuading Joan to become betrothed to him, and had determined to take her away for a marriage ceremony in church. He took Michell with him to procure fresh horses, after taking the precaution of hiding the girl's clothes to prevent her escape. But when they had gone, and she had failed to get Reeve's active co-operation, Joan decided to make her own way home. She went down Isaacs Lane (the present A273) as far as Valebridge Common, a tract of 137 a. that at that time boasted two windmills, a watermill and a large pond.[30]

The route she was following was evidently well used,[31] and her captors had no difficulty in catching up with her. Michell reached her first, but it was William Chauntler, a husbandman from Hurstpierpoint, who apparently had been recruited for the purpose, who managed to persuade her to mount up behind him, with 'many protestacons that hee would carry her to her mother'. Michell helped the girl up, and the three of them returned 'altogether against her will to the house of one Berwicke A glover in Cockfield'. But Joan would not enter, 'whereuppon the sayd Chauntler tooke her in his Armes & forced her into the house'. However, she refused to unbend: 'shee would neyther eate nor drincke nor hardly speake'.[32] Of Berwicke we are told nothing further. A conveyance by Thomas Berrick of Cuckfield, glover, is dated 20 June 1649, and a Thomas appeared before the manorial court at Hurstpierpoint in 1630.[33] As he was a glover, he may have been a customer of Lulham; but Butcher seems not to have appeared at this point. It is possible that the initiative came from Michell, and the party went to Berwicke's house at his instance.

At this point Butcher's father Richard seems to have arrived, for he is mentioned among those in the party which arrived at Gatland's alehouse that day (Friday). We do not know where the alehouse was. It may have been at Whitemans Green, where John Gatland had a cottage in 1606/7. But he had died in 1612, some three and a half years before Edward's father, Thomas.[34] However, the location seems plausible in the light of what followed. Chauntler remarked that 'they Dyned & were merry together'.[35] Gatland himself went into more detail: they 'did bespeak A quarter of Lambe for theire dinners',[36] and at the end of the meal, 'when the reckoning was brought in . . . Joane Acton did pull A litle Box out of her pocket wherein she keept her money, and did freely pay the whole shott', but doubtless under duress.[37]

From there the party went on 'to an Alehouse Called handcrosse in Slaugham'.[38] This evidently was a hostelry of some standing. The place appears on Norden's map of 1595 and on Speed's of 1610[39] as a hamlet on the edge of St. Leonard's Forest, to the south-west of Tilgate Forest and the north-west of two other large enclosures, and it seems to have stood on a well-used thoroughfare. Gatland tells us that the alehouse was kept by John Rolfe; this man's name appears twice at this period as that of an innkeeper at Cuckfield,[40] but since it does not occur in the Cuckfield registers of the time perhaps Cuckfield is an error for the adjacent parish of Slaugham.

Rolfe's name is mentioned by another deponent. Elis Wood, a 40-year-old blacksmith in Lewes who had lived most of his life in Cuckfied, went to Handcross shortly after the events we are describing 'to receave for a house which hee hath there'. The community was still buzzing with gossip concerning the visit of Butcher and his party. Wood 'was told by John Rolfe the Alehouse Keeper . . . and his wife and some others' that the couple 'lay there the night before hee carryed her to be marryed, and that the sayd Joane Acton did there tell A mayd with whom shee lay and the sayd Rofes (!) wife that . . .

Butcher had brought her away by force and against her will'. The following morning Butcher had forced open the door of the room where she was sleeping, compelled her to rise, and had gone off with her.[41]

The route they took is not clear. Both Norden's and Speed's maps suggest that St. Leonard's Forest was enclosed; but it had been disparked in 1608, and the ironworks that existed there must have involved much passing in and out.[42] It seems probable, however, that the party went towards Ifield before turning west to Rusper, where they halted before going on to Capel in Surrey.[43]

The diversion to Capel from the direct route from Rusper to Newdigate, where the marriage service was eventually performed, can only mean that Butcher was seeking the curate there, who seems to have been known to effect irregular marriages, in order to legalize the relationship with the girl that he desired. At what stage in the proceedings he began to seek this solution we can only guess. Very possibly this course of action was suggested by his father Richard at Gatland's alehouse. Richard may have heard of the curate of Capel from John Butcher, who had a tenement on the boundary between Newdigate and Charlwood at the time,[44] and who may possibly have been related. It is unlikely that such activities would have been public knowledge at a distance; marriage without banns or licence was subject to severe penalties.[45] The fact that John Allen remained at Capel until 1644 suggests that he was not a noted offender, but merely a pliable man susceptible to the physical threats that a man like John Butcher might offer.[46]

The reaction of the people of Capel to Butcher's behaviour seems to have been dramatic. In the opinion of Joan Willet, the wife of the alehouse keeper there (like Gatland, described as a husbandman), it 'hath bin & is very scandalous & offensive in the parish of Capell and thereaboutes'; the general verdict, it seems, was that 'John Butcher & his associates . . . deserve death'.[47] Clearly it was not the kind of thing to which they were accustomed, whatever practices might tempt their curate.

When the party arrived in Capel, Joan 'was very ill & weake'. The men carried her into the alehouse, '& asked for A roome & withall Called for Cushions which they beate up . . . & set her downe in A Chaire'. Joan Willet suggested that they might take her to a doctor, but they refused. The girl cried to be taken home to her mother, saying that she would not go further. She remained resolute, and at length Butcher agreed to take her home, influenced no doubt by the curiosity being shown by others in the alehouse, and admitted that they had tricked her into coming with them. The party remained for about three quarters of an hour, but at length Joan was carried out 'with her legges hanging Downe', and lifted on to the back of a horse apparently semi-conscious.[48]

As previously, Butcher had no intention of taking Joan home. Instead he continued his quest for the curate of Capel. It is clear that he must have been told at Capel that Allen was to be found at Newdigate, for there is no obvious reason why he should have gone there. George Steere had been rector of the parish since 1610, and was to remain so until 1662. There seems no reason to think that he was an indifferent absentee; his second wife (whom he was to marry at Lindfield in 1639) was the widow of his neighbour at Charlwood, and he was a member of the Presbyterian *classis* at Dorking. He also endowed a scholarship tenable at Oxford or Cambridge.[49] What Allen was doing in Newdigate we do not know. But it was in the church there that Butcher ran him to earth that same Saturday. Since this is the crucial point in the whole affair, it is natural that the evidence should conflict; but Allen's own account is the fullest, and he is supported by Michell. Chauntler and Gatland give a different complexion to the episode, Gatland going so far as to put affectionate words into the girl's mouth on their way to the church: ' ''John, as soone as wee bee marryed wee will goe over to my mother'', and in all things shewed herself very

willing'. He also claimed that the girl had asked him to give her away.[50]

Michell, however, stated that while they were still at Capel 'shee had told them shee would not speake when shee Came to bee marryed . . . and did utterly deny to bee marryed to the sayd Butcher'.[51] This is entirely consonant with Allen's evidence. Butcher with Joan 'stood at the Church gate with some other Company & their horses tyed up to the Church rayles'. Gatland and Humfrey entered the church together. Humfrey had joined the party apparently at Handcross, whence, according to Gatland (who also had caught up with them there, at Richard Butcher's invitation), Joan had dispatched him to Horsham to buy her wedding ring.[52] It was he who pleaded with Allen in the chancel to conduct the ceremony, but Allen did not state in evidence whether or not he consented. The pair then called to the others to enter the church. Michell tells us that Joan 'was very unwilling to goe in', although she yielded at length to Butcher's threats.

They all entered the chancel, and Allen, probably apprehensive of physical violence were he to procrastinate, began to read the marriage service 'without the bannes of matrimony first published or any lycense in this behalf obteyned', as he freely admitted. But the service did not proceed far, for 'when hee Came to the Charge' (presumably 'Wilt thou have this man . . . ?') 'the sayd Joane Acton made noe answer at all, but stood looking Downe uppon her handes & as one altogether stupid & senseless', a comment made by several witnesses of the girl's demeanour. She remained bemused, for she seemed unable to repeat after the minister the *verba de praesenti* of the espousal, saying, 'I Joane take John', and omitting the penultimate and all-important 'thee'. By this time Allen was uneasy; 'when hee Came to demaund the Ringe, hee began to bethincke himself that hee should doe ille yf hee proceeded any further'. He 'put on his hat', and intended to end the proceedings. But Butcher and his companions coerced him into continuing, and 'hee went on in such sort as is before menconed . . . , Joane standing silent and the sayd Butcher and the rest of the Company standing round about her', in an attempt to force her to make the appropriate responses. Allen's remark that gossip of 'the evill Carriage & misdemeanor' of John Butcher in the matter had been given wide currency leaves us in little doubt that Joan was under considerable stress both inside and outside the church. The curate also assured the court 'That the sayd pretended marriage . . . is not nor was registered in the Churche Booke of Nudigate', thereby casting further doubt on the validity of the whole affair. He must have considered that the ceremony was invalid, and had ensured that there was no official record of it.[53]

It seems clear enough that the marriage was nothing more than a charade. The bringing of this action itself is sufficient evidence that the necessary parental approval had not been forthcoming for the marriage of a girl under the age of consent; there had been no previous betrothal or espousal; and the conduct of the ceremony itself had been irregular, not least because the necessary preliminaries of banns or licence had been ignored.[54] Finally, the burden of evidence shows quite clearly that the girl herself was resolutely opposed to the match. In Michell's opinion, 'the pretended marriage . . . was by Compulsion, feare and without the Consent of the sayd Joane Acton and Contrary to the lawes of this Realme'.[55] He was in a position to know the facts.

The same day the party returned to Gatland's alehouse in Cuckfield. Their arrival caused such a disturbance that it attracted the attention of the neighbours, and we have a detailed description of events. Anne Allen, the wife of a tailor who lived next door, saw Joan resisting the attempts of 'one of the Company' to get her into the house at the back, where presumably they had tethered their horses. Butcher appeared on the scene, 'Caught her by her savegard [a protective outer garment worn while riding] and forced her into . . . Gatlands house'.[56] The rumour got around that 'A

mayden was brought to . . . Gatlands house that was Carryed away by force and marryed against her will'. This aroused the curiosity of Emma Cooper, a local girl whose baptism was recorded at Cuckfield on 15 December 1616 and who was then working as a 'servant to Mr Chaloner', perhaps Ninian Chaloner, and who was sufficiently educated to sign her name.[57]

That evening Emma went to the alehouse. Gatland was away from home, but his wife suggested that 'yf you goe up the Stayers there, & look in at the hole in the Chamber Dore you may see her'. The girl did so, and as she arrived outside the door she heard Gatland's wife remark 'that she hoped that hee would get the goodwill of . . . Joane when shee was gone' as she left the room by another door. This suggests that the couple had been allocated the best room, above the hall in the main body of the house, with a door leading into the bay at either end.[58]

Butcher was then 'unbraced and almost ready to goe to Bed'. He told Joan to take off her clothes. But Joan could only fumble 'about her Band', and showed obvious signs of distress, complaining 'that shee Could not pull of her Clothes', whereupon Butcher made a show of drawing his knife, swearing that he would cut them off if she did not remove them herself. Joan roused herself, and decided to make a dash for it. She reached the door where Emma was standing, wrenched it open and knocked Emma to the ground. But Butcher grabbed her, and demanded to know where she was going, and why she was not going to bed with him. Joan replied that she did not know whether she was married, but that 'shee would goe to Bed yf shee might ly alone', a clear indication that she was not prepared to consummate the marriage.

Emma met Anne Allen at the foot of the stairs, and told her what was happening. Goodwife Allen was evidently something of a busybody. She mounted the stairs, and remonstrated with Butcher. As she was speaking, Joan escaped 'into another Chamber', probably through the same door by which she had escaped previously. But Butcher went after her before she had time to fasten the door, to be met once again by Joan's refusal to go to bed with him. By this time the girl was panic-stricken, and Anne Allen advised Butcher not to pursue the matter. But he was clearly infuriated by the woman's interference, and exclaimed 'By God I will lye with her to night, or else never', although he was plainly determined to secure her property.[59]

In the end he had his way, and the next morning (Sunday) Gatland returned home and found them together in bed.[60] It seems that he had also managed to compel her to wear a ring, for Lulham deposed that he found her with 'A Ring uppon her finger' when he caught up with them that day 'at the house of Edward Gatland in Cockfield', but that she had managed to assure him that she was not married, claiming that 'John Butcher did put that Ring uppon her finger and had forced her and [had] layen with her against her will'. Lulham went on to depose that she had clung to him when she saw him, and that Butcher conceded defeat by wrenching the ring from her finger. This seems entirely in character; but Chauntler's version is worth noticing. According to him, Lulham arrived 'with an Officer with him to take . . . Joane from her husband'. But Joan moaned, and besought Butcher 'for Godsake Good husband stand Close to me, for I feare my father in lawe [i.e. stepfather] will doe mee some harm'—a sentiment that seems to have been justified by subsequent events, however fanciful this account may have been.[61]

The appearance of the 'officer' agrees with Lulham's own evidence, for he deposed that, after seeing how much Joan had suffered, 'hee Charged A headborow [or constable][62] of Cockfield with the sayd Butcher till the morrow', when they both appeared before the local justices. In the mean time Joan had been removed out of harm's way to 'the house of Mr Allen', where she was questioned by the local curate, James Sicklemore, who curiously enough was to become schoolmaster at Charlwood not long afterwards. In the light of her experiences, it is scarcely surprising that he found her confused;

'very stupid & sensles' is the expression he uses, and the words are echoed elsewhere in the depositions.[63]

Joan does not seem to have recovered by the time she appeared before the justices; Lulham goes so far as to state that she was unable to stand at the hearing. Butcher even produced what purported to be a marriage certificate made out by John Allen; but the justices were sufficiently unimpressed to refer the matter to the assize judges a week later.[64]

EPILOGUE

There is one last episode to notice in this affair. After the events we have described, 'about the beginning of Easter Tearme' 1636, John Butcher was on his way to London with his father Richard, Gatland, Humfrey and Chauntler, to appear before the High Commission on 5 May.[65] The party stopped 'at the house of Hughe Price in Godstone Called the Bell',[66] and started to argue among themselves over their expenses on the journey. Richard Butcher evidently was meeting the incidental expenses of the party, but had had enough of their bickering. He went down into the inn kitchen, where he found the landlord's wife, Elizabeth, at work with two servants, John Sturges and William Cowthery, a Hever man aged 42 who had come to Godstone six years earlier. Butcher explained the matter to Goodwife Price, and informed her that he was not prepared to meet any further expenses of the party.

Apparently he still considered it possible that his son John might somehow gain Joan and have control over her inheritance; if that was to happen, said he, the others would have as great a share of her estate as would John. But John himself overheard what his father had been saying; fearing that such comments might prejudice his case, he followed him into the kitchen to ask Elizabeth Price to take no notice of his father's remarks.[67] But enough was said to indicate the extent of the younger man's indebtedness to his associates; Michell's absence from the party is to be noted, and his name disappeared from those summoned before the High Commission.[68]

There is evidence that Lulham also was financially embarrassed as a result of this litigation. In 1636 he began to raise money by means of mortgaging his property in Hamsey. On 2 July, before the case came before the archdeacon's court, he leased his land in this way to Edward Chauntler, a Laughton yeoman, for £200. This money he seems to have repaid promptly, for a year later we find him raising a further £130 in the same manner from Nicholas Allve, citizen and grocer of London. Perhaps Lulham met Allve through Thomas Lulham, citizen and cutler of London, who witnessed the deed. Thomas was probably William's younger brother, baptized at Hamsey on 2 March 1605/6, and possibly to be identified with the Thomas Lulham who had paid over ship money in the preceding January on behalf of the constable of Shoreham.[69] He took a prominent part in the later development of these affairs.

At the beginning of September 1640, he witnessed another mortgage by which William raised a further £200 from Josiah Phinehes, citizen and leatherseller of London; and in the following November Thomas obtained a 21-year lease for £10 of some other land in Hamsey that William occupied. Within eight years, however, Thomas had moved to Croydon and had been adjudged bankrupt. The lease was assigned to William Awcock of Lewes (could he have been Lulham's proctor in the archdeacon's court?) on 29 September 1648. The last we hear of William is on 22 October 1661, when he relinquished his interest in the land to Awcock.[70]

The case dragged on until 23 May 1637.[71] The court's president found the evidence inconsistent, and postponed a verdict. Our examination of the depositions indicates how harshly the girl was treated, and any suggestion to the contrary by Butcher's associates is inconsistent both with the testimony of the independent witnesses summoned by the court[72] and with the tendency of the evidence as a whole.

Of the later fate of the two principals we know virtually nothing. There was a John Butcher who owed £250 in 1649 on a mortgage when the matter was brought before the Committee for Indemnity;[73] but whether this had anything to do with the defendant in this case can probably not be established. Of Joan we have a little more information. We have seen that she was reckoned to be under her mother's control at the time of the affair, and it was her mother for whom she was said to have cried repeatedly during her ordeal. She seems to have been a docile child—indeed it was her docility that was her undoing—and we may well believe that this, reinforced by their special relationship, created a bond of affection between mother and daughter.[74]

But what happened to her after Lulham took her home to Hamsey we cannot tell. Evidently she was kept strictly under the watchful eye of her parents. Michell stated that they had harshly treated her, and implied that she had not recovered from her ordeal. Perhaps he exaggerated.[75] The parish register is silent about her, and we may presume that she survived; had she died, we should expect that especial care would have been taken over recording her burial, in view of her inheritance.

One thing, however, seems clear. The witnesses in general seemed to have been shocked by the treatment Joan endured; yet they evidently were reluctant to summon help, being more content to remonstrate with Butcher personally. This suggests that the forces of law and order in the Weald were inadequate at this period, an impression supported by the strange role taken by Edward Gatland in the whole affair. This may seem odd in the light of the comments of Secretary of State Sir Thomas Smith.[76]

Violence, barbarity and childishness seem to have characterized the behaviour of the upper classes, and affluence attracted robbers. At the other end of society, oppression and neglect tended to blunt the sensibilities of the lowest orders. Between the two extremes there were a large number of lesser folk above the poverty level who were unmolested by their superiors and led comparatively uneventful lives.[77] Such were the people who were outraged at the treatment Joan received. Sexual misbehaviour seems to have been widely tolerated; what was so scandalous was the heartless violence meted out to the innocent victim of the affair, motivated as it was by personal greed rather than political considerations or even animosity.

That the details are recorded in such fullness is due to the energy shown by William Lulham in safeguarding his own interests. There is no means of knowing how many similar cases there may have been.

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Notes

[1] *Victoria County History, Sussex*, **2**, 199.

[2] An early example is Jeremy Goring, 'The Riot at Bayham Abbey, June 1525', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **116**, 1–10; among later studies is K. J. Lindley, 'Riot Prevention and Control in Early Stuart London', *Transactions of Royal Hist. Soc.* 5th ser., **33**, 109–26.

[3] *Crime in England, 1550–1800*, ed. J. S. Cockburn (1977), 53, 135.

[4] Ibid. 55.

[5] Ibid. 60.

[6] Ibid. 55. Cockburn comments that recent studies seem to support the contention of a Somerset justice in 1596 that 80% of offenders never appeared. His remark that the Sussex records are defective (pp. 67–9) is supported by the circumstances of the present case (see n. 9 below). He has also noted grounds to suspect the accuracy of indictments: *Jnl. of Soc. of Archivists*, **5**, 227–8.

[7] Alan Everitt, *Change in the Provinces: the 17th Century* (1969), 31; E. H. Phelps Brown and Sheila V. Hopkins,

in *Essays in Economic History*, ed. E. M. Carus-Wilson, **2** (1962), 195.

[8]His burial was recorded at Ripe on 10 February 1625/6: E(ast) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice), PAR 462/1/1/2.

[9]*Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1635–6*, 129, 502; P(ublic) R(ecord) O(ffice), SP 16/324, f. 12. The evidence that it was taken to assizes comes from four witnesses; there is no trace in the appropriate file: P.R.O., ASSI 35/77/7.

[10]Cf. the recent studies of J. A. Sharpe, *Defamation and Sexual Slander in Early Modern England* (?1981); J. A. Vage, 'Ecclesiastical Discipline in the Early 17th Century . . . Archdeaconry of Cornwall', *Jnl. of Soc. of Archivists*, **7**, 85–105; and, more particularly, M. Ingram, 'Spousals Litigation in the English Ecclesiastical Courts, *c.* 1350–*c.* 1640', in *Marriage and Society*, ed. R. B. Outhwaite (1981), 35–57; as well as the earlier work of J. S. Purvis, *Tudor Parish Documents of the Diocese of York* (1948); Arthur J. Willis, *Winchester Consistory Court Depositions, 1561–1602* (1960); and others.

[11]A similar case is noticed by F. G. Emmison, *Elizabethan Life: Disorder* (1970), 195.

[12]W(est) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice), Ep. II/5/15–16. References to this source in the notes below will be by the last numbers (15, 16), which designate the individual volumes. Quotations are made by courtesy of the Rt. Revd. the Bishop of Chichester and with acknowledgements to the West Sussex Record Office and the County Archivist.

[13]Additional sources cited below include the collections of deeds held formerly by the S(ussex) A(rchaeological) S(ociety) now deposited in E.S.R.O. and W.S.R.O.

[14]Michell (15, f. 20) and Goodgroome (15, f. 23) both stated that in June Joan was living at Heathfield, but neither gives any indication of the length of her stay. The location of the Lulham homestead is inferred from his father's address as given in a lease of 1606/7 and from the terms of his father's will: S.A.S., PN 466; E.S.R.O., will register A 13, f. 12.

[15]For some evidence from Kent see P. Clark, *English Provincial Society* (1977), 212–16. On the general question of the extent of literacy see R. A. Houston, 'The Development of Literacy: Northern England, 1640–1750', *Econ. Hist. Rev.* 2nd ser., **35**, 199–216, and D. Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order* (1980).

[16]15, f. 23.

[17]S.A.S., PN 478–80.

[18]Killingbeck himself described her as 'an houshold servant': 16, f. 17v.; so also 15, f. 20 (Michell) and 16, f. 7v. (Lulham).

[19]S.A.S., WS 7–9 (1628/9–1635). It is worth notice that in the next deed in the series (WS 10, dated 10 February 1637/8) Killingbeck was dealing with William Markwick, a Jevington yeoman, over some land in the parish of St. John sub Castro in Lewes; this suggests another possible link with William Lulham through his stepfather, William Markewicke of Lewes.

[20]16, f. 17v. The deposition is in a hand quite different from that of the usual notary in these volumes. This suggests that Killingbeck's deposition was taken outside the normal run of office business, probably in haste to complete Lulham's case; but Killingbeck was himself initiating causes at the time, and possibly his deposition was written at his convenience.

[21]15, f. 20v. (Michell).

[22]16, ff. 3v.–4v. (Anne Tutty).

[23]Those at Cuckfield and Handcross.

[24]For a fuller statement see *A Dictionary of English Church History*, ed. S. L. Ollard and others (1948 edn.), 366–7; L. Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500–1800* (1979), 30–2; and P. Laslett, *The World We Have Lost* (1965), 141–2. For the form of the betrothal see Purvis, *Tudor Parish Documents*, 72–3; and 17, f. 5v. Sometimes the contract was sealed by the exchange of gifts: M. Campbell, *The English Yeoman* (1960), 285–6; Willis, *Winchester Consistory Court Depositions*, 37–8.

[25]15, f. 21 (Michell).

[26]*Suss. Arch. Coll.* **58**, 18 (1618); **9**, 83 (1621); E.S.R.O., probate act book B 7, f. 13 (1636).

[27]15, ff. 20v. (Michell), 38v. (Reeve).

[28]*Suss. Rec. Soc.* **13**, 22, 24, 106; **39**, 3, 10, 27–8.

[29]P.R.O., HO 107/1642, f. 201. 'Tanyard farm' still appears on the current O.S. 1/25,000 map (N.G.R. TQ 307275).

[30]The site of the common is around N.G.R. TQ 325215; its extent in 1794 is shown on the map at *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **114**, 81, and its area in 1624 is given in *Suss. Rec. Soc.* **34**, 39. See also S.A.S., WA 28; E.S.R.O., ABE 1, f. 121v.

[31]This is the impression given by a deposition in 1639, which mentions three journeys between Lindfield and Hurstpierpoint: 17, f. 5.

[32]This is Michell's version: 15, f. 21. Chauntler tells a different and less plausible tale: he makes no mention of Berwicke, and says that Joan was 'very willing to return againe' to Cuckfield: 15, f. 4.

[33]E.S.R.O., DAN 1038; ibid. SAS/Acc 1322/116.

[34]*Suss. Rec. Soc.* **13**, 140, 144; **34**, 29.

[35]15, f. 4.

[36]For specimen menus in 1589 see H. Hall, *Society in the Elizabethan Age* (1892), 212–33.

[37]15, f. 4v. The most Giles Moore seems to have paid his female servants during the period 1656–79 was £1 10*s*. for half a year's wages, whereas he paid £1 17*s*. in 1663 for a dinner for twelve at 'The Tiger' in Lindfield: *Suss. Rec. Soc.* **68**, 87, 171–9.

[38]15, ff. 4 (Chauntler), 21 (Michell).

[39]Cf. *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **116**, 54.

[40]P.R.O., ASSI 35/77/7, f. 22; 35/78/9, f. 39. Note, however, J. S. Cockburn's remarks of erratic practice: *Jnl. of Soc. of Archivists*, **5**, 225.

[41]16, f. 14v. For Wood cf. *Suss. Rec. Soc.* **54**, 112 (1646).

[42]*Suss. Arch. Coll.* **98**, 126; cf. ibid. **116**, 43–4; E. Straker, *Wealden Iron* (1931), 434–40. There must have been a well-established route through the forest.

[43]15, f. 21v. (Michell).

[44]*Surrey Arch. Coll.* **6**, 268–9 quotes a licence of 12 March 1634/5; cf. ibid. **13**, 151 for a reference in 1662.

[45]W. E. Tate, *The Parish Chest* (1960), 64; Willis, *Winchester Consistory Court Depositions*, 36 (1575); *Hampshire Miscellany*, **1** (1963), 651–3, 655 (1608).

[46]Cf. *Surrey Arch. Coll.* **9**, 254–5.

[47]16, f. 3v. (Willet).

[48]15, f. 54 (Allen); 16, f. 3 (Willet).

[49]*Surrey Arch. Coll.* **6**, 279–80, 283–5; **31**, 88–9; **62**, 120; *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **100**, 119.

[50]15, f. 4v.

[51]15, f. 21v.

[52]15, f. 4v.

[53]15, f. 54. Few presentments relating to the conduct of weddings seem to have come before the Chichester diocesan visitors during the century, but complaints of clerical laxity were fairly frequent: *Suss. Rec. Soc.* **49–50**.

[54]Both Campbell, *English Yeoman*, 285–8, and Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage*, 69–75, emphasize the need of parental consent for a marriage involving property at this period.

[55]15, f. 20.

[56]15, f. 37v.

[57]16, f. 3. Her father appears as John Cowper at her

baptism: *Suss. Rec. Soc.* **13,** 21. On Chaloner see *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **44,** 132–3. She was summoned by the court.

[58]The doors might have been placed opposite each other for better ventilation: R. Neve, *The City and Country Purchaser* (1726 edn.), 23–4. See also R. T. Mason, *Framed Buildings of the Weald* (1969 edn.), 74; M. Wood, *The English Medieval House* (1965), 335.

[59]16, f. 2 (Cooper); 15, f. 37v. (Anne Allen).

[60]15, ff. 3v. (Chauntler), 5 (Gatland), 22v. (Michell); 16, f. 9 (Lulham).

[61]15, f. 3v.

[62]E. Coles, *English Dictionary* (1676); Tate, *Parish Chest*, 175–6; cf., however, *Suss. Rec. Soc.* **48,** 132.

[63]16, f. 4; cf., e.g., 15, f. 39 (Holcom). On Sicklemore's later career see *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **45,** 29; E.S.R.O., will register A 25, f. 159.

[64]See above, n. 9.

[65]The occasion of the journey is not stated, but it seems clear enough from the naming of the law term as the time of the incident instead of the normal calendar date, and the coincidence of this with the date of the hearing in London.

[66]In 1773 the Bell inn at Godstone was of a standard sufficient to attract John Baker, a prosperous lawyer: *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **52,** 53.

[67]15, f. 49.

[68]He was to claim later that Lulham owed him £20: 15, f. 22v.

[69]*Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1635–6*, 267.

[70]S.A.S., PN 478–81, 484–5. In 1633 Awcock had been a member of the Fellowship of the Twelve in Lewes: *Suss. Rec. Soc.* **48,** 60. For the Fellowship see *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **119,** 157–72.

[71]W.S.R.O., Ep. II/4/21, f. 20.

[72]Anne Allen, Cooper, Reeve and (?) Sicklemore. Reeve worked for Jessop, and thus may not have been entirely impartial. On the other hand, two others who had no ostensible interest in the outcome, Tutty and Willet, were called by Lulham.

[73]*Calendar of Committee for Compounding with Delinquents*, **3,** 2099.

[74]Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage*, 120–1; *Thomas Tusser: his Good Points of Husbandry*, ed. D. Hartley (1931), 162. A more moralistic discourse to the same effect is in *Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne*, ed. J. M. Osborn (1961), 7–10.

[75]15, ff. 39v. (Holcom), 23 (Michell).

[76]Quoted by A. L. Rowse, *The England of Elizabeth* (1950), 384; but cf. the remarks of W. Addison, *Essex Heyday* (1949), 126–7.

[77]L. Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641* (1967 edn.), 108–10; J. Hurstfield, *Freedom, Corruption and Government in Elizabethan England* (1973), 244; Clark, *English Provincial Society*, 236, 250.

Sussex Archaeological Collections **122** (1984), 139–46.

THE BRIGHTON CHARITY SCHOOL IN THE EARLY 18TH CENTURY

by John H. Farrant, M.A.

The foundation or expansion of the Brighthelmston [Brighton] charity school in the first years of the 18th century was probably instigated by the propaganda of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The objectives of the subscribers can readily be inferred: to counter the growing strength of protestant dissent, and to mitigate the risk of social disorder due to the town's destitution. The initiative and financial support seem to have come almost entirely from outside the town, and doctrinal scruples were put aside in favour of educational excellence, in the employment of a prominent Quaker as schoolmaster for some 50 years. The ages and destination upon leaving of the boys at the school in 1702–5 are examined.

The earliest explicit record of the Brighton charity school is in 'The free-school book of Brighthelmston Anno D'ni 1701'.[1] In this book, for the following 50 years, the vicars of Brighton entered the schoolmaster's receipts for his salary and various other memoranda concerning the school. Among the latter is the record that the girls' school was opened on 30 September 1702 'by Mr. Springetts order'. Whether the boys' school was opened in the previous year or was then already in existence is unclear. Earlier reference to educational provision in Brighton is scant. William Cartwright was licensed by the bishop in 1581 as a schoolmaster in Brighton; he was also town clerk from 1558 until his death in 1609/10.[2] Edward Harffye of Brighton described himself as 'clerk and writing master' in the 1650s and 1660s.[3] John Friend, schoolmaster, died in 1681. Part of a shop under the cliff in 1660 was 'the reeding house' which may mean a schoolhouse. A rental of 1665, now known only in a modern copy, refers to a piece of land in the Hempshares 'neere the Freescoole', but the last word was read in the original by L. F. Salzman as 'Freestoole'.[4] The schoolbook records that in January 1702 27 boys were readers and 26 writers; some organized education for several years before is likely, to produce the number who had progressed from reading to writing. The sum of subscriptions received, as shown below, seems to have reached a peak around 1704, suggesting a fund-raising effort at the very start of the century.

What we may be seeing is the revitalizing and extension of an existing school, perhaps for boys only with few or no free places, as a way of tackling the problem of poverty. The exemplars were in London where, from the 1690s, 'schools were established to take boys—and girls—under twelve off the streets. The aim was to clothe, feed and teach them for a few years—with emphasis on literacy, moral training and practical skills—and then arrange suitable apprenticeships'. But the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.), founded in 1699 by clergy and laity of the Established Church, reversed the priorities in its advocacy of schools for the poor. 'Declaring that social problems derived from the decay in religion, and this in turn from the decline in catechizing, it circularized the clergy urging the establishment of a school in each parish to teach the catechism on weekdays and conduct children to church on Sunday. . . . Here children could be taught to read, as a preparation for learning the catechism'. The Brighton school was in correspondence with the Society by 1704.[5]

The promoters of Brighton's school were

probably moved by both considerations, by reason of decline in the town's economic mainstays, fishing and cargo carrying, and of growing adherence to protestant nonconformity. Between 1570 and 1660 the town's population had grown at least threefold, and the tonnage of shipping belonging to the town increased by a similar factor. The peak may have been passed sometime in the third quarter of the 17th century, for by then the sea was encroaching on the seafarers' workspace on the beach beneath the cliff. But the first major catastrophe came in 1688 when, perhaps for the first time in well over a century, Brighton did not send a fleet to the largest and most profitable fishery, that for herring at Great Yarmouth. Why this should have happened is not known in detail (though the immediate cause may have been the disturbed political conditions of September 1688), but the facts are that around 30 boats went to Yarmouth most years in the early 1680s, and only three or four in a few years between 1689 and 1696. These years were no time to try to compensate by increasing Brighton's involvement in carrying coal from Tyneside, and in 1716 Brighton boats were carrying only a little more than in 1683. Thereafter this trade also saw a precipitate decline, to less than a fifth of 1716's volume in 1722.

In consequence the population declined, by perhaps 35 per cent between the 1670s and the 1740s when it was a little over 2,000. Recorded baptisms dropped sharply between the 1680s and 1690s and again in the second half of the 1720s. The probate values of seafarers' chattels show a downward trend, by as much as half between the 1670s and 1700s. As to those at the bottom end of the social scale, it was in 1690 that the justices in quarter sessions started to rate neighbouring parishes for the support of Brighton's poor, and they rated an ever greater number until in 1708 a single 1½*d.* rate was levied on the whole of eastern Sussex to establish an endowment fund.[6]

As well as the town's economic decline the same period saw the growth of protestant dissent. There was a Presbyterian meeting of about 200 hearers in Brighton in 1669, with a minister from 1672; the Compton census of 1676 reported 13 per cent dissenters amongst the adult population; and the Common Fund survey of 1690 400 hearers.[7] The congregation flourished under John Duke who became minister in 1698. Within a year land was acquired for a chapel and a growing number of children were being received into the congregation rather than into the Anglican church: only ten children were entered in the parish register as 'born' (rather than 'baptized') during the 26 years 1672–97, but six, seven and six were so entered in the years 1698, 1699 and 1700, and an average of ten a year in 1701–5. The Presbyterian register starts in April 1700 and allows direct numerical comparison with the Anglican. If the births recorded in the registers of the parish church, the Presbyterian chapel and the (much smaller) Quaker meeting are collated to eliminate children in the last two from outside Brighton or entered in two registers, the children received into the two dissenting congregations comprised 25 per cent of all recorded births in the first 20 years of the century, though falling to about 15 per cent in the years 1731–45.[8] The proportion of 24 per cent for the years 1716–25 may be compared with the vicar's estimate, in response to Bishop Bowers' visitation articles of 1724, that 30 per cent of families were Presbyterian and 2 per cent Anabaptists and Quakers, and with the Revd. Robert Bagster's survey of dissenting congregations in 1717, recording 560 hearers.[9] If hearers were adults aged 16 and over, and if the population was 2,500 of which 60 per cent were so aged, then the hearers comprised 37 per cent of the adult population. But the Brighton chapel served a wider area, and if the proportion of non-Brighton baptisms in the register is taken to indicate the proportion of non-Brighton hearers, then the Brighton hearers comprised 29 per cent. So the figures produced by both sides are reasonably consistent and reflect a situation which must have alarmed the Anglicans.

The Brighton school was undoubtedly an

Anglican foundation. The 'orders' set out in the schoolbook, probably in 1702, stipulated that the boys were to attend church twice on Sunday, absences being reported on Monday; that their catechism was to be heard on Monday night and on Wednesday by the master (for the writers) and by the usher (for the readers); that the usher was to hear the readers' lessons; that the writers were to read a chapter (of the Bible) before they began to write; and that the girls were to come constantly to church on Sunday. Rough notes in the book list the boys given a Book of Common Prayer in the years 1715–18, and the major endowment of the school in 1735 specified that while benefitting from it children were to resort only to the services of the Church of England. Practical skills, though, were not ignored. The S.P.C.K.'s *Reports* record in 1704 that the boys were also taught navigation and to cast accounts and in 1710 that the girls were taught to read, knit and sew.

One source suggests that it was the vicar's responsibility to teach the children: a writer in the early 1720s stated that the vicar's 'Maintenance is very small, and therefore the Gentlemen of the Neighbouring Parts have made an Augmentation to it by Subscription of £50 per Annum, yet on this Condition, that he shall instruct 50 poor Boys of the Town in Reading and Writing'. This statement cannot be substantiated, but represents an understandable confusion, because the main excuse generally advanced for the parish clergy's neglect of catechizing was the poverty of benefices and the prevalence of pluralism. In fact, there was a separate move to augment the benefice. 'A voluntary subscription of several gentlemen' was raised to purchase, for £300 in March 1707, the advowson of the neighbouring and almost uninhabited parish of West Blatchington so that it might be united with that of Brighton. The four named in the deed of trust were from the same circle, as will be shown below, as supported the school: they were all gentry with seats in Lewes or the surrounding countryside and none with property in Brighton, Henry Pelham of Lewes, John Morley Trevor of Glynde, Peter Courthope of Danny, and Peter Gott the elder of Stanmer.[10]

If the vicar was not obliged to teach, he nevertheless managed the school's finances, for the receipts for the schoolmaster's salary and the schoolhouse rent were made out to him, and subscribers generally paid him their contributions. George Hay (1652/3–1737), vicar between 1700 and 1705, was probably much involved in the school's establishment, and as a graduate of King's College, Aberdeen, may have been more open to advocacy of education than many English clergy. He was subsequently rector of Horsted Keynes when, in 1707, Lightmaker's school was founded there.[11]

Until 1735 the Brighton school was financed by subscribers who undertook to pay so much a year and by donors of, particularly, clothing. The S.P.C.K.'s annual *Report* for 1704 gave the total of annual subscriptions as about £47; that for 1710 recorded it to have fallen to £40, and a correspondent in 1713 said it had fallen from £46 to £30.[12] No subscription list has been found, but payments have been traced in several private account books, as follows:

1708, Timothy Burrell of Cuckfield, 'customary' payment of £1 for the half year;

1714–18, Richard Springett of the City of London, £1 a year (paid for five years in arrears after his death);

1723 onwards, Spencer Compton of Eastbourne, later Earl of Wilmington, £2 2*s*. a year;

1724, Henry Pelham of Stanmer (died 1725; cousin of the Duke of Newcastle), £6;

1731, Mr. Alford, £2 2*s*.;

1731-51, the Hon. Henry Pelham (died 1754; brother of the Duke of Newcastle), £2 2*s*. a year, paid to the vicar for the school;

1736–8, the Duke of Newcastle, £5 a year, paid to the vicar for the school.

None of these subscribers had any known specific ties to Brighton, either of residence or of property-owning. Yet these were not their only charitable payments to the Brighton poor: Spencer Compton, as part of his 1727 election

expenses, gave 4 gns. to the poor women, and the Duke of Newcastle gave £35 for meat for Brighton's poor at Christmas 1739. Other gentry without ties to Brighton did likewise: John Morley Trevor of Glynde gave £2 at Christmas in 1708, 1712 and 1716, and Henry Campion of Danny £3 12*s*. 6*d*. for wheat in 1741. These gifts reflect the gentry's anxiety about conditions in Brighton, because gifts outside the parishes in which benefactors owned land were very much the exception. They also tended to be smaller. For instance, the Duke of Newcastle gave £5 to the Brighton school, but £10 and £17 to schools in Lewes and Seaford where he had substantial interests. Beside Henry Pelham of Stanmer's £6 must be set between £18 and £20 in each of 1721, 1722 and 1724 for clothing, and £20 10*s*. for teaching, the 'Grey Coat boys', referring, it seems, to the free grammar school in Lewes. Some of this money, admittedly, he may have been spending as a trustee of Mrs. Mary Jenkins's endowment; that may have also provided the £100 which his father spent on building a schoolroom in 1715.[13]

The absence of accounts precludes showing whether or not Brighton's landowners contributed to the school. But the fragmentation of the parish between several manors and the dominance of copyhold tenure meant that the four gentry owners (in the 1720s, the Duke of Dorset, the Earl of Thanet, Thomas Western of Rivenhall in Essex, and William Vinall of Kingston near Lewes) drew an annual net income from Brighton of perhaps only between £40 and £60 each. So, against their other sources of income, their stake in the town was small. The only known donation by any of them was £20 for Christmas doles from the Earl of Dorset in 1690. The town's residents were also unlikely to contribute much. The most substantial of them were the tenants of three or four modest sized farms; and among all the wills of Brighton residents proved in the archdeaconry court between 1691 and 1750 only two included charitable bequests.[14]

It is likely, therefore, that the subscription list was made up of fairly small payments which, because of the contributors' weak association with the town, were liable to be stopped at times of retrenchment. So it was fortunate that endowments came to the school by bequests in 1718 and 1735. The smallest, from George Beach of St. Olave's, Southwark (but formerly of Brighton), mariner, in 1735, yielded under £1 a year. The next largest came in 1718 from Richard Springett, citizen and apothecary of the City of London, but by family of Plumpton, and a subscriber in his lifetime; he left £200 to be applied by his executors to the best benefit of the school. The interest was paid regularly until 1735.[15] Richard was but one of three brothers who benefitted the school. The school's largest benefactor in the first half of the 18th century was Anthony Springett. Born in 1651/2 into an established gentry family, he attended the University of Cambridge, though apparently without graduating, was admitted to the Middle Temple soon after, and, many years later in 1716, at the age of 54, was ordained and presented to the living of Westmeston which he held until his death in 1735. His three brothers predeceased him without issue, so the family seat at Plumpton passed to him; he also died without issue. It was 'Mr. Springett' who ordered the girls' school to be opened in September 1702, 'Mr. Springett' who paid the mistress in 1702/3 and 1704/5 and 'Mr. Anthony Springett' who paid for coats for 20 boys in July 1702. It was Anthony who wrote the only recorded letter to the S.P.C.K. (in 1713) on the state of the Brighton school; in it he expressed concern that the annual income from subscriptions had fallen from £46 to about £30, and asked that the fact should not be publicized in the Society's next *Report*, in the hope that new subscriptions would be obtained.[16] In 1701 the school was in a house towards the southern end of the east side of Black Lion Street rented for £2 10*s*. a year. In 1725, Anthony and his brother William (died 1732) bought a house and garden in Meeting House Lane (facing down Union Street) which the school occupied from January 1726 until

1828 and which at his death he transferred to his executors as trustees. Also by his will he appointed as trustees the Duke of Newcastle, the Hon. Henry Pelham, Thomas Pelham of Lewes, senior and junior, Thomas Pelham of Stanmer, and the incumbents for the time being of Brighton, Plumpton, Westmeston and Falmer, to hold an Exchequer annuity running to 1806 and yielding £50 a year (so with a capital value of about £1,200). The money was to be distributed as follows: £25 to the Brighton school, £13 to the Plumpton, Westmeston and Chiltington schools, £10 to the Falmer school, £1 for a sermon at Brighton (to be attended by the children at the Brighton and Falmer schools), and £1 for the trustees' refreshment on that occasion. The payment to the Brighton school subsumed Richard's bequest of 1718.[17] Not without reason, histories and guidebooks from the 1790s onwards stated the school to be found by Anthony Springett in 1725 and indeed called it Springett's school. Yet, in common with all other known early benefactors of the school (except for George Beach), Anthony Springett and his brothers had no connection with Brighton beyond residence within a 15-mile radius. Great must have been the distress in Brighton if it excited such widespread concern.

Despite its Anglican character, the school's master for nearly half a century was a prominent Quaker. The master when the schoolbook opens was John Scras, but he retired on 31 August 1702 and died the following November; he may have been a young man if he was the John Scras baptized at Hove in 1675.[18] His successor was John Grover who was born in 1677 at Hurstpierpoint into a Quaker family and retained his allegiance to the Society of Friends throughout his life. He was described as of Brighton, maltster, at his marriage in 1697 to Elizabeth Harrison, and when he became a trustee of the Friends' Brighton meeting house in February 1701. Appointed master of the school from September 1702, he continued in office until at least June 1750; he died on 29 September 1752, aged 75.[19]

Grover acquired a certain celebrity during his life and later. The earliest panegyric appeared in 1730, written a few years earlier by a Mr. Haylor:

> This Town hath never given a Title to any of the Noble Families of this Kingdom, nor produced any Men of Worth and Ingenuity, 'till within little more then 30 years, one *John Grover*, who being a Native here, became famous for his Mathematical Skill. He was descended of mean Parentage, and bred up illiterately, but having an inquisitive Genius, stirring him up to the Acquirement of Arts and Sciences, he apply'd himself to Mathematicks, and without so much as one Days Instruction, attained by his Diligence to as great a Proficiency in that Science as any in his Time in *Great Britain*, and by that Means became a great benefactor to this Town by giving their Sailors a true Notion of the Art of Navigation; besides, he wrote divers Hands, very finely.[20]

The use of the past tense is curious, as if Grover were dead, but there is no basis for linking the attributes to anyone else. There is also no firm evidence for the high claim made for his mathematical ability. A notebook of his surviving a century ago was apparently filled with ordinary arithmetical rules and problems. He was probably no more than a very quick arithmetician. He did indeed write a superior hand, and acted as the local scrivener: an obituary said that 'he obtained a considerable knowledge of the law, in which capacity he was highly useful; he practiced with uncommon honesty and moderation in his demands'. He was among the appraisers (and was usually the scribe) of 76 out of the 118 surviving probate inventories of Brighton residents between 1710 and 1750, and was a witness to, and probably the draftsman of, many wills in the same period. He did work for the Church: he made out the annual transcript of the parish register for submission to the bishop for many years from 1702, and, more

surprisingly, he was appointed as the bishop's attorney in the lease of Brighton rectory in 1741.[21] That he should supplement his salary is unsurprising, as he was paid only £8 a year as master, a low sum by comparison with other charity schools; for instance, the master at Horsted Keynes in 1707 was paid £20 with leave to take 20 paying pupils. We know of only one paying pupil taken by Grover, namely Anthony Stapley of a local gentry family at Hickstead, in 1730/1.[22]

The S.P.C.K. would not have approved of a Quaker as master: the conversion of Quakers (especially in America) was among its early aims, and it recommended that masters should be communicants.[23] Grover was master throughout the period in which Springett made his gifts, and Springett could no doubt have had Grover removed if he so wished. Springett may have been moved, not only by respect for Grover's abilities, but also, in spite of his Anglican orders, by sympathy for Quakers arising from family connections. His father's twin brother's widow married secondly a Quaker in 1654; her daughter, Gulielma Maria Springett (1644–94), was the first wife of William Penn, the prominent Quaker founder of Pennsylvania. As the last surviving of four sons, all of whom died without issue, Anthony Springett settled the Plumpton estate on the female coheirs of his great-uncle, Sir Thomas. All bequests in his will were in cash or securities, for his executors were to realize his other assets. Aside from the endowment of the schools, over 70 per cent in cash terms of these bequests were to the descendants of William Penn by Gulielma Maria. Only two of their children reached adulthood, and only one was living after 1720, Laetitia, wife of William Aubrey, who received £1,000 for life. The other, William II, died in 1720, and on Laetitia's death the £1,000 was to pass to the son of William II's daughter whose two daughters each received £500. To William II's surviving son, William III, went £2,000, on condition that he released all claim to the Plumpton estate. Laetitia and William II are said to have left the Society of Friends, but William III to have returned to it on his marriage in 1732. None of the Penn beneficiaries were resident in Sussex. William III was settled at Shangerry Castle, Co. Cork, though he did hold Rocks Farm in Withyham, and we may speculate that the Palladian south front of the house (now called Penn's Rocks), which is dated between 1737 and 1740, was financed by Springett's bequest. William III's only son, born in 1738, was appropriately called Springett Penn; he died without issue in 1762.[24]

It seems likely, too, that Grover had the support of the vicar of Brighton whose tenure nearly corresponded to Grover's. George Hay was succeeded in 1705 by William Colbron who not only was vicar until 1744 but even after the institution of his successor, Henry Michell, continued as minister until his death aged 85 in 1750. It was only thereafter, probably early in 1752, that Michell moved to Brighton from Maresfield of which he was rector from 1739 to 1789.

The deaths of Colbron and Grover in 1750 and 1752, and Michell's arrival in the latter year, must have marked the end of an era for the school. An accommodation on doctrinal matters had no doubt long since been reached between Colbron and Grover. The threat from the Presbyterian chapel had receded, presumably as John Duke's vigour declined, for he died in 1745 and in the previous 15 years chapel baptisms fell to 15 per cent of recorded births; a writer in 1760/1 estimated the Presbyterian families at only 8 per cent. The character of the town was changing rapidly and fundamentally. The first stirrings of its development as a fashionable watering place came in the second half of the 1740s and were well under way by 1754. Michell came to a town with quite different and better prospects than Colbron had done in 1705. Probably the school could now look for subscriptions from the members of the landed, professional and commercial classes who bought or rented houses in Brighton for use in the summer season, and indeed an endowment worth £7 a year came from the Countess of Gower in 1771.[25]

No doubt Michell made changes to empha-

size the school's catechetical character: the last entries in the schoolbook are of orders to the S.P.C.K. in July and September 1752 for books, including 100 copies each of the Book of Common Prayer, Josiah Woodward's *The Seaman's Monitor*, and 'the Bishop of London on the earthquake'. We do not know the name of John Grover's successor: whether he was his son William (1704–68) who was a schoolmaster in 1735 and to whom he bequeathed his mathematical instruments. At some date unknown the girls' school failed; it was revived only between 1805 and 1818. In 1768 a second (Anglican) charity school was founded with an endowment worth £70 a year under the will of William Grimmett, a London merchant who had been taught by Grover in Brighton. Until 1801 it was housed separately under its own master, but between then and 1818 the two were combined under one master in Meeting House Lane. They were separated in 1818 when Springett's school became the National school, only to be both subsumed into the Central National school newly built in Church Street in 1828. The £400 realized by the sale of Springett's house went towards the cost of the new school. Grimmett's charity now provided clothing for 40 boys, and, despite the annuity having expired 30 years before, the Assistant Charity Commissioner reporting on Brighton in 1837 suggested that some of the boys should be denominated Springett's scholars.[26]

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APPENDIX: THE SCHOOLBOYS, 1702–5

The schoolbook has four lists of boys in the school: readers as at 12 January 1702, writers probably at the same date, readers as at December 1705, and writers at the same date. On the pages facing the first two lists are the names of pupils admitted to the respective classes after the lists were made, apparently within, but not throughout, the period before the 1705 lists were made. There is also a list of boys who had left the school, usually with their employments; it seems to cover leavers between January 1702 and soon after December 1705. These lists can be collated with a fair degree of confidence. With less confidence can the boys be identified in the baptismal register: two or even three boys of the same name are to be found baptized within a few years, and the burial register is defective for the critical period 1689–1701, so whether any died in infancy cannot be determined. In cases of doubt, the date of baptism which is in the main cluster of years for other boys in the same list has been chosen. Baptism dates have been taken as if they were birth dates, and ages measured at 31 December 1701 and 1705.

The age distributions can be summarized as follows. Of the readers in January 1702, 46% were aged 7 or 8, and 15% aged 11; the remaining 10 readers were spread in ones and twos over the other ages between 5 and 15. December 1705's readers were more bunched: 64% were aged 8, 9 or 10; but again the remainder were spread in ones and twos over the other ages between 5 and 16. The writers in 1702 were 54% aged 9, 10 or 11, and 17% aged 13, with the remainder between 7 and 14. Seventy-two per cent of 1705's writers were aged 10 to 14, and 17% 15 or 16 (the oldest), and one was aged 9. The possibility must be allowed that older boys left at Christmas and younger ones were admitted in January, so that the age distribution in January 1706 may have been younger than the figures above for the previous month. Even so, we can infer that the average age at entry rose between 1702 and 1705. In 1702 it was perhaps typically 7 years, but more likely 8 years in 1705. A boy who had a full school career perhaps spent two to three years in the readers' class and three years in the writers' class. But staying in the school for four to five years was far from universal: of the 27 readers in 1702, two were still readers nearly four years later, ten were writers, and five had moved up to the writers' class but had left, leaving ten who apparently left from the readers' class.

The proportion of Brighton boys who attended the school can be estimated. The number of male baptisms and births in the parish register in each year has been inflated by 5% for births to dissenting families not entered in the register, and deflated by 26% for mortality before the age of 8.[27] Age participation rates based on attendance at any time between 1702 and 1705 can be calculated by year of baptism:

Year	*Percentage*	*Year*	*Percentage*	*Year*	*Percentage*
1688	19	1692	43	1695	50
1689	18	1693	83	1696	61
1690	46	1694	46	1697	17
1691	40			1698	5

The 1688 and 1689 figures are low because by 1702 some of those cohorts must have left the school, while some of the 1697 and 1698 cohorts no doubt entered after 1705. So we can conclude that between 40 and 50% of Brighton boys reaching the age of 8 in the early years of the century attended the school.

Finally, the destinations of boys leaving between 1702 and 1705 as given in the schoolbook are:

apprenticed to husbandry	1
to husbandry	3
apprenticed to a mariner	5
to sea	28
apprenticed to a shoemaker	1
to a shoemaker	1
to a butcher	1
apprenticed to a barber and tailor	1
to a shipwright	1

apprenticed	2
continued at school at parents' expense	1
removed to Shoreham	1
removed to London	1
drowned at sea	1
dead	1
(no destination given)	3
TOTAL	52

The distinction between 'apprenticed to a mariner' and 'to sea' suggests that (e.g.) 'to a butcher' is not shorthand for 'apprenticed to a butcher'. 'To sea', etc., may reflect that the boy went to work with his father or other close relative who would not expect a premium for taking the boy to learn a trade. The premiums when boys were apprenticed were presumably paid by the parish.

Notes

[1]The schoolbook is in Brighton Area Library. Extracts have appeared in F. Harrison & J. S. North, *Old Brighton, Old Hove, Old Preston* (1937), 142–52.

[2]W(est) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice), S.T.C./III/C, f.56; *The Parish Register of Brighton, 1558–1701*, ed. H. D. Roberts (Brighton, 1932), 37.

[3]F. Harrison, 'Deryk Carver's Bible', *Suss. N. & Q.* **7**, 72–3.

[4]E(ast) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice), W/A 35/304; ibid. SAS/BRI 54, 21 Aug. 1660; Charles Goodwyn, rental of the manor of Brighton, 1665 (typescript in Brighton Area Library); A. Mawer & F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Sussex*, **2** (1930), 291.

[5]J. Simon, 'Was there a Charity School Movement? The Leicestershire Evidence', in *Education in Leicestershire 1540–1940: a Regional Study*, ed. B. Simon (Leicester, 1968), 61, 63. For Sussex schools in correspondence with the S.P.C.K., see J. E. Wadey, 'Schools and Schooling in Sussex, Part II', *Suss. N. & Q.* **14**, 270–6.

[6]J. H. Farrant, 'The Rise and Decline of a South Coast Seafaring Town: Brighton, 1550–1750', *Mariner's Mirror* (forthcoming).

[7]N. Caplan, 'An Outline of the Origins and Development of Nonconformity in Sussex, 1603–1803' (1961), typescript in Suss. Arch. Soc. Library, *passim*.

[8][J. Sawyer], *The Churches of Brighton . . . Part 3* (?1881), 253, 255–6; *Parish Register of Brighton; Brighton Presbyterian Registers 1700–1837*, ed. M. J. Burchall (Brighton, 1979); P(ublic) R(ecord) O(ffice), RG 6/1308.

[9]W.S.R.O., Ep. I/26/3; N. Caplan, 'Religious Dissent in Sussex in 1717', *Suss. Arch. Soc. Newsletter*, **21**, 116–17.

[10]Mr. Haylor in T. Cox, *Magna Britannia et Hibernia, Antiqua et Nova*, **5** (1730), 511; Simon, *Education in Leicestershire*, 63; W.S.R.O., Ep. II/41/12.

[11]W.S.R.O., Ep. I/26/3.

[12]S(ociety for) P(romoting) C(hristian) K(nowledge, Archives), ALB/CR1/4, 3450. I owe this reference to the kindness of Mr. A. E. Barker, the Society's Archivist.

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[22]W. K. Lowther Clarke, *A History of the S.P.C.K.* (1959), 39; E.S.R.O., HIC 475, p. 5; E. Turner, 'On the Domestic Habits and Mode of Life of a Sussex Gentleman', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **23**, 47.

[23]Clarke, *History of S.P.C.K.* 11–12, 38.

[24]P.R.O., PROB 11/675/44; Comber, 103, 279–82; E. Turner, 'The Springetts of Broyle Park, Ringmer', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **22**, 222; A. Pound, *The Penns of Pennsylvania and England* (New York, 1932), 247–8, 270–1, 314, table facing p. 336; C. Hussey, 'Penn's Rocks, Sussex', *Country Life*, **129**, 644–6.

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[26]E.S.R.O., SOF 9/1; W/A 58/727; *2nd Report of Charity Commissioners*, p. 224; *30th Report of Charity Commissioners* [101], H.C. (1837), xxiii, pp. 681–4.

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THE DECLINE OF LIVING-IN SERVANTS IN THE TRANSITION TO CAPITALIST FARMING: A CRITIQUE OF THE SUSSEX EVIDENCE

by Brian Short

'Nowhere does the antagonistic character of capitalist production and accumulation assert itself more brutally than in the progress of English agriculture . . . and the retrogression of the English agricultural labourer.'
Karl Marx, *Capital* (Penguin edn., introd. E. Mandel, **1** (1976), 828)

The decline of the living-in servant has been taken as a symbolic and necessary part of the overall decline of that special relationship between master and man which had characterized English agriculture before the advent of capitalism. The household links which derived their origin from the close bonding between the provisioners of capital and labour living under the same roof and forming a small unit of production, were seen by Marx to be very characteristic of the feudal mode of production. By separating master and man, by depriving the living-in servant of customary entitlements to board and lodging, and by the progressive proletarianization of agricultural labour, the cash nexus was established and a landless, and mostly casualized, labourer was created. It is this concept of a social and spatial polarization of classes in the English countryside which will be examined here in some detail, with reference to material drawn from Sussex. It will be argued that the concept of class polarization, at least when seen in the perspective of Sussex, has been too simplistic. When one considers, for example, the actual experiences *of farm workers, as well as the abstractions of political economy, the situation becomes very much more complex. A re-evaluation is now long overdue.*[1]

THE LIVING-IN SERVANT

According to Laslett 'service was a universal characteristic of pre-industrial English society'.[2] Its spatial manifestation, however, was complex. It did not exist to the same degree in all regions, and as the 18th century progressed living-in lingered more on those small enclosed pasture farms of the west, south-west and north of England where social differences were perhaps less pronounced. The system consisted of servants being hired yearly for a cash sum, having board and lodging in the farmhouse with the farmer and his family, i.e. working and eating together with the employer and obtaining some part of the wage in kind—a wage which was consequently lower than that obtained by daily labourers, but which brought with it a more secure form of employment. Typically such servants were young and unmarried, learning farm and domestic skills for use in later life. The median age of such servants by 1851 was 19.8 years.[3]

In parts of the north of England, especially Northumberland, the system had a long history and survived strongly throughout the 19th century. Here there was a scarcity of population and large isolated farms were held on long leases by tenants who hired servants for specific purposes. Shepherds might therefore be hired together with other 'hinds' to ensure an adequate workforce. As the 19th century progressed there was some loss of labour to industrial employment in

the north-east of England, and the role of family labour became that much more dominant. Hinds would be required to be married men, and to provide 'bondagers' or female servants and their families to work on the holdings. Similarly on the dairy farms of 18th-century Cheshire, living-in was the normal practice on the larger farms. Here the farmer's wife and the women servants played a crucial role in dairy production, and the latter could command a good wage, particularly after the attractions of the cotton mills became apparent.

In most cases the supply of servants came from the families of smaller farmers and cottagers, and they would be working on middle-sized or very large farms. In all districts there were farms of a smaller, largely subsistence type, which could be run solely by family labour, and the relationship between these farms and the larger ones was thus crucial to the existence of the living-in system. The farm servants most vital to the running of the farm, such as the bailiff or foreman, the ploughman, and the cowkeepers, shepherds and carters would get their board and lodging, and their washing done for them. Normally such servants would be hired at an annual 'mop' or 'statute' fair which would be held at a nearby market town, but in some areas servants moved themselves from farm to farm, or gained situations by personal recommendation. Their standard of living would have been low, particularly where smaller farms also took in yearly servants when there was insufficient family labour available. But on the larger farms food could be very good indeed. William Marshall noted that the food of Hampshire farmhouse servants consisted of a breakfast of bread and skimmed milk with bacon; a lunch of bread and cheese with small beer; a dinner of pickled pork or bacon, potatoes, cabbage and other vegetables; and bread, cheese and ale for supper. Wages varied according to age and expertise. At the end of the 18th century a head carter might command eleven guineas and his mate about nine guineas. A boy assistant might get four guineas. A second carter could also expect about nine guineas, and assistants and boys less according to their abilities. The dairymaid and cook would expect about five guineas, and girls about two and a half or three guineas. Board, lodging and washing might or might not be deducted from the wage.[4]

In an important contribution to the subject, Kussmaul has pointed out that by 1851 the south-east had few servants in husbandry (living-in farmworkers) but a large number of day-labourers. This was in contrast to the situation in the north, where servants were kept in the house, but where labourers were scarcer because of the greater range of options for employment in industry. However, in the early modern period farm servants were kept in regions where pastoral farming was more important, and where the farming régime demanded a more regular supply of labour, with less seasonal variation. The supply of day labour might also be restricted in those areas of dispersed settlement and small farms, set among commons and wastes, where rural crafts and trades provided dual occupations and by-employment, lessening dependence on agriculture. Small farmers sent their children to service, or hired those of their neighbours, as their particular family circumstances dictated.[5]

Although an area with relatively few living-in labourers, the south-east did have some regions with as many such servants as any in the north. Kussmaul plotted the numbers in 1851 by registration district, and cited the 'Sussex Wolds' as being one area where servants still existed.[6] She presumably was referring to the Weald, for it is precisely this region which was characterized by the wood/pasture complex noted above. This paper will therefore attempt to develop the Sussex evidence so that more information is available on the decline of living-in in this highly commercialized agrarian county.

LIVING-IN IN SUSSEX

Some of the most prosperous farms in Sussex where one might expect the largest

SUSSEX : AGRARIAN REGIONS C.1750

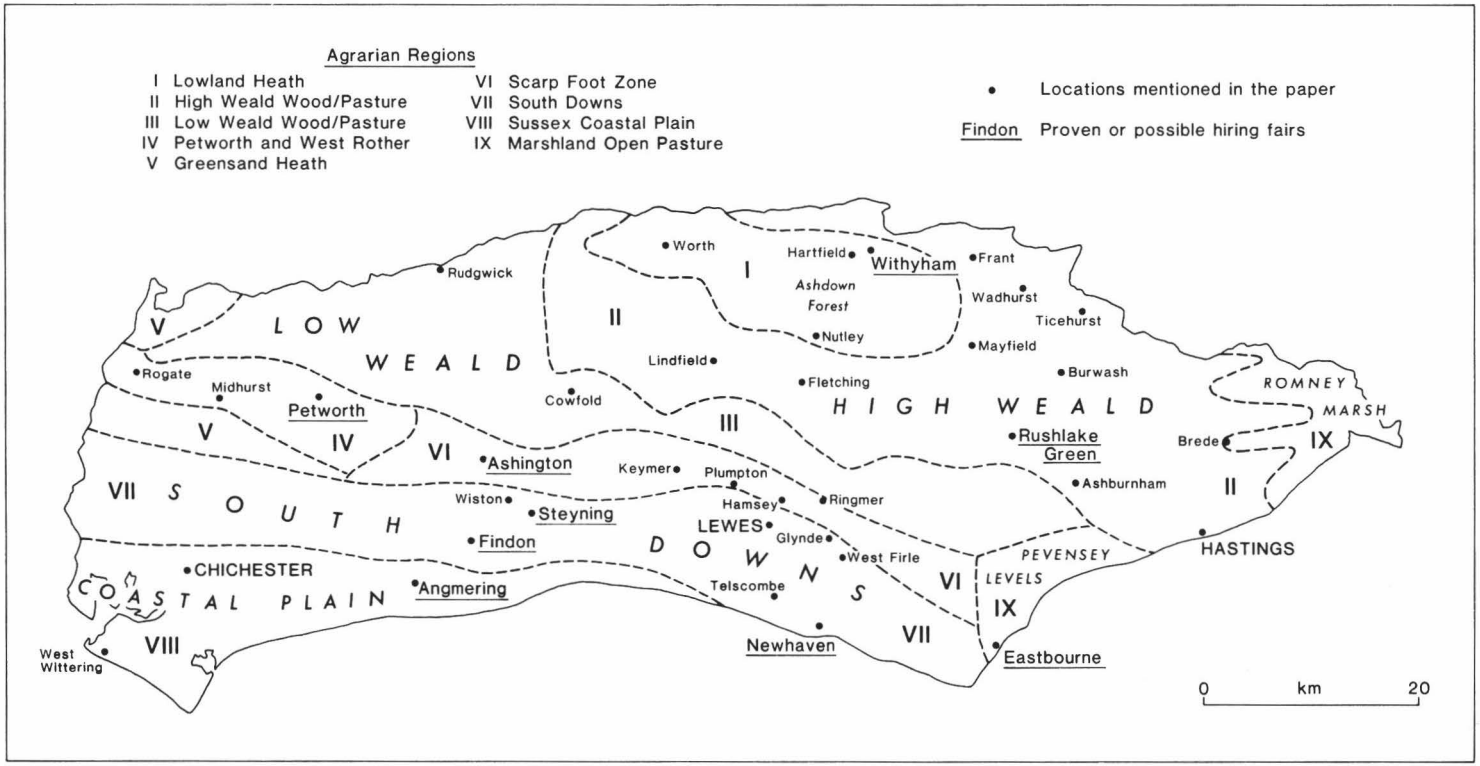

Fig. 1.

number of living-in servants, were those of the Sussex coastal plain (Fig. 1). By the early 18th century Cakeham Manor farm on the coast at West Wittering consisted altogether of 900 a. (370 ha.) of arable and pasture, 30 a. (13 ha.) of meadow, 40–50 a. (16–20 ha.) of woodland and coppice, and 40–50 a. (16–20 ha.) of 'wild ground'. Evidence given in a dispute over the stewardship of this farm in the first decade of the 18th century gives us much information on its organization and household servants. It was probably typical of many such farms in the area. George Walldron, a former bailiff, gave evidence against the present bailiff and noted that:

> On 22nd December 1704 there were kept on the said farme as servants in the house at bed and board three men servants and two boys one of the said men was Thomas Cromwell to goe with the head teame of the said farme, one other to goe with the Ox teame and the third Thomas Hunt to goe as carter to the under teame and the said boys went with the said two teames and they were kept in the house at bed and board three women servants i.e. a housekeeper, a maide and a girle under her.

The defendant therefore kept three men servants, that is one for each of his two teams and an undercarter, and three women servants. These 'ordinarily changed each yeare'. The head carter was paid £6 per annum, the 'man that went with the ox teame' £4 15*s*. and 'the man who went with the under teame had noe wages because his tyme was out as an apprentice at the said farme'. The housekeeper received 55*s*., the maid 40*s*. and 'the girle was an apprentice on the said farme'. These wages were those commonly paid to servants for performing such services. The servants were referred to as 'the familye kept in the house' whenever references were made to the amount of food being consumed there. By 1708 there were six men living in the house including the farm's shepherd. In fact, from the 16th and throughout the 17th and 18th centuries the number of living-in servants probably increased in the coastal plain and downland, due to the engrossing of family farms in this high farming area.[7] In this area, increasingly geared to capitalist farming, there was thus no incompatibility with living-in during the transition from feudal relations.

The living-in servants in this area were probably hired at Chichester. Certainly during the 18th century this was the usual place for servants to go in order to change their service. By 1798 William Marshall noted that Michaelmas was the time to change servants and that:

> On the 10th October: the roads were crowded, with farm servants, leaving their places and hying to the fair. It was a complete holiday: not a team to be seen; or a stroke of work going forward.[8]

Marshall strongly objected to 'this evil of changing servants at Michaelmas', noted also in the Isle of Wight and Surrey, because of the halt that it brought to farm work.

There are few written references to hiring fairs in Sussex. The 10 October fair at Chichester referred to by Marshall may have derived more from a Wessex/Hampshire tradition than a Sussex one. Hiring fairs were also held at Petworth and Angmering but it is possible that much of the annual hiring in Sussex was done by door-to-door application on the part of would-be servants, or by word of mouth. In 1792 there were fairs on 10 October at Chichester, Eastbourne, Newhaven, Rushlake Green (Warbleton), Steyning and Withyham, and there were in total 17 locations, both rural and urban, where fairs were held between 20 September and 10 October. At this time many were considerable stock fairs, where the side-shows and pleasure aspects had not yet begun to dominate, so they may not have been hiring fairs as well. Steyning and Findon did, however, hold such fairs (Fig. 1). By 1888, however, it was stated that there were only five such locations holding fairs of any sort at this time of the year and any hiring

practices would have been discontinued at some point in the interim.[9]

By the time that Marshall was writing the nation was at war; and with the need to ensure supplies of farm labour at a time when young men were being enlisted, there were treatises being produced which dealt, among other things, with the care and maintenance of indoor and outdoor servants. J. Carpenter's *Treatises on Agriculture* (1805) noted that 'it is requisite to hire the servants that are young'; and that scolding should be avoided. The hiring of servants at 'mops' should be similarly avoided since 'such yearly meetings are injurious to the morals of the servants, and promote a roving disposition, equally prejudicial to themselves and those they are to serve'. It was noted also that 'a bad effect attends the prevailing custom of the heads of families withdrawing themselves, in an evening, from their servants'. Carpenter also advised that the sabbath should be observed regularly, and that servants be allowed time to 'keep company', and to make and repair their clothing, 'which should be of durable quality'.[10]

That such advice should be given at this time indicates both the desire to retain good servants and the continuance of the custom of hiring them. Either way, it cannot be indicative of the decline of living-in.

THE DECLINE OF LIVING-IN

Many modern writers would agree with Pamela Horn's description in her recent book *The Rural World 1780–1850* of the decline in the system of living-in as developing from a 'penny-pinching desire to keep down food bills, as well as a wish to reduce the household duties of the farmer's wife. But it was a reflection of growing prosperity and social aspirations too'. Thus 'cartoonists like Gillray savagely mocked the pretentions of men who were too proud to eat with the labourers, who kept a piano in their drawing room and who sent their daughters to a boarding school'.[11]

The casting aside of the labourer has been analysed by Hobsbawm and Rudé in terms of economic, social, and institutional factors. Economically, the war years between the 1790s and 1815 brought with them rising grain prices, and a concomitant increase in the amount of arable land. Farms which had formerly produced balanced amounts of grain and livestock were now depending heavily on the former to produce larger sums of money than the latter. One result of this was that farm servants were needed less than formerly outside the harvest peak period. In many instances it was difficult to find sufficient work for such hired hands to do. The price of corn made it profitable to sell it, rather than feed it to employees. It was far better for the farmer to convert his produce into cash and then pay his employees, rather than to make payments partly in kind. After the war it became more difficult for servants to obtain places, for the increases in population during this part of the 19th century provided an ever-growing 'reserve army' of agricultural labour in the countryside. It therefore became again rather cheaper to hire labour, particularly by the day, than to arrange accommodation by the year.

The social reasons for the change have already been alluded to in the work of Horn. It is possible in fact that both farmers and labourers found living-in irksome. For the farmer a lack of privacy at a time when his growing wealth might lead him to demand more of this commodity, made him resentful of the old custom. For the labourer, it was noted that young men in particular resented their obligations and the lack of freedom incurred by living in the farmhouse. Hobsbawm and Rudé quote the evidence of Thomas Law Hodges M.P. on the Weald of Kent, that both sides became dissatisfied with the situation 'and thus by mutual consent, the Masters and the Labourers parted'.

Hobsbawm and Rudé also noted institutional reasons for the decline in living-in. Once employed for a year, a servant might become chargeable to the local poor rate and the per-

ceived ease by which labourers obtained money from these rates aggravated a growing social tension between farmer and labourer. And 'with the inevitability of tragic drama the defences of the village labourer against the traditional troubles of the poor, were thus stripped away'.[12]

Therefore, one would not expect to find many living-in farm labourers in Sussex by the second and third decades of the 19th century. This seems to be reinforced by the opinions of contemporary commentators in the 1830s. Most seemed to be of the opinion that living-in had largely finished as a practice during or after the Napoleonic War. D. Rowland, J.P., of Frant, reported to the Commission on the Poor Law in 1834 that:

> upon the poorer farms in Sussex the custom had almost ceased of domesticating the labourers. Upon the large South Down Farms, it is done, but only to a limited and necessary extent. I have in my eye a few solitary incidences of all the labourers 'unmarried men' living with their employer, and I can well imagine the superior advantages of the old system . . . the change, I presume proceeded from the growing refinement, and greater affluence of the agriculturists, in the last 30 years. Those new habits have now become fixed. From an excess of population which was not felt during high prices, the farmer can now command any labour when he wants it, without burthening himself permanently, with indoor labourers.[13]

Robert Weale, a solicitor from Midhurst, noted that:

> it is unfortunately now less common than formerly for labourers to live with their employers; in fact, I may say that this wholesome and salutary plan is extinct. There are many reasons for this; the two principals of which I take to be, first, the necessity the farmers feel of employing persons belonging to Parishes who are married, in order that they and their families may not be absolutely dependent on the Parish; and secondly, the desire the present race of farmers feel to be relieved from the trouble occasioned by having servants resident in their houses.[14]

One relatively systematic source of evidence comes from the questions addressed to parish officials by the Commissioners on the Poor Law in 1834.[15] In the first and second editions of the questionnaire question 38, on living-in, was as follows:

> Is it less common than formerly for labourers to live under their employers' roofs? And to what do they attribute the change? Do they change their services more frequently than formerly? How do you account for that circumstance?

In the third edition the question was shorter and more straightforward, but less directly addressed to the living-in situation:

> Do the labourers in your neighbourhood change their services more frequently than formerly? And how do you account for that circumstance?

For those replies which did indeed indicate that it was less common for labourers to live in, and that they changed their services more frequently than formerly, the evidence is given below. Some comments, such as that from Ticehurst, were very full and informative. Many parishes, however, did not answer the question at all. In all there were 73 responses to this particular question, mostly from parish officials, but some from officials responding on behalf of, for example, the Lower Division of the rape of Chichester, or the Eastern Division of the county, or the neighbourhood of Lewes. Table 1 sets out the overall conclusions to be drawn from the information.

TABLE 1
Broad Features of the Responses to the Poor Law Commissioners' Question 38 for Sussex

Parishes noting a decline in farm servants	45
Parishes not noting a decline in farm servants	13
Parishes where only poor farm servants or young people changed	3*
Parishes where not much difference was noted	9
Parishes where the respondent did not know	3
Total	73*

*including a combined response for Sedlescombe and Westfield

Table 2 sets out the responses from those parish officials who did agree that there had been a decline, and that labourers changed their situations more frequently. It should be noted, however, that the quality of response to question 38 varied enormously.

Some parishes did not answer the question at all; others answered in one word, 'yes' or 'no'; answered very sketchily; or answered in great detail, giving more than one response. The parish of Ticehurst, so often quoted for its response to the Poor Law Commission, is thus noted no less than five times in Table 2. Altogether, 16 different reasons could be adduced from the responses to the Poor Law Commissioners. The characterization of these responses in Table 2 is partly a question of judgement, and thus might be open to differences of semantic interpretation, but it does show the great variety of reasons perceived by contemporary observers, and by men in addition who had direct knowledge of the problems associated with the ever-growing numbers of poor in Sussex at this time. Table 2 is helpful in several ways. It indicates that the most prominent reason given for a decline of living-in was the availability and ease of parish aid. The situation in the Lower Division of Chichester rape was explained thus:

> Certainly the reciprocal kind feeling which formerly existed between master and servant is now completely severed, and the independent feeling of the servant is at an end. He has now little or no interest for his master. As he feels no disgrace to apply for parochial aid, he cares but little if thrown out of work, well knowing that he can, by an application to the magistrates, compel the parish to find him employment, or to support himself and his family.

This 'spirit of pauperism' was noted by respondents from 12 other parishes throughout Sussex. At Eastbourne it was noted that 'restlessness and improvidence' resulted from the poor laws, and from Hamsey it was noted that there was 'an impatience of control and facility of employment or maintainance from the parish'. The disturbing influence of beershops was also often quoted as a reason for a greater turnover of servants. According to the Lindfield respondents the turnover was induced 'from the satisfaction and idleness produced in great measure from them frequenting the beershops'. And from Ringmer came the opinion that 'morals were spoilt by beershops', which at Wadhurst were seen as 'the cause of incalculable mischief'.

Many other examples could be cited to illustrate the reasons given for the decline of living-in. Table 2 also endeavours to generalize the responses into those reasons which indicated servants being pushed from the farmhouse and those reasons which indicated them being pulled away to go elsewhere. This again opens up the question of individual interpretation of the evidence, but it would seem that whereas the decreased profits of farmers, the ease of obtaining labourers, and the ease of paying wages rather than subsistence, could be characterized as 'push' factors, others, such as the disturbing influence of beershops or the 'careless disposition of the labourer' might (superficially at least) be termed 'pull' factors. Cause and effect is often difficult to unravel in situations such as this. Thus, reason number 11, 'the poorer regu-

TABLE 2
Reasons Given to the Poor Law Commission for the Decline of Living-in in Sussex (Question 38)

Reasons	*'Push' or 'pull'**	*Number of replies citing this reason*	*Parishes*
1. 'Availability & ease of parish aid'	push *and* pull	14	Chiddingly, Eastbourne, Ewhurst, Framfield, Funtington, Hamsey, Isfield, Northiam, Rogate, Sompting, Ticehurst, W. Chiltington, Yapton, Chichester rape (Lower Division)
2. 'Disturbing influence of beer shops'	pull	8	Cuckfield, Little Horsted, Lindfield, Mountfield, Ringmer, Rottingdean, Wadhurst, Eastern Division of Sussex
3. 'Labourers dislike of confinement'	push *and* pull	6	Barcombe, Chailey, Hamsey, Ifield, Lewes neighbourhood, Ticehurst
4. Decreased profits of farmers	push	5	E. Grinstead, Hailsham, Hartfield, Withyham, Worth
5. Easier to get labourers/more competition for employment	push	5	Angmering, Ifield, Lodsworth, Wisborough Green, Worth
6. Prevention of settlement	push	3	Amberley, Slaugham, Ticehurst
7. 'Disruption of the tie'	push *and* pull	2	Funtington, Slaugham
8. Early marriages of labourers	push *and* pull	1	Amberley
9. Day-labour easy to obtain	push	1	E. Grinstead
10. 'Careless disposition of labourer'	pull	1	Hellingly
11. 'Poorer regulation of farmhouses'	push	1	Lewes neighbourhood
12. Easier to pay wage than subsistence	push	1	Pulborough
13. 'Ease of obtaining labour from parish poor relief'	push	1	Rogate
14. 'Against family comfort'	push	1	Ticehurst
15. High wages after 'Swing' riots	push	1	Ticehurst
16. 'Habit'	push *and/or* pull	1	Westhampnett
Parishes where decline noted but no reason given		6	Ardingly, Clapham, Fletching, Tillington, W. Dean, W. Firle
Totals	push factors 9 pull factors 2 push *and* pull 4 unclassifiable 1	52	45 separate parishes or individual responses

*For an explanation of these terms see below.

lation of farmhouses', which was seen to be pushing labourers from these houses in the neighbourhood of Lewes, might itself be the result of a growing dissatisfaction on the part of the farmers' wives with the habits of boarders. The disturbing influence of the beershops would presumably also be nullified if there were no grudges to be discussed therein.[16]

So the reasons are intertwined throughout, particularly where the availability and ease of parish aid are being discussed. At Rogate the position was made quite clear:

> Formerly when labourers were scarce they were taken into the house, to secure their services for the year; but now if the farmer wants a labourer for any particular purpose, he can take one that is at parish work, and as soon as he is finished with the job he is returned to parish work again.

Because of this intertwinement some reasons are listed here as 'push and pull'. An obvious case is the labourers' 'dislike of confinement'. This could be put down to restlessness of spirit on the part of younger men and women, or equally to an increasingly hostile environment in their living quarters. E. P. Thompson reminds us also that labourers freed from living-in were:

> more free from discipline in their daily work, more free to choose between work and leisure, less situated in a position of dependence in their whole way of life.[17]

The general dominance of push factors over pull factors is seen in Table 2 but this is much modified when 'push and pull' factors are also added into the scheme. It would seem, if these responses are to be taken at face value (which is not certain), that the creation of a landless labouring class in the countryside was a two-way affair. There is no simplistic indication here of the heartless casting aside of young labourers by farmers during the prosperity of the Napoleonic Wars, as indicated by Horn. Kussmaul's chapter on the 'extinction' of the species of indoor labourers would similarly have benefitted from a more explicit treatment of such factors, although the structural and historical context of indoor servants is otherwise clearly outlined.[18]

TABLE 3
The Living-in Decline in Sussex in the National Context

Kussmaul category of response	*National (%)*	*Sussex (%)*
Fear of creating new settlements	28	35
Surplus of labourers available	21	14
Need to cut farming costs	20	12
Elevated manners of farmers	10	4
New manners of labourers	7	29
Lower age at marriage	2	2
General, unattributed	12	5
	100%	101%
(Sample size	239	52)

Sources: Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry*, 128; *Report of Royal Commission on Poor Law*, H.C. 44 (1834), xxvii, Appendices.

With Sussex responses rearranged into the less detailed categories adopted by Kussmaul, the Sussex experience can be evaluated in a national context (Table 3). The greatest difference lies in the respondents' perceptions of the 'new manners' of the labourers in Sussex, where four times as many replies noted this for the county as for the country as a whole. The recent assertive but defensive riots of 1830 may well have left an imprint on the minds of the respondents, and the influence of the beershops, cited by 16 per cent, was especially noted. It is also interesting that in Sussex, a county often berated for its lack of agricultural progress and skill, fewer respondents than the national average cited a perceived surplus of labour; fewer cited a need to cut farming costs; and fewer noted the elevated manners of the farmers. Instead the emphasis was firmly on the behaviour of the labourer and the operations of the poor law.

As shown above in Table 1, not all respon-

THE DECLINE OF LIVING-IN SERVANTS IN SUSSEX :

The spatial pattern of response to question 38 of the Poor Law Commissioners Enquiries, 1834

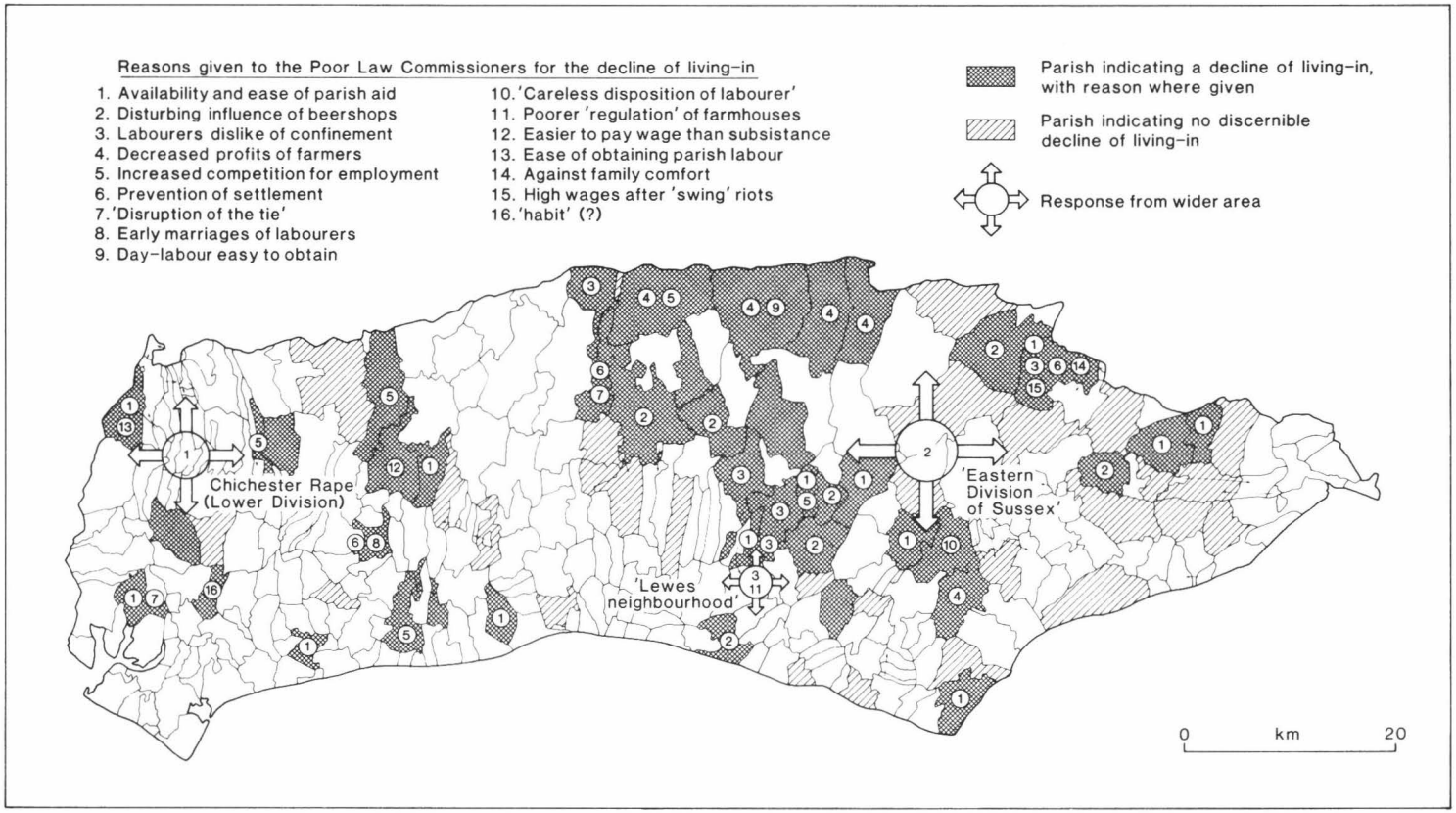

Fig. 2.

dents indicated a decline in living-in. Many hinted at a more complicated picture, and at West Firle it was noted that movement of labourers was not more frequent than formerly, because it was more difficult to obtain a place in a farmhouse since 'very few were being kept in farmhouses in comparison to what used to be'. Fig. 2 attempts to portray the spatial pattern of the responses. It should be noted that there are areas of Sussex for which we have little information: the far west of the county; the country south of Chichester; the deep clayland Weald of West Sussex between Rudgwick and Cowfold; and the far eastern borders of the High Weald and Romney Marsh interface. Overall, too, it should be noted that there are more responses for East than for West Sussex, and that the parishes along the South Downs are sadly underrepresented. There is a slight Wealden bias in the sample, with 67 per cent of parishes reporting a decline in living-in being Wealden, compared with 61 per cent Wealden in the Sussex total sample, although this perhaps reflected a true indication of concern felt over the state of the poor law before 1834, and the plight of the paupers in the northern parts of Sussex. Such parishes would be more likely to respond to the Commissioners than the largely 'close' parishes of the Sussex downland. The uneven spatial incidence of response makes generalizations about patterning difficult. However, it must be noted that there were many parishes in the eastern part of the Weald which indicated no discernible decline in living-in, and that among these parishes were those such as Burwash and Brede where rural discontent had always smouldered, and where eruptions had burst forth in 1830 during the discontent of the winter months. Brede in particular had been a centre of the 'Swing' riots but the respondents noted that there had been little decline in the amount of living-in in the parish and that the good servants stayed, whereas the poorer moved.

There are particular clusters of responses to be noted when examining those parishes which indicated a decline of living-in. The influence of the beershops was felt exclusively in eastern Sussex, according to the responses. Parishes which detailed the decreased profits of farmers as a reason for the decline seemed to be clustered in the area between Worth and Withyham in the northern Ashdown Forest area. The 'dislike of confinement' on the part of young labourers was one reason closely associated with the area around Lewes; while all the 'pull factors' operated in East Sussex rather than in West Sussex. It would be possible to suggest reasons for this. One could easily account for the lack of profits in farming in the northern Ashdown Forest area, or the significance of the beershops in the more radical, cottage-dominated economy of eastern Sussex; but how significant would such explanations be? One is here facing a particular geographical problem, since in looking at a distribution of this type one must question the independence of the observations made in each parish. To what extent, for example, was there any collaboration between the respondents in these particular areas, which produced such a clustering? Was the labourers' dislike of confinement particularly manifested in those parishes around Lewes, or had the respondents met and agreed that this would be a suitable answer to the Commissioners? As yet, no evidence has been found to support or deny this hypothesis, and thus no further explanation can satisfactorily be entered upon at this stage.

THE EXPERIENCE OF THE SUSSEX WEALD IN THE 19TH CENTURY

When we turn to the actual experiences of labourers, as distinct from the view 'from above' of vicars, churchwardens, etc., who were at pains to point out the demoralizing effects of the poor laws as constituted before 1834, the situation takes on a different hue. This section will therefore enlarge on Census and oral historical material, in an effort to counterbalance the view so often received from the past.

Between 1876 and 1882 a lawsuit was in progress over the common rights on Ashdown

Forest. In an effort to prove rights of user, a great deal of evidence was collected by W. A. Raper, a solicitor acting on behalf of the commoners, including a record of interviews with 'all the old men living around the forest'.[19] These interviews, held in 1878, were primarily concerned with the use of the forest for the collection of litter (ferns, heather, etc.) but are also an unrivalled source of information about the lives of labourers in the Ashdown Forest area, stretching back to the Napoleonic War. The main point here is that nearly all these men had been in service at some time during their youth. The normal pattern was for the youngsters to leave home from the age of 10 or 12 onwards, and to live in service with a local farmer until they married, usually in their mid or late twenties. The length of service varied from a six-month period between Ladytide and Michaelmas (late March to the end of September) to varying periods of years. The relatively late age of marriage of these men can be explained by reference to an excerpt from the *Report from the Select Committee on Immigration* of 1827 cited by Hasbach:

> If a man aged up to 25 or 30 had been accustomed to live in a better way of life, he would consider twice before he went to live in a wretched cottage upon potatoes and tea.[20]

The custom of the 18th century had been one of late marriage by men, living perhaps relatively comfortably in service, perhaps saving some wages, and looking forward to a prospect of independence on marriage. In this sense the experience of the Sussex labourer could be correlated with that of his counterpart in the Warwickshire Felden studied by Martin, who correlated a late age of marriage in that region with economic stress.[21] Fig. 3 shows the amount of movement by two labourers around the Sussex Ashdown Forest parish of Hartfield. Abraham Edwards was born in 1813 and it is worth quoting from his evidence in some detail:

> . . . when about twelve years old I went into service. Before and after we moved my father worked for Mr. Combebridge at Harts Farm and the summer before I went into service I worked for Mrs. Combebridge for about 4d per day. I then went into service in Lower Parrock Farm under Mr. Richard Spencer for three years viz. as odd boy one and half years and carter boy one and half years . . . as carter boy I used to go out and fetch litter and I used to see it used on the farm I do not remember it having peat or turf or turning out stock on the Forest. . . . The Forest was free to any one any man could go and cut it and sell it to anybody I next went to service with Mr. Philcox at St. Tyes and North Clays for two years as mate with a team. I then went to Old Lodge under a Mr. Gardner for half a year then I worked about the summer and then I worked some years for Mr. Philcox who had moved to Lower Parrock Farm . . . Philcox then left and I worked two years for his successor a Mr. Bonnick. I then went with his team on the Forest . . . I then got married at the age of 30 or 31 and worked at various places on the border of the Forest in Hartfield for two or three years, then I went to work for eleven years for Mr. Fillery who had Newbridge Mill and Peculiars Farm and I lived at the farmhouse . . . I then worked for Mrs. Hennicker at High Beeches for four years . . . I then came and lived at the Furnace Farm and worked on it two years for Mr. Abel Elliott . . . I then worked that winter on the Forest cutting litter . . . from that time I have worked ever since for Mr. Hale this seventeen years come the 24th November 1879.[22]

The pattern of Abraham Edwards's work places has been mapped in Fig. 3 and an attempt has likewise been made to chart the work experience of his contemporary James Everest. Others could have been similarly studied, but

The changing locations of living-in labourers within the parish of Hartfield, Sussex, 1814–79

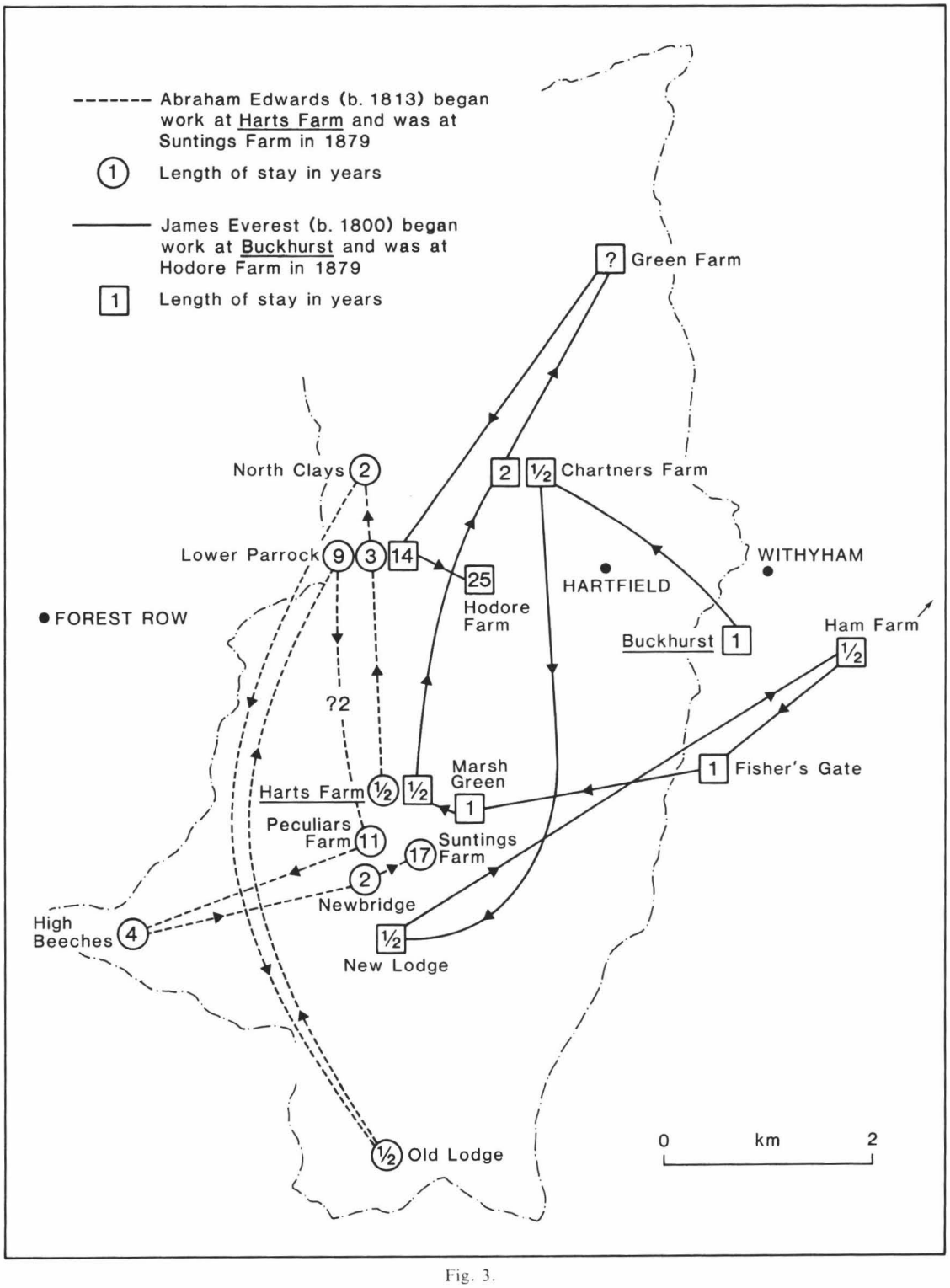

Fig. 3.

these two men are typical in the pattern of their working lives. James Everest began work at the large farm of Buckhurst and worked half yearly, as did many of the living-in servants at this time, so that they might not become eligible for settlement and thus poor relief in the event of misfortune. The length of service varied, but James Everest did not stay any great time at his farms until he had been employed by at least eight different masters. When he was older and married he was taken on for longer spells, and eventually stayed 14 years at Lower Parrock Farm; he had been 25 years at Hodore Farm when he was interviewed. It is quite clear from the significant body of evidence that the practice of in-service continued well into the middle of the 19th century. It was a pattern of work related closely to the stages of the life cycle. Benjamin Richardson, born at Thompsetts Bank, went to service at 12 or 13 years of age to a farmer and miller where he spent four or five years; went as undercarter to two other farms for four or five years; and 'then I worked on my own account for pay for six or seven years till I married when I went and lived at Thompsetts Bank where I worked for Robert Edwards . . . for over twenty years'. In this area many were fortunate in obtaining small cottages, carved out of the edge of Ashdown Forest either immediately before or during their lifetimes. While some could remember these cottages being pulled down on the orders of the lord of the manor of Duddleswell, such an opportunity to erect accommodation was invaluable, and provided a certain amount of independence.

Some witnesses recalled that they had begun their period of service through being hired out from the parish workhouse. J. Bedwell from Piltdown, born about 1804, remembered that 'When I was a child we moved to Nutley for two years then we came to Fletching workhouse for three years. When I was about 12 the parish put me out at service with Mr Cheale at Portmansford farm in Fletching. One year as under-carter . . .'. Similarly William Brooker, aged 63 and bailiff to Lord Sheffield, was 'put out as a parish boy under Squire Hutchinson at Woodgate farm, Fletching. I acted as carters boy for 12 months . . .'.[23]

It is not surprising in view of such comments that in the 1841 Census enumerators' schedules for the parishes containing Ashdown Forest, many farmers still indicated large numbers of living-in labourers in the farmhouse. Since the relationship to the head of household is not specified until the 1851 Census, it is not clear whether they were boarders or only lodgers. Their ages were commonly given in 1841 as 15, although this could have meant that they were anything up to 19 years of age. Often their work was specifically stated, e.g. waggoner. In 1841 the parish of Hartfield contained 188 agricultural labourers, and about one third of these were living in the farmhouses. In 1851, when the relationship to the head of household is shown, Hartfield had 50 lodgers (boarders not being separately shown), of whom 40 were male and of whom 20 were unmarried. It would appear, at least from preliminary analyses, that this late retention of living-in was not peculiar to Hartfield. In the parish of Plumpton to the south, straddling the Downs, scarpfoot and Wealden clays, a similar situation prevailed. Here 19 out of a total of 51 agricultural labourers in 1841 were living in the farmhouse with their master as their head of household; 23 were their own masters, living in cottages or barrack accommodation; while a further nine were lodgers or kin, also living in these cottages.[24]

However, the Plumpton evidence is revealing when studied through successive Census returns. Whereas in 1841 19 out of 51 agricultural labourers were possibly living in, by 1871 probably only 9 out of 68 labourers were in this position; 30 were then heads of household in their own right, but 29 were lodgers or kin. In Plumpton there appears to have been a decline in living-in which had been inversely related to an increase in the number of lodgers. The progressive distancing of the farmer from his labourer during the early and mid 19th century can thus be charted at Plumpton. The decline is not as fast as would otherwise have been predicted, but the changeover from living-in ser-

vant to lodger was a significant one. The lodger might often be living in a household where he shared his occupation with the head. This occurred at Plumpton with agricultural labourers, basket makers, lime burners, and railway labourers. Several of the nine labourers who were living in were related to the farmer, for example as a son-in-law or nephew. The pure form of living-in had therefore been further eroded, since the co-residence of kin is probably not part of the 18th-century pattern, although this is, in the absence of satisfactory records, still unresolved for Sussex.[25]

The decline in the pattern of living-in in the Sussex Weald was more prolonged than might be supposed from a reading of the work of many historians. In the Weald there was still a felt need to retain workers for care of stock on the Wealden mixed/grassland farms. The hiring system therefore represented an insurance system or buffer to allow sufficient labour over and above that of the family when urgently required. Although the trend towards arable farming in the Napoleonic Wars, noted by Hobsbawm and Rudé, could be seen also in the Weald, there was in general a far greater preponderance of livestock enterprises.[26] A girl born in 1837 near Mayfield therefore recalled going into domestic service at a neighbouring farmhouse at the age of 19 years:

> Three men were boarded in the farmhouse. There were ten cows for the men to milk. Milking did not come into my work but they taught me there how to do it. Except a couple of hours during the afternoon I worked from five in the morning to nearly ten at night. You see there were six people in the house: Master, Missus, three men, and myself.[27]

This then was the pattern of living-in still being practised in the Sussex Weald in the mid 1850s. Many of the Wealden farmhouses, perhaps relics of a more prosperous age, were still very large. Such farmhouses, sought after avidly today by a wealthy metropolitan, ex-urban, population, could accommodate servants yet still provide the privacy deemed important in the early years of the 19th century. The nuances of social differentiation could therefore be observed. For example, it might be possible for the immediate family to eat at the same time as the servants, but at a different table or even in a different room, thereby preserving the household bonding, but observing the niceties of social etiquette. On the mixed farms of the Weald, moreover, the ease of feeding a large household might be sufficient to allow the retention of living-in, whereas on the more specialized corn-producing downland and coastal plain farms, food might have to be purchased for a large household. The Weald also had many examples of a poor-law system which encouraged the 'putting out' of pauper children. The evidence of William Brooker and J. Bedwell was referred to earlier. During the 1820s at Hartfield the poorhouse was putting out between 40 and 50 children a year. Boys were supplied with two pairs of breeches or trousers, three pairs of stockings, three shirts, two pairs of shoes, two hats or capes, two waistcoats, two round frocks, and two handkerchiefs. The child was not to be returned within one year unless sick, and the clothing was to be returned in the same good state. The degradation induced by a system which actually seemed to allow the auctioning of poor children among the farmers of Hartfield according to the childrens' ages and capabilities, can be imagined. There is little evidence here of any humanitarian concern for the paupers. In March 1827 the Hartfield workhouse contained 39 males, of whom 14 were put out for service; 19 females, of whom one was put out; and 24 other children, of whom 12 were put out for service.[28]

LIVING-IN: THE NEED FOR A CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE

At least three new perspectives should be brought to bear on the problem of living-in. Firstly, there is a need for us to re-examine the chronology and speed of change. In England as

a whole by 1861 there were still large numbers of living-in servants, and not all of these were limited to the northern and western regions of the country. Neither was there a direct and simplistic change from living-in farm servant to day labourer.

Secondly, the speed of change quite obviously varied with location and ecology. The transition to a cash economy varied spatially, depending on the particular regional complex of economy and social structure exhibited; and the relating of social structure to geographical milieu is both fruitful and indeed essential in order for us to understand the richness of local detail in the experiences of the people being studied. The social differences between 'open' and 'close' parishes is highly significant here and has been examined elsewhere.[29] Moreover, it should be noted that the same feature, in this case the persistence of living-in, can occur in different regions but through different causal mechanisms. In Sussex, the Weald retained the system longer because of factors within its society and economy as outlined above. However, the Downs, because of a longer history of engrossing of copyholds and depopulation of parishes, had reached a position during the early 19th century in which many parishes contained only one farmhouse with perhaps a cluster of buildings around it. Even in such a situation one would expect living-in servants, and the Census returns do show this clearly once again. On the farms of Glynde, Telscombe and West Firle there were living-in servants, although admittedly few in number.[30] Even the classic Sussex downland parody, *Cold Comfort Farm*, had a reference to this phenomenon:

> The meal for the men was set on a long trestle at the farther end of the kitchen, as far away from the fire as possible. They came into the room in awkward little clumps, eleven of them. Five were distant cousins of the Starkadders, and two others were half-brothers of Amos, Judith's husband. This left only four men who were not in some way connected with the family; so it will readily be understood that the general feeling among the farm-hands was not exactly one of hilarity . . . The five half-cousins and the two half-brothers came over to the table, for they took their meals with the family. Amos liked to have his kin about him, though, of course, he never said so or cheered up when they were.[31]

The flinty downland of the Starkadders apart, even on the most highly-developed and intensely-capitalized farms of the South Downs, producing large amounts of cereals and geared to a national or even international market by the mid 19th century, there were living-in farm servants. Capitalist farming does not preclude the living-in servant.

Finally, the local processes of change could be examined in more detail as well as in the context of the wider, national situation. The 18th-century farm servant, living and boarding with the farmer's family, represents the first and ideal stage of the living-in phenomenon. The first erosion of this ideal stage occurred in Sussex with the process of 'boarding out' some or all of the labourers and paying a lump sum annually to cover board wages on top of the quarterly wage. On the Shiffner estate at Hamsey, near Lewes, men were being paid this board wage by the 1770s.[32] At the end of the 18th century the high price of food, and the growing independence of the farm labourer, brought a further decline in the pattern of living-in. High food prices made it more profitable to sell food than to feed it to servants, and production on a full cash basis was entered upon. However, this was something of a cyclical process at this stage, for with the end of the Napoleonic War came a return in some areas to the boarding-out of labourers or the provision of some type of accommodation for farm labour. It may be that from this period onwards were constructed 'barracks' for labourers, as at Plumpton and Keymer in the scarpfoot zone. On the Ashburnham estate in the eastern Weald single men were

boarded in similar barracks and were cared for by one resident family. In this respect it is worth noting the 1834 response of George Wells, rector of Wiston in West Sussex, to the Poor Law Commissioners: 'It is more common than it was ten years ago for labourers to live under their employers' roofs, owing to the supply of food being easier to the farmer than that of money.'[33] In other words, as the 1820s and early 1830s wore on the recession bit hard into farmers' profits, and it became easier for them to give food and services in kind to their living-in servants. The response from Ticehurst was similar in some respects:

> The late agricultural distress and particularly the want of ready money to pay weekly wages, was in some instances, though not extensively, leading to servants being taken into the farmers family again; but the increased wages, in consequence of the late disturbances, have influenced the labourer, and the irregularities occasioned by the beershops have checked the masters in returning to a practice which I think is never likely again to become general.[34]

The final part of the process, quicker in some regions than in others, was the conversion of the living-in servant to day-labourer and to pauper. The progression from living-in to boarding-out and then to payment by the week, then by the day, and even by the part-day, and by piecework, can be charted in some farm accounts. The accounts of the Shiffner family noted above are valuable in this respect, stretching as they do from the middle of the 18th century through to the 1830s. It should also be remembered that some forms of living-in persisted throughout the century and into the present century, particularly where the care of livestock was involved. There was no direct change from living-in to farm labourer. When the actual experience of men is examined, rather than merely the expectation derived from a theoretical stance, the situation becomes far more complicated. The progression, part of the wider transition to capitalism in the English countryside, must be charted more accurately through time and over space. It is hoped that this small case study illuminates some of the local difficulties, but illustrates one way towards the closer integration of empiricism and theory in this respect. While a powerful historical materialist framework can do much to explain the structural changes and tensions inherent within the transformation to a fully-fledged commercialized agricultural society, it is also necessary to adopt an experiential approach to illuminate and present social and spatial differences.

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Notes

[1]My initial interest in this subject was aroused by the invitation to give a paper at the 15th History Workshop, held at Brighton in November 1981. I thank Alun Howkins for the kind invitation, and other speakers and discussants at the sessions, and in particular Ian Carter, whose ideas at a more general level I have attempted to translate into a more localized Sussex experience. None of the contributors would necessarily agree with my findings. I would also like to thank Mick Reed for his comments on an earlier draft of this text.

[2]P. Laslett, *The World We Have Lost* (1971 edn.), 16.

[3]A. Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England* (1981), 133.

[4]W. Hasbach, *A History of the English Agricultural Labourer* (1920 edn.), 81–4; P. Horn, *The Rural World 1780–1850* (1980), 22–3; E. Hostettler, 15th History Workshop Conference Paper; W. Marshall, *The Rural Economy of the Southern Counties* (1798), **2**, 233; A. Howkins, 'In the Sweat of thy Face: The Labourer and Work', in *The Victorian Countryside*, ed. G. E. Mingay (1981), **2**, 507.

[5]Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry*, 10–23.

[6]Ibid. 130. However, the plotting only includes males aged 20 years and over, and due to varying median ages in different areas, shows some with higher ratios of servants to labourers than others, when overall the reverse might be the case. Thus Berkshire is shown by Kussmaul to have

had a higher ratio of servants to labourers than Sussex, when the reverse is true. This is because 62% of servants in Berkshire are under 20 years of age, compared with 47% in Sussex. It has also been pointed out by M. Reed (pers. comm.) that Kussmaul's figures for Petworth are incorrect, understating the number of servants and overstating the number of labourers. The actual ratio is 1:9.5, not 1:12.2.

[7]Public Record Office, E 134/8 Anne East./20; E 134/9 Anne East./17; C. E. Brent, 'Rural Employment and Population in Sussex between 1550 and 1640', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **114**, 37.

[8]Marshall, *Rural Economy*, **2**, 233; 10 October is Old Michaelmas day.

[9]*Universal British Directory* (1792); *Report of Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls* [C. 5550], H.C. (1888), liii, p. 211 and *passim; Victoria County History, Sussex*, **6**(1), 29, 235 (my thanks are due to the editor of this volume, Dr. T. P. Hudson, for drawing my attention to this reference). Kussmaul adds Ashington in West Sussex to this list, this being her sole instance of a Sussex hiring fair: Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry*, 159. The significance of the extremely close juxtaposition of Findon, Steyning and Ashington has not yet been determined.

[10]J. Carpenter, *Treatises on Agriculture*, taken from *The Agricultural Magazine*, **13** (July 1805), 33–7.

[11]Horn, *Rural World*, 47.

[12]E. Hobsbawm & G. Rudé, *Captain Swing* (1969), 18–24.

[13]*Report of Royal Commission on Poor Law*, H.C. 44 (1834), xxxvii, Appendix C, p. 470c.

[14]Ibid. p. 471c.

[15]*Report of Royal Commission on Poor Law*, H.C. 44 (1834), xxvii, Appendix B. Responses to question 38 are in vol. **13** of the Irish University Press edn.

[16]For a defence of farmers' wives' attitudes see Ivy Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution 1750–1850* (1930, reprinted 1981), 37–40.

[17]E. P. Thompson, 'Patrician Society, Plebian Culture', *Jnl. of Social Hist.* **7**(4), 384.

[18]Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry*, 128.

[19]E(ast) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice), transcript of W. Raper's notebooks recording the life histories of residents of Ashdown Forest, 1878, in connection with the Ashdown Forest Case.

[20]Hasbach, *English Agricultural Labourer*, 177.

[21]J. M. Martin, 'Marriage and Economic Stress in the Felden of Warwickshire during the Eighteenth Century', *Population Studies*, **31**, 519–31.

[22]E.S.R.O., Ashdown Forest Case, evidence of Abraham Edwards.

[23]Ibid.

[24]E.S.R.O., 1841 and 1851 Census enumerators' schedules, Hartfield and Plumpton.

[25]*Scarpfoot Parish: Plumpton 1830–1880*, ed. B. M. Short (University of Sussex Centre for Continuing Education, 1981), esp. 36–46.

[26]Hobsbawm and Rudé, *Captain Swing*, 21–3.

[27]Alice Day, *Glimpses of Rural Life in Sussex* (1927), 16.

[28]E.S.R.O., Ashdown Forest Case, 3904–5; PAR 360/12/12.

[29]For an examination of the relationship between 'open' and 'close' communities in Sussex, and their ecological, economic and social milieux, see B. M. Short, *The Geography of Local Migration and Marriage in Sussex 1500–1900* (University of Sussex Research Papers in Geography, **15**, 1983); idem, 'The Changing Rural Society and Economy of Sussex 1750–1940', in *Sussex: Environment, Landscape and Society* (British Assoc. for Advancement of Science, 1983).

[30]E.S.R.O., Census enumerators' schedules, 1841–71.

[31]Stella Gibbons, *Cold Comfort Farm* (Penguin edn.), 39.

[32]E.S.R.O., SHR 3570 (farming accounts).

[33]*Report of Royal Commission on Poor Law*, H.C. 44 (1834), xxvii, Appendix B, p. 533d.

[34]Ibid. pp. 528–529d.

Sussex Archaeological Collections **122** (1984), 165–81.

VOLUNTEER SOLDIERS IN SUSSEX DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY AND NAPOLEONIC WARS, 1793–1815

by Ann Hudson, M.A.

INTRODUCTION

The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars against France lasted from 1793 to 1815, interrupted briefly by the Peace of Amiens of 1802–3. During most of this period there was a very real danger of invasion from across the English Channel, and Sussex, because of its closeness to France and its good landing beaches, was a likely target. Government precautions against invasion included the building of coastal fortifications, notably the Martello towers, and the setting up of signal systems along the coast.[1] The most important defence measure, however, was the stationing in south-east England of large numbers of soldiers to defeat the French in battle should they manage to land.

The armed land forces during the wars fell into three groups. The regular army was a permanent paid force of men serving at home and abroad but also included fencible regiments (for home service only) such as the Sussex Fencible Cavalry.[2] The militia was a paid force of infantry raised in the counties by ballot; it was usually called upon to serve full-time in wartime only, and served only in Great Britain.[3] The volunteers[4] are often confused with the militia but were very different. They were men living at home who volunteered to serve part-time in their own areas, rather like the Home Guard of the Second World War. Apart from attending training sessions for a few hours a week, for which many were paid, they carried on with their normal occupations unless the danger of invasion was such that they were embodied for full-time service. This did not happen often, and very rarely in Sussex, though the 3rd Battalion of the Cinque Ports Volunteers (see below) did serve full-time for three weeks at the end of 1803 and again in 1804.[5]

The volunteers were a vital part of defence strategy because there were never enough regular or militia regiments available to guard the south coast adequately. In the event of an invasion the volunteers were not only to fight the enemy but also to ensure that law and order was maintained in the invaded areas. Their duties were therefore partly military and partly those of a police force; it was only in the latter role that most of them ever saw any active service.

There were several different sorts of volunteers. Small associations formed in towns and villages for their own defence had existed during earlier wars against France and sprang up again; little is known about them because they did not receive government grants and therefore tend not to appear in official records. The other types of volunteers agreed to serve in case of emergency over a much wider area, ranging from their own division of the county to the whole of Great Britain, in return for government grants towards their expenses and sometimes pay. There were corps all over the country of volunteer cavalry, often called yeomanry cavalry, and infantry ranging from individual corps in towns to much larger bodies raised in rural areas. If an invasion had occurred the volunteers in relatively safe parts of the country whose terms of service allowed it would have been marched to the invaded area to reinforce local troops. Along the south and east coasts there were also corps of artillery volunteers trained to man the guns in the coastal batteries, and sea fencibles raised by

the Admiralty (not to be confused with the army fencibles mentioned above) to serve on board ships protecting the ports.

Different types of volunteer corps attracted different social classes. The yeomanry cavalry were the most socially prestigious, often commanded by members of the aristocracy and attracting farmers and prosperous tradesmen. The small local armed associations and the town-based infantry volunteers also tended to enrol the better-off. The coastal artillery and sea fencibles, based in ports and fishing villages, sometimes enrolled humbler men, as did the large infantry bodies in rural areas.

Tables 1–4 list all known corps of volunteers in Sussex during the wars apart from armed associations and sea fencibles.

1793–5: THE FIRST VOLUNTEERS

In late February 1793, just after the outbreak of war, it was reported that:

> In all the counties facing the French coast, the Gentlemen are now mounting themselves on horseback, and are determined to act as a patrole, to establish a chain of communication, and to defend their property against all attack.[6]

Small volunteer associations of this type quickly sprang up in Sussex at Brighton, Rye, Lindfield[7] and probably elsewhere. Their main purpose was to protect persons and property, and their members tended naturally enough to be men with some property to protect. They envisaged action not only against the French but also against local people stirred into rebellion by radical agitators, a possibility widely feared in the years just after the French Revolution. As the months went by more volunteer associations were formed in Sussex towns or large villages: in March 1794 at Arundel an earlier group called the 'Independent Arundel Men' was revived, and in the same month at Pulborough young men agreed to learn the use of arms from a militia drill sergeant.[8]Such associations either paid their own expenses or were supported by money raised locally.

The government soon decided to channel this enthusiasm for volunteering in a more valuable direction. If each county had a properly organized defence force of volunteers who would undertake in case of invasion to go out and face the enemy rather than just defending their own homes, the hard-pressed regulars and militia could be released for service elsewhere. In April 1794 legislation[9] was passed authorizing the Lord Lieutenant of each county, the Crown's military representative there, to co-ordinate the raising of a force of volunteers.[10] Not surprisingly, their efforts were most successful in the areas most vulnerable to invasion, such as Sussex, where the volunteers were likely to be fighting in their own locality.

The way the volunteers were raised during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars is a good example of how the aristocracy and gentry voluntarily took on the type of local business which would in later years have been done by paid national and local officials. Sussex was lucky in having many resident members of the landed classes who were willing to take an active role, and especially in having a very experienced military man, Charles Lennox, 3rd Duke of Richmond (1735–1806), for its Lord Lieutenant during much of the wars. He had been Master-General of the Ordnance since 1782, where he had done much useful work including founding the Ordnance Survey; however, he was notoriously difficult to work with and made many enemies, including the King's younger son, the Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief of the army from 1798, with whom he had fought a duel in 1789. Dismissed from the Ordnance in 1795, he then lived mainly on his country estate at Goodwood, near Chichester, and devoted himself whole-heartedly to local public affairs.[11] He was a particularly hard-working Lord Lieutenant, guiding committees with a firm hand and bombarding government officials with pages of well-informed argument about how the defence of Sussex should best be organized.

A meeting of prominent people in the

county was held in Lewes on 1 May 1794 to discuss the raising of a county volunteer force 'for the better Defence of the County and for the more effectual Security of property in Times of Danger without Expense to Government except Arms'.[12] The meeting resolved to raise volunteer infantry and cavalry, and a committee appointed to carry this out met the same afternoon. The Duke of Richmond was unable to attend through gout, but sent a statement of his views. As a professional soldier he had some reservations about the potential usefulness of amateurs; but he did recommend that infantry companies should be raised, to be trained to man the great guns at the coastal batteries, as there was a serious shortage of artillerymen. The committee accepted the Duke's proposal with enthusiasm, but also resolved to raise six (later increased to twelve) troops of yeomanry cavalry. To finance these corps subscriptions were to be invited from the wealthier classes.[13]

Arrangements went ahead quickly, although many probably shared the scepticism of Lady Maria Holroyd, daughter of Lord Sheffield (a member of the committee and a very experienced soldier); she considered the volunteers as

TABLE 1
Cavalry Volunteers in Sussex

Name of troop	*Dates*	*Raised by*
SUSSEX YEOMANRY CAVALRY RAISED IN THE 1790s		
Danny or Henfield	1794–1808	William Campion
East Grinstead	1794–1802	John Trayton Fuller
Lindfield (also called West Hoathly or East Grinstead)	1794–1813/16	William Sewell
Midhurst or Cowdray	1794– after 1820	William Stephen Poyntz
Eastbourne	1794/5–1802/3	John Trayton Fuller
Petworth	1794/5–1809/10	3rd Earl of Egremont
Burpham	1795–?1798	James Holmes Goble
Lewes	1795– after 1820	George Shiffner
Parham	1795–1815/16	Sir Cecil Bisshopp
Ashburnham or Battle	1798–1809*	Viscount St. Asaph
Firle	1798–1802	4th Viscount Gage
Heathfield or Brightling	1798–1801/2	John Fuller of Rosehill
Yapton (also called Arundel and Chichester, or West Coast)	1798– after 1820	George White Thomas
YEOMANRY CAVALRY IN THE CINQUE PORTS IN THE 1790s		
Hastings	1794–1801/2	James Bishop
Rye	1794–1801/2	Thomas Philip Lamb
Cinque Ports Troop	1794–1801/2	J. Methurst Poynter
OTHER CAVALRY VOLUNTEERS RAISED IN THE 1790s		
Duke of Richmond's Light Horse Artillery (or Sussex Yeomanry Horse Artillery)	1797–1813/16*	3rd Duke of Richmond
Sussex Guides	1798–1813*	Henry Thurloe Shadwell
YEOMANRY CAVALRY RAISED IN 1803		
Ringmer	1803–1810/11	Sir John Riggs Miller
Rye or Leasham	1803–7	Samuel Russell Collett
Rape of Chichester Volunteer Cavalry (probably another name for the Duke of Richmond's Horse Artillery—see above)	fl. 1803–7	3rd Duke of Richmond

*disbanded during Peace of Amiens and revived afterwards.
Sources: War Office, *Lists of Officers in the . . . Yeomanry and Volunteers* (1793–1815); *Returns of Volunteer and Yeomanry Corps in Great Britain, 1803*, H.C. (1803–4), xi, p. 53; *1806*, H.C. (1806), x, pp. 34–5; P.R.O., WO 13/4043; 40/29; E.S.R.O., LCV/2/1; ASH 3345; W.S.R.O., PHA 53, 112–27; *Sussex Weekly Advertiser.*

TABLE 2
Infantry and Artillery Volunteers in Sussex 1794–1802

Name	*Dates*	*Raised by*
SUSSEX VOLUNTEER INFANTRY		
Lewes	1794–1801/2	Thomas Kemp
Arundel*	1794–1801/2	Edward Carleton
Chichester	?1795–1801	John Crauford
CINQUE PORTS VOLUNTEERS		
Winchelsea	1794–1801/2	Richard Denne
Hastings	1794–1801/2	Edward Mil(l)ward
Seaford	1794–1801/2	Thomas Henry Harben
Rye	?1795–?1802	Nathaniel Proctor
COASTAL ARTILLERY		
Newhaven*	1798–?1802	George Buckley
Cliff End or Hastings*	1798–1801/2	James Petley
Blatchington	1798–?1802	Edward Harvey
Selsey*	1798–1801/2	Thomas Souter
OTHER CORPS (excluding purely local Armed Associations)		
Independent Arundel Men	1794–1797 or later	James Holmes
Chichester Volunteer Infantry	1795–1802	Edward Maxwell
Petworth Volunteer Infantry*	1797–1801	3rd Earl of Egremont (captained by William Mitford)
Horsham Volunteer Infantry	1798	Edmund Smith

*see also Table 3.
Sources: As Table 1; also P.R.O., WO 13/4563, 4565–6; 40/9; W.S.R.O., Mitford MSS. 4, 5; Cambridge University Library, Add. MS. 7757 (journals of John Marsh), f. 1366; *Hampshire Telegraph.*

'a very harmless amusement for the Country Gentlemen'.[14] Companies of infantry were raised according to the Duke's suggestion at Lewes, Arundel and Chichester, to be trained by professional artillerymen to man the guns at the coastal batteries (see Table 2). While these towns are not directly on the coast they are within easy reach of it. There were already batteries at (from west to east) Littlehampton, Brighton, Newhaven, East Blatchington, Seaford, Hastings, and Rye, and others were set up in the 1790s at Selsey, Bognor, Rottingdean, Cuckmere Haven, and Langney Point near Eastbourne.[15] They generally had between two and eight 24-pounder or 36-pounder cannon and were protected by earthworks, walls or palisades; there was nothing as yet on the scale of the Martello towers built from 1805 onwards.[16]

Nine troops of Sussex Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry were raised in 1794–5 (see Table 1). It had been planned to have one troop in the upper and lower divisions of each of the six Sussex rapes,[17] but this did not work out in practice as the distribution of troops had to depend on where there were suitable gentlemen able and willing to go to the considerable effort and expense of raising one; the shortage of captains was such that one man, John Trayton Fuller, actually raised two troops, one in his own East Grinstead area and another in the Eastbourne area. While there were two troops close together in the Arundel area, at Burpham and Parham,[18] there were none in the Horsham area, the north-east of the county, or the area around Hastings and Rye.

The last-named area, however, had three cavalry troops (see Table 1) raised in towns belonging to the Confederation of the Cinque

Ports, which included (in Sussex) Hastings, Rye, Winchelsea, Seaford and Pevensey, and which were outside the jurisdiction of the county lieutenancy. The Lord Lieutenant's role was taken here by the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, an office held since 1792 by the then Prime Minister, William Pitt the younger, who continued until his death in 1806. Pitt was very keen on the volunteer movement, and many local people felt a moral obligation to serve in the volunteers because they were not liable for the county militia ballots; the raising of militia there was at the discretion of the Lord Warden, and had lapsed.[19] As well as the three cavalry troops, several companies of volunteer infantry were raised in the Cinque Ports in 1794–5 (see Table 2).

1796–1802: THE VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT GAINS MOMENTUM

The mid 1790s brought many invasion scares along the Sussex coast and the volunteers were often brought out by false alarms.[20] However, late in 1796 the threat became really serious. A large French fleet actually set sail in December, but proved to be heading for Ireland and was turned back by storms. In February 1797 a much smaller force actually managed to land near Fishguard in South Wales, where it was quickly rounded up by local troops, including some volunteers who thus became the envy of their comrades throughout Britain. This was in fact to be the only invasion of Great Britain throughout the wars, but at that time an invasion of Sussex and Kent was a very real possibility, especially when the young Napoleon Bonaparte was appointed in October 1797 to lead the army for the invasion of England, which he considered the essential preliminary for the subjugation of all Europe.[21] More volunteers were now badly needed, especially when rebellion brewing in Ireland necessitated the sending there of many regular troops previously stationed on the south-east coast.[22] The growing danger brought an increase in patriotism, and Charles Dibdin's song 'The Snug Little Island', first performed in 1797, was very popular, coining the phrase 'a right little, tight little island'. The last verse ran:

> Since Freedom and Neptune have hitherto kept time,
> In each saying "this shall be my land";
> Should the army of ENGLAND, or all they could bring land,
> We'd show 'em some play for the island.
> We'll fight for our right to the island,
> We'll give them enough of the island,
> Invaders should just, bite at the dust,
> But not a bit more of the island![23]

The agriculturalist Arthur Young wrote:

> Ought we not . . . to be able to say that our navy may become the sport of tempests, our regular troops may be defeated, but England never can be overrun; for every man that has a horse is in a corps of cavalry, and her infantry is as numerous as her property is diffused.[24]

With offers of new volunteer corps flooding in, the government took the opportunity to legislate to increase their usefulness. An Act was passed in April 1798 'for applying in the most expeditious manner, and with the greatest effect, the voluntary services of the King's loyal subjects for the defence of the kingdom'. Corps raised since 17 January now had to agree to serve anywhere in their military district in case of invasion in order to receive government clothing allowances, pay for training, and exemption from the militia ballots, a much valued privilege. The Southern Military District comprised Sussex, most of Kent, and part of Surrey.[25] Many volunteer corps now extended their offers of service, some patriotically refusing to accept the pay and allowances; the War Office could now therefore include in its defence plans a large number of volunteers willing to serve throughout their military district and therefore much more mobile and useful than before. In Sussex several existing

corps recruited more men,[26] and many new ones were raised, including four troops of yeomanry cavalry (see Table 1) and four more companies to man the guns in the coastal batteries (see Table 2); this time they were specifically called artillery and were based in towns and villages where there were batteries. These were the only type of artillery volunteers approved by the War Office, which considered that the use of mobile field guns was best restricted to well-trained regular artillerymen; a rare exception, however, was the Duke of Richmond's Horse Artillery, raised in 1797 or 1798 and consisting of prosperous farmers and respectable tradesmen, which in 1802 had 61 officers and men with two 3-pounder guns and two howitzers.[27] Presumably the exception was made because the Duke was a former Master-General of the Ordnance.

By the end of 1800 the numbers of yeomanry and volunteer cavalry in Great Britain had risen to about 24,000, about 9,000 more than before the Defence Act of 1798, and there were probably about 87,000 infantry and artillery volunteers.[28] These figures do not include those volunteers who preferred to forgo government grants and continue to limit their service to protecting their own immediate locality. New armed associations of this type were being formed in most Sussex towns and villages in April 1798 according to the *Sussex Weekly Advertiser*, while Lewes had had one since March 1797;[29] whether the associations of 1793–4 mentioned earlier still also continued is uncertain.

Volunteers were also raised by the Admiralty for service on board ship to protect the Channel ports. On the Sussex coast volunteer seafaring men had been enrolled since 1796, when a rendezvous for them was opened at Newhaven. The men were to be trained to use guns, paid during training, and protected from impressment into the navy. They would have to go on board only in time of danger, and they were only to serve on their own part of the coast unless the enemy landed elsewhere.[30] In 1798 the scheme was extended and the volunteers were called sea fencibles; companies were raised in Hastings and Brighton. Unfortunately they proved of very little use; when Nelson was in command of a naval squadron protecting the south-east coast in August 1801 he found that most refused to go on board ship until the enemy was actually sighted, fearing that, in spite of assurances to the contrary, they would be press-ganged into the navy.[31]

Under the Defence Act of April 1798 the government, as well as regulating the volunteers, also sought to involve the whole population in the defence of the country for the first time. The Lord Lieutenant of each county was to have lists made of all able-bodied men between 15 and 60 not already serving in the army or as volunteers, with certain exceptions such as clergymen and Quakers, who were also exempt from the militia ballots. Each man had to state what service he was prepared to perform in case of an invasion. He could serve under arms; he could be a pioneer, repairing and opening up roads and bridges to clear routes for the army, or destroying them to hinder the enemy; if he knew the area well and owned a horse, he could be a guide, showing routes to the army and passing on intelligence; or, if he lived near the coast, he could help evacuate women, children, the elderly and the sick, or drive livestock and waggons inland to deprive the enemy of food. He would not be asked to do anything, however, unless invasion actually happened.[32] The detailed defence returns made in Sussex in 1798 are lost, but a revised set made in 1801 survives.[33]

In 1802 Britain and France, both in need of a breathing space, made peace. Most volunteer corps were disbanded, but some yeomanry cavalry continued to serve, though unpaid.[34] They had proved their worth in tackling civil disturbances; for instance, in 1796 the Petworth Yeomanry Cavalry had been called in when local people burnt the effigy of a miller who was accused of selling flour at high prices.[35]

1803–5: THE GREAT INVASION SCARE

On 18 May 1803 war broke out again, and the next two years brought the greatest invasion

danger of the wars. Bonaparte had now devoted several years to working out how to invade England and was so confident that he had songs written to celebrate his successful invasion. 'The Channel is a mere ditch', he asserted, 'and will be crossed as soon as someone has the courage to attempt it.'[36] In the winter of 1803–4 thousands of men were camped at Boulogne and a huge invasion fleet was being assembled. Popular rumour further exaggerated the danger: Bonaparte was said to be bringing a quarter of a million men, or constructing a Channel Tunnel, or building a bridge across which the soldiers were to march directed by their officers in balloons.[37] Frightening stories circulated about the ruthless behaviour of invading French troops, and one Sussex volunteer captain roused his men by describing how Bonaparte would make them into slaves, paid:

> some miserable pittance, insufficient to sustain the sinews of their youth, or, he will send them to destroy their fellow creatures in distant climates, there to perish of disease, misery, and hard usage.[38]

Volunteering boomed, stimulated by broadsides such as the following:

> BRITONS, to ARMS!–of Apathy beware,
> And let your Country be your dearest Care:
> Protect your Altars! guard your Monarch's Throne,
> The Cause of GEORGE and Freedom is your own!
> What! shall that ENGLAND want her Sons' Support,
> Whose Heroes fought at CRESSY - AGINCOURT?[39]

The government took advantage of this popular patriotic feeling to reconsider an idea first mooted in the late 1790s, to raise a large part-time force for each county on the same lines as the volunteers but on a much larger scale, drawing not only on the better-off but on working men too. As well as making use of a vast untapped source of manpower, this would, it was hoped, encourage a spirit of patriotism in the lower orders and ensure their loyalty in case of invasion; it was still widely feared that certain elements would rise in support of the French.[40] Under the Levy 'en Masse' Act of July 1803 all able-bodied men between 17 and 55 not already serving in the armed forces were listed.[41] This caused great confusion, as similar lists were being made at the same time under the Defence Act of June 1803,[42] a revival of the legislation of 1798 whereby every able-bodied man had to volunteer for some duty; under the Levy 'en Masse' Act, however, a selection was to be drawn from the lists for military training for at least two hours a week. In an emergency they could be sent anywhere in England. The Act was, however, only to be enforced if there were insufficient volunteers in a county.[43]

With the typical British repugnance for doing anything by compulsion, people flocked instead to join the volunteers, and there were soon more than enough to ensure that the Levy 'en Masse' Act would not be enforced. By December 1803 there were 6,198 volunteers in Sussex (excluding officers), and another 1,055 in the Sussex Cinque Ports.[44] Landowners were beginning to worry about how their property was to be protected in the event of invasion now that all their servants had enrolled as volunteers.[45] Some of the new volunteer bodies were revivals of earlier ones. These included the yeomanry cavalry: in Sussex seven troops had continued to serve through the Peace, one more was revived and two or three new ones raised. The Corps of Guides, which had begun in 1798 along the lines suggested in the Defence Act, was also revived, as was the Duke of Richmond's Light Horse Artillery (see Table 1). About 900 of the Sussex volunteers were cavalrymen. Most were now receiving pay and agreed to serve anywhere within the military district.[46] Three volunteer artillery companies were revived and five new ones raised in Sussex and the Sussex Cinque Ports (see Table 3); the figures for December 1803 included about 500 artillery volunteers in Sussex and 100 more in the Sussex

TABLE 3
Artillery and Town-Based Infantry Volunteers in Sussex 1803–15

Name	*Dates*	*Raised/commanded by*
COASTAL ARTILLERY		
Brighton or Prince of Wales's	1803–?1814	Samuel Moore
Langney Point or Eastbourne	1803–?1814	Ryder Mowatt
Littlehampton	1803–?1814	Robert Spearman Bate(s)
Seaford	1803–?1814	James Cook(e)
Newhaven*	1803–?1814	Edward Dean(s)
Selsey*	1803–?1809	Thomas Souter
Cliff End or Hastings*	?1804–?1807	Thomas Phillips
Rye	?1804–?1814	Daniel Gill
TOWN-BASED INFANTRY		
Arundel*	1803–13	Edward Carleton
Petworth*	1803–?	3rd Earl of Egremont
Lewes	1803–?	Thomas Kemp, ?William Franklin Hick
Chichester	fl. 1804–7	John Murray
Rye†	fl. 1807–9	Nathaniel Proctor
Eastbourne or Bourne†	fl. 1807–12	Edward Auger

*revival of an earlier corps; see Table 2.
†raised after the disbanding of large rural volunteer bodies in their areas (see Table 4). Proctor had been an officer in the Cinque Ports Volunteers, and Auger in the Pevensey Rape South Volunteers.
Sources: As Table 1; also P.R.O., WO 13/4563–6; 30/56; E.S.R.O., LCG/3/EW 2; *Hampshire Telegraph.*

Cinque Ports.[47] The Arundel and Petworth infantry volunteers were revived and new corps raised in Lewes and Chichester for local defence (see Table 3).

However, by far the larger number of the new volunteers in Sussex belonged to corps of a new type, organized along the lines envisaged in the Levy 'en Masse' Act. These were huge bodies mainly of infantry raised in rural areas, consisting of men from all social backgrounds. One of the first in the country was the North Pevensey Legion raised in 1803 by John Baker Holroyd, 1st Baron (later 1st Earl) Sheffield, in the northern division of Pevensey Rape, described by him as 'the largest and wildest Division of the County', full of 'a bad breed of Smugglers, Poachers, Foresters and Farmers' Servants, who, in the case of confusion, are more to be dreaded than the March of a French Army'.[48] The Legion limited its service to the North Pevensey division, and therefore could not claim pay or exemptions from the militia ballots, but Lord Sheffield hoped thereby to attract people with home commitments. It was to act as a police force in case of invasion, guarding persons and property; to guard magazines and stores; to take charge of hospitals, the wounded, enemy deserters and prisoners of war; and to help remove livestock from invaded areas.[49]

Lord Sheffield's aim was to arm and organize all able-bodied men in the area from all social classes, in different sorts of corps according to their social background. 'Smugglers, Poachers (whom it may be necessary thus to occupy that they may not take a worse course), and unsightly men (with whom the Farmers would not Chuse to rank)' were to be included in a company of skirmishers, because 'the worst looking and worst made men often make excellent Skirmishers'.[50] Lord Sheffield seems to have had some success in enrolling the labouring classes: the rank and file of one company, from Little Horsted, in 1804 consisted of twelve day labourers, three under-carters, one oxman, one carpenter, and one man who worked on the river.[51] In December 1803 the Legion consisted

TABLE 4
Large Rural Volunteer Bodies of 1803 in Sussex

Division	*Number of effective rank and file in 1803*	*Senior officers*	*Disbanded*
Pevensey Rape North (North Pevensey Legion)	1,000	Col. 1st Lord Sheffield, Lt.-Col. Hon. Charles Abbot, Major Edward Cranston	1806
Chichester Rape North	210	Major Richard Yaldwin, Major James Piggott	1807/8
Chichester Rape South	425	Col. John Crosbie, Lt.-Col. John Gage, Major John Quantock	1808
Arundel Rape North	160	Major Charles Biddulph	1809/10
Arundel Rape South (or Angmering)	94	Capt. John Holmwood	1813
Bramber Rape North	147	Major Charles Beauclerk	1812/13
Bramber Rape South	299	Major Charles Goring, Major William Margesson	1813
Lewes Rape North	360	Major Edmund Smith	1813
Lewes Rape South	578	Col. William Newton, Lt.-Col. George Edward Graham, Major Thomas Partington	1809/10
Pevensey Rape South	683	Col. 4th Viscount Gage, Lt.-Col. Hon. John Douglas, Major Inigo Freeman Thomas, Major John Bean	1807/8
Hastings Rape	583	Lt.-Col. Viscount St. Asaph, Lt.-Col. John Fuller, Major Thomas Philip Lamb	1806/7
Cinque Ports Volunteers, 3rd Battalion	955	Lt.-Col. Thomas Davis Lamb, Major Edward Mil(l)ward	1806

Sources: As Table 1; also P.R.O., WO 13/4564; 40/29; E.S.R.O., SPK, uncatalogued; W.S.R.O., R.S.R. 5/3.

of fourteen companies of infantry and two cavalry troops, with 1,000 men in all (excluding officers).[52]

Lord Sheffield's idea was widely copied, and by December 1803 there were ten more large volunteer infantry bodies in Sussex, comprising over 3,500 men; all of these, moreover, agreed to serve anywhere in Britain in return for government allowances and exemption from the ballots.[53] There was one each for the north and south divisions of Chichester, Arundel, Bramber and Lewes Rapes, one for Pevensey Rape South, and one for Hastings Rape, which included a company of artillery (see Table 4). They varied in size from 94 to nearly 700 men. All seem to have recruited working men: for example, one company of 121 men in Hastings Rape included 59 labourers and 36 servants of various kinds, and in another company of 100 men in the South Lewes Volunteers over half were illiterate and signed with a cross.[54]

William Pitt, now out of government office, devoted much energy to reviving and reorganizing the Cinque Ports Volunteers on a similar scale. There were three battalions of infantry each with an establishment of over 1,000 men. The 3rd Battalion was based in Sussex, at Hastings and Rye, and had 955 men (excluding officers) in December 1803 (see Table 4).[55] Pitt was a popular colonel of volunteers and led his men in person from the Lord Warden's residence at Walmer in Kent, inspiring the satirist 'Peter Pindar' to compose the following verse:

> Come the Consul whenever he will—
> And he means it when Neptune is calmer—
> Pitt will send him a d____ bitter pill
> From his fortress the Castle of Walmer![56]

The coasts were given additional protection by the revived sea fencibles, re-embodied in the summer of 1803 on a larger scale than before, with about 1,400 men.[57] By June 1804 there were 1,126 sea fencibles on the Sussex coast alone, with strong contingents at Chichester (or Selsey), Bognor, Brighton, Newhaven, Hastings and Rye, and smaller corps elsewhere.[58] Seaport towns were now told to provide ships and hulks to be equipped with guns and stationed locally, manned by sea fencibles.[59] In 1804 381 vessels, armed with 449 guns, were protecting the Sussex coast from Shoreham eastwards; Brighton had 45 vessels,[60] while Hastings had nine gunboats each armed with two 18-pounder guns, and 11 fishing boats each armed with a 12-pounder carronade (a short large-calibred naval gun). Further west, Chichester in 1805 had four ex-smuggling vessels each armed with a carronade.[61]

The great and unexpected enthusiasm for volunteering embarrassed the government, as nearly all the volunteers qualified for payment while training and for clothing allowances, and the more volunteers there were the fewer men were eligible for the militia ballots. Another serious problem was providing enough weapons. Although production of guns was quickly stepped up there were far from enough for everyone, and in August 1803 the Duke of Richmond had to ask Sussex volunteer captains to make do with the minimum: 'I know this will damp the present ardour', he wrote, 'but what can I do?'[62] Many of the Sussex volunteers were still without arms in October, and there was talk of issuing them with pikes; however, the Duke considered it too risky to public order to arm the lower classes with such weapons. Pikes were issued in other parts of the country, but were thought demeaning by many volunteers, who preferred to use sporting guns if they could obtain them.[63]

Having done all it could to encourage volunteering, the government was now forced to discourage it by reducing the allowances and privileges. An anomalous situation arose whereby volunteers who had enrolled up to 22 June 1803 were paid for 85 days' training a year and were required to serve only in their own military district, while more recent volunteers received pay for only 20 days' training but had to agree to serve anywhere in Britain; thus the best trained volunteers were also the least mobile and were often confined to inland districts where the possibility of active service was small.[64]

In spite of these difficulties the volunteer force of 1803–5 was formidable, and many Sussex people felt confident that it could protect them from the French. A broadsheet distributed by the *Sussex Weekly Advertiser*'s itinerant newsmen in January 1804 praised the volunteers:

> Some ride in Yeomanry, some march on foot,
> Some guides go forth, and some with rifles shoot.
> Let Bony come with ship-loads of mounseers,
> He'll stand no chance against such volunteers![65]

Another contemporary verse expressed similar confidence in the men of Pevensey:

> If Bonypart
> Should have the heart
> To land at Pemsey Level,
> Then my three sons
> With their three guns
> Would blow him to the Devil.[66]

Many more knowledgeable and experienced people also believed that the volunteers, if only through sheer weight of numbers, would be a considerable obstacle to the French. Others saw serious defects in the training and discipline of the volunteers which, they considered, would make them almost useless against a highly-trained French army. However, they were destined never to be put to the test.

1806–15: VOLUNTEERS IN DECLINE

After the death of Pitt in 1806 and the establishment of the 'Ministry of All the Talents', government policy towards volunteers changed. The new Secretary of State for War, William

Windham, thought them of little use and took various steps to run the system down, such as cutting training allowances. He also abolished the militia ballots, thus removing a great incentive for volunteeering. He wanted working men to join the regular army and militia rather than the volunteeers, which he felt should be restricted to the better-off who could pay all their own expenses.[67]

By now, in any case, there was little chance of the invasion most volunteers still longed for, and enthusiasm was waning. In 1805 Napoleon's 'Army of England' had left the Channel coast to fight elsewhere in Europe, and his fleet had been severely crippled at the Battle of Trafalgar. By March 1806 the number of volunteers in Sussex had fallen to under 5,000 (excluding officers) and in the Sussex Cinque Ports to less than 900.[68] Both cavalry and infantry were declining, though the artillery were keeping up to strength; they could at least still fire at enemy ships in the Channel. In the autumn of 1806 Lord Sheffield disbanded the North Pevensey Legion; the two cavalry troops had already folded through non-attendance, and in nine of the infantry companies the officers wanted to resign or had done so already, and no more could be found.[69]

In 1808 a new force, the Local Militia, was set up to supersede the volunteers as a part-time local defence force. It was organized in battalions under permanent paid officers, and the men received 28 days' training a year. Volunteers were encouraged to transfer, and the numbers were if necessary made up by ballot.[70]

The number of volunteers henceforth steadily declined: in Sussex there were about 3,300 in December 1808, including officers but not including volunteers living in the Cinque Ports; about 2,000 by August 1810; and less than 800 by December 1813, when the Sussex Local Militia had about 3,000 men. The surviving volunteers in December 1813 were five troops of yeomanry cavalry, the Duke of Richmond's Horse Artillery, and six coastal artillery corps; the rest of the infantry had been disbanded. The six artillery corps were probably disbanded in 1814.[71] The yeomanry cavalry were virtually the only volunteers throughout the country allowed to continue after the end of the wars, and saw considerable service in controlling the riots of the troubled years to come before the establishment of properly organized police forces; the tragedy at Peterloo in 1819 was the result of a local yeomanry cavalry troop losing control. [72] In Sussex, the Lewes, Midhurst and West Coast (Yapton) troops continued into the 1820s, and some new troops were formed.[73]

SOCIAL CLASS AND THE VOLUNTEERS

Many of Sussex's chief aristocrats and landowners were involved with the volunteers, including two of the most important, the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Egremont. The Duke, as a military man, was well suited to the job, but George O'Brien Wyndham, 3rd Earl of Egremont,[74] who was colonel of the Sussex Yeomanry Cavalry as well as raising his own cavalry and infantry corps, was primarily interested in agriculture and the arts and found his position irksome; however, he regarded it as a public duty, and the mass of his correspondence and papers on volunteer business which survives[75] shows how much time he must have spent on it. Other Sussex aristocrats involved in the volunteers, apart from Lord Sheffield (see above), were Henry, 4th Viscount Gage, of Firle, and George Ashburnham, Viscount St. Asaph (later 3rd Earl of Ashburnham), of Ashburnham, both of whom raised troops of yeomanry cavalry in the 1790s and large rural volunteer bodies in 1803; and Sir Cecil Bisshopp, Bt., of Parham (later created 12th Baron Zouche), who captained a yeomanry cavalry troop throughout the wars (see Tables 1 and 4).

The yeomanry cavalry were the social élite of the volunteer movement and great efforts were made to restrict membership of the rank and file to the comparatively well-off and respectable. A trooper had to provide his own horse and often, in the 1790s at least, to serve without pay. When Sir Cecil Bisshopp raised his troop in 1795 it was rumoured that only men worth at least £200 a year were to be enrolled,[76]

and in about 1815 the troop was said to consist entirely of local farmers riding their own horses.[77] There was no shortage of recruits, for membership gave the lesser gentry and farmers the chance to mingle socially with the aristocracy, and tradesmen the opportunity to seek their patronage, as described in an anonymous poem about Lord Egremont's Petworth troop:

Why does the baker on the saddle rise
Who'd better stay at home and make mince pies?
Is it to war with gnats and butterflies?
Why does the grocer draw the ruthless sword?
In hope to gain the custom of my lord.
Why is the ploughshare to the cutlass bent?
To bribe the steward to curtail the rent.[78]

The great popularity of the yeomanry cavalry led to problems in finding officers for other volunteer corps, as many suitable gentlemen preferred to serve as troopers in the former, rather than take on the labour and responsibility of organizing a company of infantry. In 1803 the Sussex Lieutenancy appealed for help to gentlemen in the yeomanry, but the response was small, although Lord St. Asaph reluctantly and altruistically resigned the command of his troop in 1803 to command the new volunteer infantry in Hastings Rape, after being advised that his presence would greatly encourage recruitment.[79]

The main reason for this shortage of volunteer officers was that only men of a certain social standing were acceptable, as was also (in theory) the case in the regular army and militia. In 1798 the War Office directed that a volunteer officer (or his father) should have an annual income of at least £50 in land within the county, or should rent land there worth at least £1,000, unless he had appropriate military experience.[80] Sometimes clergymen offered to serve, but this was not allowed in Sussex, though apparently sometimes elsewhere.[81] Roman Catholics were also debarred, although some obtained commissions with the connivance of their superior officers.[82] Enthusiastic volunteers sometimes had to be turned away because there were no officers to command them. In Lewes, for example, 65 young men came forward in 1803 but no suitable gentleman could be found. At last a young Lewes ironmonger, Nehemiah Wimble, was grudgingly accepted by the Duke of Richmond: 'I should have preferr'd an Independent Gentleman, but as there is none to be got, we must be content with Mr. Wimble.'[83] The colonel of the regiment, however, objected, and Wimble was dropped; ironically, he later became a highly respected citizen and in 1830 entertained King William IV in his large house in Lewes.[84]

Although this attitude may seem self-defeating and snobbish there were good reasons for it. One was that gentlemen of high standing locally tended to find it easier to impose discipline on their men (see below); another was that regimental officers and captains worked better together if they all came from the same social background. Co-operation with regular troops and militia stationed locally was also often eased because their senior officers tended to be the social equals of the local volunteer captains. Many of the Sussex volunteer captains would already have been acquainted socially, and some were related; for instance, George White Thomas, captain of the Yapton Yeomanry Cavalry in the 1790s, was first cousin to Inigo Freeman Thomas, captain of the Eastbourne Yeomanry Cavalry from 1798, and father-in-law of General John Crosbie, colonel of the Chichester Rape South Volunteers from 1803;[85] while in the Rye area at least five members of one of the most prominent local families, the Lambs, were involved in various branches of the volunteers. However, a considerable number of volunteer captains were newcomers to the county; presumably involvement with the volunteers was seen as a good entrée into county society.

TRAINING AND DISCIPLINE

Volunteer training consisted mainly of formal drill: moving in close order and learning to

use firearms. The standard attained was very variable; while some corps employed a regular soldier or militiaman to drill them, others were trained entirely by their own officers, many of whom felt that mastering the intricacies of drill was beneath them (an attitude shared by many of their counterparts in the regular army).[86] Few volunteer officers had had previous military experience. While some very distinguished old soldiers gave their services in Sussex, notably the Duke of Richmond, Lord Sheffield, Lord Gage, General John Crosbie of Donnington and Colonel William Newton of Lewes, less than one in five Sussex volunteer captains in the 1790s are known to have served in the regular army. Although after 1803 the proportion rose as a natural result of nearly ten years of war, it was still less than one in three, although many of the other officers had previous experience in the volunteers.[87]

Even if drill was done well, the limited time available made it very difficult to attain a good standard. Drills were subject to various interruptions. One was inevitably the weather; not all corps were as lucky as the Parham Yeomanry Cavalry, who could exercise in the Elizabethan long gallery of Parham House (on foot!) when it was wet, or the Chichester Rape South Volunteers who sometimes used the cathedral cloisters.[88] Many volunteers had other commitments. During harvest time it was difficult to get farmers to attend drill;[89] and where a corps consisted mainly of working men who could not risk losing their jobs through absence during working hours, it was often hard to arrange drills at times convenient to all. The best time, especially in winter when daylight hours were short, was often Sunday morning, when volunteers would be drilled on the village green after morning service in front of an audience of admiring parishioners.[90] Sunday drilling, however, often prompted public complaints on religious grounds: the Reverend Robert Hardy, vicar of Stoughton and East Marden, was concerned about the volunteers' indifference to religion, and considered Sunday training to be 'a flagrant offence against decency and propriety, as well as against the laws, and the religion, of the country'.[91]

Some military experts considered that, as a high standard of formal drill was impossible, it would be better to train the volunteers as irregular light infantry, to act in open formation to harrass the enemy. It was pointed out that many of them were good marksmen, being used to shooting for sport, and knew their locality well.[92] Lord Sheffield had two companies of 'Riflemen or Skirmishers' in the North Pevensey Legion which were to be trained in this way.[93] However, others considered that such training was useless without a background of formal drill; in any case, many of the volunteers were townsmen with little knowledge of the open country or of firearms.[94]

Once a volunteer corps had undergone some basic training the men had to demonstrate their abilities in sham fights with other corps and attend reviews modelled on those of the regular army and militia. A sham fight was supposedly a practice run for a real battle, the only difference being that the guns fired blanks. However, they seem to have been fairly light-hearted occasions, and often ended in a draw, both sides sitting down together afterwards to a good dinner with plenty to drink. A typical sham fight was held at Petworth Park in 1797, when the Earl of Egremont's Yeomanry Cavalry, representing the French, had to attack the Petworth Infantry Volunteers, representing the English. However, a violent storm drove everyone indoors, both sides claiming victory.[95] The caricaturist George Cruikshank, who was himself a volunteer in London towards the end of the wars, later wrote an endearing description of a sham fight:

> You rise and put on your uniform; you look at yourself in the glass . . . your mamma stuffs your 'haversack' with sandwiches and 'hard-boiled eggs' . . . You march to the field of action . . . All the ladies are out looking at you, and of course admiring your

> military bearing . . . The fight begins . . . You pop, pop, pop, away at each other . . . You advance to the charge—when, after grinning at each other, your friends pretend to run away . . . the fight gets hotter and hotter . . . gladly would you stop . . . to staunch the perspiration that trickles down your brow! But no; you are on the eve of victory. Your opposite friends allow you to get up to the refreshment tents; the welkin rings with the cheers and huzzas of both sides . . . The friends on both sides advance to shake hands, and bivouac together.[96]

In the years 1803–5 great efforts were made to improve the military efficiency of the volunteers by better organization and training. The Duke of York at Pitt's instigation introduced in 1803 a system of Inspecting Field Officers, professional soldiers who advised volunteer corps on training and reported on the standard reached: some were found fit to face the enemy, some were less well trained but fit for police duties, and others were so inefficient that they were disbanded and put back into the militia ballots.[97] In 1806 the 3rd Battalion Cinque Ports Volunteers and the artillery volunteers at Seaford and Rye were all found fit to face the enemy; in 1808, however, the Chichester Rape South Volunteers were criticized by their Inspecting Field Officer 'for their great inattention and thin attendance, compared with some other volunteer corps in the county, particularly one at Lewes, which was equal in appearance and discipline to a regular regiment'.[98] At the same time attempts were made to organize the volunteers into larger groupings, which would make them far more manageable in event of invasion. In 1804 brigades were organized, the Inspecting Field Officers to act as brigade staffs. The Southern Military District had one cavalry brigade and three infantry brigades, one for the Cinque Ports and, presumably, one each for Sussex and Kent.[99]

In spite of all these efforts to improve the volunteers, however, one serious drawback was becoming increasingly apparent: the difficulty of enforcing discipline and regular attendance. This had always been a problem: in 1802 Lord Egremont had lamented that, although his cavalry troop had 'shewn the greatest alacrity in assembling' when there was fear of invasion or riot, at other times they had 'constantly fallen into a state of indolence from which I have found it impossible to rouse them for the purposes of Exercise and Practice'.[100] As has been mentioned, one reason for giving commissions only to gentlemen of some standing was that they generally found discipline easier to enforce, especially if they came from well-established local families; Nehemiah Wimble (see above) was rejected because of 'his not being of sufficient property and situation in life to ensure subordination and good discipline'.[101] This was an important consideration, because volunteers were not subject to military discipline until they were called out on active service, and officers had no way of enforcing the rules of the corps except by their own natural authority. In the yeomanry cavalry this was generally sufficient, but things were very different in the large infantry bodies of 1803, which included men of a very different type, who did not always have the same respect for their 'betters'. It was usual to impose fines for poor attendance, but there was no means of enforcing them, especially if the culprits could not afford to pay. Furthermore, after much discussion it was officially announced in June 1804 that a volunteer could resign whenever he liked as long as his corps was not actually embodied for active service, the only penalty being that he would be liable for the militia ballot.[102] The only other incentive for remaining in the volunteers was the chance of action against the enemy; once this ceased to be likely the volunteer movement was doomed. Lord Sheffield was well aware of this when he asked to be relieved of his command of the North Pevensey Legion in January 1806; he considered it:

> highly blameable to rest the safety of the

country on a force which appeared to be wholly inadequate and inefficient, and generally undisciplined and insubordinate, and which, on the slightest dissatisfaction or caprice, might vanish in an instant.[103]

UNIFORMS

Uniforms were always considered very important by volunteers, who derived much satisfaction from dressing up and swaggering about to the awe and admiration of their female relatives and friends. When a Sussex Churchwardens yeomanry cavalry troop was proposed in 1794 one of the first things to be decided on was the uniform, which was to have the figure of a church on the buttons (the troop did not materialize).[104] When the uniform for the Sussex Yeomanry Cavalry was being designed by the county committee in 1794, some members had the idealistic view that the men would feel themselves above being splendidly clothed like regular soldiers at the county's expense, 'and that the most simple uniform which every man could find himself with, was better for this corps and what they would like better than any foppery'; they suggested a plain round hat and coat, to be worn with their own greatcoats and boots. The prevailing view was, however, that smart military uniforms would encourage men to join and make them feel more like proper soldiers.[105] The chosen uniform comprised a dark green jacket and waistcoat with black velvet collar and cuffs, decorated with silver lace for officers, and worn with white breeches, a proper military helmet, and boots.[106] The captains bought uniforms for their own troops, reclaiming the cost from the government and the county subscription fund, and they could if they wished spend extra from their own pocket to equip their men more lavishly, as many did.[107] In 1795 the Earl of Egremont dressed his yeomanry cavalry troop in fine green cloth jackets lined with superfine white shalloon and fine white cloth waistcoats (£2 12*s*. 6*d*. per man), blue cloth dragoon cloaks lined with white serge and double-edged with scarlet cloth (2 gns.), and bearskin helmets with cockades, plated ornaments and scarlet feathers (£1 4*s*.); the officers had a more expensive version, the Earl's cloak costing £7 2*s*. and his helmet (with an extra large scarlet feather) £1 8*s*. A trumpet and accessories, including tassels, cost £5 18*s*.[108] A portrait of the Earl in his uniform still hangs at Petworth House.[109]

Uniforms caused further problems when the large rural volunteer bodies were raised in 1803. The Duke of Richmond, feeling it important to try to impose some unity throughout the county, planned a simple uniform to be worn by them all (except the independent North Pevensey Legion).[110] The volunteers at Lewes and Chichester, however, feeling themselves superior to their country comrades, objected to wearing jackets of ordinary soldiers' cloth, especially as they had previously been told they could have sergeants' cloth if they paid the extra themselves, and many in Chichester actually resigned. Eventually the Duke had to back down and allow variations so long as the general design remained the same.[111]

There were similar problems in the North Pevensey Legion; one captain, not understanding Lord Sheffield's instructions, ordered too elaborate a uniform, but asked that his men should be allowed to wear it, as 'it is necessary to keep them in good humour even at the expense of a little *finery*'.[112]

In spite of their initial splendour, as time went by the volunteers' uniforms and equipment tended to deteriorate. In 1805 the captain of the Battle Yeomanry Cavalry complained that they were short of equipment and 'several of the Swordbelts are much gone to decay from a constant use at Exercise of upwards of five years'.[113]

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The great days of the volunteers of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars were short-lived, but at the time they were a prominent feature of daily life.

> Every town was . . . a sort of garrison—in one place you might hear the 'tattoo' of some youth learning to beat the drum, at another place some march or national air being practised upon the fife, and every morning at five o'clock the bugle horn was sounded through the streets, to call the volunteers to a two hours' drill . . . and then you heard the pop, pop, pop, of the single musket, or the heavy sound of the volley, or distant thunder of the artillery.[114]

George Cruikshank's description, written in 1860 to promote a revival of the volunteer movement in the face of a new threat from France, may serve as their epitaph.

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Notes

[1]See Sheila Sutcliffe, *Martello Towers* (1972); G. Wilson, *The Old Telegraphs* (1976).
[2]See J. R. Western, 'The County Fencibles and the Militia Augmentation of 1794', *Jnl. of Soc. for Army Historical Research*, **34**, 9.
[3]See J. R. Western, *The English Militia in the 18th Century* (1965).
[4]For the volunteers in general see Cecil Sebag-Montefiore, *A History of the Volunteer Forces* (1908); H. F. B. Wheeler & A. M. Broadley, *Napoleon and the Invasion of England* (1908); J. W. Fortescue, *The County Lieutenancies and the Army 1803–1814* (1909).
[5]L. A. Vidler, *The Story of the Rye Volunteers* (Rye, 1954), 5.
[6]*London Chronicle*, 21 Feb. 1793, quoted by Clive Emsley, *British Society and the French Wars 1793–1815* (1979), 38.
[7]*Sussex Weekly Advertiser* (abbreviated hereafter to *S.W.A.*) 18, 25 Feb.; 4 March 1793.
[8]*S.W.A.* 10, 24 March 1794.
[9]34 Geo. III, c. 31.
[10]For the Lord Lieutenant's role see Fortescue, *County Lieutenancies*.
[11].A. G. Olson, *The Radical Duke* (1961).
[12]E(ast) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice), LCV/1/EW 2.
[13]Ibid.; *S.W.A.* 14 April; 5 May 1794.
[14]*The Girlhood of Maria Josepha Holroyd*, ed. J. H. Adeane (1896), 278–9.
[15]R. J. Goulden & A. Kemp, *Newhaven and Seaford Coastal Fortifications* (1974), 3 (copy at E.S.R.O.); P(ublic) R(ecord) O(ffice), WO 30/68.
[16]P.R.O., WO 30/56, no. 49.
[17]E.S.R.O., LCV/1/EW 2.
[18]For more information about the Parham troop see A. McK. Annand, 'Sir Cecil Bisshopp, Bart., and the Parham Troop of Sussex Yeomanry', *Jnl. of Soc. for Army Historical Research*, **45**, 17–23.
[19]Western, *English Militia*, 215 and n. 7.
[20]e.g. *S.W.A.* 4, 18 April; 15 August 1796.
[21]Arthur Bryant, *The Years of Endurance* (1942), 167–73.
[22]*S.W.A.* 27 Nov. 1797.
[23]Quoted by Wheeler & Broadley, **1**, 223.
[24]Arthur Young, *National Danger and the Means of Safety* (1797), quoted in *English Historical Documents*, **11**, ed. A. Aspinall & E. A. Smith (1959), 887.
[25]38 Geo. III, c. 27; Sebag-Montefiore, 189, 213–14.
[26]*S.W.A.* 23 April 1798.
[27]Sebag-Montefiore, 202, 235–7.
[28]Ibid. 224; Wheeler & Broadley, **1**, 104–5.
[29]*S.W.A.* 30 April 1798; 6 March 1797.
[30]*S.W.A.* 29 August 1796; W(est) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice), PHA 113.
[31]Sebag-Montefiore, 205 (dates sea fencibles to 1794 in error); *S.W.A.* 5 Feb.; 26 March 1798; *Victoria County History, Sussex*, **2**, 161–2.
[32]Sebag-Montefiore, 189–90.
[33]E.S.R.O., LCG/3/EW 1; see G. H. Kenyon, 'The Civil Defence and Livestock Returns for Sussex in 1801', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **89**, 57–84.
[34]Sebag-Montefiore, 230–3; W.S.R.O., PHA 113.
[35]*S.W.A.* 25 April 1796.
[36]Letter of 16 November 1803: *Napoleon's Letters*, transl. J. M. Thompson (1934).
[37]Arthur Bryant, *Years of Victory* (1944), ch. 3; Wheeler & Broadley, **2**, 39.
[38]*S.W.A.* 1 August 1803.
[39]Quoted in *The Warning Drum: The British Home Front Faces Napoleon*, ed. F. J. Klingberg & S. B. Hustvedt (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1944), 58.
[40]See J. R. Western, 'The Volunteer Movement as an Anti-Revolutionary Force, 1793–1801', *Eng. Hist. Rev.* **71**, 603–14.
[41]43 Geo III, c. 96; J. W. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, **5** (1910), 205–6.
[42]43 Geo. III, c. 55.
[43]Emsley, 101–2; Fortescue, *Hist. Army*, **5**, 202, 206–7.
[44]*Returns of Volunteer and Yeomanry Corps in Great Britain, 1803*, H.C. (1803–4), xi, p. 53; *1806*, H.C. (1806), x, pp. 34–5 (hereafter *Parl. Returns*).
[45]E.S.R.O., SHR 3327/16.
[46]*Parl. Returns*.
[47]Ibid.
[48]Letter from Lord Sheffield to Duke of Richmond, June 1803, quoted by Sebag-Montefiore, 263–5.
[49]*The Offer of Service, Stipulations, Establishment and Regulations of the North Pevensey Legion* (1803) (copy at E.S.R.O., SPK, uncatalogued); *S.W.A.* 15 August 1803.

[50]Letter from Lord Sheffield, quoted by Sebag-Montefiore, 264.
[51]Monthly return of Captain Chase's company: E.S.R.O., SPK, uncatalogued.
[52]*Parl. Returns.*
[53]Ibid.
[54]E.S.R.O., ASH 3367; LLE/6/E 1.
[55]Sebag-Montefiore, 258; L. A. Vidler, *The Story of the Rye Volunteers* (Rye, 1954), 5; *Parl. Returns.*
[56]Quoted by Sebag-Montefiore, 288.
[57]Wheeler & Broadley, **2**, 170.
[58]National Maritime Museum, ADL/K, 21 June 1804 (inf. from Mr. John Farrant); *Hampshire Telegraph* (abbreviated hereafter to *H.T.*), 1 July 1805 (quoted by Emlyn Thomas, 'Wartime Chichester', *W. Suss. Hist.* **25**, 8); *H.T.* 17 Oct. 1803; E.S.R.O., LLD/6/E 1–3.
[59]Sebag-Montefiore, 284–5.
[60]National Maritime Museum, ADL/U, 21 June 1804 (inf. from Mr. Farrant).
[61]*The Hastings Guide* (1804), 134 (copy in Chichester Reference Library); *H.T.* 1 July 1805.
[62]R. Glover, *Britain at Bay* (1973) (abbreviated hereafter to Glover (1973)), 45, 145; letter from Duke of Richmond to Lord Sheffield, 4 August 1803: E.S.R.O., SPK, uncatalogued.
[63]P.R.O., WO 30/70; Glover (1973), 45; Sebag-Montefiore, 399.
[64]Glover (1973), 141–2; Fortescue, *County Lieutenancies*, 64.
[65]Quoted by Arthur Beckett, 'The First Sussex Newspaper', *Suss. County Mag.* **15**, 252.
[66]Quoted by Gordon Mitchell, 'When Napoleon Threatened England', *Suss. County Mag.* **22**, 260.
[67]Glover (1973), 138, 143; Sebag-Montefiore, 337–8.
[68]*Parl. Returns.*
[69]Letters from Lord Sheffield to Duke of Richmond, 1806: E.S.R.O., SPK, uncatalogued.
[70]Glover (1973), 144.
[71]E.S.R.O., LCV/2/1; J. Dallaway & E. Cartwright, *A History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex*, **1** (1815) (abbreviated hereafter to Dallaway & Cartwright), pp. cxxx-cxxxi; Fortescue, *County Lieutenancies*, 269.
[72]Arthur Bryant, *The Age of Elegance* (1950), 386–7.
[73]L. Barlow & R. J. Smith, *The Uniforms of the British Yeomanry Force 1794–1914*, **1**: *The Sussex Yeomanry Cavalry* (Robert Ogilby Trust, n.d. [c. 1978]) (abbreviated hereafter to Barlow & Smith), 5–7. This well-illustrated pamphlet unfortunately contains several inaccuracies.
[74]See H. A. Wyndham, *A Family History 1688–1837: The Wyndhams of Somerset, Sussex and Wiltshire* (1950) (abbreviated hereafter to Wyndham), 243–52, 315–22.
[75]W.S.R.O., PHA 112–28, 6638; much correspondence also in E.S.R.O., SHR, SPK, SAS/G.
[76]*S.W.A.* 5 Oct. 1795.
[77]J. Wentworth-Fitzwilliam, *Parham in Sussex* (1947), 82.
[78]*Tales of Old Petworth*, ed. P. A. Jerrome (1976), 46 (copy in Chichester Reference Library).
[79]W.S.R.O., PHA 112, 114.
[80]Sebag-Montefiore, 214.
[81]W.S.R.O., PHA 53, 115; Wheeler & Broadley, **1**, 217–19; **2**, 299.
[82]M.D.R. Leys, *Catholics in England 1559–1829* (1961), 140 ff., 204 ff.
[83]E.S.R.O., SHR 118–20.
[84]*S.W.A.* 5, 19 Dec. 1803; W. H. Godfrey, 'The High Street, Lewes', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **93**, 2.
[85]War Office, *List of Officers in the Fencibles, Militia, Yeomanry and Volunteers* (1799); Dallaway & Cartwright, **2** (1) (1832), 46, 215; see Tables 1, 4.
[86]Sebag-Montefiore, 298–9; W.S.R.O., R.S.R. 5/2, ff. 24, 29.
[87]*Army Lists* (1770–1803); War Office, *Lists of Officers in the . . . Yeomanry and Volunteers* (1793–1815).
[88]Orderly book of the Parham troop, quoted by J. Wentworth-Fitzwilliam, *Parham in Sussex* (1947), 82; Cambridge University Library, Add. MS. 7757 (journals of John Marsh) (hereafter Marsh), f. 1337. I am grateful to Mr. T. J. McCann of the West Sussex Record Office for directing me to this source.
[89]e.g. W.S.R.O., PHA 122.
[90]Sebag-Montefiore, 399.
[91]Robert Hardy, *An Address to the Loyal Volunteer Corps of Great Britain* (Chichester, 1799), 31 (copy at W.S.R.O.).
[92]R. Glover, *Peninsular Preparation* (1963) (abbreviated hereafter to Glover (1963)), 234–5; George Hanger, *Reflections on the Menaced Invasion* (1804; repr. 1970), 146–7.
[93]*The Offer of Service . . . of the North Pevensey Legion.*
[94]Glover (1963), 234–5.
[95]*S.W.A.* 25 Dec. 1797.
[96]George Cruikshank, *A Pop-Gun Fired Off by George Cruikshank, in Defence of the British Volunteers of 1803* (1860) (abbreviated hereafter to Cruikshank), 31–2.
[97]Sebag-Montefiore, 300; Glover (1963), 235–6; Glover (1973), 44–5.
[98]*Parl. Returns*; Marsh, f. 1480.
[99]Fortescue, *County Lieutenancies*, 139–40; W.S.R.O., R.S.R. 5/2, ff. 54–5.
[100]W.S.R.O., PHA 124.
[101]E.S.R.O., SHR 120.
[102]Sebag-Montefiore, 218–19, 310–11, 328; Fortescue, *County Lieutenancies*, 95, 110–11.
[103]E.S.R.O., SPK, uncatalogued.
[104]*S.W.A.* 2 June 1794.
[105]W.S.R.O., PHA 53.
[106]E.S.R.O., LCV/1/EW 2; Barlow & Smith, 2–7. The latter has more information about uniforms and also good illustrations.
[107]Wyndham, 244.
[108]W.S.R.O., PHA 6638.
[109]Illustrated by Barlow & Smith, 5.
[110]E.S.R.O., SHR 3327/29.
[111]E.S.R.O., SHR 3327/20, 22, 29; W.S.R.O., PHA 53.
[112]Letter from Thomas Bradford to Lord Sheffield, October 1803: E.S.R.O., SPK, uncatalogued.
[113]E.S.R.O., ASH 3345.
[114]Cruikshank, 11.

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THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF MUSIC HALL IN BRIGHTON

by Kathleen Barker, M.A., Ph.D.

The development of music hall in Brighton parallels that in other towns of comparable size, though until late in the 19th century it was unable to establish itself as an acceptable form of popular entertainment. Beginning during the 1840s with public-house singing rooms of varying respectability, music hall diversified and became professional during the ensuing decade. Enterprising publicans enlarged their concert rooms (e.g. at the Apollo in Church Street) or adapted other entertainment premises (such as the Mighell Street circus) with elaborate decorations, tiered seating and fitted stages. Eventually in the 1860s purpose-built music halls, notably the Oxford, almost next to the Theatre Royal in New Street, emerged, coexisting for a time with the saloons. But the rise of the concert party, changes in social attitudes, and sheer economics, had by 1870 almost eliminated tavern music halls and set the pattern for the rest of the century.

The Victorian music hall took many different forms during the Queen's long reign, a fact seldom reflected in the pastiches performed today. Music hall has been claimed to be the only specifically British entertainment form, with its roots in the British public house, the focus of leisure activity for the great majority of 19th-century working men. Public houses provided their club-room, and housed the meetings of their trade or improvement societies, while also offering refreshment and social intercourse.[1]

The universal human instinct to celebrate convivially with song and dance was quickly exploited commercially by tavern landlords: in Newcastle upon Tyne, as early as the 1820s, certain inns hired fiddlers who were regular attractions,[2] while one plaintiff in a case at York as late as 1852 described himself as a vocalist, singing at free and easies at the rate of a penny per pint on all the ale that was drunk by the customers.[3]

On the other hand, it would be wrong to ignore the influence on the development of music hall of professional music-making in the pleasure gardens, and of local glee clubs and harmonic societies which embraced middle- and even upper-class clienteles. All these were well established in the more important provincial towns by the middle of the 18th century, and during the next hundred years their traditions met and mingled with those of the emergent saloons or casinos, as the singing rooms were most usually called until the mid 1850s.

It is extremely difficult to detect traces of music hall in its early stages, especially in the provinces; its popularity came into public notice primarily through the passing of the 1843 Act for Regulating Theatres. This ruled, among other things, that any manager wishing to perform dramatic pieces (the definition of which was very broad indeed) had to obtain a licence from the local magistrates, and that no alcoholic drink might be sold in the auditorium. The former clause, which theatrical managers going through lean times were quick to make use of, made any kind of playlet or sketch in tavern rooms illegal, and was to be quoted on numerous occasions in Brighton.

It was only near the end of the 18th century that Brighton expanded from decayed fishing town to sizeable, and fashionable, seaside resort, and not till the mid 19th century was

there any appreciable industrial growth. The consequent absence of both the singing tradition and the pub-centred urban culture, by comparison with towns such as Nottingham, Sheffield and Newcastle,[4] delayed the emergence of professional music hall. Having missed the heyday of pleasure gardens, Brighton never established any parallel to London's Vauxhall or Cremorne. The May and autumn fêtes on The Level (later on the cricket ground) were cheap and cheerful, but constantly under attack for noise and drunkenness, while the entertainment side was relatively unimportant, with peepshows, freaks, and the like; whereas St. James's Fair in Bristol, for example, overflowed with music, theatre and circus. There were also occasional fêtes in the Royal Gardens, but the initiative in this respect was taken, not in Brighton, but in neighbouring Shoreham. Here J. H. Balley, the go-ahead proprietor of the Swiss Gardens (Fig. 1), capitalized on the train link with Brighton opened in 1840, and in 1844 actually gained a regular dramatic licence, enlarging his little outdoor theatre for the performance of farces and vaudevilles.[5] His enterprise and its success effectively pre-empted any similar development in Brighton itself, and the Gardens later became a Mecca for day trippers, being (unlike music halls) open in the afternoons.

Of the performing arts in Brighton, the theatre was by 1840 the least important; vocal and instrumental music was by far the most fashionable, and circus the most popular. All contributed something to the eventual content of Brighton music hall programmes, but if one is to look for external influences on their early development, a more probable source may be found in the miscellaneous entertainments, 'MUSIC, SINGING, LOOS, and other AMUSEMENTS',[6] provided as an attraction at the cheapjack sales of the Queen's Bazaar in the autumn of 1844.

It is certain, however, that already in public houses and hotels, semi-organized entertainment was being established. The *Brighton Herald* of 28 October 1843 advertised Tuesday Harmonic Meetings in the 'well-known Concert Rooms' of the Golden Cross Inn, no. 3 Pavilion Street,[7] while a more cryptic advertisement in the same paper on 13 December 1845 records the cancellation of a benefit performance at the Prince George, 5 Trafalgar Street. There were also fortnightly 'Harmonic Societies' in the Royal Sovereign at 64 Preston Street in the autumn of 1846; the meeting on 19 November was reported to have been attended by a party from Shoreham, 'who expressed themselves highly delighted at the manner in which the various songs and glees (particularly the latter) were executed.'[8] The term 'harmonic society' might conceal wide differences in attitudes to music; some provided no more than boozy singsongs, and were more often referred to as 'free and easies' or 'convivials', but the meeting at the Royal Sovereign compares with similar developments in Nottingham, where such societies evolved into semi-professional glee clubs, exchanging visits and making 'complimentary calls' on each other's leading singers.

The first traces of that commercial exploitation which led eventually to music hall as a genre can be found in Brighton at the Golden Cross mentioned earlier. This is the first of the town's concert rooms to be noticed by the *Era*, whose edition of 3 September 1848 records that 'Messrs. James and William Creech have opened a new style of entertainment for the Brightonians, at the Golden Cross Hotel—the same as Evans's [the famous London song-and-supper rooms]—and some first-rate singers are engaged, Mr. W. Mayne, Mr. Crosby Hall, Mr. Charles, Mr. Gates, &c. The concert-room is opened four nights a week, and fills very well.' The serious pretension of this room may be gauged from the fact that Mayne was also announced to give a concert at the Town Hall the following Monday.

Even more significant, however, was the enterprise of Tom Swann and Leonard Burton. Swann had performed as a clown with Thomas Cooke's troupe at the Pavilion Riding Stables, adapted as a circus for the Christmas season of

SWISS GARDENS,

SHOREHAM.

FIRST TIME OF A NEW BURLESQUE

THE

PRINTERS

Of Brighton beg respectfully to announce that the FOURTEENTH ANNUAL FETE in aid of their

SICK FUND,

Will be held at the above Gardens, on

THURSDAY, Aug. 18,

Under highly-distinguished patronage.

A CONCERT,

At THREE o'clock, in the Theatre.

MR. E. HILLIER will sing

TWO NEW SONGS!

"I Wish I Was a Butterfly; or, Fair but False Matilda,"

And MR. T. GOOMS'S Song,

"A POOR BOBBY'S WOES,"

As arranged by MR. W. R. LOCKEYEAR.

AN EXTRA QUADRILLE BAND.

At SIX o'clock, in the Theatre, with New Scenery, Dresses, Music, &c., the NEW BURLESQUE, by a Brightonian, entitled

Pietro Wilkini.

An endless variety of Amusements.

CONCLUDING WITH

A GRAND BALL.

ADMISSION, ONE SHILLING. CHILDREN, HALF-PRICE.

Tucknott's Steam Printing Works, Brighton.

Fig. 1. An entertainment bill of the Swiss Gardens, Shoreham, for 18 August 1870 (whereabouts of original unknown).

1850–1, but he seceded from the company in mid April, and took over the Globe Inn, 38 Edward Street. Behind this, and abutting on Mighell Street, he built a circus of his own, possibly using foundations left behind by the equestrian proprietor Batty who had performed on the site in 1841. (It was common for there to be a recognized circus site where no permanent building existed, with a brick or stone foundation on which successive troupes erected a wooden arena.[9]) Swann's circus opened in August 1851; it was rather amateurish and lasted only a few weeks, but the building remained.

During the following winter Swann again played clown in a circus, this time run by Leonard Burton, and shortly after the end of the season Burton bought out Swann and began to use the building behind the Globe for miscellaneous entertainments. In the tavern itself he introduced Baron Nicholson's 'Judge and Jury' entertainment, a feature of the notorious Coal Hole in London's Strand, with mock trials of imaginary (and usually scabrous) *causes celèbres*.[10]

From this developed the first attempt at professional music hall outside the inn rooms, sited in the old circus, and known simply as Burton's Music Hall. This was not a unique change of use; other instances can be found in Bristol, Sheffield, and Newcastle. By January 1853 it was in full swing, as may be deduced from the fact that the *Era* reported an attempt by Henry Farren, near-bankrupt lessee of the Theatre Royal, to have it suppressed for playing dramatic pieces in unlicensed premises. However, 'the only result of threatened litigation [was] the suppression of the Christmas ballet or pantomime . . . The prices being a mere nominal sum, it is no wonder at its being an eyesore to the legitimate establishments.'[11] There was some genuine point to the complaint, since Burton's prices were 2*d*. to 6*d*., while those of the Theatre Royal were 1*s*. to 4*s*.

Notices of the programme in the *Era* prove that this was not the only way in which this music hall was diversifying; in February Burton engaged Henriques' performing dogs and monkeys, and mounted a tableau of 'The Ship on Fire'; in March he had a 'negro melodist and tambourine player' and the conjuror Rosencrantz; and in April a performer on the *globe roulante* who also juggled with Indian clubs. Success, as ever, begat imitation: on 7 May 1853 the Regent Tavern in Church Street opened its Apollonian Rooms 'for a series of concerts under the directorship of Mr. Valentine, of the Theatre Royal',[12] though here the accent does genuinely seem to have been on music.

On 20 November Burton's Music Hall burned to the ground, but undeterred by this loss, and possibly encouraged by a totally disastrous ending to Farren's lesseeship of the Theatre Royal the following spring, Burton started on a replacement on the same site, to be called the Sussex Music Hall. This, Brighton's first purpose-built casino, consisted of 'a new and spacious hall . . . with boxes, pit and gallery', and a stage 'of considerable dimensions'. The performances, according to the *Era* of 30 July 1854, were intended to consist principally of ballets and singing, neither of which, if strictly adhered to, could infringe the limitations of the Theatres Act, but both of which could be elaborated considerably by an ingenious manager.

The enemies of music hall therefore concentrated on opposing the renewal of the licence of the Globe Tavern, which connected with the Sussex, and of the Regent Tavern. The secretary of the Town Mission claimed that the Sussex was 'a "demoralizing nuisance" and a temptation to boys to commit petty theft in order to obtain the price of admission'. However, there were also tributes to the good order and decency obtaining in the house, and Burton was allowed the renewal of his licence on condition that he removed the bar from the gallery of the Sussex and stopped up communication between the two buildings. The Regent, on the other hand, lost its licence, the police claiming that 'the house had been open and dancing and singing going on as late as six o'clock in the morning'.[13]

There is evidence that, despite this successful outcome, Burton was affected by the adverse publicity; the Sussex seems to have changed managers rapidly at least twice, and closed for several periods in the spring of 1855. With its revival in the early summer came competition from other taverns, such as the Canterbury Hall in the Queen's Head, Steyne Street, where 'the room is novel and unique, the host obliging, and the vocalization judiciously managed'. After the summer season the manager, J. Edwards, closed the hall, but reopened in the new year; among other artists he engaged Mrs. Henry Farren, deserted by her husband when he fled to America after his theatrical bankruptcy.[14]

More elaborate was the Myrtle Tree Concert Hall in North Street, the exact whereabouts of which I have not been able to trace. The proprietor Taylor described his programmes euphemistically as 'nightly vocal and instrumental music reunions'; but he also had an elaborate stage with a 'novel circular frontage', while following alterations in December 1855 the *Era* reported: 'The new elliptic gallery and unique stage are tastefully adorned with articles of *vertu*, capacious looking-glasses, and choice oil-paintings by eminent masters, thus rendering the *tout ensemble* cheerful and exhilarating.'[15] This sort of rococo decoration was quite common as an up-market move; other examples were the City Concert Hall in Bristol and the Surrey in Sheffield. It is highly probable that there were other Brighton singing rooms which had no need or wish to advertise, for this was a peak period of expansion in provincial music hall.

Whether because of competition or weak management, the Sussex reverted in the spring of 1856 to being a circus, but by November it was back in the music hall business, and varying its attractions with tableaux from *Macbeth* and an *à propos* comic song about a ghost in the Old Church Yard which turned out to be a wandering goat.[16] In March 1857 Burton engaged as manager E. Morley, who made a feature of elaborate ballet spectacles (*Tubal Cain's Visit to Fairyland* was the unlikely title of one of them), and flirted with danger by including sketches.

There were still residents who saw the Sussex as nothing but a temptation to the young, whatever Burton could allege in the way of providing 'innocent recreation'. Local clergy and tradesmen united in complaining of noise and drunken disturbances; Henry Nye Chart, the new and energetic manager of the Theatre Royal, objected to the renewal of the inn licence in September 1857 on the grounds of illegal dramatic performances. Burton admitted this had happened under Morley, but claimed he had resumed personal management and the violations would not recur. Once more the magistrates insisted on the total separation of the music hall from the public house before they would agree the Globe Inn's licence.[17]

But the reprieve was shortlived. On 4 November the Sussex burned down for the second time, and on this occasion Burton was not insured; the company 'had declined to renew the risk'.[18] A national appeal was made for the unlucky owner, and from the proceeds of the appeal and various benefit performances, Burton was able in May the following year to set up in the Lamb and Flag, Cranbourne Street, where he ran a flourishing minor concert room.[19] Meanwhile local music hall went underground, the Myrtle Tree becoming principally a venue for amateur dramatic performances by the Brighton Histrionic Society.

The apparent lull did not last long. The Apollo, at 87 Church Street, owned by the Crimean survivor, Courtness, opened a new season on 30 August 1858, with an enlarged stage and modernized saloon, while in December the same year the Myrtle Tree became a music hall again, its manager, J. Kempster, engaging a variety of singers and other attractions such as a Lancashire dancer.[20]

The spring of 1859 was a turning point. Burton gave up the Lamb and Flag early in the year, owing to ill-health, and disappeared from the scene; but for a similar reason Harry Fulford, a successful comic singer who had man-

aged the Bedford Head Tavern in Upper King Street, Bloomsbury, decided to move to Brighton. He took over the Apollo and, after alterations and enlargement, reopened it as the Canterbury on 18 July 1859. According to the *Era*:

> The frequenters of the late 'Apollo Saloon', will find it difficult to make themselves believe that the handsome, commodious, and well-ventilated room . . . is anything respecting the same as the low-pitched, close, and not over-cleanly place of which they have been habitues. By throwing two stories into one, erecting galleries round, with private boxes, constructing a new stage, with drop scene by Wilson, along with five crystal chandeliers by Defries, with thorough ventilation through a shaft over each, and painting and redecoration by Jones—a hall has been made which the proprietors may be pardoned for saying 'is of its size the handsomest room in England'.[21]

According to Fulford's own advertisement, the new Canterbury could hold 500,[22] and it was speedily recognized that Fulford was setting new standards in Brighton for his class of entertainment.

Even the moralistic London Graduate who published his survey *Brighton As It Is* in 1860[23] admitted that the Canterbury was 'a considerable improvement upon the other dirty public houses with which this portion of the town is infested'. His description, however, is still a useful antidote to any tendency to overrate the new facilities, as he described the 'small tradesmen with their wives and families' in the boxes, the 'operatives, in their work-a-day habiliments' in the pit, the sprinkling of obvious prostitutes, and the miscellany of entertainers on the stage.

The bills of the Canterbury, by now freely advertised in the Brighton press, show how widely music hall was by now throwing its net. Singers predominated, comic, serio-comic, bravura, ballad and sentimental; but dancing was a regular feature, and ballet corps were freely used in spectacles. There were conjurors like the veteran 'Professor' Buck; the German *siffleur* Herr Susman; a variety of acrobats and animal trainers; and on one occasion Louis Levy, 'Shakesperian Dramatic and Buffo Comic Singer and Champion Skate and Spade Dancer', a host in himself, one might say. There is, however, no sign of any particular development of local talent, such as occurred on Tyneside.

Like most provincial music halls the Canterbury was necessarily limited in the performers it could engage. Major stars like E. W. Mackney, Sam Cowell, Harry Clifton and Harry Liston could command fees far greater than a 500-seat hall, charging from 3*d*. to 1*s*., brought in. Instead, from about 1859 onwards, they organized 'concert parties' touring the regions and booking assembly rooms, town halls, or, in Brighton, the Royal Pavilion. Drawing on an audience which preferred to enjoy a music hall entertainment without the accompaniment of tobacco smoke and beer, such artists could charge a minimum of 1*s*., rising to 3*s*. for reserved seats.

Except for these concert party visits, however, Fulford's Canterbury dominated the music hall scene in Brighton for the first five years of its life. The Myrtle Tree, according to the London Graduate, had ceased to be a 'gaff' and become a low-class dance hall, but there are traces of a number of other tavern rooms. Some were revivals, such as the Prince George in Trafalgar Street which had been active in the 1840s and now in December 1859 advertised Harmonic Meetings;[24] there was also the Imperial Hotel at 43–4 Queen's Road, which claimed in the *Era* of 25 August 1861 to present 'Autumnal Vocal and Instrumental Soirees . . . (Gentlemen Only)', clearly another amateur 'free and easy' of a long-lasting type.

The Mighell Street site had not been abandoned. It was rebuilt and used at various times by equestrians, acrobats and Christy Minstrels under the name of the Alhambra. On Boxing

Day 1862 it was 're-opened *permanently*' (the italics are the *Era*'s) as a music hall, but the managers, Stacey and Bush, were a dubious pair, representative of the fly-by-night opportunists who infested the provincial music hall during its boom period. By May 1863 their management had collapsed, and a further attempt the following Christmas was even less successful. (According to the *London Entr'acte*, by 1870 the Alhambra had been taken over as a mission hall.)

A new and ultimately much more serious rival opened in July 1863, only a few doors to the north of the Theatre Royal in the New Road. Although the Pavilion, as the hall was initially called, was only a wooden structure set back from the road, its manager Youens was an energetic and capable character, determined to make his hall both popular and respectable. The initial weeks were successful enough to encourage him to decorate and improve the house, which he opened again in September as the Oxford Music Hall, a name it kept to the end of its career. The progress of the Oxford was not without incident, Youens coming quickly under fire for reliance on sensational acrobatic and gymnastic performances; but his early prosperity may be gauged from the fact that he was able in July and August 1864 to engage Alfred Vance, 'the great Vance', the outstanding *lion comique* of the day, and more usually found running his own, very successful, concert party.

Fulford, whose health was giving trouble again, resolved to get rid of the Canterbury. Unable to sell outright, he leased the hall to Wyndham Clark, a tenor singer of some pretensions, and retired to be mine host of the Egremont Hotel (which had itself in the past occasionally boasted some kind of saloon entertainment), at 111 Western Road.

The two halls, the Canterbury and the Oxford, ran side by side in reasonably amicable competition for some months. Wyndham Clark then handed over management of the Canterbury to R. A. Brennan, a lively Irish comic who began to broaden the appeal of the hall again. Early in 1865 the *Era* reported the duettists Mr. and Mrs. Stoner in an olio, 'The Rose, Shamrock and Thistle', illustrated by a panorama; on the same bill were Messrs. Lewis and Wells in dog dramas, and the whole concluded with a Christmas entertainment, complete with harlequinade. Brennan's wife made a speciality of spectacular *ballets d'action*, such as 'The Gathering of the Clans'; the Canterbury must have been getting very near the legal limit.[25] Unfortunately in other matters Brennan was less satisfactory; he left in November 1865 under a cloud, having allowed the hall to degenerate into a 'state of dirt and neglect'. In disgust Wyndham Clark took the reigns again, and appointed a new manager, T. K. Symms, who advertised: 'It is to be distinctly understood that the present Manager does not sing through his nose or hail from Dublin. No Irish or knife-grinders need apply.'[26] The following week's advertisement was couched in even cruder terms. Clark 'cleansed, purified, painted and decorated' the Canterbury, but it clearly went through a very unsettled phase (Clark had bodily to evict one unsatisfactory manager).

Youens, on the other hand, established himself more firmly. When in 1866 he applied for a spirits licence, for the second time, his solicitor claimed that the Oxford:

> was visited by tradesmen and their wives and daughters, and Mr. Youens, since he had had it, would not allow children in except accompanied by their parents. To show the vast number of persons who had been attracted by the entertainments he would state that in the first year the number was 61,000; in the second, 77,000; and in the third, 88,000.[27]

It is clear that by this time music hall in Brighton, as everywhere else, was becoming an independent professional entertainment, but in a town so conscious of housing 'the upper ten thousand' it was unwise to assume that it was totally accepted. In August 1866 the Alhambra

was briefly converted into the 'Theatre des Variétés' and run by no less a person than Henry Nye Chart, who after several years of successful management had just bought the Theatre Royal. While the interior of that theatre was being gutted and rebuilt, Chart thought he might turn a popular penny during Race Week by putting on what were effectively music hall performances. His bills were good, including W. G. Ross (of 'Ballad of Sam Hall' fame) and the Theatre Royal's own low comedian, Harry Cox, but the *Brighton Herald* thought it 'a mistake that Mr. Nye Chart entered into competition with [the other saloons], associating as the public does the name with a higher class of entertainment than those of Concert Halls'.[28] The venture met with only a lukewarm response.

Somewhat surprisingly, Youens decided in February 1867 to resign his share in the Oxford in favour of his partner Edward Cruse and to buy the Canterbury. Then, only a month later, the Oxford shared the fate of so many music halls and theatres, and was burned out. Damage was estimated at £800, and as usual the building was inadequately insured; the Italian String Band lost all their instruments, and a benefit concert was given for them, both by Youens at the Canterbury and by other Brighton musicians at the Town Hall.[29] Once more the Canterbury was left in sole possession of the field, and Youens generously ran a double company for a time so that the displaced performers should not be penniless.

It could not, however, be a permanent solution; it proved not even a satisfactory one. Notices of the Canterbury in the *Era* cease after June, suggesting that the local critic no longer found it worth visiting, and in November Youens decided to retire.

Meanwhile concert parties led by E. W. Mackney, Harry Clifton and Arthur Lloyd became frequent visitors to the Pavilion, while the Corporation had finally adapted the old Riding Stables as the Dome Assembly Rooms, which opened for concerts in June 1867. Fulford clearly thought he saw an opportunity, and from October 1867 to January 1868 he hired the Dome for a series of 'Monday Popular Concerts', a popular euphemism for high-class music hall bills. But Fulford was no more successful than Nye Chart in attracting a middle-class audience, and he went back to the Canterbury in March 1868.

The Oxford was meanwhile rebuilt, to the design of Brighton architect George Tuppen, and under new ownership, that of B. W. Botham. On 3 August 1868 the New Oxford Music Hall opened, and the descriptions in the *Music Halls' Gazette* of 1 and 8 August make it clear that it was a small (40 ft. square) but fully equipped theatre. It was elaborately decorated in cream and lavender by Tony Drury, who had been responsible for the interior of the Dome Assembly Room, and Botham made a popular move by engaging as chairman George Allen, who as 'M. Allano', clown of successive Theatre Royal pantomimes, had become an institution in Brighton.

The programme at the New Oxford was good and varied, closely resembling that of other leading provincial halls. The opening bill included Asa Cushman and Joey Tennyson, American comedians, who had appeared for Fulford at the Dome; several comic vocalists; a black trapeze artist; and a small ballet troupe. Later Botham added monologue reciters, sentimental vocalists, and a female acrobat, Mlle. Aldine, who created a furore.[30] The prices were above average for a saloon and indicated the level of audience Botham hoped to attract, being 6*d*. to the balcony, 1*s*. to the stalls and boxes, and 1*s*. 6*d*. to private boxes. Faced with this opposition, the Canterbury seems to have given up, the last mention traced being in August 1868.

It should not be thought that tavern music hall, in Brighton or anywhere else, had totally disappeared, but its heyday was certainly over. The Imperial Hotel in Queen's Road once again opened a concert room at the end of June 1869, but in September the complaints made against the saloon were such that the magistrates at

brewster sessions gave the owners the option of closing the music room or losing their licence. Needless to say, they opted for the former, and the Oxford, though still unsuccessful in obtaining permission to sell wines and spirits, was left the sole Brighton music hall.[31]

This monopoly, combined with the excellent facilities of the Oxford, enabled Botham to engage a wide range of good sound performers. At one time the 'Can-Can' as interpreted by various 'French' troupes was all the rage, but other attractions included Ellen Thirlwall (previously a leading burlesque actress at the Theatre Royal); a Fairy Christmas Entertainment; Herr Schulze's polylogue entertainment *Masks and Faces*; Mme. Donti, a bravura soprano; and a Christy Minstrel troupe. This was a far cry indeed from the tavern room choruses of the free and easies of thirty years earlier, and whatever the prejudice remaining, the Oxford proved a going concern; it is said to have been one of the last music halls to retain the services of a chairman.[32] It continued, in fact, till 1892, when, after being burned down again, it was replaced by the Empire, 'one of the prettiest music halls in the kingdom', according to H. M. Walbrook.[33]

Music hall was, by and large, a product of urban, industrialized populations, so it is not surprising that in Brighton it never attained overwhelming popularity, or evolved a regional personality, as it did elsewhere, particularly in the north. Nevertheless it developed along recognizable lines, and undoubtedly filled a gap in the provision of entertainment in a town otherwise somewhat prone to cater for its incomers rather than its indigenous population.

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Notes

[1]B. Harrison, 'Pubs', in *The Victorian City*, ed. H. J. Dyos & M. Wolff, 1 (1976), 161–90.
[2]D. Harker, 'The Making of the Tyneside Concert Hall', paper read at Conference on Provincial Culture 1780 to 1870, Sheffield Polytechnic, 23 April 1981.
[3]*Era*, 22 Aug. 1852.
[4]Comparative material is mainly drawn from my Leicester University Ph.D. thesis, 1982, 'Provincial Entertainments 1840–1870'.
[5]*Brighton Herald*, 4 May 1844.
[6]Ibid. 5 Oct. 1844. 'Loo' was a popular card-game with money penalties.
[7]According to Folthorpe's *Directory* of 1850, Pavilion Street was 'at 9 Pavilion Parade'.
[8]*Brighton Herald*, 21 Nov. 1846.
[9]See pl. 4 between pp. 79 and 80 of H. A. A. Whiteley, *Memoirs of Circus Variety, &c. as I Knew It* (1981).
[10]*Era*, 15 July 1852.
[11]Ibid. 11 Jan. 1853.
[12]Ibid. 8 May 1853.
[13]*Brighton Gazette*, 13 Aug., 7 Sept. 1854; *Brighton Herald*, 2 Sept. 1854.
[14]*Era*, 29 July 1855; 27 Jan., 24 Feb. 1856.
[15]Ibid. 2 and 16 Sept., 9 Dec. 1855.
[16]Ibid. 1 Feb. 1857.
[17]*Brighton Examiner*, 26 May, 1 and 8 Sept. 1857; *Era*, 13 and 20 Sept. 1857.
[18]*Era*, 8 Nov. 1857.
[19]Ibid. 23 May 1858. This building still stands, though the ground floor has been much altered.
[20]Ibid. 15 Aug., 26 Dec. 1858.
[21]Ibid. 10 July 1859.
[22]*Brighton Examiner*, 19 July 1859.
[23]A Graduate of the University of London, *Brighton As It Is—Its Pleasures, Practices, and Pastimes, with a Short Account of the Social and Inner Life of its Inhabitants* (Brighton, 1860), of which pp. 81–6 deal with music halls.
[24]*Brighton Examiner*, 13 Dec. 1859.
[25]*Era*, 15 Jan., 19 Feb. 1865.
[26]Ibid. 26 Nov. 1865.
[27]*Brighton Herald*, 25 Aug. 1866.
[28]Ibid. 11 Aug. 1866.
[29]*Brighton Gazette*, 26 March 1867.
[30]*Music Halls' Gazette*, 10 Oct. 1868; *Brighton Guardian*, 28 Oct. 1868.
[31]*Era*, 29 Aug., 12 and 19 Sept. 1869; *Brighton Herald*, 21 and 28 Aug., 10 Sept., 22 Oct. 1869.
[32]H. M. Walbrook, *Robertson's Brighton* (Brighton, 1896), 22.
[33]Ibid.; also C. Musgrave, *Life in Brighton from the Earliest Times to the Present* (1970), 308.

Sussex Archaeological Collections **122** (1984), 193–206.

THE IMPACT OF THE RAILWAY ON UCKFIELD IN THE 19TH CENTURY

by Sally A. Pearce

Uckfield was a small Sussex town at the beginning of the 19th century and was brought out of rural isolation in 1858 when the rail link with Lewes was opened; it was later extended to Tunbridge Wells. This study considers the part played by the railway in the development of Uckfield during the 19th century. Uckfield and its people are analysed to identify the trading and settlement patterns influenced by existing modes of transport in the 1840s, predating the railway. Attention is then drawn to changes in the community after 1858 initiated by the new form of transport. The major part of the discussion concerns the development of Uckfield to the end of the 19th century with reference to the social, economic and topographical changes brought about, at least in part, by the railway.

INTRODUCTION

The growth of the railway network in Britain is regarded by many as the greatest achievement of the Victorian period. This new mode of transport, faster than any other then in existence, disrupted the pattern of life throughout Britain. By linking communities together, rural populations were brought out of isolation and social and economic progress was rapid. Raw materials could be transported easily and farmers could sell produce at a greater distance by using the fast rail service. In some instances, the focal point of the town moved nearer to the railway station. In the following pages, the changes in Uckfield postdating the opening of the railway will be identified with consideration of the extent to which the railway was instrumental in bringing about these developments by the end of the 19th century.

UCKFIELD IN THE EARLY 19TH CENTURY

It is essential to portray Uckfield as it existed before the intrusion of the railway in order to identify subsequent changes. Uckfield is situated in the High Weald of the north-east of Sussex. From the map (Fig. 1) it can be seen that Lewes lies 8 miles to the south-west and Brighton 16 miles to the south-west. Fourteen miles north-east lies Tunbridge Wells, and London is 43 miles to the north. The parish was in the hundred of Loxfield Dorset, the rape of Pevensey and the diocese of Chichester.[1] By the 1851 Census the population had reached 1,590. Uckfield was a typical Wealden community with local tradesmen and services supplying the needs of the inhabitants and surrounding agriculture. Local industries included those of agricultural processing such as milling and brewing, and the building industry was also flourishing. In common with other rural areas, those employed in agriculture tended to live near the edge of the built-up area.[2] Hence, agricultural workers could be found at Ridgewood and Ringles Cross[3] (see Fig. 2). In 1843, Uckfield still consisted mainly of one street running from north to south down a south-facing slope, over a bridge crossing the river Uck in the valley before ascending on the southern side. This main north–south road, the High Street, carried goods and travellers from London and Tunbridge Wells to Lewes and Brighton in the south-west or Hailsham and Eastbourne in the south-east. It was turnpiked with a toll gate at Ringles Cross. On Fig. 2, the main area of settlement can be seen around the junction of

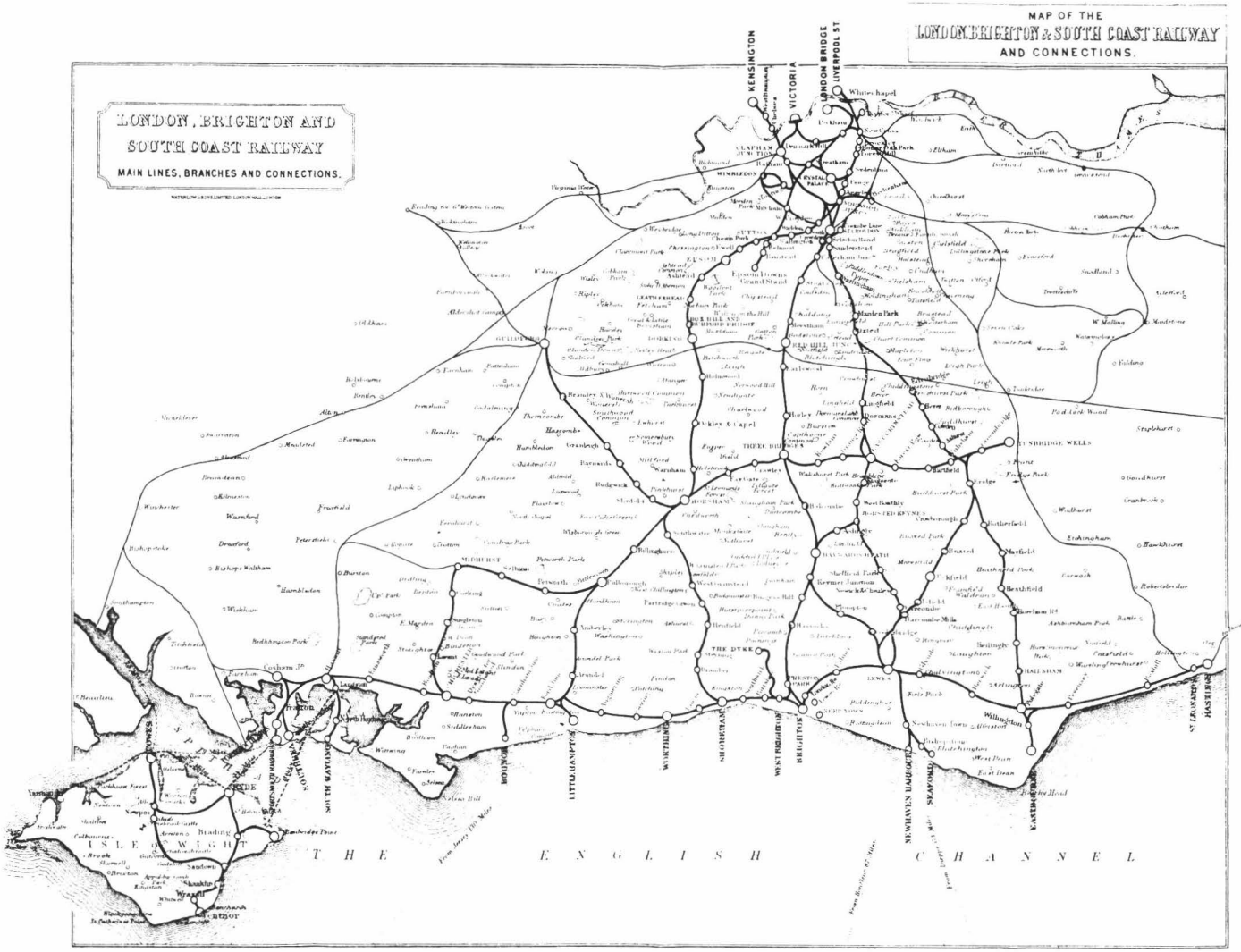

Fig. 1. Map of the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway (from *The Official Guide to Brighton & South Coast Railways & All Their Branches* (n.d.)).

the High Street with Church Street. The latter eventually wound downhill to Shortbridge, approximately 1½ miles distant, where a branch of the Ouse Navigation terminated. This settlement pattern was quite typical of towns throughout Britain whereby a community established itself at the junction of trade routes. In this case, tradesmen using the water route via Shortbridge could cart their goods along Church Street to join the north–south turnpike road. Furthermore, this was the driest area of the town. The river was liable to flood in the winter and was not, therefore, a safe place for residential development. Moreover, the underlying sandstone found in this higher part of Uckfield gave a solid foundation for building.

From an analysis of the 1851 Census enumerators' schedules it appears that the highest percentage of household heads engaged in retail trades were on the north-west side of the High Street. The 18th-century coaching inn called the Maiden's Head was in this part of the town and since travellers usually bring trade it was probably the location of the Maiden's Head that attracted traders to this area. Thus, two grocers and drapers, a chemist, a stationer, an ironmonger and two butchers were trading there in 1851. Nearby Church Street was thriving, 74 per cent of the craftsmen supplying finished products for the community living there. These included a carpenter, a cooper, a watchmaker, a wheelwright and a milliner. Basic commodities could also be bought in Church Street; a baker, a butcher and a fruiterer were trading there as well as a leather seller and a coal merchant.

Since Uckfield was strongly established with local trade it was unfortunate that communication with larger market towns, such as Lewes, was slow since this must have hindered development. Communication in the early part of the 19th century was mainly on foot. Alternatives were the farmer's cart, carrier's wagon or stage coach, or the water route by canal. By 1845, James Bourner was the carrier advertising his services in the trade directory.[4] He lived at Ringles Cross and his son later became his assistant. By 1855, he travelled to Lewes every day and also serviced Hailsham and Burwash. However, Tunbridge Wells could not be reached other than by coach which travelled between Brighton and Tunbridge Wells via Uckfield where the resting place was the Maiden's Head.[5]

Uckfield was served from 1793 by the Upper Ouse Navigation with a wharf at Shortbridge, in the far west of the parish (see Fig. 2). The navigation ran from Newhaven to Lewes and then on to Balcombe, near Haywards Heath, a distance of 22½ miles, with a ¾-mile branch to Shortbridge. The Act for the Navigation, of 1790, laid down tolls for the traffic on its route and it was anticipated that agricultural produce, fertilizers, road materials and coal would be carried.[6] Certainly, coal was carried, with a coal merchant at Shortbridge. Lime or chalk was used as a fertilizer in agricultural districts, especially in the Weald, to counteract the acid soil. Uckfield used chalk that was brought to Shortbridge by navigation from the chalk hill at Offham, near Lewes, to which a cut had been made to allow for easy access. The barges used were designed to carry up to 18 tons and many of them were built in the shipyard at Cliffe Cut, Lewes.[7] Uckfield traded in timber with Lewes as Wealden oak was favoured by shipbuilders and was quite easy to transport by water. The navigation also provided a useful means of carrying corn to the more densely populated areas of Sussex.

However, the navigation was never a success. It had been constructed at a time of canal mania. Income from tolls had never been enough to cover the initial outlay. In 1841 the London and Brighton Railway had opened, followed in 1846 by the line from Brighton to Lewes and Hastings which affected trade on the navigation. Communities other than Uckfield on the navigation's route no longer needed this slower route and were unwilling to provide financial support for its upkeep.

Thus, distance was very much a barrier to communication, for either business or pleasure. With inadequate road transport and a declining

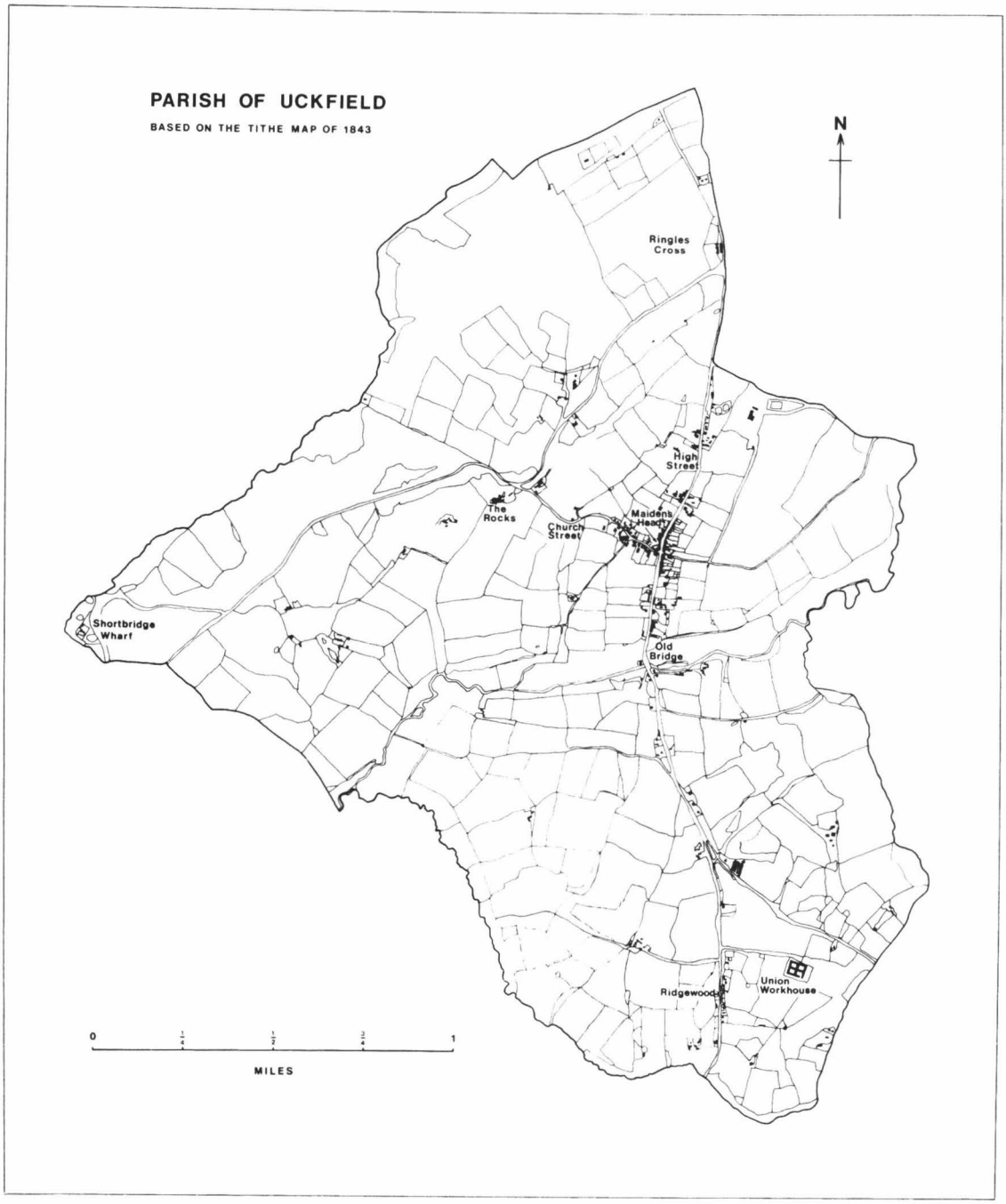
PARISH OF UCKFIELD
BASED ON THE TITHE MAP OF 1843
N
Ringles Cross
High Street
The Rocks
Church Street
Maidens Head
Shortbridge Wharf
Old Bridge
Union Workhouse
Ridgewood
0
1
MILES

Fig. 2.

waterway, Uckfield was isolated and needed a rail link with larger towns to give its economy a boost. There were several people in Uckfield and in the surrounding villages of Isfield, Barcombe and Hamsey with sufficient funds to invest in a railway company so that the railway was financially possible.[8]

THE COMING OF THE RAIL LINK

Uckfield acquired its railway in two stages. Firstly, the route from Lewes to Uckfield opened on 11 October 1858, as a result of the efforts of the Lewes and Uckfield Railway Company.[9] Lewes was already accommodated with a railway and a station which belonged to the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway. Thus, by joining Uckfield to Lewes, a direct route was established to the county centre and the developing coastal resorts of Brighton and Hastings. Lewes was also connected with the London and Brighton route of the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway Company, so Uckfield also gained rail access to London. On its completion, the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway took over the running of the Lewes and Uckfield Railway.[10]

The next stage was to extend the railway to Tunbridge Wells with a single track. This was achieved by 1868.[11] The original railway station at Uckfield was built across the line of the rails, parallel to the turnpike road. With the rail extension it was necessary to relocate the station. The position of the railway and the later station in relation to the town is shown in Fig. 3.

UCKFIELD 1858–*c.* 1900

After 1858, new horizons were opened up for the potential traveller. The railway company lost no time in providing a regular train service for passengers between Lewes and Uckfield, stopping at the villages of Barcombe and Isfield en route. On 20 October 1858 the railway timetable was published in the local paper. The Uckfield traveller could now go to Lewes by train or continue further to Brighton or London by changing carriages at Lewes. To reach Lewes from Uckfield would take 30 minutes, Brighton took 65 minutes, and London could be reached in 2 hours 35 minutes. This represented a great saving in travelling time and gave greater flexibility to the passenger. Previously, there was little choice for the individual concerning the time that he started his journey, as most coaches or carriers' vans only had one departure time per day. After 1858 there were five trains daily in each direction. The early riser could be in Lewes at 7.45 a.m. or the journey could be delayed until the afternoon.

The cheaper cost of travel was a further incentive to use the railway. The coach journey from Uckfield to Tunbridge Wells cost 5*s*. inside or 3*s*. outside in 1858. By train, a return journey between Uckfield and Lewes, a similar distance, cost 3*s*. first class, 2*s*. second class and 1*s*. 4*d*. third class.[12] All trains on the Uckfield–Lewes line had first, second and third class carriages with one parliamentary train each way each day, except Sunday. In 1844 Gladstone's Act specified that each company should provide one train in each direction every day, except Sunday, on every route, for which the charge was not to exceed 1*d*. per mile. These became known as the parliamentary trains. Thus even the poorer people of Uckfield could travel to Lewes at a reasonable price.

In 1870 an additional train was introduced. It left Uckfield for Brighton at 6.55 a.m. and returned from Brighton at 6.20 p.m. on weekdays.[13] This strongly suggests that workers were commuting from Uckfield to Brighton and making good use of the rail link. Moreover, in 1875 it was suggested by Sir Frederick Peel, a Railway Commissioner, that Uckfield was becoming 'a sort of suburb of Brighton'.[14] The decision to double the track betwen Eridge and Uckfield also reflects the success of the passenger service. On 1 May 1894 it opened with 12 trains each way between Tunbridge Wells and Brighton, including two fast trains.[15] Possibly Uckfield was just an intermediate station

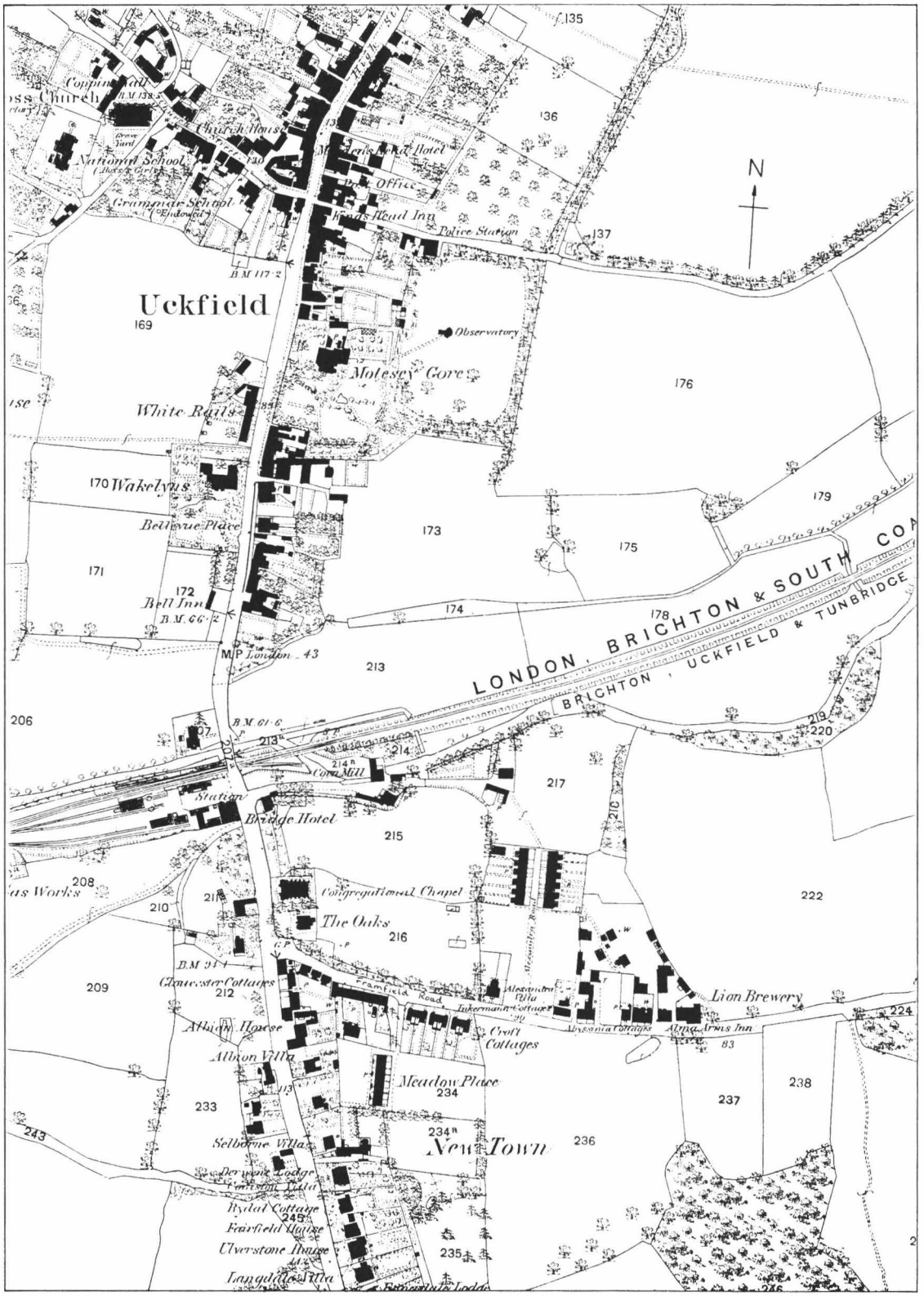

Fig. 3. Uckfield in 1874 (from the 25" Ordnance Survey Map).

between two important large towns, but the people of Uckfield benefited from a very frequent service in both directions.

It was as a result of the opening of the railway that local farmers voted to expand the corn market in Uckfield. A meeting of 60 interested people was held on Friday, 12 November 1858 at the Maiden's Head in order to establish a corn and hop market to be held on alternate Fridays, the same day as market day. For some years a corn market had been held on Friday evenings with business transacted in a social way between farmers, millers and dealers. The market was to be reorganized to meet at 3 p.m. and it was anticipated that people would come from further afield, travelling by train. A daytime market meant that the purchaser could see exactly what he was buying. Mr. Holmwood, a farmer from a neighbouring parish, believed that rail travel was more comfortable than road transport and saved a great deal of time that was valuable to a businessman.[16]

There was a further consolidation in agricultural trade in Uckfield. In 1870 monthly auctions of live and dead farming stock were held in the sale yard immediately adjoining Uckfield station. At the first auction, items for sale included sheep, pigs, cows and horses, as well as vehicles, such as carts and vans, and harness. Thirteen pockets of hops were also offered for sale.[17] By 1867 the cattle dock had moved to the opposite side of the road with a siding leading directly to it. This suggests that cattle were transported by rail and probably other animals as well. Unfortunately, after the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway took over the running of the railway, the annual returns were subsumed under a general heading, so that it is not possible to identify those goods specifically carried on the Lewes–Uckfield–Tunbridge Wells route. However, it may be assumed from the 1861 and 1868 railway returns that some of the livestock listed would have been carried on the Lewes–Uckfield line. Furthermore, the need for a horse-box and 70 wagons in the running costs for 1866–73 shows that the line was active in the transportation of goods, although these were not specified.[18] Certainly trade must have improved, as by 1899 the cattle yard had a new and larger site adjacent to the Bell Inn.[19]

Local farmers benefited in other ways from the rail link. Lime and manure were no longer sent by the slow waterway route to Shortbridge but came direct from Lewes to Uckfield town by rail.[20] The main advantages for the farmers were that they did not have so far to cart their fertilizers from the delivery spot to their farms, they could transact business locally through the expanded corn and cattle markets, and they could now sell their goods at a greater distance. Those rearing dairy cattle now had the opportunity to provide milk to the growing towns of Brighton, Croydon and London. In March 1870, a man called John Riches from Croydon advertised in the *Sussex Advertiser* for a quantity of milk to be delivered regularly morning and afternoon by the South Eastern or London, Brighton and South Coast Railway; before the rail link to Uckfield, the local farmers would not have been able to compete in that trade.

In common with other Wealden communities such as Crowborough and Heathfield, small fields formed an integral part of Uckfield's landscape. This was turned to the advantage of Uckfield's small-scale farmers who were able to make a profit through chicken-rearing while there was a national agricultural depression. Chicken-rearing had become a successful industry in the Wealden area of Sussex. It was possible on a small acreage, a maximum of 20 a., to rear or fatten (cram) chickens for resale. Higglers (itinerant dealers) went round to farms and collected all the poultry, dead, and sent it to London by rail. Heathfield and Uckfield became important centres. Heathfield had a station on the Eastbourne to Tunbridge Wells route which can be seen on Fig. 1. That route linked up with the Uckfield to Tunbridge Wells route at Eridge. Trucks were loaded with dead chickens destined for Covent Garden, London, at Heathfield and Uckfield and joined up at

Eridge to complete the journey to London.[21] The weight of chickens sent from Heathfield and Uckfield totalled 840 tons in 1894, which represented about 1,030,400 chickens.[22]

Dealers other than farmers profited from extended markets and additional customers as a result of the rail link. For example, William Kenward, junior, a miller, had strongly supported the building of a railway to Uckfield. His corn mill was near the station and he sent his goods by rail to Hailsham, Hastings and London. He received corn for his mill by rail, which meant that time was no longer wasted in carting from Shortbridge Wharf.[23] Similarly, Mr. Trayton William Kenward, also a miller, reported in 1875 that he could sell his corn at Tunbridge Wells market and 20 others, thanks to the railway.[24]

William Wood and Sons were nurserymen, seedsmen and florists working at Maresfield, near Uckfield. They advertised their seeds, which could be sent in a hamper, carriage free, to any station on the London, Brighton and South Coast and South Eastern lines. If the order was large, loads would be sent to any station in Great Britain.[25] Thus, by using the railway, a local tradesman could extend his trade throughout the country. Ironically, this firm refuted the benefits of a railway when it was first discussed but obviously recognized its merits subsequently.

By 1869, Sylvester and Company of The Brewery, Uckfield, were advertising pale ale and stout prices that were inclusive of carriage to all stations.[26] Malt was imported from London by train, which presumably helped the brewing industry to expand through greater availability of raw materials beyond the local crops.[27]

Benjamin Ware was a major employer in Uckfield with his brick and tile works at Ridgewood. He manufactured bricks, tiles for the popular tile-hung style of building found throughout East Sussex, clay flowerpots for seedlings, and drainage pipes which were becoming more widely used by farmers who were trying to make the land more profitable through better drainage. These products were produced in down-draught kilns originally fired by faggots collected from the woodland nearby. With the changeover to coal in the 19th century, thousands of tons of coal were hauled by horse and cart from Uckfield station. Approximately 100 tons of clay products were made each week by a work force estimated at 70 hands. These goods were transported by train to Bexhill, Brighton and Eastbourne as well as being carted locally. Clay products had to be carefully packed in straw when loaded in order to avoid breakages, so a worker employed by Ware was permanently located at the station to see to the loading and unloading of earthenware.[28]

Coal was one of the chief bulky commodities brought by rail, not just to Uckfield but nationally. Ware favoured the midland coal as it burned with a long flame. There was direct communication with the midlands and the north-west via the Kensington line. Mr. R. J. Streatfeild, the largest landowner in Uckfield, made use of the rail link to the north and had a truck of coal delivered direct from his colliery in Yorkshire for use on his Uckfield estate at The Rocks during the winter.[29] Coals also came from London by the river Thames via Deptford Wharves. In 1864 the Brighton Company had wharves alongside the Thames where vessels were unloaded directly into the trucks; seaborne coal came via Newhaven and Kingston, near Shoreham, and could be delivered to Uckfield by rail through Lewes.[30] The Upper Ouse Navigation could not compete with this direct, faster link with the collieries and ceased operating in 1868.[31]

The ease with which coal could be brought by rail was influential in the establishment of a gas company to provide street and house lighting in Uckfield. The critical factor in the production of gas was the availability of large quantities of coal on a regular basis. Haulage by canal was slow and each barge could only carry a maximum of 18 tons. The alternative was road haulage, but coal was bulky and heavy and financially prohibitive on poor roads with slow transport. Furthermore, Shortbridge was too

lack of uniformity of design. Places such as Croft Villas, Meadow Place, Abyssinia Cottages and Inkerman Cottages were erected along Framfield Road. George Humphrey, the station master, lived at Croft Villas. At this time a station house had not been built, so he was living in accommodation most suited to his social class near to the station. Meadow Place was inhabited by a variety of workers and so was Framfield Road. At 22 houses in Framfield Road in 1871, the heads of household included eight labourers, four tradesmen, three industrial workers, two railway employees, a clerk and a schoolmistress. No craftsmen lived there. However, the beginnings of an industrial centre could be identified with a brewery and a brickyard giving some employment to the townsfolk. Henry Tyhurst, the brickmaker, was first mentioned in 1866.[43] It is said that he was responsible for producing the building materials for the houses in Framfield Road, but the company records have been destroyed and this cannot be substantiated.

By 1871 New Town was becoming self-sufficient in basic food requirements, some of which were brought by rail. The grocer and draper, Thomas Bannister, was trading at Albion House in New Town Road. He received his stores by rail from Maidstone via Redhill, until the rail link at Tunbridge Wells was finalized in 1875. The long route can be seen on Fig. 1. His stocks included sugar, cheese, butter and lard which he unloaded himself from a truck at Uckfield station.[44] At Eastbourne House in Framfield Road, tea and provisions were available. Mr. Barnes kept a general shop in Alexandra Road, and Dadswell the baker now traded in Framfield Road rather than Church Street. By 1888 the Railway Tavern was open on the corner of Framfield Road and New Town Road, which brought the number of public houses in Uckfield to eight.

By 1871, the railway had influenced not only the location of new housing but also trade. The impact was not as dramatic as the population shift in Heathfield, where the original settlement became a completely separate community, nor like Haywards Heath, where a new town emerged for commuters to London or Brighton. However, changes were discernible. People were still trading in Church Street but the commercial centre had moved to the south-east side of the High Street. Shopkeepers would choose to sell their wares where travellers and potential buyers were most densely gathered. This was no longer at the Maiden's Head, as fewer people travelled by road, but further south by the station. As Uckfield grew as a market town, new shops were opened along the High Street to meet the needs of the increasing number of visitors. For example, another draper and grocer appeared, and the town could support three more butchers. Now that there was a fast link with diversified markets, specialized sevices were introduced such as those of a wine merchant and a pharmaceutical chemist. The poulterer reflected the growing poultry trade in the area. By 1888 two fishmongers and a fruiterer and greengrocer were advertising in the local directory, which suggests that perishable goods produced elsewhere could now find a market in Uckfield because of the fast rail transportation.[45] As agriculture was still the chief industry in Uckfield, carpenters and smiths were needed. As they were not retail traders, it was not essential that they should move their workshops to the town centre to compete. Thus, they could be found in the north-west of the town and, as expected, at Ridgewood and Ringles Cross where the agricultural workers were still located.

In some places, such as Swindon, Crewe and Brighton, railway companies established substantial engineering shops which provided employment for a considerable workforce drawn from some distance. Uckfield certainly did not become an industrial centre, but on a much smaller scale some people found employment with the railway company. Some became porters or messenger boys. More found work as grooms or ostlers helping in the transport of passengers or goods to and from the station for businesses or individuals in the town. Craftsmen

were still much needed in the community. As the railway had increased road traffic around the station, the wheelwright, blacksmith and harness-maker were in constant demand.[46]

The discussion so far has concentrated on the importance of the railway in the growth of trade, business travel and housing. The people of Uckfield were also provided with greater opportunities of travel for pleasure. Railway excursions were now possible. They were operational during the summer months and the first one was on Sunday, 24 July 1859.[47] First, second and third class carriages were provided by the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway and left Uckfield at 8.30 a.m., arriving at Portsmouth at approximately 11.10 a.m. With a return train from Portsmouth at 6.45 p.m., it meant that the day tripper could enjoy several hours at a seaside town that had previously been too far away to contemplate by road transport. The cost of the outing was 10*s*. first class, 5*s*. 6*d*. second class, and third class, in a covered wagon, was 3*s*. 6*d*. This meant that all but the very poor of Uckfield could enjoy this leisure pursuit. In 1861 a railway porter's wage was between 7*s*. 6*d*. and £3 per week. He received his working clothes free and the railway company provided a cottage for him. For 2*s*. 6*d*. a week, a porter could rent a house with five rooms.[48] An outing for a working-class man costing 3*s*. 6*d*. return was something to consider perhaps once a year, especially if his wife and family were to travel with him. However, the financial consideration was not totally prohibitive. Certainly, he could afford the shorter excursions offered. For example, a visit to the Brighton Horticultural Show on 15 September 1859 cost 2*s*. 6*d*. first class or 1*s*. 6*d*. second class return.[49] Other excursions to London and the Crystal Palace were offered during the season.

People also travelled to Uckfield, as it was regarded as a healthy place. *The Uckfield Visitor's Guide* of 1869 described Uckfield as follows:

> The climate of Uckfield is a happy medium between the salt, moist air of the coast and the relaxing atmosphere of Tunbridge Wells. Many visitors both from London and the seaside, repairing annually to this delightful retreat, bear witness to its geniality.[50]

Certainly the air was clear, since Uckfield could boast two observatories. One belonged to Charles Leeson Prince, a surgeon, and the other to F. Brodie, a local magistrate. Both lived in the High Street. On 14 June 1859 the Railway Literary and Scientific Institution connected with the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway visited Uckfield. Special trains from Brighton brought about 2,000 people to Uckfield at intervals through the morning and early afternoon. It was reported that on arrival these people went to the 'neat and pleasant inns in the town to refresh themselves' before making their way to the two special attractions, namely Buxted Park, owned by the Earl of Liverpool, and The Rocks. At six o'clock two trains took people home.[51] Presumably considerable sums of money changed hands on that day to the benefit of Uckfield traders.

The Uckfield and Maresfield Steeplechases held at Blackdown on the Streatfeild estate attracted visitors to the town, with the rail link to Brighton bringing the racing fraternity from that area of Sussex. On 13 May 1869 a dinner was held at the Maiden's Head for about 40 sportsmen from the Blackdown Races. On this occasion the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway Company arranged a special train to take the diners home to Lewes and Brighton and intermediate stations at 8.15 p.m.[52] In a similar way, the railway company generally provided a service for gentlemen in the area by allowing hunters to carry horses and hounds free between Brighton, Lewes and Uckfield.[53]

As the railway continued to bring visitors, it is not surprising that more lodging houses became available. The *Visitor's Guide* of 1869 says that 'so great is the influx of strangers that numbers fail yearly, after personal solicitation,

to obtain any sort of accommodation, notwithstanding the rapid increase of house property of different grades'. By 1871, 15 people were described as innkeepers or lodging-house keepers, an increase of 12 people over 20 years. These were in the High Street and Framfield Road plus one in Church Street and one each in the outlying areas of Ridgewood and Ringles Cross.[54]

Uckfield continued to develop in the 19th century, although it is possible that this reflected the changes taking place nationally during the late Victorian period. However, it was suggested by the people of Uckfield themselves that the coming of the railway had shaken them out of their lethargy and provided the spark to ignite further improvements in the town.[55] Gas lighting having been introduced in 1859, the next step was the installation of drainage in compliance with the Public Health Act, 1848, by which local boards of health were set up to deal with such matters. By 1861 mains drainage pipes were installed.[56] In 1877 a new public hall was built from public donations to provide more spacious accommodation for petty sessions than that provided at the Maiden's Head. In 1881 a cottage hospital was built at the north end of the town whilst at the other end, in New Town Road, in the same year a college and high school were established. The latter was advertised in the local guide as being three minutes from the railway station. Later in the century an institute and coffee tavern provided a leisure centre near the station for the public and members.[57]

The last substantial development in Uckfield before the turn of the century was the establishment of an agricultural college and training farm. It opened in May 1894 and was owned by East Sussex County Council. It had been recognized many years earlier that there was a need for technical instruction in an agricultural district, but finding a location that was easily accessible to students was a problem in a rural county. However, a residence in Uckfield was eventually chosen because it was 'centrally situated and within ¼ mile of a railway station'.[58] Thirteen pupils attended in 1895 and received a thorough training with a certificate from the college after two successful years. Additionally, during the winter, farmers' sons could attend a 12-week course, and from October to March an evening course in land agency was available. Uckfield had become an important centre for the training of potential agriculturalists in the county.

CONCLUSION

By the close of the 19th century Uckfield had altered. The locality had not been unduly spoiled by the construction of the railway. The old turnpike road had been realigned and a new bridge had been constructed near the station. Farmers could sell their produce at distant markets and those from outlying districts could come to trade at the growing cattle, corn and hop markets. The social habits of the community had been affected. With quick, daily travel now available, it was no longer essential to live and work in the same place. Commuters could work in Lewes or Brighton but live in the more healthy environment of Uckfield. Such clear air attracted visitors, so the small town grew to meet the needs of the day tripper. Similarly, all but the poorest could travel away from Uckfield to enjoy a day at the seaside or explore a different town. Road hauliers benefited from the railway, especially in this rural area where goods still needed to be carried a fair distance to the station. So the carriers and craftsmen associated with road transport were assured of continued and expanded trade. Indeed, without the carrier, the railway would have had little impact on society.

The two features of the early 19th century that gradually disappeared were the canal and the coach. Neither could compete with the speed and reliability of rail transport. Road travel was still undertaken but the Maiden's Head was no longer the bustling centre for mail coaches or travellers. That was now to be found by the station. This reflects the two most dramatic

changes in Uckfield brought about by the railway, namely the shift in the trading centre towards the station and the growth of a substantial residential area for people attracted to the railway's facilities.

Perhaps the final words can be left to Whiting, a printer who lived in New Town in 1871 and wrote a guide to Uckfield:

> . . . when turnpike roads were the only means of communication between important towns, . . . Uckfield had a considerable traffic through it, but iron roads have so far added to its importance that the little wayside village now aspires to the dignity of a small country town.[59]

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to the British Railways Board and the Chief Civil Engineer in charge of records for British Rail, Southern Region for the use of material relating to Uckfield. I should also like to express my thanks to the staff at the Public Record Office (Kew), East Sussex Record Office and the reference libraries at Brighton, Lewes and the University of Sussex for making their facilities and sources available to me while undertaking my research. My thanks are also due to Mr. R. Johnson, Mr. R. Ware and the late Mr. F. Fuller who provided me with valuable oral evidence.

Author: Sally A. Pearce, The Spinney, Blackboys, East Sussex.

Notes

[1]*Kelly's Directory of Sussex* (1855), 958.
[2]C. W. Chalklin, 'Country Towns', in *The Victorian Countryside*, ed. G. E. Mingay (1981), 275–87, *passim*.
[3](E)ast (S)ussex (R)ecord (O)ffice, XA 9/13 (hereafter Census 1851).
[4]*Kelly's Dir. Suss.* (1845), 714.
[5]Ibid. (1855), 959.
[6]30 Geo. III, c. 52.
[7]D. F. Gibbs & J. H. Farrant, 'The Upper Ouse Navigation', *Suss. Indust. Hist.* **1**, 23–7.
[8](P)ublic (R)ecord (O)ffice, RAIL 365/1 (Lewes and Uckfield Railway Company, Minutes of General Meetings, 1857).
[9]*Sussex Advertiser*, 13 October 1858 (hereafter *S.A.*).
[10]P.R.O., RAIL 365/1, 6 November 1860.
[11]P.R.O., RAIL 73/1 (Minutes of Meetings of Proprietors and Board of Directors of Brighton, Uckfield & Tunbridge Wells Company, 4 August 1868).
[12]*S.A.* 20 October 1858.
[13]*S.A.* 22 February 1870.
[14]P.R.O., RAIL 1027/38 (Railway Commissioners' Court, 1875, p. 20).
[15]*S.A.* 21 May 1894.
[16]*S.A.* 17 November 1858.
[17]*S.A.* 29 November 1870.
[18]P.R.O., RAIL 414/629.
[19]O.S. Map 25″, Suss. XL.4 (1899 edn.).
[20]*Sussex Agricultural Express*, 5 March 1864.
[21]*1st Report of Royal Commission on Agricultural Depression* [C. 7400], H.C. (1894), xvi, pp. 101–5.
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[24]P.R.O., RAIL 1027/38 (Railway Commissioners' Court, 1875, p. 58).
[25]*S.A.* 26 January 1869.
[26]*S.A.* 9 March 1869.
[27]P.R.O., RAIL 414/554, item 4.
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[30]*Sussex Agricultural Express*, 5 March 1864.
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[35]*Kelly's Dir. Suss.* (1866), 2134; ibid. (1887), 2125.
[36]*S.A.* 22 January 1861.
[37]Whiting, 5.
[38]*Kelly's Dir. Suss.* (1882), 2243.
[39]*S.A.* 3 August 1869.
[40]E.S.R.O., XA 17/12B (hereafter Census 1871).
[41]*S.A.* 24 May 1870.
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[50]Whiting, 30.
[51]*S.A.* 22 June 1859.
[52]*S.A.* 11 May 1869.
[53]P.R.O., RAIL 1027/38, p. 124.
[54]Census, 1871.
[55]*S.A.* 3 November 1858.
[56]*S.A.* 16 April 1861.
[57]Brooker, 10.
[58]E.S.R.O., C/C 11/2/5.
[59]Whiting, 3.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES

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

Field Boundary Ditch, Cuckoo Bottom, Lewes (TQ 393105)

Introduction

Following extensive deforestation in 1979/80 of both faces of Houndean Bottom and Cuckoo Bottom, the farmer opened a new path through scrubland to give access to his fields. The pathway, orientated north-west/south-east, connects the bottom of the valley to a point just south of the old racecourse buildings and was excavated through the Upper Chalk to a maximum depth of 2 metres with the aid of a bulldozer. The excavation of the path, followed by subsequent erosion, revealed in section a shallow ditch about 2 metres wide and 0.5 metres deep (Fig. 1).

The ditch was situated at the break in slope approximately 125 metres from the centre of the valley and contained a series of highly contrasting fills (Fennemore & Allen 1983). The ditch displayed no recut but partial infilling seems to have been deliberate. Unfortunately no associated artefacts were recovered.

Allen took two 1-kg. soil samples from the ditch fill for sediment and mollusc analysis.

Analyses

Sample 1: A silt loam, largely unconsolidated, poor crumb structure, small common chalk nodules and highly calcareous displaying pseudomycelium on its exposed surface. Particle size distribution of the fine fraction (<2 mm.) showed 81% silt composition of which 50% was coarse silt and thus may indicate a loessic or at least aeolian component. Alkali-soluble organic matter of 0.376 mg. humus/g. soil was neither significantly high nor significantly low.

The mollusc assemblage extracted from this sample displayed a slightly restricted taxonomic range and only a minimum of 31 individuals were represented (see Table 1).

TABLE 1

Mollusc	*No.*	*%*
Pupilla muscorum (Linnaeus)	10	36
Vallonia costata (Müller)	2	7
Vallonia excentrica Sterki	7	25
Cecilioides acicula (Müller)	3	
Trichia hispida (Linnaeus)	5	18
Helicella itala (Linnaeus)	4	14
Total	31	100

Note: All percentages exclude *C. acicula*.

The assemblage was dominated by open-country species (90%), 36% of which were *Pupilla muscorum* which particularly likes bare chalky soils lacking in vegetation (Evans 1972, 146). The presence of *Trichia hispida* which has been found in large abundances in Iron Age lynchets at Bishopstone (Thomas 1977), Bullock Down (Clarke 1982), Fyfield Down (Evans 1972) and in the ploughwash at Kiln Coombe (Bell 1981) may suggest arable activity (Thomas pers. comm.). The *Vallonia* is *V. excentrica*, the most xerophile of the genus, and this too is consistent with broken soils of arable fields (Thomas 1977), whilst Evans suggests that *Helicella itala* was common on prehistoric arable land, a

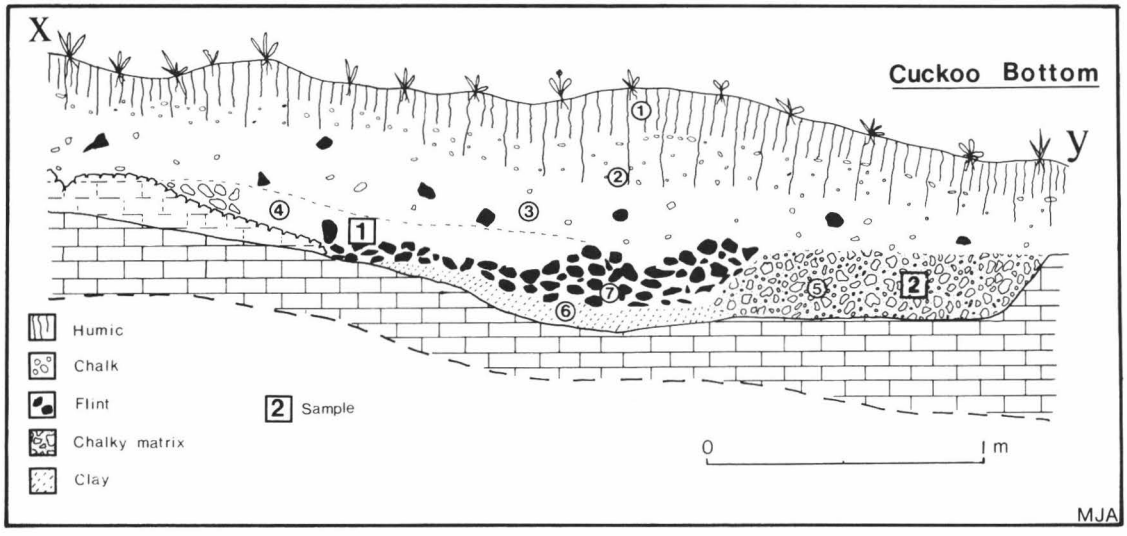

Fig. 1. Section of ditch revealed by the farm track showing sampling sites.

habitat now removed by modern mechanized agricultural practices. None of the mollusc species represented are Roman or medieval introductions (with the exception of *Cecilioides acicula* which is probably intrusive as it is a burrowing species recorded at depths of 2 metres) and this suggests at least a pre-medieval date especially in view of the large abundances of introduced species in the present-day fauna (e.g. *Helix aspersa, Helicella virgata*).

The molluscs suggest an open calcareous habitat and are strongly suggestive of arable activity which is borne out by the high silt and potentially aeolian composition of the sediment, in keeping with aeolian erosion from adjacent arable fields.

Sample 2: Gravel; compacted angular chalk nodules set into a chalky matrix, with rare medium flint pieces. Of this layer 53% was greater than 6 mm. and a further 10% greater than 2 mm. Only two mollusc fragments were extracted, both of which were *Cepaea/Arianta* spp. which are large robust catholic molluscs. This layer is most probably due to anthropogenic dumping.

Valley Entrenchments

The ditch section corresponds well with the Houndean 'valley entrenchment' described by Toms (1926), and it is likely that the ditch investigated is the part of the southern portion of the internal earthwork surveyed by Toms (see Fig. 2), at about where his section G–H is sited.

Toms suggested that the enclosures were constructed as 'permanent folds for cattle'. If this was so, however, it certainly was not a cattle fold when the ditch was infilling unless the erosion was due to over-grazing producing patches of bare soil; but then one would not expect to find *Helicella itala*. Toms also failed to find any associated dating evidence, but he suggested that the valley entrenchments were probably prehistoric, and possibly as early as the Bronze Age.

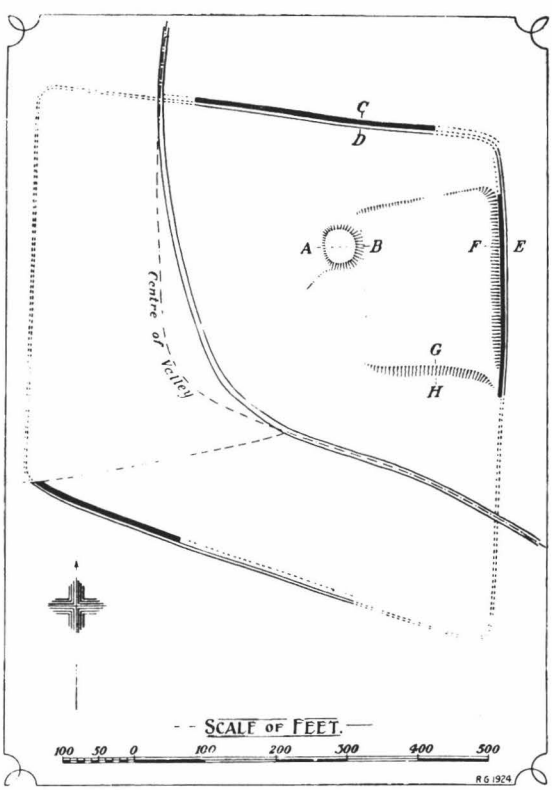

Fig. 2. Houndean Valley entrenchments (from Toms 1926).

Conclusion

The shallow ditch showed no evidence of a bank and was not large enough to be anything but a field boundary or demarcation ditch. This is in keeping with both sediment and mollusc analyses which suggest arable activity within the immediate environs. As to the dating of the feature, no datable artefacts have been recovered but, as Toms suggested, it is likely to be prehistoric, and mollusc analysis suggests that it is likely to be pre-Roman.

Acknowledgements

The writers would like to thank Joy Ede and Joyce Biggar for their help.

Authors: **Mike Allen, Institute of Archaeology, University of London; Alan Fennemore.**

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The Prehistoric Occupation of a Former Part of Ashdown Forest

Fieldwalking a compact area of the former Ashdown Forest produced many signs of prehistoric occupation. This note discusses their dates and significance.

Crabtree Farm, Crowborough (TQ 484299) comprises approximately 76 a. (30 ha.) and is an enclosure made *c.* 1696 on what was formerly Ashdown Forest. The farmhouse, standing at 600 ft. O.D., is sited near a spring. From the house to the north-east, east and south-east the land slopes down to two streams which form the northern and eastern boundaries of the farm. These join to flow towards Friars Gate (TQ 498329) and finally to the river Medway. The western and south-western boundaries of the farm are the unenclosed forest (Fig. 3). In 1979 members of the Wealden Iron Research Group visited the farm at the invitation of Dr. P. Wallis, the owner, and confirmed the presence of three bloomery iron-smelting sites (Fig. 3). Excavation recovered Romano-British pottery at one of these at TQ 486298

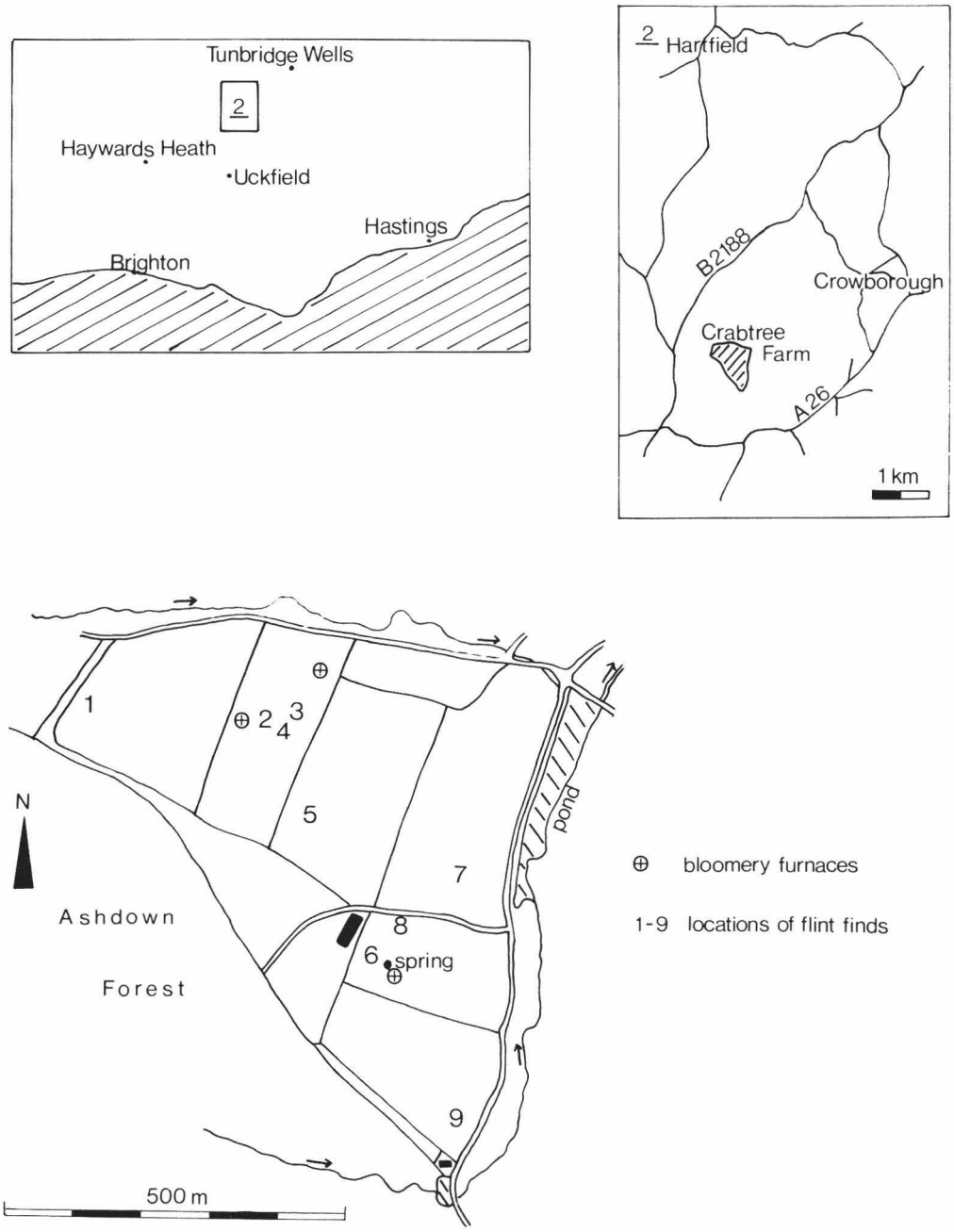

Fig. 3. Crabtree Farm: location and sketch plan.

(Tebbutt 1981). During the examination of these sites flint artefacts were noticed on the fields.

It seemed that this farm presented an opportunity to walk a block of land, formerly part of Ashdown Forest, to assess the prehistoric occupation and to compare the results with those obtained on the present unenclosed forest, where only tracks and firebreaks were available for observation (Tebbutt 1974). Accordingly all the fields were walked at times when they were available after ploughing.

In addition to the three bloomery sites nine areas were found where a scatter of flint artefacts occurred. These should not be considered as 'sites' in the sense that they represent clusters of contemporary implements, for clearly they are not. Rather, these are areas attractive to prehistoric man over a long period, where traces of his presence happen to have survived and been discovered. These areas tended to be on low natural terraces on the valley sides where wide views of the valley, down to the streams, obtained. However, it is difficult to determine how far downhill flint artefacts would drift on ploughland, or whether hillwash would have buried them below plough level on the valley bottoms.

In total, 106 artefacts were recovered from these areas. The only means of dating this material is by identifying those 'type fossils' within it which are known to be characteristic of a particular period. This produces dates ranging from the Mesolithic to the late Neolithic, and in all probability the remaining artefacts span the same date range also. The composition of the artefacts from each site is summarized below (Table 1) and a representative sample have been illustrated (Fig. 4).

Because of the nature of the sites the artefacts are considered together as a group. Almost without exception they are made of grey flint with a white cortex, presumably derived from the downs some 25 km. to the south. Most of the flint is unpatinated although some of the pieces show an ochreous staining, presumably a reflection of local environmental conditions rather than an indication of early date. One piece, from area (3), shows differential patination and two phases of working. Of particular note is a retouched flake of honey-coloured chert (Fig. 4e) indicating transport over far greater distances.

None of the cores can be ascribed to a particular period with any degree of certainty. One example from area (6) (Fig. 4d) is a core which has received its initial trimming to remove most of the external cortex, which is of interest since it was probably in this form that the raw material was transported into the Weald.

The majority of the flakes show damage or abrasion to

TABLE 1

	Flakes	*Blades (l>3b)*	*Cores and core fragments*	*Core trimming flakes*	*Scrapers*	*Truncated blades*	*Serrated blades*	*Burins*	*Awls*	*Leaf-point*	*Petit-tranchet arrowheads*	*Misc. retouch*	*Totals*
(1) TQ 480302	4	1			1								6
(2) TQ 48253018	6			1				1					7
(Fig. 4a, core trimming flake which has subsequently been retouched to form a burin.)													
(3) TQ 48313021	9	1	1									1	12
(Fig. 4b, blade with secondary retouch producing either a narrow, now broken, scraping edge or a tang to aid hafting.)													
(4) TQ 48303016											1		1
(Fig. 4c, petit-tranchet arrowhead.)													
(5) TQ 48323005	5			1									6
(Fig. 4h, scraper.)													
(6) TQ 48422985	5		1	1									7
(Fig. 4d, core.)													
(7) TQ 48552995	11	2	2	1	2	1			1	1		4	25
(Fig. 4e, chert flake with miscellaneous retouch; Fig. 4f, severely worn scraper/fabricator (?) showing wear and polish around the perimeter; Fig. 4g, fragment of a broken leaf-point; Fig. 4i, hollow scraper; Fig. 4k, core; Fig. 4m, scraper; Fig. 4j, notched flake; Fig. 4n, awl.)													
(8) TQ 48452987											1		1
(Fig. 4p, petit-tranchet arrowhead.)													
(9) TQ 48552960	28	4	1		3	2	1	1	1				41
(Fig. 4q, scraper with inverse retouch; Fig. 4r, burin.)													
Totals	68	8	5	3 or 4	6	3	1	1 or 2	2	1	2	5	106

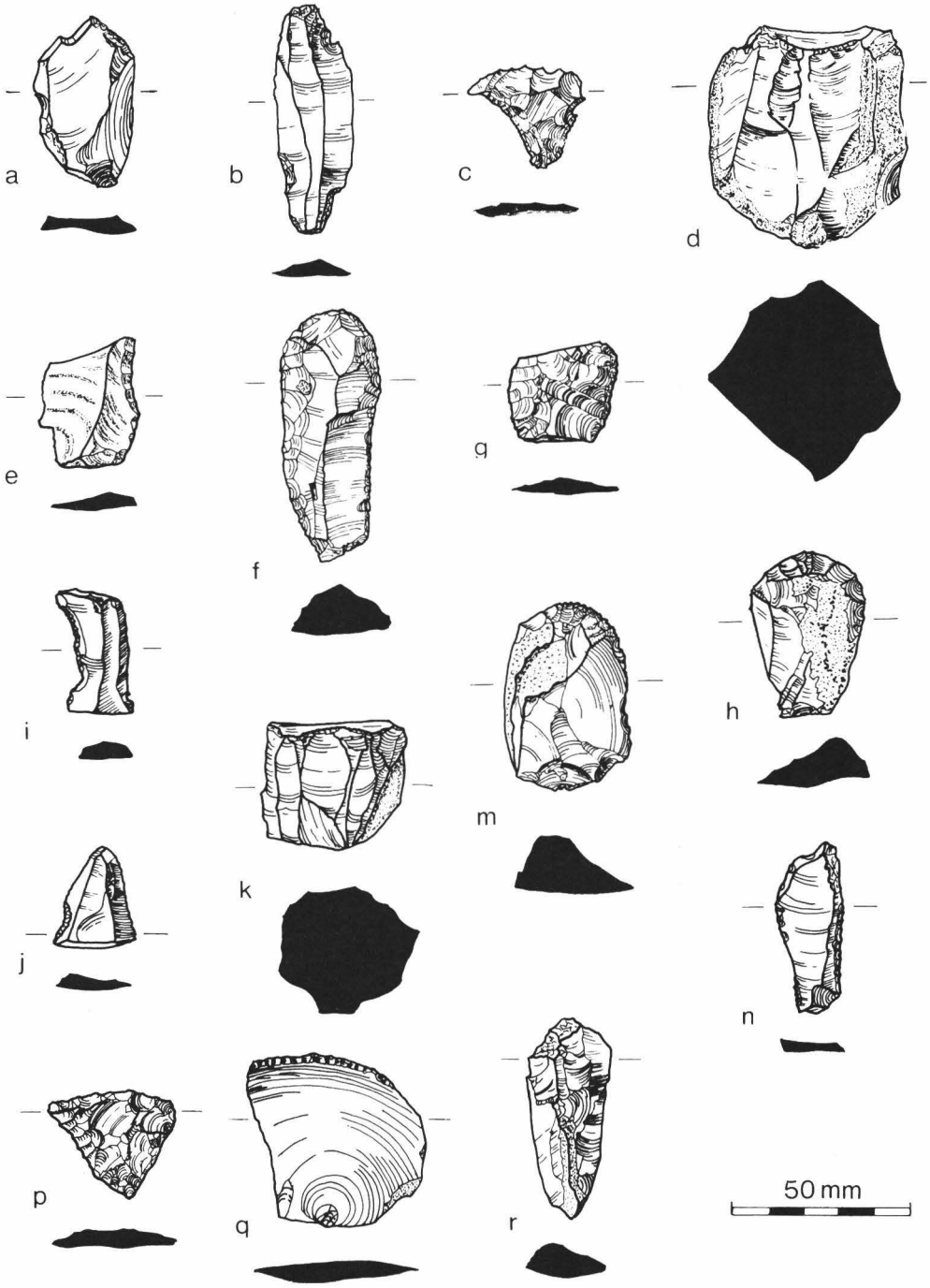

Fig. 4. Crabtree Farm: flint artefacts.

their edges, but to what extent this is the result of use or of subsequent natural abrasion, is not always clear. The presence of blades, core trimming flakes and burins would seem to indicate a Mesolithic date for at least some of the material, though the possible occurrence of blades in an early Neolithic context should not be overlooked.

None of the scrapers are diagnostic. One example from area (7) (Fig. 4f) is remarkable for the degree to which the flint has been worn and smoothed by abrasion around its perimeter. Exactly what could have caused this damage is not known. Three arrowheads have been found: one a broken leaf-point from area (7) (Fig. 4g) and fairly common throughout the Neolithic, and two petit-tranchet arrowheads from areas (4) (Fig. 4c) and (8) (Fig. 4p), most likely belonging to the late Neolithic.

These pieces provide the clue to the nature of these sites which probably represent hunting expeditions into the Weald rather than any attempt at more permanent occupation. The location of the material on the valley sides, in the vicinity of minor streams, seems characteristic of material found in the Wealden area.

Conclusions

The results of a fieldwalking survey of this compact block of the former Ashdown Forest showed that prehistoric occupation was widespread. This confirms the findings of a previous survey (Tebbutt 1974) when only small isolated areas were available for inspection, but may only be true for the well-watered areas of the forest. The flint artefacts found date from the Mesolithic to the late Neolithic periods. Later, during the Roman period, use was made of the area by iron-workers. This usage suggests that in prehistoric times the area was likely to have been open moorland or only lightly wooded.

Acknowledgements

Our thanks are due to Dr. P. Wallis for permission to walk his fields and for co-operation in informing us when they were in a suitable state of cultivation. Mrs. D. M. Meades made the original contact and arranged for the Wealden Iron Research Group to visit the farm. We are grateful to Margaret Tebbutt for the flint and plan drawings.

Authors: **C. F. Tebbutt, The Pheasantry, Wych Cross, Forest Row; A. G. Woodcock, Archaeological Adviser, East Sussex County Council.**

Note

All finds will be placed in the Barbican House Museum, Lewes.

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Further Fieldwork at Stud Farm, Newhaven, Sussex

This paper complements a recently published article (Boodle & Ford 1981) which described a large collection of knapped flint debris from Stud Farm, Newhaven (TQ 462012). The fieldwork described below is an attempt to resolve the problems posed by the previous paper, namely locating the origin and determining the nature of this collection.

A discussion with the landowner revealed that the areas previously searched were restricted to one 16-ha. field on the western slopes of Rookery Hill. Subsequently this field was systematically fieldwalked once only. The method employed was to walk transects spaced at 20-metre intervals aligned north–south and to record material from 20-metre subdivisions along these transects (see Foard 1978, 358). All knapped flint and pre-19th-century pottery was collected and the distribution of the finds is shown in Fig. 5. Fieldwalking conditions were ideal except for the stoniness of the ground.

As can be seen in Fig. 5, there are no dense concentrations of material that can be recognized immediately as 'sites'. What can be seen are two loose clusters both of about 2 ha. These clusters are more convincing if implements and cores are considered in isolation. Although the nature of flint scatters is a complex issue, previous experience would suggest that this type of distribution is representative of 'sites' and that more intensive fieldwalking will not necessarily locate more definable nuclei.

The typological analysis is identical to that set out in the previous report:

TABLE 1

	Site 1	*Site 2*	*Other*	*Total*
Cores:				
Class A, one platform	–	–	–	–
Class B, two platforms	1	1	–	2
Class C, three or more platforms	3	2	–	5
Core rejuvenation flakes	1	–	–	1
Unmodified flakes	130	179	56	365
Convex scrapers	12	14	8	34
Irregularly retouched flakes	5	8	6	19
Notched flakes	9	9	3	21
Awls/borers	2	–	–	2
Spurred implements	1	2	1	4
Fabricators	1	–	–	1
Polished axe	1	–	–	1
Hammerstones	2	2	–	4

In addition one large iron-stained flake which is unlike any other flint recovered is most probably Palaeolithic.

Although the systematic collection of material allows a more confident use of a metrical analysis, the results produced are not as encouraging as one would have wished, and more general methods have to be used to determine the date of the material. This situation was not unexpected since there are few well-documented assemblages from Sussex, and chronological indicators valid, for example, in Wessex cannot necessarily be applied here. Furthermore, the degree to which fieldwalked assemblages can be compared with excavated assemblages is at present unknown.

Both 'sites' show a lack of any unused flakes with a length to breadth ratio greater than 5:2; however, 33% have a ratio of less than 1:1 and these two factors suggest a later Neolithic or Bronze Age date. Earlier assemblages usually have a blade content in excess of about 7% (cf. Pitts 1978) although the recently published assemblage from Hemp Knoll, Wilts. (Robertson-Mackay 1980), with a C14 date of 2630 ± 80 b.c. produced a figure of only 1%. There is also some evidence that there are fewer blades in Bronze Age assemblages than in those of the later Neolithic.

The restricted range of implements is yet another indicator of Bronze Age assemblages. The relatively few characteristic Neolithic implements recovered (e.g. the polished

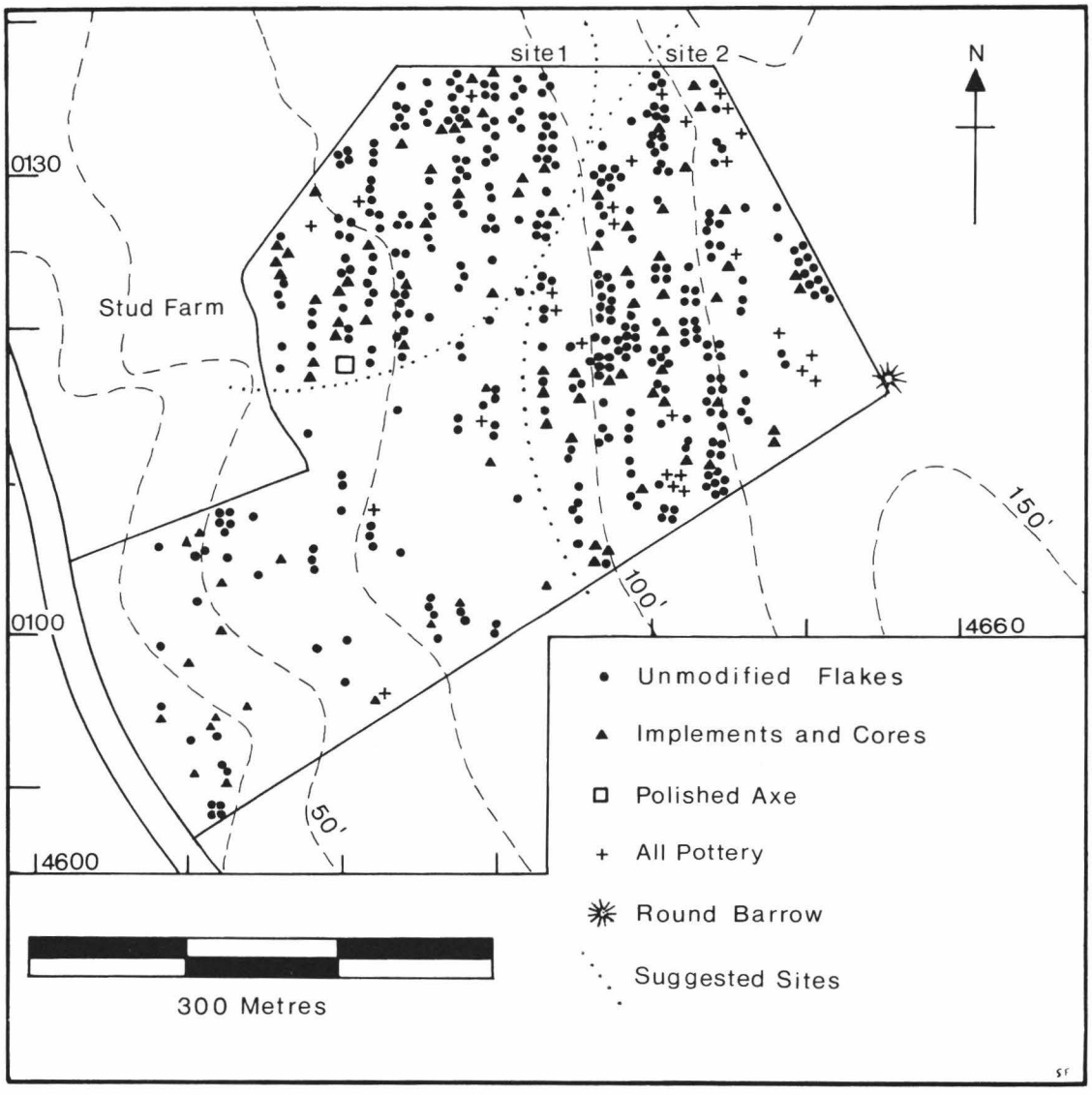

Fig. 5. Distribution of the finds.

flint axe, Fig. 6) indicate a far lesser degree of Neolithic activity in this specific area.

Finally, measurements of the thickness and quantity of cortex on flakes are similar to those for Wessex Bronze Age sites, but because of the reasons outlined above these figures have to be treated with caution.

As far as the reliability of the analysis of surface collections goes, this work has confirmed and clarified the conclusions presented in the previous paper and has shown that the material is derived from at least two Bronze Age sites on the western slopes of Rookery Hill.

Of the 27 sherds of pottery recovered only five are readily recognizable by form and fabric, but they include Iron Age, Romano-British, Saxon and mediaeval examples. The low density and dispersed nature of these sherds fails to indicate the presence of contemporary sites although it is worth bearing in mind Foard's observation (1978) that Saxon sites are represented by very low density pottery scatters.

Acknowledgements

We would like to acknowledge the assistance of the landowner Mr. T. Foxwell, and of Mr. R. Bradley in the preparation of this paper.

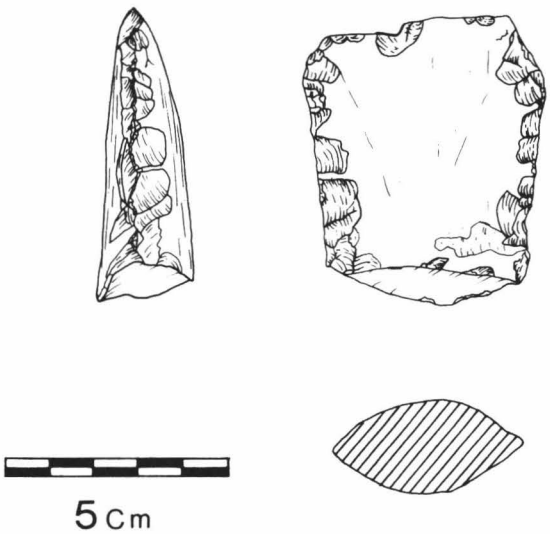

Fig. 6. Polished flint axe.

Authors: **S. Ford, 78 Watlington Street, Reading; D. T. Boodle.**

Note

All finds and archive documents have been deposited in Reading University Department of Archaeology museum.

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Fieldwalking at Glynde near Lewes, East Sussex, 1979–82

Introduction

The site lies at the top of Glynde Hill (TQ 447096) where the O.D. spot height 148 metres marks the end of the chalk ridge running northwards from Mount Caburn 0.75 km. to the south (Fig. 7). The downland turf in this area was rotovated and ploughed in 1973. An aerial photograph taken in 1975 shows a field system on the south slope of the hill and the sites of five barrows; the area of ? Barrow 4 is much disturbed. All lie within the site boundary. The vestigial remains of three barrows were finally destroyed at this time. The site was divided into four collecting areas, A–D (Fig. 8). The accompanying table indicates the nature of the pottery assemblage. Sections A–D are in no way comparable since they vary both in size and in the amount of time spent on them. Bad weather restricted the number of complete 'sweeps' of the site to two and, for a variety of reasons, Section A and the east half of Section B were given extra attention. The distribution of sherds was simple. Section A contained 91% of the medieval sherds and 8% of the prehistoric sherds. The former are connected with a windmill on the hilltop and may be related to finds from contemporary sites such as the Wyke farmstead at the foot of Saxon Down 0.9 km. northwards and the Ringmer pottery industry 2 km. further north. The prehistoric sherds may be referred to assemblages from the Caburn Hill Fort, Ranscombe Camp and the Romano-British farmstead at Ranscombe Hill.

A. Pottery

1. *The Prehistoric Period*

Beaker. These fragmented sherds were found inside and just outside the north-west perimeter of Barrow 2. They bear combed and rusticated decoration.

Bronze Age. None specifically identified.

The following periods are divided into five groups based on S. Hamilton's identification of Iron Age fabric types in Sussex.

Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age, Fabric I (80% of the total). These sherds relate to Cunliffe's Kimmeridge–Caburn I group of the 8th–6th centuries B.C. One black sherd with pre-fired holes is reminiscent of the Kingley Vale 'cover'.

Later Iron Age, Fabrics II–IV (15% of the total). After the abandonment of the Caburn Hill Fort by the end of the early Iron Age the population dispersed. The finer vessels progressively adopted new features, but the heavy, coarse forms persisted well into the Iron Age. The statistical breakdown

TABLE 1
Pottery: Chronological Summary

Period	*A*	*B*	*C*	*D*	*Total*
1. Beaker	1	71	4	1	77
2. Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age	318	2,324	842	395	3,879
3. Later Iron Age	72	452	110	59	693
4. Late Iron Age/Romano-British	6	18	3	1	28
(Total of periods 2.–4.	396	2,794	955	455	4,600)
5. Medieval	1,784	87	56	38	1,965
6. Post-medieval	65	–	–	2	67
Total	2,246	2,952	1,015	496	6,709

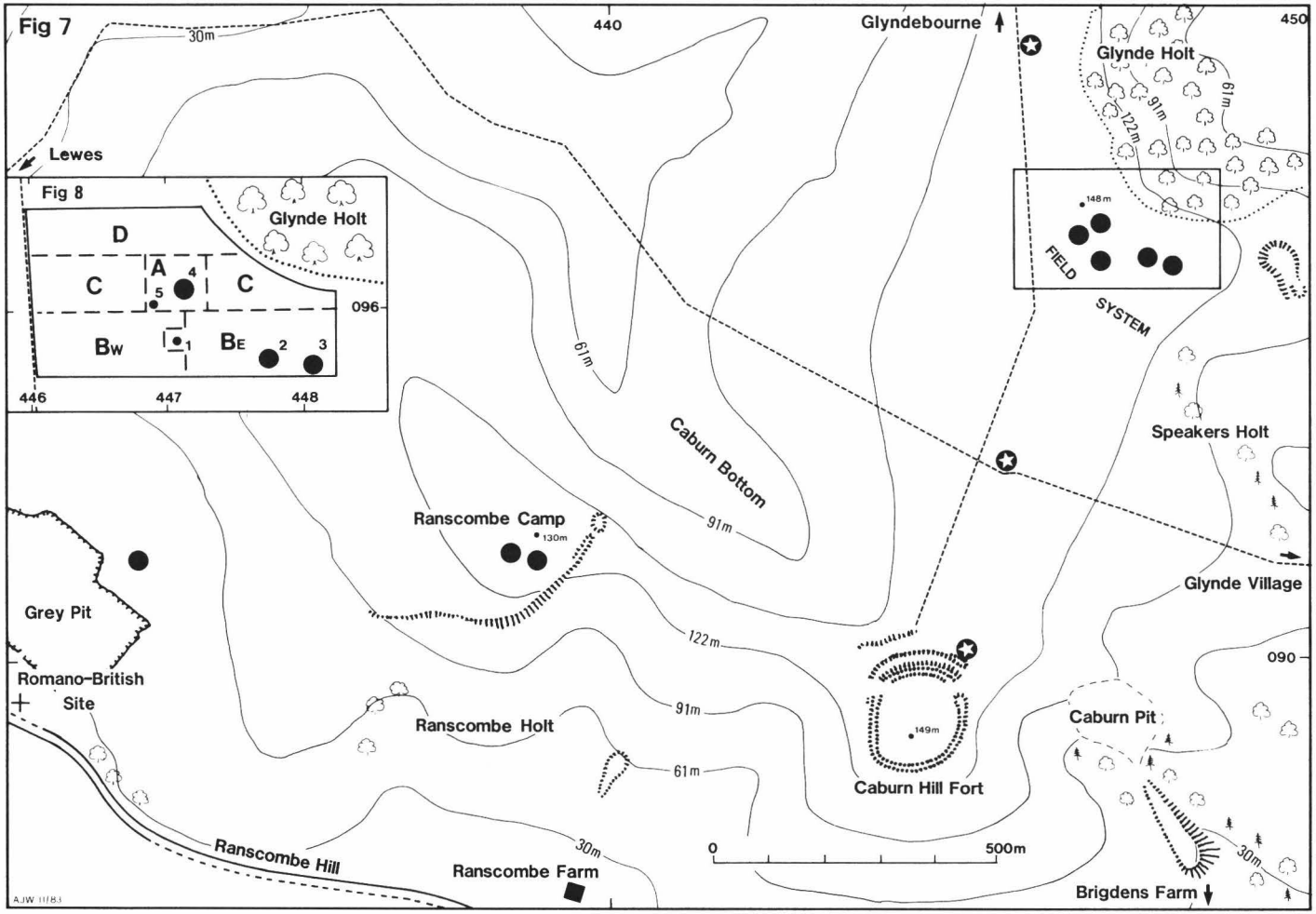

Fig. 7. The site and its environs; Fig. 8. Sketch plan of the site (inset), extant barrows being shown as dark circles with stars, ploughed-out barrows as dark circles.

of these fabrics is II 38%, III 17% and IV 45%. The Fabric IV collection contains two examples of Wealden iron-oxide ware.

Late Iron Age/Romano-British. The sherds from this period indicate no more than transit over the site. They include one amphora sherd and three Samian sherds from Central Gaul.

2. *Medieval and Post-Medieval Periods*

The medieval period. The pottery indicates use of the hill-top from the 13th to mid 15th centuries with emphasis on the early period. Long ago L. V. Grinsell thought that ? Barrow 4 might have been a millstead or a barrow-cum-millstead. The archaeological evidence for a windmill here is overwhelming. In addition to the pottery, Section A and its overspill produced many fragments of French Burr millstone among which are three large pieces weighing 1.25–2.68 kg. There are broken medieval bricks, floor, roof and oven tiles, Wealden sandstone roof or cladding tiles, 65 nails and many oyster shells. Nearby (Section D) were found 30 fragments of red fired clay bars, some with expanded ends resembling briquetage but probably kiln furniture. My search for supporting documentary evidence, however, proved frustrating. Only four relevant documents give clues as to the probable position of the windmill referred to. Alone they are difficult to interpret, but combined with the archaeological evidence they appear in a more helpful guise. With few exceptions, the sherds represent the plainer, lighter forms of cooking pots and table ware. The majority are unglazed and decoration is confined to 20 fragments of poor strapwork. Of the 237 rims, only the flanges of 14 are decorated; three shallow bowls have a row of 'studs' under the rim. Large, heavy jars with upright rims and sagging bases are represented by a few coarse sherds. At the other extreme, there are three very thin sherds in a hard chestnut-coloured fabric with a silky touch. Jugs display a more imaginative use of glaze and other decorative techniques.

The post-medieval pottery ranges between the 16th and 19th centuries. All except two sherds came from Section A. This miscellaneous collection includes examples of salt-glazed stoneware of which several are 17th-century imports of Rhenish ware.

B. Miscellaneous Finds (n.e.s.)

Utilized stone. No attempt was made to collect flint artefacts, but good examples of a burin and a partially-worked leaf arrow- or spearhead were retrieved. The flint spread was not impressive and fire-cracked flints occurred only in small isolated areas. Rocks used for abrasive or polishing purposes were predominantly local sandstones of Lower Cretaceous and Lower Tertiary origin. Erratics such as Triassic sandstone and Palaeozoic Greywacke had also been utilized. Identifiable whetstones and pieces of querns were widespread as was Wealden sandstone.

Sundries. These include two certain spindle whorls, daub, burnt clay, and ten fragments of animal bone of which two calcined slivers came from Barrow 1.

Acknowledgements

I am greatly indebted to many people who patiently and substantially helped me throughout this project. They are all individually thanked in the Report, which also contains a full list of references, and of which typescript copies have been given to Fiona Marsden, Curator of Barbican House Museum, Lewes; Dr. Andrew Woodcock, Archaeological Adviser to the East Sussex County Council; and Richard Wells, Archivist of Lewes Archaeological Group.

Author: **Joyce T. M. Biggar, 4 Falkland House, St. Anne's Crescent, Lewes.**

Note

The finds have been lodged at Barbican House Museum (accession no. 1982.2).

Carved Chalk Object Found at Combe Hill, Jevington, East Sussex

Whilst walking on the Combe Hill enclosure site near Jevington, East Sussex (TQ 574021) early in May 1983, Mr. Rodney Castleden of Newhaven found a small carved chalk object sticking up through the turf at the centre of the enclosure (Fig. 9). Shortly afterwards Mr. Castleden sent its description and a drawing to Mr. Peter Drewett at the Institute of Archaeology, University of London, and he in turn subsequently forwarded this information to the present writer who is currently undertaking research into later prehistoric carved chalk objects from Sussex as a dissertation subject for the Institute.

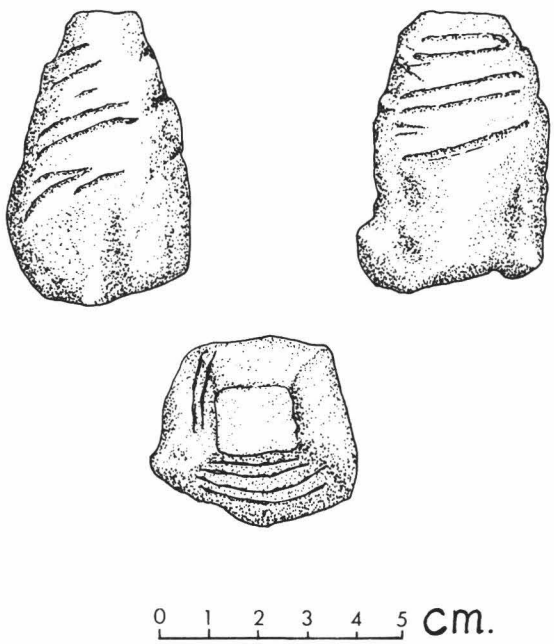

Fig. 9.

The object, of fairly hard off-white chalk, may represent a stylized or simple rough-out for a phallic symbol, and measured *c.* 5.8 cm. in length with a sub-rectangular cross-section which is greatest at its base, *c.* 4.2 cm. by 3.7 cm., narrowing towards the top to *c.* 1.6 cm. by 1.3 cm. On two sides the object has deliberately placed incised lines, eight on one side and five on another (maximum width of incised lines *c.* 2 mm., all of shallow depth), which run roughly parallel to the base, as well as five or six very fine scratches associated with the latter side.

Due to wear, the method used to create the main incised lines and fine scratches on the chalk object is obscure; a flint tool of some description is likely, although suitably pointed antler or bone could also have been used.

The object was examined by the writer during August 1983, and there was nothing to suggest that it was not a genuine article from antiquity, albeit out of its original context, and therefore with a date range somewhere between the Neolithic and Romano-British periods, possibly nearer the Neolithic end of the time-scale. An example of a chalk phallic-shaped object found at Itford Hill, Beddingham, Sussex, was dated within the Bronze Age period (Burstow & Holleyman 1957).

My thanks are due to Mr. Castleden for the prompt communication of his find and subsequent assistance when the object required viewing; and to Mr. Drewett for bringing the information to my attention. The chalk object is currently retained by Mr. Castleden.

Author: **Alan Thompson, 41 Honley Road, Catford, London.**

Reference

Burstow, G. P. & Holleyman, G. A. 1957 'Late Bronze Age Settlement on Itford Hill, Sussex', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* **23**, 201–2.

An Iron Age Coin from 'Beedings', Pulborough

In March 1983, Mr. T. E. Judd found a silver coin together with Iron Age and Romano-British pottery, including amphora sherds, during building operations for the construction and landscaping of a new bungalow to the south-east of 'Beedings' at N.G.R. TQ 07542033.

The coin, retained by the finder, is a silver minim of Epaticcus (A.D. 25–35) (Mack type 263a).
Obverse: Victory seated right, holding a wreath TASCIO
Reverse: Boar to right, below EPAT
The type is described and illustrated with an example from Chichester by Allen & Nash (1980).

Author: **F. G. Aldsworth, Archaeology Officer, West Sussex County Council.**

Reference

Allen, D. F. & Nash, D. 1980 *The Coins of the Ancient Celts*, pl. 26, no. 552.

Two Gallo-Belgic Gold Coins from the Foreshore at Eastbourne, East Sussex

I have been loaned for identification and recording purposes two Iron Age quarter staters which were found by Mr. Eddy Williams on the beach at Eastbourne. Details of the coins (Fig. 10) are as follows:

1. Gallo-Belgic A, *c.* 125–100 B.C. Quarter stater. Weight: 1.650 g.
   Obverse: Degenerate bust to the left in imitation of the head of Apollo.
   Reverse: Horse to left with various pellets and a rosette below.
   Ref.: Mack 4. Find spot: TV 613980 (to the south of the Wish Tower).
   The condition of this coin is very poor and indicates that it had many years of circulation before loss. It does not appear to be waterworn or abraded by sand or stones.
2. Gallo-Belgic D, *c.* 80 B.C. Quarter stater. Weight: 1.418 g.
   Obverse: Uncertain object.
   Reverse: A crooked line with a tree above and an uncertain object below.

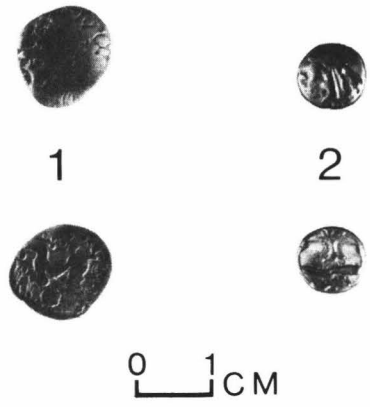

Fig. 10.

   Ref.: Mack 41. Find spot: TV 617987 (near the pier).
   The good condition of the Gallo-Belgic D quarter stater, and the apparent lack of wear caused by water and/or sand or stone abrasion on the other coin, tend to suggest that the find spots of these coins are not far from the spots where the coins were lost or buried (perhaps in a hoard), rather than being points of deposition on the beach as a result of coastal drift.

Two other Gallo-Belgic gold coins are recorded as having been found at Eastbourne (Allen 1958), although unfortunately their precise find spots are unknown. The coins in question are:

1. Gallo-Belgic D, *c.* 80 B.C. Quarter stater. Ref.: Mack 41a (similar to Mack 41, but with a plain obverse).
2. Gallo-Belgic E, *c.* 57–45 B.C. Uniface stater. Obverse: plain. Reverse: crude disjointed horse to the right. Ref.: Mack 27.

Other Iron Age coins are similarly recorded as having been 'found at Eastbourne' (Allen 1958) and include:

1. A cast Potin coin, Class 1, *c.* 1st century B.C. Ref.: Mack 9. These coins, which were probably made in Kent, have a predominately Thames and South distribution.
2. An inscribed gold quarter stater of Cunobeline, King of the Catuvellauni, *c.* A.D. 10–40. Ref.: Mack 205.
3. An inscribed bronze coin of Cunobeline. This actual coin is illustrated by Mack (1975, 92, no. 247).

It is interesting to note that the writer has examined a Parthian bronze (17 mm.) coin (Ref.: Wroth 1903, 33, no. 90) of King Mithradates II, 123–88 B.C., which was found on the beach at Eastbourne, near the Wish Tower. The finding of such 'Greek' coins in Britain is becoming increasingly common, so much so as to suggest that the old theory that these finds are relatively recent collectors' or travellers' losses is probably incorrect. The reader is referred to the well-known discovery near the Iron Age hillfort on Mount Caburn of a Carthaginian bronze coin of *c.* 200 B.C. (Spokes 1927).

In addition, a British Q gold quarter stater (Mack 71), *c.* 40–20 B.C., is reported to have been found 'near' Eastbourne (Allen 1958).

Recently two Iron Age coins, a Potin Class 1, and a gold stater (Mack 121) of Verica, King of the Atrebates, *c.* A.D. 10–40, were found on Bullock Down, near Eastbourne (Rudling 1982, 17 and 115). Somewhat further away near Birling Manor, East Dean, a small hoard of five plated Celtic 'gold' coins were found in 1932 by a labourer whilst digging

for flints on the downs (Allen 1958, 291). The plated coins are of the following types: a Gallo-Belgic E stater (Mack 27), *c.* 57–45 B.C.; a British M stater (Mack 148), *c.* 35 B.C.; two types of British Q quarter staters (Mack 77 and 85), *c.* 40–20 B.C.; and a stater (Mack 275) of Dubnovellaunus, King of the Trinovantes, *c.* A.D. 1–10.

The various coins described above, together with various discoveries of other types of material culture from the later Iron Age, especially finds from the north-west of the old parish of Eastbourne (Stevens 1980), testify to activity and/or occupation in and around Eastbourne during the Late Iron Age.

Author: **David Rudling, Institute of Archaeology, University of London.**

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A Hoard of Roman Coins from Combe Hill, East Sussex

During 1980, 144 Roman coins were found in a small area on the northern slopes of Combe Hill, Willingdon, East Sussex (TQ 577025). The coins were discovered by Mr. Roy Lock of Eastbourne during several visits to the site, and were located with the aid of a metal detector. Most of the coins come from an area measuring a couple of square metres, with the others fanning out downslope of the main cluster. It is thought that most of the hoard was recovered by Mr. Lock, although it is believed that another metal detector user also found several coins, including a sestertius. While some of the earlier, better silver coins are in fairly good condition, in general the later, baser metal coins are very poor. What the coins were buried in (if anything) remains a mystery, the only other find from the site being a small bronze ring measuring 21 mm. in diameter and approximately 3 mm. thick (perhaps from a bag or purse). The coins and ring remain in the possession of Mr. Lock, to whom I am grateful for giving me the opportunity to examine and report on his discovery.

Combe Hill is the location of a Neolithic causewayed enclosure and a number of Bronze Age tumuli. The finding on the hill of fairly large quantities of Romano-British pottery (Stevens 1980, 39) indicates some form of activity and/or occupation in Roman times. In addition, Mr. Lock has also found a number of isolated Roman coins from the area, including three from within about 500 metres of the hoard: an illegible sestertius of Hadrian, an antoninianus of Salonina (joint reign, *RIC* 6), and an Ae 20 of Constantine II (Trier, *RIC* 327); and, from further to the east (at approximately TQ 582027), an As of Vespasian (as *RIC* 494).

Table 1 shows the composition of the hoard (4 sestertii and 140 antoniniani) in respect of rulers and mints.

The latest coins in the hoard are Tetricus I's *VIRTVS*

TABLE 1
Composition of the Hoard

	Rome	Lugdunum	Mediolanum	Siscia	Cologne	Trier	Unidentified	Total	Irregular coins	Grand total
CENTRAL EMPIRE										
Hadrian	1							1		1
Marcus Aurelius	2							2		2
Philip I	1							1		1
Gallienus (joint)	1							1		1
Saloninus		1						1		1
Gallienus (sole)	15		2	1				18		18
Salonina (sole)	3		1					4		4
Claudius II	14		5				2	21		21
Divus Claudius	2							2		2
Quintillus	1							1		1
										52
GALLIC EMPIRE										
Postumus					10			10		10
Marius					1			1		1
Victorinus					34	20	1	55	1	56
Tetricus I					21	1	1	23	1	24
Tetricus II					1			1		1
										92
Totals	40	1	8	1	67	21	4	142	2	144

Fig. 11. Postumus: sestertius of the Cologne mint. Reverse: LAETITIA AVG, Galley.

AVGG issues of Cologne and a *SPES PVBLICA* coin of Tetricus II. The number of obviously irregular coins is small (two, or 1.4 %). The hoard would thus seem to terminate at the end of Tetricus I's reign in A.D. 273 and to be roughly comparable with the nearby Polegate (Brodribb 1976) and Beachy Head (Bland 1979; Rudling 1982) hoards.

With regard to the four sestertii, the finding of the three very worn 2nd-century examples alongside 3rd-century antoniniani in a hoard is not especially unusual, but the discovery of a sestertius of Postumus in such a hoard is a rare phenomenon. The Postumus sestertius is illustrated at Fig. 11.

A more detailed report, including a catalogue of the 144 coins by type and issue, has been submitted to the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, for inclusion in a future volume of either *Coin Hoards from Roman Britain* or *Coin Hoards*.

Author: **David Rudling, Institute of Archaeology, University of London.**

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Bland, R. F. 1979 'The 1973 Beachy Head Treasure Trove of Third-Century Antoniniani', *Numismatic Chronicle*, **139**, 61–107.

Brodribb, F. 1976 'The Polegate Hoard', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **114**, 332–3.

Rudling, D. R. 1982 'The Romano-British Farm on Bullock Down', in *The Archaeology of Bullock Down* (ed. P. Drewett), 97–142. Suss. Arch. Soc. Monograph, **1**.

Stevens, L. 1980 *Eastbourne: The Vigil and the Morrow*. Eastbourne: privately printed.

Plumpton Roman Villa (TQ 360147), a Cursory Note

In April 1977, following its discovery four years earlier by F. G. Burton, the site of a Roman villa at Plumpton was fieldwalked by the Lewes Archaeological Group. As chalk and flint rubble of the walls were clearly visible in the plough-soil, a plan of the villa was surveyed (Allen 1977).

The villa is situated one mile north of the downs-scarp slope and lies just to the south of the Roman Greensand Way, on Gault Clay.

The plan (Fig. 12) shows a simple Romano-British villa layout which had wall-footings consisting of local materials: chalk and flint. The structure may have contained a hypocaust system as pilae and box-flue tiles were recovered. Painted wall plaster indicates some internal decor. Almost complete tegulae and imbrices were also retrieved from the field.

The fieldwalking technique employed was the lane method and two sweeps of the field were made. For the first sweep the walkers, who were positioned 20 metres apart and bagged material at 30-metre intervals, covered the entire

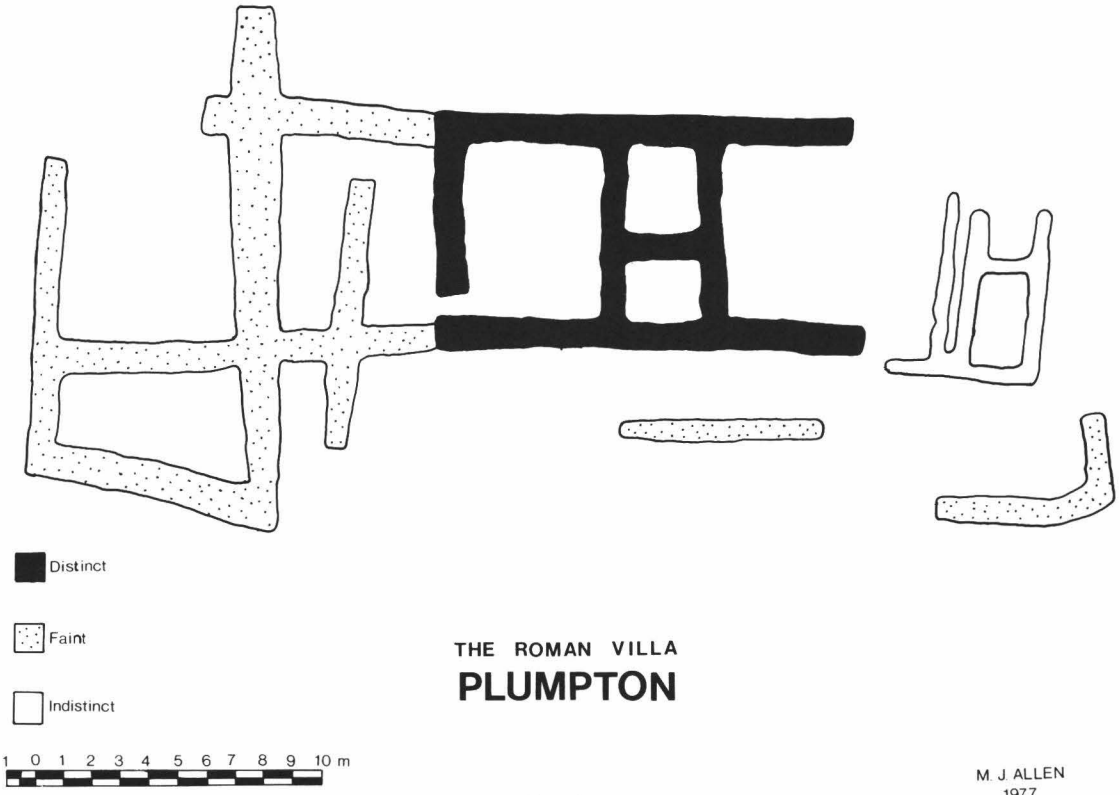

Fig. 12.

16½-a. field. The artefacts showed very little spread and were almost exclusively confined to the immediate vicinity of the villa, indicating that the villa had only recently been disturbed by the plough. Finds from the rest of the field included only a dozen unretouched struck flakes, three dozen post-medieval sherds and fragments of 19th- and 20th-century brick and tile.

The second sweep was concentrated over the villa and was walked on a tighter grid, each walker being 5 metres apart. Apart from the vast quantity of tile (imbrex, tegulae, box-flue, floor tiles, and red tesserae probably cut down from building tiles), there was also a mass of pottery of which surprisingly little of the coarse ware was East Sussex ware. The finer wares included colour-coated wares from Oxford, the New Forest and the Nene Valley, and these were generally fine table wares, such as bowls and drinking vessels. A quantity of Samian was also found and consisted of at least ten vessels, some of which had fine relief decoration. The Samian was all *c.* 2nd- to early 3rd-century. Other finds included a large fragment of a saddle quern and a 3rd-century coin, the latter found by R. L. Wells during the period 1974–7 while he was observing the site. No 4th-century material was noted.

The masonry villa of the 2nd–3rd century is of similar proportions, size and date to that at West Blatchington, Hove (Norris & Burstow 1950), and both villas are simple in plan. Both Plumpton and West Blatchington are among the richer establishments described by Cunliffe (1973, 74) which are situated in locations where the soil is more productive.

If the Plumpton villa 'grew organically out of a native farm' (Applebaum 1966, 99) as most of the Sussex villas did (Rudling 1982, 277) then evidence of its timber predecessors may still be preserved as post-holes. Indeed timber outbuildings associated with the villa may also still survive beneath the soil. Unfortunately the field, owned by Plumpton Agricultural College, has undergone deep ploughing since at least 1976–7. However, the south-west corner of the field containing the villa has been left comparatively unscathed due to the damage the chalk and flint walls cause the plough, and the field is now undergoing experimental drilling to prevent further damage to the villa.

A full analysis of the pottery and other recovered artefacts is being undertaken by Simon Garrett.

Acknowledgements

The fieldwalk, which was directed by S. P. Garrett, and the survey, which was directed by M. J. Allen, involved 18 members of the Lewes Archaeological Group to whom the author is very grateful. Thanks are also extended to Mr. Bishop, farms manager of Plumpton Agricultural College, for his co-operation, and to Mr. E. W. O'Shea for his advice.

Author: **Mike Allen, Institute of Archaeology, University of London.**

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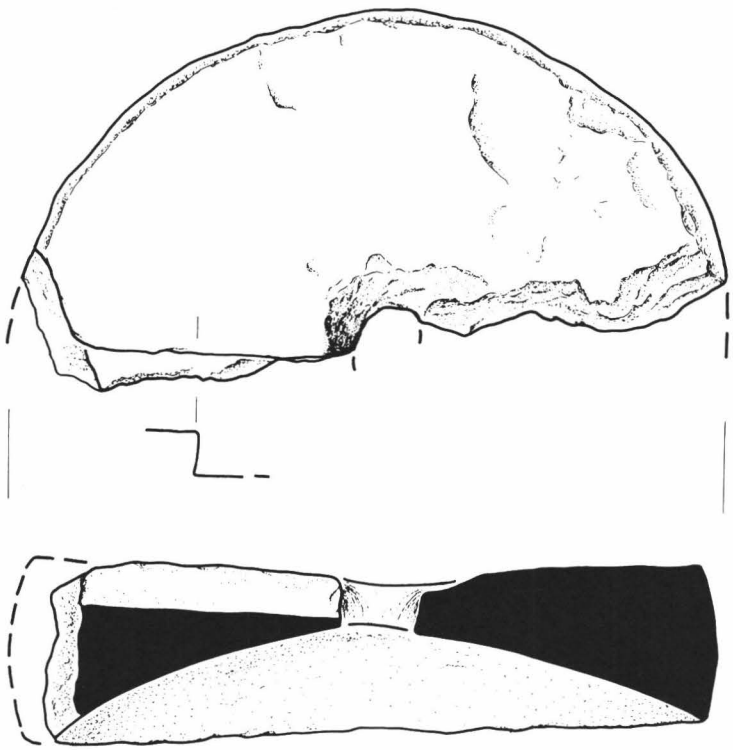

Fig. 13.

Norris, N. E. S. & Burstow, G. P. 1950 'A Prehistoric and Romano-British Site at West Blatchington, Hove', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **89**, 1–54.
Rudling, D. R. 1982 'Rural Settlement in Late Iron Age and Roman Sussex', in *The Romano-British Countryside: Studies in Settlement and Economy* (ed. D. Miles). British Arch. Reports, **103**.

Romano-British Quern Fragment from Alfoldean, Slinfold

Part of the upper half of a quern was found in spoil from a freshly-dug roadside ditch in August 1983 on the west side of the A29 (Stane Street) several hundred metres south of Alfoldean Roman Station (N.G.R. TQ 11543276). The fragment (Fig. 13) is of Lower Greensand and was about 38 cm. in diameter when complete. It has been donated to Horsham Museum.

Author: **F. G. Aldsworth, Archaeology Officer, West Sussex County Council.**

A Late Roman Gold Coin from High Hurstwood, East Sussex

In 1982 a gold solidus of the Emperor Honorius (A. D. 393–423) was discovered by a farmer, Mr. Llewellyn, in one of his fields adjacent to Perryman's Lane, High Hurstwood (approximate location: TQ 486261). Details about the coin (Fig. 14) are as follows:
Obverse: D. N. HONORIVS P. F. AVG. Diademed, draped and cuirassed bust facing right.

Fig. 14.

Reverse: VICTORIA AVGGG. Honorius standing right, holding a standard in his right hand and in his left hand a Victory, who is crowning him with a wreath. The emperor has his left foot on a captive. In the field of the reverse are the letters M and D, and in the exergue, COMOB. The mint marks indicate that the coin is a product of the Milan mint. Coin type reference: Cohen 44.

The discovery of such a late Roman coin from the Weald is very unusual (most of the ironworking establishments, for instance, had been abandoned by the mid 3rd century). Mr. C. F. Tebbutt, who kindly provided details about the location of the discovery, informs me that Perryman's Lane is of interest since it continues to the west, via a footpath, to the important Roman iron-manufacturing and administrative centre at Oldlands. Eastwards it goes to an area (TQ 509255) where there is a very extensive Roman bloomery site which has yielded pottery and a hypocaust tile. There are also at this location large open-cast mine pits. The Wealden Iron Research Group have walked the field in which the solidus was found and discovered two bloomery slag areas, but unfortunately no associated pottery by which they could be dated.

Author: **David Rudling, Institute of Archaeology, University of London.**

Recent Discoveries in Bosham Church

The lowering of the floor level in the chapel crypt during April and May 1981 revealed several items of historical interest.

At least two inhumation burials were found in graves cut into the natural brickearth and these were removed by contractors. The lower fill of the graves was examined and found to comprise almost pure charcoal. Burials in charcoal are known from a number of places in England, including Winchester, York, Oxford, London and Exeter. The custom appears to have a wide date range, at present extending from the 9th to the 12th centuries A.D., but it seems likely that as more graves are discovered this range will be extended. There is, as yet, no clear evidence to explain the use of charcoal, although a likely hygienic reason may be found by analogy with the use of charcoal as a gas-absorbent in gas masks.

The remains of two sheets of metal, possibly zinc, were found face down under the old floor and were found to have traces of an illuminated Gothic script painted over white on their upper surface in black, red and gold. These both had mortar adhering to the reverse face and appear at some time to have been mounted on a wall. The larger piece, 110 cm. high and 56 cm. wide with a rounded top, retained enough of the text to demonstrate that it comprised part of the Lord's Prayer:

> OUR F(ATH)ER which
> art (in heaven)
> (hallowed) be thy Name
> T(hy kingdom) come
> T(hy will be) done in earth As
> (it is) in (heaven)
> G(ive us this) day our daily bread
> F(orgive us our) trespasses As we forgive
> them that trespass against us

The smaller piece, 10 cm. high and at least 40 cm. wide, was probably mounted below the larger piece and reads:

> (All this) I have done (for t)hee

A metal sheet hanging on the north wall of the nave of Barnham church is painted white and has the text of the Apostles' Creed painted in black. It is said in the church guide to date from the 19th century and may be roughly contemporary with the Bosham examples. Photographs of the metal plates and details of the text have been placed in the West Sussex Record Office.

Since the lettering used is almost identical, it has now been possible to transcribe the nearly illegible text painted on a pillar in the south aisle of Bosham church. It is from Acts 2. 38 and reads:

> (Then Peter said unto them)
> Repent, and be baptized every
> one of you in the Name of

Jesus Christ for the Remission
of Sins and ye shall receive the
gift of the Holy Ghost.

Authors: **F. G. Aldsworth, Archaeology Officer, West Sussex County Council; Alison McCann, West Sussex Record Office.**

A Trial Excavation in Castle Ditch Lane, Lewes, East Sussex

In advance of building development, and at the request of East Sussex County Council, a small area of land fronting Castle Ditch Lane (which follows the line of the castle's ditch) at the rear of 175 High Street, Lewes, was trial trenched in 1983. The trench, which measured 2.2 by 1.6 by 1.5 metres, was excavated to a maximum depth of 1.53 metres. Unfortunately the area investigated proved to have been badly disturbed in post-medieval times, for example by cellars, and nothing of medieval date was recovered. A plan showing the location of the trench has been deposited with the East Sussex County Council's Sites and Monuments Record. Thanks are due to Dr. A. Woodcock of East Sussex County Council (which funded the excavation), Mr. D. Fuller (the developer) and Dr. O. Bedwin (who assisted on site).

Author: **David Rudling, Institute of Archaeology, University of London.**

A Medieval Jetton from Rodmell, East Sussex

A French jetton has been found on the site of Hall Place, Rodmell, East Sussex (TQ 421063). Details of the bronze jetton, which has been pierced for suspension, are as follows:
Obverse: A heater-shield with the arms of France-modern. Legend, AVE MARIA: GRACIA: PLENA.
Reverse: A cross of three strands fleurdelisée with a quatrefoil in the centre, cantoned by four 'A's and enclosed by a tressure of four arches.
This type is not recorded by Barnard (1916). The jetton, which dates to the 14th or 15th century, has been drawn by Miss Fiona Marsden, the Curator at Barbican House Museum (Fig. 15).

Fig. 15.

Jettons or reckoning counters, which were very numerous in the Middle Ages, were originally invented and produced in France as counters for use on a marked counting board to help the accountants in their arithmetic. It was not long, however, before they were used in much the same way as the later tokens to serve as small change, a practice denounced by governments. Later still the jetton came to serve other purposes, for example as a less costly version of the medal, thus becoming a medium for propaganda.

Author: **David Rudling, Institute of Archaeology, University of London.**

Reference

Barnard, F. P. 1916 *The Casting-Counter and the Counting Board.* Oxford.

The White Horse near Litlington, East Sussex

In his book on hill figures Morris Marples mentions the tradition that the first Litlington Horse was cut by James Pagden, a farmer of Frog Firle, and his brothers in about 1836. He goes on to say that the makers of the second horse cut in about 1924 as a replacement are unknown.[1] In 1983 copies of correspondence between John T. Ade and Morris Marples came into the possession of the Sussex Archaeological Society as part of a bequest from Ade's niece Miss Rosemary Howard.[2] These letters identify the makers of the second horse and give some additional information about the makers of the first. They also help explain inconsistencies between Marples' description of the second horse and his illustration. Copies of further letters from Ade to a friend, Eric Hobbis, document repairs subsequently made to the horse.

In his letter to Marples, dated 25 April 1949, Ade says of the first horse that his grandfather William Ade was involved in making it and that he had heard from boyhood that it was cut by the Pagdens and the Ades in 1836. This is consistent with the account by Florence Pagden who said that a young cousin helped her father and his brothers cut the figure.[3] William Ade (1820–92) was first cousin once removed to John Ade of Frog Firle who married (?Catherine) Pagden on 20 April 1805.[4] Ade also suggests that his great-grandfather, Charles Ade, who had experience of surveying, may have helped in the planning.

In the same letter Ade explained that he himself designed the second horse in the winter of 1923 to a plan that was still in his possession,[5] and that he cut it on the hillside on a single night in February 1924 with the help of two unnamed friends. The tone of the letter makes it evident that the work was carried out in conditions of secrecy.

Ade comments favourably on Marples' illustration which shows the horse with two front legs. Marples' text however describes the horse as having one foreleg only. This discrepancy is due to the fact that the horse had been measured by Marples' father in 1936, while post-war repairs in 1945 (it had been camouflaged during the war) unfortunately hid one foot behind the other.[6] Marples undertook to comment on this discrepancy in any subsequent edition of his book.[7]

On 13 May 1949 Ade wrote to Eric Hobbis, a market gardener of Long Ashton, near Bristol, whom J. T. Ade's sister, Miss Catherine Ade, identifies as having been a lodger at Grove Hill Farm in 1924, while working at Bears Orchard, Magham Down, and as one of the two helpers involved in making the second horse. Ade mentioned Marples' book and his correspondence with him and announced his intention of restoring the second front leg and generally making good other damage to the figure, particularly to the back which 'had shifted up hill a bit from saddle to rump'. In a second letter dated 15 June he described how he carried out the work

on the moonlit night of 9 June between 10 p.m. and 3 a.m. once again with the aid of two helpers who he referred to as Bovis and Harris. According to Miss Catherine Ade, Stephen Bovis was the then farm manager at Grove Hill; he had worked for the Ades since boyhood and was one of the helpers involved in cutting the horse in 1924. Paul Harris, now of Wannock, Polegate, was the second person involved in the repair work.

Ade comments on the difficulties of making repairs as opposed to the original work:

> Repair work is quite different . . . as it entails much filling in with turf and this is neither easy to obtain in correct sizes nor to place and fix into position owing to the rolling of the chalk particles where people have walked and slipped. It was also difficult to decide the positions and measurements which in the first job were fixed by the main construction lines which we laid with ropes with pegs tied on at all vital points as marked on the Plan. In some parts it was not easy to find a basis to measure from and it became a matter of judgement which of course in such a position and at such a scale might be considerably in error.

However, a few days later he found the work satisfactory when seen from the Litlington road.

Acknowledgement

I am grateful to Miss Catherine Ade for her help in providing additional information, and for permission to quote from letters.

Author: **Fiona Marsden, Barbican House, Lewes.**

Notes

[1]M. Marples, *White Horses and Other Hill Figures* (1949), 128–9. Marples refers to the Litlington Horse, though in fact it is in the parish of Alfriston.

[2]Now transferred to East Sussex Record Office (Acc. A 4146).

[3]F. A. Pagden, *History of Alfriston* (1903 edn.), 64. Marples is in some confusion here. His text refers to Pagden's son, not daughter, and his source, he claims, is J. Pagden, *History of Alfriston* (1899), 71. According to the British Library there is no such book. Very probably he is referring to the 6th edition of F. A. Pagden, *History of Alfriston*, published in 1927, which refers to the cutting of the horse on p. 71. All known previous editions, except the first of 1899, refer to the cutting, but at different page numbers.

[4]Pedigree of Ade family in Suss. Arch. Soc. Library.

[5]The plan was later destroyed during a house clearance: inf. from Miss Catherine Ade.

[6]Marples, 129; letter from M. Marples to J. T. Ade, 3 May 1949; letter from J. T. Ade to M. Marples, 25 April 1949.

[7]There was no subsequent edition. The book, unrevised though with additional photographs, was republished in 1981.

HISTORICAL NOTES

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

Rye: a 9th-Century Foundation?

Although it is styled an 'ancient town', the recorded history of Rye reaches no further back than Domesday Book (1086), and that speculatively, as the '*novus burgus*' mentioned in association with the lost place called 'Rameslie'. 'Rameslie' probably stood on the coast south of the present Fairlight Head, and it is assumed that the new town of Rye rose as 'Rameslie' was claimed by the sea (Vidler 1934). 'Rameslie' was the subject of several grants in the first half of the 11th century, from 1005 onwards. Earlier than this nothing can be claimed, although L. A. Vidler, Rye's historian, believed the town to have been Saxon in origin, 'perhaps under some other name' (Vidler 1927). Indeed it would be surprising if such a defensible site, once closely coursed by water and marsh on three sides, was not used for refuge in times of trouble.

The 'Burghal Hidage' is a document dating from such a troubled time—the late 9th century (Davis 1982). The document lists 33 sites in Wessex and English Mercia fortified by Alfred (871–99) as part of his campaign against the Danes, and allocates land for the support of a garrison for each place (Hill 1969). A formula is appended to the list: 'For the maintenance of defences of an acre's breadth of wall, sixteen hides are required. If every hide is represented by one man, then every pole (5½ yards) of wall can be manned by four men.' The list perambulates the bounds of Alfred's kingdom, beginning with *Eorpeburnan*, then going via Hastings, Lewes, Burpham, Chichester, and so westwards. The first site, *Eorpeburnan*, is so far unidentified (Brooks 1964), but the logic of the document suggests that it was in Sussex, east of Hastings. (Kent, a sub-kingdom, was not included in this defence system.) The assessment for *Eorpeburnan* was 324 hides, which equates to a defensive line of 445½ yd. At many of the Burghal Hidage sites the assessed defensive line correlates very closely with the work traceable on the ground, though at other sites the correlation is less close.

Rye is geographically in a suitable situation for *Eorpeburnan*, and although no traces of Saxon defence can be located today William Holloway in 1847 was able to give detailed measurements of the town wall and ditch. The latter, although filled in during the 18th century, Holloway measured at 1,337 ft., or 445⅔ yd. (Holloway 1847, 589). This length is intriguingly close to the Burghal Hidage requirement of 445½ yd. Could Rye have been *Eorpeburnan* and thus claim foundation by Alfred the Great? If so it would be nearly 200 years more 'ancient' than has been hitherto believed. For a more detailed assessment of Rye's defences in relation to the Burghal Hidage see Kitchen 1984.

Author: **Frank Kitchen, Steyning Grammar School, Steyning.**

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—— 1934 *A New History of Rye.*

Ships' Timbers

For over 20 years students of vernacular architecture have discussed and queried the long-standing tradition concerning the use of old 'ships' timbers' in timber-framed buildings. The tradition is as firmly established today as it has ever been, the idea probably stemming from the fact that many large curved timbers form part of the construction of these houses, and the resemblance of such timbers to those used in the construction of the hull of a ship.

Several points must first be emphasized. It would have been an immensely costly process to transport salvaged timber from the coast into the Wealden area, and a formidable undertaking in view of the lack of good firm highways. It would also have been a completely unnecessary exercise because of the availability of excellent oak from the surrounding countryside, in many instances near or actually on the building site. In addition copyholders were usually allowed sufficient timber, upon request to the lord of the manor, to repair an existing house or to build a new one, and the timber required would be cut from the manorial woods; indeed this right was often written into the custumal of the manor.[1]

However, Dr. Louis Salzman always affirmed that in the examination of any tradition one should try to find the germ of truth which may have been hidden by years of accretions, and this might well be so in this instance. Could it be that the term 'ships' timbers' might merely describe certain outstanding oak trees of a type required for shipbuilding?

This possibility has recently been confirmed by one brief, but very significant, item in a book of estate accounts found among the Danny archives. The book was kept by Henry Campion who was living at Danny in the parish of Hurstpierpoint in the early 18th century; in it he records the daily work of his agricultural employees. The entry is as follows:

> 1728. 11th. May. John Stanbridge for hewing Ship timber 16/6.[2]

Nevertheless it is certainly true that along the Sussex coast there must have been much available timber from wrecks which could readily be used in house building. One has only to look at the records of shipping in the 19th century to realize how many vessels foundered on the rocks of the Sussex coast, and how much timber would have been swept onto the shore. A typical reference concerns the Lewes Lass, a ship wrecked at the Veness Gap near Bexhill in 1886, the salvaged timbers of which, including the figurehead, were acquired by a Mr. Adams and sawn up to provide floors, doors, etc. for two cottages he built at nearby Sidley.[3]

Defoe recorded a similar practice in the early 18th century on the Norfolk coast, where:

> the farmers, and country people had scarce a barn, or a shed, or a stable; nay, not the pales of their yards, and

gardens, not a hogstye, not a necessary-house, but what was built of old planks, beams, wales and timbers, &c. the wrecks of ships, and ruins of mariners and merchants' fortunes; and in some places were whole yards fill'd, and piled up very high with the same stuff laid up, as I suppos'd to sell for the like building purposes, as there should be occasion'.[4]

Author: **Margaret Holt, 3 Drummond Court, Drummond Close, Haywards Heath.**

Notes
[1]*Suss. Rec. Soc.* **34,** 81.
[2]East Sussex Record Office, DAN 2198.
[3]*Suss. County Mag.* **13,** 283.
[4]D. Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (Everyman edn.), **1,** 71.

The Selection of High Constables at Lewes, 1733–40

In the previous volume of these *Collections* mention was made of the uncertainty that exists over how high constables were chosen at Lewes, after the 'fellowship' of the Twelve ceased to function there from the mid 1660s.[1] Although oligarchic, the Twelve had been a genuine organ of local self-government, recruited by co-option and selecting the constables from its own ranks on the first Monday after Michaelmas at the court leet, of which it formed the jury.[2] But how did the selection take place at the court once the Twelve became defunct? Were the constables still chosen by the jury? In which case, did the jurors still enjoy any kind of corporate identity? Did they recruit by co-option and continue to serve from court to court? If so, then civic life had salvaged some autonomy from the capsize of the Twelve. But if the steward who presided at the court now played a crucial part in choosing the constables or the jury, then seigneurial power was brazenly intruding, since any steward was normally the instrument of his employer, 'the Lord of the Leet'. (At Lewes that lordship rotated annually between the Duke of Norfolk, the Duke of Dorset and Lord Bergavenny.) Only one scrap of evidence was available from the 1660s: a quarter sessions order for 1668 which referred to the constables being chosen 'by the Lords of the Leet of the said Borough or their Steward'.[3] This has a very seigneurial ring. But being brief and formal, how meaningful was the phrase?

Recently very precise evidence for the period 1733–40 has been found in letters sent to the Duke of Newcastle by Thomas Pelham,[4] whose father Thomas Pelham of Catsfield was then an M.P. for Lewes, together with Thomas Pelham of Stanmer.[5] And that evidence can best be summed up in Thomas's own blunt words: 'The choosing Constables here is almost wholely in the Steward.'[6] So if, as seems likely, the procedure he describes was indeed the one instituted in the mid 1660s, then the loss of the Twelve marked a very black day for civic autonomy.

Newcastle's interest in the procedure was political. As head of a ramifying Pelham connection, he was daily involved in defending its parliamentary electoral influence throughout Sussex. At Lewes the high constables were alone responsible for determining 'the Validity of disputable Votes' at elections;[7] and since qualification for the borough franchise often hinged on 'disputable' claims to residence (house occupation or poor-rate payment), the vigorous vetting of would-be electors on polling day by a pair of partisan constables could win an otherwise desperate contest. And by the summer of 1733 affairs at Lewes looked rather desperate to Newcastle. A general election was due early in 1734, and the opposition was stridently certain it would dislodge both Pelhams from their seats. So he deputed Thomas Pelham junior to secure the selection of reliable constables at the Michaelmas court. Two such, Thomas Friend and James Reeves, were indeed chosen, and when polling day arrived they duly adjudicated the 'disputable' votes to snatch a narrow victory for the Pelhams.[8]

At the 1733 court the presiding steward, 'Mr. Gratwick', twice intervened in the selection procedure. Firstly he chose the jury: 'of those who appear at the Court, he calls whom, and as many as he pleases to be of the Jury.' So, unlike the Twelve, these jurors lacked any continuing corporate character; each year their identity depended on the beck and nod of a seigneurial servant. Secondly, he it was who finally selected the constables from a short-list of four drawn up by the jury; and this intrusion again underlined the subservience of the jurors, and of their borough, to feudally based authority.[9]

Yet, however humiliating these formal procedures, was not the choice, exercised by the steward and the jurors, in fact limited to the application of clear-cut rules, determining automatically and beyond doubt which two townsmen were the most eligible to serve as constables? Clearly not, since both Thomas Pelham and the opposition spent much time and money bribing Mr. Gratwick. At first the steward accepted fifty guineas from Mr. Whitfield, the opposition's chief fixer. But on the eve of the court Thomas 'clarified the position', and so Gratwick returned Whitfield's money. The cost of the clarification is unclear, although rumour put it at a hundred guineas or more. Partisan support from the steward mattered. Indeed, when Thomas's opponents received their money back, they 'gave up their cause before they went into court'.

Both sides had wanted a partisan jury and both drew up lists for Gratwick's benefit. But Thomas's 'clarification', of course, carried the day in court. Naturally enough, the jury chosen for him was 'a very good one'; the 17 jurors harboured a solid majority of Pelham supporters. Clearly the purpose of such a partisan jury was the production of a partisan short-list. Giving prior thought to that as well, Thomas and his circle had fixed on Friend, Reeves, Walter Brett and Thomas Novice. Presumably the opposition had a rival list. They had certainly decided on Peak Elphick and John Mitchelborne as constables. In the event, however, when the jury retired from the court to examine the Town Book and to see 'who stood first in order for Constables', they returned with a short-list of Friend, Reeves, Oliver Willard and Thomas Taylor, after eliminating by vote Thomas Barret and Peak Elphick. Why Willard and Taylor were substituted for Brett and Novice is unclear, but Gratwick duly selected Friend and Reeves, who must have been Thomas's preferred candidates anyway.

At least nine townsmen, therefore, were plausibly considered for the short-list of four in 1733: Brett, Novice and Mitchelborne, as well as Friend, Reeves, Willard, Taylor, Elphick and Barret. This confirms the absence of clear-cut rules governing seniority. And again, what rigorous logic eliminated Barret (junior constable 1714) and Elphick (senior constable 1718), and then Willard (headborough 1718) and Taylor (headborough 1715), in favour of Friend (senior constable 1722) and Reeves (junior constable 1719)?[10] Given such fluidity, the paramount need to bribe the steward becomes all the clearer. The jurors he chose could pick and choose their short-list, and his selection from it was untrammelled.

But in one sense the latitude enjoyed by Gratwick as steward was fortuitous, since it depended on the political

passivity as 'Lord of the Leet' of his master, the Duke of Norfolk. The previous August, it is true, Norfolk had agreed to find out for Newcastle 'what steps Mr Gratwick has taken in regard to Lewis'.[11] Yet no directive was issued; otherwise Thomas Pelham would hardly have been outbidding the opposition for the steward's favour on the very eve of the court. By contrast the Duke of Dorset, the second 'Lord of the Leet', was a dependable political ally of Newcastle. There is no mention of bribery before his court met at Michaelmas 1734. Indeed his steward there 'pleased our friends very much': to the extent that 'the enemy complained of his partiality and did not answer when their names were called over: consequently none of them were of the Jury'.[12] At Michaelmas 1740, when another bitter parliamentary election loomed, his steward and the jury again 'behaved very well'. Thomas Pelham and his friends compiled yet another roll of partisan jurors, and these were instructed 'to put Mr Morris and Streake' on their short-list of four. Arthur Morris and John Streeke duly became high constables.[13]

Newcastle also counted Lord Bergavenny, the third 'Lord of the Leet', as a political ally. But that seigneur could be capricious, if the main chance required it. Thus on 2 October 1738 the townsfolk gathered at the normal time and place for his court, and as usual the retiring constables arranged a dinner, at the White Hart, to celebrate the ending of their term. But Mr. Staples, Bergavenny's steward, failed to appear, and so the court was postponed, to the embarrassment of Newcastle's supporters. Staples soon after explained to Thomas Pelham that Bergavenny considered 'the present Constables were our friends' and so 'hoped we should not be dissatisfied with their being continued in office'. Thus there might be no court leet at all that year! But Newcastle's brother, Henry Pelham, took a more cynical view of the episode. Bergavenny was after a slice of government patronage: 'everything would remain in suspense as to his behaviour, till he knew whether he was to have employment or not'. His conduct signified nothing, 'if he is provided for soon'. Presumably his lordship was so accommodated, since his court met on 8 October.[14] Such could be the impact of feudal whim.

It was fortunate for Newcastle that none of these three 'Lords of the Leet' had sufficient local influence to build up a continuing political interest in the borough on the basis of this periodic seigneurial meddling. They could only patronize a faction already formed and with loyalties elsewhere. But the meddling was very real, and owed its origins, almost certainly, to the loss of the Twelve in the mid 1660s.

Author: **Colin Brent, 53 The Avenue, Lewes.**

Notes

[1]Colin Brent, 'The Neutering of the Fellowship and the Emergence of a Tory Party in Lewes (1663–1688)', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **121,** 95–107.
[2]Jeremy Goring, 'The Fellowship of the Twelve in Elizabethan Lewes', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **119,** 157–72.
[3]E(ast) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice), QO/EW/5, f. 92.
[4]B(ritish) L(ibrary), Add. MSS. 32688–95.
[5]Judith Brent, 'The Pooles of Chailey and Lewes: the Establishment and Influence of a Gentry Family, 1732–1779', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **114,** 70–1.
[6]B.L., Add. MS. 32688, ff. 397–9.
[7]Ibid. f. 599.
[8]E.S.R.O., LEW/C 5/3/5.
[9]B.L., Add. MS. 32688, ff. 397–9, 407, 417, 453. These letters describe Thomas Pelham's dealings with Gratwick and the events at the court leet.
[10]*Suss. Rec. Soc.* **69,** 15–18, 21.
[11]B.L., Add. MS. 32688, ff. 78, 257.
[12]Ibid. Add. MS. 32689, f. 435.
[13]Ibid. Add. MSS. 32694, f. 579; 32695, ff. 126, 176.
[14]Ibid. Add. MS. 32691, ff. 392, 397, 403.

Ashburnham Blast Furnace: A Definitive Date for its Closure

Various dates have been put forward for the final blowing-out of the blast furnace at Ashburnham, the last furnace to smelt iron in the Weald.[1] It has been widely accepted that the forge continued in declining operation until the late 1820s. However, strong evidence now points to a definitive date of February 1813 for the closure of the blast furnace itself.

The *Sussex Express* of 11 August 1883 contains the obituary of William Hobday, who worked as a boy at the furnace. The newspaper records that a few months before his death he described:

> how, when a boy, he had seen the last fire extinguished in 1813, after the casting of the last fire backs, the same which are still in use in the Manor House at Penhurst . . . 'There were six of us there, when the fire was blown out, two furnace men, two upper fellows to feed the furnace, and two boys. I was one of them. After it was out the boy Jones, from Robertsbridge, drank a whole bottle of gin; we sent for the doctor, but it was no good; he died before he came'.

The burial of William Jones, a boy of six, is recorded in the Ashburnham burial register on 3 March 1813.[2] William Hobday was baptized at Ashburnham on 17 April 1803,[3] so he was probably ten years old on this eventful day, an age at which such happenings would be well remembered by an impressionable mind. His burial is recorded at Dallington on 9 August 1883.[4]

Three of the firebacks mentioned by Hobday are still at The Manor House, Penhurst. They display either the initial 'A' for Ashburnham or a coronet, or both; on one fireback is cast the date 1813.

Supporting evidence for the date 1813 comes from the archives of the Ashburnham Estate, which include lists of the cost of wood fuel delivered from various forests to three points: Ashburnham Place together with the estate brickworks, the limeworks, and the ironworks, which embraced both the smelting and forging operations.[5] Almost all the ironworks deliveries were for cordwood at a cost of 10*s.* a cord. The conversion of the wood into charcoal was not included in this figure; there is some site evidence that charcoal-making was carried out near the blast furnace as well as in the forests. In each year from 1806 to 1812 inclusive, excepting only 1809, the value of these deliveries lay between £668 and £946. Thereafter it dropped by about half until 1816, after which there was a progressive falling away until 1826, when only £45 was charged. After this there were no 'ironworks' deliveries. In the exceptional year of 1809 the value was about half the current norm; there are known to have been blast furnace problems in that year, but apparently they did not, as has been suggested,[6] cause the furnace to close.

Acknowledgement

We are indebted to Christopher Whittick of the East Sussex Record Office for his help.

Authors: **W. R. Beswick, Turners House, Turners Green, Heathfield; P. J. Broomhall; J. D. Bickersteth.**

Notes

[1]M. C. Delany, *The Historical Geography of the Wealden Iron Industry* (1921), 32; E. Straker, *Wealden Iron* (1931), 68, 369; H. R. Schubert, *History of the British Iron and Steel Industry* (1957), 194; *Sussex Life*, April 1967, p. 61; *Wealden Iron* (Bulletin of Wealden Iron Research Group), 2nd ser. **2**, 59.

[2]E(ast) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice), PAR 233/5/2.

[3]E.S.R.O., PAR 233/1/3.

[4]E.S.R.O., PAR 302/5/1.

[5]E.S.R.O., ASH 1690–9.

[6]Lady D. Neville, *Under Five Reigns*, quoted by Straker, *Wealden Iron*, 369.

INDEX

Note: M indicates microfiche.

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