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May 1990

ABBREVIATIONS

used in References and Notes in this volume

Add. MS.	Additional Manuscript
Antiq.	*Antiquarian, Antiquaries, Antiquities*
Arch.	*Archaeologia, Archaeological, Archaeology*
Assoc.	*Association*
B.A.R.	British Archaeological Reports
Coll.	*Collections*
Edn.	*Edition*
Geog.	*Geographical, Geography*
Hist.	*Historical, History*
Inst.	*Institute*
Jnl.	*Journal*
Mag.	*Magazine*
NGR	National Grid Reference
N. & Q.	*Notes and Queries*
O.S.	Ordnance Survey
Prehist.	*Prehistoric*
Proc.	*Proceedings*
Rec.	*Record*
Repr.	*Reprinted*
Sci.	*Science*
Ser.	*Series*
Soc.	*Social, Society*
Suss.	*Sussex*
Univ.	University
V.C.H. Sussex	*Victoria County History of Sussex*
Vol.	Volume

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS AT RUSTINGTON, WEST SUSSEX, 1986–88

by David R. Rudling

Three watching-briefs and a trial excavation have yielded evidence for activity at Rustington during the Mesolithic, Later Bronze Age, Iron Age, early Roman and medieval periods.

INTRODUCTION

Between 1986 and 1988 several watching briefs and a small trial excavation were undertaken at Rustington on land to the south of New Road (A259) between Windmill Bridge and the roundabout at the junction with Station Road (Fig. 2). The investigated area (Fig. 1) is situated on the West Sussex Coastal Plain brickearth and is about 4–5 metres above the present sea level. At the western end it contains traces of an old stream bed.

For recording purposes the area is considered as three main sites: A, B and C (Fig. 1). Site A (TQ 06160315) is the area to the north west of the Darlington Mushroom Laboratories. Site B (*c.* TQ 05850310) is the land previously known as Barn Nursery, which has recently been developed for two large retail units. Site C (*c.* TQ 06450314) is an area of recent development to the south west of the roundabout.

All three sites have been the subject of archaeological watching briefs undertaken by Mr P. Hammond and Mr B. and Mrs M. Taylor on behalf of the Rustington Heritage Association. The writer, on behalf of the Field Archaeology Unit, carried out a small trial excavation at Site A and also undertook to produce a report on the discoveries at all three sites. The finds from the watching briefs and excavation are in the possession of the Rustington Heritage Association and will be stored/displayed at their new 'Exhibition Centre' in Rustington.

SITE A

During 1986 a trench 130 cm. deep and 70 cm. wide was machine excavated along the full length of the north side of the meadow which lies to the west of the Mushroom Laboratories. The aim of this action was to try to deter reoccupation of the meadow by gypsies. The trench cut through a Romano-British ditch which yielded large quantitites of 1st/early 2nd-century pottery, much of which was collected by Mr and Mrs Taylor and Mr Hammond. Details of the discovery were conveyed to Mr F. Aldsworth, then Archaeological Officer for West Sussex County Council, and the site was subsequently visited and the ditch recorded by Mr Aldsworth's assistant, Mr J. Kenny.

Mr Hammond also discovered one other archaeological feature cut by the boundary trench. At approximately 24 metres west of the meadow's eastern boundary, the trench cut a pit/occupation floor (Context 22) some 4 metres across. The fill/layer consisted of 'dark soil' and yielded sherds of Iron Age pottery, including a sherd (Catalogue No. 3) dating to the late 1st century B.C./early 1st century A.D.

Since the meadow is due for redevelopment (the proposed building of another large retail unit) the discovery of archaeological features indicated that it would be worth undertaking trial excavations with the aim of obtaining more information about the site. The developers, Store Properties Investment Ltd., were approached

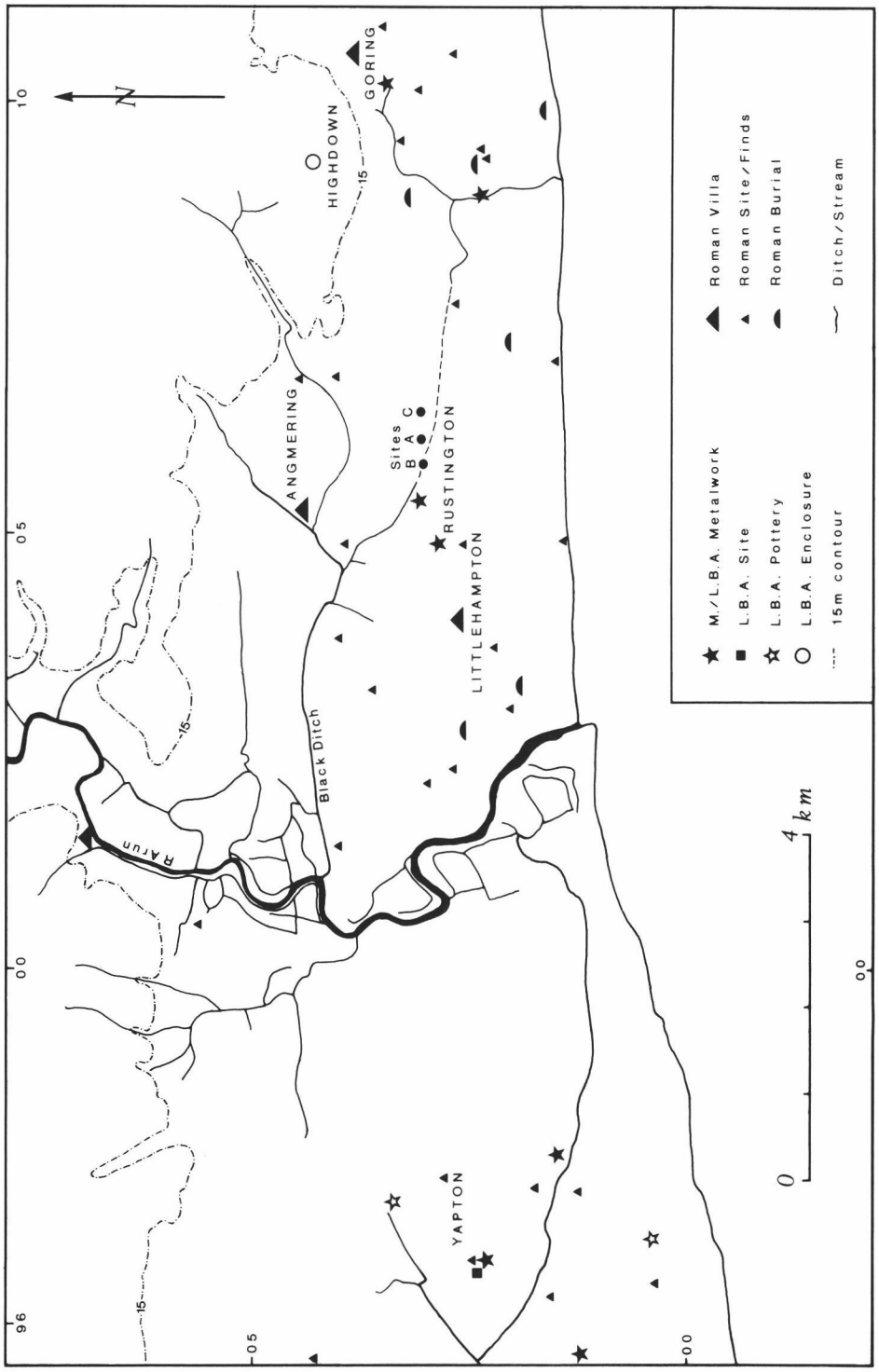


Fig. 1. Site locations.

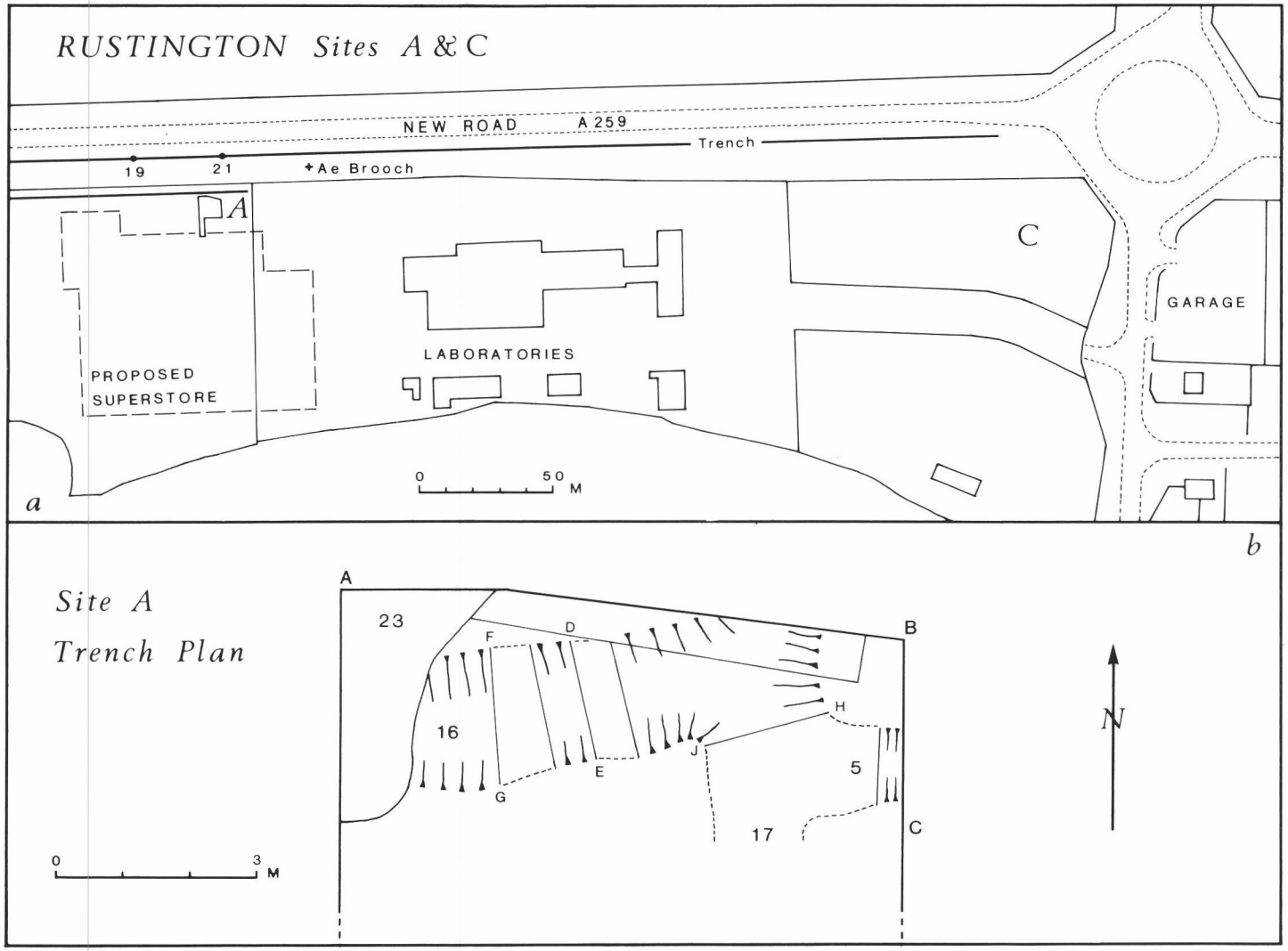


Fig. 2. Rustington 1986–8. a. Locations of Sites A and C. b. Plan of excavation trench.

and kindly agreed to provide some funds and the use of a J.C.B. mechanical excavator for a day.

Given the limited resources available for the trial excavation, it was decided to concentrate on the area containing the Romano-British ditch, especially since this had yielded large quantities of unabraded pottery which might indicate that a settlement had existed in the vicinity. In September 1987 an area (Fig. 2a) was duly machine-excavated to a depth of 65 cm. and revealed further traces of the Roman-British ditch system. At the northern end of the trench (Fig. 2b) the junction of four ditches was discovered. These included the continuation of the ditch revealed in the boundary trench which lies only one metre to the north of the excavation area. Three of the four ditch sections suggest that the ditches had been recut/cleaned out (Fig. 3). Unfortunately, the pottery finds are not sufficiently closely datable to allow identification of the different phases of ditch use. As in the previous year, most of the finds were recovered from the upper grey-brown fills, and in at least two cases sherds found in 1987 belong to the same vessels as sherds found in 1986. Unfortunately the finds recovered in 1987 are very disappointing compared with those of 1986, and in particular the pottery sherds are smaller in terms of average size and quantities found. This situation might suggest that the possible occupation site lies to the north of the areas investigated.

Lack of time prevented a thorough investigation of the southern part of the trench. Thus it was not possible to follow the plan of the ditch (Context 17) which appears to be heading southwards. No other archaeological features were noticed in the southern part of the trench and it is possible that this area should have been machined to a slightly deeper level. For context details from Site A, see Appendix.

During 1987 a service trench approximately 75 cm. deep was machine-dug to the south of, and alongside, New Road. In the area of Site A this service trench yielded two archaeological features and a small quantity of finds. The main feature (Context 19) was a layer of burnt clay/daub associated with late Iron Age pottery. The other feature (Context 21) was a concentration of burnt flint.

Discussion of Site A

The various archaeological features and finds (see below) discovered at Site A indicate that the area was utilized during the Iron Age and early Roman periods. In particular the discovery for both periods of large, unabraded pottery sherds and quantities of daub/burnt clay suggest that this site was used for habitation, or was very close to such an area. The economy of such settlements is likely to have been based on farming, and the Roman ditches presumably represent part of a drained field system. The lack of later Roman finds suggests that the ditched field system probably went out of use in the early 2nd century.

Evidence for medieval activity on the site is demonstrated by the discovery of fairly large pieces of medieval pottery (see below). These were found following the excavation of the meadow boundary trench and appear to have come from the same area as the bulk of the Roman finds.

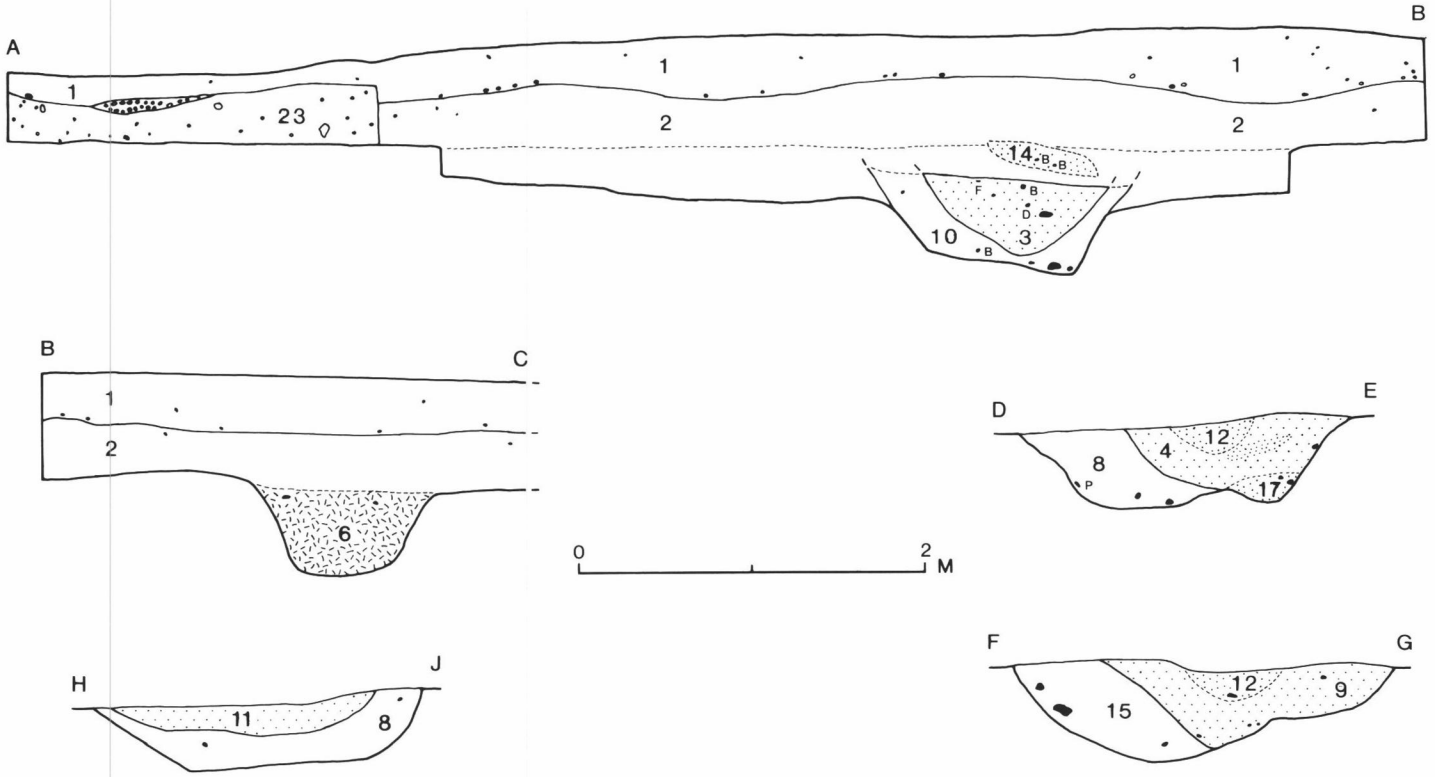
SITE B

During 1987 and 1988 major re-development work was undertaken to the west of Site A and this area is referred to as Site B (Fig. 1). At least 50 cm. of soil was stripped from the surface of Site B and at this depth a large number of archaeological features and finds began to appear. Mr Hammond undertook a watching brief throughout the whole period of soil moving and digging of foundations. He plotted his discoveries on a map of the site and this is the basis for Figure 4. Each major feature/find was given its own area letter code.

List of major features/finds (see Fig. 4 for locations)

A. Mesolithic flint core.

RUSTINGTON Site A Sections



Key ○ Chalk • Flint •B Burnt Flint ⁻F Flint Flake •D Daub ⁻P Pottery

Fig. 3. Rustington 1987. Site A. Sections.

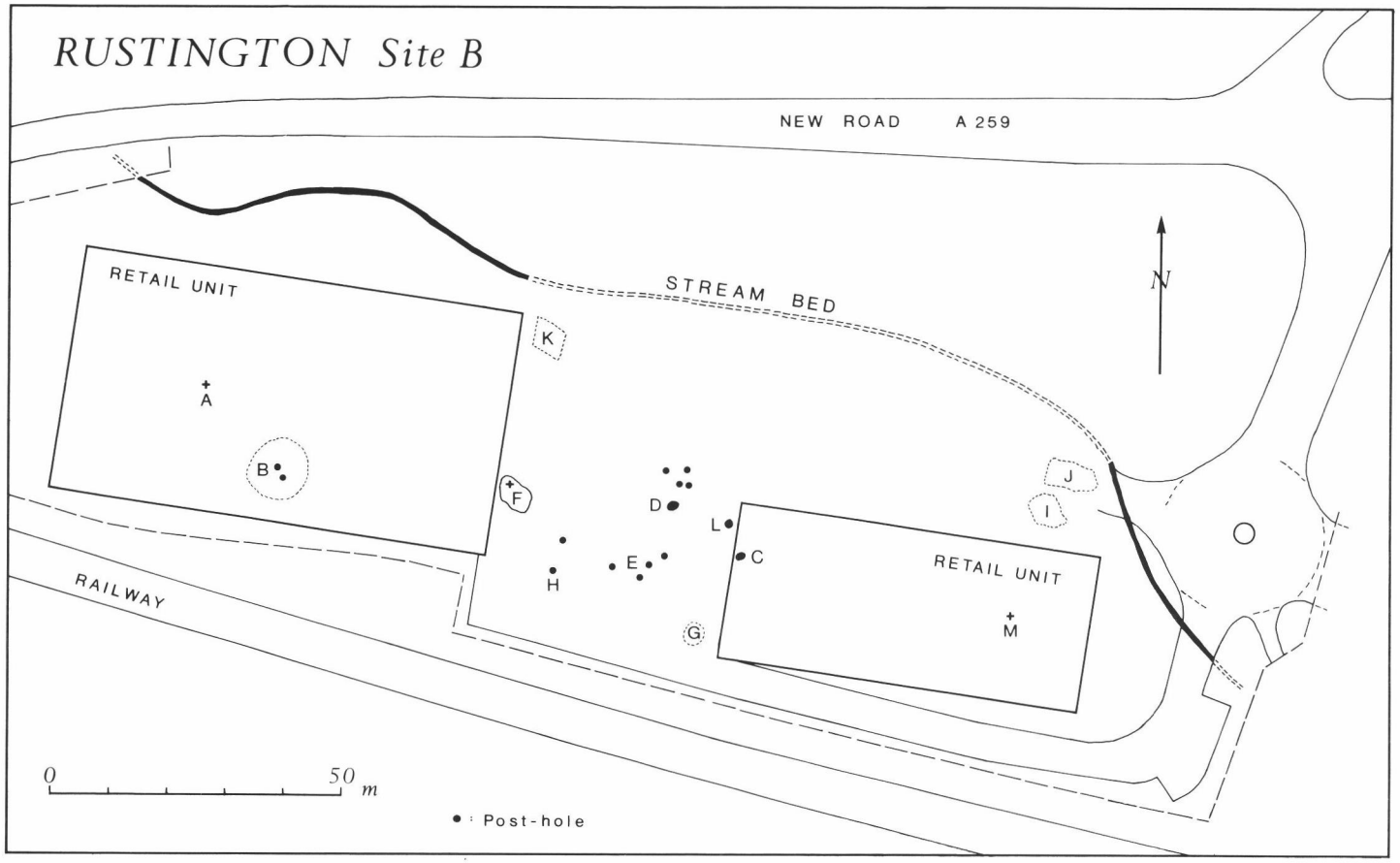


Fig. 4. Rustington 1987–8. Site B. Plan of features/finds.

B. Roughly circular area containing two post-holes and traces of burning and burnt clay. Possibly the remains of a hut. Prehistoric pottery.

C. Pit/depression containing traces of burning, bone, oyster shell, flint, and Bronze Age Pottery (catalogue number 3).

D. Pit/depression containing traces of burning, flintwork, a quern-stone and Bronze Age pottery (catalogue numbers 1–2; 4–7). To the north of the pit were four post-holes (a possible structure?).

E. A group of six post-holes and patches of burnt clay. Probably the remains of a circular hut. No pottery finds, but see 'F'.

F. Part of a bronze socketed axe (Later Bronze Age). Found in spoil taken from area E.

G. Pit/depression containing two large piles of burnt-flint and traces of burning. Flintwork.

H. The most westerly post-hole in the group of post-holes referred to as 'E'.

I. Pit/depression containing traces of burning. Finds include: a flint blade; a piece of bronze and the complete base (80 mm. diameter) of a Romano-British sand tempered grey ware pot.

J. Traces of burnt clay and small post-holes. Possibly the remains of a hut.

K. Occupation level yielding large quantities of early Romano-British pottery (catalogue numbers 32–48). Other finds include: daub; tile and metalwork. Possibly the site of a 1st-century hut.

L. Sherds from a large prehistoric pot (in a pit?).

M. A piece of unidentified bronze (not illustrated). Possibly relatively recent.

Another major feature revealed by the soil moving was the bed of a stream which runs approximately north west/south east across Site B (Fig. 4). This stream can still be traced to the west of the site (Fig. 1) where it's course is to the north of the railway line, before joining the 'Black Ditch' which flows into the River Arun. To the east of Sites A and B the stream can be traced eastwards from East Preston.

Discussion of Site B

This previously unknown site has yielded evidence for both Later Bronze Age and early Romano-British settlements.

The Bronze Age settlement appears to have included at least one, and possibly three hut sites as evidenced by post-holes and burnt clay/occupation material. Other features include pits/depressions containing traces of burning and occupation material. The discovery of a quern-stone suggests that food preparation was one function of the site.

In the early Roman period the site was again occupied and area K, and possibly also area J, may represent hut sites. The apparent absence of post-holes at area K may indicate that this building was of timber-framed construction involving the use of wattle and daub.

In both periods the location of the settlements may have been influenced by the presence of the stream.

SITE C

During construction work a watching brief was undertaken by Mr Hammond. The only finds were a small group of flintwork of indeterminate age (see below).

THE FINDS

Flintwork (Christopher Place)

Flint debitage has been recovered from three areas, with associated finds suggesting a possible date range from the Late Bronze Age to the Roman period. However, only the artifacts from Site A were recovered under controlled conditions, and the rest should be considered as unstratified. The collection as a whole is very small and contains no true groups, so statistical or typological comparisons with other sites are not possible in any detail.

The Raw Material

The flint present at Rustington is described as follows:

i) Light grey, well patinated
ii) Light brown, pale grey patches, thin buff cortex
iii) Very dark grey to black, thin yellow-brown cortex
iv) Dark grey, frequent lighter patches
v) Iron stained river gravel

Although all types are available on the coastal plain, types ii) and iv) are the most frequently utilized.

The Artifacts

The artifacts present are recorded in Table 1. The scrapers are crude and irregular, and as such have not been classified according to Clark (1960).

TABLE 1
Summary table of prehistoric flintwork from Rustington 1987–88.

Rustington Flintwork

	Site A	Site B	Site C
Flakes	46	33	5
Blades		6	
Retouched flakes	7	2	1
Notched flakes	2	1	
Cores	2(C)	1(B2)	1(C)
Scrapers	2	1	
Awls/borers	1		

Flakes and Irregular Blades

This apparently non-utilized element of the debitage is very crude. Flakes are always hard-hammer struck, and platform preparation absent. With the exception of the irregular blades the flakes tend towards being short and squat. The irregular blades are so uncommon as to suggest accidental production.

Regular Blades and Bladelets

The only true blades are found at Site B in association with a core which has been used for blade/bladelet removal. The blades are most probably Mesolithic and are narrow rather than broad. One of the blades is soft-hammer struck and shows evidence of platform preparation. One of the platforms on the core, which is very similar to a Mesolithic example from Marsh Farm, Binsted (Pitts 1980, Fig. 2.11 p. 156), also shows evidence of platform preparation. Several flakes also have scars on the dorsal surface, suggestive of blade removal.

Retouched/Utilized Flakes

This group covers a range of artifacts that may be the functional equivalents of more formalized scrapers. Three examples are illustrated from Site A (Fig. 5, Nos. 1–3) and three are illustrated from Site B (Figs. 4–6). These range from flakes with varying degrees of retouch to crude scrapers. Also illustrated is a notched flake (Fig. 5, No. 7).

Awl/Borer

This tool (Fig. 5, No. 8) was found at Site A.

Cores

One core from Site A had three platforms. Another core from the same site had four platforms, weighed 40 g., and was flaked to exhaustion. The Site B core had two oblique platforms which had been used for blade removal, one of which showed evidence of preparation. The Site C core had three platforms. All cores were quite dissimilar, and conclusions cannot be made.

Conclusion

Coastal Plain flint debitage is in general little understood, with the small size of many of the collections suggesting residuality to the author, e.g. Yapton (Place *in* Rudling, 1987), Oving (Roberts *in* Bedwin and Holgate, 1985) and Chidham (Drewett *in* Bedwin, 1980). However, it is not impossible that in some cases the small size of the collection is due to the minor role of flint in later prehistory; thus some of the collections may be crude Later Bronze Age or Iron Age assemblages.

The potential may well exist at Rustington to advance studies of later prehistoric flint, if a suitable site exists with stratified groups.

Bronze Age Pottery (incorporating comments by Sue Hamilton)

All the catalogued Bronze Age pottery is from Site B.

1. Bucket urn with large horizontal lug/s. Grey brown ware with abundant coarse calcined flint temper. Patches of oxidisation, as on part of the surface of the lug. Deverel-Rimbury tradition. Area D.
2. Barrel-shaped vessel with lug/s with two piercings. Light orange-brown flint tempered ware. Deverel-Rimbury/Late Bronze Age. Area D.
3. Shouldered vessel with pie-crust rim, piercing below the rim, and splayed base. Orange-grey ware. Mainly flint tempered (mostly coarse but also some finer material), together with some small grog inclusiuons. Parts of the pot are reduced and others are oxidised. The large number of joining sherds from this vessel indicate that it must have been deposited or thrown away in at least a three-quarters complete state. Late Bronze Age. Area C.
4. Jar with incurving rim. Buff ware with mainly fine-medium, flint temper. Late Bronze Age. Area D.

5–6. Vessels with slightly flattened rims. Grey-brown coarse flint tempered wares. Late Bronze Age. Area D.

7. Hemispherical bowl. Grey-black coarse flint tempered ware. Late Bronze Age. Area D.

Discussion

Stylistically the pottery suggests the overlap of Deverel-Rimbury (Middle Bronze Age) and Late Bronze Age traditions, as seen for instance at Plumpton Plain B (Holleyman and Curwen 1940). A mixture of Deverel-Rimbury and Late Bronze Age traditions also occurs on other south central British coastal foreland sites, such as Eldon's Seat, Dorset (Cunliffe 1968), and Deverel-Rimbury traditions generally appear to have lingered on longer in Wessex and the south coast. At Rustington the general lack of extensive decoration indicates that this pottery belongs to the earliest Late Bronze Age (*c.* 1000/900 B.C.). Technologically many comparisons can be made with the pottery from the recently excavated site at Yapton. The reader is referred to the Yapton report for a more detailed discussion of such late Bronze Age pottery in Sussex (Hamilton *in* Rudling 1987).

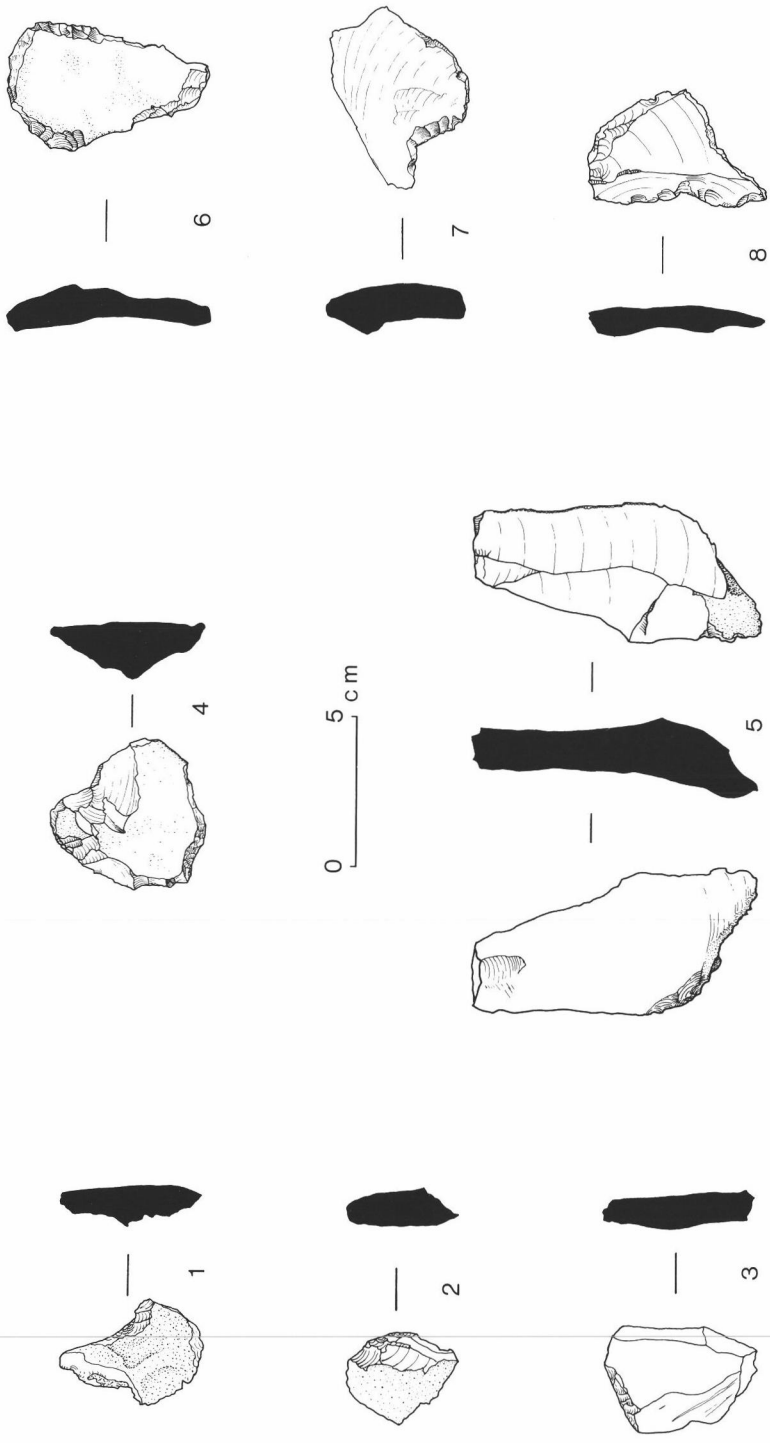


Fig. 5. Rustington 1986–8. Flintwork.

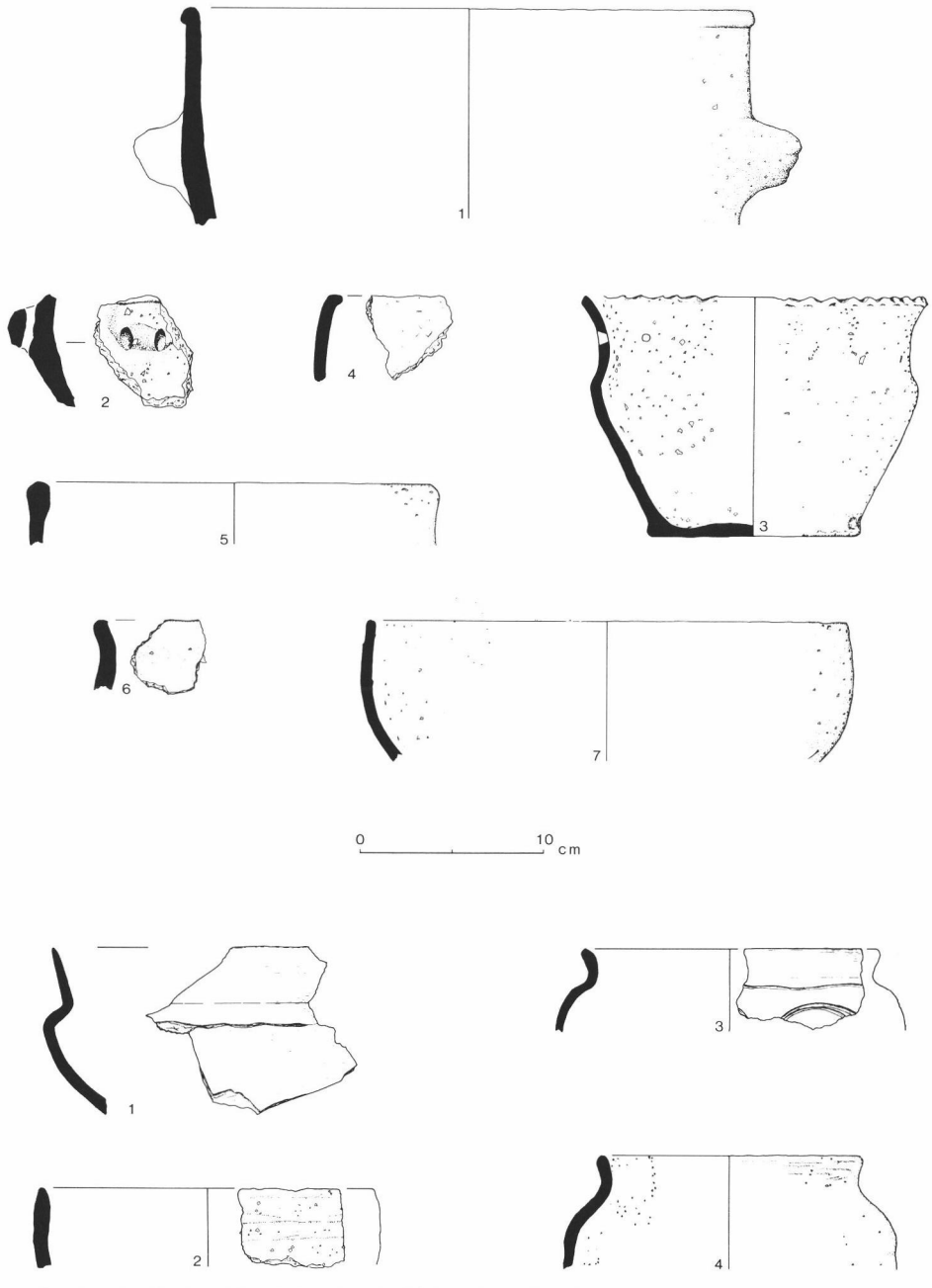


Fig. 6. Rustington 1986–8. Prehistoric Pottery. Sites B and A. 1–7 Bronze Age. 1–4 Iron Age.

Iron Age Pottery

All the catalogued Iron Age pottery is from Site A.

1. Shouldered bowl with burnishing below rim and on shoulder. Sparse fine flint and sand tempered black ware. Park Brow–Caesar's Camp group. *c.* 5th–4th century B.C. Unstratified.
2. Saucepan pot with three very shallow grooves below the rim. Grey-buff fine-medium flint tempered ware, *c.* 3rd–1st century B.C. Context 9.
3. Jar with groove below the rim and grooved curvilinear 'eyebrow' decoration. Burnished black external surface. Grey grog tempered ware. 'Eastern Atrebatic' style. *c.* 1st century B.C./A.D. Context 22.
4. Jar. Calcareous sandstone tempered black ware. Other inclusions are: fine flint, fine quartz and iron pyrites. Late Iron Age. Context 19.
5. Not illustrated. Body sherd of sand and fine flint tempered black ware. Late Iron Age. Context 19.
6. Not illustrated. Body sherds of various grog tempered wares. Some sherds exhibit small voids which presumably represent burnt-out shell or organic matter. Late Iron Age. Context 19.
7. Not illustrated. Body sherd of medium-coarse flint tempered grey ware. Late Bronze Age/Iron Age. Unstratified.
8. Not illustrated. Body sherds of various fine-medium flint tempered wares. Iron Age. Contexts: 1, 6, 8, 9, 11, 19 and 20.

Roman Pottery

There were two main find spots for Romano-British pottery: Site A and Site B, Area K. Site A yielded a large number of sherds and most of these were found by Mr and Mrs Taylor and Mr Hammond after the excavation of the boundary ditch which cut through part of the Roman ditch complex. Since these sherds were not collected with regard to context or stratigraphy they are referred to as unstratified finds, along with other disturbed/surface finds from this site. The circumstances of discovery of most of the pottery from Site A, and all of that from Site B, make a detailed quantification of these finds unnecessary. A selection of the excavated and salvaged pottery is described and illustrated below in order to give some indication as to the date, type and fabric ranges.

A. *Pottery from Site A* (incorporating comments on the Samian Ware by Catherine Johns)

1. Not illustrated. A large part (the complete base and part of the rim) of a form 27 Samian Ware cup. Worn stamp of PATRICIVS. South Gaul. 1st Century. Unstratified.
2. Not illustrated. Sherd from a second South Gaulish form 27 Samian Ware cup. 1st century. Unstratified.
3. Not illustrated. Two sherds from a form 36 Samian Ware dish. South Gaul. 1st century. Context 11 and unstratified.
4. Not illustrated. Body sherd of uncertain form. South Gaulish Samian Ware. 1st century. Context 10.
5. Not illustrated. Four Samian Ware body sherds of uncertain form. ?Central Gaul. ?Flavian-Antonine. Contexts 1 and 11.
6. Not illustrated. Body/neck sherd from a Camulodunum Type 186A amphora. South Spain. *c.* late 1st century B.C. to the early 2nd century A.D. Unstratified.
7. Imitation Samian cup (form 27). Micaceous fine dull red ware with grey surfaces. 1st century. *Cf.* Fishbourne Type 50 (Cunliffe 1971) and Newhaven examples 51 and 62 (Green *in* Bell 1976). Unstratified.
8. Imitation Samian cup (form 27). Sand tempered grey ware. *Cf.* No. 7. 1st century. Unstratified.
9. Butt-beaker. Fine white ware. 1st century. Unstratified.
10. Poppy-head beaker with high lip. Fine grey ware with applied pellet decoration. *Cf.* Fishbourne Type 267. *c.* A.D. 80–140. Unstratified.
11. Beaker. Sand tempered grey ware. Context 11.
12. Flagon base with foot-ring. White sand tempered ware. Unstratified.
13. Platter with partially burnished exterior surface. Sand tempered grey ware. *Cf.* Fishbourne Type 14. 1st century. Unstratified.
14. Carinated bowl. Fine grey ware with some grog tempering. Traces of a darker slip on the exterior surface and two bands of rouletted decoration above the girth of the vessel. Late 1st century. Context 9 and unstratified.
15. Bowl with out-turned rim and rounded shoulders. Sand tempered grey ware with traces under the rim and above the girth of an external orange wash. 1st/early 2nd century. Unstratified.
16. Bowl with out-turned rim and rounded shoulders. Sand tempered grey ware with black exterior surface. Lightly burnished decoration on the lower part of the vessel. Unstratified.
17. Jar with simple bead rim and incised decoration. Sand tempered grey ware. *Cf* Fishbourne Type 166. 1st century. Unstratified.
18. Necked jar with well-defined shoulders. Sand tempered grey ware. *Cf.* Fishbourne Type 181. 1st century. This is the most common type of jar at Rustington. Context 8.
19. Necked jar. Sand tempered ware with grey surfaces above a dull red layer and a grey core. Unstratified.
20. Necked jar with lightly burnished decoration. Sand tempered grey ware. Unstratified.
21. Necked jar. Sand tempered grey ware. Unstratified.
22. Necked jar with two grooves on the inside of the rim. Grey sand tempered ware. Unstratified.
23. Necked jar. Fine-coarse sand tempered grey ware. Unstratified.
24. Necked jar with rilled surface below the neck. Sand tempered grey ware. Unstratified.
25. Jar with everted rim. Sand tempered grey ware. *Cf.* Fishbourne Type 313. ?2nd century. Unstratified.
26. Narrow-mouthed jar with everted and slightly cupped rim. *Cf.* Fishbourne Type 325. Late 1st to early 2nd century.
27. Body sherd with incised and comb impressed decoration. Sand tempered grey ware with a darker exterior surface above a thin red-brown layer. Context 1.
28. Body sherd from jar with a band of incised decoration. Sand tempered grey ware. Context 9.
29. Lid. Sand tempered grey ware. *Cf.* Fishbourne Type 193. 1st century. Context 3.

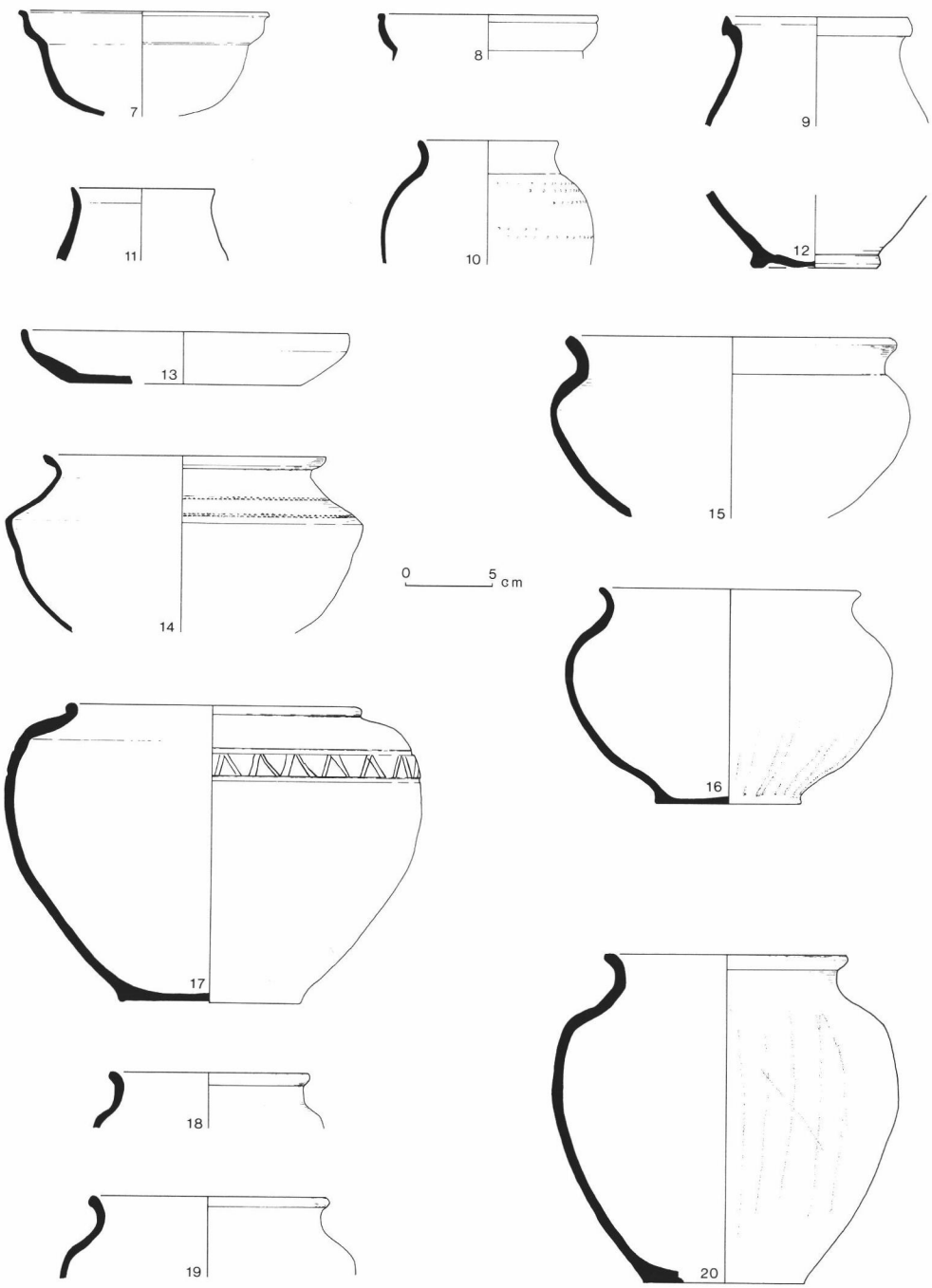


Fig. 7. Rustington 1986–8. Roman Pottery. Site A.

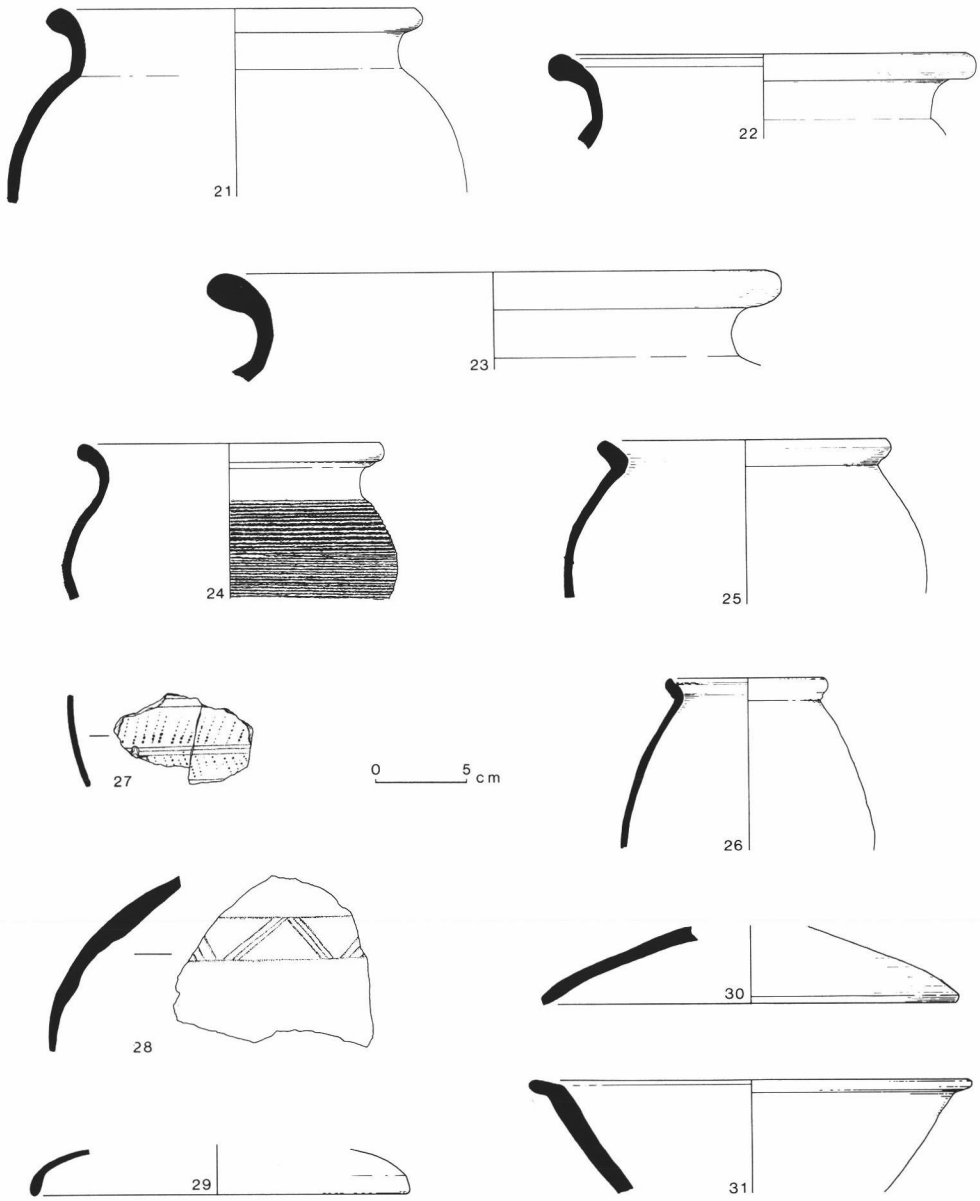


Fig. 8. Rustington 1986–8. Roman Pottery. Site A.

30. Lid with simple lip. Sand tempered grey ware. *Cf.* Fishbourne Type 193. 1st/2nd century. Unstratified.
31. Bowl with everted rim. Sand tempered grey ware. *Cf.* Angmering No. 10 (Scott 1938). 1st century. Unstratified.

B. *Pottery from Site B, Area K*

32. Not illustrated (lower surface much eroded). Base of Gallo-Belgic platter (Camulodunum Type 8). Fine white-grey fabric with thin black surface. Terra Nigra Ware. Claudian.

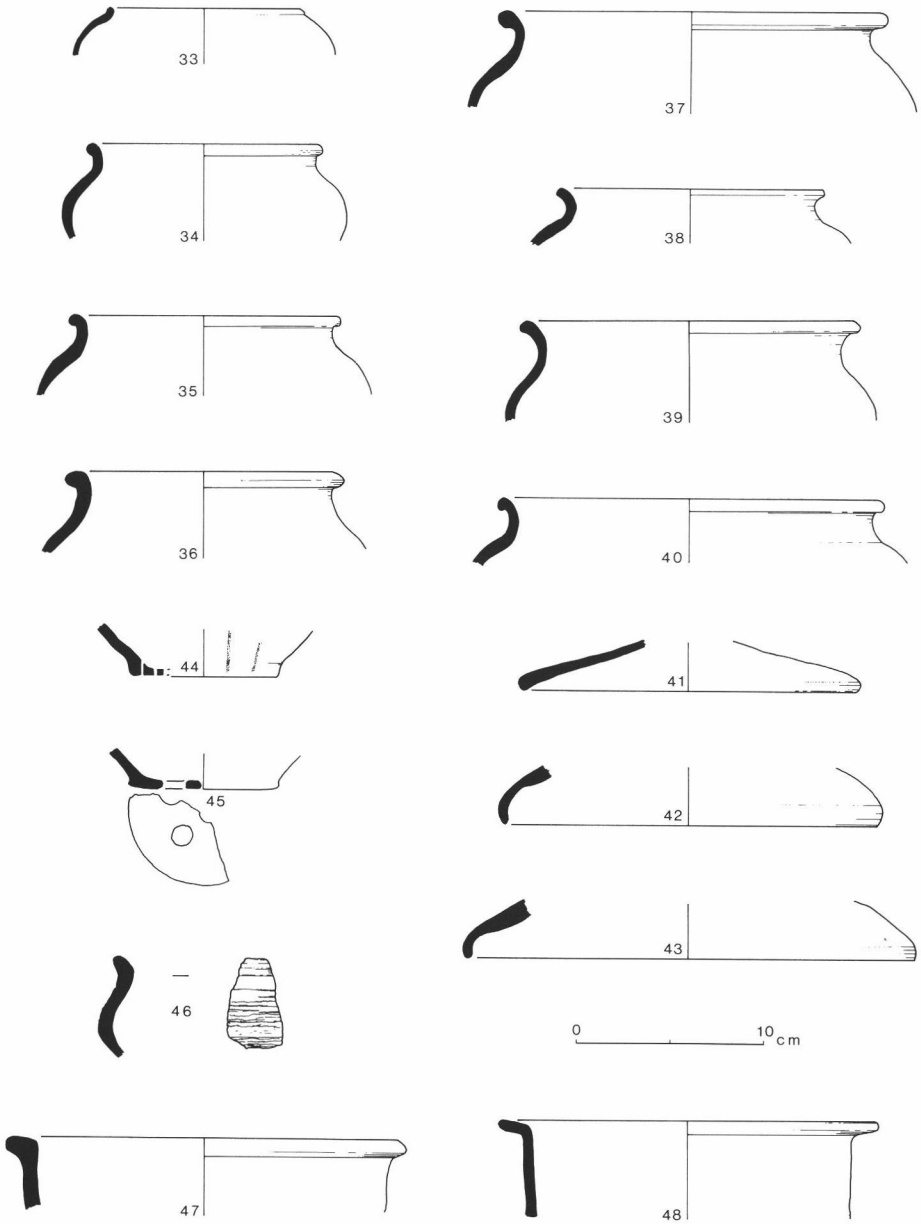


Fig. 9. Rustington 1987–8. Roman Pottery. Site B, Area K.

33. Jar with small bead rim. Sand tempered orange ware. *Cf.* Fishbourne Type 166. 1st century.
34. Necked jar/bowl with round shoulders. Sand tempered grey ware.
35–37. Necked jars. Sand tempered grey wares. *Cf.* No. 18.
38–40. Necked jars. Sand tempered orange wares.
41. Lid. Sand tempered grey ware. *Cf.* No. 30.
42. Lid. Sand tempered grey ware. *Cf.* No. 29.
43. Lid. Sand tempered orange ware. *Cf.* No. 42.
44. Base of colander with small holes. Lightly burnished decoration. Sand tempered grey ware.
45. Base of colander with large holes. Sand tempered grey ware.
46. Carinated bowl with everted rim and rilled outer

surface. Sand tempered grey ware with grey-buff surfaces. *Cf.* Fishbourne Type 83. Late 1st century.
47. Bowl with thick flange. Sand tempered black ware.
48. Straight-sided bowl with flanged rim. Sand tempered orange ware.

Medieval Pottery

All of the catalogued medieval pottery is unstratified and comes from the area of the Roman ditch complex, Site A.

1. Rim of cooking pot. Medium flint tempered grey-brown ware with blackened external surface. ?12th/13th century.
2. Not illustrated. Base sherd from a cooking pot with a sagging base. Fine-medium flint tempered grey ware with orange-buff external surface. Traces of burnt ?food residue on the inside of the vessel.
3. Rim of cooking pot. Fine sand tempered cream ware with grey core.
4. Not illustrated. Base/body sherd from a cooking pot with a sagging base. Sand tempered grey ware with orange-buff external surface.
5. Rim and handle from a jug or pitcher. Fine orange ware with off-white surfaces and occasional spots of orange-brown glaze. Late 13th/14th century.
6. Slashed strap handle from a jug or pitcher. Fine sand tempered orange ware with off-white/light buff surfaces and an area of mottled green glaze.
7. Stabbed rod handle from a jug or pitcher. Fine sand tempered cream ware with areas of mottled green glaze.
8. Stabbed rod handle from a jug or pitcher. Fine sand tempered cream ware with patches of mottled green glaze.
9. Not illustrated. Body sherd from a jug. Fine sand tempered orange ware with cream surfaces. Decorated with bands of white paint on the exterior. ?15th century.
10. Dish. Fine flint tempered orange-brown ware with grey core.
11. Cooking pot. Sand tempered buff-grey ware.

Bronze Age Metalwork

1. Cutting edge fragment of a bronze socketed axe. Socketed axes belong to the Later Bronze Age, *c.* 1,000–600 B.C. Found by Mr P. Harwood. Site B, Area F. (Fig. 11, No. 1)
2. Find made by Mr. A. Weightman from the path outside No. 14, Brookside Avenue, Rustington (TQ 05420315). A looped bronze palstave axe with mid-rib. *c.* 1,400–900 B.C. (Fig. 11, No. 2)

Romano-British Metalwork

1. One piece copper-alloy brooch with simple solid catchplate. Nauheim derivative (La Tène III), *c.* mid 1st century B.C. to the third quarter of the 1st century A.D. Found by Mr Hammond appoximately 20 metres to the north east of Site A, alongside New Road. (Fig. 11, No. 3)
2. Small strip of copper-alloy 10 mm. wide; 1.5 mm. thick and in excess of 22 mm. long (surviving length). Site B, Area I. (Not illustrated)
3. Lead ring with transverse grooves. Triangular cross-section. Site B, Area K. (Fig. 11, No. 4)
4. Lead spindle-whorl. Site B, Area K. (Fig. 11, No. 5)
5. Two small pieces of lead. Site A. Unstratified. (Not illustrated)
6. Small piece of lead. Site B, Area K. (Not illustrated)
7. Iron ?knife blade. Very corroded. Site A, Context 11. (Not illustrated)
8. Iron nails/nail fragments. Site A, Contexts 3 and 6. Site B, Area K. (Not illustrated)

Roman Glass

1. The complete rim and part of the handle of a pale bluish-green glass cylindrical flask. Late 1st/2nd century. Site A, unstratified. (Fig. 11, No. 6)

Roman Tile/Daub

1. Fragment of a box-flue tile with combed decoration. Sand tempered buff fabric; 2 cm. thick. Decoration applied with a seven-toothed comb. Site A, unstratified.
2. Fragment of ?tegula tile. Sand and grog tempered orange fabric with buff upper surface; 2.6 cm. thick. Site B, Area K.
3. Fragment of flat tile, 3.2 cm. thick. Sand tempered fabric. Site B, Area K.
4. Fragments of burnt clay/daub were found at Site A, Contexts 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 19 and 20, and at Site B, Area K.

Animal Bones

The excavations at Site A yielded only two small pieces of animal bone: a phalange (Context 3) and part of a long-bone (Context 9), both sheep (*ovis*). It is possible that the acidic nature of the brickearth soil was not favourable for the preservation of animal bone. Other bones (not examined) were found at Site B, Area C.

Marine Molluscs

At Site A the modern ditch next to the New Road yielded one top and two bottom valves of oyster (*Ostrea edulis*). Other oyster shells are recorded as having been found at Site B, Area C.

Charcoal (by Caroline Cartwright)

Fragments weighing a total of 18 g. of twig-sized and slightly larger roundwood charcoal were recovered from five contexts (4, 6, 7, 8 and 9) during the excavations at Site A. The wood types include *Quercus* sp. (oak), *Corylus* sp. (hazel) and *Fraxinus* sp. (ash).

Burnt (Fire-Cracked) Flint

The excavations at Site A yielded a total of 311 pieces of burnt flint. Of these 138 came from the topsoil and the remainder from Romano-British ditch fills (Context 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11). Site B also produced large quantities of burnt flint, especially Area G.

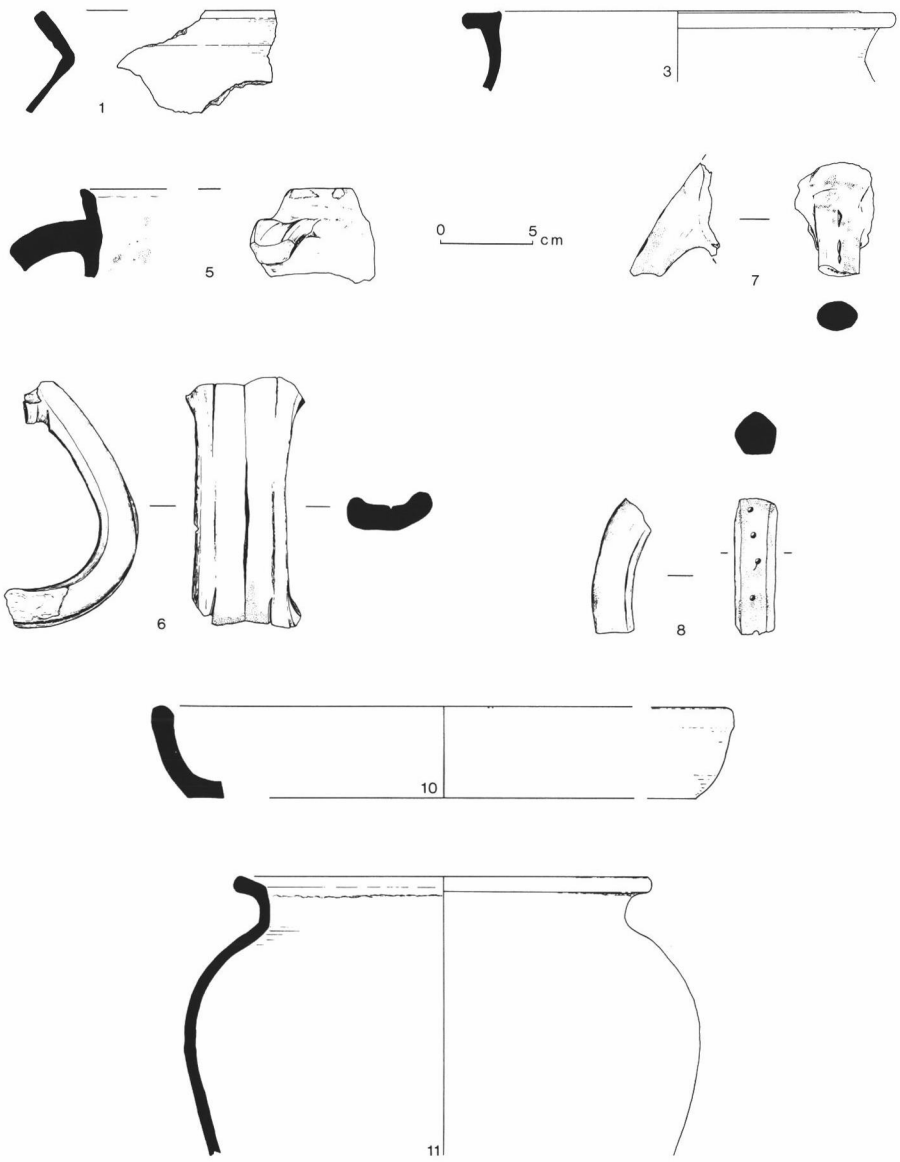


Fig. 10. Rustington 1986. Medieval Pottery. Site A.

Geological Material (by Caroline Cartwright)

Site A

1. Part of the lower stone of a greensand rotary quern. This stone is possibly from the Lodsworth area. Context 11.
2. Fragment of greensand quernstone and two other small fragments of greensand. Context 10.
3. Fragment of greensand, possibly part of a quernstone. Context 4.
4. Two fragments of greensand. Contexts 7 and 9.
5. Fragment of very eroded Cornish granite. Context 6.

Site B

1. Fragment of fine-grained quartzitic sandstone quern or grinding stone with extremely highly-polished upper surface—almost 'glassy' in texture through utilization. Area D.

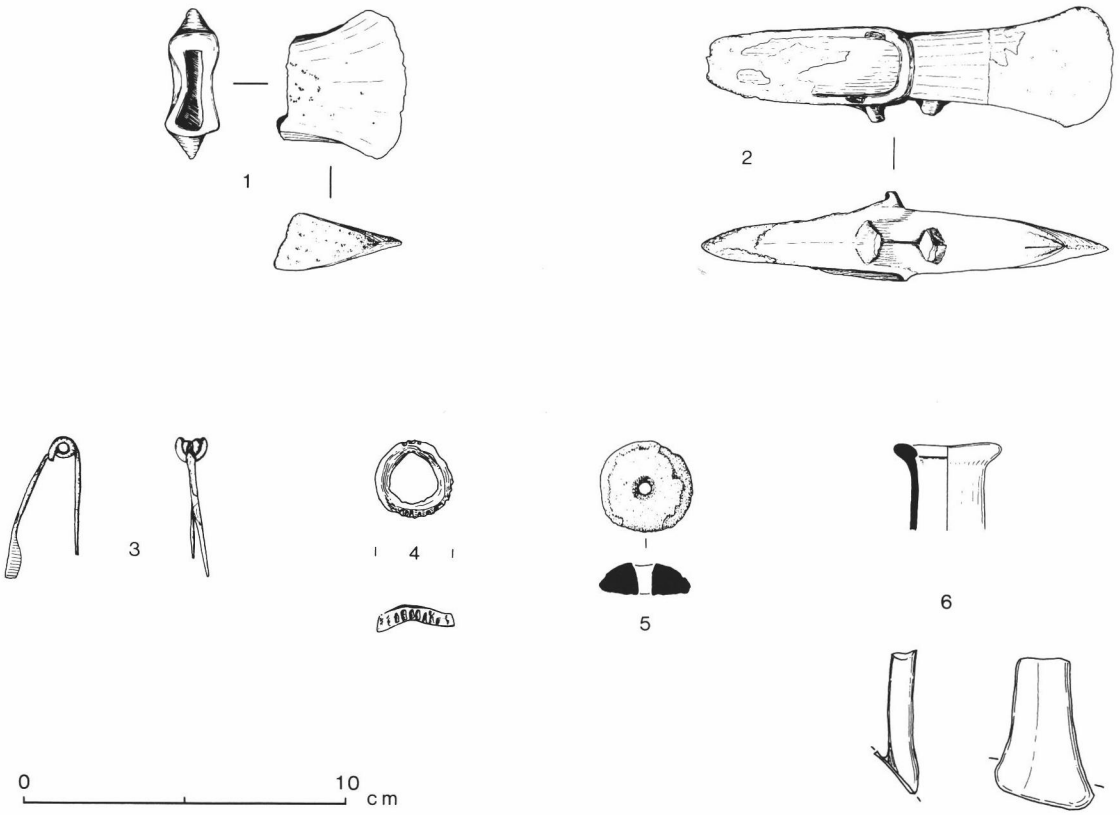


Fig. 11. Rustington 1986–8. Miscellaneous small finds. 1 and 2: Bronze Age axes. 3: late Iron Age/early Roman copper-alloy fibula. 4: Roman lead ring. 5: Roman lead spindle-whorl. 6: Roman glass flask.

2. One hand-sized rubber or polisher (originally a beach pebble naturally rounded by wave action, exhibiting the typical batter marks associated with rolled beach material) of nodular flint. The lower surface has been flattened through heavy use as a rubber, perhaps in conjunction with the above quartzitic sandstone quern or grinding stone fragment. The natural wave-action batter marks on this lower surface have almost been obliterated by utilization as a rubber. Area D.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Of the three sites examined, Sites A and B both revealed traces of previously unrecorded archaeological features. Between them these two sites also produced artifactual evidence for the Mesolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age, early Roman and later medieval periods.

The Later Bronze Age discoveries at Site B are particularly important since little is known about settlement during this period on the West Sussex Coastal Plain. Most of the previous evidence for Later Bronze Age activity on the coastal plain consists of chance finds of metalwork and pottery, the majority of which have been found in the region between the rivers Adur and Arun (Ellison 1978 and 1980). Ann Ellison (1980, 34) has suggested that the distribution maps of such finds indicate a substantial shift of settlement from the chalk Downs to the fertile coastal plain in the Late Bronze Age. In contrast Owen Bedwin (1983) has suggested that the during the Late Bronze Age there was a *reduction* in settlement on the coastal

plain 'due to the poorer climate' of this period. Testing these contrasting theories is difficult due to various problems regarding the locating of prehistoric settlement sites on the coastal plain (Bedwin 1978, 48) and sites are likely to be mainly discovered by chance. In addition to Site B at Rustington, another recently discovered Later Bronze Age settlement site on the coastal plain is one at Yapton which has been partly excavated (Rudling 1987). So far Site B at Rustington is the only coastal plain Bronze Age site to have produced evidence of structures. It is thus especially unfortunate that it was not possible to excavate the site.

Other recent discoveries of Bronze Age metalwork in the vicinity of Rustington include a looped Palstave from Brookside Avenue, Rustington (see above) and a small Late Bronze Age hoard found in 1983 at Ferring (TQ 08920240) (F. Aldsworth pers. comm.).

The Romano-British discoveries at Sites A and B are evidence for occupation at both sites during the First and possibly early-Second century. At Site A there is also evidence for occupation during the late Iron Age and continuity of settlement from the Iron Age to the Roman period is thus possible. After the Conquest the area investigated at Site A became part of a ditch complex, which may represent the field system of a settlement site located immediately to the north of the modern meadow boundary. A similar situation of settlement continuity and extensive ditch systems has recently been investigated by the author at the Roman villa site, Northbrook College, Goring. Site B at Rustington revealed one, possibly two, hut sites and a pit. Here there is less strong evidence for continuity of settlement from the late Iron Age, but the finds did include a sherd of Terra Nigra Ware (catalogue number 32) which is probably Claudian in date.

Other than pottery finds, neither Site A nor Site B has yielded many indications of Romanization. Tile fragments, for example, are rare at both sites. The discovery however of a flue-tile fragment (catalogue number 1) from site A suggests that there was a Romanised building in the locality.

It is uncertain why both Romano-British sites at Rustington appear to have gone out of use in the second century. It would be interesting to investigate other early Romano-British non-villa settlements in this area and to see whether or not they continued into and beyond the second century. Was this perhaps a time of changes in the settlement pattern, possibly linked to the emergence and development of 'villa' type settlements? The area around Rustington contains a number of 'villa' settlements, examples including Angmering, Goring and Littlehampton.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank Mr P Hammond and Mr B. and Mrs M. Taylor for undertaken the watching briefs and for their subsequent help and patience with regard to preparing this report. Thanks are due to the developers, Store Property Investment Limited (especially Mr M. Standing) for permission to undertake the fieldwork and for funding the trial excavation. I would like to thank the excavation volunteers, especially Mr S. Lawford, and the various specialists, particularly Mr C. Place who also drew the finds. The Margary Research Fund made a grant towards the cost of preparing this report.

Author: David Rudling, Institute of Archaeology, University College London, London WC1.

APPENDIX

Site A: List of Contexts

1. Topsoil.
2. Yellow-brown Brickearth.
3. Fill of ditch at northern section of trench. Grey-brown clay. Below 2 and 14; above 10.
4. Upper fill of Section 1 across ditch (16). Grey-brown clay. Same as 3, 7, 9 and 11. Below 12; above 8.
5. Stretch of ditch heading eastwards. Contains 6. Below 2.
6. Fill of 5. Yellow-grey clay.
7. Upper fill of Section 2 across ditch (16). Grey-brown clay. Same as 3, 4 and 9. Above 8.
8. Lower fills of Sections 1 and 2 across ditch (16). Light brown clay. Same as 15. Below 4.
9. Upper fill of Section 3 across ditch (16). Light brown clay. Same as 3, 4, 7 and 11. Below 12; above 15.
10. Lowest fill of ditch at northern section of trench. Orange-brown clay. Below 3. Similar to 8, 15 and 18.
11. Fill of ditch/s between Section 2, the northern section of the trench and ditch 17. Same as 3, 4, 7 and 9. Above 8.
12. Uppermost fill of ditch (16) seen in Sections 1 and 3. Grey humic clay. Above 4 and 9.
13. Fill of Section 1 across ditch (16). Dark grey sandy clay. Below 4.
14. Area of grey soil in northern section of trench. Below 2; above 3.
15. Fill of Section 3 across ditch (16). Light brown clay. Same as 8. Below 9.
16. Stretch of ditch heading westwards. Contains 4, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12 and 13.
17. Stretch of ditch heading southwards. Contains 11 and 18.
18. Fill of ditch (17). Yellow brown clay. Below 11. Similar to 8 and 10.
19. Layer of burnt clay/daub stretching for 2 m. along the floor of the service trench flanking New Road. Beneath 75 cm. of topsoil and Brickearth. Associated pottery finds indicate that this is a late Iron Age feature. Between 45 and 43 m. west of the north east corner of the meadow.
20. General finds from the service trench flanking New Road.
21. Concentration of burnt flint in the north side of the service trench flanking New Road. Approximately 11 m. west of the north east corner of the meadow.
22. A pit/occupation floor cut by the modern trench inside the northern boundary of the meadow. Found by Mr Hammond at a distance of approximately 24 m. west of the north east corner of the meadow. Associated pottery finds indicate that this is a late Iron Age feature.
23. Fill of modern trench. Sand and chalk fragments.
24. Yellow-brown Brickearth.

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A FIELDWALKING PROJECT AT BREECHLANDS FARM, NEAR HURSTPIERPOINT, WEST SUSSEX

by Chris Butler, A.I.F.A.

A fieldwalking survey at Breechlands Farm, near Hurstpierpoint, has produced evidence for activity dating from the Mesolithic to the present day. In addition to the re-discovered 'Breatch Land', sites dating to the Mesolithic, Bronze Age and Roman periods were identified.

INTRODUCTION

As part of a larger project, a number of fields were walked between 1985 and 1987 at Breechlands Farm, about 1 km. south of Hurstpierpoint, West Sussex (Fig. 1). The survey covered in detail some of the fields which were looked at briefly in 1985 as part of the A23 improvements route survey (Holgate 1987), and also supplemented the excavations being carried out at the medieval site at Muddleswood (Butler 1986, and forthcoming), immediately to the south of the survey area.

The area surveyed (Fig. 1c), lies on the Greensand belt running between the South Downs and the Wealden clay. It comprises an area of gently rolling open farmland, with a stream on the northern and eastern side, and bordered by the existing A23 London/Brighton road on the west side.

Each of the fields available was walked on a 20 metre transect grid, orientated grid north, with all the archaeological finds along each transect being bagged in 20 metre collection units. Evidence for activity from the Mesolithic through to the present day was found, and is discussed further below.

THE FINDS

Flintwork

There was a scatter of prehistoric flintwork found across all of the fields covered by the survey (Fig. 3). The type of flint recovered reflects the typical range of flint found elsewhere on the greensand (Butler 1989a), with the finer nodules being selected for use in the production of implements. A wide range of implements and debitage was found, and is summarised in Table 1.

Debitage

The majority of the debitage comprised flakes, although a number of Mesolithic blades and bladelets, some of which were truncated, were also present. Both hard and soft hammer production was evident. Six of the flakes were fire fractured. Some 39 flakes and blades are retouched.

Cores

Ten cores were located, and range from well prepared one and two platform Mesolithic blade/bladelet cores (Fig. 2), to later roughly struck one or two platform flake cores.

Implements

A number of the implements date from the Mesolithic, and include end scrapers and a single microlith (Fig. 2). However the majority of the implements date from the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age; these include scrapers, piercers (Fig.

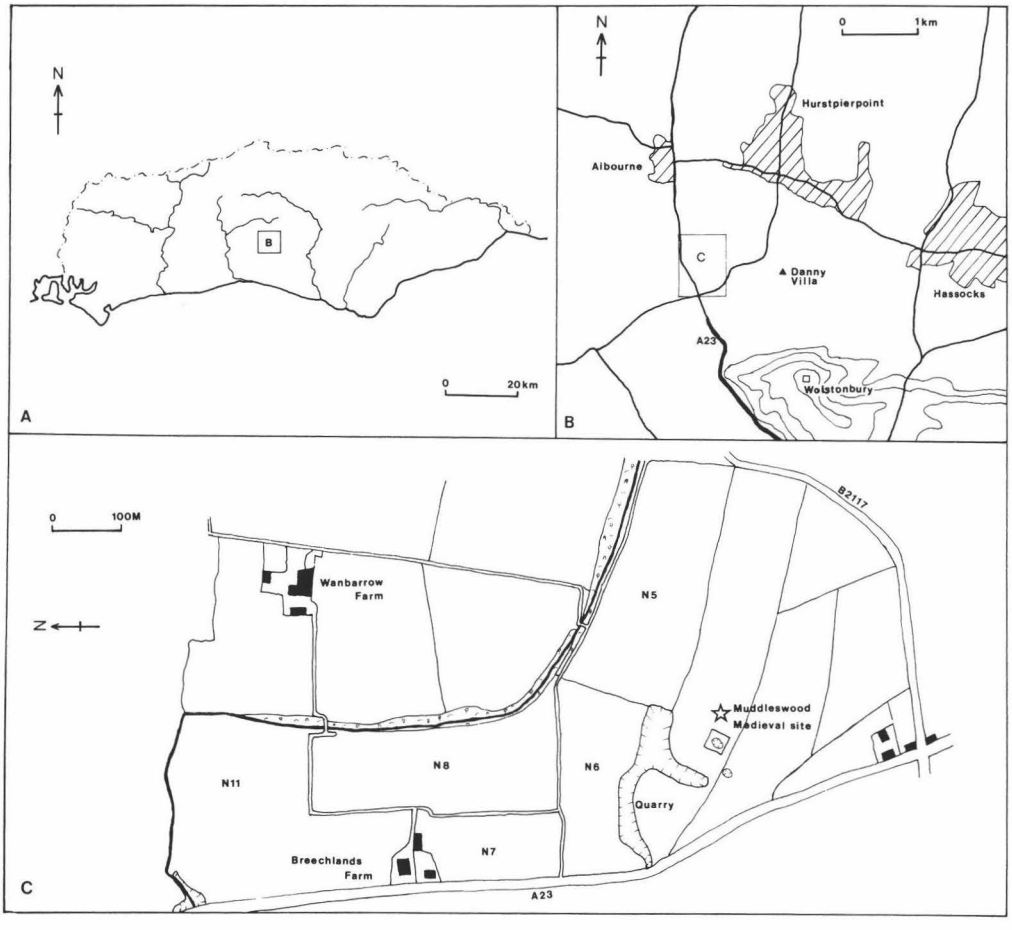

Fig. 1. Breechlands Farm; A: Location, B: Local area, C: Project area.

2), cutting and notched pieces, and a single knife (Table 1).

Fire fractures

458 fire fractured flints weighing 4710 g. were recovered in the survey (Fig. 6).

POTTERY

Introduction

Over one thousand pottery sherds and fragments of clay pipe were recovered during the survey, ranging in date from the Bronze Age through to the present day. These are summarised in Table 2. The sherds have been divided into fabrics and are discussed further below.

Fabrics

1. Prehistoric

Most of the sherds found can be assigned to the early Bronze Age and Beaker period, with a number being later in date and possibly Iron Age. The fabrics which can be assigned to the

Bronze Age comprise examples from both fine and domestic wares. One body sherd of Fabric C (Fig. 2, No. 7) is decorated with two lines of 'Whipped Cord' impressions.

Fabric A: Grog-tempered with abundant calcinated flint (medium to coarse) inclusions. Sometimes reduced. Grey to red-brown in colour. Early Bronze Age in date.

Fabric B: Grog-tempered with abundant calcinated flint (small to medium) and occasional quartz sand inclusions. No reduction. Red-brown to brown in colour. Probably Bronze Age in date.

Fabric C: Grog-tempered with occasional calcinated flint (medium to coarse) inclusions. 'Smoothed' outer side, occasionally decorated. Dark grey in colour. Early Bronze Age in date.

TABLE 1
Flintwork from Breechlands Farm, by Type

	Field					
	N5	*N6*	*N7*	*N8*	*N11*	*Total*
Debitage						
Flakes	93	74	15	68	99	349
Blades/bladelets	8	16	1	7	8	40
Axe thinning flakes	2	2	1	2	—	7
Ground axe flake	—	—	1	—	—	1
Fragments	5	4	5	13	13	40
Shattered piece	2	—	1	—	2	5
Microburin	1	—	—	—	—	1
						443
Cores						
1 Platform blade core	—	—	—	2	1	3
2 Platform blade core	—	1	—	—	1	2
1 Platform flake core	1	1	1	—	—	3
2 Platform flake core	—	1	—	—	—	1
Core tablet	—	—	—	—	1	1
						10
Implements						
Scrapers	15	7	1	2	7	32
Piercers	4	2	—	1	—	7
Combination tool	—	1	—	—	—	1
Cutting flake/blades	4	2	1	2	1	10
Notched flake/blades	7	2	—	—	—	9
Knife	—	—	—	—	1	1
Microlith	1	—	—	—	—	1
						61
						514
Fire fractures	150	83	16	89	120	458
Total						972

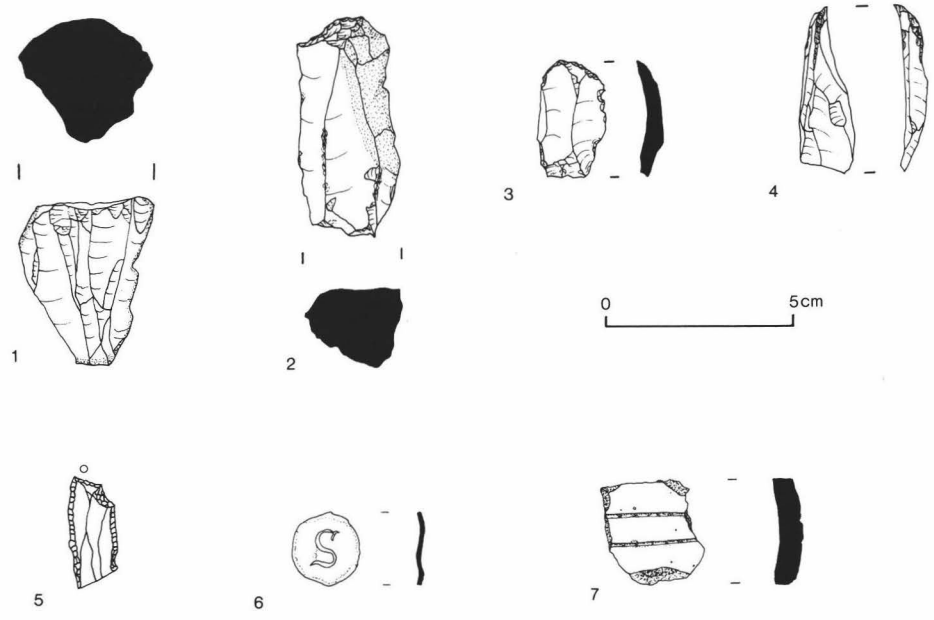

Fig. 2. Breechlands Farm: Flintwork and other Finds: 1, Single platform bladelet core; 2 & 3, Scrapers; 4, Piercer; 5, Microlith; 6, Late Medieval token; 7, Bronze Age pottery sherd.

Fabric D: Flint-gritted ware (medium to coarse size). Some medium sized grog inclusions. Pink, red-brown, grey and black in colour. Bronze Age/Iron Age in date.
Fabric E: Grog-tempered with occasional fine quartz sand inclusions (possibly natural). Slightly burnished. Possibly mid-late Iron Age in date.

2. Roman

The Roman pottery comprises red and grey 'sandy' wares, together with a large number of 'East Sussex Ware sherds'. Having a date span of *c.* 50 B.C. to 400 A.D., some of the latter may date from the late Iron Age.
Fabric F: Sandy 'grey' wares: Small quartz sand inclusions. Grey in colour with buff cores in some sherds.
Fabric G: Sandy red wares: Small quartz sand inclusions. Red-brown in colour with grey-buff cores. Some sherds have a red slip.
Fabric H: Handmade grog-tempered wares (East Sussex Ware). Various fabric colours, soapy feel.

3. Medieval

The 329 sherds of medieval pottery have been divided into five fabrics dependent upon the size of inclusion (Barton 1979). The inclusions comprise only calcinated flint and quartz sand. Thirty sherds (9 per cent) have signs of a glaze and 20 sherds (6 per cent) are rim sherds. A single stabbed handle was also found. A number of Fabric I sherds appear to be of Saxon-Norman ware.
Fabric I: Coarse flint filler, grains larger than 1 mm.
Fabric J: Medium flint filler, grains no larger than 1 mm.
Fabric K: Fine flint filler/medium quartz sand filler, grains no larger than 0.5 mm.
Fabric L: Fine quartz sand filler, grains no larger than 0.25 mm.

Fabric M: No inclusions visible to the naked eye.

4. Post Medieval

A total of 461 post-medieval sherds were found, and comprise a wide variety of wares and fabrics ranging from the 17th century to the present day.

Fabric N: Various types/wares.

TABLE 2
Pottery from Breechlands Farm, by Fabric

Fabric	Field N5	N6	N7	N8	N11	Total
Prehistoric						
A	—	3	—	—	—	3
B	3	1	—	—	—	4
C	—	2	—	—	—	2
D	—	6	—	1	—	7
E	—	2	—	—	—	2
Roman						
F	1	11	—	—	1	13
G	2	6	—	1	—	9
H	3	23	—	1	5	32
Medieval						
I	24	15	4	20	6	69
J	31	17	3	17	9	77
K	33	19	5	23	13	93
L	16	16	3	14	11	60
M	8	3	4	7	8	30
Post-Medieval						
N	117	103	40	80	124	461
Clay pipe	6	28	52	39	42	167
Total						1029

5. Clay pipe

Clay pipe fragments were recovered from all fields in the survey. These ranged from older thicker stemmed types to the more recent thin stemmed varieties (Atkinson). A number were decorated, or displayed makers initials; these are listed in the appendix.

Building Material

There was a general scatter of building material such as brick, tile and slate across all of the fields. Most of this appears to be post-medieval in date, however a number of tile fragments may be medieval. The building material was concentrated near the current buildings of Breechlands Farm, and in the north-east corner of field N11.

Glass

Some 50 fragments of glass were recovered, most of which appeared to be post-medieval, although a few items may be earlier. The majority of the glass fragments were from bottles or vessels.

Animal Bone

Thirty-seven fragments of bone and tooth, together with 30 fragments of oyster shell were collected in the survey. This material was found in all of the fields covered by the survey, although the majority came from the southern most fields.

Iron Objects

Twenty-two iron objects were found, most of which were either nails or unidentified fragments, and could be of any date.

Non-Ferrous Metal Objects

Lead Token: Late medieval. Uniface type: large stylised 'S'. Diameter 18 mm. Field N6 (Fig. 2, No. 6).

Buttons: Two post medieval buttons were found.

DISCUSSION

Activity in this area appears to have started in the Mesolithic, when hunter gatherers began to exploit the Greensand belt. Substantial evidence has already been accumulated for Mesolithic activity on the Greensand ridge to the north of the area covered by the survey (Butler 1989b). However, this survey has produced evidence for widespread activity in the Mesolithic between the Greensand ridge and the escarpment slope of the South Downs. This

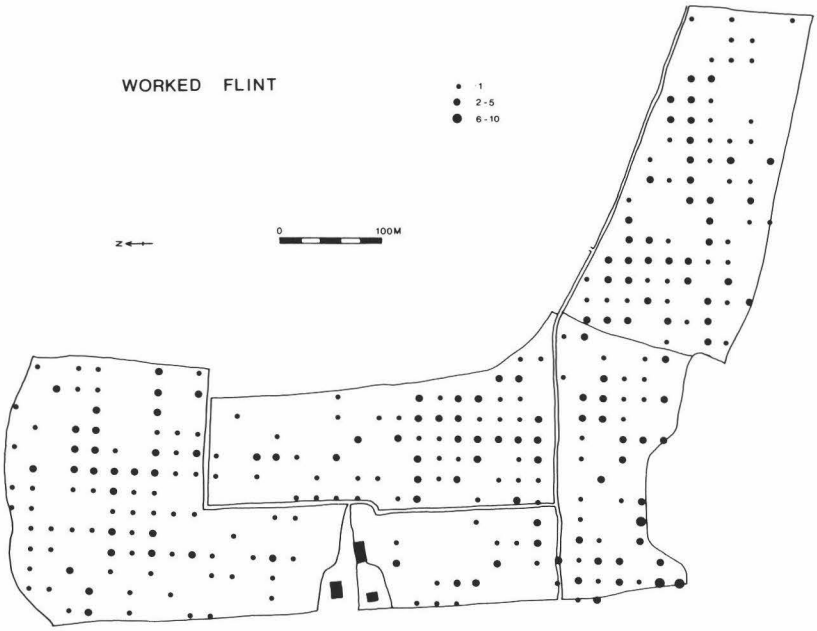

Fig. 3. Distribution of All Flintwork.

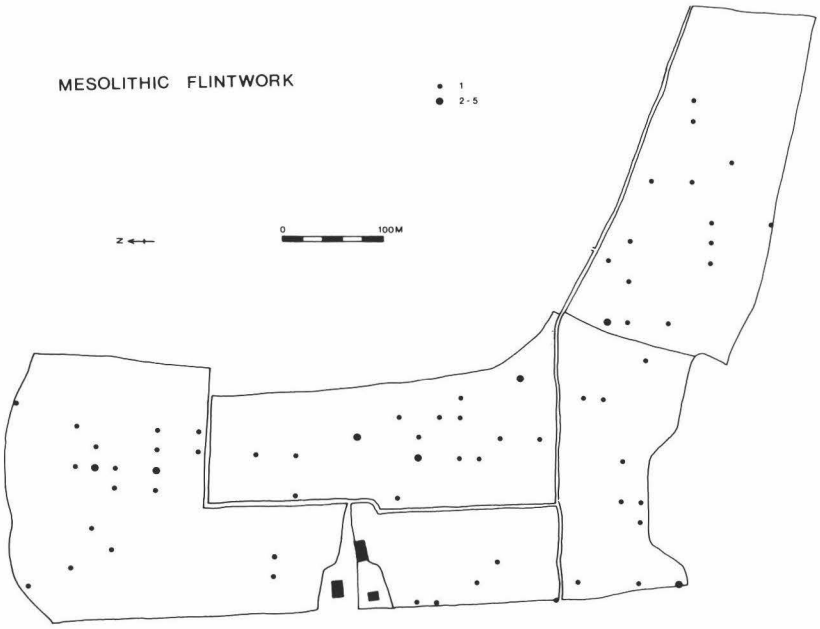

Fig. 4. Distribution of Mesolithic Flintwork.

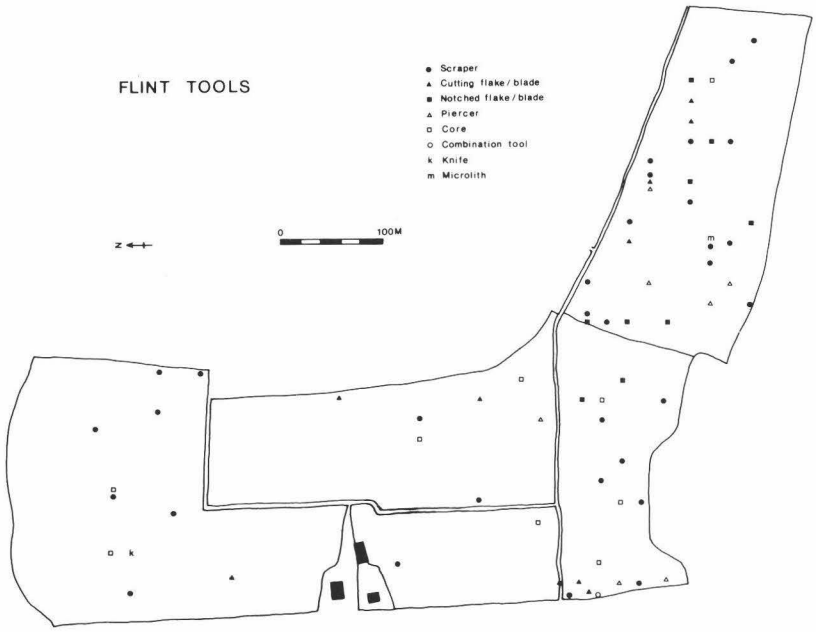

Fig. 5. Distribution of Flint Tools; all periods.

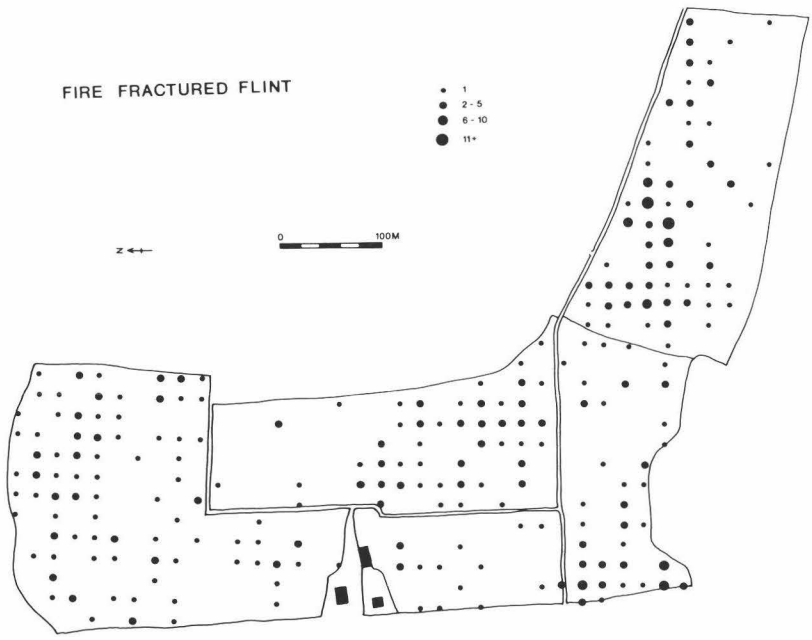

Fig. 6. Distribution of Fire fractured flint.

distribution pattern is supported by the substantial quantity of Mesolithic flintwork found during the excavation of the medieval farmstead at Muddleswood (Butler, forthcoming), and previous chance finds in the area (Wymer 1977). Although the Mesolithic material was found across all the fields (Fig. 4), it is concentrated in fields N11 and N8, which supports the previous view that there was a hunting camp at this location (Holgate, 1987).

Evidence collected suggests the production of blades and bladelets from small carefully prepared cores, and the utilisation of these pieces as implements or in the production of microliths. Also produced were scrapers, piercers, cutting flakes and blades and notched pieces. These suggest that a wide range of activities was taking place here, all connected with the hunting, collection, and preparation of food.

A small number of axe thinning flakes found in the survey provide some evidence for axe resharpening being carried out in the Mesolithic and Early Neolithic, and includes a single ground axe flake. Later flintwork dating from the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age was also found in every field, but was mainly concentrated in a number of areas in fields N5 and N6 (Fig. 3). The major concentration of flintwork, corresponds to a similar concentration of fire fractured flint and prehistoric pottery at the west end of field N6. This probably indicates a settlement at this location in the Bronze Age, however it is likely that a large part of this site will have been removed in the construction of the existing A23 road. The distribution of Bronze Age material suggests that the area was being exploited during that period, with a small settlement or farmstead and some of the land probably under cultivation. Further investigation of field N6 may shed further light on this.

Activity in this area continues into the Iron Age with a small number of pottery sherds being found in the survey. Roman pottery appears to be concentrated at the west end of field N6 (Fig. 8), with other sherds occurring elsewhere in the survey area. The general lack of Roman sherds on the eastern side of the survey area is interesting, as this is less than a kilometre from the Roman villa at Danny (Blencowe, 1862). The majority of the sherds found (59 per cent) are of East Sussex Ware, although a number of grey and red sandy wares also occur in Field N6. The concentration of Roman pottery here suggests an activity area, probably a settlement or farmstead, which seems to occupy the same spot as the earlier Bronze Age site. There did not appear to be any Roman building material at this site, although any evidence for buildings may also have been removed during road construction.

There does not seem to be any evidence for activity between Roman and medieval times. The first suggestion of later activity comes from a few sherds of Saxo-Norman ware, normally given a date range of 950–1100 A.D. (Barton 1979). Medieval pottery was found in all the fields (Fig. 9) indicating extensive activity here in medieval times. The greatest quantity of pottery occurred in field N5, adjacent to the medieval site at Muddleswood. This site may have been a small farm occupied in the 12th/13th centuries (Butler, forthcoming), in which case the area, or part of it, covered by the survey could have been cultivated by the occupiers. This would explain the distribution of pottery across the fields, where it was spread during manuring. The larger concentration close to the Muddleswood site could indicate more intensive cultivation here, or simply that being close to the site it was easier to dispose of waste material here.

By the late medieval period the Muddleswood site was no longer occupied, and the area of the site had become pasture. Presumably some activity continued in the area, but the next evidence for occupation is a concentration of post-medieval pottery (Fig. 10) and building material in the north-east corner of Field N11. This concentration relates to the site of 'Breatch Land' as described in documentary evidence dating to 1582 (Holgate 1987). Two buildings are marked at this location on the

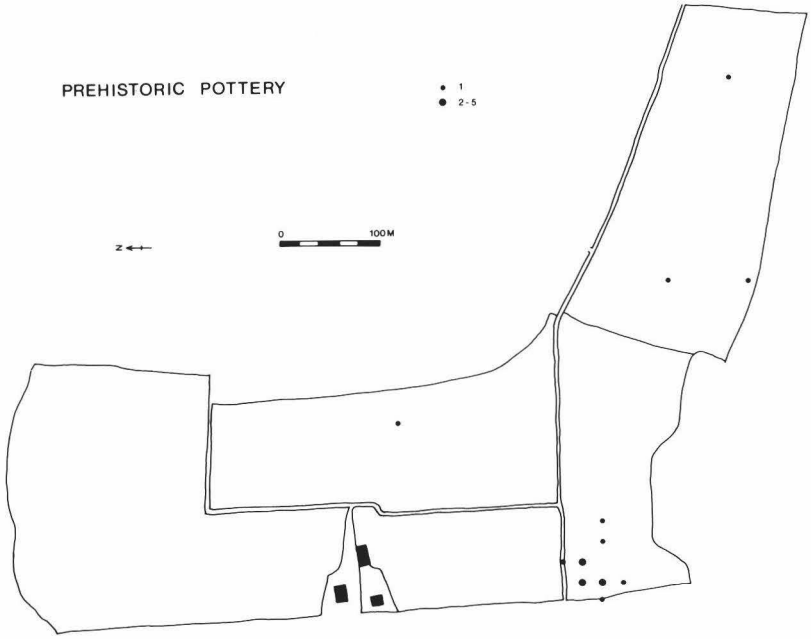

Fig. 7. Distribution of Prehistoric Pottery.

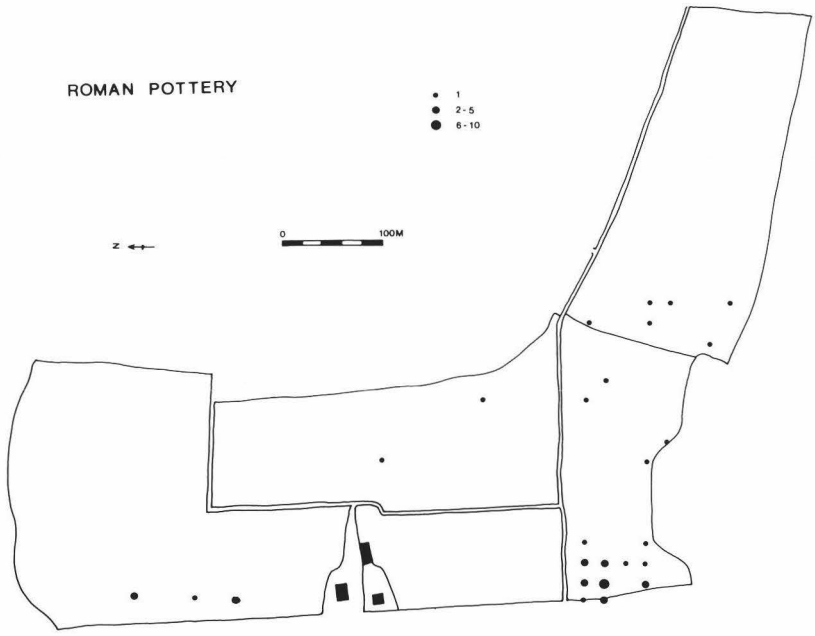

Fig. 8. Distribution of Roman Pottery.

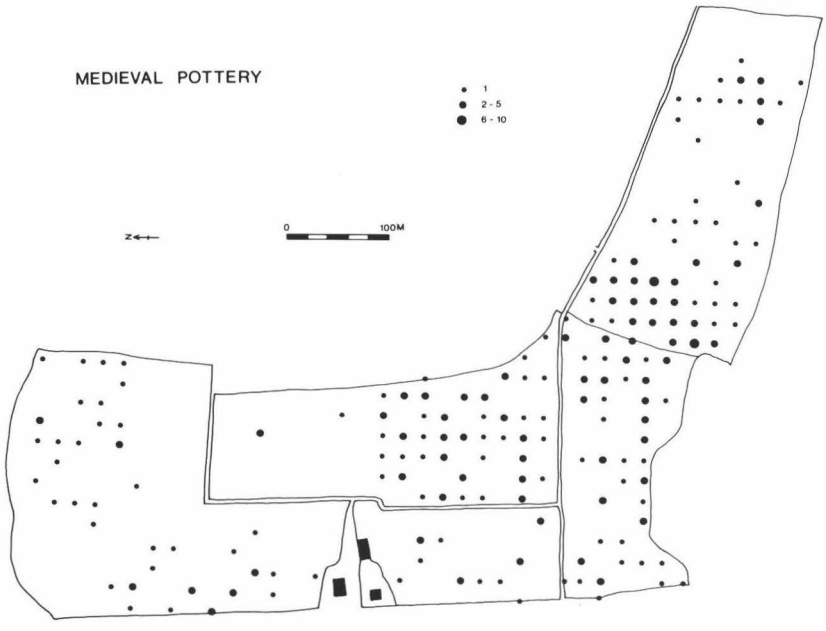

Fig. 9. Distribution of Medieval Pottery.

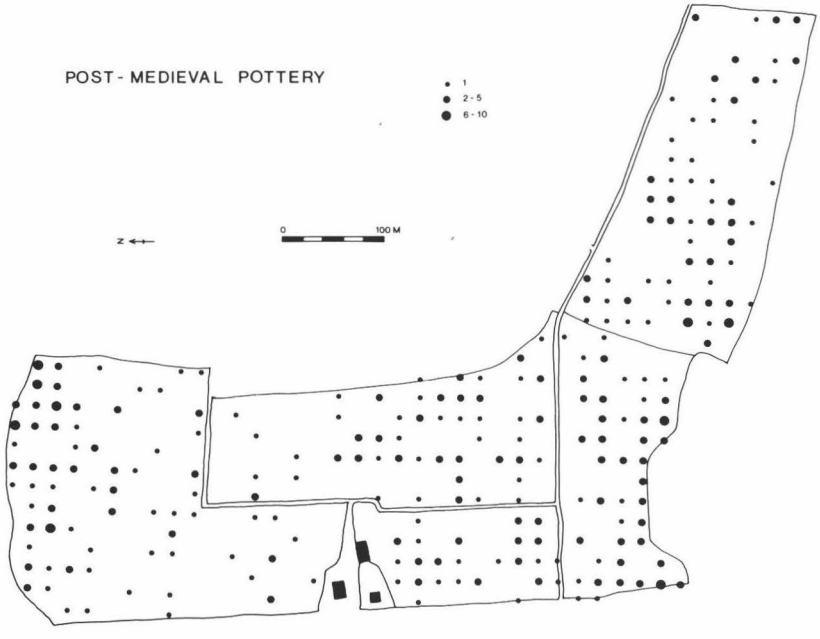

Fig. 10. Distribution of Post-Medieval Pottery.

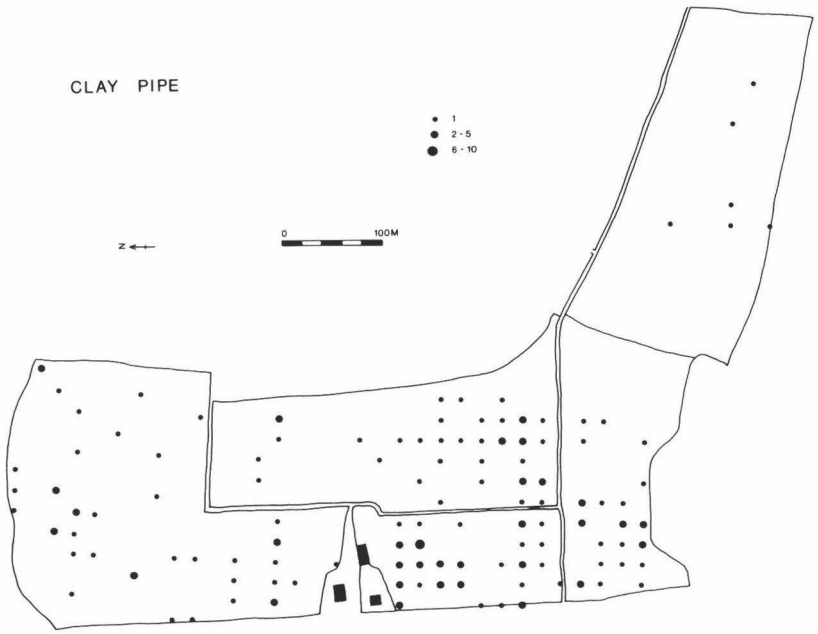

Fig. 11. Distribution of Clay pipe.

Danny Estate map of 1658 (East Sussex Record Office, ACC 2096). By 1868 the main buildings of Breechland Farm had moved to their current location on the London to Brighton road, and only a single building remained at the original location, (E.S.R.O., ADA 228). This last remaining building, a barn, was pulled down in the early part of this century, since which the whole of the area covered by field N11 has been cultivated. The change in location of Breechland Farm probably occurred around the turn of the eighteenth/nineteenth century, as large quantities of clay pipe found around the current farm (Fig. 11) can be dated to the period 1770 to 1867 (see Appendix). This implies more intensive use of the land closer to the farm, a fact possibly borne out by the map of 1868 which refers to these fields as the House Garden and Market Garden.

In conclusion, the survey has produced evidence for activity from the Mesolithic to the present day. Three possible new sites, Mesolithic, Bronze Age and Roman, have been identified, and useful information obtained which will assist in the interpretation of the medieval site at Muddleswood. The more recent evidence collected during the survey seems to support the documentary evidence found for this area.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the farmer, Andrew Nelson, for allowing me to carry out the survey, and Lawrence Gaston who assisted with the fieldwalking.

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

APPENDIX
Breechlands Farm, Hurstpierpoint
Clay pipe
Decorated items and Makers Inititials

A. Decorated stem with flower/leaf design. The words []SMITH and BRIGHTON on opposing sides of stem. Probably John Goldsmith of Brighton, 1826–46. Field N6.
B. []GHTON and S.DR on opposing sides of a plain stem. Maker unknown. Field N7.
C. M .GOLD[] on stem near bowl. Probably Mary Goldsmith of Brighton, 1845. Field N7.
D. Stem decorated with flower/leaf design. []TH on stem. Probably John Goldsmith of Brighton, 1826–46. Field N8.
E. BRIGH[] and []RAPE on opposing sides of a plain stem. Probably John Drape of Brighton, 1832–67. Field N11.
F. The letter 'G' on one side of the heel, other side illegible. Could be one of a number of makers. Field N7.
G. The letters 'P' and 'I' on opposing sides of the heel. Possibly James Pitt of Chichester, 1770–1810. Field N6.
H. The letters 'P' and 'I' on opposing sides of the heel. Possibly James Pitt of Chichester, 1770–1810. Field N11.

Source: D. R. Atkinson. 'Sussex Clay Tobacco Pipes and the Pipemakers'.

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THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE WEALD—A SURVEY AND A REVIEW

by Mark Gardiner

The identification of archaeological sites in the Weald poses considerable problems. The history of the study of archaeology in the Weald suggests that knowledge of sites has grown rather unevenly and the existing records may be unbalanced. A survey of the Weald in 1987–88 was undertaken to increase the number of sites recorded. Considerable numbers of earthworks were found to survive. Recent studies of aspects of Wealden archaeology and the results of the survey indicate the need for further work.

Until recently the archaeology of south-east England has to a large degree been written from the excavations and finds made on the North and South Downs. Sites on the chalk downland are relatively easy to discover and have formed the basis of the study of the prehistoric period and, to a lesser extent, of the Roman and medieval periods. Latterly, excavations within towns and studies of other areas, such as the Coastal Plain in West Sussex (Bedwin 1983) and the marshlands in Sussex and Kent (Eddison and Green 1988) have helped to give a more comprehensive picture. The Weald, however, remains little studied by archaeologists.

For the current purpose, the Weald is defined as the area between the chalk escarpments of the North and South Downs, excluding the marshes of Pevensey, Walland and Romney. The reasons for the paucity of research in this region, about one half of the area of the counties of East and West Sussex, Surrey and Kent, is substantially attributable to the problems of locating archaeological sites. Although the Weald was, and largely remains, a pastoral area, and therefore destruction by the ploughing should not be extensive, standing earthworks are less common than on the downland. The small area under arable cultivation has made field-walking more difficult in this part of the South-East. Even in recent years when a larger acreage has come under the plough, there is limited scope for field-walking. The heavy soils of the Weald need to be left for a considerable period before field-walking may be undertaken to allow them to weather and facilitate the collection of artefacts. The ploughing and sowing of the heavy soils almost invariably takes place in the autumn and there is only a short period after the soil has adequately weathered before visibility is reduced with the growth of crops.

A further constraint has been the area covered by woodland; East Sussex is the most densely wooded county in England. Fieldwork within woodland is complicated by the problem of visibility, especially in conifer plantations where the foliage may be dense, although there have been considerably successes in locating sites in broad-leaf forests. The tree cover in the Weald restricts the identification of sites by aerial photography; comparatively few sites have been detected by this means. Even in open fields, the heavy soils are not very productive of crop or soil marks. In spite of these limitations, there are some grounds for considering that the potential of aerial survey has not been realised. Aerial photographs taken by Margary in the 1920s and 1930s, and discussed below, suggest that more sites may be identified than have generally been appreciated.

THE LIMITS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE

The location of sites in the Weald presents particular problems and for this reason it has until recent years attracted only a small number of field-workers. Among the pioneers in this area were Ernest Straker and Ivan Margary. The former is best known for his work on the iron industry, but he had wider interests which included moats and other sites. His copious unpublished papers held by the Sussex Archaeological Society have been hardly studied, but contain details of further discoveries (Brandon 1974, 136). Margary's interest in routes and trackways of all periods developed from the discovery of a length of Roman road on his estate at East Grinstead. Aerial photographs commissioned in the pursuit of the line of roads incidentally revealed other sites in the Weald. A breadth of interest also characterised S. E. Winbolt's work. He undertook numerous excavations principally on the hillforts at Piper's Copse, Saxonbury, Hascombe and Dry Hill, on Roman sites at Alfoldean and Wigginholt, on the medieval castle at Sedgewick and on many Wealden glass-working sites. Latterly, the most important single contribution to Wealden archaeology has been that of Fred Tebbutt. He, with other members of the Wealden Iron Research Group, built on the work of Straker and has cast further light on that industry.

The disproportionate contribution made by a limited number of individuals has resulted in an unevenness in fieldwork. The level of knowledge of archaeological sites in the Weald is different in each of the four counties. The basis of the four Sites and Monuments Records (SMRs) maintained by the county archaeological officers is the record of sites compiled by the Ordnance Survey before responsibility was taken over by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments for England (RCHME). During the 1970s and 1980s the record has been enhanced to varying degrees by the county councils according to the resources available. In West Sussex, where enchancement has been most comprehensive, all major printed sources have been searched, informants have been interviewed, aerial photographs studied and the Minutes of the Archaeological Committee of the Sussex Archaeological Society, which form a valuable source of sites discovered in the 1950s and 60s, have been examined. Enhancement is planned in Surrey where the SMR is essentially that compiled by the Ordnance Survey with additions from the *Surrey Archaeological Collections* during the 1970s. In East Sussex the situation is similar with further work on the SMR envisaged. The history of the Kent SMR is somewhat different. Unusually, the county council has not until recently employed a county archaeologist, and in 1987 the RCHME was commissioned to compile a record. At the time of the survey of the Weald discussed below this had not been completed, and the review of archaeological sites, perforce, largely excludes Kent.

A crude measure of the limits of archaeological knowledge at the start of the survey is to take the number of sites on the county SMRs. In Fig. 1 the density of sites in each five-km. grid square has been plotted. In those squares which include also downland or marshland, the sites outside the Weald have been excluded and the figures for the Weald increased proportionally to reflect site density. Squares for which half or more of the area lay beyond the Weald were not considered. A clear picture of site distribution is apparent. There is a high site density at the margin of the Weald, that is at the foot of the North and South Downs and on the Upper Greensand. This is less evident in East Sussex where the Wealden margin lay in squares excluded from the analysis since the greater part of their area was downland. More sites are known on the sandy soils in the middle of the Weald than in the clay vales to the north and south.

It may be questioned if this distribution of known sites is an accurate reflection of past human activity. In statistical terms, this is a problem of determining if the sample of sites available is representative of the whole

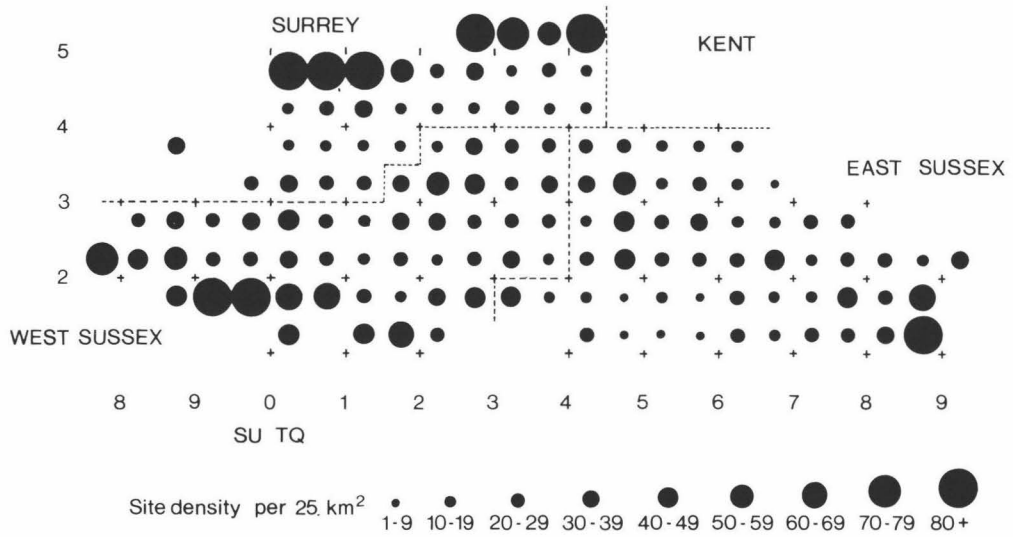

Fig. 1. Density of known archaeological sites in the Weald by five kilometre squares.

population. In this case, the population is the total number of sites for which archaeological remains survive. From these archaeologists will need to draw inferences to determine how surviving sites relate to the totality of past activity (Cherry *et al.* 1978, 5–6). Hamond (1980) has pointed to some of the biases in archaeological distribution maps. Using an area of West Germany he has suggested that the sites known there are affected by the location of active archaeologists, the extent and nature of their fieldwork. A distortion in known Wealden sites due to these factors is immediately evident from Fig. 1. The isolated area of high site density in the south-east corner of the Weald is attributable to the addition to the East Sussex SMR of prehistoric sites located by members of the Hastings Area Archaeological Research Group (HAARG).

Distortions such as these may be proportionately greater when the number of known sites is low. As the level of fieldwork increases so variation due to data collection will tend to be ironed out. To determine the validity of site distribution maps it is necessary to examine the way in which knowledge of Wealden sites has grown. In unsystematic fieldwork it is probable that the most conspicuous sites will be recognised at an early stage and only later will the less evident sites become known as the level and detail of fieldwork increases. Many of the sites discovered at an early stage will be those with evident earthworks or copious traces and only a few inconspicuous sites will be noticed. As the level of knowledge grows, less evident remains will be located. Finally, it is possible to envisage a state when only the more obscure sites will remain to be found.

The changing view of Mesolithic site distribution is a reflection of such a growth in fieldwork (Fig. 5). Clark (1932) noted that Mesolithic sites in the Weald tended to be concentrated on sandy soils, but recent work discussed below suggests that this distribution is partly a function of observation biased towards these areas. If sample bias is only likely to be reduced as the level of fieldwork increases, can archaeological knowledge yet be said to be adequate? One way of considering this problem is to examine the growth in the number of known

sites. With certain categories of highly conspicuous sites the total number may be discovered at a fairly early stage in fieldwork. The examination of hillforts, one of the most evident types of archaeological site, suggests that the overall knowledge of archaeology in the Weald is still extremely rudimentary.

In the Weald discoveries of new hillforts have been made throughout this century. The first volumes of the *Victoria County History* for Kent, Surrey and Sussex all published in the decade before 1910 include lists of known sites. Later discoveries recorded mainly in the county journals have been added to this. A site is considered here to be 'discovered' when knowledge of its presence is widely known in the archaeological community. The site at Philpots (West Sussex) was identified by the landowner in the 1890s, but did not become widely known until 1932 (Hannah 1932, 158, n.2). A graph of the number of hillforts in the Weald known against time (Fig. 2) suggests that although a number of hillforts had been discovered by 1910, new sites continue to be found. The rate of discovery has been virtually linear throughout this century giving no reason to suggest that the limit may be being approached. This is true for other fairly visible sites. Brandon has drawn attention to the increase in the number of medieval moated sites recorded in Sussex. In 1908 more than 60 were known, Ernest Straker added another 38 and the total known to Brandon in 1974 was 235 (Brandon 1974, 136). New discoveries continue to be made and were recorded during the present survey.

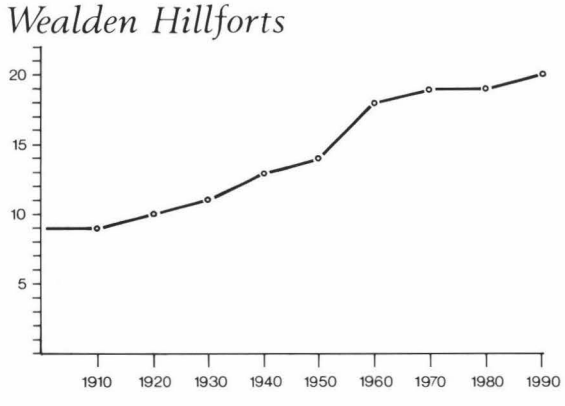

Fig. 2. Total number of hillforts known in the Weald by decade.

A SURVEY OF THE WEALD

Aware of the limitations in archaeological knowledge, in 1987 the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission asked the London University Field Archaeology Unit to undertake a survey of the Weald to augment the number of known sites. The area involved was so large that with limited resources available a survey could only hope to examine a very small part. To avoid duplicating the work of the county council archaeologists, work which was envisaged as part of the general enhancement of the SMRs was avoided. East Sussex and Surrey proposed to examine their aerial photographs at a future date, while work of this nature was under way for Kent and West Sussex. Aerial photographs were therefore not studied. No journals were searched as this work was planned in those counties where it had not already been completed.

The survey design was therefore determined partly by the present and future work of others. A further consideration was the results of previous systematic field-walking programmes. These suggested that such surveys could only hope to identify small numbers of sites. The Cuckmere Valley fieldwalking programme in 1982–3 examined areas on the South Downs and northwards into the High Weald. The number of artefacts located per hectare walked fell off markedly in the Weald and the density of located sites declined to a fifth of that on the Downs (Garwood 1984). A survey by D. J. Freke of Wadhurst parish in the High Weald similarly produced a low site density for the area examined (Tebbutt 1981, 113; Freke pers. comm).

Since the purpose for which the survey was commissioned was specifically to increase the *number* of sites, it was decided that this should be

a priority, even though this might be perpetuating the unrepresentative nature of the sample or introduce other distortions. The discussion above suggests that knowledge of archaeological sites in the Weald is so limited that it is arguable that at this stage the greatest contribution may be made by collecting basic information on sites and their location, rather than being over-concerned about sample quality. Such a view goes against the usual practice in field survey in Britain, in which a systematic methodology is considered to be important. In a discussion of survey design Schiffer *et al.* (1978), however, suggested that a three-stage approach should be adopted. In the first stage existing sources are searched providing information for the second stage of reconnaissance in the field. Only when these are completed can an appropriate strategy for intensive survey be devised.

On this basis, it was decided to concentrate on searching existing sources and reconnaissance; intensive survey was not envisaged. Lists of sites already recorded on SMRs were compiled to prevent repetition. From West Sussex and from Surrey this information was available in the form of computer print-outs. The SMR data from East Sussex was assembled from the written records, but for Kent no data was available at the time of the survey. Since only the West Sussex SMR had been enhanced to any substantial degree, it seemed likely that a substantial number of sites might be known to local field-workers, but not recorded on the county files. Letters sent to field-workers, however, elicited a poor response. It was therefore decided to interview selected people active in the field and this produced a large number of sites. Indeed, it is evident that a great deal more information remains to be gathered in this way. Unpublished sources held by the Sussex Archaeological Society were also searched.

The final element in the survey was an examination of sample areas in the field. The areas to be examined were selected using a number of criteria. Firstly, areas were preferentially chosen lying within a series of north-south 5 km.-wide bands running across the Weald and defined by the Ordnance Survey grid (Fig. 3). Secondly, a variety of different geologies were selected to give a broad range of environments. An examination of the Brede and Tillingham valleys, for example, helped to balance the work which has been done on the higher land in the Weald. Thirdly, areas with different land-use histories were chosen. Among these was the area of Parham Park (West Sussex) which was selected, because its probable history of exploitation may have preserved sites lost elsewhere. Areas of commonland and of woodland were examined for the same reason.

At this stage it was decided not to undertake a great deal of systematic field-walking and only a limited number of fields were examined in this way. Larger areas were examined more superficially to identify upstanding earthworks and artefact concentrations brought to the surface by ploughing, animal or other disturbance. Where possible areas were searched by walking 50 metre-wide transects, but in many environments this was impractical and necessarily it was those areas adjacent to paths and roads that were studied.

SURVEY RESULTS

Interviews and correspondence led to the recording of a large number of sites. The informants are acknowledged below, but the sites discovered by the Hastings Area Archaeological Research Group (HAARG) at the east end of Sussex and by the Robertsbridge and District Archaeological Society, particularly in the parish of Ewhurst, deserve special mention. In both cases relatively small areas had been examined fairly intensively to produce a very broad range of sites.

Fieldwork indeed seems to have been particularly actively pursued in East Sussex during the last decade or two leading to the discovery of a considerable number of sites in

Areas of Fieldwork

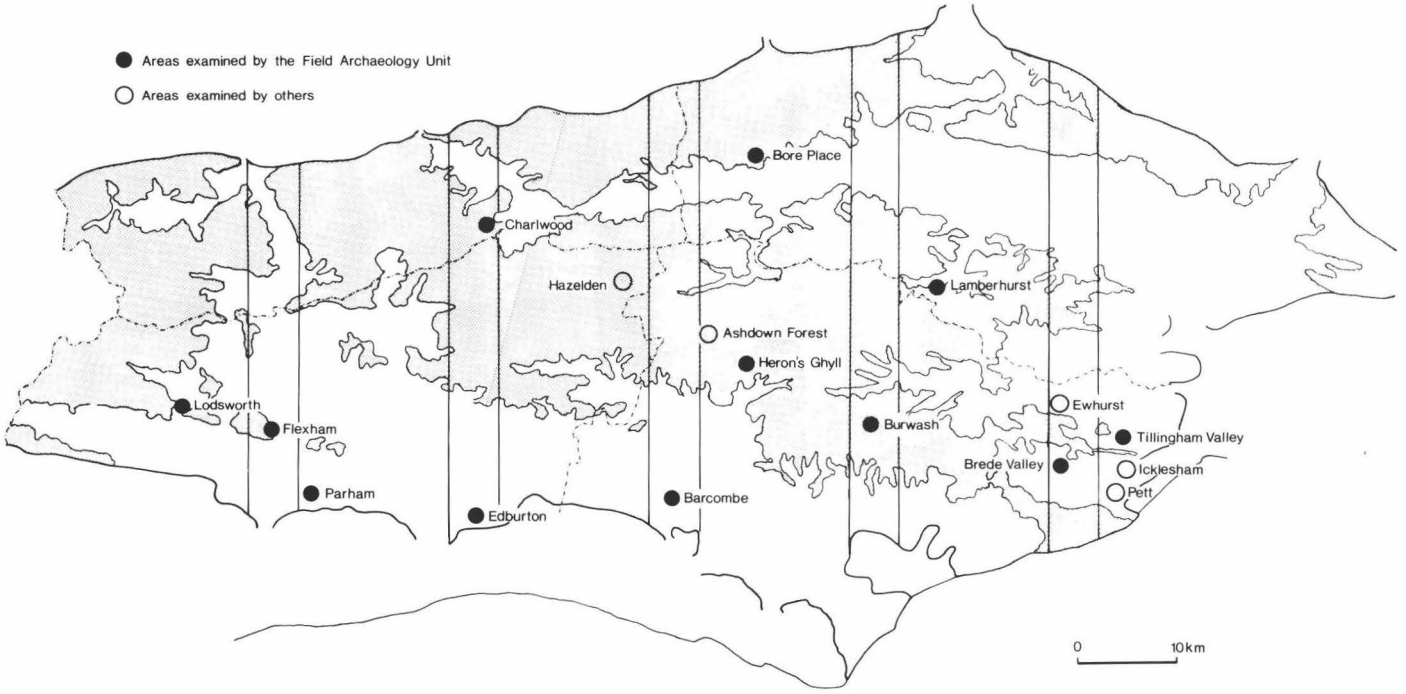

Fig. 3. Survey strategy and other areas examined.

Fig. 4. Proportions of previously recorded and newly discovered Wealden sites by period.

that county. It was through work in East Sussex that Fred Tebbutt was able to argue in a seminal article that prehistoric activity in the Weald was more widespread and more permanent than had been previously realised (Tebbutt 1974). Through fieldwork he identified large numbers of flint-scatters himself and recorded the finds of others in the vicinity of Ashdown Forest. Further unpublished finds are recorded in notes held by the Sussex Archaeological Society. These list further finds made after the publication of the article.

Fieldwork for the survey was carried out during 1987 and 1988 and mainly in East and West Sussex and to a lesser degree in Kent; only a small area of Surrey lies in the Weald and this county was not covered in detail. The nature of the survey to a substantial degree determines the type of sites discovered and the emphasis in the present work was not to cover a small area in detail, but to examine fields in a less concentrated fashion. The sites discovered were generally those with upstanding remains. Small artefact scatters were not specifically sought and were rarely noted. About half the sites found were either medieval or post-medieval, though this is similar to the figures for the existing SMRs (Fig. 4). A substantial proportion of sites were not dated, though it is reasonable to assume that generally they are post-Roman rather than earlier. In total 395 sites were found during the survey or recorded from other fieldworkers. The number of known Wealden sites in East Sussex was increased as a consequence by 17 per cent and that in West Sussex by 4 per cent.

Conclusions drawn from the sites discovered are detailed under the various period headings below. It is appropriate to mention here one of the more surprising results of the survey, the number of upstanding, and often very conspicuous earthworks, which still survive. Curiously these are not well represented in the SMR files, although they have been noted by a number of field-workers. Tebbutt (1975; 1981, 115) has drawn attention to groups of platforms, some of which have been shown to be the sites of buildings of medieval date. Others have noted earthworks of various types on the heathlands of Ashdown Forest (Pam Combes pers. comm.) and in woodlands (Gwen Jones pers. comm. and in prep.).

REVIEW OF THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE WEALD

The archaeology of the Weald has been recently discussed in a general study of south-east England to AD 1000 (Drewett *et al.* 1988). It is useful here, however, to emphasize some of the conclusions which may be drawn from the sites recorded during the present survey and from other research done in the last few years.

Environment studies

The Weald, like the South-East of England generally, has not been well covered by environmental research. The analyses, such as they are, mostly come from Sussex; within that county there has been a particular emphasis on the Lower Greensand heathlands in the west and on the river valley peats and inorganic sediments to the east. Surrey and Kent are even less well served, with only a few, isolated studies to suggest parallel developments.

The Lower Greensand was a particularly 'brittle' environment, in which minor disturbances may have resulted in substantial changes in vegetation. The possibility of creating clearances in the woodland relatively easily may have been the attraction of such areas to prehistoric hunters. The physical problems of clearing woodland have not been emphasized by archaeologists, who have attributed large-scale destruction to burning. This mechanism is not accepted by Rackham (1980, 130) who has commented that unmodified woodland 'burns like wet asbestos'. By whatever means it was achieved, it is evident that Mesolithic populations had the ability to affect the vegetation, as studies of the pollen and soils at West Heath (West Sussex) have shown (Drewett 1985). Clearances were local in extent; at Rackham (West Sussex), for example, the initial clearance of the vegetation did not take place until the Late Neolithic with more general clearance later still, perhaps in the Bronze Age (Dimbleby and Bradley 1975).

The degree of soil movement which might be initiated by the activities of prehistoric people is evident on a local scale from the deep deposits of colluvium around the West Heath barrows caused by the stripping of turf to construct the burial mounds (Drewett 1989). On a larger scale studies of the Wealden river valley sediments appear to indicate human intervention. By cutting down trees and reducing woodland cover the rate of surface water run-off is increased, while at the same time fewer roots bind the soil. The dates given to the alluvial fill deposits and the magnitude of disturbance they represent are difficult to relate to the archaeological evidence for human activity.

For the present survey it is interesting to consider the effect of colluviation on archaeological remains. Soil movement on the valley sides can have the effect of removing artefact scatters, as Scaife (1987, 153) has suggested might have happened to Neolithic material, for example. It can also bury sites near the valley bottom. There is considerable evidence for this happening to Roman and post-Roman sites. Near Bodiam Bridge (East Sussex) finds from the 1st century AD were buried under 1.8 metres of alluvium; and even blast furnace slag, which cannot be earlier than the end of the 15th century, was found at a depth of 0.45 metre below ground surface. In the upper part of the Rother valley little sedimentation seemed to have occurred and blast furnace slag was found on the surface of the floodplain (Burrin 1988, 50). Even on moderate slopes sites may be buried beneath soil washed downhill. Overlying the site of a medieval grange at Park Farm, Salehurst lying just above the floodplain floor, a depth of about 0.8 metre of colluvium had accumulated. This must have been deposited after the demolition of the grange, probably in the 1530s (Gardiner and Martin, in prep.).

Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic Periods

Few significant Palaeolithic sites are known in the Weald: the major finds are to the north at Swanscombe and to the south at Boxgrove. Finds from probable rockshelter sites are known from 'Beedings', near Pulborough (West Sussex) and Oldbury Hill (Kent) (Curwen 1949; Collins 1970; Woodcock 1978).

The Mesolithic exploitation of the Weald may have been similar in nature to that of the Upper Palaeolithic, but rising temperatures after the end of the last glaciation gradually transformed the environment with the arrival of thermophilous species. The collections of worked flint discovered appear to be largely the products of itinerant hunter-gatherers. The excavated early Mesolithic site at Rackham (West Sussex) may stand for other scatters of flintwork found in the ploughsoil. It is interpreted as a short-stay camp visited perhaps only once and producing no structural remains (Garton 1980). Mesolithic hunters, like their Palaeolithic predecessors, used the shelter given by rock outcrops. Excavations at a number of places have suggested intermittent use of these sites.

Early work in the Weald had indicated that

Mesolithic

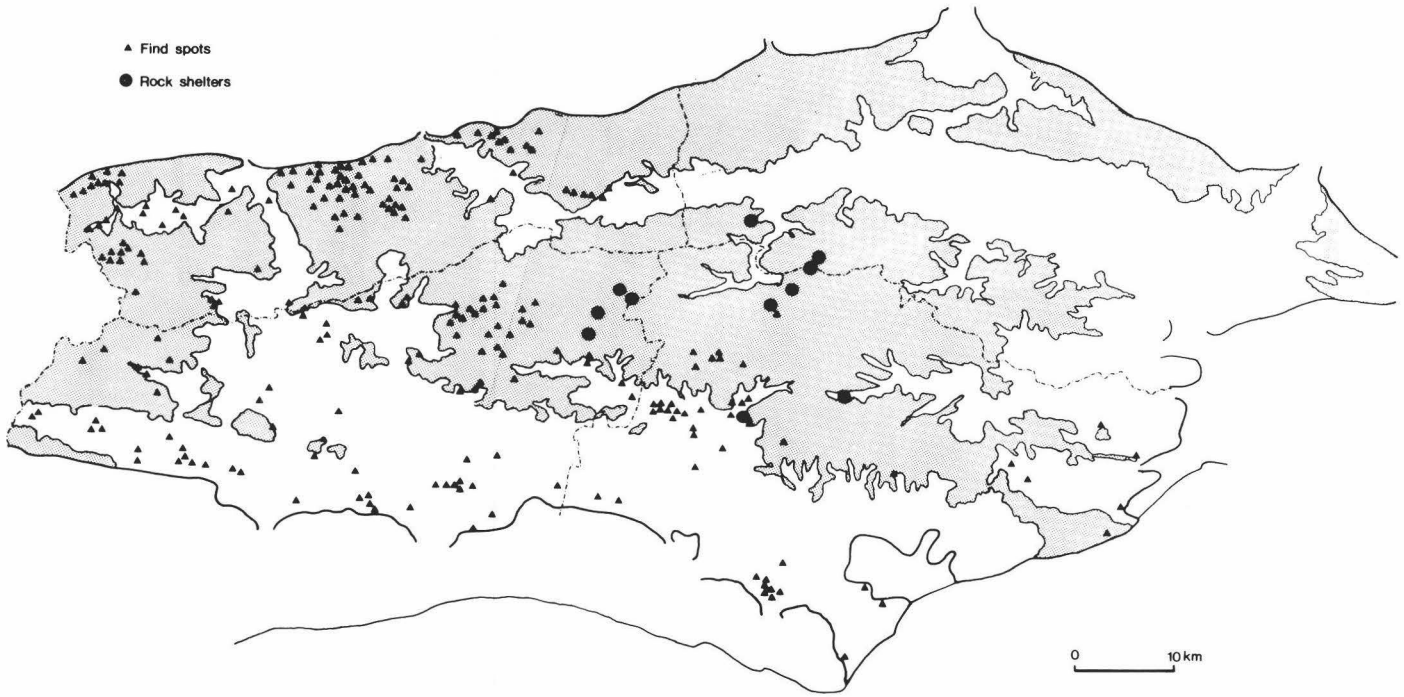

Fig. 5. Mesolithic sites in the Weald. (Details of find spots not available for Kent).

Mesolithic activity was concentrated on sandy soils (Clark 1932, map 2), but more recent studies have suggested that this distribution has been biased by the areas searched by fieldworkers (Fig. 5). The higher visibility of flintwork on the sandy heathlands has been a significant influence on the location of findspots (Evans 1975, 103). In the Horsham area discoveries by Standing show that finds extend beyond the Upper Tunbridge Wells Sand on to the Weald Clay (Holgate 1987) thereby reinforcing the impression from finds in Surrey (Ellaby 1987, 58). Work during the present survey and that by the Hastings Area Archaeological Research Group supports the ubiquity of Mesolithic activity in the Weald (Holgate and Woodcock 1988; Woodcock 1988). Most recently, an examination of finds has indicated that early Mesolithic activity may have been concentrated on the Lower Greensand soils, but the areas exploited spread later in the Mesolithic to a broader range of habitats (Gardiner 1984, 17).

The ability of the early hunters to effect significant changes in the environment has become apparent from a number of excavations. At Iping Common (West Sussex) the destruction of hazel woodland has been associated with human activity and this led to the impoverishment of the soil, creating a heath environment and leading to wind erosion (Keef *et al.* 1965). To the west of Iping, at West Heath, similar changes to the soil have been recorded and likewise are connected with Mesolithic activity found there (Drewett 1976; 1985). The influence of these disturbances to the environment are reflected by alluviation as recorded at Sharpsbridge, which appears to be the result of localized forest clearance (Scaife and Burrin 1983, 9).

The implications of this for the location of sites are considerable for it suggests that the activities of Mesolithic period may be buried or removed by the environmental changes that they precipitated. Mesolithic flint work found during the survey in a field near to Fitzleroi Farm, Fittleworth (West Sussex) at the bottom of a slope was buried beneath colluvium beyond the reach of the plough and only exposed by gullying. It is interesting to speculate how the positions in which Mesolithic finds have been discovered may be more determined by their topographic location than has been recognized (cf. Tebbutt 1974, 36).

Neolithic and Bronze Age

The division between the Late Mesolithic and Early Neolithic is an artificial one in the context of the Weald. Excavations at High Rocks and Stone Rocks, East Grinstead suggest that Early Neolithic hunters may have continued to exploit the Weald and occupy rock shelters (Money 1960; Oliveira and Tebbutt 1985; Harding and Ostoja-Zagorski 1987; Drewett *et al.* 1988, 46–7). The discovery of Neolithic flintwork often in association with Mesolithic artefacts reinforces the impression that their activities were essentially similar. It is possible that Neolithic hunters reused the locations which had already been cleared during the Mesolithic (Gardiner 1984, 36). Arrowheads have been recorded across the High Weald (Field and Cotton 1987, 77–78) and further examples are noted in the unpublished papers of C. F. Tebbutt.

During the Neolithic people in the Weald were making a significantly greater impact on the environment. The not inconsiderable numbers of polished stone axes now recorded in the Weald are evidence of the means by which the woodland was cleared (Bell *et al.* 1982; Woodcock and Woolley 1986, Fig. 1). The very substantial alluvial deposits in river valleys show the effect of this clearance on the valley-side soils. Of particular interest is the presence of cereal pollen and that of *Gramineae* and *Plantago lanceolata* in a core taken at Mayfield and dated to the Neolithic or post-Neolithic, suggesting the practice of agriculture (Scaife and Burrin 1987).

There is growing evidence for Wealden agriculture in the Bronze Age, with hunting presumably being continued in parallel with farming. A pollen diagram from Rackham (West

Sussex), for example, shows a small clearance in the Late Neolithic, a period of regeneration and the more extensive clearance leading to the formation of heathland. Cereal pollen occurring intermittently indicates arable agriculture in the vicinity (Dimbleby and Bradley 1975).

The discovery of a number of barrows in the Weald is further evidence of the exploitation of this area. Barrows on Ashdown Forest and in Ewhurst can be added to those known on the heathlands in West Sussex and Surrey (Corcoran 1963; Tebbutt 1974, 42; Jones 1980). The enigmatic site at Mockbeggars, Playden has been reinterpreted as a ploughed-out round barrow and the discovery of other circular cropmarks in Playden raises the possibility of further levelled barrows here (Cleal 1982; Drewett *et al.* 1988, 78; Dickinson 1981). The growing impression is of extensive Wealden usage, with farmsteads being established in areas of cleared woodland. The period of greatest exploitation appears to lie in the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age, which may suggest that the soils became exhausted and settlement retreated subsequently (Needham 1987).

The Iron Age

Reserch on Iron Age sites in the Weald has been centred on hillforts in the region and little attention has been given to the less conspicuous sites. Indeed, remarkably few others are known from this period (Fig. 6). Although further sites may yet be identified, as suggested above, the distribution of hillforts does not appear to be even. Two groups may be identified, one lying on the Lower Greensand of Surrey and Kent and extending into West Sussex to include Hammer Wood, Piper's Copse and Henfield, and a second in the centre of the High Weald. In the east of Kent and of East Sussex, except for the rather uncertain evidence from Hastings Castle, there were, apparently, no hillforts (Cunliffe 1982, 44; Barker and Barton 1978).

Excavations on Wealden hillforts have been consistent in indicating that they were not occupied until late in the Iron Age (Drewett *et al.* 1988, 157–59). The only exception to this is Castle Hill, Tonbridge which controls routes into the Weald, where the two enclosures were dated to the 4th and 3rd centuries BC (Money 1978). The Late Iron Age date of the hillforts is mirrored in the other dated sites. In West Sussex production of querns at Lodsworth, though beginning earlier, reaches its peak at the end of the Iron Age and at the beginning of the Roman period (Peacock 1987). Ritual activity at the Money Mound in Lower Beeding began in the Late Iron Age (Beckensall 1967). In Surrey, however, it is argued that the Weald was not used intensively until even later, the beginning of the Roman period (Hanworth 1987, 159).

The most significant evidence of an expansion of activity in the Late Iron Age has been found in East Sussex. On Ashdown Forest, preserved on the uncultivated heathland, is a little known and almost unrecorded fossil landscape. Aerial photographs, particularly those commissioned by I. D. Margary during the 1920s (in Barbican House, Lewes) show an extensive system of enclosures and field boundaries. Three of the enclosures have been investigated by excavation and all have been dated to the Late Iron Age (Margary 1930a, 1930b; Wickenden 1986). That these were contemporary with the field banks seems likely, but is not proven. A settlement which was possibly not enclosed has been found at Eridge Park situated 1 km. from the hillfort at Saxonbury (Money 1979). It is significant that pollen evidence from High Rocks places the hillfort not in a clearing in the woodland, but suggests that it was constructed in an area already used for arable agriculture, and the soil between first and second phase defences show that crop-raising continued in the vicinity (Money 1968).

Other enclosures have been identified elsewhere in the East Sussex Weald, at Ewhurst (TQ 361165) and at Tottingworth Park (TQ 614224). The discovery of the former was also due to Margary who had aerial photographs taken (held by Battle and District Historical

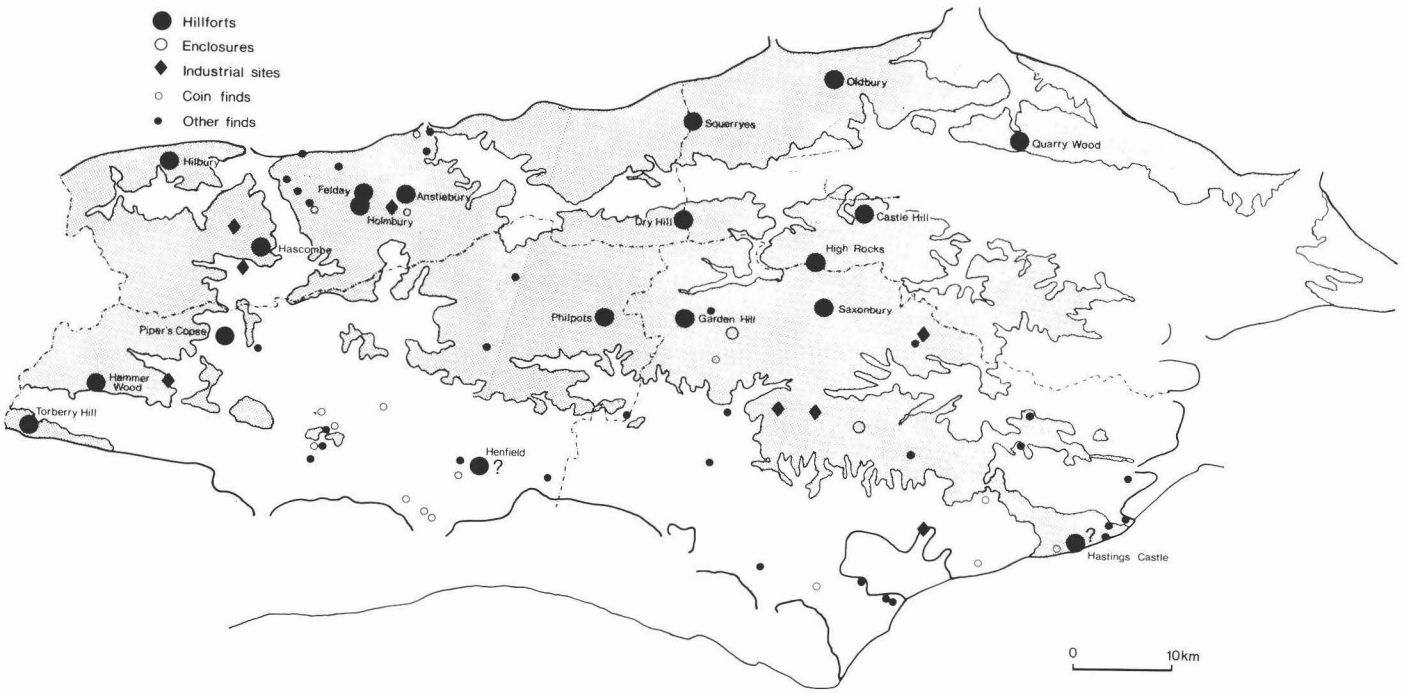

Fig. 6. Iron Age sites in the Weald. (Hillforts only recorded in Kent).

Roman

Fig. 7. Roman sites in the Weald.

Society) revealing an oval enclosure now only detectable as a soil mark. The site at Tottingworth is similar, and although it had a prominent bank and ditch, it was unlikely to have been defensive as it is overlooked by higher ground. Little now remains as it was substantially levelled in the late 19th century (Dawson 1902, 174). The dating of the Ewhurst and Tottingworth enclosures to the Iron Age is presumptive and not based on dated finds.

Survey work in the Hastings area has uncovered a substantial number of sites and these also seem to be of Late Iron Age date with finds of East Sussex Ware common. A concentration of activity around the heads of springs has been noted by Vahey (pers. comm.). It seems probable that the more extensive fieldwork in this area has led to the discovery of a greater number of sites, which may be typical of other parts of the Weald.

The Roman Period

Perception of the Weald in the Roman period is largely coloured by knowledge of the remains of the iron industry. The area exploited for iron-working is, however, a comparatively small part of the whole region. The sites lay in two main areas, a coastal group near Battle and a group in the High Weald extending as far west as Broadfield near Crawley. On four sites, Bardown, Beauport Park, Bodiam and Little Farningham (Sissinghurst) tiles have been found marked with the stamp of the *Classis Britannica*, the British Fleet. It has been suggested that much of the Weald was held by the emperor as an estate, restricting civilian exploitation of the area (Cleere 1978; Cleere and Crossley 1985, 66–9). Certainly there seems to be a near absence of non-industrial sites in this part. A corn-drying kiln at Uckfield (East Sussex) is one of the rare examples of finds indicative of agricultural activity (Tebbutt 1968).

Most of the Roman finds have been made at the periphery of the Weald (Fig. 7). Along the Upper Greensand at the foot of the South Downs in West Sussex a string of villas and other sites have been discovered extending from Harting and Elsted in the west to Bignor. New discoveries of villas further east at Plumpton and Beddingham in East Sussex have merely confirmed this pattern (Allen 1984; Rudling 1988). The pattern in Kent is similar. Villas or other substantial buildings have been identified at Eccles, Boxley, Tovil to the south of Maidstone, at Maidstone itself, Chart Sutton, Thurnham and Boughton Monchelsea, all places in or near to the Medway valley and close to the North Downs escarpment (Detsicas 1983, 95–6, 120–26, 142–43). The concentration of Roman activity in this area is particularly striking, especially when contrasted with the few large sites further east (ibid., Fig. 7; Blagg 1982, 56). Likewise, in Surrey Roman sites generally lie near to the Downs (Bird 1987, 178).

Although Roman settlement seems to have been mainly peripheral, villas have been discovered nearer the centre of the Weald at Chiddingfold in Surrey, and at Wigginholt and possibly at Holmstreet, both in the Pulborough area of West Sussex. There may have been small towns at Pulborough and at Hassocks to the east (Cunliffe 1973, 69–73). Recent work has identified an extensive scatter of material around the posting station at Alfoldean, where there was an extensive extra-mural settlement to the south (English and Gower 1985).

The nature of the economy supporting these settlements has yet to be explained. Bird (1987, 180) has proposed that the Chiddingfold villa was the centre of a forestry estate, but some areas of the clayland within the Weald seem to have been cultivated. Evidence from Essex suggests that the heavy clay soils were perfectly workable with Roman and earlier ploughs, and were indeed used for agriculture (Drury and Rodwell 1980, 59–64; Williamson 1984). Margary (1940) has identified an area of possible centuriation at Ripe (East Sussex), but certain proof is lacking. In Surrey a concentration of Roman material has been found in the area between Farnham and Guildford with a villa at Compton (Clark and Nichols 1960). The presence of Roman villas

here and elsewhere on the clay soils in the Weald does imply that the area was worked by more than peasant farmers.

The Anglo-Saxon Period

If tracts of the Weald had come under cultivation in the Iron Age and Roman Periods, they seem to have reverted to woodland during the Anglo-Saxon period. Sparse documentary evidence suggests that the Weald was extensively wooded, as indeed the very name of the area indicates (Mawer and Stenton 1929, 1–2). Charters, particularly for Kent, show that the Weald was an important area of grazing for pigs and other animals. The degree to which it was permanently occupied remains in dispute (Brandon 1974, 81; Sawyer 1976, 2; Brandon 1978, 86). Associated with this argument is the question of the process by which the Weald came to be colonized. It has been suggested that the Weald was progressively penetrated from the peripheries and that it was only in later centuries that the centre was reached (Witney 1976, Map 7; Brandon 1978, 84–5). There is, however, very little evidence to support this interpretation (Drewett *et al.* 1988, 291).

The small number of known archaeological sites hinders any firm conclusions being drawn of the exploitation of the Weald during this period. Anglo-Saxon sites in any environment are difficult to detect and in the Weald this is especially so. In Kent most of the known sites are Early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, which are more easily identified than their contemporary settlements. The cemeteries are concentrated at the foot of the North Downs and in the Chart Hills, areas which had earlier been cultivated by Roman villas (Fig. 8). Excavations at one Roman site, the villa at Eccles to the north of Aylesford, located an Anglo-Saxon cemetery dating from about 650 onwards. The villa buildings, which had been occupied until the late 4th or early 5th century, would have been ruinous by the time a community settled nearby and debris from them was used to pack the post-holes of a small timber building (Detsicas and Hawkes 1973; Detsicas 1976).

These Early Anglo-Saxon sites, presumably the precursors of the later medieval spring-line villages at the foot of the Downs, may be traced westward from Kent into Surrey. Sporadic finds have been made at the north edge of the Weald including most recently a 7th-century glass jar (Morris 1959; Youngs and Clark 1982, 208–9). If there was a similar pattern on the south of the Weald in Sussex, it is not clear. Grass-tempered pottery from the graveyard at Harting (West Sussex) and the recent discovery of a 5th-century cemetery on the scarp slope of the South Downs at Keymer, however, may suggest that this area was similarly occupied (Welch 1983, 508).

Middle and Later Anglo-Saxon finds are even less common. A notable discovery has been the iron-working site at Millbrook on Ashdown Forest for which a radiocarbon date of 745 +90/−65 AD was obtained. The crude furnace without facilities for tapping the slag suggests that production was on a very small scale (Tebbutt 1982). New sites recorded during the survey include a number of pieces of Late Anglo-Saxon or Saxo-Norman pottery discovered at various places at the east end of East Sussex by HAARG and a Saxo-Norman cooking pot from close to the site of the Domesday vill of *Drisnesel* near Park Farm, Salehurst in the same county.

Medieval and Post-Medieval Periods

From the 13th century onwards the increasing quantity of documentary evidence aids an understanding of the settlement and exploitation of the Weald. The extensive woodlands made it a suitable location for a number of fuel-using industries, but the absence of major population centres meant that the availability of resources had to be balanced against the costs of transport. The medieval iron industry seems to have been small in comparison with the scale of operation in the 16th century. The Tudeley bloomery furnace near Tonbridge is known to have produced between 1,520 and 3,160 kgs per year in the mid-14th century

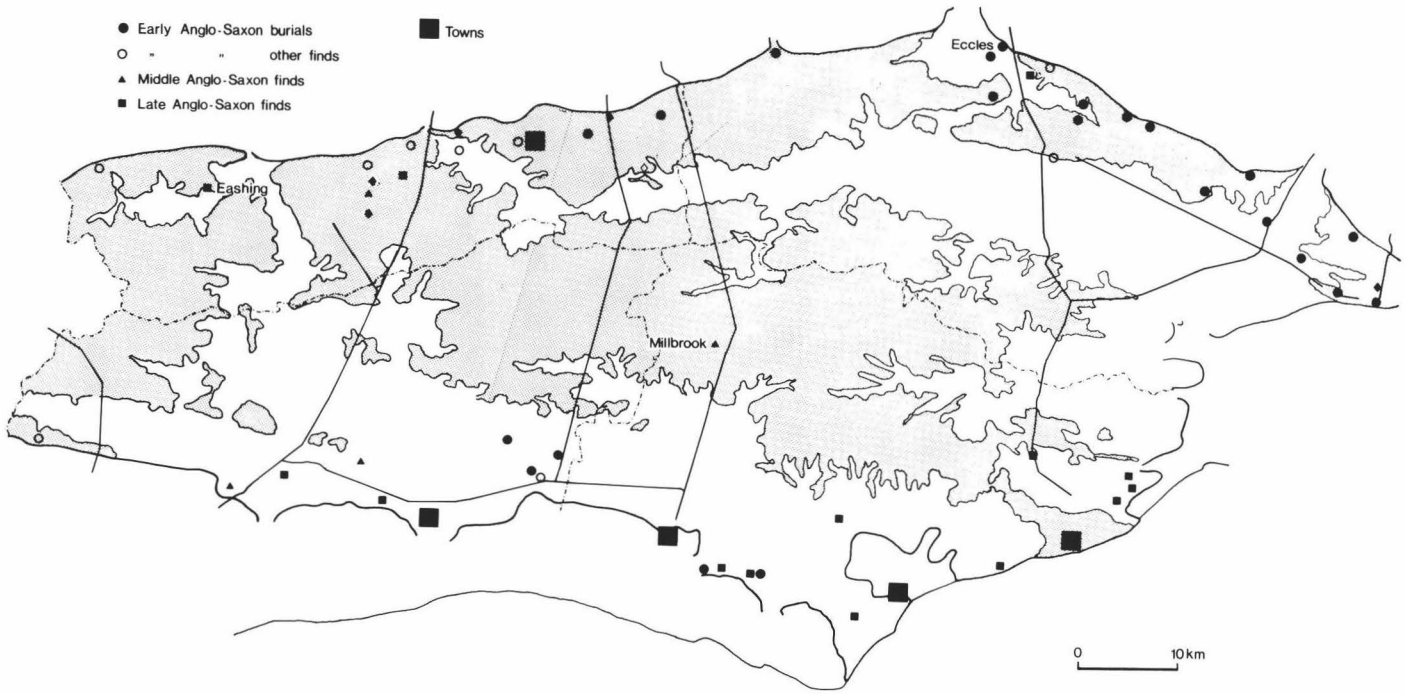

Fig. 8. Anglo-Saxon sites in the Weald.

(Crossley 1981, 33). Water power was used from the first half of the 14th century at Chingley (Kent) in a forge for hammering blooms run by Boxley Abbey (Crossley 1975) and there is documentary evidence for other water-powered hammers at Burwash and Ticehurst in Sussex (Brandon 1969, 151, n. 62).

The extensive areas of clay within the Weald, together with abundance of wood meant that the raw materials for pottery and tile production were available in abundance. The 13th- and 14th-century pottery kilns all lie on the margins of the Weald near to their local markets, but 16th-century kilns served a larger area and were situated at more remote locations nearer the centre of the Weald (Streeten 1981). Less is known about tile production, though there are documentary references to it at Reigate (Moorhouse 1981, fig. 89) and at Battle Abbey itself (Searle and Ross 1967, 46) and on its lands at Alciston (Brent 1968, 90) and Snape Wood, Wadhurst in East Sussex and at Wye in Kent (*VCH Kent* 3,392). Amongst the excavated tile kilns are those at Bohemia (Hastings) (Lower 1859) and Rye in East Sussex (Barton 1979, 193, 216–17), Shulbrede Priory (Ponsonby 1934, 34–37) in West Sussex, Addington (Philp 1977) and Hartley (Philp 1973, 220–23) in Kent and Limpsfield in Surrey. Fieldwork by Gwen Jones has located the probable site of a 13th-century kiln near Robertsbridge Abbey producing nibbed roof and glazed floor tiles.

A rural cloth industry is indicated by occupational surnames and by documentary references to fulling mills. The probably site of one of these was located during the survey. A large dam, now breached lies across a valley in Wiston parish, West Sussex (TQ 15321585), its function suggested by the name of a wood to the north, Fullingmill Copse. Some mills may have served both for fulling and grinding corn such as that at Wynhamford in Brightling (TQ 65602255). A detailed lease of 1474 refers to corn and fulling mills here, but there was already a mill in 1315 when a grant was confirmed to Robertsbridge Abbey (Historic Manuscripts Commission 1925, 154; British Library, Egerton Ch. 399). Earthwork remains survive at this site, but at Wreckery Bridge in Ticehurst (TQ 67082610) the identification of a 13th-century mill is dependent on documentary sources (East Sussex Record Office, XA3/19, ff. 110r.-v.). There is little trace of the mill there, though the subtle topography of the mill bay is fortunately picked out on maps by the 25-metre contour.

Boundary earthworks are common in the Weald. These vary from simple woodland banks to park pales and even complete field systems. Woodland banks, although frequently found, are often of uncertain antiquity. More detailed studies are necessary to date the complicated pattern of boundaries which survive. Brandon (1974, 107–109) has noted the park earthworks at Michelham and Ashdown Forest. One of the most impressive banks with a characteristic internal ditch was found on the west side of Flexham Park (TQ 002217), while others were noted during the survey in West Sussex at Parham, North Park in Fernhurst and possibly at Woodmancote Place.

Lynchets on the downhill side of fields are also common in the Weald, but few, if any, have been dated by excavation. Most may be presumed to be medieval or modern. Even quite substantial lynchets may have formed during short episodes of ploughing due to the degree of soil movement evident on many Wealden fields. Ridge-and-furrow earthworks were noted in a number of places and are recorded in notes compiled by C. F. Tebbutt. The ridges, which are often broad in width may be the product of improvement in the 19th century, rather than indicative of earlier cultivation. Agricultural writers commented on the practice in Kent, for example, where it seems to have been most common on the heavy soils in the Weald (Mead and Kain 1976).

Comparatively little work has been done on the minepits which are probably the most common earthwork in the Weald (Swift 1983; Cleere and Crossley 1985, 15–30; Worssam and Swift 1987). Some are evidently the results of

digging for iron-ore, but similar pits occur in areas of the Weald where ore is not present. The quarries in the West Sussex area for extracting 'Petworth Marble' or Paludina Limestone have been identified by Kenyon (1961, 102–6). This was mainly used for building, but might also have been burnt as lime for fields as indicated by the number of lime kilns in that area. Minepits near Brightling were dug for the extraction of lime used to reduce the acidity of the land. Mining there continued up until the 19th century and documentary sources mention 'chalk' coming from Rounden Wood in the same parish in the 16th century (Dawson 1898; Martin 1989, 122). 'Marl', often calcareous clays for dressing fields, was extracted from pits from the medieval period onwards and perhaps earlier. Quarrying for building stone at many periods must have been common across the Weald, but little systematic work has been done to locate the sites.

During the survey an extensive area of minepits were noted in Rounden Wood (TQ 681218) and these were probably connected with lime extraction. The extremely large quarries cut into the hillslope to the east of Doozes Farm, Mayfield (TQ 630275) may be tentatively associated with the Roman iron-working site nearby (Cleere and Crossley 1985, 204). Further fieldwork will be necessary to identify the product of the great majority of pits.

The glass industry has been investigated by Kenyon (1967) and Winbolt (1933) who showed that it was concentrated around the Surrey-Sussex border, particularly in the vicinity of Chiddingfold. Finds in Worthing Museum show that it may have extended further east that has been appreciated, with sites at Billinghurst and Horsham.

PROSPECTS FOR ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE WEALD

Although archaeology in the Weald has been relatively undisturbed by the expansion of arable agriculture which has affected other parts of England, in recent years new areas have come under plough. With the decline of traditional patterns of woodland management old areas of coppice and broad-leaf trees have been cut down and replanted with conifers which has been thoroughly destructive to earthworks and other remains. The threats to the archaeology are considerable and without continuing survey work in the Weald, the need for which is evident in the discussion above, sites will be destroyed without any knowledge of their existence. The present survey could only hope to establish the bare outlines and further large-scale work is now needed.

The present survey was conceived as covering two parts of a three-stage research programme. The third stage, intensive survey, needs now to be initiated. This would include both detailed field-walking and a more superficial survey to identify upstanding earthworks. Areas of old woodland need to be investigated and upstanding sites identified before they are destroyed by modern forestry. On the heathlands the cessation of grazing at the beginning of this century has allowed woodland to regenerate (Yates 1955) and the survey of earthworks in this environment will become increasingly difficult unless undertaken soon. On the positive side, the growth of ploughing will bring to the surface remains previously hidden and make a greater area available for field-walking.

Increasingly, it has become clear that the Weald was not an uninhabited waste until cleared in the medieval period. It was used and exploited for many millenia beforehand. Further study of Wealden archaeology is necessary as a complement to work carried out on the downland if a full understanding of past human activity in south-east England is to be gained.

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Author: Mark Gardiner, Field Archaeology Unit, Institute of Archaeology, 31–34 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0PY.

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RECENT OBSERVATIONS ON THE TOWER OF HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, BOSHAM

by F. G. Aldsworth, B.A., F.S.A., M.I.F.A.

A watching brief undertaken when the tower of Holy Trinity Church, Bosham, was repaired in 1988 revealed that the Anglo Saxon tower of this important, former minster, church, which may originally have been a two stage west annexe, survives intact from plinth level to corbelled eaves course though it has been altered and repaired on several occasions. Soon after the Conquest the tower was heightened by the addition of a new belfry stage which included at least two windows and a finely carved corbelled eaves course. Later alterations include the rebuilding of the south-west quoin at an as yet unknown date, the insertion of three new windows in the belfry and the erection of the present spire probably in the 15th century.

INTRODUCTION

The church of the Holy Trinity, Bosham, is of considerable importance historically since it was probably on this site that Christianity was first preached in Sussex in the 7th century A.D. and it was from here that Earl Harold set sail in the middle of the 11th century on the journey which placed him in William of Normandy's power—an unfortunate relationship which led a few years later to the Battle of Hastings.

The histories of the church and the adjoining college have been discussed by Dallaway (1815), Macdermott (1906), Peckham (1953), Salzmann (1973) and Gem (1985); and descriptions of the church have been made by Macdermott (1906), Godfrey (1951), Taylor & Taylor (1965), Hare (1972 and 1973) and Gem (1985). Charcoal burials found under the church in 1981 may be of pre-Conquest date (Aldsworth & McCann 1984).

The opportunity to examine the tower in close detail was afforded in 1988 after a decision had been taken by the Parochial Church Council to undertake repairs. The tower was repaired between 1903 and 1905 when the spire was re-shingled and a new ringing chamber created by the insertion of a new floor (Macdermott 1906). In 1913 the external elevations were rendered over and rough-cast but this was removed from the lower two stages in 1933 at which time the rubble walls were repaired and repointed. The works undertaken in 1988 comprised the stripping of the rough-cast render from the upper stages, the repair and replacement of stones in the quoins using limestone from Jaumont in France (Figs. 1 and 2), and the rendering of all four external elevations leaving exposed only the architectural details.

A watching brief was undertaken by the writer, on behalf of West Sussex County Council, throughout the operation and this led to the discovery of a number of previously unrecorded features. Drawings at a scale of 1:20 were prepared for all four external elevations and these were used as the basis for a detailed survey of the fabric. This included, with assistance from Mr Bernard Worssam, formerly of the British Geological Survey, a study of the stone types used in construction. Internal elevations were also examined and a small trial hole was

excavated outside the north-west corner in order to relate the original ground level to the present floor level in the tower. A set of drawings and photographs detailing the observations has been deposited in the West Sussex County Record Office.

DISCUSSION

As a result of its position at the head of one of the channels that make up Chichester harbour, the church has always been exposed to the prevailing south-west wind and it is this aspect of the tower that has suffered most from exposure, weathering, and repair. It is away from this aspect that the earliest features are best preserved.

Four main periods of construction, alteration, and repair are discernible and it is proposed to discuss these in order.

Period 1 (Pre-Conquest)—the original three-stage tower
Period 2 (Early Norman *c.* 1080–1110)—the new belfry stage
Period 3 —Repair to south-west quoin
Period 4 (Late medieval and probably 15th century)—new belfry windows and probable erection of present spire

In view of the great range of stone types used in the tower these are discussed in a separate section.

Period 1—Pre-Conquest (Figs. 1–6)

The surviving pre-Conquest features in the *external elevations* comprise the remains of a probably plinth course, long-and-short quoins, five single-splayed windows, two string courses, one single belfry window, two double belfry windows, and a corbelled eaves course with corbel table (Figs 1–4).

At the base the three stage tower measures 6.27 metres (20 ft. 7 ins.) north-south by 7.13 metres (23 ft. 5 ins.) east-west externally and it is 13.87 metres (45 ft 6ins) high from top of the plinth course to top of the corbel table.

A small excavation at the north-west corner encountered a step, about 13 cms wide, at a depth of 76 cms (2 ft. 6 ins.) below present ground level (i.e. at 4.13 metres above Ordnance Datum) and this probably continues around the base to form an original *plinth course*. The original floor was probably at the level of the top of the plinth but the present floor of the tower is a little above this.

Where they survive the *quoins* are built in a variation of the usual long-and-short style which has also been noted by Taylor and Taylor (1965) in several other Sussex churches. The south-west quoin has been rebuilt from about 2 metres above the level of the plinth course but the north-west one is complete. With the exception of a single slab of green sandstone low down in the south-west corner and two pieces of ferruginous sandstone high up in the north-west corner, the quoins are built entirely of Bembridge limestone and Quarr stone laid in a bed of lime-based mortar containing crushed brick which gives it a pink appearance. The sources of stone are further discussed later but in order to distinguish them from similar types used in subsequent alterations and repairs to the tower the materials from the Isle of Wight in this phase of construction are referred to as Bembridge limestone 1 and Quarr 1.

Two styles of diagonal tooling were noted on the quoins though these appear in no particular pattern across the building and therefore the difference between the two may not be significant. They comprise short marks made with a chisel blade about 3 cms (1 inch) wide and long narrow grooves up to 8 cms (3 ins.) long, made with either a wider chisel or the same narrow blade used in a different way. The occurrence of traces of original pink mortar or render over some of the tooling marks suggest that much of the original working on the stone surfaces is original and that the quoins may have at least in part formerly been covered by render.

The change of use from stone to flint for the *rubble infill* at approximately the same level in all four walls is particularly noticeable though it is partially masked by later repairs on the west and

south sides. In general the coarse, lime-based, mortar in which the rubble is set appears to be consistent throughout this part of the tower although where inspected in 1988 it was obscured in many places by traces of later render and repointing. The lowest parts of all three external elevations of the tower and the west wall of the nave are built of large pieces of stone, mostly Bembridge limestone and Quarr stone, but from about 2 metres above the plinth course the infill comprises small pieces of stone laid in no regular pattern. As well as incorporating re-used Roman brick and tile it also includes pieces of *Ditrupa* limestone and Bath stone—the latter evidently forming part of repairs undertaken as late as 1933. The rubble infill changes from predominantly stone to flint at a point about 1 metre below the second string course i.e. at third floor level, and this, the only floor showing any signs of antiquity in the present structure, represents the position of the original belfry floor. Above this point the rubble continues in fairly regular courses of flint with a few pieces of stone as far as the corbel table. The change also occurs in the west wall of the nave but slightly higher, approximately half way up the round-headed doorway, and is also visible inside the tower though partly obscured by later repairs.

There are five *round-headed windows* in the first two stages of the tower, each with a single, internal splay—one each in the north and south elevations of the first stage and one each in the north, south and west elevations of the second stage. On external evidence they would all appear to have been inserted at a later stage but it is more likely that they are in fact original openings whose external faces were rebuilt using a source of Quarr stone assigned to Period 2. A close examination of the fabric revealed no other evidence for original openings, either windows, doors or put log holes, in the first or second stage.

The two *string courses* may both have been square originally though they now differ in detail. The top of the first string course is 5.07 metres (16 ft. 8 ins.) above the plinth and survives complete on the north and south elevations and in a defaced form on the west elevation. The wall faces step back a few centimetres above the string course which now has a wide chamfer on its upper face. The top of the second string course is 9.47 metres (31 ft) above the plinth and 4.4 metres (14 ft. 5 ins.) above the first string course and it survives intact on the north elevation and in a defaced form on the west and south elevations. Again the wall face steps back above the string course which now has a wide chamfer on its lower surface.

Hare (1972 and 1973) suggested that the earliest work in the tower belongs to a two-storeyed west annexe without external doorway. No evidence was seen in the quoins to support this view in 1988 but the change of use from stone to flint just below second string course level may indicate the addition of a belfry stage before the Conquest.

The third, and final, stage of the pre-Conquest tower was rendered and roughcast in 1913 and the removal of this in 1988 revealed a number of details. The distance from the top of the second string course to the top of the corbel table is 4.4 metres (14 ft. 5 ins.) so the third stage was the same height as the second stage. The flint rubble infill continues throughout this stage and traces of an *original render* were observed over it. The render was in particularly good condition on the north side of the west wall and here three distinct surfaces were recorded and preserved in situ. The original pink mortar of the north-west quoin and coarse buff mortar of the rubble infill was overlaid by a hard buff-coloured render (Fig. 1 Render 3). On its lower side this was at least partially overlaid by a soft pink render containing fine brick dust (Render 1) and in turn this was overlaid at least in part by another pink render containing coarser brick dust (Render 2). It is not clear whether these represent three successive phases of rendering or simply three patches of render applied in one programme of work using slightly different mixtures.

There are the remains of at least three *belfry windows*, one each on the north, south, and west sides all built with the distinctive pink mortar

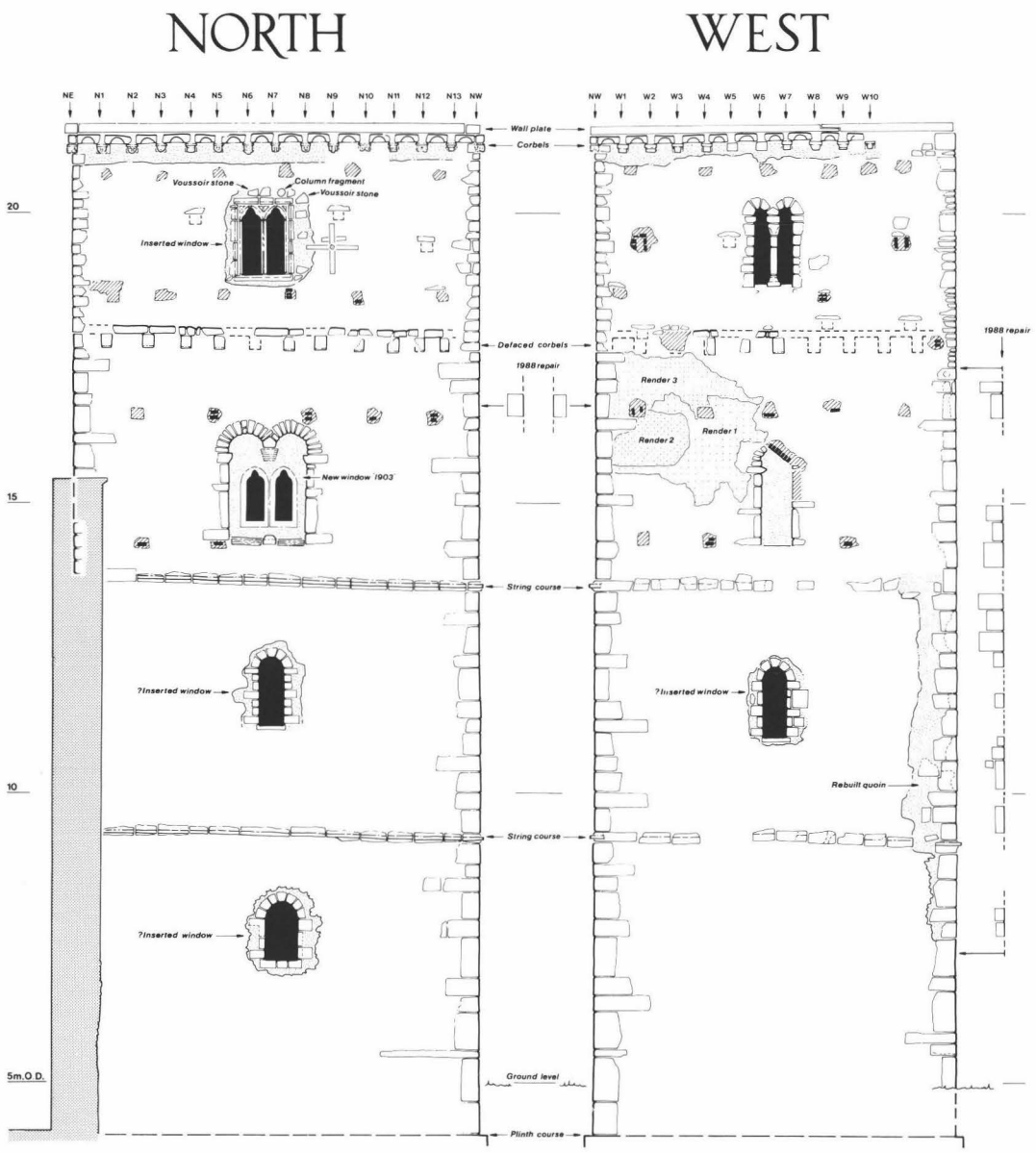

Fig. 1. General drawing of the north and west elevations of the tower showing the main features. The extent of stone replacement in 1988 is indicated. Other recent repairs are shown diagonally hatched and comparatively modern bricks are shown solid black.

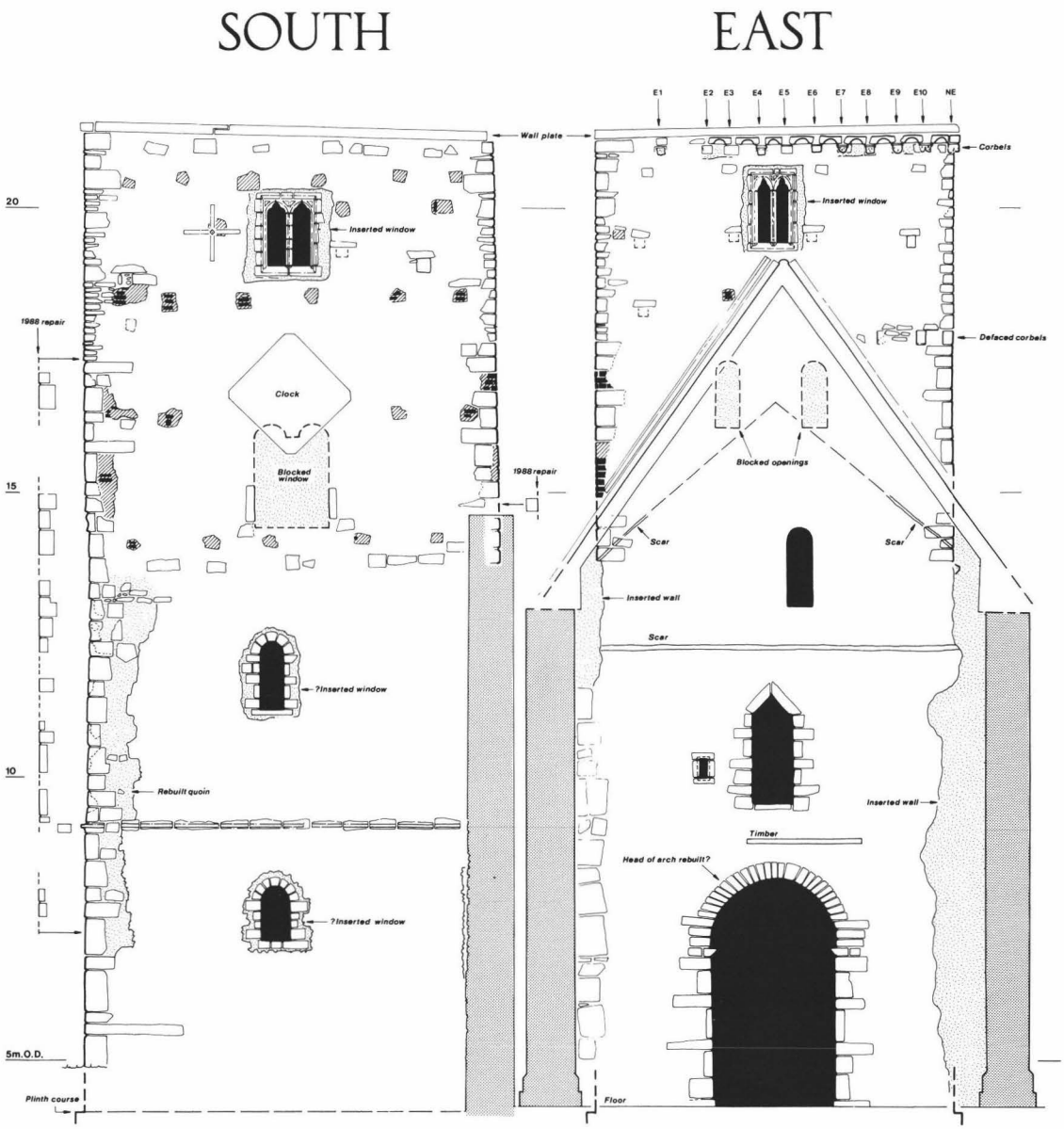

Fig. 2. General drawing of the south and east elevations of the tower showing the main features. The extent of stone replacement in 1988 is indicated. Other recent repairs are shown diagonally hatched and comparatively modern bricks are shown solid black.

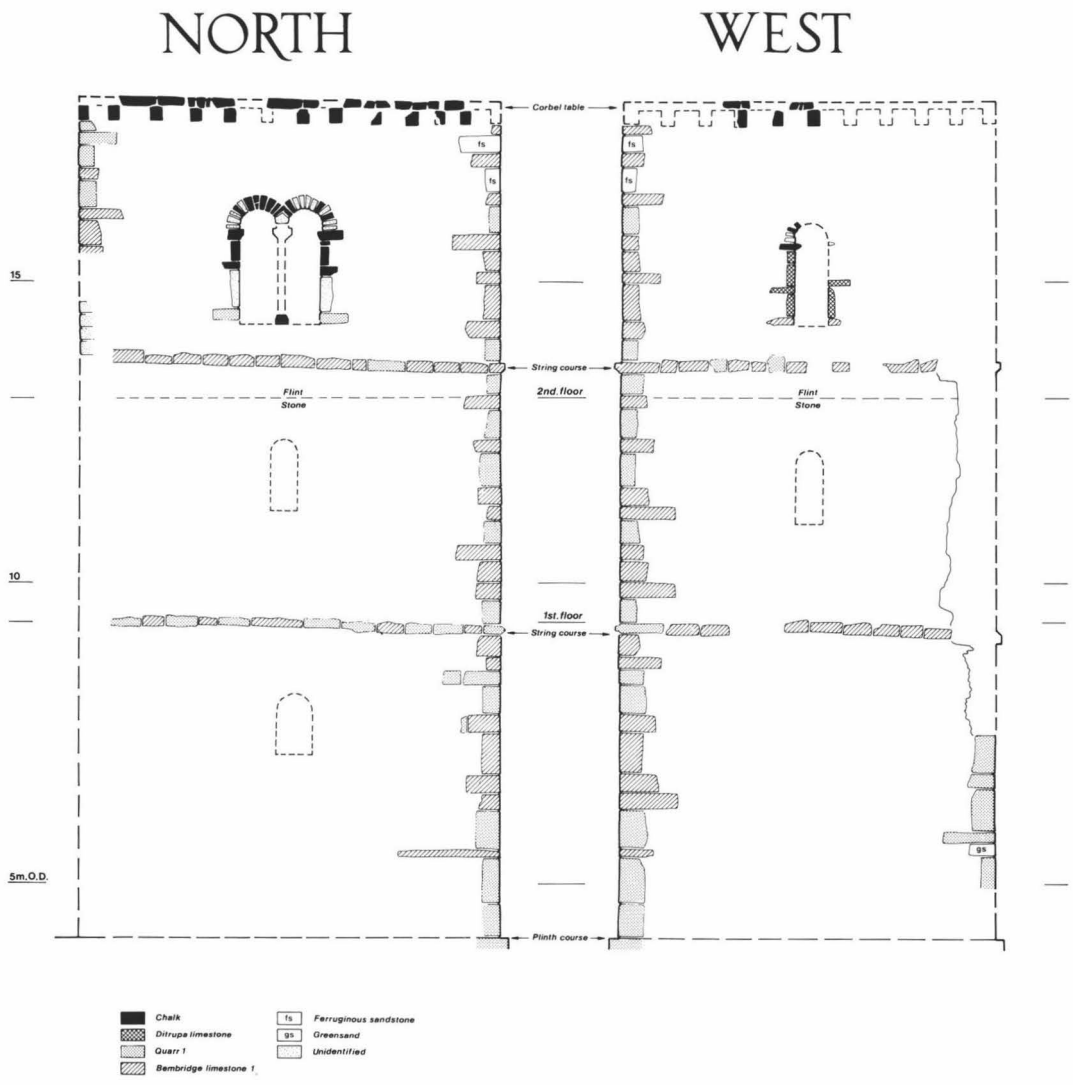

Fig. 3. The north and west elevations of the tower showing only the pre-Conquest (Period 1) features.

seen in the quoins and the corbel table, but there are two other openings below the present roof of the nave and these may also have provided light to the belfry. Set in the centre of the north wall are the remains of a double round-headed window built with long-and-short jambs, and protruding imposts, in a mixture of stones including Quarr, greensand, and hard chalk. The central shaft is missing, although its base survives. A modern window of two lights inserted into the opening is dated 1903. Immediately opposite to this in the south wall are traces of another window which must have been similar in form though only fragments of the jambs survive externally. Internally, however, the flint jambs are still visible though the opening has been completely blocked with a mixture of stone, brick and flint; work attributed by

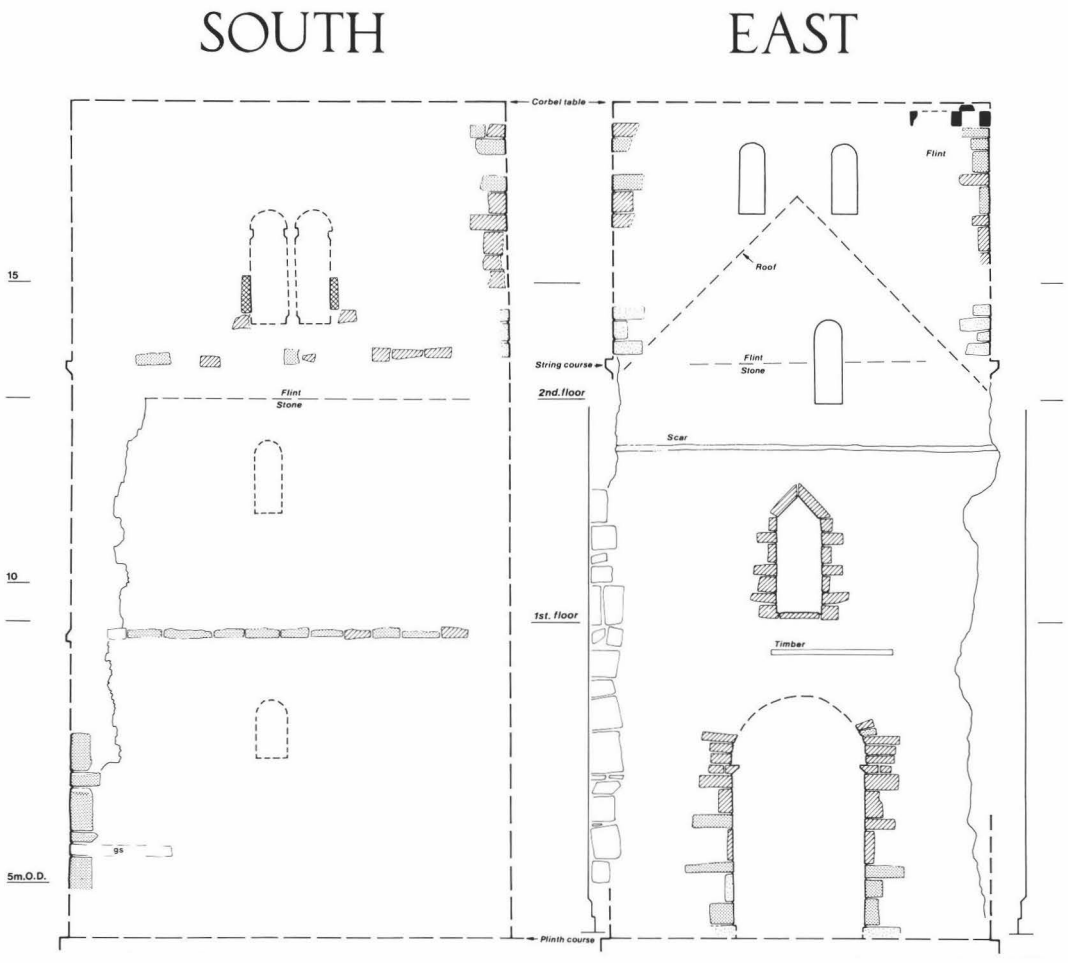

Fig. 4. The south and east elevations of the tower showing only the pre-Conquest (Period 1) features. For key see Fig. 3.

Macdermott (1906) to the 1903–5 restoration. Set in the middle of the west wall are the remains of a single round-headed window built with long-and-short jambs in chalk, Bembridge limestone, and *Ditrupa* limestone. This, too, appears to have been blocked in the 1903–5 restoration at which time a number of new put-log holes were inserted into the upper part of the tower and then blocked mostly in brick.

The two *round-headed openings* now just below the nave roof in the east wall are cut straight through the wall without any splay and are built of flint and stone with heads each cut from a single piece of stone. The south one of the two has been repaired in brick and both have been blocked. There is no obvious indication that they have been inserted and it seems logical to assume that the two openings were intended to light the tower above the nave roof level. In Grimm's drawings of the church dated 1782 (BL Add Ms 5675 f.47) both these windows are shown and the southern window appears to be open. On three mid-19th century illustrations in the church, attributed to R. Ulsdell (1845), J.

Coney (1846) and C de Puris (1851), only the southern one is shown and in all three cases it is shown open.

The original *corbel table* was traced around the north-east corner, along the north elevation and for a short distance along the west elevation. It comprises the remains of a series of chalk corbels each averaging 18 cms (7 ins.) wide and 25 cms (10 ins.) high set between 35 and 50 cms (14–18 ins.) apart and supporting a course of chalk blocks 13 cms (5 ins.) deep on which the original roof must have been supported. All the stones are set in the distinctive pink mortar noted in the quoins and the belfry windows. The corbel table has subsequently been cut back to the face of the wall so it is impossible to suggest its original finished form but many of the corbels carry traces of a chamfer on the lower part of the face indicating perhaps that they carried some form of decoration.

The surviving pre-Conquest features on the *internal elevations* of the tower and nave comprise the tower arch, a triangular-headed doorway at the original first floor level, and a round-headed doorway at the original second floor level. At first floor level is a squint which was probably inserted in Period 4. Also discussed here is the evidence for floor levels and the roof of the original tower, the relationship between the tower and the nave, and the form of the original roof of the nave. The internal elevations of the tower up to present third floor level and the west wall of the nave have been repaired and repointed in recent times so the relationship between openings and wall could not be ascertained (Figs 5 & 6).

The *tower arch* has jambs built of throughstones in long-and-short style carrying square imposts each with a simple chamfer. These support a round-headed arch apparently built in two phases. Three large stones on the south side and five large stones on the north may be original but the remainder is built of small voussoir stones. The continuing use of Bembridge limestone 1 and pink mortar for this apparent rebuild would appear to imply that, if it is not original, then it was a pre-Conquest alteration. For the sake of clarity the extent of the rebuild is shown on Fig. 8. Above the tower arch is a *triangular-headed doorway*, built using pink mortar, with a stone sill, dressed-stone jambs, and a head formed from two large blocks which pass through the full thickness of the wall. Further up and slightly north of centre is a *round-headed doorway* with jambs of stone and flint rubble and a head cut from a single piece of stone.

Within the original part of the tower there are now three *floors*. The first is a modern insertion built on rigid steel joists set into the east and west walls. The second floor is also a modern one supported on timber joists and corbels of Purbeck stone but it represents the approximate position of the first floor of the pre-Conquest tower. Set one in each of the north face of the tower and the west wall of the nave at this level are timbers which may have formed part of the original floors though the latter could equally well have been associated with a gallery which existed at the west end of the nave until removed in the middle of the 19th century (Macdermott 1906, 21). The present third floor is the only one showing any signs of antiquity and this occupies the position of the original pre-Conquest belfry floor. A piece of timber set into the north wall may be part of the original structure though the present floor is supported by beams and braces now set on Purbeck stone corbels in the east and west walls, and joists set in the north and south walls. The arrangement of the joists at the south-east corner suggests the former existence of a trap door. Since the present floor cuts across the bottom of the round-headed doorway in the west wall of the nave it seems likely that this floor level was raised by about 10 to 15 cms when the stone corbels were inserted, probably in the 18th or 19th centuries.

On evidence of weathering and the size of stones in the lower portion of the west wall of the nave inside the tower, Macdermott (1906, 11–12) suggested that the wall may be a remnant of an old outside wall of a former church before the

tower was erected. If this were the case then the tower arch would have to be seen either as an original west door or a later insertion and no evidence to support either of these suggestions was noted in 1988. An attempt to establish the original relationship between tower and nave by a close examination of the external rubble walling at the junction of the two proved inconclusive. It now seems likely that the sequence of building can only be ascertained in an excavation at plinth course level, since above ground the relationship has been masked by the insertion of the north and south arcades and later repairs. On the internal elevation of the west wall of the nave alterations connected with the insertion of the north arcade are quite clear, whilst on the south side the internal quoin is made of large blocks of stone and this is probably the original junction between tower and nave.

No evidence was seen in 1988 to indicate the form of the pre-Conquest roof of the tower other than the fact that it must have been supported on the corbel table.

On the east face of the west wall of the nave are several features which indicate the former position of the nave roof, suggested by Macdermott (1911, 36) to have been lowered in the 15th century to a flat pitch and then raised to its present level in 1865. The lower pitch is shown on numerous 19th century illustrations of the church and is represented by scars on the wall representing the shape of the roof.

On the east face of the tower is the surviving dripstone course protecting the junction of the south slope of the present nave roof and the tower. This is probably a medieval feature inserted after the tower was heightened at the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century though its counterpart on the north side, shown on mid-19th century illustrations, has since been removed. No evidence was found to indicate the position of the *pre-Conquest nave roof* although this ought to be dictated by the lowest level to which the quoins of the tower survive; the position of the second floor if this existed at this time; the corbel table of the tower; and the position of the two round-headed openings. It would be possible to accommodate a roof of about 45 degree pitch standing on a wall plate slightly lower than the present one, with the horizontal scar on the west wall of the nave equating with the tie beam level and with its apex rising a short distance between the two-round-headed windows in the belfry stage.

Period 2—Early Norman circa 1080–1110 (Figs. 7 and 8)

This period of construction and alteration is distinguished by the use of small blocks of stone, mostly Quarr, for the quoins, openings, and corbel table all set in a buff coloured mortar. Much of the Quarr used at this time, henceforth called Quarr 2, contains smaller fossil shells than the material used in Period 1—the significance of the difference is discussed later. The principal alterations made at this time are the addition of a new belfry stage, with at least two windows, and the replacement of the external frames of the five single-splayed windows in the earlier part of the tower.

The new *belfry stage* added a further 3.3 metres (10 ft. 9 ins.) to the height of the tower measured from the top of the original corbel table, which was defaced at this time, to the top of the new corbel table. The tower now measured 17.17 metres (56 ft. 3 ins.) in height from plinth course to the top of the corbel table. The *quoins*, which are constructed almost entirely of Quarr 2, show no signs of building change, apart from on the rebuilt south-west corner, but changes in the rubble infill, which are best seen on the north elevation and internally apart from on the south side, may indicate three phases of building. Immediately above the original corbel table the rubble infill is mostly of stone up to the level of the window sills but above this it gives way to regular courses of flint. Internally the junction of the two is marked by two courses of larger stones (Figs 5 & 6). Externally the last few courses of flint rubble at the top of the tower are laid in a grey lime-based mortar which is quite different from the buff mortars used lower down, and this

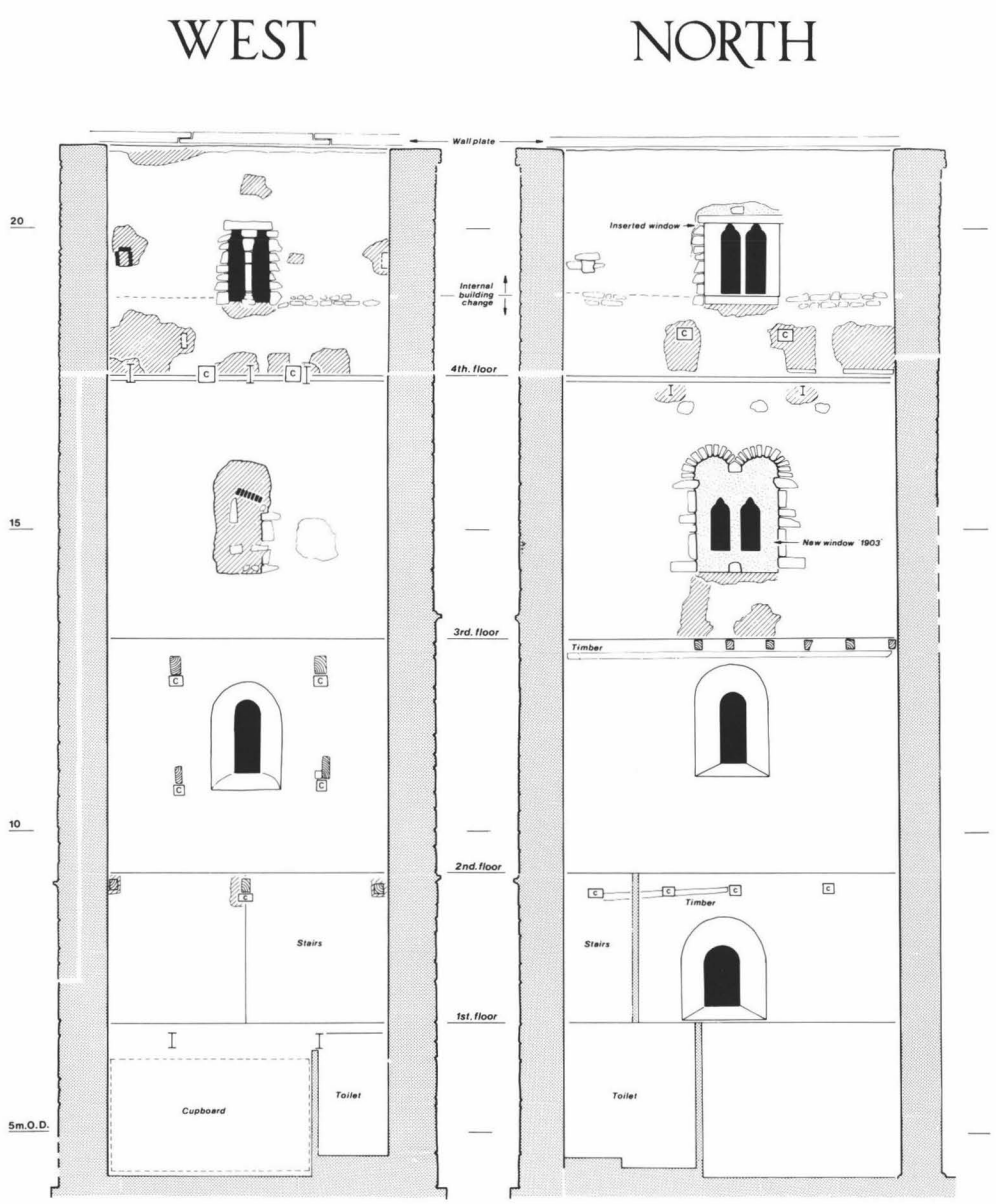

Fig. 5. The north and west internal elevations of the tower. Recent repairs are shown diagonally hatched whilst the inserted Purbeck stone corbels are distinguished by the letter c.

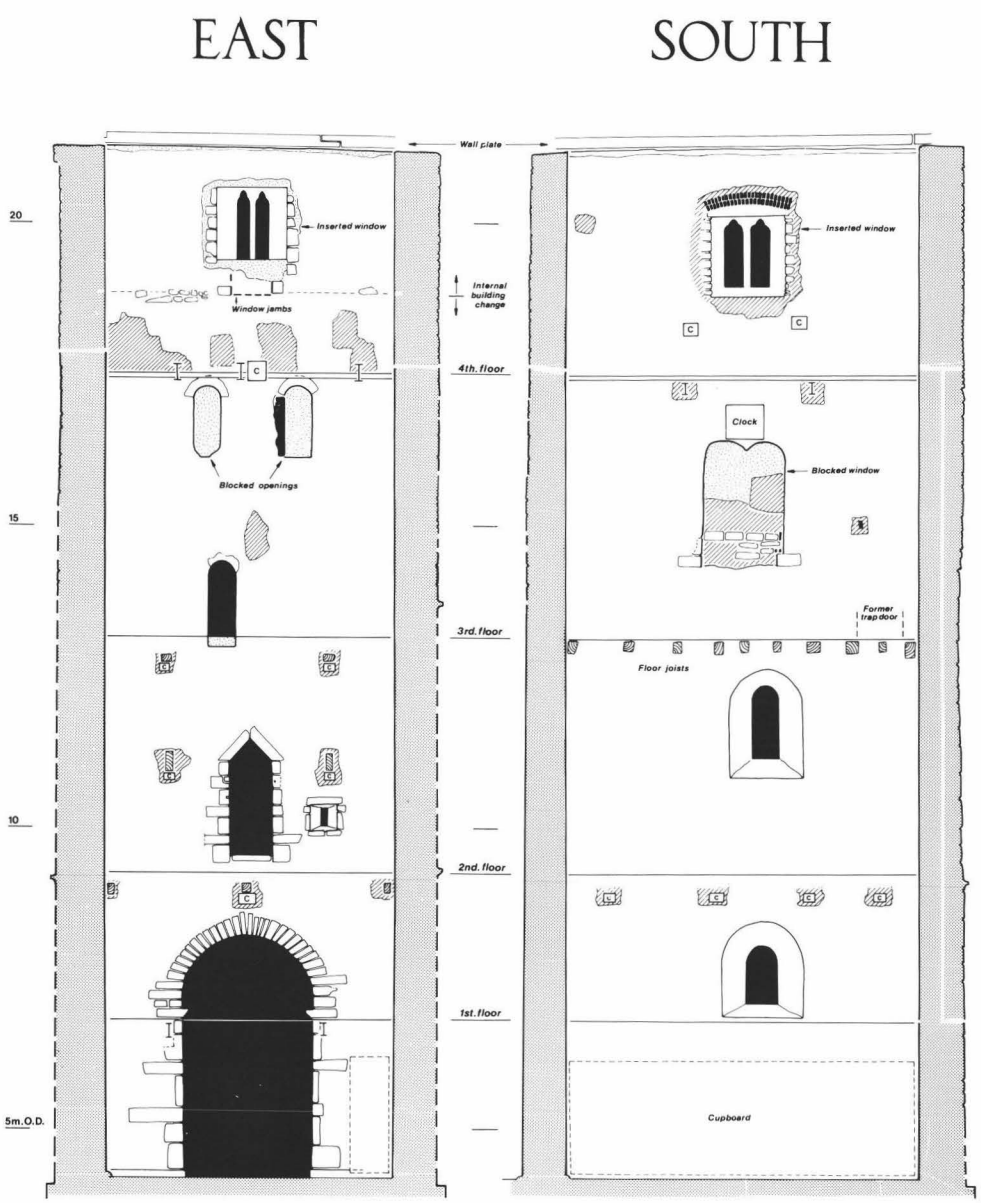

Fig. 6. The south and east internal elevations of the tower. Recent repairs are shown diagonally hatched whilst the inserted Purbeck stone corbels are distinguished by the letter c.

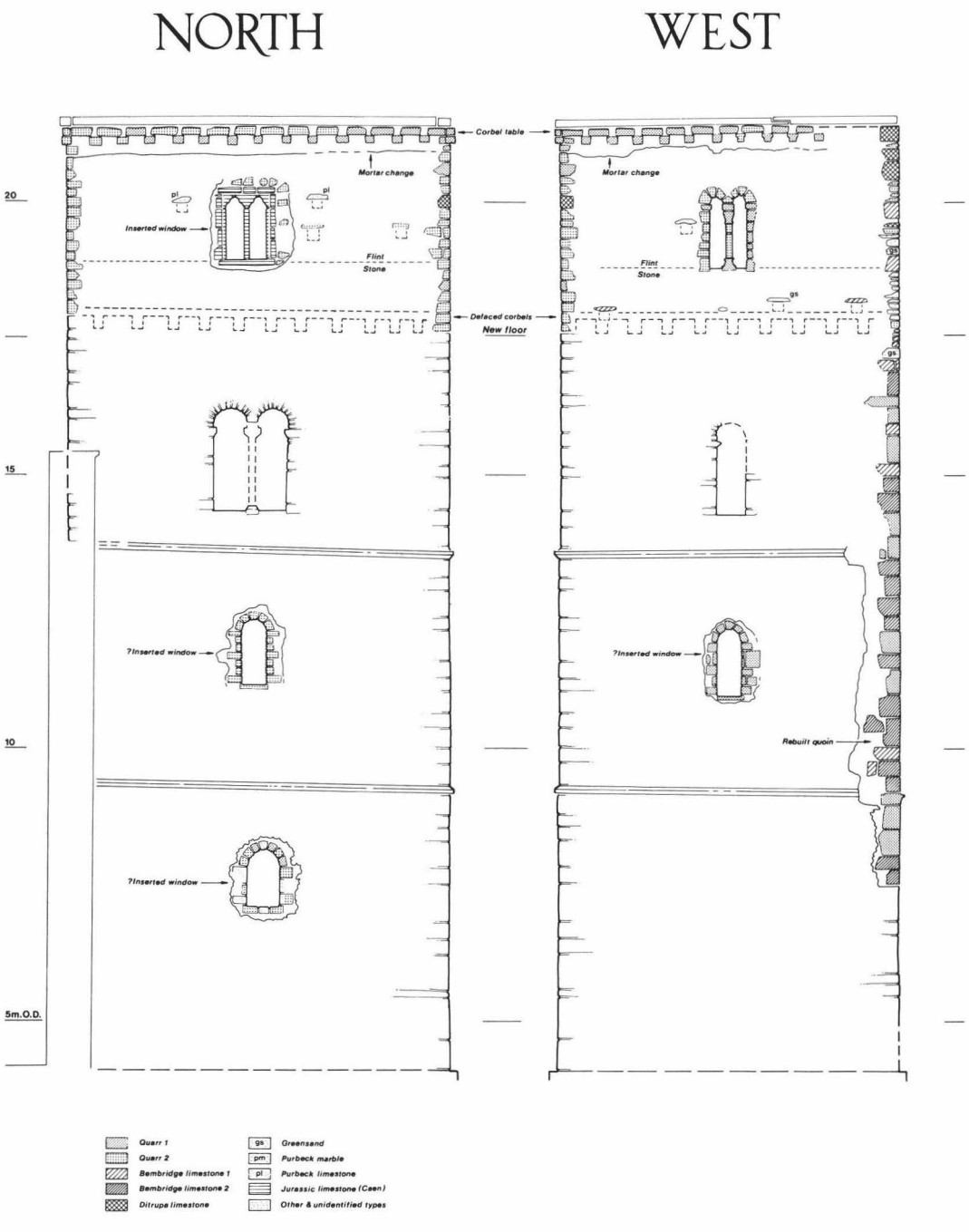

Fig. 7. The north and west elevations of the tower showing in detail the post-Conquest (Period 2) and later features.

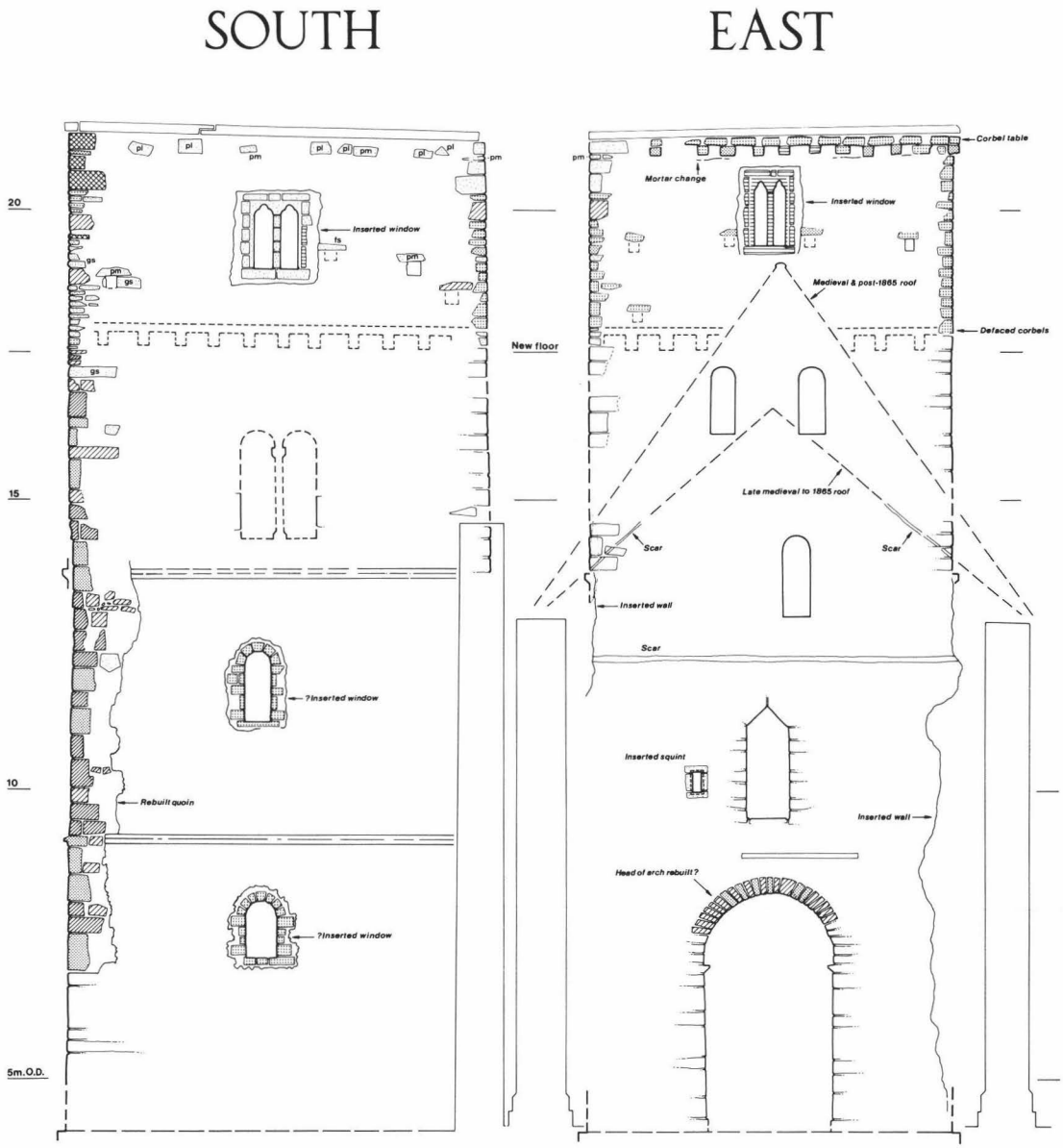

Fig. 8. The south and east elevations of the tower showing in detail the post-conquest (Period 2) and later features. (For key see figure 7).

seems to incorporate the new corbel table though the difference was not observed internally. The significance of this mortar change is not easy to determine but it could mean either that the corbel table was an afterthought or, more likely, that it has been re-set at a later date. Traces of a number of contemporary *put-log holes* are distinguishable in the fabric though their pattern is confused by later insertions using Purbeck marble (Period 4) and, more recently, brick.

Only one complete *belfry window* survives from this period of alteration and this is set in the middle of the west wall. It is a double round-headed opening with mid-wall shaft, all built of Quarr 1 & 2, except for a through-stone slab of greensand. The mid-wall shaft is cylindrical, with a capital in the form of a chamfered cubic and a distinctive base with a hollow between a thin upper and a rather thicker lower roll, standing on a square plinth. There are traces of the former existence of other windows of the same type in the east and north elevations. That in the east wall survives in the form of two large *in situ* stones, 64 cms apart, on the internal elevation which may originally have formed the lowest course of the jambs of a window of similar dimensions to that in the east wall. In the north wall are several re-used stones, including a column or shaft fragment and two voussoir stones, used externally as fill around the inserted Period 4 window, and these may derive from a window in this or another wall.

The *corbel table*, which has been removed on the south elevation and at the south-west and south-east corners, comprises a series of finely carved corbels and flat stones, with curved recesses, on which the roof was supported. No evidence was seen to indicate the original form of the roof. The carved corbels, scarcely mentioned by previous writers, deserve special mention since, together with the one surviving belfry window, they provide the only dating evidence for this phase of construction. The carvings comprise a mixture of geometric designs and faces, mostly human but possibly with one or two animals included. In three cases (Figs 1 & 2 E10, N10 & N13) they are carved with double human heads and at the north-east and north-west corners there are on each three human heads. Two on the east elevation (Fig. 2 E5 & E6) appear to be of Caen stone but the remainder are of Quarr stone. Their nearest parallel locally appears to be the series on the external elevations of the aisles of the nave and presbytery of Chichester Cathedral, though many of these are now only visible in the roof spaces above the later chapels which adjoin them. They appear to belong to the first phase of construction of the cathedral for which the earliest recorded date is a dedication of 1108. The commencement of this work is usually attributed to Bishop Ralph Luffa who was elected to the See in 1090 or 1091, but Gem (1981) has argued on stylistic and comparative grounds for a commencement date for the earliest works of not later than the 1070s or 1080s.

The form of the remaining belfry window in the west elevation would also appear to suggest an early post-Conquest date for the addition of the new belfry so a date of between *c.* 1080 and *c.* 1110 would seem likely for the belfry addition. The church was evidently very wealthy and considered of great importance at the time of Domesday Book. It was granted to the Bishop of Exeter in the time of King Edward and confirmed in his possession by William in 1086. Macdermott (1906, 15–16) has suggested that Bishop Warlewaste, Bishop of Exeter from 1107 to 1137, whose dowry included Bosham, was responsible for many alterations and additions to the church and it is possible that the new belfry can be ascribed to him although a date bracket of 1107–1137 is probably too late for the window capital. Richard Gem has suggested to me that in his view the addition to the tower is probably the same date as the insertion of the chancel arch and the eastward extension of the chancel, works which he regards as falling in the period of Osbern as Bishop of Exeter (1072–1107).

The five *round-headed windows* in the north and south elevations at first stage level and the north, south and west elevations at second stage

level may have been inserted but are more likely only re-built externally at this time.

Period 3

At some stage after the tower had been heightened the *south-west quoin* was rebuilt from a little above present ground level to the eaves. The limit of this repair is readily distinguishable up to the level of the second string course but above this it spreads across the west and south elevations.

It is difficult to ascribe a date to this work either on stratigraphic or architectural grounds. The material used in its construction includes re-used blocks of Quarr 1, Bembridge limestone 1, and *Ditrupa* limestone, but it also contains quantities of a re-used soft yellow stone not seen elsewhere in the tower. The original source for this stone will be discussed later but it is perhaps sufficient here to suggest that it may derive from an outcrop of soft limestone on the Isle of Wight henceforth referred to as Bembridge limestone 2.

Period 4—Late Medieval and probably 15th century

To this phase of construction belong the insertion of three two-light trefoil-headed windows in the north, south and east elevations of the upper, belfry, stage. They are made from a yellow-grey limestone, probably Caen stone, that on the south elevation having been mostly rebuilt comparatively recently in a fine-grained Bath stone. These windows can be ascribed to a late medieval period and probably belong to the middle of the 15th century to which date the timber framing of the present spire perhaps belongs. Both Dallaway (1815, 94) and Macdermott (1906, 20) referred to fire damage caused to the spire by lightning on 14 January 1683 but this does not appear to have been serious.

Immediately adjoining the pre-Conquest triangular-headed doorway in the east wall is a small square window with its head, sill and jambs each cut from a single piece of stone, and with a rebate for a shutter on the nave side. Peckham (1953) suggested that this may have been a *squint* for the ringer of the Sanctus bell.

The insertion of a large number of put-log holes in the upper two stages, many built of or filled with bricks, probably relate to the repairs undertaken in the early part of the present century, but in addition to these are a small number of *put-log holes* and other repairs using Purbeck stone and Purbeck marble and these probably date to this period. The absence of contemporary put-log holes lower down in the tower probably indicates that the scaffolding was hung from the tops of the walls. Its purpose was, perhaps, to facilitate the insertion of the new windows and the erection of a new spire.

It is perhaps worth noting here that Macdermott (1906, 20–21) mentioned a proposal in about 1839 to raise the height of the tower by about 12 feet finishing with a parapet cornice and battlements but this work was never carried out.

THE STONE

The range of types of stone used in the construction of the tower is unusually wide for churches in Sussex and requires further discussion but it should be noted that because of the adhering mortar and lichen growth some of the identifications should be regarded as tentative whilst some of the stone has defied identification.

Quarr stone

The source of this shelly Oligocene (Tertiary) limestone, sometimes referred to as 'featherbed stone', to the west of Ryde on the Isle of Wight, has been described by White (1921), Anderson and Quirk (1964), and Tomalin (1987). The stone appears to have been used at Bosham from pre-Conquest times through at least until well into the 12th century. In pre-Conquest contexts in West Sussex it usually contains large fossil shells and is frequently found, as recently at Sompting (Aldsworth and Harris 1988), and Singleton (Aldsworth 1989), in large blocks. However, at Bosham there is a clear

distinction between this material and much of that found in later contexts associated with the addition of a new belfry stage in *c.* 1100. In later contexts the fossil shells are frequently much smaller and consequently the stone has a finer appearance. The blocks of stone used in later contexts are also smaller and these two features together help to distinguish between the first two phases of construction. It seems likely that despite the limited extent of the outcrop of the stone two different quarries were operating during the time that the tower was built and then heightened. If this difference in shell and block size can be observed in closely dateable contexts elsewhere it may eventually be possible to ascribe closer dates to structures built within the period from the pre-Conquest period through to the 12th century.

In this paper the two types are referred to as *Quarr 1* for the stone with large shells and *Quarr 2* for the stone with small shells. As will be seen in the figures Quarr 1 is found in Period 1 and later contexts whereas Quarr 2 is only found in Period 2 and later contexts.

Bembridge limestone

This parchment-coloured Tertiary limestone is exposed in many places on the Isle of Wight and in particular as a wave cut platform at Bembridge and in a series of small pits and coastal sections elsewhere (Daley and Insole 1984). It is distinguished by the inclusion of fossil gastropod casts, as well as by smaller perforations many of which can be seen to be moulds of *Chara nucales*, which give it the appearance of having been attacked by woodworm. The quarrying of this material for querns is known in the 1st century B.C. and it was used for building purposes in the 1st century A.D. at Fishbourne Roman Palace.

The material is sometimes referred to as *Binstead stone*, partly to distinguish it from Quarr stone which is part of the same geological formation and partly because it is thought to have originally been quarried at Binstead. Having personally examined many exposures of Bembridge Limestone on the island the writer is convinced that the layman will have difficulty distinguishing the precise locations from where this material has been quarried. What is particularly noticeable about much of the Bosham material, however, is the large number of pieces which contain larger mollusc holes and some of these may be more recent in origin deriving from the boring of the stone by marine molluscs during prolonged exposure on the beach, an activity which is still occurring at Bembridge. Bembridge limestone is found mostly in pre-Conquest building work at Bosham and in this paper it is referred to as *Bembridge limestone 1* when found in this context.

The Period 3 repair in the south-west quoin includes a variety of stone not seen elsewhere in the tower. It is yellow in colour and is reported by Mr Worssam to be very fine-grained (particles 0.1 mm. or less), with numerous 0.2 mm. and some larger (0.3 to 0.6 mm.) performations as well as some possible gastropod casts. It has a freshwater, Tertiary, appearance, although rather softer than is usual for Bembridge limestone, with the blocks having a tendency to break up at the corners. It has tentatively been identified as Bembridge limestone and in this paper it is called *Bembridge limestone 2.*

Sandstone

There are two large blocks of a ferruginous sandstone in the upper part of the north-west quoin, a large slab of Lower Greensand low down in the south-west quoin and a few other pieces of the same material elsewhere. The precise source for this material have not been identified but it is likely to derive from quarries in West Sussex or on the Isle of Wight.

Ditrupa limestone

The use of limestone from the Calcaire Grossier (Tertiary) formation of the Paris Basin as a building stone in Roman and Anglo-Saxon contexts in south-east England has only recently been recognised (Worssam & Tatton-Brown *in*

press). In West Sussex, the stone was used for some of the columns of Fishbourne Roman Palace and for the 10th-century cross fragment at Pagham described by Tweddle (1980). Its use at Bosham represents an addition to its hitherto known range.

The stone at Bosham is a fine-grained (0.2 mm. particles), porous, whitish to pale brownish grey foraminiferal limestone, with abundant tubes of the marine worm *Ditrupa*. It is used in the jambs of the pre-Conquest (Period 1) belfry windows in the west and south elevations and in later repairs elsewhere, and it may be this material that is used with chalk to form the heads of the north-belfry window. A small re-used block in the outer surface of the south wall of the 13th-century south aisle of the church, under the more westerly of two double-lancet windows, is perhaps the only piece of the stone currently accessible from ground level.

Chalk

The original corbel table is built entirely from chalk. The material is not used a great deal externally in Sussex churches, though it has an extensive outcrop throughout the South Downs. The horizon of the chalk used at Bosham is not known.

Jurassic limestone

There are several pieces of Caen stone used for the Period 2 corbels and the fine-grained yellow-grey Jurassic limestone used in the late-medieval (Period 4) inserted windows in the top of the tower is probably also from the same source. At the top of the south-east quoin there are three blocks of a non-oolitic, quite coarse, detrital-shell limestone, with echinoid fragments. They are also presumably Jurassic but their precise source is unknown.

Purbeck stone and Purbeck marble

These types of stone occur only in comparatively late contexts, for the heads of put-log holes which are probably 15th century insertions, for repairs at the very top of the tower, and for internal corbels.

Acknowledgements

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Author: F. G. Aldsworth, 124 Whyke Road, Chichester, West Sussex PO19 2JG.

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Sussex Archaeological Collections **128** (1990), 73–87

THREE LIME BURNING PITS, CHURCH STREET, EASTBOURNE

by Lawrence Stevens

This is the first of several papers relating to excavations carried out by the Eastbourne Natural History and Archaeological Society between 1977 and 1984, during which time two major sites in Old Town, Eastbourne were excavated—at Church Street and the Star Brewery site (now Safeways). The excavations were part of the Eastbourne Urban Medieval Excavation Project, carried out under the direction of the writer and initially intended to throw light on the nucleus of medieval Borne and provide a pottery sequence for that period.

The Church Street excavation was carried out as a rescue excavation in advance of road widening (Stevens 1978) and eventually covered 4,000 sq. metres of urban area. Under discussion here are three pits considered to have been associated with limeburning, one of which was securely dated to the 12th century.

LOCATION

The urban nucleus of medieval Borne (Eastbourne) is situated on a chalk spur at the eastern end of the Sussex downs, which end to the west of the town at Beachy Head (Fig. 1a). This chalk spur drops to the east to give way to the marshland of the Willingdon Levels. Medieval Borne was centred around the church on the south of the valley of the Bourne Stream and adjacent to a long established road crossing. These two old highways were the route to Willingdon from the south of the town (now blocked) and the way to Seaford, now the A259.

The excavation area (NGR TV 59799941) was situated on the south side of the A259 opposite St Mary's parish church on an area cleared for road widening and known to have been the site of the medieval vicarage and the Jesus House, the edifice of the Brotherhood of Jesus (Fig. 1b). The pits under discussion, namely features 391, 394 and 395, were situated under the northern boundary walls of what had been the street frontage of 29 and 31 Church Street, and extended both into their gardens and under the old pavement (Fig. 1c). As a result of road-widening the site is now under the new road and pavement fronting what is now Church Mews, 23, Church Street and the garages to the east.

The southern edges of pits 394 and 395 were partly overlaid by the foundations of a wall, feature 398, which was almost certainly post-medieval and was constructed of flint boulders and greensand, with some pottery sherds of medieval date in the fill.

METHOD OF EXCAVATION

Because of the proximity of the pits to the public highway, it was impossible to excavate the pits totally and the extent of the sections exposed were controlled by the physical restrictions of excavating in a relatively deep yet small area, coupled with the friable nature of the fill.

Initially, in all cases, only a small segment of each pit was available for examination (Fig. 1c), and in the case of 394 and 395 only a part of the segments was excavated. Loose fill was encountered during the work on pit 391 to the

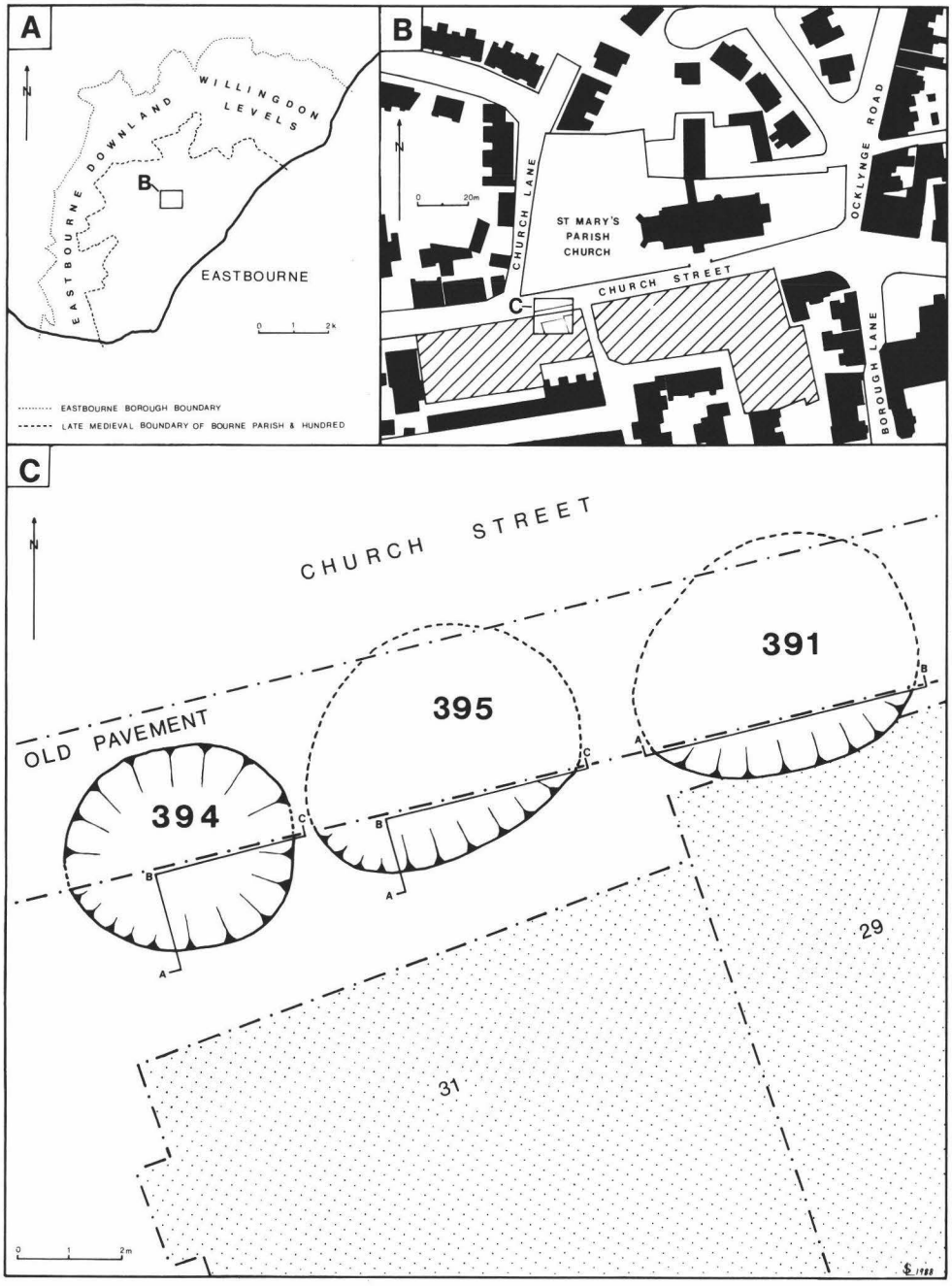

Fig. 1. Location and site plans. (a) Eastbourne area showing the excavation area B and its relation to both late-medieval and modern political boundaries. (b) Plan showing the area excavated by the Eastbourne Urban Medieval Excavation Project (shaded) and the site area under discussion marked C. (c) Plan showing the position of Pits 391, 394 and 395 and their section lines.

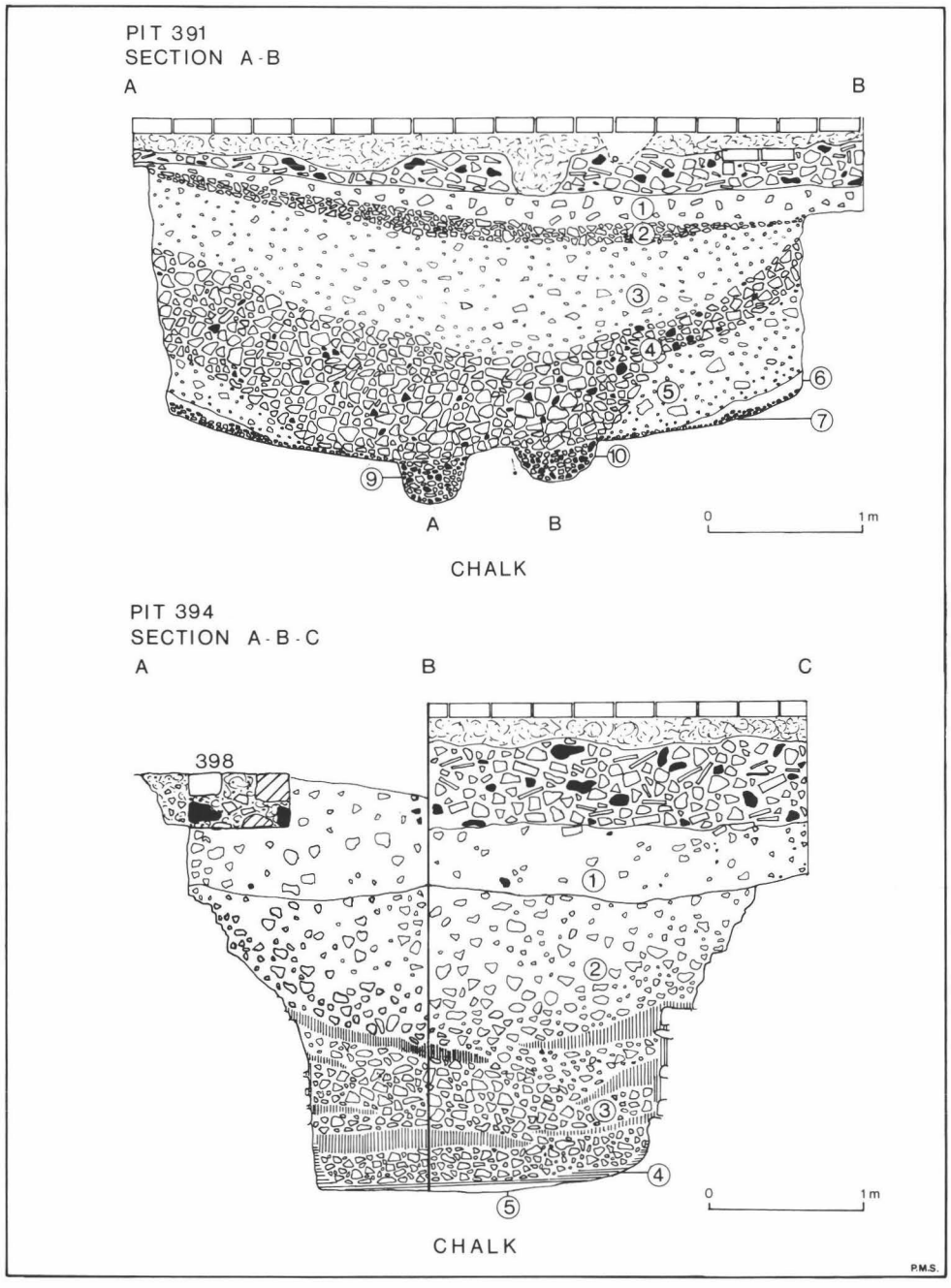

Fig. 2. Section drawing of Pits 391 and 394.

extent that the work was completed by mechanical digger and shored-up using shuttering boards and acrow props. The sections of the other two pits were also constantly being vibrated and loosened by the heavy traffic passing along the road only a metre or so away. These initial excavations were carried out during 1983 but in 1984, when the new road was being constructed, the opportunity was taken to examine the previously unexcavated position of pit 394.

DESCRIPTIONS

Pit 391 (Fig. 2)

*Sample sent for analysis.

Layers: 1 Dark brown soil with some chalk fragments, containing pottery and mollusca
2 Loose chalk fragments with soil from Layer 1
3 Yellow/grey silty fill with chalk and mollusca
4 Very loose layer of multi-sized chalk fragments, some of which had been burnt
5 Fine chalk layer slightly clayey and grey, with some large chalk lumps
6* (sample 9) Chalk fragments with a form of puddled chalk forming a calcareous concretion
7* (sample 10) Layer of ash with burnt chalk fragments
8* (sample 11) Floor of calcareous concretion with ash and burnt clay
9* (sample 12) Ash layer in channel A
10* (sample 13) Ash layer in channel B

The exposed portion of pit 391 which was steep sided, measured approximately 4.5 metres east-west and 2.05 metres north-south and 1.4 metres deep and had been cut into natural chalk. In the floor were what appeared to be the ends of two channels cut into the chalk and lettered A

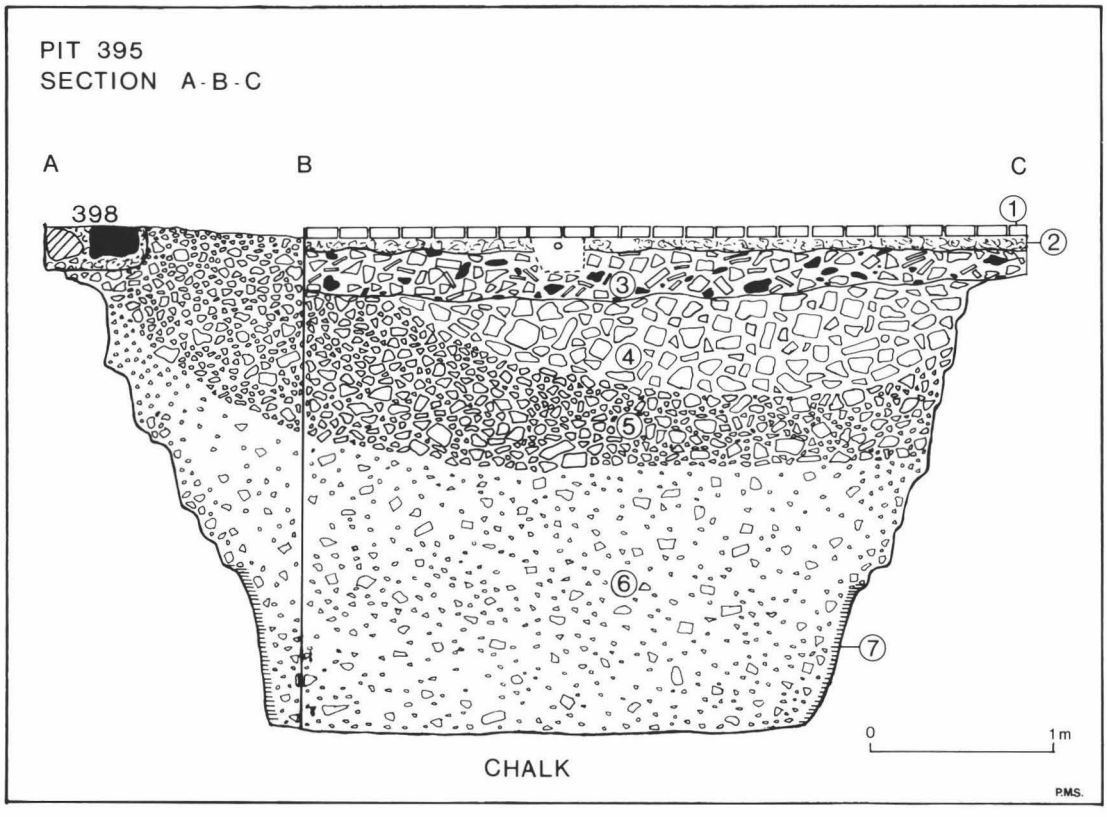

Fig. 3. Section drawing of Pit 395.

and B (Fig. 2). A measured 0.45 metre wide and 0.26 metre deep and its floor sloped downwards to the north. B measured 0.55 metre wide and 0.20 metre deep and its floor also sloped downwards to the north, but at a steeper angle. Both channels had ash on their floors and their chalk sides were grey. Above the pit floor, which was also discoloured grey, there was a layer of loose ash in which there were lumps of ash (layer 7). Overlaying this ash layer and extending as a scree for nearly a metre from the side of the pit was a deposit of calcareous concretions around small lumps of chalk (layer 6). Above these lower layers were several loosely packed layers (1–5), composed of chalk fragments, many of which appeared to have been heated.

Pit 394 (Fig. 2)

Layers: A Chalk and mortar fill associated with modern boundary wall
1 Grey/Yellow clayish fill with chalk lumps
2 Grey/chalky/clayey fill with larger and more numerous chalk lumps
2A* (sample 5) Lens of black chalky material with mollusca (in 1984 section–not shown)
3 Loosely packed chalk in grey clayey fill with lenses of red burnt clay
4 Puddled chalk type lining of the pit sides behind which there are traces of burning and blackened material
5* (sample 7) Black ash layer containing fragments of burnt wood
6* (sample 6 & 8) Burnt clay on side of pit

In 1981 the edge of the exposed portion of the pit measured 4.1 metres east-west and 1.85 metres north-south, of which only approximately half was excavated (Fig. 1c). The sides of the 2.4 metres deep pit were steep and the lower metre of its sides were almost vertical. Clay in a plastic state had been pushed into the cavities of the uneven chalk side, thus providing a smooth lining. The clay had been reddened by heat and lenses of the material showing in the section suggested that the pit may have been lined higher up, but had crumbled and fallen in. The floor was covered with a black ash layer of calcareous concretion which at first was thought to have been puddled clay, but on closer examination, the structure seemed more akin to tufa and may represent some form of product during lime burning. Layers 1–3 are similar in that they are composed of varying sizes of loosely packed chalk, much of which is of a grey colour and had probably been heated. These layers also contained zoological material and pottery.

The burnt clay on the side of the pit (layer 6) was subjected to archaeomagnetic analysis by Anthony Clark, late of the Ancient Monuments Laboratory, who reported that the material was very good and gave a date of 1170 ± 25 at the 68 per cent level of confidence.

Subsequently, in 1984, the pit was further examined when the new road was being built and the opportunity was taken to examine the northern side of the pit and take pottery sherd and associated soil samples for thermo-luminescence dating (samples 1–4). In the event, these were not used, but during the excavation of the trench the fill collapsed with the result that the northern extent of the pit was revealed.

Pit 395 (Fig. 3)

Layers: 1 Brick pavement
2 Concrete
3 Modern levelling rubble
4 Loosely packed large chalk fragments in grey/brown soil
5 Loosely packed medium and small chalk fragments some of which had been burnt and were pinky-grey in colour
6 Small and tiny chalk fragments in yellow/browny grey clayey soil with fragments of puddled chalk and tiny fragments of wood
7* (sample 14) Puddled chalk type material
8* (sample 15 & 16) conglomerated chalk, flint, etc.

The available area for excavation of pit 395 was limited to a segment 5 metres east-west and 1.06 metres north-south. Only a portion of this area was excavated and the floor of the pit was examined by an even smaller excavation because there was little room for shuttering and the fill was exceedingly loose and was constantly falling-in due to the traffic vibrations.

The pit was 2.6 metres deep and may have been the largest of the three. The lower 1 metre of the exposed side was covered with what appeared to have been puddled chalk and is a residue of the

lime-burning process. On the floor (layer 8), there was a mass of greyish chalk lumps and calcined flint conglomerated in a calcine matrix in which there were also fragments of oyster, animal bone and medieval pottery. Layers 4–6 consisted of variations of loose chalk fragments, some of which were grey, while others were pink, together with fragments of burnt wood. The remaining three layers consisted of modern chalk rubble, concrete and the brick pavement.

THE FINDS

The finds are deposited at the Eastbourne Local History Museum, Towner Art Gallery, Borough Lane, Eastbourne.

Stone

Feature 394/1 Whetstone—fragment of dark, brownish-grey, finely bedded quartzose sandstone. The most local source being the lower cretaceous rocks of the Weald, or a waterworn pebble. I am indebted to Mr R. W. Sanderson of the Geological Museum for this identification.

395 Six small fragments of Eastbourne greensand

Flint

Feature 391/2 Four small flakes (? one with secondary working)

394/1 One struck flake

394/2 Eleven struck flakes

394/3 One flake (with evidence of percussion on bulbar end)

395 Eight flakes

395 Two flint pebbles

The chalk (R. W. Sanderson)

Samples from all three pits were examined and all were slightly brittle, fine grained pale grey limestones. None appeared to have been burnt as unaltered shell fragments were present. The material is undoubtedly chalk and the greyish colour indicating a degree of impurity–probably in the form of clay minerals. This and their general appearance suggests that this material is derived from the Lower Chalk horizons. As the pits themselves are cut into Lower Chalk, there is no reason to suggest that the material was brought from any great distance, indeed a few hundred metres to the west on East Dean hill, the Middle Chalk is easily encountered and into this there is cut a modern chalk pit.

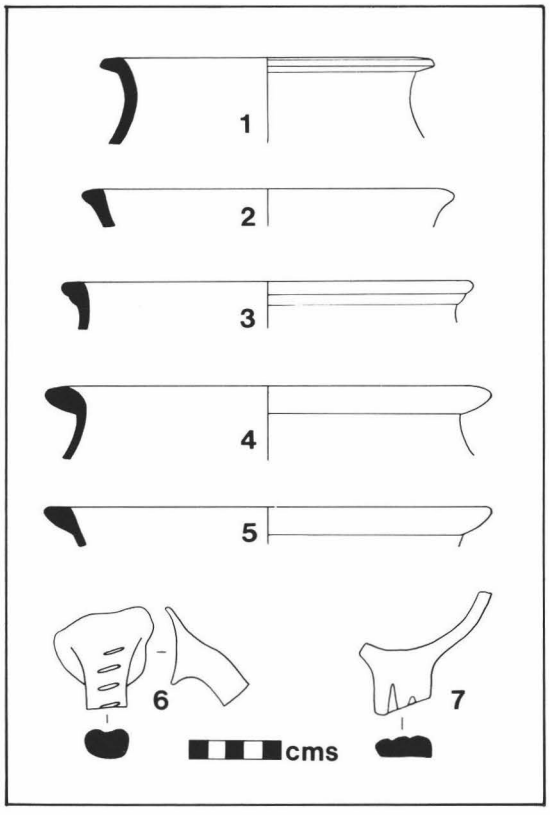

Fig. 4. Medieval pottery, nos. 1–7 (drawn by J. Dove).

Analysis of lime residue from the pits (J. Evans)

Each sample was initially inspected under a low power microscope and then subjected to a range of chemical tests with special reference to detect the presence of calcium carbonate and calcium hydroxide (slaked lime). This latter compound is particularly relevant to the lime production question as it represents hydrated lime. It would be highly unlikely that the initial product of lime production, namely calcium oxide (quick lime) would survive the prevailing environmental conditions.

The burning and subsequent processes can be summarised as follows:

	$CaCO_3$ Calcium carbonate (chalk, limestone, shell, etc.)	– heat in kiln –	CaO Calcium oxide (quick lime)	+	CO_2 ↑ Carbon dioxide (a gas – escapes to atmosphere)
then	$CaO + H_2O$ water from environment	——	Ca (OH) 2 Calcium hydroxide slaked lime		
then	$Ca(OH)2 + CO_2$ from atmosphere	——	$CaCO_3 + H_2O$ 're-carbonated lime'		

Results from the investigation are summarised in the following table:

FEATURE		LAYER	
391	(bag 9)	6	burnt chalk, recarbonated lime, traces of slaked lime and charcoal
	(bag 10)	7	chalk fragments, recarbonated lime, slaked lime
	(bag 11)	8	burnt clay, recarbonated material
	(bag 12)	Sample A	lumps of chalk, no signs of burning
	(bag 13)	Sample B	As sample A
394	(bag 5)	2A	shell fragments, chalk fragments
	(bags 6 & 8) (2 samples)	6	burnt clay, recarbonated lime
	(bag 7)	5	burnt chalk fragments, carbonated lime
395	(bag 14)	7	chalk, burnt chalk, recarbonated lime, slaked lime
	(bag 15)	8	chalk, recarbonated lime, some charcoal

When wood is burnt in a kiln or similar structure, the resulting ash may well contain calcium oxide and consequently the presence of burnt clay, charcoal and recarbonated lime would not be unexpected. However, in the present situation the additional presence of substantial amounts of burnt chalk and slaked lime is strongly indicative that the recarbonated material detected here is reflective of lime burning.

CALCINED FLINT

Feature/layer	Number of fragments	Weight Kg
Above Wall in F.391	2	0.0585
391/1	4	0.075
391/2	42	0.920
394/1	2	0.019
394/2	12	0.1353
395	90	1.0077

Brick

Feature 394/1	Six small fragments of red brick
398	Fragments of vitrified brick

Tile – Roof

Feature 394/1	Fragment of fully oxidised clay roof tile 13 mm. thick
395	Two fragments of clay roof tile 17 mm. thick

Tile – Floor

Feature 395	? Floor tile fragment 37 mm. thick

The pottery (J. Dove)

A total of 94 sherds, weighing 726 gm. were recovered from the three features, F.391, F.394 and F.395. The sherds were carefully examined and the number of sherds tabulated against the most probable period of manufacture. References for Roman and Iron Age pottery were taken from Young (1977) and Hodson (1962) respectively, while the reference sources for the later fabrics were Down (1978) and Allen (1984).

Feature	Period		Wt.gm.	Rims	Bases	Handles	Other
391/1	Medieval 12/13th C	Coarse fabric tempered with numerous flint quartz	105	1	–	–	17
	Medieval 13/14th C	Medium sand tempered fabric	5	–	–	–	2
391/2	Late Bronze Age	Coarse fabric tempered with calcined flint	30	–	–	–	2
	Romano British	East Sussex ware	10	1	–	–	–
		Oxford Parchment ware	9	–	–	–	1
	Medieval 12/13th C	Coarse fabric tempered with numerous flint quartz	40	–	1	–	8
394/1	Iron Age	Similar to pottery from Green St. E/B	5	–	–	–	1
	Medieval 12/13th C	Coarse fabric tempered with numerous flint quartz	10	–	–	–	1
	16/17th C	Hard fine reddish fabric	80	1	–	1	–
	16/17th C	Frechen Salt-Glazed stoneware	10	1	–	–	–
394/2	Medieval 12/13th C	Coarse fabric tempered with numerous flint quartz	42	1	–	–	4
394/3	Medieval 12/13th C	Coarse fabric tempered with numerous flint quartz	18	1	–	–	1
395	Iron Age	Similar to pottery from Green St. E/B	9	–	–	–	3
	Romano-British	East Sussex ware	3	–	–	–	2
	Medieval 12th C	Coarse fabric tempered with flint quartz and chalk	55	1	–	–	–
	Medieval 12/13th C	Coarse fabric tempered with numerous flint quartz	190	3	1	–	33
	Medieval 13/14th C	Sand tempered fabric	20	–	–	–	2
		Sand tempered green glaze	85	–	–	1	3

Illustrated Pottery (Fig. 4)

1. Rim from cooking pot tempered with numerous flint quartz up to 2 mm. Grey core with red surfaces.
   F.395 12/13th century
2. Rim from bowl tempered with numerous flint quartz up to 1.5 mm.
   Grey core with red surfaces
   F.394/3 12/13th century
3. Rim from cooking pot tempered with numerous flint quartz up to 1.5 mm. Grey core with black outer surfaces.
   F.391/1 12/13th century
4. Rim from cooking pot coarse fabric tempered with flint quartz up to 3 mm. and sparse chalk
   F.395 12th century
5. Rim from bowl tempered with numerous flint quartz up to 1.5 mm.
   Grey core with patchy red/black surfaces
   F.394/2 12/13th century
6. Handle from jug with deep slashings, sand tempered.
   Grey core with red surfaces and patchy green glaze
   F.395 13/14th century
7. Handle and rim from jug. Hard well fired fabric tempered with fine sand. Red core and surfaces
   F.391/1 15/16th century

The following table correlates the distribution of sherds over the three features.

PERIOD	F.391		F.394			F.395
	Layer 1	Layer 2	Layer 1	Layer 2	Layer 3	
Late Bronze Age	–	2 30 gm	–	–	–	–
Iron Age	–	–	1 5 gm	–	–	3 9 gm
Romano British	–	2 19 gm	–	–	–	2 3 gm
Medieval 12th C	–	–	–	–	–	1 55 gm
Medieval 12/13th C	1'8 105 gm	9 40 gm	1 10 gm	5 42 gm	2 18 gm	37 190 gm
Medieval 13/14th C	2 5 gm	–	–	–	–	6 105 gm
16/17th C	–	–	3 90 gm	–	–	–

Summary

Since the Romano-British and earlier sherds were found together with medieval pottery, it must be concluded that they were residual. Most show signs of weathering, suggesting that this process had occurred before burial.

Pottery of the 12/13th century was present in all three features and of the same fabric. These sherds may be contemporary. However, this could not be proved, since none could be fitted together. The later pottery, which was present in features 391 and 394, occurred only in the upper layers. A 12th century date is therefore suggested for these two features.

The lack of stratification in feature 395 and the presence of 13/14th century pottery, tends to suggest a slightly later date for this feature.

Wood

Feature 394/2A	(excavated 1984) Fragments of charcoal identified as Quercus sp. (oak) (J. Ede)
395	Fragment of charcoal identified as Fagus sp. (beech) (C. Cartwright)

The animal bones (P. M. Stevens)

Pit 391 contained three layers, viz. 391/1 and 391/2 with a layer 391/A; containing Cattle (*Bos* sp.); Sheep/Goat (*Ovicaprid*); Domestic fowl (*Gallus* sp.); and Frog (*Rana* sp.). In all a total of 24 bones was recovered.

Layer 391/1 contained five sheep/goat fragments including tibia, mandible, horn core and limb fragment, together with one single upper molar. Also two domestic fowl bones—humerus and tibiotarsus fragment.

Layer 391/2 contained nine fragments, including four cattle fragments, two longbone fragments, one ilium fragment and one complete navicular cuboid. Sheep/goat remains included one distal humerus fragment together with two longbone and two skull fragments.

Layer 391/A contained eight frog bones and fragments, probably all from the same frog.

There is little to note from these bones apart from some butchery chops and slight dog gnawing on some fragments. Apart from the remains of the frog, the bones appear to represent a small accumulation of domestic rubbish.

Construction Trench for Wall – F.398

Three bone fragments were recovered from this construction trench. Of these, one was a midshaft fragment of cattle tibia—heavily

butchered, and two sheep/goat size rib fragments.

Feature 394

The bones collected from F.394 total 62 fragments, recovered from two layers, 1 and 3. The species represented are cattle, sheep/goat, and dog (*Canis* sp.).

Layer 1.

This layer contained 16 bones, of which there were four cattle bones, four sheep/goat bones and eight dog bones. The cattle bones included scapula fragments, calcaneum and hyoid and one midshaft fragment of a juvenile tibia. The sheep/goat remains included two limb bone fragments and one rib fragment, together with one first phalange. The dog remains included four rib fragments, three scapula fragments and one lumbar vertebrae.

Layer 3.

This layer contained 36 bone fragments of which 13 were from cattle, four from sheep/goat and 19 from dog. The cattle bones included one calcaneum, four rib fragments, one juvenile ischium fragment, one limb bone fragment and six unidentifiable fragments. The sheep/goat fragments include one limb bone fragment, one vertebral fragment, one patella and one thoracic vertebrae which was dog gnawed. The dog remains form the largest group from this layer and include metapodials, a fragment of femur, seven rib fragments and six vertebral fragments including one lumbar vertebrae with ventral exotoses and lipping which would presumably have caused some fusion of the joint between two vertebrae. The broken mandible from this layer gives little indication of the age or size of the animal apart from the fact that the teeth are permanent.

Again, little can be said about this material, apart from the fact that it is most likely that it may have been collected from the immediate area when the pit was being infilled. There is no butchery evidence on any of the bones and only one shows signs of dog gnawing.

Feature 395

The bones collected from F.395, total 83 fragments and are represented by cattle; sheep/goat; pig; domestic fowl, cat (*Fellis* sp.); dog and fish (prob. *Gadus* sp.).

The cattle bones only produced six fragments (7 per cent) and included distal humerus, with butchered midshaft; two vertebral and two longbone and one skull fragment. Sheep/goat are represented by 55 fragments (66.2 per cent) and include skull, rib and vertebral fragments, scapula and metacarpal fragments, together with a butchered sacrum fragment, three upper molars, one upper pre-molar all worn, as well as a broken left jaw with M2 and M3 both well worn, with several longbone fragments and some unidentifiable fragments. Pig is represented by seven fragments (8.4 per cent), which include scapula, ulna and metatarsal fragments, two loose teeth and a jaw fragment with pm4, M1 and M2 present and worn, with M3 visible in crypt. Cat is represented by 10 (12 per cent) unfused fragments and a juvenile maxilla fragment. Those bones represented are scapula, radius and ulna, humerus, tibia and femur, together with two metapodials and vertebrae. Dog is represented by a complete

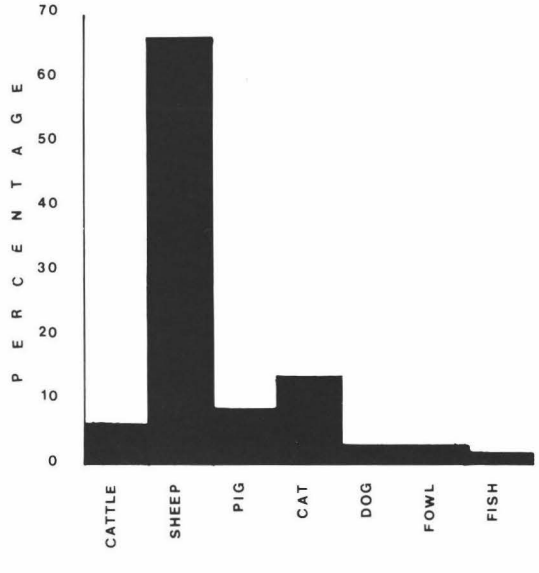

Fig. 5. Histogram showing percentage of species from Pit 395.

astragalus and calcaneum (Collie size) and represent 2.4 per cent of the total. Domestic fowl (2.4 per cent) is represented by two radius fragments and fish by (1.2 per cent) by a branchiostegal fragment (Fig. 5).

There is nothing remarkable about the bone representation from this feature. The remains would appear to be a general accumulation of domestic rubbish, with some butchery evidence—mainly chop marks and also some dog gnawing on a few fragments. Taken in isolation, it may seem odd to recover a few cat and dog bones from this pit—but if the site is looked at as a whole—it can be seen that it would be more odd if none were found. Large numbers of each have been recovered from features of all periods throughout the site.

Mollusca (Dr D. Adams)

With the exception of Helix aspersa, all the shells from Features 391 and 395, are marine and can be found in the intertidal zone or at the low water mark. It was noted that they probably represent the waste of a marine food source for, with the exception of Nassarius reticulatus, all are edible and are commonly eaten.

That the assemblage is consistent with the rubbish from molluscs collected for food is further supported by the total absence of juveniles, suggesting that the individuals had been harvested. There are no shells present that could not have been collected locally. It is interesting to note that two species of limpet are present, but that this may just represent two varieties of vulgata, for mixed populations of aspera and vulgata are known to occur.

Feature	No. present		Weight
Feature 391/1			
Ostrea edulis	1	fragment	2.5 g
Patella vulgata	5	fragments inc. 2 apices	2.5 g
Mytilus edulis	26	apical fragments	14.6 g
		very small fragments	11.1 g
Feature 391/2			
Ostrea edulis	5	upper valves	67.0 g
	2	fragments	7.8 g
Patella vulgata	6	shells	7.3 g
(rough ribbed)	2	fragments inc. 1 apex	0.6 g
Patella aspera (poss.)	3	shells	6.8 g
(smooth ribbed)	2	fragments inc. 1 apex	2.9 g
Mytilus edulis	1	valve	1.9 g
	96	apical fragments	63.1 g
		very small fragments	43.5 g
Feature 394/3			
Ostrea edulis	1	valve	28.0 g
Feature 395			
Ostrea edulis	1	valve (upper)	3.3 g
	5	fragments	7.9 g
Helix aspersa	2	shells	6.7 g
	4	fragments	0.5 g
Nassarius reticulatus	1	shell	1.3 g
Buccinium undatum	1	shell	3.5 g
Littorina littorea	4	shells	18.3 g
Patella vulgata	2	shells	2.5 g
	1	apex fragment	1.5 g
	6	fragments	3.9 g
Patella aspera	3	shells	7.1 g
	1	fragment	1.3 g
Mytilus edulis	125	apical fragments	84.6 g
		fragments	131.5 g

CONCLUSION

The three pits were clearly limeburning pits of the flue-less intermittent type, that is, they were not continuously fuelled and topped-up with limestone as the fire burnt upwards, but were only capable of a single firing, after which the burnt limestone would have been removed before the pit was recharged with more fuel and chalk ready for the next firing. A more detailed description of limeburning will be found in the history of the Amberley chalk pits (Aldsworth 1979).

While description of early limekilns with flues abound and include one described by Cato (234–149 BC), references to flue-less limeburning pits are scarce and no excavated examples are known to the writer. Documentary evidence is vague on account of the use of the unqualified word 'pit'. For example, at Pevensey Castle, in 1407, repair costs incurred 18*d* for making a pit to burn lime (Salzmann 1906). Unfortunately there is no way of telling if this had a flue or stoke-hole or neither.

In the absence of known British parallels of flue-less kilns, an insight into their technology and efficiency can be gained from similar contemporary pits which are being used in intermediate technology programmes in the Third World. Such small-scale limeburning are described for their areas (Wingate 1985) and afford useful comparisons.

Such primitive limeburning pits are known to be capable of producing lime in relatively small, yet viable quantities. The fill of the pit consists of two parts, the lower being filled with fuel with the limestone or calcareous material of the upper part heaped above it in the form of a dome. Built into this dome may be six or so lighting ports at ground level around the periphery of the dome, which provide much of the draught for the fire. Should the flames burn through the dome, they are stemmed and sealed by the addition of more calcareous material.

In a lime pit in Rorotongan, in the Cook Islands, (Ryan 1961) the fuel layers were laid in right angle rows with smaller kindling material layered between. The six lighting ports were ignited simultaneously and spare piles of coral were spaced around the kiln so that during firing, more coral could be thrown on the areas where the fire broke through. As the kiln burns the coral boulders disintegrate and as the wood burns, the whole mass settles slowly into the pit until only the cooling lime is left.

A similar limeburning pit called a sod kiln, constructed in a conical pit with built up sides, has been described (Gwilt 1888). In this type of kiln the limestone and fuel are loaded into the pit in alternate layers to the top and they are covered with sods. Gwilt points out that this method is tedious and far from economical, noting that the quantity of the fuel and not the quality of the stone determines the quality of the lime. Although there is evidence of the local use of sea coal for limeburning at Willingdon in 1288 (*V.C.H. Sussex*; 231) the fuel used in the pits under discussion appears to have been wood, in all probability, oak and beech. In the tropical examples the fuel is often a mixture of fast and slow burning woods to which coal and peat are sometimes added. Wood was used at the Pevensey Castle lime pits (Salzmann 1906) when 27*s* 1*d* was paid for chips and odd pieces of wood for firing three pits.

When limeburning in pits with the fill in alternate layers it is best to ignite the load from the bottom and one such method was to construct a wooden chimney through the centre of the fill down which, at the appropriate time, a burning of cotton was dropped (Searle 1935).

In all these examples, as the firing proceeds, the materials settle into the pit where the heat is sometimes retained for a week or so. On cooling the material is sorted—the lumps are picked out and the unburnt stone is sorted from the good quicklime by its heavier feel. A vivid picture of firing one of these primitive kilns (Dr Stephan Cramer, pers. comm.) describes the work entailed in their construction, firing and emptying. There is no method by which additional fuel can be introduced and it is therefore essential that during the firing the top

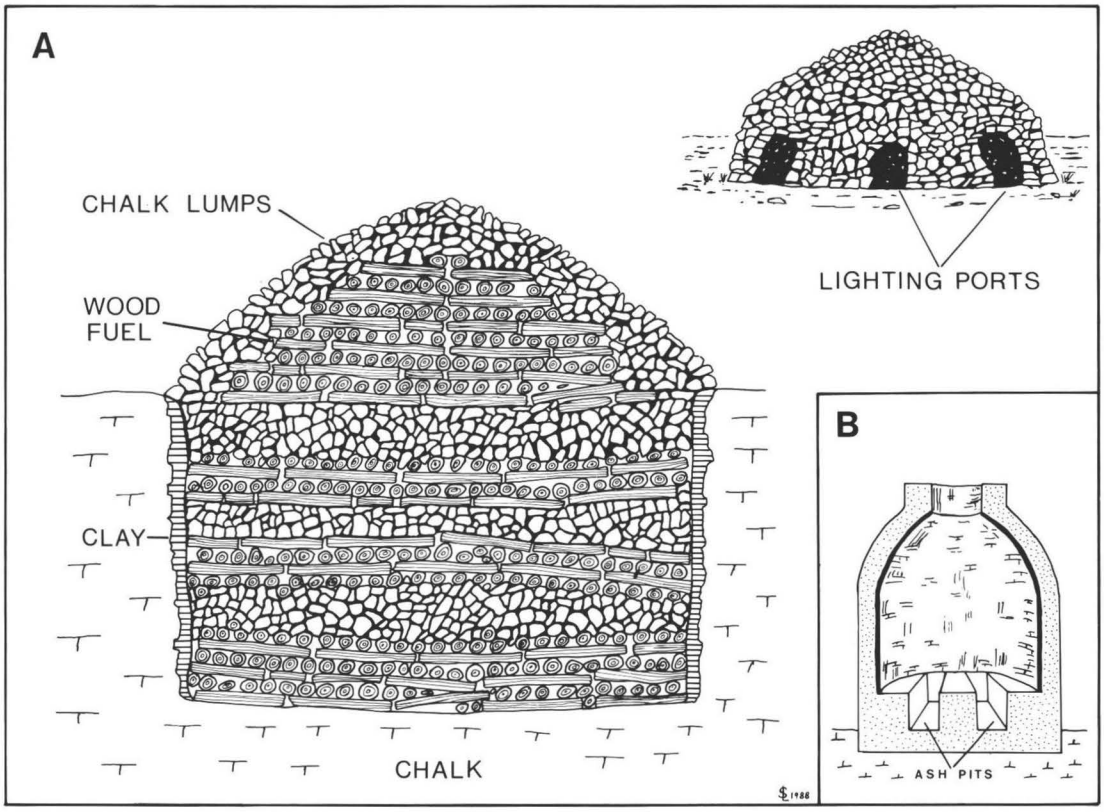

Fig. 6. (a) Conjectural reconstruction of a pit kiln. (b) Section of a flare kiln showing ash pits. (After Wingate, Searle and others).

must inhibit the fire burning through. Inadequate temperature will result in worthless firing which in economic terms is a tragedy.

The product of each firing varies and the fuel consumption is high and may be as much as three times greater than the cubic capacity of the quicklime. Neville Hill (pers. comm.) considers that as much as 18 m^3 of palm wood is necessary for the production of 5 m^3 of lime. If we take this ratio it would seem that the Eastbourne pits could each be expected to produce approximately 6.5 m^3 of lime.

That we have here three pits in a row may not just be a coincidence for such arrangements have been recorded in more recent times. A similar row of intermittent flue kilns set on the side of a valley at Nebeur, Tunisia were used for processing coral (Eeckhoudt 1979) and a series of three similar pits is described at Rorotonga (Ryan 1961). In the latter example the three pits provided a form of continuous burning for while one pit is burning, another is being prepared and the third is being drawn off. There is therefore the possibility that the pits at Eastbourne might have been run on the same lines. In this connection it is worth noting, again at Pevensey Castle in 1407, '30s was paid for burning 3 pits of lime' (Salzmann 1906).

Burnt clay was present in all the excavated pits and its use in limeburning kilns is well attested. Searle describes the plastering of the kiln sides with clay paste except those near the

ground where the holes are left to admit air. In pit 394 considerable quantities were still in situ on the side of the pit where it had been used as a lining and it is this stable burnt clay from which the archaeomagnetic sample was taken. Clay was present as a lining at both Old Erringham (Holden 1980) and Bramber Castle (Barton and Holden 1977). In all probability the lining of the chalk sides of the pit with clay was also an attempt to reduce the loss of heat through the pit side and also to stabilise them.

The evidence for channels in the floor of pit 391 can be compared with the parallel grates found in the floors of flare kilns (Fig. 6b). Although there is no possibility that this pit belonged to such a kiln type, no doubt the channels were intended to improve the draught.

It is not possible to say when the use of the flue-less pit kiln ceased use but the recently excavated flue kiln at Guildford (Arthur 1986), produced a 12th-century archaeomagnetic date that predates the Eastbourne example.

Although it is possible that the limeburning pits were put to an agricultural use, it would seem most likely that in the urban area of medieval Borne, adjacent to the parish church, they were used for building lime. In this connection, the late Mr Eric Holden has pointed out that the grey Lower Chalk is best for the production of lime for mortar for laying masonry as it possesses a clay-fraction. The archaeomagnetic date of 1175 and their close proximity to the church leads one to postulate on their having been used to build the church, which took place around this date, between 1160 and 1190 (Budgen 1912).

The absence of long-term silting in the stratigraphy of all the pits suggests that after the pits had ceased production they were filled quite rapidly, but not before the clay on the sides had begun to fall into the rising fill. Domestic rubbish may be seen either as the rubbish from the builders or merely nearby habitation, which will be discussed in a later paper.

Acknowledgements

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

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THREE MOATED SITES IN NORTH-EAST SUSSEX PART 2: HAWKSDEN AND BODIAM

by David Martin
with a discussion of Hawksden and the Waleys family
by Nigel Saul, and contributions by the late G. C. Dunning, the late E. W. Holden and D. R. Rudling

Hawksden was probably built in c. *1337 by Sir John Waleys as a house or hunting lodge. The timber-framed building was set around a courtyard and surrounded by a moat. The kitchen was divided from the other rooms by substantial cob or masonry walls to serve as fire-breaks. In the late 15th/early 16th centuries a masonry wall was constructed around the building. Chimneys were inserted to heat the hall and parlour ranges, and the hall was probably floored over. Repair work of poor quality was undertaken in the late 16th century, but shortly after the buildings were allowed to fall into ruins.*

The moated homestead at Bodiam was constructed in the late 13th century, possibly for the younger brother of the lord of the manor. Three buildings were excavated, which were identified as a messuage, detached kitchen and stable range. The site fell into disuse in the mid/late 14th century and was left to deteriorate.

After the first excavation at Glottenham, work on two further moated sites was carried out by the Robertsbridge and District Archaeological Society at Hawksden in Mayfield and at Bodiam. The work at Hawksden took place in 1973 and 1974. This site was threatened by the intended planting of trees, though after the quantity of masonry in the area of excavation was revealed it was decided that tree growth was likely to be poor and the planting did not take place. At Bodiam moated homestead work had been started by the Battle and District Historical Society (BADHS) in 1961. The exposed remains had not been backfilled and in 1970 the excavations described here were undertaken to conclude their work and salvage as much information as possible.

HAWKSDEN (TQ 61842674)

The moated site of Hawksden is situated within Hawksden Park Wood two miles east of Mayfield church on the southern side of a tributary of the river Rother (Fig. 1). Built on rising ground, the moat was cut into the hillslope on the north-west and south-west, but on the north-east and south-east sides the water was retained by a high external dam. The excavated site was an almost square moated enclosure measuring 32 metres by 31 metres, the moat being fed by a spring some distance to the south.

HAWKSDEN AND THE WALEYS FAMILY (by Nigel Saul)

The sub-manor of Hawksden, together with the manor of Bainden and part of the lands called Winters, was held as a single freehold tenement of the manor of Bivelham. In 1271 Hawksden, together with other local lands was purchased by Sir Richard Waleys II of Glynde, and it has been a part of the Glynde estate ever since.[1]

The principal seat of the Waleys family was, of course, Glynde itself. But in the 14th century

Bainden became a secondary residence of some importance. In 1347 Sir John Waleys and his household went there for two months in the autumn after attending the funeral of John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, at Lewes Priory.[2] Hawksden first appears as a place of residence in 1362, when Sir John enfeoffed a tenant there.[3] Clearly there must have been a house on the site at that time; and if we assume that this was the moated enclosure which has been excavated, then we are justified in taking 1362 as a *terminus ante quem* for the date of construction.

There are other grounds for associating it with the lifetime of Sir John. He was the most active, and possibly the longest lived, member of his family in the 14th century.[4] According to his descendants, 'he was a sclendre mane and also a lusty knight in ys dayes as was any of ys age wythine the reyme of Ingelond'.[5] Knighted before 1340, he went on the Crecy-Calais expedition of 1346–47 in the retinue of a local lord, Sir Michael de Poynings, accompanied Roger Mortimer, earl of March on his chevauchée in Picardy in 1356 and rounded off his military career by going on Edward III's winter expedition of 1359–60.[6] In the years of peace that followed the ending of this phase of the war he settled down to assume some of the many burdens of office-holding that fell to members of his class. He was sheriff in 1364, a justice of the peace from 1361 and a knight of the shire (i.e. an M.P.) in parliament from 1368 to 1371.[7]

There may also have been a less savoury side to John's character. In the 1330s he fell foul of John de Warenne, who caused him to be arrested

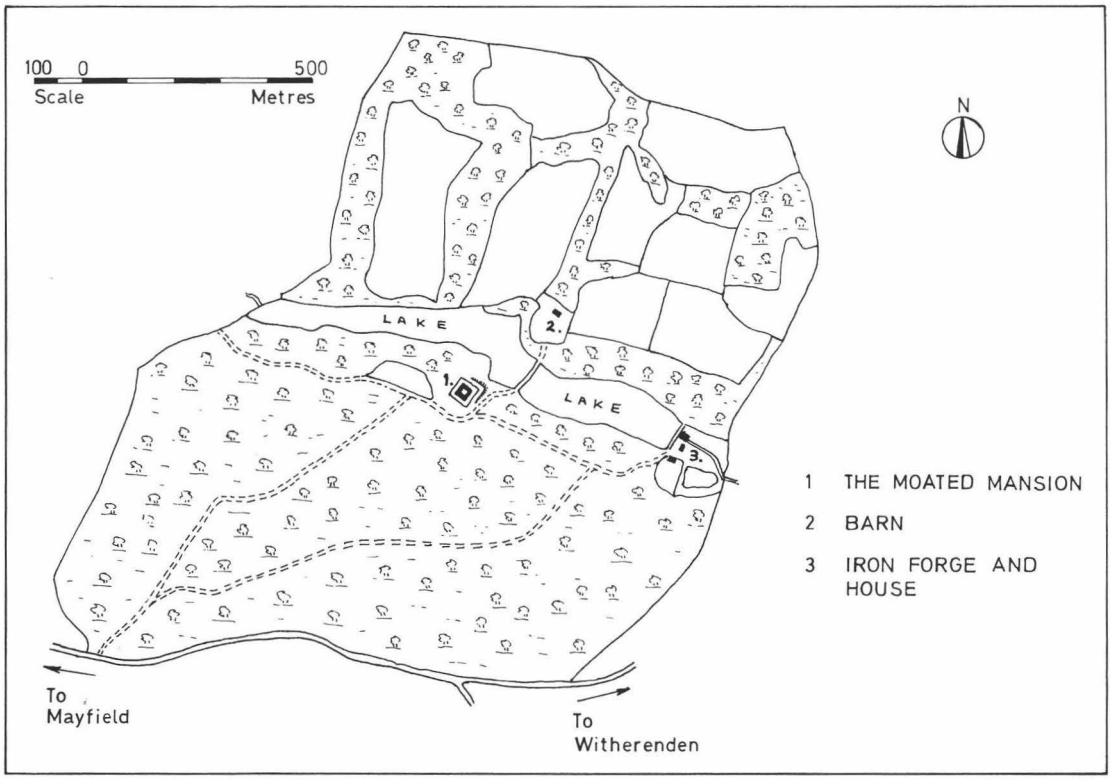

Fig. 1. Hawksden Park *c.* 1550 (based principally on a plan of *c.* 1650, E.S.R.O. GLY 3116).

for harbouring a nest of malefactors at Glynde. He was held in Lewes castle for the next eight weeks, and nursed his wounds sufficiently over the years to initiate legal proceedings against his captors after the earl's death a decade later.[8] More to the point, in 1352 he was attached at the suit of Queen Philippa, as lord of the rape of Pevensey, to answer a number of charges, one of which related to extortion, another to concealment of feudal incidents and the remaining two to hunting the queen's chases.[9] Hunting, indeed, seems to have been one of his major preoccupations. In the year 1347–8 he spent £2 2*s* 3*d* on the construction of two wooden lodges on the park at Glynde, presumably for the use of hunting parties or of spectators who gathered to watch them.[10] Ten years earlier he had begun to construct and 'de novo emendere' a park at Hawksden, and in connection with this project he made an agreement with Robert de Sharnden, his neighbour there, laying down the procedures that were to be followed in deciding the line of the new boundaries.[11] The building of the house—or hunting-lodge as we are probably justified in calling it—must have followed fairly soon after the conclusion of this agreement. If 1362 is a plausible *terminus ante quem* then 1337 is an equally plausible *terminus a quo* for the period of construction.

The later history of the site need not detain us long. Indeed, there is little to be said. At Michaelmas 1394 Sir William Waleys I leased all the lands in the manor of Hawksden except the park to one Geoffrey Aleyn for nine years for an annual rent of £3 14*s* 4*d*.[12] The park with its messuage was presumably retained in hand specifically for the enjoyment of the game. Whether this lease ran its full course is, however, open to doubt, because within a few years Hawksden was to be one of the manors in dispute between Sir William and his son John. When the case came to the Court of Common Pleas Sir William said that he had made over to his son the manor of Hawksden and the reversion of that of Bainden, which he had already demised to his half-brother Richard. He then arranged for a servant by the name of John de Croxton to deliver seisin to him. Croxton duly went to Bainden, and delivered seisin to the new tenant but, by an extraordinary oversight, omitted to ensure that Richard attorned to him. On this pretext John claimed that the transaction was invalid, and entered Bainden himself.[13] Sir William took the side of his brother and initiated an action of trespass. However, the dispute was settled not by a jury's verdict but by resort to arbitration. Sir William recovered two other manors which he had granted to his son, and the latter was compensated with continued enjoyment of Hawksden and Bainden.[14]

When John succeeded his father, as he did in about 1409, Hawksden and Bainden were reunited with the other Waleys properties. It may have been leased out after that; but, if it was, the leases have not been preserved among the Glynde muniments.

THE LATER HISTORY

In about 1459 John Waleys IV of Devon sold the Glynde estates, including Hawksden, to Nicholas Morley, the husband of John Waleys II's daughter.[15] The Morleys undertook the works of Period B described below and specifically it was likely to have been Thomas Morley who engaged in the improvement of Hawksden. Between 1531 and his death in 1558/9 he took a particular interest in the Hawksden lands, establishing and running an iron furnace and forge here. The business was later carried on by his second son Anthony, but by 1574 the iron works had been leased to Thomas Isted.[16]

In 1593/4 the messuage, barns and lands called Hawksden Park were leased out by Herbert Morley to Abraham Langham. The messuage referred to must be the Hawksden site, but the lease indicates the house was tenanted at this date by Thomas Beaumont and this may have been the situation since the 1570s.[17] Although there are several later leases, none mentions the messuage, though references to the barn occur regularly. This suggests that on the

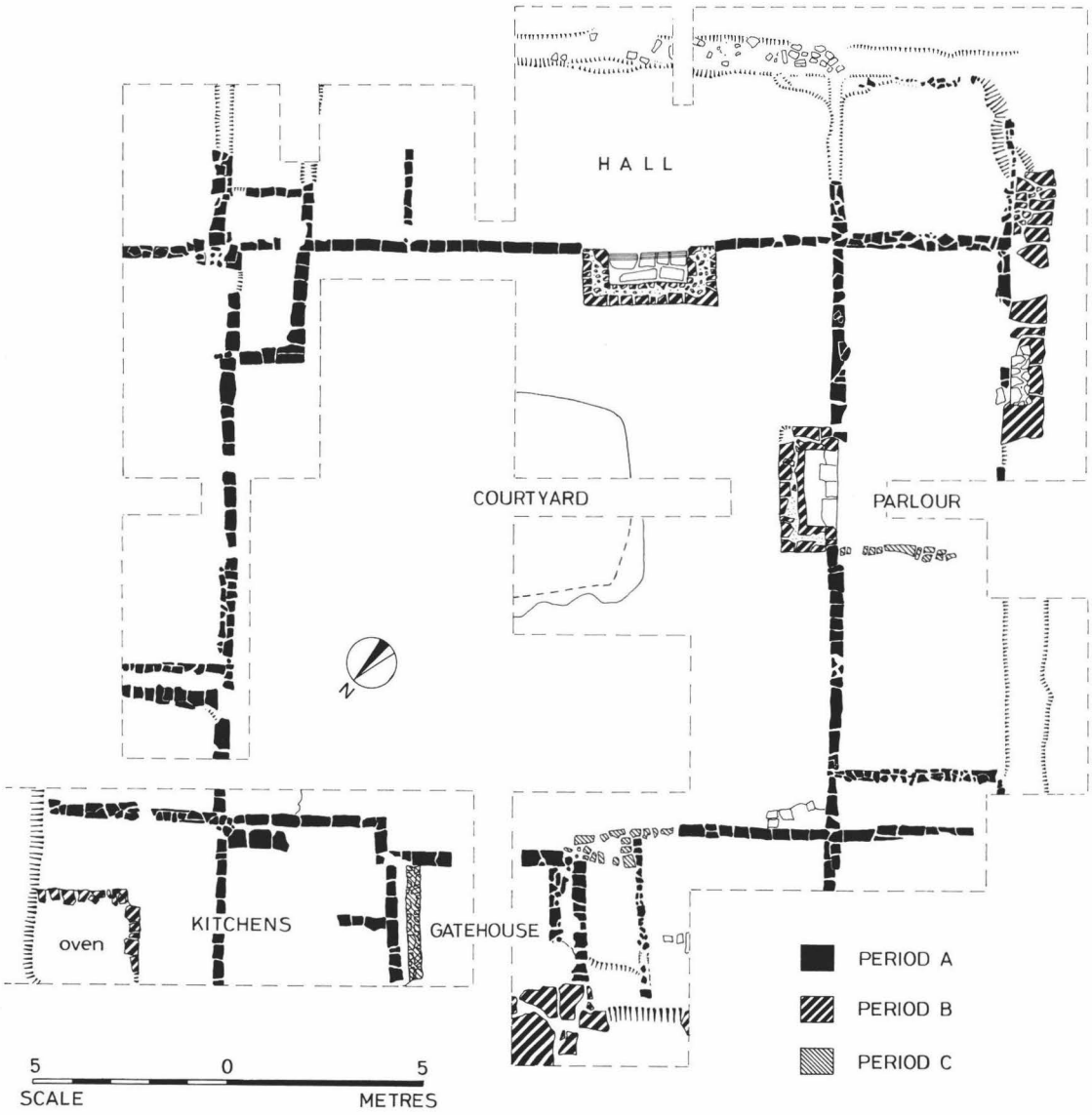

Fig. 2. Hawksden. Plan of excavations.

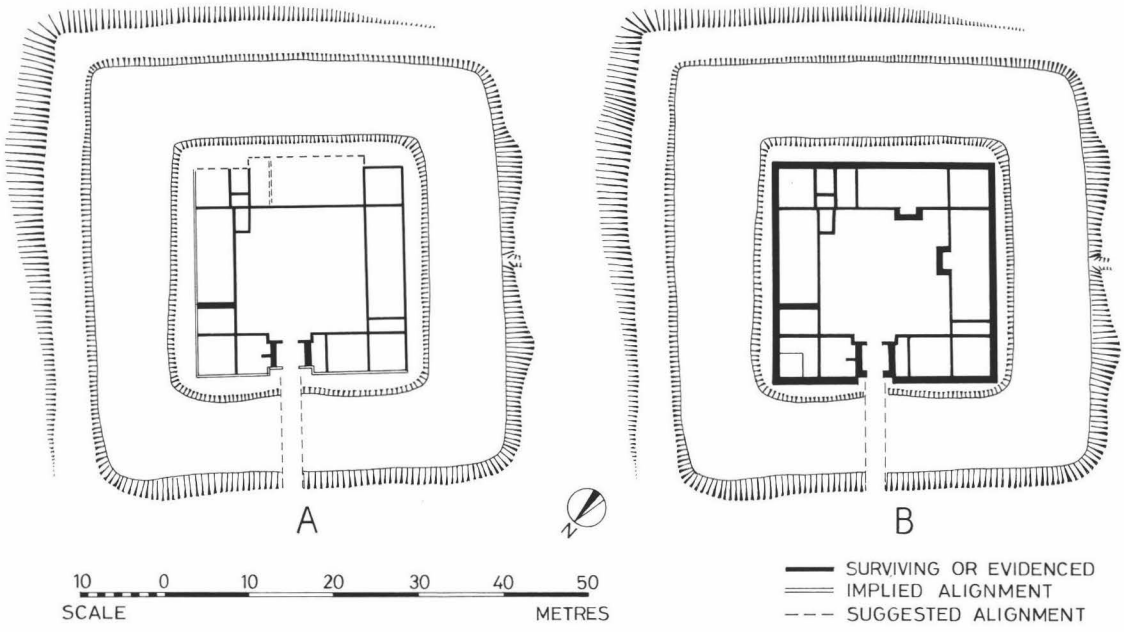

Fig. 3. Hawksden. Plan of Periods A and B.

termination of the 1593/4 lease the house was left to decay. Certainly a map of the estate of *c.* 1650 shows neither the house nor its site.[18]

THE EXCAVATED EVIDENCE

PERIOD A (Mid 14th century)

The buildings of the first period were set around a paved courtyard inside the moat. The water of the moat did not lap against the walls, but were separated from them by a narrow grass berm or bank (Figs 3 & 4).

The hall building stood on one side of the courtyard opposite the entrance (Fig. 2). Adjacent to this, on the east, was the service complex and on the other side of the hall in the south-west wing, was the parlour range. The north-east range was identified as the retainers' quarters. On one side of the entrance passage was the kitchens and the guests' lodgings stood on the other side.

The building was of timber-framed construction and was built on ground walls of neatly squared and tooled blocks laid on a rough sandstone slab foundation. The ground walls to the internal partitions were less well formed, being made of roughly squared sandstone blocks. Three of the crosswalls were unusually wide. These were made of a double row of clay-bedded blocks with a core of cob-like material, a total width of 0.95 metre. These supported either cob or masonry walls, rather than a timber-framed structure. The roofs of the building were covered with imported West Country slate, though this had been patched with Horsham stone and tile, especially in the northern corner.

The wide berm on the south-east side of the site, between the moat and the building, suggests that the Period A hall projected out further than the Period B building (Fig. 3). This is also indicated by the abrupt termination of the end wall of the parlour range where it met the end wall of the hall. The Period B curtain wall had completely obliterated all signs of the original rear wall of the hall. The general arrangement

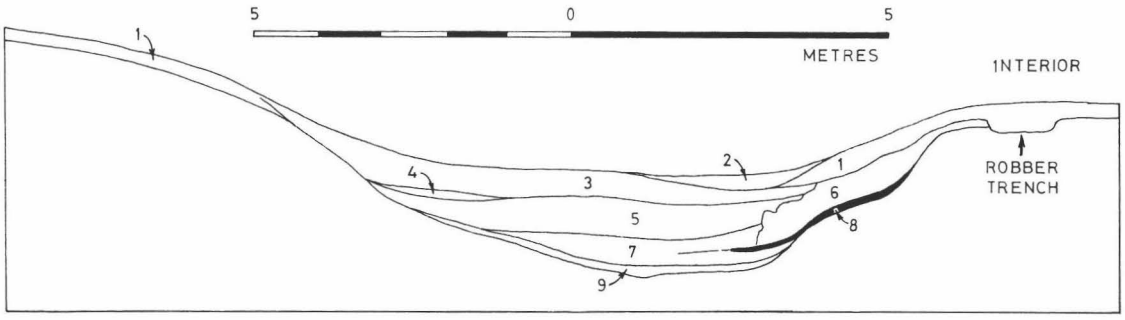

Fig. 4. Hawksden. Section through south-west moat. 1. Topsoil. 2. Sandy clay and soil. 3. Leafy silt. 4. Clean grey silt. 5. Dark silt. 6. Stone rubble. 7. Black organic material. 8. Collapsed roofing slate. 9. Clean light grey silt.

suggests some form of aisle or quasi-aisle on the outer side of the hall.

The hall was 10.60 metres long with a screened passage-way 2.40 metres wide beyond this. The screen was set on a slight ground wall laid directly on to the floor and may represent a later insertion.

In the eastern corner of the moat was a square room, and next to this, between it and the cross-passage, was a smaller room. These two were presumably the buttery and pantry. A small room partitioned off against the courtyard wall formed a passage way giving access to both the eastern room and the connecting projection in the corner of the courtyard.

A large hall-like building in the north-east range measured 10.40 metres by about 4.60 metres. This may be identified by comparison with similar surviving buildings as the retainers' quarters. At nearby Bodiam Castle, an almost contemporary building, the retainers' hall was floored over to form dormitories above.

In the north corner of the site was a kitchen of three rooms. The largest of these was at the junction of the north-west and north-east ranges. At the centre of the room was a large hearth of baked clay which had been relaid at least once (Fig. 5, 2). In the southern corner was the base of an oven of stones bedded in clay measuring 1.05 metres by 1.20 metres (Fig. 5, 3).

The main entrance to the kitchen was through the adjacent room on the south-east. In this room were found a shallow pit and the remains of a lead vessel 0.90 metre in diameter, slightly set into the floor. The end of this room nearest to the gatehouse was divided by a short partition into two cubicles of uncertain use.

The third room in the kitchen complex was contiguous to the first at the end of the north-east range. This may have served as a larder. This,

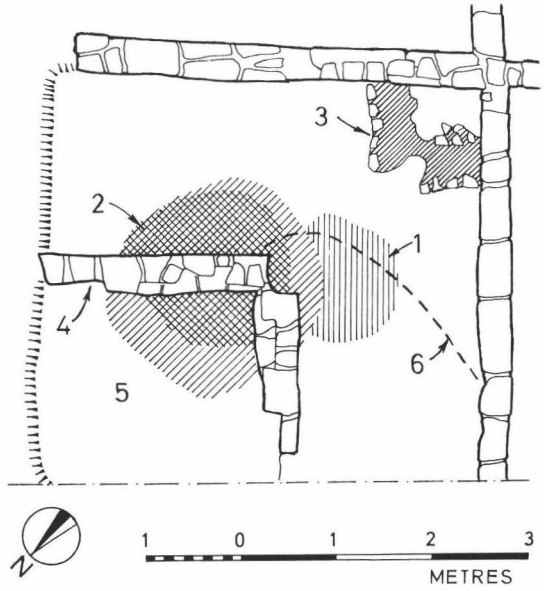

Fig. 5. Hawksden. Detail of fire room in kitchen. 1. Period A (1) Clay hearth. 2. Period A (2) Clay hearth. 3. Period A (2) Oven base. 4. Period B retaining wall to oven. 5. Period B rubble fill to oven base. 6. Period B ash spread.

and the other rooms of the kitchen were divided from the remainder of the building by a pair of walls with a base of stone blocks bedded in clay. These were presumably intended to act as fire-breaks around the kitchen area, for the courtyard plan precluded the construction of a separate detached kitchen.

Continuing around the courtyard, to the south-west of the kitchen was the gatehouse. This had an entrance passage 3.40 metres wide with doorways 1.85 metres wide at either end, flanked by clay-bedded masonry walls. Next to the gatehouse was a pair of guest rooms. A stairway at one end of the rooms suggests that there had been a similar pair on the first floor. There may have been a third room at this level above the entrance passage.

The whole of the south-western range was a single room measuring 13.40 metres by 3.90 metres internally. This parlour room was entered from the hall through an ante-chamber in the southern angle between the two ranges.

In the middle of the building was a courtyard paved with slabs of sandstone set in a random pattern. At the centre of this was an oval-shaped feature of smaller slabs, many laid on edge. This was set slightly lower than the rest of the yard. Around it was a kerb of more regular blocks.

The stone chosen for the paving was unsuitable and flaked badly in frosty conditions. After a short time a covering of earth was apparently either introduced deliberately or allowed to accumulate.

PERIOD B (Late 15th to early 16th century)

The most significant change to the site in the second period was the construction of a masonry wall around the outside of the building. This had the effect of transforming the site into a more impressive structure, but reduced the hall to an internal width of only 4.40 metres. The other alterations were more for comfort than prestige. A new oven and what was probably a fireplace were constructed within the kitchens, and within the courtyard two chimneys were added to heat the hall and parlour ranges. It is probable that at this time the hall was floored over in order to form a first-floor chamber above.

The encasing wall, although impressive, was poorly constructed. The wall, 0.80 metre wide, was placed upon a foundation of massive stone slabs laid directly upon the levelled ground surface adjacent to the Period A wall. It could not have been long before settlement occurred and the angle at which the foundation stones were discovered suggests that massive cracks must have formed: some sections may have actually collapsed. The superstructure itself was of two skins of tooled ashlar blocks set either side of a core of stone rubble. Fragments of windows were recovered and these had splayed jambs, chamfered segmented rear arches, plainly chamfered sills and vertical iron dividing bars. All fragments were from single-light openings, but the shape of the heads remains uncertain. Surprisingly, the openings were not grooved for glass, though this may have been fitted another way. The segmental rear arches of the window fragments are a feature not normally found locally after the 15th century.

Two stone stacks were inserted into the courtyard wall to heat the hall and parlour. The hall chimney stack incorporated a fireplace 1.95 metres wide, with a hearth of iron-impregnated Paludina limestone slabs laid on edge and at the front a sandstone kerb with a chamfered and rolled upstand (Fig. 6). The walls of the fireplace were lined with Paludina slabs and the jambs were finely dressed chamfered sandstone blocks.

The stack to the parlour was similar, though the walls were lined only with halved clay tiles. The jambs were rebated externally, probably in order to insert the stack between the two principal posts in the courtyard wall. The courtyard wall continued into the rebate, whilst the later inserted cross-partition within the room at this point tends to confirm the bay divisions.

To the rear of the stack was discovered a pair of sandstone 'lintels' with 15th or early 16th century casement moulds. These may have

formed part of the overmantel to one of the fireplaces.

In the Period A kitchen the cooking had been done on an open hearth in the northern corner room. In the rebuilding this was overlain by a massive masonry oven set against the corner of the curtain wall (Fig. 5, 4). This had a base measuring approximately 2.80 metres by 2.90 metres. The surviving lowest two courses suggest that the structure was built of mortared ashlar blocks around a platform of rubble and clay. The floor of the room was partially covered by a thick deposit of ash (Fig. 5, 6), which was the thickest on the south-west side where the oven door was presumably located.

The Period A cooking hearth must have been replaced by a new cooking hearth and chimney, but no trace of this was found. Its most likely position would have been against the curtain wall. This area had been badly damaged by a number of tree stumps and was not available for excavation.

PERIOD C (Late 16th century)

The final period of occupation is characterized by a number of poor repairs. The only work of good quality was in the reconstruction of the flaking wall of the north-east side of the entrance passage. The wall here was neatly rebuilt in mortared Paludina slabs. Several ground walls were patched in brick. The courtyard wall, immediately south-west of the gateway, and part of the fireplace kerb was reconstructed in rough stone. The parlour was divided into two by a flimsy stone ground wall set close to the chimney stack. In the hall, the fireplace, which had sunk 0.35 metre because of inadequate foundations, was raised with a brick and stone hearth laid above the original (Fig. 6).

In the later part of the period the parlour chimney, which had probably been settling for sometime, collapsed across the north-west end of the parlour range, apparently demolishing it. No attempt was made to rebuild it, but a new end wall was inserted immediately south-east of the stack and the ruined section simply abandoned.

DESTRUCTION OF THE SITE

The dense scatter of roofing slate over the courtyard and floors of the hall and kitchen show that for a long period little or no attempt was made to salvage the materials. A small group of

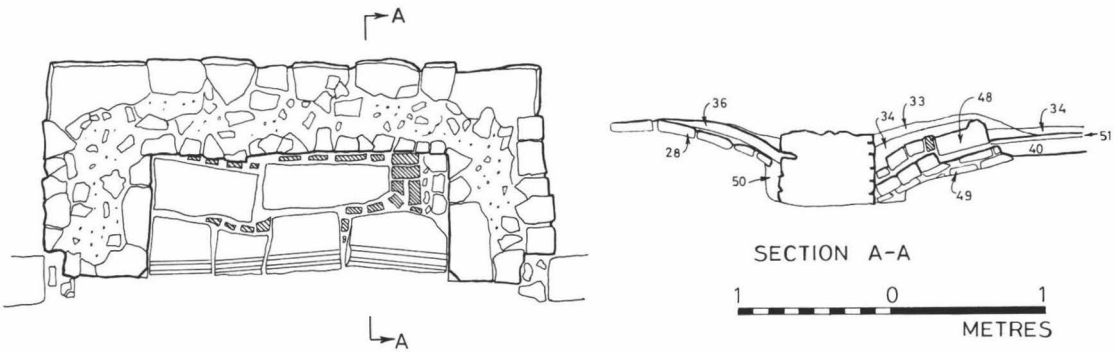

Fig. 6. Hawksden. Details of hall fireplace.

PERIOD A
PERIOD B (CONSTRUCTION)
PERIOD B (OCCUPATION)
PERIOD C (CONSTRUCTION)
PERIOD C (OCCUPATION)
DESTRUCTION

28. Stone courtyard
36. Mortar spread
49. Paludina limestone hearth
50. Fill to construction trench
40. Ash spread
48. Brick and stone hearth
51. Clay floor
34. Ash spread
33. Loam, ash and mortar parging.

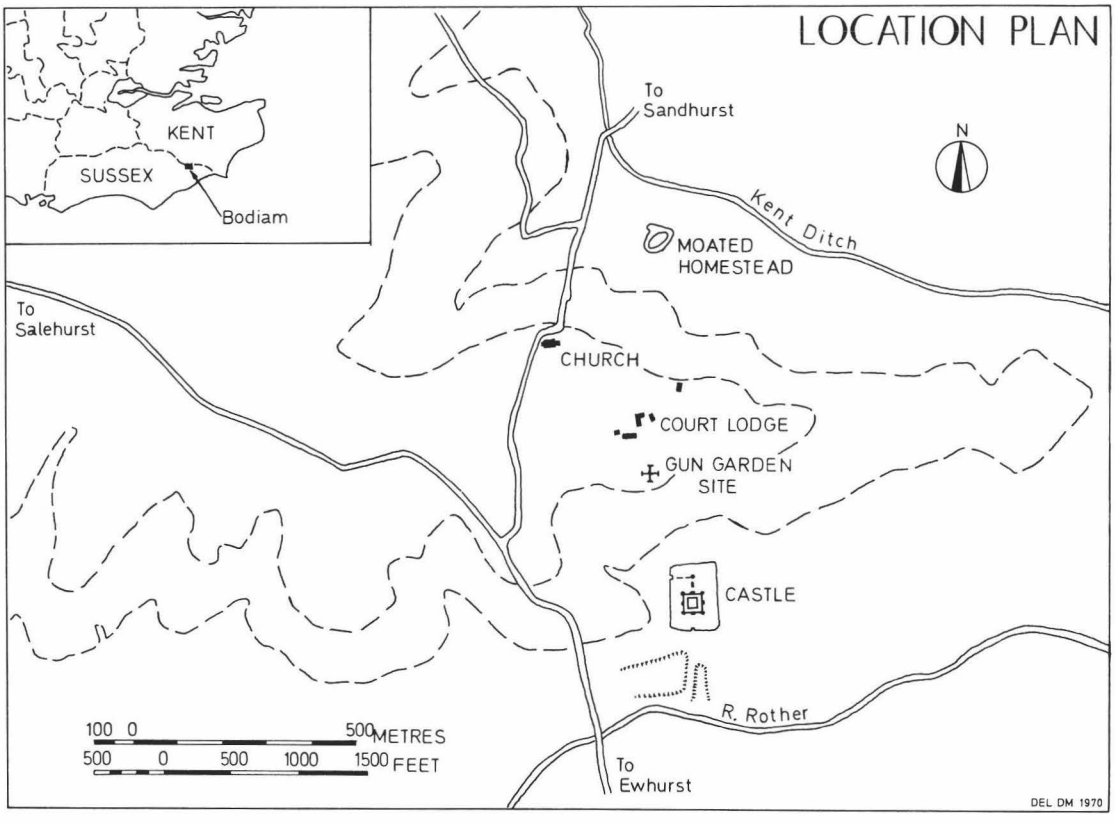

Fig. 7. Bodiam Moated Homestead. Location Plan.

slates was stacked together for carting in the south corner of the courtyard. The presence of stone from Hawksden in the cellar at nearby Hareholt Farmhouse and a barn at Fair Oak, both of which were built in the early 18th century, suggests the date at which the building material was finally salvaged. The lack of any form of causeway across the moat presumably indicates that the entrance bridge survived at the date of robbing: the present causeway across the moat was constructed during the excavation in 1973.

BODIAM MOATED HOMESTEAD
(TQ 78472643)

The small moated enclosure on the valley floor of the Kent Ditch does not appear to have been of manorial status, though it was situated within the demesne of Bodiam Manor. Since the archaeological evidence implies a period of occupation from the late 13th to the mid/late 14th centuries, it may be suggested that the site was the dwelling of Richard Wardedieu, younger brother of Nicholas, holder of the manor from 1287 to *c.* 1330. Richard's son, John still held lands in Bodiam during the 1340s, but after this date no further documentation concerning this branch of the family can be found.[19]

It has been argued that the moated homestead is the predecessor of Bodiam Castle, but this seems highly unlikely in view of the existence of a 13th-century settlement on the hill north of the castle, and near Court Lodge Farm (The Gun Garden site, TQ 784339) (Fig. 7). The moated homestead contains no periods which

predated the late 13th century, whilst Bodiam manor is known to have contained a hall before 1086.[20]

The site comprises an oval enclosure having a slight fall to the north and surrounded by a narrow ditch or moat (Fig. 8). The moat averages 4.50 metres in width and has steep banks at its southern end where it cuts into rising ground (Fig. 9). To the north the water is only 0.45 metre below ground level and in the north-west corner an arm of the moat extends into the surrounding meadows. The buildings, a messuage and two ancillary structures, were sited centrally on the southern end of the site, and varied little in plan from those of other contemporary non-moated sites. The low northern end of the enclosure appears to have been free of buildings, the space probably having been utilized for gardens. The site was not surrounded by a curtain wall or stockade, though a low earthen bank may indicate the position of a surrounding hedge. Access to the island was by way of a bridge on the western side, from which a gravel path led to the porch of the messuage.

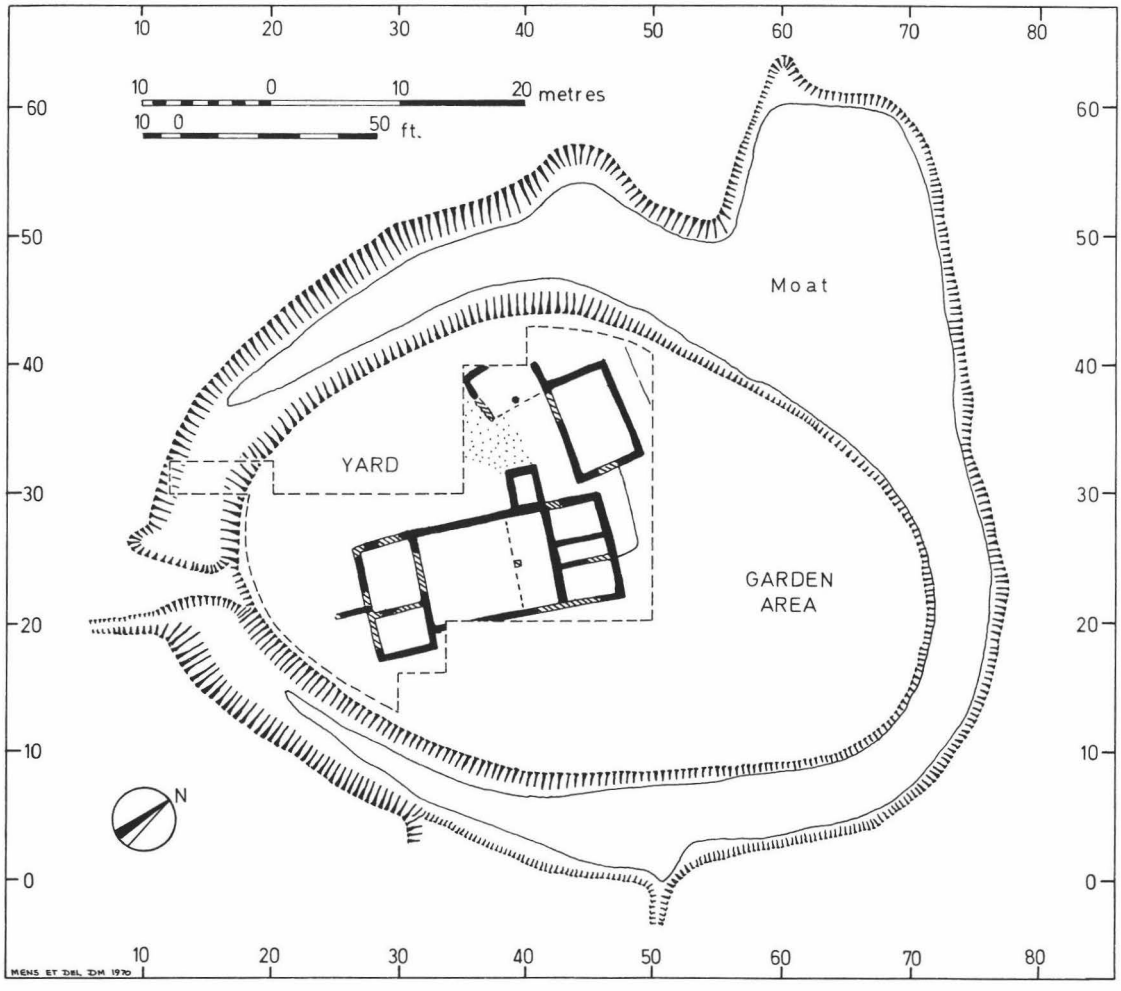

Fig. 8. Bodiam Moated Homestead. Site Plan.

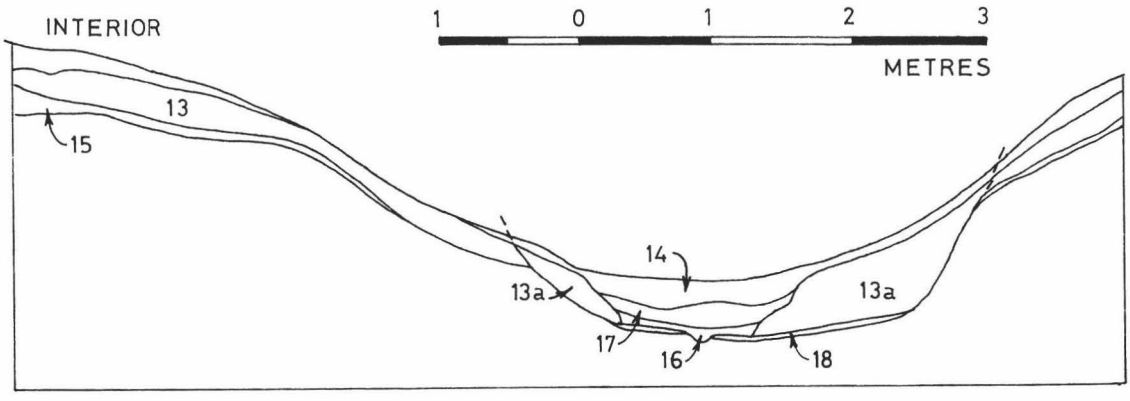

Fig. 9. Bodiam Moated Homestead. Section through moat. 13. Grey-brown loam. 13a. Ditto (slipped). 14. Leafy, dark silt. 15. Yellow-brown sandy soil. 16. Black consolidated silt. 17. Clean grey silt. 18. Blue-black sticky clay.

THE MESSUAGE (Building A) (Fig. 10)

The main house lay on a NE-SW axis and measured on average 20.30 metres long by 8.25 metres wide overall. The southern end incorporated a crosswing which protruded by 1.35 metres to the rear. The structure was of timber-framed construction built upon drystone ground wall and had a roof of West Country slate laid in diminishing courses. The drystone walls had been laid directly upon the ground surface, although in places the floor levels had been built up slightly within. The plan of the building is typical of upper vernacular and lower manorial houses, consisting of a central hall measuring 10.20 metres by 7.60 metres internally (Room 3), a parlour crosswing measuring 9.60 metres by 5.00 metres overall (Rooms 1 and 2), a 5.10 metres long service bay (Rooms 4, 5 and 6) and a 3.05 metres square porch (Room 7). A short section of wall protruding from the southern side of the crosswing may represent the remains of an attached garderobe. Attached garderobes appear to have been not uncommon even in relatively humble medieval houses. A good example can be seen at Bayleaf, now at the Wealden and Downland Open Air Museum, near Chichester.

The hall still retained its 1.70 metres square open hearth which was located towards the upper end of the room. The hearth consisted of half tiles laid on edge at an angle of 45 degrees to the vertical. Amongst the roof debris in the hall were many sherds from at least two roof louvres which would originally have acted as smoke vents.

The service bay had ground walls of sandstone rubble, rather than the iron-impregnated Paludina Limestone used elsewhere in the structure. This, together with a massive block of stone in the middle of the northern wall of the hall, apparently for an intermediate post, may suggest that the services were an addition; there were, however, no signs of an earlier service area. The service bay consisted of a buttery and pantry divided by a through passage leading to an external pathway.

A post emplacement set centre span towards the northern end of the hall may indicate the existence of some form of screen dividing the cross-passage area. Any such cross passage may or may not have been overshot by the service chamber. The emplacement was laid upon the Period A floor and represented a later insertion.

BUILDING B (Fig. 10)

Situated in front of the house at the northern end was a timber-framed building with

a roof of clay nib tiles measuring 7.70 metres by 5.50 metres. The structure, which was accessible from the house by way of an earthen path leading from the passage in the service bay, is likely to have been a detached kitchen, an interpretation which is supported by a centrally-set burnt clay hearth. The use of the building as a barn cannot be completely ruled out, though the existence of the hearth and the lack of waggon entrances makes this unlikely.

BUILDING C (Fig. 10)

Attached to the south-west corner of Building B were the scant remains of a structure measuring approximately 5.50 metres by 3.50 metres. This was apparently open fronted, though the building had been much robbed, which might have removed the front wall. Upon such slight evidence it is difficult to identify the use of the building, though both its proximity to the entrance and its proportions may suggest a stable.

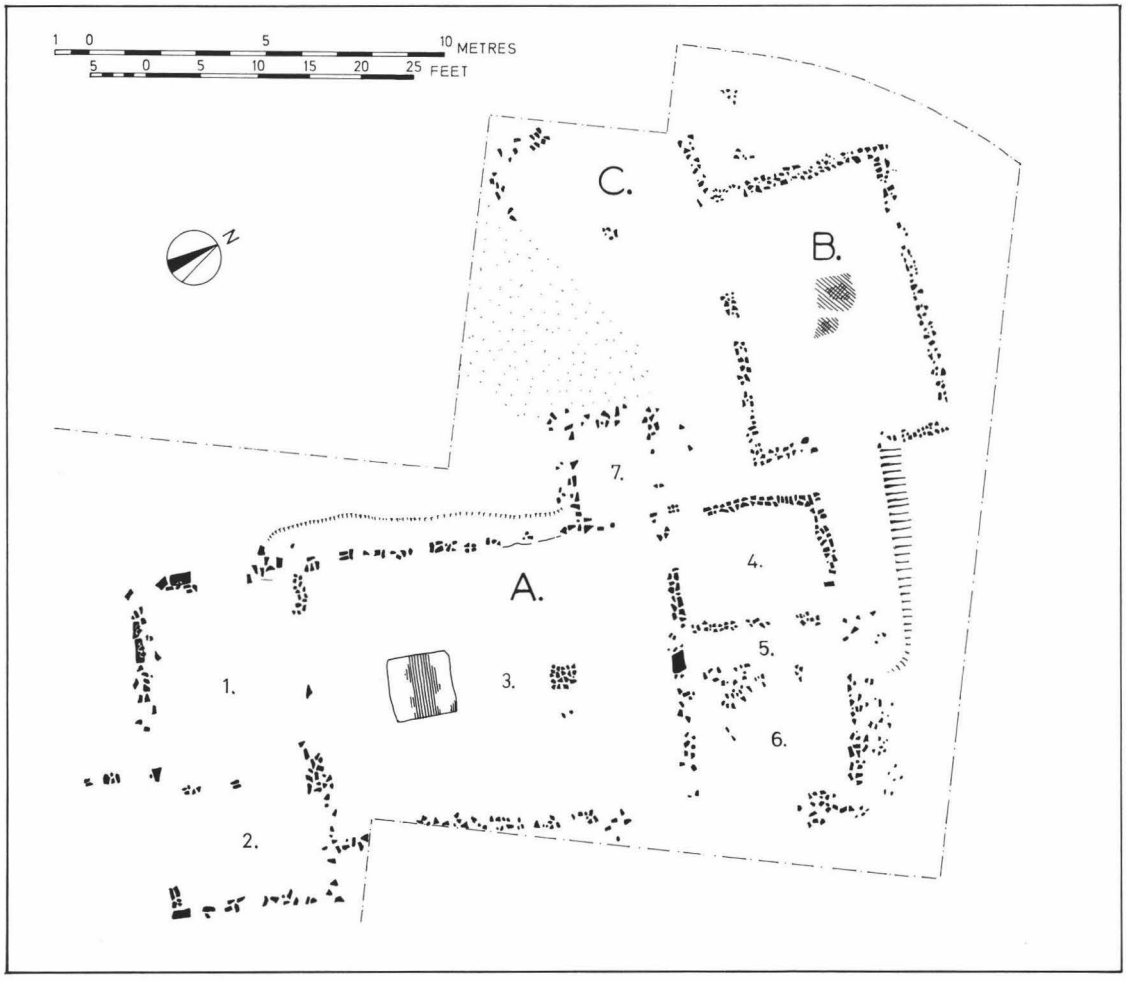

Fig. 10. Bodiam Moated Homestead. Plan of buildings.
A. Messuage (House) 1. Parlour. 2. Ante Room. 3. Hall. 4. and 6. Services. 5. Passage. 7. Porch. B. Kitchen (?). C. Stables (?).

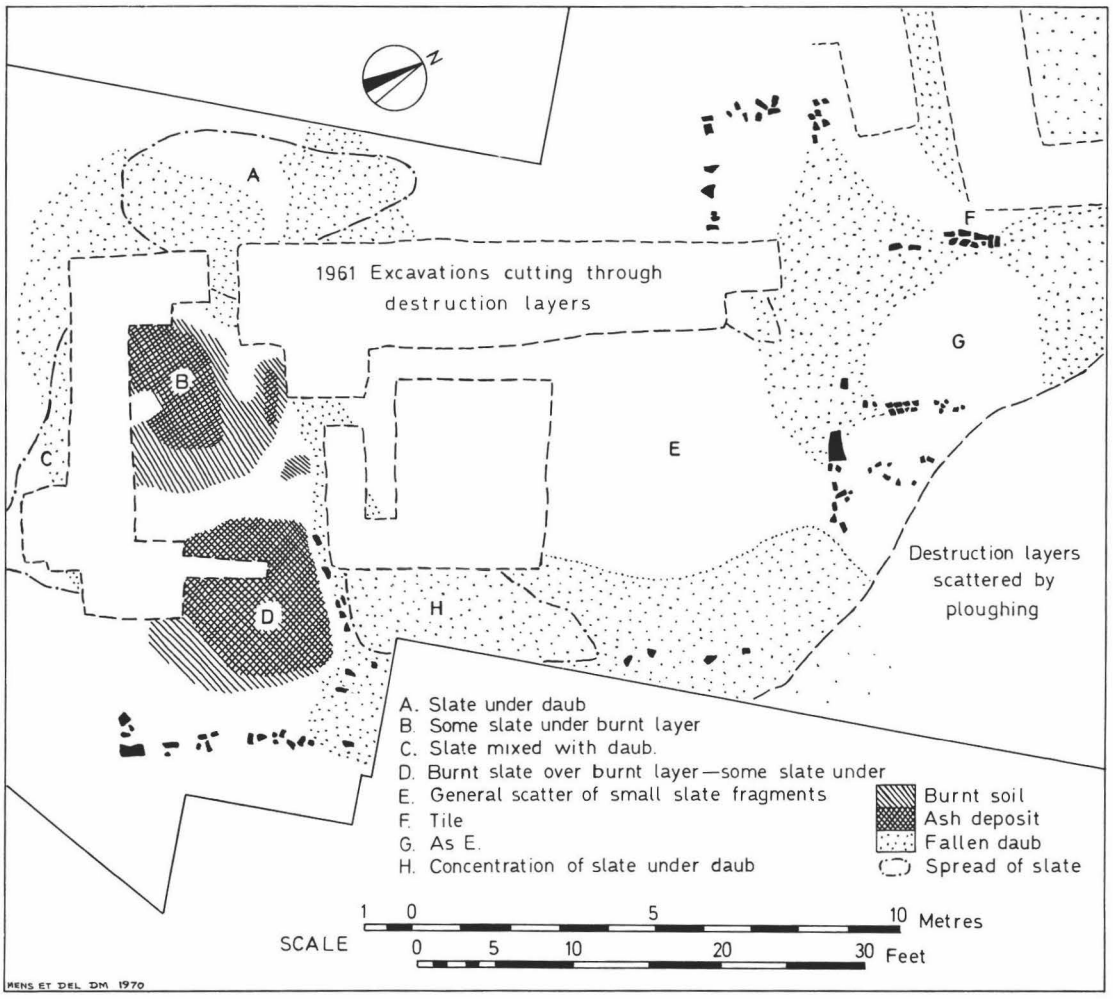

Fig. 11. Bodiam Moated Homestead. Destruction of site.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SITE (Fig. 11)

The considerable quantity of roofing slate and tile found on the site shows that when abandoned in the mid-late 14th century the site was not stripped of re-usable materials and dismantled, but merely left to deteriorate. A layer of charcoal and scorched daub and slate lying over unscorched destruction debris suggests that during the period of abandonment a small fire broke out in the parlour crosswing. This did not spread and either extinguished itself or was put out.

THE FINDS

POTTERY FROM HAWKSDEN

Only small quantities of pottery were recovered from this site and only one small group was from a sealed deposit. A limited number of

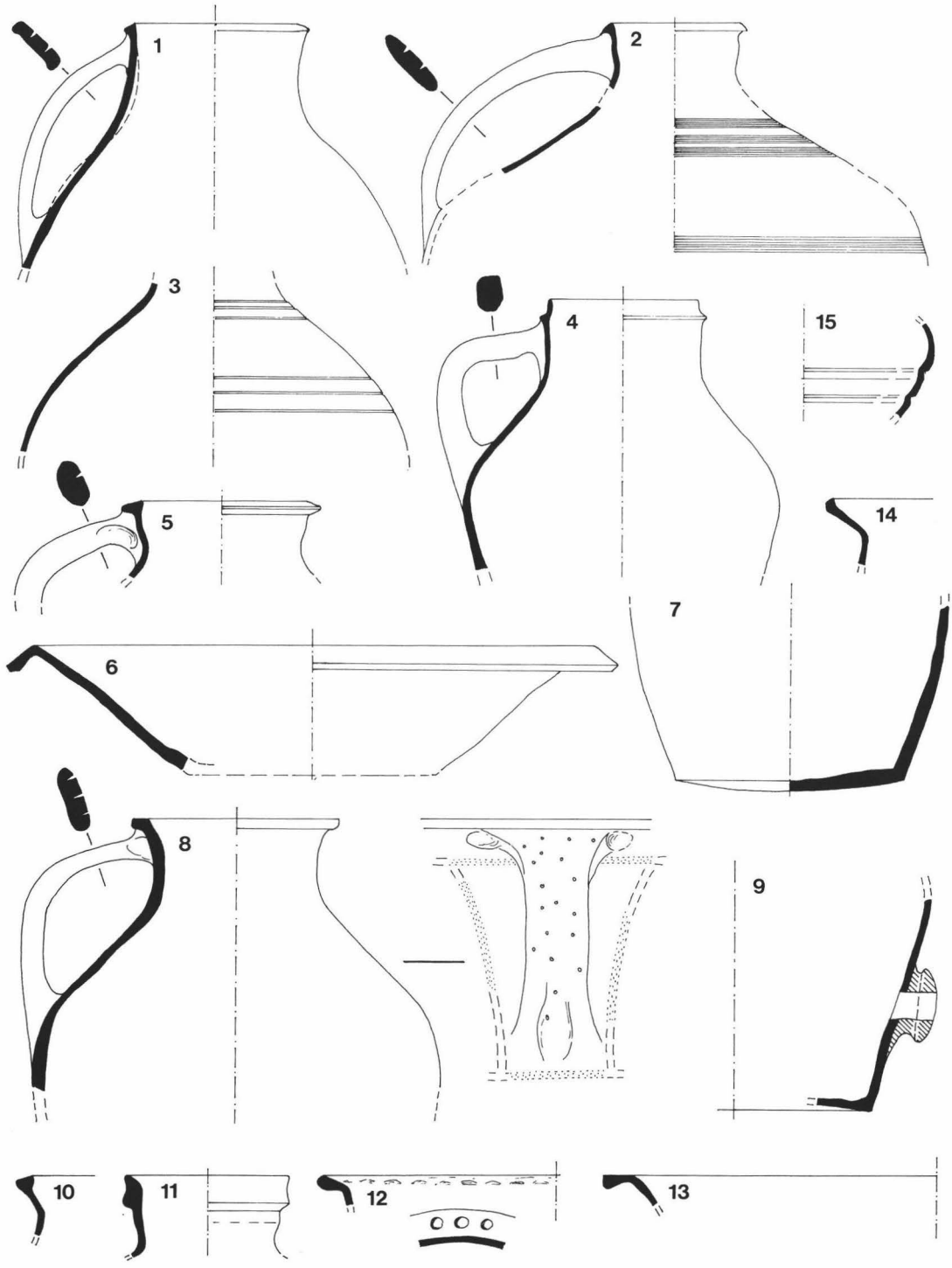

Fig. 12. Hawksden. Medieval pottery nos. 1–15 (1/4).

sherds (at Glottenham called Type II) were recognizable, especially from within the Period A sealed deposit (Martin 1989, 109). These do not necessarily predate the mid 14th century and may be as late as *c.* 1400. The type is known in limited quantities from Bodiam Castle, built under a licence dated 1385. There was also one sherd from a jug closely resembling a Glottenham vessel dating from the 13th century (compare Fig. 13, no. 20 with Martin 1989, Fig. 13, no. 26) and one of Glottenham Type I. The Glottenham Type III glazed vessels are completely absent and indeed glazed vessels of any kind were rare from Hawksden.

The bulk of the pottery was of a hard, fine texture, principally in two wares, a light orange/buff ware (here called Hawksden Type I) and a much darker, often brick-red ware with grey surfaces achieved by applying a slip (referred to as Hawksden Type II). There were also limited quantities of sherds in a light grey/light buff ware of similar texture to the above, but having traces of dark green external glazing (Hawksden Type III). Vessels in hard, orange/buff wares with much small surface grit were also present (Hawksden Type IV). Types I and II are known from the excavations undertaken at Bodiam Castle in 1970, and Type II is similar to vessels in Group C at Pivington, Kent (Rigold 1962, 43). This similarity is most striking in the vessel illustrated in Fig. 12, no. 8, which has a white slip design on the body similar to that in vessels from Pivington. A limited number of Hawksden Types I and IV were recovered from the upper layer at Glottenham.

All the vessels from Hawksden are basically of medieval design. The flanged rims of the cooking pots and dishes are predominantly downbent as in Fig. 12, no. 6 and Fig. 13, no. 21. It is also notable that the jugs, except Glottenham Type II, have thumb impressions on either side of the handles at their junction with the rim. This is a feature present in only two vessels from Glottenham, both possibly of late date. These wares are likely to be of late 15th- to 16th-century date, which agrees with the dating given to similar material at Pivington. Pottery of this type has also been found on a house site south of the River Rother at Ewhurst (TQ 784251). The house, known as Swifts, had

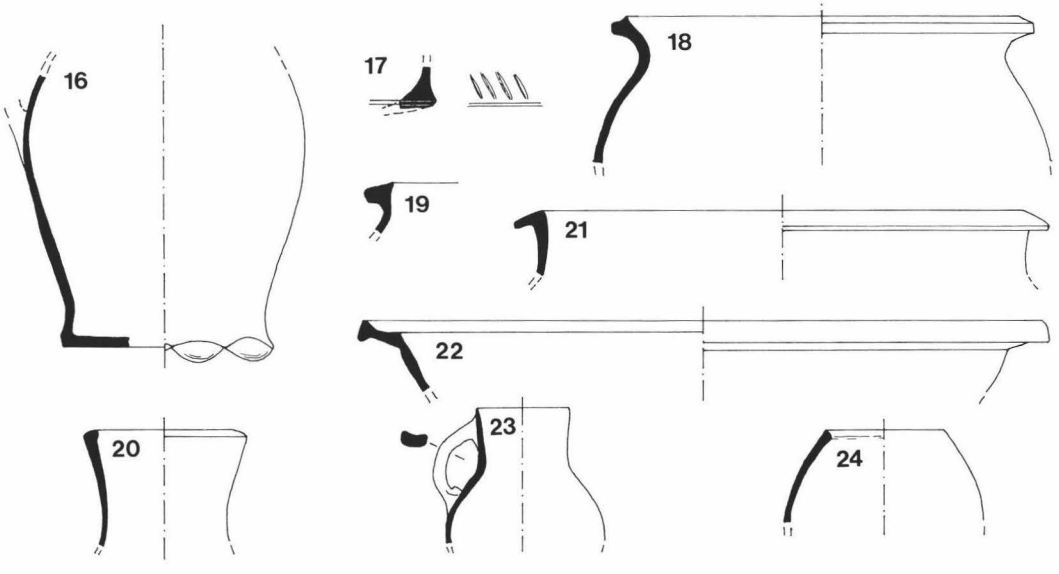

Fig. 13. Hawksden. Medieval pottery nos. 16–24 (1/4).

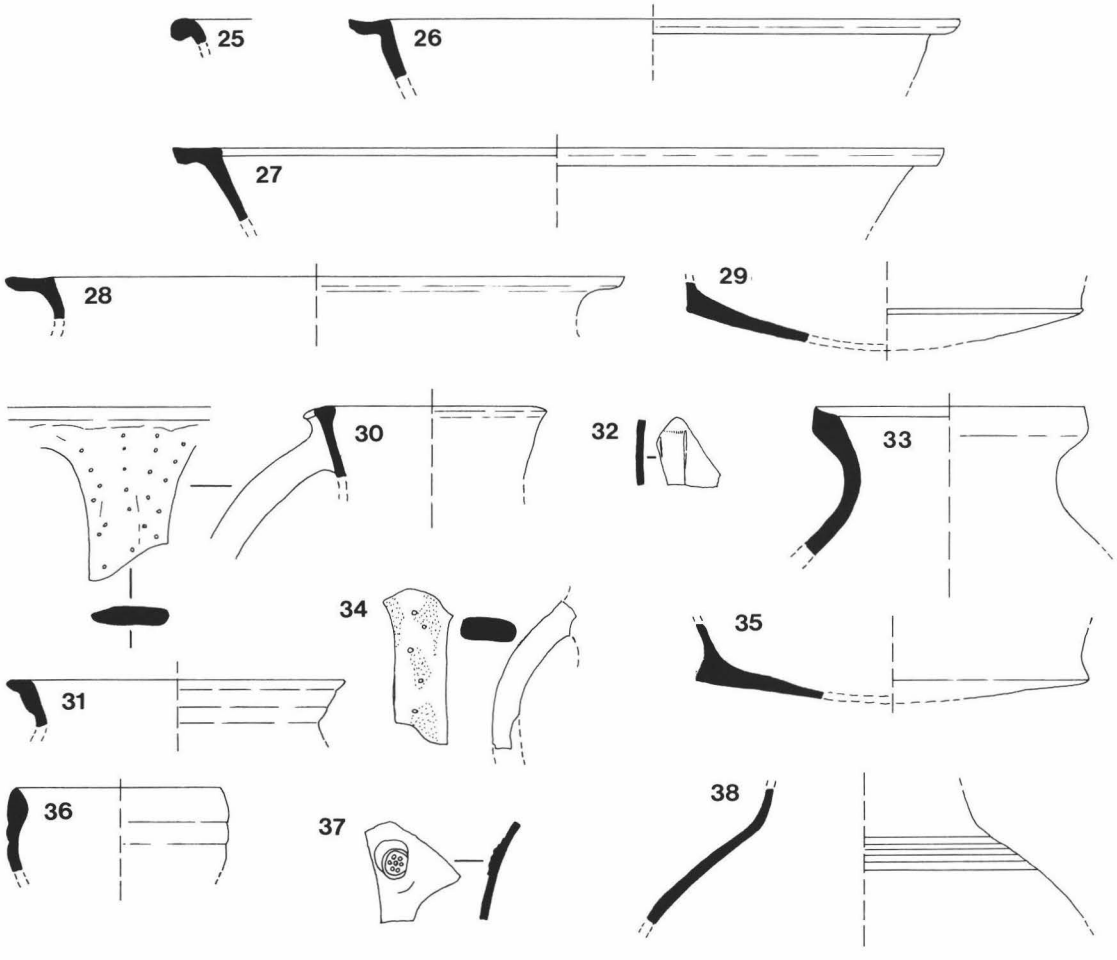

Fig. 14. Bodiam Moated Homestead. Medieval pottery nos. 25–38 (1/4).

been destroyed prior to 1567 (D'Elboux 1944, 33 (tenement 94)).

Other wares included sherds of thin white 'Tudor' ware with a deep green glaze, and fragments of Rhenish stoneware. All are apparently from small jugs having a date range similar to the Hawksden Types I–IV mentioned above.

The Sealed Group (Fig. 12, nos. 1–3)

This small group was sealed between the Period A and B floor levels within the kitchen adjacent to the fire-break wall in the north-east range. All the vessels were of Glottenham Type II and represent the only sherds of this ware found on the site. Decoration was limited to incised horizontal bands set in zones, which consist in one vessel of widely spaced lines and in another of closely set ones. The handles were pricked.

Unsealed Pottery (Figs. 12–13, nos. 4–24)

From the entire site, excluding those from the sealed group, only 248 sherds were recovered. All these were found in either destruction layers or connected with the closing years of the site's occupation.

4–7 Hawksden Type I ware. No glazing or decoration.

8–10 Hawksden Type II ware. Decoration is present only on no. 8 in the form of a design applied in white slip. No. 9 has a bung-hole, as did another sherd of this ware (not illustrated).

11–17 Hawksden Type III wares. A collection of miscellaneous wares, all with traces of sporadic green glaze.

18–19 Hawksden Type IV.

20 Vessel similar in shape and ware to no. 26 from Glottenham (Martin 1989, Fig. 13).

21–22 Vessels in a ware somewhat like Glottenham Type I. No. 22 is the closer match.

23–24 Vessels in Rhenish stoneware.

POTTERY FROM BODIAM MOATED HOMESTEAD

Only a limited number of sherds were recovered from this site, because the midden area was not located. The material falls into four basic types:

I Gritted wares (Fig. 14, no. 25). As Glottenham Type 1.

II Fine sandy grey wares (Fig. 14, nos. 26–32). As Glottenham Type II.

III Fine sandy red/buff wares with green glaze (Fig. 14, nos. 33–36). As Glottenham Type III.

IV Hard grey fine wares (Fig. 14, nos. 37–38). This type is the only variety not represented at Glottenham, though examples of this ware are known from Bodiam Castle (1385 onwards) and Hawksden (mid 14th century onwards). No. 38 is unglazed, whilst no. 37 has a rich olive green glazing to its external surface and is stamped with a raised 'raspberry' pattern picked out in brown glaze. This stamp is similar to stamps found on pottery from the kilns at Rye, which may be the source of this vessel (Barton 1979, 242, B).

In total, 93 sherds of pottery were recovered from the site, all from unsealed layers. Only three of these were from within the buildings, the remainder being from the occupation layers around the structures. Of these 90, 77 per cent not surprisingly came from the service end of Building A, with only 11 per cent from the parlour end of the house. A further 12 per cent were located to the south of Building B.

SMALL FINDS FROM HAWKSDEN

(Fig. 15)

Whetstones

39–40 Two whetstones; no. 39 was worn by use at both ends, not in the centre.

Copper alloy objects

41 Two fragments from a cauldron with everted rim and small handle. The external surface was thickly sooted. From the floor in front of the parlour fireplace.

42–43 Section of applied band with chamfered edges, having originally been applied to a chest or box with regularly spaced iron rivets. The upper surfaces show distinct signs of silver painting. From floor of hall.

Iron objects

44 Possibly part of a drawer handle.

45 Staple for a door-locking bar.

46 Iron ring of unknown use.

47–48 Nails. Many nails of these two types were recovered, their lengths varying considerably.

49 Three links of a chain. The outer two are broken, but the central link is long with the sides pinched close together. (Found within hall).

50 Rowel-spur body fragment consisting of parts of each side, bold point crest over junction and long, straight neck. (From corner of courtyard, near kitchens).

51–52 Fragments of knife blade, each with two rivets for attaching either wooden or bone handles. (Found near south corner of courtyard).

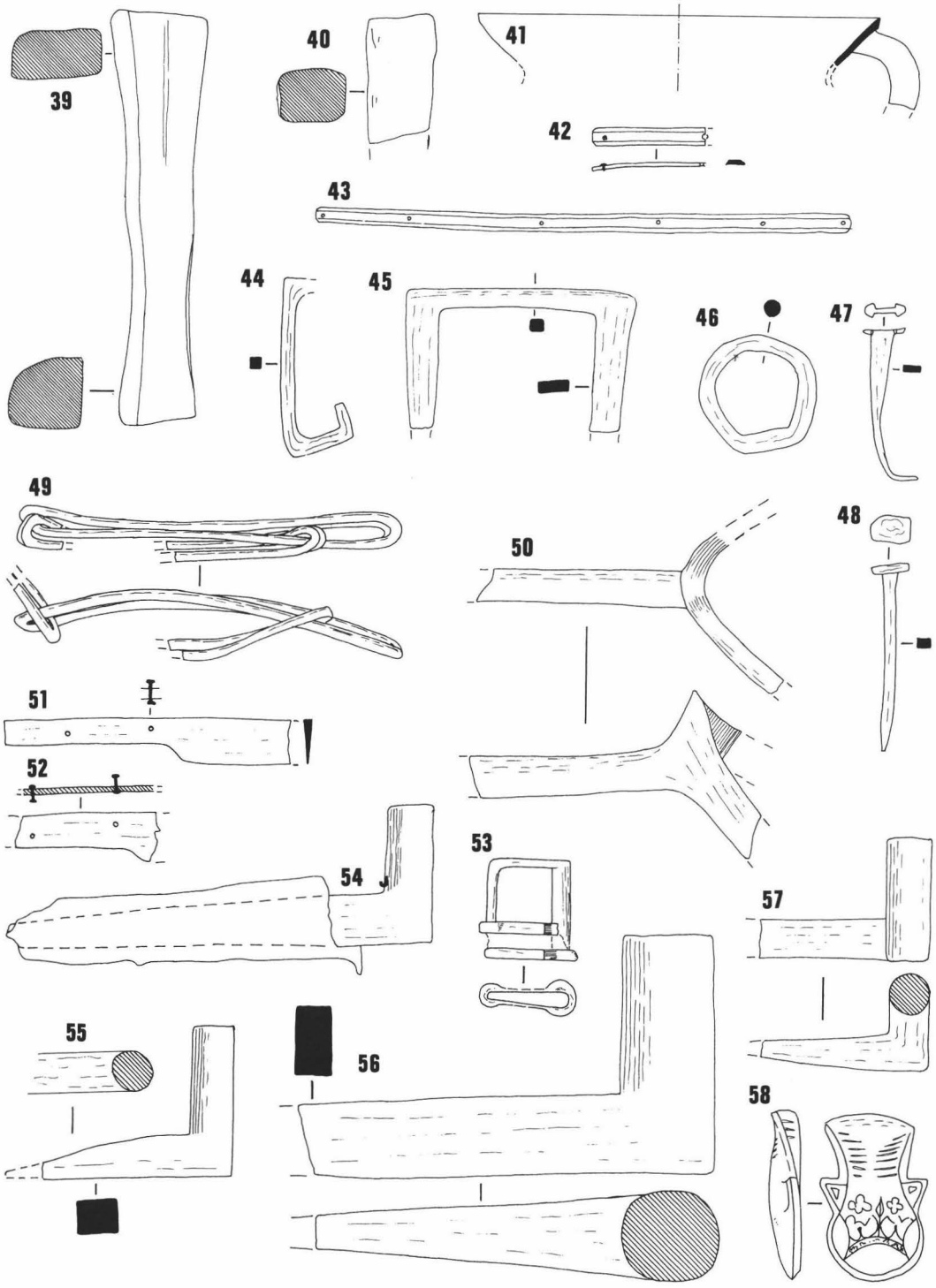

Fig. 15. Hawksden. Small finds nos. 39–40 (1/2), 41 (1/4), 42–58 (1/2).

53 Upper section of padlock with twin plates (not X-rayed). (Found north-east of gatehouse).

54–57 Hinge rides with rounded guide-arms and rectangular section tangs. No. 54 was from a masonry wall and still retained its lead caulking encasing the tang. The remainder were for use in conjunction with timber framing, the tangs being tapered either in depth (no. 55) or in thickness (nos. 56 and 57). No. 56, an exceptionally heavy ride, came from the gatehouse, and probably carried the inner door of the gate. The tang to no. 57 is cranked through 90 degrees, though the reason for this is now not apparent. Four other rides were recovered from the site, but these are not illustrated, being similar to nos. 54–57.

Not illustrated. Vertically-set window-bar, 13 mm. square and 1.06 metres long. The upper section is bent, as if to release it from its sockets. (From roofing destruction debris east of parlour).

Not illustrated. Similar window-bar, but not complete. (From destruction debris within hall cross passage).

Lead object

58 Ampulla in the shape of a vessel having opposing angular handles, which would have been used as fixings. The object, which has one convex surface, and one flat, is hollow internally. The crown cast on the convex surface may suggest that it contained water from the tomb of a royal saint. (From amongst destruction debris in the courtyard, near the parlour wall).

Coin (by D. R. Rudling)

Edward III, penny, London. Fourth coinage, Pre-Treaty Period, Series C (1351–52). An unusually heavy example weighing 22.8 grains. Only slight traces of wear; a coin that has had very little circulation and was therefore probably lost before the end of the 14th century. (From destruction debris).

SMALL FINDS FROM BODIAM MOATED HOMESTEAD

Copper alloy objects (Fig. 16)

59 Heavy flange rim of large vessel with relatively thick side walls. The rim is well

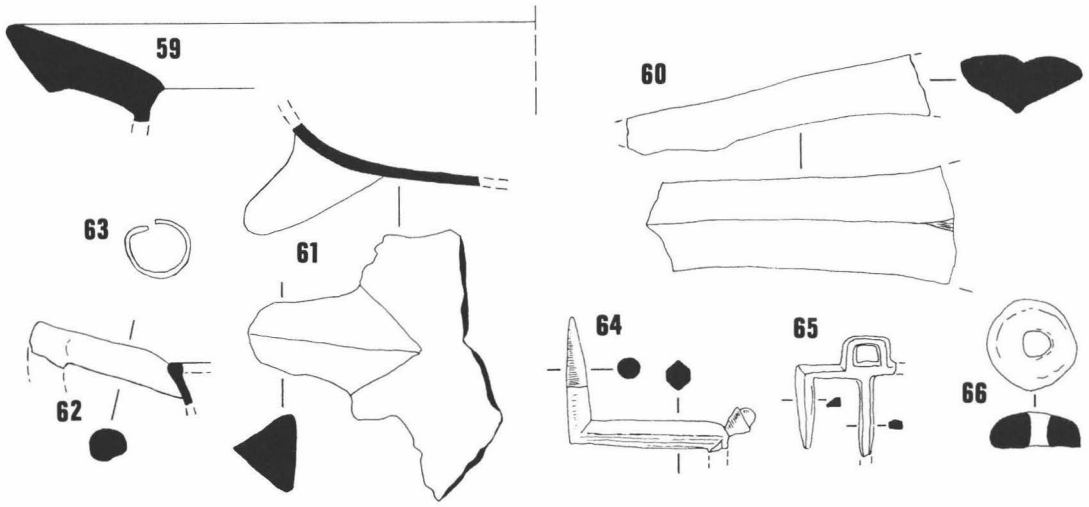

Fig. 16. Bodiam Moated Homestead. Small finds nos. 59–66 (1/2).

formed with the internal bead sharp (BADHS excavations, 1961).

60 Handle (?) of triangular section, the upper edge of which is fluted. Possibly from vessel no. 59 (BADHS excavations, 1961).

61 Body sherd and leg from a tripod cauldron. The leg, which is of stubby proportions, is of triangular cross-section. Many other fragments of this vessel were recovered, but none was of sufficient size or detail to allow further reconstruction. (From floor of hall, Building A).

62 Bead rim and upper section of angular handle from vessel no. 61. The handle is of cylindrical cross-section, and had a rough joint at its corner—possibly a repair. (From floor of hall, Building A).

63 Small plain ring broken at one point.

64 Part of a hinged pull handle.

65 Fragment of an object of uncertain use.

Iron objects

Very little iron was recovered and only one much broken and corroded knife blade could be recognized.

Lead alloy or lead object

66 Roughly formed spindle whorl (BADHS excavations, 1961).

Coin (by D. R. Rudling)

Edward III, penny, London. Fourth coinage, Pre-Treaty Period Series C (1351–52). Little wear, possibly lost before the end of the 14th century. (From north of building A).

French Jetton (based on information from British Museum)

A 14th-century reckoning counter (or jetton) made of brass alloy. Such counters were used in conjunction with a counting board to

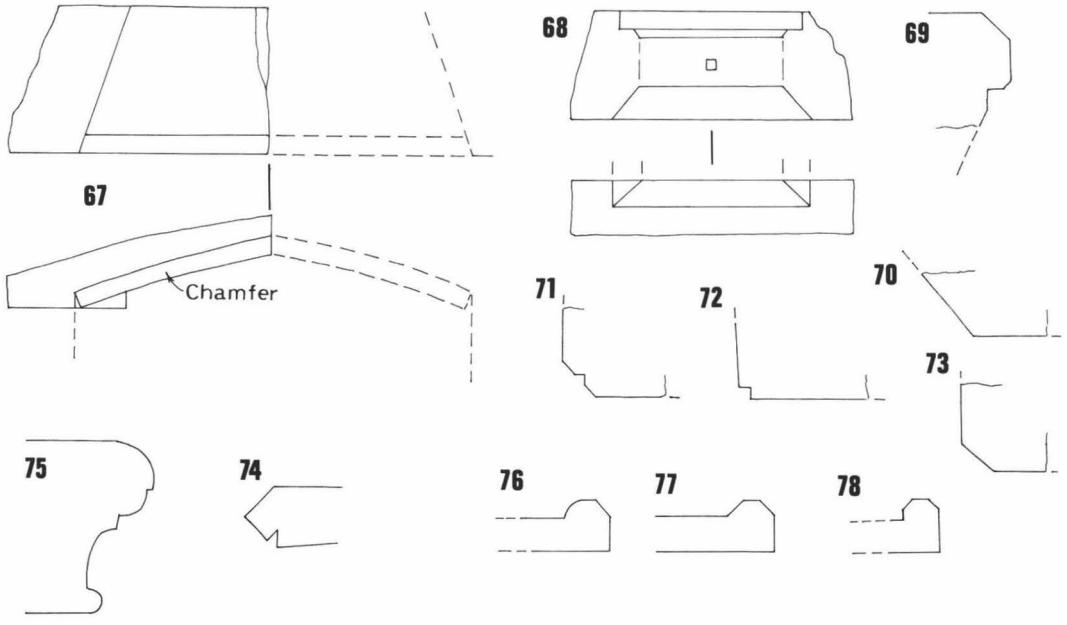

Fig. 17. Hawksden. Stonework nos. 67–74 (1/20), 75 (1/8), 76–78 (1/20).

undertake arithmetical calculations prior to the introduction of Arabic numerals in the 15th century. (BADHS excavations, 1961).

BUILDING MATERIALS FROM HAWKSDEN

Architectural fragments (Fig. 17)

As the Period B curtain wall and fireplaces are the only masonry structures excavated on the site, apart from the clay-filled firebreak walls, it can perhaps be assumed that all the architectural fragments came from these features.

67 Half of a segmented-headed rear arch to a single-light window. The leading edge is chamfered, the chamfer having a plain stop in line with the jamb. The jambs were set to a 20 degree angle. (From near the curtain wall in parlour).

68 Sill of 38 cm. wide single-light window. The front leading edge has a wide chamfer, which originally returned up the jambs. The rear edge is similarly treated, but with a much narrower chamfer, whilst beyond is a 4 cm. by 5 cm. rebate, possibly for shutters. There is an absence of grooves for glazing, but a 3 cm. by 3 cm. centrally-set socket shows that there was originally an iron window bar. (From same location as no. 67).

69 Jamb stone to window described above. As with the sill, the stone is rebated at the rear, possibly for shutters. Beyond the rebate is a short length of splayed jamb set to a 20 degree angle.

70 Rear splay of window jamb.

71–73 Fragments of window, door or cupboard jambs.

74 Chamfered string-course, or hood mould.

75 Two stones with one edge having a casement-type moulding and a small roll at the base and large scroll moulding at the head. A line on the soffit shows that the wall below was set flush with the commencement of the roll mould; the wall above was set slightly forward. One stone is short, but the other is almost one metre long. The use is unknown, but it was possibly either a fireplace overmantel or string-course. From rear of parlour fireplace.

76–78 Kerbs to fireplace hearths. No. 76 is from Period B hearth to the hall, no. 77 Period C hall hearth and no. 78 was reused in the rebuilt Period C courtyard wall south-west of the gatehouse.

Bricks

Thirty bricks and brickbats were recovered from the site, all apparently from Period C contexts, having been used both for repairing the ground walls and in the reconstruction of the hearth to the hall fireplace. All were of deep pinkish-red colouring and were fired medium hard; some had traces of vitrification. Sizes varied only slightly, ranging from 92–100 mm. wide and 44–52 mm. thick. Only in three instances could the length be ascertained, two of these being of 200 mm. and the third 206 mm. These measurements are of some interest, as from 1571 onwards brick sizes were regulated by act of parliament. Although there are several acts, all of which vary the widths and thicknesses, in all instances the length remained static at 9 inches (228 mm.). As the Hawksden bricks are considerably shorter, this may indicate a pre-1571 date, though in actuality it is not known whether all brickmakers conformed to the regulations. Certainly a mid to late 16th-century date is not out of keeping with the other archaeological and historical evidence.

Roofing Slate (Fig. 18, nos. 79–84)

Large quantities of roofing slate were recovered from all parts of the site, many lying in extensive spreads where they had fallen. Either their fixings had failed, as in the retainers' hall and parlour where they had slid on to the courtyard below, or the roofs collapsed, as in the hall, services and the passage at the north-west end of the parlour and within the kitchen where they had fallen inwards. Further details are given in the Appendix.

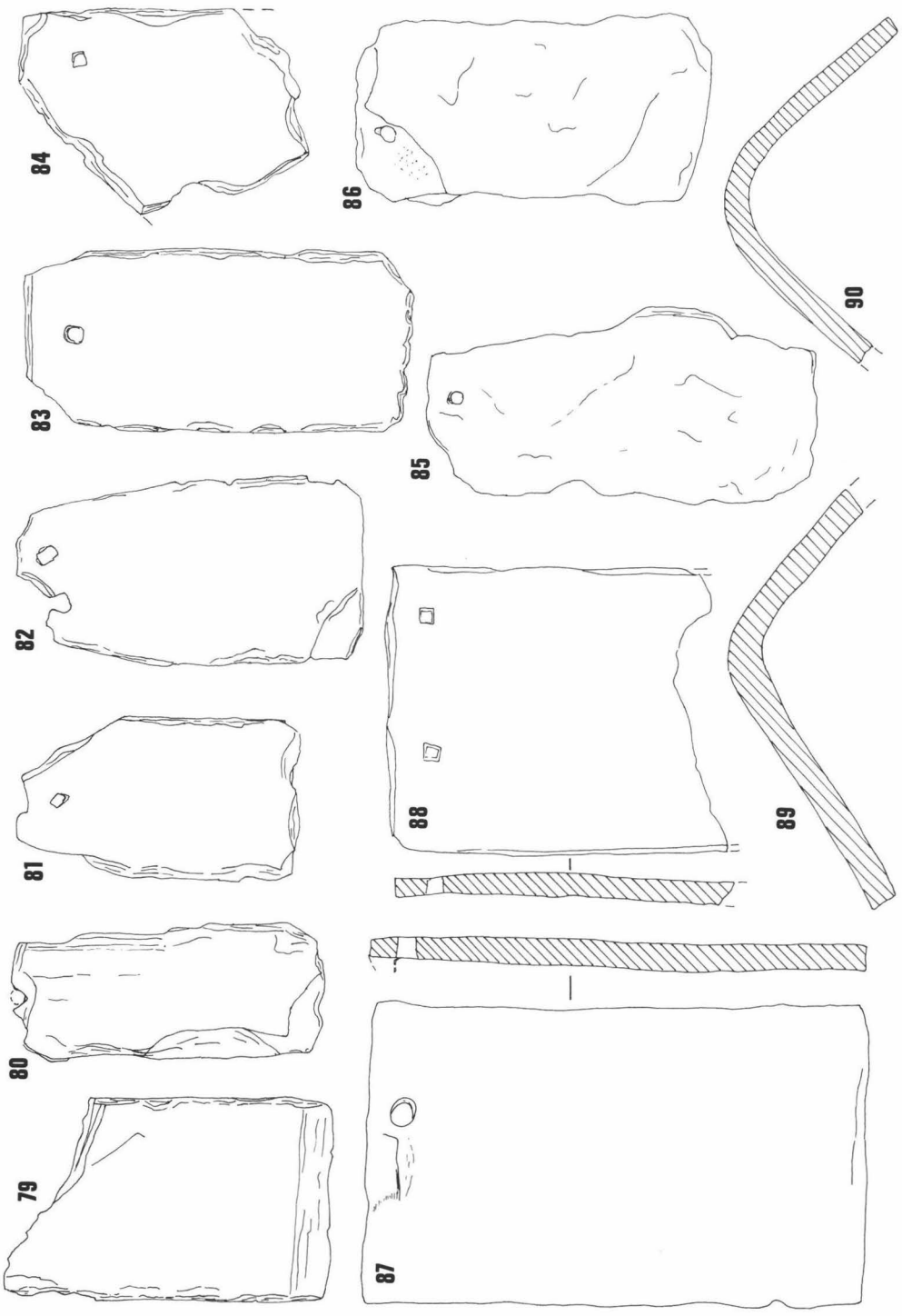

Fig. 18. Hawksden. Building material nos. 79–90 (1/4).

'Horsham' Stone Roofing (Fig. 18, nos. 85–86)

Although far less common than slate, considerable quantities of fawn-coloured 'Horsham' stone roofing slabs were recovered from the site. The material was not geologically analysed, but compares closely with known examples of Horsham Stone. None was found in a Period A context, and it seems that they were used as a slate substitute when undertaking repairs. Further details are given in the Appendix.

Clay Tiles (Fig. 18, nos. 87–90)

Two types of plain roofing tiles were present at Hawksden, nib tiles (no. 87), mainly found in association with the rear wall of the Period B parlour fireplace and tiles with square peg holes and no nib (no. 88), mainly from the tile hangings added to the courtyard wall of the hall. The latter were by far the more numerous. Six pieces of ridge and one of hip tile (nos. 89-90) were found during excavation in a similar fabric to the plain roofing tiles. Fragments of nine paving tiles were also recovered. Further information is given in the Appendix.

BUILDING MATERIALS FROM BODIAM

Brick

A small number of yellow bricks of 'Flemish' type were discovered upon the site. They were very similar to those from Glottenham (Martin 1989, 116–7).

Roof Furniture (Fig. 19, nos. 91–92)

The remains of at least two louvres were recovered. One of these (no. 91) was found in association with discarded pottery within the occupation layers north of Building B; it had apparently been broken and was thrown out prior to the site's abandonment. The others (no. 92) were discovered amongst the destruction debris within the house and were evidently in position on the hall roof at the time of abandonment. The following notes summarize a more detailed report by the late G. C. Dunning.

91 Louvre with two tiers of apertures, manufactured in a hard fired sandy ware with a grey core, light brown/buff surfaces and rich lustrous medium green glazing on its external face. There were also some traces of internal glazing. Eight sherds were recovered, three of which join. Although no sherds were present from either the base or the top of the louvre, these have been added in dotted outline on to the drawing, the reconstruction of these parts being based on comparable louvres found elsewhere. It should be noted that for the sake of clarity the flange over the upper set of apertures had been shown only on the aperture to the right. At its lowest surviving point the louvre measured 300 mm. in diameter.

92 Over 100 sherds were recovered from perhaps two apparently identical louvres manufactured in a very sandy, light red ware. The external surfaces were green glazed, the mottled glazing being darker on the body sherds than on the canopies over the apertures. Over half the sherds measured less than 50 mm. across, whilst their edges had been so badly abraded that only six joins could be found. Although sufficient remained to allow a reconstruction drawing to be made of the base (f) and upper portion of the louvres, insufficent detail survived to accurately indicate the precise position of the upper portion above the base.

The base was very fragmentary; it had a diameter of *c.* 320 mm. and possessed a curved, cut edge running obliquely upwards, thus indicating that the vessels sat over special, separately manufactured ridge tiles. The profile of some of the body sherds having attached bands (e) and remains of apertures indicate that the louvre(s) possessed more than one tier of apertures. In all, the remains of 12 canopies were recovered, shown in side view (a), longitudinal section (b), front view and cross-section (c) and top view (d). It is the

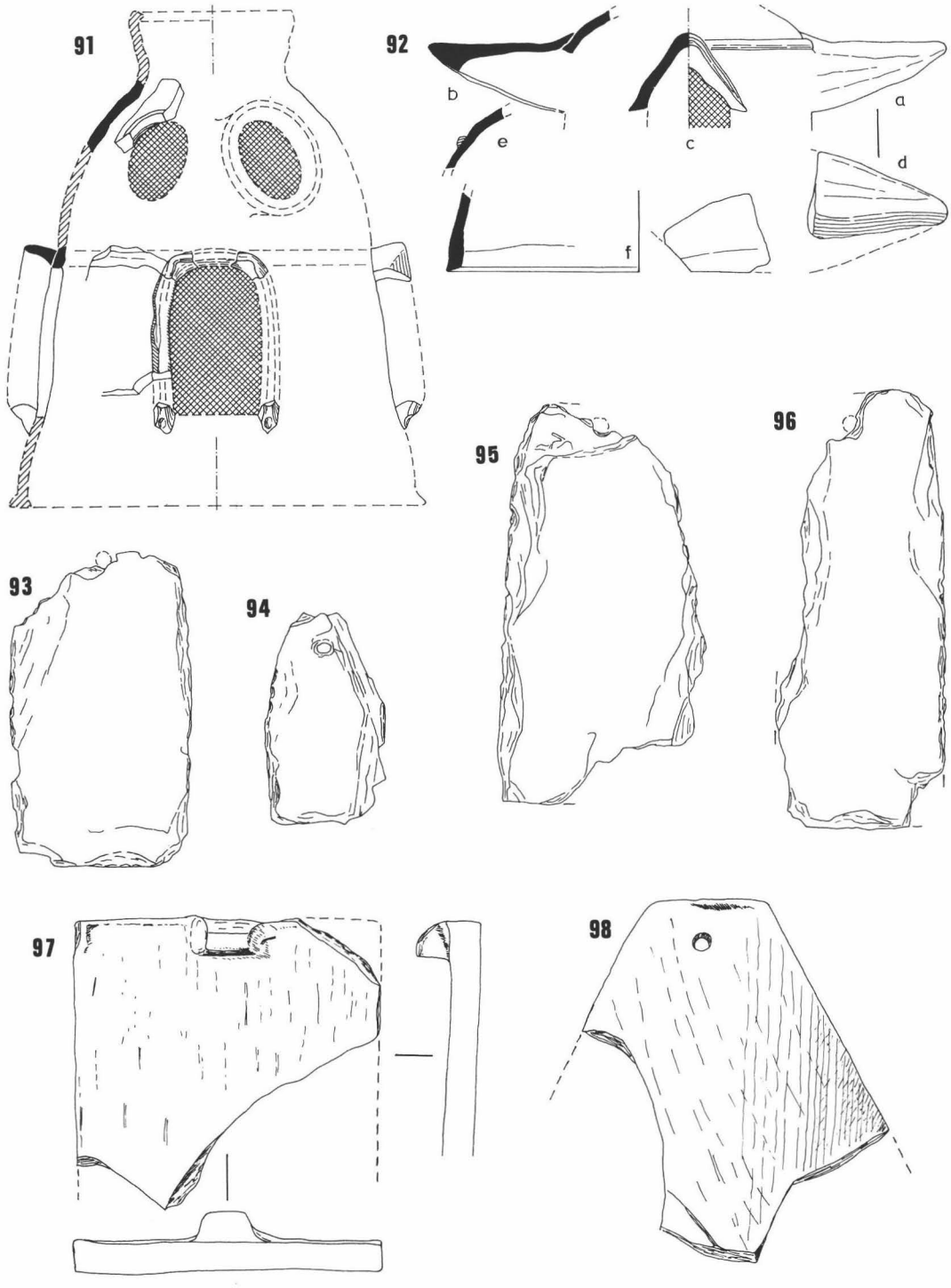

Fig. 19. Bodiam moated Homestead. Building material nos. 91–92 (3/16), 93–98 (1/4).

number of canopies, together with the relative locations in which the sherds were discovered, that suggest the presence of more than one louvre.

Although the design of these louvres is comparable with that of roof-fittings elsewhere in southern England and the Midlands, the shape and exaggerated length of the canopies are without parallel. The louvre may therefore be assigned to a local or regional source in East Sussex. (Hall of Building A, layers 1 and 2; also BADHS excavations, 1961).

Roof Coverings (Fig. 19, nos. 93–98)

Two materials had been used to roof the buildings upon the site, slate for the house (Building A) (nos. 93–96) and clay nib tiles absent of fixing holes for the ancillary buildings (Buildings B and C) (nos. 97–98). Both types of material were recovered in large quantities. Further details are given in the Appendix.

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to the Glynde Estates for permission to excavate at Hawksden and the late Mr Hilton to excavate at Bodiam moated homestead. The author would like to take this opportunity of thanking Mrs R. Haldon (assistant site director at Bodiam) together with the numerous volunteer workers who have helped with the excavations and the specialists who have advised and reported on many of the artefacts. Special thanks to Mark Gardiner for his help with the preparation of this article. The project was financed by the Robertsbridge and District Archaeological Society.

Author: David Martin, The Flat, 16 Langham Road, Robertsbridge, East Sussex.

APPENDIX

Hawksden and Bodiam Moated Sites: Roofing materials

ROOFING MATERIALS FROM HAWKSDEN

Slate (Fig. 18, nos. 79–84)

The material in general is similar to that described below by E. W. Holden for Bodiam Moated Homestead. A sample of 96 slates was available for analysis. As at Bodiam the slate lengths (from fixing to tail) varied from 127 mm. to 257 mm. with a roughly equal size distribution of lengths. Widths also varied from only 44 mm. on a slate 143 mm. long from fixing to tail, to 159 mm. on one of 222 mm. There did, however, seem to be some standardization of widths; for example, the majority of slates with a fixing to tail length of between 178 and 203 mm. had widths of between 89 and 114 mm., whilst those between 127 and 140 mm. long were between 73–102 mm. wide. This shows that, on the whole, as the courses diminished in depth going up the roof, slate widths also decreased.

As at Bodiam, no original fixings survived in situ, though rust stains on several of the slates suggest the use of nails. At Hastings Priory there was definite use of nails (Holden 1973, 38 and Fig. 16, nos. 2 and 4). Many slates retained their mortar bedding and nine were sufficiently intact to gain an estimation of the gauge used. The sample covered the entire range of lengths and apart from two, the approximate margins ranged from 32% to 37% of the fixing to tail measurement. The gauge would have been the same. The exceptions were 23% on a 140 mm. slate and 47% on a 250 mm. slate. One slate, Fig. 18 no. 84 had one edge cut raking to abut against a hip.

'Horsham' Stone Roofing (Fig. 18, nos. 85–86)

The slabs were most common within the kitchen area, where a roof containing mostly 'Horsham' slab and very little slate had collapsed

inwards. It is significant that 'Horsham' stone tiles were used as packing beneath the initial hearth of the Period B hall fireplace, and it is probably to this period that the repairs date.

In shape and size the slabs compare closely with those of West Country slate, though due to the material's structure the slabs are thicker and the faces much rougher. The drilled fixing holes are small.

Clay Tiles (Fig. 18, nos. 87–90)

Nib tiles (Fig. 18, no. 87)—Apart from the nib tiles found within the destruction layers, tiles of this type were used exclusively to form the rear wall of the Period B parlour fireplace. A single tile was also found within the construction of a Period B floor. Both facts suggest a Period B date for this material, though possibly some tiles are of Period A date. In general, the tiles are of the same type as those from Glottenham and Bodiam Moated Homestead.

Out of a sample of 43 analysed, 11 contained a fixing nib and one large round fixing hole, one had a nib and no fixing hole, whilst the balance of 31 contained a nib, but no signs of fixing holes, though in no instance could it be shown that no such hole existed. A further two tiles contained two large circular fixing holes, but no nib, a feature also found at Bodiam Castle. All tiles from the Period B fireplace contained both a nib and single fixing hole.

The tiles with a nib and one fixing hole varied between 177–184 mm. in width and from 14–16 mm. thick. In only one instance could the length be ascertained, this being 302 mm. The one tile with nib, but no fixing hole measured 171 mm. wide and 13 mm. thick.

Peg Tiles (Fig. 18, no. 88)—Apart from isolated examples, tiles with two square peg holes were concentrated in a mass along the courtyard side of the hall's north-western wall in the upper destruction layers. As the roof of this room was of slate and collapsed inwards, it is likely that these tiles represent tile hanging to the walls, probably undertaken near the end of the building's life. No tiles of this type were found in an early context, that is Period B or earlier.

The tiles were less sandy than the nib tiles and generally fired harder. Fixing was by means of square wooden pegs, for which two roughly square holes had been made by pushing a blunt wooden stick through from the upper surface when green. Sizes varied only slightly, being between 159 and 171 mm. wide and within 2 mm. of 13 mm. thick. The lengths could be ascertained in five examples and of these four were between 251 and 254 mm., the exception was 273 mm. and measured 162 mm. wide.

Ridge and Hip Tiles (Fig. 18, nos. 89–90)—In size the ridges had a girth varying from 165 to 171 mm. and a consistent thickness of 16 mm. Only one survived to its full length of 435 mm. Four were bent for a roof pitch of about 45 degrees, whilst the other two were for 35 and 50 degree pitches. The bonnet hip tile was too incomplete to give any details.

Paving Tiles—Of the nine fragments of paving or hearth tiles found, all but one were from the southern corner of the site. These eight were of a fabric similar to the nib tiles and were about 37 mm. thick, though the dimensions of their surface is not known. One tapered from 115–135 mm. The ninth, which was found within the kitchen, is of a darker fabric and apparently octagonal in shape with sides measuring 73 mm. long. (Not illustrated).

ROOFING MATERIALS FROM BODIAM MOATED HOMESTEAD

Roofing Slate by the late E. W. Holden (Fig. 19, nos. 93–96)

Ten pieces of slate were examined, all from the destruction layer around Building A. In colour they were grey, or a mixture of grey and olive-green and some have reddish-brown iron stains. They resemble many of the pieces found elsewhere in Sussex and were probably derived from quarries in South Devon or Cornwall, brought by boat along the Channel to the nearest port, and thence by river as close as possible to their destination (Holden 1965; Murray 1965).

The slates generally are rectangular in shape, though nearly all are damaged and not quite complete, some with clipped-off bottom corners and with a tendency to 'shoulder' the upper corners, a feature illustrated in Fig. 19, no. 95. All slates have roughly bevelled (spelched) edges on the upper side (known as the 'back'), which is the side visible when the slates are fixed on a roof. This feature is caused by the method of cutting and shaping slates at the quarry. Those slates still retaining fixing holes have had these holes punched by a pointed tool, punched from the underside (the 'bed') so that a rough countersinking was left on the upper surface (the 'back') to accommodate a nail head; this preventing the nails from touching the slates above to cause 'riding', permitting the passage of rain or snow. Holes are irregular in shape, about 8–10 mm. either way. There is no evidence whether nails or wooden pegs were used in the fixings, but nails are known to have been used elsewhere in Sussex.

Where lengths could be measured, slates from this site varied from 265 mm. long by 105 mm. wide, down to 130 mm. long by 75 mm. wide. As a rule the widths of the slates increased as they became longer, no. 28 may be an exception, though it may have been broken and could have been wider at one time. The sizes present suggest that the slates were laid in diminishing courses with the larger slates near the eaves. The small slate (no. 94) may well have been fixed near the ridge.

None of these sample showed signs of lime mortar on its surface, though two pieces seen in 1961 from the BADHS excavations did have tiny fragments of mortar adhering near the tail, which shows that some of the slates, at least, were bedded.

Clay Tiles from Building B (Fig. 19, nos. 97–98)

All of the clay plain tiles from the site were fixed by means of an attached nib set centrally at the upper end of the tile. There was a complete absence of fixing holes. The texture was sandy, pink/red in colouring. Widths varied from 175 mm. to 190 mm., but the thickness was constant at about 16 mm. In no instance could a length be ascertained.

Several fragments of bonnet hip tile were also recovered, the most complete being illustrated in Fig. 19, no. 98. All were of the same fabric as used for the plain tiles and were undecorated.

Notes

[1] *The Glynde Place Archives: A Catalogue*, ed. R. F. Dell (1964), xi.

[2] E(ast) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice), Glynde Place Archives, (hereafter GLY) 1072 (account roll of the manor of Glynde, 1347–8), 'Expense hospicii'.

[3] E.S.R.O., GLY 1221.

[4] According to a deposition made on behalf of his descendant William Waleys III in the 15th century he lived to be a centenarian. The same claim was also made on behalf of his son Richard (E.S.R.O., GLY 24).

[5] E.S.R.O., GLY 24.

[6] He had been dubbed a knight by 18 June 1340 (E.S.R.O., GLY 1139, no. 74). For the Crecy campaign, see *Crecy and Calais*, ed. G. Wrottesley (1898), 85. For the campaigns of 1356 and 1359–60, see P(ublic) R(ecord) O(ffice), C76/33, m.10 and C76/38, mm. 5, 13.

[7] *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1361–4*, 63; *1367–70*, 194. Sir John's career is discussed in detail in N. Saul, *Scenes From Provincial Life: Knightly Families in Sussex, 1280–1400* (1986), passim.

[8] P.R.O., KB27/357 Rex, M. 30, and 358, m. 16. The circumstances are discussed in detail in *Scenes From Provincial Life*, Ch. 3.

[9] P.R.O., JUST 1/941A, mm. 25, 29d, 45d, 46d.

[10] E.S.R.O., GLY 1072, 'Custos novi logg".

[11] E.S.R.O., AMS 5896/5, m. 2. Sharnden, incidentally, was not a man to be trifled with. He was in the service of the Abbot of Battle for 20 years and for at least part of that time was also a bailiff of the liberty of the archbishop of Canterbury (E. Searle, *Lordship and Community: Battle Abbey and its Banlieu, 1066–1538* (Toronto, 1974), 420. For his employment in the archbishop's service, see *Cal. Close Rolls 1333–7*, 44).

[12] E.S.R.O., GLY 1223.

[13] P.R.O., CP40/562, m. 106.

[14] E.S.R.O., GLY 1140 (v).

[15] *The Glynde Place Archives*, xii–xv.

[16] H. Cleere and D. Crossley, *The Iron Industry of the Weald* (1985), 334–5. In 1590 the Morleys leased other lands near the forge to Thomas Isted (E.S.R.O., GLY 1224).

[17] E.S.R.O., GLY 1225.

[18] E.S.R.O., GLY 3116.

[19] *Calendar of Inquisitions* Post Mortem Edward III, 8, 232; *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous* 2, 463; *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1346–9, 154.

[20] *Victoria County History Sussex* 1, 406b.

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THE PRODUCTION OF LATE AND POST-MEDIEVAL POTTERY IN THE GRAFFHAM AREA OF WEST SUSSEX

by F. G. Aldsworth, B.A., F.S.A., M.I.F.A. and A. G. Down, F.S.A., M.I.F.A., formerly Director of the Chichester Excavations Committee

Fieldwork and documentary research covering an area centred on the parish of Graffham in West Sussex has revealed evidence for the production of pottery from the late 13th to the middle of the 19th century. A 17th or 18th century kiln has been excavated at Upper Norwood and surface collection here and elsewhere has provided a range of products from the 14th to the 18th centuries which are discussed in three main ceramic groups. Probate inventories and potters' marks allow production to be tentatively linked to named potters.

INTRODUCTION

Pottery vessels were produced for at least six centuries in an area centred on the parish of Graffham, located on a series of tributaries to the River Rother and sandwiched between the north scarp of the South Downs and the Sussex Weald (Fig. 1).

As early as 1283 a rent of 36*s* 8*d* called 'pottersgavel' is mentioned in an inquisition relating to Midhurst[1] and in 1341 the vicar of Graffham received 12*d* from men making clay pots.[2] A number of potters are included in 17th- and early 18th-century probate inventories and wills relating to the parishes of Graffham and Barlavington[3] and production continued in the area at least until the middle of the 19th century when the Todman family were working at a property called 'The Potteries'. As late as 1848 Blaauw noted that 'a pottery of good repute exists there [Graffham] at the present day.'

This area was especially suitable for the production of ceramics because all the natural ingredients required—clay, sand, wood and water—were readily available and there were easily accessible markets close by at Midhurst, Petworth and Chichester. Many of the production sites located so far lie on or close to the junction of the Gault Clay with the Folkestone Sands, which is marked at Graffham by an outcrop of Red Ochre, and on one of a series of streams which flow northwards into the Rother (Fig. 1).

The study is necessarily incomplete. It would take many years of fieldwork and excavation to locate all the kilns dating from the 13th to the 19th centuries in the production area, and even longer to study and publish the complete range of the pottery. What is published is an account of the pottery collected by Miss Keef, supplemented by what others have found. Much of the ware lacks external dating evidence, although some parallels with pottery found in dated contexts in Chichester is possible and more will doubtless be identified in the future.

THE PRODUCTION SITES (by Fred Aldsworth)

Site 1: Upper Norwood (SU93711795)

The site first came to the notice of the writers in March 1976 when a collection of pottery wasters, tiles and glazed bricks were recovered from a service trench near their home

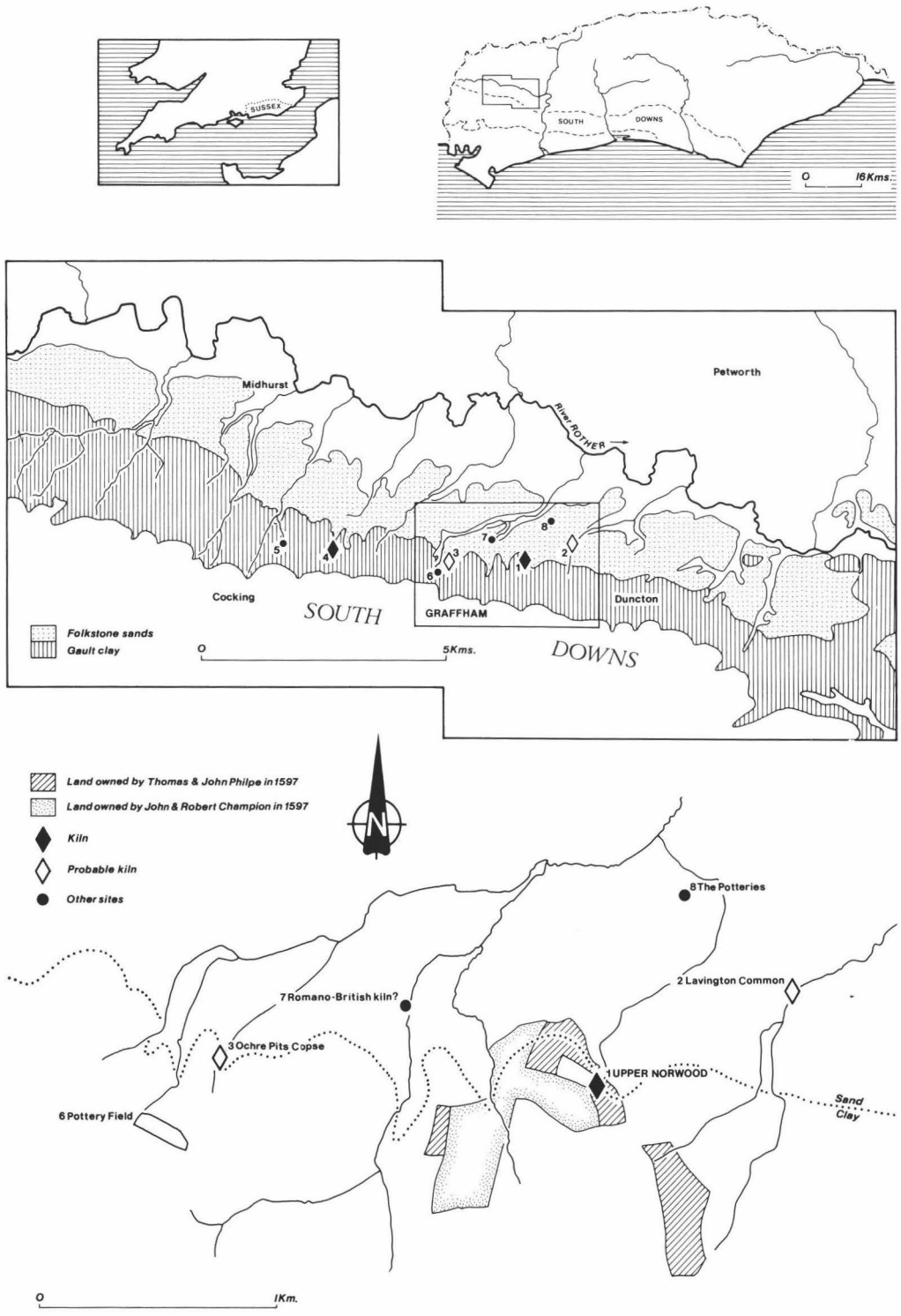

Fig. 1. Location plan.

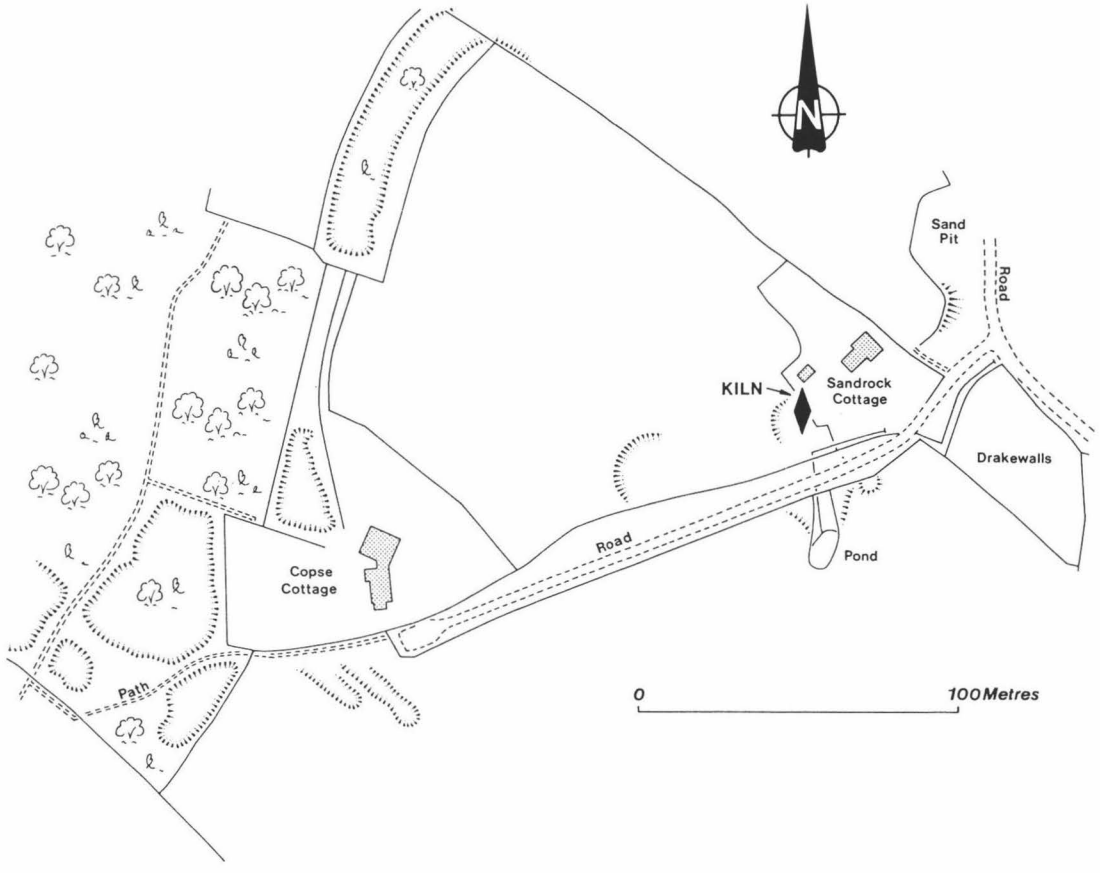

Fig. 2. The location of the Upper Norwood kiln.

at Sandrock Cottage, Upper Norwood, by Martin and Gary Oates. A large collection of medieval and post-medieval sherds was subsequently recovered by the children from the bed of an adjoining stream and later in the same year, after the cottage had changed hands, the remains of a pottery kiln and a wide spread of pottery and tile wasters were revealed when the house was extended and the garden landscaped. The spread of sherds continued westwards along the north side of the stream for a distance of about 100 metres as far as Copse Cottage beyond which a number of clay pits have been noted in adjoining woodland (Fig. 2).

The *pottery kiln* was first discovered when a boundary ditch was re-cut in September 1976 and it was excavated by local volunteers supervised by the writer in November 1977 with the kind permission of Mr and Mrs T. Fear, of Sandrock Cottage, and Mrs G. M. Davies, of Copse Cottage. The structure comprised the brick-built firing chamber, with part of the floor and walls, of a single-flue updraught kiln (Figs. 3 & 4). It had been damaged on the east side by the drainage ditch but was otherwise in comparatively good condition. The *chamber* was found to be 2 metres long by 0.7 metre wide internally and 0.6 metre high up to the level of the floor, with walls 0.45 metre thick. The whole structure being dug into natural clay on a south facing slope. At the top of the walls the remains of the *floor* comprised up to two courses of

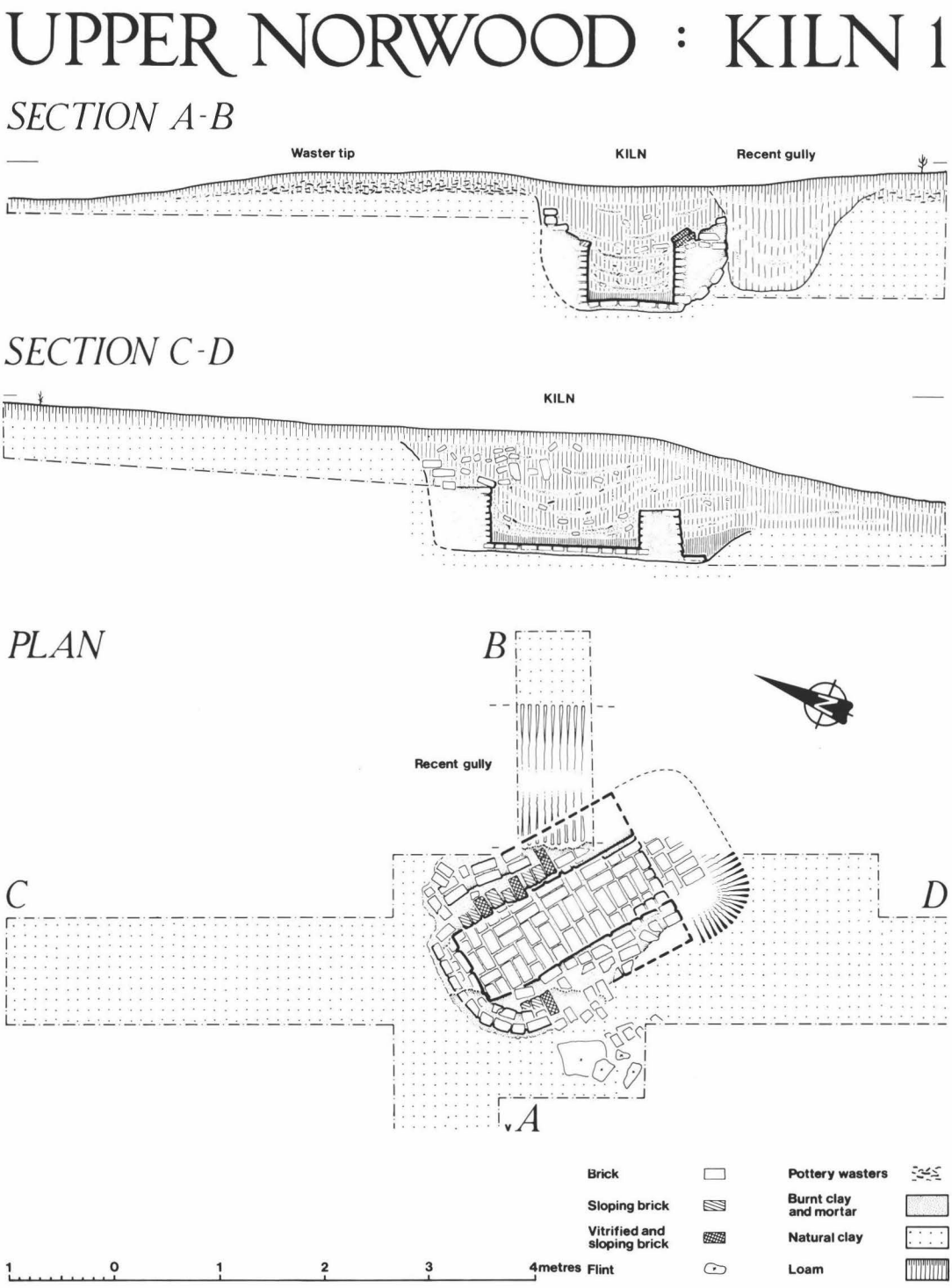

Fig. 3. Excavation drawings of the Upper Norwood kiln.

UPPER NORWOOD : KILN 1
A RECONSTRUCTION

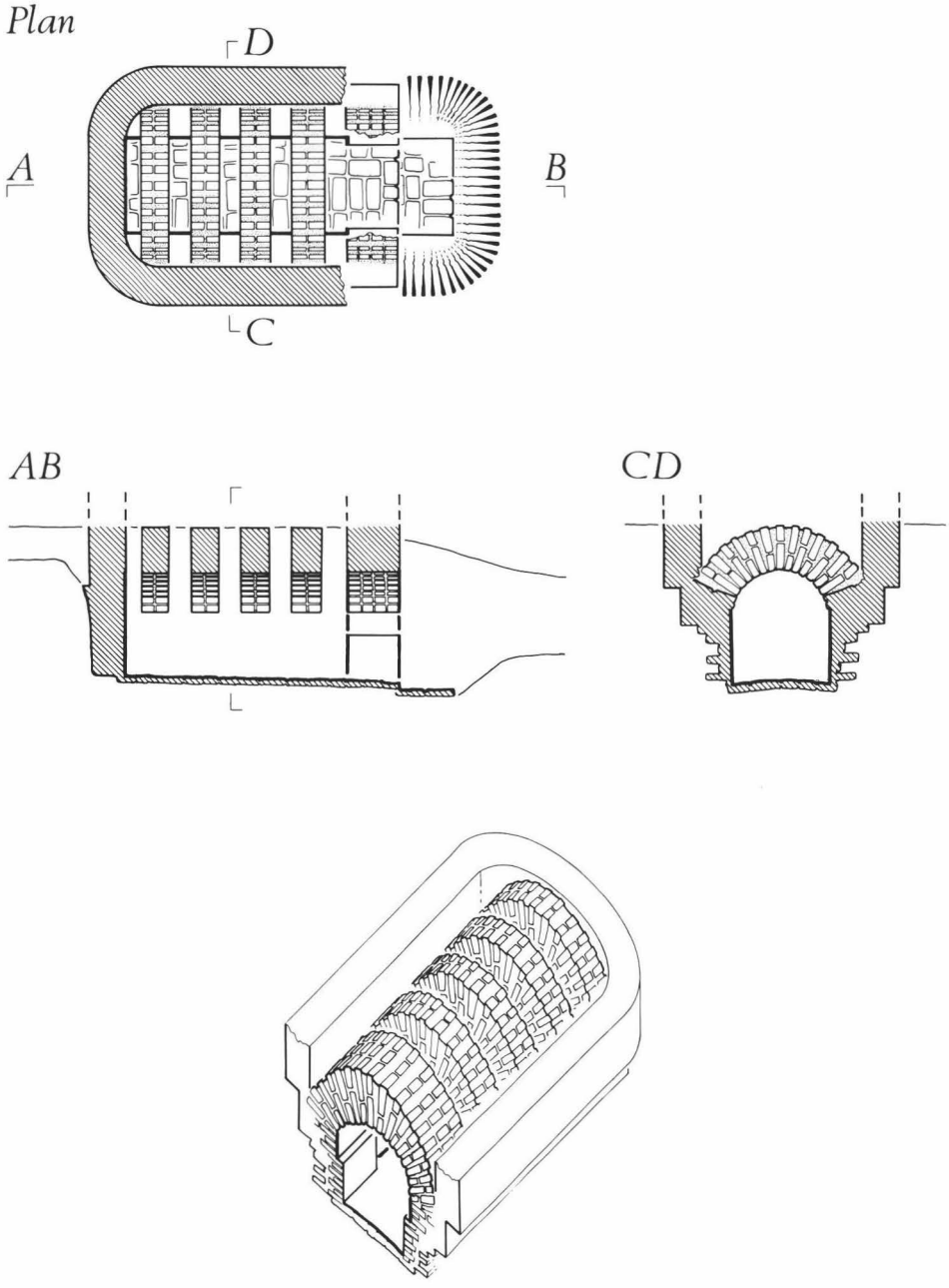

Fig. 4. Reconstruction drawings of the Upper Norwood kiln.

sloping bricks, some vitrified by intense heat, indicating that it had originally comprised a series of brick arches, each two bricks wide, separated by flues each one brick wide (Fig. 4). On the west side there were traces of the original *kiln roof* giving a firing chamber about 1.6 metres long and 1.15 metres wide. The firing chamber contained a small collection of wasters, perhaps the residue of the final firing, and there was a waster dump immediately adjoining on the west side which produced a complete skillet (Fig. 11, 126). All the material is attributable to the 17th or 18th centuries.

A map of 1597[4] indicates that the land was then owned by Thomas & John Philpe and John & Robert Champion (Fig. 1). Both family names appear, albeit only as brickmakers and tilers, in 17th century inventories and wills for Graffham and it seems likely that they continued to operate on the land that they are known to have owned at the end of the 16th century.

The names, occupations and dates of the probate inventories are as follows:

Richard Champion, brickmaker, 1 July 1630[5]
John Champion, tiler, 6 September 1667[6]
Roger Philpe, brickmaker, 25 March 1634[7]
Richard Philpe, brickmaker, 8 April 1634[8]
William Philpe, brickmaker, 17 August 1640[9]
Roger Philpe, tiler, 22 January 1686[10]

The mixture of pottery, brick, and tile in the waster dumps confirms that all three manufacturing processes were carried out on this site and it seems likely, therefore, that, although the inventories do not refer specifically to pottery production, in the late 16th and 17th centuries the potteries were owned and worked by these two families.

The Woolavington Tithe Map of 1839 indicates that two properties at Upper Norwood were then owned by members of the Todman family who are known to have been producing pottery in this vicinity in the 19th century (see Site 8). A house south of Sandrock Cottage was owned and occupied by William Todman[11] and another to the north was owned by Charles Todman and occupied by James Hilton[12]. It is just possible that the Todmans were involved in pottery production at Upper Norwood at this time.

Site 2: Lavington Common (SU 94661838)

A collection of medieval and post-medieval pottery wasters was found by Martin & Gary Oates, of Sandrock Cottage, Upper Norwood, in the stream of Lavington Common over a distance of about 100 metres in February 1976.

The Woolavington Tithe Map of 1839 shows the watercourse as 'Pot Brook' but an extensive search on either side of the stream over a distance of five hundred metres above, i.e. south of, the find spot has so far failed to produce any trace of a kiln structure or waster heap.

Two potters are included in probate inventories for Woolavington but as yet it has not been possible to link them with any particular pieces of land. They are Christopher Denham, whose inventory is dated 6 November 1640[13] and John Spinkes, whose inventory is dated 22 April 1645.[14]

Site 3: Ochre Pits Copse (SU 92131806)

This site was discovered in about 1960 by Miss P. A. M. Keef and Miss Budd who recovered large quantities of wasters from a stream bed (Keef 1960 & 1962–3). When visited by the writers in 1977 Mr Michael Harmer, of Perrott Wood, a house adjoining the west side of Ochre Pits Copse, retained a large collection of pottery wasters and ring-shaped kiln props which he had retrieved from the bed of the stream which adjoins the rear, east side, of his property. A mass of wasters is still visible and spreads for a distance of about 100 metres downstream. The presence of burnt earth, charcoal, and hard-fired brick indicates that the kilns were probably located close to the stream.

An outcrop of clay containing quantities of red ochre, between 2 and 3 metres thick, occurs here at the junction of the Folkestone Sands and the Gault Clay, and it seems likely that this material was used for the pottery. In Ochre Pits Copse the junction of the sand and clay is clearly

visible in a stream bed and there are a number of small rectangular clay pits nearby.

Apart from Henry and Thomas Ewen, whose family name is linked with pottery production at Upper Norwood (see Site 8), the names of four other potters are included in a list of probate inventories and wills for Graffham. Their names and the dates of their inventories are as follows:

William Munnery 29 March 1669[15]
Richard Wisdome 8 September 1670[16]
John Burcher 23 November 1675[17]
John Madgewick 16 May 1706[18]

There appears to be no documentary evidence to connect any of these with any particular pieces of land but the letters M and/or W stamped on several sherds from this site may represent the marks of Madgewick, Munnery and/or Wisdome families.

Site 4: Heyshott Church (SU 89721812)

A medieval, single flue, updraught kiln was discovered in 1973 and excavated by Margaret Rule in advance of repaving the floor of the south-west corner of Heyshott Church. The clay fill contained sherds described as of West Sussex ware *c.* 1250 A.D. (Rule 1973).

Site 5: Hoe Copse (SU 887184)

In 1952 Miss P. A. M. Keef reported that pottery of about 1300 A.D. had been found in Hoe Copse, Heyshott (Keef 1952). An extensive search in Hoe Copse, particularly on the line of the two north flowing streams, has so far failed to produce any evidence for pottery kilns but the junction of the sand and clay lies close to the north edge of this piece of woodland and on topographical and geological grounds it would not be surprising to find evidence for production in this area.

Site 6: Pottery Field (SU 91851777)

A map of 1806[19] includes a plot of land called 'Pottery Field' 400 metres south-west of Ochre Pits Copse (Site 3). The Graffham Tithe Map of 1841 calls the plot 'Blairs Coppice'.[20]

No trace of any pottery kilns or waster tips have been noted in this vicinity though it lies close to the junction of the sand and clay.

Site 7: Romano-British building or kiln (SU 92961836)

Winbolt (1932) refers to the discovery of a large quantity of Romano-British brick and tile and one piece of pottery found in 1932 by a C. Maresco Pearce in the stream which he thought might indicate a Roman building in this vicinity. The find spot was confirmed by the field investigator for the Ordnance Survey in 1972[21] who suggested on the basis of a large quantity of pottery sherds that it might indicate the site of a pottery kiln.

Site 8: 'The Potteries' (SU 94091874)

In his account of local trades and industries of Graffham, Barrett (1953) says that it was at a property called 'Potteries' that Mankin Todman made brown jugs, pans for home-made wine or for salting pork, and flower pots, and Ted Ayling, of Mill Hatch, Trotton, has informed the writers that his great uncle Thomas Todman made pottery at the house now called 'The Potteries'. The 19th century connection with the Todman family can be traced through the Woolavington Tithe Map of 1839 and the 1851 population census but there is also a 19th century connection with the Ewen family which is known to have included potters in the 17th century.

The Tithe Map shows the plot of land now known as 'The Potteries' as Pottery, buildings and yard, owned and occupied by John Ewen[22]. A cottage and garden to the south and a field to the east were then owned by John Ewen and occupied by Joseph Todman.[23] The 1851 population census includes two Todman families under Thomas Todman, aged 47, a farm labourer, and Joseph Todman, aged 53, a potter.

Two potters named Ewen are included in probate inventories and wills for Graffham—Henry Ewen, whose inventory is dated 8 May 1637,[24] and Thomas Ewen, whose inventory is dated 1 September 1667.[25]

The Todman family is also known to have owned property further south at Upper Norwood (see Site 1) and it may well be that production started there and moved to this site in the 19th century.

THE POTTERY (by Alec Down)

The products from the Graffham industry fall into three main groups spanning the period from the 14th to the 18th centuries. Some of the Group 1 pottery was collected from Upper Norwood (Site 1) but the vast bulk of the material was acquired and stored over many years by the late Miss P. A. M. Keef. Her notes do not survive in a coherent form, but discussions with Mr and Mrs Harmer and Mr John G. Hurst, with whom she corresponded, leave no doubt that her site was in fact on land adjoining Mr Harmer's house at Ochre Pits Copse (Site 3). The authors are grateful to Mr John Budden, of Manor Farm, Chalton, who rescued sacks of pottery from Miss Keef's cottage after her death and passed it to Chichester District Museum.

These notes were inspired by the need to find a source or sources for the large amount of late and post-medieval pottery being excavated in Chichester during the large-scale rescue excavations in the 1970s. Much of it had been previously ascribed to kilns in Surrey (Surrey white wares) and kilns in the Fareham district of Hampshire, which have never been located. It was only when Mrs Oates and her two sons who were then living in the cottage later purchased by Mr Fear brought pottery into the Chichester District Museum that a more local source was confirmed. Later still, our excavations in Crane Street in 1978 (Down 1981, 196–211) showed that for a time there was an industry in Chichester in the 17th century in competition with the Graffham kilns, producing a limited range of finer quality wares. It is unlikely that the Crane Street kilns ever posed a serious threat to the Graffham potters and this is to some extent confirmed by the existence of vast amounts of wasters of 17th- and 18th-century date at Graffham and the relatively sparse amounts at Crane Street. Some of the products from Graffham and Chichester are visually very similar in form and fabric but Anthony Streeten (1980), in an attempt to differentiate products from the two sources, has undertaken textural analysis of wasters from Upper Norwood (Site 1), Ochre Pits Copse (Site 3), and Crane Street, Chichester. He has been able to differentiate between the products from Graffham and Chichester and as a result has traced the extent of marketed products from the two production areas in West Sussex.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FABRICS

Fabric A (Group 1 only)

Fine white ware, varying in hardness according to the amount of sand tempering. It seemed to be used only when pale green or yellow glazes with poor opacity were applied.

Fabric B (Groups 1 & 2)

Fine, sand tempered ware. When reduced is a fine grey ware (B1). When oxydised is either orange or pale buff (B2). A third category, with less sand than B2, oxidises to a pale buff (B3).

Fabric C (Group 3)

Creamy white to buff ware with a large amount of sand tempering.

Fabric D (Group 3)

A sandy fabric which oxydises to a reddish buff, similar to Fabric B2.

Fabric E (Group 3)

A grey fabric which oxidises to a pale reddish buff.

GROUP 1 WARES: *c.* 17th–18th century. All from Ochre Pits Copse (Site 3) unless stated otherwise.

1. *Flatwares*

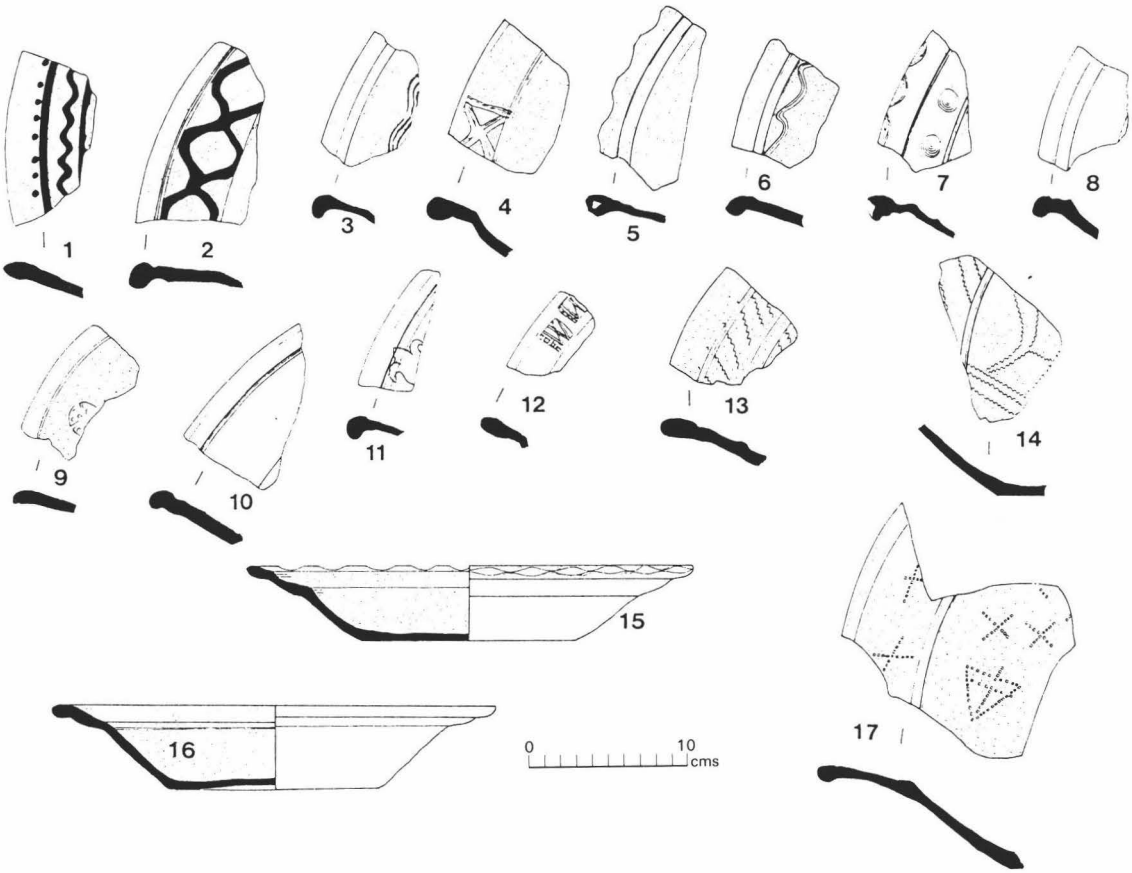

Fig. 5. Group 1 Post-medieval pottery from Ochre Pits Copse: Flatwares—platters and shallow dishes, Nos 1–17 (1:4).

a) *Platters & shallow dishes* (Figs 5 and 6). (All press-moulded unless stated otherwise).

1 & 2, Fabric B2, interior olive-green glaze over white slip decoration.
3. Fabric B3, interior green glaze.
4. Fabric B2, olive green glaze on interior, incised decoration on rim.
5. Fabric B3, interior yellow glaze, 'pie-crusted' rim.
6. Fabric A, interior yellow-green glaze.
7. Fabric B2, pie-crusted and embossed rim, interior green glaze.
8. Fabric A, interior green glaze.
9. Fabric A, interior green glaze, stamped on rim.
10. Fabric A, interior green glaze.
11. Fabric A, interior green glaze, leaf stamp on rim.
12. Fabric B1, stamped on rim.
13. Fabric A, yellow glaze, incised decoration.
14. Fabric A, yellow glaze, incised decoration.
15. Fabric B1, very overfired brown internal glaze, pie-crusted rim.
16. Fabric B1, internal brownish iron/lead glaze.
17. Two fragments from similar plates which have been assembled to show the rim and interior decoration. Fabric B1, internal iron/lead glaze, dark greeny/brown in colour with iron flecks. The crude decoration has been applied with a metal toothed implement.
18. Fabric B1, internal green glaze, 40 cms diameter.
19. Fabric B1, internal green glaze, 38 cms diameter.
20. Fabric B1, internal green glaze, 41 cms diameter.
21. Fabric B1, internal green glaze, 48 cms diameter.
22. Fabric B1, internal green glaze, 43 cms diameter.
23. Fabric B2, internal green glaze, 43 cms diameter.
24. Fabric A, internal 'Tudor' green glaze, 35 cms diameter.
25. Fabric A, base of a ? biscuit mould, with an internal 'Tudor' green glaze. (cf. Down 1978, Fig. 11.12, No. 32 for 3 sherds from a pit in Tower Street which are also from a biscuit mould).
26. Fabric B1, internal green glaze, 43 cms diameter.
27. Fabric A, internal yellow glaze, 28 cms diameter.

28. Fabric A (variant), base of a ? biscuit mould, internal yellow glaze.
29. Fabric B1, internal olive-green glaze, white slip decoration below.
30. Fabric B2, traces of internal glaze, colour uncertain; *c.* 18 cms diameter.
31. Fabric B2, traces of internal brown glaze, 19 cms diameter.
32. Fabric B2, glazed internally with a dark orange iron/lead glaze. Probably later in date than most of the products, ? 18th century onwards, 18 cms diameter.
33. Fabric B2, traces of internal green/brown glaze, 25.5 cms. diameter.
34. Fabric A, internal yellow/green glaze. It has what might be the scar of a handle near the base, possibly a loop handle as there is no corresponding scar on the rim.
35. Fabric B2, unglazed waster with a badly finished base which almost looks as if a footring was intended, 15 cms diameter.
36. Fabric A, internal yellow glaze, 10 cms diameter.
37. Fabric A, internal yellow glaze, 10 cms diameter.
38. Fabric A, greeny/yellow glaze inside and out.
39. Fabric B2 variant. Unglazed, 11.5 cms diameter.

2. *Hollow wares*

b) *Bowls* (Fig. 7)

40. Fabric B1; traces of an internal brown glaze, 45 cms diameter.
41. Fabric B1, internal green glaze, 26 cms diameter.

42–48. All as No. 41, diameters range from 23–48 cms

49. Fabric A; pie-crusted rim, internal 'Tudor' green glaze, 25.5 cms diameter.
50. Fabric B1; internal brown/green glaze.
51. Fabric B1; internal olive-green glaze, pie-crusted rim.
52. Fabric B2; internal brown glaze.
53. Fabric A; internal yellow glaze, 23 cms diameter.
54. Fabric A; internal yellow glaze, 20.5 cms diameter.

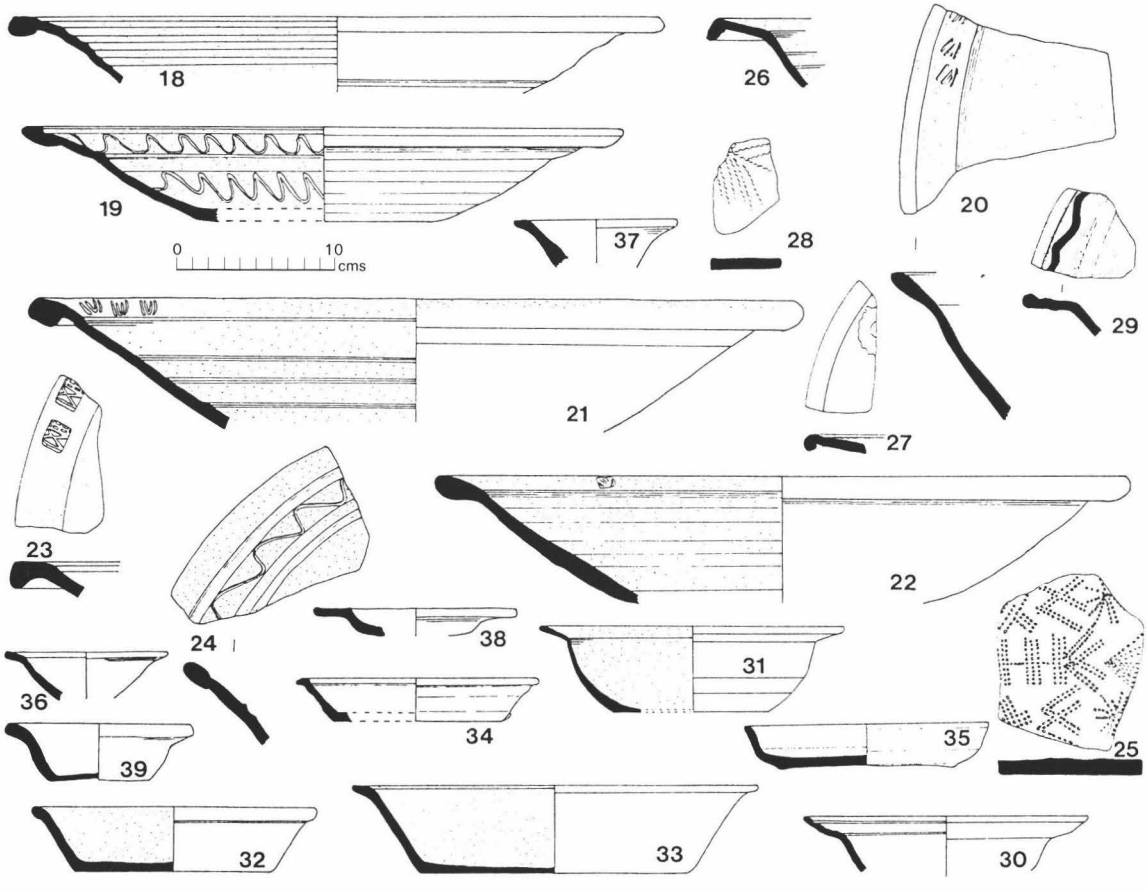

Fig. 6. Group 1 Post-medieval pottery from Ochre Pits Copse: Flatwares—shallow dishes, Nos 18–39 (1:4).

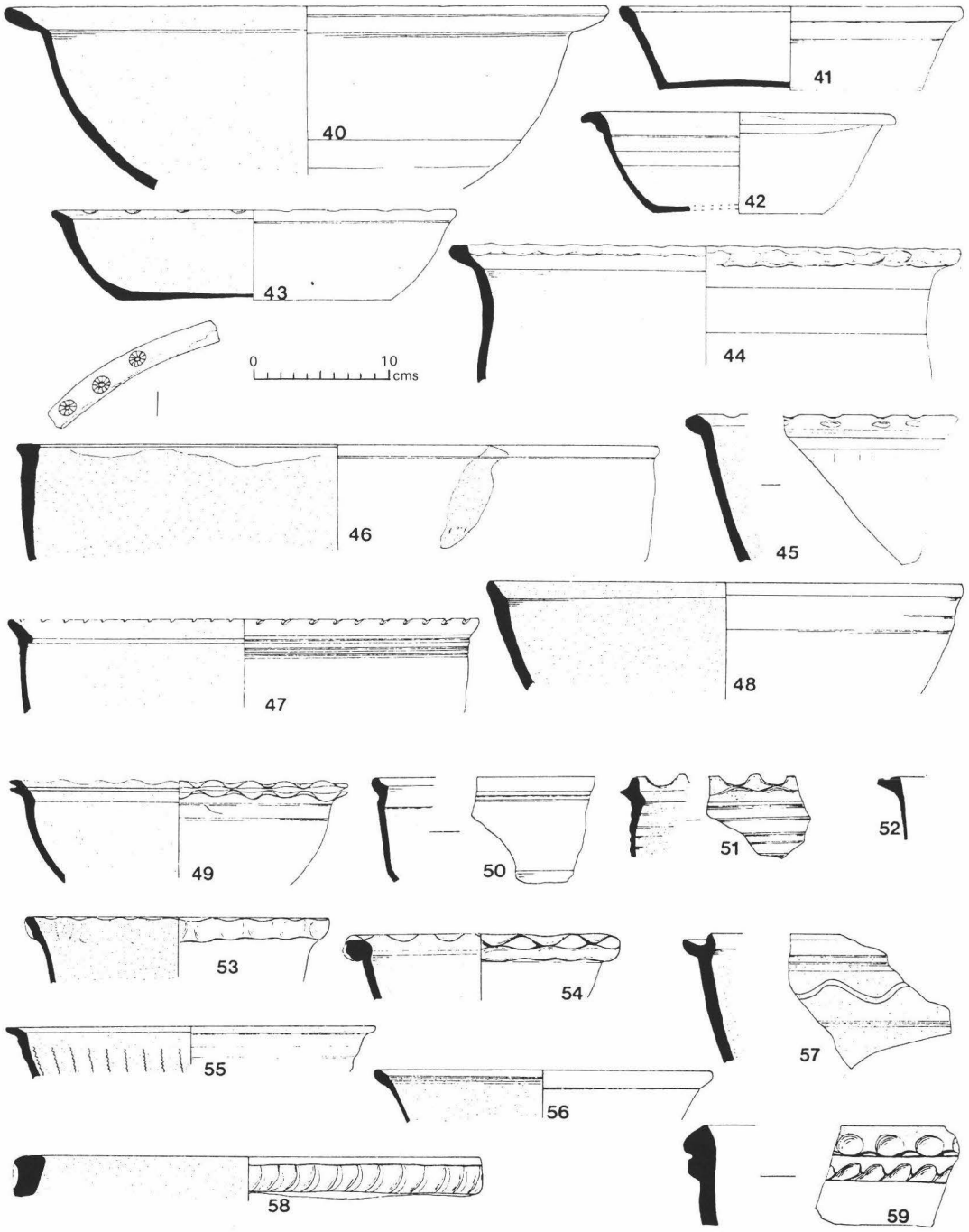

Fig. 7. Group 1 Post-medieval pottery from Upper Norwood and Ochre Pits Copse: Hollow wares—Bowls, Nos 40–59 (1:4).

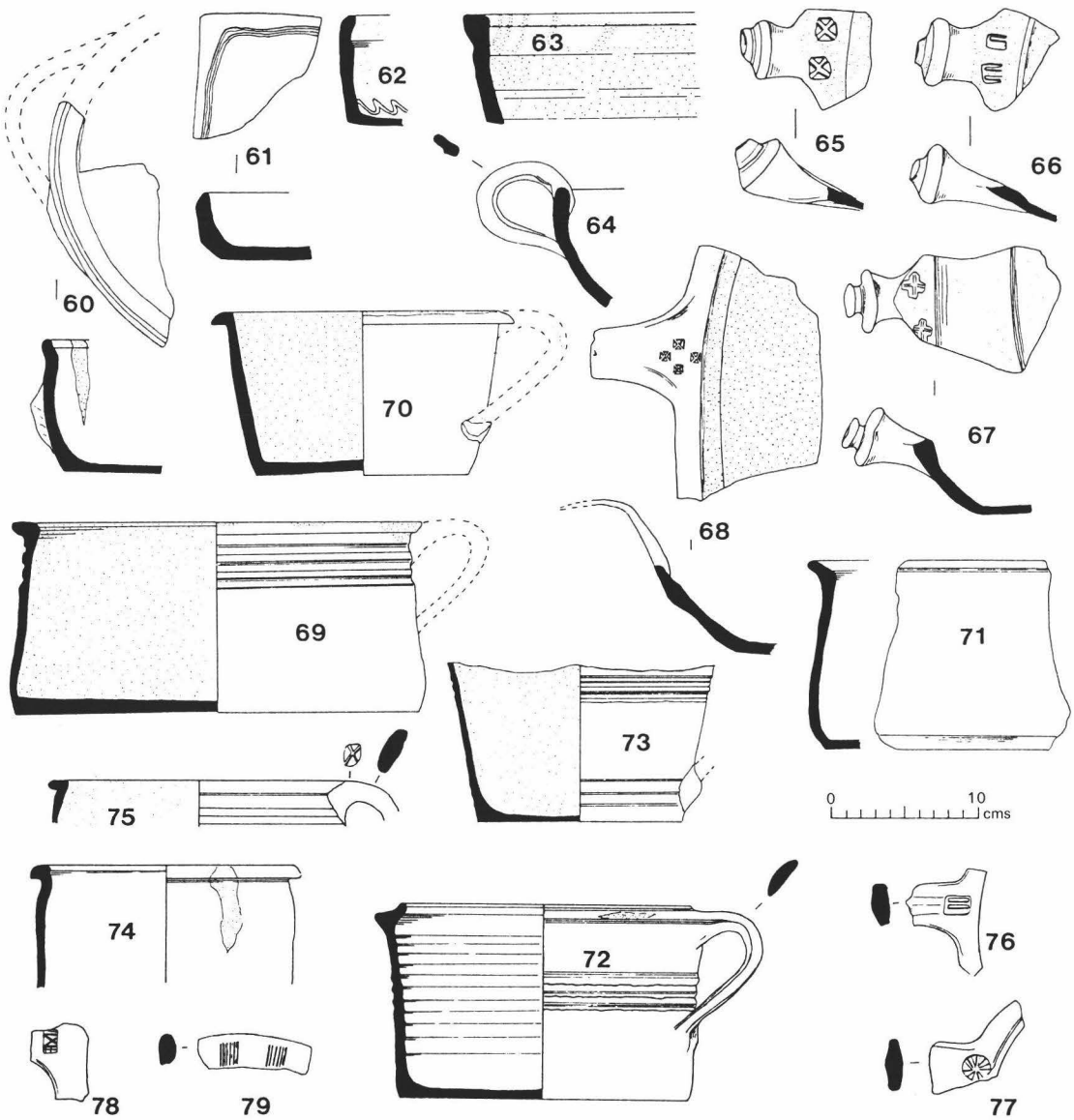

Fig. 8. Group 1 Post-medieval pottery from Upper Norwood and Ochre Pits Copse: Hollow wares—pans and chamber pots, Nos 60–79 (1:4).

55. Fabric A variant; internal yellow glaze with incised wavy lines, 28 cms diameter.
56. Fabric A variant; internal yellow glaze, 25.5 cms diameter.
57. Fabric B1, rim sherd from a deep bowl, angle and diameter uncertain. Internal and external olive-green glaze.
58. Fabric B2; rim of a large bowl 35 cms diameter, internal brown lead glaze. From Upper Norwood (Site 1). See Down 1981, 205 and Fig. 8.48, 84 for similar decoration below the rim.
59. Fabric B; large bowl with a heavy pie-crusted rim and an internal black lead/iron glaze.

c) *Pans* (Fig. 8)

60. Fabric B2; probably oval in shape, with a loop handle at each end. Unglazed.
61. Fabric B2, unglazed.
62. Fabric B3; pancheon with traces of internal green/brown glaze.
63. Fabric B2; internal green glaze.
64. ? stool pan; Fabric B2.
65 & 66. Fabric B2; internal olive-green glaze, stamped on rim. From Upper Norwood, (Site 1).
67. Fabric B2; traces of internal green glaze.
68. Fabric B2; internal green glaze.

d) *Chamber pots*

69. Fabric B2, 28 cms diameter, internal brown glaze.
70. Fabric B2; 21 cms diameter, internal green glaze.
71. Fabric B2, unglazed.
72. Fabric B1; 20 cms diameter, patches of dark brown glaze inside.
73. Fabric B2; base of a ? chamber pot, greeny/brown interior glaze.
74. Fabric B1; 20 cms. diameter, ? chamber pot or large jar. From Upper Norwood, (Site 1).
75. Fabric B2; rim, interior brown glaze, stamped handle.
76. Fabric B2, as 75.
77. Fabric B1; unglazed, wheel stamp on handle.
78. Fabric B2, as 75.
79. Fabric A; possibly the rim of a chamber pot, pale brown glaze over rim.

e) *Jars* (Fig. 9)

80. Fabric B1; internal black/brown glaze.
81. Fabric B1; internal dark brown glaze with black iron flecks.
82. As 81.
83. Fabric B1, internal dark green glaze.
84. Fabric B2; internal brown lead/iron glaze. Stamped on shoulder.
85. Fabric B2; internal olive green glaze.
86. Fabric B2; splashes of dark green glaze inside.
87. Fabric B2, from Upper Norwood, (Site 1) Traces of interior brown glaze.
88. Fabric B1: internal green glaze.
89. Fabric B2; internal dark brown glaze.
90. Fabric B3, internal dark brown glaze.

f) *Wide-mouthed vessels* (Fig. 10)

91. Fabric B2; rim of a large vessel, internal dark brown glaze. From Upper Norwood (Site 1).
92. Fabric B1; internal lead/iron brown glaze, stamped on shoulder. From Upper Norwood (Site 1).
93. Fabric B1; large storage jar with a thumb-impressed applied strip around the neck.
94. Fabric B2; internal green glaze.
95. Fabric B1; rim of large jar, internal black glaze; stamped on rim. From Upper Norwood (Site 1).
96. Fabric B1; faint traces of an overfired glaze on the inside.
97. Fabric B1; internal dark brown glaze. Stamped on rim.
98. Fabric B1, oxydised to a dirty buff.
99. Fabric B2; internal pale orange glaze.
100. Fabric B1; internal black glaze, slate-grey exterior.
101. Fabric B1; grey exterior surface. From Upper Norwood (Site 1).
102. Fabric B2; unglazed, wheel stamped below neck.
103. Fabric B2; slate-grey surfaces, from Upper Norwood (Site 1).
104. Fabric B2; large vessel with applied strip below rim; slate grey exterior.
105. Fabric B1; large vessel with lid-seated rim; slate-grey exterior. From Upper Norwood (Site 1).
106. Fabric B3; internal yellow glaze.
107. Fabric B1; internal black glaze.
108. Fabric A; internal pale green glaze. From Upper Norwood (Site 1).
109. Fabric A variant; internal green glaze. From Upper Norwood (Site 1).

g) *Pipkins* (Fig. 11)

110. Fabric B1; internal olive-green glaze.
111. Fabric B2; internal light brown glaze.
112. Fabric B2; unglazed, possibly a pipkin. From Upper Norwood (Site 1).
113. Fabric B2; internal light brown glaze.
114. Fabric B2, possibly a pipkin, unglazed.
115. Fabric B1; internal olive green glaze; external lid seated rim.
116. Fabric B1; ? pipkin, internal olive green glaze.
117. A pinky/buff variant of Fabric A. Pipkin base with internal yellow glaze.
118. Fabric A variant, being harder, whiter and with more sand than 117 and is from a different source. 'Tudor' green glaze inside. *Not illustrated.*
119. Fabric B2; pipkin handle with traces of internal brown glaze. From Upper Norwood (Site 1).
120. Fabric B2; internal brown glaze.

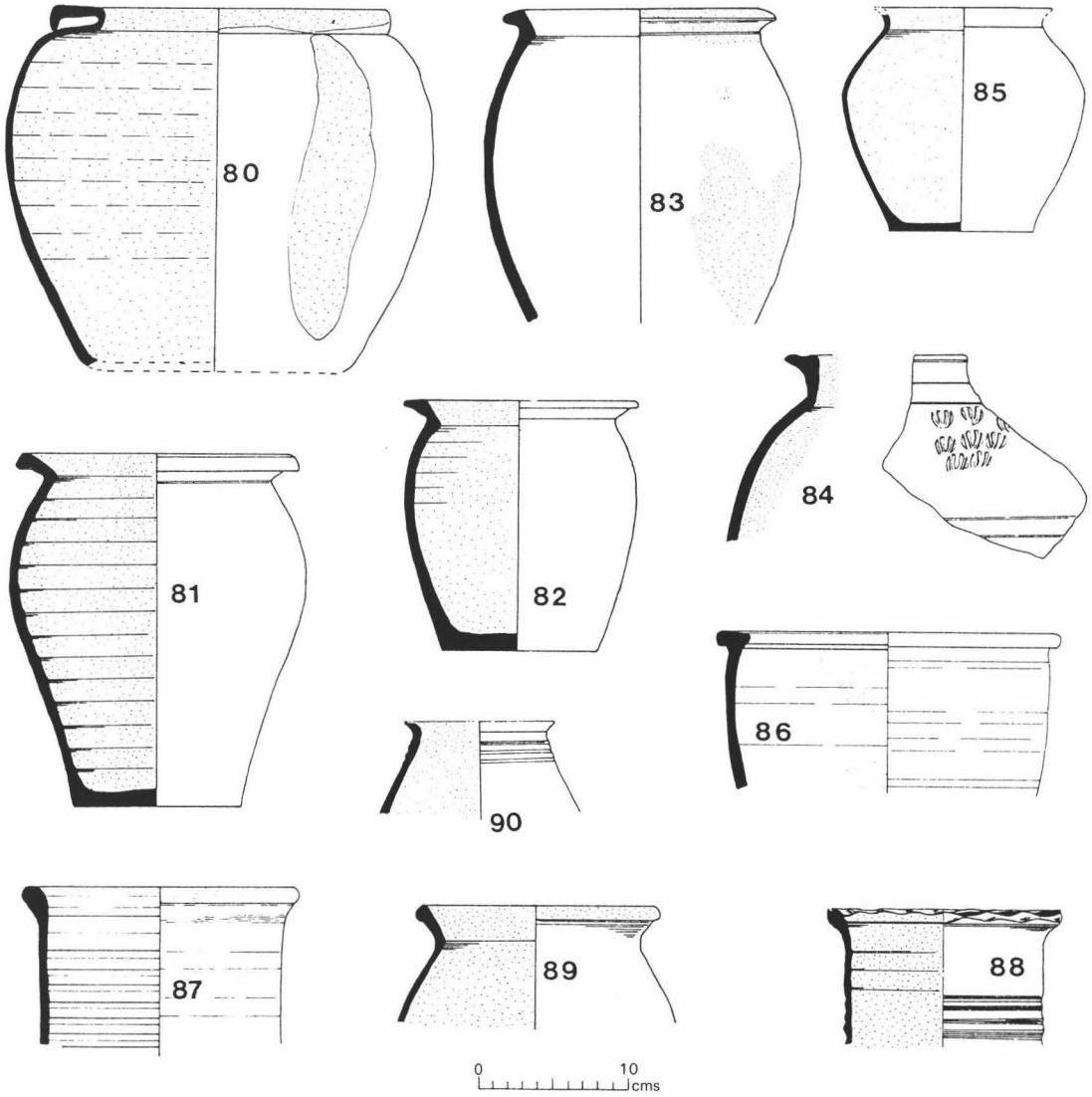

Fig. 9. Group 1 Post-medieval pottery from Upper Norwood and Ochre Pits Copse: Hollow wares—Jars, Nos 80–90 (1:4).

121. Fabric as 118; internal yellow glaze.
122. Fabric as 117; internal yellow glaze.
123. Fabric B1; internal olive green glaze.
124. Fabric as 117, internal yellow glaze.

h) *Skillet*

125. Fabric B1; internal olive green glaze.
126. Fabric B1; internal dark green/brown glaze. From Norwood (found in the waster tip near the kiln on Site 1).

j) *Chafing dishes* (Fig. 12)

127. Fabric B1; internal olive green glaze, loop handles and with vertical slots cut in the body.
128. Fabric B2; patchy brown glaze on rim.
129. Fabric B1; unglazed, with holes pierced in the rim.
130. Fabric B1; patchy internal green glaze.
131. Fabric B1; base of a chafing dish with large air vents cut in the side.
132 & 133. Fabric A, variants. Knobs from the rims of chafing dishes with a 'Tudor' green glaze. No. 133 is from Upper Norwood (Site 1).

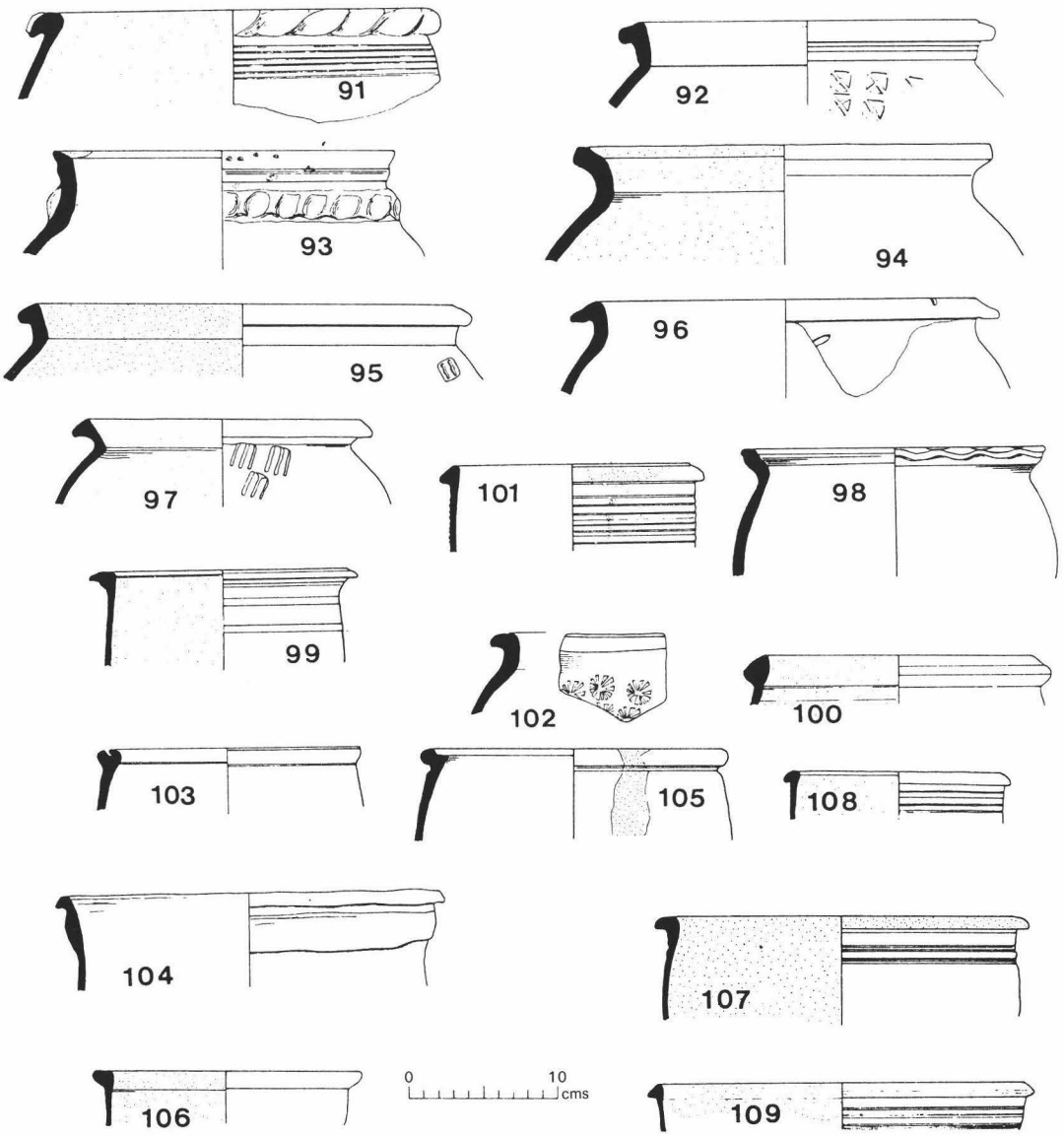

Fig. 10. Group 1 Post-medieval pottery from Upper Norwood and Ochre Pits Copse: Hollow wares—Wide-mouthed jars, Nos. 91–109 (1:4).

134. Fabric A; stem and part of the bowl of a pedestal-based vessel, probably a chafing dish. Internal yellow/brown glaze. *Not illustrated.*

k) *Butter pots*

135. Fabric B2. The lower part of a butter pot with internal green/brown glaze.

136. Fabric A. Lower part of a larger butter pot with internal yellow/brown glaze. *Not illustrated.*

137. Fabric B1; possibly butter pot, with internal brown/black glaze.

138. Fabric A; ? butter pot; internal yellow glaze, from Upper Norwood (Site 1).

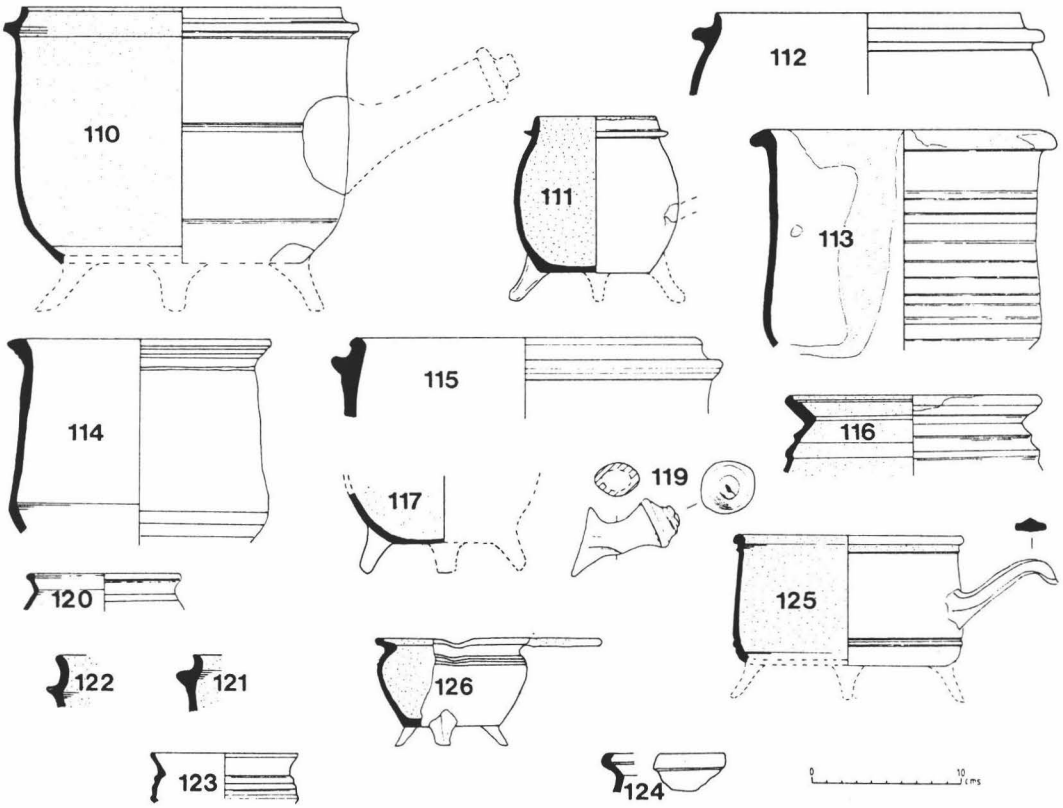

Fig. 11. Group 1 Post-medieval pottery from Upper Norwood & Ochre Pits Copse: Pipkins, Nos 110–124; and Skillets, Nos 125 and 126 (1:4).

l) *Loop-handled vessels*

Only three examples are known and only 139 has a rim form.

139. Fabric 1; internal dark green glaze and an external lid-seated rim. The exterior is oxidised to a dirty buff and the handle (presumably one of a pair), is luted into the body of the vessel, with the apex of the handle being thumb-impressed into the body. The function is uncertain, but it might be a casserole dish as the body has a straight wall and the vessel would have to be lifted with two hands, with the fingers resting underneath the top of the loop handles.
140. Fabric B2; unglazed and reduced to a slate grey inside and out.
141. Fabric B1; straight-walled vessel with a loop handle coming out at right-angles to the body. Internal olive green glaze. *Not illustrated.*

m) *Costrels*

Only the handles belonging to four separate vessels survive and no complete form can be reconstructured.

142. Fabric B2; unglazed. This may well belong to a type of costrel illustrated by Holling (Holling 1971, Fig. 4, K1). The form is a flat vessel with a handle on either side of the shoulder.
143. Fabric B1; external green lead glaze with black iron flecks. From a similar vessel to 142.
144. Fabric B2; external dark brown/black glaze. Similar vessel to 142.
145. Fabric B2; external dark brown glaze. Probably from a barrel shaped costrel.

n) *Porringers* (Fig. 13)

146 & 147. Fabric B2; possibly porringers. Both have internal green/brown glaze. 146 *not illustrated.*
148. Fabric B2; internal green glaze, probably a porringer. There is the scar of a handle present, and apparently only one.
149. Fabric B2; ? porringer; internal green glaze.
150. Fabric B1; internal green glaze. There is the scar of a rod handle present, the vessel being otherwise complete.
151. Fabric B2; almost complete vessel with traces of glaze inside. No sign of handles, size suggest a porringer.

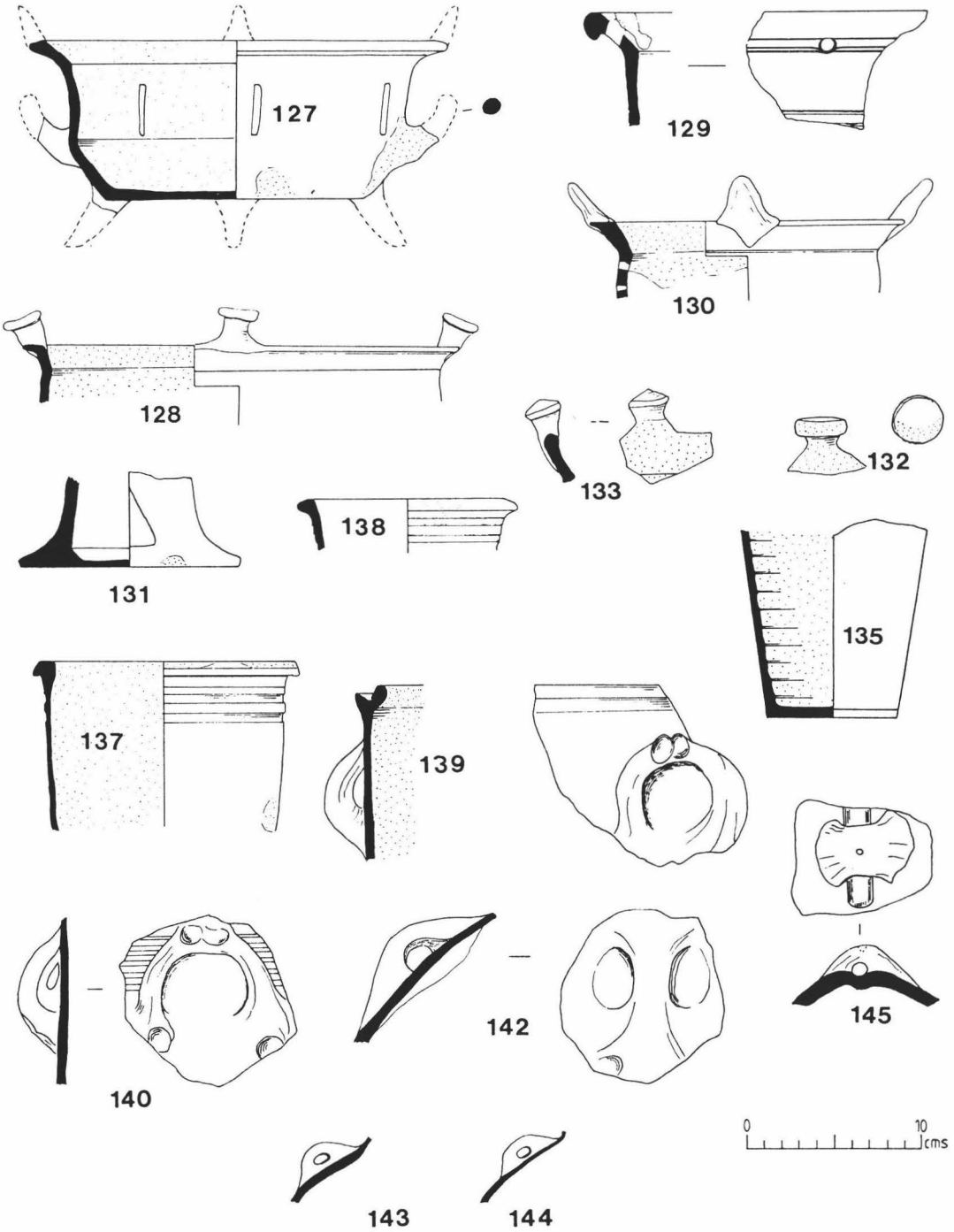

Fig. 12. Group 1 Post-medieval pottery from Upper Norwood and Ochre Pits Copse: Chafing dishes, Nos 127–134; Butter pots, Nos 135, 137 and 138; Loop-handled vessels, Nos 139 and 140; and Costrels, Nos 142–145 (1:4).

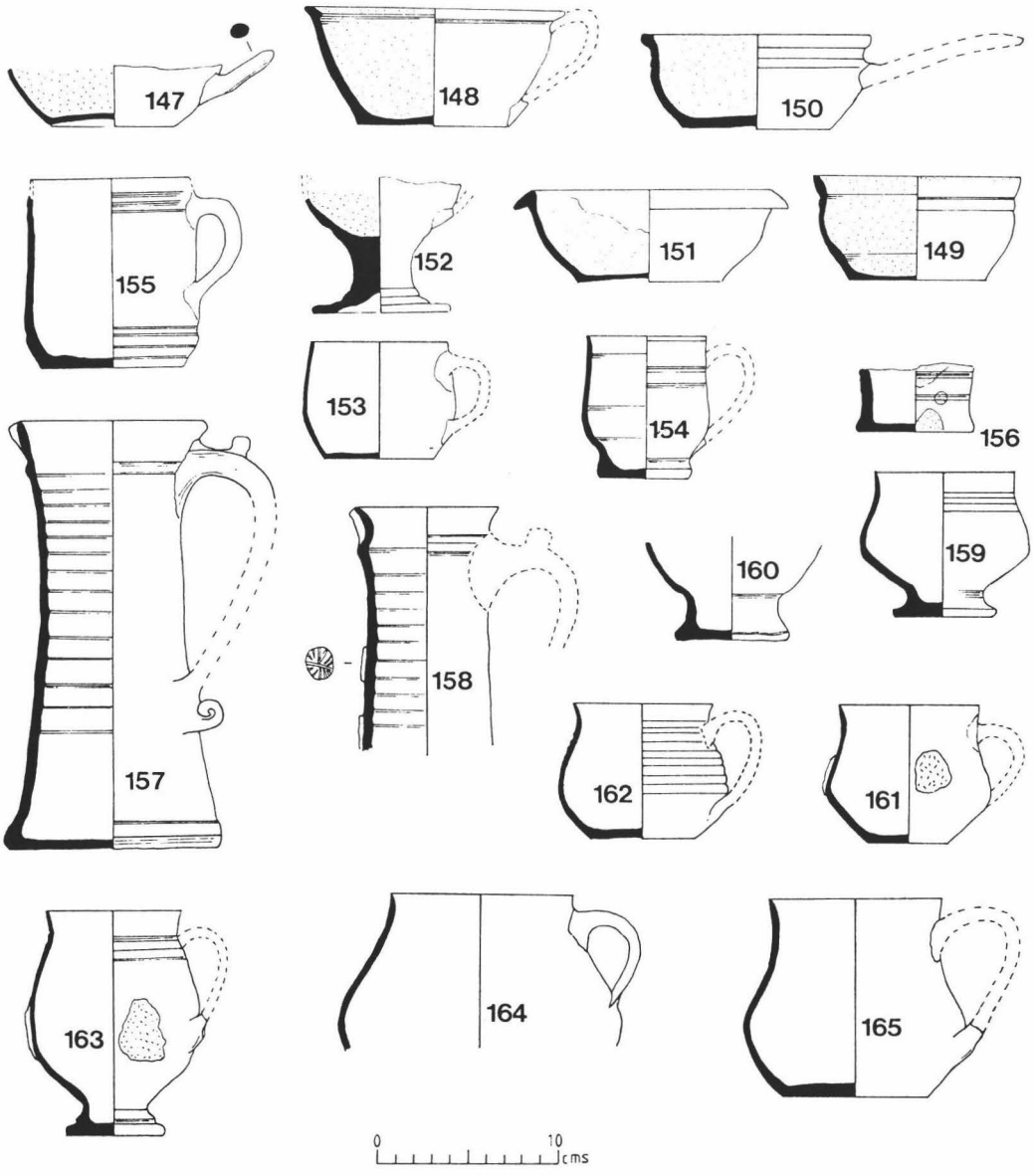

Fig. 13. Group 1 Post-medieval pottery from Ochre Pits Copse: Porringers, Nos 147–151; Drinking vessels—Mugs and Cups, Nos 152–156; Jugs-Cider Jacks, Nos 157 and 158; and Cream Jugs, Nos 159–165 (1:4).

Drinking vessels

o) *Mugs & cups*

152. Pedestal base of a cup in Fabric B2 with internal green glaze.
153. Cup in Fabric B2, internal & external brown glaze; (cf. Down 1981, Fig. 8.49 for similar brown-glazed cups, but with footrings).
154. Cup in Fabric B2; pedestal base and traces of green/brown glaze inside.
155. Fabric B1; mug, green/brown glaze inside and out.
156. Fabric B1; mug, patchy external dark green glaze.

p) *Jugs*

i) *Cider jacks*

157. Fabric B1; dark brown glaze inside and out.
158. Fabric B2; dark brown glaze and with applied medallions.

ii) *Cream jugs*

(all surfaces with the dark brown glaze unless otherwise stated).

159. Fabric B2; pedestal base.
160. Fabric B1; patchy green/brown glaze, pedestal base.
161. Fabric B2; with crudely applied blobs in which are embedded calcined flints. A number of examples present.
162. Fabric B1.
163. Fabric B1; decoration as 161.
164. Fabric B2; mid-brown glaze with black iron flecks.
165. Fabric B2.

iii) *Narrow-necked jugs, imitation Bellarmine* (Fig. 14)

166. Fabric B2; patchy external green glaze.
167. Fabric B1; dark green/brown glaze.
168. Fabric B1; external olive green glaze.
169. Fabric B1, olive green glaze inside and out.

iv) *Wide-mouthed jugs*

170. Fabric B2.
171. Fabric B1, olive green glaze, imitation Bellarmine.
172. Fabric B2, patchy green/brown glaze inside and out.

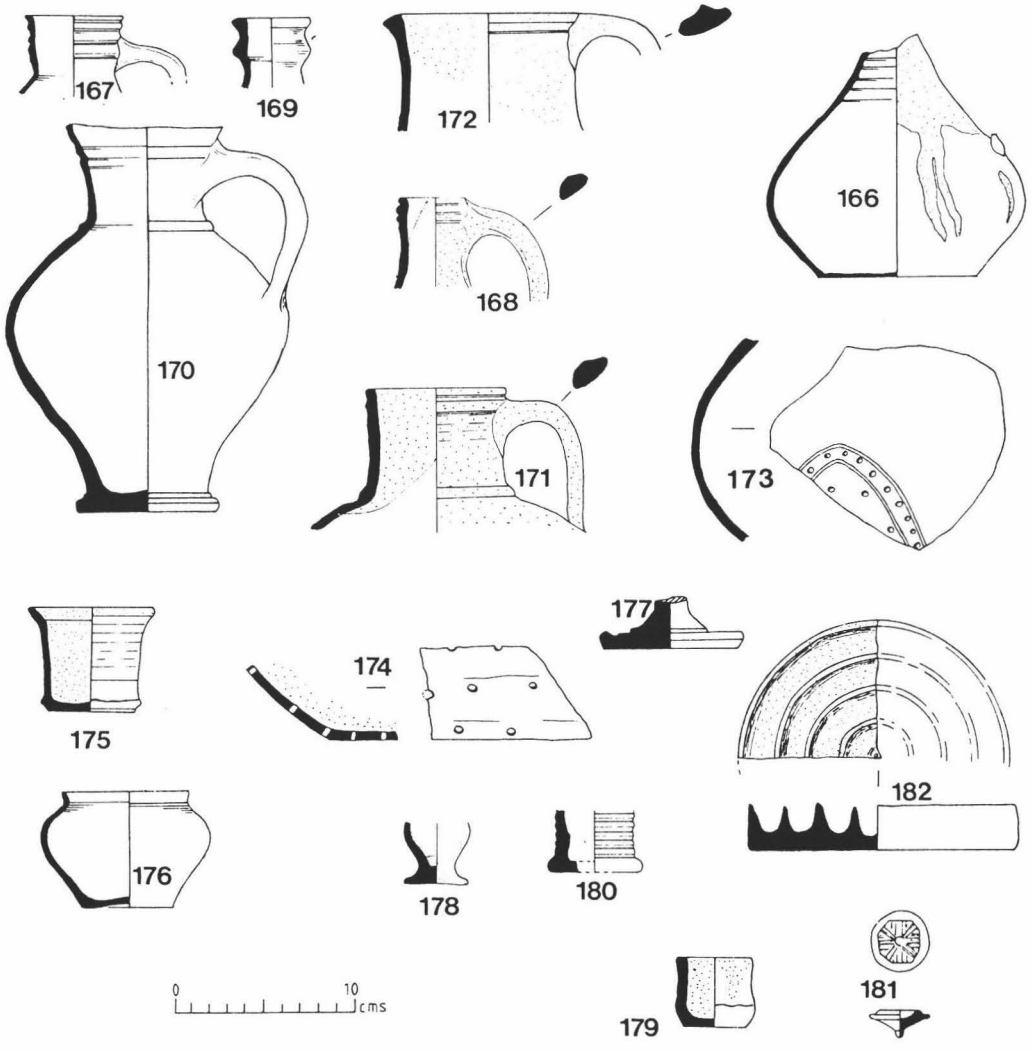

Fig. 14. Group 1 Post-medieval pottery from Ochre Pits Copse: Jugs—Narrow-necked imitation Bellarmine jugs, Nos. 166–169; Wide-mouthed jugs, Nos 170–173; Miscellaneous, Nos 174–182 (1:4).

173. Fabric B1, Body sherd from a large jug, dark brown glaze.

Miscellaneous

174. Fabric B2; base of a colander, internal green glaze.
175. Fabric A; ? ointment pot, internal yellow glaze.
176. Small jar, Fabric A, pale yellow glaze inside and out.
177. Fabric A variant. Base of a candlestick.
178. Fabric A variant. Egg-cup with external 'Tudor' green glaze.
179. ? ointment pot, very crudely made, Fabric B2.
180. Fabric A variant; base of a ? salt. External 'Tudor' green glaze.
181. Fabric A variant; lid of a condiment vessel, brown glaze inside and out.
182. Fabric B2; ? chicken drinking pan, (cf. Down 1981, Fig. 8.49, 124 & p. 208).

The stamps on Group 1 wares (Fig. 15)

A number of the wares were stamped, and while some of these may have been intended to be purely decorative, there is little doubt that others were intended to identify the work of a particular craftsman. Eight potters operating in the area in the 17th and early 18th centuries have been traced from inventories and wills, six from Graffham (Sites 3 & 8) and two from Woolavington (see Site 2).

All that can be said here is that the comb-impressed W from the base of the biscuit mould (Fig. 6 No. 25 & Fig. 15 No. 9) might be the mark of Richard Wisdome whose inventory dates to September 1670, or possibly another member of the same family, while Nos. 15 and 18 (Fig. 15) might possibly represent a crude M and be the mark either of John Madgewick or William Munnery.

It has not been possible to trace the identity of 'FC' (Fig. 15, No. 3), though it is known that the Champion family were operating as brickmakers and tilers in Graffham in the 17th century (see Site 1).

GROUP 2

Late Medieval painted wares from Upper Norwood & Lavington Commong (Fig. 16)

Note: For description of fabrics see p. 124.

1 & 2. Bowls; Fabric B2, from Upper Norwood.

3. Large pitcher, a waster through over-firing. It is reduced to a slate-grey on both surfaces, probably deliberately. Although a large number of painted-ware vessels are oxidised, there are a significant proportion where it seems that the potters aimed to produce reduced vessels to enhance the contrast with the white slip decoration. From Upper Norwood.
4. Fabric 2 variant; slashed strap handle from a jug or pitcher. From Upper Norwood.
5. Fabric 2; complete bowl (a waster or second) with an internal green glaze. From Lavington Common.
6. A similar bowl to 5, with internal green glaze and white-painted decoration. Fabric B2, from Upper Norwood.

7 & 8. Fabric B1; large cooking pots, heavily stained by water. From Lavington Common.

9. Fabric B1; large cooking pot with an applied cordon around the neck and glazed inside and out. Although there is no trace of painted decoration the fabric is similar and it may well be contemporary with the other wares found in the same location. From Lavington Common.

10 & 11. Fabric B2; cooking pots. From Upper Norwood.

Note: The date range for the painted wares appears to run from *c.* mid 15th century to well into the 16th century. The

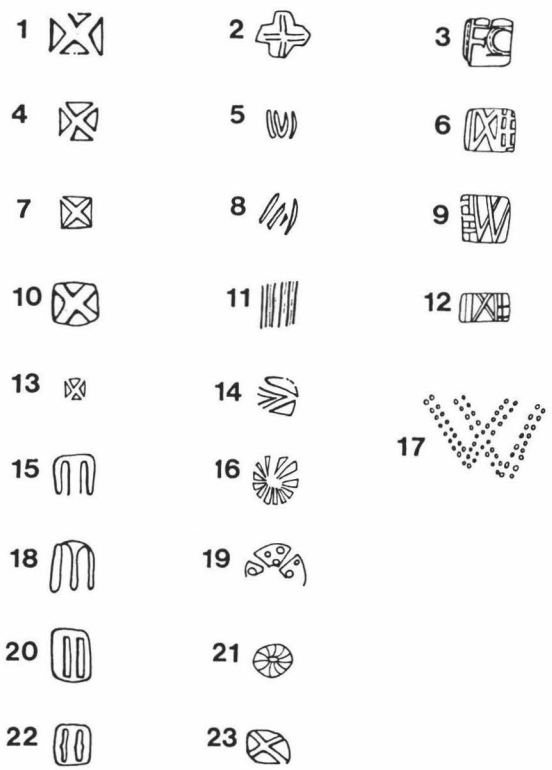

Fig. 15. Group 1 Post-medieval pottery from Graffham: Stamps.

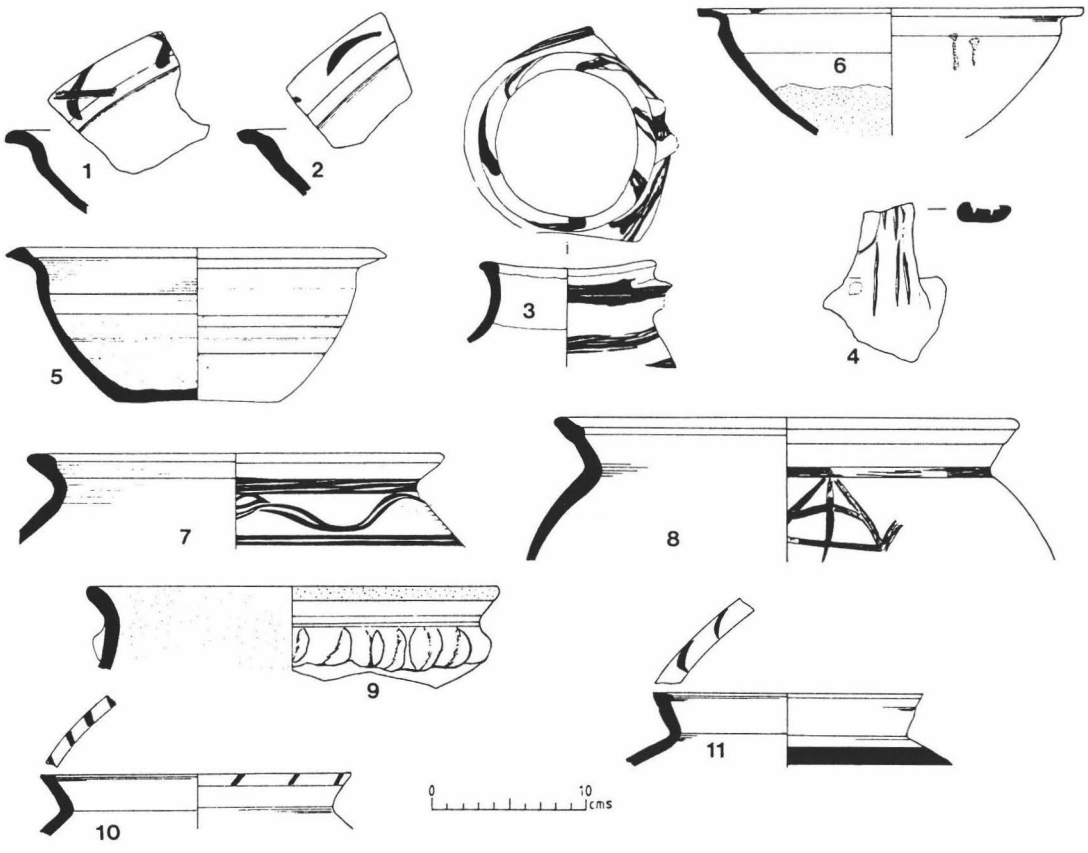

Fig. 16. Group 2 Late medieval painted wares from Upper Norwood and Lavington Common: Nos 1–11 (1:4).

majority of the wares found in Chichester, which was the main local market, are in a fine pale grey fabric which oxidises to a mid to pale buff on the exterior. The wares can be glazed and painted; painted only or, in some instances, without either. No evidence exists at present for a manufacturing centre within the town, and it is likely that most, if not all of the wares were supplied from Graffham and other small potteries operating near to the Hampshire/Sussex/Surrey border. For a tentative chronology see Cunliffe (1973, 45–56). See also Down (1978, 363 & Fig. 11.11); K. J. Barton (*in* Down 1974, Fig. 7.11 for illustration of some of the painted ware forms and decoration found in Chichester) and Barton (1979, 122–133).

GROUP 3

Medieval Wares (all from Upper Norwood) (Fig. 17).

1. Fabric C; bung-hole pitcher, slashed strap-handle, two faint bands of white paint around neck and shoulder and decorated with four incised crosses. Probably late 15th century.
2. Fabric C; body sherd from a West Sussex ware jug, vertical combed decoration and exterior green glaze. Probably 14th century.
3. Fabric E; the lower part of a strap handle from a pitcher, with an applied strip thumbed in at the point where the handle joins the body. Date uncertain.
4. Fabric D; rim of a face jug with an olive green glazed exterior; 14th century.
5. Neck of a West Sussex ware jug with the remains of an exterior green glaze. Fabric C. Probably contemporary with 6 below.
6. Neck of a jug with exterior green glaze. The rilling around the neck is similar to the late 13th-century Orchard Street types (Down & Rule 1971, Fig. 9.5). This is a common West Sussex ware type dating from the late 13th–14th century. Fabric C.
7. Base of a jug in Fabric C.
8. Strap handle from a West Sussex ware jug in Fabric C. The thumbing along the edges is very similar to that of the Orchard Street kiln (Down & Rule 1971, Fig. 9.5).

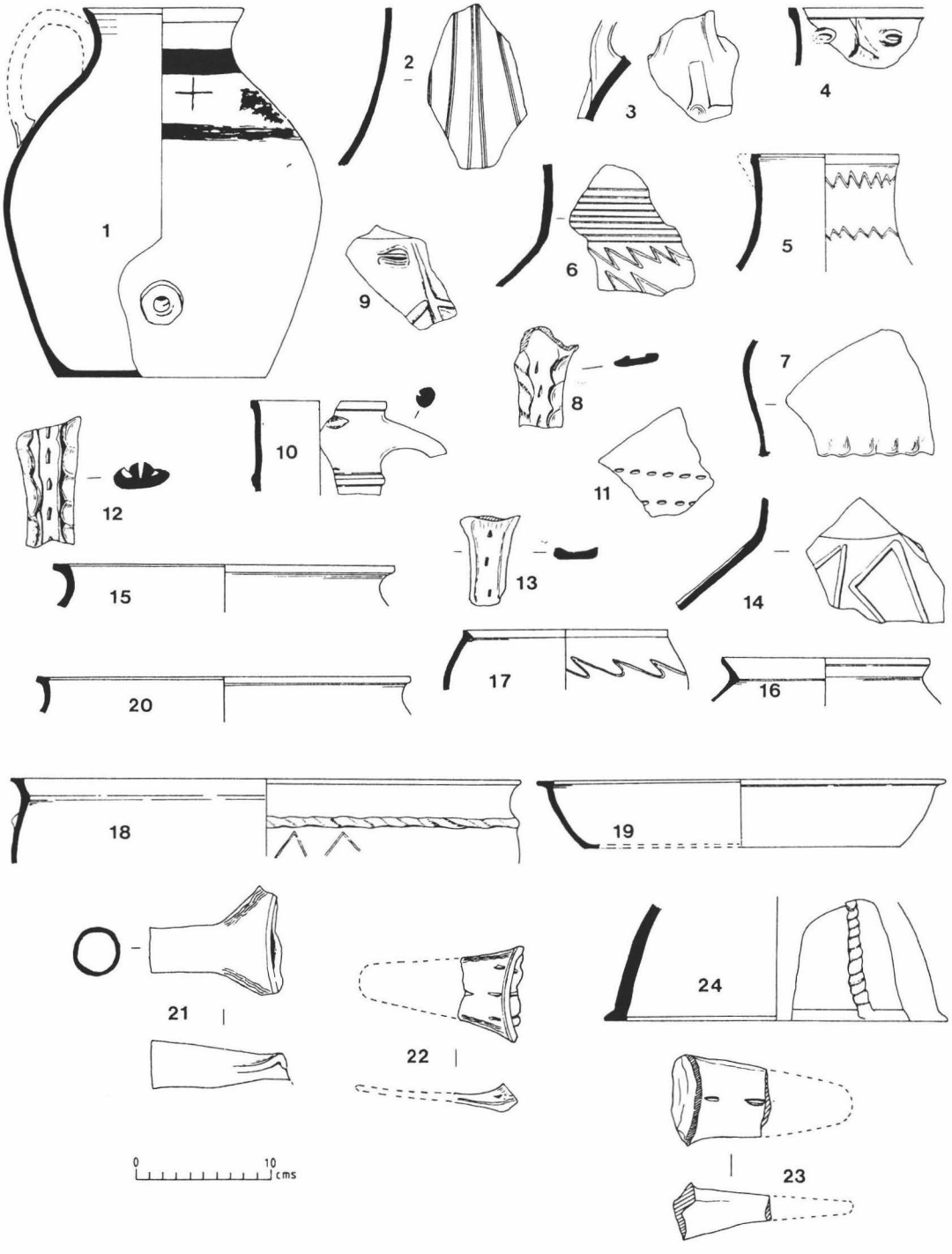

Fig. 17. Group 3 Medieval pottery from Upper Norwood: Nos 1–24 (1:4).

9. Fabric C. Sherd from a face jug with an exterior green glaze.
10. Fabric D; face jug with stabbed rod handle and exterior green glaze with a cordon around the neck. 14th century.
11. Fabric C; body sherd from a jug, with a patchy exterior green glaze.
12. Unglazed strap-handle from a jug in Fabric C, similar to the Orchard Street types. A similar handle (unpublished) has an exterior green glaze.
13. Unglazed strap-handle in Fabric C.
14. Fabric C; body sherd from a large jug, similar form to No. 9.
15. Fabric D; rim of a cooking pot.
16. Small bowl, Fabric C.
17. Fabric D variant; small bowl with a lid seated rim and internal green glaze.
18. Fabric D variant; large vessel, 38 cms diameter, residues of glazing on inside and outside surfaces.
19. Shallow bowl in Fabric D. Traces of internal green glaze.
20. Rim of cooking pot in Fabric D.
21. Handle of a skillet in Fabric D. An identical example was found at 44/45 West Street, Chichester. (Down, 1989, Fig. 32.1, 5).
22. Handle of a skillet in Fabric D.
23. Fabric D; handle of a skillet, very heavily made.
24. Rim of a ? curfew with an internal green glaze.

Acknowledgements

The authors are grateful to Mrs G. M. Davies, Mr and Mrs T. Fear, Mr and Mrs M. Harmer, and Mrs Oates and her sons for their assistance in locating and investigating the production sites; to Ann Woolner, John Bisset, Peter Pritchard, and Maurice Smith for their help with the excavation; and to Ann Leyland, Caroline Scott, and John Piper for assistance in cataloguing and drawing the pottery.

Notes

[1] Salzmann 1973:251 quoting *Cal. Inq. Edw. I* No. 533.
[2] Salzmann 1973:252 quoting *Inq. Nonarum* (Rec. Com.), 361.
[3] West Sussex Record Office (hereafter W.S.R.O.) Ep. I/29/93 & Ep. I/29/215.
[4] W.S.R.O. Add Ms 2546.
[5] Probate inventory Ep. I/29/093/014; Will STCI/18 f.16 (all Probate inventories are W.S.R.O.).
[6] Probate inventory EP. I/29/093/037.
[7] Probate inventory Ep. I/29/093/019; Will STCI/18 f.249.
[8] Probate inventory Ep. I/29/093/020; Will STCI/18 f.307.
[9] Probate inventory Ep. I/29/093/025.
[10] Probate inventory Ep. I/29/093/052; Will STCI/28 f.34.
[11] Plot No. 135.
[12] Plot No. 152.
[13] Probate inventory Ep. I/29/215/017.
[14] Probate inventory Ep. I/29/215/020; Will STCI/21 f.36.
[15] Probate inventory Ep. I/29/93/041; Will STCIII/1 f.75.
[16] Probate inventory Ep. I/29/93/042; Will STCIII/1 f. 123.
[17] Probate inventory Ep. I/29/93/049; Will STCI/26 f.24.
[18] Probate inventory Ep. I/29/93/066; Will STCIII/11 f.59.
[19] W.S.R.O. Wilberforce Ms 101.
[20] Plot No. 105.
[21] West Sussex County Sites and Monuments Record.
[22] Plot No. 192.
[23] Plots 191 & 196.
[24] Probate inventory Ep. I/29/93/022; Will STCI/19 f.90.
[25] Probate inventory Ep. I/29/93/025; Will STCI/23 f.369.

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Sussex Archaeological Collections **128** (1990), 141–156

EXCAVATIONS IN FRIARS WALK, LEWES, 1989

by Miles Russell

With contributions by J. Cooper, H. Holden, E. Jarzembowski, L. Pontin, A. Ross, E. Somerville and P. Stevens.

INTRODUCTION

During February 1989, the Field Archaeology Unit conducted a trial excavation on the site of the Clothkits building, Friars Walk, Lewes. (Fig. 1.b) The aims of the excavation were to further resolve the problem of early settlement in the peripheral zone of Lewes and to establish whether Saxo-Norman dwelling structures could be located in the town. It was also considered important to assess any evidence which might further strengthen the claim that Lewes was an important early-medieval port.

THE EXCAVATIONS

It was decided to excavate a continuous east-west section through the east-facing slope, a distance of some 60 metres. Unfortunately, limitations of time, money and labour, and the added complication of the presence of mains services meant that for most of its length the trench could be no more than 2 metres wide. It was, however expanded at the western end (the site of the Clothkits garden) in the hope that here disturbance to medieval features had been minimal. It was not widened at the eastern, street frontage as Freke's excavations at No. 40 Friars Walk (Freke 1978) had shown this area to be greatly disturbed by post-medieval cellar activity.

As the topsoil from the garden area was removed it became increasingly clear that the natural slope of the hill had, within the last 300 years, been largely terraced flat, (Fig. 2.a), removing all but the deepest medieval features cut down into the underlying clay. This meant that there was no one area on the site which remained relatively undisturbed by recent activity.

At the eastern end, as predicted, post-medieval tenement housing was encountered (Fig. 3.iv). In the far north-east corner was part of a chalk lined, brick floored cellar (78) filled with chalk rubble. Its uppermost layers contained 1920's material. Another cellar (141) was located 5.5 metres to the west, together with two chalk-lined wells (65 and 81). The fill from the wells and the second cellar suggested that they had gone out of use by the late 18th century. Between the two cellars was a 6 mm. thick layer of charcoal (77) lying at the very base of the topsoil. It was not associated with any finds.

Seven metres to the west of this street frontage lay the first medieval features (Figs. 2 & 3). These were a series of pits which, in their final phases at least, had been used as rubbish or cess pits.

Pit 50(51)

Cuts medieval pit 53. It contained 15th/16th century pottery.

Pit 62(60, 61, 95, 124, 125, 150)

A vertical sided pit, probably a well, cutting features 72 and 64. It was traced to a depth of just over 2 metres, but not bottomed for safety

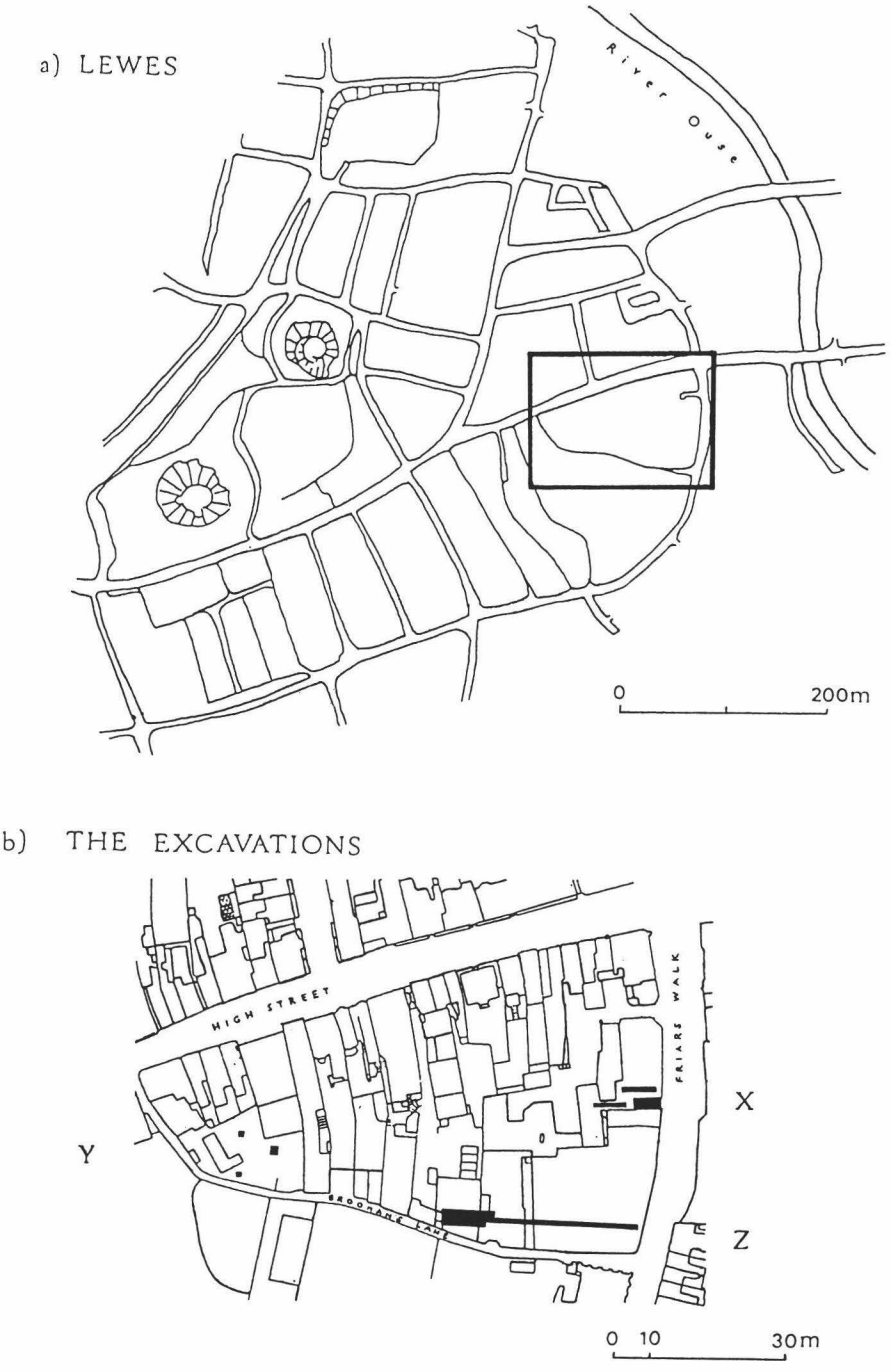

Fig. 1. Lewes, Friars Walk 1989. Maps showing the location of archaeological work. X = 1976 excavations (Freke 1978). Y = 1979 excavations (Rudling 1983). Z = 1989 excavations.

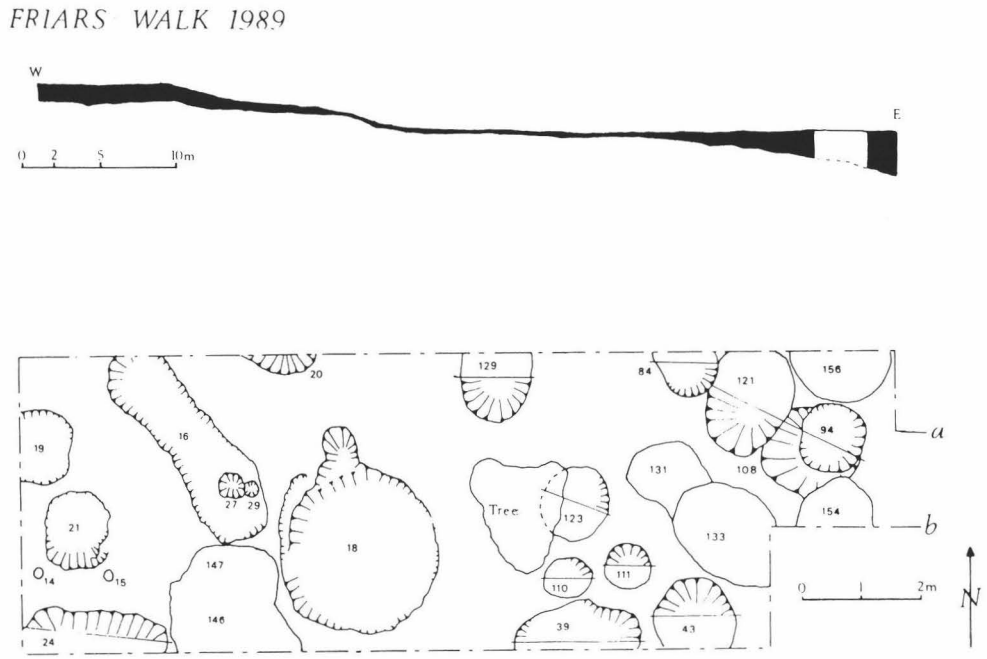

Fig. 2. a. Lewes, Friars Walk 1989. North facing section of trench showing garden soil overburden on top of the natural clay.
b. Lewes, Friars Walk 1989. Trench plan part i.

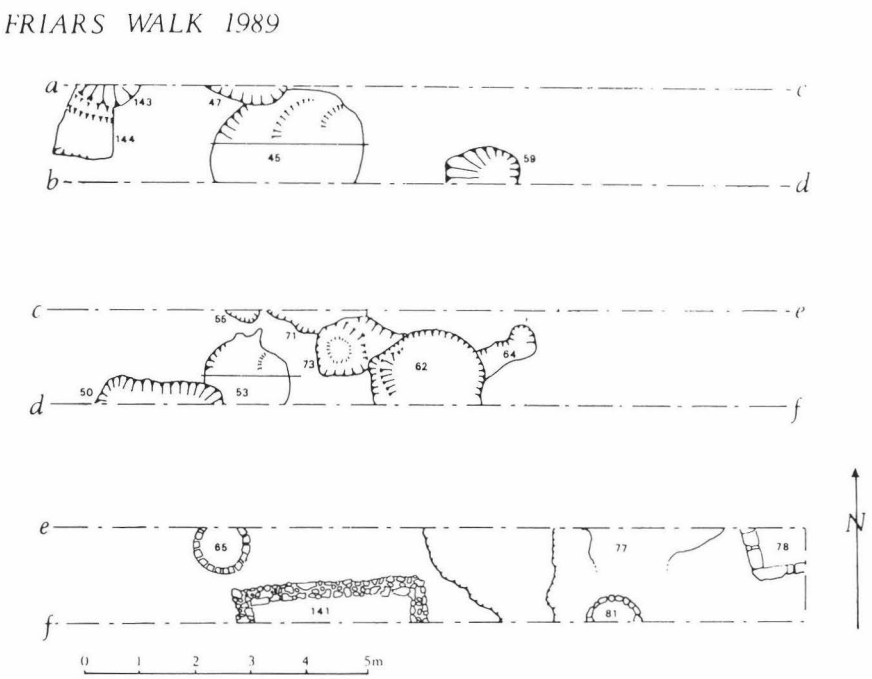

Fig. 3. Lewes, Friars Walk 1989. Trench plan parts ii, iii and iv.

reasons. Probing suggested at least a further metre of fill. Fills contained late 13th/early 14th century pottery.

Pit 73(72,87)

A very shallow feature cutting pit 71 and cut by 62. Pottery suggests a 13th/14th century date.

Pits 53(52,113); 55(54); 71(70)

Pit 53 is cut by 50. Pit 71 by 73. All yielded 11th/12th century flint-tempered pottery.

Pit 64(63)

Pit 64 is cut by 62. It was very shallow and produced small quantities of burnt clay, but no pottery.

The largest concentration of features occurred at the western end of the trench. All the excavated features, with the exception of 16, 18 and 44, were half sectioned. 18 proved to be a well, but could not be bottomed due to lack of time. 144 was a square pit and 16 a very shallow rectangular feature overlying two post-holes (27 and 29). Features 131, 133, 146, 147, 154 and 156 could not be excavated as time ran out, but it was noted that feature 154 cut pit 108 and feature 133 cut 131. Both 133 and 131 were noted to contain sherds of Ringmer type, datable to the late 13th/early 14th century. Pit 131 also appeared to be lined with an olive-brown 'sulphurous' clay.

Pit 21(10, 37)

This was the most recent feature in this area of the site. It was a straight sided pit, possibly a well, which had been used as a dump for late 18th/early 19th century bottle glass. It was not bottomed.

Post-holes 14(3) and 15(4)

These post-holes at the edge of pit 21 produced no finds. Presumably they are associated with the pit.

Pits 20(9, 32); 47(49)

Pit 47 cuts Medieval pit 45. Both 47 and 20 are late 17th century.

Pits 24(13); 39(40)

Both were at the southern edge of the trench. Both produced 15th/16th century tile and pottery.

Pits 84(83); 121(120, 135)

Pit 121 cuts medieval pit 108 and is 15th/16th century in date. 84 produced no datable material, but was seen to be cutting 121. It was a very shallow feature, 5–8 cms, having been largely terraced away.

Cut 16(5)

This, too, has been badly affected by terracing. What is left is a very shallow (10 cm.) rectangular feature with 14th/15th century finds. It cuts post-holes 27 and 29.

Pit 143/4(68, 69, 104, 105, 114)

Only half of this feature was visible, however its shape is reminiscent of a number of bloomery furnaces excavated at Hartfield (Tebbutt 1979). Burning was in evidence around 143, suggesting that this was the furnace end, while the shallower end (144) was for tapping slag. Large areas of vitrified clay, presumably the wall of the last furnace to be built, and small quantities of ironslag were recovered from fills 68, 69, 114 and 105. Fills 68 and 69 also produced fine Ringmer Ware. 13th/early 14th century.

Pits 19(33, 34 148, 149); 59(58, 140); 111(106); 123(122)

Various sized oval pits, all producing 13th/14th century pottery. 124 was partially disturbed on the western side by tree roots.

Pit 18(7, 116, 117, 126, 127, 136) (Fig. 4)

A roughly circular pit 2.8 metres in diameter. It was traced to a depth of 1.8 metres, though probing suggested it continued for at least another 2 metres. It was probably a well and pottery suggested that its uppermost fill was deposited in the 11th/13th centuries. 7, 117, 126, 127 and 136 all represent various slump fills (127 and 136 being on the southern edge of the feature

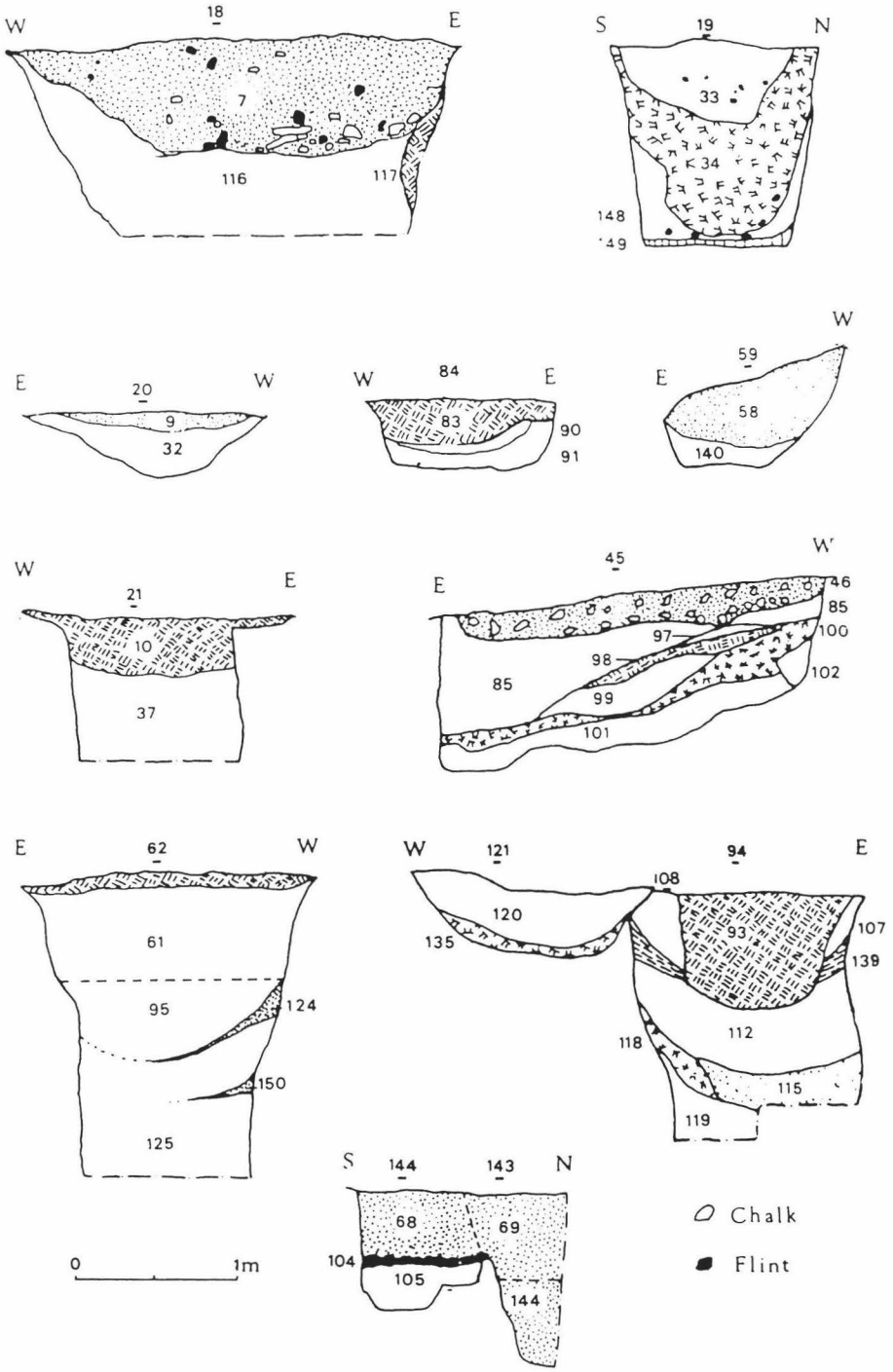

Fig. 4. Lewes, Friars Walk 1989. Sections. Note: only sections over 40 cm. deep are illustrated.

are not in the section drawing). 116 consisted of irregular, small to large fragments of chalk and flint against the north and east sides of 18 and may represent the last vestige of a well lining. The irregularity at the north edge may be connected with some kind of 'feed area' for the well.

Pits 43(42); 94(93); 110(109); 129(128)

All were shallow, circular features producing coarse flint-tempered pottery from the 11th/12th centuries.

Postholes 27(28) and 29(30)

Posthole 27 cut by 29. Both were cut by feature 16. 29 produced 11th/12th century pottery.

Pit 108(107, 112, 115, 118, 119, 139)

Cut by pits 94, 154 (undug) and 121. Pottery from this feature was 11th/12th century flint-tempered ware, though two pieces of 11th-century imported pottery were recovered from fills 107 and 112.

CONCLUSIONS

No evidence of Saxo-Norman dwelling structures was recovered from this excavation. Perhaps early housing was confined to the strip facing Friars Walk, evidence of which has almost certainly been obliterated by post-medieval cellar construction.

Randall's 1620 town map of Lewes shows no housing along the line of Broomans Lane. The map, however, is schematic and it may have omitted 'slum' or lesser housing. Though it was not possible to excavate close to Broomans Lane to check this theory, the large scale terracing activities conducted on the hill slope would appear to have erased all but the deepest features cut down into the natural. Shallow gullies or floor levels left by timber-framed dwelling structures would almost certainly not have survived.

Evidence to confirm that there had been early medieval structures in the vicinity came from the slate, mortar, chimney pots, structural daub, stonework, brick and tile all recovered from rubbish fills.

Very little, therefore, can be said to clarify the problems of early settlement in the peripheral regions of Lewes. Freke, following his excavations in North Street (Freke 1976), postulated a Saxo-Norman suburb in north-east Lewes, abandoned by the 14th century and with the area reverting to open ground. It is clear that at Friars Walk the dating of rubbish fills suggests some form of continuous occupation in this area from the 11th to the 20th centuries.

Scant evidence to support early medieval trade links was gained from the analysis of pottery types: the majority are local wares. Examples of imported pottery from this period were the single examples of 11th century Northern European wares from pit 108.

Ed. Jarzembowski has, however, made several interesting points regarding trade links, based on his study of the geological material. His suggestion is that most of the stone recovered from the site first arrived in Lewes as ballast in empty or semi-empty cross-channel trading vessels. Once dumped, this material could easily be scavenged for building, or other purposes, from the river area.

Links with the north of England are suggested by the quern fragment and piece of vesicular basalt recovered from pit 18. Perhaps these can be seen as part of a direct trade system with the north, with Lewes exporting Wealden iron?

The piece of mica-quartz-schist grinding stone is a relatively rare find for Sussex. Such hones originate from southern Norway and were in great demand as blade sharpeners until their decline as a trade item in the mid-15th century. Unfortunately, as Norwegian hones are in evidence at the medieval waterfront in London (Ellis 1969) the Friars Walk piece may indicate a trade connection between Lewes and London rather than a direct link between Sussex and Norway.

Industrial activity in the medieval period is

attested by furnace 143/4 which contained iron slag. *In situ* medieval industrial activity has only been located in two other areas of the town: a copper/bronze smelting furnace in Edward Street, north-east Lewes (Page 1973) and a furnace from the south west of the town (unpublished finds, Barbican House).

One last problem was raised by this excavation. This concerned the early occupation of Lewes, as three Roman tiles were recovered from pits at the western end of the site. All were residual, but their discovery within a comparatively small sample area, when added to the Roman pottery from Freke's trenches in Friars Walk (Freke 1977) and Rudling's trial trenches at the western end of Broomans Lane (Rudling 1983) further strengthens the possibility of locating an area of Roman activity close to the River Ouse.

THE FINDS

Pottery (Figs. 5, 6, 7a)

I would like to acknowledge the help of Mark Gardiner. He is not, however, responsible for any errors I may have made in drawing conclusions from his advice.

PIT 108(112) 11th/12th century

1. Rim. Dark grey-brown outer margin, light grey-brown inner margin, dark grey core. Medium flint temper.
2. Rim. Light brown-grey outer margin, grey inner margin, light brown core. Coarse flint temper. Scored and stabbed decoration.

PIT 45(85) 11th/12th century

3. Body sherd. Brown-orange margins, light brown core. Medium flint and shell temper. Incised decoration.
4. Rim. Brown-orange outer margin, grey-orange inner margin, grey core. Medium flint temper. Top of rim lightly finger impressed.
5. Body sherd. Orange-grey outer margin, dark grey inner margin, grey core. Fine flint temper. Stamped and incised. Possibly the top of an applied cordon.

PIT 18(7, 116) 11th/13th century

6. Rim. Grey-buff brown margins, grey core. Coarse flint and chalk temper. Layer 7.
7. Rim. Buff orange ware. Coarse flint and quartz temper. Layer 7.
8. Body sherd. Orange outer margin, grey-brown inner margin and core. Medium flint temper. Stamped circle, incised line decoration. Layer 7.
9. Rim. Buff-brown outer margin, buff-orange inner margin, grey core. Medium flint and chalk temper. Applied strip with thumbed decoration. Layer 7.
10. Spout. Buff-orange margins, grey core. Fine flint and chalk temper. Layer 7.
11. Rim. Dark grey-black margins and core. Medium flint, fine chalk temper. Layer 7.
12. Rim. Orange margin partially coated in yellow-green glaze, inner margin coated in white-orange slip, grey core. Fine flint temper. Layer 7.
13. Rim. Buff-orange margins, grey core. Fine flint and shell temper. Layer 116.
14. Spout. Crude spout with grey-brown margins and grey core. Coarse flint temper. Layer 116.
15. Body sherd. Orange outer margin, buff-brown inner margin, grey core. Fine flint temper. Incised and stamped decoration. Layer 116.
16. Body sherd. Buff-orange outer margin, grey-brown inner margin, grey core. Fine flint temper. Layer 16.

PIT 19(34) 13th/14th century

17. Rim and spout. Light buff-brown margins, dark grey core. Fine quartz sand temper.
18. Rim. Buff-brown, grey margins and core. Coarse flint, fine shell temper.
19. Handle. Buff-orange margins, grey core. Fine flint temper. Lightly thumbed strap handle of coarse Ringmer Ware.
20. Rim. Buff-brown margins, grey core. Fine flint temper. Stabbed decoration on inside rim.
21. Lamp. Buff-brown margins, heavily soot discoloured, dark grey core. Medium flint and chalk temper.
22. Rim and base of bowl. Dark grey-black margins and core. Medium flint temper.

PIT 62(61, 95, 125) 13th/14th century

23. Rim. Yellow-brown outer margin, yellow-grey inner margin, dark grey core. Fine flint and shell temper. Layer 61.
24. Rim. Buff-brown inner margin, grey-brown outer margin, light grey core. Coarse flint temper. Layer 61.
25. Rim and lip. Orange-brown margins, grey core. Medium shell and flint temper. Stabbed decoration on inside rim. Layer 61.
26. Rim. Orange-red outer margin, orange-brown inner margin discoloured black in areas, grey core. Fine flint temper. Ringmer-type ware. Layer 95.
27. Spout. Orange-brown outer margin, brown inner margin, grey core. Medium flint temper. Coarse Ringmer type. Layer 95.
28. Rim and base of platter. Orange-brown outer margin, orange inner margin, grey core. Fine flint temper. Coarse Ringmer type. Layer 95.
29. Body sherd. Orange margins, grey core. Medium flint and fine shell temper. Incised decoration. Layer 125.

PIT 111(106) 13th/14th century

30. Body sherd. Orange-brown margins, grey core. Coarse flint temper. Thin finger impressed strip decoration.
31. Rim. Orange-brown outer margin partially discoloured black, orange-brown inner margin, grey core. Coarse

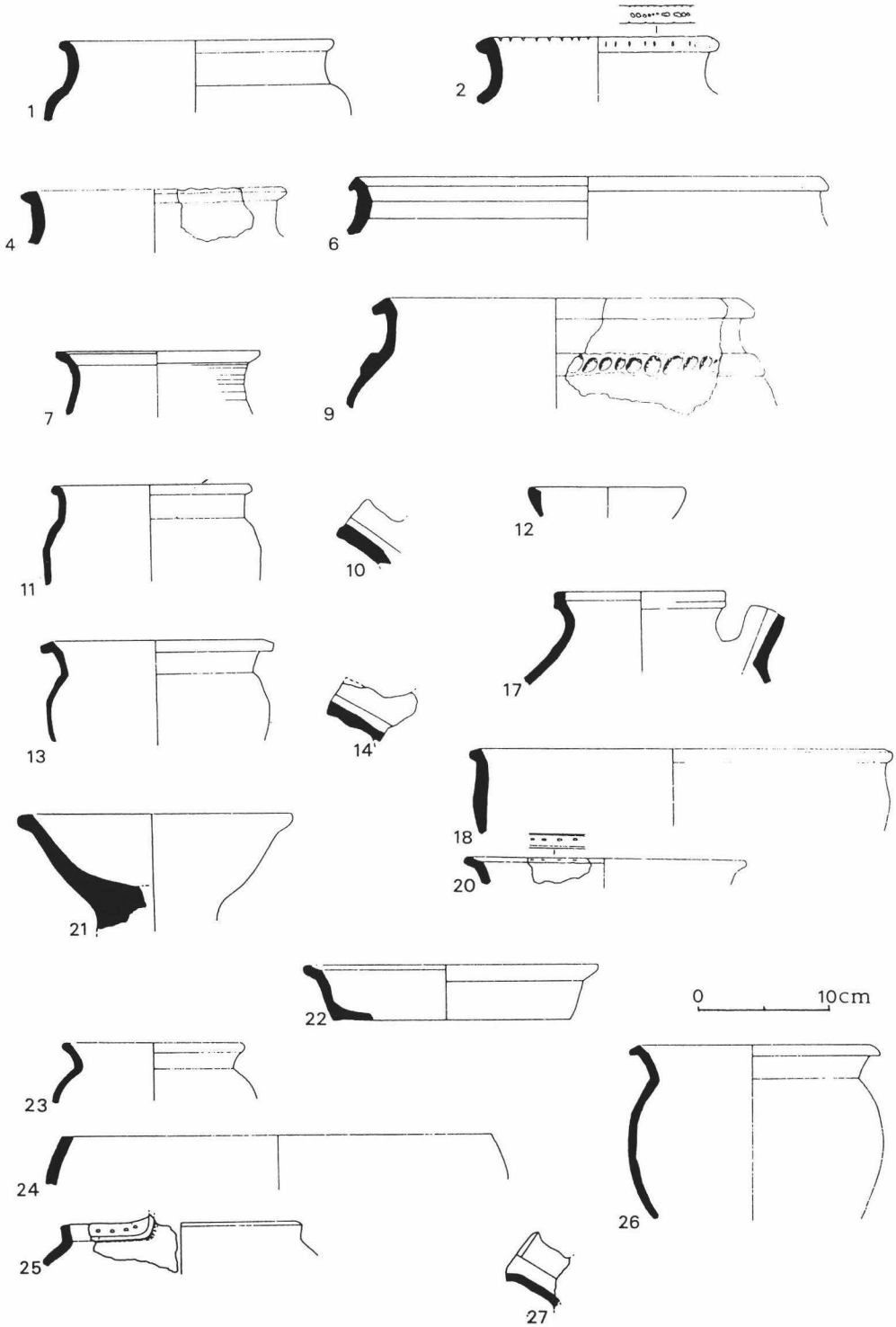

Fig. 5. Lewes, Friars Walk 1989. Pottery: rims, bases and spouts (x $\frac{1}{4}$).

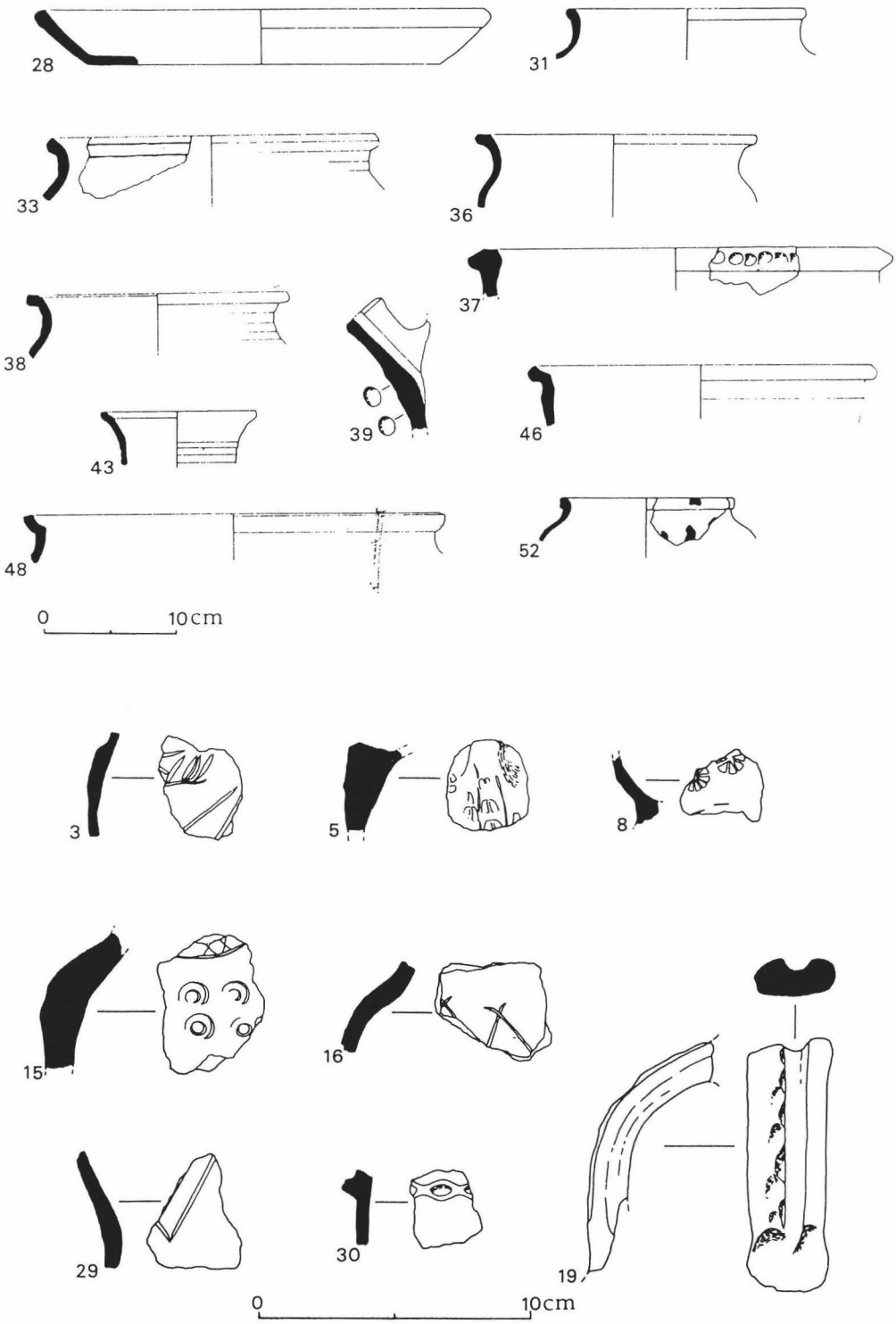

Fig. 6. a. Lewes, Friars Walk 1989. Pottery: rims, bases and spouts (x $\frac{1}{4}$). b. Lewes, Friars Walk 1989. Pottery: handle and body sherds (x $\frac{1}{2}$).

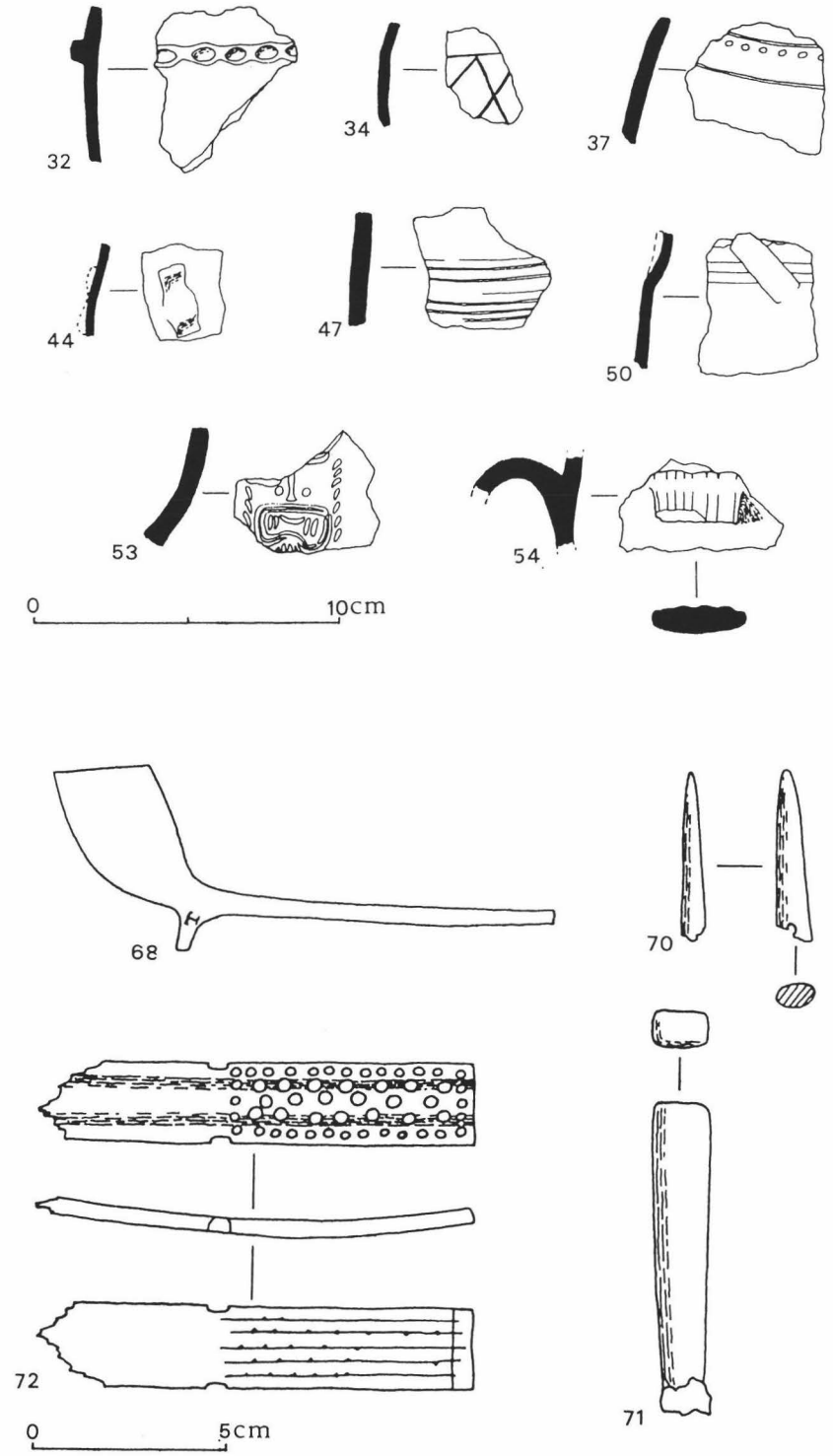

Fig. 7. a. Lewes, Friars Walk 1989. Pottery: handle and body sherds (x $\frac{1}{2}$). b. Lewes, Friars Walk 1989. Clay pipe and bone artifacts (x $\frac{1}{3}$).

flint and shell temper. Coarse Ringmer type.

32. Body sherd. Red-orange margins, light grey core. Thin finger impressed strip.
33. Rim. Red-orange margins, grey core. Medium flint, fine shell temper. Incised strips on inside just below rim. Coarse Ringmer type. Layer 69.
34. Body sherd. Orange outer margin, orange-brown inner margin, grey core. Medium flint, fine shell temper. Incised decoration. Layer 114.

PIT 144(68,105)

35. Not illustrated. Rim. Orange-brown margins discoloured black in areas, orange-grey core. Fine flint and shell temper. Fine Ringmer type. Layer 68.
36. Rim. Orange margins, grey core. Coarse flint, fine shell temper. Stabbed decoration on rim. Coarse Ringmer type. Layer 68.
37. Body sherd. Red-brown outer margin, brown inner margin, grey core. Coarse flint and shell temper. Incised and stabbed decoration.
38. Not illustrated. Rim. Orange outer margin, discoloured black in areas, orange-brown inner margin, grey core. Fine flint and shell temper. Fine Ringmer type. Layer 105.
39. Spout. Orange-brown margins, grey core. Coarse flint and shell temper. Thumbed decoration below spout. Layer 105.

PIT 16(5) 14th/15th century

40. Not illustrated. Rim. Orange margins, light grey core. Fine quartz sand temper, outer surface partially coated in olive green glaze.
41. Not illustrated. Body sherd. Light grey outer margin and core, dark grey inner margin. Coarse flint and fine shell temper. Lightly incised decoration.

PIT 24(13) 15th/16th century

42. Rim. Red-orange margins, grey core, fine quartz sand temper. Outer surface partially coated in brown glaze.

PIT 39(40) 15th/16th century

43. Jug neck. Red-orange margins, grey core. Quartz sand temper. Outer surface partially coated in green/brown glaze.
44. Body sherd. Light brown outer margin, dark brown inner margin, light grey core. Fine flint temper. Small applied strap decoration.
45. Not illustrated. Body sherd of Surrey White Ware with external light yellow glaze.
46. Rim. Dark grey outer margin and core, light brown inner margin heavily soot discoloured. Medium flint temper.
47. Body sherd. Light brown outer margin, buff brown inner margin, grey core. Fine flint temper. Inner margin has traces of olive green glaze. Incised decoration.

PIT 50(51) 15th/16th century

48. Rim. Dark grey-brown margins, grey core. Fine flint temper.
49. Not illustrated. Body sherd. Cream yellow white margins and core, fine quartz sand temper. Outer surface coated in 'Tudor green' glaze.

PIT 121(120) 15th/16th century

50. Body sherd. Orange-brown outer margin, orange-red inner margin, light grey core. Fine flint and shell temper. Applied strap decoration.

Imported Wares (by L. Pontin)

51. Body sherd. Well formed, wheel thrown vessel of cream yellow, grainy fabric. Paintwork traces disappeared soon after exposure to air. Possibly 11th century.
52. Rim. Well formed, wheel thrown vessel of similar fabric to no. 51. A very heavy lead oxide slip has been added. Paintwork has turned purple following a high firing process. Almost a proto-stoneware. Possibly 11th century.

    Without petrological analysis it is very difficult to put a date and location on these forms, except to say they were widely produced in north and west Europe from the 9th to early 12th centuries.
53. Body sherd. Bellarmine jug (Holmes type VIII). Copy of Rhenish d'Alva Bellarmine jug. Produced by John Dwight in Fulham, approximately 1675 to the early 18th century. It is distinguished by the lower lip being pulled to the centre of the mouth and teeth inside the mouth itself.
54. Handle. Stoneware Bellarmine (of different vessel to no. 53). Nothing distinguishable about handle. Tentatively 18th century.

Metal Objects (Fig. 8)

55. Flat-bottomed iron hook. Heavily corroded. Pit 18, layer 7.
56. Not illustrated. 230 mm. long iron spike coming to a rough point. Broken at other end. Heavily corroded. Pit 18, layer 7.
57. Copper allow taper-grip with decorated bulb. Pit 18, layer 7.
58. Lead plumb bob/fishing weight. Pit 18, layer 116.
59. Small rectangular lead strip with impressed grooves – uncertain function. Pit 18, layer 116.
60. Copper alloy spatula/knife blade. Pit 47, layer 49.
61. 'D'-shaped iron belt(?) buckle, heavily corroded. Pit 50, layer 51.
62. Half of an iron horse-shoe. Both shoe and nails heavily corroded. Pit 108, layer 112.
63. Small bronze fitting (from a key?). Pit 108, layer 112.
64. Large iron key. Medium corrosion. Pit 143, layer 69.

Glass

65. Not illustrated. Bottle neck of olive-green glass. Lip fairly close to aperture and tooled smooth. 1680–1750. Pit 47, fill 49.
66. Not illustrated. Bottle base of 'black' glass. Mallet type with sagged bottom. Pontil scar from where base was held during detachment from blow pipe. *c.* 1700–1780. Fill of cellar 141.
67. Not illustrated. Bottle neck of 'black' glass. Slim bodied 'port bottle' type. Thick double-laid lip. *c* 1780–1820 (a further 61 examples were recovered from this context). Pit 21, fill 37.

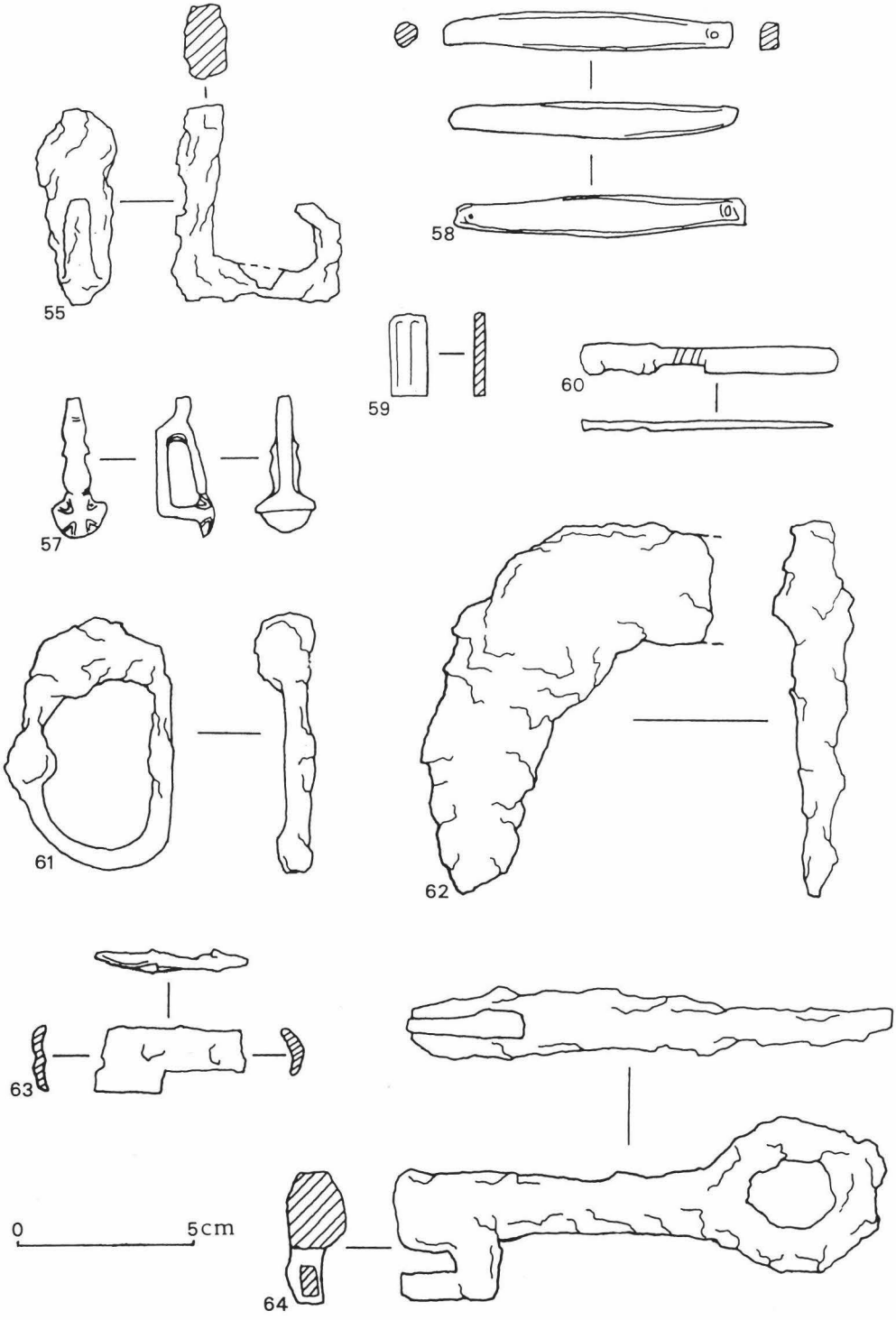

Fig. 8. Lewes, Friars Walk 1989. Metal objects.

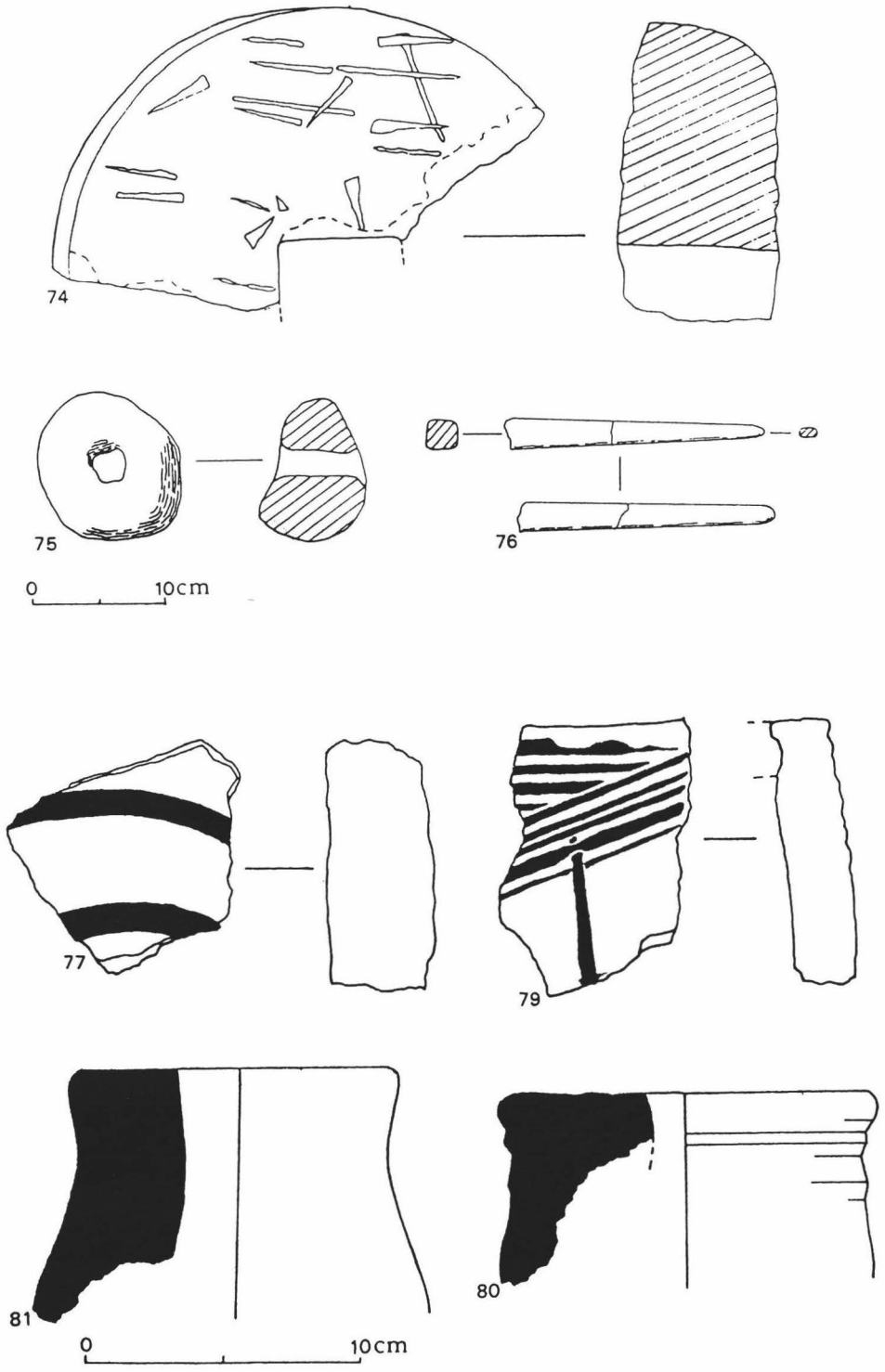

Fig. 9. a. Lewes, Friars Walk 1989. Stone artifacts. b. Lewes, Friars Walk 1989. Tile, chimney/tuyere, and chimney pot.

Clay Tobacco Pipes (Fig. 7. b)

68. Bowl and part of stem. Spur initialled 'T.N.'–possible Thomas Neeve who was working in Lewes from 1775 to 1802. Fill of cellar 141.
69. Not illustrated. Part bowl and stem with a large flat spur. Late 17th century. Pit 20, fill 32.
Parts of clay pipe were also recovered from pit 21.

Worked bone (Fig. 7. b)

70. Part of a needle/awl, broken 46 mm. from tip. Displays a 2 mm. diameter drilled hole at break. Pit 129, fill 128.
71. Polished handle, 75 mm. long, 15 mm. wide at bottom tapering to 10 mm. at blade end where there is heavy corrosion. Pit 47, fill 49.
72. Brush/comb, broken along centre of handle. 4 mm. thick, 20 mm. wide and over 110 mm. long. 52 bristle holes drilled into head. Lightly curved. Pit 47, fill 49.
73. Not illustrated. Squared piece of highly polished bone. 7 mm. wide and over 22 mm. long. Broken at both ends. Pit 18, fill 7.

Flint (none illustrated)

Four pieces of prehistoric flintwork were recovered from different contexts. All were flakes, two of which showed some signs of retouch. All were residual and none were particularly diagnostic. They are probably Neolithic/Bronze Age. Fire-cracked flints were found in fills 50 (80 gms), 52 (30 gms), 60 (70 gms) and 113 (26 gms).

Geological Resources (by J. Cooper, E. Jarzembowski and A. Ross)

(Questions about trade arising from these results are dealt with in the Conclusions above)

Artifacts (Fig. 9. a)

74. Part of a small quernstone (estimated diameter 260 mm.) of Millstone Grit. The top of the quern is roughly tooled and part of the central squared hole is preserved. Pit 18, fill 7.
75. Holed flint pebble, the hole being the deliberately widened remains of a washed out sponge fossil. It was probably used as a weight for a fishing net.
76. A grinding stone of fine-grained metamorphic mica-quartz-schist. 120 mm. long, tapering to a semi-blunted point and broken at the other end. Mica-quartz-schist makes an excellent blade sharpener, though this example appears to be unworn. Pit 62, fill 95.

Discussion

The stone of the Wealden Series formed only a part of the excavated sample. Fragments of Wealden Sandstone from the Tunbridge Wells and Hastings Beds were recovered from pits 18, 19, 105, 114, 136 and 144. Wear patterns on samples from 105, 114 and 136 suggested they had been used for sharpening tools. The holed flint pebble from pit 18 probably came straight from the nearest beach.

The non-local stone formed just over half of the geological sample. A piece of vesicular basalt, originating from northern England/Scotland/Northern Ireland was recovered from Pit 18, fill 116.

The quernstone from fill 7 of the same feature is probably of Yorkshire/Northumbrian Millstone Grit.

A piece of shelly oolitic limestone from pit 144, fill 68, is from either the Cotswolds or France, while samples of feldspathic limestone from pits 18, 39 and 144 all probably have a French origin.

A large rock sample from Pit 18, fill 17, is either a volcanic rock known as Ignimbrite, or a piece of highly fused sandstone. If the latter, then fusion would have occurred if the stone had formed part of a kiln/oven base.

The single piece of mica-quartz-schist grinding stone is from southern Norway.

Building Material (Fig. 9. b)

i. ROMAN TILE (residual)

77. Fragment of tegula. Orange margin, orange-grey core. Small angular quartz inclusions. Fragment displays two lightly (finger?) impressed curving bands 6 mm. thick, separated by a 22 mm. gap. Pit 19, Fill 34.
78. Not illustrated. Fragment of tegula. Orange margins, grey-brown core. Small-medium angular quartz inclusions. Displays two lightly impressed straight bands 8–9 mm. thick, separated by a 2 mm. gap. Cut 16, fill 5.
79. Fragment of box-flue tile displaying corner joins. Buff-orange with angular quartz and crushed flint inclusions. Incised surface created by a five-toothed comb operating in horizontal and diagonal bands. Pit 45, fill 85.

ii. MEDIEVAL TILE (none illustrated)

A total of five pieces of unglazed tile came from medieval contexts (one from pit 59, fill 58; two from pit 39, fill 40; two from pit 19, fill 34). All tile was fragmentary and only thickness could be measured. They range from 24–28 mm. All had buff-orange/grey margins and grey cores, with fine quartz sand temper.

iii. CHIMNEY POTS (Fig. 9. b)

80. Flattened top with lightly flanged lip. Grey-orange margins, buff-orange core. Finely crushed flint temper. 40 mm. in thickness. Pit 143, fill 69.
81. Flattened top. Coarse grey/brown flint grit ware. 25 mm. thick. Inside face is smoke-stained. Pit 108, fill 107.
82. Not illustrated. Flattened top with lightly flanged lip. Pale orange margins, buff-orange core. Small-medium flint temper. 27 mm. thick (two body fragments were also recovered from this context). Pit 18, fill 7.
83. Not illustrated. Flattened top; with 4 mm. lip. Buff-orange sandy ware with light crushed flint temper. 16 mm. thick. Pit 39, fill 40.
84. Not illustrated. Body fragment of orange-brown margins, dark grey core. Lightly tempered with quartz, 20 mm. thick. Areas of its outer surface retain an olive green glaze. Cut 16, fill 5.

Fragments of chimney pot were also recovered from pit 19, fill 34 and pit 144, fill 68.

iv. BURNT CLAY/DAUB (none illustrated)

A total of 6,755 gms of burnt clay/daub was recovered (details in archive). 2,240 gms were faced, 1,565 gms preserved wattlework impressions. Only context 61/95 of pit 62 provided a sample large enough to study.

Two distinct sizes of wattle were used: 8–12 mm.;

16 mm. and above. Examples preserving both types demonstrated that the thinner wattles were laid horizontally in groups of two against the larger verticals, which were in groups of three or more. Presumably this created a framework of 'basket weave' type on which the daub was directly applied.

v. MORTAR (none illustrated)

The only mortar samples recovered were two 'earthy' and highly friable fragments (120 gms) from the lowest part of fill 125 in pit 62. They were both of a cream-yellow (calcareous) matrix and contained small-medium sub-angular flint and crushed shell inclusions.

vi. SLATE (none illustrated)

Small quantities of very much broken roofing slate were recovered from Contexts 5, 13, 37, 43, 48, 50, 61, 68, 72. They are all from the same source, the South Hams area of Devon. None displayed peg holes. The apparent 'rust marking' on some examples is a geological intrusion.

vii. POST-MEDIEVAL TILE (none illustrated)

Seven pieces of post-medieval tile were found in the 17th century fills of pit 20 and cellar 141. All displayed square peg holes 8 x 10 mm.–11 x 9 mm. and ranged between 11–14 mm. in thickness.

Animal Bones (by E. Somerville and P. Stevens)

(Note: Due to lack of time and personnel no sieving could be conducted on the site. There may, therefore, be a bias in the type of bone material recovered).

the was a total of 4,380 bones from the site of which 1,419 (32 per cent) could readily be identified. These included 1,209 bones from mammals and 58 bones from birds, which were identifiable to anatomical part and species.

A marked feature of the assemblage was its degree of fragmentation. Thus although 4,170 bones could be classed as mammalian, further identification was possible only on 29 per cent of these. This is considerably less than the approximate 50 per cent level usual for urban sites. It was noticeable that long bones and metapodials were usually recovered in an incomplete state, suggesting that marrow was extracted before the bones were discarded. Indeed, the general nature of the assemblage, typified by the predominance amongst the mammal bones of skull bones and metapodials, strongly suggests the making of soup.

MAMMALS

As in most medieval sites, the bone assemblage was dominated by the bones of the three main food species: sheep/goat, cow and pig. It is probably a safe assumption that the unidentified bones belong to these species. Both adult and immature animals are represented in the assemblage.

i. Sheep/goat (*Ovis aries/Capra hircus*) bones are almost ubiquitous, being present in 42 of the 53 levels represented in the sample. In total there were 848 fragments identifiable as sheep/goat, 70 per cent of the mammalian total.

ii. Cow (*Bos taurus*) is also well represented, with a total of 246 fragments, 20 per cent of the mammalian total. In general, cow bones are also well distributed, but tend to turn up in smaller numbers than those of sheep/goat. A cow metapodial from Pit 18, layer 7, showed the pathology typically induced by use of the animal for traction.

iii. Pig (*Sus domesticus*) is the least common of the main farm livestock species. As with sheep/goat and cow, there is no obvious pattern to the distribution of these species. A total of 97 pig bones was identified, 8 per cent of the total. Although both adult and immature animals were represented, it seemed to be the case that the majority of jaws and teeth belonged to adults, whereas limb bones were more often those of juveniles. The occasional occurence of isolated lower canines from boars was also noted.

iv. Horse (*Equus caballus*) was represented by nine bones. These were all found in five layers (7, 61, 63, 112 and 116). A femur and a tooth came from layer 7 (pit 18) and a further tooth and phalange from layer 116 of the same feature. Layer 61 (pit 62) produced a metapodial. A proximal scapula was identified from layer 63 (pit 64). The largest number of bones from a single layer came from layer 112 (pit 108); this produced a proximal scapula, a complete radius, a broken metapodial in which the proximal articular surface was worn flat, and a mandibular symphysis which showed a pathological misalignment of one of the incisors.

v. Carnivores. Dog (*Canis familiaris*) was not represented. Cat (*Felis cattus*) was represented by a total of six unbroken limb bones from both adult and immature animals retrieved from layers 7, 85, 61, 93 and 112.

vi. Birds. In total 17 layers contained bird bones which were largely unbroken. Chicken (domestic fowl, *Gallus domesticus*) was most common with 46 bones being identifiable to this species. Ten goose (*Anser anser*) bones were identified. Pigeon (*Columba livia*) and crow (*Corvus spp.*) were each represented by one find, in layers 33 and 34 (pit 19) respectively.

The greatest amount of sheep/goat, cow and pig bones were recovered from 13th/14th century fills. Bones of cat, chicken, horse and goose remained at stable levels throughout the 11th/14th centuries. After the 14th century only sheep/goat, cow and pig are represented and these in extremely small numbers.

(N.B. This is only a preliminary report. A full report of the bones will be produced in due course.)

Marine Resources (by E. Somerville)

(The 152 fish bones were provisionally identified by species only.)

Only ten fish bones were recovered from pre-13th century fills. These were of cod (*Cadus morhua*). Of the remaining 142 bones, four species could be distinguished. The bulk of the fish bones were again cod. One other cod-like fish was present in pit 18 (fill 116) and pit 19 (fill 33), and two vertebrae of flatfish were found (pit 19, fill 34, and pit 62, fill 61). Thorn-back ray (*Raja clavata*) was identified from one spine in pit 19 (fill 34).

Oyster shells were found in virtually all medieval and post-medieval contexts, though they exhibit a marked decline in numbers after the 16th century. Edible mussel shells appear only in 13th/16th century fills. There was a single crab claw from the 17th century (pit 47, fill 49).

Acknowledgements

I should like to thank the owners of the site, Clothkits Ltd, for permission to excavate, and the architect, Mr K. Seymur of Troika Ltd., for

his help and co-operation. I should also like to thank East Sussex County Council, the Friends of Lewes, Lewes Town Council, the Sussex County Building Society and the Sussex archaeological society (Margary Research Fund) for helping fund the excavation. I am grateful to Fiona Marsden for providing facilities at Barbican House and to Peter Drewett, Mark Gardiner and David Rudling for their advice thoughout.

The principal assistants during the excavation were Mark Hollow, Padmini Gupta, Sabrina Rampersand and Lawrence Pontin. My thanks must also go to Maureen Bennell, John Funnel, David Gregory, Nick Landon, Robert Masefield, Arthur Sayers and Joy Thomas who helped on site in all weathers. The animal bones were kindly washed by Alan Fennimore. All other finds processing was conducted by Sabrina Rampersand. Thanks are also due to those mentioned in the text who have contributed specialist reports, and to anyone else who took part but who I have unfortunately neglected to mention. Site publicity was arranged by Con Ainsworth with Radio Sussex, and John Eccles of the Sussex Express. Christine Crickmore typed the report. All plans and drawings are the responsibility of the writer.

The finds and archive have been deposited at Barbican House Museum.

Author: Miles Russell, Field Archaeology Unit, Institute of Archaeology, University College London.

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Sussex Archaeological Collections **128** (1990), 157–175

'DO YOU THINK THE TOWN WILL BE GOVERNED BY A PARCEL OF PIMPING BURGESSES?' ARUNDEL BOROUGH 1586–1677

by Ian Mason, B.A., Dip.Arch.Admin.

In origin Arundel was a manorial borough by ancient prescription. In 1586, as a result of a royal legal judgement or 'charter', the corporation obtained some independence from its manorial lord. The corporation was governed by a small number of burgesses varying from about 4 to 13 people. During the civil war and interregnum this oligarchy was dominated by a pro-commonwealth and presbyterian faction. This group introduced significant changes in town government, the most important of which was a change in the method of selection of burgesses which was challenged in 1659. The presbyterian elite was removed in 1663 after the Corporation Act but returned to power following a disputed election in 1671. Following these disputes a second royal judgement in 1677 supported the conformist faction and removed the presbyterians from office.

INTRODUCTION

The history of Arundel Borough has already provoked a strong response from the town's previous historians. G. W. Eustace in *Arundel Borough and Castle* described the corporation as 'unrepresentative of the people, irresponsible to public opinion, its interest centred mainly on the perquisites of office'.[1] Sidney and Beatrice Webb in *The Manor and the Borough*, described Arundel Borough as 'exhibiting all the worst features of the close Municipal Corporations'.[2] The Royal Commission on Municipal Corporations report in 1835 documented the corrupt practices of the close corporation.[3] All commentators are agreed that Arundel was one of the worst examples of the pre-reform boroughs. Entry into the ruling group of burgesses was strictly controlled by expensive and restrictive fines, corporate property was exploited for the personal gain of the burgesses whilst corporate funds were used for the social pleasures of the town's governors. All this was done by a ruling elite which had established itself as a self-perpetuating oligarchy.

A re-evaluation of the town's history is long overdue for several reasons. The town's records have for many years been kept in the Town Hall and access to them has been difficult until their recent deposit in the West Sussex Record Office. It is clear that Eustace when writing his history of the borough, although having access to the corporation minute book and some records of the borough, did not see certain legal papers which shed new light on the controversies in the borough during the commonwealth and restoration periods. Also, there has been a resurgence of interest in the history of English towns in the early modern period led by Peter Clark and Paul Slack. The work of the last decade means that the history of Arundel can be put into a more meaningful national context. In particular it is important to test Clark and Slack's thesis, on the development of oligarchy in incorporated boroughs, on Arundel.[4]

The Clark and Slack thesis maintains that the years from 1500 to 1700 constituted the period of incorporation of English towns. In that period 160 towns received charters, two-thirds of them before 1600. These charters usually sealed

alliances between the crown and urban elites in which the crown exploited the opportunity to interfere directly in town affairs for its political ends whilst town leaders obtained control of local administration and the prestige of a chartered town. The period was one of conflicts between oligarchies and their citizenry in which the elite usually consolidated their position. This form of select government survived the civil war and commonwealth intact. Despite these crises there was minimal change and few attempts to broaden the political power base of English towns. After the Restoration municipal authorities were purged of nonconformists by the commissioners appointed under the Corporation Act. However, in the years after 1663 many of the ejected personnel returned to power until a period of revision of charters between 1681 and 1688 imposed Tory dominance. The oligarchical town governments were characterised by a narrowing popular base, control of the parochial administrative machine, replacement of traditional by elite forms of civic ritual, obsessive secrecy, and corrupt manipulation of town properties. Arundel is an interesting example against which to test this thesis because it was one of few towns controlled by a presbyterian oligarchy during the Interregnum. What changes were introduced by this faction? Were they moves towards greater democratization or oligarchy? How did this grouping fare after the restoration?

THE CORPORATION'S 'CHARTER' 1539–1588

Arundel in the late 16th and early 17th centuries was a small market town and seignorial borough. By the early 16th century it had declined from a period of prosperity in the middle ages, its population having fallen by as much as a half to about 400. However by 1670 the town's population had risen to between 700 and 900 and its importance as a port and market town revived. The town was an important centre for communications. It was on the navigable river Arun and during the 17th century was important in its role as a port. It was also on an important east-west route which provided a bridging point across the river Arun, as well as a north-south route from Arundel to London.[5]

Arundel was a significant commercial centre supported by a rural market area along the rich agricultural plain of Sussex. It held two weekly markets on Thursday and Saturday, and four fairs a year. The town traded in wheat and fish and was also a livestock centre of some importance. The best evidence of the trade that came through Arundel in this period is in a register of dues, dated 1643, paid to the mayor and burgesses for unloading goods on the quay. This listed food (corn, butter and bacon, wine), fish (herrings, mackrel, cod, oysters), cloth, coal, building materials (glass, iron, stones).[6] As a consequence Arundel had an important mercer and merchant class which usually dominated the town's government.

Early history of the borough

Arundel was a borough by prescription, which meant that it had no original royal charter and that it held its liberties by ancient prescribed customs. In the time of Edward the Confessor the town consisted of a castle and mill, yet by Domesday in 1086 the town had grown in importance and was described as a borough and its inhabitants as burgesses. The borough's privileges were probably granted by William I at the same time he settled the earldom of Arundel on Roger Montgomery in 1071. Arundel was in origin a manorial borough. Roger Montgomery held the town as a feudal appendage of the castle and there was a close relationship between the borough and the lord of the manor, the Earls of Arundel.[7] In 1288 and again in 1302 the inhabitants of the borough specifically claimed no liberties except through their manorial lord.[8]

The borough consisted of a mayor, burgesses and commons. By 1539 at least, the term 'burgess' referred not to any inhabitant or any tradesperson in the town but to a select group varying over this period from 4 to 13. The

commons formed the vast majority of the townspeople. They probably consisted of those who paid the 'scot and lot' tax and therefore excluded servants and labourers. The borough had no formal constitution. The form of government of the corporation came from several sources: ancient custom, royal legal judgement, and the corporation's own precedents.

The town's 'charter'

The 1580s were a crucial period in the borough's history because it was in this decade that the method for selecting mayors was determined and that the corporation acquired its independence from the manorial lord.[10]

In 1583 a dispute arose over the rights of the corporation. Few details about this dispute are known except that in January 1586 Queen Elizabeth ordered the attorney general to move for a writ calling on the mayor and burgesses to show by what right they claimed their liberties. The result of this legal action was the 'charter' issued to the town later in 1586. Technically the document was not a charter but an exemplification, or legal judgement, but for the purposes of this article it will be described as a charter.

By this charter the mayor and burgesses were granted certain liberties. The charter recognized that the mayor and burgesses had the right to elect one of the burgesses as mayor for a year and that the mayor and burgesses could nominate and elect other burgesses from the inhabitants. The mayor had the right to a borough court which was to be held every three weeks. The charter also granted the borough the right to hold two markets a week on Thursday and Saturday and four fairs on 3 May, on the Feast of St Lawrence the Martyr (10 August) and 14 September each for one day and on the feast of St Nicholas (6 December) for three days. The borough also disclaimed the following privileges; the assize (or weight and measure of bread, wine and ale), the right of pillories, tumbrell and gallows for the punishment of offenders and also the return of all writs within the borough.[11]

The corporation not only proved its ancient rights but also claimed privileges that had been the right of the lords of the manor. Many of its claims were false. In 1302 it was Edward I who granted the assize of bread and ale and three fairs to Richard, Earl of Arundel. At the same time the burgesses claimed no rights except through the lord of the manor. In 1570 a survey was taken at the command of Thomas, Earl of Arundel that listed the dues the mayor and burgesses had to pay to the lord. The burgesses paid 13*d* per annum for shops called 'Oken shops'; 7*d* for the 'ferme of the Pound'; the portreeves paid £3 12*s* for the 'pickage and stallage' of the market and 18*s* for collecting 'furnace money' from the bakers. The lord could also charge 4*d* for the anchorage of every vessel coming into the river.[12] It is clear from this comparison of the Earl's ancient rights and the 1570 survey with the 1586 charter that the borough had usurped many of the rights of the lord of the manor. The right of holding markets and fairs and of holding the borough court, previously belonging to the lord had been claimed by the corporation in the charter.

In addition to this the borough came to usurp other rights of the lord, such as the collecting of quay dues and the assize of bread and ale. In 1594 there is a reference to the account of Richard Mothe, mayor for bills collected for quay dues during his mayoralty.[13] In 1643 the table of customs dues referred to above was issued,[14] whilst an order of 1645 clarified that the quay dues should be paid to the mayor to offset his charges for holding the borough court.[15] By 1741 the dues were referred to simply as the mayor's dues.[16]

The assize of bread and ale which the borough disclaimed in the charter was also usurped. In 1606 there is a reference to Nathaniel Fenn and William Older, portreeves of the borough, possessing a brass quart, pint and yard for measuring ale and a beam and scales of brass for weighing bread.[17] One of the duties of the serjeants at mace in 1650 was to 'take into his

custody the borough weights and scales to put them out on the market and fair days and receive the dues for the same.[18] By 1753 the earliest surviving references in the borough court minute book indicate that the corporation was collecting the dues for the assize of bread and ale.[19]

How was the borough able to wrest these privileges from the lord? At the time when the borough was being granted its charter, Philip Howard, the Earl of Arundel was in the Tower of London. In 1580 he inherited the Earldom and soon after became a practising Catholic. He was put under house arrest in Arundel House, London in 1583 and later committed to the Tower after trying to escape from the country. In 1589 he was charged with complicity in the Catholic Throgmorton's conspiracy and found guilty. He spent the rest of his life in the Tower until his death on 19 October 1595. In the meantime all his property, including the town of Arundel, was forfeited to the Queen.[20] As a result the Earl was in no position to protest that any of his rights were being usurped by the borough.

The 1586 charter marked a significant shift in the balance of power between the borough and its manorial lords. The town of Warwick, which was similar to Arundel in that its charter was granted whilst the earldom was in abeyance, developed in an entirely different way. There, the town slipped into subservience under the Dudley family. They held the recordership of the town which included the power to choose burgesses, steward and bailiff to represent them in the town.[22] Although the forms of manorial dependence in Arundel may have remained, the charter and subsequent encroachments of manorial rights, ensured that they were merely nominal.

There were other significant developments in the 1580s that ran parallel with the granting of the town's charter. In 1562 Hugh Good was made a burgess at the Earl of Arundel's request without a fine and in 1582 Thomas Smythe, one of the servants in the household of the Earl of Arundel was also made a burgess at his request.[23] This suggests that in the 16th century the Earl of Arundel had the right to appoint burgesses, even though it was not exercised frequently. In 1586 the corporation seems to have put an end to this by passing an order that no new burgess could be made without the consent of the present mayor and the majority of the burgesses.[24] The timing of this order was significant, suggesting a deliberate attempt to remove seigneurial influence from the selection of burgesses.

There were other ways in which the burgesses controlled or restricted their membership. The first was through the payment of fines by each new burgess. In 1560 a fine of £6 13*s* 4*d* had to be paid on the admission of each burgess. In 1568 the sum was raised to £10.[25] After this date it seems that the practice of collecting fines fell into abeyance as there is no mention of them in the series of articles for the government of the borough issued in the 17th century. They were revived in the 18th century when the value of the fine increased in stages from £7 in 1701 to 100 guineas by 1821.[26] The fines paid were distributed amongst the other burgesses, a process described in the diary of John Tompkins, a mayor of Arundel. One of several examples mentioned in this diary referred to his son, John Tompkins junior, whose 30 guinea fine was 'divided in 12 equal portions share & share like between the Mayor & Corporation which was accordingly divided'.[27] In the 18th century the ancient precedent to collect fines was revived to restrict the selection of burgesses and for the personal gain of the existing burgesses.

The election of burgesses was also restricted by a residential qualification. This arose in 1580 when the corporation agreed that a Nicholas Bedowe, who had been absent in Denmark for 6 years, should remain a burgess but resolved that hereafter any burgess dwelling out of the borough should be dismissed.[28] This residential qualification was drawn very strictly, as in 1591 William Lusher was dismissed for living in the adjoining parish of Tortington 'being without the remit and precinct of the said borough contrary to the honourable custom and usage of

the said borough'.[29] Even ex-mayors and prominent burgesses were required to accept this qualification. For example John Albery, a wealthy merchant and one of the most important figures in the corporation during the commonwealth period resigned twice to be re-admitted in 1642 and again in 1654 on his return to Arundel. This particular custom had a very significant effect because it prevented interference by the county gentry in the affairs of the town.

The agreement of Gawdy and Clarke

The borough charter was still vague in its wording and in particular made no reference to the method of electing mayors. In 1587, the year after the charter, there was a dispute over the selection of the mayor in which the two nominees, Francis Garton and William Lusher, deviated from customary practice. Francis Garton claimed to be mayor by being elected by the mayor and the majority of burgesses. The method by which William Lusher claimed election is not known but it is likely to have involved some element of popular participation. Both claimed victory and an appeal was referred to a tribunal of judges comprising Sir Thomas Gawdy, Justice of the Court of Common Pleas and Robert Clarke, Baron of the Court of Exchequer. The two judges issued an agreement which laid down the method of electing mayors.[30]

Mayors were to be elected on the law day of the borough of Arundel which was kept on the Tuesday after Michaelmas (29 September). The current mayor returned a jury consisting of the burgesses and other principal inhabitants to make up 24. The jury selected two burgesses as nominees for mayor. The commons, who were not members of the jury, voted one of the nominees as mayor. The method of election did have a popular element but there can be no doubt that the real power lay with the existing body of the corporation who selected the jury. It should also be remembered that the burgesses themselves elected new burgesses thus creating a self perpetuating oligarchy. This pseudo-democratic element was often found in the election of mayors and was one of the means by which close corporations sought to mobilize the approval of the populace for government by an elite.[31]

The tendency towards oligarchy in Arundel mirrored developments in other towns in both country and county during the Elizabethan period. The combination of a larger chamber which had no power with a small closed council consisting of members sitting for life and able to co-opt one another was typical of the form of town government developing during the 16th century. In Lewes the town was held by a select group of wealthy tradesmen known as 'the Twelve', in Rye a common council of 24 was created in 1575, in Hastings the election of mayor was taken out of public view into the more discreet Court Hall whilst Chichester was in the control of a merchant oligarchy.[32] Arundel therefore fits into a pattern of oligarchy prevalent in other Sussex towns.

THE PRESBYTERIAN OLIGARCHY 1635–1659

Political and religious sympathies of the town leaders

During the civil war and commonwealth periods the borough was controlled by a puritan and pro-parliament faction. This grouping, consisting largely of gentlemen mercers, emerged as dominant after key changes in personnel from about 1635. John Albery and James Huggett were appointed in 1635 and James Morris and Nethaniel Older senior in 1637. These burgesses were the most prominent during the civil war period, John Albery even survived to be ejected from the corporation after the restoration. The faction was re-enforced by the election of John Pellett, a known puritan, in 1642 and Thomas Ballard in 1645. There was a further influx of presbyterians in 1650 with the election of Thomas Colbrooke, George Hide, Thomas Sowton, George Taylor and Thomas

Thornecombe.

There is much evidence of the presbyterian and pro-commonwealth sympathies of the corporation in this period. In 1641 the borough elected John Downes, a parliamentarian and future regicide to parliament. The ease with which Sir William Waller took the town and castle with a mere 100 troops whilst marching on Chichester suggests both collusion of the burgesses and general sympathy for parliament's cause in the town.[33] However, the corporation minute book makes no references whatsoever to these events or the occupation of the town by royalist forces and the subsequent siege of Arundel by the parliamentarians in December 1643 and January 1644.[34]

In religion this elite was characterised by its persecution of Quakers. Besse's *Book of Sufferings*, quoted in Eustace, refers to several examples of persecution of Quakers in 1655. One man, Joseph Fuce, was seized in the house of Nicholas Rickman at Arundel and brought before the Presbyterian mayor, Thomas Ballard. He was judged to be a vagabond and was deported to Jamaica. In another instance at a meeting in the house of Nicholas Rickman 'there came one John Beaton, a Presbyterian Priest and assisted by one John Pellett, and pulled away the said Thomas Lawcock, and broke up the meeting, having Thomas Lawcock before one Thomas Ballard, Mayor, who was also a Presbyterian, who immediately committed him again to Horsham prison'.[35] Nicholas Rickman himself was committed to Horsham gaol by the mayor, Thomas Sowton, for writing a paper whilst Frances, the wife of Rickman was taken from their children and servants for speaking to two priests. This incident was subject to a petitition to the Council of State in 1657 and an examination into whether the Quakers had been committed to gaol lawfully.[36] The Presbyterian elite was also zealous in its support of sabbatarianism. Robert Mossell, Josias Hooscroft, John Hodgers and others were all apprehended by the mayor whilst returning home on Sunday from a place of worship, indicted as profaners, and committed to gaol. This incident was also subject to a petitition to the Council of State in 1658 in which George Taylor was summoned to the Council to given an account of the matters complained of.[37]

The town had strong links with the commonwealth government. It was a garrison town until 1653 and several of the ruling elite held offices appointed by the government. For example, John Albery was treasurer for sequestrations in Arundel.[38] In 1655 Thomas Ballard and George Taylor were appointed to the Commissioners for Assessments in Sussex.[39] The overt support of the borough for the commonwealth brought financial and commercial rewards for some of its members. In 1652 a contract was awarded to George Taylor to buy 1,000 quarters of wheat in Sussex for the army in Ireland.[40] The most striking example of the government's confidence in the loyalty of the town rulers occurred in the summer of 1659 in the context of the impending threat of royalist insurrections. At this time, on the 30 July 1659, the Council of State ordered Thomas Sowton to raise a company in Arundel which was later disbanded by an order of the 5 September.[41] The town rulers were therefore strong sympathisers with the commonwealth and were in turn rewarded by public office, contracts and the confidence of the government in a period of genuine crisis.

The most striking and colourful illustration of the burgesses' political sympathies can be provided by an account of a dispute between John Pellett and Henry Woodcock at the Bull Inn in Lewes on 10 January 1656.[42] The dispute arose during an argument on the sequestration of royalists condemned by Henry Woodcock. John Pellett claimed that 'it was a mercy in the Protector and Council in regard the Cavaliers had forfeited both life and goods'. He gloated over the defeat of the royalist party saying that 'the Lord trampled them all as mire in the street under the feet of the present power'. Later in the argument John Pellett went further saying 'in case he were of council with the present

Governors such implacable cavaliers and enemies to the state as would not be at peace in the Nation he would have them sent to Jamaica telling the said Woodcock that it was a great mercy in the Protector and Council to let such irreconcilable enemies have a being'. The argument led to an assault by Henry Woodcock on John Pellett in which the burgess had a glass of beer thrown in his face and his hair pulled. The incident illustrates the depth of support expressed for the commonwealth by one of the borough's most important civic leaders.

This presbyterian elite introduced important changes in the style and content of town government. On the one hand it refined oligarchical government in several ways: by introducing a series of articles for the better government of the town; by changes in the handling of the property of the corporation, the burgesses brooks; and lastly by developing town ritual. Pardoxically, it also introduced innovations in the election of burgesses that included participation by the commons.

Articles for the better government of the town

The mayor and burgesses had already passed individual rules piece-meal but in 1637 they issued their first orders for regulating the corporation. These comprised three articles that ordered the burgesses to 'observe to keep the secrets of the Brethren', 'to perform all promises and payments', and to 'yield all due reverence and respect unto the mayor and the senior burgesses.' A further two orders referred to the corporation's property, the burgesses brooks.[43] Although these were very limited, and did not even amount to a summary of previous orders enacted, it was the first time that the corporation had attempted to set out the rules under which it regulated itself.

Additional and more detailed regulations were issued in 1650. Under these ten orders each new burgess was required to: give due reverence and respect to the mayor; serve in the posts required of him; pay all taxes and assessments; place only his own cattle in the brooks; not to sue or arrest any other of the company except for debt; submit to all orders and byelaws in the corporation minute book; make a dinner for the mayor and burgesses and put ten loads of stone on the brooks; pay 12*d* a year to each sergeant; give a bond of £20 to the mayor that he will not leave the company without consent; supply himself with a gown.[44] These new regulations summarised orders that had been made in the past and laid down clear obligations for new burgesses. Some of the orders were perhaps a response to a problem referred to in an order in 1648 which made it clear that some burgesses were joining the corporation, taking the profits from the brooks, and either leaving or refusing to take on the charges of mayoralty.[45]

Articles for the better regulation of the company were also made in 1657. These articles related directly to impending challenges to the corporation and are best discussed in detail in the context of this conflict.[46]

These articles did have a significant effect on the development of oligarchy. They were designed to bind the company together, clarify the obligations of burgesses to their fellow brethren, and enable the corporation to keep a stricter control over its members once appointed. Their very language is couched in the terms of a secret society; the corporation is 'the company', burgesses are 'the brethren'.

Corporate property: the burgesses brooks

The development of oligarchic government was also expressed through the advantageous manipulation of corporate property by the urban elite. The mayor and burgesses of Arundel had the exclusive use of valuable brook lands known as the burgesses brooks. These brooks consisted of about 100 acres of meadow land between the castle and the river.

It is unclear how the burgesses acquired the exclusive right to these lands or how they were able to claim the brooks as their own property. In the 12th century William de Albini, the 4th Earl of Arundel, gave the right of pasturage in the brooks to the Priory of Calceto in common with

the burgesses. The burgesses only had a right of pasturage, not the freehold of the land itself, as the grant to the Priory came from the Earl and not the burgesses. When the Priory was dissolved in 1525 the burgesses received its right of pasturage in the brooks along with the care of Arundel bridge. Eustace claims that at this time the brooks became seen as the perquisite of the corporation and he links this with the change in the meaning of the name burgess from any tradesman resident in the borough to the close corporation of burgesses.[47]

It is clear that by 1539 the burgesses were treating the brooks as their own. The oath taken at the making of a new burgess at the front of the minute book stated that burgesses could put cattle in the brooks only as assigned by the mayor, that burgesses could put in only their own cattle and that the brooks were for the exclusive use of the mayor and burgesses.[48] Further orders in 1544 and 1546 re-affirmed the burgesses claim to sole use of the brooks. In 1549 the mayor was given the 'going of a gelding and a part of hay above the custom that other mayors have had in custom here before toward their charges',[49] which seems to be the origins of the mayor being allowed greater privileges in the brook. It is clear from these early references that the burgesses were already using the brooks as a reward for office and asserting an exclusive claim to them.

By the 1640s and 1650s a set form for regulating the brooks had emerged which lasted until the middle of the 18th century. In 1636 an order confined pasturage of the brooks to the mayor and burgesses and this was confirmed by the articles of 1637 which stated that 'you shall put into the brooks so many cattle as your other brethren do and you shall pay all the dues that your other Brethren doth pay. You shall put into the said brooks no other Cattle but your own and that leases that you please not to lay you shall let at reasonable rates and profits to some of the rest of your brethren.'[50] There was a 40*s* fine for contravening this order. In 1645 the burgesses were permitted to let leases to a commoner if other burgesses did not wish to take them and in the articles of 1650 the consent of the majority of the burgesses was necessary for any but their own to be put in the brooks.[51] The value of the leases was fixed in 1647 at 13*s* 4*d* for a piece in the brooks, 16*s* in the slipe for a horse lease or 8*s* for a bullock lease.[52]

The duties of the brookwarden were also regularised at this time. He kept up the fences and ditches, ensured that no more cattle were in the brooks than there ought to be and impounded cattle above that number. Cattle were taken out of the brooks in about November and returned in May. The brookwarden could choose one poor man to be a cow herd to help him with his duties. The brookwarden and cow herd were rewarded with a single lease in the brooks, the cow herd was also paid 2*d* for every single lease and 4*d* for every horse whilst the brookwarden was also treated to a dinner by the other burgesses.

The brooks were used as a reward for the mayor. He was allowed to put in double the number of cattle in the brooks as each of the burgesses. From 1635 he was also allowed £30 and subsequently £40 from the rent and profits of the brooks to pay for the charges of being mayor.[53] In 1647 part of the slipes, later known as the Mayor's Slipe, was given over to the exclusive use of the mayor, to be let to the company with rent to be paid half yearly to him to pay for the expenses of the borough court and the charges of mayoralty.[54]

Thus, by the commonwealth period the right of the corporation to the brooks had been truly established and a set of rules existed which remained more or less the same until 1758 when the brooks were leased for a period of 21 years at a fixed rent to persons who were not burgesses.[55] In 1780 the brooks were divided into plots and allocated to the burgesses at an annual rent, the burgesses being able to hold them as their own for as long as they remained a member of the corporation.[56]

Town Ritual and Feasts

The increased sophistication of town ritual in this period reflected the development of the oligarchical corporation.[57] There were several elements to town ritual. The town seal and maces were two important symbols of the corporation's authority. The town's seal depicted a swallow standing on a spiral branch with the legend *Sigillvm Burgensivm Burgi de Arundel.* The earliest documentary reference is in 1568 to the seal of the mayor being made available to burgesses on reasonable request without paying a fine.[58] However, the origins of the seal were probably much older.

The corporation also had three maces, two possibly dating from the 15th century.[59] One of these maces was engraved with the name Thomas Bennett, probably because the mace was repaired during his mayoralty.[60] The second mace had the initials of Nethanial Older, mayor in 1646, whilst the third, and largest, mace was presented by Lord Angier Viscount Longford, one of Arundel's Members of Parliament in 1677.[61]

The burgesses were also required to wear gowns. The first reference to this appeared in 1647 when an order was made for the burgesses to 'make and provide each of them a new gown of black cloth according to the fashion worn by the Aldermen of Chichester and decently laced with black velvet'.[62] The 1650 articles for the regulation of the corporation reinforced this order. Each new burgess was required to 'prepare a comely gown comfortable to the rest of your bretheren for manner colour and form and have it ready to wear within three months after your choice and in the same to accompany the mayor at all times and places according as the rest of your bretheren do'.[63]

When was this civic regalia used and what was the significance of it? The regalia was used in certain civic events. Obviously, on law day, when the new mayor was selected, all the burgesses turned out in their full regalia. It was at this time that the maces assumed their important role as symbols of civic power. The articles of Gawdy and Clarke laid down that the old mayor was to deliver the maces to the new mayor as a token of the transfer of authority. In a dispute over the mayoralty between John Pellett and Richard Hall in the 1670s, about which more will be said later, the protest at the validity of the election took the form of a refusal to surrender the corporate seal and mace. The mace was thus used, both within the corporation and to the populace at large, as a tangible symbol of civic authority.

The mayor and burgesses appeared in their full civic regalia on other occasions. They had to accompany the mayor to church each Sunday and to wait on the mayor in their gowns from the mayor's house to the court house at the three-weekly borough court. On these occasions the mayor and burgesses would have gone in procession in their gowns and on horseback attended by the serjeants at mace and the town maces.

Feastings also had an important role within the corporation, binding the company closer together and distinguishing their social position as a ruling elite. Before 1619 the corporation treated the whole town to a feast at the 'going out' of the old mayor and the 'going forth' of the new mayor. It seems that these occasions encouraged rioting and drunkeness amongst the townspeople. In 1619 the feasting of the town at the mayor's 'going out' were stopped because of the 'great trouble and unnecessary charges' to the mayor.[64] In 1649 this order was repeated and the mayor's 'going forth' feast was also omitted.[65] The 1657 articles for the better government of the corporation included an order that the mayor should not at any time 'make a great feast for all the people in the town at one time at the time of the mayor's going out of his office as in former times some mayors have done or shall do at any time within his mayoralty the company all join their purses to defend any suit that shall be brought for the neglect of the said feast'.[66]

The provision of town feasts was a source of conflict within the corporation. The decision to stop the town feasts seems to have been linked to

disputes amongst the burgesses. At the same meeting on 2 October 1619 when the feasts were abolished an order was issued which referred 'to some controversies among them the said mayor and burgesses (which) have grown such a height as it hath not only disturbed the common peace and firm accord which ought to be among brethren of their rank but also hath been some hindrance to the good government of the aforesaid borough'. Any burgess causing further offence was to be censured and fined 10s for each offence and have his cattle impounded if he refused to pay.[67] This was not a trivial issue. The 1657 articles made it clear that failure to provide the feast posed a threat of legal action as the corporation resolved to 'all join their purses to defend any suite that shall be brought for neglect of the said feast'.[68] Provision of the feast was obviously viewed as an ancient right for the town which had been rescinded by the corporation and was subject to legal challenge.

The feasts had a chequered history, being continually revived and abolished. By 1701 the feast must have again been revived despite the above orders. They were stopped again in an order which made the following observations; 'whereas diverse mayors of the said Burrough have sometimes since made a feast for the whole town at their going out which hath occasioned divers tumolts and riots within the said town'.[69]

At the same time as the town feasts were stopped in 1619 the burgesses replaced them with a dinner, to be given by the mayor, at the three weekly borough court for the burgesses, steward and officers of the court. In 1649 the mayor was also required to provide a dinner for the steward and jury on the law day.[70] The nature of the oligarchic government of the corporation was expressed through this replacement of a popular and recreational civic ritual by an elite one.[71] There were other town feasts. Under the articles of 1650 all new burgesses were required to provide a dinner for the mayor, the rest of the burgesses and their wives within one month of their selection.[72] The corporation minute book in the 18th century describes these feasts given by new burgesses as 'a handsome entertainment of eatables and drinkables'. The burgesses were also required to provide a dinner for the brookwarden.[73]

The function of these dinners was to bind the corporation together as a ruling and social elite. Although written a century or more after this period the nature of the feasts and their importance as a symbol of social stratification comes across in the Tompkins diary which describes several feasts and dinners, even providing menus for the food eaten.[74] By this date the social accoutrements of membership of the corporation were pre-eminent.

Town administration

Control of the corporation was closely linked with authority in the sphere of town and parochial administration. An almost complete list of parish officers has survived in the Arundel parish vestry minute book from 1646 to 1677 with just one small gap between 1663 and 1666.[75] An examination of this list shows a definite pattern in the relationship of the corporation to parish administration and also offers an insight into one of the ways in which commoners might have been elevated into burgesses.

The corporation may have taken advantage of the ejection of the vicar of Arundel, Thomas Heyney, in 1643 to take over the appointment of parish officers.[76] It was certainly the burgesses who controlled who was selected. For example, in 1647 the order appointing parish officers was signed by four burgesses and three commoners and in 1648 by five burgesses and four commoners.[77] It is significant that in 1677 the year the presbyterian faction of the corporation was finally defeated the parish officers were described as being appointed by the minister and inhabitants and the order was signed by the minister.[78]

There were two churchwardens, overseers and surveyors appointed each year and occasionally four overseers. It was quite clear that at least one churchwarden, overseer and surveyor had to be a burgess and the other was

usually a commoner although surveyors from 1670 were often both commoners. Indeed, in 1673 there is a note in the vestry minute book to the effect that the election of two commoners that year as overseer was not to be taken as a precedent.[79] For example, 1656 might be taken as a typical year. In this year George Penfold, a burgess and Henry Owden, a commoner were churchwardens; John Albery, a burgess and Thomas Pankhurst, a commoner were overseers and Thomas Thorncombe, a burgess and John Ollive, a commoner were surveyors. Interestingly, both Thomas Pankhurst and John Ollive were made burgesses three years later in 1659.

There is a clear suggestion that holding parish office was a means by which persons entered into the corporation. Most burgesses, even ones who rose to prominence or became mayor, usually preceded their election by holding some form of parish office. Many examples can be cited. Thomas Colbrook was a surveyor in 1649 the year before he became a burgess, Nethanial Older junior was a churchwarden in 1657 and surveyor in 1658 before election as a burgess in 1659, and John Ollive was churchwarden in 1652, overseer in 1654 and surveyor in 1656 until elevated to burgess in 1659. Consequently, although burgesses and commoners shared parish offices most officers, especially churchwardens and overseers, were or became burgesses at some stage in their lives.

The administrative tasks facing the members of the corporation both in their capacity as burgesses and parish officers seem to have been fairly limited. They did try to respond to the problems of urban poverty and migration in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. There were several early attempts at controlling new residents by the issuing of licences. In 1562 and 1563 Ralphe Wrenne, Mr Mutton, Richard Goffe, Mr Reed and Edward Legate were all granted licences to dwell, and in the case of Edward Legate, to open a shop, in Arundel. Ralphe Wrenne's licence was only granted following the production of a testimonial from his previous residence. In 1593 Thomas Thorne, shoemaker, purchased a licence to open a shop and dwell in the town.[80] The corporation also issued bonds to new residents as a guarantee against them becoming a charge on the parish.[81] The newcomers and their sureties were usually bound for the sum of £10 or £20 which was forfeited if they had to receive parish relief. Thirty of these bonds have survived between 1601 and 1629 and another one each for 1649 and 1650. In the 1650s the corporation certainly administered cottages for the poor as in 1655, 1656 and 1657 it paid rent to the Earl of Arundel for the 'poor cottages'. It seems that by 1677 these were no longer used for relief of the poor as they were described simply as cottages.[82] The borough also owned a workhouse, which was leased to James Morris for 31 years in 1651.[83] There is no evidence as to how these two institutions were run.

The second important administrative task facing the corporation was maintenance of the bridge. It should be remembered that the care of the bridge had been transferred to the borough in 1525 when the Priory of Calceto was dissolved and that the right of pasturage in the brooks had been granted for this purpose. The corporation tried on two occasions when the bridge needed rebuilding to seek the approval of Quarter Sessions to raise a rate for the maintenance of the bridge but were refused.[84] The first of these was in 1593 when the bridge was rebuilt at a cost of £55 1*s* 1*d* from income derived from two bequests from Edmund Shephard, who left a storehouse to the corporation, and Thomas Taylor, who bequeathed an annuity of 40*s* per annum for the repair of the bridge out of a tenement called the Crown House plus an appeal for voluntary aid in the rapes of Chichester, Arundel and Bramber which raised £48 5*s* 1½*d*.[85] When the bridge collapsed in 1641, following the refusal of the Quarter Sessions to permit a rate, the corporation once again resorted to subscriptions from Arundel residents which raised £127 14*s* 4*d* and voluntary donations from adjacent

parishes.[86] It seems that a considerable sum must also have come out of the corporation's own funds as there is an undated reference to 'no money accounted for since 1642 because of the new building of the bridge'.[87] It seems that the new bridge was completed in 1646, the work no doubt impeded by the civil war and siege of Arundel.

Undoubtedly the most serious task encountered by the corporation in this period was in seeking to alleviate some of the devastating economic effects of the civil war on the town. The manuscript autobiography of Mary Springett (later Pennington), whose husband Sir William Springett was garrisoned in the town, described the condition of Arundel after the siege. 'When we came to Arundel every thing wore a dismal appearance, the town being depopulated, all the windows broke, with the great guns and the soldiers making stables of all the shops and lower rooms and there being no other light in the town but what came from these stables.'[88] In 1646 Nethanial Older, the mayor, petitioned parliament for compensation for damage sustained by individuals as a result of the siege. This petition paints a bleak picture of Arundel after the civil war.

> That which your eyes have heretofore seen, and your ears hear, the sad and distressed estate of us the poor, plundered, robbed and spoiled inhabitants of the said borough, who were driven by the king's forces from house and habitation, to secure our lives, and in our absence, robbed and spoiled of all outward comforts to maintain a livelihood; some of our houses beng burnt, and others made stables of, and some pulled down, and all our goods imbezzled, and taken away, to our great impoverishing, in so much that, unto this day, diverse owe great sums of money, and are not able to pay them, and others brought very low, which hath enforced us to take hold of the unparalleled love and care of the honorable houses of parliament, in providing an ordinance for our repair.

The borough claimed compensation totalling £3,773 7*s* 6*d* to be distributed amongst 38 claimants. The town's burgesses feature prominently in the list, the largest sums, £950, £600 and £486 being claimed by James Huggett, John Albery and James Morris respectively.[89] The burgesses, being supporters of parliament, undoubtedly suffered at the hands of the royalists during their occupation of the town.

The corporation's other immediate response to the economic problems caused by the civil war was an attempt to revive trade through improvements to the quay. A set of quay dues payable for unloading on the quay was issued in 1643 to raise money for its maintenance.[90] A further order was issued in 1647 for the removal of gravel and sand lying near the quay to facilitate the landing of boats and unloading of goods.[91]

Although the evidence is limited, the corporation did make positive efforts to intervene in the economic life of the town, and its revival after the civil war is indicative of that. It took measures to alleviate the problems of urban poverty and migration whilst in its administration of the bridge and quay, both fundamental to the town's wealth and communciations, it made a positive contribution to the local trade and economy. Admittedly the burgesses, as merchants and traders themselves, were amongst the main beneficiaries of these measures. The period of genuine stagnation in the town's administration was in the 18th century until Arundel Borough Commissioners were created by Act of Parliament in 1785.[92]

THE CORPORATION DIVIDED 1659–1677

1659 dispute

Although the civil war as such is largely ignored by the corporation's records the underlying tensions caused by divisions in the town were evident. There were many veiled references in the corporation minute book to the threat of legal action throughout the Interregnum. In April 1643 each burgess had to

give 40*s* to the brookwarden to defend any action against him if an order that burgesses could only lease to other burgesses was challenged. In October 1643 any person who refused office or broke the orders of the corporation was to be denied the rights and profits of the corporation and refused access to the brooks.[93] In 1645 each burgess was required to deposit 50*s* in the town chest to form a stock of £20 for paying charges for 'precuring the renewing of the said charter' and the mayor and burgesses were to be allowed all reasonable charges and disbursements for this purpose. If £20 was not sufficient then more money could be raised from the burgesses. However, there is no evidence of any legal action being taken against the corporation at this time.[94]

Articles for the better regulation of the corporation were issued in 1657. These should be seen in the context of the impending challenge to the authority of the corporation. They were a call for internal discipline. The series of six orders imposed the following restrictions: 'provoking or reviling' language was outlawed at meetings; no secret or matter discussed at meetings was to be revealed to anybody outside the company; no confederation was permitted with antagonists of the corporation; burgesses were to conform to all orders in the minute book; feasts for people in the town were disallowed and burgesses were required to defend any suit brought for neglect of the feast. A fine of 20*s* was to be imposed on any burgess breaking these articles.[95]

In 1659 this underlying tension broke out into the open. It was only at this time that the issues surrounding the struggle for the control of the borough and the full significance of the innovations introduced by the corporation in the civil war and commonwealth period became clear. Eustace portrayed this dispute as one between the populace and the corporation.[96] No records of the dispute itself survive but there are accounts of it in a later controversy of the early 1670s which casts doubt on Eustace's interpretation of the controversy.

What was happening between the 1650s and 1677 was a power struggle for control of the corporation between two distinct religious and political factions. The controlling Presbyterian faction tried to change the ancient customs and introduce some measure of popular control over the election of burgesses and they were being challenged, not by the inhabitants at large but by a section of the inhabitants, cavalier in sympathy, who were trying to restore the traditional custom for electing burgesses. The timing of the dispute was significant. On 9 July 1659 the Council of State ordered 2,000 troops to be sent to Arundel and Chichester and it has already been noted above that Thomas Sowton was ordered to raise a company in Arundel.[97] This suggests that following the death of Cromwell the pro-royalist faction felt sufficiently confident to finally make a determined challenge to the presbyterian dominated corporation.

The evidence for this interpretation comes from a series of depositions taken in 1674 during a later legal dispute. Thomas Colbrooke, a burgess for 11 or 12 years from 1650, testified that along with George Taylor, Thomas Sowton and Thomas Thornecomb he was nominated by the mayor and burgesses to be a burgess and that at the next Court Leet they were recommended to the jury to be approved and presented to the commons, who duly elected them.[98] This was a radical departure from tradition. It was the first time in the history of the corporation that there had been any reference to burgesses being elected by the commons. The ancient custom of the mayor and burgesses electing new burgesses had been overturned and an element of popular participation introduced. In 1657 four other burgesses John Albery, William Pellett, John Yalden and George Penfold were elected by the same process. This is confirmed by the deposition of William Pellett who described the process of election. He and three others were summoned to the mayor's house, and were asked if they wanted to be burgesses, which they agreed to. A memorandum was then entered into the corporation minute book and then at the next Court Leet the mayor declared them to be fit

persons to be burgesses. His account continues 'the mayor did then declare to the inhabitants of the said Court Leet that they thought fit those persons to be made burgesses and if any were there that had any thing to except against any of them they might speak but there being no exceptions they were all generally approved of by the inhabitants there present'. The process of election had been changed to nomination and approval by the mayor and jury and final election by the commons.[99]

The controversy was referred to Henry Howard, the brother of the Earl of Arundel, and an agreement was entered into between the mayor and burgesses and 13 of the principal commons. This arbitration, which unfortunately has not survived, confirmed the new method of selecting burgesses. It was thus a victory, albeit short lived, for the mayor and burgesses who had introduced the innovation. This evidence makes it clear that Eustace was mistaken in describing the dispute as simply between the mayor and burgesses and the inhabitants. The 13 principal commons were, as subsequent events were to show, not asking for popular participation, but a restoration of the ancient custom.

The real nature of this appeal to the commons remains elusive. In fact, it presents something of a paradox given the nature of the corporation. As has been seen above, the ruling elite behaved in an unashamedly oligarchic manner in every other respect. Yet in 1659 and again in 1671 this faction made successful appeal for popular support that were only reversed by the intervention of central government. Unfortunately, no evidence survives that might illuminate the social composition of the commons who were invoked in the election of burgesses or in the 1659 dispute. Was there a residue of strong anti-royalist feeling in Arundel even after the collapse of the Protectorate governments?

Hall v Pellett

The innovations in the constitution of the corporation were soon overtaken by national events. In 1660 the monarchy was restored and along with it the established Anglican church. In 1661 the Corporation Act was passed. This required holders of municipal office to take oaths of allegiance and supremacy and the oath of non-resistance to the king, to repudiate the Solemn League and Covenant and to qualify for office by taking the Sacrament. The Corporation Act was followed in 1662 by the Act of Uniformity which intensified the differences between anglican and nonconformist. As a result of these two measures nonconformists were effectively excluded from holding office in municipal corporations.

In Arundel this had significant results, as burgesses refused to take the Corporation Act oath and were immediately dismissed. The Presbyterian oligarchy of John Albery, Thomas Sowton, Thomas Colbrooke, Nethanial Older, John Ollive, Thomas Ballard, George Hide, George Taylor, Thomas Thornecombe, Thomas Pankhurst and William Pellett were all ejected. An entirely new corporation was appointed by the commissioners dispatched to administer the oath, none of whom had ever served on the corporation before. This consisted of Anthony Westwood, William Hester, Anthony Greene, Thomas Fewer, John Winston, Robert Ottringham, Richard Hall, George Haris also Edwards and Maurice Marsh.[100]

Initially this did not seem to affect the changes made in the commonwealth period. Indeed several burgesses excluded in 1661 returned to the corporation. In 1668 George Taylor, Nethanial Older and Thomas Pankhurst all of whom had refused to take the Corporation Act oath, were elected as burgesses, along with Thomas Peckham. Significantly, according to the testimony of John Howes in 1674, all of these burgesses were elected by the commons.[101] The arbitration of Henry Howard was not, as Eustace said, immediately ignored by the corporation. There followed a dramatic sequence of events which can be reconstructed from the subsequent depositions.

On 25 September 1671, in the days leading

up to law day when the new mayor was to be elected, Richard Hall, the mayor, summoned several inhabitants to his house and offered to make them burgesses.[102] Two of them, John Albery and Thomas Pankhurst were offered the place of burgess 'which they refused and said they would come in by some other way or words to that effect'. Two other inhabitants John Whittington and John Ockenden accepted the offer to be burgess and their elections were recorded in the corporation minute book. It seems likely, that Richard Hall intended to challenge the recent changes in the election of burgesses and break the agreement made in 1659 to which he had been a signatory.

On law day Richard Hall duly returned a jury and there followed disagreements among the jury about the manner of choosing the mayor. John Alberry and Thomas Colebrooke 'consulting together with diverse other parties then in the said jury how to destroy the Ancient customs of the said Borough' entered a presentment into the court that James Goble, Richard Voakes, Thomas Pankhurst, Thomas Drewett, Robert Lincoln and Joseph Russell be burgesses and John Pellett mayor.

William Hester, the foreman of the jury and the burgesses Anthony Green, Thomas Jewer, Thomas Withiers and John Wilson, all burgesses and members of the jury, refused to consent to this presentment because it altered the ancient custom for electing burgesses. William Hester and John Wilson 'because of a rude multitude animated and stirred up by the said John Albery and Thomas Colbrooke and other persons endeavouringe to prejudice and destroy the Ancient customs of the said Borough were forced to absent themselves from the said court.' It seems that at this point most of the burgesses left the court. The jury then nominated and commons elected the new burgesses and John Pellet as mayor. According to the deposition of John Whittington 'the said John Pellett did openly at the same time say that the presentment should be thus and that for once he would set the cart before the horse . . . and there was some uncivil language spoken by Thomas Colebrooke openly in the court saying do you think the town will be governed by a parcel of pimping Burgesses'.

The new burgesses then set about forcibly entering the brooks. One witness, John Plaw, gave an account of this. 'Richard Voakes . . . carried down certain keys to the burgess brook's gate and did there try to open the locks of the said gates with the said keys but could not so that the said Richard Voakes did bid Henry Fuller who was there present to break open the said gate with a sledge or axe which lock was hanged on by the old burgesses or their order . . . Thomas Withiers and Mr Greene who were two of the ancient burgesses had their cattles taken out the said burgeses brooks and drove to pound . . .'.

In the case put forward by Richard Hall there was also the suggestion of bribery. The vicar of Arundel, the Rev. Robert Reader, testified that the new burgesses involved in the dispute had never received the sacrament. Nonetheless, the steward of the court leet had been persuaded to give the oath to the new burgesses. The case put by Richard Hall stated that 'at there last election they were not qualified by taking the sacrament according to a clause yet in force of the said Act for regulating corporations. And thereupon the steward partly by persuasion and something by corruption with money did again administer the oath of a Burgess'. John Howes, the steward of the court countered this claim by saying that he received a piece of gold from the mayor and burgesses for administering the oath of allegiance and supremacy but that this was only the usual fee.

The old mayor and burgesses, because they did not believe that John Pellett had been legally chosen, refused to deliver the corporate seals and maces to the new mayor. John Pellett did manage to get custody of the maces but the records and minute book of the corporation remained in the hands of the old burgesses.

This was a deliberate and organised attempt by the presbyterian faction, with the support of the commons, to overthrow the burgesses. Once

again, the lack of evidence prevents any real analysis of this support. There are no records that provide details of the composition of the jury or of the commons who constituted the 'rude multitude'. The Presbyterians were in a minority in the town yet must have constituted a powerful faction. In the Return of Conventicles in Sussex for 1669 the presbyterian congregation consisted of 40 persons and there were three presbyterian places of worship. The religious census of 1676 records that 346 persons over the age of 16 were conformist, 50 nonconformist and four papist.[103] Although in a minority the presbyterians formed a substantial proportion of the principal inhabitants of the town.

They were certainly amongst the wealthiest inhabitants. The 1664 hearth tax assessments for Arundel record 10 members of the presbyterian faction.[104] This has been defined as persons who were burgesses in the 1650s, burgesses who refused to take the corporation act oath and were ejected in 1661 and burgesses appointed or involved in the disputes of the 1670s. Of this group John Albery was assessed at nine hearths, three at six hearths, three at five hearths and one each at four, three and two hearths. Only one other person, William Hester was assessed at nine hearths. This indicates that the presbyterian faction belonged to a wealthy middle class. This evidence can be corroborated by that from inventories.[105] Six inventories of the presbyterian faction have survived and were valued at £75, £87, £239, £375, £400 and £561. George Taylor, one of the most important burgesses in the 1650s and the merchant who sent wheat to Ireland for the Council of State was the wealthiest of the group as shown by inventories. Although occupations have rarely been recorded in the minute book for this period, where they have been given, burgesses were invariably described as gentleman or mercer.

Although the presbyterian grouping was wealthy and powerful there is no evidence of any clear social divisions with the conformist faction. This grouping has been defined as burgesses accepting the corporation act oath in 1661 and those supporting Richard Hall in the disputes of the 1670s. Nine members of this faction can be identified in the hearth tax assessments, one each assessed at nine, eight, six, three and two hearths. Unfortunately the hearth taxes are incomplete and the numbers of hearths for the other four persons are defective or illegible. The seven inventories of the conformist group were valued at £31, £82, £113, £123, £344, £352, £377. Richard Hall, the main protagonist on the conformist side in disputes, was assessed at eight hearths and left an inventory valued at £123.

In terms of wealth and social status there was practically nothing to choose between the two factions. This was not a social conflict between two different classes but a dispute within a wealthy middle class consisting of tradesmen and merchants. It was a conflict of religious and political differences which had their origins in the divisions of the Commonwealth period and were exacerbated by the exclusion of nonconformists from public life as a result of restoration legislation.

The nonconformist's control of the corporation was short lived. Thomas Panckhurst was made mayor in 1672 and Richard Voakes in 1673 and 1674. In the meantime the dispute had been taken to the courts. The old burgesses had leased the brooks to their attorney, Thomas Peckham on 17 June 1672 and in November 1672 the new mayor and burgesses brought a bill into Chancery to oblige Richard Hall to deliver the seal, records and brooks belonging to the corporation. The decision was in Richard Hall's favour and he was elected mayor again in 1675. This had still not settled the vexed question of who elected burgesses as the case dealt only with the narrow question of the surrender of corporate property. This was only settled in February 1677 when Richard Hall brought an action against John Pellet, in which the former affirmed that the mayor should be chosen out of the burgesses and that the burgesses should be chosen out of the inhabitants by the mayor and the majority of the burgesses. The decision was embodied in the 1677 exemplification or 'charter'

of Charles II, the town's second charter, and confirmed the ancient method of electing burgesses.[106] This 'charter' effectively settled the arguments of the last 30 years and determined the oligarchic nature of the corporation for the next 150 years.

Politically it was not a very surprising result, it was highly unlikely that a verdict would have been delivered in favour of the nonconformists. This was the period immediately before the series of quo warranto attacks on corporations in which municipal charters were actively interfered with to secure compliant corporations and parliaments. The mayor held the important position of returning officer for the election of burgesses for Arundel to Parliament. Through this method of interfering with municipal charters Charles succeeded in delivering the most compliant parliament of the 17th century to James II. The dispute at Arundel presented an earlier opportunity for involvement in town governments and given the political context, a victory for the conformists was inevitable.

CONCLUSION

It is clear that the history of Arundel Borough in the early modern period fits neatly into the pattern described by Clark and Slack. Arundel was nominally a manorial borough which was able to assert its independence from its manorial lords through a royal 'charter'. The grant of this charter radically redefined the relationship between lord and borough and for a considerable length of time the earls of Arundel had no significant influence over corporate affairs. It was not until 1735 that the dukes of Norfolk made a concerted attack on the privileges of the corporation by demanding that vacancies amongst burgesses should be filled by his nominees. This attack was resisted and defeated by the corporation.[107]

Through the first half of the 17th century the corporation exploited its independence from seigneural control and consolidated the oligarchic nature of town government through control of corporate property, development of town ritual and management of town administration. Many innovations in the town's government were introduced by the Presbyterian ruling elite of the civil war and Commonwealth period. The most significant of these was a change in the process of selecting burgesses which permitted the involvement of the commons. The presbyterian town governors were all ejected in 1663 but they gradually returned to office and made a concerted attempt to take control of the corporation. This was defeated by another intervention by central government in the affairs of the town and a second 'charter'. This was undoubtedly the most interesting, and in some ways the most elusive, period in the town's history. The presbyterian faction, on two occasions, made successful popular appeals but limitations on the evidence make it hard to define clearly its constituency.

The town's second charter had a significant and long term effect. The constitutional arguments having been settled the form of the town's government had been established until the creation of the Arundel Borough Commissioners in 1785 and the reform of the Borough under the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835. Through the course of the 18th century the borough stagnated, its membership restricted by large fines and a network of family and social relations.

Author: Ian Mason, West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, West Yorkshire.

Notes

[1] G. W. Eustace, *Arundel Borough and Castle* (1922), 191.
[2] S. and B. Webb, *English Government, The Manor and the Borough* (1908), 174–8.
[3] Royal Commission on Municipal Corporations, *Appendix to the first report of the Commissioners, Part II: South Eastern and Southern Circuits* (1835), 665–76.
[4] P. Clark and P. Slack (eds), *Crisis and Order in English Towns* (1972), see especially the introduction; P. Clark and P. Slack, *English Towns in Transition* (1976), see especially chapter 9 'The Political Order.'
[5] G. O. Cowley, 'Sussex Market Towns 1550–1750', University of London, M.A. thesis (1965), 14, 70, 11, 132, 151, 153, 169, 182.
[6] West Sussex Record Office (WSRO), Arundel Borough Archives (ABA) M8.
[7] Rev. M. A. Tierney, *The History and Antiquities of the Castle and Town of Arundel* (1832), 689–92.
[8] J. Dallaway and E. Cartwright, *The Parochial Topography of the Rape of Arundel, in the Western Division of the County of Sussex* (1832), 206; and Tierney, *History and Antiquities*, 691.
[9] Eustace, *Arundel Borough*, 53.
[10] Eustace, *Arundel Borough*, 121–30 includes his account of the grant of the charter and the articles of Gawdy and Clarke.
[11] WSRO ABA, I1.
[12] Dallaway and Cartwright, *Parochial Topography*, 206.
[13] WSRO ABA, F2/1 ff2–3.
[14] WSRO ABA, M8.
[15] WSRO ABA, A1 f53, folio references for Arundel Borough Archives A1 are to the original minute book in the custody of the Town Clerk, not the photocopy at the West Sussex Record Office (MP 1926). A concordance of the folio numbers in the original and photocopy is pasted into the front of WSRO MP 1926.
[16] WSRO ABA, A1 f175.
[17] WSRO ABA, F2/1 f6.
[18] WSRO ABA, A1 f61v.
[19] WSRO ABA, J1.
[20] Eustace, *Arundel Castle*, 127, 131–2.
[21] P. Clark and P. Slack, *English Towns*, 126–8.
[22] A. L. Beier, 'The Social Problems of an Elizabethan Country Town 1580–1590' in *Country Towns in Pre-Industrial England*, ed. P. Clark (1981), 50.
[23] WSRO ABA, A1 ff17v, 22v.
[24] WSRO ABA, A1 f23v.
[25] WSRO ABA, A1 ff16v, 18v.
[26] WSRO ABA, A1 ff123, 170, 174, 182, 196, 200, 204v, 223v.
[27] G. W. Eustace (ed), 'The Tompkins Diary' *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **71** (1930), 11–55.
[28] WSRO ABA, A1 f22.
[29] WSRO ABA, A1 f26.
[30] WSRO ABA, M1.
[31] P. Borsay, 'All The Town's A Stage: Urban ritual and Ceremony 1660–1800' in *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns*, ed. P. Clarke (1984).
[32] A. Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War: Sussex 1600–1660* (1980) 234.
[33] Eustace, *Arundel Borough*, 150–1.
[34] It is not the place of this article to examine the civil war campaigns in Arundel. See Eustace, *Arundel Borough*, 149–64; Fletcher, *A County Community*, 267–9 and C. Thomas-Stanford, *Sussex in The Great Civil War* (1910), 82–100.
[35] Eustace, *Arundel Borough* 181; Rev. Cyril H. Valentine, *The Story of the Beginnings of Nonconformity in Arundel* (1922), 4–5.
[36] Calendar of State Papers (Domestic) (hereafter CSPD) 1656–7, 229–30.
[37] CSPD 1658–9, 167.
[38] CSPD 1655–6, 397.
[39] CSPD 1655–6, 68.
[40] CSPD 1651–2, 549.
[41] CSPD 1659–60 52, 173.
[42] Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Ms. A, 46 ff131–3; also cited in C. Brent 'The Neuteuring of the Fellowship and the Emergence of a Tory Party in Lewes 1663–1688' *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **121** (1983), 100–1.
[43] WSRO ABA, A1 f41.
[44] WSRO ABA, A1 f62, quoted in Eustace, *Arundel Borough*, 178–9.
[45] WSRO ABA, A1 f58v.
[46] WSRO ABA, A1 f71v–72.
[47] Eustace, *Arundel Borough*, 106–7.
[48] WSRO ABA, A1 ff8v–9.
[49] WSRO ABA, A1 ff256v, 257, 258v.
[50] WSRO ABA, A1 f41.
[51] WSRO ABA, A1 ff51v, 62.
[52] WSRO ABA, A1 f56.
[53] WSRO ABA, A1 f39v.
[54] WSRO ABA, A1 f57v.
[55] WSRO ABA, A1 ff194v–195v.
[56] WSRO ABA, A1 ff207v–209v.
[57] Borsay, in P. Clarke (ed), *The Transformation*.
[58] WSRO ABA, A1 f19.
[59] L. Jewitt and W. H. St John Hope, *The Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office of the Cities and Corporate Towns of England and Wales*, quoted in Eustace, *Arundel Borough*, 255.
[60] WSRO ABA F2/1 f4 refers to the 'makinge of the mases and for the kayces'.
[61] WSRO ABA, A1 f96v.
[62] WSRO ABA, A1 f57.
[63] WSRO ABA, A1 f62.
[64] WSRO ABA, A1 f35.
[65] WSRO ABA, A1 f60.
[66] WSRO ABA, A1 ff71v–72.
[67] WSRO ABA, A1 f34v.
[68] WSRO ABA, A1 ff71v–72.
[69] WSRO ABA, A1 ff124–124v.
[70] WSRO ABA, A1 ff35, 60.
[71] P. Borsay, in P. Clarke (ed), *The Transformation*.
[72] WSRO ABA, A1 f62.
[73] WSRO ABA, A1 f52.
[74] Eustace (ed), 'The Tompkins Diary' *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **71**, 11–55.
[75] WSRO Par 8 12/2 lists parish officers on which the following analysis is based.
[76] Eustace, *Arundel Borough*, 169–70.
[77] WSRO Par 8 12/2 f4, f5.

[78] WSRO Par 8 12/2 f26.
[79] WSRO Par 8 12/2 f19.
[80] WSRO ABA, F2/1 f2v.
[81] WSRO ABA, B1/1–35.
[82] WSRO ABA, F4/1.
[83] WSRO ABA, P1/7.
[84] Eustace, *Arundel Borough*, 133, 145; WSRO QR/W40 f5; QR/W41 f5; B.C. Redwood (ed), 'Quarter Sessions Order Book 1642–1649' *Suss. Rec. Soc.* **54** (1954), 4, 83.
[85] Eustace, *Arundel Borough*, 133; WSRO ABA, F2/6.
[86] Eustace, *Arundel Borough*, 145–6; WSRO ABA, F2/14, 15.
[87] WSRO ABA, F2/1 f17v.
[88] WSRO Add. Ms. 31, 145.
[89] WSRO ABA, M9.
[90] WSRO ABA, M8.
[91] WSRO ABA, A1 f80.
[92] WSRO ABA, C1.
[93] WSRO ABA, A1 ff48v, 50v.
[94] WSRO ABA, A1 f54.
[95] WSRO ABA, A1 f71v–72.
[96] Eustace, *Arundel Borough*, 183–4 contains his account of this dispute. It is clear from this account that Eustace had not seen legal papers re Mayor v Hall, now WSRO ABA, L3.
[97] CSPD 1659–60, 15, 52, 173.
[98] WSRO ABA, L3, deposition of Thomas Colbrooke.
[99] WSRO ABA, L3, deposition of John Pellett.
[100] WSRO ABA, M11.
[101] WSRO ABA, L3, deposition of John Howes.
[102] WSRO ABA, L3, the account of the following events is based on depositions amongst these papers.
[103] Eustace, *Arundel Borough*, 186; A. Prescott *From Parsons to Rectors* (1988), 5–6.
[104] Public Record Office E176 191/416 Hearth tax 1664.
[105] WSRO Ep I/29/8 Arundel inventories.
[106] WSRO ABA, 12.
[107] Eustace, *Arundel Borough*, 205–14 provides an account of the 18th century disputes over the town's constitution.

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EIGHTEENTH CENTURY LITERACY LEVELS IN WEST SUSSEX

by Doreen E. Smith

There has been considerable interest during recent years in the standards of literacy prior to the universal educational provision envisaged in Forster's Act of 1870. The ability to read and write fluently was a necessary requisite of the gentle classes and men of professional status, but the diffusion of literacy throughout the social order varied considerably in different parts of the country. It has been suggested that at a national level in later 18th century England around 60 per cent of the men and 40 per cent of the women were literate.[1] These figures however, conceal wide variations both at regional and local level, with towns generally displaying a higher rate of literacy than rural areas. Furthermore, levels of literacy in the emergent industrial towns were adversely affected by labour demands and population expansion.[2] Within such variations an occupational hierarchy has been found to be remarkably consistent, confirming the functional value of literacy in economic as well as social roles.[3]

The acquisition of full literacy includes both reading and writing skills. Mastery of the former is not possible to determine historically although the possession of books as shown by probate inventories gives indirect evidence as to the owner's reading abilities. On a broader canvas the publication of large quantities of cheap reading material denotes a ready market.[4] Fortunately the ability to write leaves posterity with the chance of determining the incidence of writing literacy in time or place. The existence of documents requiring personal marks or signatures has become the *sine qua non* of researchers of literacy. Several sources have been utilised, probate records and the Church of England marriage registers after Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act of 1753, being the most common. Exempting only Jews and Quakers, all grooms and brides, together with two witnesses were required to sign a register kept for the purpose. It is likely that the resulting evidence relates to the 90 per cent of the population who were married, indicating their ability to sign in their middle twenties, some 15 years after leaving school.

The ability to sign on marriage can not imply the acquisition of full literacy. Many partners may have mastered the skill for the purpose required in the ceremony, as laboriously formed and misspelt signatures found in the registers testify. Since the teaching of reading preceded that of writing at this period, however, it is likely that calculations based on signatory evidence will produce measurements of writing literacy which would relate to a proportion of the population smaller than that with reading fluency, but greater than that possessing a total mastery of writing.[5] Although the method used can not indicate any degree of writing fluency nevertheless it is a standard and direct test by which comparisons may be made.

The acquisition of literacy was dependent upon access to the means of instruction, whether informally, at home, or from existing educational establishments: endowed grammar, charity, parish schools or those run by private enterprise. In the case of formal schooling, probably only those children who could be spared from the economic necessity of contributing to the family income would be sent to learn from them. Levels of achievement would have varied with the length and regularity of

attendance. Reinforcement of the basic skills at some later stage in life was probably an ingredient of the levels of literacy obtained from parish registers and, to this end, it is useful to know what proportion of households possessed skills invested in one or other parent.

The communities chosen for this study of literacy in West Sussex include the parishes of Harting and Rogate on the Hampshire boundary, the market town of Midhurst with the associated parish of Easebourne and the diocesan centre of Chichester. In the 18th century the latter comprised seven parishes. The selection was influenced by the wish to include a range of community types: provincial town (in this case also the diocesan centre), market town and rural village. Since the economy of the latter would be based chiefly on agriculture it was deemed desirable to include parishes whose soils derived from successive geological beds from the Chalk to the Weald Clay.[6]

Literacy

When the median levels are compared, male literacy can be seen to conform to a hierarchy noted by other researchers.[7] The highest level was found to have occurred in the diocesan centre, followed by the market town and, at a level of some 20 per cent lower, the three rural parishes. When female literacy is compared, the market town of Midhurst takes precedence over Chichester; Rogate brides appear to have been the least literate although the grooms achieved the highest rural rate. Whilst the general literacy level for brides was between 15 per cent and 25 per cent lower than that of the grooms, the decadal difference ranged from 4 per cent, displayed in Rogate in the final decade, to 55 per cent in the same parish at the commencement of the period. The differential, fluctuating in all communities in the early decades, appears to level to figures of around 20 per cent in Chichester, 12 per cent in Midhurst, but to single figures for Harting and Rogate. It has been postulated that this phenomenon encountered in some rural parishes can be related to the demand for domestic servants and the preference shown by employers for literate applicants.[8] Midhurst is notable for the constancy of its bridal literacy; it is likely that demographic and economic stability were contributory factors.[9]

Whilst the figures given in Table 1 indicate the levels of literacy pertaining during the last half of the 18th century, they do not reflect the educational function of the respective communities. Although brides rarely married out of their native parishes, registers show that between 11 per cent and 45 per cent of the grooms marrying in one decade resided elsewhere. These grooms therefore can probably be presumed to have acquired their education at least at basic level in their parish of origin. Since the period was one of migration from the rural areas to the towns, it can further be postulated that these non-native grooms marrying in Midhurst and Chichester may well have settled

TABLE 1
Percentage literacy rates of Brides and Grooms 1754–1799

Parish	*Easebourne*			*Harting*			*Rogate*			*Midhurst*			*Chichester*		
Years	*No.*	*Gr.*	*Br.*	*No.*	*Gr.*	*Br.*	*No.*	*Gr.*	*Br.*	*No.*	*Gr.*	*Br.*	*No.*	*Gr.*	*Br.*
1754–59	37	62.2	27	29	48.3	27.6	9	66.7	11.1	20	80	55	170	72.9	56.5
1760–69	48	52.1	27.1	38	60.5	39.5	29	55.2	27.5	43	60.5	55.8	299	73.9	51.2
1770–79	52	48.1	36.5	49	42.8	20.4	34	58.9	38.2	54	74.1	55.5	416	74.5	51.9
1780–89	38	36.8	15.8	57	47.4	33.3	34	32.3	17.6	54	66.7	53.7	474	76.3	55.7
1790–99	59	47.4	30.5	60	36.7	30	25	40	36	58	63.8	51.7	530	65.8	45.1
Median		49.3	27.4		47.1	30.2		50.6	26.1		69	54.3		72.7	52.1

Source: Parish marriage registers

there. When literate, their migration would have enhanced existing literacy levels and provided literate or semi-literate backgrounds for the bringing up of children.

Recent research has shown children of literate parents understandably to display greater levels of literacy than those from families with only one, or neither parent literate.[10] Where families were semi-literate, maternal literacy appeared to be of greater influence, although children of literate fathers were more literate than those of totally illiterate marriages. Paucity of information to be gained from the West Sussex registers used precludes support for this contention. It is, however, useful to ascertain trends in family literacy at this time.

children if circumstances permitted. Thus parental values might promote a diffusion of literacy throughout a community over a period of time. A stable economy was probably a pre-requisite for this situation to pertain: the costs of schooling had to be set against the loss of child labour in a family budget. Further, the pressures exerted by a rapidly expanding population would have had adverse effects on educational provision.

In these terms Midhurst, and more particularly, Chichester, appear to have experienced some disruption of trends towards improved literacy in the final decade. In the rural parishes the proportion of illiterate households was considerably higher: in both Easebourne

TABLE 2
Percentages of literate, semi-literate and illiterate marriages

	Easebourne			*Harting*			*Rogate*			*Chichester*			*Midhurst*		
Years	*Tot.*	*semi-*	*illit.*	*Tot.*	*semi-*	*illit.*	*Tot.*	*semi-*	*illit.*	*Tot.*	*semi-*	*illit.*	*Tot.*	*semi-*	*illit.*
1754–59	21.6	45.9	32.4	24.1	27.6	48.3	11.1	55.5	33.3	51.8	25.9	22.3	55	25	20
1760–69	25	29.2	45.8	31.6	36.8	31.6	24.1	34.5	41.4	46.8	32.1	21.1	44.2	27.9	27.9
1770–79	28.8	26.9	44.2	14.3	34.7	51	35.3	26.5	38.2	45.7	34.6	19.7	50	29.6	20.4
1780–89	13.2	26.3	60.5	26.3	28.1	45.6	11.8	26.5	61.7	50.6	30.8	18.6	48.1	24.1	27.8
1790–99	30.5	16.9	52.5	16.7	33.3	50	28	20	52	38.5	34	27.5	44.8	25.8	29.3
Median	23.8	29	47.1	22.6	32.1	45.3	22.1	32.6	45.3	46.7	31.5	21.8	48.4	26.5	25.1

Source: Parish marriage registers

The literacy status of marriage partners is of importance when the formative influences in the progression towards full literacy are considered. The value placed on education by a newly formed family probably reflected both personal and communal ethics. Religious, social and occupational involvements or aspirations probably had some bearing on the need for literacy and, though the statistics used relate only to writing literacy, they form the minimum levels for reading literacy which was possibly much higher.[11]

Table 2 shows that in the towns totally illiterate marriages seldom formed more than one fifth to one quarter of the total in any period. The remainder therefore, could be expected to have sought some form of tuition for their

and Rogate the figure reached over 60 per cent in the 1780s. The cost effectiveness of literacy in such parishes could not have been great. Few occupations save those involved with retailing could have required its mastery and the presence of large estates in the vicinity meant that most men were occupied in agricultural labour.

Demographic and Economic Factors

During the 18th century market towns in England experienced an expansion of population partly due to natural increase, partly to migration from the surrounding rural areas. Researchers into historical demography have found the number of entries in parish baptism, marriage or burial registers to relate well to the size of population.[12] At this period the marriage

rate can be assumed at eight per thousand when averaged over five years or more. The numbers of marriages shown in Table 1 indicate some growth in the rural parishes, a sustained increase in Midhurst and considerable growth in Chichester. The total of marriages performed in the seven city parishes demonstrated an increase of 40 per cent between 1770 and 1779. It is possible to postulate that this increase was concomitant with an expansion of the economy. Resulting labour demands may have stimulated migration from the rural hinterlands. Literate migrants seeking advancement can be seen as depressing the literacy levels in their native parish, whilst illiterates can be viewed as lowering the levels pertaining in the city. It is also possible that an influx of families moving to the more literate environment of a cathedral city may have overwhelmed the existing levels of educational provision. The literacy levels for both brides and grooms of the final decade, which would have been a generation later, support this hypothesis.

Through its port of Dell Quay, Chichester was the centre of considerable coastal trade in grain and flour, malt and hops.[13] Much was bound for the capital whilst incoming trade included salt from Southampton and foreign linens transhipped from London. By the 1720s management of the corn trade in the city had been noted by Daniel Defoe on his travels through the country.

> But some money'd men of Chichester, Emsworth, and other places adjacent, have join'd their stocks together, built large granaries near the Crook, where the vessels come up, and here they lay up all the corn which the country on that side can spare; and having good mills in the neighbourhood, they grind and dress the corn, and send it to London by Long Sea, as they call it . . .[14]

By mid-century turnpikes had begun to improve communications which had always been beset by the intractability of the Wealden clays. Overland trade to London increased as Benjamin Martin noted in 1759.

> . . . the Market is not only supplied with Corn in great Plenty, but with Numbers of Fat Beasts, . . . It is well furnished with Poultry, and with Fish in great Perfection and Plenty, according to the Season, . . . and great Quantities of them and Prawns are brought up weekly by the Carriers to London . . . The London Road leading to this city is now made very good by a Turnpike, which contributes much to the Advantage of the City.[15]

Higher ranking members of rural society were able to spend time in the city thus promoting trade and professional services. Commercial directories of the period list men of the Church, Law and Medicine residing in the market town of Midhurst and in greater numbers, in Chichester.[16] This core of educated men probably comprised the leaders of society and can be seen as contributing to the social diffusion of literacy through their households and spheres of influence. Midhurst lay on a route turnpiked in 1749. Its Thursday market was stated to be 'for all sorts of fat and lean cattle and hogs',[17] whilst its connection with its rural hinterland is emphasized by the number of maltsters, brewers and millers listed in the *Universal British Directory* of 1794. Mercers and linen drapers were also numerically superior; their financial status as indicated by probate inventories of the previous century suggests a prosperous trade possibly linked with the importation of linens via Dell Quay.

Occupational structure

It has been shown that both the city and the market town would provide numbers of occupations which were literacy-specific. Apart from the professions, men with commercial and trading interests would have required the skill as did those craftsmen involved with retailing. For those who were wholly or partly illiterate, the urban environment possibly provided the stimulus necessary for the acquisition of literate skills. *Bailey's British Directory* of 1784 listed three booksellers as well as a printer and

publisher in Chichester. The *Universal British Directory* listed a stationer in Midhurst and two in Chichester. The spread of printing in 18th century towns can be seen both as a response to increasing levels of literacy and a stimulus to its promotion.

An occupational hierarchy is apparent in most studies of literacy.[18] Whilst the gentry and professional men ranked highest, women and workers in agriculture are found to have been the least literate. Such evidence stems from the inclusion of occupational descriptions in the records used. With regard to the parish marriage registers the assiduity of incumbents or their clerks in obtaining this information varied not only by individual performance but apparently by local practice. Some areas possess registers with remarkably detailed information. West Sussex parishes used in this study are not amongst their number. Alone amongst the urban parishes, that of St. Peter the Great in Chichester recorded the occupational status of grooms from 1767 to 1779, whilst the rural parish of Easebourne included this information from 1754 to 1769 and Harting from 1754 to 1779.

The parish of St Peter the Great was territorially the largest of the seven parishes of the city. In addition, possibly because its services took place in the cathedral, it was preferred by numbers of brides and grooms resident in other Chichester parishes. Of the total marriages taking place between 1769 and 1779, some 55 per cent included the occupational description of the groom. It is likely that men of independent means figured largely amongst those unspecified since the literacy rating of this group was 81.5 per cent and that of their brides 76.3 per cent. Table 3 gives the literacy levels of occupational groups in rank order together with that of their brides.

The higher levels of literacy pertaining amongst the brides of those grooms engaged in retailing or service occupations may perhaps underline the usefulness of a literate wife.

The periodic inclusion of occupational descriptions in Easebourne and Harting reveals a socio-economic structure which included a few members of the gentry or substantial farmers, a number of those dealing with the processing of grain, provision dealers, rural craftsmen and building services. At the base of the structure was the large number of those grooms employed in agriculture, 44 per cent of the total recorded in Easebourne and 26 per cent in Harting. Unspecified grooms formed 33 per cent in Easebourne where their literacy level was 79 per cent. As with Chichester, this group may have included men of independent means since the parish was closely linked to the market town of Midhurst. In Harting 50 per cent of the marriage entries bore no occupational descriptions. Since in this group the literacy level was 49 per cent it may be that agricultural labour was represented in the unspecified category as well as in the 26 per cent who were described as labourers. As before the literacy ranking is apparent although only a comparatively small percentage of grooms of this period can be related to literacy-specific occupations.

Whilst the sample is small, the value of literacy to those with retailing interests is apparent whilst labouring groups with no occupational need display literacy levels of 30 per cent or under.

TABLE 3
Literacy of occupational groups, St Peter the Great 1769–1779

Occupation	*No. in group*	*Grooms % lit.*	*Brides % lit.*
Professions and gentry	8	100	100
Yeomen and farmers	3	100	66.6
Clothing manufacturers	7	100	57.1
Retailing trades	7	100	71.4
Building trades	20	95	45
Craftsmen	42	81	47.6
Processing trades	5	80	40
Services	7	71.4	57.1
Military and naval	28	67.8	25
Labourers	44	29.5	13.6
Husbandmen	10	10	20

Source: Parish marriage registers of St Peter the Great

TABLE 4
Literacy of occupational groups, Easebourne 1754–1769 and Harting 1754–1779

Occupation	*Easebourne* No. in Gr.	*Grooms* % lit.	*Brides* % lit.	*Harting* No. in Gr.	*Grooms* % lit.	*Brides* % lit.
Prof. and Gentry	1	100	100	1	100	100
Yeomen	1	100	100	2	100	0
Prov. dealers	–	–	–	3	100	66.7
Processing	3	100	66.7	–	–	–
Building	5	80	40	4	75	75
Services	–	–	–	8	50	37.5
Labourers	37	26	8	30	30	16.7
No stated occupation	28	78.6	46.4	59	49.2	27.1

Source: Parish marriage registers of Easebourne and Harting

Schools and Schooling

Since in the market towns trade and commerce formed the mainspring of the economy, understandably the higher levels of literacy were to be found there. So too were the schooling facilities. Whilst most parishes, intermittently if not on a regular basis, possessed a schoolmaster, endowed and charity schools were more likely to be found in the towns and cities. The first decade of the 18th century saw the foundation of three such schools in Chichester. Oliver Whitby's will of 1702 left money for the purchase of a school house and dwelling for a master and 12 poor boys of Chichester, Harting and West Wittering, the parents to be exempt from poor tax and not Dissenters.[19] Instruction was to be given in writing and arithmetic.

In 1710, under the aegis of the S.P.C.K., public subscriptions, augmented by the proceeds of charity sermons, were used to found two charity schools, one each for 30 boys and girls. William Hayley, later Dean of Chichester and Thomas Manningham, later its bishop, were early subscribers to the organisation so that it is not surprising that with their leadership, foremost citizens of the city and its environs formed the first list of subscribers.[20] The first entries in the account book of the Grey Coat school record the annual payment to the master of £20 and the purchase of four horn books, 20 catechisms and 30 sets of boys' clothes.[21]

The intial intake of 1710 included boys in the age range of seven to 11. Three were 'discarded' during the first year and subsequent intakes were all aged seven. By 1712 five had been expelled and two had been put 'to ye other school'. In 1714, two of the original intake having reached the age of 14, they were put out to apprenticeship. In the early years these were purchased for £5, a further £2 being given for clothes. A note dated 1723 at the back of the account book stated that '... no boy was to continue more than four years, without the particular approbation of the stewards.' This period was, presumably, considered long enough for the achievement of writing and numeracy skills. Evidence for the girls' curriculum is sparse. The accounts for the boys' school included payment to '... Mrs. Holney for the girls' making the boys' shirts.'

Churchwardens' Presentments of the Chichester parishes add little further information regarding the educational facilities afforded in the city. The parish of St Andrew returned a schoolmaster in 1772 and at that time

St Pancras recorded a dame school. Those for St Peter the Great include, in 1769, as well as the three schools stated, '... a Grammer school annex'd to the Prebend of Highleigh.' By 1818 however, Nicholas Carlisle in his description of endowed grammar schools in England and Wales says of the Prebendal School that, 'this foundation is not to be deemed merely a Grammar School ... rather an Ecclesiastical Seminary for the preparation of Youth for the Ministry.'[22]

In 1672, Gilbert Hannam, a coverlet maker of Midhurst founded a grammar school, '... out of meare charity to the poor Children of the Towne of Midhurst.' Carlisle states that they were to be '... such as can at their first coming to schoole well reade the Bible or Testament.'[23] In 1769 the churchwardens returned that there were no scholars, since none could be instructed, but that there were, '... some private charity schools ... supported by accidental contributions.' From the same sources, Easebourne in 1742 possessed a free school, taught by a woman, where 12 children were instructed in reading. Harting in 1758 stated that its schoolmaster was '... of good life and diligently teaches.' Rogate in 1769 declared its schoolmaster to be '... of good life, sober conversation and diligent.'

The schoolmaster referred to in the Harting returns was probably James Exall who was appointed schoolmaster by the Catholic owner of Ladyholt, John Caryll. His old house of Harting Place near the church was allowed to fall into a parlous state but remained in use as a dwelling and school room.[24] After Caryll's financial collapse the new owner of the adjacent estate of Up Park, Sir Matthew Fetherstonhaugh viewed the room in use and agreed to allow Exall £15 p.a. in order to '... teach a certain number of Poore Children.'

Opportunity and Achievement

It is clear that both the opportunity to acquire literacy and the advantage taken by those in a position to do so is more readily apparent in the city and market town. Not only are the higher literacy figures to be found there, but the greater degree of wealth pertaining was likely to have attracted the services of those wishing to teach and to have stimulated the benevolence of those who desired to promote educational opportunity. Whilst members of the gentry together with those occupied in the professions of the Church, Law and Medicine were likely to have become literate through accident of birth or through parental ambition, for other ranks of society the acquisition of literacy required family commitment and some forfeit of income. At a period where child labour was an economic necessity for many families of artisans or labourers, money spared from the family budget for educational purposes needed to be seen as either cost effective or as a necessary payment towards the maintenance of the cultural or traditional background they enjoyed.

The main forces promoting literacy would seem to have been financial freedom and occupational needs or aspirations. Self-help cannot be ignored but motivation has to be considered in similar terms or in a social or religious context. These conditions would not have existed in the rural parishes to anything like the same extent. Table 4 indicates a fairly basic occupational structure, but it is not possible from this sample to determine the degree of wealth existing in either Easebourne or Harting. All the rural parishes of this study would have possessed an economy based on agriculture necessarily supported by a large number of agricultural labourers. The possession of land, whether leased or owned however, would have conferred a degree of wealth and to this end it is useful to know how many of those involved in agriculture worked in their own interests as opposed to those of an employer.

Literacy and Wealth in the Rural Parishes

Land Tax assessments of the 18th century allow a calculation of those men paying tax on land both as tenants and owners.[25] Linked to the first census in 1801, some estimation of the

TABLE 5
Land Tax payers of Easebourne (1782), Harting (1783) and Rogate (1785)

Land Tax analysis	*Easebourne*	*Harting*	*Rogate*
Named Land Tax payers	45	65	48
Est. percentage of total pop. (1801)	30	43.1	47.1
Value of land as represented by tax per acre	1.66s.	1.45s.	.88s.
Percentage tax paid by owner/occupiers	54.8	25	34.5
Percentage tax paid by tenants	45.2	75	65.5
Percentage paid of total		Numbers	
Under 1%	23	52	24
Between 1 and 2%	8	9	4
Between 2 and 5%	6	4	9
Between 5 and 10%	1	1	3
% assessed for principal landowner	57.8	57.8	22.9
Owner occupiers as percentage of total taxpayers	31.3	26.7	50.8

Sources: W.S.R.O. Land Tax returns for Easebourne, Harting and Rogate; *Victoria County History Sussex* **2**

proportion of the population thus taxed can indicate the size of the remainder who, if not concerned with trade or craft must have depended upon agricultural employment.

The total Land Tax paid in a parish when divided by the acreage yields a tax value placed on an acre which, though not utilised by assessors of the tax, is useful for present day evaluation. Rogate can be seen to have been the least favoured whilst Harting parish included much chalk downland used mainly for sheep. The better soils of Easebourne, however, came largely within the confines of Cowdray Park.[26] Easebourne and Harting can be seen to have been dominated at this period by large landowners, Lord Montague at Cowdray and Sir Harry Fetherstonhaugh at Up Park. By contrast the major landowner in Rogate paid little over one fifth of the total. Lewes Buckell was not resident in the village and may have paid tax elsewhere, but nearly 80 per cent of the Land Tax raised in Rogate came from smaller owner and tenants.

Despite the wider distribution of land, over 50 per cent of an estimated population in Rogate did not own land or property sufficient to make them liable for tax. The figure was even higher for Harting and reached 70 per cent in Easebourne. Whilst this section of the community possibly included smaller tradesmen and craftsmen, the majority of those untaxed would probably have been landless labourers. For those who owned neither land nor skill the level of poverty prevailing probably militated against the acquisition of literacy. A Parliamentary enquiry in 1803 showed that in Harting and Easebourne over 29 per cent of the population were in receipt of poor relief.[27] In Rogate where, as has been shown, there was a wider distribution of land the figure was 14.3 per cent. A further alleviating factor in the economy of Rogate was the late enclosure of common: 850 acres were enclosed in an Act of 1820, another 830 in 1856.[28] Prior to these Acts the labourer held his rights of common thus having access to firewood and other domestic supplies.

TABLE 6
Literacy status of Owners and Tenants in Land Tax Assessments

Land Tax and Parish Register Analysis	*Easebourne*	*Harting*	*Rogate*
		*	
Tax payers traced	17	24	16
Land owners signed	6	4	4
% of total tax paid	4.7	0.8	7.4
Land owners marked	0	0	1
% of total tax paid	0	0	1
Tenants signed	7	12	9
% of total tax paid	13.4	33.4	18.7
Tenants marked	4	9	2
% of total tax paid	5.3	1.2	12.1

Sources: W.S.R.O. Land Tax returns. Parish marriage registers

* One man paid equivalent amounts as owner and tenant otherwise the larger sum paid categorized the entry

The middle ranks of society can be presumed to have comprised small landowners and tenant farmers. Analysis of Land Tax returns can produce a rank order of wealth by totalling tax paid on plots of land owned or leased, bearing in mind that taxpayers may have paid in more than one parish. Nominal linkage with the parish registers allows determination of literacy status.

CONCLUSIONS

The highest rates of illiteracy were to be found amongst those without land, trade or skill. Whilst these men were to be found in the urban as well as rural areas, the greater demand for unskilled labour lay in the agricultural villages. Those families above the level of extreme poverty were less likely to have had access to schooling in the rural areas and were probably less stimulated to seek it for their children. Above this social level, the possession of land, whether freehold or leasehold appears to have been more directly related to the possession of literacy: farm management would have necessitated involvement with marketing and the exchange of news and views of those similarly engaged. For those involved in processing and retailing, literacy would have been essential for the purposes of accounts and record keeping. Whilst many craftsmen were illiterate, those concerned with the retailing of their products undoubtedly benefited from the acquisition of literacy and possibly numeracy; the possession of these skills would have enabled them to work on their own account. It may well have been that those who were unskilled in this respect sought employment on the larger local estates.

Whilst the endowed and charity schools have left records of their foundation, many parish schools together with those set up by private enterprise tended to be ephemeral, leaving little record for posterity. Although largely undocumented there may well have been an extensive infrastructure of such schools teaching the rudiments of reading and writing, responsible for an indeterminate proportion of the signatures forming the basis of literacy estimates. Elsewhere in England religious, social

and cultural traditions may have constituted shaping forces in the pattern of literacy prevailing. In the parishes of West Sussex considered here the greater influences appear to have been a degree of economic freedom and occupational aspirations.

Author: Doreen E. Smith, Brightwells Cottage, North Lane, South Harting, Petersfield, Hants. GU31 5NN

Notes

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[4] V. E. Neuberg, *Popular Literature, a History and Guide: from the beginning of printing to the year 1897* (1977), 102–22

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[6] For the detailed geology of the rural parishes see E. M. Yates, 'Medieval Assessments in North-West Sussex', *Trans. Inst. Brit. Geographers* **20** (1954), 75–8

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[11] Schofield, 440

[12] P. Laslett, D. E. C. Eversley, W. A. Armstrong, and E. A. Wrigley, *An Introduction to English Historical Demography* (1966), 54–5 also 90 n.9

[13] T. S. Willan, *The English Coasting Trade 1600–1750* (1938), 148

[14] D. Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain 1724–6,* (1974 edn.) 135

[15] In T. J. McCann, *Restricted Grandeur: Impressions of Chichester 1586–1948,* (W.S.C.C. 1974)

[16] *Bailey's British Directory for 1784,* 4; *Universal British Directory* (1793), 2

[17] F. E. Sawyer, 'Fairs and Markets', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **36** (1938), 189

[18] A ranking of trades by illiteracy in the period 1580–1700 is to be found in D. Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (1980), 132

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[20] R. W. Unwin, 'The Established Church and the Schooling of the Poor: the role of the S.P.C.K. 1699–1720', *The Churches and Education* (ed. A. McClelland) Hist. of Educ. Soc. (1983), 17

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[24] H. D. Gordon, *A History of Harting,* (1877 reprinted Petersfield 1975), 204

[25] For use of the Land Tax as source material see M. Turner and D. Mills, *Land and Property: The English Land Tax 1692–1832* (1986)

[26] Yates, 82

[27] Abstract of Returns Relative to the Expense and Maintenance of the Poor, *Parlt. Papers* 1803–4 xiii

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THE INFANT SCHOOLS OF BROADWATER PARISH

by R. F. Drake

At the end of the 18th century Broadwater parish made no provision for the education of poor children. Following the national initiative by the church of England in 1811 the parish had established five day schools by 1818. In 1816 Robert Owen opened the first infant school in Scotland and a short while later similar schools began to be opened in England. After the success of these early schools there was controversy over their origin, with the parish publishing its own claim.

Accounts of the history of Broadwater during the early part of the 19th century, when the parish included the hamlet of Worthing, contain references to a number of schools provided for the education of the children of the poor. Three of these schools were for boys and girls up to the age of seven years. It was claimed by the parish that one or all of these three schools were the first infant schools in England. This claim has been repeated since, sometimes with qualifications, but there has never been any justification of the claim.

Thus the *V.C.H. Sussex* notes that, 'Two Infants' schools were started in 1815, mainly through the efforts of the Revd W. Davison, and were claimed to be among the earliest in England.' The reference for this statement is given as, 'Breads's Guide Worthing (1859), 14, 21.'[1] It is unclear why this guide was taken for the authority on this point, and much else, when earlier guides and other documentary evidence were available, nor why the unequivocal claim in the 1859 guide was not quoted, 'Worthing and Broadwater Infantine Schools were established in 1817; and were the first established in England.'

It is now accepted that the infant schools in the United Kingdom originated in the 19th century from the infant school system, a specialised method of teaching children up to seven years. This was initiated in a school at the New Lanark mills in January 1816 by Robert Owen as the primary stage of his Institution for the Formation of Character which he had developed from the mill schools run by his father-in-law, David Dale.[2] In November 1818 Henry Brougham and a group of his friends opened a second infant school in London, the Westminster Free Day Infant Asylum, modelled on the school at New Lanark. The school was relocated and conducted from February 1819 by James Buchanan, the first master of Owen's New Lanark school. One of Brougham's friends, Joseph Wilson, opened a third infant school at Spitalfields, Middlesex in July 1820, and in August, Samuel Wilderspin became master. In June 1824 the Infant School Society was formed by a group of Dissenters, Evangelicals, Unitarians and Whigs, to implement Owen's infant school system including non-denominational religious teaching; shortly after Wilderspin became the Society's Travelling Teacher and opened schools throughout the country.[3]

These early infant schools had a curriculum based on affection and imagination; their objective was to develop moral principles in the children and habits of order, observation and thought. The children were taught directly by the master in the informal object lessons about the

uses and qualities of common things and natural items, sometimes shown on pictures. There were indoor amusements and games, simple physical exercises, music, singing and dancing; a well equipped playground formed an important element in the design of these schools. There was no elaborate system of rewards for individual merit or coercive punishment.[4] These infant schools were not just preparatory to the various schools for older children and the teaching of the three R's was a secondary aim, if undertaken at all. In 1825 Wilderspin commented on the fundamental difference between Church of England National schools and the infant schools, 'The National schools, on the contrary, deaden the faculties of the children by obliging them to commit to memory the observation of others, few of which they comprehend: they are never invited to think for themselves, and the injurious consequences arising from this radical defect, cannot but be felt through life.'[5]

The aims and methods of these infant schools were known in Sussex. The success of Westminster school led to a public meeting in Brighton in December 1823 attended by a number of senior clergy and chaired by Robert Carr, Dean of Hereford, soon to become Bishop of Chichester, and reported in local newspapers.[6] An infant school was opened in Ship Street Lane in January 1824 by Wilderspin. An article in the *Sussex Advertiser* 2 February 1824 about a book on infant schools written by Owen's son, Robert Dale Owen, referred to the absence of rewards and punishments in the schools and concluded, 'There are now six infant schools in London, besides one in Bristol, one or two in Liverpool, and some others of which we have not yet received particulars. The King proposes to become patron of one to be opened in Brighton.'

In R. Sicklemore's, *History of Brighton* 1827 p. 91, the infant school established in Brighton in 1824 is described:

> Its object is to carry the moral principles of education still farther than is done in the national schools, by taking charge of the children of the poor, from the age of two years till they are six or seven. During that period many evil habits are contracted, which it is impossible afterwards to get rid of. By being placed under proper superintendance during that time, the children are kept out of harm's way, and out of bad company. The system of management is also totally different from that pursued in other schools. A more marked attention is paid to the forming of their little dispositions, and the right culture of the heart is the great aim of the instructors.

In the Autumn of 1825 the *Sussex Advertiser* reported that a meeting was to be held in Lewes to consider establishing an infant school for children between two and seven years, 'instructed on the plan adopted with such great success at Infant Schools at Westminster and Spitalfields, and recently in similar institutions in most of the principal towns in the Kingdom.'[7]

At some time between 1800 and 1804 Mrs Eleanor Wood, wife of the Revd Peter Wood, Rector of Broadwater, opened a school on Sundays in the parish church. The Free School for Boys was opened on 1 January 1813 in the High Street, Worthing, under the management of the Rector, the Chaplain of the Chapel of Ease, the Revd William Davison, and a number of prominent lay persons. Broadwater Village School for Girls was opened on 5 May 1814 at the east end of the village under the patronage and management of Mrs Wood. A Girls National School was opened on 28 June 1815 in North Street, Worthing, managed by the Rector and Chaplain, and assisted by a ladies committee; Mrs Wood was also patron of this school. All these three schools occupied converted barns, an arrangement recommended by the National Society.[8]

The two schools in Worthing taught children from seven years of age. Broadwater Village School taught young children, both boys and girls, and older girls and was later called Broadwater Infantine School, District No. 1, one of the three infant schools in the parish. The earliest reference to an infant school in Worthing

is a minute of the Committee of the Free School for Boys dated 5 May 1817, where it was, 'Ordered: That a Supplementary School, be provided in conjunction with the Girl's School.' This Supplementary School was later called the National Infantine School Chapel Road, District No. 2, until 1854 when a new school was built and opened in July as the Davison Infantine School. The school was sited adjacent to the Girls National School, a juxtaposition that has given rise to confusion between these two schools, especially as the Girls National School was moved to new buildings in Chapel Street, now Portland Road, in 1861 and renamed variously, Worthing Girls School or Christ Church Girls School. Another misunderstanding over these two schools has been caused by the practice for girls to remain in the infant schools until they found work, often as servants, with older boys and other girls transferring to the two senior schools in Worthing.

Local guide books published from 1817 by authors resident in the parish noted only the Worthing Free School for Boys and Girls National School. The first reference to infant schools was in a guide dated June 1832 which stated that, 'There are also two infant schools'. Then in 1857 a guide noted infant education's origin in 1815, 'Worthing—was the first place in the Kingdom where this great work began', but Breads' guide of 1859 gave the date, 1817, for these first schools. Several general directories that include Sussex refer to infant schools at Worthing and the earliest of these in 1823 stated that there were, 'infantine schools for children from four to six years old'. It was not until 1866 to 1874 that the claim was set out, 'The first Infant school in England was founded here in 1817,' and thereafter the item was omitted.[9]

The Parliamentary Select Committee to Enquire into the Education of the Poor circulated a questionnaire to clergymen dated 13 April 1818 and repeated this on 10 July 1818, the results being published in a Digest. Davison retained a copy of his answers to the second questionnaire and in this he recorded that there were three schools in the parish each with 40 boys and girls between the ages of three and six years, the age group then generally classified as infants, the salary of the mistresses was, 'about £10 a year'. The Digest, which also included other information from the Rector, referred to the three schools for boys and girls but made no mention of the ages of the children.[10]

Neither Davison nor the Digest identified these schools as infant schools nor was any reference made to their opening in 1817 although one of the parish schools was stated by Davison to have opened in 1818. This latter school was the third infant school in the parish. A reference to it was contained in a parish survey taken about 1820 where Davison is shown renting a property in Chapel Street although he was then living at North End Cottage, High Street, Worthing. The school was known later as Chapel Street Infantine School, District No. 3, until 1861 when it was moved to new school buildings in Chapel Street and renamed Christ Church Infant School.

In April 1820 Davison wrote to the National Society as sole manager of the three infantine schools in the parish to request that the schools should be united to the National Society through the Diocesan Society at Chichester, the Western Division of the Sussex Society for the Education of the Infant Poor, in the principles of the Established Church, and in justification he confirmed that, 'In these schools, the National System is adopted as far as practicable.' No mention was made in the letter of the claim that these were the first infant schools in England, nor in the accompanying application for financial aid for one of the schools.[11]

The role of the parish infant schools in relation to the two senior schools is indicated in the 1822 report of the Sussex Society which referred to preparatory schools at Worthing while the 1824 report stated 'The preparatory schools at Worthing continue to prosper. "Of the benefits of these Schools," says the report from that place, "it is impossible to speak in too high terms. During the last year 39 children were

promoted from them to the two upper schools, all able to read words of one syllable, and to write, and in good discipline." ' The report later gives the attendance—preparatory, daily 66 boys and 64 girls, total 130. The annual reports continued to refer to preparatory schools in Worthing until 1828, no reference was then made until 1832 when the report recorded a daily infant school at Worthing.

The Worthing Permanent Society for Bettering the Condition and Improving the Morals of the Poor was formed in April 1817 and Davison was the Secretary. Only one annual report has been traced, the eighth, published in the *Sussex Advertiser* 27 June 1825. One of the functions of the Society was to provide support for the infant schools of the parish and the report gave the attendance of three National Infantine Schools and the number of children promoted to the two upper schools. The origin of the schools was set down, 'These infantine schools were established in 1817 and were the First infantine schools established in England—The Westminster Infantine School was established in 1819 and the Spitalfields school in 1820. See Wilderspin on Infant Schools page 23 and page 30 2nd edition.' This annual report is the earliest record found so far of the claim that the parish established the first infant schools in England. The claim was later repeated in this form and no other evidence was ever offered in a public statement.

Samuel Wilderspin's book, *The Importance of Educating the Infant Poor*, second edition (1824), pp. 23 and 30, stated that the infant school established in Westminster in 1819 was the first infant school in the country and was followed in 1820 by the school in Spitalfields. A list of infant schools subsequently established was given on p. 23: Islington, Whitechapel, Brampton, Blackfriars, Putney, Bristol, Worthing, Liverpool and Wandsworth. The claim by the parish that it opened the first infant school was thus based on the selective use of Wilderspin's book to establish the dates of the Westminster and Spitalfields schools as later than 1817 while ignoring that Wilderspin considered the Worthing schools opened after 1820. In Wilderspin's third edition (1825) p. 8, he again placed Westminster as the first infant school, established in 1819, and included Worthing as the eighth in a list of ten schools opened shortly afterwards; however on pp. 21–2 and 46 there were further short lists of infant schools recently opened without any reference to Worthing while on p. 284 Worthing was omitted from a comprehensive list of 55 infant schools already formed. Thus Wilderspin considered that the first infant school was opened in Westminster and constitutes an unsatisfactory basis from which to claim that Worthing had such a school.

There were only two regular collections taken each year at the Chapel of Ease when sermons were preached for the benefit of the Worthing Free School for Boys and the Girls National School; these sermons were advertised by the distribution of printed handbills. The first reference to infant schools was in a handbill dated 8 September 1825, 'there are also 183 children in the Three National Infantine Schools, which are supported by another Fund'. From August 1836 the handbills contained a reference to, 'the Three National Infant Schools'; in November 1840 an exceptional sermon was preached by Davison in aid of the three National Schools for Infants in the parish and this handbill included the statement that, 'These Schools were the First that were established in England for Infants;'.[12]

In an application to the National Society for financial aid dated 23 May 1828, Davison stated that there were three infant schools in the parish united with the Society in 1814, 1815 and 1817 although the individual schools were not identified. The National Society records show that the schools united to the Society in these three years were, respectively, Broadwater Village School, Girls National School and Free School for Boys, Worthing. Davison was thus seeking to exploit the status of the three existing National schools in order to obtain a grant for

the three infant schools. However one of the infant schools was not opened until 1818 and Davison was ignoring his earlier, successful application in 1820 for the schools to be united to the National Society through the Sussex Society and the handbills advertising sermons.

Confused, misleading and at times, incorrect statements were made by Davison in promoting his schemes. Thus in an application to the National Society in 1848, he stated he was, 'but a poor curate with £40 a year' when his salary as Chaplain of the Chapel of Ease had been fixed at £120 a year by Act of Parliament in 1809, revised by an Act in 1824 to £150 which he received as Chaplain until his death in 1852; further, he had placed donation books in the libraries which provided him with another £50 a year income.[13]

A letter dated 1 December 1828, written out by the Chaplain and signed in the Rector's name by his wife, supporting the application of May 1828 to the National Society said:

> The Infant Schools we consider of vast importance both in themselves and as they furnish a constant supply of well trained children for the Upper Schools. Many Infants admitted into these Schools are thus attached to the Established Church who if left at large till the age of 7 years might be associated with Schools of Dissent. The oldest of these children regularly attend Public Worship at the Chapel of Ease.
>
> It might not be thought proper on me to give a character of these Schools, but I may venture to refer to such of your Committee as have at any time visited them. Sir Jas. Langham and Archdeacon Watson have done so; and so too has Dr Bell, who was pleased at the time to express himself in terms of strong approbation.
>
> The National System is adhered to in the upper Classes and as far as practicable in the lower ones.
>
> Worthing being a place of great public resort the Schools are much visited and several Schools have in consequence been established at other places, in which has been introduced the same observance of the National System as is here adopted; and it is not questionable that but for these examples many Schools are now waiting for admission into Union with the National Society which would otherwise have been in connection with the lately established Infant School Society.

These reported visits to the schools accord with Revd Dr A. Bell's movements in the Autumn of 1826 when he made a short tour along the south coast inspecting schools. He arrived at Hastings in December and later went to Ryde; at the end of the year he stayed at the Sea House Hotel, Worthing with his friend Sir James Langham. The Archdeacon of St Albans, J. J. Watson, was the brother of the Treasurer of the National Society and preached at the Chapel of Ease in Worthing in 1817.[14]

Davison's description in this letter and earlier in 1820, of the infant schools adhering to the National System, is the only evidence of the method of teaching in these schools but this establishes that they did not practise the infant school system of the Westminster and Spitalfield model; the parish schools were National schools for very young children, using Dr Bell's monitorial system. The salary of the school mistresses in 1818, about £10 a year, compared with Wilderspin's recommended salary of £25–£40 in 1825, indicates that the mistresses were similar to dame school mistresses without any specialised training.

For the *Education Enquiry of 1833* the questions were addressed through the Overseers of the Poor to the school masters and mistresses of the parish, and Overseers making their returns were asked to make any observations relative to the questions. It might be expected that the Broadwater return would make some reference to the origin of the infant schools; however the Broadwater entry in the published Abstract makes no such comment.[15]

In November 1836 Mrs Louisa Arrowsmith, a widow staying in Brighton

recorded in her diary a visit to Worthing where she saw an infant and parish school; she gave the curriculum and the ages of the children of the latter but made no comment about the infant school.[16]

The publication of the parish claim in the 1857 guide book followed the setting up of an association for various parish charities by the Rector, now the Revd Edward Elliot. The first annual report was issued in December 1854 and stated that, 'The Schools in this parish, interesting as they are in themselves, are rendered still more so by the fact of their being among the first established in the Kingdom.'

Later the report referred to:

> The following interesting Tablet, which is hung up in the Infant Schools, will explain their origin:
>
> Worthing and Broadwater Infantine Schools were established in 1817; and were the first established in England. Westminster Infantine School was established in 1819; and the Spitalfields School in 1820. See Wilderspin on Infantine Schools, Pages 23, and 30, Second Edition. Lord Brougham and the Bishop of London have frequently, both in Parliament and elsewhere, complimented each other, as the originators of these institutions. If there be any merit in such a matter, let it be given to whom it is due: namely to the inhabitants of Worthing and Broadwater. Render to all their dues.

In 1903, Elliot, still Rector, stated that this notice, framed, was formerly hung on the walls of each of the five parish schools.

Wilderspin's second edition of his book, *The Importance of Educating the Infant Poor*, was published in 1824; H. P. Brougham was created Baron Brougham and Vaux and entered the House of Lords in November 1830 as Lord Chancellor; C. J. Blomfield, Rector of St Botolph, Bishopsgate from 1820 to 1828 and Bishop of London from 1828 to 1856, was acknowledged as a zealous promoter of infant schools but was not attributed with the origin of this type of school, however he was patron of the London Infant School Society, founded in 1825 to rival the Infant School Society, and which opened a model and training school in 1828. From the reference to Lord Brougham it follows that the text of the tablets hung in the schools was written after November 1830 as an elaboration of the statement made in June 1825 in the Permanent Society report.

A similar tablet was placed in the Boys National School after it was rebuilt in 1834 as suggested by the National Society when issuing its grant. The text was drafted by Davison in January 1835 to give public acknowledgement to the subscribers and for donations that had helped to finance the new school. The need for the National Society to ask for the exhibition of such information suggests that this was not common practice in the parish schools, that the provisions of the tablets in the infant schools followed from the example of the Boys School and that this did not occur prior to 1835.

In the application for aid from the National Society in December 1848, already referred to above, Davison stated, 'in this Parish was established the First Infantine School in England. For some time Lord Brougham contested this point; but upon his Friend, Mr Hume, examining our Documents, he admitted the priority of our establishment.' Lord Brougham may well have accepted that a Worthing school had opened before the Westminster school in 1818 but there is no evidence that Davison repeated his statement or that Brougham subsequently agreed that a Worthing school was the first infant school. Davison did not enter the debate over the origin of the infant schools that had been taking place.

Due to a lack of agreement in the evolutionary stage of the infant school system as to what constituted an infant school, the opening of the first schools became the subject of a public controversy until the 1850s between Owen, Brougham and Wilderspin. Brougham, as a member of parliament in the Commons and from 1830, in the Lords, and of the Infant School Society, although claiming initially to have

opened the first school then repeatedly stated his view of the origin and development of infant schools in England: that Owen had founded the first infant school at New Lanark mills while he, Brougham, with others, later opened the first urban infant school based on this system at Westminster, from which the infant school movement had grown, promoted by Wilderspin.

Wilderspin was inconsistent, generally claiming to have opened the first infant school at Spitalfields but finally, in the 1850s, accepting Brougham's claim to have opened the first school in England. In a letter to Brougham dated 2 April 1852, Wilderspin referred to Brougham and Owen as founders of infant schools in England and left it to Brougham to settle which of the two had opened the first school in England. Clearly Wilderspin was not aware of Davison's claim that Brougham had accepted that the first school had been opened in Broadwater. Owen, in his autobiography of 1857, referred to the founding of the Westminster infant school by Brougham and others, after the New Lanark school, and quoted Brougham in 1835 and Wildserspin in 1825 to justify his view that the first school in England was established in Westminster.[17]

There is evidence that there were parish schools for very young children in Broadwater before November 1818, the date that the Westminster infant school opened. These schools were similar to dame schools, defined in the 1818 Digest as schools kept by females and also preparatory schools for very young children. However, the parish schools were not included in the digest as dame schools although Davison's copy of his answers show that there were three parish schools that fell within this category. After Owen's New Lanark school opened in 1816 and the consequent development of the infant school system from 1818, schools were called infant schools when children left school at or before seven years and were conducted on the infant school system. Once the name, infant school, gained wide publicity it was often substituted for dame school to describe schools for young children under seven years, however conducted. It was on this basis that the *Education Enquiry Abstract* of 1833 was compiled, although in contradistinction it uses the phrases, Infant-School-System and systematic Infant School.[18]

If infant schools were considered primarily as preparatory schools for very young children then these schools existed in the 18th century. However the parish claim was specifically related to the experimental, model schools opened in the 19th century to promote the new infant school system and in that context the concept of the first, systematic school was significant. The publication in 1824 of Wilderspin's list of infant schools and the reference to this year in the parish claim points to a reaction by the parish to the placing of the parish schools after those in London. The statements of Davison from 1820 and the Diocesan Society reports show that the parish schools were preparatory National schools for very young children, conducted in part with the aim of attracting Dissenters' children into National schools and subsequently the Church of England as well as attracting other schools away from the infant school system.

The attitude of the parish to its claim to have opened the first infant schools in England was initially ambivalent and little effort was made to publicise the infant schools until the 1830s. This was consistent with the cautious attitude of the National Society to infant schools in the 1820s and the general hostility of the Church of England to any system of education outside its control. There was no defence of the claim in the long public controversy between Brougham and Wilderspin. The concern of the parish throughout was to raise subscriptions to promote the National Society objective of educating the poor in the principles of the Established Church, not to evolve new teaching theories and practice.[19] This was the reason for the lack of any educational development originating from the Broadwater schools and their absence in the history of education. The critical path of the growth of infant education ran from New Lanark through Westminster not

Broadwater. The parish schools were not the first infant schools in England, they were not even conducted on the infant school system, and in making the claim the parish itself, not others, failed to render to all their dues.

Author: R. F. Drake, 10a Southover High Street, Lewes, East Sussex.

Notes

[1] *VCH Sussex* **6** i (1980), 125.

[2] R. Owen, *New Existence* (1854), Part V, Liii, quoted in F. Padmore, *Robert Owen* (1906), **1**, 132.

[3] H. P. Brougham, *Evidence taken before the select Committee on Education*, 6 August 1834. *Parliamentary Debates* 3rd Series 88, 14 August 1846, 699. S. Wilderspin, *The Importance of Educating the Infant Poor* (1824), 22, 30; *Infant Education* (1825), title page. *The Times*, 17 December 1819, 8 August 1824.

[4] Wilderspin, *Infant Education*, 273. P. McCann and F. A. Young, *Samuel Wilderspin and the Infant School Movement* (1982), 32–3, 39, 40, 43–4. W. A. C. Stewart and W. P. McCann, *The Educational Innovators 1750–1880* (1967), 66–8, 72.

[5] Wilderspin, *Infant Education*, 273–4. See also 11 below.

[6] *Brighton Gazette*, 18 December 1823; *Sussex Advertiser*, 22 December 1823.

[7] *Sussex Advertiser*, 28 November and 12 December, 1825.

[8] J. Evans, *A Picture of Worthing* (1805), 42; and (1814), 56–7. J. Shearsmith, *A Topographical Description of Worthing* (1824), 40. Handbills, *Worthing, Miscellaneous Cuttings, 1800–1830*. Worthing Reference Library (WRL).

[9] J. Shearsmith, *A Topographical Description of Worthing* (1832), 28. No reference was made in his guide of 1824 to the infant schools; he was parish surgeon and visited the parish schools. French and Watkins, *Handbook and Directory for Worthing* (1857), 39. Breads, *New Guide and Handbook to Worthing* (1859), 21. Pigot, *London and Provincial Directory* (1823–4), 524. Kelly, *The Post Office Directory of Sussex* (1866), 2148; (1870), 2604; (1874), 2786.

[10] *Digest of Parochial Returns to the Select Committee into The Education of the Poor (1818)*, 954.

[11] The National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church, throughout England and Wales, was formed in October 1811. There are several uncatalogued files for Broadwater and Worthing in the National Society Archive. The Sussex Society was the Diocesan society formed in December 1811 to carry out the National Society's policy and open parish schools and manage two teacher training schools in Chichester in Dr Bell's monitorial system, later National system.

[12] Handbills, *Worthing, Chapel of Ease Notes*. (WRL).

[13] 49 Geo III C115, 5 Geo IV C20.

[14] R. Southey, *Life of the Rev. Andrew Bell* (1844), **3**, 320. *Brighton Gazette*, 4 January 1827.

[15] *Education Enquiry, Abstract of Answers and Returns* (1833), 964.

[16] R. M. Healey, 'Brighton in 1836', *Sussex History*, **2** (9) (1985) 1, 2.

[17] University College London, Brougham Correspondence, 10653. *The Life of Robert Owen written by Himself* (1857), **1**, 142, 152; Supplementary Appendix Aa (1858).

[18] *Education Enquiry, Abstract of Answers and Returns* (1833), 5, 405. S. Wilderspin, evidence to *Select Committee to inquire into the Present State of Education*, 18 June 1835.

[19] For example a plaque on St George's infant school, Worthing, read, 'This school and two others one for Broadwater and the other for Christ Church Worthing were built by voluntary effort to secure the daily instruction of the young IN THE TRUTHS OF THE BIBLE and in the principles of the Church of England 1873.'

Sussex Archaeological Collections **128** (1990), 195–224

THE COMMUNITY ORIGIN OF THE LEWES GUY FAWKES NIGHT CELEBRATIONS

by James E. Etherington

It is the contention of this paper that the annual Lewes Guy Fawkes Night celebrations and the bonfire societies established to organise them had, during the latter half of the 19th century, an underlying social dimension. The analysis of the historical data gathered in support of this contention is elaborated through a sociological perspective, utilizing specifically the key concepts of 'community' and 'social network'.

On the evening of each 5th November the principal streets of Lewes are thronged by thousands of inhabitants and visitors who come to witness the celebrations held in the town to commemorate the Discovery of the Gunpowder Plot of 1605. Unlike the back-garden family affairs that are more typical of the rest of the country the annual celebration in Lewes is a highly organised event carried out in a colourful and elaborate manner. Arranged by local clubs called 'bonfire societies' the celebrations involve large torchlit fancy dress processions accompanied by numerous bands, firework displays and bonfires. Although dating back into the 18th century the celebrations did not take on their now traditional organised form until the early 1850s, when bonfire societies were established in an attempt to eradicate the riotous proceedings previously witnessed in Lewes each 5th November.

While retaining a concern for public reaction and providing a release for the individuals involved the societies evolved a repetitive and increasingly ritualised annual event. Both historians and anthropologists have noted that a characteristic of recurrent events is a sustaining and strengthening of social solidarity and sense of community among the participants.[1] Malcolmson remarks how annual events provide 'the principal occasion for individuals to come together in order to reaffirm social relationships' arising from ties of kinship, friendship, and neighbourliness.[2] This conclusion however remains a gloss, the manner in which social solidarity is manifest through an event not being supported by empirical data. The purpose of this paper is to consider evidence that may substantiate such a claim in relation to the Lewes celebrations.

COMMUNITY AND SOCIAL NETWORK: RELEVANT WORKING CONCEPTS

If the celebrations are to be considered a symbolic manifestation of community it is necessary first to be clear what is meant by 'community'. This concept is the focus of considerable debate in sociology, proving illusive and difficult to define,[3] but although a lack of conceptual clarity exists certain elements are common to the various definitions. They tend to rest on the traditional notion of *gemeinschaft* as defined by Tonnies in which the sociological consequences of the three central aspects, blood, place and mind, are kinship, neighbourhood and friendship.[4] These social relationships in turn support a cohesive, stable and traditional community with a strong homogenous culture. With reference to four variables, rural, urban, past and present, some social scientists argue that

community life is only able to exist in the rural past. Growing urbanism in contemporary society results in growing impersonal relationships, social disintegration and destruction of community life, the consequence of which is the invalidation of 'community' as a useful analytic concept.[5]

Nevertheless there is a reluctance to discard the concept altogether, either as a method of analysis or as a social reality. Those supporting its retention rightly argue that while the traditional, romantic notion of community has to be modified to take account of the influence of wider society, locally orientated social structures, interaction and perceptions continue to exist. Researchers have found that contrary to various theoretical formulations aspects of community life are maintained in urban areas, particularly in identifiable 'neighbourhoods' where existing close social ties give rise to a sense of community.[6] In this context community becomes a subjective assessment of the situation, perceived and constructed by the actors themselves. It may be something they desire or perceive as a reality and as such becomes a social rather than a sociological construct. But if this conception of community is to be shown to exist it is essential that it is grounded on empirical evidence.

The most important factor determining the existence of community is the web of social relationships existing between people living in a geographically defined place. Social network analysis was developed in an attempt to understand the structure of social relationships in urban areas, attention being directed away from a geographically located collectivity called community towards a structure of social relationships that is independent of propinquity. Developed initially as an analytical tool and used extensively by anthropologists studying urban development in Africa, this approach has subsequently been applied to the study of British urban and rural areas.[7] Groups are seen as collectivities held together by networks of social relationships based on a variety of ties including family, friendship, neighbouring and associational life.

However neither community nor social network is mutually exclusive and, through the activities of the bonfire boys, they will be shown to be closely interrelated. Both contribute to an understanding of the dynamics of social cohesion and may thus be utilised in an analysis of data to support the contention that recurrent events, in this instance the Lewes Guy Fawkes Night celebrations, reaffirm community solidarity.

Nineteenth-century Lewes was too large to be considered a community, but a sense of community and social solidarity can be shown to have existed among the bonfire boys on two interrelated levels. At the level of individual bonfire societies, their formation and recruitment within identifiable localities of the town provides evidence of a neighbourhood orientation among the members arising from propinquity, family relationships and social networks. At a second level, members of the different societies became a total group, drawn together by shared interests. As such the popular notion of community based on 'place' can be extended to include the more 'sociological' conceptualisation of community of function.[8] Social networks among the bonfire boys arising from their extensive membership of Lewes voluntary associations strengthened their social cohesiveness as a total group. At this level of analysis social network, rather than community, is then the more relevant conceptualisation.

THE BONFIRE SOCIETIES DEFINE THEIR TERRITORY

The neighbourhood orientation of the Lewes bonfire societies was manifest from the time of their formation. The celebrations became organised in 1853 with the creation of two societies, the 'Lewes' and the 'Cliffe Bonfire Society'. Both took their names from areas of the town, the former from the town itself and the latter from the suburb of Cliffe. In 1856 Commercial Square Bonfire Society was formed

and in the following year the Waterloo Bonfire Society commenced operations, both similarly taking their names from identifiable localities of Lewes. The 'Lewes' Society, as though in recognition that it was no longer the only Lewes society, changed its name, first to the Lewes Town in 1856, and then in 1859 to Lewes Borough. The naming of societies after localities continued throughout the 19th century and into the 20th, the Southover Bonfire Society being formed in 1886, the St Annes Bonfire Society in 1887 and the South Street Juvenile Bonfire Society in 1913.

A number of other minor short-lived associations of bonfire boys originating from the activities of juveniles also manifest neighbourhood orientation. In 1859 reference was made to the 'Rising Generation' of Chapel-hill Bonfire Boys[9] and 1870 saw the formation of a 'new body of Cliffe patriots, the South-street Bonfire Society.[10] In 1872 there were celebrations by the St Michael's Society and similar juvenile activities in All Saints and Southover.[11] Six years later youngsters formed an association in Albion Street[12] and in 1892 the Sun Street Juveniles, Toronto Terrace Boys and the Waterloo youngsters[13] were also active. Recounting the activities of the 'St Johns Star Society' immediately prior to the First World War, Mr Allen describes how the children of St Johns Street imitated their local society, the Commercial Square.

> It was all for kids. We used to, as we got the money out of the jugs, . . . and with that we bought rope down the Corporation yard. We'd sit down picking it and somebody else would go and buy the oil and the wire and us kids, they showed us how to do it round the 'Elephant' (where Commercial Square made their torches) . . . the kids would be sitting on the ground making their torches and those we had for ourselves in the evenings, about four or five in the afternoon . . . We used to shout and sing and things like that and march along the street.[14]

It is sometimes argued that children are an important influence in developing neighbourhood awareness[15] and such a contention appears to be supported by these youthful groups of bonfire boys.

The neighbourhood orientation of the bonfire societies was also expressed through the territorial adherence of their processional routes which were recorded in their programmes and in the newspapers. The significant feature to emerge from a comparison between Figs 1 to 8, which show the various processional routes, is that the societies rarely encroached on another's territory. Where this does occur it can be attributed to the formation or disbandment of a society or to territorial expansion.

Lewes (Borough) Bonfire Society established its territory in its first year of operation, processing the full length of Lewes and Southover High Streets. In the following year the High Street route was extended to Cliffe Bridge, the boundary between the town and Cliffe. Borough continued to process these routes until 1893 when they were extended to include Lansdowne Place, Friars Walk, Western Road and St Anne's Crescent. Three years later the Society discontinued the 'Southover and All Saints Grand', not returning to this area until 1909 after the Society's reformation following its three years amalgamation with Commercial Square and the disbandment of Southover. At this time Borough focused its activities towards the top of the town, where they were now compelled to have their firesite on land adjacent to the civil prison. Apart from small circuitous routes to east and west of the High Street, Borough confined their processional routes almost exclusively to the High Streets of Lewes and Southover, only relinquishing the latter during the existence of the Southover Society.

Cliffe Bonfire Society had a clearly defined territory, the Cliffe being physically separated from the town by the River Ouse and administratively independent of the Lewes authorities. The Society's processional routes reflected this separate identity. Cliffe adhered to its territory east of the river until 1913 except for

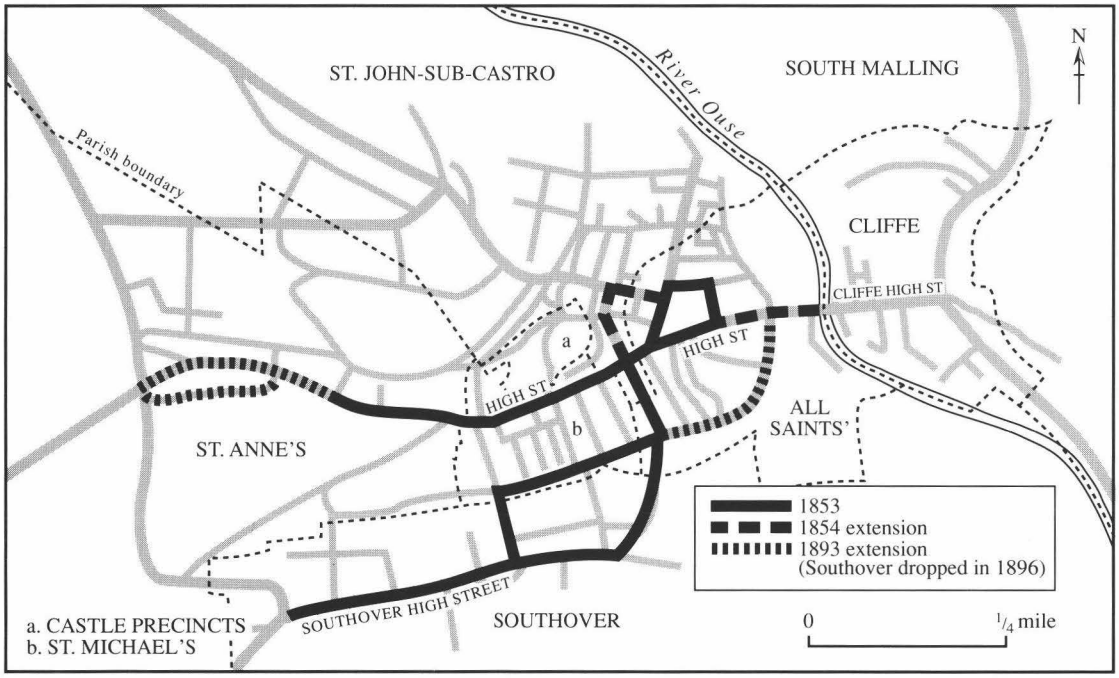

Fig. 1. Borough Bonfire Society procession routes 1853-1905.

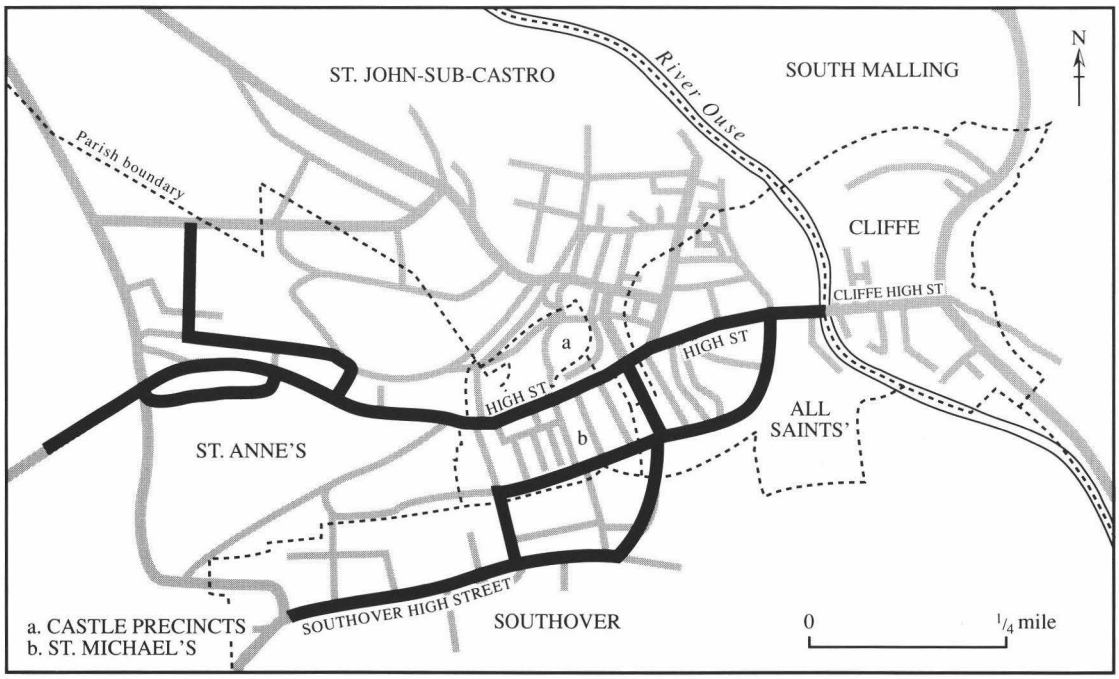

Fig. 2. Borough Bonfire Society procession routes 1909-1913.

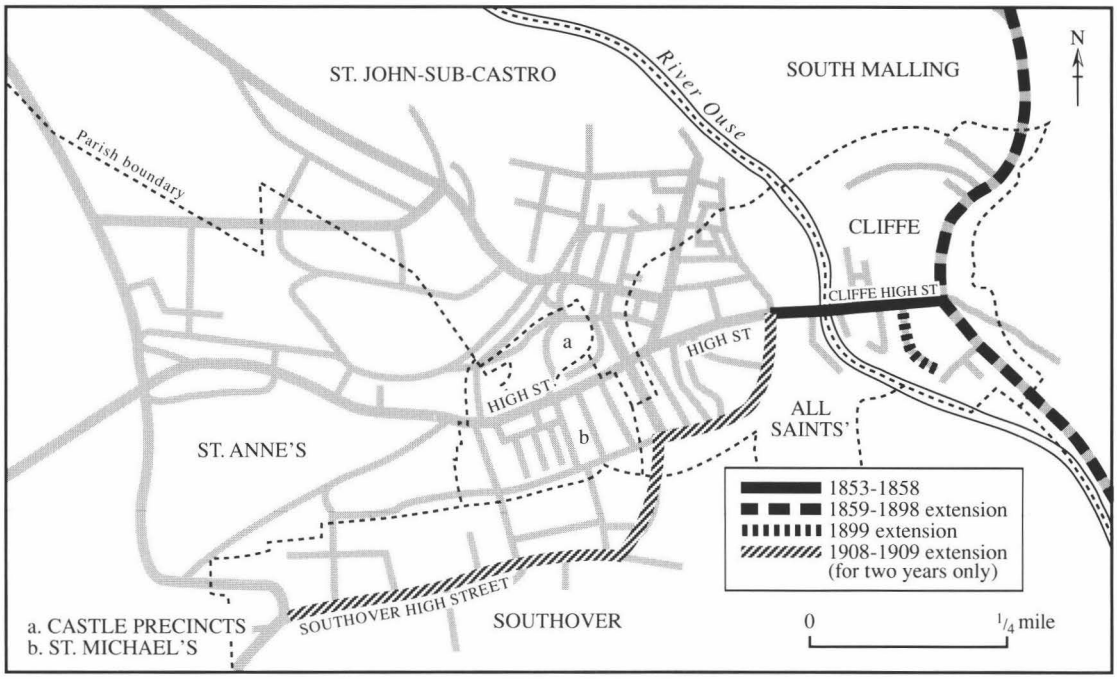

Fig. 3. Cliffe Bonfire Society procession routes 1853-1913.

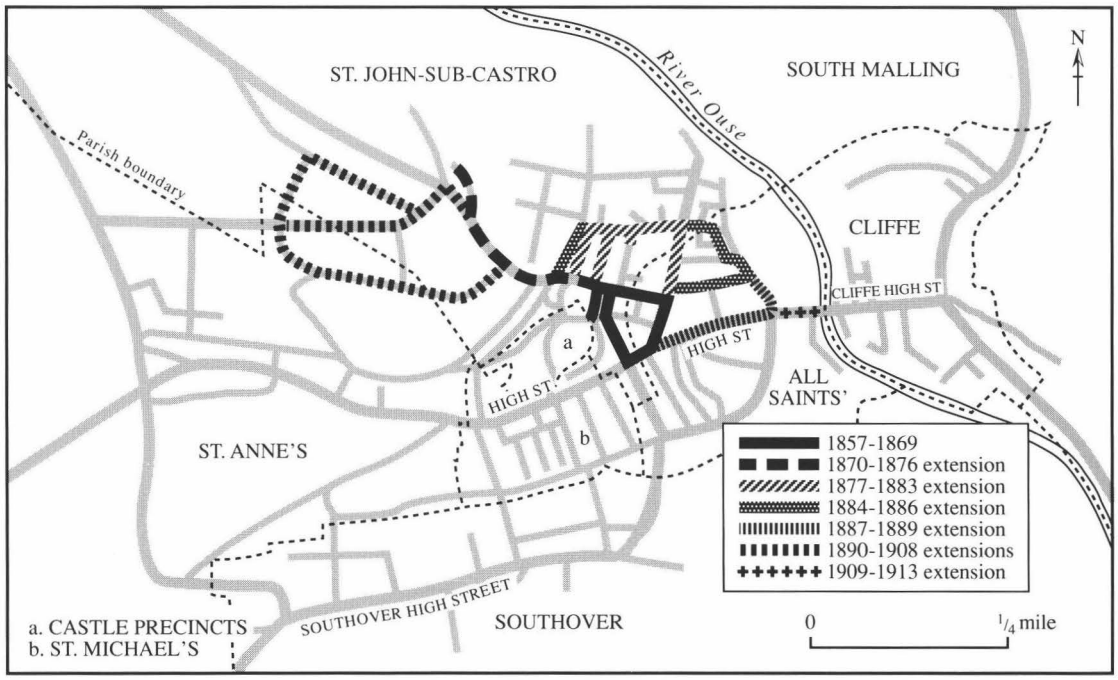

Fig. 4. Commercial Square Bonfire Society procession routes 1857-1913.

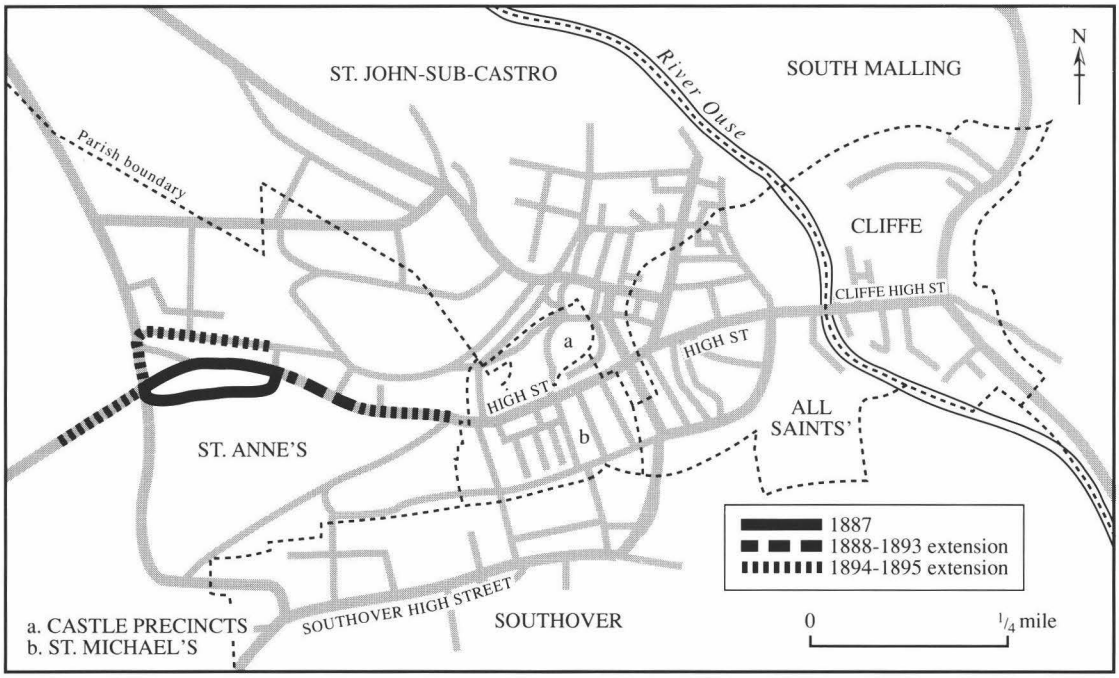

Fig. 5. St Anne's Bonfire Society procession routes 1887-1895.

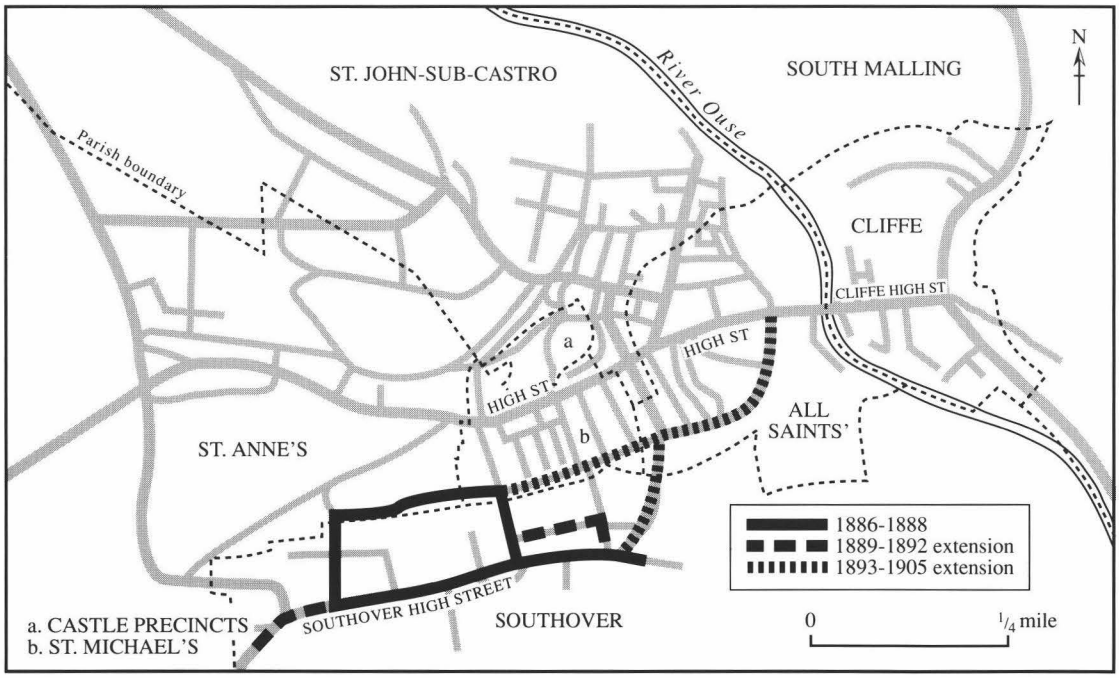

Fig. 6. Southover Bonfire Society procession routes 1886-1905.

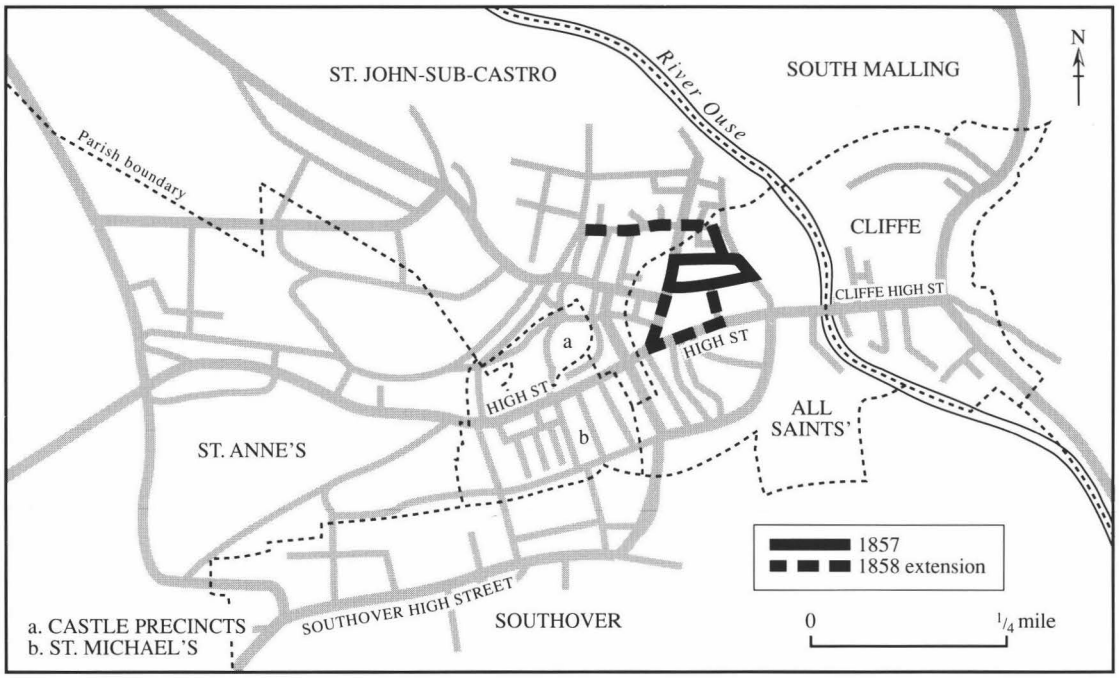

Fig. 7. Waterloo Bonfire Society procession routes 1857-1858.

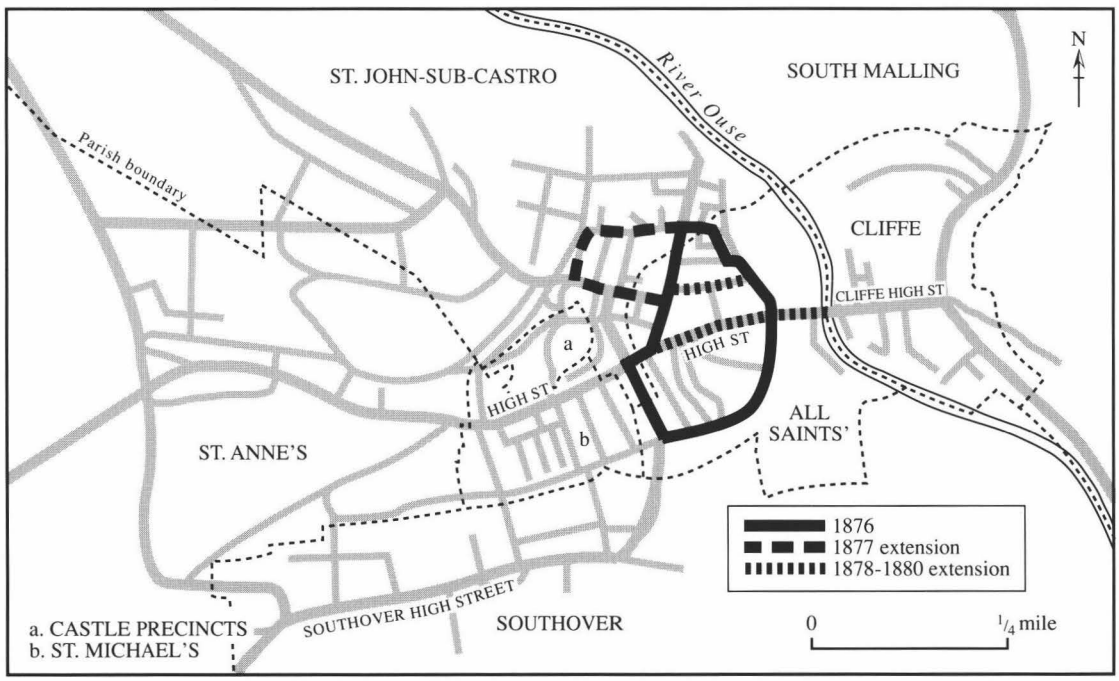

Fig. 8. Waterloo Bonfire Society procession routes 1875-1880.

a brief excursion into Southover, processing to the Swan in 1908 and 1909 when neither the Southover nor Borough Societies were in existence. This route was however relinquished following Borough's re-formation.

Initially Commercial Square Bonfire Society confined its parades to a circular route in the vicinity of its headquarters, the Elephant and Castle, and Commercial Square, but in 1870 an unsettled development of routes commenced. In that year the Society orientated its routes away from the town centre to Wallands Crescent where the residences of a number of affluent townspeople, probably patrons of the Society, were situated. In 1877 the Society took on a new lease of life, increasing the number of processions and expanding the area processed through, but the streets now being covered were within what might be considered Commercial Square territory, being streets in the vicinity of the Square. Further expansion occurred in 1884, but again the new routes did not traverse those of the other two well-established societies, Borough and Cliffe.

Three years later Commercial Square broke with custom by processing into the High Street, the territory of the Borough. This apparent audacious expansion may have been the result of the Society's growing strength or a desire to be seen by the large High Street crowds and to secure a lucrative source for their collecting boxes. The Society again broke new ground in 1887 by processing through Wallands Park where the residences of a number of the Society's wealthy subscribers were situated. Apart from the brief time the Society was amalgamated with Borough, the processional routes remained the same until 1913, except for a short extension to Cliffe Bridge where the Society adopted the practice performed by Borough, the throwing of a blazing tar barrel into the river.

During the brief existence of St Anne's Bonfire Society, probably little more than nine years, its activities remained a very local affair. The processional routes were confined initially to Western Road and St Anne's Crescent and only extended to include St Anne's Hill and De Montfort Road in the Society's final two years.

Activities in Southover were first reported in 1879[16] when juveniles had a fire of their own and by 1884 fires were being pitched outside the two principal pubs in the area, the Swan and the King's Head.[17] The locality of Southover was very similar to that of Cliffe, being administratively separate from the town and physically bounded by a steep hill rising from Southover to Lewes High Street. Similarly the Society confined its processional routes mainly within Southover, extending beyond the parish boundaries into Station Road, Lansdowne Place and Friars Walk in 1893. However, these streets were contained within the physical boundary of the steep hill leading up to the High Street. Southover continued to traverse these routes until they disbanded in 1905 following the loss of their firesite.

Waterloo Bonfire Society appears to have been active initially between 1857 and 1858,[18] when it processed through streets in the vicinity of Waterloo Place including the High Street in All Saints. The Society was subsequently active again in 1875, but only for a brief period of five years. Although probably not large, this did not prevent the Society having expansionist aspirations, its processions traversing the majority of streets in the parish of All Saints. In 1877 routes were extended to include streets used by Commercial Square and in the following year Waterloo encroached into Borough's territory by processing along part of the High Street. However, they had insufficient support to maintain this expansionist policy, ceasing operations by 1880.

The mapping of the societies' processional routes indicates a significant correlation between the streets through which they processed and the locality from which they took their names. This raises the question of whether the societies were responding to already pre-existing defined territories, the parishes, or something less tangible, areas defined and acknowledged by the bonfire boys themselves. The idea that bonfire

societies were based within the Lewes parishes may be critically examined first.

Evidence suggesting that society territory did coincide with parish boundaries exists. The Cliffe, Southover and St Anne's societies each took their names from the parishes in which they were based and processed almost exclusively within their parish boundaries. Each society had a mock cleric whose appointed task was to address the crowd at the firesite. Parish appears to have been acknowledged by the naming of these men according to the parish in which the society was situated, the 'Bishops' of 'Cliffe', 'Lewes', 'St John's', 'St Anne's' and 'All Saints' attending the firesites of Cliffe, Borough, Commercial Square, St Anne's and Waterloo societies respectively. In 1871 the 'Lord Bishop of St Michael's' officiated at the firesite of the 'Rising Generation of Borough Bonfire Boys'.[19]

This recognition of a parochial basis for territory indicated by procession routes and clerical titles is however misleading. Although the processional routes of Cliffe, Southover, St Anne's and, to a lesser extent, Waterloo appear to be contained within parish boundaries those of the remaining societies were not. Borough marched through all the Lewes parishes except Cliffe. Similarly Commercial Square processed through the parishes of St John's and All Saints. Also Cliffe and Southover did briefly enter All Saints when processing through Friars Walk and Lansdowne Place while Waterloo entered St Johns on their incursion into Commercial Square territory. The ignoring of parish boundaries on these various occasions by the majority of societies indicates they were probably not identifying with an established geographic entity, the parish, but rather neighbourhoods as defined by the societies themselves. That some procession routes were contained within parish boundaries seems more likely therefore to have been coincidental rather than intended.

Having rejected 'parish' as the focus for the societies' territoriality an alternative explanation has to be sought. Defining the concept 'defended neighbourhood', Suttles refers to residential groups sealing themselves off, through the efforts of gangs, into localities which are both physical entities and result from cognitive maps used by residents. As a consequence groups within these localities 'tend to adopt a rhetoric of struggle which emphasises the mutual exclusiveness of their interests and the omnipresence of force'.[20] While such antagonism may not have existed throughout the year, the strong identification with territory by the bonfire boys has much in common with Suttle's 'defended neighbourhood'. Certainly a cognitive map was imposed on the town during that evening and the neighbourhoods that were circumscribed within this 'creative imposition' were guarded by each group of resident bonfire boys.

The local newspapers often referred to the territorial character of the bonfire societies. The Cliffe's separate identity was acknowledged, being described as 'the community over the water' and their bonfire activists as 'the boys the other side of the water'.[21] Similarly St Anne's bonfire boys are referred to as 'the rising generation at the top of the hill'.[22] The press also indicated the bonfire boys own awareness of their territorial orientation, observing that they 'are quite as jealous of their territory as masters of hounds, and the Cliffe Society would no more think of marching in procession on the West side of Lewes Bridge, than the worthy master of the Southdown Hounds would contemplate drawing a cover belonging to a neighbouring hunt; but although they do not invade each others districts the two societies always fraternize on the bridge'.[23]

The exchanging of fraternal greetings between the two societies on Cliffe Bridge, which occurred from 1857, shows the bonfire boys acknowledging their territoriality. The *Express* describes the ceremony thus:

> On this and other occasions there was a good deal of reciprocity between the boys of one side of the water and those of the other. Gentlemen from the classic district of Toby's

> Town and the purlieus of St John's affectionately greeted and warmly shook hands with gentlemen from the quiet secluded retreat of Swing Pump, and many a foaming cup was crushed in drinking the pledge that 'Britons never shall be slaves'. There were, but very rarely, some little differences of opinion leading to a few rounds of fisticuffs, which almost invariably terminated by the combatants finding themselves in an unpleasant position in the gutters, trampled over by the surging tide of humanity crowding the streets.[24]

While reflecting co-operation between the societies the incidence of violence also emphasises the strength of feeling territoriality aroused among the bonfire boys. This was similarly acknowledged by the societies when they refrained from collecting money in their boxes[25] while processing through another society's territory.

Rivalry was also manifest through territorial competition surrounding changes in procession routes. These tended to occur at times when new societies were attempting to carve out their own territory from within those of the well-established societies. During the 1850s Waterloo's territory was clearly separate from Commercial Square, but when it reformed in the 1870s Commercial Square had expanded and as a consequence gave Waterloo little scope for manoeuvre. In 1877 Waterloo extended its routes to include Lancaster Street and Abinger Place while at the same time encroaching on Commercial Square territory by processing through Mount Pleasant and West Street. In an apparent response to this 'invasion' Commercial Square, in the same year, likewise processed through Abinger place and Lancaster Street and extended its routes into North Street, previously only traversed by Waterloo. Both societies appear to have been competing for new territory while responding to incursions of the other. During the 1880s, Commercial Square appears to have attempted to remove the threat of a possible re-formation of Waterloo by progressively annexing streets the latter had previously traversed.

Borough responded in a similar way to the new societies of Southover and St Anne's. Traditionally it processed through Southover, a practice not discontinued until 1896, ten years after Southover Bonfire Society's formation. The two societies shared the same territory during those years, but in 1893 when Southover extended its routes to include Lansdown Place and Friars Walk, an area beyond what might have been accepted part of Southover, Borough responded by processing through the same streets. In the same year Borough expanded northwards into St Anne's, an area being claimed by the recently formed St Anne's Bonfire Society. This territorial expansion in 1893 can be interpreted as Borough's response to the gradual loss of actual or potential territory.

However the only time territorial competition occurred between the established societies followed Borough's amalgamation with Commercial Square. With the suspension of Southover's activities after 1905 Cliffe processed the full extent of the now unoccupied territory. At Borough's re-formation meeting in 1909, the secretary, F. H. Gearing, reported having approached Cliffe requesting the restoration of Southover to Borough.[26] The Cliffe did not respond immediately, but in 1910 the Society ceased to march through Southover, reverting to their traditional territory, leaving the Borough to 're-occupy' their former territory.

NEIGHBOURHOOD RECRUITMENT

The strength of feeling manifest through the defence of territory suggests the bonfire societies were expressing a perceived sense of neighbourhood, but if they are to be considered manifestations of community solidarity it must be shown that their members acknowledged the territorial divisions reflected in the societies' activities.

The residential distribution of society members provides overwhelming spatial

evidence to support this contention while the existence of family and social networks provide complementary evidence of the interactional dimension of community living. However before this evidence can be considered three specific difficulties have to be resolved. Firstly, if parish did not define neighbourhood boundaries what did? Secondly to which society did an identified bonfire boy belong? And thirdly what was his address at the time of his reported activity?

Apart from Cliffe and Southover, the societies did not have clearly defined physical boundaries. As a consequence society territory, for the purpose of this analysis, is designated according to processional routes and extended to include areas that were not traversed, but to which a society might lay claim, including streets immediately adjacent to processional routes. Thus the area to the north of the Commercial Square's processional routes is included in the Society's territory. Conversely, where a society traversed an area only briefly this is not included, for example Cliffe's two year excursion into Southover. Where societies traversed the same streets it is not possible to define precisely the territorial boundary between the societies. In these instances such streets are included within both societies' territories.

The society to which a bonfire boy belonged was easier to determine, it being assumed that people reported being involved in a society's activities were members of that society unless contrary evidence existed, for example those attending annual society dinners where the press noted they were representing another society. In this way, of the 527 society members positively identified through nominal record linkage,[27] 94.3 per cent (n = 497) were members of one society. The remaining 5.7 per cent (n = 30) appear to have belonged to two or more societies.

Finally, an address that coincided with the member's period of reported activity had to be found. This was achieved largely through the use of various nominal records, the address coinciding with the period of activity being used for mapping purposes. In some instances where the evidence suggests the bonfire boy was living in his father's house this address was used.[28] Table 1 shows that of the 527 members, 87.5 per cent (n = 461) can be ascribed addresses and of these 89.9 per cent (n = 417) belonged to the four main societies, Borough, Cliffe, Commercial Square and Southover.

Once these three variables were determined addresses were plotted and the membership distribution correlated with society territory. Figs 9 to 14 illustrate graphically the extent of the correlation while Table 2 records this correlation numerically. As both show, a significant proportion of members' residences cluster within the territory circumscribed by the processional routes of their society. Among the four established societies, where numbers are large, only Commercial Square has a sizable minority not living in its territory. Territorial residence is particularly high in Southover where 85.9 per cent (n = 55) of members were resident. Even 'Duals', members of more than one society, appear to conform, with over three quarters of them living in the territory of one of the societies to which they belonged.

ASPECTS OF NEIGHBOURING

However neighbourhood is more than a geographic location occupied by a particular group. Mann refers to two definitions of neighbourhood.[29] Firstly it is 'a distinct territorial group, distinct by virtue of the specific physical characteristics of the area and the specific social characteristics of the inhabitants' and secondly it is 'a territorial group, the members of which meet on common ground within their own area of primary social activities and for organized and spontaneous social contacts'. While defended neighbourhood emphasises geographic boundaries, the second definition emphasises the social characteristics of neighbourhood, the relationships between the residents. Parkin and Konig similarly emphasise this, Parkin arguing that neighbourhoods 'revolve around a hard core of fairly frequently

interacting tenants' while Konig notes that they are based primarily on informal, unorganised personal relationships.[30] Here it is being argued that the bonfire boys' activities expressed neighbourhood solidarity, but if their societies were symbolic representations of neighbourhood and expressions of community feeling it is necessary to establish that social relationships within each neighbourhood existed throughout the year rather than in a vacuum one night of the year.

Stacey considers a number of factors influencing the amount and quality of neighbouring, including house type and layout,

TABLE 1
Member's society and place of residence

Society	*Number of members*		*Addresses mapped*		*Difference*	
	n	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*
Borough (BBS)	98	100.0	91	92.9	7	7.1
Cliffe (CBS)	94	100.0	85	90.4	9	9.6
Commercial (CSBS)	208	100.0	177	85.1	31	14.9
St Anne's (StABS)	13	100.0	13	100.0	–	–
Southover (SBS)	74	100.0	64	86.5	10	13.5
South Street (SSJBS)	9	100.0	4	44.4	5	55.6
Waterloo (WBS)	1	100.0	1	100.0	–	–
Duals	30	100.0	26	86.7	4	13.3
Totals	527	100.0	461	87.5	66	12.5

Sources: Sussex Agricultural Express, Sussex Weekly Advertiser, 1881 Census, Lewes Trade and Street directories, Lewes Parochial and non-parochial registers, Registers of Electors for East Sussex and Lewes Divisions. For a full list of sources, see Etherington, 1987, 527–30.

TABLE 2
Society territory and membership distribution

Society	*Total identified addresses*		*Resident in territory*		*Not resident in territory*	
	n	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*
BBS	91	100.0	66	72.5	25	27.5
CBS	85	100.0	64	75.3	21	24.7
CSBS	177	100.0	114	64.4	63	35.6
StABS	13	100.0	11	84.6	2	15.4
SBS	64	100.0	55	85.9	9	14.1
SSJBS	4	100.0	3	75.0	1	25.0
WBS	1	100.0	1	100.0	–	–
Duals	26	100.0	20	76.9	6	23.1
Totals	461	100.0	334	72.5	127	27.5

Sources: As for Table 1.

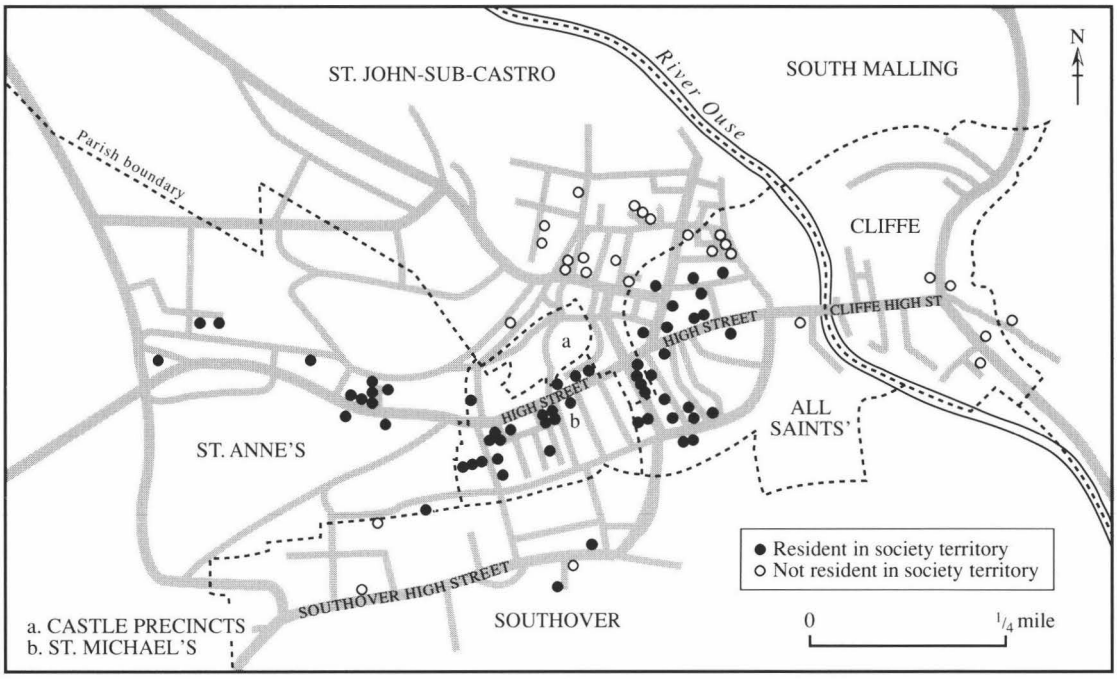

Fig. 9. Residential distribution of Borough Bonfire Society members.

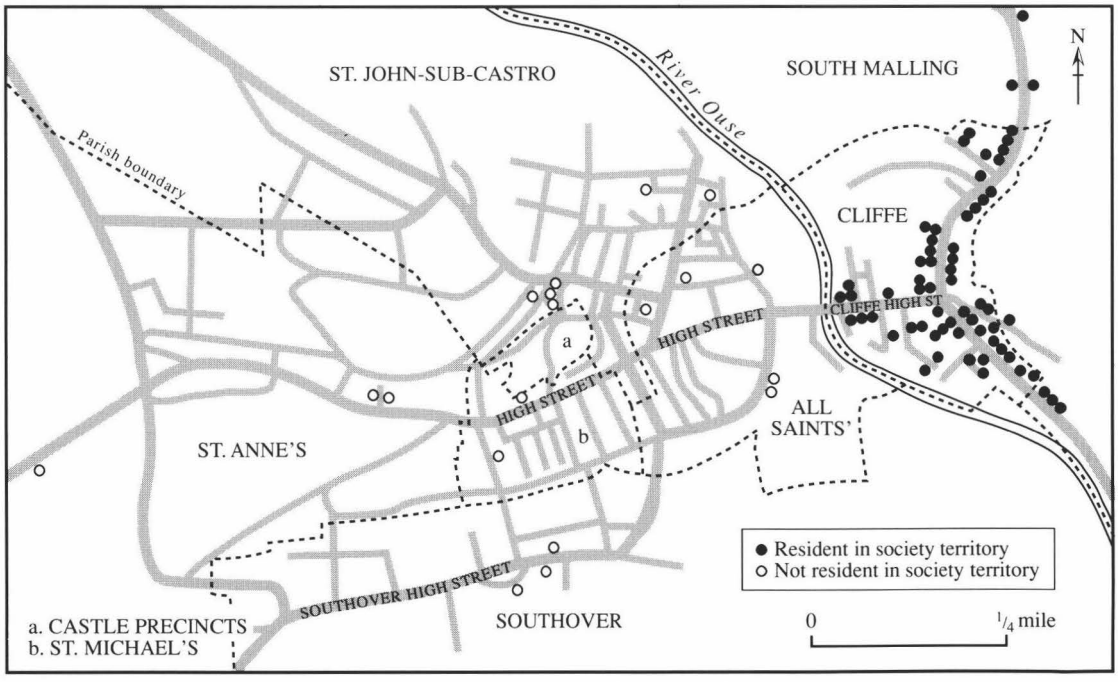

Fig. 10. Residential distribution of Cliffe Bonfire Society members.

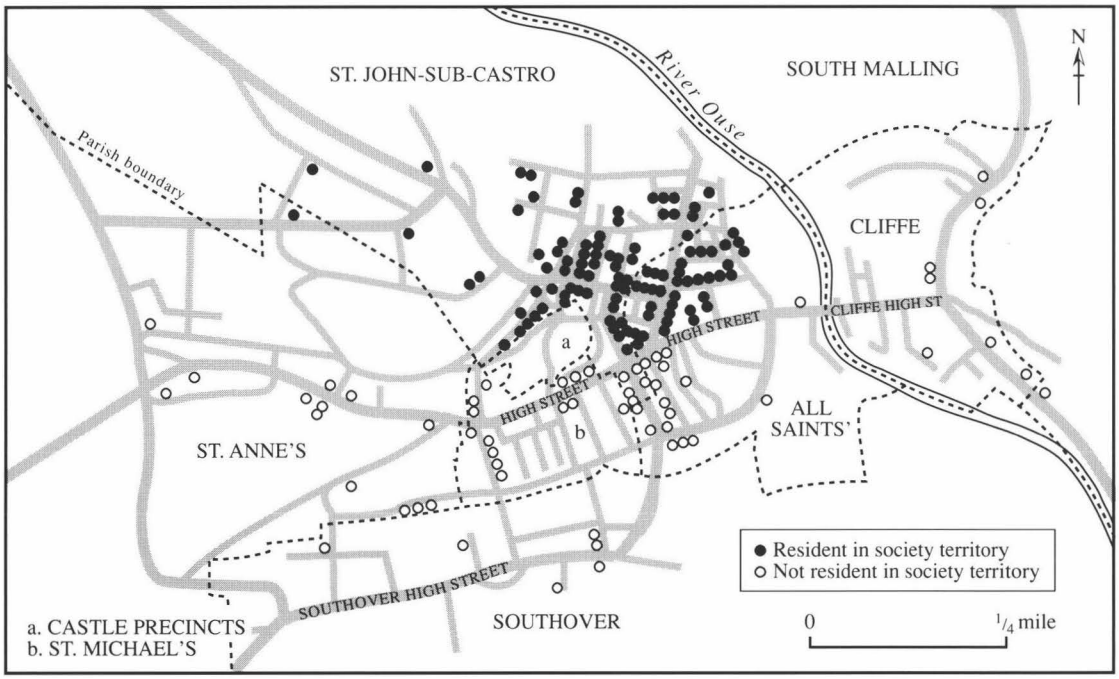

Fig. 11. Residential distribution of Commercial Square Bonfire Society members.

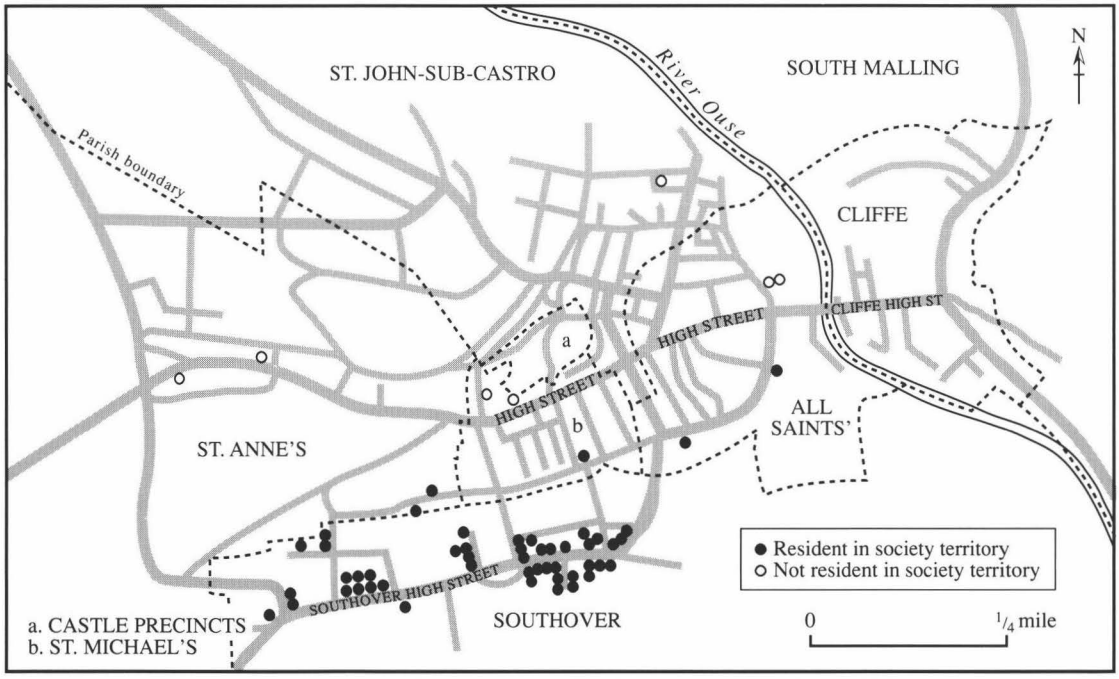

Fig. 12. Residential distribution of Southover Bonfire Society members.

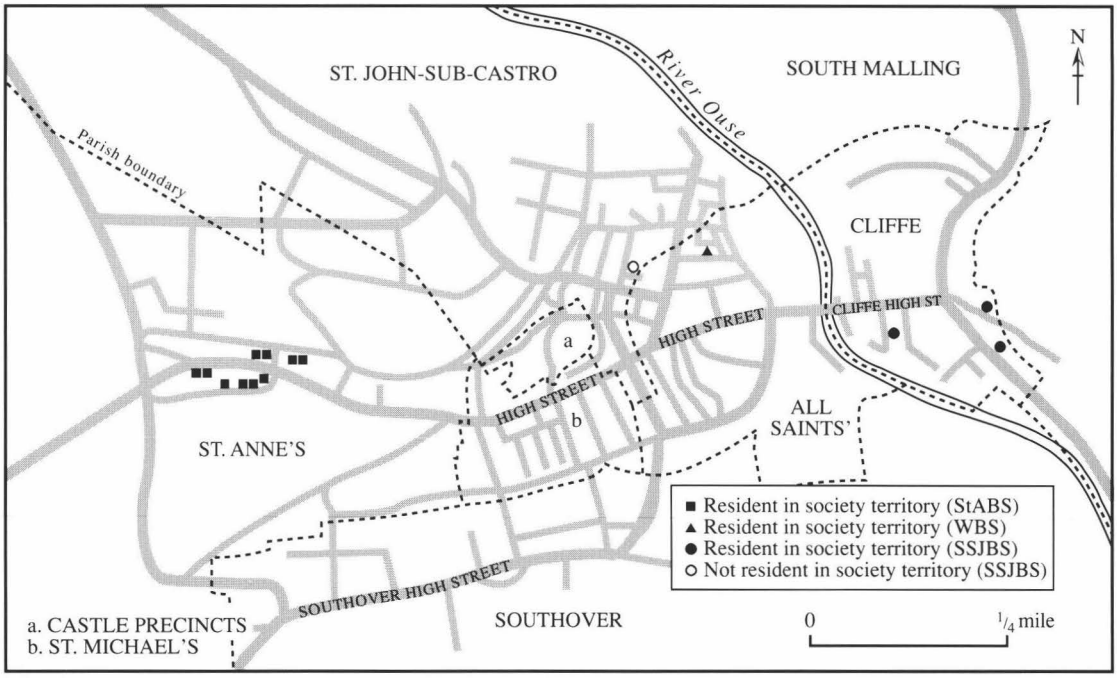

Fig. 13. Residential distribution of St.Anne's, Waterloo and South Street Juvenile Bonfire Society members.

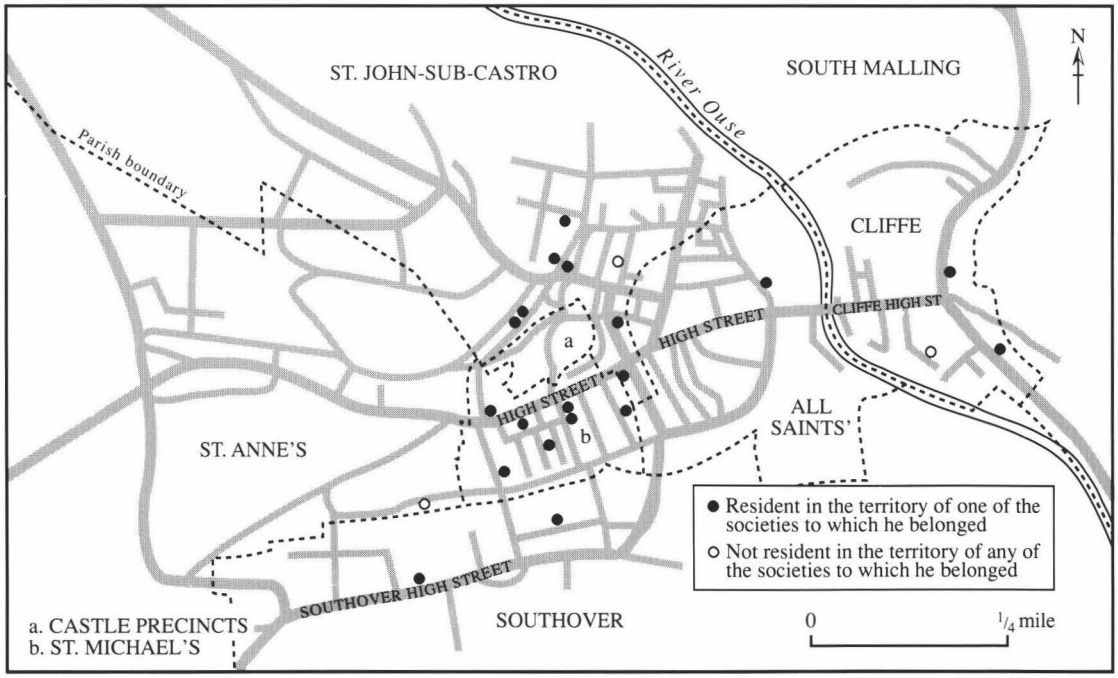

Fig. 14. Residential distribution of dual members.

age, children, place of origin, length of residence, kin, social class and status, friendship and associational life.[31] But in the historical context, due to the limitations of documentary sources, the existence of some, particularly those relating to social relationships, cannot easily be shown empirically. Evidence indicating the neighbourhood orientation of the bonfire

TABLE 3
Place of birth of the bonfire boys

Bonfire Boy Group	*Place of Birth*								*Totals*	
	Lewes		*Sussex*		*Elsewhere*		*Unknown*			
	n	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*
Society member (Terr Res)	184	55.3	34	10.2	23	6.9	92	27.6	333	100.0
Society member (Non-Terr Res)	69	53.9	8	6.3	–	–	51	39.8	128	100.0
Society member (Res N/K)	21	31.8	4	6.1	4	6.1	37	56.1	66	100.0
Others	38	48.1	4	5.1	4	5.1	33	41.8	79	100.0
Supporters	13	34.2	–	–	10	26.3	15	39.5	38	100.0
Totals	325	50.5	50	7.8	41	6.4	228	35.4	644	100.0

Abbreviations: Terr Res (Territory resident), Non-Terr Res (Non-Territory resident) and Res N/K (Residence not known).
Sources: 1841–81 Census, Lewes parochial and non-parochial registers

TABLE 4
Length of residency in society territory

Society	*Length of residency*									
	Life Long		*Moved into territory as adult*		*Moved into territory as child*		*Difficult to determine*		*Totals*	
	n	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*
BBS	29	44.6	30	46.1	2	3.1	4	6.2	65	100.0
CBS	36	56.2	22	34.4	1	1.6	5	7.8	64	100.0
CSBS	45	39.5	49	43.0	11	9.6	9	7.9	114	100.0
StABS	3	27.3	8	72.7	–	–	–	–	11	100.0
SSJBS	2	66.7	–	–	1	33.3	–	–	3	100.0
WBS	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	100.0	1	100.0
Duals	3	15.0	15	75.0	–	–	2	10.0	20	100.0
Totals	141	42.3	145	43.5	18	5.4	29	8.7	333	100.0

Note: The 333 members in the table are those who were living in their society territory.
Sources: 1841–81 Censuses, Lewes parochial and non-parochial registers, Lewes street and trade directories.

societies arising from their activities has been outlined. However, employing some of the factors isolated by Stacey, particularly social class, place of origin, kin, length of residence and associational life further evidence can be found which suggests the existence of neighbourhood living in a number of localities in Lewes.

In Lewes working class streets and neighbourhoods can be identified[32] and it is from these that some members were drawn. The cohesiveness of traditional working class areas has been commented upon and while such accounts have been criticised for their sentimental idealisation,[33] empirical evidence tends, at least in part, to confirm their existence. But the bonfire societies drew their membership not only from the working class, but also sections of the lower middle class.[34] However it is probable that as a consequence of regular unstructured social interaction resulting from propinquity fairly cohesive neighbourhoods existed that transcended class differences.[35]

Two factors encouraging the formation of informal social relationships are the period of residence in the area and the duration of membership of a society. Where long term residency existed as a consequence of either being born locally or having moved into an area at an early age, it may be assumed that many neighbourhood residents would have been interacting for some time resulting in social networks being well established. Evidence indicates that many bonfire boys, including society members, others involved in some way with the celebrations and supporters, were born in Lewes. Table 3 shows that 325 individuals representing 78.1 per cent of the 416 bonfire boys for whom a place of birth is known were born in Lewes. This predominance of Lewes-born bonfire boys is largely accounted for by society members. Of these, 52.0 per cent (n = 274) were born in Lewes, 13·8 per cent (n = 73) were not, and the place of birth of the remaining 34.2 per cent (n = 180) is not known although it is likely that many of these were born in Lewes. Only the 'supporters' did not conform to this pattern, the proportion of those born in Lewes being much smaller. Supporters came from the town's business and professional strata and that many were not born in Lewes probably reflects the geographical mobility usually associated with the middle class.

The 'place of birth' recorded in census enumerators' books rarely gave sufficient information to establish whether individuals were born in the neighbourhoods in which they lived at the time of their society membership, but according to addresses recorded in the baptismal registers 42.3 per cent (n = 141) were born in their society's territory, as Table 4 shows. It was found that a much smaller, but no less significant, group of members were resident in their society's

TABLE 5
Long-term society members

Society	*Approximate length of involvement in years*				*Totals*	
	10–14	*15–19*	*20–24*	*25+*	*n*	*%*
BBS	7	1	1	1	10	10.2
CBS	9	1	3		13	13.8
CSBS	11	10	4	4	29	13.9
SBS	7	1	1		9	12.2
Dual	4	1	2		7	23.3
Totals	38	14	11	5	68	12.9

Sources: SAE and *SWA.*

territory since childhood. When these individuals are combined with those born in Lewes this group constitutes nearly half of society members. Although a degree of variation among the main societies exists the extent of correlation between locally born, long term residents and neighbourhood society supports the contention that members were identifying with their neighbourhood and expressed this through membership of their local bonfire society.

Length of society membership was also likely to contribute to a sense of continuity and belonging. Table 5 shows 68 members, representing 12.9 per cent of all society members, who were reported as active for periods exceeding ten years. Included among them are a number of society officers resident in their society's area who, as will be discussed later, were central figures in social networks arising from their membership of numerous voluntary associations. Borough member W. T. Gearing was active for 41 years, H. E. Philcox of Cliffe for 23 years, and the treasurer of Commercial Square, T. E. Gearing and the society's secretary, E. L. Tappin for 26 and 20 years respectively. Their presence among the long-term members indicates their importance as key members, both in the offices they held and as anchorage points within their respective social networks.

It is not enough, however, to define neighbourhoods as geographical entities with residents sharing frequent contact, place of birth and lengthy periods of residency. If people were exhibiting a community spirit through their membership of bonfire societies a second dimension that attributes neighbourhood with high density social networks arising from kin, friendship and neighbouring links must be established. It is necessary to show that neighbourhood has a social as well as a geographic meaning, arising from a web of relationships between the people who live there.

Establishing the existence of social relationships through social network analysis using historical data however presents specific difficulties. Social networks have two characteristics, the structural, which maps links between people, and the interactional, which takes account of the content of the relationships. In the contemporary situation people can be asked with whom they are in contact and the interactional qualities of the relationships within their network. But in the historical context, while it is possible to show that fairly extensive networks existed among society members the content, directedness, durability, intensity and frequency of the links can only be deduced from the structural characteristics of these networks.[36] It is not possible to be certain about the meaning or purpose brought to the relationships by those involved. Thus, while structural links between groups of bonfire boys can be made the qualitative character of these relationships remain elusive, if not impossible to determine. However, while these difficulties remain, network analysis does provide insights not only into the bonfire societies' neighbourhood orientation, but also the bonfire boys as a total group.

FAMILY NETWORKS AMONG THE BONFIRE BOYS

Two sources establish the existence of networks that indicate society members interacted on a regular basis within their society neighbourhoods. Firstly, there is evidence of kin living in the territory of the society to which they belonged. Secondly, data recording the bonfire boys' membership of other voluntary associations within the locality establishes the existence of neighbourhood social networks. Further evidence showing extensive membership of other voluntary associations by the bonfire boys indicates the existence of networks that extended beyond society and neighbourhood to embrace fellow bonfire boys in other societies and neighbourhoods. This evidence of extensive membership of other voluntary association suggests social bonds existed not only within neighbourhoods and between members of the same society, but also among the bonfire boys as

a total group.

Newspaper reports suggest that family involvement was an important factor during the 19th century, the celebrations promoting 'a happy reunion between scattered members of Lewes families' when 'young men and women who rarely visit their native place come to their old homes'.[37] Extensive kinship networks embracing both nuclear and extended family members and spanning inter-generational membership within each of the societies were found in a survey of contemporary bonfire boys in 1974.[38] Historical sources do not provide the same comprehensive data available for the 1974 Survey, but the links that were established are tabulated in Table 6. The 121 members recorded represent 24.3 per cent of all society members. Where family relationships are established nearly all exist within the parameters of close male kin, father, sons and brothers. The majority of these links however consist of only two or three individuals. Of the 52 family groups identified 73.1 per cent (n = 38) include two members of the same family, 21.1 per cent (n = 11) three, and only 5.8 per cent (n = 3) four.

The wider family connections found in the 1974 Survey do not appear to have been present in the 19th century, although limitations in the available data may be affecting this. It can be argued that Table 6 does not reflect the full extent of family membership due to the participation of identified women and children going unrecorded in the press and thus not figuring in the present data. Additionally, more extensive family connections may be tentatively made if those bonfire boys who were not 'historically individuated' through nominal record linkage are taken into account. A further 224 named members representing 67.7 per cent of those not positively identified either shared common surnames with those historically individuated or with others not positively identified. Among this group many less common surnames occurring in single societies suggests the probability of family relationships in addition to those already found.[39]

The importance of family influencing membership is supported by the period of activity of related individuals tending to coincide. The extent of this is indicated in Table 7. In these cases involvement of one family member probably encouraged the participation of other close male relatives, but such a conclusion must remain tentative in view of the

TABLE 6
Family links within each society

Society	*Positively identified relationships*							
	Father/son		*Brothers*		*Others*		*Totals*	
	NI(a)	*NR(b)*	*NI*	*NR*	*NI*	*NR*	*NI*	*NR*
BBS	11	5	13	6	2	1	26	12
CBS	19(c)	7	8	4	–	–	27	11
CSBS	24	10	19	8	–	–	43	18
StABS	2	1	2	1	–	–	4	2
SBS	13	6	8	3	–	–	21	9
Totals	69	29	50	22	2	1	121	52
%	57.8	55.8	41.3	42.3	1.7	1.9	100.0	100.0

Notes: a. NI = Number of individuals; b. NR = Number of relationships; c. This total includes a father/son/father's brother relationship (i.e. three individuals).
Sources: As for Table 3.

fact that 75.7 per cent (n = 376) had no identified relative involved.

Further data emphasising the influence of family membership is the apparent loyalty of family members to one society. Table 6 indicates that family relationships within societies existed among 24.3 per cent (n = 121) of society members while Table 8 shows that only in a few instances did these families divide their loyalties between more than one society. Forty-seven individuals were connected through 18 family relationships that divided across societies. Of these, 28 are

TABLE 7
Family links within and between societies and period of activity

Period of activity	*Relationship Father/son*		*Brother*		*Other*		*Totals*	
	NR	*NI*	*NR*	*NI*	*NR*	*NI*	*NR*	*NI*
Same period of activity	23	53	18	45	–	–	41 (68.3%)	98 (65.8%)
Different period of activity	8	17	3	6	–	–	11 (18.3%)	23 (15.4%)
Spanning both periods (a)	2	7	5	18	1	3	8 (13.3%)	28 (18.8%)
Totals	33	77	26	69	1	3	60 (100%)	149 (100%) (b)

Notes: a. Included here are relationships that involve some members active during the same period, but others who were not; e.g. the brothers H.T., W.N. and A. Barnard were all active between 1889 and 1895, but a fourth brother, G.T., was not active until 1901. b. These totals relate to 52 relationships (NI = 121) within societies (see Table 6) and eight additional relationships (NI = 28) identified as existing between societies.
Sources: SAE, SWA, 1841–81 Census, Lewes parochial and non-parochial registers.

TABLE 8
Positive family links across societies

Society	*Relationship Father/son*		*Brother*		*Others*		*Totals*	
	NI	*NR*	*NI*	*NR*	*NI*	*NR*	*NI*	*NR*
CSBS/BBS	11	4	2	1	–	–	13	5
CSBS/CBS	2	1	–	–	–	–	2	1
BBB/SBS	5	2	–	–	–	–	5	2
BBS/CBS	2	1	5	2	–	–	7	3
SBS/CBS	–	–	4	1	–	–	4	1
CSBS/SBS	2	1	2	1	–	–	4	2
3/4 Socs (a)	4	2	4	1	4	1	12	4
Totals	26	11	17	6	4	1	47	18

Notes: a. Including 'Duals'.
Sources: As for Table 3.

recorded for the first time, the others already sharing relationships within single societies. The newly recorded individuals included in Table 8 are either related to one of the families in Table 6 or form new family relationships not contained within a single society, for example W. T. and F. H. Gearing, both Borough members, were a father-son relationship, but a brother, T. E. Gearing, belonged to Commercial Square. Thus from a total of 149 society members with relatives only 18.9 per cent (n = 28) had relatives in another society.

Finally, having established family connections within societies, family networks

TABLE 9
Family links existing within territory

Society		*Family living in society territory*		*Family not living in society territory*		*Family divided between territory and non-territory*		*Totals*	
		NI	*NR*	*NI*	*NR*	*NI*	*NR*	*NI*	*NR*
BBS		17	8	9	2	2	1	28	11
CBS		11	4	8	3	6	3	25	10
CSBS		39	17	2	1	2	1	43	19
StABS		2	1	–	–	–	–	2	1
SBS		21	9	–	–	–	–	21	9
Totals	n	90	39	19	6	10	5	119	50
	%	75.6	78.0	16.0	12.0	8.4	10.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Included among the family groups in this table are two where another family member lives outside the society's territory and four where other family members belong to a different society.
Sources: 1861–81 Census, Lewes trade and street directories, Registers of Electors for East Sussex and Lewes Divisions.

TABLE 10
Bonfire Boys' membership of voluntary associations

Society	*Number of Voluntary Associations belonged to*										*Totals*
	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	
BBS	16	13	7	7	3		4	1		2	53
CBS	16	10	9	2		1	1	1			40
CSBS	39	28	16	13	10	4	9	7	1	3	130
StABS	3	2	1	1							7
SBS	18	7	7	4	3		1			1	41
Duals	2	8	2	3	1	2			1	3	22
Others	9	4	2	2	1						18
Supps	8	2	5	2	1	1				5	23
Totals	111	74	49	34	19	8	15	9	2	14	334

Sources: SAE and *SWA.*

may now be related to society territory. Although families are found among only a quarter of society members the majority of these families lived in their society's territory, as Table 9 shows. But while this data suggests that family networks, neighbourhood living and society membership do coincide, because the 90 individual family members represent only 18.1 per cent of the 497 society members any conclusion must remain tentative.

SOCIAL NETWORKS, VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS AND SOCIETY MEMBERS

During the late 1880s reporting style in the local newspapers changed, the activities of local voluntary associations and the names of those involved being extensively documented. This provides considerably more data which, when linked with the known bonfire boys, indicates an extensive membership of other Lewes voluntary associations. Allowing for the difficulty of being able to link according to only surname and first name initial, it is found that 51.7 per cent (n = 334) were involved in 65 various voluntary associations during the years 1890 to 1913.

The potential for the existence of extensive networks among the bonfire boys resulting from this is shown in Table 10. Of these 66.8 per cent (n = 223) belonged to two or more other associations, the remaining one-third being members of only one. However, many of these belonged in the company of fellow society members. But while the majority of family networks exist within society territory the same is not true of the social networks found among voluntary associations. There were neighbourhood orientated associations, particularly those based on parish churches or local pubs, but many were not attracting members exclusively from within that neighbourhood.

While the bonfire societies had their headquarters in neighbourhood pubs and held many of their social events in them,[40] a significant number of members did not belong to other neighbourhood associations, as Table 11 shows. Only among Southover members was there a tendency to belong to neighbourhood clubs, the 48 members belonging to local clubs representing 64.9 per cent of the total identified Southover membership. From among the total identified memberships of the other societies only 22.7 per cent, 6.4 per cent, 6.3 per cent and 7.7 per cent of Borough, Cliffe, Commercial Square and St Anne's respectively belonged to associations located in their societies' territories. The only association with a significant number of members, the St Michael's Social Club, attracted bonfire boys from all five societies, the majority coming from Borough and Commercial Square, the town centre societies.

Obviously it was the activity being offered that attracted members to these other voluntary associations rather than their neighbourhood orientation, but there is considerable data indicating a correlation between membership and membership of 'interest' associations. As a result a significant number of bonfire boys belonged to extensive social networks involving fellow society members. This is likely to have reinforced those kin and friendship networks already existing within the neighbourhoods. The 264 members included in Table 12 represent 55.7 per cent of all members from the four large societies. The extent of linkages between these members is indicated by the fact that, apart from Southover, over 50 per cent of members from the other societies were linked more than ten times to other members within their society. In the case of the Commercial Square Society the network among the members belonging to other voluntary associations was extensive, with only 6.9 per cent (n = 9) linked to other members less than ten times.

No statistical analysis of these linkages has been carried out, but a number of society members may be taken to illustrate the extent of some individual personal networks resulting from voluntary associations membership. T. E. Gearing was linked to 93 fellow Commercial Square members through his membership of ten

TABLE 11
Voluntary Association, Society and Society Territory

Voluntary Association in Society Territory		*Society*					*Total*
		BBS	*CBS*	*CSBS*	*ABS*	*SBS*	
Borough Territory							
Crown Shades S.C.		–	1	1	–	–	2
Jolly Anglers S.C.		–	–	1	–	1	2
Lansdown Arms S.C.		–	–	1	–	–	1
Rainbow S.C.		2	–	2	–	–	4
Royal Oak S.C.		–	–	2	–	–	2
St Michael's C.C.		4	2	11	1	1	19
St Michael's Soc. C.		10	2	26	1	2	41
Sussex Arms S.C.		1	–	–	–	–	1
Unicorn S.C.		1	–	1	–	2	4
Volunteer S.C.		1	–	1	–	2	4
Totals	n	19	5	46	2	8	80
	%	23.7	6.3	57.5	2.5	10.0	100.0
Cliffe Territory							
Cliffe Soc. C.		6	5	7	–	–	18
Thatched House Q.C.		–	1	–	–	–	1
Totals	n	6	6	7	–	–	19
	%	31.6	31.6	36.8			100.0
Commercial Territory							
All Saints Men's Guild		1	–	3	–	–	4
All Saints Soc. C.		2	1	5	–	2	10
Elephant & Castle S.C.		–	1	5	–	–	6
Totals	n	3	2	13	–	2	20
	%	15.0	10.0	65.0		10.0	100.0
St Anne's Territory							
St Anne's Soc. C.		1	3	3	1	3	11
Windmill Q.C.		1	1	1	–	–	3
Windmill S.C.		–	2	–	–	–	2
Totals	n	2	6	4	1	3	16
	%	12.5	37.5	25.0	6.2	18.8	100.0
Southover Territory							
King's Head C.C.		–	–	1	–	5	6
King's Head S.C.		–	1	1	–	10	12
King's Head T.C.		1	–	–	–	4	5
Priory Arms Ton. C.		–	–	–	–	4	4
Priory C.C.		–	–	–	–	1	1
Southover Bellringers		–	–	–	–	2	2
Southover Churchmen		1	–	–	–	8	9
Southover Court Baron		1	1	4	–	2	8
Southover C.C.		1	–	1	–	9	11
Southover Friendly Soc.		–	1	2	–	–	3
Southover Star F.C.		–	1	1	–	1	3
Southover Ton. C.		–	–	–	–	2	2
Totals	n	4	4	10	–	48	66
	%	6.1	6.1	15.1		72.7	100.0

Abbreviations: C.C. (Cricket Club), F.C. (Football Club), Q.C. (Quoit Club), S.C. (Slate Club), Soc. C. (Social Club), Ton. C. (Tontine Club).
Sources: SAE and SWA.

voluntary associations. He was linked to 49 fellow members once, 19 twice, 15 three times, 6 four times, 3 five times and 1 seven times. Similarly C. W. Gardner belonged to eight voluntary associations and through these was linked to 90 Commercial Square members. He was linked to 39 once, 24 twice, 14 three times, 7 four times, 4 five times and 1 six times. Other Commercial Square members had extensive links including E. T. Clare, E. E. Foster, P. W. King, H. Mercer, S. L. Wright, W. J. Tapp and E. L. Tappin, all of whom were individually linked to over 70 other members. Similar multiple linkages were less common among the other societies, this is in some part attributable to the smaller numbers involved, but those who did included W. T. Gearing and T. Buckman of Borough, H. Holman, H. E. Philcox, G. Watford and C. S. Wood from Cliffe, and J. R. Lusted and G. Stroud, both Southover members.

In instances where a bonfire boy belonged to only one or two voluntary associations he still came into contact with other society members. The Borough member, H. Pinyoun, belonged only to the Liberal Association, but through this he was linked to five fellow society members who were also Liberal Association members. Similarly Minshal Baxter belonged to the South Saxon Lodge of Freemasons, but shared this membership with three other society members.

Evidence suggests that key groups within each society formed a nucleus of members sustaining fairly regular social interaction. Two examples may be used to illustrate this. Table 13 shows the linkages between 14 Borough members, all linked to at least 20 fellow members. Besides establishing links between these members the Table also shows the degree of frequency with which contact was made. Buckman, W. T. Gearing, Lenny and Whiteman, are central figures of the network, being linked to all thirteen other members, in many instances at least three times. They were themselves linked to each other between four and six times, only Lenny and Whiteman not coming into frequent contact.

A more extensive network existed among Commercial Square members. Of 130 members belonging to other voluntary associations only 5.4 per cent (n = 7) were linked to less than ten fellow society members. Many were linked to large numbers, the twenty members in Table 14 being in contact with at least 70 other fellow society members. The existence of such a group is itself significant, indicating the extent of linkages within the Commercial Square Society, in some

TABLE 12
Number of members within each society linked through membership of voluntary associations

Society		*Number of linked individuals*									*Totals*
		0–9	*10–9*	*20–9*	*30–9*	*40–9*	*50–9*	*60–9*	*70–9*	*80–9*	*90–9*	
BBS	n	22	19	9	3							53
	%	41.5	35.8	17.0	5.7							100.0
CBS	n	19	17	4								40
	%	47.5	42.5	10.0								100.0
CSBS	n	9	23	22	14	14	12	16	11	6	3	130
	%	6.9	17.7	16.9	10.8	10.8	9.2	12.3	8.5	4.6	2.3	100.0
SBS	n	31	8	2								41
	%	75.6	19.5	4.9								100.0
Total	n	81	67	37	17	14	12	16	11	6	3	264
	%	30.7	25.4	14.0	6.4	5.3	4.5	6.1	4.2	2.3	1.1	100.0

Sources: SAE and *SWA*.

TABLE 13
Links between key Borough members

Name															*Number of contacts*
Gearing W. T.	X														13
Lenny G. J.	6	X													13
Buckman T.	5	4	X												13
Whiteman C. L.	4	1	4	X											13
Banks W.	3	2	2	3	X										13
Gearing F. H.	3	1	2	2	2	X									12
Banks A.	3	2	1	2	3	1	X								12
Baxter W. D.	3	4	1	2	1	1	1	X							9
Broad V.	2	3	2	1	1	1	–	1	X						9
Philcox E.	2	2	2	2	1	1	–	–	–	X					9
Arter H.	3	2	1	1	–	1	–	–	2	1	X				9
Gower H.	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	–	1	1	1	X			11
James A. E.	1	1	2	1	1	1	–	–	1	2	1	1	X		10
Card E. A.	2	3	1	1	1	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	X	7
Name (a)	G	L	B	W	B	G	B	B	B	P	A	G	J	C	

Note: a. Initial letter of surname in same order as column.
Sources: SAE and *SWA*.

TABLE 14
Links between 20 Commercial Square members

Name																				*Number of contacts*
Wright S. L.	X																			19
Gardner C. W.	6	X																		19
Gearing T. E.	7	4	X																	19
Hardwick J. R.	7	5	5	X																19
Wells H. H.	5	3	5	3	X															19
Mercer H.	4	5	4	5	3	X														19
King P. W.	4	5	3	3	2	5	X													19
Philcox S. J.	5	5	4	3	3	2	3	X												19
Taylor F.	5	4	5	3	3	2	–	5	X											18
Parker G. E.	3	4	3	2	4	1	3	4	4	X										19
Foster E. E.	6	3	4	2	5	3	3	2	3	3	X									19
Uridge A. J. R.	3	3	4	2	4	2	3	2	2	4	3	X								19
Higham T.	5	4	3	3	2	2	3	2	3	2	3	1	X							19
Clare E. T.	3	4	3	4	3	4	2	3	1	1	2	2	2	X						19
Fenton J.	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	4	2	2	2	1	X					19
Tapp W. J.	2	3	3	3	1	2	3	2	3	2	–	2	3	3	3	X				18
Stevenson S. J.	2	2	3	2	5	2	2	1	1	4	3	3	1	2	1	1	X			19
Diplock A. L.	2	2	3	3	3	3	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	3	2	2	1	X		19
Tappin E. L.	2	4	1	2	1	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	3	2	2	2	1	1	X	19
Barnard A.	1	3	2	3	1	2	3	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	X	19
Name (a)	W	G	G	H	W	M	K	P	T	P	F	U	H	C	F	T	S	D	T	B	

Note: a. Initial letter of surname in same order as column.
Sources: SAE and *SWA*.

instances members being linked as many as six or seven times to fellow members. Only two pairs of possible links were not made, those between Tapp and Foster, and Taylor and King. Unlike among Borough members no cluster emerged to form a core group. Rather links are spread evenly among the group.

Multiple links existed between some individuals, but while others were not involved in such close knit networks multiple links between them and other members exist. For example, Stevenson is linked five times to Wells and four times to Parker. Many of these multiple linkages occur when groups of society members belonged to particular voluntary associations. Membership was spread over a large number of voluntary associations but between one and five belonged to each while as many as 13 Borough members belonged to the Rifle Volunteers and the Lewes Cycle Club included 38 Commercial Square members.

These networks and others that probably existed among members of the other societies would have performed an integrative function, as discussed by Litwak and Ross, in a similar way that neighbourhood relationships did.[41] Members of family networks and those society members sharing common membership of other voluntary associations are likely to have come into frequent contact, thus sustaining relationships throughout the year and not just during the short period of bonfire activity around the 5th November.

THE BONFIRE BOYS AS A TOTAL GROUP

So far voluntary association membership in relation to individual societies has been discussed. However many voluntary associations were not the exclusive domain of members from one bonfire society. Most of the 65 voluntary associations included among their membership bonfire boys from different societies including five with over 50, many coming from the three large societies, Borough, Cliffe and Commercial Square. Extensive networks involving members from all the societies existed among those who were members of these five associations. Such extensive networks spreading over a number of voluntary associations would suggest that in addition to coming into contact with bonfire boys and supporters from other bonfire societies it is probable that contact was frequent.

This leads onto the qualitative dimensions of social networks. If frequency of contact is high then the relationships between those involved are likely to be well-established and as a consequence they become a cohesive group identifying with each other through their common interest including the celebrations. Through networks that extend beyond the neighbourhood orientation of families and individual societies, members become involved in a wider fraternity of bonfire boys, identifying with each other as a total group. That the bonfire boys perceived themselves as a group that went beyond their individual societies was exhibited on various occasions, while promoting their societies, at times of adversity and during the defence of their celebrations. The spirit of friendship, co-operation and mutual self-interest present among the societies, it may be argued, were sustained and strengthened by the social networks existing among the bonfire boys both within and between the societies.

This sense of common identity and mutual interdependence was manifest in a number of ways. It was the practice of the societies to arrange the times of their 'Grand' processions to allow each society to receive the support of the others, thus enabling each society to put on a large and impressive procession. It was also customary for the leading members of each society to attend the annual dinners of the other societies, frequently being called upon to propose or respond to the toast to the 'Kindred Societies'. Less regularly, but no less significant, the societies came together to organise processions and firework displays for major civic and royal occasions including weddings, jubilees and coronations.[42]

Common cause was also made at times of

adversity. Mutual support was given to members who suffered injury or bereavement. On various occasions financial aid was organised to assist individual members. In 1906 and 1911 funds were set up to meet the expense of lawyers employed to defend bonfire boys arrested during the celebrations.[43] During the 1909 celebrations Tom Gearing, a Commercial Square torchman, died as a result of being badly burnt while distributing paraffin soaked torches. A subscription list was set up to help his wife and children, and by March, 1910 £183 3s. 10d. had been contributed including over £6 raised at a Cliffe Society concert the previous December.[44] In 1913 the Cliffe held a 'smoker' to raise money for a member who had broken his leg.[45]

More importantly for the societies was their ability to mount joint action when opposition threatened their celebrations. This was particularly in evidence between 1904 and 1906 when they had to defend their celebrations following the Dusart's fire.[46] Boissevain defines a 'clique' as a 'coalition whose members associate regularly with each other on the basis of affection and common interest and possesses a marked sense of common identity'.[47] The societies' speedy response and the co-operative spirit in which their concerted action was mounted may largely be attributable to the formation of such cliques of leading bonfire boys arising from the pre-existing web of social networks among members from the different bonfire societies.

The precise dynamics of clique formation are difficult to ascertain, but as Tables 15 and 16 show, 18 leading members from the four societies were linked in a multiplex network resulting from their membership of 11 voluntary associations. It was an alliance between such networks that undoubtedly led to the coalition of

TABLE 15
Voluntary associations and leading members, 1904–1906

	Voluntary Association										
Name and society	*F*	*V*	*L*	*C*	*R*	*D*	*S*	*I*	*A*	*B*	*O*
Gearing W. T. (BBS)	X			X	X			X		X	X
Lusted J. R. (SBS)	X			X		X	X			X	
Hillman J. (SBS)	X	X	X						X		
Tappin E. L. (CSBS)	X	X	X		X						
King P. W. (CSBS)			X	X	X	X					
Gearing F. H. (BBS)		X						X		X	
Flint E. (CSBS)		X			X			X			
Stevenson S. J. (CSBS)			X		X			X			
Fenton J. (CSBS)	X	X				X					
Baker G. T. (BBS)							X		X		
Briggs J. W. (CBS)	X						X				
Peel G. W. (SBS)			X	X							
Reeves B. (BBS)					X						X
Errey C. (SBS)							X				
Hillman E. (SBS)									X		
Kemp C. W. (CBS)	X										
Muzzell T. (SBS)						X					
Glandfield J. T. (SBS)											X

Abbreviations: F. Foresters, V. Victoria Cycle Club, L. Lewes Cycle Club, C. Conservative Association, R. Rowing Club, D. Antedeluvian Order of Druids, S. Ancient Order of Shepherds, I. Rifle Volunteers, A. Artillery Volunteers, B. Ancient Order of Buffalo, O. Loyal Orange Lodge.
Source: SAE and *SWA*.

bonfire societies in 1904, interaction between their members bridging the separate identities of the societies. However, in the context of the present discussion it is necessary to note that during this period of mobilisation the two levels of networks described, those within and those between the societies, came into play. Craven and Wellman comment on how neighbourhood networks may utilise their wider networks, calling on like-minded people in other neighbourhoods to enter into an alliance to achieve a common objective.[48] In this way networks embracing both neighbourhood and voluntary association members were of considerable importance in providing the solidarity among the bonfire boys necessary to counter opposition.

CONCLUSION

Too often attempts are made to understand the significance of a recurring celebration with reference only to its intrinsic rituals and outward form. In the case of the Lewes Guy Fawkes Celebrations allusions to pagan origins or religious antagonism are frequently cited as explanations for their occurrence and survival. However the contention of this paper is that the social dimension, the interaction between people within acknowledged neighbourhoods and their sense of identity and social solidarity, provides an underlying motivation for maintaining the celebration. While it is not possible, with the historical sources available, to reconstruct either quantitatively or qualitatively the full extent of social interaction, sufficient evidence has been gathered which, when interpreted sociologically, indicates that the activities of the bonfire societies manifest a strong neighbourhood orientation reflecting and sustained by an intricate and extensive web of social relationships arising from kin, propinquity and voluntary association membership. By seeking an alternative explanation for the occurrence of

TABLE 16
Connectivity among leading members, 1904–1906

	Names																		
Names and society	*G*	*L*	*H*	*T*	*K*	*G*	*F*	*S*	*F*	*B*	*B*	*P*	*R*	*E*	*H*	*K*	*M*	*G*	*No.*
Gearing W. T. (BBS)	X																		12
Lusted J. R. (SBS)	3	X																	11
Hillman J. (SBS)	1	–	X																12
Tappin E. L. (CSBS)	1	2	2	X															10
King P. W. (CSBS)	2	2	1	3	X														10
Gearing F. H. (BBS)	2	1	1	1	–	X													7
Flint E. (CSBS)	2	–	1	1	1	2	X												8
Stevenson S. J. (CSBS)	2	–	1	1	1	1	2	X											8
Fenton J. (CSBS)	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	–	X										10
Baker G. T. (BBS)	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	X									5
Briggs J. W. (CBS)	1	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	X								7
Peel G. W. (SBS)	–	1	1	2	2	–	–	1	–	–	–	X							5
Reeves B. (BBS)	2	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	X						5
Errey C. (SBS)	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	X					3
Hillman E. (SBS)	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	X				2
Kemp C. W. (CBS)	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	X			5
Muzzell T. (SBS)	–	1	–	1	1	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	X		4
Glandfield J. T. (SBS)	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	X	2

Abbreviations: Top Row: Initital of surname appears in same order as left hand column. No. column indicates the number of other members to whom the individual is linked.
Sources: SAE and *SWA*.

the annual Lewes Guy Fawkes Night celebration it has been shown that recurrent ceremonial events can provide an opportunity to analyse the dynamic of community living in the past.

Author: James E. Etherington, 56 South Way, Lewes.

Notes

[1] M. Gluckman, *Order and Rebellion in Tribal Africa* (1963); V. W. Turner, *Schism and Continuity in an African Society* (1957) Manchester; R. Frankenberg, *Village on the Border* (1957); B. Bushaway, *By Rite: Custom, Ceremony and Community in England, 1700–1880* (1982), 149; R. D. Storch, *Popular Culture and Custom in Nineteenth Century England* (1982), 2.

[2] R. W. Malcolmson, *Popular Recreation in English Society, 1760–1918* (1973) Cambridge, 52–3.

[3] J. Bernard, *The Sociology of Community* (1973) Glenview; D. W. Minar and S. Greer, *The Concept of Community: Readings with Interpretations* (1969) Chicago; C. Bell and H. Newby, *Community Studies* (1971).

[4] F. Tonnies, *Community and Society* (1957) New York.

[5] M. Stacey, 'Myth of Community Studies', *British Journal of Sociology* **20** (1969), 134–47; M. R. Stein, *The Eclipse of Community* (1972) New Jersey.

[6] For more detail see J. E. Etherington, 'The Sociology of a Recurrent Ceremonial Drama: Lewes Guy Fawkes Night, 1800–1913' (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, The Open Univ, 1987), 447.

[7] For more details see J. E. Etherington, Ph.D. (1987), 447–8.

[8] W. J. Goode, 'Community within a Community: The Professions', *American Sociological Review* **22** (2) (1957), 194–200.

[9] *Sussex Agricultural Express* (Hereafter *SAE*), 8 November 1859.

[10] *SAE*, 8 November 1870.

[11] *SAE*, 9 November 1872.

[12] *SAE*, 9 November 1878.

[13] *East Sussex News*, 11 November 1892.

[14] Interview with W. R. Allen, 1976. Mr Allen was born in February 1900 and lived in Lewes all his life.

[15] D. J. Parkin, *Neighbours and Nationals in an African City Ward* (1969) Berkeley, 68; P. H. Mann, *An Approach to Urban Sociology* (1965), 164; R. Konig, *The Community* (1968), 165.

[16] *SAE*, 8 November 1879.

[17] *SAE*, 8 November 1884.

[18] *SAE*, 7 November 1857 and 8 November 1858.

[19] The 1871 programme of the 'Rising Generation of Borough Bonfire Boys', Lewes Area Library.

[20] G. D. Suttles, *The Social Construction of Communities* (1972) Chicago, 171.

[21] *SAE*, 7 November 1871 and 6 November 1897.

[22] *SAE*, 5 November 1895.

[23] *SAE*, 8 November 1884.

[24] *SAE*, 8 November 1870.

[25] *SAE*, 9 November 1886.

[26] *SAE*, 9 July 1909

[27] For a full discussion of the technique of nominal record linkage see E. A. Wrigley, (ed.), *Identifying People in the Past* (1973).

[28] For the determination of addresses, see J. E. Etherington, Ph.D. (1987), 506–9.

[29] P. H. Mann, *An Approach to Urban Sociology*, (1965), 150–1.

[30] D. J. Parkin, *Neighbours and Nationals*, 61–8; R. Konig, *The Community*, 54–5.

[31] M. Stacey, *Tradition and Change: A Study of Banbury* (1960) Oxford, 104.

[32] No rigorous analysis of working-class housing has been undertaken for this study. Statements that such streets and neighbourhoods existed are based on the occupations of those living there as recorded in the CEBs and a first hand knowledge of the type of housing, much of which survives today.

[33] M. Young and P. Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London* (1962) Harmondsworth; G. Rose, *The Working Class* (1968), Chapter 5. For a critique see J. Platt, *Social Research in Bethnal Green* (1971).

[34] For the social class structure of the bonfire boys see J. E. Etherington, Ph.D. (1987), 361–78.

[35] For a consideration of community rather than class being the motivating source for action see J. E. Etherington, Ph.D. (1987), 473–5.

[36] A considerable body of published work exists relating to the interactional aspects of social networks. See in particular F. E. Katz, 'Social Participation and Social Structure', *Social Forces* (1966), 199–210; J. Boissevain, *Friends of Friends* (1974) Oxford; R. Niemeijer, 'Some Application of the Notion of Density and Network Theory' in *Network Analysis: Studies in Human Interaction*, eds. Boissevain and Mitchell, The Hague (1973), 45–64.

[37] *SAE*, 8 November 1890 and 5 November 1895.

[38] J. E. Etherington, 'A Curious Survival: A Sociological Analysis of the Lewes Bonfire Societies' (unpub. B.Ed. Thesis Univ. of Sussex 1977).

[39] For example, J. and C. Griffee were both Borough Society members active at the same time and although no positive identifying item has been found to establish a family link, a relationship does seem likely.

[40] On the 'Fifth' the societies' headquarters were the focal point of activities, processions frquently commencing in the streets outside. Public houses also provided the venue for social occasions, annual dinners, committee meetings and other gatherings of bonfire boys.

[41] E. Litwak, 'Voluntary Associations and Neighbourhood Cohesion', *American Sociological Review* **26** (2) (1961),

258–71; J. C. Ross, 'Towards a Reconstruction of Voluntary Association Theory' *British Journal of Sociology*, **27** (1972), 20–32.

[42] J. E. Etherington, Ph.D. (1987), 307–8.

[43] *SAE*, 24 November 1906, 9 February 1907 and 24 November 1911.

[44] *SAE*, 12 November 1909, 3 December 1909 and 18 March 1910.

[45] *SAE*, 14 November 1913.

[46] J. E. Etherington, 'Lewes Bonfire Night Celebrations: An incident in their long history' *Sussex History*, **1** (4) Autumn 1977.

[47] J. Boissevain, *Friends of Friends* (1974), 178.

[48] P. Craven and B. Wellman, 'The Network City', *Sociological Enquiry*, **43** 3–4, (1973), 80–3.

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Sussex Archaeological Collections **128** (1990), 225–242

'DRASTIC MEASURES FOR STURDY LOAFERS' BRIGHTON GUARDIANS AND THE ABLE-BODIED MEN IN THE WORKHOUSE 1909–1914

by John Jacobs

The number of inmates in the Brighton Workhouse fell from 1,809 on 1 January 1909, the highest it had ever been, to 1,375 on 1 January 1914, a fall of 24 per cent. In seeking to account for this large reduction this article examines the steps taken by the Guardians in the context of contemporary Poor Law policies and practices, and concludes that the reforms instigated by the Guardians were a case study in 'blaming the victim.'

TOO MANY PAUPERS

In 1908 the Guardians of the Poor in the parish of Brighton were alarmed to find themselves the subject of press speculation that they may have been 'too lavish in poor relief'.[1] The question arose because Brighton had a far higher proportion of paupers dependent on them than either Sussex or England and Wales. Whereas the figure for Sussex on 1 January 1908 was 30.3 per 1,000 population and that for England and Wales was 26.6, the figure for Brighton was 43.1.[2] With the local press asking ominously 'Is Brighton Too Benignant?', the Guardians decided to act. Over the next six years the number of outdoor paupers fell by 1,217 (56 per cent), the number in the workhouse fell by 434 (24 per cent),[3] leaving Brighton at the end of the period with a rate per thousand of 28.3, still higher than either Sussex or England and Wales, but only by 7 and 8 per thousand respectively.[4] This paper principally examines that part of the change which relates to the reduction of those in the workhouse.

The Numbers

Table 1 shows the sharp fall in the numbers of paupers relieved in Brighton between 1909 and 1914.[5] As the numbers being relieved in January 1909 were the highest ever recorded in Brighton, the change is all the more remarkable as it reverses what had been an inexorable annual rise from the beginning of the century. Poor law relief carried with it many penalties; for many of the indoor paupers the price was enforced incarceration in the workhouse, with the attendant loss of liberties and dignity, and the splitting up of families in segregated wards; for those on outdoor relief (except where it was given on medical grounds) there was disfranchisement, and for both there was the stigma of being 'on the parish'. At least as far as those on outdoor relief were concerned these large reductions denoted a sea-change in the way paupers were dealt with and heralded the dawn of the welfare state.

Outdoor Relief

The main reduction occurred in those on outdoor relief, for which the explanation is relatively straightforward and owes little to the efforts of the Brighton Guardians. There can be no doubt that the main reason was the 1908 Old Age Pensions Act, which was widely credited with the fall in the numbers of those on outdoor relief in the country as a whole.

TABLE 1
Number receiving Poor Law relief in Brighton on 1st January in each year. (The figures exclude those in institutions other than the workhouse and the workhouse school).

	Indoor relief	*Outdoor relief*	*Total*
1909	1,809	2,154	3,963
1910	1,702	1,997	3,699
1911	1,676	2,003	3,679
1912	1,513	1,180	2,693
1913	1,494	1,017	2,511
1914	1,375	937	2,312

The Act was first introduced at the beginning of 1909, but the effects on paupers took over two more years to come into play. The Act had been the subject of heated debate for many years before coming into force, and when it was finally born the conditions attached to the receipt of the pension reflected its controversial gestation. Protagonists of the pension had argued passionately for it precisely because they saw it as the only way of keeping future generations of old people out of the Poor Law. Those opposed argued that the giving of a pension to which the pensioner had contributed nothing would lead to the abandonment of thrift, since there would be less reason to save for one's old age.

The resolution of this conflict was a political compromise. The pension was paid to those over 70, subject to a test of means and, to distinguish the deserving from the thriftless, subject also to a test of character, so that anyone in receipt of parish relief was ineligible. This prohibition was lifted with effect from the beginning of 1911, leading to a sharp rise in the number of pensioners after that date.[6] The pension was worth a maximum of 5*s* a week, depending on means, which, meagre as it was, was enough to make the difference for thousands of people between applying for parish relief and not. The effects were instantaneous; in the combined areas of Kent and Sussex there were 28 per cent fewer on outdoor relief in the first week of February 1911 than in the first week of December 1910.[7] Nationally the number of all paupers on outdoor relief fell by 24 per cent between the summer of 1910 and 1911.[8]

In January 1911 the Clerk to the Guardians reported that of those over 70 in Brighton who had been in receipt of outdoor relief 431 had been granted pensions, with some additional cases deferred for later decisions.[9] Table 2 shows the effects on outdoor relief in Brighton.[10] While the overall fall was 40 per cent between July 1910 and July 1911, the fall among adult men and women was 50 per cent; children under 16 fell by only 10 per cent, showing that the reduction took place among older adults with few dependent children.

Confirmation of the effect of the pension can be seen in the recommendation of the Guardians' General Purposes Committee that the number of medical districts for outdoor relief purposes in Brighton be reduced from four to three. Reporting to the Guardians in December 1912 they based the recommendation on

> the reduced number of cases at present in receipt of Out Relief, as compared with the number prior to the operation of the Old

TABLE 2
Number in each category receiving outdoor relief in Brighton on 1st July 1910 and 1st July 1911, showing the effect of the introduction of the old age pension.

	Men	*Women*	*Children*	*Lunatics*	*Total*
1910	297	932	440	89	1,758
1911	146	459	395	51	1,051
Reduction	51%	51%	10%	43%	40%

> Age Pensions Act 1908, viz; 1,034 on the 31st December 1910 with 546 on the 16th November 1912 . . .[11]

Some of the reduction may have been the result of the Guardian's tighter administration, but there can be no doubt that the halving of the numbers of adult outdoor paupers in Brighton was largely due to the coming of old age pensions.

Indoor Relief

The reduction in the numbers within the workhouse is less easy to explain. The workhouse records are incomplete; we have the annual totals at 1 January and 1 July each year,[12] and we have more detailed records from April 1910 to September 1912, and again from July 1914 onwards.[13] Fig. 1 shows the numbers of inmates in the classifications given in the returns, from which it seems that broadly speaking there was a relatively fixed base of non-able-bodied men and women, who would be the old, the sick, and the feeble-minded, while the fluctuations in the total numbers were largely caused by the comings and goings of the able-bodied inmates, particularly the men.[14] As we shall see later, the term 'able-bodied' needs to be treated with considerable caution. The seasonal variations are clearly in evidence as the men came in the winter and left in the summer, and over the whole period there is a jerky downward trend. While it is clear that the overall reduction was largely the

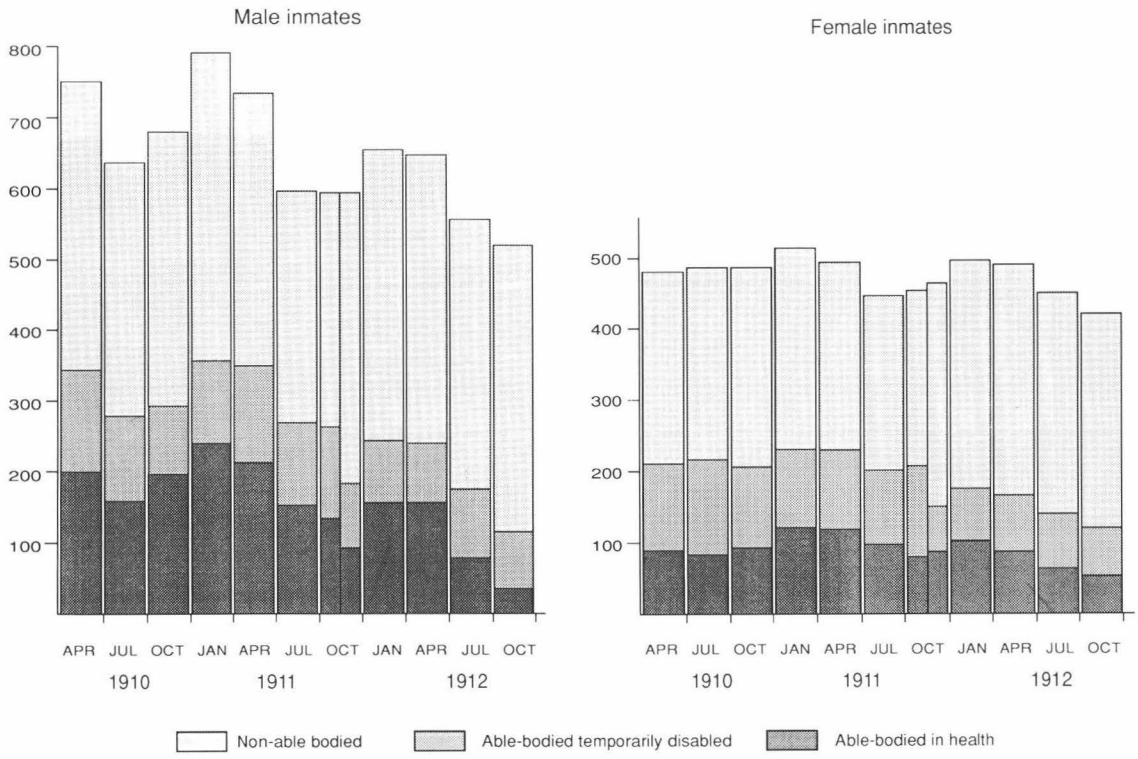

Fig. 1 Inmates in Brighton workhouse on the 1st day of each quarter 1910–1912.
Note: The classification changed in October 1911, from when all men aged 60+ were no longer classified as able-bodied. The number of women assigned to each category changed and 12 women were added to the total presumably reclassified from being 'children'.

result of a fall in the numbers of able-bodied men it remains to explain why this particular fall occurred.

Old age pensions had little effect on the numbers in the workhouse. As Mr W. D. Bushell, the LGB Inspector for Kent and Sussex wrote at the time,

> the proponderance of well-informed opinion seems to be to the effect that no substantial reduction [in indoor pauperism] can be expected from this cause. It must be remembered that workhouse inmates over 70 years of age are generally persons who need care, as being either sick or infirm. The case where these aged people have no near relation, or none who are in a position to give sufficient time to their care, will not be less numerous than before.[15]

His returns for Kent and Sussex show a reduction of only 62 people, less than one half of one per cent, among workhouse inmates between December 1910 and February 1911.[16] In Brighton despite there being 375 inmates over the age of 70 at the end of 1910,[17] only ten men and six women left the House in January 1911[18] as a result of qualifying for a pension, and the number of non-able-bodied inmates in April 1911 was only about 6 per cent down on April 1910.[19]

Following the reform of the Poor Law in 1834 the workhouse had several different functions; it was where the able-bodied pauper was set to work under conditions of 'less-eligibility' to induce him to stay outside; a refuge for the old and infirm; an asylum for the feeble-minded; a general hospital for the sick pauper; a maternity hospital, and a hospital for those suffering from venereal disease. This combination of a frankly deterrent institution for the able-bodied and a general refuge for the old and sick was a constant source of problems to those administering the workhouses. In particular the able-bodied male pauper had long been the thorn in the side of the Poor Law authorities. The Report of the enquiry into the Poor Law in 1832 which culminated in the Poor Law Amendment Act advocated policies which were designed specifically to rid the workhouse of this particular group of inmates in the belief that they could all find work outside if they chose. Motivated by the same beliefs, in 1909 the Brighton Guardians singled out the able-bodied pauper as the main target for their reforms. We shall examine their attitudes towards the able-bodied pauper, the policies adopted, and whether it was these policies which drove them out of the House.

THE GUARDIANS' REFORMS

Faced with the unwelcome realisation that they had too many paupers the Guardians acted swiftly. In June 1909 they set up a Special Committee to examine the administration of poor relief in the parish. In September it presented figures to show that, in January 1908, at 17.4 per 1,000 of the population, the rate of *indoor* pauperism in Brighton was over twice that of England and Wales (8.2) and very nearly twice that of Sussex (9.2).[20] Furthermore, the proportion of indoor paupers classed as *able-bodied* in Brighton (5.3) was nearly four times that per 1,000 of the population in England and Wales (1.5), and nearly three times that in Sussex (2.1). This, it claimed, 'is very excessive', adding

> whilst admitting that a considerable number of those so classed are not physically fit for hard manual labour, your Committee is convinced that a large proportion (the majority of whom have wives and children dependent upon them) are nothing more than loafers, as a rule strong and healthy men, having no trade and a strong dislike for work.[21]

Such was the unanimous opinion of the solicitor, the vicar, the wine merchant, the hotelier and the wife of a furniture dealer who made up the Special Committee.

Having ascertained that the average weekly number of able-bodied inmates over the preceding six months was 203, only 20 of whom had been employed on task work, the rest having

been employed about the House on routine maintenance work, they recommended both an increase in the numbers set to do task work and an increase in the tasks required. All able-bodied inmates were to be classified as either Class 1, men of previously good character or physically unfit to do task work, who were to be employed on work about the House, or Class 2, men of 'bad or indifferent character, or who constantly take their discharge from the Workhouse without sufficient reason' who were to be put upon task work. Punishment for refusal to do the allotted task was to consist of being put on a punishment diet, with persistent refusal dealt with by prosecution, for refusal to work made one vulnerable to the criminal charge of being an 'idle and disorderly person' under the Vagrancy Act of 1824.

To prevent the paupers from evading their tasks, the Committee recommended that all able-bodied inmates should be detained in the workhouse after they had given notice of their intention to leave, up to the legal maximum of one week. In addition, they reduced the diet of the able-bodied and banned smoking for all except those engaged on particularly unpleasant work in the House. These were, as the *Brighton Herald* gleefully reported, 'drastic measures for idle loafers.'[22]

Work in the Workhouse

The issue of the purpose and nature of work in the workhouse was problematic, both ideologically and administratively. Sometimes work was seen as the main instrument of punishment and deterrence, sometimes as a means of ensuring that the paupers 'paid' for their keep by their labour, almost always it was seen to serve the purpose of maintaining the life of the institution, and it might also be seen as a means of cheap labour when non-routine repairs or extensions needed doing; as such it could also be seen as depriving outside labourers of jobs and thus creating yet more unemployment. The potential for conflict between these purposes is obvious, and such conflicts often arose in practice.

The administrative problems arose in deciding which men should be given punitive task work and which the easier maintenance jobs, and also in enforcing the task work. Despite these difficulties, once the Special Committee had decided that the problem lay with the 'loafers' it was inevitable that they should call for harder task work.

Task work.

Task work was meant to deter the able-bodied from entering the House. The ideological problem with such work was that if it succeeded in deterring all but the genuinely destitute, who by definition would have no other means of maintaining themselves and their families, what justification could there be for imposing punitive tasks on such as these? The harder the tasks, so the Guardians believed, the more likely those who could possibly leave would leave, which had the unfortunate consequence of making the punishment all the more inappropriate for those that remained.

Ten months before the reforms of the Special Committee the Guardians had already taken steps to increase the tasks imposed.[23] They did so as an express measure to deal with the problem of the 'ins and outs'. In November 1908 the Chairman of the Workhouse Visiting Committee, Councillor Geere, produced a list of inmates who were discharging themselves from the Workhouse too often 'without sufficient reason.'[24] It included three men who had been in and out of the House between 40 and 50 times in the previous year, and he claimed that the average number of admissions and discharges of the highest 20 men on his list was 36. It seems very unlikely that it could have been that high given the other examples he cited. Moreover, he claimed that the men were leaving for frivolous reasons.

> They do not go out for any good purpose. In many cases they go only to "cadge" from friends who are better off than they are, or else to beg from the general public.

Another Guardian claimed that they only went out to watch a football match or the conveniently placed Brighton races, and that 'these men can get a living outside if they are only given work in the House which they don't like.'

Acting on these beliefs, they decided to increase the then current task of breaking 7 cwt of granite to 10 cwt. They also agreed that the alternative tasks should be the pounding of 2 cwt of granite or the picking of 4 lb of beaten oakum, which were in fact the same as the tasks already in force. In addition they decided to detain the persistent 'ins and outs' for a week.

These measures met with the instant approval of the local press, who lost no time in embellishing the belief that the inmates were not only loafers but parasites living a life of luxury at the ratepayers' expense, as the following report in the *Brighton Herald* on 7 November 1908 demonstrates.

> In the Brighton Workhouse there are (sic) a class of able-bodied persons of luxurious habit. They are known as Ins and Outs and use their workhouse as an hotel. They toil not neither do they spin. They only sponge. When, as an 'In', a thirst comes upon them, they become an 'Out'. They take their discharge and sponge upon old friends, or beg from those who have not the distinction of coming under that category. Having slaked their thirst, and temporarily exhausted their sources of revenue they return to the work—we beg their pardon, their hotel.

The report continues in this vein for some time, and ends with this extraordinary sentence, revealing the depth of loathing which the writer felt and presumably thought would not be seen as anything out of the ordinary by his readers.

> Some of these gentry need the repose of a lethal chamber rather than of the workhouse.

Less than a year after these increases, on the recommendation of the Special Committee, the Guardians gave the Master the discretion to increase the amount of stone to be broken to 15 cwt, to double the amount of stone to be pounded from 2 to 4 cwt, and to increase the amount of unbeaten oakum to be picked from 4 to 6 lbs.[25] All but one of the 19 Guardians present voted for the reforms.

The Press Approves

Given the place which the able-bodied male pauper had in the demonology of the popular press, it was no surprise that the reforms were hailed as long-overdue by the local papers. We have seen the terms of the headlines in which the *Brighton Herald* welcomed the changes. In their editorial comment they commended the Guardians for their reforms which would ensure that 'shirkers are to be roped off and to be compelled to do a fair day's work' and 'Weary Willie and Tired Tim will no longer get pork and vegetables for their Sunday dinner.'[26] Three days later they again reported favourably on the changes, this time under the headline 'Short Shrift for Shirkers', with the sub-headline 'Guardians Stop Loafers' Luxuries.' The *Sussex Daily News*, under the headline 'Brighton "Loafers"' reported that 'things were to become less pleasant for these gentry. They are to work harder and live less luxuriously'.[27]

'NOTHING MORE THAN LOAFERS'?

Were the Guardians justified in singling out the able-bodied men as the target for their reforms?

They were right to identify them as a special category within the House. While Cllr Geere was reporting on the extremes in his list of 'ins and outs' it was the case that the able-bodied were much more likely to come and go at frequent intervals than were other groups of inmates. From April to September 1911 there was an average daily number of 156 able-bodied inmates in the House; this group generated 648 admissions and 720 discharges over the six months. Over the same period the average daily number of 339 non able-bodied men, a much larger group, generated more or less the same

number of admissions and discharges, 699 and 794 respectively.[28] Being a much more mobile group the able-bodied men were a likely target for the reforms.

The main reason they were singled out, however, was the prevailing views held about them by the Guardians. How justified were these views? To answer this question I propose to consider the evidence about the potential employability of the able-bodied, the prevailing economic conditions, the policies relating to detention in the workhouse and outdoor relief and the alternative sources of assistance open to these men.

How Able Were The Able-Bodied?

The assumptions behind the measures adopted by the Guardians were that they were dealing with 'loafers, as a rule strong and healthy men,' yet the evidence suggests that such men were generally neither strong nor healthy.

The Royal Commission on the Poor Laws which reported in 1909 set up an enquiry by Dr Parsons into the physical condition of the able-bodied inmates in selected workhouses. He reported;

> For practically all ages above 21 the average measurements of height, weight and circumference of chest are considerably below the standard average for all classes in Gt. Britain. In about half the cases the weight is considerably below the worst averages recorded by the Anthropometric Committee, viz., the averages given for artisans, whilst in height practically all of them are below the average height of artisans. Not only that, but the [weight to height ratio] is less than the standard in nearly all cases, showing that the inmates are not only stunted in growth, but poorly nourished.[29]

His stark conclusion was that

> the best of the work-house inmates I examined, taken as a whole, are physically worse developed than the worst of the ordinary population.[30]

These were his findings in relation to the élite among the able-bodied; he also found 'men suffering from some physical or mental defect rendering it impossible for them to support themselves',[31] who had nevertheless been classed as able-bodied.

The Royal Commission also cited a report from their West Midlands Inspector[32] claiming that out of the 6.079 male paupers under 60 in his area in December 1905 only 216 (3.5 per cent) were considered by him to be able to earn a living, and that in 1906 the masters of the London workhouses considered that only 37.2 per cent of their so-called able-bodied inmates were capable of doing a full day's hard work.[33]

Local information was gathered by Mr J. W. Thompson, then the Local Government Board Inspector with responsibility for Sussex and Kent. He reported that he had asked every workhouse master in the district how many able-bodied male inmates on 1 January 1910 were 'fit for a full day's hard work' and 'capable of earning his own living.'

> From the information supplied it appears that there were on that day 1,533 men on 1 or 1a diets [i.e. who were classified as able-bodied] of whom 637 or 42% were in the opinion of the master capable of doing a hard day's work and 803 or 52% (inclusive of the above 637) were capable of earning their own living.[34]

He also noted the wide variations in the replies; some masters claimed that 80 per cent of their men were capable while others claimed 20 per cent, and in one large union even as little as 10 per cent. He concluded

> There is one fact, however, that stands out clearly as a result of the information, and that is that an exceedingly large proportion of those classed (for diet) as able-bodied would not be capable of earning their own living. And from personal observation when inspecting I am inclined to think that the number of those so capable would probably turn out to be much smaller than the estimate given by most of the masters in the

statement to which I have alluded.[35]

The insight into the conditions of the men did not, however, prevent him from praising in the same report the harsh measures adopted by Brighton. He saw no contradiction in recognising the inability of most so-called able-bodied men to earn their own living and hounding them with severe task work and a worse diet to drive them out of the workhouse.

This ability to ignore the condition of the men and to resort to reliance on mythology is even more marked in the case of the Brighton Guardians themselves. The Guardians undertook periodic reviews of all the inmates to see if they could persuade some to leave, or find relatives who could be required to contribute towards maintenance costs, or to remove some to other unions in cases where the pauper's settlement was in question. In April 1907 they had received the following report of the 'call-over' from their Workhouse Visiting Committee.

> Your committee regret to state that the majority of the large number interviewed by them were too feeble to give any tangible information as to their previous history which might affect their settlement in Brighton, and for the same reason their chance of living outside the Workhouse was beyond the question of consideration.
>
> The regrettable feature was and is the large number of inmates classed as able-bodied, many of them however being altogether of an unemployable class. It must be borne in mind that many of the so-called able-bodied are only nominally so, a large number of them being either physically or mentally deficient though otherwise enjoying good health.[36]

Two years later these same Guardians were calling such men strong and healthy loafers.

Prevailing economic conditions

There is little doubt that the period around 1908 and 1909 was one of severe unemployment nationally and in Brighton, where one of the main causes was a slump in the building trades. Unemployment had already been a major national issue for several years, and had resulted in the Unemployed Workmen's Act of 1905, which established Distress Committees in all major urban areas as a way of dealing with unemployment. Table 3 gives the figures of those applying to Distress Committees outside London, showing the winter of 1908/9 with by far the highest number of applicants, indicating high unemployment.[37]

This is confirmed by the report of the LGB Inspector with responsibility for Sussex and Kent. In his report for 1911 he wrote;

> Figures for the third week of December 1908, 1909 and 1910 show, what is also confirmed by general impression, that distress in the winters of 1909/10 and 1910/11 has been substantially less than in the winter of 1908/9.[38]

TABLE 3
Numbers applying to Distress Committees in England and Wales outside London

1905–6	74,107
1906–7	58,820
1907–8	57,433
1908–9	147,518
1909–10	85,223
1910–11	46,960
1911–12	33,308
1912–13	27,235

TABLE 4
Numbers applying to the Brighton Distress Committee

1905–6	2,050
1906–7	1,992
1907–8	1,929
1908–9	2,659
1909–10	1,994
1910–11	1,766
1911–12	1,359
1912–13	1,281

Turning to Brighton we can see from the applications to the Distress Committee shown in Table 4 that 1908/9 stands out as the worst year of those shown.[39] The Brighton and District Trades Council were so concerned that they led deputations to the Town Council, the Guardians and the Distress Committee. The leader of the deputation, Mr W. Evans from the Brighton Labour Party, appealed to the Committee to send special deputations to all local bodies

> emphasizing the phenomenal character of distress, and urging on these bodies the urgent necessity of at once putting in hand adequate work to meet the difficulty.[40]

The Guardians could have been in no doubt that in the winter of 1908/9 unemployment was exceptionally high. They had particular occasion to be aware of what was coming because in August 1908 they accommodated 132 'hunger marchers' from London in the casual wards of the workhouse.[41] It was against such an economic background that they decided on their reforms.

POOR LAW POLICIES: THE PARADOX OF DETENTION

The workhouse was intended to deter able-bodied paupers from entering, yet there were other policies which, paradoxically, worked to detain the able-bodied inmate in the institution against his will.

The Guardians had no power to refuse entry to the workhouse for those presenting themselves as destitute. They could, however, use their discretionary powers to detain inmates for up to a week to prevent them from, in the extreme case, discharging themselves every morning and returning every evening, thereby avoiding their tasks. As we have seen, they were used to curb the activities of the 'ins and outs', and were already being used extensively by the Brighton Guardians before September 1909. In November 1908 53 inmates were subject to a restriction order and during the course of the following year orders were made in a further 83 cases, 67 against men and 16 against women.[42] In the year following the reforms, despite the 'get-tough' policy, only 57 orders were issued.

All those to whom this order applied were being incarcerated against their will. In effect, they were undergoing a week's imprisonment, often with hard labour, because they were a nuisance to the Poor Law authorities. While the hoped for longer-term effect was that it would discourage the paupers from using the workhouse, in the short term it meant that some men and women were in the workhouse against their wishes.

More importantly, there was another set of linked policies which worked to create reluctant detainees. The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 had prohibited the giving of out-door relief to the able-bodied pauper. This prohibition was crucial to the new Poor Law, since it was only by making relief for the able-bodied conditional on entering the workhouse that the full power of deterrence could be brought to bear. Its importance was re-affirmed in the Poor Law Relief Regulation Order of 1911, which began with the declaration that 'the Guardians of a Poor-Law Union shall not afford relief other than institutional relief',[43] though exceptions were allowed in the case of those seeking only medical relief and in the case of widows or deserted wives (provided that they did not have any illegitimate children after their widowhood or separation!).[44]

Moreover, if the House was offered to the able-bodied pauper it *had to be offered to his family also*. The 1911 Order re-affirmed the existing policy, that 'institutional relief shall only be afforded to any such person *together with such of his family as may be resident with him and dependent on him for support*.'[45] This policy was meant to act as a 'test' of the applicant's destitution, but when a man was without means it ensured that the numbers in the workhouse would be further increased by the inclusion of his family.

This policy also worked to prevent the men and their families from leaving the House. The

fear that men would leave the workhouse 'leaving their wives and children chargeable to the Parish' meant that Guardians were reluctant to allow men out to look for work unless they took their whole family with them. In February 1907, 18 married inmates raised the issue with the Brighton board.

> We the undersigned married inmates of this institution respectfully beg to petition the Board to ask if you cannot use your discretionary powers in giving us permission to leave the House for a specified period, without our families, to enable us to endeavour to find employment.
>
> You must all be aware of the want of facilities of obtaining work while here and the extreme difficulty a man has with a family on his discharge to obtain the necessary sleeping accommodation for himself and his family even if he has the means at hand. His whole time is spent in this one endeavour, his first consideration, and is often the cause of his returning the same day.
>
> Our aim is to obtain the necessary funds to enable us once more to get a fresh start in life and so relieve the Guardians of the custody of our families.[46]

Again, it was men such as these who were being branded as 'nothing more than loafers' two years later by Guardians who, on the occasion of the presentation of the petition, voted by 16 to 0 to ignore it.

In fact the Guardians did allow some inmates out to look for work, leaving their families behind. From the beginning of 1909 to the end of 1912 there were 169 applications to leave the House leaving children chargeable.[47] The Guardians consented to 83 and refused consent to 86. Even requests for just one day's leave of absence were sometimes refused. If the applicant had a definite job to go to, as opposed to a general wish to go out and look for work, he was more likely to be given permission. In the case of the few women concerned the key variable working against their being given consent was having illegitimate children. For example, in June 1912 Florence Bradick applied to leave the House taking one of her five children with her but leaving the others, for whom she offered to pay at the rate of 4*s* per child per week. She had the definite offer of a job at the Grand Hotel, but when the Clerk 'informed the Committee that the whole of Bradick's children were illegitimate', Bradick's application was not granted.[48]

Two other women, however, with legitimate children, were favourably treated relative to the men. These found themselves jobs away from Brighton and were allowed to leave their children in the Warren Farm Schools more or less indefinitely on condition that they sent 2*s* a week towards the costs.[49]

Strict adherence to the principle of no outdoor relief can be seen in these applications. One woman who was not in the House applied to have her child admitted so that she could take up an offer of employment; she was refused.[50] One man who was in the House applied to take himself and family out on condition that the Guardians agreed to make an order granting him out-relief but again they refused.[51]

Sometimes the inmates took matters into their own hands and simply absconded, or, having been given leave of absence, failed to return at the due time. Both were offences under the Vagrancy Act 1824, and throughout this period the Brighton Guardians applied to the courts for warrants against missing paupers at a steady rate of about six or so each year.[52] It was a matter they treated very seriously, even to the extent of offering rewards of a guinea in the local papers for information leading to arrests.

Together, these policies of refusing to give the able-bodied outdoor relief, insisting that they bring their families in with them, often refusing to allow them out to look for work and pursuing unlawful absentees through the courts combined to give destitute men and women little choice but to enter the House and then made it very difficult for them to leave again. It may have seemed ironic to these reluctant detainees to find

themselves being blamed for being in the workhouse.

Alternative Sources of Help

Given the relative unemployability of the men and the shortage of work available, what alternatives were there other than the Poor Law?

National Insurance, against both sickness and unemployment, was not introduced until 1911, and no benefits were paid until January 1913. Before then workers in certain trade unions and friendly societies might have had some insurance, but the kinds of workers who made up the bulk of the inmates of the workhouse would scarcely have been affected by either. There were in any case only about 700,000 men covered by such schemes in the whole country in 1909.[53]

The main formal source of help was the Distress Committee, set up under the 1905 Unemployed Workmen Act. It was a sub-committee of Brighton Town Council composed of Councillors and Guardians and had very limited powers. It could keep a register of all those who applied to it for work, and it could seek to find work for them, which the Brighton one did almost exclusively by asking the Town Council to provide a programme of works. The funding was supposed to have been supplied entirely by voluntary contribution, but after the first year a small sum of money, around £200,000 per year for the whole country, was provided by the Local Government Board towards the cost of wages. Wages were not allowed to be paid for out of the rates, even when work was being done for the Council. Its limitations were fatal to its effectiveness, and were openly acknowledged, not least by the Committee itself.

The Act prescribed that in order to qualify for assistance an applicant must be 'honestly desirous of obtaining work' and his case should be 'capable of more suitable treatment under the Act than under the Poor Law.' To these conditions the LGB added that the applicant must be 'of good character', with special preference given to those who had in the past been 'regularly employed, well-conducted and thrifty'. These conditions were meant to limit such work as was available to the deserving unemployed.[54]

It was widely acknowledged that the Distress Committees were able to offer the unemployed little help, and the Brighton Committee was no exception. Addressing a meeting of the Ratepayers Association in Brighton in 1907 Mr Donovan, who was both a member of the Committee and a Guardian, said

> Unfortunately, the work the Distress Committee could offer only touched the fringe of the poverty and distress in the town. They could not employ more than 250 men at one time, and at the very outside they could not employ a man more than one week out of five.[55]

Men were offered work one week at a time; from the annual reports of the Committee[56] we know that the average number of weeks' work offered to each man in the winters of 1905/6 to 1909/10 were respectively 3, 2.7, 2.5, 4, and 2.4., confirming Donovan's claim that the Distress Committee could only touch the fringe of poverty. It could not offer the means to keep men out of the workhouse.

Outdoor Relief: the 'Test' House

The only other source of public help potentially available to the able-bodied unemployed apart from the workhouse was outdoor relief, which could only be given in exceptional circumstances. The only way in which the Guardians could have given outdoor relief was by providing 'test' work at the House. This differed from the usual offer of the House in that if the man performed the test work then outdoor relief could be given to his family, and he need only be present at the House during the day.

In the winter of 1905/6 the Brighton Guardians did provide test work because of the exclusion of those who had been in receipt of parish relief from the help of the Distress Committees. The task consisted of picking feathers from 8.30 a.m. to 4.30 p.m. This suggests that the ordinary task work of the

House was not considered to be suitable for these men, who were, according to one Guardian:–'not professional unemployed, but were ready and willing to work.'[57]

The work was on offer from the end of November until the end of March, during which time 31 families comprising 171 persons were relieved. The maximum amount of relief granted to any one family in any one week was 10*s* 7½*d* (for a family of 6 persons) and the minimum 6*s* 0½*d* (for a family of 4). In addition to these very small sums there would have been an allowance in kind.[58]

The following year, and thereafter, the Guardians refused to re-open the test house. The arguments for renewing the scheme were the same as before; the arguments against the scheme centred on the difficulty of finding suitable work; the Guardians agreed that feather picking was 'unmanly', 'stupid', and 'not proper employment for able-bodied men', but they were unable to provide an alternative. The work was also deemed 'unproductive', with the Clerk claiming that 'they could not regard the relief as wages for work done, it was relief pure and simple.'[59]

In rejecting it the Guardians were closing the only option they had of making outdoor relief available to the able-bodied men.

Charity

This left only charity. The irony was that the establishment of the Distress Committees had dried up the very source of funds upon which they were to have depended. Wages for work done were to have been paid entirely out of voluntary donations, and in this way it was intended that indiscriminate almsgiving to the unemployed was to have been checked and brought into a well-disciplined scheme. Reviewing the success of the Committees in achieving this objective and in raising funds for the unemployed the Majority Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws commented;

> In so far as the new bodies collected the money and focused the efforts of charity, their action has undoubtedly been beneficial. But unfortunately the success of the new bodies in attracting the help of charity has become less and less.[60]

The annual sums collected nationally by the Distress Committees fell from £105,000 in the first year to £36,000 in the second and a miserly £7,800 in the third. The Royal Commission attributed the fall entirely to the fact that, because the money raised by voluntary subscription was nowhere near adequate, an exchequer grant of £200,000 was paid after the first year of the scheme.

> Charitable contributions have practically ceased, and a further object-lesson has been afforded of the truth that the charitable public will not easily or largely contribute towards purposes for which money is compulsorily taken from them by means of rates or taxes.[61]

The truth was rather that charitable contributions, even at £105,000 were insufficient to make any impression on the problem.

Charity in Brighton also quickly waned. In the first year of the operation of the Act the Mayor's Relief Fund, the medium through which the voluntary contributions were directed, raised £1,350. In each of the following years the amounts raised and used directly to fund the work of the Distress Committee were £990, £500, £1,100 (in the winter of 1908/9) and £850.[62]

In addition to the direct contribution to the wages of the men the Mayor's Fund also dispensed driblets of charity in the form of 1*s* tickets, which could be used to buy groceries. In the first year the sums dispensed amounted to £150, thereafter the figure was usually nearer £100. About 10 tons of coal were also distributed in 1 cwt lots, and around 1,000 bread tickets. (In the winter of 1908/9 a further lucky 825 men received tickets for free meals on condition that they attended the services conducted by the Rev. E. Aldon French at the Dome.)[63] The sums raised by charity in Brighton were never anything more than of marginal consequence.

Emigration

One other option was open to the men, at least for a while. The Distress Committee had the power to assist men to emigrate, but, having had its fingers burnt, it soon turned against this remedy. In the first year it sponsored six men and their families and in the following year 28. The arrangement was that the Committee would pay for the expenses and the men would repay once they were settled in Canada. However, hardly anyone did repay, which led it to conclude in 1908 that 'it was not advisable that any more applications should be entertained.'[64] Only one other man was helped to emigrate in the next three years.

The Guardians could also help with emigration, and in January 1906 ten able-bodied inmates were helped to go to Canada.[65] In March the Trades Council wrote to the Guardians vigorously deploring the use of emigration as a means of solving the unemployment problem,[66] but they need not have worried. After 1906 applications fell to about two or three a year, and were either from women wishing to take their children with them, or from children. Emigration as a solution to the problem of pauperism in Brighton was a non-starter.

BLAMING THE VICTIM

We began by asking whether the Guardians were justified in taking such apparently harsh measures against the able-bodied inmates. They knew the able-bodied were poor employment prospects, that unemployment was high, that their own policies worked against the men staying out of the House and made if difficult for them to leave, and that there were precious few alternatives for the destitute on the outside. Nevertheless, they ignored these facts which were well known to them and chose instead to blame the victim for his misfortune.

Such an analysis would not have been unfamiliar to some of the Guardians who argued against the majority approach. In April 1907 one of Guardians, Cllr Heun, argued that many of the inmates could have been prevented from entering the House if they had been offered outdoor relief.[65] At the meeting where the special report was adopted Cllr Jarvis, the only dissenting voice, argued that as many as 300 inmates could be released if only they could be given 5*s* a week outdoor relief.[68]

Alternative solutions were offered, in particular that task work should be discontinued. Throughout this period there were constant debates among the Guardians on the issue of suitable work for the inmates, which were the showground where they paraded their beliefs about the nature of the men.

The undisputed champion of task work was Mr Tindall, a Brighton hotelier. In February 1910 he moved a motion aimed at preventing paupers from doing any repair or maintenance work in the House, thus leaving them more available for task work. He pointed out that there was a regulation which required any work over the value of £50 to be put out to tender, and that

> the system of setting the inmates to do the Workhouse repairs was most objectionable when there were honest working men tramping about the streets trying to get a job.[69]

Both these points were reasonable, but the other pressing motive for his suggestion was that he believed all pauper inmates were loafers for whom only task work was suitable. He described the workhouse as a 'huge temple of sloth and a palace of idleness',[70] and in a letter to the local press, in which he claimed that there was only one able-bodied inmate of good character, followed up his contention by saying that the aim of his motion was to discourage

> a class of disreputable and lazy vagabonds (for whom the Workhouse should not be intended) to make it their hotel.[71]

In October 1911, reporting a debate on a proposal to exempt all men over the age of 60 from task work, the *Brighton Herald* wrote;

> No one would object to those of good character being excused from task work, but

> Mr. Tindall was afraid that there are none of good character at the workhouse.[72]

Against such opinions were ranged the views of those who argued that task work was degrading and unsuitable for those who were in the House through little fault of their own. The debates arose whenever there was any suggestion of using pauper labour for relatively major works, such as redecorating. In one such debate in June 1910 Mr Pocock

> denounced the attitude of the Board towards the inmates as scandalous and cruel, in that the Board assumes that the inmates are worthless and should be put only to the criminal tasks of stone-pounding and oakum picking.[73]

A month later he sought to overturn the measures introduced by the Special Committee, but to the delight of the *Brighton Herald,* who reported the meeting under the headline 'Pocock Pines to Pamper the Paupers', he failed by a margin of 17 votes to six. During the debate he argued that 'the Guardians have no right to punish a man just because he is destitute.'

> It is a serious loss to the ratepayers generally that the men are not allowed to do any other work but this [oakum picking and stone pounding], and it is a libel on the inmates to say that they are loafing, lazy scoundrels who won't work. They *will* work if the Guardians given them the opportunity.[74]

The Guardians were split on the issue. Whenever there was a motion to give workhouse maintenance work to outside contractors it was defeated, but the motion to ease up on task work was also defeated by much the same margin. The majority of the Guardians were thus simultaneously able to endorse the giving of task work and the giving of 'real' work, which of necessity took men away from punitive tasks.

DID THE REFORMS WORK?

As we can see in Figure 1 there is no doubt that from 1909 onwards the numbers of able-bodied men in the House fell so that by October 1912 there were only 38. How much can this fall be attributed to the success of the Guardians' tougher measures? Certainly Mr. Tindall was quick to claim that the reforms had worked. In a letter to the *Brighton Herald* in March 1910 he claimed:–

> Last week the numbers in the Workhouse were more than 100 lower than the corresponding week of last year. There were 80 more than last year in the Workhouse who were over 60 years of age; consequently there must be a reduction of 180 in those under 60.[75]

In July 1910 he claimed that

> previous to the scheme being put in force the average increase weekly of the able-bodied inmates over that of the previous year had been 35. The moment the scheme started there was a decrease of 135 on the preceding year.[76]

Establishing the accuracy of these claims is problematic as no detailed records exist for that period. We do know that the number of *all* adult male inmates on 1 January 1910 was 47 lower than on 1 January 1909,[77] which makes it extremely unlikely that the numbers of the able-bodied fell by anything like as much as 135. We also know that the total number of all inmates at the end of March 1910 was 156 down on the previous year,[78] which, in the absence of other factors, could support the view that the reforms were working. Such pointers as we have indicate that even if the measures did have an effect they were short-lived. From a call-over carried out in September 1909, just before the reforms began, we know that there were 154 able-bodied men in health in the House.[79] One year later this had *increased* to 178.[80] We know from the report of the Special Committee that the average weekly number of able-bodied inmates for the six months ending 26 June 1909 was 203. We cannot make a direct comparison with the corresponding six months in 1910 because we only have detailed records from the beginning of April 1910. These show an average weekly number of able-bodied inmates up to the end of

June 1910 to have been 184.[81] As this comprised the three months without the worst of the winter it is very likely that the average six-monthly figure would not have been very different from that of the same period of 1909. We can make a full comparison for the first six months of 1911, by which time the weekly number of able-bodied men was 204, almost exactly back to the 1909 figures.[82]

While the reforms may have made life less convenient for a while it is not surprising that their effect was less dramatic than their proponents had hoped. Almost certainly the changes were more likely to have been in policy rather than in practice. There were difficulties in classifying the men for task work, since as we have seen many were not physically up to hard work and would have been excused by the Medical Officer, and many of those who were designated for task work were often needed to do the ordinary work about the House. Almost immediately after the reforms were instigated it became apparent that the allocation of 109 of the 154 able-bodied inmates to task work left the Master short of men to do routine cleaning and maintenance jobs, so that less than a month after the measures were taken he applied to move 31 men back to house work.[83] The Committee reluctantly agreed to let him have 20. Thereafter at regular intervals he applied for permission to move half a dozen or so men from task to house work. By June 1910 there were only 78 men allocated to task work as against 93 to house work.[84]

The crucial flaw in the reforms was that it was practically impossible to exact the amount of work demanded. The amount of stones to be broken had risen from 7 cwt in 1907 to 15 cwt by 1909, yet in reality it is unlikely that the men ever came anywhere near even the lower figure. Stone breaking was an extremely difficult task; Everard Wyvall, a journalist, posed as a pauper in 1909 and recorded his efforts at attempting to break a half ton block of granite:–

> I smote with all my strength . . . I made no impression whatever.[85]

Similarly, he recorded his efforts at stone-pounding:–

> For half an hour I tried my best to pound these stones, but I seemed to make little or no impression upon them . . . Finally blisters put in an appearance, and these, breaking, the chafings gave way to blood, which soon began to trickle down my fingers . . . I do not think my hands were particularly tender, because the hands of the other men were affected in much the same way.[86]

Oakum picking was described by Mary Higgs, the secretary of the Ladies Committee of the Oldham workhouse, who also disguised herself as a pauper;

> Do you know what oakum is? A number of old ropes, some of them tarred, some knotted, are cut into lengths; you have to twist and unravel them inch by inch . . . After two hours I had perhaps done a quarter of a pound, and my fingers were getting sore, while the pile before me seemed to diminish little.[87]

Whether the task was 7 cwt of stone-breaking or 15, 2 cwt of stonepounding or 4, 2 lbs of oakum or 4 made very little difference to the amounts actually done. Confirmation of this can be seen in the complaints which Tindall and his like-minded Guardians made from time to time about the laxity of the way in which the tasks were performed.[88] In October 1910 one Guardian made a surprise visit to the stoneyard and found that after six hours of work 'the amount of stone some of the men had pounded could be tied up in my handkerchief'. He went on to allege that although the men were recorded as pounding 2 cwt a day (which itself is of interest since one of the Special Committee changes had been to give the Master the discretion to raise this to 4 cwt) they could not possibly have done so. He based this claim on the fact that if all the men had pounded 2 cwt a day each, with 20 men at work this would mean that they would have used up 500 tons of stone a year, whereas in fact they only used 50 tons![89]

This statement was made during a debate in

TABLE 5
Percentage of adult inmates in the Brighton workhouse in each category in the first week of each quarter. Note: In October 1911 the classification of inmates changed; all men aged 60 or over were no longer classed as able-bodied. The figures in brackets are based on the new classification.

	1910			1911					1912			
	Apr	Jul	Oct	Jan	Apr	Jul	Oct	(Oct)	Jan	Apr	Jul	Oct
Non able-bodied men	45	43	41	42	42	42	45	(48)	(44)	(45)	(47)	(51)
Non able-bodied women	32	36	34	30	30	33	34	(36)	(34)	(37)	(38)	(49)
Able-bodied men	16	14	17	19	17	15	12	(9)	(13)	(11)	(9)	(4)
Able-bodied women	7	7	8	9	10	9	9	(8)	(9)	(7)	(6)	(6)

which Tindall was attempting to ensure that proper records were kept of the amount of stone pounded. As the *Brighton Herald* ruefully commented

> A curious point in the short discussion was the apparent certainty of the speakers that this instruction to the officials would not be taken notice of, and that it would be necessary to force their hands.[90]

The Guardians might call for harsher tasks, but the Master and the Labour Masters, who had the day to day dealings with the men, had more compassion or realism, or both.

Tasks, however imperfectly done, were enforceable by law. Under Mr Burden, the Master in office at the time of the reforms, little use seems to have been made of the powers of compulsion; there is only one instance of a prosecution in the records from 1908 to his departure under a cloud early in 1911.[91] The new Master, Mr Daking, had no such compunction; from August 1911, one month after his arrival, to March 1912 he sent 15 men to the courts for failing to perform their allotted task, for which they received prison sentences ranging from 10 to 21 days with hard labour.[92] In March 1912 matters came to a head when he handed over seven men in one day to the courts, after which nothing was heard again about men refusing to work.[93] It may well have been the new Master's vigorous enforcement of task work, rather than the increase in the tasks themselves, which helped to encourage the men to leave.

Why The Numbers Fell

If the reforms had succeeded as the Committee had hoped the numbers of able-bodied in the workhouse would have fallen sharply in the winter of 1909/1910, but as we have seen this did not happen. As Table 5 shows,[94] for the next three years the proportion of able-bodied in the House was a relatively constant figure, year on year, until the very sharp drop in October 1912. The decline in the total numbers did not come about as a result of a particularly sharp drop late in 1909, nor was it a steady downward slope but rather a series of drops and plateaus.

Just as the main reason for the high numbers of able-bodied in the House in the winter of 1908/9 was the high level of unemployment so it seems highly probably that the subsequent fall in numbers was largely due to the improvement in outside employment prospects. We have seen that the numbers applying to the Distress Committee fell from 1908 onwards; we can see

TABLE 6
Percentage of men in trade unions who were registered as unemployed in England and Wales

1909	7.7
1910	4.7
1911	3.0
1912	3.2
1913	2.1
1914	3.3

from Table 6 that the level of unemployment, as recorded by the numbers of unemployed men in trade unions, fell considerably between 1909 and 1914.[95] The men in the House would be those who are on the margins of employability and would always be the first to feel the effects of any unemployment and the last to feel the benefits when jobs became available once more.

After 1913 the effects of the National Insurance Act, which gave entitlement to health insurance to seven and a half million men and over three million women in England, will have had some effect. Over two and a half million unemployment insurance books were issued nationally, and in the first six months of 1913 there were 315,000 claims for benefit in London and the South-East.[96] There are however no local figures to show how much impact these made in Brighton.

The fall in the number of pauper inmates from January 1910 to 1914 was a national phenomenon,[97] and though, at 8.6 per cent, the national reduction was just under half that of Brighton's 19 per cent, it too signalled the general recovery of the economy which enabled the men to leave the Brighton workhouse as they did workhouses all over the country. As the LGB Inspector for Kent and Sussex noted in April 1913:–

> The past year has been one of good trade and the winter just over has been a very open one and it is to these facts as much as to recent social legislation [the National Insurance Act] that the present somewhat low rate of pauperism must be attributed.[98]

When the Recruiting Officer came to the Brighton workhouse in August 1914 he could only find six men fit enough to be considered for army service.[99] The War solved the problem of unemployment in the short-term, and after the War the reluctance of successive Governments to send the unemployed, who were now called ex-servicemen, back on to the Poor Law eventually brought to an end the problem of the able-bodied inmate. After desperate attempts to make the post-war insurance schemes work, the government finally established the Unemployment Assistance Board in 1934, bringing back another form of outdoor relief as the alternative to the workhouse exactly 100 years after its abolition.

Author: John Jacobs, School of Cultural and Community Studies, University of Sussex.

Notes

[1] *Brighton Herald*, 1 August 1908.
[2] East Sussex Record Office (hereafter E.S.R.O.), RS/10/16, p. 201.
[3] See *Yearbook of the Guardians of the Brighton Parish*, 1914. Brighton Reference Library, SB 339 G 93, pp. 66–7.
[4] E.S.R.O., RS/10/26, p. 197.
[5] See *Yearbook* for source from which Table 1 is compiled.
[6] See *Annual Report of Ministry of Labour*, 1916, 210.
[7] *Annual Report of the L(ocal) G(overnment) B(oard)*, 1911, 36.
[8] See *Pauperism (England and Wales) (Monthly Statistics)*, Statement for July 1915. (British Sessional Papers House of Commons, 1914–16, **LIV**, 873.)
[9] E.S.R.O., RS/10/19, 10 January 1911.
[10] See *Yearbook* for source from which Table 2 is compiled.
[11] E.S.R.O., RS/10/23, p. 95.
[12] *Yearbook*.
[13] Weekly returns of inmates, (classified under non-able-bodied, able-bodied in health, able-bodied but temporarily disabled for both sexes, and children) are given in the records of the Workhouse Master, E.S.R.O. R/S 18/1 and 18/2. These returns have been used to compile Fig. 1, Table 5, and all references to number of inmates in these classifications.
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] *Annual Report of LGB* (1911).
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] E.S.R.O., RS/11/1, 10 October 1910.
[18] E.S.R.O. RS/10/19, 10 January 1911.
[19] E.S.R.O. 18/1 and 18/2.
[20] E.S.R.O., RS/10/16, p. 200 *et seq.* The recommendations are all taken from this report.
[21] *Ibid.* p. 202.
[22] *Brighton Herald*, 4 September 1909.
[23] See E.S.R.O., RS/10/15, 3 November 1908.
[24] For this and subsequent quotations from this meeting see *Brighton Herald*, 7 November 1908.
[25] E.S.R.O. RS/10/16.
[26] *Brighton Herald*, 4 September 1909.
[27] *Sussex Daily News*, 4 September 1909.
[28] E.S.R.O. R/S 18/1 and 18/2.

[29] *Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress,* 1909, (hereafter *Royal Commission,* 1909), Appendix Volume XXIV, 13.
[30] *Ibid.,* 13.
[31] *Ibid.,* 6.
[32] *Royal Commission,* 1909, Part IV. para. 488.
[33] *Ibid.*
[34] *Annual Report of L.G.B.,* 1910.
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] E.S.R.O. RS/10/12, 9 April 1907.
[37] Table 3 is compiled from *Annual Report of L.G.B.,* 1913, lxxxv.
[38] *Annual Report of L.G.B.,* 1911, 36.
[39] Table 4 has been compiled from the *Annual Reports of the County Borough of Brighton Distress Committee,* E.S.R.O. DB/B49/1–4.
[40] E.S.R.O., DB/B49/1, p. 112.
[41] E.S.R.O., RS/10/14, 11 August 1908.
[42] Data compiled from the minutes of the Workhouse Visiting Committee, E.S.R.O. RS/11/1.
[43] Poor Law Relief Regulation Order, 1911, Article II (1).
[44] *Ibid.,* Article II (2) iii and iv.
[45] *Ibid.,* Article II (1).
[46] E.S.R.O., RS/10/11, 12 February 1907.
[47] E.S.R.O. RS/11/1.
[48] E.S.R.O. RS/11/1, 17 June 1912.
[49] Ibid. 11 May 1910 and 6 November 1911.
[50] *Ibid.,* 10 October 1910.
[51] Ibid. 4 October 1909.
[52] E.S.R.O. RS/11/1.
[53] *18th Abstract of the Labour Statistics of the U.K.,* Min. of Labour. (1926) 94.
[54] For fuller discussion of the Act see *Royal Commission,* 1909, Part VI, chapt. 3, paras. 409–71.
[55] *Sussex Daily News,* 7 February 1907.
[56] E.S.R.O. DB/B49/1–4.
[57] *Sussex Daily News,* 19 December 1906.
[58] E.S.R.O. RS/10/11, 18 December 1906.
[59] For this and the other quotations in the para. see *Sussex Daily News,* 19 December 1906.
[60] *Royal Commission,* 1909, Part VI, chapt. 3, para. 462.
[61] *Ibid.*
[62] Figures compiled from E.S.R.O. DB/B49/1–4.
[63] *Ibid.*
[64] E.S.R.O. DB/B49/1, p.89.
[65] E.S.R.O. RS/10/9, 30 Jan. 1906.
[66] *Ibid* 27 March 1906.
[67] *Sussex Daily News,* 10 April 1907.
[68] *Ibid.* 8 September 1909.
[69] *Brighton Herald,* 26 February 1910.
[70] *Ibid.,* 26 February 1910.
[71] *Ibid.,* 3 March 1910.
[72] *Ibid.,* 21 October 1911.
[73] *Ibid.,* 4 June 1910.
[74] *Ibid.,* 16 July 1910.
[75] *Ibid.,* 3 March 1910.
[76] *Ibid.,* 16 July 1910.
[77] *Yearbook.*
[78] *Yearbook.*
[79] E.S.R.O. RS/11/1, 20 September 1909.
[80] E.S.R.O. R/S 18/1 and 18/2.
[81] *Ibid.*
[82] *Ibid.*
[83] E.S.R.O. RS/11/1, 4 October 1909.
[84] *Ibid.* 13 June 1910.
[85] E. Wyvall, *The Spike,* (1909), quoted in N. Longmate *The Workhouse,* Purnell Book Services, Book Club Edition, undated, 253.
[86] *Ibid.* pp. 253–4.
[87] M. Higgs, *The Tramp Ward,* Manchester, 1904, quoted in Longmate, *op. cit.,* 254.
[88] See for example *Brighton Herald,* 26 February 1910.
[89] *Brighton Herald,* 6 October 1910.
[90] *Ibid.*
[91] E.S.R.O., RS/11/1, 11 January 1909. (Mr Burden, the Master of the workhouse, resigned through ill health after a scandal in which he was eventually prosecuted for misappropriating workhouse meat for his own use.)
[92] Data compiled from E.S.R.O., RS/18/1.
[93] E.S.R.O., RS/18/1, 27 March 1912.
[94] E.S.R.O. R/S 18/1 and 18/2.
[95] *Annual Report of Ministry of Labour,* 1916.
[96] *16th Abstract of Labour Statistics,* Min. of Labour, 1913, 15–16.
[97] See note 8 for source of monthly statistics on pauperism in England and Wales.
[98] *Annual Report of L.G.B.,* 1913, 14.
[99] E.S.R.O., RS/18/2, 26 August 1914.

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

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

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

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

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

The Palstave

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

The Roman Coins

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

The Roman Copper-Alloy Objects

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

Fig. 1

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

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

The Pottery

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

Acknowledgements

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

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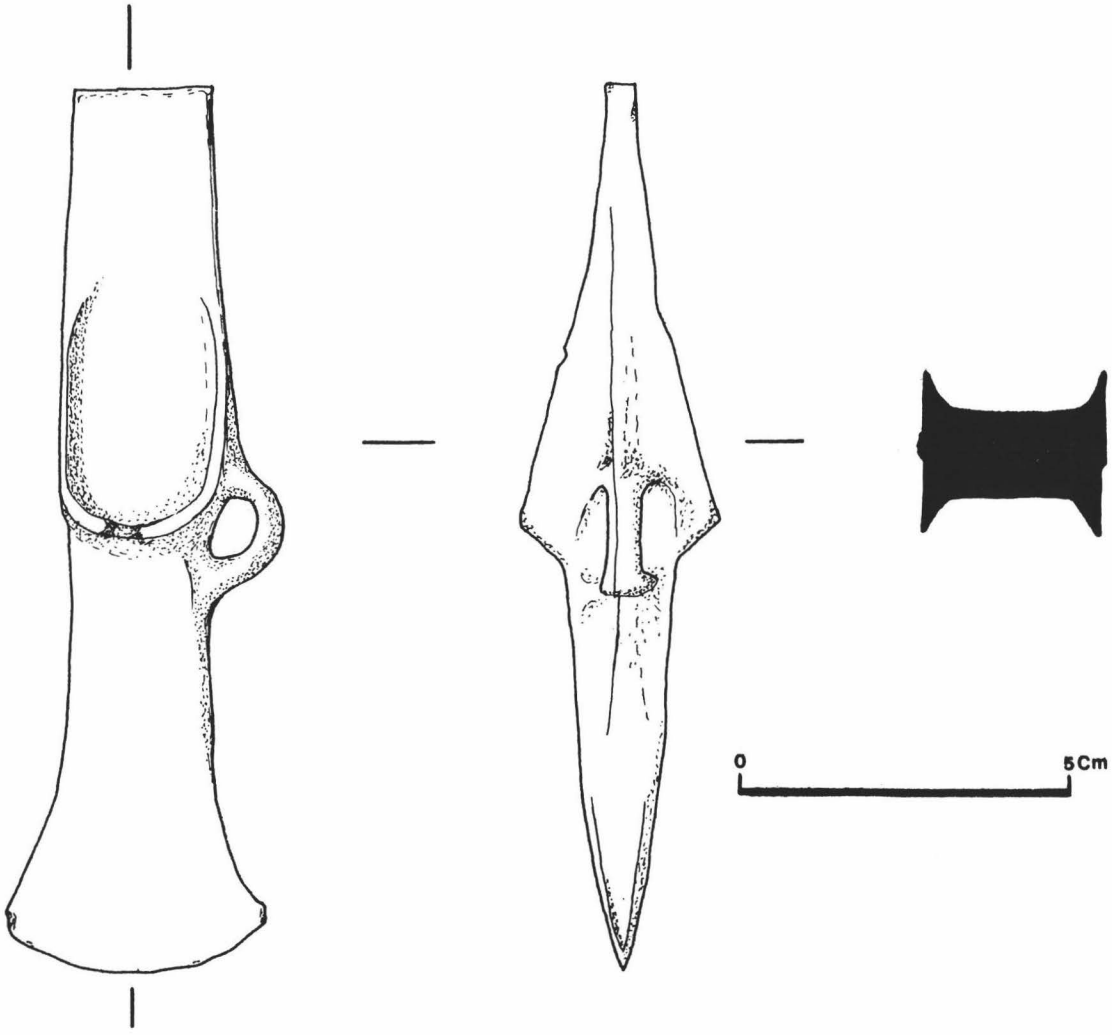

Fig. 1 (cont.)

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

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

Antiquarian Exploration and a Possible Ritual Pit near Ditchling

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

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

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

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

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

Toms' examination of the bones revealed that some of the fragments were from a human radius and fibula, and were probably of considerable antiquity. He postulated that these represented the remains of the interment originally contained in the barrow (*Sussex Daily News*, 7 February 1922). The two coins recovered were halfpennies one of which was defaced and indecipherable. The other was in good condition and was a 1733 halfpenny of George II.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Introduction

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

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

The Corn Drying Oven

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

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

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

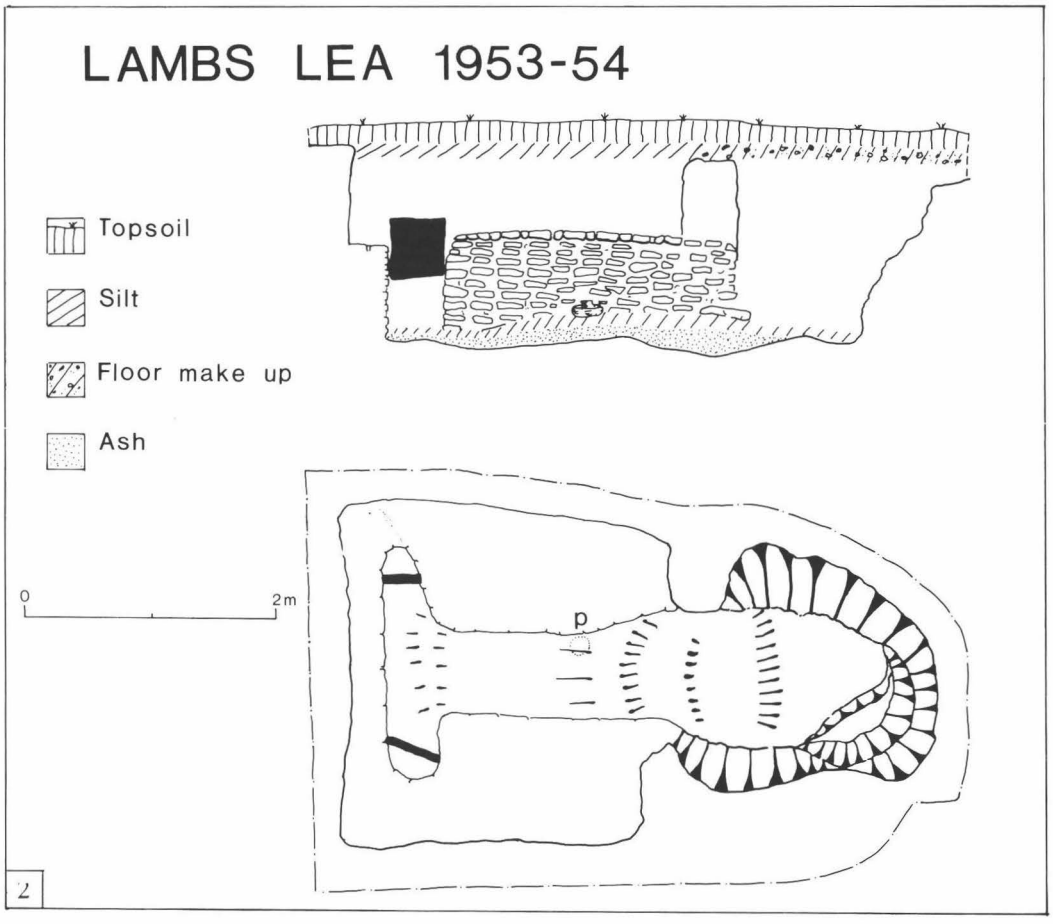

Fig. 2.

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

The only dating evidence for the corn dryer comes from the infilling phase. Two complete pottery vessels were found on the bottom of the main flue (p on plan). The purpose of these is not clear. Possibly they represent part of an unurned cremation burial. The cremation itself may have gone unoticed in the ash at the bottom of the dryer. Another possibility is that these vessels may have contained some form of ritual offering, inserted when the dryer was backfilled. A single large sherd of a Black Burnished ware or imitation Black Burnished dish came from the fill of the stoke hole.

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

The Building

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

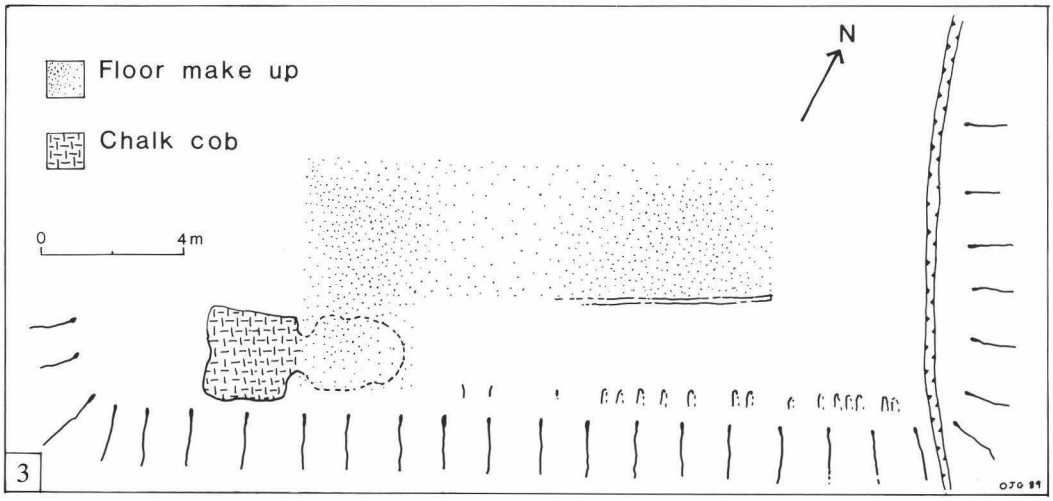

Fig. 3.

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

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

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

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

The Finds

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

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

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

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

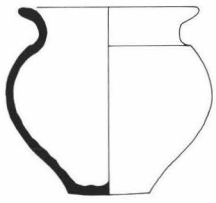

Fig. 4.

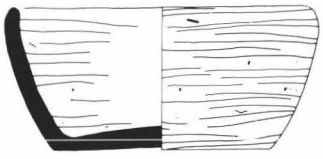

Fig. 5.

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

Discussion

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

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

The apparent absence of definite domestic occupation in the excavated area prompts the question of whether the complex at Lambs Lea was not an isolated or peripheral establishment. On the spur immediately to the west of the site (SU 913152) Miss Keef noted a series of depressions, which she considered might be indicative of buildings, and a scatter of Romano-British pottery. Another possible settlement site is at East Dean to the south. Here (SU 924129 approx) drainage work in 1960 revealed a sustantial layer of burning mixed with Roman building debris including painted wall plaster, on top of a heavily burnt layer of flints which may have been a house platform or floor surface. Coins of Trajan and the Antonine dynasty were found. The site at Lambs Lea could be associated with either of these, or possibly with an as yet undiscovered zone of occupation nearer to hand.

Acknowledgements

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

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

A Survey of the Route of the Cuckfield Bypass

Introduction

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

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

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

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

The Finds

Pottery

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

Flintwork

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

Other Finds

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

Discussion

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

The increase in activity in the post-medieval period may

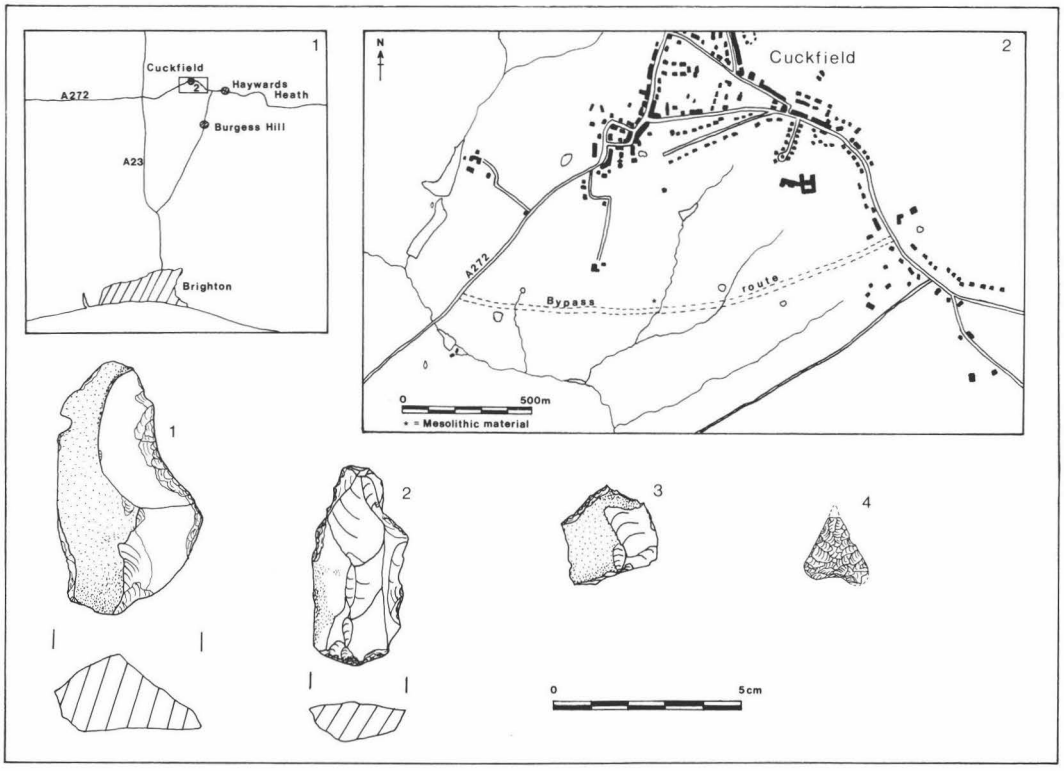

Fig. 6 Cuckfield Bypass; location map and route of the bypass. Flintwork: 1, Side scraper; 2, Fabricator; 3, Piercer; 4, Hollow based arrowhead.

TABLE 1
Flintwork from the Cuckfield Bypass Route

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

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

Acknowledgements

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

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

The Site of St Bartholmew's Hospital, Rye

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

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

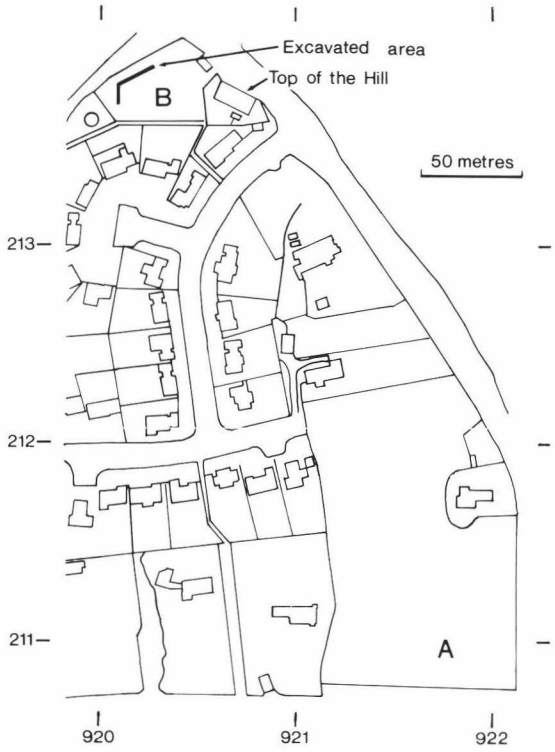

Fig.7 Rye Hill, showing Holloway's suggested location (A) of St Bartholomew's Hospital, Vidler's preferred site (B) and the excavated trenches.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Acknowledgements

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

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

Notes

[1] W. Holloway, *Antiquarian Rambles Through Rye* (2nd ser., 1866), 13–17.

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

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

[4] Ibid., 89–92.

[5] East Sussex Record Office, TD/E1, parcel no. 156.

[6] Vidler, 'St Bartholomew's Hospital', 89.

Excavations at Michelham Priory, 1988

Watching Brief in the Barn Yard Area

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

The three trenches were 48 metres, 28 metres and 6 metres long respectively, and 0.40–0.50 metre wide and 0.30–0.60 metre deep, except in the south east corner of the southern trench which was 1.09 metres deep. The layers and features recorded were of 20th century date and no damage was done to anything of archaeological importance.

Watching Brief by the Western Range

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

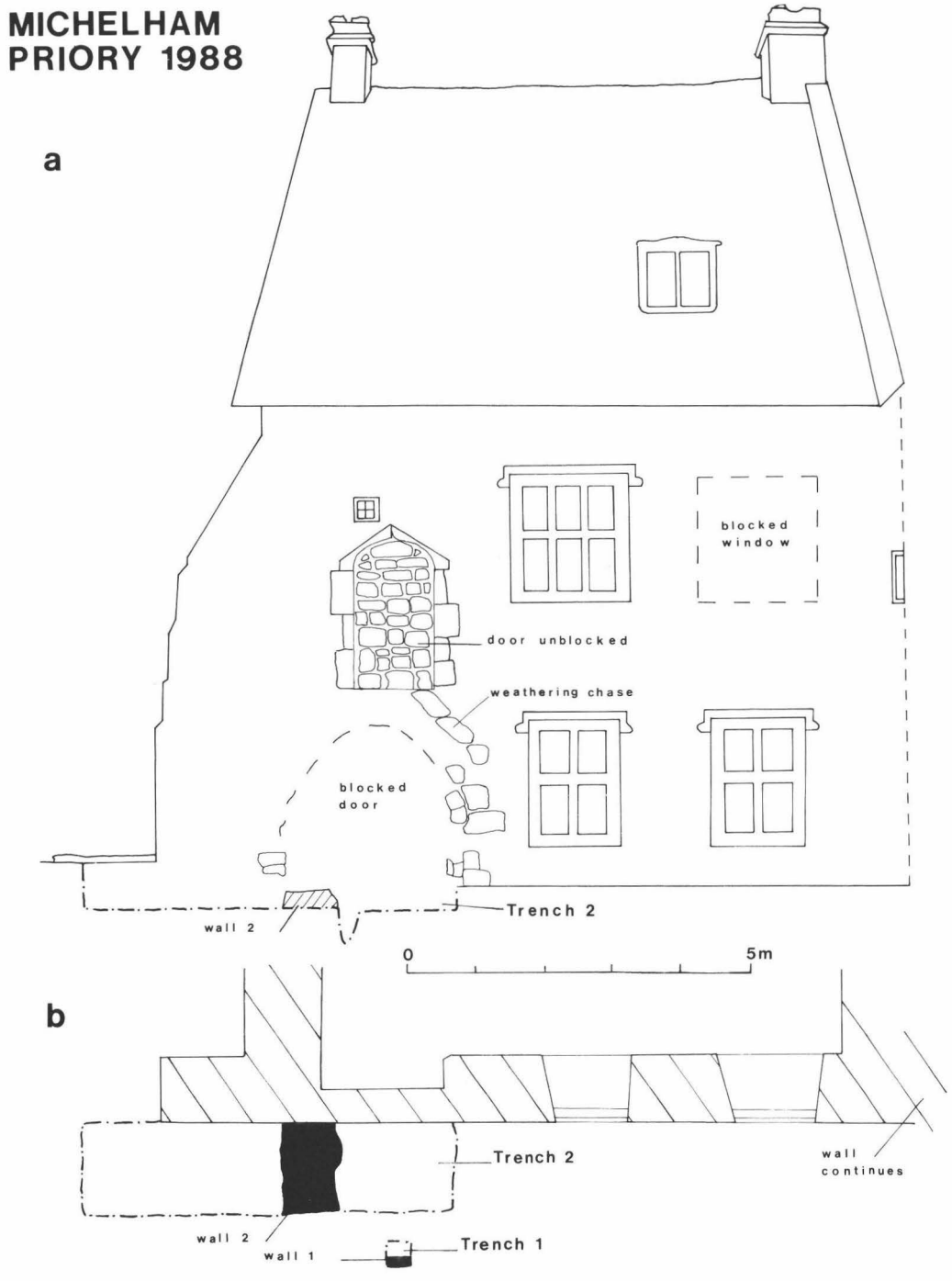

Fig. 8 Michelham Priory 1988. a) elevation and b) plan of the west wall of the medieval western range showing the position of builder's trenches 1 and 2.

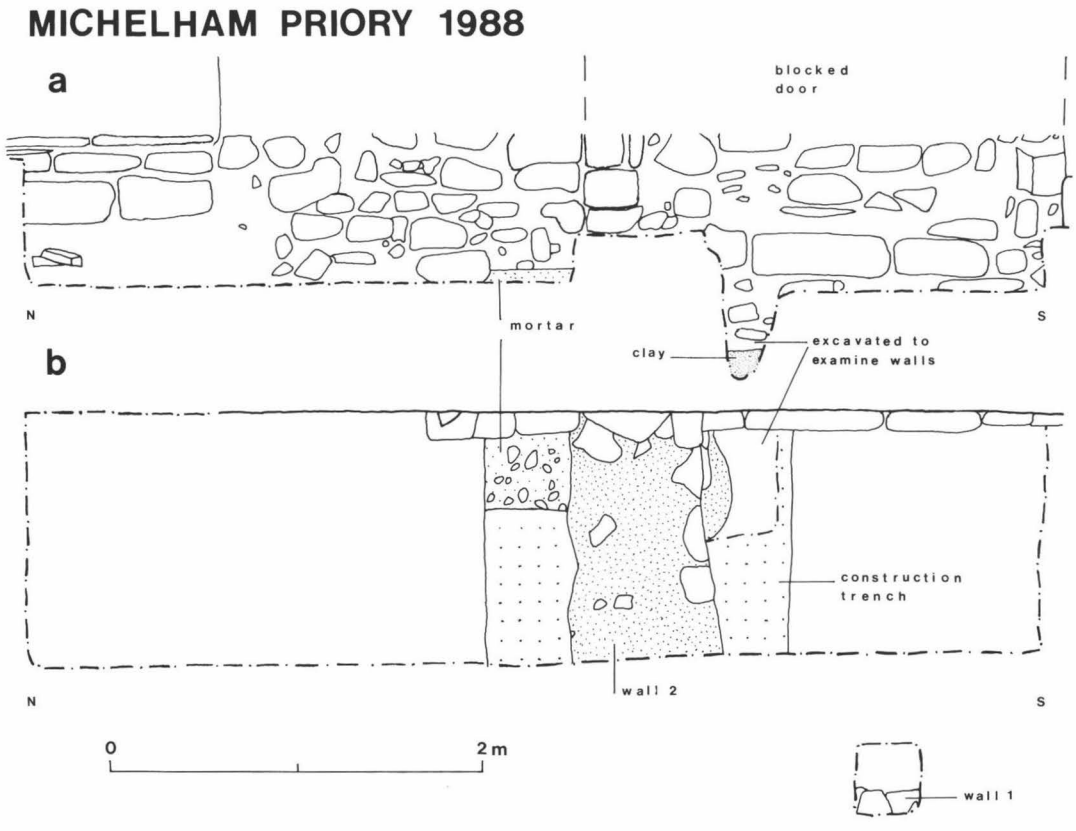

Fig. 9 Michelham Priory 1988. a) east section of trench 2 and b) plan of trench 1 and 2.

indicated by the weathering chase.

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

Acknowledgements

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

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

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

Reference

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

The Bellarmine witch-bottle and its contents, Michelham Priory

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

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

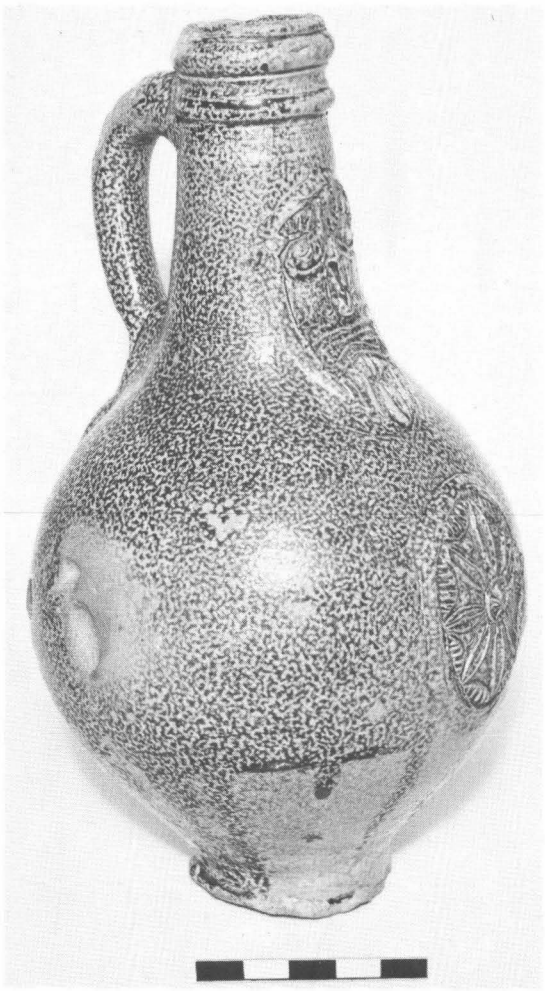

Fig. 10 The Bellarmine witch-bottle (Photo: Mr J. Lewis).

assigned to a fire in 1666.[6] It is difficult to tell if Bellarmine of this date are of English or Continental manufacture.[7]

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

The custom of using Bellarmines as witches-bottles appears to have begun in Suffolk and rapidly spread to other areas. The Bellarmine at Michelham Priory is the only recorded example of a witch-bottle in Sussex and, together with the witch-bottle found beneath the hearth at Hoath, near Herne Bay, in Kent,[9] is an outlier of the tradition. The burial of the bottle within the western range appears to conform to the East Anglian practice of burying inside buildings, either under the hearth-stone or under the threshold, rather than the London tradition of depositing in a stream or ditch, or of burial in a garden.[10]

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

Contents of the Michelham Priory witch-bottle (E. F. Freeman)[14]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Acknowledgements

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

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

Notes

[1] Commander G. W. R. Harrison's notes and sketches, held at Michelham Priory.

[2] Frank Child, 'Historical Sketch of Michelham' (1845) preserved at Michelham Priory.

[3] W. H. Godfrey, 'Michelham Priory', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **82** (1926), 1–24.

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

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

[6] Hurst (1963) 139–40.

[7] A. Thwaite 'The Chronology of the Bellarmine Jug', *The Connoisseur* (April 1973) 255–62.

[8] R. Merrifield, *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic*, B. T. Batsford Ltd., London (1987) 163–75.

[9] H. E. Gough, 'Witch Bottle found at Hoath', *Kent Archaeological Review*, **15** (Feb. 1969) 19–20.

[10] Merrifield (1987) 163–75.

[11] L. F. Salzman, *The History of the Parish of Hailsham, The Abbey of Otham and the Priory of Michelham*, Lewes (1901) 254.

[12] Map drawn by Edmund Clifton, carpenter of Arlington, in 1667, and reproduced in Frank Child's Historical Sketch of Michelham, indicates that Michelham Farm was occupied by John Lulham. It is believed that Lulham had been resident at Michelham since 1662, at least, since the Hearth Tax Assessments for that year show him to have been taxed for 21 flues and Michelham was the only house in the parish which could have possessed this number (Public Records Office E./17925). Parish register entries confirm his residence at Michelham until 1678, at least (East Sussex Record Office PAR 232/1/1/1).

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

[14] Formerly of the Ancient Monuments Laboratory. Report AML 1973.

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

Location

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

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

History and Previous Observations

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

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

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

Method of Excavation

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

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

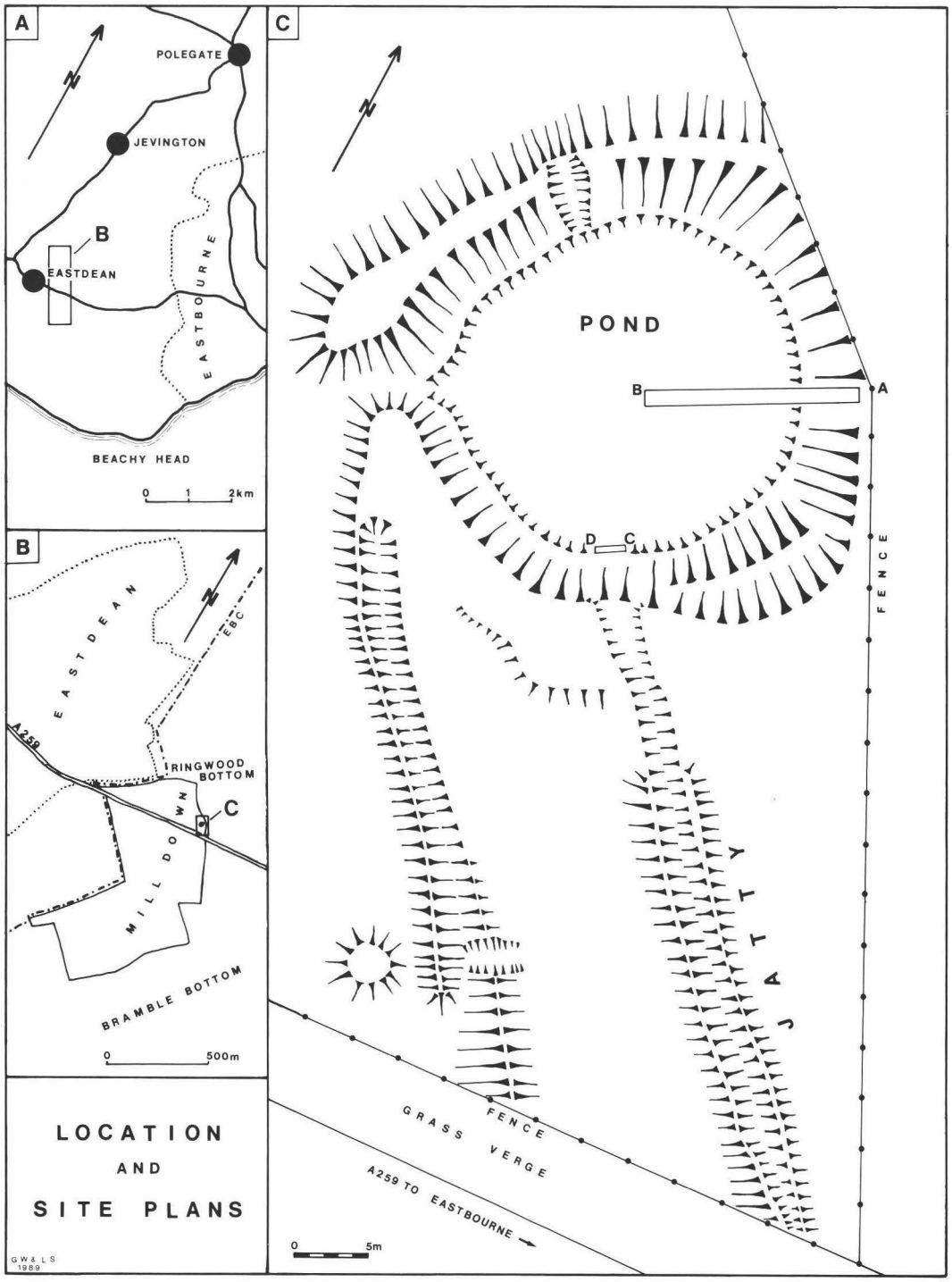

Fig. 11 Location plans (A) Eastdean and Jevington (B) Milldown and Ringwood Bottom (C) Plan of Pond and associated earthworks.

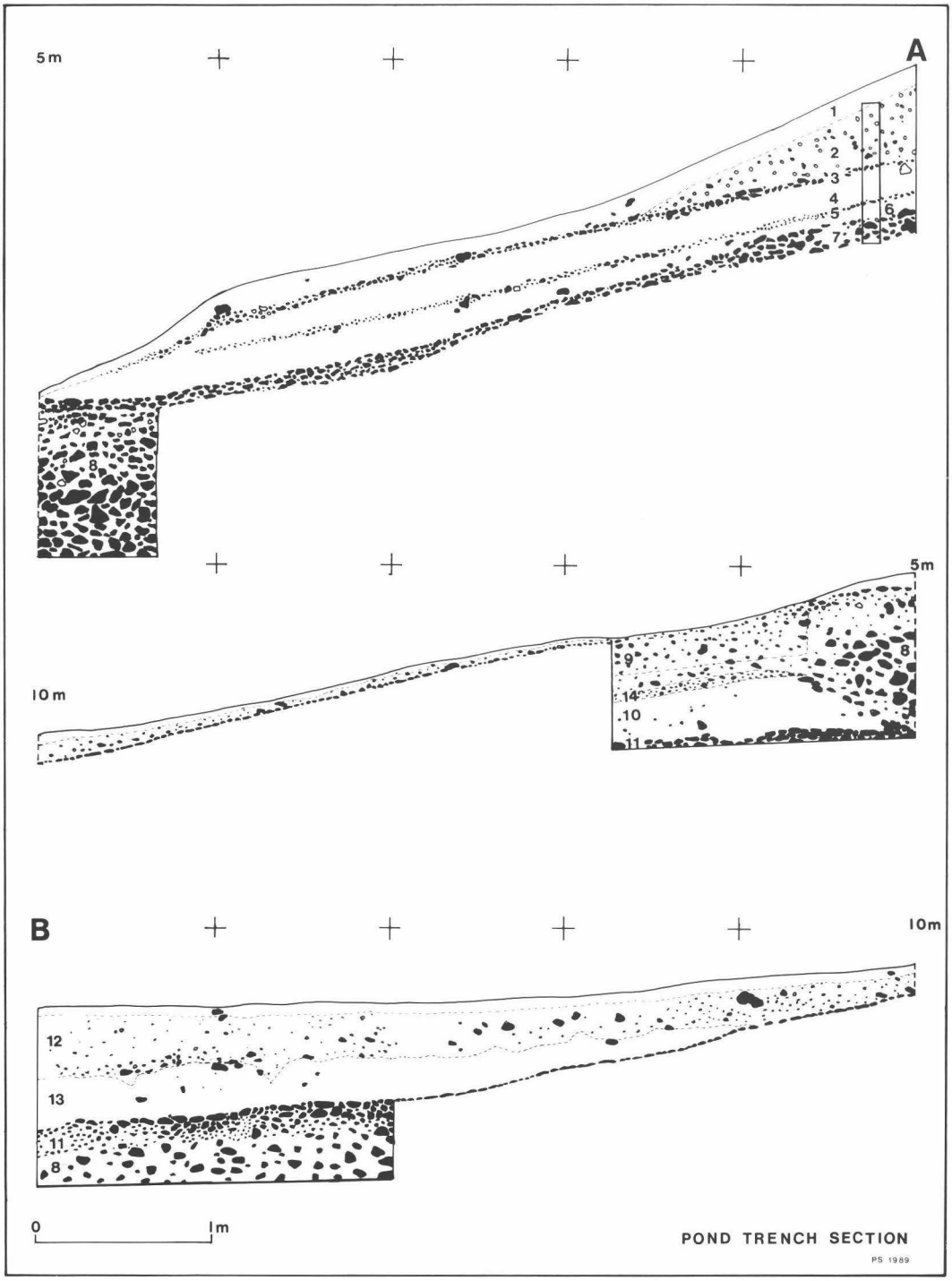

Fig. 12 Section drawing of excavation trench on the east side of the pond A–B.

The Site

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

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

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

Layers of Pond and Lynchet Section A–B

1 Turf and topsoil
2 Light grey/brown soil with minute chalk inclusions, flint and small pottery or brick fragments
3 Pitched field-flints
4 Fine brown, almost flint free soil
5 Dark brown soil with small flints
6 Fine brown almost flint free soil
7 Red/orange Clay-with-Flints
8 Red/yellow Clay-with-Flints
9 Red clay with flints
10 Orange/yellow clay almost flint free
11 Dark yellow clay with pitched flint
12 Dark grey silty loam with pea grit
13 Dark khaki coloured clayey silt almost flint free
14 Red/orange clay with fine flint.

Layers of Jatty Section C–D

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

Pottery from the Lynchet (J. C. Dove)

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

1. East Sussex Ware (Green 1977). 45 sherds (235 g.).

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

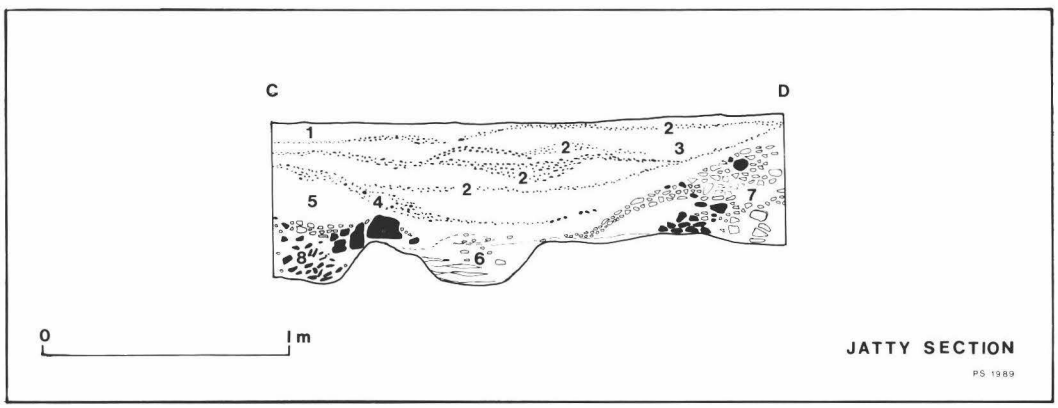

Fig. 13 Section drawing of Jatty C–D.

2. Sandy Ware. 19 sherds (75 g.)
At least four different fabrics are present in the group. Most have dirty grey or buff cores. Although these fabrics can be matched with other Roman pottery found in the area, it has not been possible to identify their source. They were not produced locally. Among the group are two rims, one round and one flat topped. Also, there are three fragments of bases. All are typical Roman forms.
3. Fine Ware. 5 sherds (5 g.).
Three of these sherds, although having severely abraded outer surfaces, are probably Samian ware. The other two sherds are off-white with very fine sand temper. Similar fabrics are occasionally found on late-Roman sites. The New Forest or Oxfordshire may be possible sources.

Late-Saxon Ware

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

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

Soil Samples

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

Conclusion

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

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

Although the pond is the only clay pond in the Eastbourne Borough Council Downland capable of holding water, a few still exist in the 25 square miles of the Eastbourne Chalklands bounded by the Cuckmere valley to the west. The pond opposite St James' Church, Friston, is a good example being on Clay-with-Flints and lined with flint. It is known to have existed early in the 17th century, for in September 1615, the parish register records it as having been 'cleaned and scowred'. However, at Kiln Combe, Cornish Farm, Eastbourne, there may have existed an even earlier example of a similar kind. During an excavation of a medieval farmstead in Kiln Combe, Eastbourne (Freke 1982), a clay-filled ' depression some 10 metres across was sectioned and revealed a thick layer of flints on the fill which Mr. Freke suggested was the rubble from the demolition of a house to the north of the pond. This flint layer may however, have been the protective floor of the pond. The medieval farm likely to have been associated with the pond is considered to have been worked between 1250 and 1550.

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

Post-excavation Treatment

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

Acknowledgements

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

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

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

Some Evidence for an Intended Collegiate Church at Pevensey

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

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

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

Domesday Book records two priests holding land near Pevensey. Roger possessed 'one hide at Horse Eye of St Michael's', which formerly had been held in common by clerics. He also had land at Cudnor, while a second canon, Godfrey, held one hide at Peelings nearby. Both had land on the count's larger manors, Roger at Eastbourne and Godfrey at Willingdon. Finally, Roger and Godfrey were two of the four tenants of a vill at Peelings, the other holders being knights of the count.[8] It appears that, following Norman practice, land held in common before the Conquest by all the canons of the Eastbourne collegiate church had later been divided into separate prebends.[9]

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

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

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

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

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

Acknowledgement

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

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

Notes

[1] J. Cooper, 'The Church of St George in the Castle', in T. G. Hassall, 'Excavations at Oxford Castle, 1965–1973', *Oxoniensia* **41** (1976), 306–8; W. J. Blair, 'Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book', in *Domesday Book: A Reassessment* (1985) ed. P. H. Sawyer, 133–5.

[2] M. F. Gardiner, 'Some Lost Anglo-Saxon Charters and the Endowment of Hastings College', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **127** (1989), 39–48.

[3] It must have been founded after Hastings was granted to the Count of Eu, but the college was in existence before Domesday Book was compiled. J. F. A. Mason, 'The Rapes of Sussex and the Norman Conquest', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **102** (1964), 75; Gardiner, 'Lost Anglo-Saxon Charters', 45.

[4] *Early Yorkshire Charters, 8: The Honour of Warenne*, ed. C. T. Clay (Yorkshire Rec. Soc. extra series **6**), 54–5.

[5] J. H. Round (ed.), *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France* **1** (1899), 396–9.

[6] Domesday Book **i**, 23a; *Calendar of Entries in Papal Registers: Papal Letters* **4** (1362–1404), 239.

[7] J. H. Round, 'Some Early Sussex Charters', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **42** (1899), 77; D. Matthew, *The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions* (1962, Oxford), 20–21; A. Du Moustier (ed.) *Neustria Pia* (1663, Rouen), 223.

[8] Domesday Book **i**, 20b, 21a, 22a.

[9] Blair, 'Secular Minster Church in Domesday Book', 132–3.

[10] H. M. Whitley, 'Eastbourne Church: its Dedication and Gilds', *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, **42** (1899), 104–10.

[11] *The Chartulary of the High Church of Chichester*, ed. W. D. Peckham (Suss. Rec. Soc. **46** (1942–3)), 27, no. 115.

[12] *Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora* **2**, ed. H. R. Luard (Rolls series (1874)), 132.

[13] Peckham, *Chartulary*, 68, no. 260.

[14] Peckham, *Chartulary*, 42, no. 178; Gardiner, 'Lost Anglo-Saxon Charters', 44.

[15] Cf. A. J. Taylor, 'Evidence for a Pre-Conquest Origin for the Chapels in Hastings and Pevensey Castles', *Chateau Gaillard* **3** (1969), 150. The reference in the licence cited by Taylor to the use of the chapel by *parochiani* and *transeuntes* does not imply that it had formerly enjoyed parochial rights. It was presumably echoing the words of the petition emphasising the wide use of the chapel.

[16] Round, *Documents in France*, 396–99; Gardiner 'Lost Anglo-Saxon Charters', 44–46.

[17] C. Johnson, H. A. Cronne and H.W.C. Davis, *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066–1154*, **2** (1956), no. 1360; *The Chartulary of the Prior of St. Pancras of Lewes, part 1*, ed. L. F. Salzman (Suss. Rec. Soc. **38** (1932)), 145–6.

[18] Peckham, *Chartulary*, 26, no. 110.

[19] J. H. Denton *English Royal Free Chapels 1100–1300: a Constitutional Study* (1970), 13, 23.

[20] *Victoria County History, Sussex* **1**, 490, citing Pipe Roll 31 Henry I.

[21] H. A. Cronne, R. H. C. Davis and H. W. C. Davis, *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066–1154*, **3** (1968), no. 184; Peckham, *Chartulary*, 68, no. 260.

[22] Peckham, *Chartulary*, 28, no. 122.

The Descent of the Manor of Burghersh

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Excluding also the following:

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

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

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

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

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

William Wybarne, the new owner, was based in the area of Ticehurst and in Bayham, where he took on the forge in 1525. He was a man of substance (one of only five in the Rape of Hastings assessed at £100 or more in the subsidy roll of 1524), and it seems strange that the *V.C.H.* should not credit him with the lordship of the manor of Burghersh; the more so as the Inquisition *post mortem* (hereafter Inq.p.m.) of 1540, quoted by the *V.C.H.*[9] in support of Thomas Oxenbridge's having held the 'reputed manor' of St. Giles in Burwash, is found on examination to state that 'the said manor of Gyles was holden of William Wyborne as of his manor of Burwash'.[10] Since two of the jurors at this Inq.p.m.—Godard Crotenden and Thomas Glasyer—were among the above-mentioned witnesses to the livery of seisin of the manor of Burghersh two years earlier, we may accept the statement as well founded. The court book of the manor is, moreover, quite unequivocal, containing the entry: 'First court of William Wybarne and John Wybarne lords of Burgherst . . . held there on 28 January 30 Henry VIII [1539]'.[11]

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

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

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

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

Notes

[1] Copy held by E(ast) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice) ref. A 5316. I am grateful to Mrs M. J. Smith for permission to publish this document, and to Mr C. H. C. Whittick for his considerable help and advice.

[2] *V(ictoria) C(ounty) H(istory), Sussex* **9** (1937), 196.

[3] 'Rous' is the normal spelling of the family name.

[4] The family of Rous of Dennington was long-established in

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

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

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

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

[8] E.S.R.O. AMS 5692/1 f. 50.

[9] *V.C.H., Sussex* **9**, 197 n. 23.

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

[11] *Court Book of the Manor of Burghersh* E.S.R.O. ASH 206 f. 41.

[12] E.S.R.O. A 5316. Common Pleas, Trin. 12 Eliz., Ro. 679.

[13] *Suss. Rec. Soc.* **33**, 115.

[14] *Suss. Rec. Soc.* **3**, 4.

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

Greatham Church: The Interior of the Roof

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

Description

The interior of the roof is in three parts. The eastern part is divided by a tiebeam. The central part has three partly visible trusses. Numbering from the east, truss A consists of a tiebeam, on which is a central post having a headbrace on its west side supporting a central purlin as broad as, or broader than, the post on which it is centred. There are no mortices on the east face of the post, and no purlin east of the post is visible. Truss B has a tiebeam, central post, and headbraces east and west to the purlin. The post lacks any other mortices. The tiebeam of truss C is not visible behind the plaster, but to be structurally sound it must be there, and it has a post, with an east headbrace supporting the purlin. The west face of the post is concealed, and so is the west end of the purlin. The western part, between truss C and the west wall, has a flat ceiling at wallplate level, concealing the belfry. In the eastern and central parts, the ceiling is crudely segmental, springing from about 60 cm. above the wallplates. Below the curve, the plaster is vertical, down to the inner wallplates, which can be made out as a slight change in plane on each wall between tiebeams A and C.

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

Suggested explanation of the shape of the ceiling

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

Conclusion

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

Note on Terminology

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

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

Greatham church: a response

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

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

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

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

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

The Expences of an Election: Arundel in 1747

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

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

The Poll was taken June 29 1747

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

A had from B	300	0	0
deduct the above amount	233	10	6
repay'd by B to A	66	9	6

15 January 1748

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

Note

[1] T. J. McCann (ed.), *The Correspondence of the Dukes of Richmond and Newcastle 1724–1750* (Lewes 1984), 248.

Canvassing Lewes in 1767

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes

[1] Hampden to Grenville, 2 Aug. 1767, Huntington Library, Stowe papers, STG Box 22 (38).

[2] Hampden to Grenville, 24 Aug. 1767, Huntington Library, Stowe papers, STG Box 22 (39).

Fairfield Folk at Bodiam and Rudgwick Fairs, 1841

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

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

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

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

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

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

Rudgwick census returns allows the fairfield folk to be identified by name with descriptions of their occupations.[7]

Bodiam

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

Early directories and guidebooks describe Bodiam fair as specialising in cattle and pedlary.[10] The occupations of the fairfield folk as recorded in the census return of 1841 indicate the presence of but a single drover, the elderly John Housily, and the absence of any cattle dealers (compare Rudgwick, below). This suggests that at this time cattle were an insignificant element of the business of the fair.

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

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

The fair had disappeared from the official record by 1929.[14]

TABLE 1

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

TABLE 2

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

Rudgwick

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

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

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

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

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

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

'Twas wet in the morning
Just to keep up the Charter;[21]

The lie is to be found in the weather recorded on Bodiam fair day by John Pinyoun on the occasion of his annual visits from 1828 to 1846. One year, 1828, was 'thundery', 1841 and 1844 were 'showery', and 1829 was unspecified. With the exception of the late afternoon in 1840, when it turned wet, the others were 'fine'.[22]

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

Notes

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

[2] R. Jefferies, *Wild Life in a Southern Country* (Bradford-on-Avon, 1978 edn.), 115.

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

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

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

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

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

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

[9] E.S.R.O. XA 19/3.

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

[11] E.S.R.O. AMS 5595/2.

[12] AMS 5595/6.

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

[14] Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, *Markets and Fairs in England and Wales* (1929), pt. IV, 208.

[15] West Sussex Record Office MF 492.

[16] Walpoole, *op. cit.*, 51; Cooke, *op. cit.*, 28; Robson, *op. cit.*, unpaginated.

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

[18] *1st Report . . . on Market Rights . . .* (1888), 207–11.

[19] Charles Tate's notebooks.

[20] Jefferies, *Wild Life*, 114.

[21] Brown, *Fairfield Folk*, 58–9.

[22] E.S.R.O. AMS 5595/2–21.

INDEX

Notes: Alphabetization is word-by-word. Place names with two elements of which the first is East, Greater, Old, Upper, etc., are indexed under the first element. A page reference including n indicates a note. Other abbreviations: m., married; d., died; fl., flourished.

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