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May 1991

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

Sussex Archaeological Collections **129** (1991), 1–28

THE EXCAVATION OF A BEAKER BOWL BARROW AT PYECOMBE, WEST SUSSEX

by Chris Butler A.I.F.A.
with contributions by Mike Allen, Caroline Cartwright, Tim Gosden, Robin Holgate and Elizabeth Sanderson.

The position of a ploughed-out bowl barrow was re-established during a field survey project at Pyecombe. Excavation revealed a crouched male inhumation, together with a rich grave group dating from the beaker period, in a central burial pit.

INTRODUCTION

During the course of a fieldworking project on East and West Hills at Pyecombe, West Sussex (Butler 1988), the position of a bowl barrow which had been completely ploughed out was re-established at NGR TQ28341185 (Fig. 1). The barrow was originally recorded by Grinsell in his survey of Sussex Barrows (Grinsell 1934); at that time it was 11 paces in diameter and 2.5 ft high with a vague ditch. The Ordnance Survey in 1952 and again in 1972 (West Sussex SMR) recorded the barrow as being a 'grass covered mound 10.8 metres in diameter and 0.5 metres high, with a slight trace of a ditch on the north west side'. By the early 1980s the barrow had been completely ploughed out, the only clue to its existence being a vague circular spread of chalk rubble in the ploughsoil (Butler 1989).

The barrow was situated on a false crest on the east facing slope of the chalk Downs, now overlooking the village of Pyecombe, and a short distance from the South Downs Way. Direct views of the Weald to the north, and the Sea to the south can be seen from the barrow, together with Wolstonbury hill 2 km to the north east. Immediately to the west of the site at the top of East and West Hills is an outcrop of Clay-with-flints.

The excavation was carried out by members of the Mid Sussex Field Archaeological Team, under the direction of the author, during September and October 1988. The site was divided up into a two-metre grid, and a surface collection survey carried out prior to the removal of the ploughsoil. This was then removed by hand from the north east and south west quadrants and the sections recorded; the two remaining quadrants were then removed and the revealed features excavated. The barrow mound had been completely removed by recent ploughing, so that the only remaining features were those cut into the chalk subsoil. These features comprised an interrupted ditch around the barrow, a central burial pit, and various posthole and other features both inside and outside the ditch (Fig. 2).

The Ditch

The ditch was U-shaped in section, approximately 1 metre wide and 0.5 metre deep (Fig. 3). It was interrupted on the north-west side by a narrow causeway, one metre wide. The ditch was not uniform in width and depth, and appeared to have been cut in a series of sections.

The ditch contained two layers around most

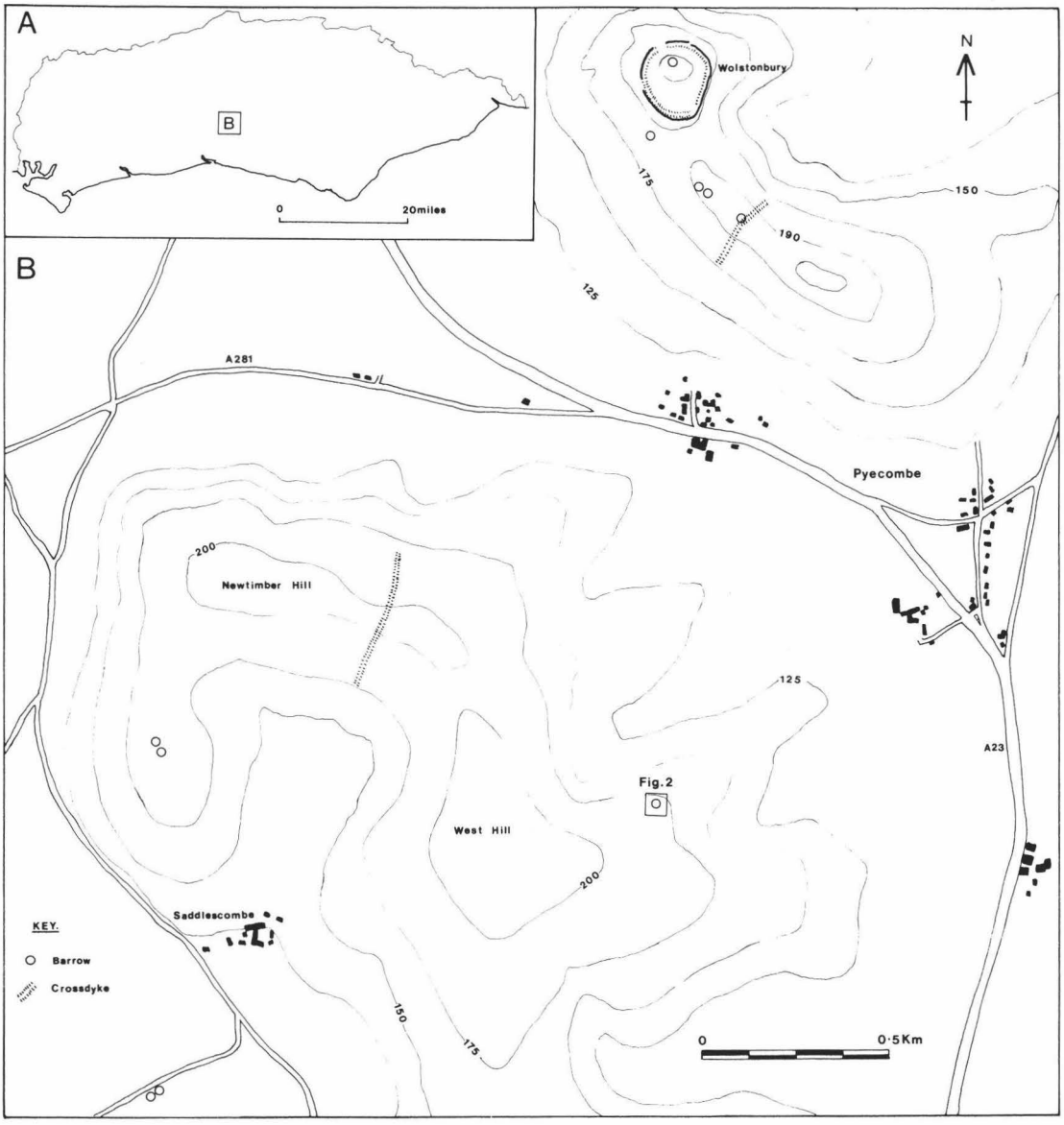

Fig. 1 Pyecombe Beaker Barrow: Location maps; showing site and prehistoric landscape features.

of its circumference. The primary fill was a sticky red/brown clay averaging a depth of 10 cm., and appears to have accumulated fairly quickly after the barrow ditch had been dug. This layer contained few finds, although on the west side a crushed East Anglian beaker, and nearby a large amount of charcoal, was found.

The secondary fill comprised a friable reddish-brown loam with a large number of irregular sized flints, and appears to have accumulated over a much longer period. This fill contained large quantities of flint debitage and tools, together with fire fractured flint, pottery and daub. Although the fill appeared to be the

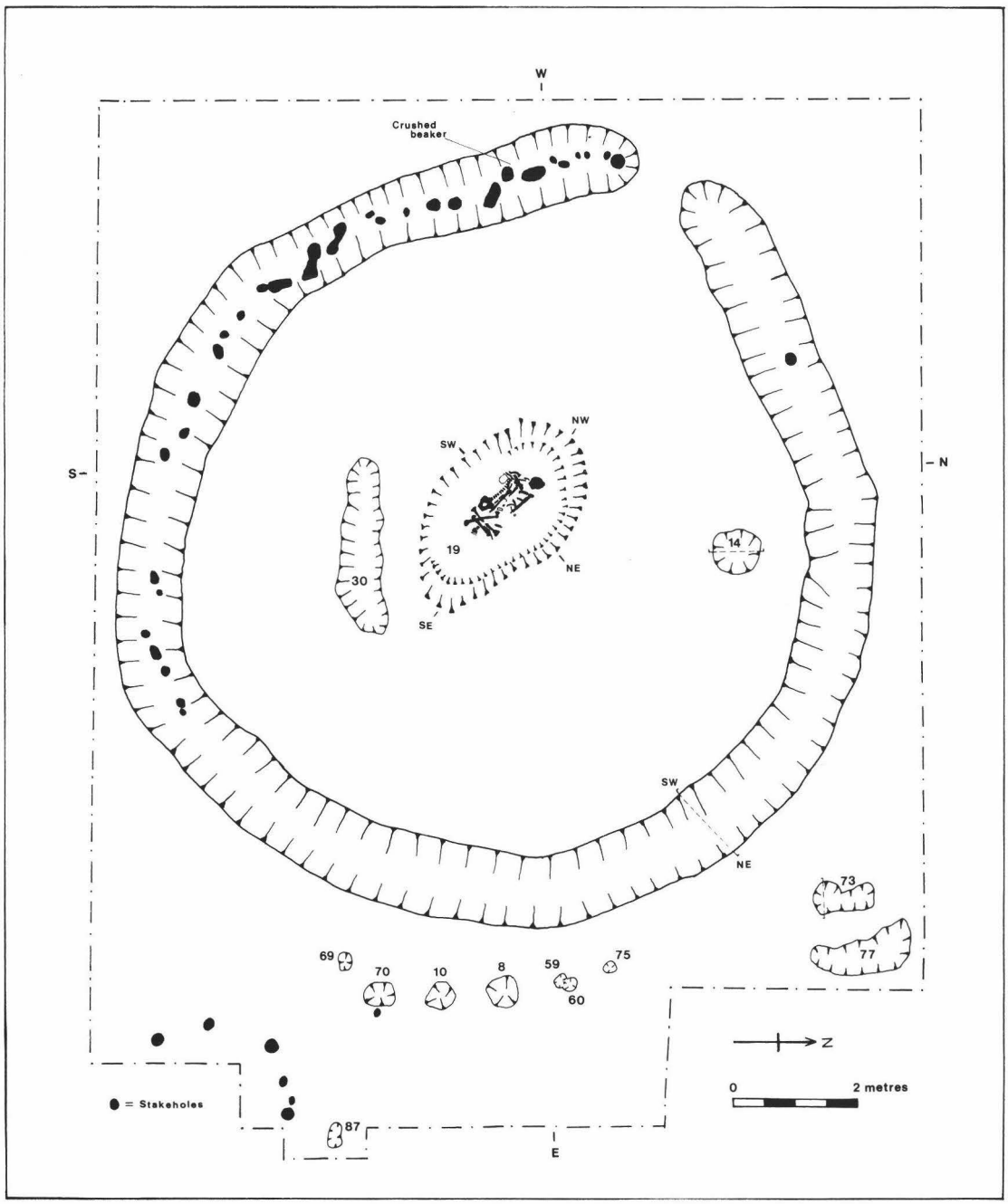

Fig. 2 Pyecombe Beaker Barrow: Site Plan.

Fig. 3 Pyecombe Beaker Barrow: Main Barrow Sections.

same, it contained early Bronze Age material in its lower levels and Romano-British pottery towards the top. In a number of places around the ditch, there was a sterile shallow layer partially overlying the secondary fill. This was interpreted as modern plough soil that had filled the extant ditch when the barrow was ploughed out. On the north-eastern side of the barrow, the ditch fill consisted of just a single layer of unabraded chalk and flint with a dark red-brown friable loam (context 61). There was no primary fill in this part of the ditch, suggesting that this material, which was probably surplus material from the mound construction, had been used to backfill this part of the ditch immediately after the ditch had been dug.

There were two areas in the secondary ditch fill (contexts 31 and 57) which may have been the sites of hearths or fires. Both features comprised a small area of blackened soil with a quantity of charcoal and some fire fractured flint. Elsewhere in the secondary fill there were very large quantities of fire fractured flint (Fig. 9, D).

In the bottom of the ditch itself, on the south and south-west sides, was a series of stake holes (see Fig. 2). Some 30 stake holes were located, all roughly similar in diameter but with different depths. Some appeared to be cut by others, suggesting that they belong to at least two phases. Each hole was filled with the same red-brown clay deposit that formed the primary fill in the ditch but, apart from some fire fractured flint, no finds were located in the stakeholes. The purpose of these stakeholes is unclear, although they must have supported some sort of structure or framework running around this part of the ditch. Being on the uphill side of the barrow it is unlikely that this structure was a revetment for the barrow mound; however, it may have been a windbreak or it could have served some other ritual purpose.

The Burial Pit

The burial pit (Fig. 4) was situated in the centre of the barrow, it was oval in shape, 3.55 metres long 2.2 metres wide and had been dug into the chalk to a depth of 1.1 metres. The pit was orientated along its longest axis north west/south east. In the bottom of the pit was a crouched inhumation, orientated on the same axis as the burial pit, and lying on its left side, facing north. Lying behind and against the spine of the inhumation was a complete East Anglian beaker. The weight of the pit fill had compressed its shape, and it was in a very fragile condition; however, it was successfully lifted, and has subsequently been consolidated. Close to the right lower arm, and lying parallel to it, a stone wristguard was found, and next to the left arm was the bone pommel end of a dagger. Some fragments of copper lying in a patch of darker soil amongst the ribs were also found and probably come from the dagger blade.

There was no evidence for a coffin or shroud although, as the floor of the pit was level and smooth, some care had obviously been exercised in digging the burial pit. The inhumation appeared to be slightly disarticulated. Although the majority of the bones were in the expected position, a number had been displaced, including the skull which was some 30 cm. from the top of the spine; the lower jaw, though, was in its original position.

The burial pit had been backfilled, initially with a light brown soil containing chalk and occasional flint pieces around the body. Once the body had been covered with this finer material, the rest of the pit was filled with a chalk and flint rubble. This latter material was unabraded and contained very few finds.

Other Features Inside the Ditch

Feature 14: (Fig. 5) a possible pit, roughly circular in shape, 68 cm. in diameter and 20 cm. deep with sloping sides. It was filled with a red-brown clayey loam. The only finds were two flint flakes. As this feature would have been below the barrow mound, it probably predates the construction of the barrow.

Features 18 and 100: two shallow irregular shaped features, probably natural, adjacent to the barrow ditch. A number of flint flakes was found in each of these features, but may be residual.

Feature 30: an oblong 'D' shaped feature, 2.65 metres in length and 0.8 metre wide. It was 0.36 metre deep with the

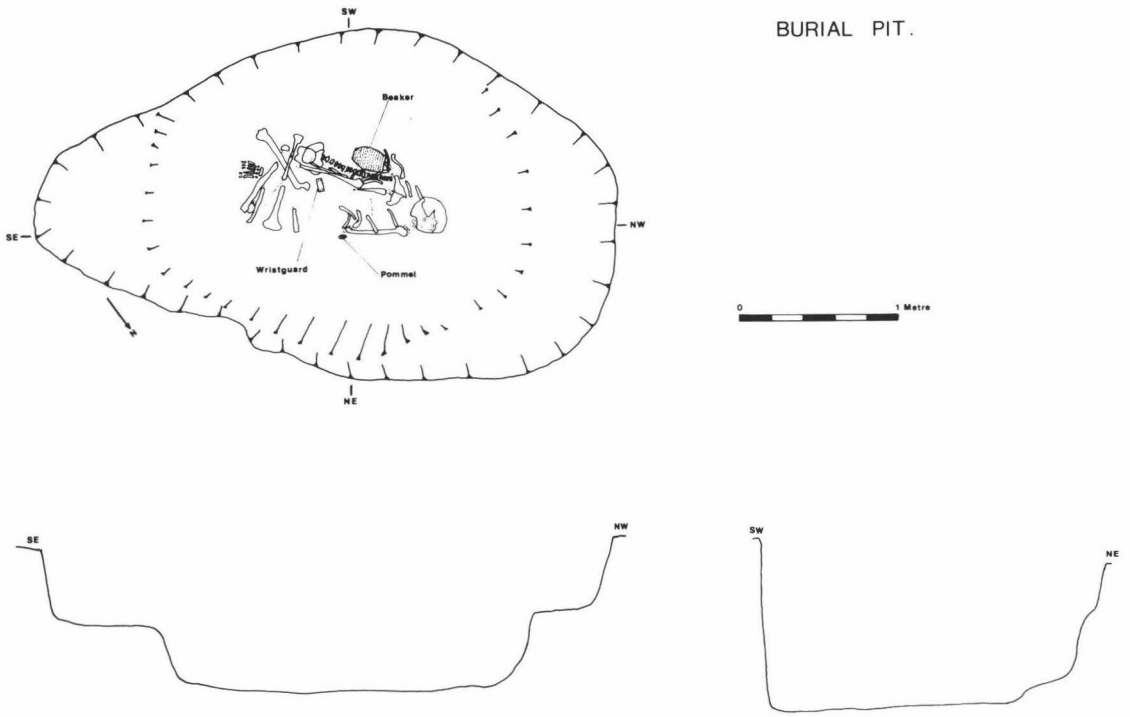

Fig. 4 Pyecombe Beaker Barrow: Burial Pit; Plan and Sections.

southern side sloping to meet the almost vertical north side. The fill of this feature was a sterile red-brown clay with occasional flint and chalk inclusions. This appears to be natural tree hollow (Allen, this report).

Features Outside the Ditch

A series of possible post and stake holes (see Figs. 2 & 5) ran in a line from north to south past the eastern side of the barrow.

Posthole 8: a roughly circular hole with a diameter of 59 cm. dug into the chalk subsoil to a depth of 35 cm. There was only one fill (context 9): a red-brown clay with flints, with evidence for larger flints having been used as packing around the top of the posthole. A single large flint was placed in the bottom of the hole, and there were numerous worked flints and fire fractured flints found in the fill.

Posthole 10: another circular hole, 45 cm. in diameter and 37 cm. deep. This hole had a primary fill of a red-brown clay, and a secondary red-brown friable loam with flints. Again, the only finds were flint flakes and a fire fractured flint from the secondary fill (context 11).

Features 59 and 60: a stakehole (59) 17 cm. deep and 18 cm. in diameter cutting an earlier posthole (60) which was 15 cm. deep and 26 cm. in diameter. There was no apparent difference in the fill of the two features, which was a friable dark red-brown loam with flint. Some charcoal and worked flints were found in the fill.

Feature 69: a shallow circular feature 10 cm. deep and 30 cm. in diameter adjacent to feature 70 containing a friable red-brown loam with chalk and flint fill. A single flint flake was found in this feature.

Feature 70: a circular hole, 50 cm. in diameter and 23 cm. deep. It contained a primary red-brown clay fill with no finds below a secondary red-brown friable loam with flints main fill (context 71). A single flint was placed in the bottom of the hole, with other large flints as possible packing. Worked flints and a tooth fragment were found in the secondary fill.

Feature 73: a possible double posthole, with an overall length of 1.05 metres, width of 58 cm. and depth of 20 cm. containing a red brown clay with flints fill. A single mollusc was the only find from this feature.

Feature 75: a posthole, 19 cm. deep with a circumference of 26 cm. it was filled with a dark red-brown friable loam and flint fill (context 76). Two worked flints and a single tooth fragment were found in this feature.

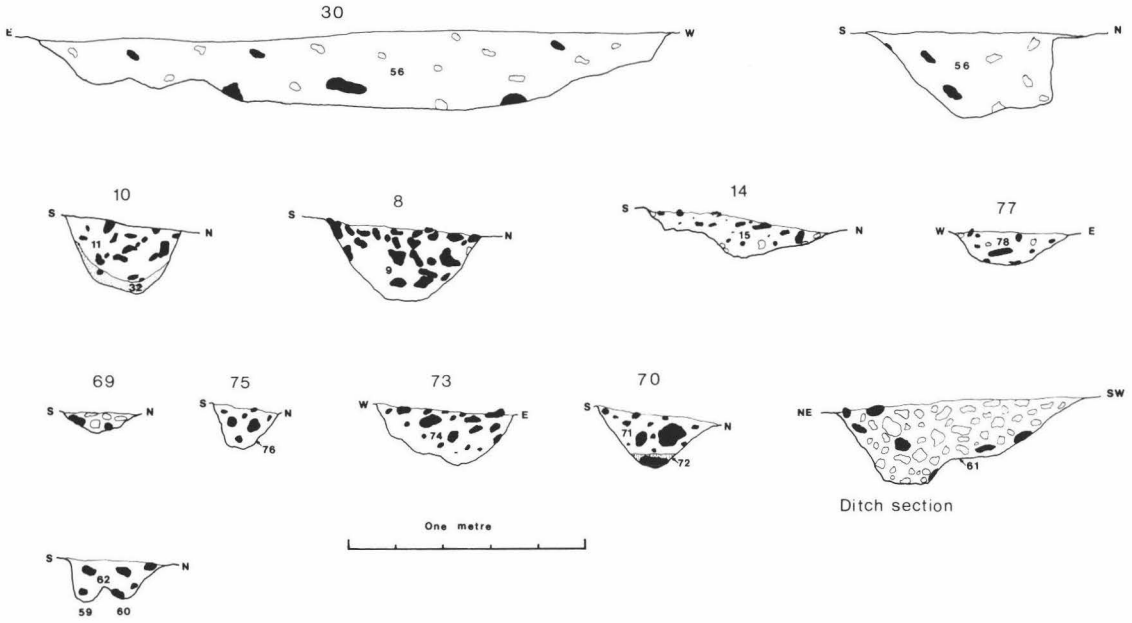

Fig. 5 Pyecombe Beaker Barrow: Sections from other Features.

Two pits were found on the northern edge of the excavation, outside the barrow ditch.

Feature 77: this pit was 1.37 metres long, 53 cm. wide and 16 cm. deep, with a red-brown clay and flint fill (context 78). The only finds in this feature were numerous mollusc fragments and some charcoal.

Feature 79: an irregular shaped pit; this was 1.16 metres long and 14 cm. deep with a friable grey to red-brown loam and flints fill (context 80). A small number of worked flints was found in this feature.

In the south-east corner of the excavation was a small semi-circular group of six stakeholes (features 81 to 86), all roughly the same size, cut into the chalk subsoil. Nearby a small feature (87) 46 cm. long and 26 cm. wide was found, possibly associated with the stakeholes. Unfortunately there was insufficient time to investigate whether or not the stakeholes were part of a larger structure.

Most of these features appear to date from the Early Bronze age or earlier, as indicated by the flintwork found in them, however there is nothing to directly link them to the barrow.

THE GRAVE GROUP

The finds associated with the inhumation in the burial pit make this particular grave group amongst the richest so far found in Sussex. The grave group comprised a beaker, wristguard and remains of a copper dagger, and is considered in more detail below.

The Beaker

The beaker (Fig. 6, No. 1) is a short-necked East Anglian beaker, 17.1 cm. high, 6 cm. in diameter at the base and 11 cm. in diameter at the rim. It has all-over-combed decoration in a simple horizontal line pattern.

A single comb tool appears to have been used in decorating the beaker. The comb had seven teeth, those at either end being smaller than the other five. It had an overall length of 2.24 cm. with a maximum width of 0.18 cm. Over most of the beaker the decoration had been applied in a continuous horizontal pattern by overlapping. However less care seems to have been used on the lower half of the beaker where the continuity of the pattern is lost and it becomes very irregular.

The beaker is red-brown/buff in colour, in fabric 1 (see below), with a reduced core. The wall thickness is generally 4–5 mm. but becomes thinner in some areas. When excavated, the beaker appeared scorched in places, and a number of small flecks of charcoal were found on and around the vessel. The fabric type suggests that the beaker may have been made in the immediate vicinity of the barrow. It gives the impression of having been placed in the grave soon after being fired, probably having been specifically made for the burial ritual.

Of the other 17 complete Sussex beakers (Table 1), only four have been East Anglian beakers and none of those were associated with other finds apart from one found with a contracted inhumation at Slonk Hill, Shoreham (Grinsell 1931). East Anglian beakers have been found on over 70 sites in England, the majority (over 70 per cent) in East Anglia and most of the rest distributed in South East England (Clarke 1970). Of these East Anglian beakers only two were associated with other finds: that from Rudstone in Yorkshire with two bronze awls and flint implements (although the association is uncertain); and that from Brandon Fields, Suffolk where two East Anglian beakers were associated with a type B2/3 wristguard.

The Wristguard

The wristguard (Fig. 6, No. 2) measures 7.69 cm. in length, is 3.09 cm. in width, has a thickness of 0.22 cm., and weighs 22 grams. The sides are straight, with gently rounded corners, two of which have been damaged in antiquity. In section the wristguard is flat on one side, the

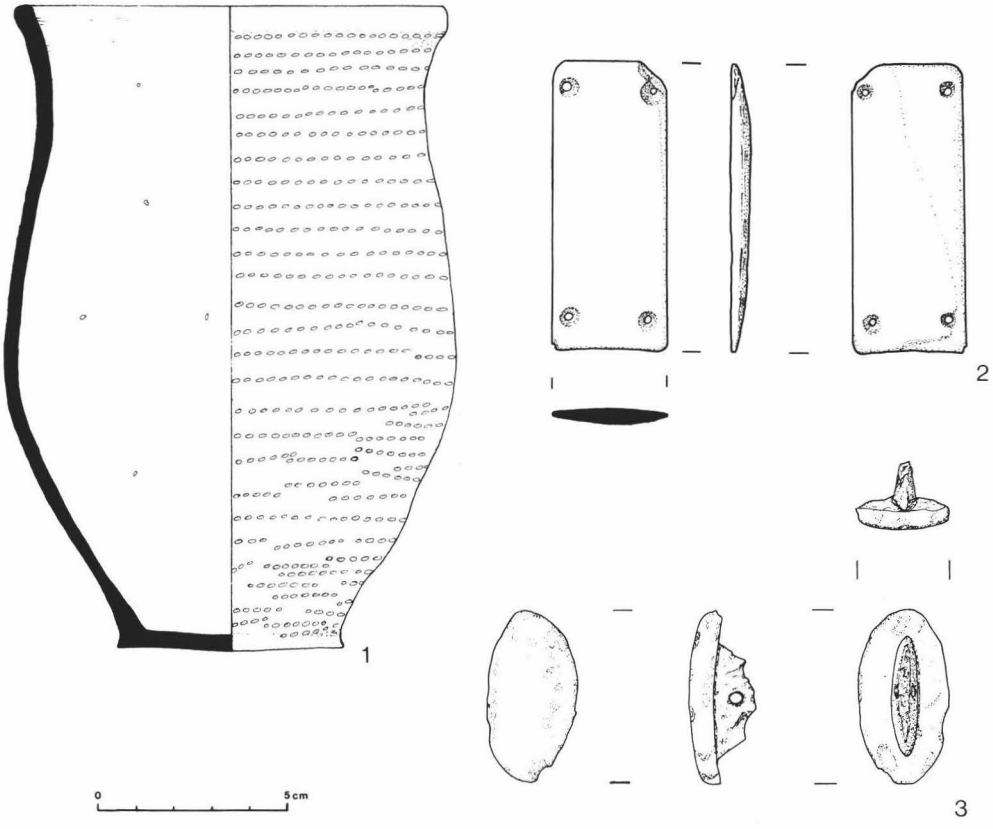

Fig. 6 Pyecombe Beaker Barrow: Grave Group; 1: Beaker, 2: Wristguard, 3: Bone Pommel.

TABLE 1
Beakers in Sussex

Location	*Burial*	*Beaker*	*Other finds*
Burpham	?	N2 (L)	None
Church Hill, Brighton	Adult & Child	S2 (W) + S2 (W)	None
Church Hill, Findon	Cremation	BW	2 ovate flint axe roughouts
Cissbury	Skeleton	E. Ang.	None
Cissbury	No record	BW?	None
Devils Dyke	Contracted female	W/MR	Dagger with 2 rivets, bronze pin, necklace of bronze & lignite beads
Falmer, Ditchling Road	Contracted male	BW	1 barbed and tanged arrowhead
Hassocks	None	W/MR	None
Kingston Buci	Crouched	E. Ang.	None
Money Mound	None survived	?sherds	1 barbed and tanged arrowhead, bronze rivets
Park Brow, Sompting	No record	S2 (E) + S2 (W)	None
Rodmell, Heathy Brow	Contracted	W/MR	None
Selsey	No record	W/MR	None
Shoreham	Crouched	E. Ang.	None
Slonk Hill, Shoreham	Contracted	E. Ang.	None
Telscombe Tye	Contracted	S2 (E)	None

other side being slightly convex in shape. The edges have been carefully ground to shape. There are four holes, one in each corner, which have been bored from both sides and probably used to facilitate fastening.

The stone used for the wristguard is fine grained, and green-grey in colour. It appears to be similar to the material used for other wristguards as noted by Clarke (1970, 98) and others. The wristguard was shown to John Cooper of the Booth Museum, Brighton. He suggested that the stone was probably polished slate, although it did not seem to be absolutely typical of slate. An acid test confirmed that no calcium carbonate was present. A likely source for the material was suggested as south-west England or possibly France.

The wristguard can be assigned to type B2, which is defined as being generally rectangular in plan with a flat or slightly bi-convex cross section and four holes (Clarke 1970). No other wristguard has been recorded as being found in Sussex, although over 70 examples are known from Britain. Only four other type B2 wristguards are known from grave groups: from Roundway, Wiltshire; Sewell, Bedfordshire; Brandon Fields, Suffolk (Clarke 1970); and Gravelly Guy, Oxfordshire (Roe, forthcoming). Of these, only that from Brandon Fields is associated with an East Anglian beaker.

The Copper Dagger

Unfortunately the metal had completely decomposed, apart from a number of small fragments from the blade tip which were submitted to Mike Heyworth at the Ancient Monuments Laboratory, English Heritage, for XRF analysis. All the fragments were of the same composition: a pure copper with only a tiny trace (< 1 per cent) of lead and no traces of zinc or tin.

The major indication that a dagger had been present in the grave group was the presence of a bone pommel (Fig. 6, No. 3) found by the left arm of the inhumation. The pommel is 'T' shaped in section, and has been carved from one piece of bone. The top has a smooth finish and gently curving profile. Below this is a hafting plate with a single hole carefully bored through it. It is possible

that the hafting plate may have originally been longer with a further hole or holes in it.

Other Sussex barrows to have produced evidence for Early Bronze Age daggers are Devils Dyke; the Hove Tumulus (Grinsell 1931); Money Mound, Lower Beeding (Beckensall 1967); and Chanctonbury Hill (Ratcliffe-Densham 1968). Of these, only Devils Dyke produced a complete beaker, although beaker fragments were found at Money Mound (see Table 1).

Outside Sussex numerous examples of copper daggers have been found, although none have been associated with East Anglian beakers. However in two cases tanged copper daggers, wristguards with four holes and W/MR beakers have been found in association with one another, at Roundway in Wiltshire and Dorchester in Oxfordshire (Gerloff 1975). There are also numerous examples of bone pommels being found in association with copper daggers: for example, barrow G at Shrewton, Wiltshire. Here a tanged copper dagger with a 'T' shaped bone pommel was found in association with an N2 beaker (Clarke 1970, 347). Another example at Eynsham, Oxfordshire (Case 1977, Fig 4:6) also produced a one piece bone pommel in association with a later style beaker and a Type Butterworth Dagger (Gerloff 1975).

THE POTTERY

Introduction

This report covers all of the pottery found in the excavation, including that from the surface collection and topsoil (see Table 2). The pottery was divided into fabric groups, and is described further below.

Fabric types

Fabric 1 (Grog-tempered with occasional flint and chalk inclusions). The fabric is grog-tempered (measuring 2–3 mm.) with calcinated flint (coarse to medium size and of occasional abundance) and the occasional fragment of chalk. Red brown/buff in colour with a reduced core. Sherd section is 4–5 mm. thick. Late Beaker.

Fabric 2 (Grog and flint tempered). Mainly grog-tempered with calcinated flint inclusions of medium abundance. The grog is 2–3 mm. in size, and the flint is of medium and fine size grades. Red brown to buff in colour; cores are often reduced. Sherd sections are 4–5 mm. thick. Late Beaker.

Fabric 3 (Grog-tempered with flint inclusions). The fabric is grog-tempered with calcinated flint inclusions (medium and fine size grade of occasional abundance). Red brown to buff in colour; cores are sometimes reduced. Sherd sections vary from 4 to 10 mm. thick. Late Beaker.

Fabric 4 (Grog-tempered). This fabric appears to be only grog-tempered, but could be sherds of Fabric 3 with no flint inclusions present. Medium abundance grog measuring 2–3 mm. Red brown, buff and black in colour. Sherd sections are 4 to 10 mm. thick. Late Beaker.

Fabric 5 (Grog and flint tempered). Both the grog (generally about 1 mm. in size) and the calcinated flint (coarse and medium size grade) are of occassional abundance. Red brown in colour with a reduced core. Sherd sections are 6 mm. thick. Late Beaker.

Fabric 6 (Grog-tempered with fine quartz sand). The fabric is grog-tempered in medium abundance with fine size grade quartz sand inclusions, perhaps natural to the clay. Red brown to buff in colour; cores are sometimes reduced. Sherd sections are 5 to 9 mm. thick. Late Beaker.

Fabric 7 (Sand tempered). The fabric is quartz sand tempered, of medium and fine size grade in medium abundance. Red brown in colour with a reduced core. Sherd section is 5 mm. thick. Iron Age.

Fabric 8 (Iron Oxide inclusions). This fabric has easily visible Iron Oxide inclusions. Some sherds

TABLE 2
Pottery Sherds by Fabric and Context

Context	*Fabrics*											
	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*	*Total*
Ditch												
Primary fill	0	0	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
Secondary fill	0	23	122	27	1	40	1	14	1	13	187	429
Hearth (31)	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	27	30
Hearth (57)	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	5	6
Ditch Total	0	23	142	27	1	41	1	14	1	13	219	482
Topsoil	0	0	2	0	1	1	1	3	5	0	2	15
TOTAL	0	23	144	27	2	42	2	17	6	13	221	497

Not included in this table are the complete beaker from the burial pit, and the smashed beaker from the primary fill of the ditch

have quartz sand (fine size grade), and calcinated flint (medium to fine size grade) inclusions, and small voids resulting from burnt out organic matter. Various colours from black to grey. Sherd section is 5–9 mm. thick. Iron Age.

Fabric 9 (Grog-tempered). The fabric is grog-tempered (2–3 mm. in size). Buff, brown, grey and black in colour. Sherd section is 6 mm. thick. Commonly described as 'East Sussex Ware' and dates from *c.* 50 B.C. to A.D. 400+.

Fabric 10 (Sand-tempered). The fabric is sand tempered of medium to fine size grade. Light grey in colour. Sherd section is 7 mm. thick. Roman sand tempered 'greyware', 2nd/4th century A.D.

Fabric 11 (Burnt clay). Fabric 12 is a burnt clay with occasional grog and flint inclusions of coarse to medium size grade. Red brown to buff in colour. Probably daub, of any date but possibly Late Beaker from context.

The Beaker pottery

Some comments can be made on the fabrics assigned to the Late Beaker period based on the diagnostic form of sherds within those fabric groups. All of the Late Beaker fabric groups have inclusions which suggest they were made in the area of their use.

Fabric 1: The only pottery with this fabric came from the beaker buried with the inhumation in the burial pit (Fig. 6, No. 1). This fabric differs from numbers 2 to 5 in that it has chalk inclusions.

Fabrics 2 to 5: These fabrics are so similar, they could be grouped together into one category, however they have been separated out into the different fabrics based on the sherds found. They comprise the majority of the Late Beaker pottery found (see Table 2), and originate almost entirely from ditch contexts. Both fine beaker and domestic beaker forms were present. Of the 193 sherds from the ditch in these fabrics, 58 could be assigned to fine beakers and 34 to domestic beaker forms, the remainder could not be assigned to either category with any degree of certainty. In addition to these, a crushed, but incomplete beaker (Fig. 7, No. 1) in fabric 2 was found in the ditch.

The fine beakers were generally thin walled (4–6 mm. thick). A large proportion of the fine beaker sherds had combed decoration of various designs, and from these it is possible to estimate that fragments from a minimum of four fine

beakers were deposited in the ditch. Three of these were late style East Anglian beakers, and one a late Southern style beaker, (Clarke 1970). A number of similar East Anglian beakers have been previously found in Sussex, (eg Musson 1954, Fig. 1, No. 071).

The rusticated beaker domestic ware sherds were generally slightly thicker (5–7 mm.), and were mainly of fabric 3. Decoration was of either fingertip impression, fingernail impression or a combination of the two. From the different decoration styles, there were sherds from a minimum of 3 separate vessels deposited in the ditch.

Fabric 6: Forty one sherds of this fabric were found in the ditch, of these only 8 could be assigned as fine beaker sherds. With the quartz inclusions, it is unlikely that this pottery was made on the Downs. However such inclusions occur naturally in clays originating from the Greensand belt just to the north of the Downs, or in clays from the Coastal plain, 2–3 km. to the south.

The Later Pottery

Fabrics 7 and 8: One sherd of fabric 7, and 14 of fabric 8 were found in the upper levels of the ditch, with further examples in the topsoil. They were typical of local Iron Age wares, with the sherds containing Iron Oxide inclusions (Fabric 8) probably originating from a Wealden source.

Fabric 9: One sherd of this fabric was found in the ditch, and along with five from the topsoil, are typical of the handmade grog-tempered 'East Sussex Ware'. One sherd is a rim from a jar.

Fabric 10: Thirteen sherds, all from the same vessel, were found together in the upper ditch fill. The vessel, probably a jar, had a zone of incised lattice decoration below a horizontal groove, and dates from the 2nd/4th Century A.D.

Fabric 11: A variety of burnt clay fragments were recovered from the ditch, totalling 219 fragments, and weighing 185 grams. They could be of any date, but derive in the main from Late Beaker contexts in the ditch.

Discussion

Late Beaker Period

After the burial pit had been dug, a complete East Anglian style beaker was deposited with the inhumation, along with other grave goods. The burial pit was then back filled and a ditch surrounding it dug to provide material for the barrow mound. Ritual deposits may have been made in the ditch shortly after this as a broken, although incomplete, East Anglian beaker was found in the primary ditch fill. Later there is evidence for further 'Late Beaker' activity around the barrow, with sherds from fine beakers together with beaker domestic wares and daub in the secondary ditch fill, mainly on the northern side. This could indicate that a Late Beaker settlement was situated nearby, or that the barrow remained a place of ritual or other importance after its initial use for burial. A number of the sherds were abraded, suggesting that the land around the barrow was under cultivation during this time.

Later Periods

There is no ceramic evidence for activity in the later Bronze Age. However in the Iron Age and Romano-British periods activity increased again, with a number of abraded sherds found in the topsoil and upper levels of the ditch, showing that the land around the barrow was probably once again under cultivation.

In the top of the ditch, one cluster of sherds (probably all from the same vessel) and isolated sherds probably result from the use of the ditch, which must have been visible as a shallow depression, for dumping rubbish. Since Roman times, there appears to have been no activity which left any ceramic evidence in the vicinity of the barrow.

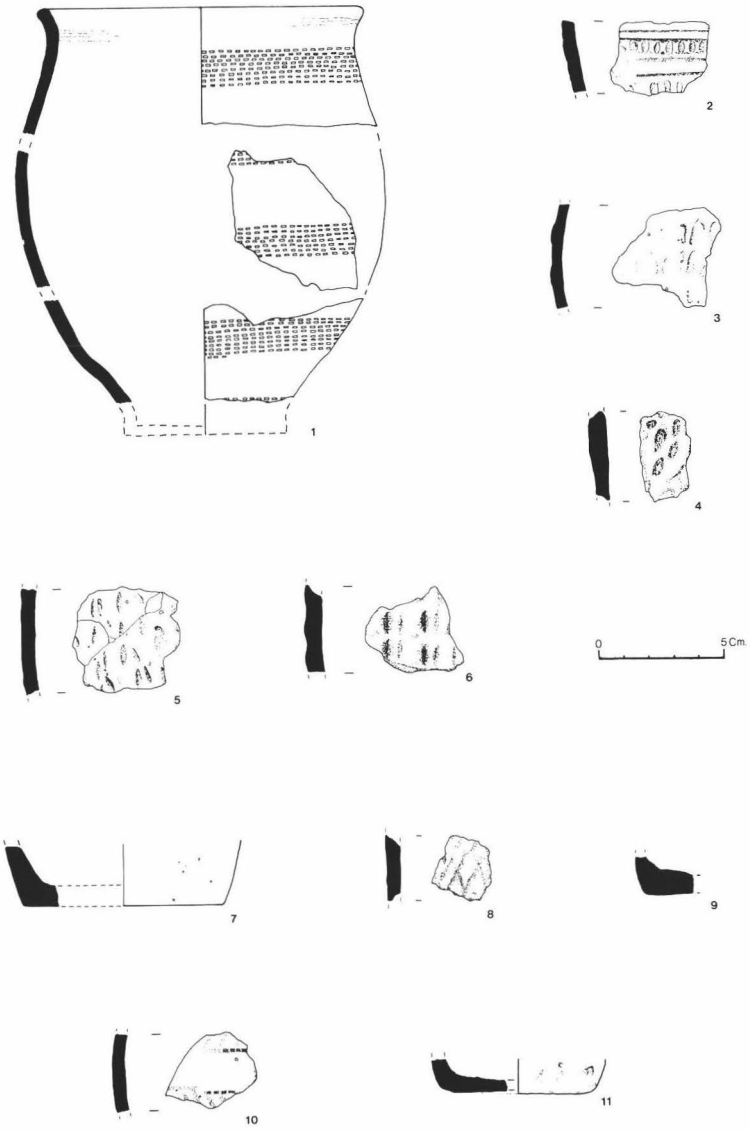

Fig. 7 Pyecombe Beaker Barrow: Pottery; see text for description.

Acknowledgements

Peter Drewett identified and commented on the Beaker pottery, and David Rudling commented on the Iron Age and Roman pottery.

The Illustrated Pottery (Fig. 7).

1: East Anglian beaker. Zoned combed decoration. Fabric 2. Red-brown in colour, core not reduced. This vessel was found incomplete, and crushed in the primary ditch fill.

2: East Anglian beaker. Rim sherd from ditch secondary fill. Combed decoration. Fabric 3.
3: East Anglian beaker. Sherd from ditch secondary fill. Combed decoration. Fabric 2.
4: Rusticated beaker domestic ware. Sherd from ditch secondary fill. Fingertip impression. Fabric 3.
5: Rusticated beaker domestic ware. Sherd from ditch secondary fill. Fingernail impression. Fabric 2.
6: Rusticated beaker domestic ware. Sherd from ditch secondary fill. Fingertip and nail impression. Fabric 3.
7: Beaker. Base sherd from ditch secondary fill. Fabric 2.
8: Late Southern Style beaker. Sherd from ditch secondary fill. Lozenge shaped combed decoration. Fabric 3.
9: Possible beaker base sherd from ditch secondary fill. Fabric 6.
10: Beaker body sherd from ditch secondary fill. Combed decoration. Fabric 3.
11: Beaker base sherd from ditch secondary fill. Fabric 2.

THE FLINT (by Robin Holgate)

Surface collection and excavation produced a total of 2603 humanly-struck flints (Table 3), 74 per cent of which came from the secondary fills of the barrow ditch (Fig. 9, B). The flints from the surface collection, topsoil and some of the secondary ditch fills were identified by Chris Butler.

Raw Material

The assemblage was produced using nodular flint obtained from the Chalk. The cortex was fresh and unabraded on a number of pieces from the secondary ditch fills, suggesting that some of the nodules used for flaking had probably been extracted from in situ flint seams. Rich seams of nodular flint are known to outcrop on this area of downland, particularly around Newtimber Hill. It is therefore likely that the flint was obtained from the vicinity of the site. All pieces in the assemblage had acquired a white or blue-white patination or cortication.

Technology and typology

Nearly 96 per cent of the assemblage consists of debitage. The majority of flakes and blades had been detached from cores using flint hammerstones; platforms were not prepared before detaching each removal and butt widths usually exceed 2 mm. Five of the cores had one platform, whilst the other two cores had two and three platforms respectively.

None of the flints from the primary ditch fill or the various features both inside and outside the penannular ditch could be refitted, but some of the flint clusters recovered from the secondary ditch fills (Fig. 9, B) contained a few pieces which could be refitted, e.g. five flakes from context 1606/5. The method of flaking appears to have been relatively simple: nodules of flint were worked from a flattish surface without prior preparation to detach a series of flakes, with little attention being paid to ensuring the removal of consistently shaped pieces. If a new platform for flaking was required, the core might be rotated until another surface suitable for use as a platform was located; otherwise, the core was discarded and flaking started on a fresh nodule. This core reduction strategy was commonly used during the later Neolithic-Bronze Age in Sussex.

Just over 4 per cent of the pieces in the assemblage had been flaked or retouched into implements. Of the identifiable types of implement, scrapers predominated followed by notched flakes (Table 3). Eight of the scrapers from the secondary ditch fills had invasive retouch (Fig. 8, 1–5), propably executed using a soft hammer. Scrapers fashioned in this way occur on later Neolithic and Bronze Age sites in Sussex, for example Bullock Down (Holgate 1988, 26).

TABLE 3
Flintwork by Context and type

Context	*Flakes*	*Blades*	*Shattered Pieces*	*Flake Cores*	*Miscellaneous Retouched Pieces*	*End Scrapers*	*Side Scrapers*	*Hollow Scrapers*	*Piercers*	*Knives*	*Cutting Flakes/Blades*	*Notched Flakes/Blades*	*Rod*	*Chopping Tool*	*Total*	*Fire-fractured Flints*
Surface Collection																
	106	8	20	—	8	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	146	136
Topsoil																
	331	27	63	—	17	4	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	444	241
Burial Pit																
33	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	2
35	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	2
in beaker	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—
Primary Ditchfill																
24	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	3
25	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	135
54	22	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	23	14
61	33	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	33	5
53	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Secondary Ditchfill																
5	487	8	5	3	4	6	4	—	—	—	1	2	—	—	520	461
22	946	20	15	3	17	4	1	2	—	1	1	1	1	—	1012	111
23	280	12	16	—	13	—	1	—	2	—	1	6	—	—	331	1268
7	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—
31	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	2
57	17	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	20	6
Internal Features																
14	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—
18	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—
100	2	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	4	—
External Features																
8	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	3
10	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	1
20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6
59	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—
60	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
69	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
70	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—
75	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—
79	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	1
Total	2290	76	120	7	60	20	8	2	3	2	4	9	1	1	2603	2027

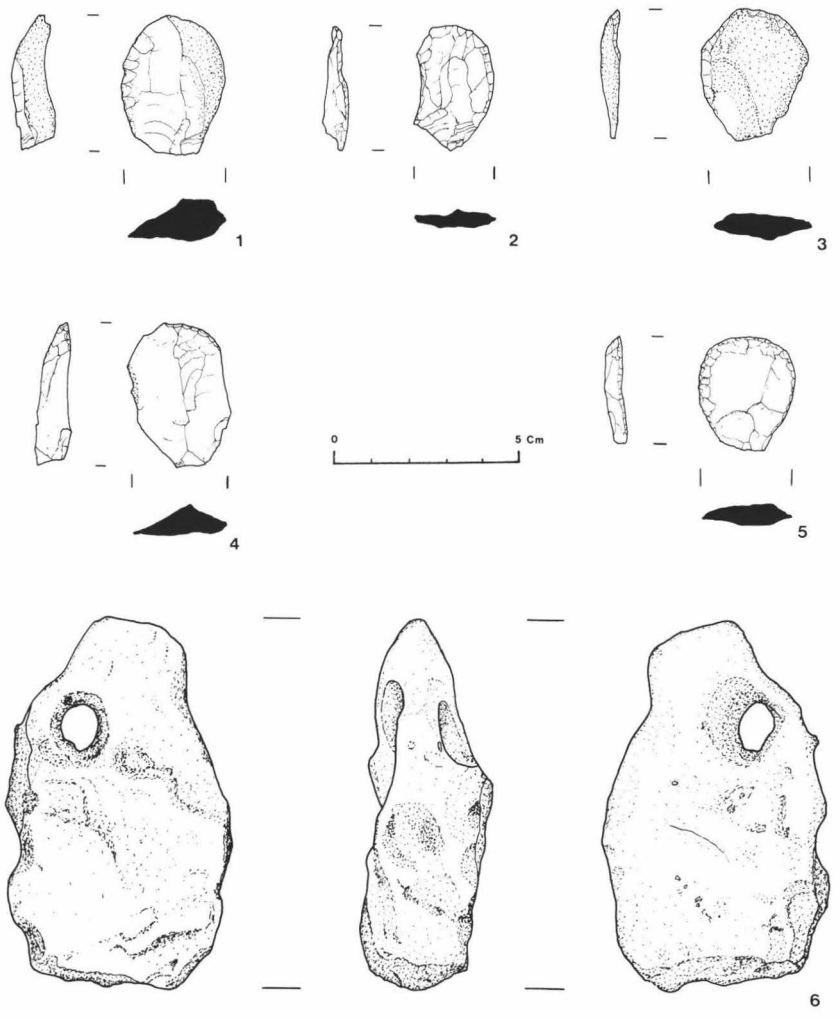

Fig. 8 Pyecombe Beaker Barrow: Other Finds; 1–5; Nest of Flint Scrapers, 6; Chalk Object.

Discussion

The flints recovered from the burial pit, the internal and external features, and the primary ditch fill mainly consist of undiagnostic hard hammer-struck flakes (Table 3). These pieces might have been deliberately deposited in the fill of these features, but it is also possible that they represent residual finds. There is thus no definite evidence for the use or deposition of flintwork at the time of the Beaker burial.

The flints from the secondary ditch fills were clustered on the north and east sides of the ditch. They appear to represent the debris from several flaking episodes, probably undertaken adjacent to the burial mound, which had been gathered up and placed in the ditch. Amongst this material was a variety of implements (Table 3; Fig. 9, C). It is not clear whether any of these implements were used, as none of the pieces were suitable for use wear analysis. However, the group of five invasively retouched scrapers found together in grid unit 0810 (Fig. 9, C) consist of a carefully

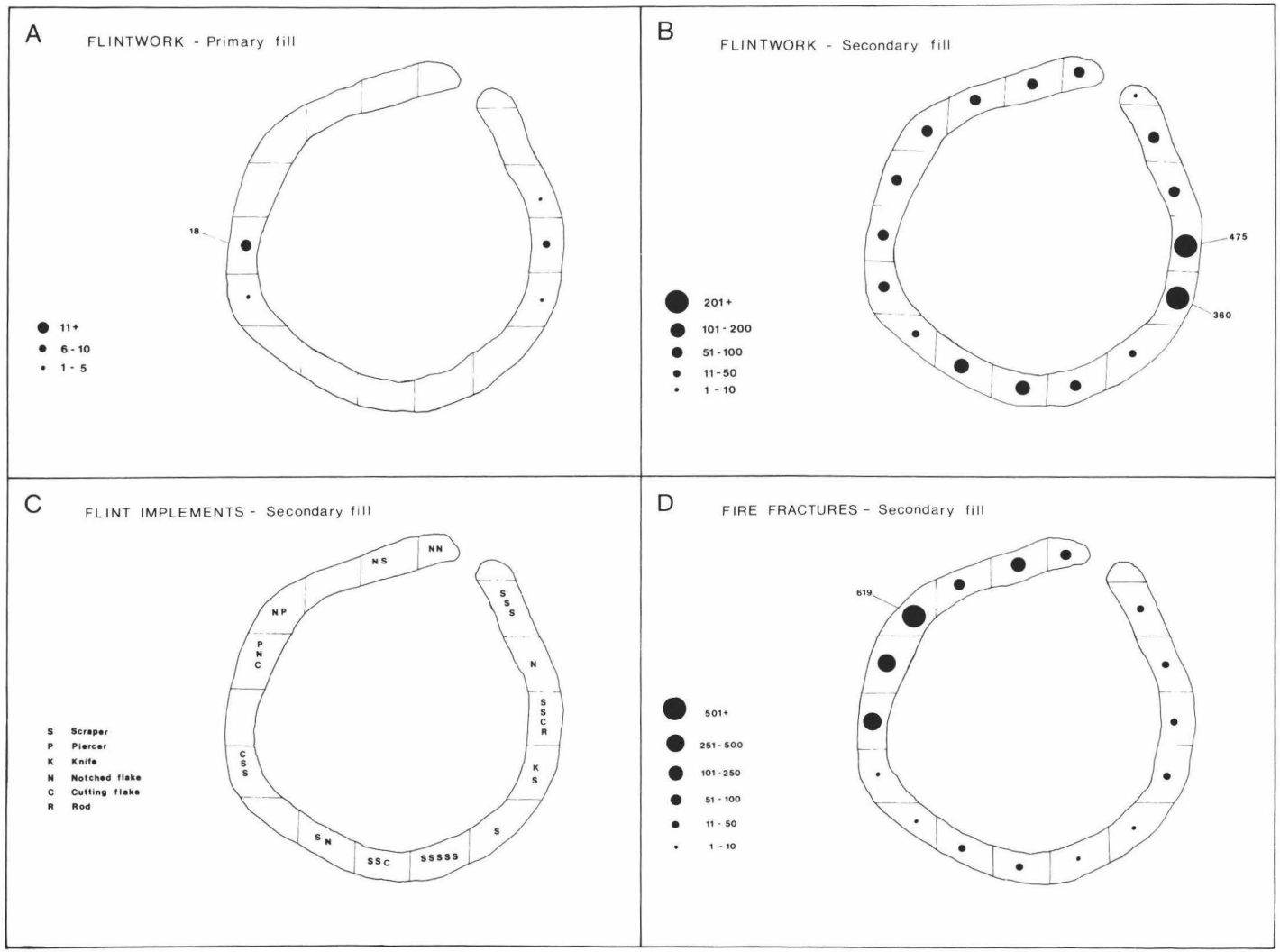

Fig. 9 Pyecombe Beaker Barrow: Distribution of A: Humanly struck flint from the Primary ditch fills; B: Humanly struck flint from the Secondary ditch fills; C: Flint implements from the Secondary ditch fills; and D: Fire-fractured flint from the Secondary ditch fills.

arranged deposit of possibly unused implements. Although the flints from the secondary ditch fills could relate to domestic or agricultural activity carried out in the vicinity of the burial mound, it is also possible that these flints result from activities or ceremonies, perhaps of a funerary or commemorative nature, associated with the continued use of the barrow in the earlier Bronze Age.

THE INHUMATION (by Elizabeth M Sanderson)

Introduction

The skeletal remains had been cleaned with the exception of the skull which needed further cleaning to assist in ageing the skeleton. Many of the skeletal elements were submitted in a broken condition and had to be reconstructed before they could be studied and measured. Otherwise the skeleton was in a good state of preservation and no conservation was done.

Description

Figure 10 shows the bones recovered. The following items are worth particular mention.

Sex

The bones are robust with well developed muscle attachments. The mastoid processes are well developed and the sciatic notch is relatively narrow.

Cranium

The brow ridge area has a vermiculate pattern similar to that described by Tappen (1978). The cranial index is 76 (see Table 4 below).

Stature

TABLE 4
Skeletal Indices

	Anterior/ Posterior mm.	*Transverse mm.*	*Index*	
Skull	188[1]	143	76	Mesocephalic
Femur				
Left	280	316	88.6	Eurymeria
Right	265	311	85.2	Eurymeria
Tibia				
Left	393	229	58.3	Platycnemia
Right	393	230	58.5	Platycnemia

[1]An estimate as Glabella is broken.

The stature is estimated (Trotter & Gleser 1952, 1958) at about 1.79 metres (5 ft 10 ins) from the measurements below.

TABLE 5
Maximum Lengths of Limb Bones

	Left mm.	*Right mm.*
Humerus	343	346
Ulna	281	285
Radius	263	264
Femur	485	485
Tibia	392	388
Fibula[1]	—	—

[1]Both Fibulae were broken

Dentition

	/	/								/		AX	A*	A/#		
	18	17	16	15	14	13	12	11	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
R																L
	48	47	46	45	44	43	42	41	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38
					/			X							A+	A+

/ tooth missing but socket present
X tooth lost ante-mortem
A abscess
* root remaining
# single root remaining, tooth probably lost post mortem
\+ loose in gum—gingiveal abscess

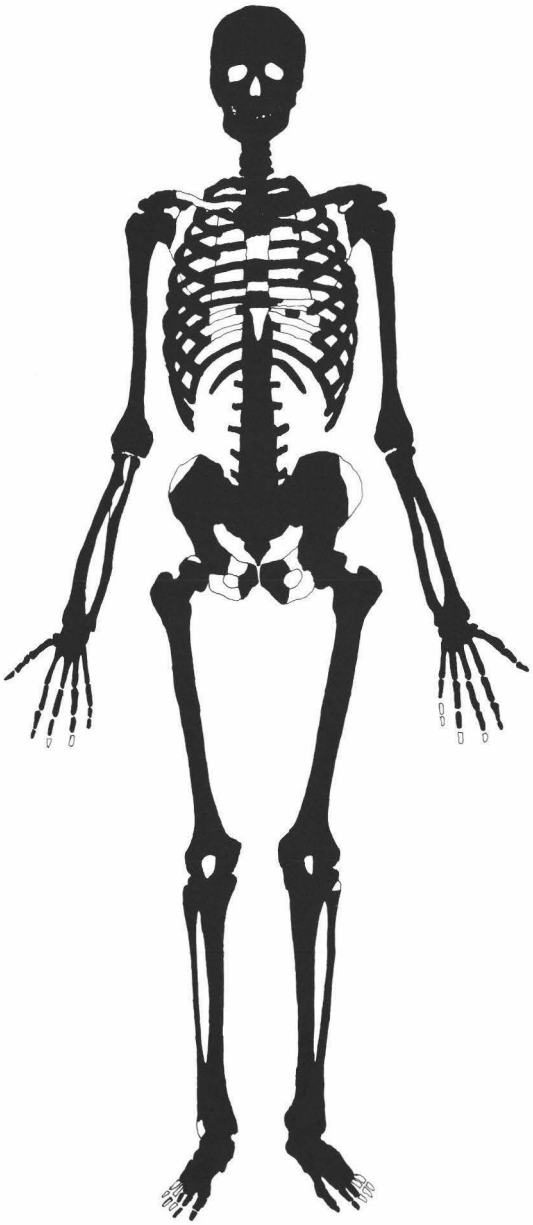

Fig. 10 Pyecombe Beaker Barrow: The Inhumation—showing bones recovered.

Build

The skeleton has prominent muscle attachments and large articular surfaces, both of which can provide some indication of the physical activities of the man.

(a) In the right humerus the pectoralis major, which adducts, flexes and rotates the arm medially, is well developed, as is the lateral head of the triceps, which extends the forearm.

(b) The tubercle on the proximal end of the left and right radius is large: this flexes and supinates the forearm and flexes and rotates the arm medially.

(c) In the femur, the adductor magnus and the gluteus maximus are very prominent. The former adducts the thigh and aids in flexion, extension and lateral rotation. The latter extends the thigh and rotates it laterally.

(d) The attachment of the Achilles tendon is most pronounced indicating much flexing of the leg and extending, adduction and inversion of the foot.

(e) The popliteal surface of the femur is extended which has been an indication of a squatting posture, but squatting facets are not discernable on the tibia.

(f) The distal articular surface of both first metatarsals is large dorso-ventrally, indicating much bending of the toes, perhaps in a kneeling position (Ubelaker 1979).

Pathology and Degenerative Disease

Dentition

The individual had poor dental health with two abscesses and considerable alveolar resorption due to periodontal disease. There is moderate calculus on the right side. The 28 is slightly impacted. The level of wear, as classified by Brothwell (1981, 72) is;

16: 5; 46: 5+; 36: 5+; 47: 3+; 27: 4+; 37: 3+; 48: 2; 28: 2+; 38: 2.

The pattern of attrition on the second and third molars is undoubtedly due to the abscesses which, when the infection was active, would have been so painful that he avoided chewing at the back of the mouth.

Vertebrae

The lumbar, thoracic and cervical vertebrae show evidence of arthritis on the bodies and the joints.

Clavicle

The right clavicle has a healed fracture showing trebeculation typical of more than six months, probably in excess of one year. The healed area is enlarged and the bone somewhat deformed.

Ulna

The left ulna has a healed fracture towards the epiphysis, of the type known as a 'Parry fracture'. The bone is not noticeably shorter than the right ulna, but the styloid process is turned further medially than that of the right ulna. The fracture of the ulna may have taken place after the clavicle was fractured.

Tibia

The left tibia has cortical thickening in mid shaft, but this is not considered abnormal.

Interpretation and Discussion

Sex

There is little doubt that the individual was male, from the evidence of the skull and pelvis particularly, but which is substantiated throughout the skeleton.

Age

It is not possible to give the precise age of the skeleton, mainly because the evidence is conflicting. The inner sutures of the skull are closed and the outer sutures are at a stage consistent with a mid to late 30's year old (Acsadi & Nemeskeri 1970). The teeth generally support this (Brothwell 1981) if the anomalous wear is disregarded. Interpretation of the pubic symphysis is difficult, and the only reliable deduction is that the skeleton is mature. In fact, taking the whole skeleton into account and bearing in mind the unreliability of skeletal ageing, it is preferable to state that the skeleton is of a mature adult.

General

It can be seen that the man described above was tall and muscular. His skull shape would appear to fall within the large central grouping of mesocephalic to brachycephalic. His platycnemia and eurymeria would be in conformity with other burials mentioned, as would the suggestion of squatting facets, albeit not specifically on the tibia.

He must have been physically active. The Parry fracture of the left ulna suggests a defensive move; that is, he lifted his arm to ward off a blow which broke the arm. He must, therefore, as a mature adult, have been in a fight. Was this his regular occupation? nothing in the bones would deny this.

Acknowledgement

I would like to record my appreciation for all the excellent advice and tutoring Miss T. Molleson has given me, and I would like to thank Dr R. Burwood who X-rayed and commented on a number of the bones.

THE CHALK OBJECT

This roughly rectangular block of chalk (Fig. 8, No. 6) was found in the secondary fill of the ditch, on the north side of the barrow. It weighs 185 grams and is perforated near the top by a single circular hole which has been bored from both sides. Around the hole there are wear marks consistent with the chalk block having been suspended, presumably as a weight.

THE FOREIGN STONE (by Tim Gosden)

The foreign stone and fossils found during the excavation are summarised on microfiche. All of the foreign stone examples probably originate from the Wealden series of rocks, and none show any signs of having been worked. However a number of sandstone specimens from the ditch display a gradation which could be a natural diagenetic feature, or the effect of intense heat by human means. If this is due to the effect of intense heat, it could be that the stones were incorporated into a hearth (evidence for two possible hearths being found in the ditch), or some other fire, or were being utilised for iron extraction.

TABLE 6
Absolute numbers of terrestrial Mollusca

	Sample	*14*	*5*	*1*	*6*	*3*	*4*	*9*
	Feature	*OLS*	|		*19*		|	*Ditch*
	Context	—	*35*	*33*	*33*	*33*	*33*	*61*
MOLLUSCA	*Weight*	*984*	*680*	*1000*	*1000*	*695*	*756*	*798*
Pomatias elegans (Müller)					3	+		+
Carychium tridentatum (Risso)					1			17
Cochlicopa lubrica (Müller)								4
Cochlicopa spp.								6
Vertigo pygmaea (Draparnaud)		4						1
Vallonia excentrica Sterki		1						
Acanthinula aculeata (Müller)					1	1	1	
Discus rotundatus (Müller)			3	5	16	4	1	7
Vitrina pellucida (Müller)							1	
Vitrea contracta (Westerlund)		1	4	12	22	5		7
Nesovitrea hammonis (Ström)								2
Aegopinella pura (Alder)				1				8
Aegopinella nitidula (Draparnaud)			4					3
Oxychilus cellarius (Müller)			1	8	1	20	1	2
Limacidae								2
Cecilioides acicula (Müller)		32		1	1	13	2	11
Clausilia bidentata (Ström)				1		1		
Trichia hispida (Linnaeus)								3
Cepaea/Arianta spp.					+			+
	Taxa	3	4	5	7	6	4	13
	TOTAL	6	12	27	65	31	4	62

TABLE 7
Absolute numbers of hand picked Mollusca

	Feature	*19*	| — *ditch* — |		*73*	*77*
	Context	*33*	*61*	*61*	*61*	*74*	*78*
MOLLUSCA	*Co-ords*		*0606*	*0608*	*0610*		
Pomatias elegans (Müller)		43		5	4		
Discus rotundatus (Müller)		12		2			
Oxychilus cellarius (Müller)		48			6		
Trichia striolata (C. Pfeiffer)		7		14	7		
Arianta arbustorum (Linnaeus)		3					
Helicodonta obvoluta (Müller)		1		2			
Helicigona lapicida (Linnaeus)		5					
Cepaea nemoralis (Linnaeus)		20		2	3	1	
Cepaea hortensis (Müller)					8	5	
Cepaea spp.		13	1	3	2		
Helix aspersa (Müller)							1
			|		|		
	TOTAL	152		64		1	1

LANDSCAPE HISTORY OF THE PYECOMBE BARROW (by Mike Allen)

The analysis of the soil samples and molluscan evidence from the burial pit, ditch deposits and other features is presented on microfiche pages 12 to 15, and in tables 6 and 7.

Site environmental history

Although the assemblages were depauperate and not from ideal contexts, the information is good enough to construct an hypothesis for the site, if not landscape, history. It is possible that some clearance of woodland had occurred prior to the first activity recorded here and that open downland existed in the immediate vicinity at least. The woodland probably existed close by and it is likely that only a relatively restricted area was cleared.

The occurrence of three specimens of *Helicodonta obvoluta* is of considerable interest. It is an extremely rare relict species whose present limited distribution in southern Britain is almost totally restricted to the western end of the South Downs (Cameron 1973; Kerney 1976) where it only occurs in a few old woodland habitats (Cameron 1972). Although now it survives in leaf-litter in ancient, particularly beech, woodland (Ellis 1969; 218–219) it is likely that its distribution was more wide spread in the past, though still predominantly confined to woodlands and decaying plant material beneath the leaf-litter. Its rarity is in part due to the species being anthropophobic, shunning habitats disturbed by humans (Evans 1972), and thus its association with ancient beech woodland today is due to the fact that they offer the only suitable habitat rather than the species preference for beech (Cameron 1973). In the archaeological record *H. obvoluta* has been mainly recorded from Neolithic flint mines; Easton Down, Wilts. (Kennard 1933), Stoke Down, West Sussex (Wade 1923), Cissbury and Church Hill, West Sussex (Evans and Jones 1981) and the Middle Bronze Age site at Stockbridge, Hants. (Kennard 1938). The record of *H. obvoluta* from Pyecombe is therefore significant, especially insofar as it derived from Bronze Age contexts and represents one of the later archaeological records of this species and is recorded about 30 miles east of its present distribution.

It is possible, in view of the presence of the anthropophobe *H. obvoluta,* and the proximity of woodland (as also indicated by the shade-loving molluscs in the burial pit and ditch fill) that the woodland surviving prior to and immediately post barrow construction was not previously subject to significant human intervention. The site, especially the grave, became a refuge for voles and shrew after it was covered indicating a hiatus in the activities of the disposal of the body and of the formal construction of the mound. Once the mound had been constructed, there may have been a comparatively rapid regeneration of vegetation possibly, although this cannot be stated with certitude, shrubs and woody species. The proximity of woodland to the barrow precludes extensive occupation in the immediate vicinity, and it is likely that any settlement associated with this burial probably lies in the valley from which this barrow is 'false-crested'. Such an hypothesis is presented by Allen for the majority of Beaker activity sites on the chalk downland (Allen 1988; 1990).

These hypotheses produce two main interpretations for further consideration; the environmental and landscape history, and the disposal of the dead and ritual in the early Bronze Age.

Landscape history

The evidence from the Pyecombe barrow indicates limited Neolithic activity in the area and only localised and selective woodland clearance in the later Neolithic. This trait can be seen in the earlier Neolithic causewayed enclosures at Offham to the east (Thomas 1977) and Bury Hill to the west (Thomas 1982). Thomas shows that localised deforestation and rapid regeneration occurred in all the Sussex causewayed enclosures (1982) thus indicating that by the later Neolithic large-scale woodland

clearance had not occurred. Indeed Allen (1988, 84) postulates that 'major permanent clearance . . . seems to have occurred in the early Bronze Age (Beaker period) or middle Bronze Age'. However, at Pyecombe at least, clearance was not extensive in the early Bronze Age and it is unfortunate that no evidence was available in the upper ditch fills which would certainly have encompassed the middle Bronze Age.

Disposal of the dead

The molluscan evidence certainly points to a significant hiatus between the disposal of the body and the erection of a mound over the grave. Therefore two distinct ceremonial or ritual activities can be postulated. That of the disposal of the body and that involved with the construction of a formal monument over the grave. Although this is undoubtedly an unusual conclusion to reach it is by no means unique in southern Britain. A beaker burial cut through the old land surface at Windmill Hill contained a large number of small mammal bones, the assemblage of which has been interpreted by Brothwell as a pit-fall trap. It is therefore likely that the body remained open and possibly only covered by hurdling or planks for some while before the grave was infilled (Whittle pers. comm.). A similar interpretation was made of Beaker burials in a round barrow on West Overton Farm (Swanton pers. comm.) only four miles to the east of Windmill Hill. Although we are not postulating that the burial at Pyecombe was left uncovered, this does demonstrate that 'burial' was a complex action and may involve more than a single episode of activity. A more satisfactory parallel can be seen at the Buckskin barrow, Hampshire (Allen *et al.* forthcoming). Here although no primary burial accompanied the monument, it was evident that extensive activity (feasting and burning) occurred within an area demarcated by a stake palisade. Subsequently, and perhaps sometime later, a mound was thrown up over the area. Once again a temporal disparity is evident between the first activity, whether burial or other ritual, and the construction of the mound, Thus, the hypothesis for a significant temporal hiatus at Pyecombe is not unparalleled, nor is the delay in covering the body or constructing a formal monument necessarily unusual.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Pat Stevens and Mark Maltby for the identification of the bone and their comments on my subsequent interpretation. Thanks are also due to Martin Bell and Arthur ApSimon for their comments and suggestions on an earlier draft of this report.

DISCUSSION

There was little evidence for any activity prior to the construction of the barrow except, perhaps, for pit 14 which predates the barrow mound.

It appears that at the time the barrow was built the local environment comprised a cleared area, probably partially cultivated, with some cover, scrub or woodland nearby. This suggests that the barrow may have been situated on or adjacent to a field boundary, perhaps marked by the line of postholes to the east of the barrow. This situation would allow for an environment such as that suggested for the barrow on the molluscan evidence.

Once the burial pit had been dug, the body was inserted into it, and laid out in a crouched position, orientated NW/SE and facing north (Fig. 1). Grave goods were also placed by the body at this stage, or perhaps later. These included the beaker, which could have been made specifically for inclusion with the burial, the wristguard and dagger, probably personal belongings of the deceased. It is possible that other grave goods, for which no evidence remains, were also added. There was no indication of a coffin or shroud having been used.

It is not clear whether the burial pit was then immediately backfilled, or left open for a period of time. However, the inhumation became slightly disarticulated at some stage indicating

Fig. 11 Pyecombe Beaker Barrow: The Burial.

that some post burial disturbance had taken place.

An initial fill covered the body, resulting either from a weathering of material into the burial pit, or from careful backfilling with fine material. This was followed by the complete backfilling of the burial pit, probably using the material originally excavated from the pit.

It is almost certain that a period of time elapsed between the burial pit being backfilled and the barrow mound being thrown up (Allen, this report). The reason for this hiatus is uncertain; there could have been some ritual purpose, or simply that other tasks took precedence, for example gathering in the harvest, and work on the barrow construction was temporarily halted.

However, at some stage a penannular ditch was dug around the burial pit and the excavated material thrown up to construct the barrow mound. The ditch did not completely enclose the barrow; a small causeway was left on the north west side, presumably as a ceremonial entrance/exit. A surplus of material seems to have been produced for the mound, as part of the barrow ditch on the north west side was backfilled with unabraded chalk and flint. As there was no primary fill below this material, very little time must have elapsed between the digging of the ditch and its backfilling.

On the south west side a series of stakeholes was found in the bottom of the ditch (see Fig. 12). The purpose of these stakeholes is unclear; it seems that a structure of some sort was erected in the ditch, possibly with more than one phase of construction as some holes were cut by others. Revetment for the barrow mound is unlikely as the holes are situated on the uphill

Fig. 12 Pyecombe Beaker Barrow: The stakeholes in the bottom of the ditch on the south-west side.

side of the barrow. Whatever their purpose, it appears to have been a short-lived structure as the fill of the empty stakeholes was the same as the primary fill of the ditch.

The primary fill in the ditch accumulated fairly rapidly. Its clay matrix suggests that it was formed from a wind blown fine silt, perhaps from cultivated fields around the barrow. It was interesting to note that areas of ditch left open for some two months during the excavation began to silt up with a similar material blown in from the surrounding ploughed field. Few finds were present in this fill, although an incomplete crushed East Anglian beaker was found on the west side (Fig. 2), indicating that some activity was taking place around the barrow at this time.

The secondary fill accumulated more slowly up until the time the barrow was ploughed out. However, most of the accumulation appears to have taken place during the later Beaker period when activity continued around the barrow. Material associated with this activity consists of quantities of pottery, flintwork and fire-fractured flint, together with possible evidence for hearths or fires and ceremonial deposition (Holgate, this report) of artefacts in the ditch.

The continued activity during the later Beaker period suggests that there was a domestic settlement relatively close by. The inhabitants were cultivating the fields around the barrow, and occasionally visiting the barrow either for some ceremonial purpose or perhaps simply to deposit waste material in the barrow ditch.

To the east of the barrow a number of postholes were located. These may have been part of the field boundary mentioned above, alternatively they may have formed part of a different structure, as some seem too large to have simply held fencing posts. A number of the holes had a large flint placed in the bottom of the hole, and in some there was evidence of flints being used to pack the holes. However, the presence of cattle teeth in some holes could indicate a ceremonial purpose for some of them.

The barrow (Fig. 13) appears to be a solitary monument, with no other barrows nearby. The nearest round barrows are on the west spur of Newtimber Hill, or across the valley on Wolstonbury Hill (see Fig. 1). Its position on the false crest of the Downs means that it could have been seen clearly from Wolstonbury, the opposite side of the valley, and from the valley below where Allen (this report) suggests a contemporary domestic site could have existed. Fieldwalking around the barrow (Butler 1988 and forthcoming) has indicated that there was widespread activity here in the later Neolithic/early Bronze Age. To date, although numerous activity areas have been located, there is no firm evidence for a domestic site in the immediate vicinity of the barrow.

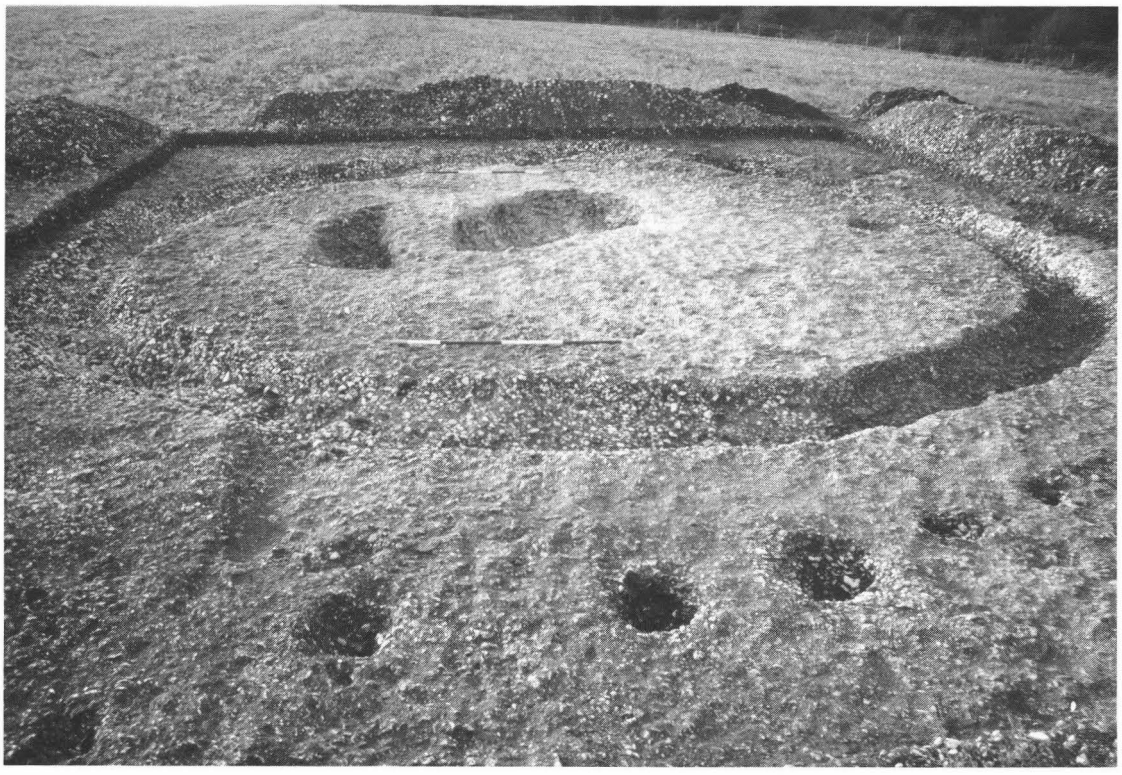

Fig. 13 Pyecombe Beaker Barrow: The excavated Barrow, facing west.

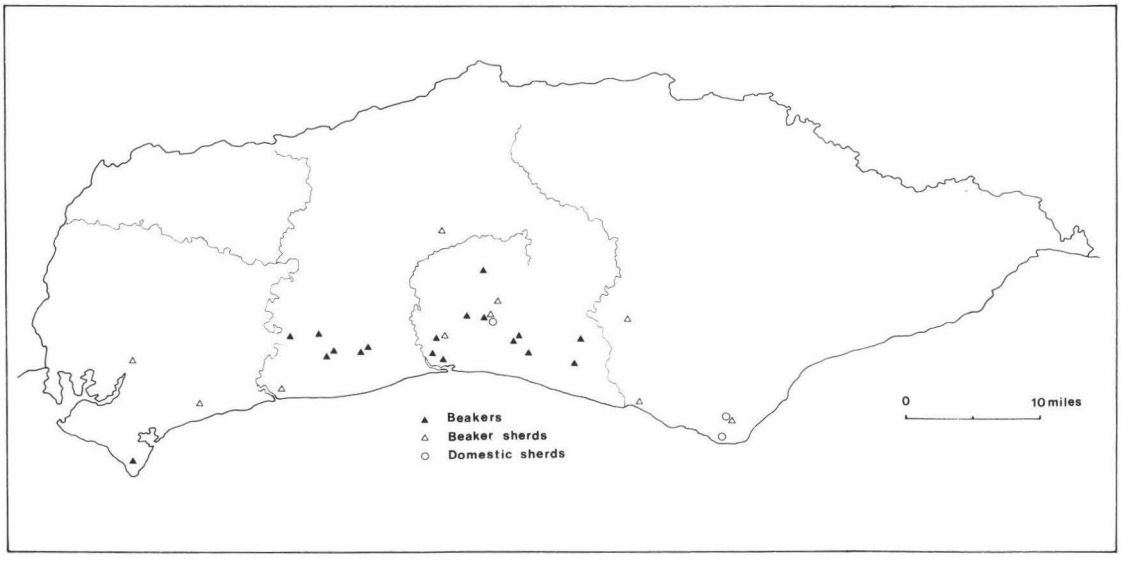

Fig. 14 Pyecombe Beaker Barrow: Distribution of Beakers and Beaker Pottery in Sussex.

Whoever the person buried in this barrow was, his status in society must be considered as important. His grave group is one of the 'richest' so far discovered in Sussex, and amongst the 'richest' Beaker burials so far recorded in South East England. The social standing of this individual, whether within a family unit or whole community, must have been significant enough to bestow upon him the privilege of burial in this fashion, when compared to the majority of the population at that time for whom there is no evidence of burial. He seems to have died a natural death, but his physical condition indicates that life was harsh during these times. The two broken, but healed, bones suggest that he was a party to one or more violent incidents during his life.

Beaker activity in Sussex appears more dense on the South Downs than elsewhere in Sussex (Fig. 14), with only a small number of finds known from the Weald. This may, however, reflect the intensity of research in these two areas. Most of the evidence from the Downs has come from barrows or other burials, with little in the way of Beaker settlements, with the notable exception of Belle Tout (Bradley 1970). However, recent excavations and surveys (e.g. Holgate 1988) are turning up evidence for Beaker activity, suggesting that occupation was perhaps more widespread than previously thought.

Carbon 14 Date

A Carbon 14 date was carried out, with the aid of funding from the Lloyds Bank Dating Fund, on a sample of bone from the inhumation; unfortunately problems were encountered due to the lack of collagen, and a date of 7520 ± 140 BP (5570 BC) uncalibrated was produced. Scottish Universities Research and Reactor Centre; GU-2574.

Microfiche

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The finds and site records have been deposited at Barbican House, Lewes.

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Sussex Archaeological Collections **129** (1991), 29–32

EAST GRINSTEAD BEFORE THE TOWN

by M. J. Leppard, M.A.

The town of East Grinstead was founded and laid out in the early 13th century but its name was already in existence as that of a hundred, first recorded in Domesday Book in 1086 when it consisted of 13 scattered settlements with no identifiable centre. The purpose of this article is to discuss the topography of the site of the town before its foundation and such related issues as the origin of the parish church and the meeting place of the hundred and to draw conclusions from the evidence considered.

I. D. Margary showed how prehistoric ridge-top tracks are still discernible in the present pattern of roads around East Grinstead and how secondary roads developed as short cuts through and to the town (Margary 1946). There is no reason to challenge his conclusions, though the implication in his maps that the town originated as early as Saxon times cannot be substantiated. The subsequent work of Mr P. D. Wood has made it possible to account for features of the roads and paths in the town that Margary found curious and to date the foundation of the town.

A survey of the borough of East Grinstead in 1564 enabled Wood (1968) to map the town at that time. The regular pattern revealed is clearly not the result of haphazard growth but planned. In a second article he discussed this layout, dating it from documents to some time before 1224, and developments from then to 1564 (Wood 1976). East Grinstead is thus an example of a medieval new town, albeit a modest one.

Fig. 1 (based on the 1899 6-inch Ordnance Survey map and prepared for this article by Mr Wood) suggests how the laying out of the town impinged on the existing road plan and accounts for features which puzzled Margary. It also locates the modern place-names mentioned in this article.

Thus the southernmost stretch of London Road, from the Post Office to the High Street, is a short cut (as Margary recognised), its line dictated by the borough's western boundary.

The original north–west/south–east line, surviving as the twitten Institute Walk and Vicarage Walk, was slightly deflected to run along the northern boundary. The fact of its existence is testimony to its pre-dating the borough, for there would have been no need for it when the borough was laid out; there is no corresponding thoroughfare along the southern boundary. It was certainly there in 1597/8 when it is mentioned in the Buckhurst Terrier as 'lane to Rowsies' (Suss. Rec. Soc. **39,** 60).

Church Lane represents the northern continuation of Hermitage Lane to join Blackwell Hollow, both lanes slightly re-aligned at their High Street ends to suit the rectilinear lay-out of the borough, whose foundation they must therefore ante-date. Alternatively the High Street end of Hermitage Lane, which cuts deeply through rocks, could be the original line and the diagonal path across the churchyard its continuation. Either way, this line, which the diagonal path across the Playfield also represents, was intersected by the continuation of Vicarage Walk to Old Road, but the laying out and making up of De La Warr Road and the northern part of Church Lane in the early 1890s have obscured this pattern.

Similarly the construction of the present line of Lewes Road in *c.* 1826 meant the abandonment of the route along the front of the grounds of Sackville College (now a footpath only) cut

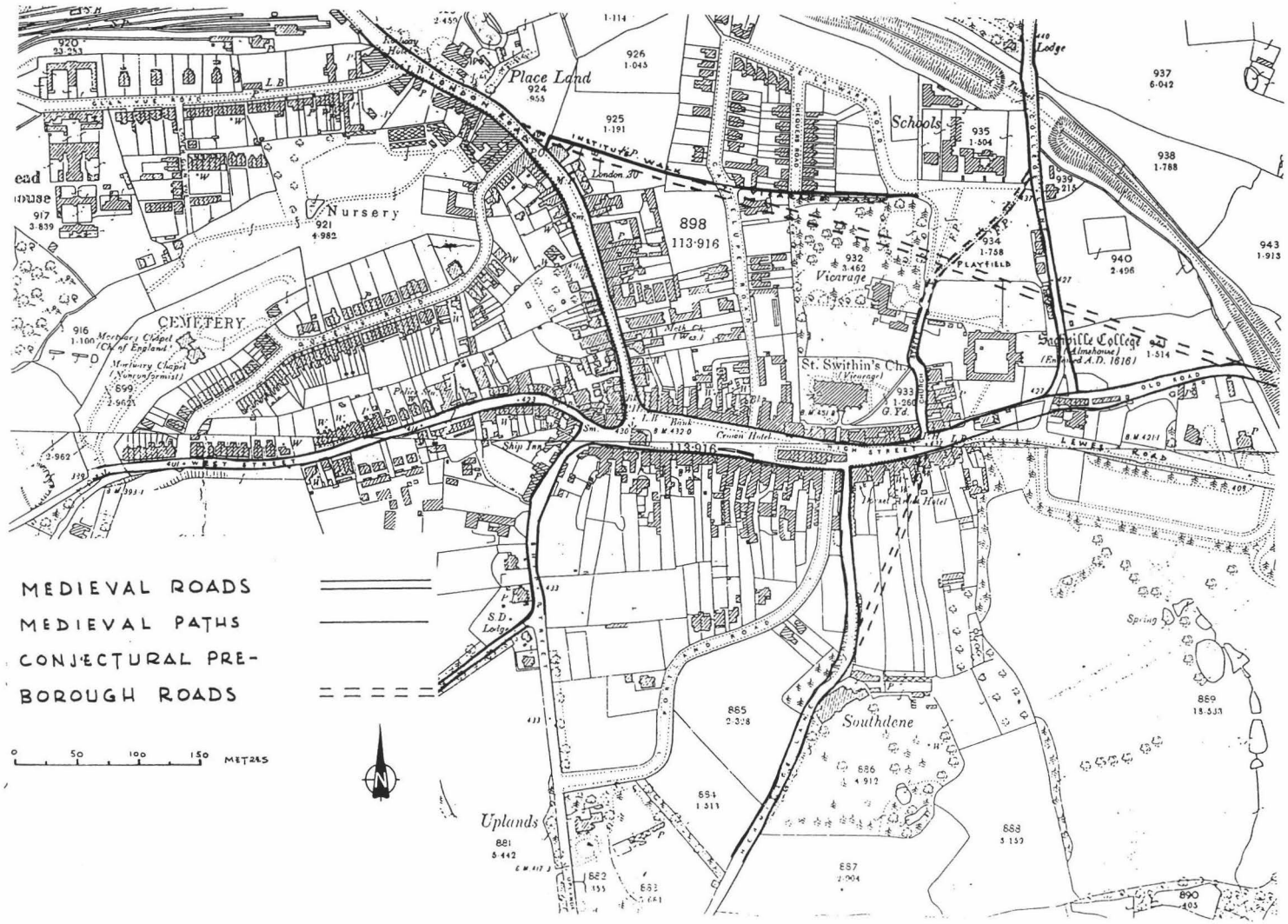

Fig. 1 Medieval roads and paths and conjectural pre-borough roads at East Grinstead (based on 1899 6-inch O.S. and prepared for this article by Mr P. D. Wood).

steeply through what is now a grassy bank into Old Road (Wood 1968, 58). Not realising this, Margary posited an incredible 'highly inconvenient . . . zig-zag'.

College Lane is probably another short cut or re-alignment, and Ship Street seems to be another short cut, an alternative to the steep and narrow Hermitage Lane, but it does not run along the borough boundary.

The roughly rectangular outline of the borough includes the parish church, churchyard and glebe. This could be interpreted prima facie as either existing provision incorporated in the new lay-out or new provision for the new town.

A church at East Grinstead is first mentioned in *c.* 1100 as part of a grant to Lewes Priory (Suss. Rec. Soc. **38,** 75). Domesday book records one priest in the hundred, at Brambletye, where a chapel of St Mary is recorded from the reign of Edward I (1272–1307) to *c.* 1545 (Leppard 1971, 33). There is no reason, however, to suppose that this chapel was the original parish church; such a loss of status seems to have occurred rarely, if ever, and there are reasons to believe that the present church is on the original site, even though the building we have now was built *de novo* between 1789 and 1812 and pictures of its predecessor (reproduced *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **88,** 164,166) suggest nothing earlier than the 14th century.

One reason is its dedication to St Swithun, bishop of Winchester 852–862, whose cult flourished in England and overseas following the translation of his remains into the cathedral in 971, the very period when the East Grinstead area was beginning to be settled (Arnold-Forster 1899 **1,** 410–13). Another consideration is accessibility: the hill-top site where early tracks met would obviously be the most convenient place for the settlers around to meet for worship.

The church does not, however, occupy the highest point in the town; Sackville College does, in a small rectagular area bounded by Church Lane, the High Street and College Lane, lying outside the borough, and which by 1561 had attained the status of an independent manor under the name Rowses (Suss. Rec. Soc. **20,** 375). This status was a mystery to Wood (1968) but a plausible explanation can be suggested.

That this area was neither used for the church nor, when the borough was founded, included in its bounds (somewhat spoiling the symmetry of its lay-out) nor subsequently taken into them when room for extra building had to be found in the highway (Wood 1968, 56), must be because it was already in use for some important purpose which could not be set aside. The obvious use, long before the establishment of the town, would have been as the meeting place of the hundred, no site for which has ever been either recorded or suggested. The meeting place of any hundred had to be easily accessible, open and readily identifiable, as this site undoubtedly was.

Since the parish of East Grinstead and the hundred of East Grinstead were virtually co-terminous it is tempting to support this argument by suggesting that we have here an example of a minster church serving a hundred. It is probably wiser, however, to accept W. Page's conclusion that in Sussex such churches were found only in the south of the county, especially in view of the comparatively late settlement of this area (Page 1915, 79–81).

The name of the hundred, Grenestede, 'green place', gives little help with the location of the meeting place. 'Stede' is a general term with such a range of applications (Smith 1956, 147–49) that it would be unwise to single out one of them, though 'place of communal activity' would be the most attractive to support the argument of this paper. 'Green' implies cultivation but does not permit any more definite conclusion about the location of the meeting place.

The probability of its having been at the Sackville College site is, however, supported by the fact that the town bears the name of the hundred within which it was founded; for, though no doubt a town established anywhere within its borders could take its name, it is more likely to have done so if sited at or adjoining the hundred meeting place. Furthermore any new

town might be expected to take on the name already borne by its site unless there was good reason for it not to do so; therefore this town very probably was founded at the eponymous centre of its hundred.

A further consideration which may be significant is that the northern part of this area is a public open space called the Playfield at least since 1811 (Sackville Settlement Act) and used for recreation throughout the 19th and 20th centuries to this day. It is not unreasonable to infer some ancient right of communal assembly perpetuated by this name and use.

The problem remains, however, when and how the rest of this area began to be built upon and/or acquire its name of Rowses and manorial status. In 1553, in the earliest known reference to its name, it is 'a messuage called Rowses alias Rustes' (*Patent Rolls, Edward VI,* **5,** 82). Presumably there came a time when the hundred courts could be held in a convenient building in the town and a member of the Rous family was able to acquire the site.

What else might have been already there when the new town was laid out can only be conjecture: no doubt a dwelling for the priest(s) serving the church, quite likely some place of refreshment, perhaps a few cottages.

The limits of speculation have been reached, if not exceeded. Nothing in this paper has been proved; it can only aspire to reasonable deductions from limited evidence on a subject no-one has tackled before. It is particularly unfortunate that no archaeological investigations have ever been undertaken in or around the medieval town, but there has in fact almost never been an opportunity. When the time comes that they are undertaken or that new documents are discovered then it may be possible to give these theories better support or to improve upon them.

Acknowledgement

I am grateful to Mr P. D. Wood for his comments on a first draft of this article and for kindly preparing the map used as Fig. 1.

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Sussex Archaeological Collections **129** (1991), 33–38

FRAGMENTS OF 12th-CENTURY SCULPTURE IN BOSHAM CHURCH

by Kathryn Morrison and Ronald Baxter

Five hitherto unpublished voussoirs decorated with chevron are housed in the vestry of Bosham church. How they arrived there remains a mystery. The possibility that they formed part of an early 12th-century campaign at Bosham is considered. It is suggested that the voussoirs, together with the corbel table of the west tower, were created by a workshop from Chichester, but the exact location of the arch or arches represented by the voussoirs remains an open question.

The purpose of this paper is to present six hitherto unpublished fragments of 12th-century sculpture which are stored in the tower vestry of the church of the Holy Trinity, Bosham (West Sussex). The fragments were noticed by the authors during a research trip undertaken on behalf of the British Academy, *Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in the British Isles* in April 1990, at which time some were built into an 'Easter Garden', but when and where they first came to light remains a mystery. Parishioners with long-standing connections with the church and an informed interest in its fabric were unable to recall their discovery, which cannot therefore have occurred in the very recent past. Although Nairn did not record the fragments in his survey of Bosham church published in the Sussex volume of the *Buildings of England* (1965), they were probably already housed, unrecognised, in the vestry.[1] No late 19th- or early 20th-century publications concerning the fabric and furnishings of the church mention the fragments, including Rev K. D. McDermott's book of 1906 (corrected edition 1912), which remains the most comprehensive study of the church to date.[2] As McDermott would undoubtedly have possessed an intimate knowledge of his church and its contents, it is reasonable to assume that the fragments were found some time after 1912, but before the 1960s.

Five of the fragments are voussoirs, carved with the same chevron design (Fig. 1). They have been numbered according to their state of preservation, and have the following dimensions:

1. Face: 29.5 cm. long × 13.5 cm. tapering to 11.5 wide; max. depth: 27 cm. This voussoir is particularly well preserved (Fig. 3).
2. Face: 30 cm. long × 13 cm. tapering to 11.5 cm; max. depth: 23.25. The face is damaged.
3. Face: 30.5 cm. long × 14 cm. tapering to 11.5 cm; max. depth: 26 cm. The face is damaged.
4. Face: 28 cm. long × 15 cm. tapering to approx. 13 cm; max. depth: 22 cm. The face is badly worn and the narrow end is damaged.
5. Face: 31.5 cm. long × 12 cm. tapering to 9.5 cm; max. depth: 21.5 cm. The face and one bearing surface are badly damaged.

The sixth fragment is a small fluted capital, carved on three sides (Fig. 4). The impost, capital and necking are carved from a single block which measures: height: 18 cm; width: 22 cm; max. depth: 24.5 cm. The height of the capital alone is 9.5 cm. and the diameter of the shaft recess 9.5 cm. Capitals of this type appear in a limited number of architectural contexts, most notably on blind arcading, none of which survives in the 12th century parts of Bosham church. It could

Fig. 1. Bosham (West Sussex), Holy Trinity: assembly of voussoirs 1–5 (© British Academy).

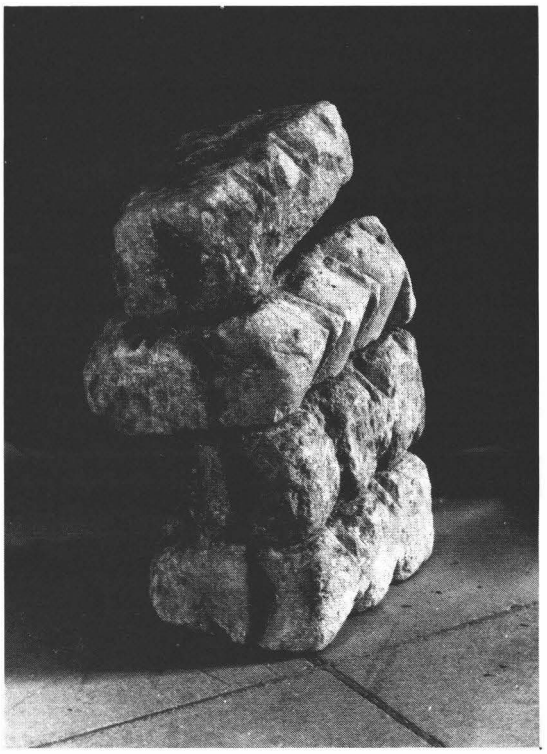

Fig. 2. Bosham (West Sussex), Holy Trinity: assembly of voussoirs 1–4 (© British Academy).

Fig. 3. Bosham (West Sussex), Holy Trinity: voussoir 1 (© British Academy).

Fig. 4. Bosham (West Sussex), Holy Trinity: capital (© British Academy).

not possibly have come from the same arch as the voussoirs, which form the focus of this study.

The chevron on the voussoirs is composed of simple mouldings: three fat rolls separated by two thinner rolls. The face of each block was prepared by chiselling an oblique surface to either side of the central axis, reserving a salient outer edge. The mouldings were then carved with each unit of chevron pointing outwards, and the underside of the innermost roll was undercut with a triangular hollow. Once the voussoirs were assembled they would have formed an archivolt displaying continuous two-directional zig-zag on its face, simultaneously following the curve of the arch and projecting outwards, and a row of hollow triangles on its soffit (Fig. 2).

Chevron, which first appeared *c.* 1110–1120, became one of the most popular types of architectural decoration in 12th-century English churches, and lent itself to endless variations.[3] It cannot be dated typologically, as some of the earliest datable examples are already very complicated, but the simplicity of the mouldings of the Bosham voussoirs weighs in favour of a date fairly early in the 12th century.

It is possible to suggest what sort of arch the Bosham voussoirs constituted. Of the five voussoirs, four are sufficiently well-preserved to allow estimates to be made of the diameter of the semi-circular arch or arches from which they came. It may be, of course, that the arches in question were not semi-circular at all, but

pointed or segmental. The first possibility seems to be ruled out by the probable date of the voussoirs, but in any event, by the time pointed arches came into general use chevron ornament had been largely superseded. The possibility that the voussoirs came from a segmental or a depressed arch cannot be dismissed on general principles, but is here ignored owing to the relative rarity of these structures, and to the impossibility of making any estimate at all of the span of such an arch from the evidence available.

Even assuming that the fragments all came from a semi-circular arch, or arches, the calculation of the span is not entirely straightforward. An examination of almost any portal of this period will soon reveal that the voussoirs are never made so accurately that the lines of their long edges, when produced, meet at a point in the centre of the arch. Rather, the individual voussoirs were cut to approximately the correct dimensions, and adjustments made by varying the thickness and taper of the mortar beds between the stones. As a result of this, we should not expect the estimates of arch diameter calculated from the dimensions of each voussoir to agree exactly, even if they all came from the same archivolt.

It can easily be shown that the inner diameter of a semi-circular arch of regular trapezoidal voussoirs is given by:

$$d = 2ac/(b-c)$$

where d is the diameter, a is the length of the voussoir, and b and c its maximum and minimum widths.

For the four voussoirs with relatively undamaged faces, this formula gives hypothetical arch spans as follows:

Voussoir 1: 339 cm.
Voussoir 2: 460 cm.
Voussoir 3: 281 cm.
Voussoir 4: 364 cm.

This would seem to suggest that the fragments are from at least two archivolts, and possibly three. The arc of voussoirs 1 & 4 would easily fit inside that of voussoir 2, and outside that of voussoir 3. Two considerations militate against this hypothesis, however. First, the two (or three) orders were all carved with exactly the same pattern of chevron. This is extremely rare in a form of ornament which became as popular as it did mainly because of the ease with which endless variations of the motif could be carved. Secondly, although these four voussoirs suggest different spans of arch, their face lengths are very similar. This means that the orders were approximately the same width, which would again be most unusual.

If the voussoirs were from a single arch (or from a series of identical arches) then this pattern of variation within roughly comparable dimensions is precisely what we would expect. Although the differences in span implied by the dimensions of the four voussoirs seems great, it would not have involved a great deal of adjustment when the arch was actually constructed. Only 7 mm. thickness of extra mortar either side of the inner face of voussoir 3, and the same thickness either side of the outer face of voussoir 2, would be enough to reconcile both to a perfect semi-circular arch of 370 cm. span. In practice, of course, this degree of precision would not have been needed, since minor changes in curvature around the arch would cancel each other out, and would be visually almost imperceptible.

The implication of the above calculations, that the Bosham voussoirs belonged to an arch of substantial proportions, is difficult to relate to the fabric of the building.

The chancel arch is mid- to late-11th century in date. The Anglo-Saxon chancel was twice extended: the first extension of *c.* 1100, possibly contemporary with the chancel arch if a late rather than mid 11th-century date is accepted, is characterised by herringbone masonry;[4] the second extension dates from the 13th century. The present piscina forms part of the 13th-century extension, and it seems likely that the pillar piscina now set into the east wall of the 13th-century north aisle belonged to the chancel of *c.* 1100. This is simply a short column with an attic base, carrying a cushion capital and a heavy

impost which has been hollowed out to hold water.

At about the same time as the chancel received its first extension, a fourth storey was added to the tower. The dating evidence for this is found in its west window, a twin bell opening with a central shaft carrying a simple block capital with chamfered angles. A change in mortar above the bell-openings, clearest on the west and north faces, suggests that the corbel table represents a later modification.[5] The corbel table only survives on the east, north and half of the west faces of the tower and comprises a series of semi-circular arches carried on simple rolls and rudimentary animal and human heads. It assumes the same unusual form as the sections of corbel table which survive at the eastern end of Chichester Cathedral, dating from the early 12th century.[6] Designs of individual corbels at Bosham and Chichester are remarkably similar and were clearly produced by the same workshop.

The appearance at Bosham of workmen from Chichester in the early 12th century is highly suggestive: the south doorway of the south-west tower of the cathedral, normally dated to the second quarter of the century, presents close parallels for the Bosham voussoirs.[7] It has two archivolts carved with chevron of slightly different designs which are both technically related to the Bosham chevron, with each unit carved on oblique surfaces and pointing outwards (Fig. 5.). The face of the inner order is carved with two fat rolls separated by one thinner roll, and another thin roll decorates the soffit. The face of the outer order is more complex, with three fat rolls with hollows between, and the soffit is carved with hollow triangles. The Bosham voussoirs thus resemble the inner order on their face, and the outer order on their soffit: similarities sufficient to suggest that they were carved by sculptors from the Chichester Cathedral workshop.

The presence of two campaigns of the late 11th and early 12th centuries in the tower at Bosham, the second involving Chichester sculptors, at least raises the possibility that something equally complex may have been going on elsewhere in the church. The appearance of the east end immediately before it received its 13th-century extension is a matter which could only be resolved through excavation. Did it possess an apsidal end preceded by a decorated arch?[8] Similarly, the appearance of the nave before it received its aisles and arcades in the early 13th century is open to conjecture. Did these replace 12th-century aisles with decorated arcades?[9] Neither the nave nor the chancel have retained physical evidence to support such hypotheses, and an alternative possibility, that the voussoirs were brought to Bosham church from elsewhere, must be countenanced. In such a case, the connection with the corbel table, via a Chichester workshop, would have to be viewed

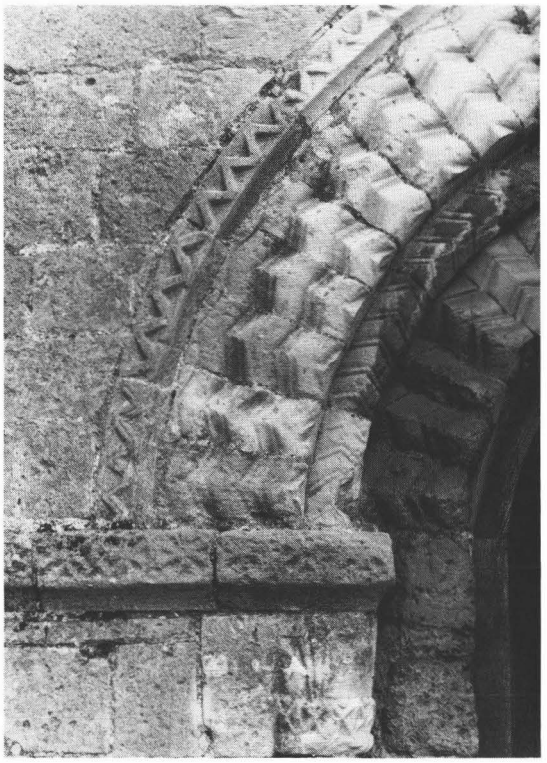

Fig. 5. Chichester Cathedral (West Sussex): detail of SW tower doorway (© British Academy).

as coincidence, rendering the possibility highly unsatisfactory. It nevertheless deserves brief consideration.

In the immediate locality, the only contender is the college which existed in Bosham from an early date.[10] Traces of 12th- and 13th-century buildings survive in the garden of the Old Manor House, to the north of the church, and in a cottage to its west.[11] To the south is a wall and a gateway of 14th century date, which led to the vicarage, now demolished but represented in a view by Grimm dated 1782.[12] A vicarage was documented as early as 1291, and is thought to have superseded collegiate buildings on the site. The college, therefore, seems to have occupied an extensive site, to the south, west and possibly north of the church, but it is improbable that it would have incorporated any structure involving an arch of the dimensions indicated above.

The only other likely provenance for the Bosham voussoirs is Chichester Cathedral itself, on the grounds that it was a workshop from that site which produced them. However, no part of the cathedral presents an obvious emplacement for the voussoirs and, as Chichester sculptors were demonstrably active at Bosham, a location in Bosham church must remain the preferred solution.

Acknowledgements

The authors are grateful to the British Academy, to Commander George Smith and Angela Bromley-Martin of Bosham, and to Dr Richard Gem.

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Notes

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[2] Rev K. H. Macdermott, *Bosham Church: its History and Antiquities* (Chichester, 1912).

[3] A. Borg, 'The development of chevron ornament', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, (1967), 122–40.

[4] R. Gem, 'Holy Trinity Church, Bosham', *Archaeological Journal* (1985), 35, dated the chancel arch *c.* 1070 in contrast to the traditional pre-conquest dating.

[5] F. G. Aldsworth, 'Recent observations on the tower of Holy Trinity church, Bosham', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **128** (1990), 66, (Fig. 7).

[6] Aldsworth *op. cit.*, 68.

[7] M. R. G. Andrew, 'Chichester Cathedral: the Problem of the Romanesque Choir Vault', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, **CXXXV** (1982), 13; and idem, The Architectural History of the Romanesque Cathedral at Chichester, Sussex, (unpub. M.Phil Courtauld Institute of Art, 1977), 137. Andrew dates the SW tower doorway *c.* 1125–1140.

[8] The authors are indebted to Richard Gem for this suggestion.

[9] The calculated diameter of the arch to which the voussoirs belonged, approx. 3.7 metres internally and 4.3 metres externally would correspond almost exactly to a four-bay arcade in the 17 metre nave. It is also arguable that they would match an apse within the width of the 5.8 metre chancel.

[10] For the history of the college, see: *V.C.H. Sussex*, **II**, 109–12; Rev Edward Turner, 'On the Saxon College of Bosham', *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, **VIII**, (1856), 189–200, Macdermott, *op. cit.*, 26 and Gem, *op. cit.*, 32–4.

[11] *V.C.H. Sussex*, **IV**, 182, and Nairn, *op. cit.*, 112.

[12] London, British Library, Add. MS. 5675, f. 46.

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OBSERVATIONS ON THE CHURCH OF ST NICHOLAS, WORTH, 1987–88

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

A watching brief maintained during the re-roofing of the nave of St Nicholas Church, Worth, in 1987–88, revealed further evidence concerning the structure of this Anglo-Saxon, former minster, church.

INTRODUCTION

The church of St Nicholas, Worth, was described in the middle of the 19th century prior to extensive restoration in 1870–71 (Walford 1856), and has since been the subject of papers by Micklethwaite (1896); *V.C.H. Sussex* (1940); Eden (1959); Taylor & Taylor (1965) and Parsons (1969). A serious fire in September 1986 damaged the 19th-century roof to such an extent that it had to be totally removed and replaced, the work taking place between February 1987 and June 1988.

The former roof was found to be constructed on a wall plate which was not horizontal across the nave, so a major problem facing the architect, Mr Geoffrey Claridge, of the Roth Partnership, Chichester, was to design a new roof with a pitch to fit the existing 19th-century gables but which would not adversely affect the medieval fabric of the nave walls. Prior to the removal of the old roof, large scale drawings of the north and south walls of the nave were prepared at a scale of 1:20 and these were used to distinguish phases of construction and repair. On the basis of this information a new roof was designed to be supported on concrete wallplates with their upper surface at 106.26 metres above Ordnance Datum and as far as could be determined this is unlikely to have disturbed the medieval fabric of the building (Figs. 1 and 2). A watching brief maintained throughout the operation, on behalf of the Parochial Church Council, English Heritage, and the West Sussex County Council, led to additional information coming to light which helps to clarify details of the nave of this important pre-Conquest church.

Inside the church the wooden plinths supporting the pews were replaced with a tiled floor at the same level as the existing walkway down the centre of the nave but this did not involve ground disturbance and no features of archaeological significance were encountered.

DISCUSSION

External observation was confined to parts of the north and south walls of the nave (Figs. 1 and 2) but since these appear for the most part to have been repointed in the 19th century, using a lime-based mortar containing pieces of charcoal or cinder, it was not possible to examine the original mortars.

Four main periods of construction, alteration, and repair are discernable:

Period 1 — Pre-Conquest
Period 2 — Medieval, 13th and/or 14th century
Period 3 — Late Medieval, 15th century and later
Period 4 — 1870–71 restoration

Period 1

The stone throughout the original structure derives from the Tunbridge Wells sandstone beds. It is used for rubble walling in irregular courses of the Upper series, occasionally laid in

ST. NICHOLAS CHURCH, WORTH
SOUTH ELEVATION OF NAVE

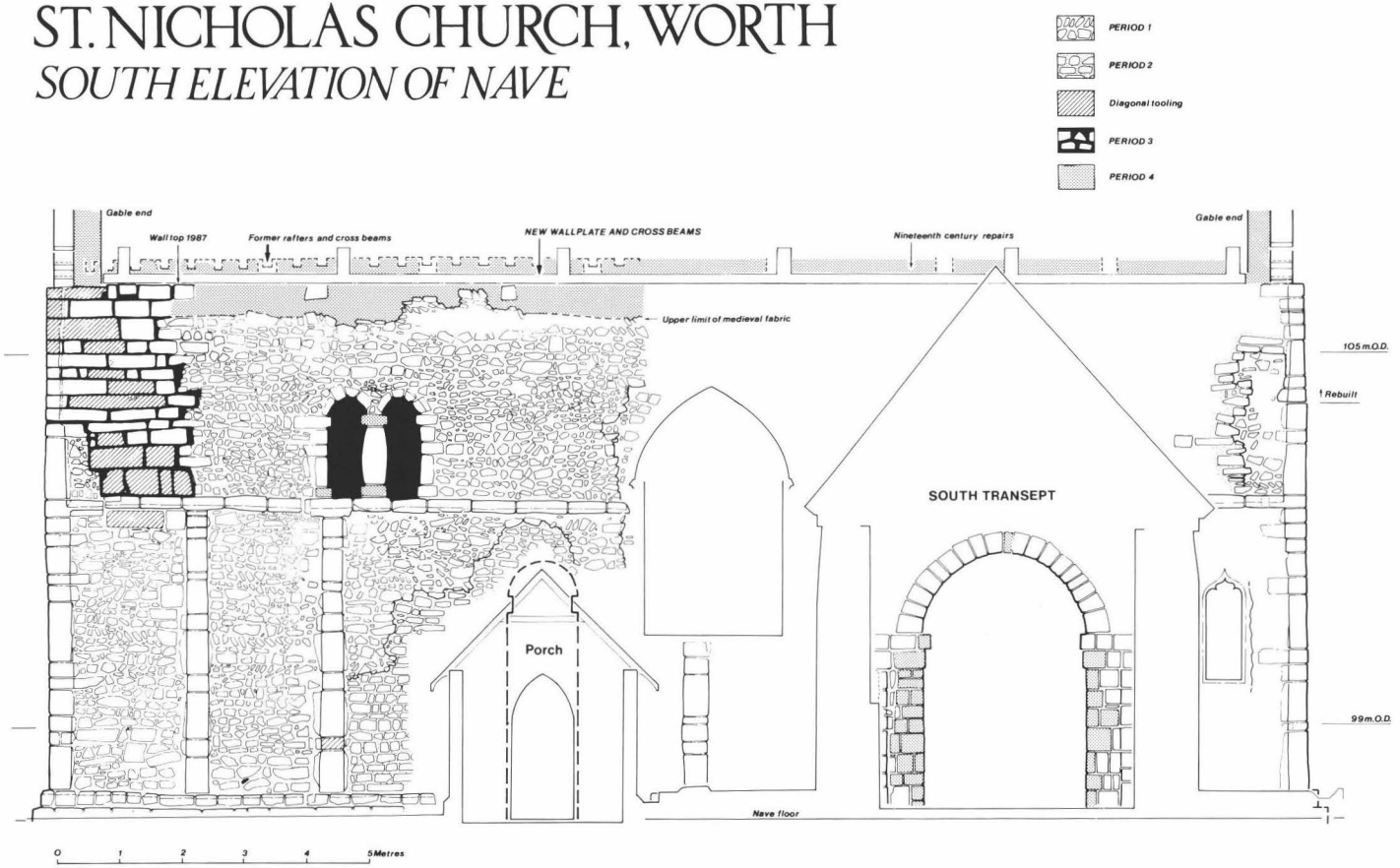

Fig. 1

ST. NICHOLAS CHURCH, WORTH
NORTH ELEVATION OF NAVE

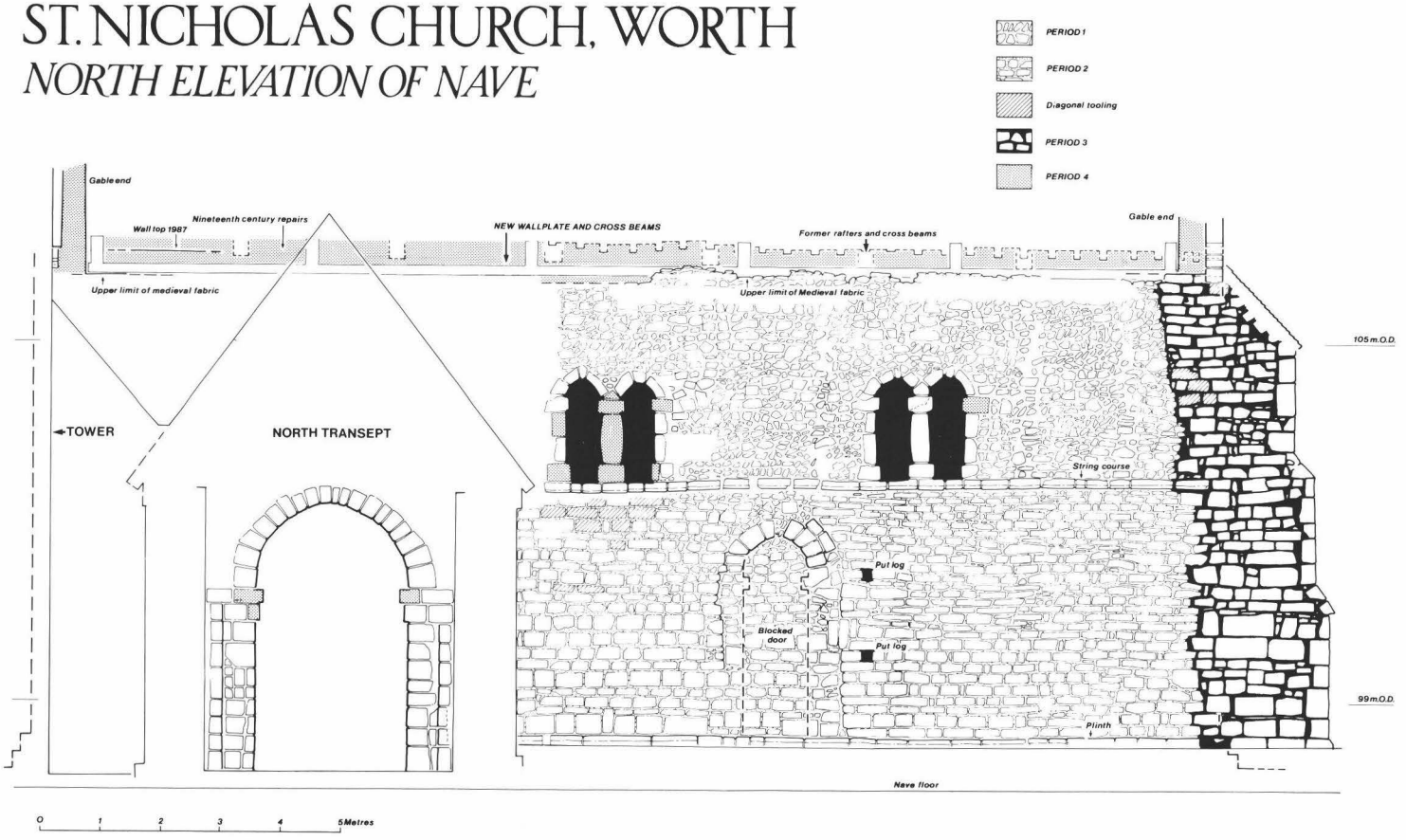

Fig. 2

herringbone style, within a framework of ashlar blocks of the Lower series.

Pre-Conquest features in the *south elevations* are the plinth course; raised quoins; pilaster strips; the string course; a door; and a double window (Fig. 1).

The *double-stepped plinth course* is lower on the south elevation than on the north, its top lying about 50 cm. above the present floor level in the nave. Rising from it are the two *raised quoins*. Their long upright stones are up to 40 cm. broad and project up to 5 cm. from the face of the wall. Both incorporate a long stone which forms part of the contemporary string course and both have been rebuilt from about 1.4 metres above that level.

Also rising from the plinth course are three *pilaster strips*, about 36 cm. broad and projecting about 5 cm. from the face of the wall, that immediately east of the south door having been truncated by the insertion of a window at a later date. Borrer Tracy's drawing of 1848 shows a further pilaster strip above the string course close to the west end of the church but this feature does not appear on the Sharpe Collection watercolour of 1805 (*VCH*) or on Walford's drawing of 1856 and there is now no trace of it on the ground. It seems likely that its inclusion on the 1848 drawing was an error.

The *string course* may originally have been square in section but it is shown chamfered as it is today on 19th-century illustrations by Borrer Tracy (1848) and Walford (1856) and it is possible that it was always in this form.

The external face of the tall, narrow, *south door* was rebuilt at a later date but its original shape may be seen internally though even here, with the exception of the west side of the head of the arch, it was entirely rebuilt in the 19th-century restoration. It seems likely that the original arrangement of the opening proposed by Parsons (1969) will have been destroyed during these operations.

The belfry-type *double-window* set above the string course to the west of the door is not shown on the 19th-century illustrations by Borrer Tracy (1848) and Walford (1856) and it must be assumed that it was re-opened in the 1870's restoration at which time replacement throughstones were inserted above and below the mid-wall shaft.

Pre-Conquest features on the *north elevation* comprise the plinth course, a blocked doorway, the string course, and two double windows (Fig. 2). Only the upper step of the *double-stepped plinth course* is visible here, its top being a little under one metre above the level of the nave floor. Apart from the head of the original *north door*, above which are two stones perhaps representing the remnants of former stripwork (Parsons 1969), the wall has been refaced up to string course level and the door blocked.

A photograph taken before restoration (Eden 1959, Plate XXIXA) shows either a raised quoin at the north-west corner or a pilaster strip close by but no trace of this now exists and it must be assumed that it was destroyed in the 19th-century restoration. The quoin at the east end was obscured when the tower was added at the same time. Above the chamfered *string course* the rubble wall appears in its original form with small pieces of stone set in irregular courses including some herringbone work and this contains two belfry-type *double windows*. Both are shown in a different form on Walford's plan of 1856, that to the east of the north door with two mullions and an internal splay and that to the west of the door as a simple narrow opening with internal splay, a form in which it also appears on a photograph before restoration (Eden 1959, Plate XXIXA). It is clear that both were restored to their original form in 1870–71.

Period 2

It is difficult to ascribe a date to the lower part of the north wall which has evidently been refaced with regular courses of small blocks of Tunbridge Wells sandstone incorporating two put log holes. Eden (1959) suggested that this might have been an original 'attempt to give extra dignity to the north elevation or to make it match up with adjacent buildings'. This seems

unlikely, however, since the regular courses block the pre-Conquest door and, furthermore, it is now generally accepted that pre-Conquest rubble wall faces, such as those here at Worth, were intended to be rendered over between raised plinths, pilasters and string courses and therefore the work would not originally have been visible.

Regular courses of small stone blocks are also used on the west side of the south porch and above the string course at the east end of the south wall, the latter probably in a 19th-century context. The use of diagonal tooling on some of the stones adjacent to the west wall of the north transept does not in itself provide a date for this work but its occurrence on re-used stones in the 15th-century north-west buttress and in a repair above string course level at the west end of the south wall may indicate a date earlier than the post-medieval period.

Thus, a date in the medieval period might be appropriate for this phase of work and the re-facing could be contemporary with the insertion of the pointed doorway in the south wall which is variously dated as either 13th (Parsons 1969) or 14th century (Taylor & Taylor 1965).

Period 3

Two surviving windows may be ascribed to this period, a large one, between the south porch and the south transept, was probably inserted in the 15th century, whilst a smaller one, with ogee head, was inserted between the south transept and the south-east quoin a little later. Both Borrer Tracy (1848) and Walford (1856) also show a double trefoil-headed window high up above the string course close to the south-east quoin and this also appears on an internal watercolour painting of the church before restoration (Eden 1959, Plate XXIXB). It appears to have been removed in 1870–71.

The large buttress at the north-west corner, built partly of large Tunbridge Wells sandstone blocks as well as some re-used pre-Conquest and later material, probably dates to the 15th century and a repair above the string course at the south-west corner, carried out with large blocks of Tunbridge Wells sandstone, may be roughly of the same date.

Period 4

The 1870–71 restoration was overall very extensive and in some areas, as Eden (1959) observed, 'over-enthusiastic', but the nave does not appear to have suffered as much as the chancel or the transepts.

During the dismantling of the 19th-century roof in 1987 the inscription 'Samuel Webber 1870 Turners Hill' was found carved on a padstone beneath a tie beam on the north elevation and this confirms the date of the roof. The gable ends and wall tops are also of this date but elsewhere in the nave the 19th-century repairs appear to have been confined to the opening up and repair of the three belfry-type double windows and the reconstruction of the internal elevation of the south door; the works being identifiable by the use of a slightly darker Tunbridge Wells sandstone than that used at earlier dates.

The cleaning of the *internal elevations* following the completion of the new roof revealed the extent to which the transept arches were restored in 1870–71. The jambs of the south transept have been entirely rebuilt but on the north transept only the imposts appear to have been affected.

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I am grateful to the architect, Mr Geoffrey Claridge; the builders, James Longley & Sons; and the incumbent, the Rev. P. Kefford, for their help and advice; and to Mr Bernard Worssam, formerly of the Geological Survey, for his help in identifying the source of the stone.

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Sussex Archaeological Collections **129** (1991), 45–79

EXCAVATIONS ON THE SOUTH LAWN, MICHELHAM PRIORY, SUSSEX 1971–1976

by Lawrence and Patricia Stevens

This paper deals with the results of the excavation of the remains of three buildings on the south lawn of Michelham Priory, Sussex, between 1971 and 1976. The first building was a stone-built medieval hall with two distinct periods of use. Primarily the hall seems to have been utilised for domestic purposes but these later gave way to semi-industrial usage. Excavation also provided evidence associated with the building of the moat, and the conclusion that the moat post-dated the hall. Foundations of a second large building were also examined together with the remains of a third and earlier building below it. The find site of a Bellarmine vessel was also examined.

LOCATION

Michelham Priory, Arlington, Sussex (TQ 558093) stands on the western side of the valley of the River Cuckmere, 3.3 km west of Hailsham parish church (Figs. 1A and 1B). The priory buildings stand within a moat below the 15 metre contour on a low spur projecting eastwards into the Cuckmere valley, around which the River Cuckmere makes a meanderous bend giving credence to the suggested derivation of the name Michelham from the Anglo-Saxon *Micel Hamm,* a large piece of land in a river-bend.

The topsoil is largely alluvial and much disturbed within the moated area where to the south, the ground has been made up with numerous clean and debris layers. Below these there is blue Weald clay containing ferruginous sandstone, the clay of which has weathered yellow towards the surface. In a sewer pump pit dug by the side of the moat (site 8, Fig. 1C) in association with sewage works in 1973 the blue clay was revealed to a depth of 3.2 metres (Fig. 12A).

HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

There is little documentary evidence for the early history of the Priory which was established as a house of Austin Canons by grant of Gilbert de Laigle in 1229. Its history has been adequately set out elsewhere (Salzman 1901, Bellam 1988), but these throw no further light on the subject of this paper, there being no identifiable reference to any of the buildings on the south lawn, now under discussion. Although Salzman postulated the date of the moat-building and its associated gatehouse, there is no historical evidence to support his hypothesis.

PREVIOUS EXCAVATION SITES WITHIN THE MOAT (Fig. 1C)

In 1925, Walter H. Godfrey took the opportunity to examine structural features of the conventual buildings by trenching during alterations at the priory (Godfrey 1926). During the work, the foundations of the eastern cloister range were uncovered to a depth of nine feet (2.75 metres) and foundations of the frater were found. There was also an unsuccessful attempt to locate the site of the church. This latter site was the focus of Mary Edmonds' excavations of 1959 and 1960, during which time the general plan of the eastern end of the church was established (site 1), together with traces of the north transept (Edmonds 1972).

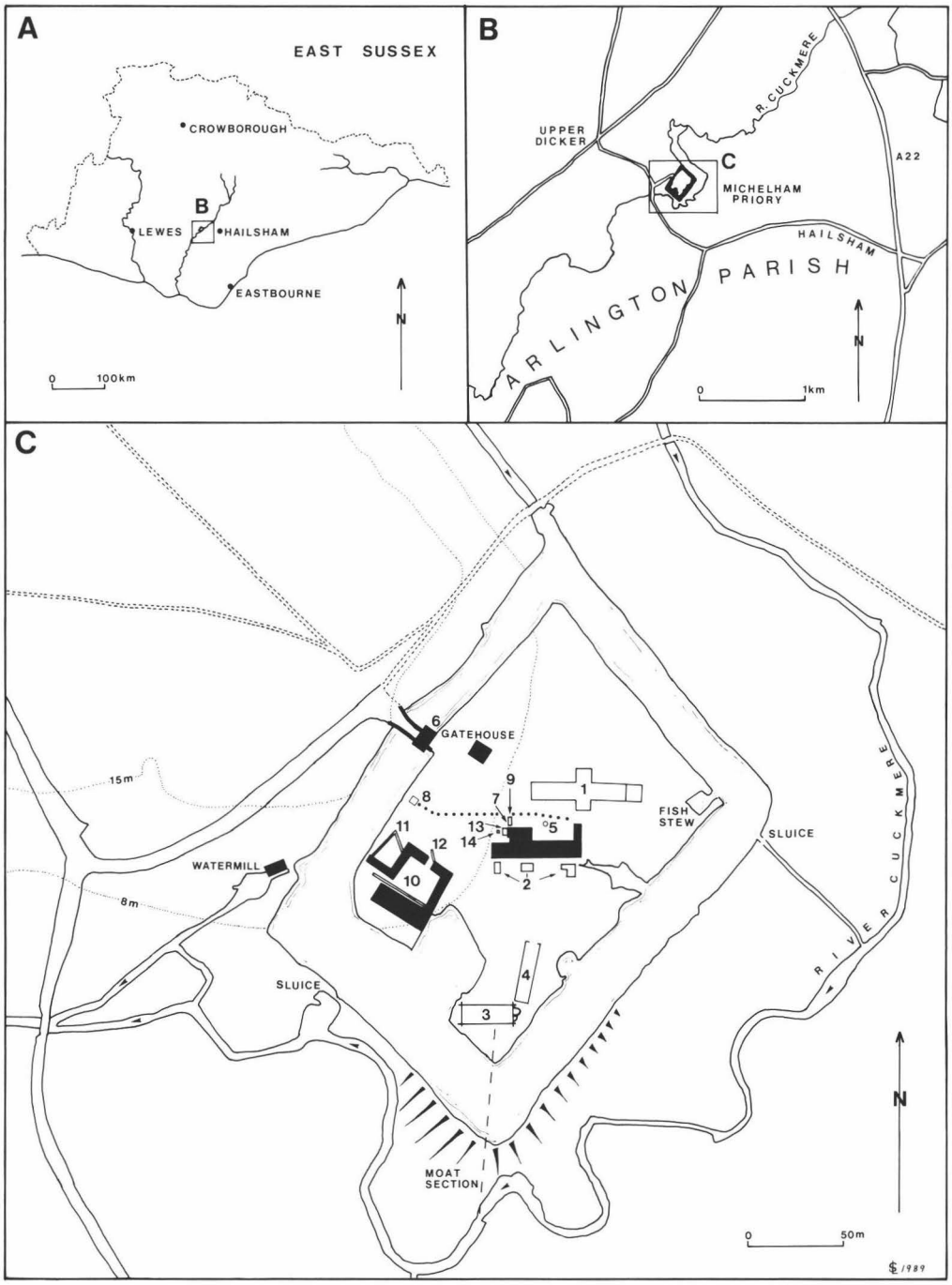

Fig. 1 A and B: Location plans; C: Moated site of Michelham Priory, showing its relation to the Cuckmere and numbered archaeological sites within the moat.

During August 1964 a training excavation was carried out on the south lawn, immediately in front of the south range (site 2), where medieval and post-medieval structures including drains and foundations were uncovered (Barton & Holden 1967).

Other work undertaken within the moated area includes the excavation of the cloister garth well (site 5) (Fuller 1975) and investigations of the bed of the moat, carried out by aqua-divers on the north side of the gatehouse (site 6), details of which are held at the priory. During recent years, three trenches in the barn yards (sites 10, 11 and 12), and two more by the western range (sites 13 and 14) have been excavated (Bellam 1990a). Between 1971 and 1976, the hall (site 3) and adjacent foundations (site 4) and a trench on the western range (site 7) were excavated by the writers.

EXCAVATION METHOD

A short section of wall and a hearth were accidentally discovered by Conservation Corps workers in 1971, when they were tidying a pond thought to have been a fish stew. The writers were subsequently invited to excavate what was described as a small building in order to determine its extent and purpose. Once the extent of the foundations of the building had been determined by cross-trenching, larger rectangular areas were excavated across the building. As the site is water-logged, it was not practicable to open the whole area at one time, for the water in smaller areas could be pumped out more effectively. Both electric and petrol driven water pumps were used, but these proved inadequate on the western edge of the foundations where the moat is very close and the seepage is consequently very high. The combination of water and clay produced unstable trench sides which tended to slump as the water was extracted prior to excavation, necessitating much extra work. Care was taken to leave areas unexcavated for future archaeology and to leave the stonework of the original building undisturbed. Unfortunately, insensitive back-filling in the absence of the writers rendered this forethought fruitless. During excavation, an interim leaflet for visitors was printed (Stevens 1973).

THE EXCAVATION

Archaeological evidence suggests that there were two main periods: the first including the erection of the hall-type building with a passage wall and service areas and its apparent domestic use; and the second when the building was devoted to semi-industrial activity (Fig. 3).

Period 1

Period 1 of the building is represented by a rectangular foundation approximately 30 metres long and 10 metres wide (Fig. 2A), aligned east to west and situated on the south lawn close to the edge of the moat. Each corner had double buttressing and the long, north and south walls each had the foundations of two lateral buttresses. Only three of the corner buttresses were fully excavated because the fourth (Feature 45), at the north-west corner, was too near the edge of the moat to excavate properly. The extent of this corner was probed.

The north-east corner buttress (Feature 31) survived as a foundation platform of mortared chalk and sandstone. Inside this corner a trench was cut down to the blue clay in which the foundations rested. These foundations were of considerable proportions, being 2 metres deep and widening by offsets from 1.00 metre to 1.59 metres at the footings (Fig. 11C). Compared with the western range of the conventual building, these are massive and approach the size of the even deeper foundations of 2.75 metres of the eastern range recorded by Walter Godfrey in 1925.

The south-western corner (Feature 33), situated as it was close to the moat, was disturbed by tree roots. Here again the ashlar had been robbed, leaving only the foundation of chalk and sandstone. However, the south-eastern corner

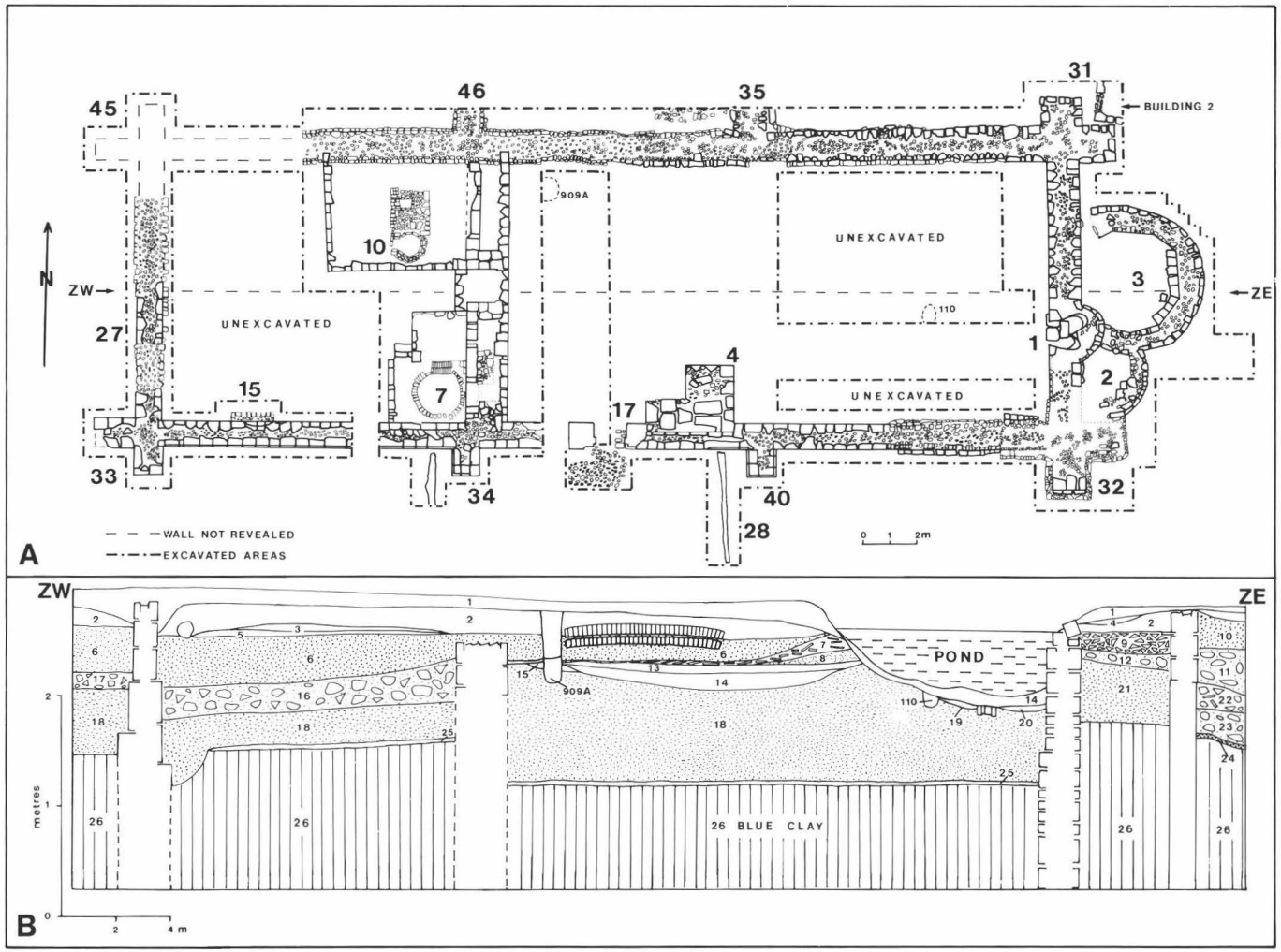

Fig. 2 A: Plan of Building 1, showing excavated areas and some numbered features; B: Longitudinal section through the building with features 3, 110 and 909A projected on to it.
Note: vertical scale is four times greater than the longitudinal scale.

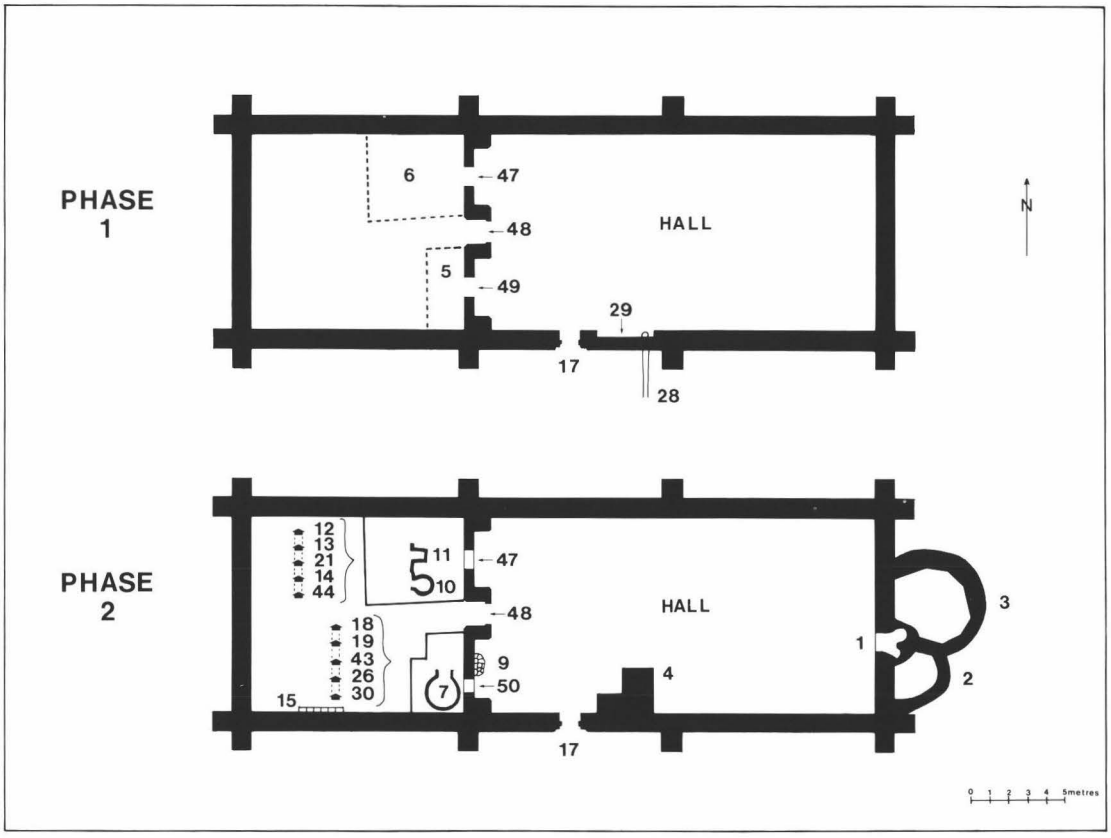

Fig. 3 Reconstructed ground plan of building 1, showing the original layout of the hall building of Phase 1 and the later modification and additions made during Phase 2. Each series of hearths is indicated adjacent to the service area in which they were constructed.

(Feature 32) proved more complete, where the sandstone and chalk foundations supported the remains of two courses of ashlar on the south-facing buttress and a single block on the east buttress. These ashlar courses had a slope of 47 degrees, which it was calculated, would have met the vertical at 1.9 metres, assuming that the buttress was not stepped (Fig. 6).

The total length of the north wall had been robbed out, leaving only its foundations (Fig. 10B) and those of the lateral buttresses (Features 35 and 46). Being the nearest wall to the conventual building, it would no doubt have been a more vulnerable quarry than the other walls. The south wall was represented by two, and in some stretches, three courses of good quality ashlar work. The lateral buttresses (Features 34 and 40) also retained some of their ashlar courses, which began well below the line of the foundation of the wall itself—a feature peculiar to the south wall and occurring nowhere else (Fig. 5).

In the south wall, was the south and apparently the only entrance (Feature 17). The jambs were finely finished with bullnose chamfers and splayed stops and the opening itself was 1.08 metres wide (Fig. 5). In front of this entrance there was an ironstone path, 1.8 metres wide which turned to the west and faded out along the side of the south wall.

Attempts were made to identify an entrance in the north wall, but extensive robbing had

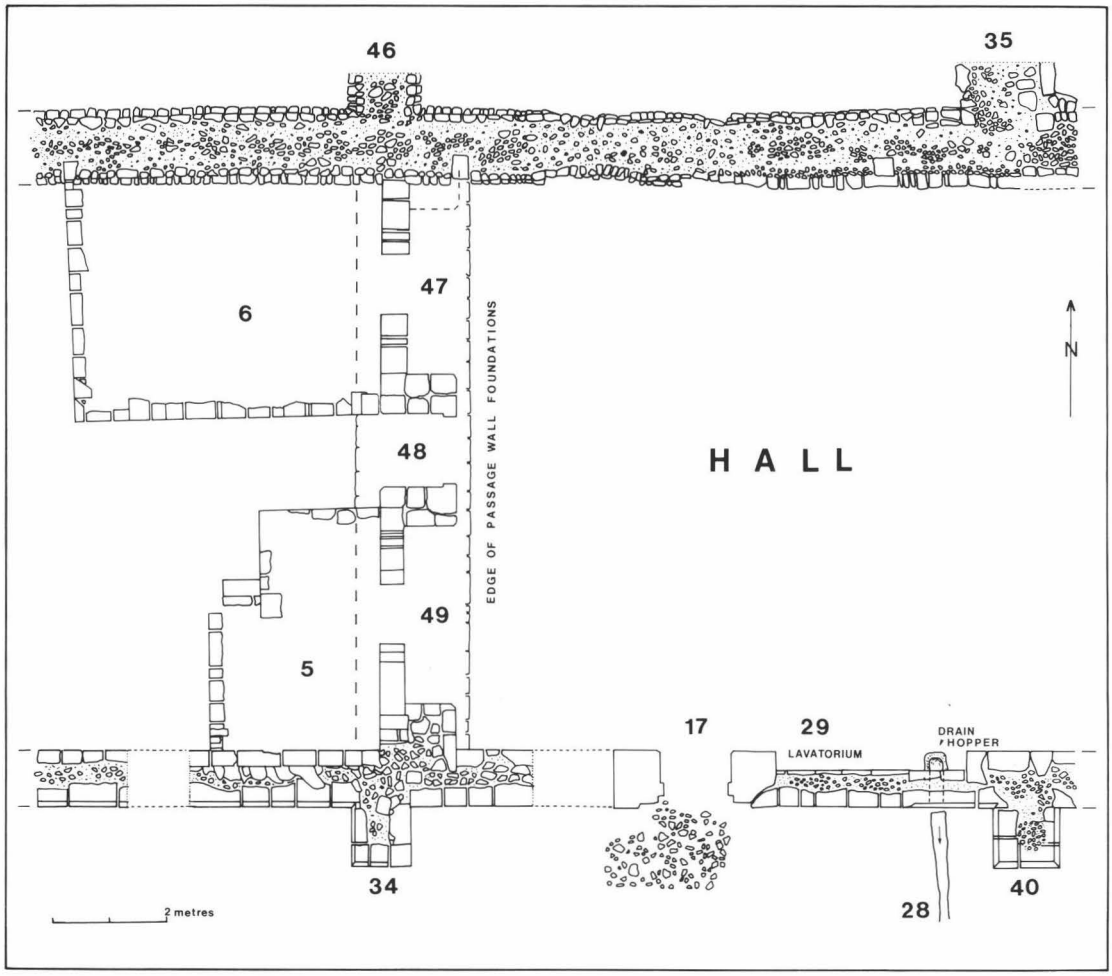

Fig. 4 Detailed plan of the Phase 1 layout of the passage wall, the main south entrance and adjacent lavatorium.

made this impossible; instead, a close examination of the section along the north side of the north wall was made. No signs of a path approaching the building were identified.

The western third of the hall was divided from the rest of the building by a substantial cross-wall, constructed of well-finished ashlar blocks built on a foundation platform 2.05 metres wide and of similar construction to the foundation walls of the rest of the building (Fig. 4). In the cross-wall there was a central entrance (Feature 48) and a smaller one each side (Features 47 and 49). The stonework of the central entrance was chamfered on both east and west faces and a rebate suggested that there may have been a door. On the east, facing the hall, the chamfers were simple, compared with the claw chamfers on the west-facing jambs on the west side. Little remained of the two entrances each side of the central entrance. A complete sill and the first course of plain jambs survived of the northern entrance but the south entrance had been so mutilated by subsequent alterations, it was not easily discernible. The ashlar work was

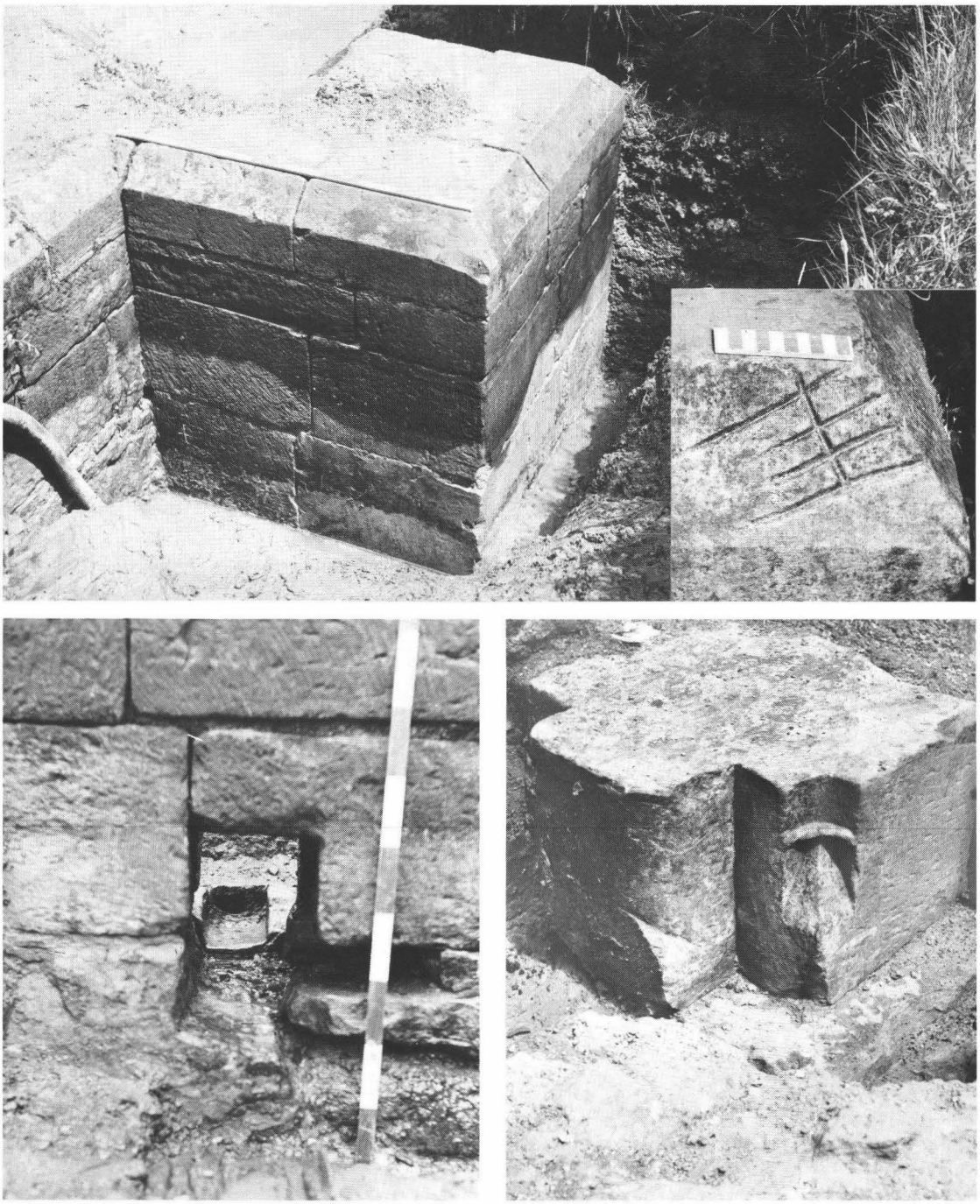

Fig. 5 Details of the stonework of building 1. Above: South-east lateral buttress, scale: 1 m. Inset: Incised mark on south-eastern chamfered corner of the buttress, scale: 10 cm. Below left: Drain with hopper through south wall, scale: marked in 10 cm. Below right: Eastern jamb of south entrance.

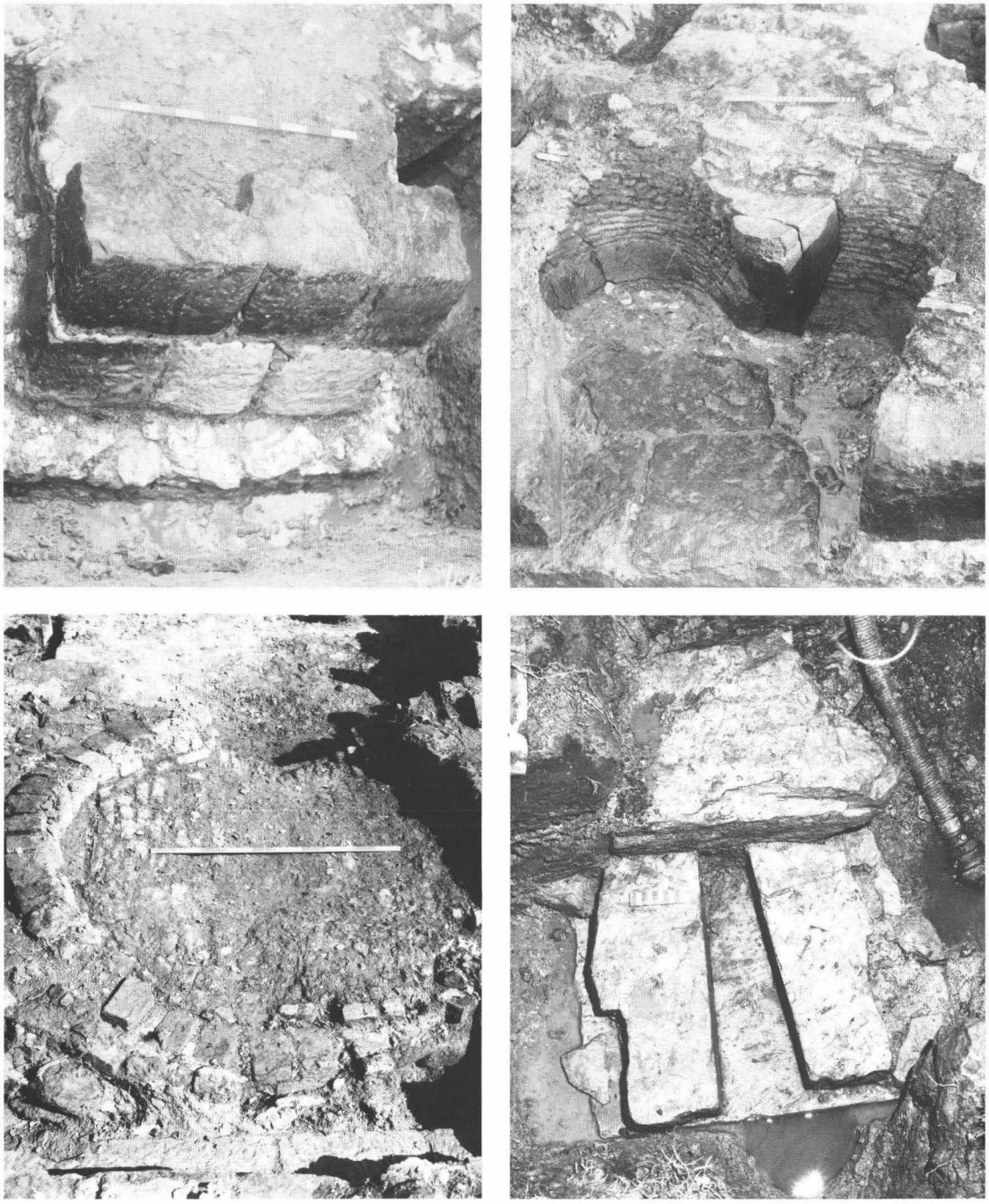

Fig. 6 Above left: Sloping ashlar of the south buttress of the south-east corner buttress, scale: 1 m. Above right: Bifid hearth on the east wall, scale: 0.5 m. Below left: Brick floor of feature 7 in the south service area, scale: 1 m. Below right: Sandstone drain, scale: 10 cm.

very fine and more often than not exhibited cross-diagonal tooling. Many of the blocks had incised stone-cutter's marks.

A recess (Feature 29), to the east of the south entrance (Feature 17), 350 mm. deep and 3.05 metres long, probably accommodated a lavatorium for the washing of hands so typically convenient just inside the entrance (Fig. 4). In the floor at the east end of the recess was a small sandstone drain hopper, measuring 310 mm. by 340 mm. which conducted water towards a hole through the south wall where it would have flowed along an oak conduit (Feature 28), 230 mm. wide and 85 mm. deep, southwards for 5.30 metres, where it had been allowed to trickle out over the original land surface (Figs. 5 and 10E).

The floor is something of an enigma and even at the south entrance it was not identified with confidence. Starting from the inner edge of the door sill of this entrance there is a sloping layer of clean sandstone rubble, slate and tile. There is no sign of this having served as a floor in itself as there is no associated trodden layer. A few stones of what might have been flooring were noted around the drain hopper, but no floor tiles were found in situ.

Period 2

During Period 2, numerous additions and modifications to the building herald a change of use. The character of workmanship declines and the construction of 14 hearths or ovens takes place during this period (Stevens 1980).

Among these modifications, the floor underwent constant raising, represented first by a yellow clay layer (54), which ran over the sill foundations of the south entrance. Above the yellow clay there were accumulations of ash, several layers of clay and latterly, two brick layers (27 and 28) separated by a layer of clay. This sequence can be seen in the section through the south entrance (Fig. 10D) where the last brick floor is 0.62 metre above the sill foundations.

Below these brick layers, to the east of the south entrance a platform (Feature 4) was inserted into the lavatorium recess and measured 3.06 metres × 2.18 metres. The whole structure was three courses deep and stood 0.62 metre high from the sandstone, tile and slate layer (63) upon which it rested. Across the platform, whose fill included Eastbourne greensand, there ran a line of mortar with a sandstone block in situ, some 680 mm. from the inside of the south wall, which suggested that the feature stood higher on the north side.

While these changes were taking place, the hearths were being constructed and fall into three groups, namely (a) kilns on the east wall; (b) six structures in the south service area and (c) six structures in the north service area (Fig. 3).

(a) Hearth, bifid flues and arcs on the east wall—(Fig. 7B)

During the second period a part of the east wall was thickened by the construction of a solid apse above which a bifid hearth and flues (Feature 1) was let into the thickness of the wall. To the east, the structure of two arcs represented the foundations of two associated structures, features 2 and 3 (Fig. 7B). The apsidal thickening, 1.9 metres in diameter, was, with the exception of the top two courses, not bonded into the east wall against which it abutted to a depth of 1.1 metres. This thickening would seem to have been constructed in a prepared trench as mortar overhung the outer stones, similar to the effect produced by shuttering (Fig. 11C).

As the northern flue was larger than the southern, so too were the arcs of the associated structures, which it was assumed represented the remains of kilns indirectly heated from the adjoining flues. When the hearth was uncovered by the Conservation Corps a number of pierced oven tiles were discovered but archaeological excavation failed to associate them directly with the hearth as there were none in situ nor were there mortar impressions where they might have been.

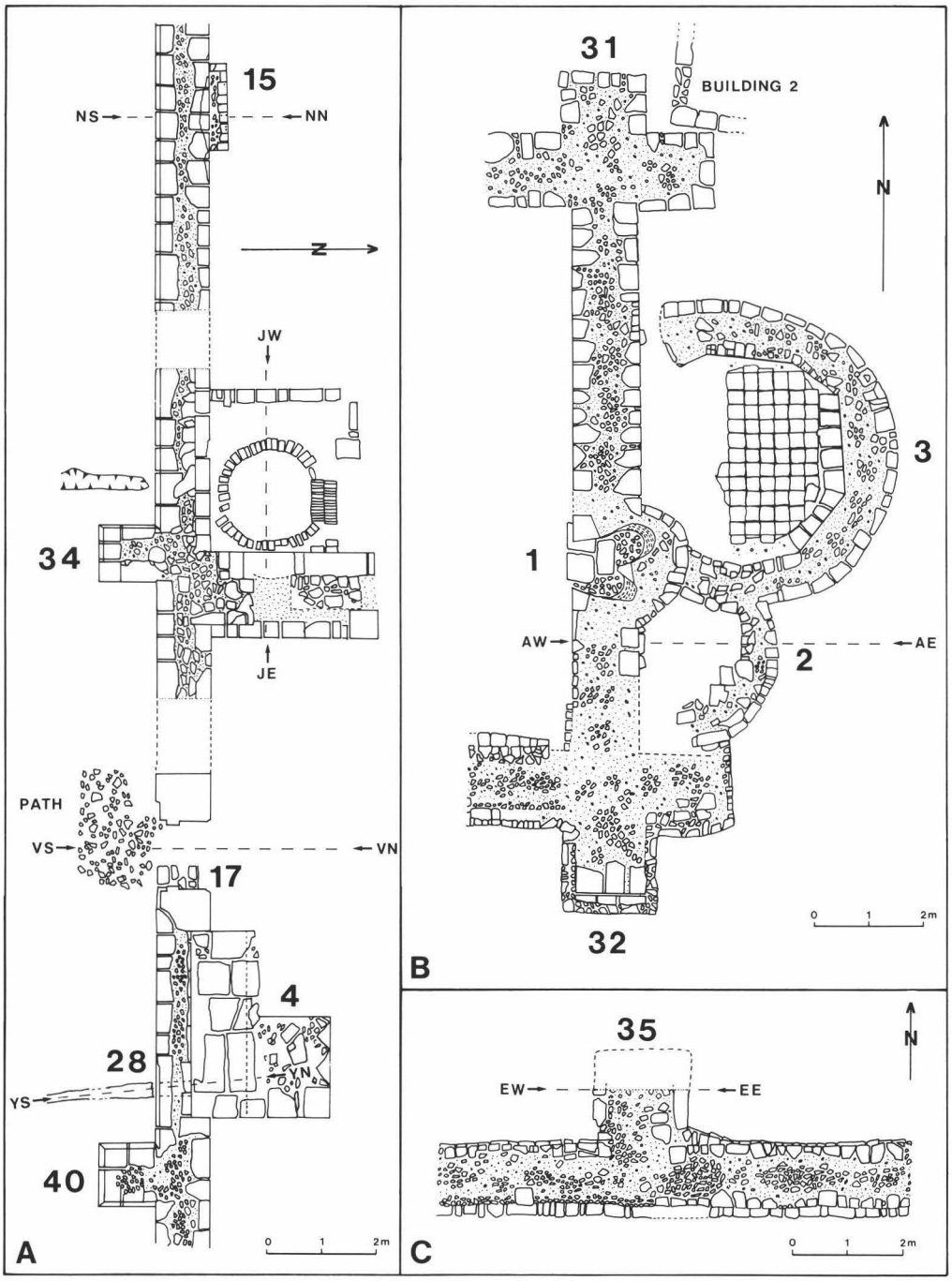

Fig. 7 Details of Building 1. A: South wall showing south entrance and sections J, N, V and Y. B: East wall showing the bifid hearth (1), arcs 2 and 3 and section A. C: Plan of north east lateral buttress (35) and section line E.

The arcs were constructed of sandstone and faced with curved ashlar of greatly inferior craftsmanship to that of the main building. Inside, the walls were not curved but multifaceted and the floors were of sandstone blocks. In the large arc, this flooring was laid on soil above a layer of crushed sandstone (114) and those of the small arc had been set in clay which had become reddened by heat.

The hearths, whose access inside the building would have been near the floor level, had a sandstone floor and their flues constructed of tile fragments. Tiles from three courses in each flue were examined and found to be different. Those from the north flue had square holes and those of the south flue were thicker and had nibs. This evidence, together with the asymetrical stone floor of the hearth, points to a non-contemporaneous building of the two structures. The flat stones of the hearth floor are adequate for the large flue, but do not extend into the floor of the small flue. It would seem from the evidence that the small arc and flue post-date the larger building, particularly as the small arc appears to butt the large arc and is not bonded into it. Although the exact function of the kiln is unknown, it is clear that they must have been used for a drying process and in this connection the drying of hops has been considered. Analysis of two ash samples (24 and 25) taken from the ash deposits built up in front of the hearth within the building, provide evidence of a fuel of grass/cereal origin with the inclusion of cereal grain. Evidence of oak being used as a fuel is indicated by the presence of oak charcoal. The possibilities of the cereal fuels having been waste are fully discussed in the ash report (microfiche).

(b) Six hearths and ovens in the south service area—(Figs 8A–E)

Also during period 2, part of the south-eastern corner of the south service area had been used for the construction of six hearths or ovens, one above the other. Access to these structures had been either by way of an entrance (Feature 50) south of the former south service entrance which was blocked, or by a later access from the north. The structures are described and discussed in chronological order, the first being the earliest.

Firstly, an hour-glass oven (Feature 30, Fig. 8A), with a floor of closely set, well-cut sandstone blocks which had been skilfully laid in a random fashion. There were two large blocks of winkle-stone, which may represent repairs. The floor, which was much fractured near the entrance, dipped considerably in the centre, partly due to the subsidence of the orange clay layer (82) in which it was set. The sides were constructed of broken roof tile and showed signs of wear on the western side.

Analysis of ash layers 78, 78A and 79 points to their having been derived from a fuel of common oak. Layer 81 in contrast would seem to be derived possibly from sallow, but more likely hawthorn. Unfortunately, the change of fuel cannot be linked to a change of use.

The second feature in the series, a circular hearth (Feature 26, Fig. 8B), is represented by a new floor within the earlier structure whose entrance is re-used. The construction of the floor is patchy, for at the west end, roof tiles had been set on edge in clay, on both north and south sides tile had been set on edge in mortar. Off centre, and running north to south a line of sandstone blocks divided the central area, the western-most being composed of tile and sandstone slabs set on edge in mortar, while the eastern portion had tile and small fragments of Horsham-type roofing tiles tightly set in clay. Fragments of a re-used pierced oven tile and ridge tile were found in the floor. Across the east end of the hearth floor, at a point where it narrows at the stoke-hole, there was a mortar layer embedded in which were three layers of roof tile. In this there was a broken decorated floor tile (Fig. 17.13) and a fragment of black glazed encaustic floor tile. It was noted that although the tile had been broken into at least five pieces, the workmen had put the surviving four pieces together in the fill, in spite of the fact that it would have been concealed.

The existence of a third hearth (Feature 43, Fig. 8C) was indicated by the presence of a

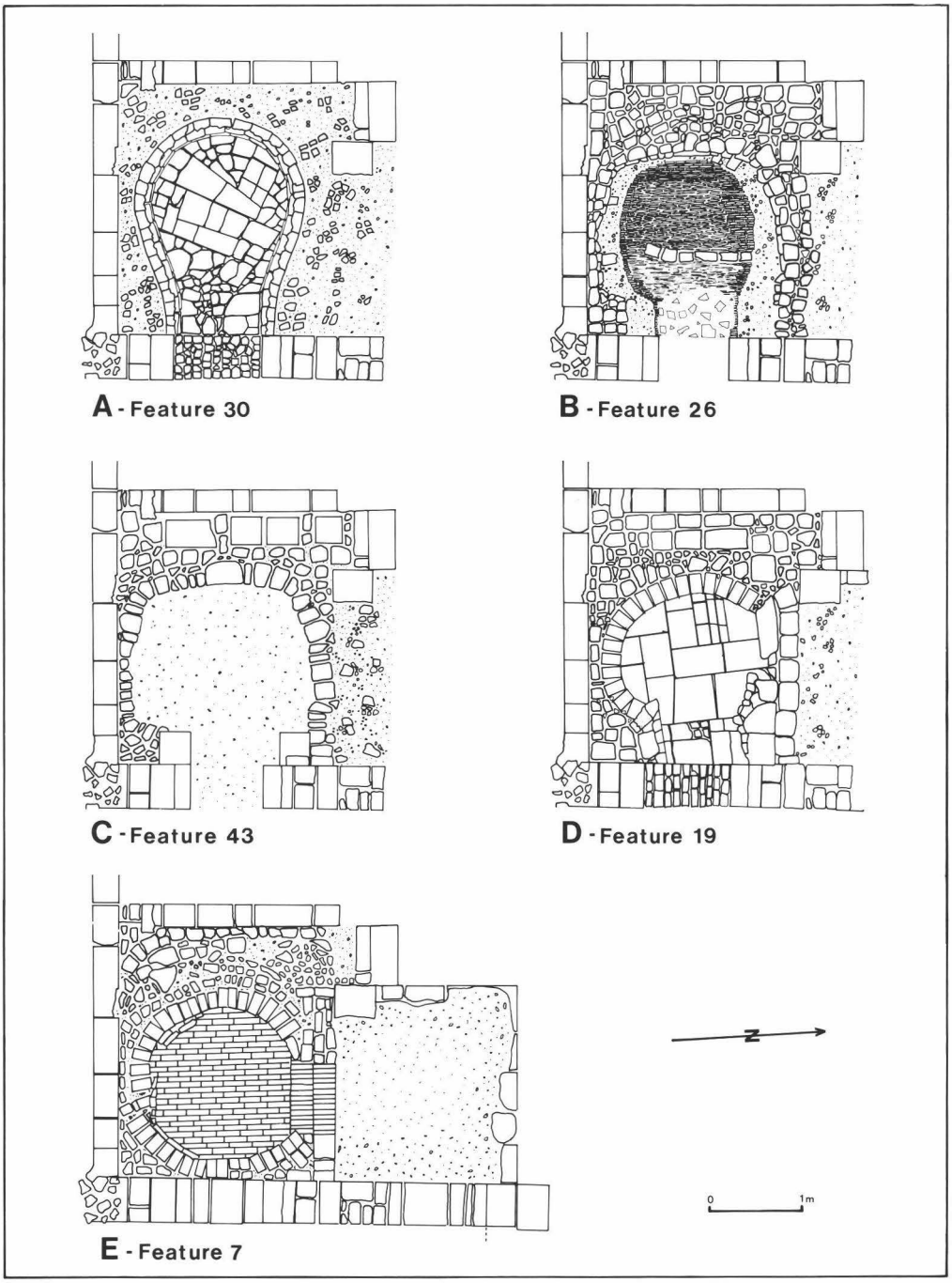

Fig. 8 A–E: Plans of the hearths of the south service area.

sub-rectangular wall of sandstone whose floor had been robbed out. Associated with this were three ash layers trapped in the blocked entrance to the hearth which had been by way of the south service area entrance.

The fourth structure (Feature 19, Fig. 8D), was a circular brick-sided oven with a sandstone block floor randomly set in yellow clay which had been reddened by heat. It appeared to have had stoke-holes to both the north and east, but the northern access seems to post-date the eastern one. There were three ash layers trapped within the structure and these were sealed by a layer of clay in which was set the brick floor and the next oven (Feature 18, not illustrated). Analysis of the samples from the three associated ash layers 69, 70 and 71, points to them all having their origin in wood fuel which is likely to have been common oak with a mixture of birch in some cases.

The fifth oven (Feature 18), whose walls were constructed of unmortared bricks measuring 180 × 100 × 50 mm. had a floor of bricks measuring 230 × 125 × 50 mm. laid flat in yellow clay (not illustrated). Its entrance was from the north, through the wall of an earlier feature where the ash layer spread over the sill to the north, the sill itself overlying the ash layers of the previous hearth (Feature 19).

The sixth and last hearth of this series (Feature 7, Fig. 8E) was circular with a diameter of 1.55 metres whose retaining wall survives to four courses and had been eroded by heat along the wall line. The wall was composed of bonded headers 210 × 125 × 60 mm. at its foot, giving way to bricks measuring 185 × 92 × 50 mm. The floor of the hearth was composed of stretchers on edge running roughly north to south and measuring 180 × 100 × 50 mm. The brickwork was bonded with clay which had been reddened from heat. Behind the wall the space was packed with mortared tile, sandstone and brick. The floor was much eroded and cracked by heat, suggesting a long period of use. Access was from the north, the south passage entrance being blocked by the oven walls. To the north, there extended a small raised floor composed of mortar rubble, above which there was a layer of ash, some 400 mm. deep. It is possible that two stones adjacent to the west side of the platform are the remnants of stone steps which may have given access to the super-structure of the oven which could have been a vat.

(c) Six hearths and ovens in the north service area—(Figs 9 and 10A)

A right-angle of crude walling, three courses deep of re-used sandstone ashlar, formed the south and west walls of a small chamber at the north end of the passage wall and occupied the position of the north service area behind the passage wall. Within this area the remains of a sequence of six hearths or ovens were uncovered, each having been built above its predecessor (Fig. 11B). Access to these structures was by way of the original service entrance north of the central passage entrance and served as an access to the stoke-hole. The structures are described and discussed in chronological order, the first being the earliest.

The first of these, an open ended sub-rectangular structure (Feature 44, Fig. 9A), constructed of sandstone rubble, had five curved recesses built into its three sides. The whole structure rested on a ferruginous sandstone floor which itself was spread on a layer of sandstone, tile and slate rubble. The curved recesses (Features 20, 22–25) were constructed of roughly cut and curved blocks of sandstone and chalk over which in some cases there were patches of mortar spread. Each stood between four and six courses high.

There is no evidence of heat on the stonework nor of ash in any part of this feature. No function has been attributed to the whole complex (Feature 44) although it is possible that something stood in the recesses.

This feature was then converted to a drying kiln (Feature 14, Fig. 9B). The recesses of the previous feature were filled in with sandstone rubble, in which there was a number of worked sandstone blocks and a worked chalk block (Fig.

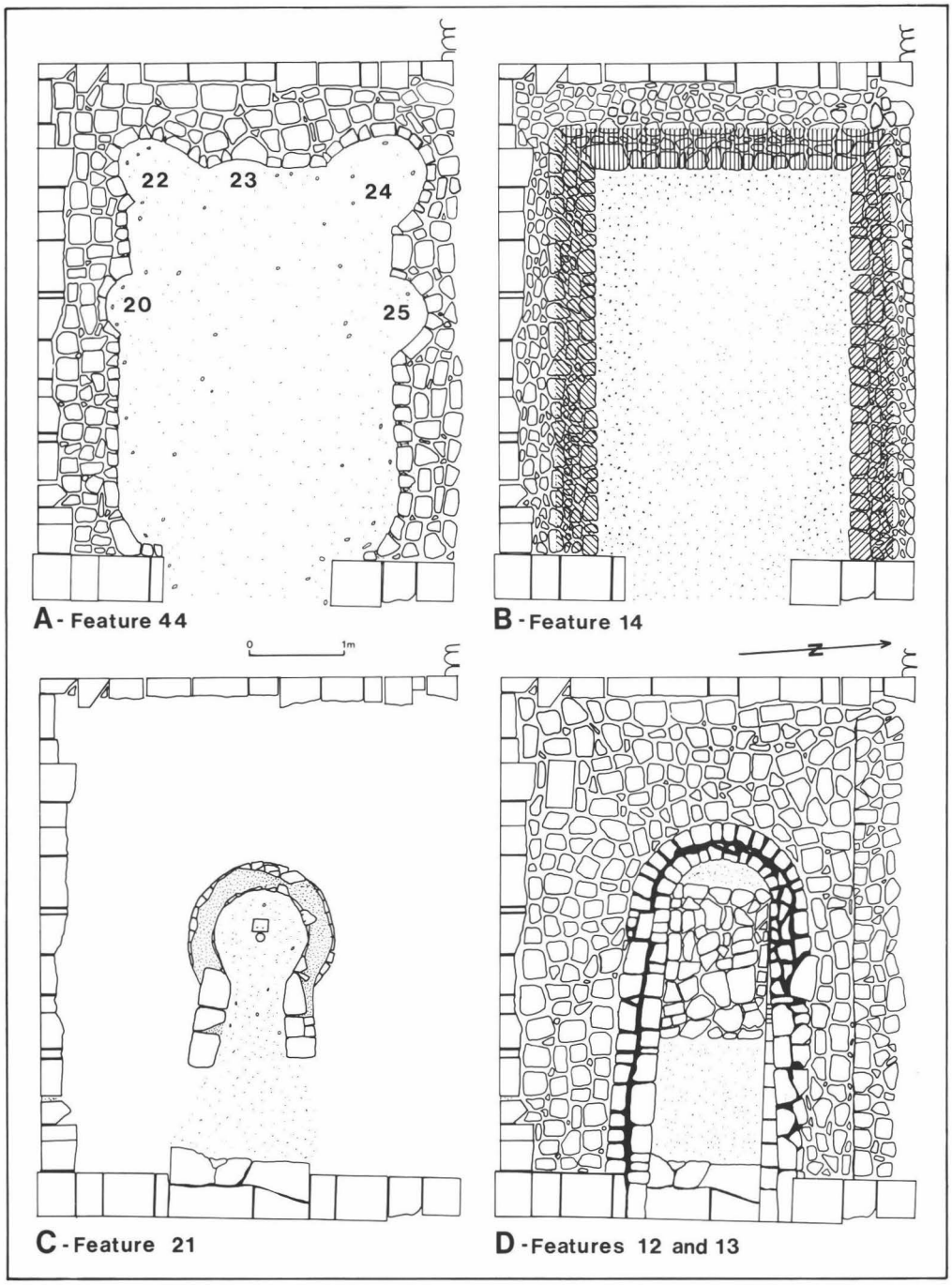

Fig. 9 A–D: Hearths of the north service area.

14.22), and three sides battered to an angle of 48 degrees, thus producing the battered walls commonly associated with a malt kiln. In the plan (Fig. 9B), the battering is indicated by shading. Similar structures have been recorded at Brixworth, Northamptonshire (Woods 1970) and Barrow, Rutland (Bolton 1960).

The third feature in the series, a keyhole hearth or oven (Feature 21, Fig. 7C) was constructed on the floor of the previous feature (14). The sandstone blocks forming the cheeks of the converging sides of the entrance were slightly reddened on their inner surfaces. The round head of the hearth was represented by two courses of mortared roof tile with evidence of a third course above them. The whole structure was built on the sandstone, tile and slate rubble layer (111) associated with feature 44 and referred to earlier. In the centre were the remains of what had been a polished Sussex marble shaft, set in the rubble floor and which no doubt supported the domed roof of an oven. The shaft was mortared at the lower end and must be considered as re-used stone although no such polished shafting is known to have been used in the Priory. Within the structure there were five ash layers (102–104, 108 and 110) whose contents suggest a maximum of four ash phases. The earliest involved the burning of oak (103 and 104) followed by grass cereal (102), which was followed by more oak burning (108), finally replaced by the use of hawthorn (110). Once again it is not yet possible to relate these fuels to a specific purpose.

A U-shaped hearth (Feature 13, Fig. 9D), 3.89 metres long was constructed of sandstone blocks and tile, over the partly demolished keyhole hearth (Feature 21), with its open end towards the doorway of the north service area. The hearth floor was level with the sill of the entrance and dropped away towards the west. A change of construction between the apse and the side walls, suggests that this may have been constructed separately or it may be a replacement. The surviving ash layer (100) is a confused one and probably represents a mixture of fuels.

Remains of a second U-shaped hearth (Feature 12, Fig. 9D) lay above the first on a slightly different alignment, but using the same entrance and resting on some of the wall of the earlier feature (13). A floor of Eastbourne greensand and ironstone was associated with this hearth and above it there was an ash layer (95), which represented a fuel use associated with cereal or grass preparation, possibly drying. A further series of eight ash layers (85–92) were associated with this feature. There were three distinct phases of fuel use, the first and third being oak, sandwiching a confused ash sequence.

The whole of the north service area was covered by a floor of bricks, 200 × 100 × 50 mm. laid on sandy ash 50–70 mm. deep, under which there is reddened clay, resting on Eastbourne greensand and sandstone. Upon the brick floor there were two features, a circular hearth and a small rectangular oven (Features 10 and 11, Fig. 10A). Feature 10 survived as a single brick course, 0.8 metre in diameter, whose access was from the west in common with its neighbour, feature 11, a small rectagular single brick course measuring 0.45 × 50 metre. This hearth rested on a reddened yellow clay layer (93), 70 mm. deep which lay over the fill of the U-shaped hearth (Feature 12).

Two more hearths of a makeshift nature were recorded. One, (Feature 9, Fig. 3) lay to the east of the south service area entrance and consisted of a platform of burnt fractured sandstone and reddened clay. The other was situated on the inside of the south wall at the western end of the building and consisted of a single line of a double layer of broken roof tile with square holes (Feature 15, Fig. 2). The tiles were overlaid and separated by clay, reddened by heat and the sandstone wall at its back had been eroded by heat. It is probably the last hearth constructed in the building and is sealed only by a demolition layer containing numerous dressed and rough sandstone material.

The latest feature of the site was probably a small 20th-century bottle dump (Feature 27, Fig. 2), which straddles the robber trench of the west

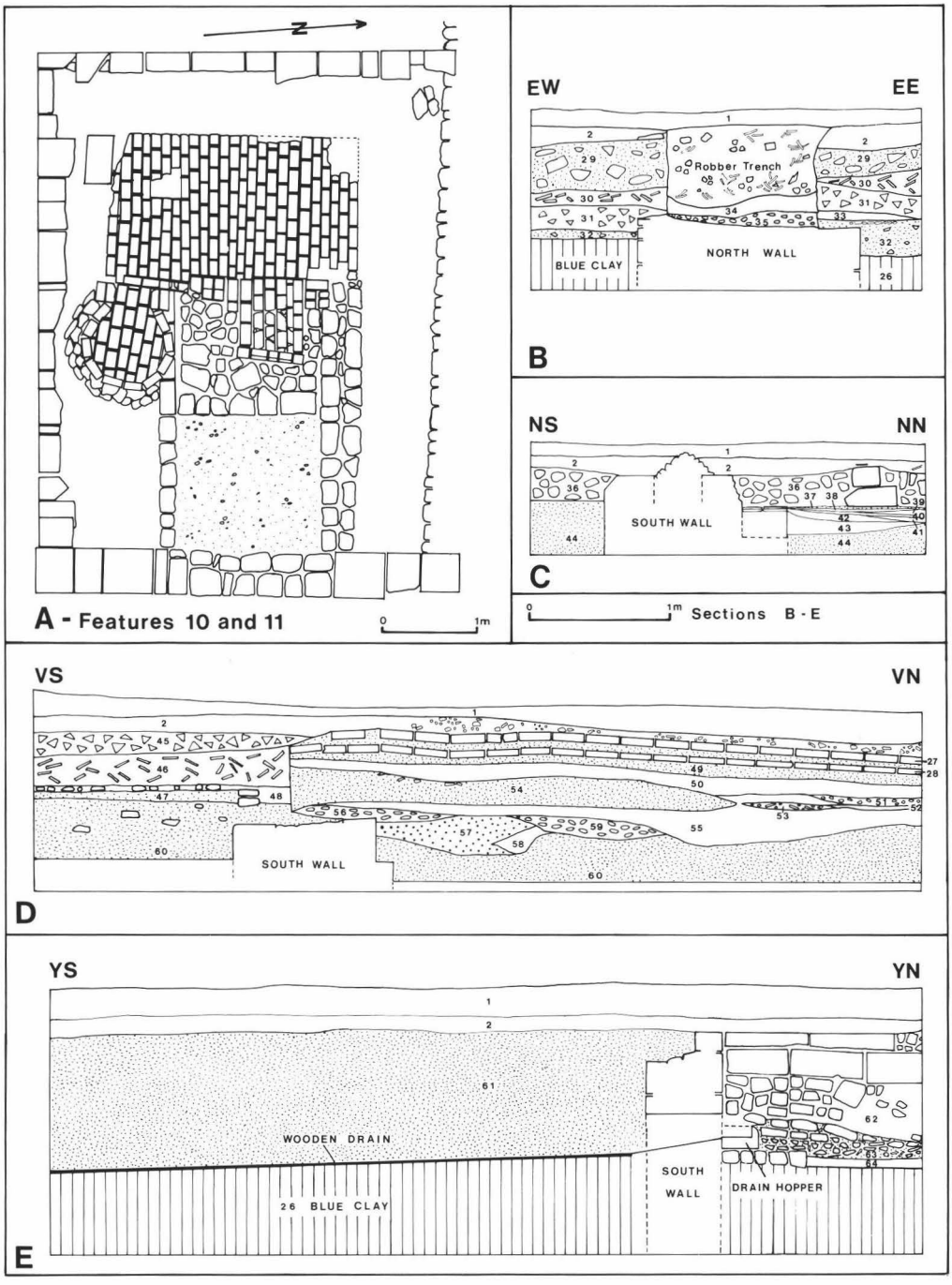

Fig. 10 A: Hearths 10 and 11 of the north service area. B: Section E, across the north-east lateral buttress showing robber trench. C: Section V through south entrance. E: Section Y from the lavatorium hopper along the line of the wooden drain.

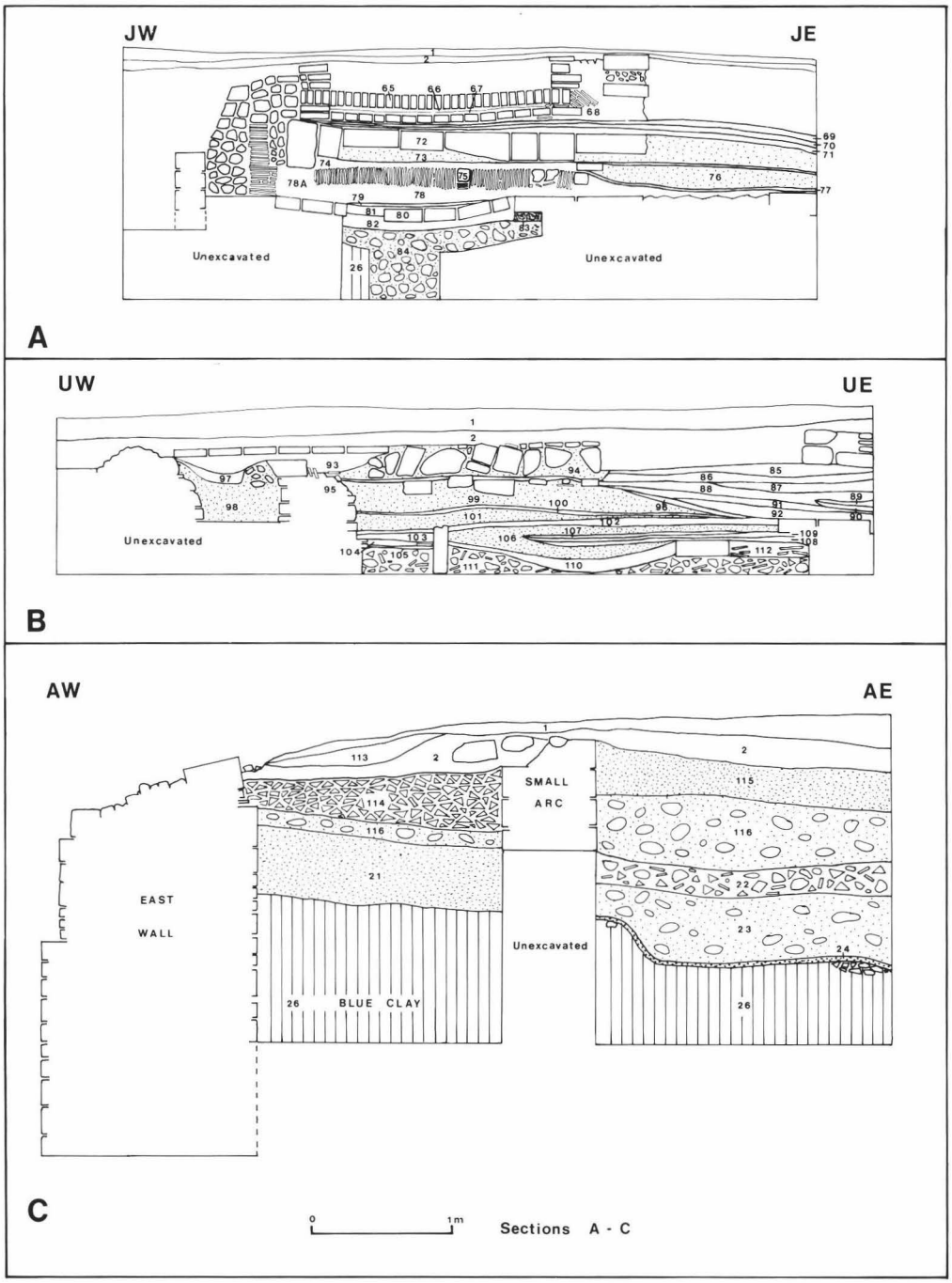

Fig. 11 A: Section J through the hearths of the south service area. B: Section V through the hearths of the north service area. C: Section A through the small arc, feature 2.

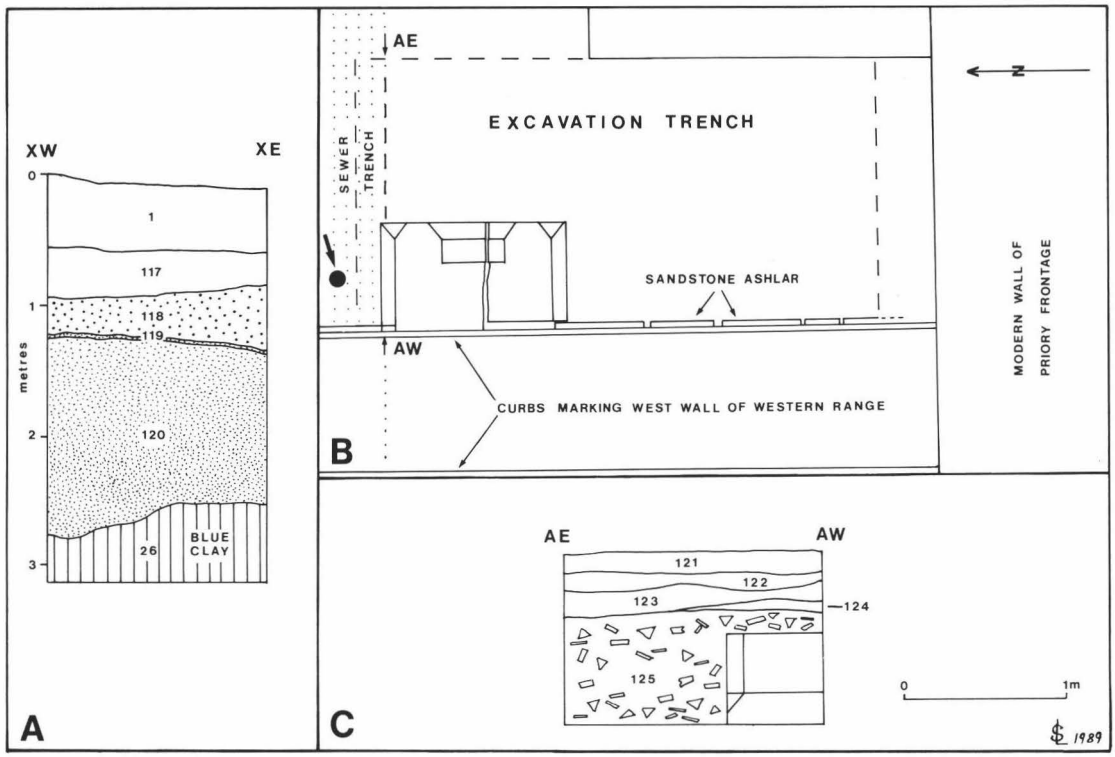

Fig.12 A: Section column from the sewage pump hole, site 8. B and C: Plan and section of excavation of the western range, site 7.

wall and marks the continuance of a centuries-old tradition of dumping rubbish on the south lawn.

Building 2—(Site 4)

Within the angle of the north-east buttress of building 1, were the remains of the south-western corner of a long building aligned north–south (Fig. 1C). The remains, varying from one to three courses of sandstone, were approximately 0.65 metre below the turf. Twenty cross-trenches were dug to determine the extent of the foundations, which were 28.6 × 7.7 metres and had a wide open end facing north towards the priory. The width of the walls was 0.4 metre and belonged to an unsubstantial building such as a cart shed.

Building 3 and stone drain—(Site 4)

There was some evidence of a third building below building 2 underlying its west wall and roughly aligned S-W to N-E.

Also near the western wall of building 2 but not associated with that building, was a neatly constructed sandstone drain (Fig. 6) which ran on a slight curve for 4.6 metres, its lower end 0.82 metre below the turf and well into the present water table, resting on the edge of what appeared to be a sump.

Excavation of Bellarmine find spot—(Site 7)

Early in 1973, a sewage trench (dotted on Fig. 1C), was dug between a new sewage pump hole (site 8) across the cloister garth to the eastern range. The opportunity was taken to

Fig. 13 Worked sandstone base on the southern side of the western entrance of the west range, site 7, scale: 0.5 m.

keep a watch on the proceedings. The strata of the sewage pump trench was recorded (Fig. 12A) and finds from all the diggings included floor tiles, pottery, bottle glass and clay tobacco pipe fragments.

The pipe was taken under the known walls of the conventual buildings (those marked by kerbs) to a depth of about 1.5 metres. Just inside the western wall of the western range workmen discovered a Bellarmine pot (Bellam 1990b). Taking all the evidence and our knowledge of the site, the pot appears to have been found standing upright, either on or a few centimetres above the floor, adjacent to worked sandstone foundations. The find spot is arrowed on Fig. 12B.

Subsequent to this find, the writers were asked to excavate the site (9) and did so between 13–15 October 1975. The trench 3.15 × 1.6 metres (Fig. 12, B and C) was positioned so as to reveal the find spot and possible evidence of an entrance. Excavation revealed the ashlar facing of the east side of the western wall and an elaborate and finely finished sandstone footing (Fig. 13) of what may have been the south side of the suspected west entrance. Only another excavation to the north would confirm this hypothesis.

THE SECTIONS

The second letter at each end of the section is the compass direction.

Section ZW-ZE—(Fig. 2B)

Longitudinal section across building 1. The section has been created by projecting various sections on a central axis and provides a conjectural section through the building. The vertical scale is four times that of the horizontal.

The Layers:

1. Turf (common to all sections).
2. Mixed rubble (common to all sections).
3. Reddened (burnt) clay.
4. Mixed red/blue clay lense.
5. Ash.
6. Yellow clay.
7. Broken tile.
8. Mortar lense.
9. Sandstone rubble.
10. Yellow clay.

11.and 12. Ironstone rubble and clay.

13. Ash.
14. Black silt.
15. Reddened (burnt) clay.
16. Sandstone, chalk and clay with roots.
17. Mixed rubble.
18. Yellow clay.
19. Brown (burnt) clay.
20. Ash.
21. Yellow clay.
22. Tile and rubble.
23. Ironstone rubble and clay.
24. Buried turf.
25. Tile and sandstone rubble.
26. Blue clay (common to all sections).

Section EW-EE—(Fig. 10B)

Section across the north-eastern lateral buttress showing a typical section of the robber trench above the north wall of building 1.

29. Ironstone, sandstone and clay.
30. Broken tile.
31. Earth and sandstone rubble.
32. Yellow clay with sandstone.
33. Ash.
34. Muddy silt.
35. Fine rubble.

Section NS-NN—(Fig. 10C)

Section across the small tiled hearth (Feature 15) on the inside of the south wall of building 1.

36. Large rubble.
37. Yellow clay.
38. Reddened (burnt) clay.
39. Brown ash.
40. Grey ash.
41. Black ash.
42. Grey/brown ash.
43. Reddened (burnt) clay.
44. Yellow clay.

Section VS-VN—(Fig. 10D)

Section through south entrance of building 1, showing the layers of ash, clay and brick building up the floor levels.

45. Sandstone and chalk rubble.
46. Tile rubble in earth.
47. Yellow clay.
48. Grey silt.
49. Yellow clay.
50. Grey ash.
51. Fine rubble.
52. Brown ash.
53. Tile and mortar.
54. Yellow clay.
55. Black ash.
56. Ferritic sandstone.
57. Yellow clay.
58. Ash.
59. Ferritic sandstone.
60. Yellow clay.

Section YS-YN—(Fig. 10E)

Section from the lavatorium drain, through the south wall and along the wooden drain conduit, showing the angle of flow, building 1.

61. Yellow clay.
62. Mortar and rubble.
63. Clay and rubble.
64. Grey silty clay.
26. Blue clay.

Section JW-JE—(Fig. 11A)

Section through the hearths of the south service area of building 1, showing hearth floors and associated ash layers.

65. Brick floor of feature 7.
66. Reddened (burnt) clay.
67. Ash.
68. Brick floor of feature 18.

69.–71. Ash.

72. Sandstone floor of feature 19.
73. Yellow clay.
74. Ash.
75. Tile floor of feature 26.
76. Yellow clay.
77. Ash.

78. and 78A. Grey sandy ash.

79. Grey woody ash.
80. Sandstone floor of feature 30.
81. Fine silty ash.
82. Mortar and orange (burnt) clay.
83. Mortar.
84. Chalky/mortar rubble.

Section UW-UE—(Fig. 11B)

Section through the hearths of the north service area of building 1, showing hearth plans and associated layers.

85.–92. Brown to greyish ash.

93. Reddened (burnt) clay.
94. Yellow clay.
95. Ash.
96. Reddened (burnt) clay.
97. Ash.

98. and 99. Yellow clay.

100. Ash.
101. Yellow clay.
102. Yellow clay with ash and tile.

103. Ash.
104. Black ash.
105. Ferritic sandstone.
106. Yellow clay.
107. Sandstone and grey ash.
108. Hard grey compacted ash.
109. Red ash.
110. Ash with burnt wood fragments.
111. Rubble, mortar, sandstone and tile.
112. Tile and reddened (burnt) clay.

Section AW-AE—(Fig. 11C)

Section through the small eastern kiln at the east end of building 1.

113. Mixed red/blue clay lense.
114. Crushed sandstone.
115. Yellow clay.
116. Ironstone rubble and clay.
116A. Ash (not shown).
21. Yellow clay.
22. Tile and rubble.
23. Ironstone rubble and clay.
24. Buried turf.
26. Blue clay.

Section XW-XE—(Fig. 12A)

Section column from the north face of the pump hole, site 8.

117. Friable coarse loam.
118. Friable clay.
119. Buried turf.
120. Yellow clay.

Section AW-AE—(Fig. 12C)

This section runs along the east side of the sewage pipe trench (site 9), drawn in 1973 and serves as a section across the excavation trench dug in 1975 (site 7).

121. Broken brick.
122. Pebbles.
123. Rammed chalk.
124. Sandy loam.
125. Tile, brick and sandstone rubble in earth.

THE FINDS

(All finds are from Building 1 unless stated otherwise)

This is an abridged list of finds from the site. A full list of all finds and the finds themselves are housed at Michelham Priory. The bracketed number beside the illustration number is the finds number.

Stone

It was widely held that Caen stone had been used at the Priory (see early Priory Guide Books) and that Building 1 had also been built of it. Doubting this, the writers sent stone samples from Building 1 during the excavations in 1973, to the Geological Museum, London for identification. Six stone samples were sent, including a sample of Caen stone (4) from Lewes Priory. The following is a report compiled by Martyn Owen and Christopher Wood, the Museum's Cretaceous specialist at the time, confirming that Caen stone had not been used in Building 1.

Specimen 1 is a light-coloured, fine grain sandstone with numerous remnants of fossil plants. It is typical of the deposits of a deltaic or estuarine environment and is obviously a part of the Wealden Series of the Cretaceous that make up that part of the country in question. Both the Ashdown Sand and the Tunbridge Wells Sand are likely horizons and from direct comparison, the former is perhaps more likely. However distinguishing the various sandstones of these deposits is not an easy task and no firm decision can be reached. Fortunately the two horizons are both geologically and geographically very close. Both occur in broad belts running roughly NW to SE and about 2 miles [3.2 km] and 4 miles [6.4 km] north of the Priory respectively for the Tunbridge Wells and Ashdown Sands.

Specimens 2 and 5 are equivalent to the above, apart from very slight differences in colour and a lack of fossil remains.

Specimen 3 is a rather coarser grained feldspathic sandstone which I have not been able to find a match for in our collections but which is, according to Mr Wood, very likely to be also from the Wealden Series and so from the same general area.

Specimen 4 is also confirmed as Caen Stone.

Worked Stone—(Fig. 14)

Fifty-one worked building stones were recovered from the site, the larger part of which were either re-used stonework or debris in the upper layers of the site. Although the stones almost certainly relate to the Priory it is not

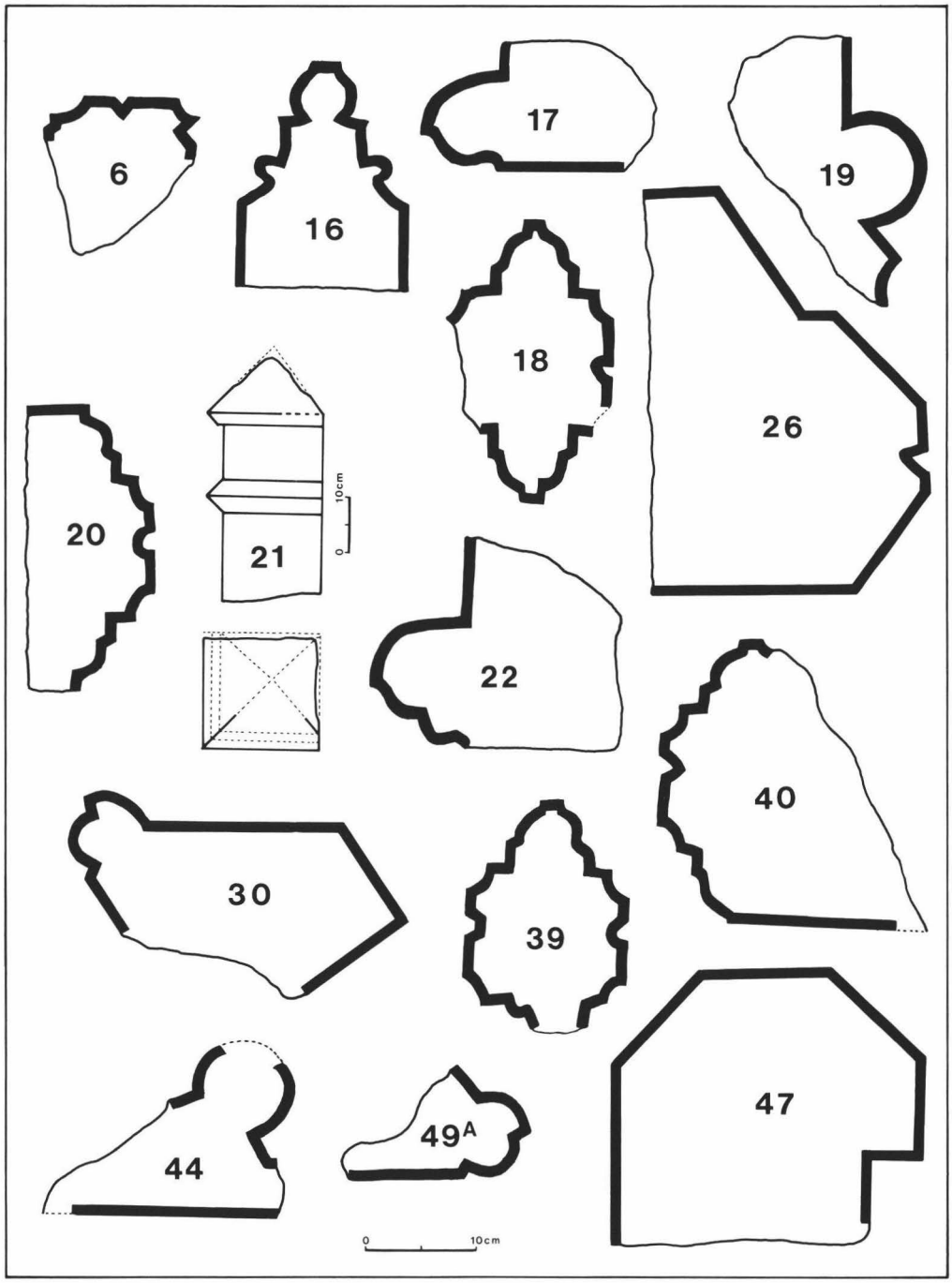

Fig. 14 Profiles of worked stone from building 1.

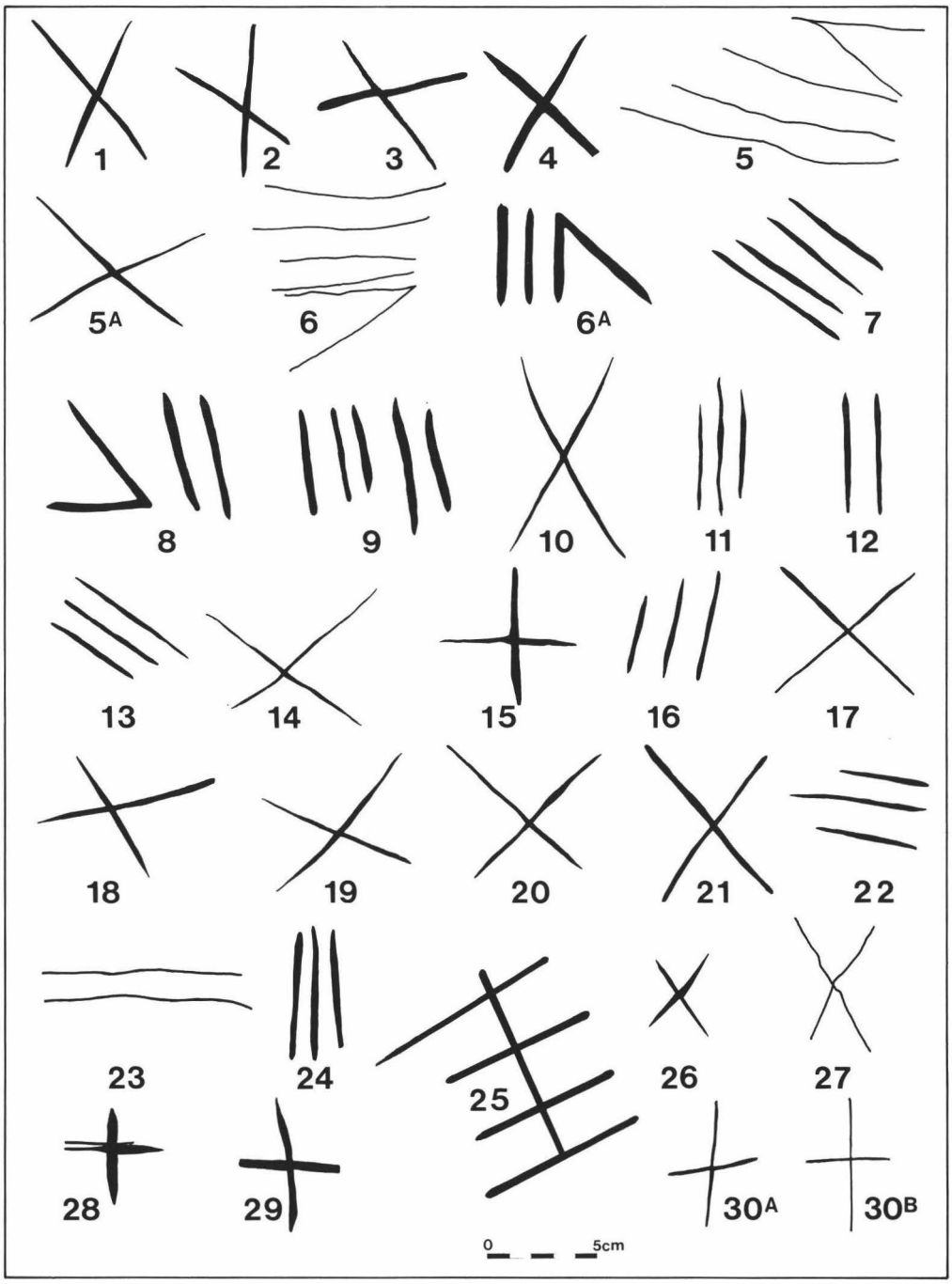

Fig. 15 Stone-cutters' marks 1–25 on the ashlar of the walls of building 1. 26–30 on detached stonework.

possible to state with confidence that many of them came from Building 1.

Sandstone

6. Yellow-grey: fragment of window tracery with glazing groove.
16. Light grey: mullion fragment of smooth finish. Setting-out line on one bedding surface, with incised mark (Fig. 15.27).
17. Grey: slightly weathered Bowtel moulding—mortar on smooth surfaces suggest re-use.
18. Grey: tracery fragment with setting out lines and glazing groove.
19. Orange: Bowtel moulding with two bedding surfaces. Finished surfaces have fine parallel striations.
20. Grey: smooth finished window fragment with glazing groove. The slightly curved fragment has one bedding surface with incised mark (Fig. 15.28).
21. Eastbourne greensand chimney stack corner piece.
22. Grey: fragment of Bowtel moulding found in the fill of feature 24.
26. Grey: section of window frame.
39. Grey: tracery fragment finely finished with two bedding surfaces—one with a construction line.
40. Grey: mullion fragment with glazing groove and hole for glazing bar.
44. Grey: fragment of Bowtel moulding.
47. Grey: door jamb fragment with rebate.

Other Stone Finds—(Fig. 16)

3. Fragment of the foot of a stone animal of unidentified stone (Layer 2).

Chalk—(Fig. 14)

30. Fragment of Bowtel moulding.
49a. Fragment of Bowtel moulding with diagonal tooling. From fill of Feature 22, (also Fig. 15.1).

Sussex Marble—(Fig. 16)

2. and 5. Fragment of shafting from fill of Feature 24.

Whetstone—(Fig. 16)

4. Whetstone from robber trench above north wall.

Incised Stone Markings—(Fig. 15)

Incised stone markings were recorded from Building 1 (1–25) and five more (26–30) were recorded on detached stones within the foundations. Most are stone-cutter's marks intended to assist the stone-layers in setting the stones in their intended course. The use of such marks has been described in relation to a site at Friar's Walk, Lewes (Stevens 1978). Plaster casts, rubbings and drawings were made of the markings as set out below.

1.–4. Outside west wall.
5.–6. Inside west wall.
6A.–8. Inside south wall, west of entrance.
9. Inside south wall, east of entrance.
10. Dislodged stone in robber trench above north wall.
11. Inside east jamb of south entrance.
12.–14. Inside south wall, east of lavatorium.
15. South-west side of south-east lateral buttress.
16.–24. Lavatorium recess.
25. On chamfer of south-east lateral buttress. This might be an attempt to make a papal cross (also Fig. 5).
26. Stone 14.
27. Stone 16 (also Fig. 14.16).
28. Stone 20.
29. Stone 39 (also Fig. 14.39).
30. Stone 47 (also Fig. 14.47).

Stone Roofing Tiles—(Fig. 16)

Only a small number of complete stone roofing tiles were recovered and these mainly from feature 26. It is doubtful if they were ever a significant element of the roofing of the hall building. Their use and distribution is discussed in 'Stone Tiles' by the late E. W. Holden (microfiche). In an attempt to establish their origin, a sample was sent to the Geological Museum for analysis which resulted in the following note.

> Examination of Stone Tile or Slab (9) from Hearth 26—R. W. Sanderson.
>
> It is of the Horsham stone type, i.e., a medium grained fissile of flaggy calcareous sandstone from the weald clay. It has also been compared with other calcareous sandstones from the Lower Cretaceous—the 'Tilgate' stone types. These latter are generally more massive, although they can be thinly bedded and have a 'cleaner' appearance.
>
> My opinion is that the stone is not of local origin. Michelham Priory is on the Weald Clay but according to the British

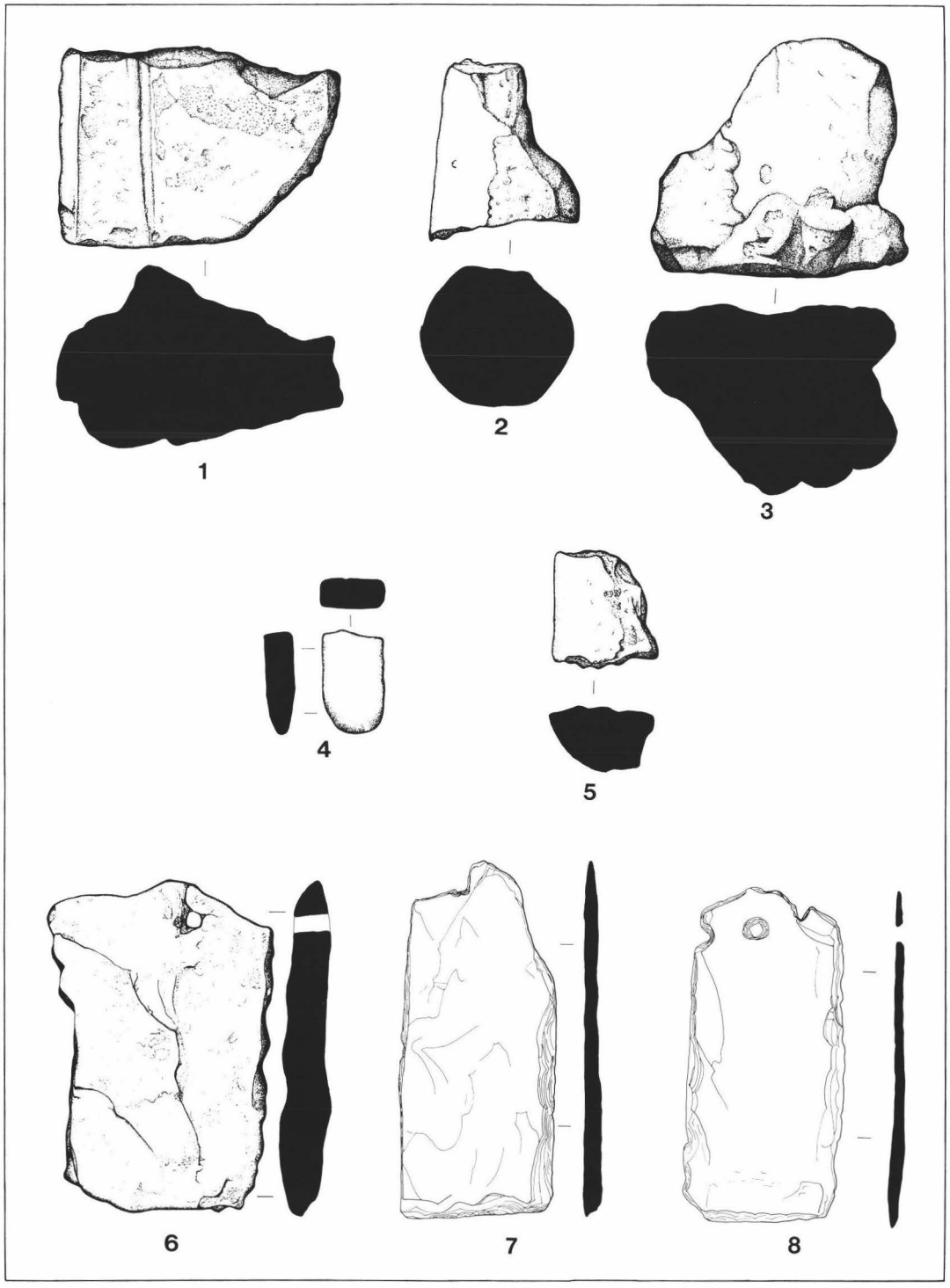

Fig. 16 Stone: 1–3 worked stone; 4 whetstone; 5 Sussex marble; 6 roofing tile; 7–8 slate (1/4).

Geological Survey's Lewes Memoir, the Horsham Stone facies is absent or very poorly developed in the area. The main development of Horsham Stone is to the west and south of the town. To a lesser extent it also occurs in the northern part of the Weald Clay outcrop. Although it is possible that a limited occurrence may have been found in the past, it would seem more probable that a supply of roofing materials for a prestigious building would have come from a more reliable source, such as the Horsham area. I do not think it is possible to prove that any specific part of the outcrop was the source of such tile-stones.

6.(7) 'Horsham' roofing tile re-used in Feature 26.

Roofing Slate—(Fig. 16)

Roofing slate was recovered from early contexts associated with the building of the hall and were evidence of the roofing of the building. Some still bore evidence of torching. The slates are discussed in 'Roofing Slates', by the late E. W. Holden (microfiche).

7.(4) Slate from sump-hole on south lawn, site 4.
8.(18) Slate from slate layer south of south-east lateral buttress.

Pierced Oven Tiles—(Fig. 17)

In all 60 fragments of pierced oven tile were recovered from Building 1, the largest proportion of which are believed to have been recovered by the Conservation Corps (before archaeological excavation began) from the eastern end of the building in the vicinity of the bifid hearth and kiln bases. Although these tiles have been found in hearths (Holden 1963), none were found in situ on the site and their distribution strongly suggested that they were associated with the eastern kiln complex. Two fragments were found at the east side of the floor of a hearth (Feature 26) but here they were clearly re-used material. The total area represented by all the fragments is about 0.25 sq. metre. Of those found before the excavation, Commander Ramsey Harrison was confident that none came from the floor of the bifid hearth, but from the filling of the apsidal thickening.

9.(44) Fragment 380 mm. thick with 14 oval holes, bevelled sides with knife trimming on one edge, mortar on lower surface.
10.(19) Fragment 250 mm. thick with six squarish holes, greying body and mortar on upper surface.

Encaustic Floor Tiles—(Fig. 17)

Sixty-eight floor tile fragments were recovered from Building 1, of which only four were decorated. The plain tiles, some of which were identified by Mrs Elizabeth Eames as Netherlandish, were faced with brown, black or yellow glaze. Many fragments showed considerable surface wear to the extent that no trace of glaze survived. Prepared triangular and rectilinear tiles were found, as was the case at Site 2, near the south range. Most of the floor tiles from Building 1 were recovered from the later yellow clay layers or the turf layer. No floor tile was found in situ on the floor of the building.

Plain Encaustic Floor Tiles

11.(64) Netherlandish tile with dark grey/brown glaze 250 mm. thick. Surface find.
12.(61) Cream/pink glaze tile 249 mm. thick. Surface find.
17.(78) Rectilinear tile (border tile) with green glaze 210 mm. thick (Site 7).
18.(69) Triangular prepared tile, glaze worn off, 200 mm. thick (Site 7).

Decorated Floor Tiles

13.(01) Decorated floor tile from the entrance of Feature 26.
14.(20) Fragment of floral decorated and glazed tile of the same decoration as No. 13. 200 mm. thick, provenance unknown.
15.(72/82) Two fitting fragments of chevron decorated floor tile 210 mm. thick (Site 7).
16.(26) Fragments of tile of the same decoration as No. 13, 221 mm. thick.

Roof Tile—(Fig. 17)

Clay roof tiles have been found both in discrete debris layers and in the building of some of the hearths of the later phases. No whole tiles survived, but more than 150 fragments have been kept as reference material, which fall into two

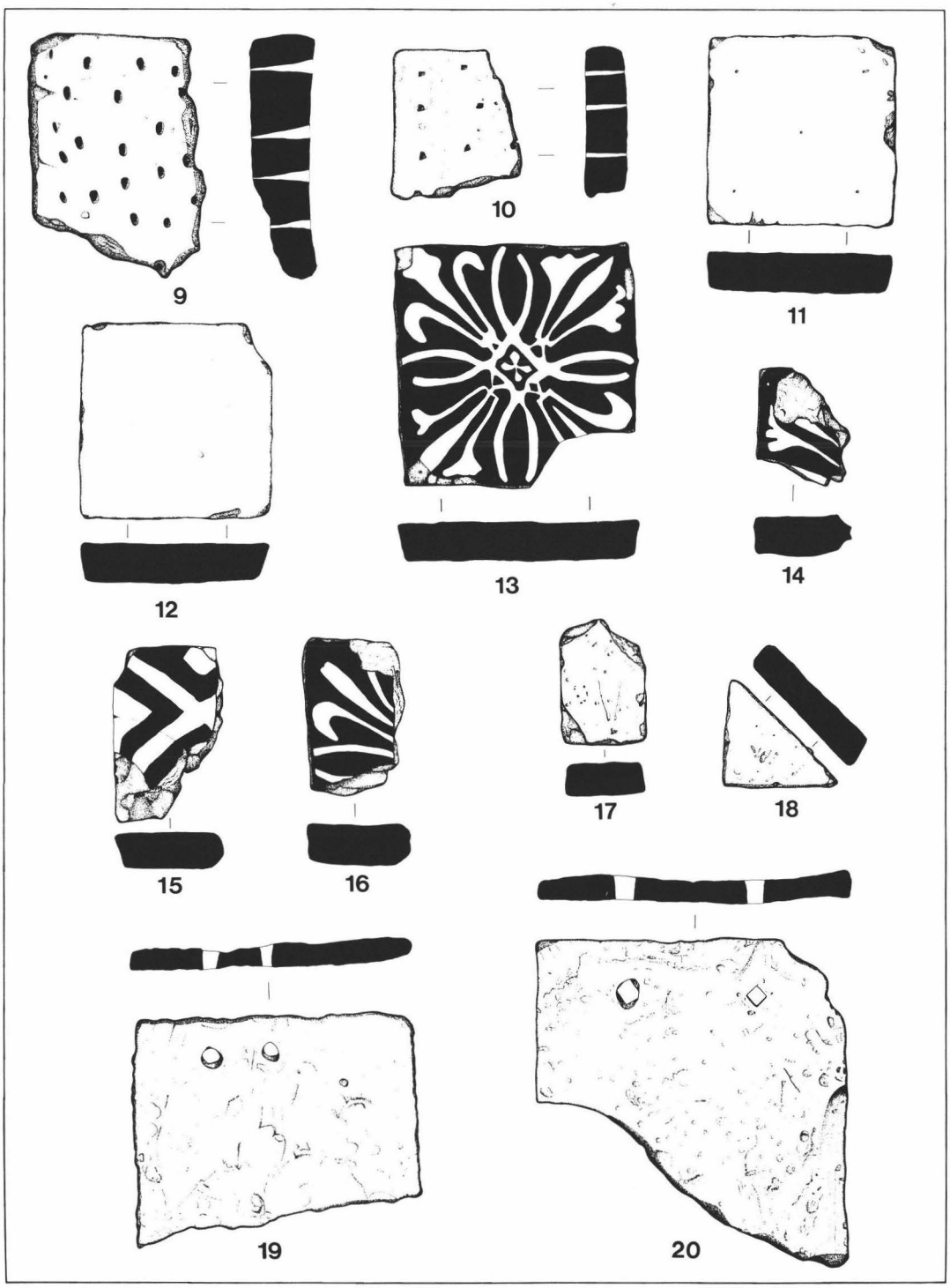

Fig. 17 Baked clay: 9–10 oven tiles; 11–12 plain floor tiles; 13–18 decorated floor tiles; 19–20 roof tiles (1/4).

types, those with square holes and those with round holes. An example of each is illustrated.

19.(35) Broken tile with two round holes from feature 21, 161 mm. thick.

20.(60) Corner of tile with two square holes, from the robber trench above the north wall, 141 mm. thick.

Brick—(Fig. 18A)

The use of brick is limited to the last phase of the use of Building 1. Only sample bricks were removed for reference purposes.

21.(02) Sample from inside west wall (layer 2).

Canopy of a Louver—(Fig. 18A)

22.(1) Green-glazed fragment of a louver canopy showing (above) left and right sides (below), extent of glaze and section. 'Canopy of a Louver'—the late G. C. Dunning (microfiche).

Clay Tobacco Pipe

Clay tobacco pipe fragments were only found in the sewage trench (site 7) and consisted of four stem fragments and a bowl bearing the initials 'T.H.' which are probably those of one of the Thomas Harmans of Lewes (Atkinson 1977).

Pottery

Some 400 sherds were recovered from the floor layers and occupation contexts of building 1, from feature 13 and robber trenches. The report including thin-section analysis appears as 'The Pottery'—Anthony D. F. Streeten, (microfiche).

Illustrated Sherds—(Fig. 18B)

1. Cooking pot—Fabric A(ii).
2. Cooking pot—Fabric B(i).

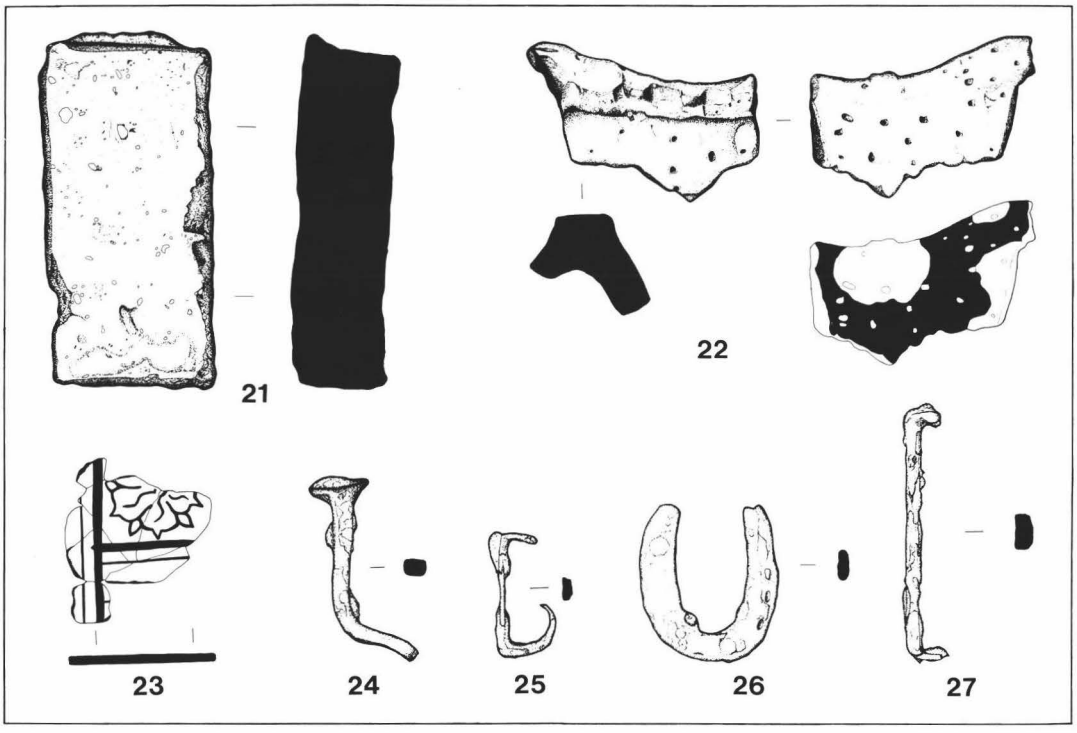

Fig. 18A Baked clay: 21 brick roof louver: 22; Glass: 23 decorated window glass; Iron: 24 nail; 25 iron dog; 26 animal shoe; 27 iron dog (1/4).

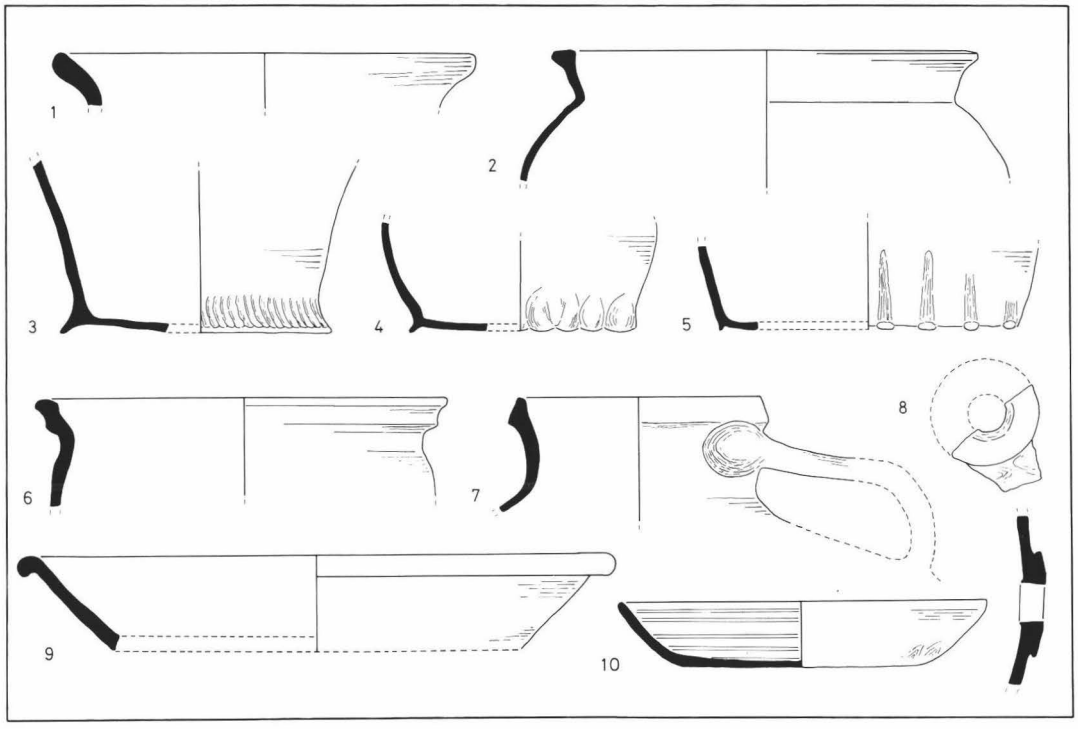

Fig. 18B Medieval and post-medieval pottery (1/4) A. D. F. Streeten.

3. Jug—Fabric B(i).
4. Jug—Fabric A(iv).
5. Jug—Fabric A(v).
6. Cooking pot—Fabric C(i).
7. Jug—Fabric C(i).
8. Bung-hole—Fabric C(i).
9. Dish/bowl—Fabric D(i).
10. Dish/bowl—Fabric D(i) with internal white slip decoration.

Mortar Samples—John Evans

Samples were taken from 21 contexts and their analysis was carried out at North East London Polytechnic and is the subject of a detailed report 'Mortar'—J. Evans (microfiche).

Glass—(Fig. 18A)

Apart from a few fragments of window glass, no glass was found in contexts relating to the life of Building 1. In contrast to the Sewage trench (site 9), no wine bottle fragments were found but merely a 20th-century bottle dump above the west wall (Feature 27).

23.(1) Fragment of decorated window glass, from ash layer (90).
In the opinion of both Mr S. E. Rigold and Mrs R. H. Vose (pers com), the fragment is of 13th-century date.

Metalwork—(Fig. 18A)

The unremarkable collection of metalwork consisted of iron nails, dogs, a hammer-head, axe-head and animal shoes. There were a few lead came fragments. With the exception of some nails, the metalwork was from layers post-dating the use of Building 1.

24. Large nail, feature 13.
25. Iron dog, feature 27.
26. Donkey shoe—Site 7.
27. Iron dog, robber trench above north wall.

Jetton—D. R. Rudling

Brass jetton of Hans Krauwinckel of Nuremberg. Late 16th century.

Obverse:

HANNS.KRAVWINCKEL.IN.NVR

Reverse:

GOTTES.GABEN.SOL.MAN.LOB

(Ref: German jetton No. 86 in *The Casting Counter and the Counting Board* by F. P. Barnard, 1916.)

Condition: Only slight traces of wear on the raised surfaces.

Wood

Well developed tree roots found among the foundations were identified by Mr D. F. Cutler of the Plant Anatomy Section of the Jodrell Laboratory at the Royal Botanic Gardens, as Quercus robur (oak), a species of Betula (birch) and Fraxinus excelsior L. (ash). These roots all belonged to trees that had long since gone.

Wooden Drain Conduit

A sample of wood from the south drain conduit was identified by R. E. Moore of the Plant Anatomy Section of the Jodrell Laboratory at the Royal Botanic Gardens, as 'Oak, probably common oak, Quercus robur L.'.

Charcoal

Charcoal samples were examined for identification by Caroline Cartwright of the Institute of Archaeology, with the following results.

Layer 89, Feature 12:
Quercus sp. (oak) 85% total sample.
Carpenius betulus (hornbeam) 10% total sample.
Crataegus sp. (hawthorn) 5% total sample.

Layer 90, Feature 12:
Fagus sylvatica (beech) 100% total sample.

Ash Samples

In all, 26 ash samples were taken from eight features and their analysis was undertaken at the North East London Polytechnic. The work which entailed producing ash from known woods and comparing their composition with the analysis of the ashes from the site has thrown some light on the fuel of the hearths. This novel process and its findings are fully discussed in 'Ash from the Hearths'—J. Evans (microfiche).

Seeds

Carbonised seeds identified in ash sample 24 (layer 20), included two-row hulled barley, bread wheat, darnel and rush. This ash layer was associated with the bifid hearth and adjacent kilns and the analysis is discussed in 'Carbonised Seed'—R. N. L. B. Hubbard and M. Wilkinson (microfiche).

Animal Bone

Numbers of animal bones identified from the site are as follows: cattle 315, sheep 40, pig 91, horse 341, with red deer, roe deer, dog and rabbit each represented by a single bone. Shortly after the excavation, an animal bone report was compiled by Mrs B. Westley (archived at the Priory). In her report, she recommended that further work might be carried out on the collection, thus a detailed analysis has been prepared, see 'Animal Bone'—P. M. Stevens (microfiche).

Mollusca

Of the 44 Ostrea edulis (oyster) retained, nearly half were derived from layers outside the south wall and particularly around the entrance where one Patella vulgata L. (common limpet) was found. While these were probably derived from food waste, others had been used in the levelling of the ashlar of the building (Salzman 1967).

DISCUSSION

Period 1

The hall, Building 1, was built into the southern slope of the spur upon which the Priory stands, the southern wall having deeper courses of ashlar than the north and the underlying strata dipping to the south. When first erected, the hall must have been an impressive structure, built as it was on deep foundations with finely finished ashlar work and embellishments. The passage wall, service areas and lavatorium all point to an initial domestic use. In the absence of pillar bases, it may be assumed that the roof timbers spanned the width of the building. No evidence of a central hearth was recovered, nor was there good evidence for a floor level with the exception of the stone surround of the drain in the lavatorium. A few encaustic floor tiles were found in the clay layer (18) above the layer of tile and sandstone rubble (25) but there were so few as to put into question their having been used as flooring in the building. The early slate roof was probably replaced by tile, of which the louver may have been part of the furniture.

After a site visit, Mr Stuart Rigold considered the building to have been constructed during the period 1280–1350 and Anthony Streeten has demonstrated that the bulk of the medieval pottery is 14th century and contains some 13th-century sherds. It would be reasonable to suggest that the hall was built towards the end of the 13th century and that it continued to be used for domestic purposes, perhaps as a guest house into the 14th century. The position of the only entrance being away from the conventual complex would further suggest that the building was intended for use by lay-persons.

Domestic use of the building came to an end when at the start of period 2, the bifid hearths (feature 1) and kilns (features 2 & 3) were built. Mortar analysis suggests that the bifid hearth is of one period and that the foundations of the arcs may represent another. Examination of the remains suggested that the large kiln may have been followed by the smaller one. However, the mortar analysis points to the arcs as being non-contemporaneous with the hearth.

The deep clay layer (18) above the tile and sandstone rubble point to a deliberate raising of the floor level which is not uncommon during this period. Deterioration of the weather, particularly in respect of increased rain and flooding are a feature of the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th century. In parts of the country this was a time of devastating crop failures which had been disastrous in Sussex at Barnhorne (Brandon 1971). Build-up of floor levels at this time has been noted at Bordesley Abbey where the floors were raised more than a metre (Rahtz and Hirst 1976), and at the deserted medieval village of Broadfield, Hertfordshire where the floor has been raised a foot, probably in an attempt to combat the increasing wet climate (Klingelhofer 1974).

Period 2 is clearly one of fairly intensive industrial use with kiln and oven building interrupted only by the construction of the moat. We therefore see period 2 divided into three (A–C) which we will discuss chronologically.

Period 2A

The kilns at the eastern end of the building may also be seen as a response to the increasingly inclement weather and the need to dry grain. Kiln drying of corn before threshing and milling is associated with the wetter margins of corn growing areas (Scott 1951). Scott describes a typical corn drying kiln as being attached to the end of a barn with the fire lit in the barn and a flue leading the heat into the kiln with a massive chimney to draw the smoke through the layer of grain which was strewn on straw laid on a rack of poles three feet above the floor. Access to this level was by a flight of stone steps on the outside of the building.

Here we have a description of what could have been built at the east end of Building 1. There is a hearth within the east wall, flues leading towards each of the foundations of which are presumably the kilns. We have an indirect

heat process most suitable for corn drying. Furthermore, if we assume that they were constructed before the moat was created, an early- to mid-14th century date would coincide with the need to dry corn during the wet conditions prevailing at that time.

Similar examples have been excavated at Jarlshof, Shetland (Hamilton 1956) where a kiln was built between the late 13th century and the early 14th century in the corner of a barn and at Severidges Farmhouse, Waterrow, Chipstable, where a 16th-century example occupied the same position (Williams 1972).

During Period 2A three ovens (features 30, 26 and 43), were constructed in the south service area and obviously represent a long period of use. The second oven (feature 26) was repaired with different materials and different mortar, further evidence of long use. After feature 43 was abandoned, there was some reorganisation and a change of materials.

In the north service area during the same period, there was greater variety of activity and the creation of four features (44,14,21 and 13), all sharing the same floor. The first was the rectangular feature 44, with its curious curved features for which we can offer no explanation. Secondly, the battered sides of a malt kiln (feature 14), were built over the features of 44 in which indirect heat was used to destroy the vitality of germinating grain in the malt-making process for the brewing of ale.

Similar examples of 13th- and 14th-century battered sided malt kilns have been excavated at Brixworth, Northamptonshire (Woods 1970), where the 1.27 × 1.02 metres kiln had a side angle of 25–35 degrees; at Barrow, Rutland (Bolton 1960) where the 1.37 × 1.53 metres kiln had a side angle of 30 degrees, and at West Cotton, Northamptonshire (Windell 1985), where one of the writers (Patricia Stevens) identified a stone-sided rectangular kiln. The floor area of the malt kiln at Michelham is more than eight times and five times greater in area than those at Brixworth and Barrow respectively.

A key-hole shaped hearth (feature 21) then superseded the malt kiln and represents a change of use to something akin to bread baking, although three distinct fuel sources may suggest minor changes of use. The ash evidence of the U-shaped hearth, feature 13, is confined to one confused layer (100) which may suggest a short life or a truncation of the residual material by the construction of feature 12, above it.

As in the south service area, there is a break in the use of building materials and a build-up of the floor level.

Period 2B

Raising of the floor levels throughout the building, particularly at the western end strongly suggests a rise in the water table.

For an explanation of a rise in the water table we need to look no further than the building of the moat, which when constructed would have raised the water table within the moated area considerably: so much so that the original floor level could no longer be used.

The date of the building of the moat is not known, although the late 14th and 15th century have been suggested (Salzman 1901 and Bellam 1988). The moat construction and the building of the gatehouse have both been attributed to the energetic Prior Leeme (*c.* 1376–1415) who restored the Priory's income. Prior Leeme's period of office not only fits into the time when moat construction was at its height nationally, but his improvement of the conventual economy might have allowed for the construction of the moat and its gatehouse. Moat construction was an expensive business and that at Michelham would have required considerable engineering skills to make-up the southern end of the moat and cut the western arm. An idea of the cost can be gained if we take Lulham's area of the moat in 1687 as 5a-1r-0p and use the figure of moat construction of £22.50 per perch as given at Queensborough, Kent in 1366 (Le Patourel 1974) we arrive at a figure of £2,100. Allowing for Prior Leeme to stabilise his economy we can postulate that the moat was constructed very late

in the 14th century or equally early in the 15th century.

The moat itself was man-made and does not incorporate any part of the natural course of the Cuckmere. Bearing in mind that the priory was built on the eastern end of a spur around which the Cuckmere skirts, it was necessary to build up the ground to the south and east to create the banks of the moat. It would be reasonable to assume that the bulk of this material would come from digging the moat where the ground was not made up. The effect of this activity on the water table within the moat can be realised from the section across the south-east corner of the moat (Fig. 19) which shows the present moat water level (2.75 metres) above the surface of the River Cuckmere. The effect of the rise in the water table on the hall was, at the very least, to waterlog and most probably flood the floors but not to the same extent as now, i.e., 0.8 metre above the lavatorium drain hopper. Thus, at the end of the moat construction, the kilns at the east end would probably have gone out of use, for the post-moat water table would nearly have flooded the hearth. The period 2A floors of both the north and south service areas would also have been rendered useless by the new water table and we can see more hearths being constructed on the raised level in both the north and south service areas.

Period 2C

After the moat had been constructed there may have been a time of abandonment before more hearths were built. In the south service area, two circular hearths (features 19 and 7) were constructed one above the other. The earlier feature has a sandstone floor which almost certainly belonged to an oven but it had walls which may suggest a second phase, particularly as it had a stoke-hole firstly on the east side and then on the north where it opened on to a raised pinafore. The second hearth was wholly constructed of bricks and may have been a vat, as indeed its predecessor's second phase may have been, as the remnants of what appear to be a flight of steps would have provided access to the top of a vat, an arrangement not dissimilar to the cider vats still to be seen at Laycock Abbey, Wiltshire.

Period 2C is represented in the north service area by the creation of three features (12,10 and 11). Feature 12 was of the same design as feature 13 and built immediately on the top of it. The

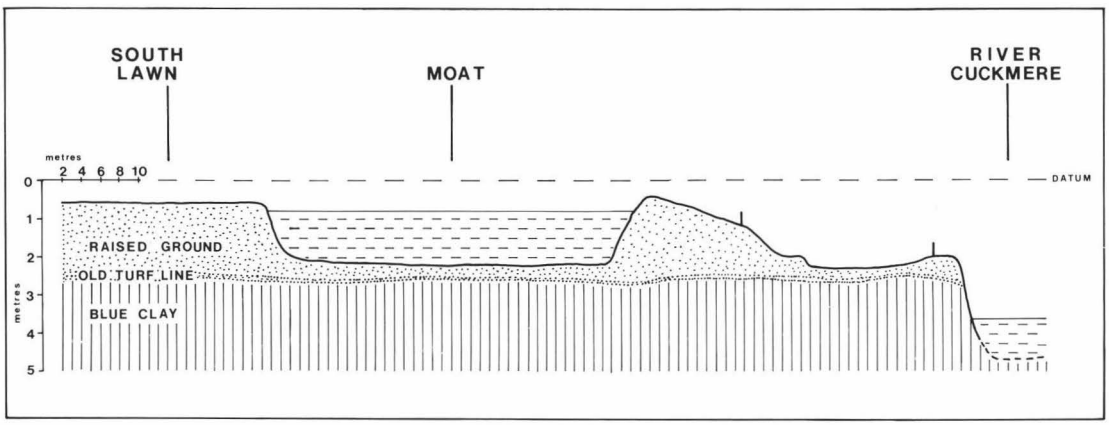

Fig. 19 Section across the south-east corner of the moat showing its relation to the water level of the Cuckmere and how the ground has been made-up to retain the water of the moat. Note: the vertical scale is four times that of the horizontal scale.

deep accretion of nine ash layers (13, 85–92) point to an extended use of this hearth whose function was probably connected with the drying or preparation of grass or cereals. Two ovens (Features 10 and 11) were built of brick on a brick floor that sealed the previous hearth. These were small ovens and would have satisfied a small demand.

There are numerous examples of barns with multiple kilns for the period, good examples of which occur at Grafton Regis, Northamptonshire (Mahany 1966) and at Fountains Abbey, North Yorkshire (Coppack 1986), where a woolhouse and malthouse were found side by side. However, we have found no other examples with as many hearths and kilns in one building as at Michelham Priory.

With the exception of the early pre-moat burial of a bovid (110) at the eastern end of the building and the very late burial of a calf (909a) near the cross-wall, the bulk of the animal remains were recovered within the eastern end of the building and over the kiln floors. If these relate to William Child's husbandry and they were buried late in the 18th century, it is possible that the brick floors represent restricted use of the building during period 2C.

Of the other two buildings, the earlier was definitely pre-moat and there is little doubt that the sandstone drain was associated, for neither it nor its sump could function after the moat had created the higher water table. This building would warrant further archaeological excavation. The third building would seem to be contemporary with the hall, as the foundations respect it, but it is certainly post-moat and of rustic construction.

CONCLUSION

The hall was built at the end of the 13th century for domestic use. Sometime during the mid- to late-14th century, it was used for semi-industrial purposes connected with grain processing which was interrupted by the creation of the moat, after which, semi-industrial activities resumed in a reduced form. The building probably survived to the end of the 18th century but had gone well before the middle of the 19th century.

Contents of microfiche

Acknowledgements

We acknowledge with grateful thanks, all those who assisted the excavations including Arthur Sayers, the late Mervyn Mander, George Fairbrother and pupils from Battle Road School, Hailsham. To Louise Mount for the illustrations of the finds, Christine Worsfold for preparing the preliminary site plans and all those who prepared specialist reports. We are also indebted to the late Cdr G. W. R. Harrison, the Priory Secretary; Mr and Mrs H. Letts, the caretakers, who made hundreds of cups of tea and the late Eric Holden for his constant support and advice. We are also grateful to Robert Rickett for drawing our attention to kiln types discussed in period 2A.

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THE EXCAVATION OF A MEDIEVAL AISLED HALL AT PARK FARM, SALEHURST, EAST SUSSEX

by Mark Gardiner, Gwen Jones and David Martin

Topsoil stripping uncovered traces of a medieval aisled hall. Subsequent excavation allowed the identification of three periods of construction. The timber hall was first built in the 13th century. The walls were subsequently replaced in stone, probably in the 14th century. Later, the building was extended to the south, perhaps to incorporate a cross-wing. The building is identified as part of the Robertsbridge Abbey grange of Park. Traces of earlier activity beneath the hall are associated with the Domesday vill of Drisnesel.

Topsoil stripping to the east of Park Farm in Salehurst during Spring 1988 revealed a spread of broken nibbed tile, medieval and 16th-century pottery. It was decided to undertake a small excavation to determine the character of the remains before they were disturbed by further machining intended for the construction of a lake. Clearance by hand of the remaining topsoil located a large hearth and wall footings to the west and south. Work continued at weekends throughout April and May producing evidence of a large stone-built hall and of underlying Saxo-Norman deposits. In view of the evident importance of the site, the owners kindly agreed that the area would not be disturbed until the late autumn. Work resumed in October and the remainder of the building was cleaned up and the plan recorded. Limited work was undertaken to elucidate stratigraphic relationships, but full excavation was not possible in the time and with the resources available. On the completion of work the owners consented to the preservation of the remains of the building defined by excavation and topsoil was replaced over the site to protect it.

The site lies at the edge of the floodplain of a gently sloping valley to the south of the River Rother. The remains of Robertsbridge Abbey are visible 700 metres to the north. A drainage ditch ran on the eastern side of the excavated site, though in recent years it had been infilled (Fig. 1). On the south of the excavated area is a field called in the 1567 survey of Robertsbridge manor, 'Little Drigsell'. The field-name has been associated with the Domesday vill of *Drisnesel* (D'Elboux 1944, 146; Mawer and Stenton 1930, 458).

Drisnesel, assessed at $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides and one virgate was the largest vill in Henhurst hundred recorded in Domesday Book. Before the Norman Conquest it had been held by Cana, a free man. Cana held extensive lands, particularly in the Eastbourne area and two of the vills were held jointly with Fran.[1] A further vill at Ratton apparently had been divided between Cana and Fran, for both held exactly equal parts.[2] It is possible, therefore, that the two were brothers who had divided their patrimonial inheritance.

Further evidence of the association of Cana and Fran is suggested by the post-Conquest tenants of their lands. The lands of one English land holder or a group of kinsmen were sometimes granted to a single Norman tenant. Most of the lands of Cana and Fran were, however, given not to a single Norman, but divided between two, Hugh and Morin. Hugh,

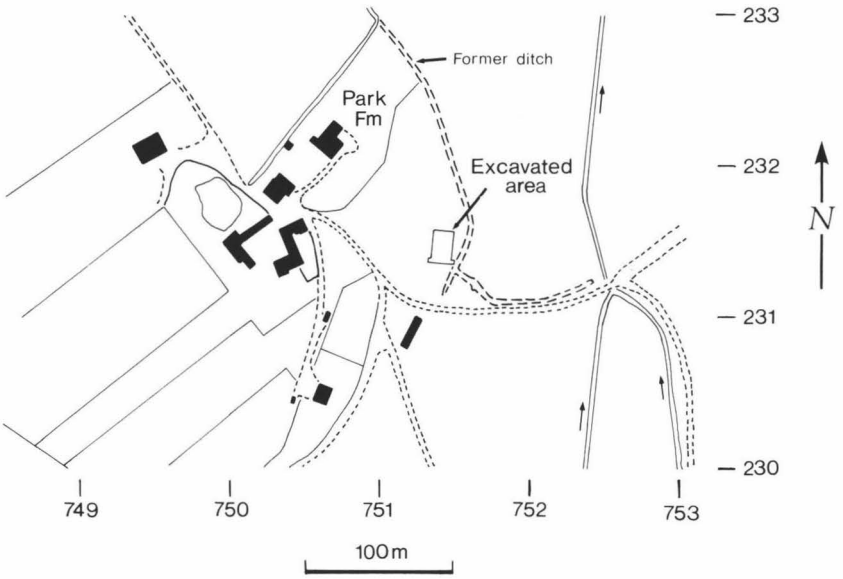

Fig. 1. Park Farm, Salehurst. Location plan.

for example took Fran's portion of Ratton, while Morin held Cana's half. The vill of Fletching, formerly held by Cana was divided between Hugh and Morin.[3] Unusually, the vill at *Drisnesel* was granted to neither Hugh or Morin, but to Aelfric.[4] Little is known of this tenant or of the subsequent descent of the manor until the 13th century.

About 1200 the monks of the newly established abbey of Robertsbridge began to enlarge their lands in the Rother valley. Some land was obtained by purchase and other pieces acquired in exchange for poorer land elsewhere. In return for the lands of Richard de Hudiham at Yorkshire Wood and Udiam in Ewhurst he was granted Combe in Brightling (Historic Manuscripts Commission 1925, 60–61). At about the same time the monks obtained the land of the tenants of Richard de Drichneselle. Subsequently, they completed their acquisition by obtaining Richard's demesne in exchange for land at Worge near to Combe (Ibid., 63–4).

The name *Drisnesel* is not found later, except as a field-name. Since the 14th century the area has been called Park. Initially the land here may have been worked from the abbey itself. Park does not occur among the granges listed in *c.* 1230, but a grange was probably established at Park well before 1325 when it is first mentioned in surviving sources (Chapman 1977, 102–4).[5]

On the dissolution of Robertsbridge Abbey in 1538, the site of the church and claustral buildings, the demesne and many of its lands were granted to Sir William Sidney. The farm called 'le Parkehowse' and the land around the site of the grange was initially let to Richard Creseye and in 1561 was leased out to Richard Gregory for a period of 60 years.[6]

THE EXCAVATION (Fig. 2)

When the nature of the building became apparent, it was determined that the most important aim was to recover a plan of the structure. Work therefore centred on the cleaning and recording of the structural elements and only limited attention was given to the underlying remains.

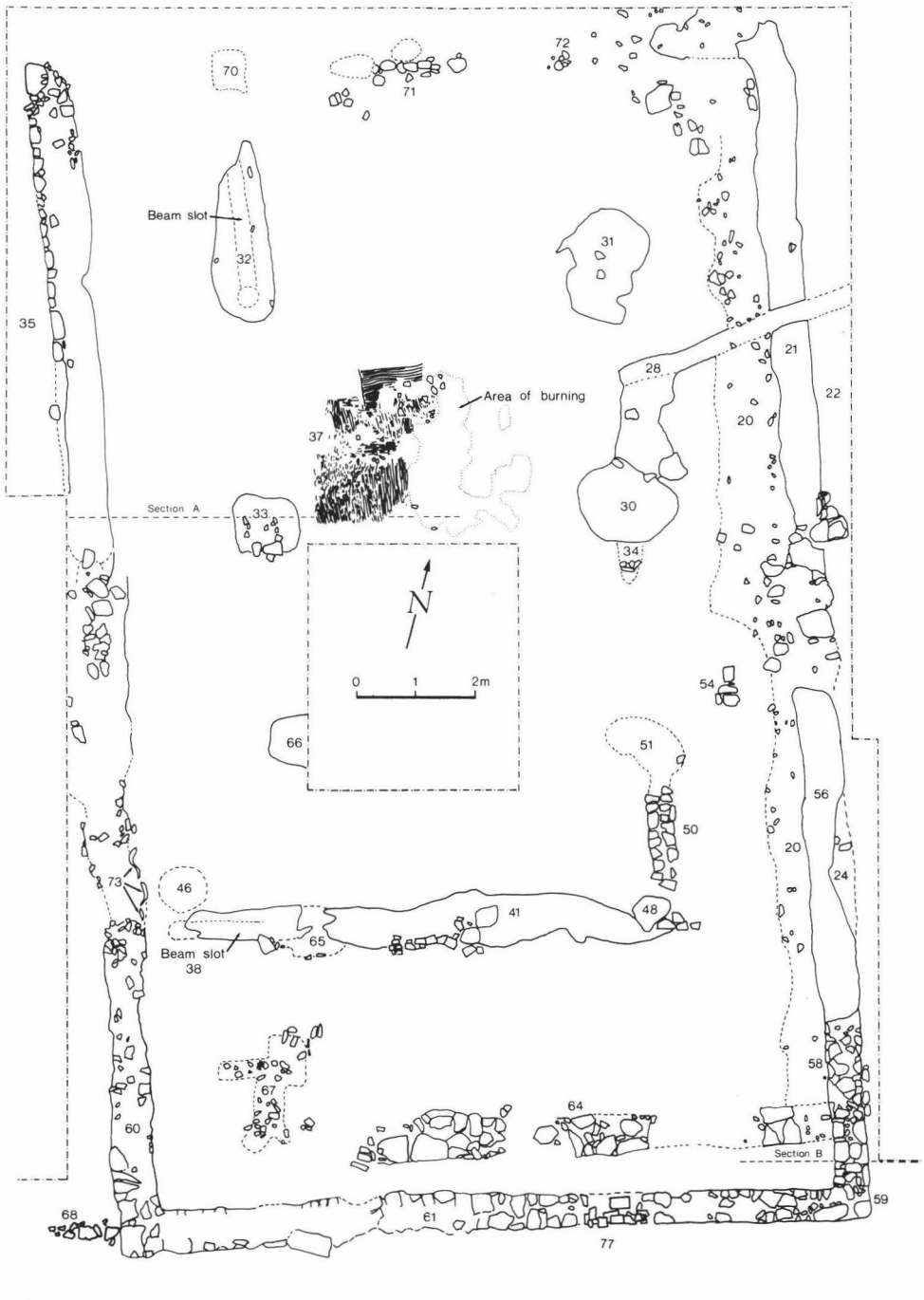

Fig. 2. Park Farm, Salehurst. Site plan.

Period 1

A section cut at the south-east corner of the building to examine the relationship of the structure to an adjacent stream located a deposit (Fig. 5, Section B, 76) containing a number of conjoining and unabraded sherds from a single vessel (Fig. 7, no. 1). This may be dated to the 10th to 12th century and must have been deposited shortly after being broken. Patches of charcoal found beneath the hearth of the later hall may be of the same period (Fig. 5, Section A). A gully found beneath the floor on the north side of the hearth may be contemporary with the charcoal (4).

Period 2 (Fig. 3)

The foundations from the second period were a distinct light-yellow granular limestone. Five pads for aisle posts (30–33, 66) and the foundations for two timber walls (32, 41) were recorded. A padstone (48), an area of darker soil (51) and a depression left after the removal of a second stone (65) marked the positions of three further aisle posts and must also belong to this period. The fragmentary traces of limestone foundations in the west wall (73) were also noted, but these had been mostly removed by the later works, which had also presumably destroyed evidence of the other Period 2 walls.

The remains of the wall on the north side were fragmentary and insubstantial. There was no trace of the limestone foundations characteristic of the period, but pads were found on the line of the arcades for another pair of arcade posts (70, 72). One of these (70) was sealed below the level of later footings.

The remains indicate that the building was a large aisled hall of at least four bays. The full length of the building was not certainly established. The foundations of a sillbeam (41) may have been either for an internal partition or the south external wall of the building. Certainly, no foundations of this period were identified to the south beyond 41, but they could have been removed by later construction work. It may, however, be significant, firstly, that aisle posts here were set on padstones and, secondly, that the traces of the limestone foundations in the west wall end in line with 41. Both these may suggest that 41 was the end wall of the building.

The hall was constructed on sloping ground. The pads for the aisle posts were set below ground level on the south-west side to accommodate the fall in slope and on the north and east sides were set flush with the floor level. Similarly, to allow the sillbeam on 41 to lie horizontal the footings were set below floor level on the west side and projected above it on the east. An impression of the sill, which was about 290 mm. wide, was clearly visible. It had been divided into two parts and the portion west of 65 was set at a higher level than that to the east. An impression of a sillbeam of similar width and part of the carbonised beam itself was found orientated in a north–south direction on 32. This suggests that there was a partition here between two trusses, though its function is uncertain. The pad also retained the impression of the aisle post which was circular and about 400 mm. in diameter. The base of the post was about 50–75 mm. below the level of the sillbeam implying that the sillbeam had been jointed into the side of the post.

Period 3

In Period 3 new foundations were laid for the walls and the hall was largely encased in stone. The reconstruction was carried out in two stages. The northern half of the hall as far as the second bay was replaced first. The foundations for the stone wall were a bright dark yellow gritty mortar laid in a shallow trench only 60 mm. deep. The upper surface of the foundations corresponded with the floor of the building. Near the north-west corner where the soil was loosely compacted a single course of sandstone retaining blocks was laid. The east wall evidently returned at the north side to abut against the north post of the eastern arcade. At the south end of the eastern wall a buttress was constructed where it butted against the remaining portion of the timber hall. There may have been a

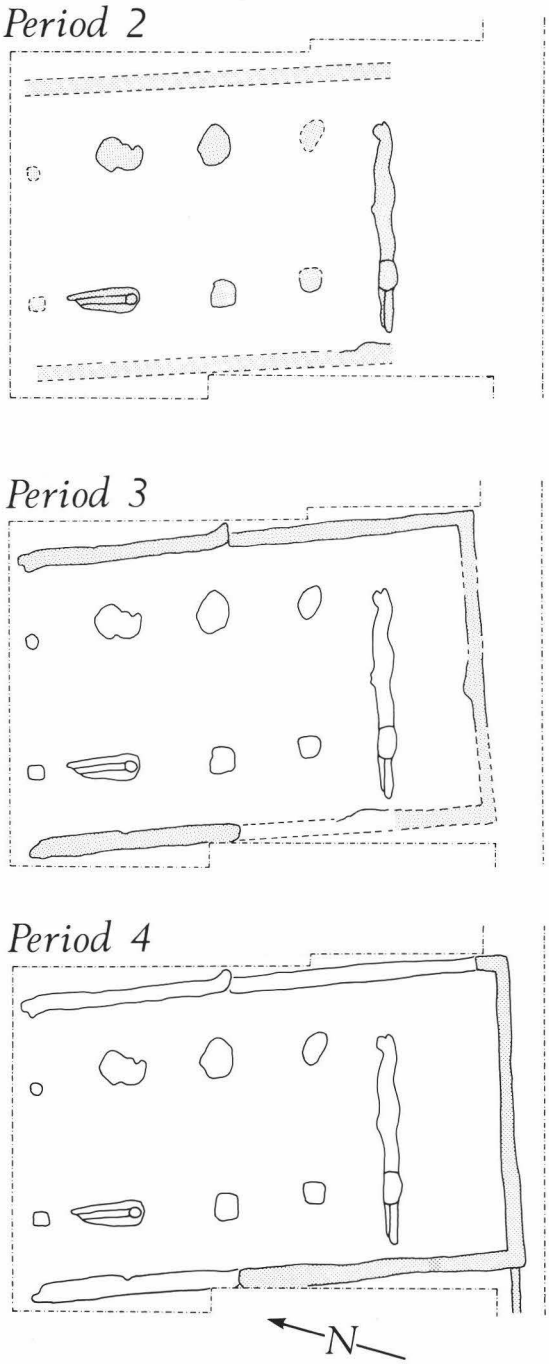

Fig. 3. Park Farm: phase plan. New work in each phase indicated by tone; work retained from a previous phase shown in outline; inferred features or those not certainly belonging to phase marked by a dashed line.

corresponding buttress on the western wall, but there was inadequate time to establish this.

The southern half of the hall was rebuilt subsequently, though perhaps not long after, using footings of a similar, but coarser yellow mortar. The building may have been extended to the south during this period if the Period 2 structure had been only four bays long. Part of the superstructure of the wall built of a core of rubble sandstone set in mortar and faced with rubble sandstone blocks survived at the south end of the building (64). Remains of the north wall were fragmentary, but it is apparent that no footings of this period were constructed between the two arcade posts.

The plan of the Period 3 hall is clear. The services lay at the south end of the building separated from the hall by the wall (41) retained from Period 2. The entrances to the hall would have been in the second bay from the south and the high end lay to the north. Only part of the north wall behind the high end was replaced in Period 3 and a possible reason may be that an elaborate moulded timber dais partition was retained from the previous phase. The Period 3 building measured overall 18.50 metres by 12.50 metres (60 ft 8 ins × 41 ft) and internally was 17.30 metres × 11.02 metres (56 ft 9 ins × 36 ft 2 ins).

Period 4

During the final period of occupation the service end of the building was extended to the south by 1.30 metres. The modest increase in size required considerable work. At the south-east corner the extension brought the building closer to a ditch and deeper foundations were required (Fig. 5, Section B). The foundations of the southerly extension were of mortared sandstone rubble. The existence of foundations of this type in the west wall indicates that the southern part of it was rebuilt during this period.

The floor level on the eastern side of the building was raised during the Period 4 building works and the original sloping surface replaced with a horizontal floor. As a consequence the

base of the Period 3 south wall was buried (64). Amongst the make-up of the floor was a window jamb (Fig. 7, 9), presumably from that wall.

Along the Period 4 south wall there was a gap in the sandstone foundations, which had been filled with nibbed tiles (77). These had evidently been removed from the roof during the Period 4 works, because they were weathered at the lower part of the outer face where they would have been exposed. The tiles were found lying both horizontal and sloping downwards from the foundations either side. These may have been laid flat initially, but subsequently had collapsed. The purpose of the tiles is uncertain, though they may have bridged a gap for a drain.

Outside the building a slight stone wall (68), about 250 mm. wide was traced running westwards from the south-west corner of the building. This seemed too slight to be a structural support and was probably a boundary wall.

Unphased features

A large hearth (37) was situated in the second bay from the north. It was constructed of tiles broken in half and set on edge so that they projected slightly above the floor of the hall. The hearth was made in three stages (Fig. 4). The first, most northerly section of the hearth (A) was formed from tiles placed in parallel east–west rows between a line set at either end. The second (B) was made from tiles in a square arrangement. This had partly subsided, presumably into an underlying feature. The third part of the hearth (C) had tiles set in rows running north–south. Originally the hearth had been set nearly centrally between the aisle posts, but later extensions had been made towards the south-west. An area of burnt clay to the east indicates that some fires had been built directly on the floor.

A wall of roughly tooled, reused stone had been inserted between the eastern aisle posts in the hall across the fourth bay from the north (50). The wall was likely to be the base of a timber partition. The arcade in the third bay on the same side had been partly closed by constructing another partition (34). Most of the stones of this second wall had been robbed and only a semi-octagonal stone remained. The base of the wall foundation trench was filled with a distinctive pink clay, which also occurred in a patch against the fourth bay partition (49). The intention of these screens was presumably to reduce the area of the hall.

Within the eastern aisle in the third bay a reused stone jamb (Fig. 7, 10) was set on end in a pit (54). The jamb stone was bedded on a base of mortar laid on the bottom of the pit. The worked stone was packed with tiles and unworked stones. The purpose of this is uncertain.

A band of dark soil (67) ran across the service area in line with the western arcade. Within the band was small sandstone rubble and its eastern side was marked by some tiles set on edge. This could not be further investigated, but seems to represent the base of a partition. It is uncertain whether it belongs to Period 3 or 4. The entrance to the service area was apparently marked by a row of tiles laid end to end and set nearly centrally over the Period 2 footings. These may have formed the threshold.

Period 5—Dissolution

Immediately above the floor of the hall was found a scatter of broken late 15th-/16th-century pottery, broken nib tile and at the southern end of the building some bonnet hip tile. After the hall went out of use, it was dismantled and the building materials were removed systematically down to the foundation course. Subsequently, the site of the building was covered by 0.8 metre of colluvium.

DISCUSSION

The Excavated Building

The size of the building and the use of stone for the walling in Periods 3 and 4, together with the historical evidence suggest that the excavated aisled hall may be identified with some confidence with the grange at Park. With an internal width of 11.02 metres (36 ft 2 ins) the

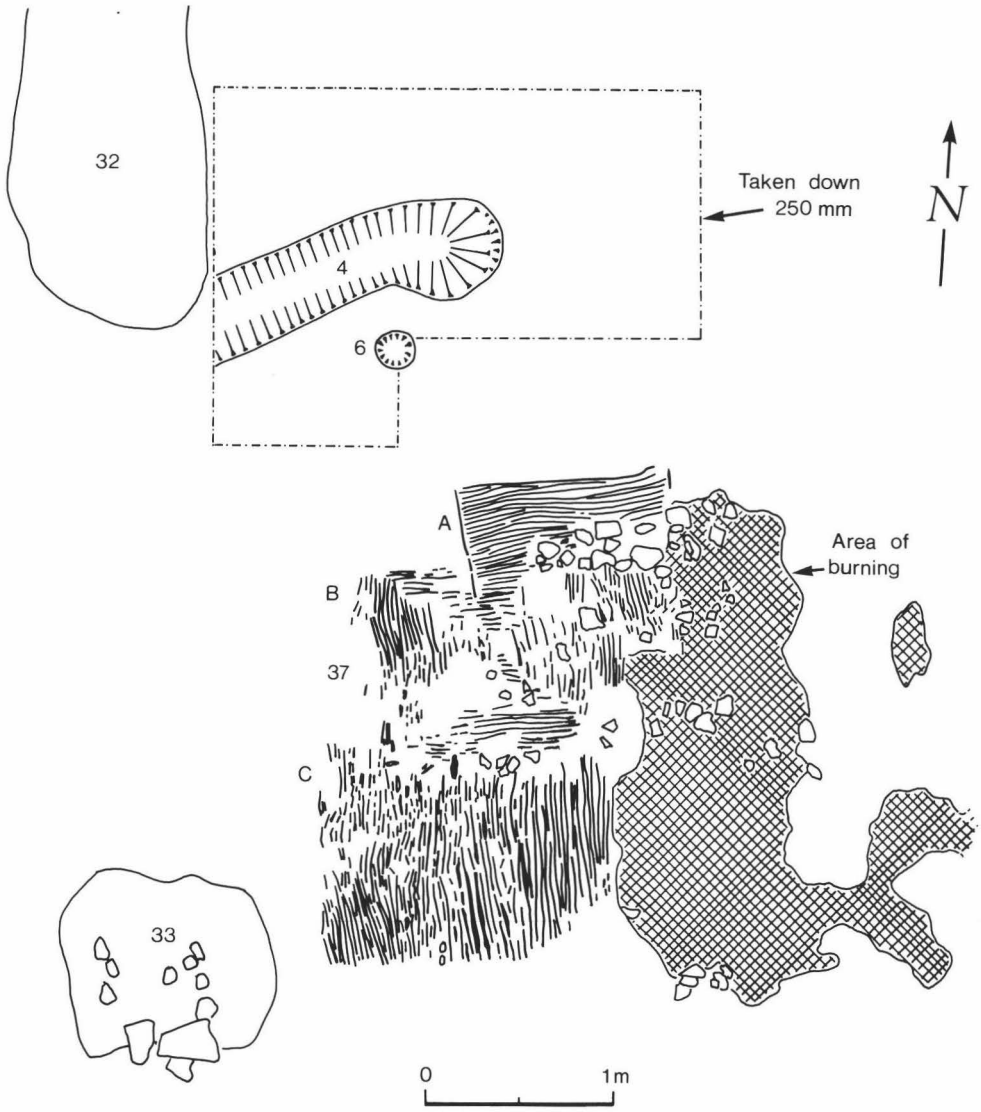

Fig. 4. Detail of hearth and possible Saxo-Norman feature.

building is one of the largest domestic halls known in East Sussex. It is of comparable size to the now destroyed 11.62 metres (38 ft 2 ins) wide aisled hall which stood to the south of the ruined crosswing at Crowhurst Manor House. Crowhurst is thought to have been built by the Earl of Richmond, the lord of the Hastings Rape during the second half of the 13th century (Rape of Hastings Archtectural Survey, report no. 613). For comparison, the Archbishop of Canterbury's hall at Charing Palace, Kent measured 10.65 metres (35 ft) internally and his palace at Mayfield in Sussex 11.95 metres (39 ft 3 ins). The Abbot of Battle's 13th-century great hall at Battle had an internal width of only 7.80 metres (25 ft 8 ins) (Wood 1981, 63: Brakspear

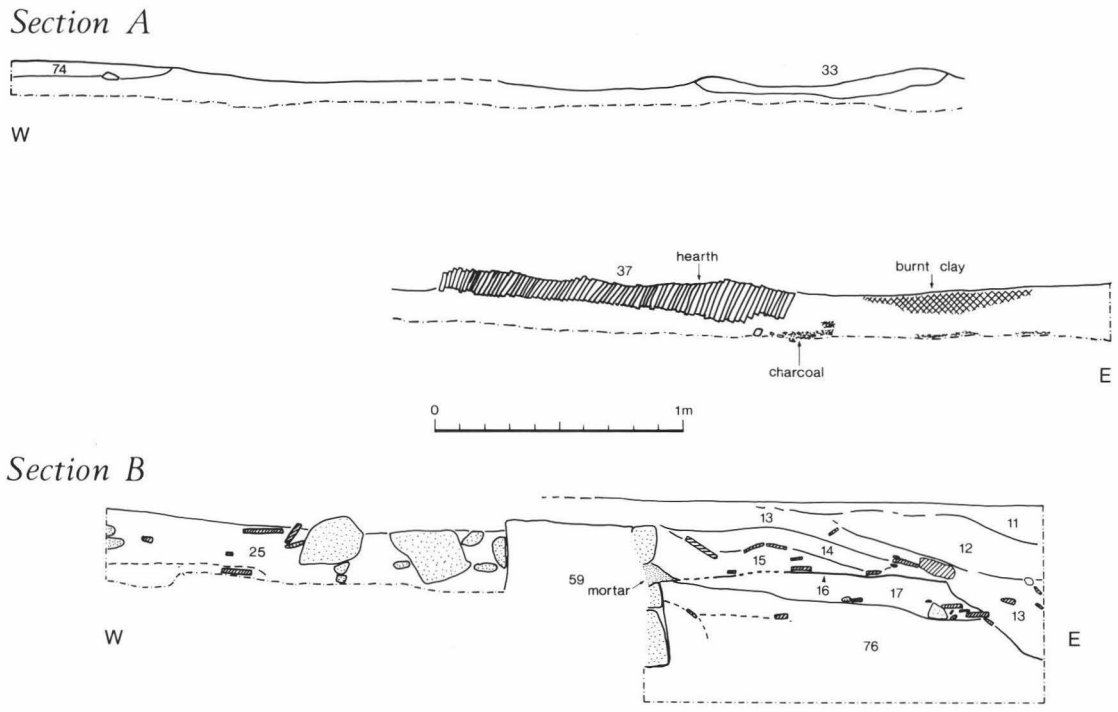

Fig. 5. Park Farm, Salehurst. Sections.

1933). At Udiam in Ewhurst, a tenement of Robertsbridge Abbey, are the remains of a timber-framed aisled hall of *c.* 1300 with an estimated internal width of about 9.25 metres (30 ft 4 ins) (Martin and Martin 1977, 1).

The documentary evidence suggests that the grange was probably established at Park sometime after the beginning of the 13th century when the land was acquired from Richard de Drichneselle and certainly before 1325. The structural evidence points to an early date for the Period 2 building. It has already been noted that at two points the sillbeam was jointed into the side of the aisle posts. This occurred along the wall 41 on both sides of the western aisle post where there was a change in the sillbeam level and at the partition 32. Such an arrangement is the reverse of the normal pattern by which the post rests on the sillbeam. Using examples from Essex, Hewett (1989) has argued that before the mid-13th century various means were used to stabilise posts which were not earth-fast. One of these was to mortice the sillbeams into the posts. If similar dating may be applied here, it suggests that the Period 2 hall was constructed before *c.* 1250.

There is little good evidence for the dating of the Period 3 reconstruction. A sherd of Fabric 5 pottery was found within the western wall suggesting a late 13th- or 14th-century bracket. The Period 4 works are therefore likely to belong to the later 14th or 15th century. The only probable explanation for the small extension made to the south of the hall at this time seems to be that the earlier aisled service area was rebuilt in the form of a two-storey crosswing to give an upper chamber. Medieval crosswings attached to and post-dating aisled halls are common and are usually assumed to have replaced an aisled end bay.

The Grange and its Lands

Most of the features underlying the building are undated, but the find of a Saxo-Norman vessel suggests that the earlier remains are to be associated with the Domesday settlement of *Drisnesel*. Sometime after the land came into the possession of Robertsbridge Abbey some of the existing buildings must have been cleared and a new hall built on the site. During the early 13th century the abbey buildings were moved from their original position on a site, now within Robertsbridge village, to a new location by the Rother at Enham, where the ruins still stand (D'Elboux 1944, 7). Any remaining tenants at *Drisnesel* would have been displaced at that time. Cistercian rule required that monasteries should be sited in remote locations, even though to achieve this it sometimes was necessary to move existing tenants (Donkin 1960; Platt 1969, 93).

The grange at Park was essentially a development of the existing manorial complex of *Drisnesel* with lay brothers replacing the manorial officials and the abbot superseding a secular owner as the lord. The grange was well situated for its purpose. It lay towards the centre of the Robertsbridge demesne, sufficiently close to the abbey to be supervised from there, but distant enough not to disturb conventual life. The size of the excavated hall suggests that the grange may also have served the abbot in his temporal role as a major landowner. The place-name implies there was an adjacent park and at the grange guests and hunting parties might have been entertained without disturbing the monks at the abbey.

Like any demesne complex, there would have been other buildings associated with the hall. There must have been a detached kitchen close by and agricultural buildings in the vicinity. Possibly the site of one of these was represented by a further tile scatter to the south of the excavation. A drainage ditch, the presence of which is implied by the deep Period 4 foundations, would probably have bounded the complex on the east. A chapel for the use of the lay brothers would probably have been unnecessary, because of the proximity to the abbey church.

The extent of the abbey's demesne in the early 13th century may be identified from the lands exempt from tithes. The Cistercian order was granted freedom from the payment of these dues, though by the Lateran Council of 1215 the privilege was limited to lands already acquired and to those newly brought into cultivation after that date. After the Dissolution the former demesne lands retained this status (Platt 1969, 57). Tithe-free lands are recorded on the nineteenth-century Tithe Apportionments for the parishes of Salehurst and Ewhurst and covered a substantial area, particularly along the river valleys where the best land was found (Fig. 6).[7] They included land, which had been in the fee of Waliland and the land of Jercnesel remembered in the names of Wellhead and Yorkshire Woods (Historic Manuscripts Commission 1925, 60, 81). On the east, the farm at Udiam was excluded since this lay in the hands of tenants (*V.C.H. Sussex* **9**, 267; Chapman 1977, 147–8). Confirmatory evidence of the extent of the abbey demesne is given in a 13th-century charter which describes how an encroachment had been made on the land of the monks at Crainham. This was later restored to the abbey (Historic Manuscripts Commission 1925, 61). The boundary of the tithe-free land passes next to Crainham Wood to the west of Udiam (Fig. 6).

The present landscape in the river valleys is one of brookland fields under ley rotations. These fields merge with the arable slopes which rise, gently at first, but then more rapidly as the cultivated ground, even today gives way to more thickly wooded ground towards the top. The basic pattern of grass in the valleys, arable slopes and wooded tops may have been even more accentuated in the medieval period. In geological terms, the fertile alluvium of the floodplain and valley bottoms merges with the Ashdown Sand of the slopes and, with careful manuring offers good cultivable ground. As the land rises the Ashdown Sand is capped with Wadhurst Clay

and it is here that the large tracts of woodland were to be found: both strata yield soils which are extremely sticky and difficult to work when wet, rock hard and equally difficult to work when dry.

The Domesday assessment of *Drisnesel*, ten acres meadow, land for eight ploughs and woodland for 20 pigs, fits readily into this landscape, and assuming that all the land assessed was in this vicinity, indicates intensive management of the valley bottoms with the cultivations of the vill probably stretching westwards towards the present site of Robertsbridge.

The land, which became Park Farm lies to the east and west of a tributary stream which flows into the Rother at a point due south of Salehurst village. The stream forms the boundary between Ewhurst and the neighbouring parishes of Sedlescombe, Whatlington and Salehurst. Where in its northward course it delimits Ewhurst and Salehurst parishes, it presumably also formed the boundary between the land of Richard de Drichneselle and Richard de Hudiam.

The three fields which retained 'Drigsell' in their names (Fig. 6, nos. 355, 356 and 359) are close to and on the west of the stream. The general area of these fields has been shown hatched. The abutments given in the 1567 survey allow their general area to be plotted with reasonable confidence and the most striking feature of their position is the correlation between them and a narrow band of alluvium which stretches westwards from the main stream.

The map (Fig. 6) shows Park Farm as it probably was in 1567 and has been reconstructed from the survey of that date and an estate map of 1811 (D'Elboux 1944).[8] Conjectural boundaries are shown by broken lines. The 1567 survey shows that assarts had been made into the surrounding woodland. Those carved out of Park Wood and Maynards Wood tally interestingly with changes in strata and soil type shown in the geological map on a fault associated with a small area of glacial head and Tunbridge Wells Sand. This combination always offers some of the most productive soil in the locality and its fertility was clearly recognised in medieval times. Assarts were also made in the woodland further east. In Yerkshill and Tilehost Woods, as the latter name suggests, the clearances probably originated as clay diggings and substantial remains of clay pits and tile kilns have been found. In the 19th and early 20th centuries their land reverted to woodland, but their boundaries of pollarded trees on baulks are still traceable within the wood (Jones, in prep.). Further assarts were made in Park and Maynards Woods and are shown on the later estate map.

The medieval agrarian economy practised at Park was mixed. The presence of a hayward at Park may suggest arable cultivation and the purchase of stock for the grange certainly indicates pastoral husbandry.[9] Robertsbridge is among the religious houses supplying wool listed by Pegolotti (Cunningham 1905, 634). It is possible that the flocks were not kept around the abbey, though passage through a field for the sheep of the monks is specifically mentioned in a charter of *c.* 1220 (Historic Manuscripts Commission 1925, 81). Cattle were predominant on the poorer lands in the Weald and their hides were often used for leather. The early 15th-century accounts record a tannery at Park, when apparently it was at farm since it produced a regular income of 10*s.* a quarter.[10] It must have been situated at the base of the valley near a source of flowing water. The raw materials of oak bark and lime were available from the abbey estate and, as Searle (1974, 299, n. 21) has noted, there was a cattle fair at Robertsbridge where hides or stock might be purchased.

By the 15th century the direct working of demesne lands had declined and many granges were let to tenants (Platt 1969, 94 ff.). In the early 16th century the Robertsbridge granges of Methersham (Beckley) and Derne (Chiddingly and Waldron) were let to farm, though Park, no doubt because of its proximity to the abbey, remained in hand. The land of Redland to the west of Park was let, reducing the area under

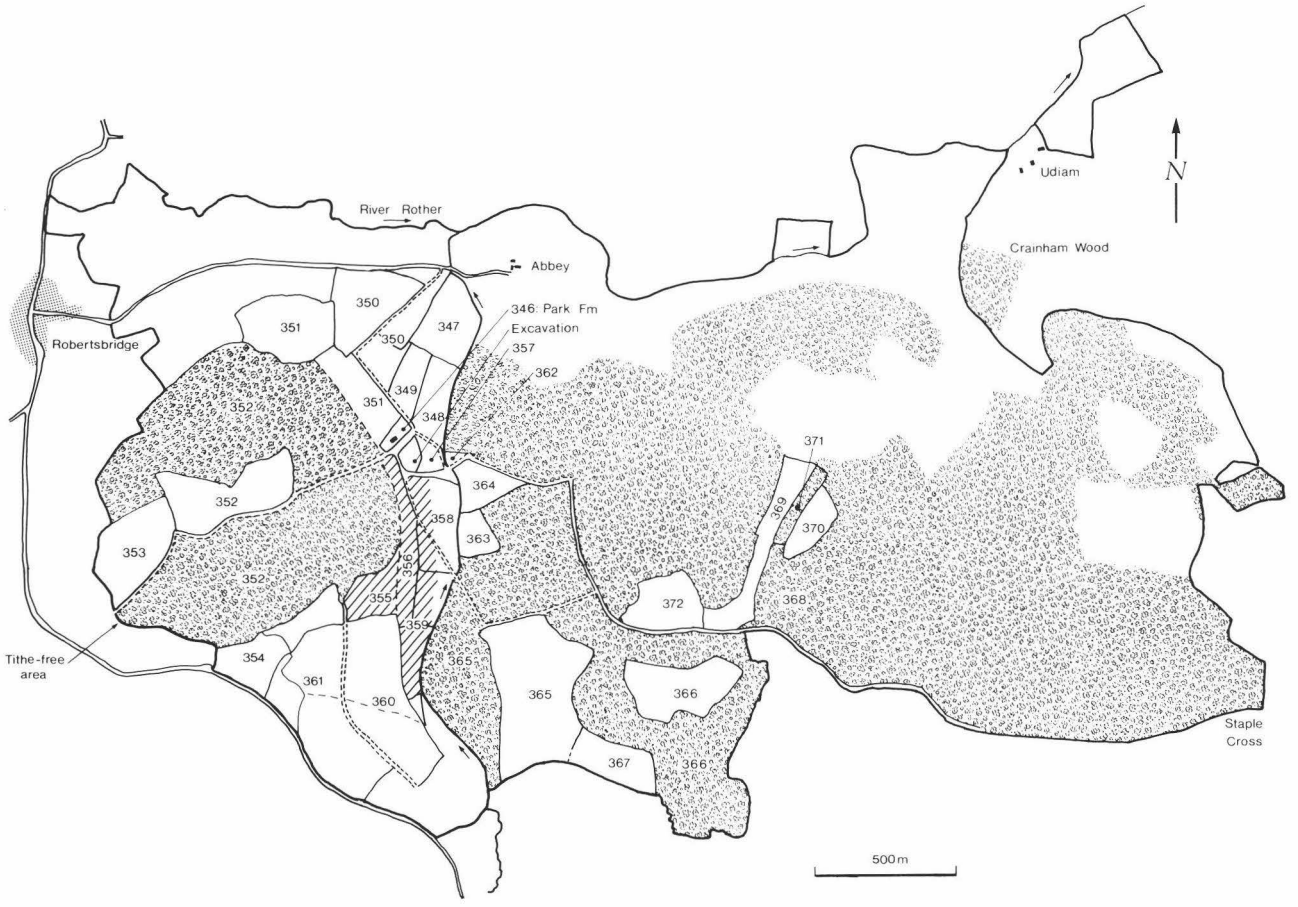

Fig. 6. The tithe-free area in Salehurst and Ewhurst, and the land of the post-Dissolution Park Farm (numbered parcels): 346 House, orchards and forestall; 347 Pounde Mead; 348 Place Brook; 349 Cowbroke Meadow; 350 Pikebrokes Meadow, Ten Acres Mead; 351 Great Quickbemes, Old Garden *als.* Long Garden; 352 Park Wood, Bromestedle, Maynards Wood; 353 Axowle *als.* Exholt; 354 Little Bradlands, Great Bradlands; 355 Great Drigsell; 356 Little Drigsell; 357 Furnacebrook Meadow; 358 Furnacebrook Pond; 359 Drigsell Meads; 360 Great Marling; 361 Little Marling; 362 The Stomblett; 363 Little Rosehams; 364 Great Rosehams; 365 Dudeman Wood, Dudeman Field; 366 Yerkshill Wood, Tilehost Wood, Yerkshill Field; 367 The Strake; 368 The Hooke; 369 Longley Pasture; 370 Lodgcrofte; 371 Lodgcroft Shaw; 372 Tilehost Field (D'Elboux 1944).

direct cultivation.[11] Therefore, even before the Dissolution the Robertsbridge demesne had been broken up into smaller farms. The present house at Park Farm, 100 metres north-west of the grange dates from the mid-16th century. Evidently, it was constructed as a successor to the excavated building (Rape of Hastings Architectural Survey, report no. 89 revised).

There is little documentary evidence of the destruction of the grange. Construction work was started in 1541 by Sir William Sidney on an iron furnace. Crossley (1975a, 6) has noted that since the early accounts of the building of the furnace at Robertsbridge show no purchases of stone, much of it must have come from the abbey.[12] It is probable that the stone taken from the grange was similarly used. Stonework from the abbey is to be found in the bridge over the stream adjacent to the furnace, which presumably was constructed at this time.

THE FINDS

Pottery (Fig. 7)

A total of 489 sherds weighing approximately 6.4 kg. were recovered from excavation. The pottery was sorted into categories on the basis of visual examination and using a hand lens where appropriate.

Fabric 1—East Sussex ware. This distinctive late Iron Age and Roman fabric is described and discussed by Green (1980).

Fabric 2—Buff or cream exterior face with black core and margins. A medium hard with 0.5 per cent ?silt-stone, 0.1 per cent multi-coloured flint grits < 1.5 mm. across and a similar proportion of medium coarse ?flint sand.

Fabric 3—Black, grey or red faces and margins with light or dark grey core. A hard, smooth fabric except for the inclusion of flint with a rough, slightly laminar fracture. Multi-coloured angular or sub-angular flint temper 2–5+ per cent up to 2 mm. across. Work from Battle Abbey now shows that flint-tempered pottery persisted in East Sussex after *c.* 1300 (Streeten 1985b, 109).

Fabric 4—Orange-red faces with similarly coloured or mid grey core, occasionally with green or brown glaze. Hard, slightly coarse to feel. It is distinguished by the temper of 0.5–5 per cent sub-angular colourless or grey quartz grains up to 0.25 mm. with occasional pieces of grog.

Fabric 5—'Winchelsea Black' or Black ware has been discussed by Barton (1979, 118–20) and more recently by Orton (in prep.).

Fabric 6—Rye ware. Described in detail by Orton (in prep.).

Fabric 7—Rouen-type ware is described and illustrated by Barton (1965).

Fabric 8—Light grey-brown surface and core, sandy feel with laminar fracture tempered with 10–20 per cent grey angular to sub-angular quartz sand up to 0.25 mm. and some larger quartz grains. Plate-like voids 0.1 per cent indicate dissolved comminuted shell.

Fabric 9— Black or bright orange-red face with orange-red margins and core, fairly smooth to feel. Inclusions of 2–5 per cent pink, white, grey or colourless sub-angular quartz grains up to 0.5 mm. and occasional white angular flint.

Fabric 10—White wares, not distinguished.

Fabric 11—Black surface and core, and orange-red margins, a hard-fired, fairly smooth surface with occasional flecks of angular iron ore. Wasters in a similar fabric, suggesting the presence of a kiln, have been found in a field-walking at Spilstead Farm, Ewhurst (Jones in prep).

Fabric 12— Streeten (1983, 99; 1985b, 114–118) and Orton (in prep.) have described transitional hard-fired earthenwares. They are orange-red or occasionally grey with occasional fine light grey or colourless quartz and occasional angular flecks of iron ore. Glaze is found, particularly on the inside at the base of vessels.

Fabric 13—This fabric has been described by Manwaring Baines (1980a, 1980b) and was produced in the 18th and 19th centuries.

The majority of the pottery (Table 1) came from the removal of the overlying colluvium and demolition debris. Very little was recovered from closed contexts. The pottery from two contexts is worth mentioning. A depression on the west side on the hall near the screen for the services (47) had been filled with a large number of sherds, probably from a single cooking pot in Fabric 8 and some Rouen-type sherds, suggesting a late 13th or early 14th-century date. A robber trench (20) had been cut along the east side of the building to remove the stones from the wall and the backfill contained Fabrics 9, 11 and 12.

TABLE 1
Pottery

Fabric no.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Sherd no.	3	13	1	35	89	40	6	80	60	3	82	68	9
Weight (gms)	4	284	9	293	953	515	34	628	1219	10	1108	1231	94

1. A spouted bowl. Fabric 2. The vessel is coil-built. Though none of the handle remains, sufficient of the adjoining rim is present to show that it was probably of tubular form.

Spouted bowls are a Late Anglo-Saxon or Saxo-Norman form (eg. Barton 1979, 88, no. 12; Gardiner 1988, Fig. 7, no. 13; Vince 1985, Fig. 3, no. 4). This vessel is difficult to date, because little pottery of this period has been found at the east end of Sussex. The use of coil construction on this small pot also points to an early date. A 10th- to 12th-century date range seems most likely. Context 76.

2. Mid red-orange fine sandy ware with red slip on exterior and applied white strips and a rosette with clear green-yellow glaze over part of the white areas, Rouen-type ware. The rosette decoration has close parallels with published pottery (Barton 1965, Fig. 3, no. 17; Fig. 6, no. 35; Hurst 1980, 124). Rouen-type ware generally has a coastal distribution and is rarely found so far inland (Allan 1983, Fig. 11.1). Context 47.

3. Flat rim in Fabric 8. Context 8.

4. Strap handle from jug. Fabric 8. The handle is decorated with deep slashes (cf. Martin 1989, Fig. 13, 26). The body of the vessel has traces of an applied band above the handle. Context 47.

5. Base of jug or cistern. Fabric 12 with orange-green and orange glaze on interior. The worn, rounded, even top edge suggests that it was reused as a low bowl after the upper part of the vessel was broken. Context 20.

BUILDING MATERIAL (Fig. 7)

Roof Tile

Abundant fragments of nib tile were found among the demolition debris indicating the nature of the roof. Small quantities of West Country slate were also discovered. The widths of the tile lay in the range 181–198 mm.; the only length recorded was 314 mm.; the average thickness was 15 mm. These figures compare with the size of nib tiles at Battle Abbey (Streeten 1985a, 95–7) and the tiles were similar to those from Hastings Priory (Martin 1973, 40) and Bayham Abbey (Streeten 1983, 88–91) having, where it could be determined, both a nib and nail hole. The nibs were clearly made from a tongue of clay which had been pulled upright and were not applied.

Spots and lines of green and brown glaze were found on a number of tiles, though none of the tile was intentionally glazed. These showed that the tiles had been fired stacked on edge, probably beneath floor tiles or ridge tiles from which the glaze had run. It is improbable that glazed pottery would have been fired in the same batch as tile since it would have required different conditions.

6. A single fragment of tile in a different fabric to the remainder is decorated with incised parallel lines on the edge (partly damaged) and white slip on one face. Slip decoration on tile is rare, but has been found at Steyning and Offington Hall in West Sussex and at Chingley on the Kent-Sussex border (Barton 1979, 62, no. 9; Crossley 1975b, 55–6).

A small number of fragments of bonnet hip tiles were found in the demolition debris on the south side of the building.

7. Bonnet hip tile in same fabric as nib tiles and it also bears splashes of glaze. The concave surface is sanded, where it has been bent over a form.

Roof Furniture

8. A solid rod of square section in Fabric 6 was recovered from context 45. Sufficient survives to show that it was attached to a globular vessel. The exterior is covered in an orange-brown glaze.

No exact parallels have been located for this piece. A solid knob finial with concave base from Ely is of similar dimensions, though is more decorative than the present example (Briscoe and Dunning 1967). The Ely finial was, unusually, attached directly to a ridge tile. The piece here, if it is correctly identified as roof furniture, is more likely to have been from the top of a globular ventilator. The chief objection to this interpretation is that ventilators normally had hollow finials.

Floor tile

A single unglazed floor tile in a similar fabric to the roof tiles was found. The absence of any signs of wear on the upper surface suggests that it was never laid.

Brick

A number of red-orange brick fragments in a fabric similar to the tile were recovered from the building debris. A single brick with a full breadth present measured 104 mm. The thickness of bricks lay in the range 38–44 mm. Bricks of possible local manufacture may be distinguished from those in a silty yellow fabric which may be imports from Flanders (Martin 1989, 116–117).

Worked Stone

The larger stones in the walls of Periods 3 and 4 and the architectural pieces described below were Wadhurst sandstone.

9. Window sill found within the make-up (42) to raise the floor in the Period 4 modification at the south end of the building. It is likely to have come from the Period 3 wall to the services. The upper surface, particularly where hidden by the jamb has chisel score lines and the inside sill has been crudely finished leaving deeper incisions from the initial roughing out.

10. Window jamb with hollow chamfer found set in ground in feature 54.

METALWORK (Fig. 8)

Iron

11. A broad knife blade. A blade of similar dimensions was excavated at King's Lynn (Clarke and Carter 1977, Fig. 133, no. 24). Context 7.

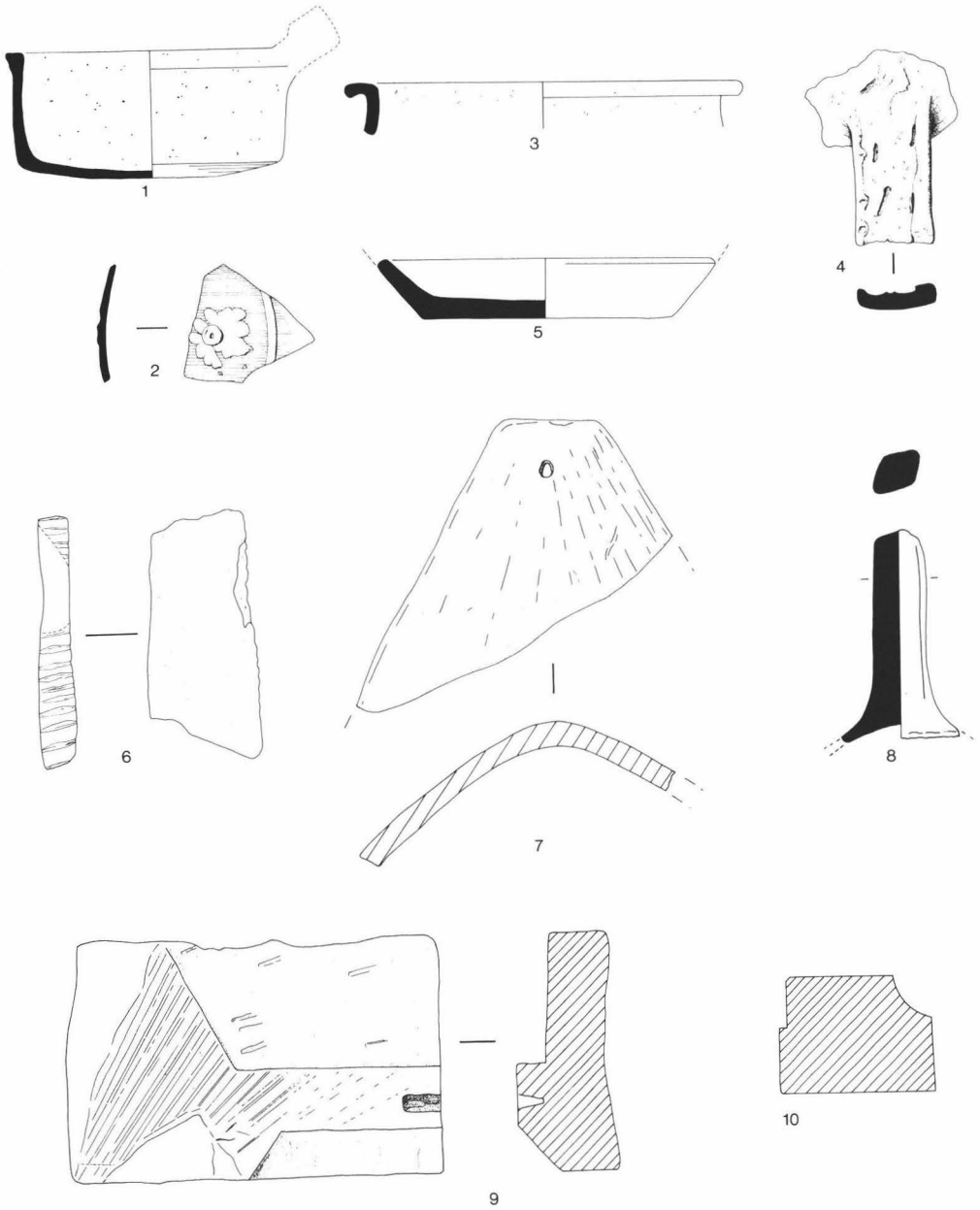

Fig. 7. Pottery (nos. 1–5) and building material (nos. 6–10). All × 1/4 except nos. 9 and 10 × 1/10.

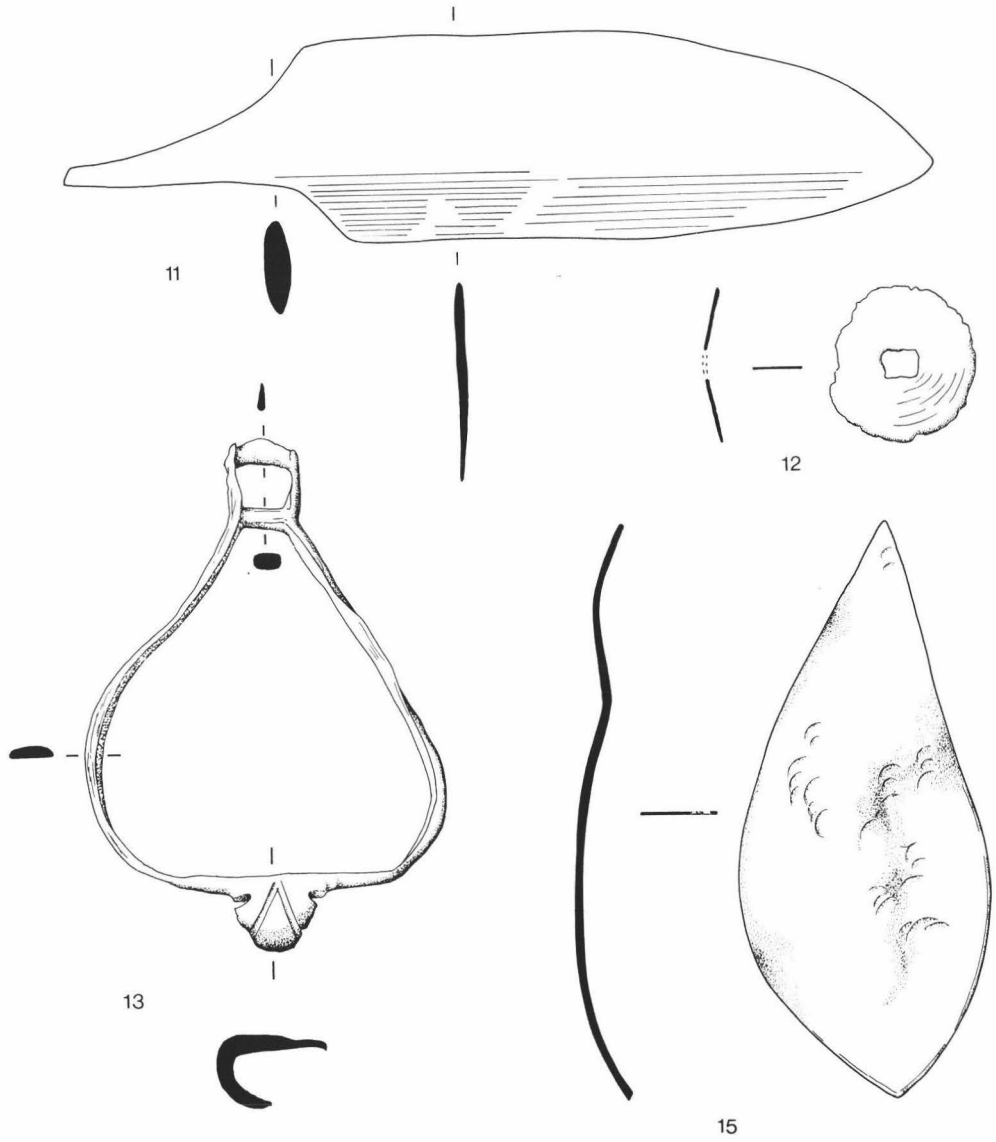

Fig. 8. Metalwork × 1/2.

Copper Alloy

12. Slightly bevelled disc with rectangular hole. Context 1.
13. Stirrup with incised grooves on tongue. The presence of a tongue suggests a 15th- or 16th-century date. Context 7.
14. (Not illustrated) Thimble, height of surviving portion 16 mm., internal base diameter 16 mm. It has identations running in vertical lines. Context 22.

Lead

15. Off-cut with slightly up-turned edges bearing hammer impressions. Context 25.
16. (Not illustrated) Lead strip 14 mm. wide perforated by nail holes with one iron nail surviving. The lead has been bent back over itself to cover the nail head. Context 10.

The finds and site records have been placed in Hastings Museum.

Acknowledgements

We are indebted to the many people who helped at weekends and the societies which lent their support. The Sussex Archaeological Society from the Margary endowment and the Robertsbridge and District Archaeological and Historical Society very kindly made money available for incidental expenses. It would not have been possible to have achieved so much without the assistance of John Bell, Simon Blatherwick, David and Pam Combes, Anne Dalton, Elizabeth Gibb, Barbara Martin, Roma Ogily-Watson, Mary Ozanne, Christopher and Margaret Whittick and members of the Wealden Iron Research Group and Oxford University Archaeological Society. Maureen Bennell provided invaluable assistance working all daylight hours for ten days in October. Finally, we were indebted for permission to excavate to the owners, Mr and Mrs Wilmoth who changed their plans, first to accommodate the work and subsequently to preserve the site.

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Notes

[1] Domesday Book i, 20b, 22a.
[2] Domesday Book i, 21a.
[3] Domesday Book i, 22b; on the identification of Hugh and Morin, see W. Budgen, 'The Manor of Chollington in Eastbourne', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **62** (1921), 126–7.
[4] Domesday Book i, 19b.
[5] K(ent) A(rchives) O(ffice), U1475/T264/477.
[6] E(ast) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice), SHE 7/14.
[7] E.S.R.O., TD/E86, 139.
[8] E.S.R.O., BAT 4435.
[9] K.A.O., U1475/Q3, 4.
[10] K.A.O., U1475/Q4, 5, 6.
[11] Public Record Office, SC12/15/72.
[12] K.A.O., U1475/B5/1; A1.

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Sussex Archaeological Collections **129** (1991), 99–164

LAUGHTON PLACE: A MANORIAL AND ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF RECENT RESTORATION AND EXCAVATION

by John Farrant, Maurice Howard, David Rudling, John Warren and Christopher Whittick

Recent archival research has enlarged our understanding of the development of the moated site at Laughton, particularly for the medieval and Tudor periods. Archaeological investigation of the moat has yielded much new information and material finds in timber, terracotta and other materials. A new analysis of the medieval and later history, the development of a Tudor courtier's house and the securing of the fabric by the Landmark Trust, is presented here.

INTRODUCTION

The ensuing article on Laughton Place is composed of recent work on the site by several authors and comprises the following sections:

This introduction will summarize the significance of the site and the rationale for the form the article takes.

The brick 16th-century tower of Laughton Place stands 20 metres high, the sole structure on a platform of 0.4 acres enclosed by a moat (TQ 483114). Apart from a few cottages and farm buildings outside the moat, it is isolated in the flat and often windswept expanse of the Laughton Level. In medieval times a substantial manor house stood on the site, granted by the Crown to a succession of different families. It was however during a period of direct royal control under Edward I between 1283 and 1293 that detailed accounts permit some idea of the extent of the house and necessary repairs carried out at that time. The site changed hands several times during the 14th century until, in 1401, the Pelham family began their long association with the property. The present tower formed part of an important re-fashioning of the site by Sir William Pelham (d. 1538) during the last years of his life. In about 1594, the Pelham family moved to Halland and thereafter the house was much neglected until it was again transformed in the mid-eighteenth century. The early twentieth century saw another period of neglect. After the family sold the property in 1927 there followed, in the early 1930s, demolition of all but the tower and fragments of wall along the south side of the moat.

By the 1970s, the tower was in a very dangerous state and it was rescued by the Landmark Trust in 1978, after which a programme of restoration and consolidation began. This coincided with renewed interest in the history of the site and the Pelham family and it was at this point that this article was first planned. A much fuller account of the manorial history than is found in earlier bibliography on Laughton is now possible from new archival research undertaken by John Farrant and Christopher Whittick. In 1984 the Landmark Trust dredged the moat and, during this work, archaeological investigations and a watching brief were undertaken by the Field Archaeology Unit under the direction of David Rudling. This

Fig. 1. Laughton Place, 1985. Aerial view from the north-west.

work included some important finds and needed to be incorporated into work already underway. In view of the fact that the terracotta ornament of the tower has given Laughton a significant minor place in national architectural history of the early 16th century, Maurice Howard was asked to assess the evidence from the tower and the excavations in the light of recent research, stylistic and technical, concerning this decorative material. John Warren, who supervised the restoration for the Landmark Trust, was asked to outline the principal problems encountered in securing the structural state of the tower and the process of its adaptation. The various sections below cover therefore archaeological, historical and architectural matters. Maurice Howard has also been responsible for co-ordinating the sections with the aim of preserving the very different expertise of the authors involved whilst bringing the parts into a continuous and readable whole. It is to be hoped that one day there will be a full archaeological excavation of the moated site in its entirety and this article will have served its purpose if it offers a base line for that work and some conclusions that further investigation can challenge.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS AT LAUGHTON PLACE, 1984 (by David Rudling)

During the summer of 1984 the Landmark Trust dredged the moat at Laughton Place and also removed the concrete silage yard located to the south east of the farm buildings at the south corner of the site. As part of the Scheduled

Ancient Monument consent for such work, an archaeological watching brief was undertaken by the Field Archaeology Unit. In addition, limited archaeological excavations were undertaken both before and during the clearance exercise. The locations of the major discoveries/areas of archaeological investigation are shown in Fig. 2. Prior to the dredging of the moat, trial excavations were undertaken in areas A–H. Following the dredging and removal of the silage yard, further investigations were made in areas A, D and J–S.

Although the excavations/watching brief resulted in important discoveries of medieval timbers and Tudor brickwork, they unfortunately yielded few finds of contemporary domestic rubbish. This is probably the result of earlier efforts to dredge and clear the moat.

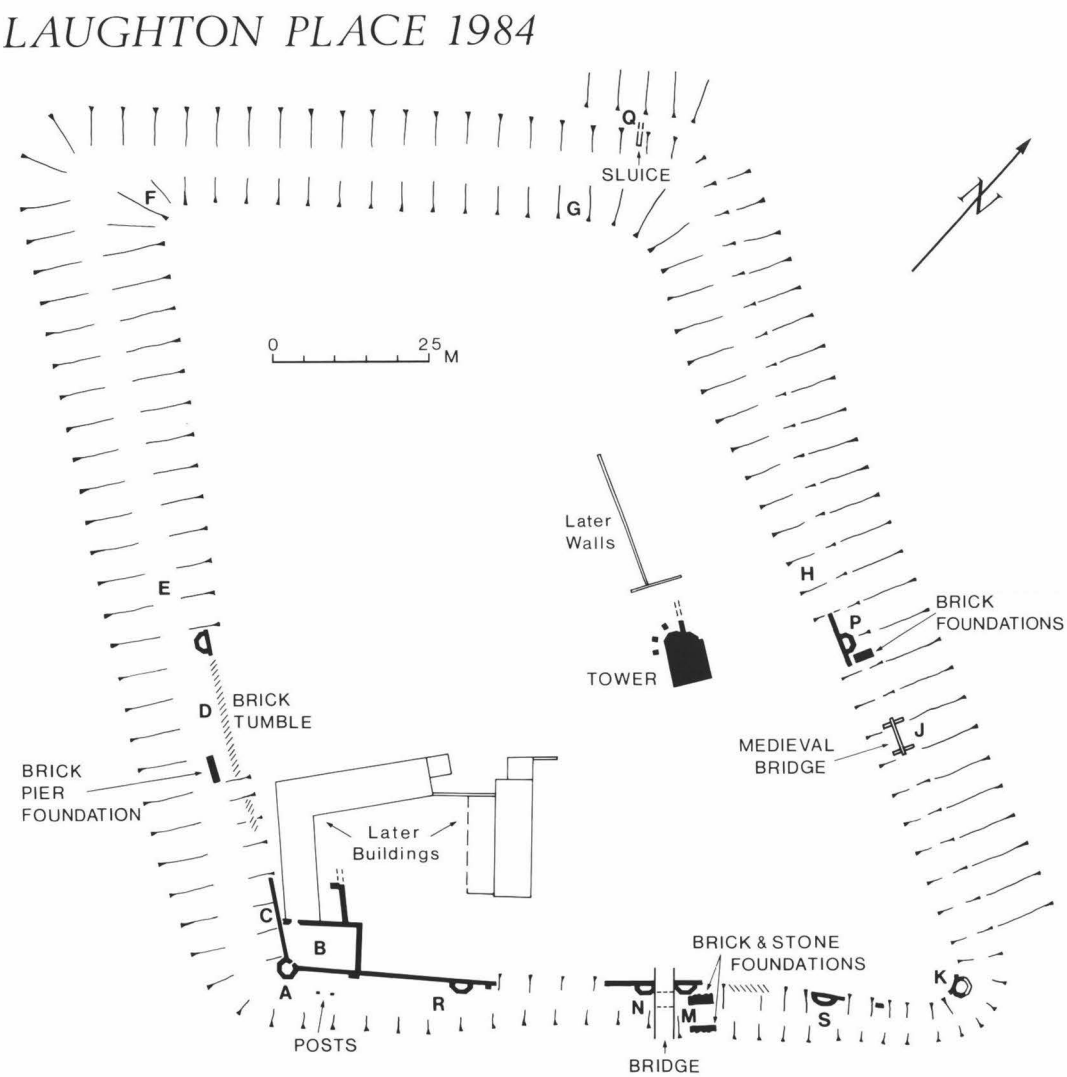

Fig. 2. Plan of Laughton Place in 1984 to show locations of areas of archaeological investigations/discoveries.

Those finds that were recovered and retained have been deposited in Barbican House Museum, Lewes. The Archive of the excavation and watching brief is stored at the Institute of Archaeology, London.

The Medieval Manor House: Archaeological Evidence

The archaeological evidence for medieval occupation of Laughton Place consists of the moat itself, the timber bridge (Area J), sherds of medieval pottery, and possibly the timber conduit/sluice (Area Q).

The moat, which is sub-rectangular in shape with corners orientated north, south, east and west (Fig. 2), has a flat-bottomed ditch (Fig. 13). The main archaeological evidence for dating the construction of the moat is the medieval timber bridge, which is located along the north-eastern side of the moat (Fig. 3). Its position is off-centre, considerably nearer the east corner than the north. The absence of other medieval timber bridge foundations within the moat might suggest that those found at Area J belong to the main medieval access bridge, though medieval accounts (discussed below under the site's medieval history by Farrant and Whittick) suggest the existence of four bridges in all as they do the existence of the moat before the excavated bridge was constructed. It is possible that another bridge existed along the south-eastern side of the moat and that this was replaced or removed during the construction of the main Tudor bridge. It should be noted that the present access bridge is located in the same position as the main Tudor bridge.

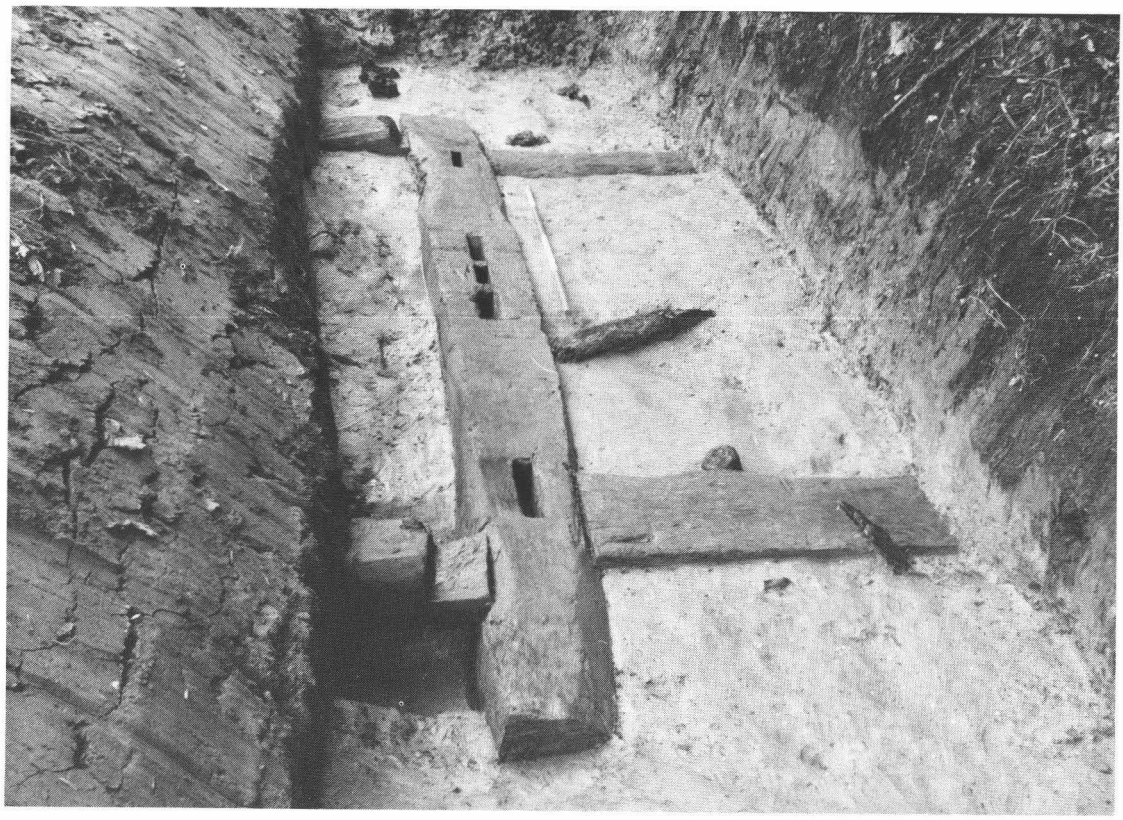

Fig. 3. Laughton Place, 1984. Medieval timber bridge foundations. Scale 2 m.

The medieval timber bridge was discovered during dredging. The first timber found was a large longitudinal upper-plate which was removed from the moat silt by a mechanical digger. Subsequently the moat silts were removed with greater care, and upon discovery of in situ timbers use of the mechanical digger was stopped and replaced by archaeological excavation. The extent of these excavations was limited by the size of the machine-dredged moat, and unfortunately it was not possible to recover the full plan of the medieval bridge which continued under the sides of the newly-cleared moat. The main in situ timbers (Figs 3, 4b and see *Medieval Archaeology*, XXIX [1985], Plate IX B) consisted of a longitudinal sole-plate and four transverse sole-plates. Other pieces of wood included a packing piece, planks and posts. Twenty-two samples of wood from Area J were submitted to Caroline Cartwright for identification; all proved to be oak.

The oak longitudinal sole-plate is aligned north-west/south-east (hereafter assumed east–west) and is 5.68 metres long and 0.44 metre wide. Two large mortices (A and E) cut into the upper surface had originally taken large vertical posts, as too had mortice C, though the post here was of much slighter scantling. Mortices B and D had been formed with outsplayed ends and had therefore accommodated raking struts supporting the two main vertical posts. With the exception of mortice C, which was unpegged, all the mortices had been secured by a single peg (approx. 2–3 cm. diameter), traces of which still remained in mortices A and E (both were of oak). All the pegs had been driven in from the southern side of the sole-plate. Drill holes were found in all four corners of the bases of mortices A and E.

The four oak transverse sole-plates ranged in width from 30–50 cm. and the north-western and north-eastern examples were 30 and 28 cm. deep respectively. Unfortunately none of these transverse timbers was fully exposed and therefore their lengths remain unknown. They were secured to the longitudinal sole-plate by two methods. The southern pair were connected by means of unpegged mortice-and-tenon seatings. It was only possible to investigate in reasonable detail the westernmost of these two seatings and the information obtained is shown in Fig. 4. It should be noted that since the pegs in the longitudinal timber had been driven in from the southern side, this implies that the vertical post in mortice A was in position *before* the transverse timber immediately to the south was connected to the longitudinal sole-plate.

The pair of transverse timbers to the north of the sole-plate were secured in a different manner. In this case the method of joinery was by 'halvings', with the ends of the transverse timbers having the upper part removed in order to accommodate the 'halved' longitudinal timber which rested above. In both instances the transverse timbers had come away from the longitudinal timber, completely so in the case of the western timber (Fig. 3).

The reason for this difference in joinery technique is uncertain. It should be noted, however, that the pair of southern transverse timbers do not line up with the pair to the north, and it is possible that the latter, with their less sophisticated and secure joints, were added at a later stage than the southern timbers. If so, these additions were possibly an attempt to correct timber movements presumably resulting from the original arrangement.

The upper surface of all five sole-plates had been worked flat, but in all cases the sides were rougher and still had traces of bark. All the sole plates were laid in trenches.

The longitudinal upper-plate was examined *ex situ* and measured 6.3 metres long, 0.53 metre wide and 0.265 metre deep (Fig. 4a). Two large mortices (G and I) cut into the lower surface had originally taken the upper ends of the large posts which rose vertically from mortices A and E in the longitudinal sole-plate. Similarly, mortice H had originally taken the upper end of the vertical post secured in mortice C of the lower sole-plate, and mortices F and J (which both had one splayed end) had taken upper ends of the raking struts arising from mortices B and D of the

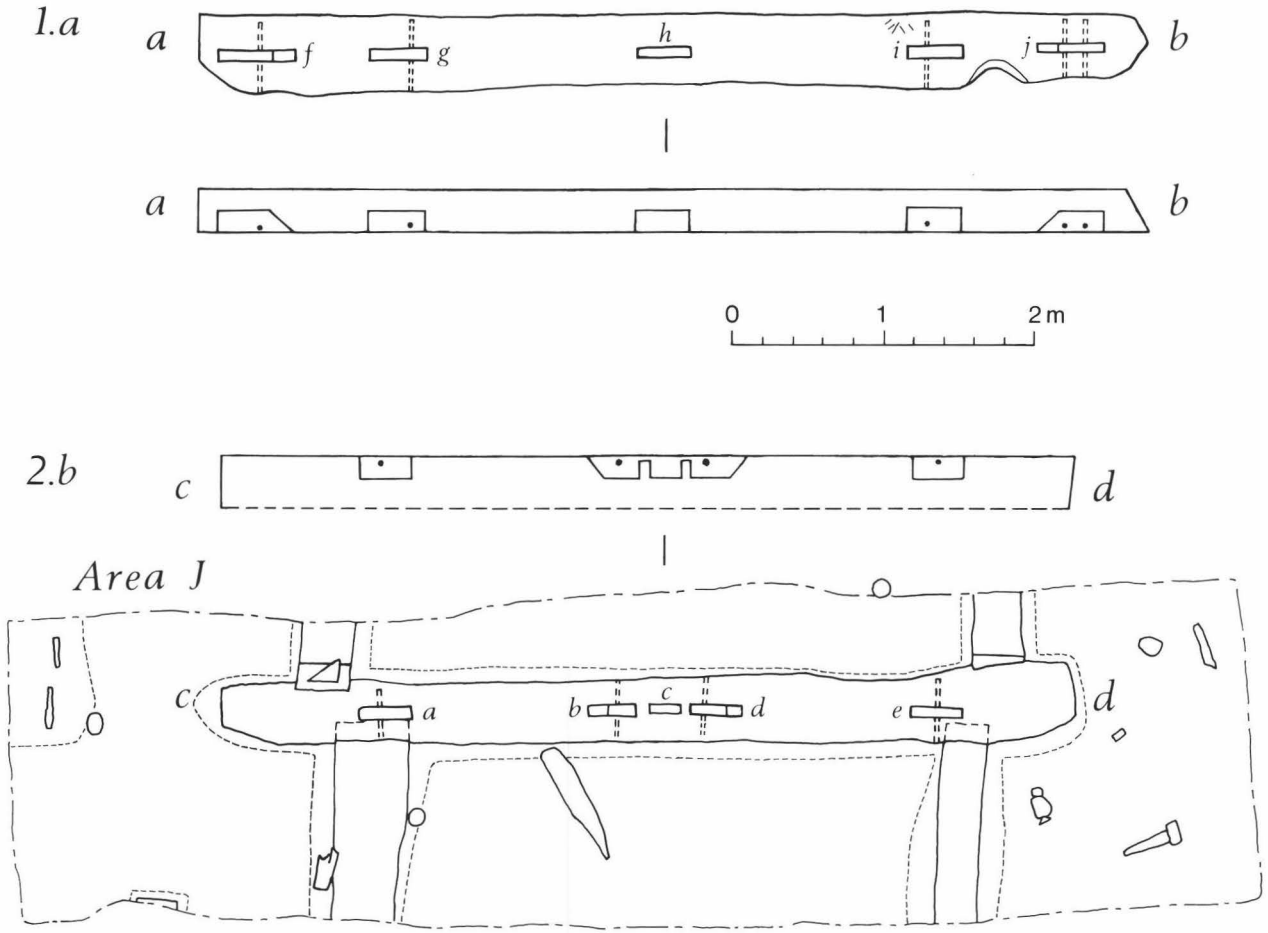

Fig. 4. Laughton Place, 1984. Medieval timber bridge. a: Longitudinal upper plate. b: in situ bridge foundations.

longitudinal sole-plate. Again, the central mortice was unpegged and, with one exception, the other mortices secured by just one peg. The exception was mortice J, which had two peg holes. Cut into the edge of the lower surface of the upper-plate was a carpenter's mark (Fig. 5).

Of the other timbers found in the vicinity of the sole-plates several were in situ and included various circular and rectangular posts (some of which may have been connected with either raising or dismantling work), several planks some of which were on edge, and a wedge-shaped triangular packing-piece measuring approximately 30 × 25 × 13 cm. and narrowing from 5.5 to 3.5 cm. in thickness.

The timber bridge at Laughton conforms to the late Stuart Rigold's Type III, which has 'rigid and stable support, based on sole-plates running in both directions' (Rigold 1975, 59). The first phase, with transverse timbers only on the southern side of the longitudinal sole-plate, is presumably form IIIa. The later phase, with the addition of the pair of transverse timbers to the north of the longitudinal timber, is presumably form IIIb. Rigold stated that these types of bridge construction cannot be traced before the later 13th century or usually after the 16th century. Elsewhere in Sussex Type III bridge construction has been recorded at Bodiam Castle (Martin 1973). A possible parallel for the longitudinal sole-plate is timber III from Caerphilly Castle, Glamorgan (Rigold 1975, 73, Fig. 28, G). The major differences between these two sole-plates, however, are the larger size of the Caerphilly example and the fact that its mortices were unpegged. The Caerphilly example is dated to the 1260s.

In an attempt to date the Laughton bridge more closely a sample was cut from the upper plate and submitted for tree-ring analysis, along with three other examples, to Jennifer Hillam of the Sheffield Dendrochronology Laboratory. Despite however the presence of 187 growth rings, a date for the upper plate of the bridge was not ascertainable. Hillam has stressed that the lack of dating is partly due to the paucity of dated

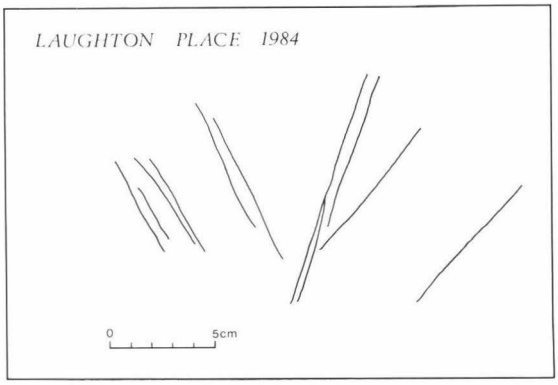

Fig. 5. Laughton Place, 1984. Carpenter's mark on the upper-plate from the medieval bridge.

chronologies from the Sussex area. The only datable find made in the area of the bridge was a sherd of late medieval pottery from Context 6 (see below); a light grey silty clay which lay above the bridge foundations. Given the parallel with Caerphilly outlined above therefore, the dating of the bridge to the work carried out during royal ownership from 1283–93 (discussed below by Farrant and Whittick under the medieval history of the site) seems a strong possibility.

In the absence of a complete excavation of the medieval timber foundations it is difficult to provide a full reconstruction of the bridge. This task is further hampered by the fact that all the vertical posts and raking struts are missing. Fig. 6 provides however a possible reconstruction of the main trestle timbers (i.e. the longitudinal sole- and upper-plates, the vertical posts and the raking struts). It is estimated that the lower surface of the upper plate was approximately 2.4 metres higher than the upper surface of the sole-plates (the two ends of which both lay at 2.47 metres O.D.).

The various in situ timbers of the medieval bridge were not removed and should thus still remain at the bottom of the moat. The longitudinal upper-plate was in good condition and was put back into the bottom of the moat at a short distance to the east of the in situ timbers.

At the north corner of the moat, at Area Q, dredging revealed part of a timber conduit or

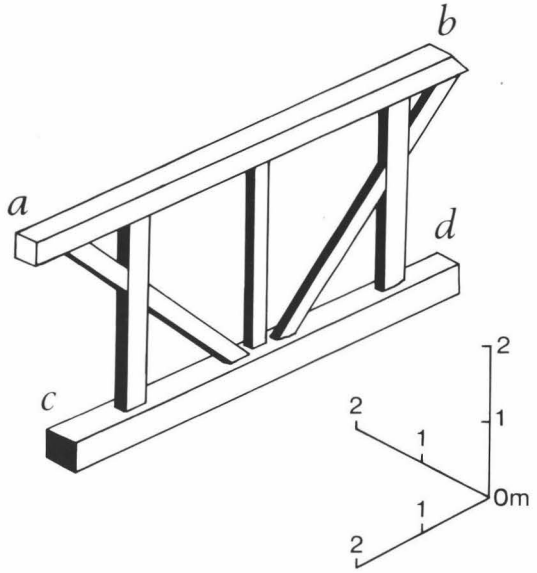

Fig. 6. Laughton Place. Reconstruction by Miles Russell of the main trestle of the medieval bridge.

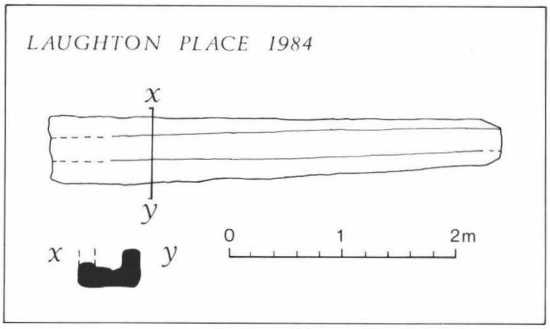

Fig. 7. Laughton Place, 1984. ?Medieval conduit.

sluice (Fig. 7). Orientated north-west/south-east, and measuring 3.99 metres long, tapering from 58 cm. to 40 cm. wide and being approximately 35 cm. deep, the trough-like timber was presumably intended for draining the moat and carrying off surplus water. The wood type has been identified by Caroline Cartwright as beech. A rectangular (15 mm. × 12 mm.) headed iron nail, 83 mm. long, was found resting on the surface of the conduit and is thus possibly associated with it.

The dating of the conduit is uncertain, but it could be medieval. Tree-ring analysis here proved impossible since modern fungus had attacked the wood structure, preventing the measurement of growth rings (see report by Hillam below).

The Tudor House: Archaeological Evidence from the 1984 Investigations

Prior to the dredging of the moat, several hand-dug trenches were excavated in order to establish the nature of any archaeological deposits within the moat/area of the silage yard.

The initial excavations (Areas A, B and C) were in the south corner of the moated enclosure (Fig. 2). This area was the site of a substantial building of Tudor style and brickwork, demolished in the early 1930s. Although no exact record was made of this building, sometimes referred to as 'Chapel Barn', it is fortunate that there are a number of drawings (e.g. Blaauw 1854, 68; Godfrey and Salzman 1951, pl. 91; a Nibbs Drawing of 1894) and photographs (Wolseley 1909, 154; Wolseley 1925, Plates VIII & IX; McLean 1930, 362) (Fig. 8). These illustrations show that the building was orientated south-west/north-east and had a stepped western gable with an overall diaper pattern of dark headers. The building had two main floors and an attic, all reached by what appeared to be a hexagonal tower at the south angle; all floors of the main structure and the tower had windows. There was a substantial doorway in the south-east facing external wall at ground level, presumably connected by a timber bridge to the 'mainland' side of the moat. The illustrations also show a smaller building immediately to the west of the main building, with its axis at right angles to the latter. In 1984 a brick gable (Fig. 9) still existed on the site and its blocked-in openings were presumably intercommunicating doorways between the main building and that located to the west. Unfortunately this gable was destroyed in the storm of October, 1987.

Fig. 8. Laughton Place. Photograph of the south-east corner of the moat before 1930 demolition (Courtesy of the Royal Commission Historical Monuments, England).

As to dating, the architecture and brickwork suggest that the two outbuildings at the south corner of the moat are broadly contemporary with the surviving Tudor tower, dating to *c.* 1534. It is thus surprising that nothing of these two not insubstantial buildings is shown on the map of 1641 which shows the demesnes of the manor of Laughton (Fig. 10). Excavations in Area A were designed to locate and record anything that remained of the hexagonal tower at the south corner of the moat, and also to provide a section across the moat.

Once the dense vegetation had been cleared, the tower was easily located and proved to be octagonal rather than hexagonal in plan (Figs 11, 12). The faces of the brick tower measured approximately 1.3 metres wide externally and 0.8 metre wide internally. The walls were 0.6 metre wide and internally the distance between facing walls was 2 metres. On the northern face of the tower was a vertical slot approximately 48 cm. wide which tapers slightly into the tower. The original function of the slot is unknown, but in recent times a plastic water pipe (from a rainwater drain?) had been laid across it to discharge its contents into the moat. The faces of the tower which had projected out into the moat had been demolished to approximately 75 cm. above the sandstone foundations which cut into the light grey clay (Context 11). The fill within the base of the tower at foundation level was

Fig. 9. Laughton Place, 1984. Tudor and later brick gable. Area B. Scale: 2 m.

blue-grey clay (Context 6) and yielded finds of brick, roofing tile, slate, sandstone fragments, oyster shells, bone and fragments of oak timber. The surviving interior of the tower was sectioned and the section then continued across the adjacent moat (Fig. 13). The upper fill of the moat against the southern side of the tower was a thin layer of black organic matter (Context 4). Further to the south east was a thin layer of dark brown clay with a moderate organic content (Context 9) and below this a layer of grey-blue clay (Context 10), finds from which included modern glass. Immediately beneath Context 10 was a thin layer of organic matter (Context 16). Below Contexts 4 and 16 was a more extensive layer of light grey silty clay (Context 8). Finds from this layer again included modern glass, but also present were sherds of pottery, some of which date from the 17th century. At the eastern end of the section Context 8 lay above a sequence of three layers. The first of these (Context 15) was a compact deposit of grey clay containing fragments of brick and chalk. Below this was a layer of compressed organic matter (Context 13), and lower still was a mixed layer of rubble and coarse loam (Context 14). Contexts 8 and 14 both lay above Context 11 (?natural light grey clay). To the north of the section line the moat had been filled in with chalk blocks and fragments (Context 2) in order to form a base for the concrete silage yard.

The excavations in Area B were intended to examine the Tudor brick range which once stood on this corner of the site. The whole area was cleared of vegetation, modern concrete and topsoil (Context 1). The walls of the three-storey

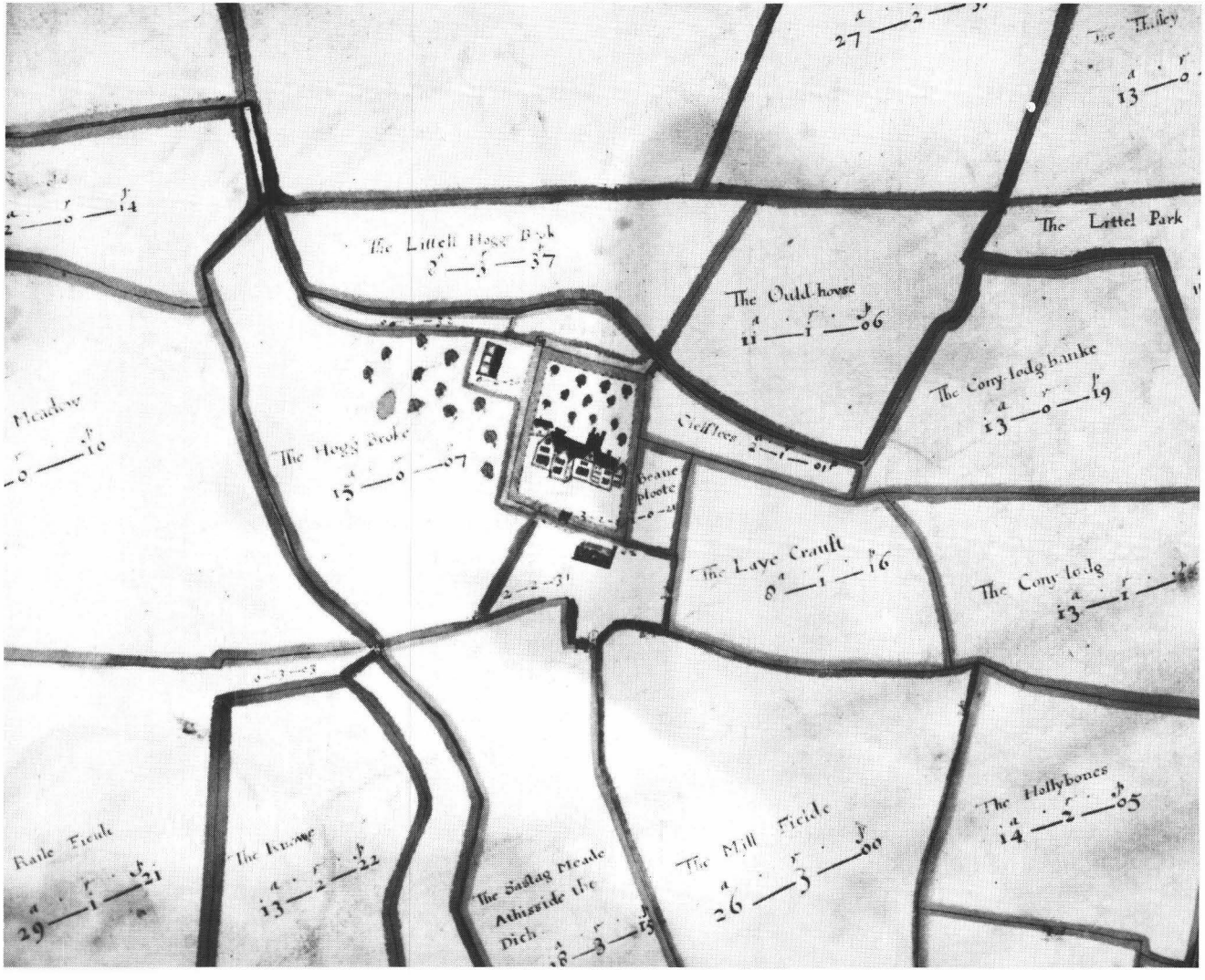

Fig. 10. Detail of the 1641 Estate Map by Anthony Everenden (Courtesy of the Earl of Chichester and East Sussex Record Office).

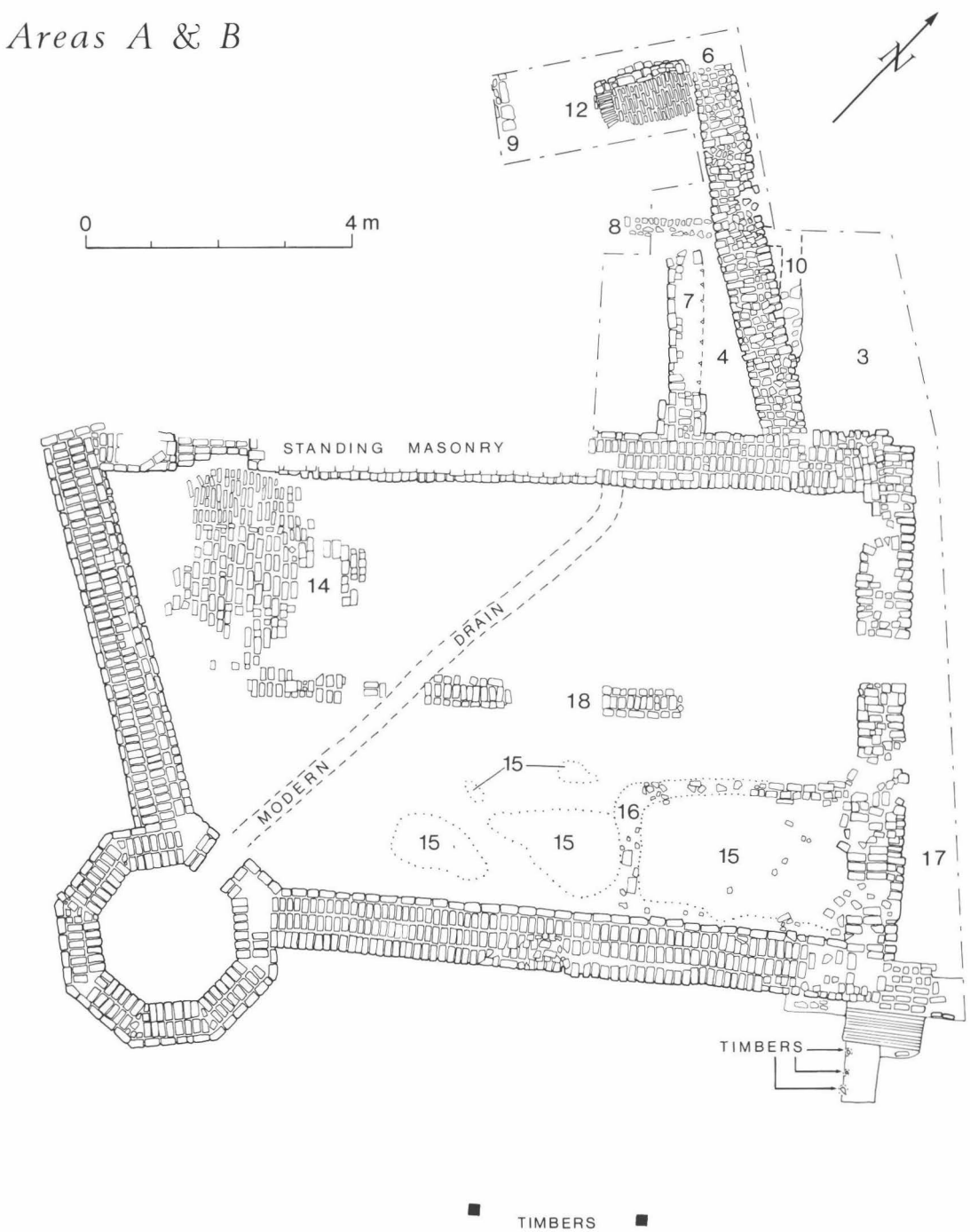

Fig. 11. Laughton Place, 1984. Plan of discoveries in the south-east corner of the site: Areas A and B.

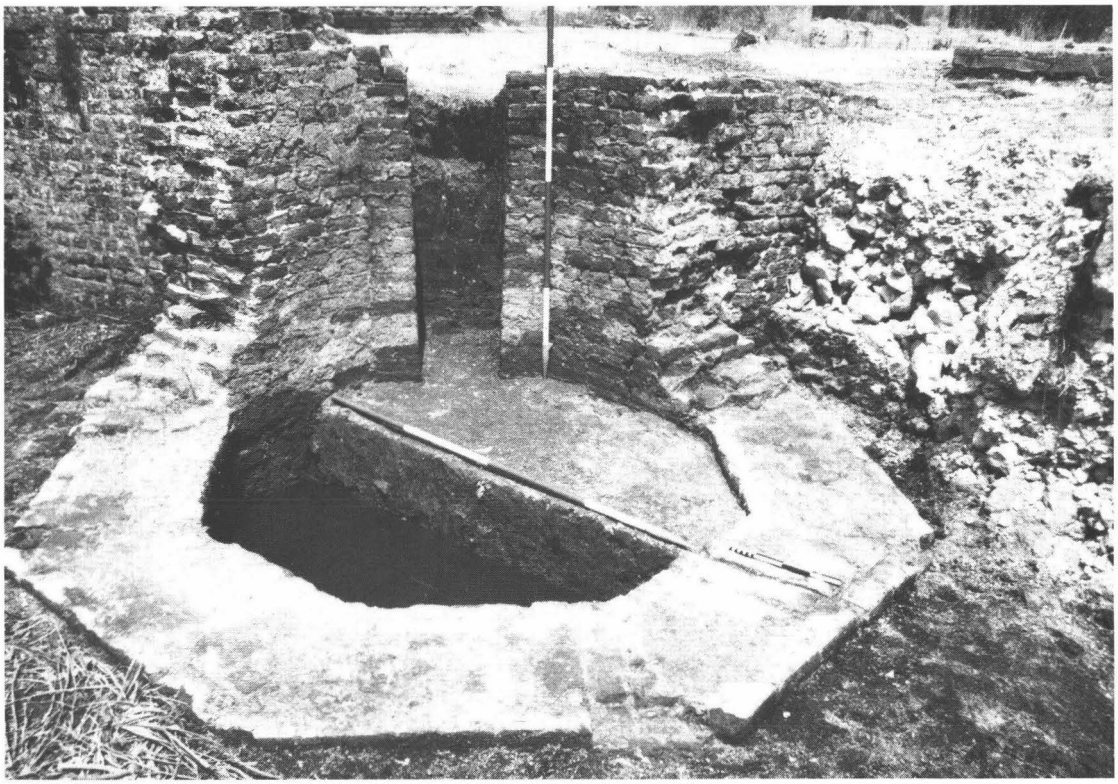

Fig. 12. Laughton Place, 1984. Tudor brick octagonal corner tower. Area A. Scales: 2 m. and 40 cm.

Tudor building were uncovered and proved to be three bricks wide, with an extra half-brick off-set at floor level. The walls had alternating courses of 'long' and 'short' brickwork. The sub-rectangular building measured approximately 12 metres long and 8 metres wide. In the west corner of the building the excavations revealed part of a very uneven mortared brick floor (Context 14) with the bricks laid on edge in front of the bricked-in doorway of the standing gable. The eastern boundary of the brick floor was bordered by the remains of a brick wall (Context 18) which was 40 cm. wide and may have divided the building into two halves along its long axis. The date of both the floor and the wall is unknown, but could date to the period when the building was used for agricultural purposes. Other features within the building include the modern drain referred to above, a patchy chalk floor (Context 15) to the east of the central wall, and a small rectangular area in the east corner surrounded by a narrow brick wall (Context 16). The chalk floor within this rectangular area was much more even than that to the south west. This partitioned area is probably a result of later changes when the site was a farm, as is also the layer of pebbles (Context 17) which occurs immediately to the north east of the Tudor building and also partly extends over its north-eastern wall. These pebbles are interpreted as an old farmyard surface which was contemporary with the re-use of the building as a barn.

The east corner of the Tudor building was supported on the exterior by a brick buttress projecting into the moat. Following the clearance of the moat it was possible to examine

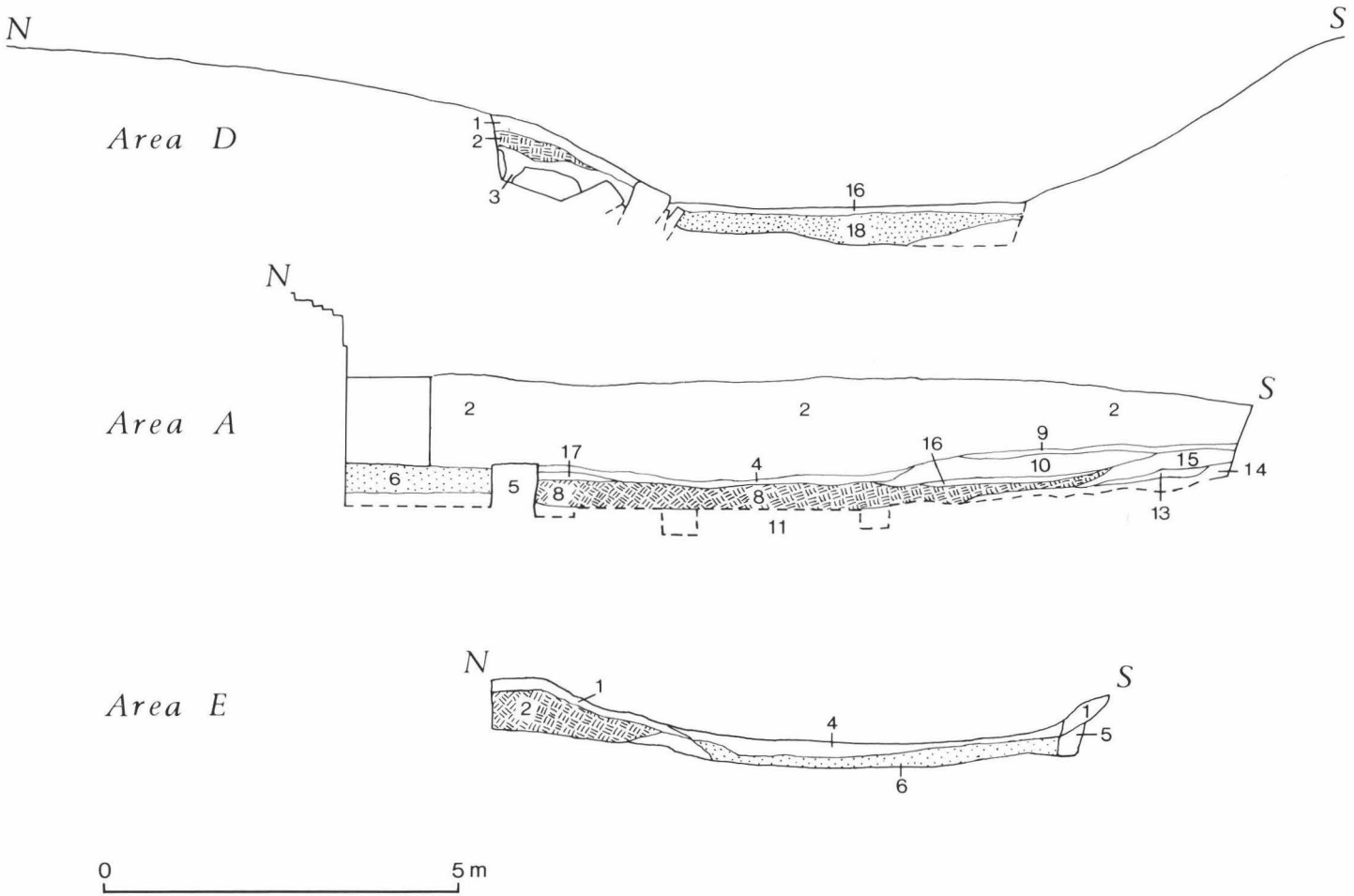

Fig. 13. Laughton Place, 1984. Sections across the moat. Areas A, D and E.

this in greater detail. It consisted of 16 courses of off-sets, resting on a section of brickwork that appears to have moved from its original position/bedding-plane (Fig. 14). Beneath the block of moved brickwork was a large horizontal timber, 50 cm. wide and 19 cm. deep, supported on three sides by wooden posts which had been driven vertically into the floor of the moat. The date of this strengthening or repair is uncertain. The buttress appears on several of the drawings of the structure mentioned above.

Also in the stretch of moat alongside the south-eastern wall of the Tudor range were two large oak posts which had also been driven vertically into the floor of the moat (Fig. 11). These timbers, which were almost square in cross-section and measured 17 cm. wide by 15 cm. deep, and 14.5 cm. wide by 14 cm. deep respectively, were 2.5 metres apart and aligned parallel to the wall of the Tudor building. Their positioning suggests that they once supported a timber bridge leading to the doorway shown on various drawings and photographs of the range. In an attempt to confirm the possible Tudor date of this bridge, samples were sent for tree-ring analysis, but it was not possible to match the sequence with any available dated reference material (see Tree Ring analysis Report, below).

The other excavations in Area B concerned the area to the west of the north corner of the Tudor building discussed above. Immediately below the topsoil were a number of foundations (Contexts 7, 8, 9 and 10) dating to the use of the site as a farm. Context 9, which yielded pieces of tile and moulded brick, is the fill of the foundation trench for the recent farm building which utilized the standing Tudor brickwork until both were destroyed in the storm of 1987. Contexts 8 and 10 are wall footings made of mortared flints, sandstone and Sussex marble. They are probably more recent than those in Context 7, which consisted of mortared bricks that had been laid in a similar manner to those of Context 18 inside the adjacent Tudor building, later a barn. It should be noted that Context 7 is at right angles to Context 18 and is possibly contemporary with both Contexts 14 and 18.

The earliest phase, in the north-western part of Area B, comprises Contexts 6 and 12. Context 6 was a section of mortared brick wall, 40 cm. wide, aligned parallel to the south-western side of the moat. It is presumably one of the walls of the ?Tudor building immediately to the west of the Tudor building with the corner tower. At its northern end Context 6 ends abruptly and was chopped through. Butting against the surviving northern end of Context 6 was a contemporary brick-on-edge hearth/fireplace. Two clay tiles on edge formed the surviving southern border of this feature. Unfortunately, the excavations in Area B failed to locate any good archaeological deposits which had escaped disturbance during the use of the site as a farm. This, together with the general paucity of finds, means that little material was found which is contemporary with the Tudor brick buildings.

To the west of Area B, and to the south-western side of the then standing L-shaped farm building, Area C (Fig. 2) was cleared of vegetation and then trial trenched in order to try to locate the south-western wall of the second Tudor brick building at this corner of the site. The excavations exposed a Tudor brick wall running along the crest of the bank (Fig. 15). The wall was two and a half bricks (60 cm.) wide and had a foundation trench (Context 4) on its northern side (Fig. 8). The wall was approximately parallel to Context 6 (a Tudor brick wall) of Area B and is presumably the opposite end of the same building. If so, the length or width of this building is 10 metres.

Excavations in Area C against the outer face of the modern farm buildings revealed that these were built upon foundations which incorporate large quantities of re-used stone blocks (including a window-jamb), moulded and plain bricks, and tile.

A search to the north east of Area C revealed surface indications of the line of a wall which appeared to have originally been

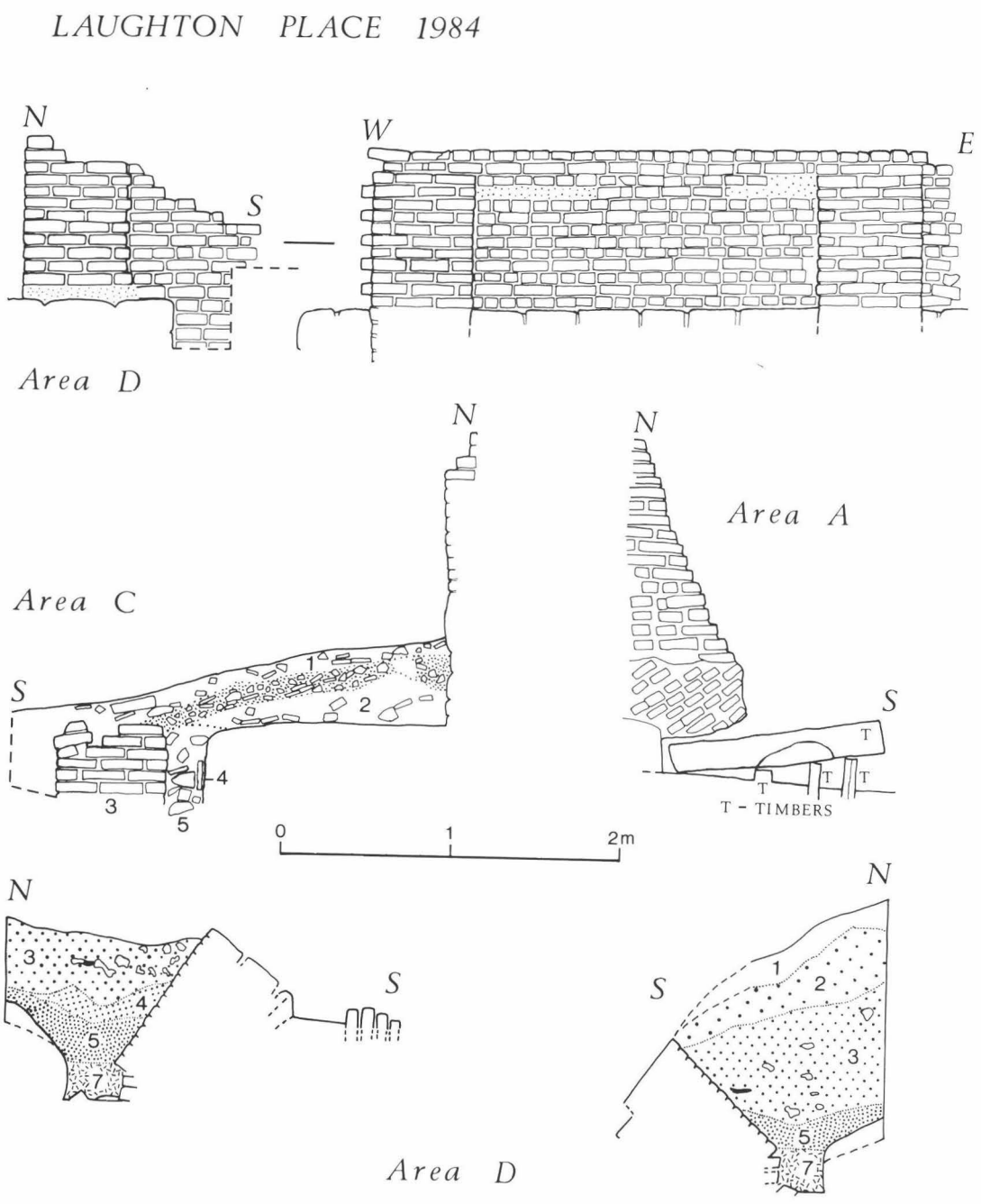

Fig. 14. Laughton Place, 1984. Elevations/sections of Tudor brickwork. Areas C and D.

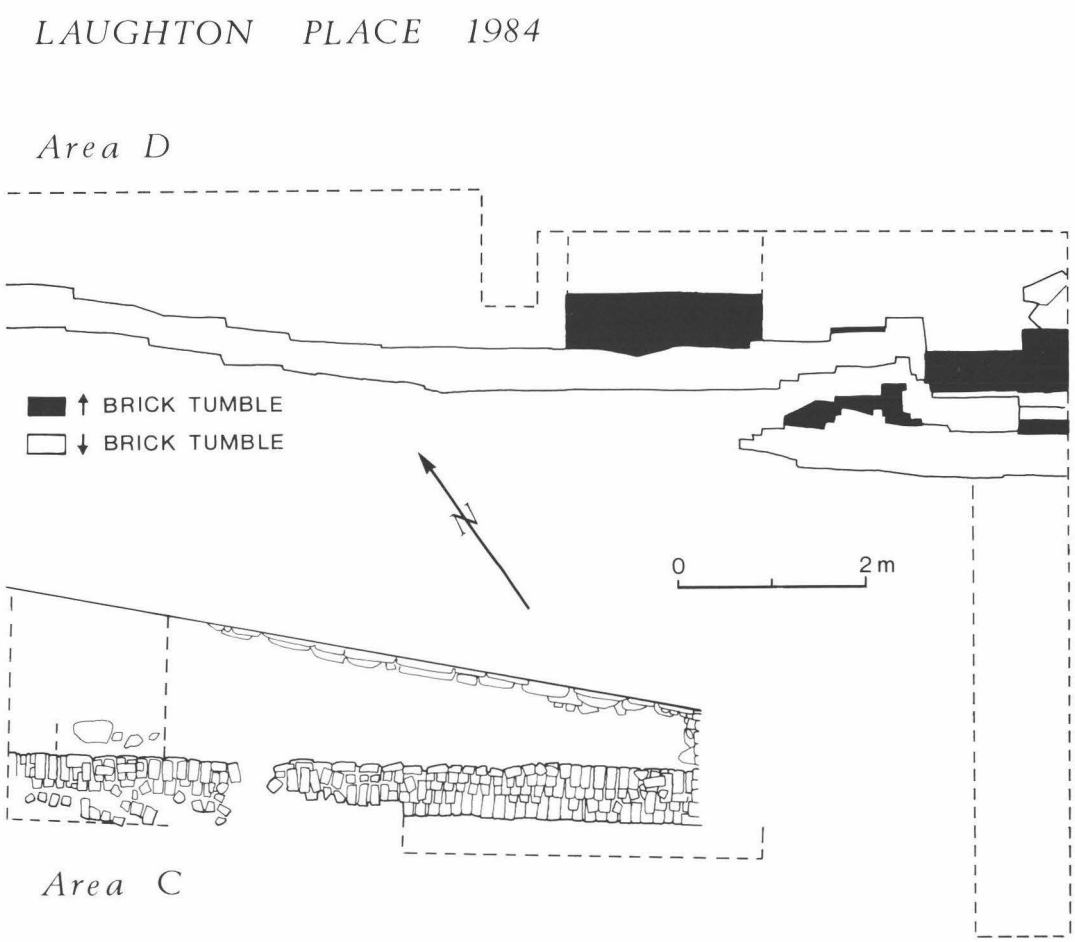

Fig. 15. Laughton Place, 1984. Plan of curtain wall of brickwork. Areas C and D (where the wall has collapsed).

connected to the Tudor wall discovered in Area C. Trial trenching (Figs 2, 15 and 16) exposed the remains of a collapsed Tudor brick wall and an in situ 'turret'/wall projection.

An investigation of the $2\frac{1}{2}$ brick wide tumbled curtain wall (Context 8) showed that it had sandstone foundations and a foundation trench (Contexts 6 and 7) on its northern side (Fig. 14). Deposits which had built up against the wall included: Context 2—a thick deposit of clay with mortar, tile and brick fragments; Context 3—a loam soil with charcoal, mortar and brick fragments; Context 4—a rubble layer consisting mainly of brick fragments; Context 5—a clay loam with mortar and small brick fragments; and Context 9 (to the east of Context 5 and below Context 4)—a clay layer with pieces of charcoal and brick. Pottery from the deposits against the tumbled wall include some residual medieval sherds and others dating to the transitional/early post-medieval periods (see report below numbers: 14; 16; 17; 22; 26 and 28). Other finds (see below) include: a thimble (Context 4); the sole of a shoe which was bedded in Context 5 but

rested close against the wall; a rectangular leather object (Context 7) and a deer bone (Context 7).

One of the sections across the tumbled wall was continued across the moat (Fig. 13). The top fill of the moat consisted of a black humic deposit (Context 16). Below this upper fill, and above the natural clay, were three deposits: Context 18—a grey humic clay; and Contexts 17/28—a light brown sandy clay with loose rubble and decayed mortar.

Trial excavations at the western end of the visible line of collapsed wall revealed a wall projection (Figs 16, 17). This projection, which is half an octagon in shape, measures internally 2 metres wide and 1 metre deep. It is thus half the size of the corner tower found in Area A. A major difference however is that the wall projection does not have sandstone footings. The void left between the outer face of the brick curtain wall and the internal faces of the wall projection contained: Context 11—a grey brown clay (which yielded a fragment of moulded terracotta panel—see below); four oak stakes (Contexts 20–23) set vertically into Context 14—a compact yellow-grey clay; and Contexts 19/31—decayed sandstone and rubble. The four stakes were in a line parallel with the curtain wall and may have supported a platform/floor.

The excavations revealed that the Tudor brick curtain wall stopped on the western face of the wall projection in Area D. It appears however that originally it was probably intended to continue the curtain wall since: the sandstone footings project some 40 cm. to the west of the wall projection; there is some evidence for the digging of a foundation trench (Contexts 25/26) to the west of the projecting sandstone footings; and the western face of the wall has brick 'toothing' (Figs 14, 17) ready for the addition of the next stretch of brickwork.

To the north and west of the wall projection was a layer of rubble (Contexts 12/13) comprising bricks, including half-round types (220 mm. in diameter, 60 mm. thick) and Horsham stone roofing tiles. Possibly this rubble is derived from the superstructure of the wall projection or perhaps from a structure located to the north of the curtain wall. Below Context 12 was a layer of dark grey/brown clay (Context 15) with fragments of mortar, tile, brick and beech timber. This layer also yielded a piece of lead (see below) which bears an impressed 'R'. Context 60 consists of the deposits immediately above Contexts 25/26.

After the dredging of the moat a further discovery in Area D was a Tudor brick pier, 5 metres long by 1.2 metres wide, for a bridge (Figs 2 and 16). These foundations were the only evidence for a bridge of any period on the south western side of the moat.

Prior to the dredging of the moat further trial trenching was carried out in Areas E, F, G and H (Fig. 2) in order to try to establish whether a brick curtain wall or additional 'towers' existed elsewhere on the inner bank of the moated enclosure. At area E a section was cut across the moat/inner bank (Fig. 13). The bank consisted of Context 1—topsoil and Context 2—a compact brown clay. Both layers yielded sherds of medieval pottery—two and seven sherds respectively. There was no trace of a brick wall/sandstone footings and this negative evidence confirms that the Tudor curtain wall did not extend along this part of the moat. The layers within the moat itself consisted of Context 4—a black humic deposit; and Context 6—grey/black humic clay. On the outer bank below the topsoil was Context 5—a compact brown clay.

At areas F, G and H trial trenching of the inner bank of the moat again failed to located any traces of a curtain wall or 'towers'. In all three cases the sequence of deposits encountered were: Context 1—topsoil; and Context 2—compact clay. At Area H, where Context 2 yielded some fragments of brick and tile, there were signs that the edge of the bank had been terraced into—perhaps in readiness for the construction of the Tudor curtain wall which was abandoned before it got this far.

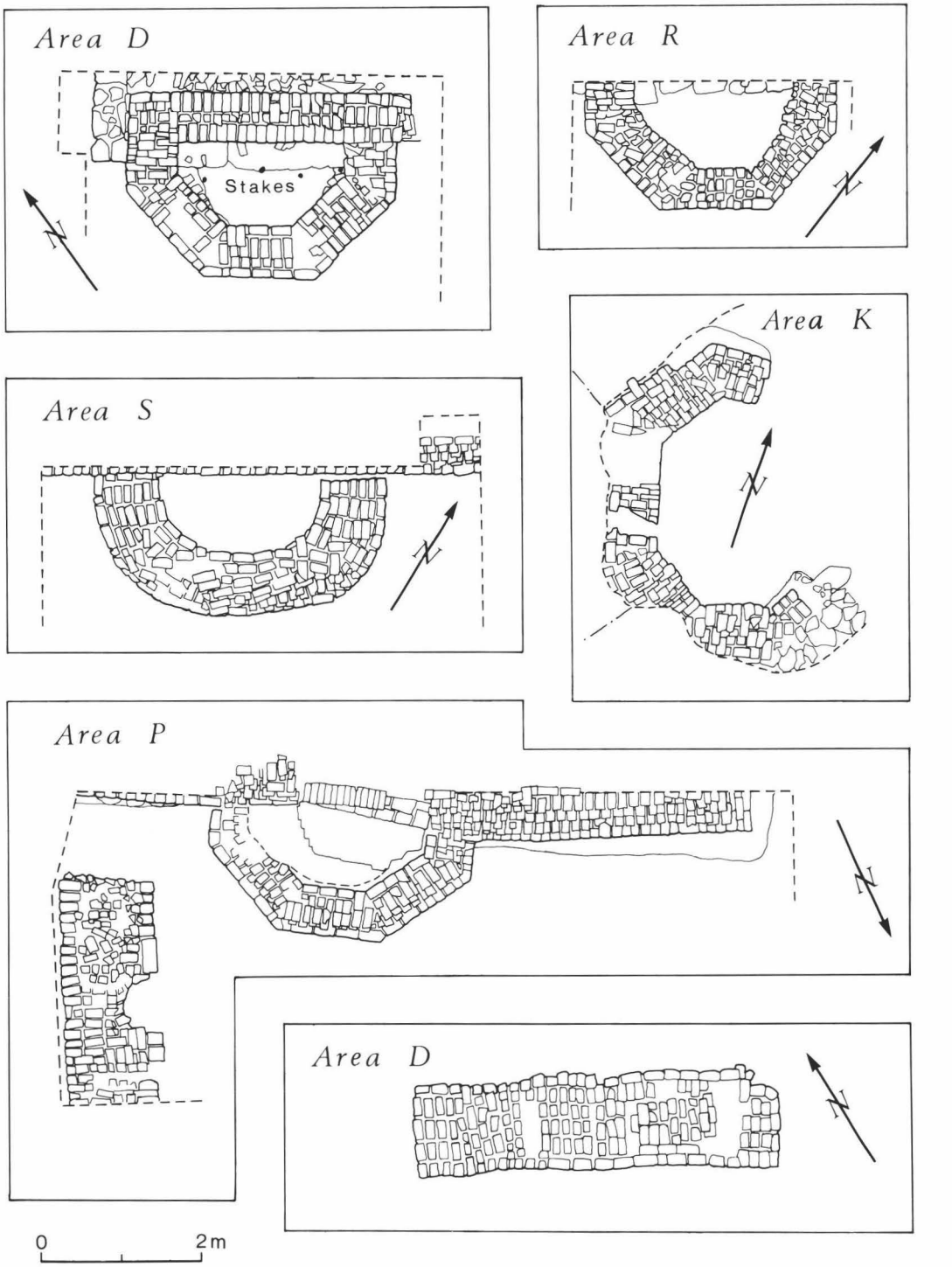

Fig. 16. Laughton Place, 1984. Plan of brick wall-projections/towers in Areas D, K, P, R and S. Plan of brick bridge foundations in Areas D and P.

Fig. 17. Laughton Place, 1984. Tudor brick wall-projection with 'toothing' and collapsed curtain wall. Area D. Scales: 2 m. and 40 cm.

After the dredging of the moat, Area P, which is just to the east of Area H (Fig. 18), yielded evidence for a brick curtain wall; a half octagonal wall projection; and a footbridge (Fig. 16).

The wall projection, which is very similar in size and shape to that found in Area D, survived to a height of 12 courses of bricks. As also in the case of the wall projection in Area D, the brickwork of the projection was bonded into that of the curtain wall. Unlike the curtain wall however, neither of the two wall projections had stone footings.

The external face of the curtain wall in Area P consists of alternate courses of 'header' bricks and 'chaser' bricks. In contrast, the core of the wall is almost entirely made of 'header' bricks. The curtain wall continues for approximately 3.4 metres to the north west of the wall projection. The end of the wall foundations are 'stepped'—an alternative approach to the brick 'toothing' on the end of the wall in Area D. However, as in the case of Area D, the stone footings continue for a short distance beyond the end of the wall. The evidence at Area P again suggests that it was originally intended to continue the curtain wall.

Just to the east of the wall projection at Area P are the 1.2 metres-wide brick foundations for a footbridge. The foundations consist of mortared Tudor bricks, tile and sandstone. Unfortunately it was not possible to establish the relationship of the footbridge foundations to the Tudor curtain

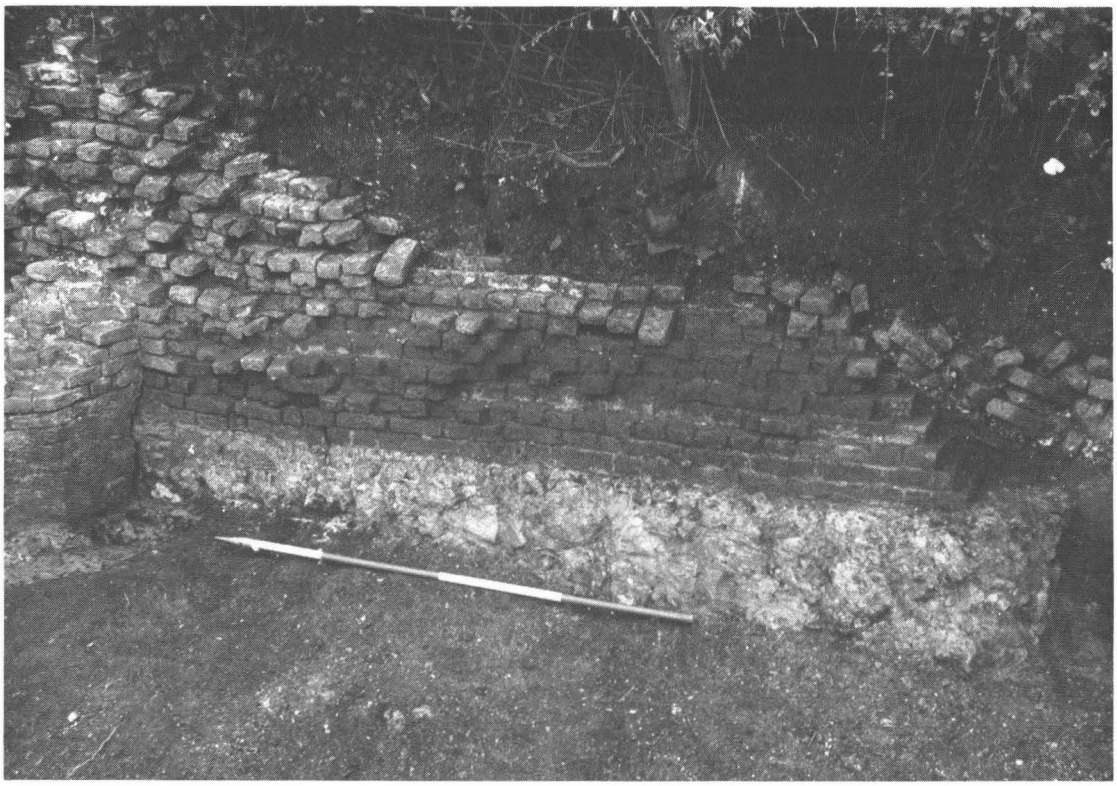

Fig. 18. Laughton Place, 1984. Tudor brick wall-projection and 'stepped' end of curtain wall. Area P. Scale: 2 m.

wall. Although it is possible that the bridge may post-date or cut the curtain wall its constituents and construction style are consistent with a Tudor date. Whatever its date the footbridge or its location has been used for a footbridge into more recent times as is shown, for example, by the O.S. maps of 1873 and 1899. If the brick footbridge foundations are Tudor they may represent a replacement of the medieval timber bridge which was located only some 12 metres to the south east.

At the eastern corner (Area K) of the moat dredging revealed the remains of a second projecting octagonal tower of similar foundation size to that recorded for the southern corner (Area A). Despite the use of stone footings (as in Area A), the brick-work of the tower (which survived to a maximum 22 courses high) had cracked and moved apart as two main blocks. The three most easterly faces of the tower have long since disappeared. Unfortunately the northern of the two surviving blocks of brickwork has apparently been partly cut through in recent times for the laying of Services to the main Tower.

Dredging along the south eastern side of the moat resulted in the discovery of: four more wall projections; traces of a Tudor bridge; and the brick and stone foundations of another bridge.

The wall projection at Area S was of a different type to the others found at Laughton Place. Although the size is approximately the same it is of a different shape—rounded rather than angular—and was not bonded to the curtain wall (Fig. 16). Possibly this is a later addition to the original scheme of curtain wall, wall projections and corner towers. Between this rounded wall projection and the tower at Area K

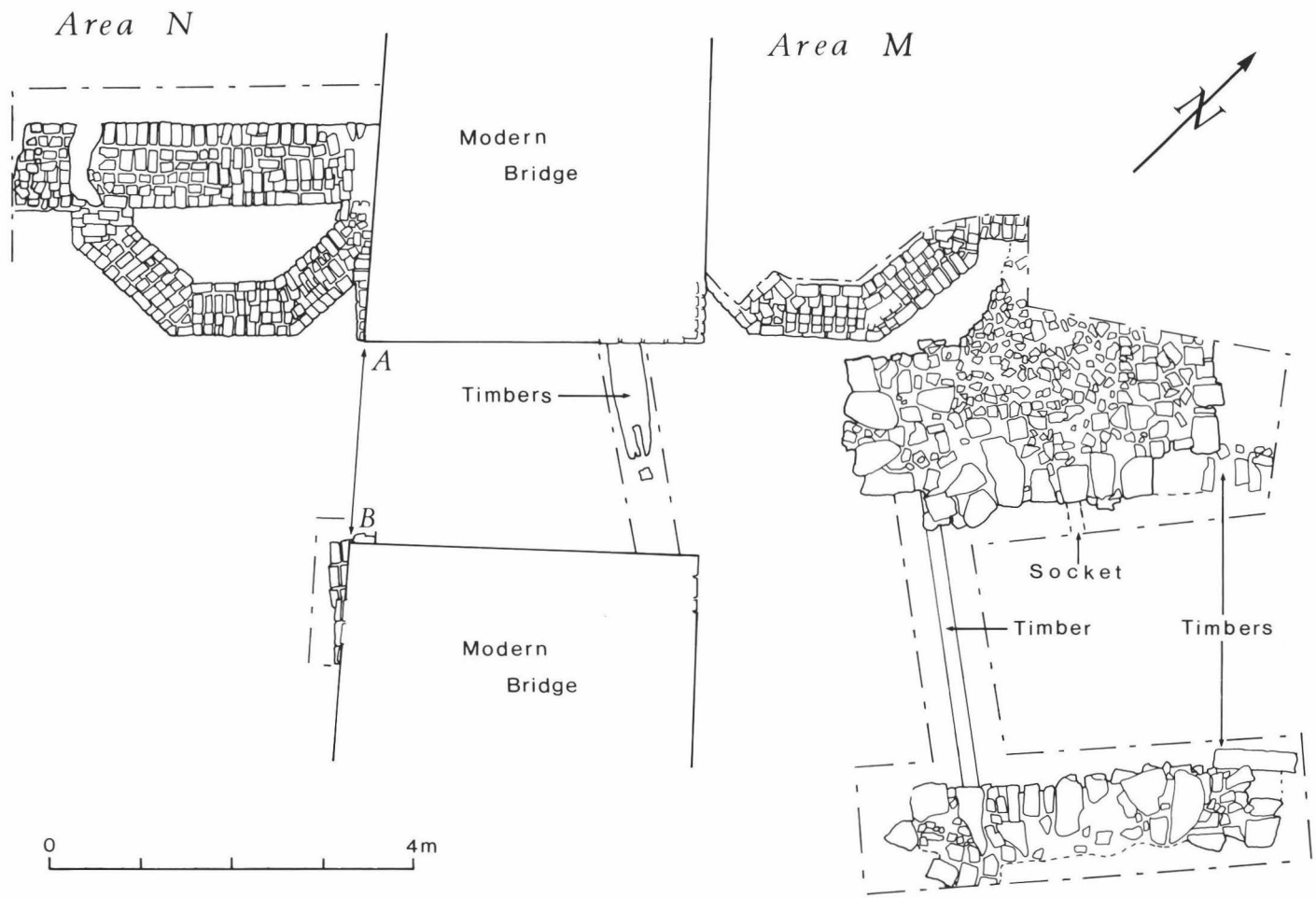

Fig. 19. Laughton Place, 1984. Plan of modern entrance bridge, brick Tudor wall-projections and ?late 16th-century bridge foundations.

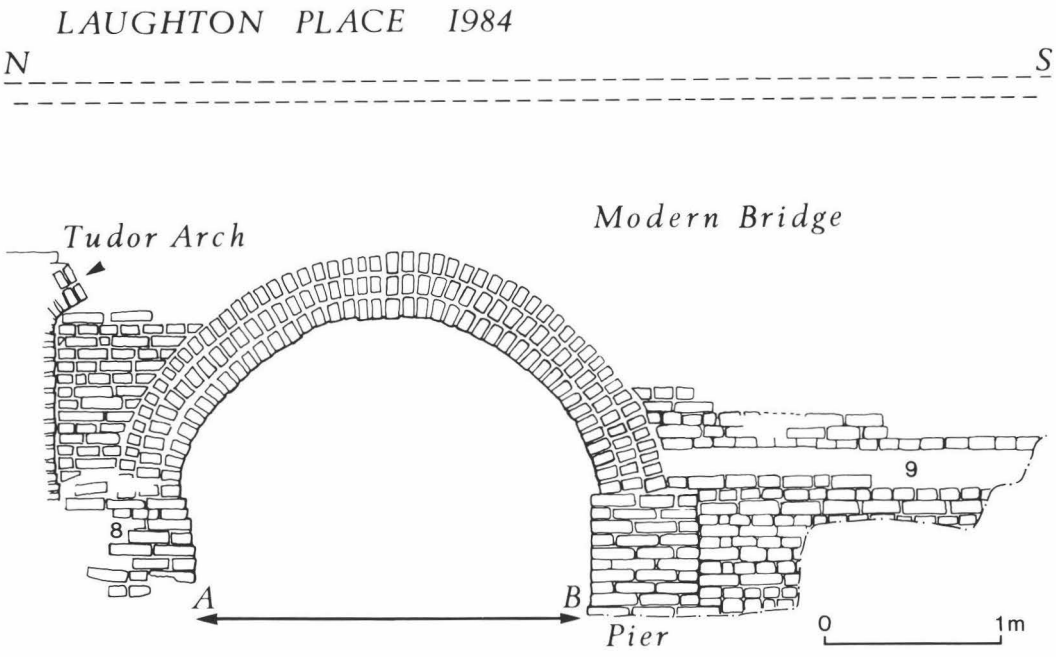

Fig. 20. Laughton Place, 1984. Southern elevation of modern/Tudor brick bridge.

dredging revealed two small areas of footings/masonry—one of stone and one of six courses of brickwork (Fig. 2). Possibly the brickwork is part of a buttress projecting into the moat.

At the other end of this side of the moat another wall projection was discovered at Area R. This time the projection was of the normal type for Laughton—half an octagon. It is similar in size to those found in Areas D and P. The stretch of moat between Areas A and R contained a number of timber posts and two brick pillars/supports. To the north east of the wall projection at Area R another brick buttress projected into the moat.

Today in the centre of the south eastern side of the moat is the sole modern access bridge. The dredging of the moat in 1984 exposed two Tudor wall-projections—one either side of the modern bridge (Fig. 19). These wall-projections are of the same basic size and shape as those found in Areas D, P and R. Evidence discussed below suggests that the site of the modern bridge was formerly the location of a Tudor brick bridge and it is thus probably that the two flanking wall projections formed part of an entrance-way, perhaps even part of a gatehouse. The dredging allowed for a close examination of the brickwork of the modern bridge and Fig. 20 is a partial elevation of its southern face. Although unfortunately much of the brickwork was obscured by repointing it is clear that the existing bridge arch rests on a brick pier in the middle of the moat. The elevation drawing also shows to the left of the main arch the beginnings of another arch. Since the brickwork of this earlier arch is bonded into that of the curtain wall/wall projection (Fig. 21) it is dated to the Tudor period. It is likely that the Tudor bridge was of the double span type with the brick pier mentioned above forming the central support. At a later date the current bridge arch was constructed and the two former Tudor arches infilled with ?re-used Tudor bricks.

Running under the arch of the modern bridge (Fig. 19) was a large oak beam which

Fig. 21. Laughton Place, 1984. Tudor brick wall-projection and modern/Tudor bridge. Area N. Scale: 2 m.

measured approximately 36 cm. wide and 20 cm. deep. This beam, the date and function of which is uncertain, projected horizontally from a socket in the foundations of the later bridge. Close to the oak beam was an oak stake of square cross-section measuring 10 cm. × 10 cm.

To the north east of the modern bridge was an area (M) of foundations consisting of re-used Tudor terracottas, pieces of stone (some clearly re-used), pieces of tile, mortar and timber. The foundations form two ?bridge abutments (Contexts 4 and 5) which are connected by an oak tie-beam (Context 7).

The western abutment (Context 4) was a roughly 'L' shaped structure extending in front of the adjacent wall-projection. Whilst its external face was lined with large blocks of stone, the core and internal face of the abutment consisted mainly of other materials, especially brick. Although this structure was built upon ditch silt it is possible that it was supported by timber piles and planks (note the oak timbers projecting out from under the western face of the abutment). Unfortunately it was not possible to investigate this problem any further since our brief was, where possible, to leave the archaeological deposits in situ. The main exception to this rule in Area M concerned some of the decorated terracottas which were planned, numbered and then lifted for storage in Barbican House Museum, Lewes.

The eastern bridge abutments (Context 5) consisted of a long rectangle, 4.4 metres long ×

Fig. 22. Laughton Place, 1984. Detail of ?late 16th-century bridge. Area M. Scales: 20 cm. and 10 cm.

80 cm. wide, with a small eastwards extension at right-angles to the main area. Unlike the western abutment the eastern one was made almost entirely of large stone blocks with a few re-used terracottas.

In Context 7 the oak tie-beam (Fig. 22) between the two bridge abutments was a straight, well-dressed timber with no visible sapwood or bark. There were also no signs of joinery and the only feature detected was a raised ridge 8 cm. wide where the beam lay under Context 4. There may have been at least one other tie-beam between the two abutments since an oak timber (Context 15) similar in size to Context 7 was removed from this part of the moat by the mechanical digger, and there is a second slot for such a horizontal timber in the outer face of Context 4.

Samples of the different types of stones and the coarse yellow mortar used in both Contexts 4 and 5 were submitted for identification to Caroline Cartwright. She reported that the stone types include: 'Paludina' Limestone (Sussex Marble); Caen Stone; limestone stained by iron minerals; Wealden limestones and calcareous sandstones (an example of which is a re-used ?trough/drain—see Fig. 22). The constituents of the mortar are suggestive of a crushed Wealden series (ferruginous) greensand.

The date and reason for the bridge which incorporated Contexts 4, 5 and 7 is uncertain. In terms of date it presumably dates to after the partial demolition of the Tudor residence of William Pelham and the move by the owners of Laughton Place to Halland in the late 16th century.

Summary of the Tudor period architectural discoveries made in 1984

The dredging/excavating of the moat in 1984 revealed for the first time the existence of a Tudor brick curtain-wall around the eastern half of the site. This wall incorporated two octagonal corner towers, four internal 'turrets'/wall-projections (three half-octagonal; one half-round); a possible gateway/gate-house with two half-octagonal wall-projections; a main double-span bridge on the south eastern side of the moat; a second double-span bridge on the south western side of the moat; and a footbridge on the north eastern side. It appears that the original scheme was to continue the curtain wall system around all sides of the moat but this plan was abruptly changed—as evidenced by the 'toothing' and 'stepped masonry' of the two ends of the wall partways along the south western and north eastern sides of the moat respectively. The reasons for this change of building policy are unclear, but may include the death of William Pelham in 1538 or the decision by the Pelham family to move from Laughton Place to Halland. A possible late Tudor feature is the bridge made of re-used materials to the north of the main Tudor access bridge.

FINDS

Timber Remains (by Caroline Cartwright)

Samples of waterlogged timbers from Areas A, D, J, M, N, Q and R were submitted for identification and are mentioned in the archaeological section. Almost all these timbers derive from medieval and later bridge building structures, and no obvious fuel stores were excavated. The waterlogged structural timbers, particularly those from Area J, were in good condition for the most part, though fungal hyphae had penetrated the cellular structure of some of the beech and oak specimens, rendering identification and analysis more hazardous. Some absorption of iron minerals was also present.

The Longitudinal Upper-Plate of the Medieval Bridge: Tree-Ring Analysis (by Jennifer Hillam)

The sample had 187 rings, of which the outer 22–27 were sapwood. It was possible to distinguish the bark edge over a portion of the sample and, since the outer ring was complete, the timber must have been felled in winter or early spring after growth had ceased for the year. The inside of the sample was quite near the centre, although the pith was not actually present. The tree from which it came must have been about 200 years old when felled, with a diameter of at least 600 mm.

This sample with 187 rings seemed ideally suited to tree-ring dating, but although the ring sequence was compared with all available dated reference material from Europe, no consistent dating was obtainable. The lack of dating is probably due to there being only one timber, since it is often difficult to date single timbers from a particular context or structure (Hillam 1986).

A study of a 200-year old timber found in 1983 during rescue excavations at Tarrant Street, Arundel, in West Sussex, was also unsuccessful in producing a tree-ring date.

Posts from the ?Tudor Bridge (Area A): Tree-Ring Analysis (by Jennifer Hillam)

Samples from the two oak posts discovered in the moat to the east of the entrance into the south eastern side of the Tudor range were submitted for tree-ring dating. The two samples had 78 and 42 heartwood rings respectively. The latter sample was wider-ringed than the former and rather knotty. Both came from younger and smaller trees than the sample from the medieval bridge (see above). The ring sequence from the two posts crossmatched ($t = 5.6$) to give a total sequence of 79 rings. No match was found between this sequence and that from the upper-plate of the medieval bridge. Although the relatively short ring sequence from the two posts was compared with all available dated reference material from Europe, no consistent dating was obtained. The probable reasons for this lack of dating are the same as those discussed above for the ring sequence from the medieval bridge. (See full report on microfiche).

Floor Tiles (by Elizabeth Eames and David Rudling)

Complete and fragmentary floor tiles were recovered from Area B (Context 3); Area C (Context 1); Area D (Contexts 1, 2, 4, 13 and 16); Area E (Contexts 1 and 2). All these were plain glazed and unglazed tiles of red fabric and probably date to the 15th or 16th century. Some of the tiles are probably imports from the Netherlands. A selection follows.

1. Complete tile measuring 120 × 120 × 25 mm. Brown and yellow glaze over a thin white slip. Single nail holes in each corner and also in the centre of the upper surface of the tile. These holes were made by the spikes protruding from the board with which the tiler held the tile whilst he trimmed the edges. Such nail holes are characteristic of Flemish tiles and documentary evidence suggests large scale importation. Spiked boards seem not to have been used in England before the 16th century. Area D, Context 1.
2. Almost complete tile measuring 118 × 116 × 23 mm. Dark green glaze. Nail holes in each corner and in the centre of the upper surface. Area D, Context 1.
3. Complete tile measuring 129 × 118 × 25 mm. Yellow glaze over a thin white slip. Nail holes in each corner and in the centre of the upper surface. Area D, Context 2.

4. Part of a tile measuring 117 × ? × 25 mm. Yellow glaze over a thin white slip. Nail holes in at least two corners and in the centre of the upper surface. Area D, Context 4.
5. Part of a tile 30 mm. thick. One of the sides is in excess of 123 mm. long. Streaky brown glaze over buff slip. English manufacture? Area E, Context 1.
6. Complete tile, measuring 220 × 220 × 30 mm. Unglazed. Orange sandy fabric. Nail holes in each corner of the upper surface. Possibly a local product. Area D, Context 1. N.B. nine similar sized plain, unglazed flat tiles/bricks were recovered from the north corner of the moat. These had nail holes in each corner of the lower surface. Date uncertain.
7. Part of a tile, 35 mm. thick. Unglazed. Orange sandy fabric. Possibly a local product. Area D, Context 16.
8. Complete tile/brick measuring 210 × 210 × 50 mm. Unglazed. Orange fabric. Probably post-Tudor. Area F, unstratified.

Clay Roofing Tiles (by David Rudling)

The 1984 investigations yielded a large number of fragments of clay roofing tiles. Thicknesses ranged from 7–16 mm. Several had square peg holes and one (Area E, Context 1) had a round peg hole. Most of these tiles are post-medieval, but some (as those from Area E) are probably medieval. A tile (14 mm. thick) from Area D, Context 3 is a badly distorted waster. Area D, Context 5 (a context which yielded much tile) produced fragments of ridge tile (20 mm. thick).

Stone Roofing Tiles (by David Rudling)

There were several pieces of Horsham Stone roofing tile. One piece Area N, Context 4) had a round peg hole and traces of adhering mortar.

Roofing Slate (by the late Eric Holden)

Six broken pieces of roofing slate were examined, three grey in colour, one grey/purple, one grey olive. The other piece is of two colours, having come from the junction of green and grey slate beds. One piece has a peg or nailhole and four have very slight traces of mortar. They differ from the bulk of medieval roofing slate found in Sussex in being finer-grained and only 4–5 mm. thick (one piece is 7 mm.). Somewhat similar, finer-grained and thin slates have been found on about 5 per cent of other sites within the county, often mixed with the more usual varieties. It is probable that the Laughton slate, like the others, came originally from South Devon or Cornwall, but the exact locality is not known. Documentary evidence demonstrates that slates from those areas were being traded to ports along the Channel from the 12th to the 16th centuries (Holden 1965, 1989; Murray 1965).

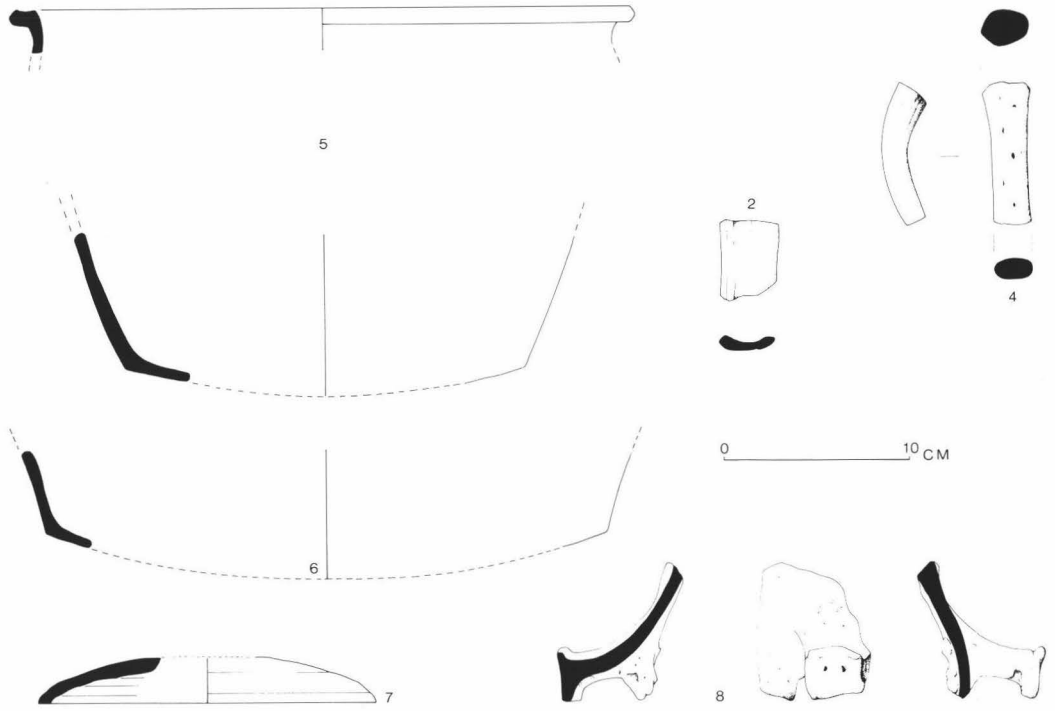

Fig. 23. Laughton Place, 1984. Medieval and post-medieval pottery.

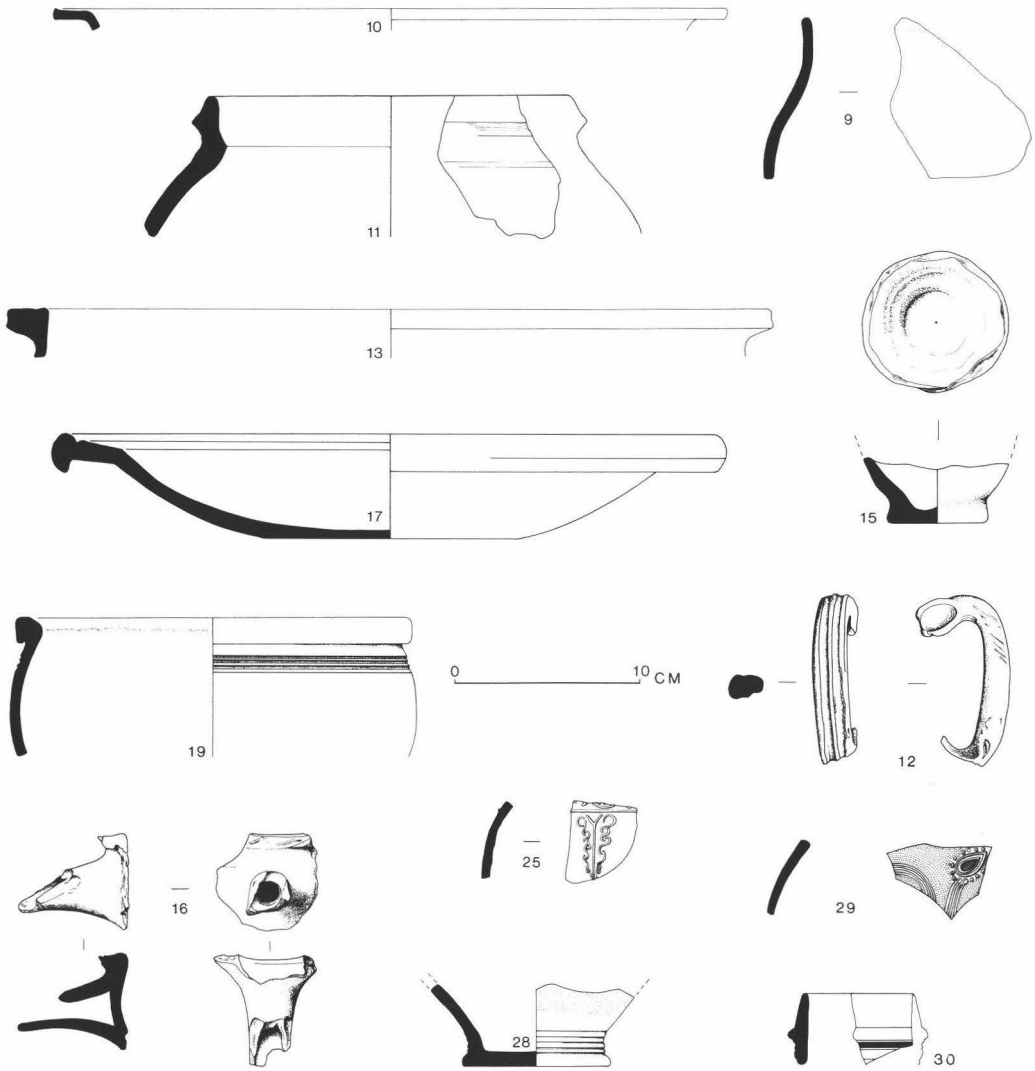

Fig. 23. Medieval and post-medieval pottery (continued).

The Medieval and ?Romano-British Pottery (by David Rudling)

The 1984 excavations and watching-brief yielded a total of 20 sherds of medieval (pre-*c.* 1450) pottery and a single sherd of possibly Romano-British origin. A selection of these sherds is described below (Fig. 23).

1. (Not illustrated) Small, badly eroded body sherd. Grog-tempered grey ware. Probably Romano-British 'East Sussex Ware'. Area E, Context 2.
2. Thrown strap handle from a jug. Fine off-white ware with green glaze. Saintonge ware, from south-west France. Late 13th/early 14th century. Area D, Context 2.
3. (Not illustrated) Body sherd from a jug. Sand-tempered orange ware with interior cream surface. The exterior has a mottled green glaze and decoration in the form of a vertical band of applied white slip below the glaze. 14th/15th century. Area D, Context 3.
4. Stabbed handle from a small jug. Sand-tempered orange ware with grey core. 14th/15th century. Area B, Context 3.
5. Cooking pot with sagging base and rim with lid seating. Sand-tempered buff ware with grey core. 14th/15th century. Area D, Contexts 26 and 60.
6. Cooking pot with sagging base. Sand-tempered grey ware with internal buff surface. The base has a mottled

green glaze on its interior surface. 14th/15th century. Area J, Context 6.

7. Lid. Sand-tempered orange ware. 14th/15th century, Area C, Context 1.
8. Fragment from a piece of roof furniture, probably a louver with stabbed projections covering its openings. Flint-tempered dull orange/buff ware with grey core and external white slip. 13th/15th century. Area E, Context 2.

Other sherds of medieval sand-tempered pottery, some with lead glaze, were recovered from Area D, Contexts 2, 3, 9 and 61; Area E, Contexts 1 (two sherds) and 2 (five sherds); Area N, Context 2.

The Transitional and Early Post-medieval Pottery (by Clive Orton and David Rudling)

No large assemblages of pottery relating to the transitional (*c.* 1450/1500–1600) or early post-medieval periods were found. A selection of the pottery finds is described below in order to provide dating evidence for various archaeological contexts and also to provide an insight into the range of pottery forms and wares that were used at Laughton Place. A separate catalogue of some of the stone-wares is provided by Clive Orton. The numbering sequence used for the catalogued sherds continues that used above for the medieval pottery. Illustrated sherds form Fig. 23.

9. Body sherd of jug in hard-fired earthenware. A red fabric with moderate inclusions of quartz and grey surfaces. Decoration in the form of two lines of white paint. 'Black and White Painted Ware'. This ware has been dated by Ken Barton (1979, 122–3) to *c.* 1430–1560. Area B, Context 1.
10. Rim of platter or bowl of hard-fired local earthenware. Light red fabric with abundant fine quartz inclusions and grey surfaces. Traces of an orange slip. *c.* 1450–1600. Sources of hard-fired earthenwares in East Sussex have been discussed by Anthony Streeten (1983, 99). Area H, Context 2.
11. Rim of jar with lid seating of hard-fired earthenware. Red fabric with quartz and iron oxide inclusions and some grog. Grey core and external grey surface. *c.* 1450–1600. Area D, Context 1.
12. Handle of a large shallow cream pan of hard-fired earthenware. Light red fabric with some fine quartz inclusions and light brown surfaces. *c.* 1450–1600. Area E, Context 5.
13. Rim of large storage jar of hard-fired earthenware. Light red fabric with some fine quartz inclusions and grey core. Transitional/early post-medieval. Area D, Context 2.
14. Not illustrated. Sherd from the base of a shallow pan of hard-fired earthenware. Red fabric with abundant fine quartz inclusions and grey inner surface which has a white slip below a clear lead glaze. *c.* 1450–1600. Area D, Context 5.
15. Base of a jug of Surrey Ware. An imitation of a stoneware form. Streaky light green/brown glaze on the exterior and brown glaze on the interior surface. 16th century cf. Holling (1971) Type C2. Area D, Context 1.
16. Rim and hollow handle of pipkin, of Surrey Ware. Yellow glaze. 17th century. Area D, Context 4.
17. Platter or bowl of glazed red earthenware. Speckled orange glaze on the inside. 17th century. Area D, Context 3.
18. Not illustrated. Base of a chamber pot of Delft Ware. Late 17th/early 18th century. Area D, Context 16.
19. Rim of chamber-pot of glazed red earthenware. Speckled brown glaze on the inside. 18th century. Area A, Context 8.

Stoneware Vessels (by Clive Orton)

20. Not illustrated. Body sherd of flask/costrel, light grey stoneware. Such flasks when found in Britain are usually attributed to Martincamp in North France. Three types are known: type I, off-white fabric, date 1475–1550; type II, brown stoneware, 16th century; type III, red fabric, 17th century (Hurst 1977). It is not likely to be type I on grounds of shape (too rounded), nor type III (colour). Type II seems the only possibility, but this is usually brown. Unstratified. A similar-bodied form was made in Langerwehe, Raeren and Cologne *c.* 1350–1450 (Hurst *et al.* 1986, Fig. 92, 295) but is rarely found in Britain. Only one example has been identified, from Newcastle (Hurst *et al.*, 1986, 190).
21. Not illustrated. Body sherd of mug in German stoneware, probably Raeren or Siegburg. The glaze looks earlier than the other examples from this site, and the groove above the girth can be paralleled by van Bock (1976) nos. 111 and 114. 15th century. Area C, Context 1.
22. Not illustrated. Sherd from near base of mug in German stoneware, probably Raeren or Langerwehe. The closely-spaced ribbing suggests a date in the late 15th century (e.g., van Bock 1976, nos. 111–8). Area D, Context 3.
23. Not illustrated. Body sherd of mug in German stoneware, probably Raeren. Probably late 15th/early 16th century. Area D, Context 1.
24. Not illustrated. Rim sherd of jug in German stoneware, probably Raeren or Siegburg. The ribbing almost to the rim suggests 15th or 16th century. A chip on the rim has been glazed over. Area C, Context 1.
25. Lower body sherd of 'bellarmine', probably from Cologne, possibly Frechen. The decoration is part of a waistband, with stylised leaves. Date *c.* 1525–75 (see Hurst *et al* 1986, 210–16). Area N, Context 2.
26. Not illustrated. Body sherd of mug or jug in German stoneware, probably Frechen, the cordon of the shoulder is most common in the late 16th century (e.g. van Bock 1976, no. 321). Area D, Context 3.
27. Not illustrated. Body sherd of mug in German stoneware, probably Raeren. The vertical combed decoration is unusual, but can be paralleled on some large jugs of the late 16th century (e.g. van Bock 1976, no. 362). Area D, Context 17.
28. Base of mug or jug in German stoneware, probably Frechen. Probably late 16th or early 17th century, although the turned foot is known on bellarmines as

early as the mid-16th century at Cologne. Area D, Context 3.

29. Sherd of jug or mug in Westerwald stoneware. Combed and sprigged decoration painted in manganese purple and cobalt blue. This form is known through the 17th and into the 18th century, but the type of decoration appears late 17th. (cf van Bock 1976, nos. 535–40). Area A, Context 8.
30. Rim of jug or mug in Westerwald stoneware with cobalt blue painted decoration. This form is known through the 17th into the 18th century. Area D Context 1.

Clay Pipe (by David Atkinson)

Bowl with initials T/H—Thomas Harman of Lewes, *c.* 1720–40. Unstratified.

Glass (by Christopher and Prue Maxwell-Stewart)

Four fragments of window glass from Area D, Context 17, were submitted for identification. Three of the four fragments, one of which has a grozed edge, are made of Forest ('Wealden Potash') glass and date from the 17th century or earlier. The other fragment is spun 'Crown' glass and dates 17th/18th century.

Metal Objects (by David Rudling)

1. Copper penny. Illegible, *c.* 1806–60.
2. Copper-alloy. A crushed thimble. An incised groove around the base and round indentations. Height 20 mm. cf. Crummy (1988) Fig. 32, no. 1915. Area D, Context 4 (Fig. 24).
3. Copper-alloy. Small tea-spoon. Area D, Context 1.
4. Copper-alloy. Part of the handle and bowl of a spoon. Area R, Context 4. (Fig. 24).
5. Copper-alloy button. 24 mm. diameter. Area B, Context 1.
6. Lead sheet. Approximately 145 × 120 × 2 mm. Various cut marks. An impressed/rouletted 'R' on the underside. Area D, Context 15. (Fig. 24).
7. Iron. Horse-shoe with rectangular nail holes. Area M, Context 1.

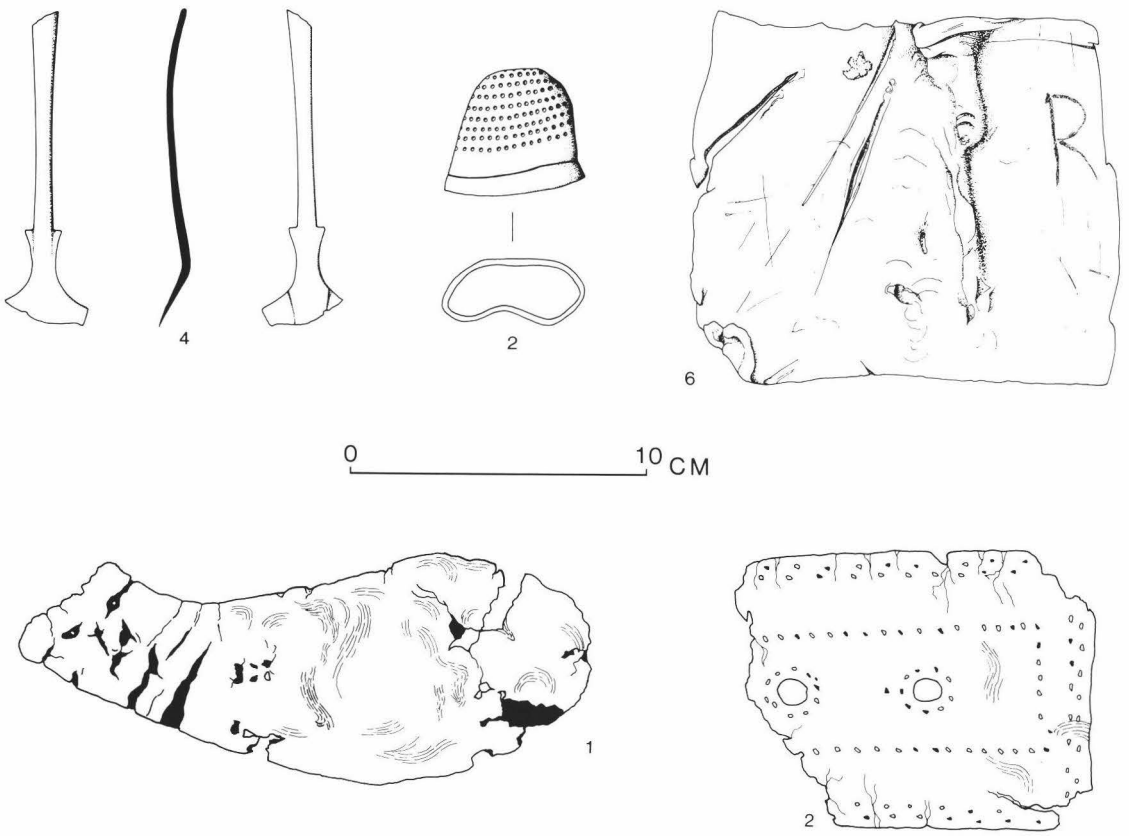

Fig. 24. Laughton Place, 1984. Finds made of metal and leather (no. 2 (AE) × 2).

Animal Bones (by Julia Wood Garrett)

Finds of animal bones were retained from: Area B, Contexts 1, 3 and 5; Area D, Contexts 2, 3, 7, 9, 16, 17, 26 and 60; Area E, Contexts 1, 2, 5 and 6; Area H, Context 2; Area M, Context 1; Area N, Context 2. Of the total of 96 animal bones retained it was possible to identify 78. A catalogue of all these forms part of the Archive. The species represented in order of numbers of identified bones include: Cattle; sheep; deer (both red and fallow); pig; chicken; dog; horse and rabbit. There was also a fragment (Area D, Context 60) of possible human ulna, but unfortunately both epiphyses are missing, thus making definitive identification impossible.

By far the greatest number of animal bones are those of domestic cattle, more than twice the number of sheep (42/19). Marks of butchery are common on the cattle and pig bones and in the case of cattle most parts of the animal seem to have been used; certain bones showing both lateral and oblique cuts, possibly attempts to extract marrow? No signs of butchery are found on the sheep bones. A naturally shed antler of fallow deer (Area M, Context 1) has had the lowest 'spur' or tine chopped, presumably after the antler was shed.

I wish to thank Dr P. Armitage of the Booth Museum (Brighton) and Dr K. Manchester of Bradford University for help in the identification of some of the bones, especially the fragment of possible human ulna.

Fish Bones (by Caroline Cartwright)

Area D, Context 5 yielded vertebrae of *Pleuronectes platessa* (plaice).

Leather Fragments (by Francis Grew) (Fig. 24)

1. Shoe. Cow/ox hide. Maximum surviving thickness: 5 mm. The inner sole of a turn-welt or welted shoe for the right foot. Narrow waist. Distorted through deposition, heel missing. Interpreted as an inner sole because the underside is completely worn, the surface of the leather still surviving. Edge/flesh seam (seam along the edge and on top, see Grew and de Neergaard 1988, 47–8, Fig. 74 for turn-welt construction). Stitch holes in area of the waist suggest repairs or patches. The tread is creased from wear. A small fragment comes from the welt itself. Date: probably 15th century, possibly 2nd half. Area D, Context 5.
2. Rectangular object. Cow/ox hide. Approximate thickness: 4 mm. A rectangular panel with two circular holes with reinforcing stitches around the sides (with impressions of border strips) and in the middle. Also reinforcing patches around the two holes. The stitching, though functional, is also decorative. The oblique awl marks assist in strengthening the stitching (the thread hooks into the oblique hole). Cuts on the underside suggest an unsuccessful attempt to slice through this object from the rear. The knife strokes have sliced through the reinforcing patch for one of the holes. Such patches were probably necessary to strengthen the holes for taking a cord or fastening. The function of this object is not known. It could be a bit of saddlery or tracery, or a strap. Date: any time from the 14th century to the early 16th century. Area D, Context 6.

Marine Molluscs (by Caroline Cartwright)

A total of 28 marine molluscs (m.n.i.) was recovered from Areas A, B, D, E, G, H and N. Most (26 m.n.i.) are oyster valves which have derived from both marine and estuarine source locations. These adult oyster specimens range in shell length from 4.2 cm. to 9.8 cm. Most fall into the 5.4 to 7.2 category. Clearly, this small quantity cannot be representative of a full-scale medieval exploitation of oyster trade resources. Either this was not operative at Laughton, or the molluscs derive from later contexts, or acidic burial environments have prevented full preservation of the shellfish food debris. In addition to the oysters, one mussel valve and one limpet shell survive.

A table listing all the marine mollusc finds by context forms part of the Archive.

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LAUGHTON PLACE IN THE MIDDLE AGES (by John H. Farrant and Christopher Whittick)

The stiff, sour Gault clay on which Laughton Place stands gives way, ¾ mile to the north, to a ridge of fertile Lower Greensand and, close to the south, the alluvium—also fertile unless waterlogged—laid over the clay by Glynde Reach which drains the Level into the River Ouse. Settlement had begun by the Roman period at the point where the Greensand is at its widest, reaching to within 1½ miles east of Laughton Place. It was continued by the Anglo-Saxons westwards along the Greensand, extending south and north onto the Gault and Weald Clays where these had been modified by downwash or lightened by limestone outcrops. Lowering of the water table led, in the late Saxon period, to cultivation of the alluvium. Thus in the early 13th century nearly all of the parish south of the modern B2124 road (including the site of Laughton Place) was in cultivation; to its north, a band of Weald Clay 1½ miles wide remained uncultivated.[1]

After the Conquest, Laughton was held of the Crown by the Counts of Mortain and, from *c.* 1110, the de l'Aigle family, as a demesne manor of the Rape of Pevensey. Laughton's function can be seen to parallel that of Crowhurst, one of the demesne manors of the Rape of Hastings, which was used by its lords at a retreat from their austere military and administrative headquarters at Hastings Castle. As well as proximity to Pevensey, Laughton was also convenient for the honour's demesne 'Park of Pevensey' at Arlington and for Ripe, the likely administrative centre.[2]

After the last de l'Aigle died without heirs in 1231, the honour was granted first to the Earl of Pembroke and then, in 1242, to Peter of Savoy, a powerful figure at the court of Henry III. Perhaps he developed the present site of Laughton Place as a hunting lodge. A park was certainly in existence there by 1246, when Peter was granted free warren; it may have been formed as a substitute for the park at Arlington which Gilbert de l'Aigle had alienated as the site of Michelham Priory in 1229. It encompassed the largest remaining uncolonized area south of the B2124, some 290 acres on the Gault Clay on the western boundary of the manor. Laughton Place lies just east of the Park and is accessible both by water from Glynde Reach to the south and by road from the highway 1½ miles to the north on higher ground beyond the demesne of Stockingham manor.

In 1269 the Lord Edward granted the Rape of Pevensey, and the manor of Laughton with it, to his mother Eleanor of Provence, but in 1283 Laughton was separated from the rest of the honour and for ten years remained in the Crown's hands. Perhaps it was the king's officials who instigated a rearrangement of holdings between lord and tenants. An ancient system of partially dispersed tenements in the old-settled lands to the south was abolished probably in the 1280s and the lord's demesne, 437 statute acres in extent, was consolidated to the south and east of the Park; it included the great majority, 140 acres, of the manor's alluvium which lay as ribbons by the streams north and south of Laughton Place and in a large block between the Park and Edlee. Such a rearrangement could only serve to affirm Laughton Place as the *curia* of the manor—the administrative centre and home farm—perhaps superseding an earlier curia near the parish church.[3]

The detailed accounts surviving for those years, 1283–93, suggest that the royal officials found the manor neglected and unproductive. In the first year 32 cartloads of timber were brought from the Broyle to repair the buildings of the curia, 500 sheaves of rushes were laid on the roofs, and the 'chamber of the brethren' and several farm buildings were retiled where necessary. Five hundred ft of planking was used to repair four bridges, and the ditches around the buildings of the curia and those of the apparently separate farming complex were cleaned. The following year saw major maintenance on an aisled hall, the queen's chamber and a kitchen. In 1285/86 a stone hall chamber was repaired, the

walls of a solar boarded, the chapel walls were daubed and shingles, slate and tile used to repair roofs. A large timber-framed building requiring 84 cart-loads of timber was built within the *curia* in 1290, the year in which, perhaps significantly, royal justices spent two days at Laughton. The king's carpenter John Baker and his son Simon spent the year 1291–92 at Laughton, carrying out major repairs to all the buildings and rebuilding a drawbridge and outer gatehouse. A man was hired to dig under the bridge to sink its 'great timber'; the work required 26 loads of timber. Although the manor was in hand, the Crown evidently leased the hunting and fishing, and the same accounts record in each year related expenses, including the carting of venison and other game.[4]

In May 1293 the Crown granted a life estate in the manor to Joan de Canville in exchange for her dower manor of Westerham in Kent, which the king intended to give to Westminster Abbey. She had spent almost £60 on improvements at Westerham, so the king commissioned a valuation of Laughton, and of the work necessary to enable Joan to live there in appropriate style. The commissioners examined Laughton on 29 May. As well as listing and valuing the livestock and farming implements, their report provides the first accurate picture which we have of the manorial complex. The hall of the manor, which we know from the earlier accounts to have been aisled, had a chapel and three chambers at its southern end and three solars at the other; all were equipped with garderobes. There were barns and beasthouses, an inner and outer gatehouse with a drawbridge; the entire complex was defended by a wooden fence.[5]

In 1317 the reversion, subject to the life of Joan's husband John Uvedale, was granted by Edward II to his steward Bartholomew de Badlesmere, whose estates lay mainly in Kent. Uvedale was dead by the end of March 1322 but, perhaps fortunately for the Crown, Badlesmere could not enjoy the reversion—he had been among the rebels defeated at Boroughbridge on 16 March and was hanged as a traitor at Canterbury on 14 April. Laughton was again taken in hand by the Crown, and Edward II and his court spent three days at the manor in July 1324.[6]

Despite Badlesmere's downfall, Laughton was eventually secured, in possession, by his son Giles. The next surviving accounts, which straddle the death of Giles de Badlesmere in 1338, show a large programme of repairs in hand. The work comprised carpentry and plastering on the walls; tiling and lead work on the roofs except for the chapel and a couple of outbuildings which were shingled or thatched. Parts of the moat and its banks were ditched, cleaned, hedged and turfed. Oaks were felled for new boards for the bridge and for new gates to the park.[7]

On Giles's death, the manor was assigned in dower to his widow Elizabeth, who married first Hugh le Despenser (d. 1349) and then Guy de Brian. Elizabeth died in 1359 and Laughton reverted, with the barony of Badlesmere, to Giles's sister Maud, the wife of John de Vere, earl of Oxford. Within the year John was dead, and in 1369 Maud granted the honour to her son Thomas, the eighth earl. On Thomas's death in 1371, Laughton was once again allotted as a dower portion to his widow, whose longevity—she survived until 1413—was all that prevented the forfeiture of the manor after the scandalous behaviour and disgrace of her son Robert, the ninth earl.[8]

There is no evidence that the de Veres ever lived at Laughton for more than short periods. The accounts for 1372–76 show that the new earl used his mother's manor to entertain influential guests for a few weeks' hunting and fishing every September. Perhaps more typical is a record of the delivery of oats to Lewes to feed the earl's horses, stabled there for the funeral of Richard FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel, at the Priory in 1376.[9]

The lord's exploitation of the rest of the demesne, the farm land, falls into three phases. In the first phase, of 'high farming' evident between 1284 and 1350, the lord farmed it directly with

manorial servants, hired men and customary labour services. Although nearly 240 acres were arable, usually little more than a quarter were being cropped, under a system of convertible husbandry: those fields were ploughed year after year until the soil was exhausted, then they were allowed to tumble to waste and rough grazing while other fields were brought back under the plough. Oats was the main crop, followed by wheat. Meadow extended to 79 acres, the hay crops being either let or mown, and pasture (that is, marshland) to 120 acres. The livestock were few: in the 1280s perhaps 16 oxen for two plough teams, eight horses, a dozen cattle (but not as a dairy herd until the 1330s), a herd of goats (though not after 1292).

In the second phase, evident in the 1370s, the arable under the plough was leased except for a few acres, but perhaps four-fifths of the meadow and marshland (now not distinguished) was kept in hand. On this the lord kept a large dairy herd of some 40 cattle and a wintering flock of around 300 sheep; nearly half were sold and replaced each year. In the third phase, evident from 1407 through to the end of the century, the Pelhams had almost no income from sales of produce or stock. The demesne kept in hand supplied the household they maintained at Laughton. Until the 1470s and in addition to the Park, that amounted to some 150 acres of which around 30 acres were cropped; convertible husbandry continued, as did the cultivation of oats followed by wheat as the principal crops. They kept 80 sheep, a dairy herd of 30 and some 100 other cattle and horses in conjunction with other stock on Pevensey marshes and the Downs. In the 1470s the Park was turned over to agricultural use; indeed 40 acres within it had been ploughed in 1409–13.[10]

In this third phase, after almost a century of absentee lordship, Laughton again became the principal residence of its lord. The Pelham family's ancestral holding seems to have been the manor of Pelham in Warbleton. As early as 1366 John Pelham, a clerk, served as a working feoffee of the countess of Oxford, and in 1369 it was he who delivered seisin of Laughton to her son Thomas de Vere. But it was Sir John Pelham (*c.* 1355–1429), the son of the county coroner, who established the fortunes of the family on an enduring footing.

Pelham was a retainer of Henry Bolingbroke, the future Henry IV, as early as 1389 and was appointed by John of Gaunt, overlord of the Rape of Pevensey, as constable of its castle in 1393; it is surely no coincidence that Henry's first landing took place there in the summer of 1399. On Henry's accession, honours were showered upon Pelham. Knighted on the eve of the coronation, the following year Pelham became a keeper of the peace. He was later to receive a grant of the castle and honour itself for life, the stewardship of the Duchy south of the Trent, and the ultimate confirmation of the uneasy king's trust—his executorship. But the year 1401 perhaps marks the point of Pelham's consolidation of his power, and his choice of Laughton as its focus.[11]

In that year, Pelham was both member of parliament and sheriff of Sussex; his position was unassailable. On 6 March he obtained a lease of Laughton for the life of the old countess, paying her £60 a year. Later that month two groups of feoffees of the reversion of the manor after the countess's death granted their rights to new feoffees, one of whom was Sir John. By these three conveyances, Pelham had at a stroke acquired all but a scintilla of the title to the manor. The account rolls record extensive building works, and there is even a tantalising reference to 'the lord's tower' in 1421–22. Most of the demesne land was leased to a farmer, and it is clear that Pelham's duties at Pevensey Castle were considerable—he was responsible for the custody of many of the country's most important political prisoners, including the king of Scotland. Laughton Place provided a comfortable and convenient retreat from its rigours; in 1409 Pelham and his wife were licenced to employ a chaplain at both places.

By 1428, the year before his death, Sir John was confident enough in the strength of his title

to settle the manor on his bastard son. Sir John's widow occupied Laughton until her death in 1439, and from that date the manor seems to have been the family's main country residence until the building of the mansion at Halland in the 1590s. But the earls of Oxford, and the fragility of medieval titles, should not be forgotten. In 1466, after 'divers debates and controversies' and extensive arbitration, John Pelham agreed to pay a thousand marks (£666 13*s.* 4*d.*) to the earl of Oxford finally to extinguish his claim to the manor. Laughton remained in the family's uninterrupted ownership until its sale in 1927; the lordship remains so to this day.[12]

Notes

[1] J. S. Moore, *Laughton. A Study in the Evolution of the Wealden Landscape* (Leicester, 1965), 21–3, 36. Geological Survey, Sheet 319, solid and drift edition (1979).

[2] I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies. A Study of their Origin and Descent 1086–1327* (Oxford, 1960), 136–7. *V.C.H. Sussex* **9** (1937), 77–9. N. Saul, 'Some Etchingham ephemera . . .', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **127** (1989), 254–6. L. F. Salzmann, *The History of the Parish of Hailsham* (Lewes, 1901), 199–201. W. Hudson, 'The manor of Eastbourne, its early history; with some notes about the honours of Mortain and Aquila', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **43** (1900), 171–4.

[3] Moore, *Laughton* 26, 32, 43, 48–50, map 6 (error in key: Stockingham demesne is shown by pecked lines). A. E. Wilson (ed.), *Custumals of the Manors of Laughton, Willingdon and Goring* Suss. Rec. Soc. **60** (1961), xliv.

[4] Public Record Office (hereafter P.R.O.), SC 6/1023/29; 1148/13; 1027/20. M. Clough, 'The estates of the Pelham family in East Sussex before 1500' (unpub. Ph.D thesis, Univ. of Cambridge, 1956), 97–8, table 6, 32, 172.

[5] *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1292–1301*, 12. P.R.O., C 145/53, no. 3.

[6] Clough Ph.D, 33. *Calendar of Fine Rolls 1319–27*, 114. G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*, 1 (1910), 372–3. *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1321–24*, 433.

[7] British Library (hereafter B.L.), Add. Ch. 32134–37.

[8] P.R.O., SC 6/1147/14 and 1147/26 are accounts for 29 Sept. 1322 to 16 April 1324; both note extensive storm damage. G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*, 1 (1910), 372–3; 10 (1945), 222–32.

[9] B.L., Add. Ch. 32139–42. N. Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life. Knightly Families in Sussex 1280–1400* (Oxford, 1986), 191–2.

[10] Clough Ph.D, 53–84. Wilson (1965), xliv, 8.

[11] For the best account of the Pelham family's origins, with pedigrees, see L. F. Salzman, 'The early heraldry of Pelham', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **69** (1928), 53–70. B.L., Add. Ch. 30350–51. For Sir John: R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, **1** (1953), 427–8; J. S. Roskell, *The Commons in the Parliament of 1422* (Manchester, 1954), 208–11; Saul, *Scenes from provincial life*, 70–72.

[12] B.L., Add. Ch. 30362–4; 30370–5; 30421; 32154. Roskell *The Commons* 208–11. A. Pelham and D. McLean, *Some Early Pelhams* (Hove, 1931), 85. Salzman 'The early heraldry of Pelham' 63–7.

LAUGHTON PLACE: THE TUDOR HOUSE AND ITS TERRACOTTAS (by Maurice Howard)

Many of the early 16th-century houses commonly recognised today as the new and architecturally progressive buildings of their time were in fact new buildings on old sites, often incorporating parts of the previous structure. In the context of domestic architecture nationally, the house planned by Sir William Pelham at Laughton in the 1530s was not particularly unusual or architecturally distinguished. It was one of many attempts at this time to fill an older, moated site with a house that appeared new and fashionable, disguising its medieval past.[1]

Architectural history is not only explained, however, by those buildings which are unique, or seem to prefigure later developments in style or building technology. The nature and extent of change is measured as much by the followers of fashion as by the initiators. The excavation of the moat at Laughton has yielded crucial information about the process of transformation and this makes the Tudor house an important case study of its period. Moreover, three aspects of the 16th-century house demand special consideration. It was built for a courtier at the top of the second division, not a great office-holder but a man with important familial and personal connections at the centre of power. Secondly, it demonstrates a transitional phase in the history of the construction of towers, both for practical and pleasurable use, attached to houses (Fig. 25). Thirdly, and perhaps most significantly, the house was decorated with specially-commissioned terracotta ornament. This gives it a place alongside other more famous early Tudor buildings in the Thames Valley and

East Anglia and thus a particular local importance, for it is the only known example of the use of this material in a major Sussex house of this period. The excavation has yielded more than the tower, in its present condition anyway, can offer about the extent and character of terracotta as originally used on the site. Scientific analysis has lent a new dimension to the comparison of Laughton with other houses where terracotta was employed and where, equally, new finds have come to light in recent years.

Fig. 25. Laughton Tower in its present condition showing south-east and south-west faces.

Sir William Pelham (*c.* 1486–1538) came from a family long distinguished in royal service. Though he never seems to have held a significant appointment at the court of Henry VIII, the 1524 grant to enclose and impark land in the parish at Laughton (discussed above in the manorial history) was 'in consideration of the expense he had been at in the king's service'. His two marriages brought close personal affiliation to two of the king's most intimate associates; his first wife, Mary was the sister of Nicholas Carew, Master of the Horse from 1522 to 1539 and his second, also called Mary, was the daughter of William, Lord Sandys, Lord Chamberlain of the Household from 1526 to 1540 and the builder of The Vyne, in Hampshire. This latter house may have had an important influence on Pelham's plans for upgrading his own dwelling.[2]

Whilst it is likely that the medieval house within the moat at Laughton was of some considerable extent and we have some evidence of its interior (see Farrant and Whittick on the site's medieval history above) we have no precise indication of its plan. Pelham's changes to the house also cannot be accurately surmised since there is little visual evidence of the exterior before the 'Gothicization' of the mid-18th century. The most significant document is the estate map by Anthony Everenden of 1641, now deposited in the East Sussex Record Office.[3] (See Fig. 10 above). How far can this be said to represent Pelham's house? The fact that the family left the house for Halland in about 1594 suggests that it is unlikely that extensive building works went on between Pelham's work of the 1530s and 1641. What existed of the house at the time of the map was therefore probably the house as Pelham left it.[4] It is important to note, however, that whilst this kind of document is very useful as a record of the extent of the estate and its field divisions, it cannot be regarded as necessarily an accurate depiction of the appearance of the house as it stood in 1641. None of the buildings along the south-east facing arm of the moat, the last complete structure of which was demolished only in 1931 (see Fig. 8 above) and the last fragment of which collapsed in October, 1987 (see Fig. 9 above), is shown. The representation of the house is likely to be highly schematic, in keeping with the development and purposes of estate

maps of this time.[5] The only thing that makes it distinctive and suggests that Everenden did pay some attention to the basic shape of the main block of the house is the prominence of the tower at one end of what appears to be a single range house with projecting wings. The tower is also coloured red, differentiating it from the rest of the building, suggesting that it had been added to a basically timber structure.[6] It is with a note of caution therefore that the reconstruction in Fig. 26 is offered, showing a brick tower added to what is either a medieval house or one rebuilt, perhaps using old materials, in the early 16th century.

Before considering the evidence of the estate map further, it is worthwhile pausing here to consider the history of moated sites in the later middle ages, discussed in a number of recent publications.[7] The planning of buildings on these sites can be divided into two distinct approaches. At some places, usually only the largest houses and castles of the nobility, houses were planned as complex, multi-courtyard structures designed to take up the entire site. The outer faces of the ranges of these courtyards that faced on to the moat then formed a continuous, usually battlemented, curtain wall, punctuated by turrets. It has long been recognized that the appearance of formidable defensiveness that these buildings aimed to present was mock-heroic.[8] The most conspicuous local example of this kind of moated building built, like the curtain wall at Laughton, in brick, and a site which Pelham would certainly have known, was the great castle of Herstmonceux, constructed in the 1440s and 1450s.[9] Nearly a century later,

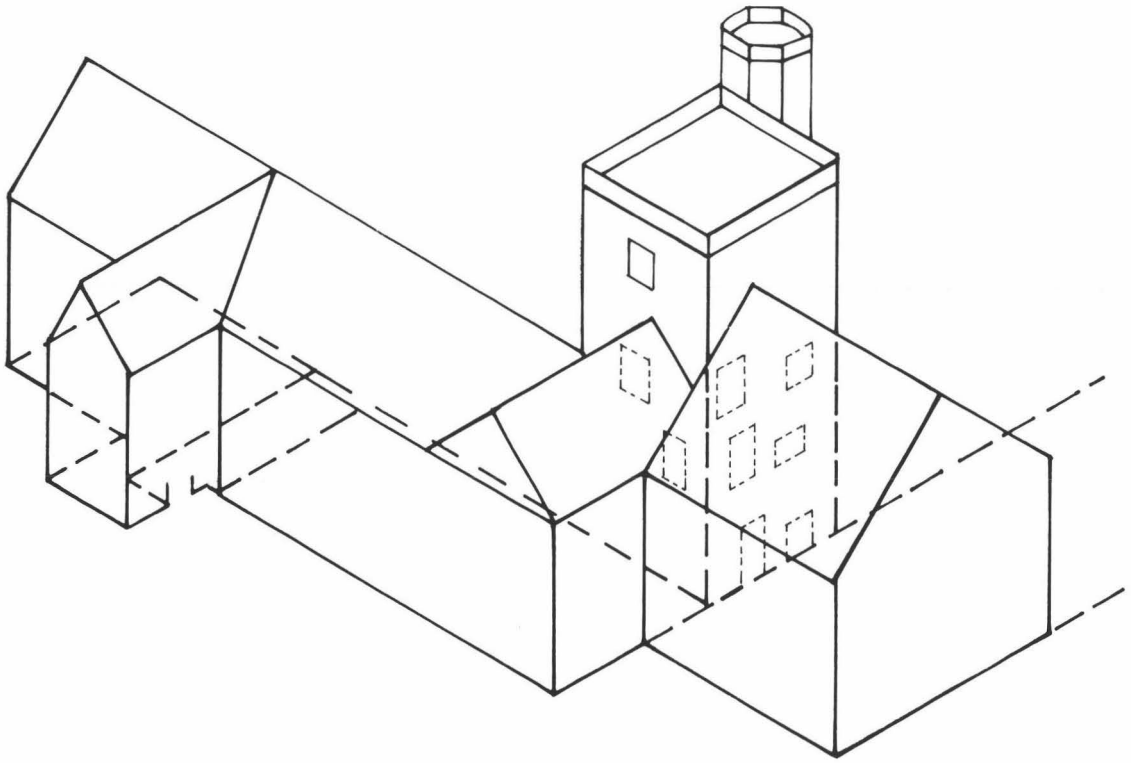


Fig. 26. Laughton Place. Reconstruction of the appearance of the house from the 1641 Estate Map.

some of the grandest moated early Tudor houses were still built in this way, taking up the entire moated area; contemporary with Laughton, for example, was the building of Westhorpe, in Suffolk, by perhaps the most powerful courtier of them all, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.[10] Such houses were very organized in plan, were often symmetrically disposed about a central axis and were usually the result of a single building campaign.

At other sites, houses within the moated area were the result of successive phases of building, little consistent planning might occur and the result was an assemblage of more casually-positioned ranges which did not necessarily take up all the space. Here we do not generally find regular courtyards or the attempt to display any overall visual symmetry. It is clear from the excavation of the south-east facing curtain wall at Laughton that Pelham, finding a house of the latter, informally planned type, intended to create at least the appearance of an organized, integrated structure like the first. The work was unfinished, and probably abandoned, at his death in 1538. It is certainly likely that financial considerations meant that he could not commission the regular courtyards behind the entrance facade that greater houses boasted. The development of Laughton is more comparable therefore with contemporary houses such as Crow's Hall, near Debenham, in Suffolk, modernized about 1508. Here a small courtyard was constructed, taking up only a small area of the moated site. Half of the gatehouse range, approached by an arched brick bridge over the moat similar to that which Laughton once had, and one wing of the courtyard, now survive.[11] Beckingham Hall, in Essex, of *c.* 1540 can serve as a further comparison, with its brick containing wall broken up by turrets, enclosing buildings partly of timber-framed construction.[12]

Two things are worth noting about the curtain wall and its turrets at Laughton (Figs 2, 12, 17, 18, 21). First, all of the 'turrets', save that at the south-east corner, were strictly speaking false in functional terms for they were built only on a half plan and were backed, certainly at ground level at least, by solid brick wall. They are perhaps more accurately described therefore as wall projections. This means that unlike true turrets found in other Tudor buildings they could not have served either as small room spaces off larger rooms within the curtain wall (though they could have served as bay windows overlooking the moat at upper levels) and certainly not as stairs from ground level, the most common use of turrets at this period.[13] Half-polygonal and semi-circular projections are however seen at other sites, including two excavated in recent years, the royal palace at Bridewell on the Thames in London, and the great house at Basing, in Hampshire.[14] It is possible that the projections in the wall at Laughton served as fields for heraldic and decorative display. This might explain the origin of some of the fragments of terracotta ornament found in the excavation of the moat which do not match the window mouldings and surrounds still existing on the tower.

The second point worth noting about the curtain wall is the fact that it clearly had several points of access since there were bridges over the moat on the north-east and south-west sides, in addition to what appears to have been the major entry on the south-east. The provision of both major and subsidiary entrances to moated sites was not unusual in an age when defence was of less importance; Lord Sandys's house of The Vyne had a principal entrance from the south, but also a subsidiary entrance across the moat on its eastern side.[15] What is also worth speculating is at what stage the outer medieval gatehouse, evidently rebuilt in 1291–2 (see Farrant and Whittick on the medieval history above) disappeared. This could have been at the time of the Tudor re-building programme.

The Tower

The evidence from 1421–22 for an earlier 'lord's tower' at Laughton (mentioned by Farrant and Whittick above) suggests that the

Tudor construction may have been an updating of the old in a new and fashionable building material. It would also explain the relatively conservative nature of the tower's plan and use, which will be discussed more fully below. The 1641 estate map appears to show the main range of the house aligned on a NE–SW axis with the tower on its western side (Fig. 10 above). There is every reason to believe that the Tudor house also had a possibly substantial range running on a NW–SE axis at the northern end of the main range. The tower would therefore have been in the angle between these two ranges. The existence of foundations running north-west from the tower suggests that the NW–SE range may have been (or was planned to be) more extensive than the 1641 map is able to suggest. Since it appears that the plan to build a containing wall around the moat was never completed, it cannot be ruled out that the tower likewise was part of a grander effect and was originally conceived as one of a pair at each end of a new or enlarged private range running NW–SE, such as is found at the two ends of the new range built for Thomas, Lord Darcy, in his conversion of the Augustinian priory of St Osyth's, Essex, in the 1550s.[16]

The internal arrangements of the tower in the 16th century and its relationship to the ranges on to which it abutted is difficult to reconstruct (Fig. 27). The two lower storeys had large windows on the south-west face (rediscovered in the restoration of 1978–81) and fireplaces on the north-east (Figs 25, 28, 29). All the present external evidence on the north-east side is likely to be directly related to the 18th-century rebuilding, when hearths were provided here for a rebuilt adjoining range and a door on to the leads from the third level. The two upper storeys, all four of whose walls are likely to have stood

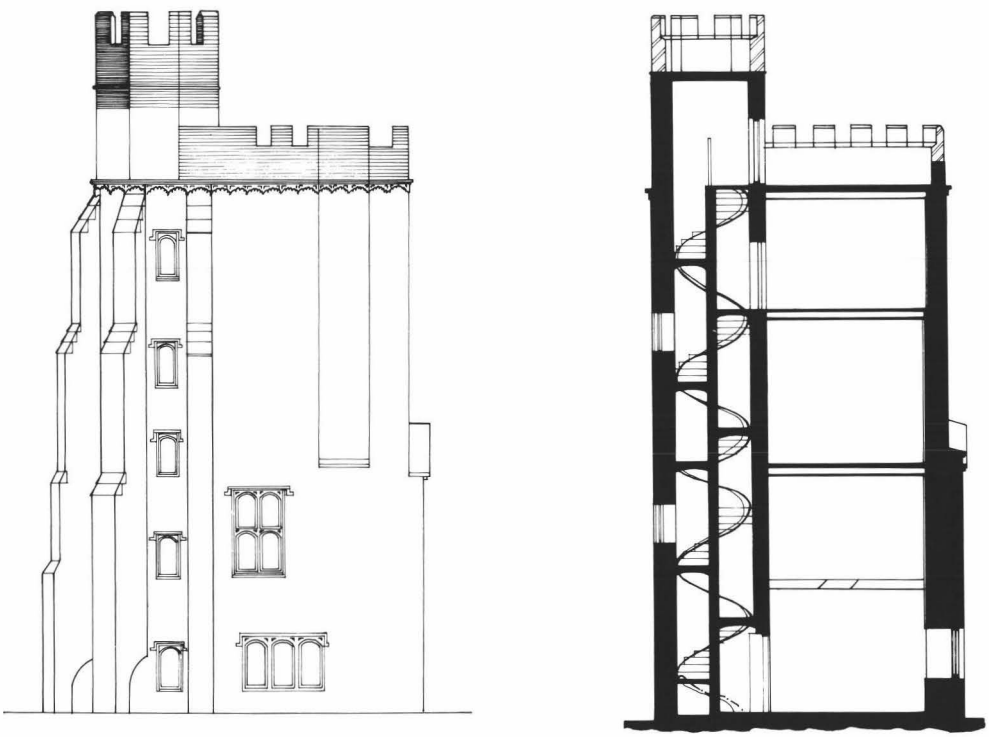


Fig. 27. Laughton Place. Scale drawings of the south-east face, section through the tower.

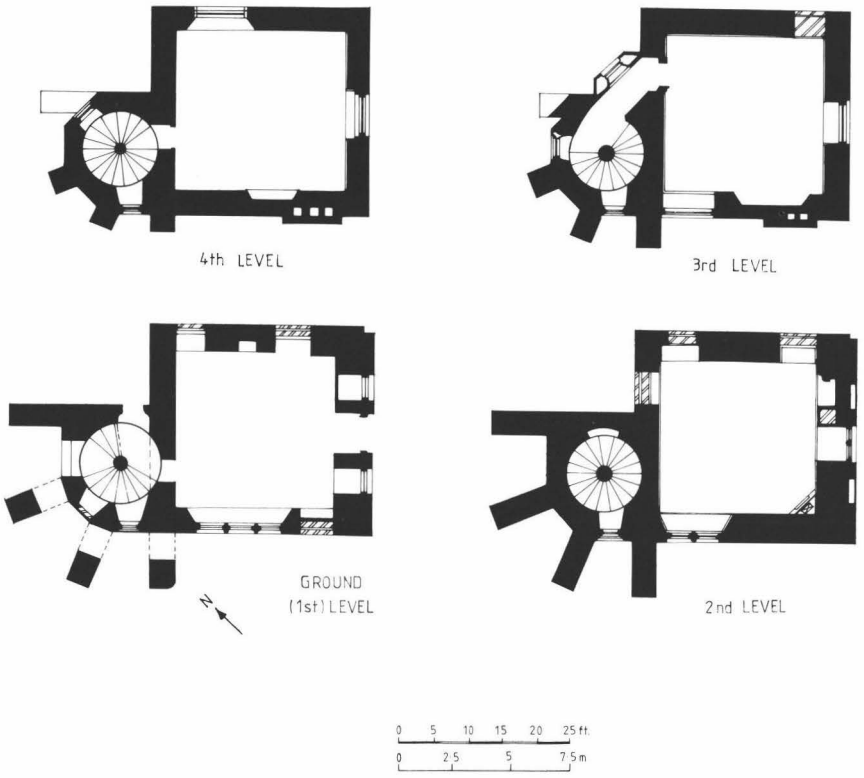


Fig. 27 continued. Plans of four levels.

free above two-storey ranges below on three sides, had fireplaces on the south-west side (where the flue is still seen externally) and smaller windows. The hood mould over the window on the south-east (now entrance) face is original. A crucial piece of evidence, however, about the tower's use is the fact that there was no access between the staircase turret at its west corner and the first floor, suggesting that the latter was only accessible from the main body of the house (Fig. 27). This was reinforced by the discovery, in the course of restoration, of the remains of a door, with terracotta jambs, in the south-east wall (Fig. 30). On the second floor the room was approached from the stair only via a short passage, or vestibule, between a double set of doors, suggesting this too was for private use, or perhaps a more secure, or strong room. It could be suggested therefore that the tower was divided horizontally to serve different purposes; the lower two storeys were entered from within the house and were connected by an internal stair and only the uppermost storey and the roof were directly accessible externally from the corner stair turret and thus played a different role in the way the house was used.

What were these different purposes? The history of towers as part of domestic architecture in the 15th and 16th centuries suggests three basic types. Brick is the dominant building material for all three. The first is the tower house, where a large tower provided extensive accommodation, including more than one room per floor, was the principal and visually dominant building on site and was usually served by extensive outbuildings; the great tower at

Fig. 28. Laughton Tower in its present condition showing south-east and north-east faces.

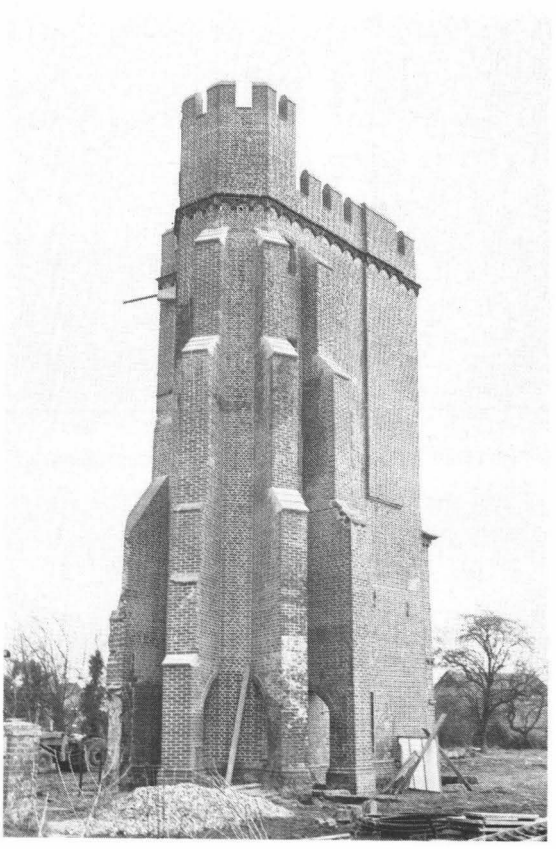


Fig. 29. Laughton Tower from the west, during the 1978–81 restoration.

Tattershall, built in Lincolnshire in the 1440s, now missing the outbuildings that would have explained its function, is probably the best preserved and best known of such edifices.[17] These tower houses are of a scale and complexity that Laughton clearly does not match.

The second type of tower is the outlook tower, which traditionally served as a place from whose summit the land around could be watched, principally for defensive reasons but increasingly as time progressed as a vantage point for recreative purposes such as overseeing surrounding hunting land; this latter purpose came to be summed up in the term 'prospect room' so frequently found in 16th-century sources.[18] Such a tower might be completely detached from other buildings, such as the brick tower at Freston in Suffolk, or integrated with the house, such as the tower at Melbury in Dorset.[19] The usual characteristics of these outlook towers are continual internal access between all floors and large window-openings on the uppermost floor, features which the building evidence at Laughton appears to contradict, as does the documentary evidence that by the early 16th century Laughton was largely surrounded by arable land.

The third type of tower relevant here is the tower as a solar block, a stack of private, or semi-private rooms, usually one to a floor, off the high end of the hall and reserved for the owner's personal use.[20] This seems to have been the purpose of the lower two storeys at Laughton, given the evidence of accessibility from the main

Fig. 30. Laughton Place. Internal terracotta doorway on first floor, as revealed during the 1978–81 restoration.

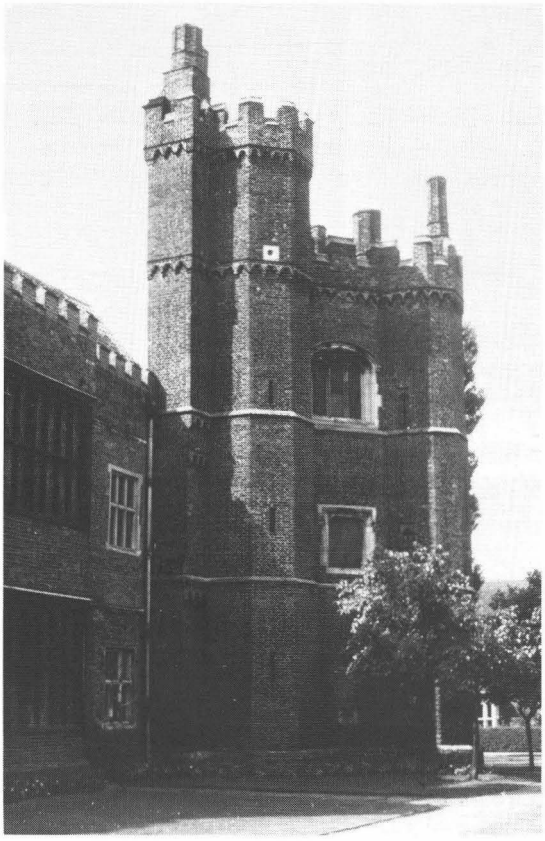


Fig. 31. Gainsborough Old Hall, Lincolnshire. Brick tower of *c.* 1470–84.

house outlined above. Several other brick towers of this period offer interesting comparisons. The early 16th-century tower added to the Bishop of Chichester's house at Cakeham, near West Wittering, which still survives, has already been noted in connection with Laughton, but its polygonal shape and tall profile do not really make it a particularly close parallel.[21] More significant for discussion are two towers in the East Midlands. One of these survives and is part of a building that in a wider sense has great relevance for Laughton. Between about 1470 and 1484 Sir Thomas Burgh added a brick tower to the high end of his hall house at Gainsborough in Lincolnshire (Fig. 31). The tower stands far more emphatically free of the building than that at Laughton probably did and at the outer angle of the corner between ranges rather than tucked in on the inner side. Gainsborough Old Hall remains, however, a useful building for the purposes of reconstructing the arrangements at Laughton, for here too the brick tower was added as a domestic amenity to a basically timber-framed house (only the hall bay window was of stone). Later generations added further brick ranges and slowly a courtyard house was formed, much as Laughton might have taken shape had the Pelhams continued to build in the later 16th century.[22] Even closer in appearance is a lost tower that must have looked very like Laughton indeed. Towards the end of the 15th century John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, added a

square, brick tower to his fortified house at Castle Camps in Cambridgeshire (Fig. 32). The print by S. and N. Buck of 1730–1 is the only record of this tower, shown alongside the late Elizabethan house which replaced the medieval buildings.[23] What makes Castle Camps a particularly useful visual parallel to Laughton, alongside the square plan and the same number of storeys are the series of offsets in the brickwork on the two walls shown. Laughton still displays part of its original series of offsets, much more visible in 18th-century views and old photographs of the house.

The function of the tower may therefore have had a dual purpose of solar on the lower two floors and outlook tower on the highest level, directly accessible from the ground without having to pass through the house. The drawing of 15th-century parallels, however, underlines the point that the tower at Laughton was not especially innovatory either in terms of its appearance or its function. Indeed, at the very time it was under construction, the solar tower was being widely abandoned as a satisfactory way of organizing private domestic space. In the grandest buildings of the 1530s, the royal palaces of Henry VIII, tower structures incorporating stacked apartments, favoured during the King's earlier years (and initiated at his father's palace of Richmond) gave way to great sequences of apartments for King and Queen at a first-floor level, standard for all English royal palaces for the next 200 years. [24] In this development, they were soon followed by courtier houses. Traditions of course sometimes died hard. As late as 1540, Richard Williams, nephew of the

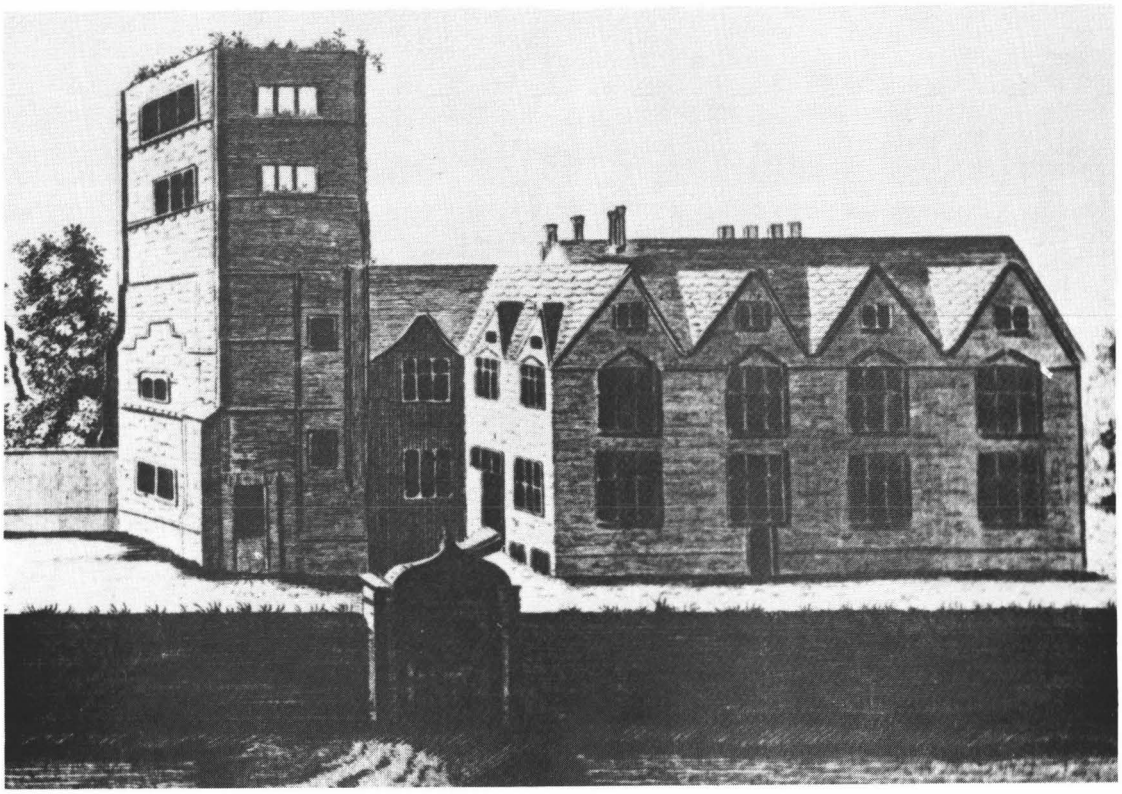


Fig. 32. Castle Camps, Cambridgeshire. From a print by S. & N. Buck, 1730–1.

king's chief minister, Thomas Cromwell, enlarged and built up the southern end of the west range of his newly-acquired ex-monastic property of Hinchingbrooke, on the outskirts of Huntingdon, into a solar tower of a very traditional type. Crucially, however, this arrangement was thoroughly revised when his son changed the orientation of the house only a decade later.[25] During the 1540s, Sir William Sharington built a tower at another monastic conversion, Lacock Abbey, in Wiltshire. Though certainly private to the owner, this was part-muniment tower (hence thick stone walls), part-rooftop viewpoint and was not meant in itself as primarily a living space.[26]

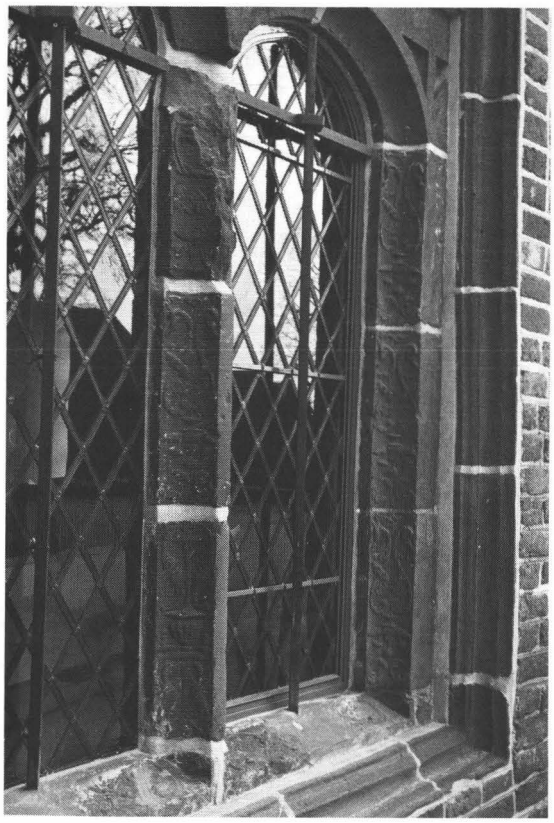


Fig. 33. Laughton Place. Detail of three-light window showing original terracottas and modern replacements.

The Terracottas

If the form and structure of the tower at Laughton are not unusual however, the method of its ornamentation certainly was. The appearance of terracotta as a building material has long been identified as a chapter in the history of architectural decoration, peculiar to the early 16th century, associated with the Court and its highest dignitaries and located in quite small areas where skilled workshops are presumed to have worked.[27] Recent discoveries have however broadened both our understanding of the geographical base of its appearance and the possible time-scale during which it was a popular form for decorating courtier houses. In addition, recent finds, particularly at Hampton Court Palace, have underlined two further important points about the use of this material. First, it was clearly widely used as a facing, as well as a structural, material. Second, it may have incorporated details and motifs of a far more sophisticated classicism than has usually been supposed.[28] Laughton Place has always had a particular significance among the terracotta sites due to its geographical isolation from the other famous and well-known examples in the Thames Valley and East Anglia. The discoveries in the moat show however that the terracotta embellishment shared with those sites significant qualities both as a facing material and as the field for classical motifs.

The history of the discussion of terracotta ornament has tended to seek to group this material not only stylistically but also in terms of its production. Yet any attempt to force the instances of the use of this material into too tight a formula for design and manufacture will undoubtedly mislead. The terracottas appear to have been custom-made for, and probably close by, each site, rather than being produced by a single workshop in a single place, or, as once was suggested, imported in bulk and both designed and manufactured by foreign craftsmen.[29] Even the terracotta windows at Sutton Place and the window fragments found in excavation at

Hampton Court, which appear to be exactly the same in design, have been shown to be cast from different moulds.[30] Motifs were certainly passed from place to place but the terracottas were undoubtedly made, like the bricks for the buildings themselves, local to the site. Heraldry particular to the patron at each house is a common feature of all the terracotta projects, notably at Laughton in the appearance of the Pelham badge, the buckle, and William Pelham's initials on several different moulds. The distinctive character of the Laughton terracottas has now been confirmed by technical analysis (see appendix 1, below) confirming the impression of the eye that they are darker and redder than terracottas elsewhere, which usually range from pink through to buff.

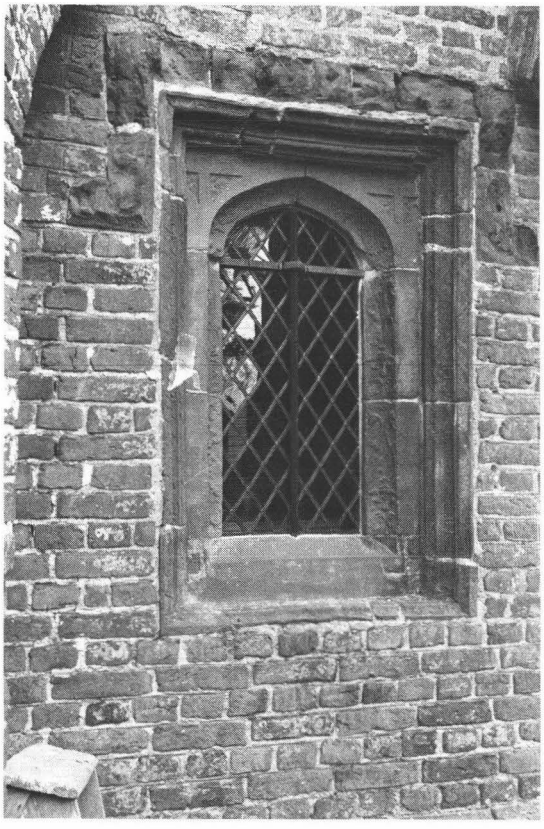


Fig. 34. Laughton Place. Single-light window showing original surrounds and hood mould.

The terracottas to be seen on the tower comprise the following. 1) a corbel-table supporting the parapet of the tower and its stair turret, with five cusps between each corbel. A roll moulding with continuous trailing ornament is above this, partially renewed in 1854. 2) surrounds, jambs and mullions to three windows on the south-east face of the tower itself, of one, two and three lights respectively (Figs 33 and 34); and windows to the staircase turret. The three-light window is original only in parts of the mullions and in fragments of the cill; for the rest it is totally renewed, in undecorated terracotta, in its surround and the upper sections to the lights. A variety of motifs is found; some of the inner cills of the windows in the staircase turret show the Pelham buckle (Fig. 35 f,g). On the three-light window there are four basic types of relief on the window mullions. The windows originally had terracotta hood-moulds, which survive in a very damaged state over the one- and two-light windows. This is a feature distinctive to Laughton and is not found at other sites where terracotta is used. 3) Coping pieces to the tower and its buttresses on the south-west face. These are of two types, one with a longer drop than the other (Fig. 35 e). They appear at first to be window mouldings but in fact they are different both in shape and ornament to the other window mouldings still *in situ*. 4) The remains of a terracotta doorway on the first floor, south-east face (Fig. 30). 5) The additional terracotta moulding that should be noted here is purely decorative and no longer part of the structure but has always been the key document in the dating of the Pelham improvements, namely plaques with the dated inscription of 1534, now at Halland Park Farm and in local cottages at Vert Wood.[31]

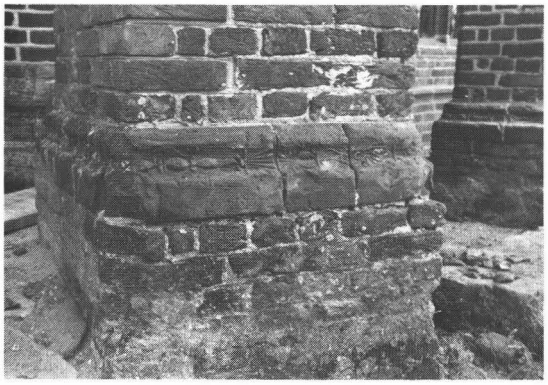
The finds from the moat have widened the range of terracotta mouldings beyond the evidence supplied by the tower (Fig. 36). Either other, subsequently destroyed, windows on the tower, or windows elsewhere on the site, had cusped heads to the lights, of the kind seen at Sutton Place. The size and the shape of some of

a

b

c

d



e

f

g

h

Fig. 35. Laughton Place. Details of terracottas surviving on the tower: a. b. c. d. the four motives of the window mullions; e. plinth mouldings; f. g. internal cills from windows to the staircase. h. Outer window moulding.

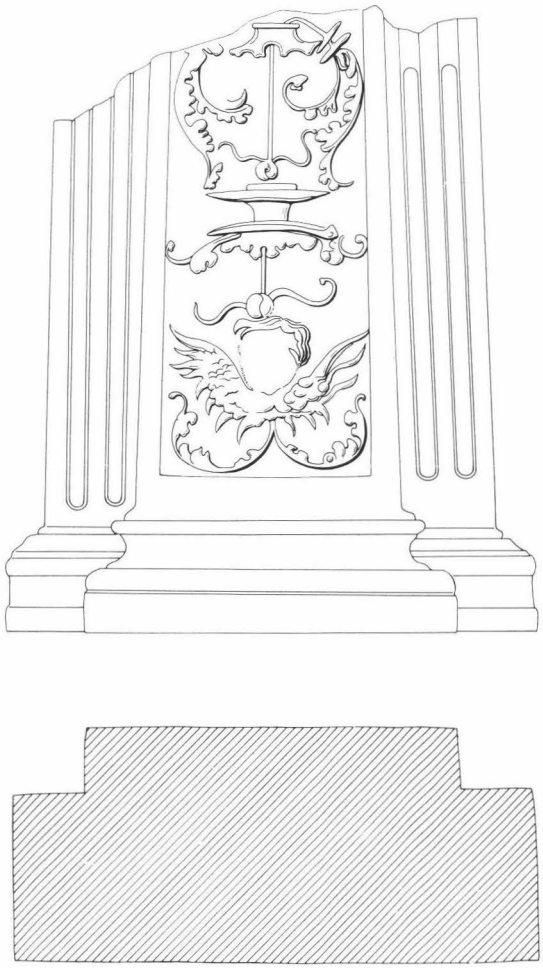
the fragments suggest that either much larger structural features than the delicate and relatively refined window surrounds were originally decorated, or that there were areas of wall surface covered with terracotta ornament. The base of a pilaster and what appears to be a fragment of a roundel show a new degree of sophistication in the use of classical motifs, comparable with items found at other sites. It would appear likely that not only the tower but windows in the older, or reconstructed main range, could well have been decorated with terracotta as well as the gatehouse and possibly other turrets in the curtain wall.

a

b

Fig. 36. Laughton Place. a. b. c. d. e. f. Significant terracotta finds of mouldings not structurally part of tower. (Scale in cm., where shown).

The quality and type of decoration found at Laughton can also now be placed in a broader perspective. The decorative surface of terracotta is of relatively low relief and where this can still be seen over large areas, such as around the windows and across the wall surfaces at Sutton Place for example, it can appear so fine a decorative skin that the size of the blocks themselves and the technical problems of assembly are disguised. The relief style at Laughton is arguably as delicate as any surviving examples of this period. Comparable to Laughton in lightness of relief are the heraldic panels at the base of the so-called 'Shrubland'



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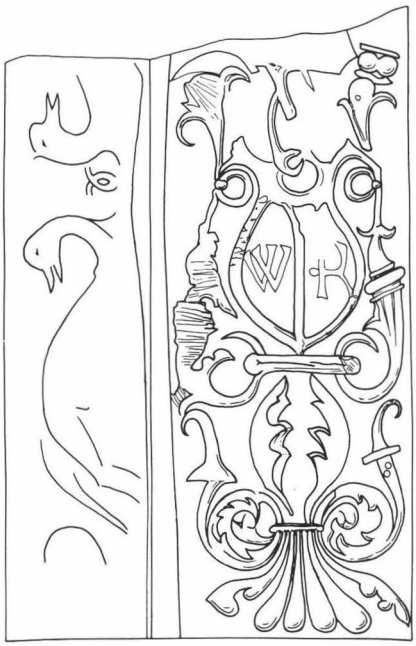

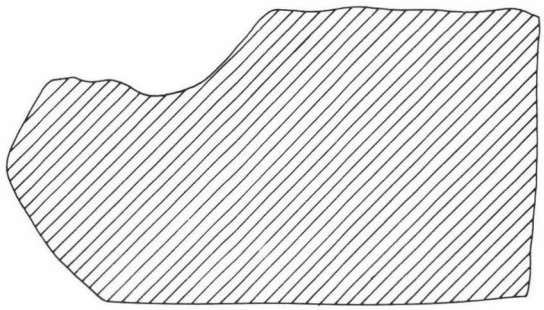

c

group of windows now divided between the source of their origin, Shrubland Old Hall, in Suffolk, and several local churches to which windows from the house were subsequently moved.[32] In terms of the particular vocabulary of ornament employed, Laughton does not have the transposition of architectural motifs seen at Layer Marney, with its colonettes and capitals serving as mullions, but it does show a wide variation on classical decorative themes. The curvature of the window mullions and jambs is wider and more splayed, and therefore the ornament more spreading and delicate, than the

e

f

equivalent features at Sutton Place (Fig. 37). Analysis of the range of moulding profiles of this period has shown the increasing width and flatness of the early Tudor profiles compared with those of the later Middle Ages.[33] At Laughton this is, if anything, even more pronounced than at Hampton Court and Sutton Place, providing a broad moulded field for the motifs. Where the Sutton Place motifs are simply placed in rows above each other and appear stuck on to the surface, the Laughton designs take up the whole of the hollow, show more integration between pattern and background and give the impression more of an embossed

Fig. 37. Sutton Place, Surrey. Detail of terracotta window mouldings.

fabric. Here we find arabesques, swans' heads, herons (or cranes), urns, trailing acanthus, one militaristic motif (a corselet strapped to a pole) and, where the winding ribbons form themselves into slightly higher relief and are studded, the suggestion of the strapwork motifs of the later 16th century that were, contemporaneously with Laughton, beginning to emerge across the Channel in the work of the 'Fontainebleau' school.[34] In an age from which so much of the finest quality decorative arts, particularly in metalwork, has vanished, it would be wrong to make too high a claim for the significance of the Laughton material. These fragments do, however, show the range and versatility of the medium of terracotta as effectively as many more famous examples of the period.

Notes

[1] The issue of the updating of early Tudor houses is more fully discussed in Maurice Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House. Architecture and Politics 1490–1550* (1987), chapter 3.

[2] For Pelham's biography see especially the Hon. Mrs Arthur Pelham & David McLean, *Some Early Pelhams* (Hove, 1931), and the entry on his son, Nicholas, in P. W. Hasler (ed.) *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons 1558–1603* (1981). His will is at P.R.O., P.C.C. 23 Dyngeley.

[3] East Sussex Record Office ACC 2327.

[4] The abandonment of Laughton as the main Pelham house in the 1590s helps to date one small fragment of internal evidence about the Tudor structure. The herald, Augustine Vincent, visited Laughton *c.* 1608. He noted the arms of 'The king' and 'The prince' in the glass of the chapel; these are likely to refer to Henry VIII and Prince Edward and thus would date 1537–8, between the birth of the future Edward VI and the death of Sir William Pelham. Vincent also noted an 'old parlor' with heraldic glass. (College of Arms, Vincent MS. 428, p. 52. I am most grateful to Christopher Whittick for this reference).

[5] On this topic, see the various essays gathered in Sarah Tyacke (ed.), *English Map-Making, 1500–1650* (1983), and Richard Helgerson, 'The Land Speaks: Cartography, Chorography, and Subversion in Renaissance England' in *Representations*, Fall 1986, 51–85.

[6] The 1740's accounts for repair suggest a mainly timber-framed house, though the possibility of some stone or flint in the structure cannot be ruled out.

[7] F. V. Emery, 'Moated Settlements in England' *Geography*, **47** (1967), 378–88; H. E. J. Le Patourel and B. K. Roberts, 'The significance of moated sites' in *Medieval Moated Sites* (ed. F. A. Aberg), (C.B.A. Report no. 17, 1978) 46–52.

[8] See C. Coulson, 'Structural Symbolism in Medieval Castle Architecture' *British Archaeological Assn. Journal*, **132** (1979), 73–90.

[9] N. Pevsner and I. Nairn, *The Buildings of England. Sussex* (Harmondsworth, 1965), 534–6. The original courtyard arrangement behind the outer brick walls at Herstmonceux is described by Horace Walpole (see his *Correspondence*, ed. W. S. Lewis [Yale 1937–74] vol. 35, 138), and drawn by James Lambert in the 18th century; see illus. in D. Calvert, *The History of Herstmonceux Castle*, (n.d.), 25.

[10] Recent excavation and the publication of the inventory of Westhorpe are in S. J. Gunn and P. G. Lindley, 'Charles Brandon's Westhorpe: an Early Tudor Courtyard House in Suffolk', *Archaeological Journal*, **145** (for 1988), 272–89.

[11] See Pevsner, *Suffolk* (second ed., revised Enid Radcliffe, Harmondsworth, 1974), 181; and Eric Sandon, *Suffolk Houses. A Study of Domestic Architecture* (Woodbridge, 1977), 258–61.

[12] See *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Essex III* (1922), 223–4, and Pevsner, *Essex* (second ed., revised Enid Radcliffe, Harmondsworth, 1965), 395–6.

[13] On turrets used as stairs, see Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House*, 83–8.

[14] For the plan of Bridewell, see *The History of the King's Works vol. IV 1485–1660* (Part II), ed. H. M. Colvin *et al* (1982), 57. For Basing, only plans subsequent to the excavations of 1909 are currently available, in *Archaeologia*, **LXI** part 2 (1909), 553–64 and the *V.C.H. Hampshire*, **IV** (1911), 115–20.

[15] The extent of the Tudor house of The Vyne has yet to be fully explored; see M. Howard, *The Vyne*, (forthcoming). The evidence for an entrance on the eastern side is found in a painting at the house of the 17th century.

[16] See *Royal Commission. N.E. Essex* (1922), 198–204.

[17] The bibliography on Tattershall is summarized in the National Trust *Guide* (1988 ed.), 23.

[18] A. Oswald, 'Tudor Outlook Towers', *Country Life Annual* (1957), 84–8. Some aspects of the prospect room are discussed in Mark Girouard, *Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House* (New Haven and London, 1983), 105–7.

[19] On Freston, Pevsner, *Suffolk*, 224 and pl. 53a. Melbury is illustrated in Girouard, *op. cit.* (1983), pl. 59.

[20] See Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House*, 83–7.

[21] Pevsner and Nairn, *Sussex*, 377–8. John Warren and Charlotte Haslam, 'Laughton Place, Lewes', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, new series, **26** (1982), 151.

[22] N. Pevsner and J. Harris, *Lincolnshire*, 2nd edition, revised N. Antrim (Harmondsworth, 1989), 296–8, with plan.

[23] *V.C.H. Cambridgeshire*, **VI** (1978), 39–40.

[24] I am indebted here to the discussion in Simon Thurley, 'English Royal Palaces 1450–1550' (Unpub. Ph.D thesis, University of London, 1989), the substance of which will be included in his forthcoming book on the same subject.

[25] Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House*, 149–50, pls. 95 (plan) and 96.

[26] *Ibid*, 118.

[27] A. P. Baggs, 'Sixteenth-century terracotta tombs in East Anglia', *Archaeological Journal*, **125** (1968) 296–301, was the first article in recent times to identify the complexities of one particular group of terracotta sites.

[28] I refer here to finds at Westhorpe (see Gunn and Lindley, note 9, above) and Hampton Court, the most interesting of which are as yet unpublished. I am indebted to Simon Thurley for making these accessible to me.

[29] Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House*, 131–5.

[30] Richard K. Morris, 'Windows in Early Tudor Country Houses', *Early Tudor England. Proceedings of the 1987 Harlaxton Symposium*, (ed. Daniel Williams) (Woodbridge, 1989), 125–38.

[31] This was drawn in the article by W. H. Blaauw, 'On the Ornamental Brickwork of a Tower at Laughton Place, built in 1534', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **7** (1854), 64–72.

[32] See Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House*, 132 and plate 80.

[33] See Morris, 'Windows in Early Tudor Country Houses'.

[34] See J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530–1830* (revised ed., Harmondsworth, 1970), chapter 3; M. Biddle, 'A Fontainebleau Chimneypiece at Broughton Castle, Oxfordshire', in *The Country Seat* (ed. H. Colvin & J. Harris) (1970), 9–12.

Moulded Terracotta: Technical and Stylistic Analysis (by Maurice Howard)

In 1989 11 samples of terracotta mouldings from six early Tudor domestic buildings (Hampton Court Palace, Sutton Place, Laughton Place, Layer Marney and the lost houses of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk at Westhorpe Hall and Suffolk Place [Southwark]) were submitted for a detailed fabric analysis in thin section under the petrological microscope. This was carried out at the Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, by Dr David Williams and I am grateful to him and to English Heritage for permission to summarize some of the findings here as they relate to Laughton. The samples are now filed in the H.B.M.C. thin section collection at the aforesaid Department.

It was found that the non-plastic inclusions in all these samples were fairly limited, consisting for the most part of frequent quartz grains, with small pieces of cryptocrystalline limestone in some examples. The group did not exhibit sufficient similarities in range and texture of these non-plastic inclusions to suggest that they were all made at the same site and they are therefore likely to be of materials local to the site in each case. The Laughton fragment was found to be made up of an isotropic clay matrix with subangular quartz grains, mostly under 0.30 mm. in size, together with a little iron ore, siltstone and flecks of mica. The quartz grains were fairly standard in size throughout the samples from all the sites, suggesting a common practice in the way the raw materials were used. The isotropic nature of the clay matrix in all the samples points to a firing temperature in excess of 800 degrees centigrade. The clay chosen for Laughton was by far the most red of all the clays chosen across the six sites.

Decorated terracottas in situ

The following list, in conjunction with the photographs and moulding profiles (Figs 33, 34, 35, 38), summarizes the range of profiles of the surviving decorated terracotta blocks on the tower itself, and the range of decorative elements they variously show.

LP/001 Window mullions. These all have four different designs, one to each face (Figs 33, 35 a–d).
LP/002 Window jambs (Figs 33, 34).
LP/003 Heads to lights (Fig. 34, to single-light window).
LP/004 Outer Window surrounds (Fig. 34, to single-light window).
LP/005 Window cills. Mainly damaged or replaced on exterior. Two designs, both displaying the Pelham buckle, found extensively on interior tower and stair (Fig. 35 f, g).
LP/006 Hood mould blocks. Severely damaged on both upper, two-light and lower, single-light windows, such that profile cannot be read (Fig. 34).
LP/007 Plinth moulding (with short drop)
LP/008 Plinth moulding (with long drop) (Fig. 35 e).
(At least three different stamps are found on both sizes of mouldings LP/007 and 008).

Terracottas retrieved from the moat: a survey of the chief objects distinct from those on the tower

This is not intended as a catalogue in any sense. What follows is merely a list of the chief fragments found in the moat which extend the range of terracottas from those visible on the tower. Context numbers in brackets.

1. LP/tc/001 (1985.2/UNST) Fragment of the upper part of what appears to be a shaft, or mullion, made up of a series of roll mouldings. One of these begins to spring outwards from the perpendicular, suggesting that arches or vaulting sprang from this piece. One possible suggestion is that this is part of a decorative corbel from a series at wall-plate level on the ground floor of the gatehouse or a new porch entry to the house itself. Alternatively, it could have been part of a pendant to vaulting, possibly also for the gatehouse. (Fig. 36 a).
2. LP/tc/002 (1985.2/M/5 [85.2.21]) The remains of the lowest part of a pilaster decorated with a winged cherub's head at the base and trailing acanthus above. This is applied to a second, fluted pilaster. The size of this piece makes it of paramount importance, alongside the discovery of a capital at Hampton Court, in suggesting that terracotta was indeed used for large-scale pieces of very classical structural and decorative forms (Fig. 36 b).
3. LP/tc/003 (1985.2/M/4 [85.2.31]) Fragment of a mullion or jamb with the initials W.P. applied amongst the ornament in the deep recess of the inverted roll (Fig. 36 c).
4. LP/tc/004 (1985.2/A/8) Possibly the fragment of a wide facing block(?) with more bulbous, cruder ornament than found in the window mullions and surrounds on the tower. This ornament is applied in vertical strips between projecting roll mouldings (Fig. 36 d).
5. LP/tc/005 (1985.2/F/UNST) Fragment of a roundel(?) with heavy ball ornament and plain mouldings. This could have surrounded a field for heraldic ornament or figurative heads, or busts (Fig. 36 e).
6. LP/tc/006 (1985.2/M/4/17 and 1985.2/S/UNST) Fragments of window moulding with cusping. This clearly formed part of a different form of window head to that still intact on the single- and two-light windows of the tower.

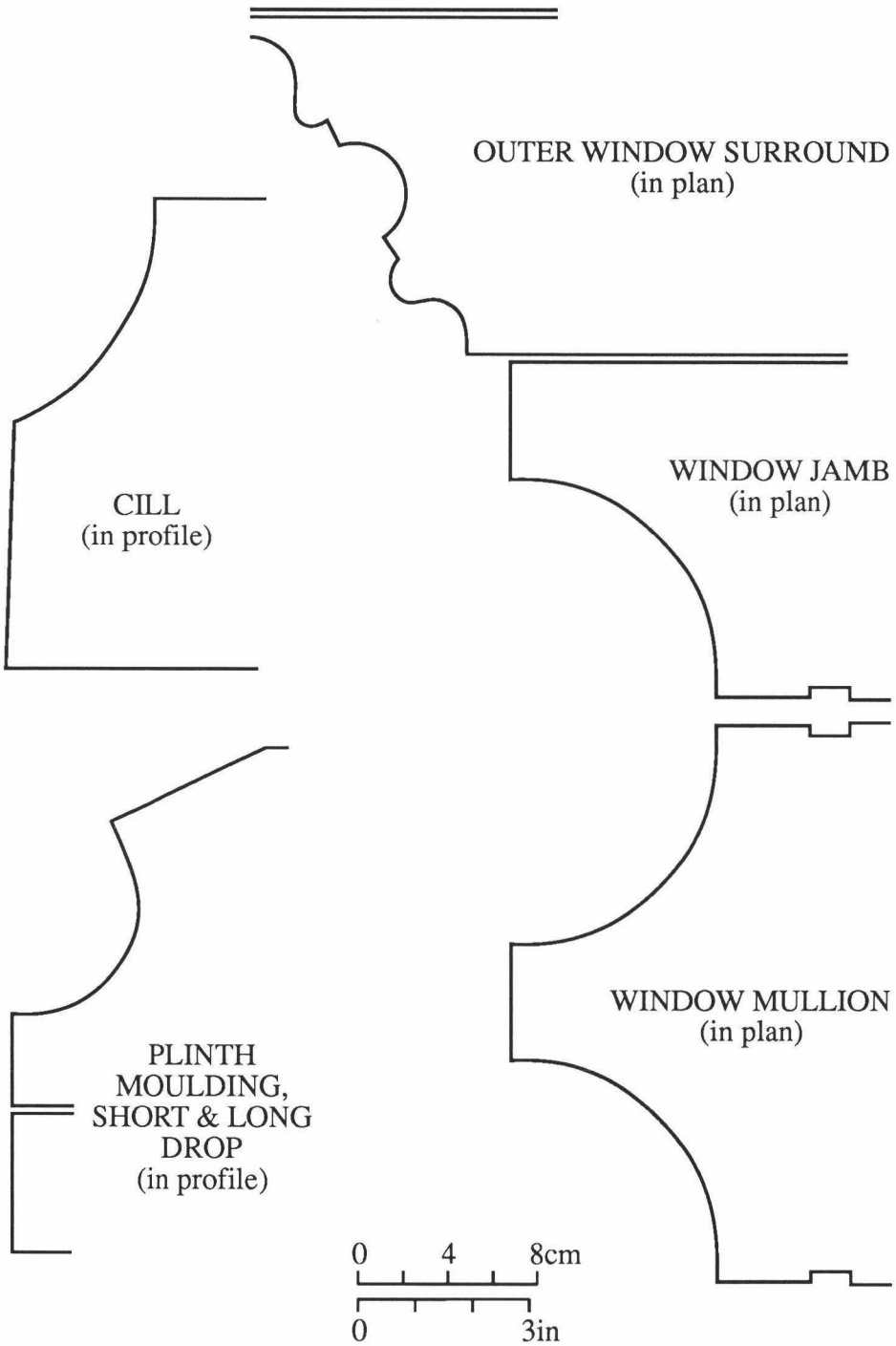

Fig. 38. Laughton Place. Moulding profiles (terracotta).

7. LP/tc/007 (1985.2/M/4/25) Possibly a window surround with triangular indentation.
8. LP/tc/008 (1985.2/C/8) Fragment of a door jamb(?) with a wide splay.
9. LP/tc/009 (1985 no exact context ref.) One of several fragments with deep concavities between ridges, suggestive of spiralling fluting on a column or shaft (Fig. 36 f).

Non-architectural terracotta

Two additional fragments of Tudor moulded terracotta were recovered from Area D, Contexts 3 and 13. These are from a panel or frieze decorated with birds' heads. The outer surface has a white slip beneath brown lead glaze. Parts of the decoration are highlighted by the use of a darker coloured glaze. The dull red fabric of the fragments has abundant fine quartz inclusions (Fig. 39).

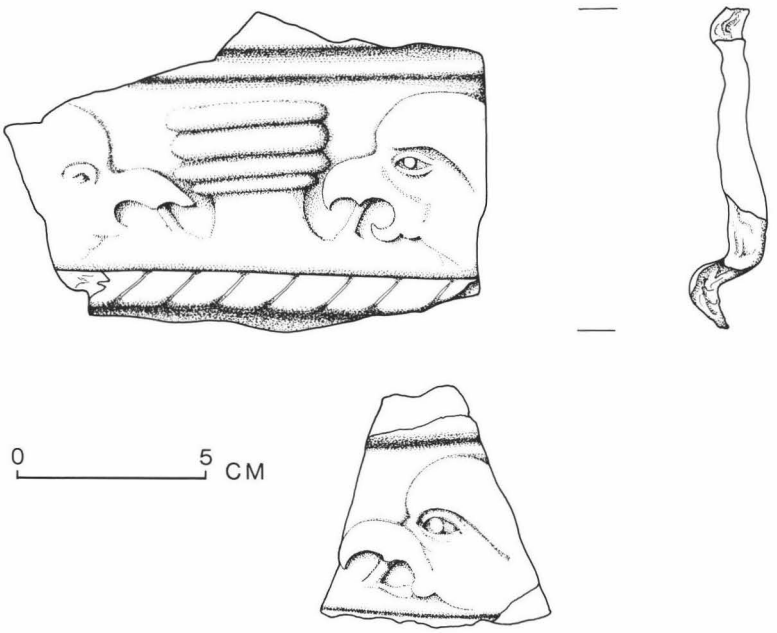

Fig. 39. Laughton Place, 1984. Tudor moulded terracotta ornament/panel.

LAUGHTON PLACE AND ITS FARM FROM THE 16th TO THE 20th CENTURY (by John H. Farrant)

The archaeological evidence points to both the tower and the moat wall being parts of the same building campaign in the 1530s. Whatever the design, it was not carried to completion. Sir William Pelham's death late in 1538 may have been the immediate cause. His son and two grandsons who in turn inherited the estate and enjoyed it into the next century lived as country gentlemen, playing little part in national affairs and neither gaining nor losing from the political and religious upheavals.[1] Unless Sir William had overstretched his resources, they should have had means to carry on. But they may have judged that the site and adapted medieval house did not have a long-term future as the residence of substantial Sussex gentry. The brick tower was showing structural problems within a few years of building. The Park had been turned over to farming in the 1470s, and later replaced only by a much smaller park east of the house. The agricultural potential of the area had been enhanced by the improved drainage initiated, with others, by Sir William in 1536—and, especially if the improvement was short-lived, the environs of Laughton Place continued dank and inhospitable.[2]

Indeed it was Sir William who in 1524 obtained a royal licence to empark 700 acres and who in 1530 enclosed 1,200 acres of common

waste, centred more than two miles to the north.[3] Within this 'New Park' at Halland, his grandson Sir Thomas built a new house first occupied in about 1594. His courtyard house, some five bays square with extensive outhouses, was unconstrained by a moat and was ample enough to be the principal residence in Sussex of the great Duke of Newcastle in the 18th century. Its 38 hearths in 1662 contrasted with Laughton Place's seven.[4]

Laughton Place became a tenanted farmhouse. By then the Pelhams had augmented the 'Old Park' of the 1240s and demesne of the 1280s by 530 acres to the east and north east, presumably by extinguishing copyhold or freehold tenancies. The enlarged demesne, as mapped in 1641, extended over 1,260 acres (Fig. 40). It lay at the south-west corner of a major block of Pelham lands which the family did not extend by purchases to the south, and was substantially the territory sold in 1927. Within it were two farmsteads besides Laughton Place: Colbrans and Lulham. The amount of land let with each, let to neighbouring farmers or kept in hand fluctuated over the years. In 1589 Sir Thomas had in hand 560 acres of the poorer land around Laughton Place (though collecting £65 for summer agistment over the Old Park) and was letting the rest for £250. At some time in the 16th century therefore the Pelhams had reverted to more direct management.[5]

That changed after the family had moved to Halland. Leases from year to year of fields close to Laughton Place became more usual. From 1610 renting was carried much further—for the next 70 years the Pelhams seem to have farmed only 100 to 200 acres themselves. In 1610 the land kept in hand was about 100 acres at the south end of the Old Park until it was leased in 1641; from about 1620 150 acres of better quality land were added, later reduced to 110.[6] Convertible husbandry is evident from the bailiff's accounts for 1633–61, first in the fluctuation of tilled land and grassland; and secondly in denshiring and liming about eight acres a year in 1634–41 in at least two fields. The speed with which hay crops followed corn suggests that the Pelhams were ley farming by sowing grass. More acres were cropped for hay than for corn (mainly oats), and indeed corn for household consumption was bought in. Cattle were being stall fed, at least through the winter. The farming profit came from buying cattle lean, at fairs such as Lewes, Uckfield, Heathfield, the Dicker and Battle, and selling fat, mainly to local butchers, but also into London and Kent. The number of livestock fluctuated between both seasons and years but was as high as 39 cattle and 85 sheep at Michaelmas 1640 when part of the Old Park was still in hand.[7]

As to tenants, a dozen were paying £490 rent in 1610. The number of tenancies progressively reduced to four in 1621, with Thomas Willard, in partnership with Nathaniel Newington, paying £341 a year for over 440 acres with Laughton Place, and continuing to do so for 20 years. Willard's retirement in 1641 seems to have been the occasion for Anthony Everenden's survey of the estate. Occupying Laughton Place with 870 acres was Thomas Stedwell (or Stidall) who continued there for 38 years. John Chantler had Colbrans Farm with 195 acres, Nicholas Durrant 82 acres mostly on the eastern edge and Sir Thomas Pelham had in hand 110 acres east of Laughton Place, mostly between the two streams.[8] When Stedwell retired in 1679, Sir John took Laughton Place Farm into direct management.[9] With perhaps 1,000 acres his stock dealings were substantial. If his sales in the spring of 1688 disposed of stock kept over the winter, from early June to early November Pelham had between 62 and 116 runts being fattened. If the runts first bought were also the first sold, then they were kept for around three months. The average cost of the 199 runts was £3.91, and the receipts for the 165 sold was £5.77, a gain of 48 per cent. Nearly all the sales were by Mr Benn who seems to have been a London middleman; sales at Smithfield are mentioned specifically in 1699. Profitability evidently fluctuated from year to year: in 1696 the runts cost £6.09 but sold for £7.35, a gain of only 21 per

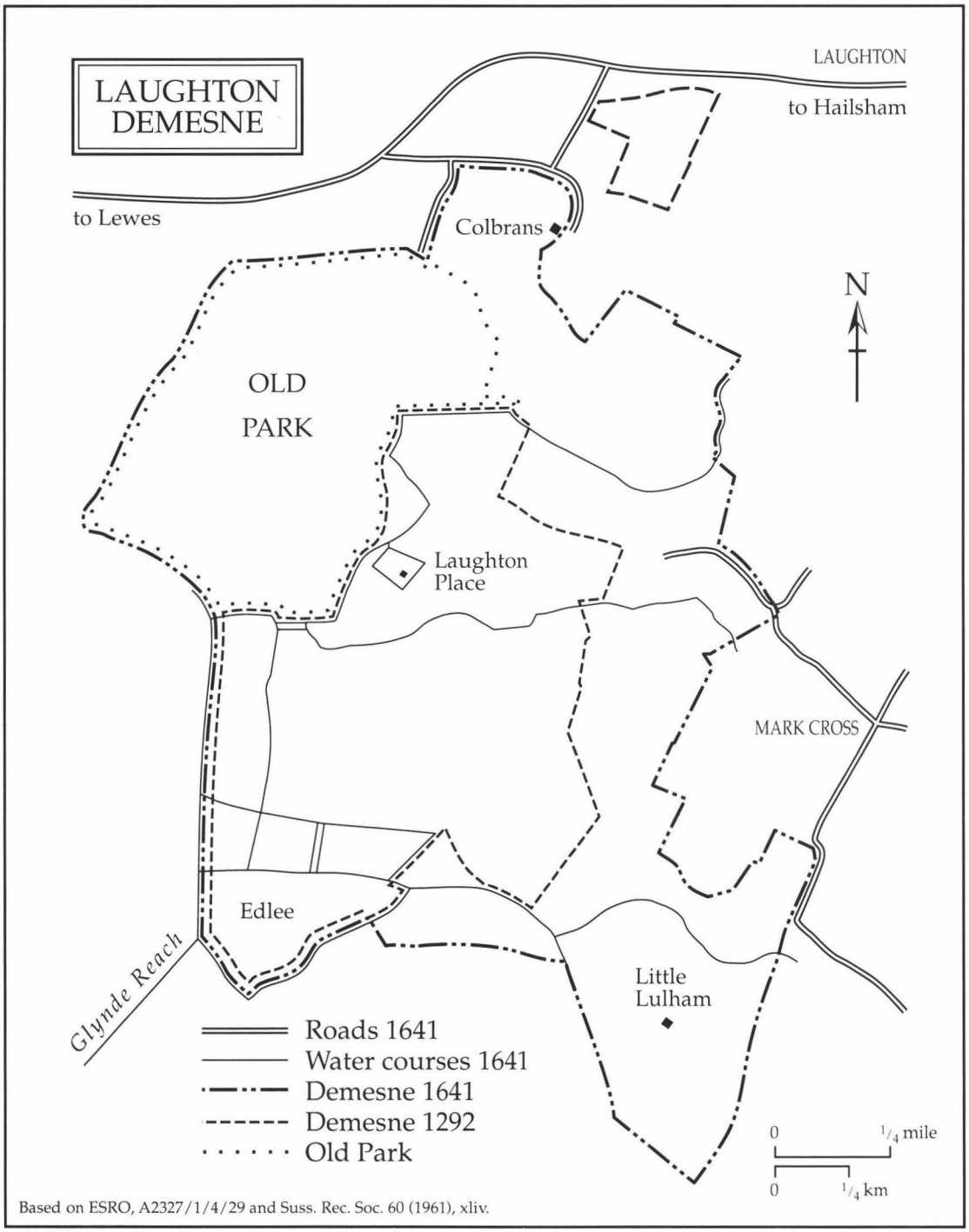

Fig. 40. Laughton Place. Diagram of estate plan from 1641 Map and later Ordnance Survey drawing.

cent. The pattern of land use is indicated by the bailiff's payments for mowing and reaping in 1683: 192 acres of grass, 38 acres of wheat and 68 acres of oats.[10]

In 1699 Sir John reverted to leasing Laughton Place, with perhaps 350 acres, to William and Peter Marchant. Richard Groom was tenant around 1713–21, and in 1731, Robert Saxby was paying the same rent (£200) for 333 acres.[11] By 1731 the whole of the demesne was tenanted; it may have been since early in the century and continued to be until 1927.[12]

On Sir John's death in 1703, his son Thomas succeeded as fourth baronet and, having served as a Lord of the Treasury under William and Mary, was advanced to the peerage as baron Pelham of Laughton in 1706.[13] That was a mark of the family's rapid advance from the local to the national stage. His predecessors had lived primarily on their estate in Sussex, carefully husbanding their resources, entering in their cash book rents collected and stock bought and sold, and supervising their household and farm staff. By such means, Thomas's annual income, from rents and investments, was built up to £12,000 at his death in 1712. He had married well, to Grace Holles, daughter of the Earl of Clare, and their elder son, Thomas, was also designated the heir of her brother and succeeded to the title of Duke of Newcastle and an even larger fortune in 1711. Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle, and his brother, the Hon. Henry Pelham, rose to great heights of political power, giving the name of Pelham an entirely new fame.[14]

Henry received only £5,000 under their father's will, but his brother, first out of affection and later in return for clearing his debts, passed over to him sizeable parts of his lands in Sussex. These included Laughton Place and manorial demesne south of the modern B2124 road.[15] Thomas's spending was prodigious and his finances chaotic, throughout his life. Henry started fast spending but became financially prudent, taking a personal interest in the running of his estates, making purchases to consolidate his holdings, restraining his own expenditure, and so accumulating a respectable fortune—helped by the successive family settlements to cope with Thomas's recurring crises.[16]

At his death in 1754, Henry Pelham's east Sussex estate of some 7,300 acres yielded a net income before exceptional expenses of about £2,000. This he bequeathed to his four daughters as tenants in common. In 1767 it was partitioned into two lots. The first lot was sold, mostly in 1767 and all by 1772. The second lot, which included Laughton Place, went to the two unmarried daughters Mary and Frances who died in 1794 and in 1804, whereupon it passed to Thomas Pelham, earl of Chichester, who had inherited the Duke of Newcastle's Sussex estates in 1768. Thus Laughton Place was reunited with the main body of the Pelham estates.[17]

So Laughton Place was separated from the patrimonial estate between 1715 and 1804, and its owner was no longer resident nearby. Henry did not even have a home in Sussex, as his brother kept both Halland and Bishopstone; he bought himself a country home closer to London, at Esher in Surrey, though 'Mr Pelham' and his servant had rooms at Halland which were refurbished in 1739. He admitted in 1753 that he was an utter stranger to his Sussex estates because of his constant residence in London.[18] The running of the estate passed to 'professional' managers of varying competence.

Robert Saxby the elder, tenant of Laughton Place Farm since at least 1731, died in April 1749. The tenancy passed to Saxby's widow and then in 1753 to her second son, Robert, aged 21, and newly married.[19] In July 1749, John Collier (Henry Pelham's agent for his Sussex estate since 1733) refused a proposal from John Vine (bailiff at Laughton) to rebuild the bridge across the moat, 'until Mr. P's pleasure is Known bearing the Ancient Seat of the family'. Building materials and labour in the previous eleven years, as offset by tenants against rent, had amounted to £197 (including £86 for the carpenter, £11 for the sawyer, £35 for the glazier, plumber and pump and pipes, but no charge for timber), and in April 1753 Henry Pelham instructed that

Laughton Place should be inspected as it must be greatly repaired or new built. Six months later work was in progress. But Pelham died in March 1754. The executors acting for his four daughters ordered Collier to 'proceed in those Repairs as fast as possible, as far as is absolutely necessary for a Tenant & no otherwise'.[20] The tradesmen seem to have been paid in early 1755.[21]

The architect was 'one White, who has the care of my works' at Esher Place—probably Fuller White, a carpenter by trade, who is known to have been employed early in the 1760s at Oatlands, Surrey, and Clumber, Notts., by the Earl of Lincoln who was both a nephew and a son-in-law of Pelham's.[22] The famed architect William Kent who was much employed by the Pelhams for both public and private projects cannot (as has been suggested) have had a hand in the design at Laughton, as he died in 1748.[23] But White had good reason for being influenced by, and imitating, Kent who in 1733–39 was employed by Henry Pelham to rebuild his house at Esher and lay out the park with temples and other features, and by the Earl of Lincoln at Oatlands *c.* 1745. The existing house at Esher included a four-storey redbrick gate house built by Bishop Waynflete in *c.* 1475–80 which in the 17th century had acquired three-storey wings on either side. Between the turrets of the gatehouse Kent inserted an entrance porch and along the whole front added or replaced features which also appear in his subsequent work on Gothic and Tudor buildings and at Laughton: ogee-arched windows, Tudor dripmoulds, and battlements.[24]

The payments listed in John Collier's account with the executors amounted to £745. Carpenter's work and materials cost £243, bricklayer's and mason's work and materials £235, blacksmith's work £23, glazier's and plumber's work £152, plasterer's work £33 and miscellaneous expenses £58. The substantial charge for sawing and the absence of bills for timber other than deals (which were supplied sawn) suggest that most of the timber came from Pelham's woods; other materials and labour may have come from the estate and other bills been paid by other officials. At the prices paid for bricks and tiles a few years later, the sum expended on these would have bought some 58,000.[25] Cleaning old bricks cost £4. In 1769, when Halland was being demolished, 2,000 bricks were cleaned for 6*s.*, so some 30,000 may have been cleaned at Laughton. It was said in 1939 that there was nothing other than the tower earlier than the 18th century but that the Ancient Monuments Department was interested in buying Tudor bricks from the demolished 18th-century wings.[26] These bricks may have come from the curtain wall and turrets, as a guide book of 1787 observed that 'this house was surrounded by a mote, had a drawbridge and several watch towers, the ruins of which are now remaining'.[27]

In April 1756, the executors agreed to works necessary to make the house habitable by the tenant. Six months later, the expenditure since Pelham's death amounted to £200 and more had been committed. At about the same time, their surveyor found 'good conveniencys for the farmer and likewise a large parlour, dining room, bed chamber, and an intended staircase', but unfinished, and reckoned Pelham's expenditure of near £1,000 was money thrown away as the farm was very little better in consequence.[28]

In August 1761 flooring, wainscots, plastering and glazing estimated at £44 was needed on two rooms left unfinished. If this work was done, the rebuilding begun in the autumn of 1753 was completed in, say, 1762, with landscaping following, for in 1766, Saxby was allowed bricklayers' and carpenter's bills for fencing a new garden.[29]

What White had done was to demolish the entire medieval and Tudor house except for the four-storeyed tower, add two-storeyed wings in reused materials to three sides of the tower and make the fourth (south-east) side the front where he applied a two-storeyed, pedimented facing to the tower. The resulting house was, at least externally, scarcely changed until the 1750s wings were demolished in 1938/9, and in its new-formed state is shown in the drawings

(Figures 41 and 42) probably by Francis Grose during one of his trips into Sussex in 1760, 1761 and 1762; the rubble in the foreground indicates recent building work.[30]

The surveyor, Thomas Browne, listed the farm buildings as 'a large brick stable, two barns, one by the house and one in the field [Old Barn], a dove house, a large granary tiled which may be converted into a carthouse, and several fatting hovells . . . The tenant', he continued, 'is a very good one as is likewise the farm being only 12*s.* per acre tithe free, and a great part of the land will fat the largest bullocks and scarce any of it bad.' Little of the land should be ploughed, 135 acres (out of 403) being too much.[31] The new steward appointed in August 1761, Abraham Baley, thought the large brick barn, much out of repair, should be taken down, as the other two would suffice. About 100 acres were subject to winter flooding, and the drain at Edlee should be cleaned and enlarged. The use of post and rails for fencing was expensive as there was no timber on the farm, and he thought it would be worth experimenting with hedges.[32] In 1769 almost the whole estate was put on the market, the only part in the Laughton area kept back being Laughton

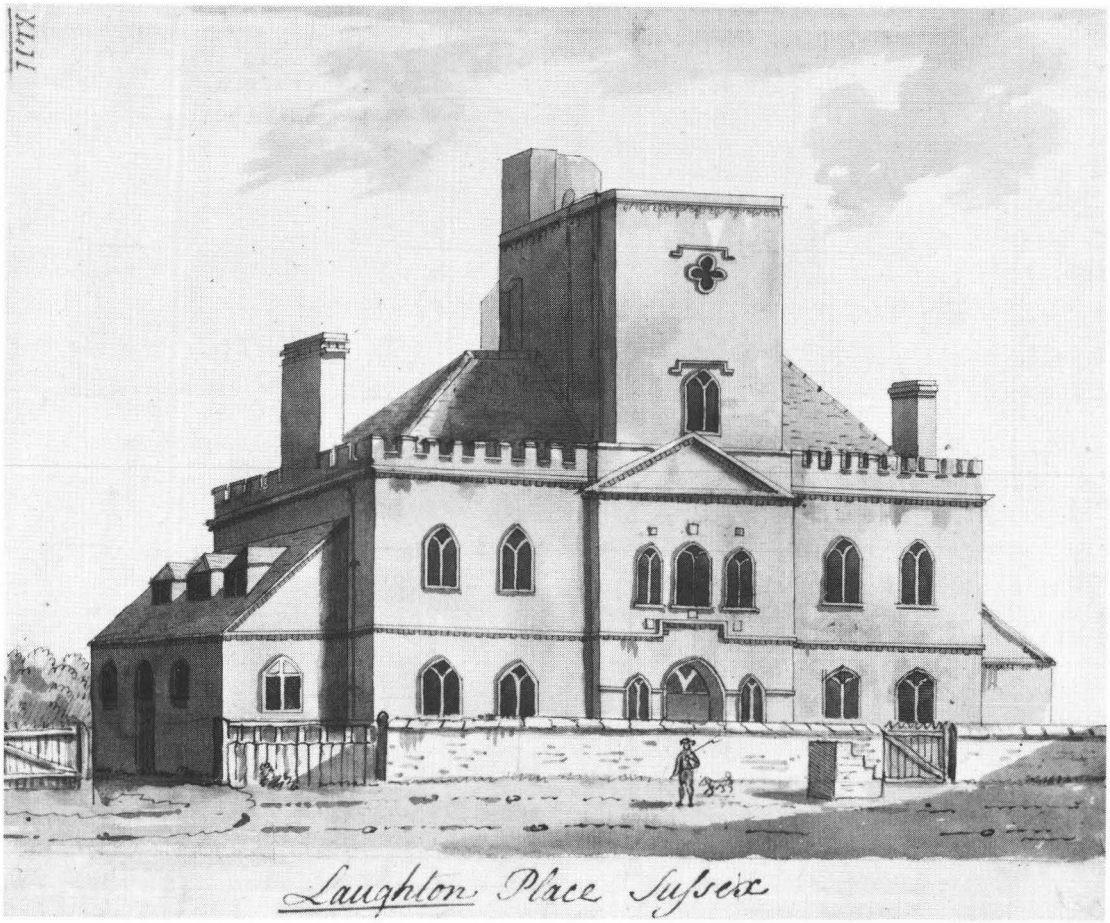

Fig. 41. Laughton Place. South-east face, pen and wash, attributed to Francis Grose, 1760–2. (British Library, reproduced by permission).

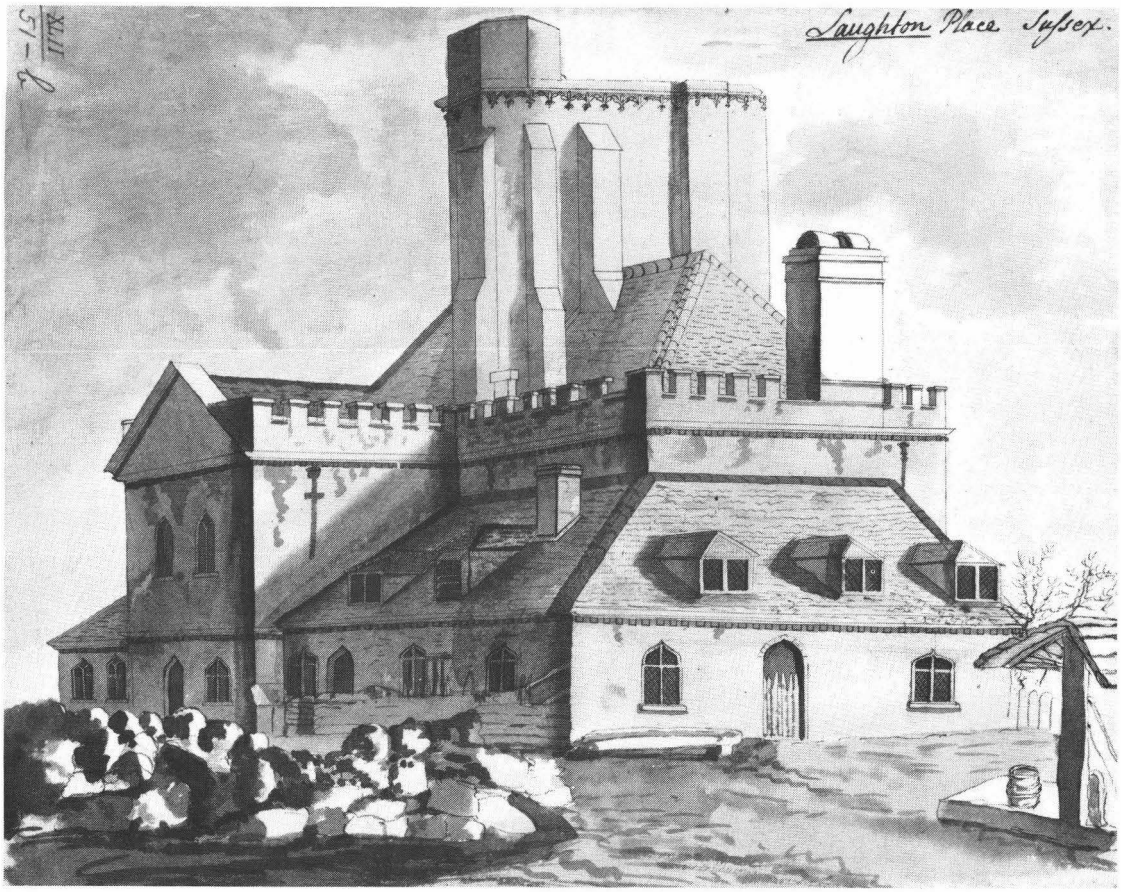

Fig. 42. Laughton Place. South-west and north-west faces, pen and wash attributed to Francis Grose, 1760–2. (British Library, reproduced by permission).

Place and about 455 acres westwards to the estate boundary, but little of it, and none of the Laughton lands, sold.[33]

At Pelham's death in 1754, 273 acres of land were rented with Laughton Place. Robert Saxby and (probably) his brother John who took over the tenancy in 1769/70 steadily took on more and more land until in 1780 John gave the farm the boundaries it was to maintain almost unchanged until 1927—some 657 acres corresponding to the medieval park and demesne, bar 70 acres at Edlee.[34] Land-use, though changed with the location of arable changing: of 234 acres of arable in 1822, 164 in 1841, 171 in the early 1870s and 172 in 1927, only one field of 29 acres was so used at all four dates and 366 acres were arable at some time or other.[35]

The census enumerator's schedules give some idea of the community which worked the farm.[36] In 1841, the household in Laughton Place comprised Rowland Wood, his wife and two children, four male agricultural labourers and three female farm servants. Four households, three headed by agricultural labourers and one by a shepherd, numbered 29 souls and lived in Laughton Place cottages; the only cottages marked on the tithe map were in a block immediately north of the moat. The five

children aged 12 and above may have been working; two girls aged 14 and 20 with different surnames may have been relatives boarding and helping. By 1851, labourers were no longer living in the farmer's household which now comprised Stephen Wood, his widowed mother, two brothers, a daughter, two servants and a groom. Two labourers' households appear under the heading of Laughton Place, while another three (including the shepherd's) appear under shepherd's house. These five households numbered 31 of whom 11 were farm employees. Stephen Wood stated that he farmed 800 acres and employed 30 labourers. In 1861, 1871 and 1881 William Mannington's household was smaller still, comprising himself, a wife, a 'visitor' (the same one!—his sister-in-law) and three servants. He was farming 1,210 acres with 32 men and 13 boys in 1861; 1,351 acres with 33 men and 12 boys in 1871; and 1,158 acres with 27 men and 4 boys in 1881. The 1861 census listed six other households under Laughton Place, of 31 people, 14 of them farm employees. In 1871, the labourers' households numbered eight, living variously at Laughton Place cottages, Laughton Place farm (cottages west of Old Barn?) and new cottage (at the northern entrance to the farm?). Of their 39 occupants, 12 were farm employees, and one each a laundress, a dressmaker, a coachman and a domestic servant. The households reached ten in 1881, comprising 46 people, of whom 13 were farm employees, and one each a coachman, a gardener and a laundress. Five of the households were Funnells. John Funnell was shepherd in 1841–61; his widow was laundress in 1871 and still living at Laughton Place in 1881. The other four were headed by their sons, and three grandsons were labourers.

The resident farm workers were fairly steady in number over the 40 years, but living-in declined as cottages were built about the farm (the two cottages at the north of Old Park are dated 1855 and the two west of Old Barn, 1867). In 1861, 1871 and 1881 they were a minority of all those Mannington employed, the others presumably working his other land. Though Laughton Place Farm maintained an unvaried boundary, it was not necessarily worked as an isolated unit. The tenants may have moved labour, stock and produce between the lands they rented. In 1861 Mannington also rented 347 acres in Halland Park from the Pelhams; presumably the other 210 or so acres were either his freehold or another landlord's.

It was in fact Laughton Place Farm being joined with other lands which led to Laughton Place's desertion. The deaths of the sixth and seventh earls of Chichester within nine days in November 1926 was disastrous for the family fortunes which were subject to two payments of death duties simultaneously. The Chichester estate had not prospered since the 1880s, in part for lack of progressive management,[37] and portions had to be sold to pay the duties. So, after 500 years in the family, Laughton Place was auctioned in June 1927, being bought with 653 acres of land by C. F. Russell of The Lodge, Ringmer, for £6,250.[38] Russell, already farming locally, displaced the sitting tenant and took the farm in hand. Laughton Place was rendered redundant and stood empty. In 1914, the accommodation had comprised, on the ground floor, a sitting room, dining room, hall, drawing room, kitchen, scullery, three sets of cellars and three bedrooms over the cellars, and, on the first floor, six bedrooms, a room in the roof to the tower, another room above in the tower, w.c. and large cupboard.[39]

Probably in 1931, Russell demolished the most prominent of the outbuildings, the gabled building with a spiral staircase in a corner turret in the south angle of the moat, variously called the Chapel barn and the Keep.[40] The materials were bought by a Seaford architect, Alwyn Underdown, for a client's house, perhaps 'Old Tiles', Cuckmere Road, Seaford which was built in 1931.[41] In the spring of 1933 Russell put Laughton Place on the market with 373 acres, asking £7,000 for the whole or £2,500 for the house and three acres only.[42]

This precipitated the first attempt to buy the house for preservation, on this occasion by Frances, Viscountess Wolseley (1872–1936). While living in Glynde and running her School of Lady Gardeners she had published in 1909 what was to be the first of many articles on ancient buildings in Sussex, on 'Laughton Tower'.[43] She now envisaged a public appeal for funds to purchase Laughton Place for preservation and to form an agricultural museum. Possibly Russell got wind of her idea before the sale was advertised and put what was clearly an inflated price on the house. A letter of protest at the demolition, published in November and probably prompted by her, was all that was achieved.

The tower came under direct threat in 1938 when Russell intended to demolish the entire house for its materials. County Council officials were doubtful whether the local authorities could do anything to avert this, for while an order under the Town and Country Planning Act 1932 might prevent demolition it would not prevent collapse through neglect.[44] Although F. Bentham Stevens, Honorary Treasurer of the Sussex Archaeological Society and its associated body, the Sussex Archaeological Trust, felt that the tower was not a first class example since it was 'largely obscured by fairly recent building', Walter Godfrey, the architect who cared for the Trust's buildings, started campaigning. With Viscount Gage, who was very active in matters of conservation, Godfrey convened a meeting, and a letter was printed in *The Times* on 28 October 1938 from the Society's address over the signatures of Lord Gage, its President and the Chairman of its Council.

Lord and Lady Chichester offered £300 towards purchase and the Trust ventured £50. By then Russell had agreed to sell the house to a demolition contractor, but alternatively asked £8,000 for it and 310 acres. Lord Gage succeeded in getting him to modify his terms to an offer to sell the house and 'a small area of ground' for £350 and £10 a year towards maintenance of the access road. But when that was put in writing, Russell refused to go ahead. The Trust then pressed for scheduling and confirmed its willingness to 'purchase for preservation and accept responsibility for the future maintenance of the Tower' and to indemnify the Ancient Monuments Department against claims from Russell and the demolition contractor arising from scheduling or the subsequent preservation order. In December the Department agreed to scheduling 'forthwith', but soon had to concede that demolition of the wings on three sides of the tower, which had already begun, could proceed so long as the tower was not touched; indeed it was interested in buying the Tudor bricks. By the end of January 1939 Russell reopened the offer to sell for £350, reserving the question of the road or any right of way, though temporarily retracted (late March to early May), offering only a covenant not to demolish. Lord Chichester was now abroad and on a visit home in July was disappointed to see the wings demolished; he did not confirm the offer of £300. The matter faded out in the last months of 1939, by which time war had broken out.[45]

During the war it was requisitioned as an observation post and to render it usable the decaying timbers in the roof were replaced with light steel joists and concrete. The strength of this roof held the top of the tower together and prevented the major fissures in the walls from reaching the parapets, so probably averting collapse before the next—and successful—attempt at rescue.[46]

Notes

[1] A. Pelham and D. McLean, *Some early Pelhams* (Hove, 1931), 141, 186, 218–20.

[2] Sir John Pelham's new little park next Sausage Mead', 1567: E.S.R.O., SAS/G45/6, f. 46. P.R.O., SP 1/241, f. 59, printed in H. Ellis, 'Commissions of Sewers for the Lewes Levels', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **10** (1858), 96–98. P. Brandon, 'The origin of Newhaven and the drainage of the Lewes and Laughton Levels', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **109** (1971), 98–101.

[3] J. S. Moore, *Laughton, a study in the evolution of the wealden landscape* (Leicester, 1965), 19, 44.

[4] M. A. Lower, 'Observations on the buckle', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **3** (1850), 229. J. Farrant, 'Noblemen & gentry in Sussex in 1595', *Sussex Family Historian* **3** (1977), 69–72. B.L. Add. MS. 5671, f. 47, 48; 33142, ff. 235, 237 (heavy borrowing in 1592 and 1602/3 suggests two building campaigns). M. J. Burchall (ed.), *Sussex Hearth Tax assessments 1662* **2** (Brighton, 1980), cols 52–53.

[5] E.S.R.O., A2327/1/4/29, map of 1641; acreages from 1927 map in CHR 21/14. B.L., Add. MS. 33142, ff. 14, 20.

[6] B.L., Add. MSS. 33142, 33144, 33151, passim.

[7] B.L. Add. MS. 33147. J. C. K. Cornwall, 'Farming in Sussex, 1560–1640', *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, **92** (1954), 76–8, 81–7, 92; 'Agricultural improvement, 1560–1640', *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, **98** (1960), 123–5.

[8] B.L. Add. MSS. 33142, ff. 152, 232; 33144, ff. 94, 101; 33151, ff. 87, 88. E.S.R.O., A2327/1/4/29. Fewer fields appear in lists in the rent accounts than the map suggests are tenanted; perhaps arable left to tumble to waste was free of rent.

[9] Stedwell's probate inventory of 1681, covering another farm in Laughton, is in P.R.O., PROB 4/18195.

[10] B.L. Add. MS. 33151, ff. 122, 154, 147; 33152, f. 22.

[11] B.L. Add. MS. 33151, ff. 157, 162; 33153, ff. 113, 127; 33137, ff. 254–55.

[12] E.S.R.O., XE1/409/2; SAS/FB 112 (March 1731 rental); SAS/FB 116 (Sept. 1761 rental).

[13] A. Collins, *The peerage of England* 3rd ed. (1756), **1**, 427–8.

[14] R. A. Kelch, *Newcastle. A duke without money: Thomas Pelham-Holles 1693–1768*, (1974), 28–37.

[15] Kelch, *op. cit.* (1974), 52, 62–3, 138. E.S.R.O., CHR 13/1; CHR 13/6.

[16] Kelch, *op. cit.* (1974), 134. E.S.R.O., SAY 389–523 *passim*. B.L. Add. MS. 33138, ff. 317 ff. Nottingham University Library (hereafter N.U.L.). NeD 135.

[17] N.U.L., NeS 138. E.S.R.O., SAS/FB 113; SAS/RF 9/82; CHR 13/21. B.L. Add. MS. 36587. L. B. Smith, 'The Pelham vault', *Sussex County Magazine*, **4** (1930), 370–72.

[18] B.L. Add. MS. 33138, f. 23. E.S.R.O., SAY 517. The suggestion of 1756/7 in N.U.L., NeS 137, f. 2 that he intended to have an apartment at Laughton Place is implausible.

[19] E.S.R.O., D 587, land tax; XE 1/409/2, 3.

[20] E.S.R.O., SAY 369, 447, 517, 522, 523, 528; SAS/FB 113.

[21] Yale University Library, Turner Coll., II/2 (22, 24 and 27 Jan. 1755); but John Collier's account is dated October 1754: E.S.R.O., SAS/FB 113.

[22] E.S.R.O., SAY 517. H. Colvin, *A biographical dictionary of British architects 1600–1840* (1978), 882.

[23] R. White, 'Saved by the Landmark Trust. Laughton Place, East Sussex', *Country Life*, **173** (1983), 1186, 1190. N. Thompson, 'The Pelhams: political and architectural patronage', in *A house in town: 22 Arlington Street, its owners and builders* (ed. P. Campbell) (1984), 85–94.

[24] J. Harris, 'A William Kent discovery. Designs for Esher Place, Surrey', *Country life*, **125** (1959), 1076. White *op. cit.* (1983), 1190. Thompson *op. cit.* (1984), 94.

[25] E.S.R.O., SAS/FB 113. B.L. Add. MS. 33167, ff. 44–45. E.S.R.O., AMS 2132.

[26] Sussex Archaeological Society archives (hereafter S.A.S.), Misc. 4, file 'Laughton Tower 1933–39'.

[27] [J. Royer] *Eastbourne: being a descriptive account of that village . . . and its environs* (1787), 118.

[28] E.S.R.O., SAY 540, 552. N.U.L., NeS 137, f. 2.

[29] E.S.R.O., SAS/FB 116. B.L. Add. MS. 33167, f. 65.

[30] B.L., KTop XLII, 51b and 51c; 47a (Hove) is dated August 1762; attritution by D. F. Snelgrove, British Museum Dept. of Prints & Drawings. Engraved views in Sussex are dated in F. Grose, *The antiquities of England and Wales*, **3** (1775).

[31] N.U.L., NeS 137.

[32] E.S.R.O., SAY 587. E.S.R.O., SAS/FB 116.

[33] E.S.R.O., GLY 2731, 2736; SAS/HA 310.

[34] E.S.R.O., SAS/A, calendar (document now lost); SAS/A 681; TD/E 27; CHR 21/14.

[35] E.S.R.O., SAS/A 681; TD/E 27; O.S., 1:2500, 1875; CHR 21/14.

[36] Census microfilms at E.S.R.O., XA 19/6, 9/9, 2/3, 17/10, 27/7.

[37] S. Farrant, 'The management of four estates in the lower Ouse valley (Sussex) and agricultural change, 1840–1920', *Southern history* **1** (1979), 160–3, referring to another part of the estate.

[38] E.S.R.O., CHR 21/14.

[39] P.R.O., IR 58/29689, no. 105.

[40] SAS picture collection 2797, watercolour of the building dated 1931; *Sussex Express*, 20 Jan. 1933, p. 5 states that it was pulled down 'a year or two ago'.

[41] SAS, Misc. 4. E.S.R.O., DL/A1/86/1505.

[42] Sales particulars, Martin & Gorringe, Lewes, in Hove Area Library (hereafter H.A.L.), papers of Viscountess Wolseley, vol. 40, carrying pencil date of June 1933.

[43] H.A.L., Wolseley papers, vols 119, 120, 40. F. Wolseley, 'Laughton Tower', *The Country Home*, July 1909, 151–154. D. McLean, *Sussex County Magazine*, **7** (1933), 757.

[44] E.S.R.O., C/C69/148.

[45] SAS, Misc. 4, and General Purposes Committee minutes.

[46] J. Warren, and C. Haslam, 'Laughton Place near Lewes', *Ancient Monument Society's Transactions*, ns, **26** (1982), 146.

THE RESTORATION OF LAUGHTON PLACE (by John Warren)

When the Trust took possession in 1978, every floor within the tower had collapsed and the north-east and south-west faces were riven with cracks from top to bottom. Almost certainly only the wartime steel and concrete roof had saved the structure from total collapse.

It takes powerful forces to shear through massive brick walls and the explanation for this dramatic decay is one of ground loading. Having once been a marsh the subsoil is relatively soft

and the bearing may be uneven, with the varying depths of the soft material above harder ground. Moreover, the level of ground water has changed over time due to drainage improvements. The energy introduced by the rising and falling of ground water levels provides the power to create the deformations which appear. No subsoil trials have been made, but the probable cause of the dramatic cracking in the brickwork was the loading and unloading of the ground by the construction and removal of buildings, coupled with design faults. When the tower was built, there were structures on the south-east and north-east sides which, although relatively light, would have set up a ground-loading condition altered when they were removed.

There seems however to have been a serious fault in the initial design. Significant settlement occurred in the tower within a decade or so of its construction. In consequence, the ground floor window on the south-west side was blocked up and supporting brickwork was added under the flying buttresses. Evidently the concentrated mass of the stair tower producing a higher loading than elsewhere but standing on similar foundations caused differential settlement which sheared the south-west wall in a line through the ground and first floor windows. These, being related vertically like perforations, provided a weakened sector of wall. The early bricking-up of the south-west window was important in stabilising the structure but the blocking of the spaces under the buttresses conversely loaded the ground further and made the problem worse. In modern construction a slip joint would have been provided at the junction of the stair tower and the tower proper. In addition, the stair tower would have had appropriately deeper foundations.

Removal of the south-east and north-west ranges in the 1750s and their replacement by brick ranges on the north-east, north-west and south-west sides altered the loading condition. The tower then suffered a reversal of loading with further weight being placed against its heaviest section, the stair turret. Where differential settlement had already taken place and cracked the structure, the lead point of the crack was the stress point in the masonry and progressive shearing would follow relatively easily. Thus when the Landmark Trust purchased the tower the north-east and south-west walls were riven by a multiplicity of fissures explicable only as the result of weakness due to a complex series of stresses, reversed more than once and accentuated by doorways cut into the structure to provide access to adjoining additions.

The history of its conservation is relatively straightforward. The tower was restrained with a giant corset of scaffolding, designed so that pressure could be exerted on the structure from all sides. The original windows were opened up after more than four centuries and the tower was stabilised from top to bottom by stitching together the cracked masonry and by the insertion of a web of horizontal steel reinforcements at each floor level. As the entire floor at each level had to be renewed this presented little problem and the tensile strength now included in the structure ensures its future stability. The foundations were not underpinned.

In its reconstruction the tower was pointed up with a mortar made with lime from the Tottenhoe works, Bedfordshire, slaked on the site, and a carefully chosen white Reigate sand. The original work seems to have been carried out with a fine sea sand, no doubt washed in the river to remove the salt, containing a small amount of oyster shell and brick dust to produce a pozzolanic effect. The mortar was very sound and it needed nothing more than pointing, but the appearance was changed dramatically as a result. The joints had been eroded by years of weathering and had darkened in colour. In that form the brickwork was very attractive. However, the original pointing was identified very clearly under the arches of the buttresses. Protected from the weather by being on the soffits and then having been bricked up at an early date, these showed precisely the workmanship of the early bricklayers. The

pointing had been double struck as was conventional practice at the time and this method was repeated with skill and diligence over the whole of the wall, changing the appearance. It was also used in the two small sections of new structure which were necessary for practical reasons. Access to the second floor had been lost by demolition of the bridge from the stair turret. This was restored as a quarter octagon on brick corbelling with a pitched stone roof in sympathy with the profile of the adjoining buttressing. A similar technique was adopted for the insertion of a small structure in the corner immediately below and with these two exceptions the tower was allowed to stand virtually unaltered.

There was considerable discussion with the Trust as to the possibility of providing further ground floor extensions as the building had never, previous to the demolitions of the late 1930s, stood in isolation. Its present appearance is unnatural as the only part of the Gothicised 18th-century house to survive is the two-storey element of the facade which is a skin over the south-east front of the tower. Ultimately, however, it was decided to leave the tower as it was as the survivor of the 16th-century building. The restored south-west windows, previously invisible and unsuspected, became, therefore, important features.

To retrieve the tower's original aspect it was essential to know the appearance of the battlements. Evidence for this came from the capping brickwork abutting the head of the stair turret. These provided the essential dimensions except for the spacing of the embrasures and merlons. However, the positioning of one face of the embrasure adjacent to the stair turret was sufficient. Mathematically the differing lengths of side could produce only one logical arrangement taking into account the chimney running up the south-west face. The stone dressings were renewed in closely comparable material, a number of the cappings having survived on the buttresses.

Repair of the terracotta work presented a similar problem of aesthetic judgment. While it was clearly essential to replace the missing elements with material of similar colour, texture and profile it was also important to avoid any solution that might attract a charge of deception. The new material had to be identifiable. The elements made at the Swanage Brickworks to replace original terracottas were therefore formed to the correct profiles but left without the decorative features that distinguished the original pieces.

Little was left of the original metalwork on the tower, save two glazed windows in the turret and there were some fragmentary survivals of glazing in the blocked-up window on the ground floor. These provided sufficient evidence for replacement, although some licence was used in the provision of window catches which are loosely modelled on the Pelham buckle. Other fittings are, of course, patently new. The tiling for the ground floor was modelled on surviving pieces some of which it was possible to retain.

Because the aim of the work was to present the tower as close to its basic 16th-century form as possible, some problems arose with the removal of later materials. In particular, across the uppermost brickwork on the south-west and north-west faces ran a skin of tiling of 19th-century date. For visual reasons, this could not be allowed to remain, but removal provided a problem of weather-proofing the thinnest sections of wall at the point of greatest wind pressure. Likewise, the application of traditional plasters direct on to the brickwork without insulation and waterproofing is a problem in which integrity and high heat-loss come together to the disadvantage of the user.

In its restored form therefore the solar tower at Laughton must be seen as a structure in which historical accuracy of detail vies with a visual inaccuracy of silhouette, and where the same accuracy of material repair leaves the user of the building exposed to the same effects of winds and weathers that have been the lot of the inhabitants of the marshes since the site was first occupied.

Contents of microfiche

Tree-ring analysis of timbers from Laughton Place, East Sussex, 1984 (by Jennifer Hillam) (pages 57–68).

Acknowledgements

The cost of the archaeological investigations was provided by grants from English Heritage, the Landmark Trust, East Sussex County Council and the Margary Research Fund of the Sussex Archaeological Society. Thanks are also due to the following for help in the archaeological work; Peter Leach who undertook a survey of the moated area (this forms the basis for Fig. 2); David Dawson who drew plans from most of the masonry discoveries; Julia Wood Garrett who acted as Finds Assistant; Mark Gardiner who helped with part of the watching brief; and the excavation volunteers, especially Chris Place and John Wildman. David Martin gave his advice on site and subsequently, and commented on the draft of the section on the medieval bridge. John Houghton gave help at various stages and initiated many of the possible reconstructions of the function and appearance of the tower.

The post-excavation analysis was funded by English Heritage. Various specialists, duly named in this article, gave of their time to write short reports on finds. Miles Russell produced many of the figures, Jane Russell drew the pottery finds and Lys Drewett the terracottas.

Several other people were crucial in the wider interpretation of Laughton's importance or facilitated access to documents and other evidence: John Blair gave advice on the medieval section; English Heritage paid for the thin-section analysis of the terracottas, thanks to the good offices of Dr Simon Thurley and the expertise of Dr David Williams of the University of Southampton; Dr Richard Morris of the University of Warwick gave valuable guidance on the cataloguing and interpretation of the terracottas; Mr Wittingstall, Keeper of Laughton for the Landmark Trust, made the site accessible on a number of more recent occasions. Thanks are also due to Deborah Carthy, Christopher Green, Fiona Marsden and the staff at Barbican House, and Derek Oldfield.

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EXCAVATIONS AT CLIFFE, LEWES, 1987 and 1988

by David Rudling

Trial excavations in 1987 and 1988 to the north of St Thomas à Becket Church, Cliffe revealed large deposits of compacted chalk. Dating evidence from some of these deposits indicates that they were laid down during the 13th/14th century. Other discoveries included a number of rubbish pits/deposits, one of which yielded some interesting inscribed stoneware tankards.

INTRODUCTION

In advance of redevelopment, trial excavations were undertaken by the Field Archaeology Unit in 1987 and 1988 to the north of St Thomas à Becket Church, Cliffe, Lewes. These excavations are the first to have taken place in Cliffe, a suburb settlement of Lewes on the opposite bank of the River Ouse (Fig. 1). This suburb developed as a result of the importance of the river crossing. It is thought to date back to Late Saxon times, since 59 houses in Lewes are mentioned in the Domesday Book as belonging to the Rape of Pevensey, and the boundary of the Rapes was the river (Aldsworth and Freke 1976, 37). In more recent times Cliffe was a separate town from Lewes until 1881 (Chapman 1990, 10).

A religious fraternity was established and endowed at Cliffe soon after the death, and in honour of, St Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was martyred in 1170. This fraternity, 'who were subject to the College of South Malling, had their Chapel and most probably their residence near the site of the present church' (Dunvan 1795, 310). The fraternity continued at Cliffe until 1545 when they were suppressed and 'their possessions in and near the Cliffe, were granted with those of Malling College, to Sir Thomas Parker' (Dunvan 1795, 314). The Parish Church, which is dedicated to St Thomas à Becket, dates from the 13th and 14th centuries and may perhaps incorporate the 'Chapel' of the religious fraternity. The first recorded vicar was John de Arundel, who held office from 1320–1349.

By 1410 Cliffe was a settlement of sufficient size to require a market, and was granted by Henry IV a charter for holding a weekly market on Wednesdays and two yearly three-day fairs, one on the feast of St Mark the Evangelist and the other on the Feast of St Matthew (Dunvan 1795, 311). The fair place is known to have been located to the north of the Church (Salzman 1940, 8).

From the above it can be seen that the recent redevelopment of land to the north of the Church was of archaeological interest since the area potentially contained traces of occupation since the Late Saxon period; evidence of the religious fraternity; possible burials associated with the Chapel and/or Church; and the site of the Cliffe fairs. At the request of the County Archaeologist, Dr Andrew Woodcock, J. C. Design and Construction Ltd agreed in 1987 to allow and fund archaeological trial trenching prior to the demolition of the old Church Hall (Fig. 2). As a result, two trenches (I and II) were machine excavated under the direction of Dr Robin Holgate. Unfortunately the results of this work (see below) were disappointing. Subsequently, in 1988, two further trenches (III and IV) were excavated in advance of the main

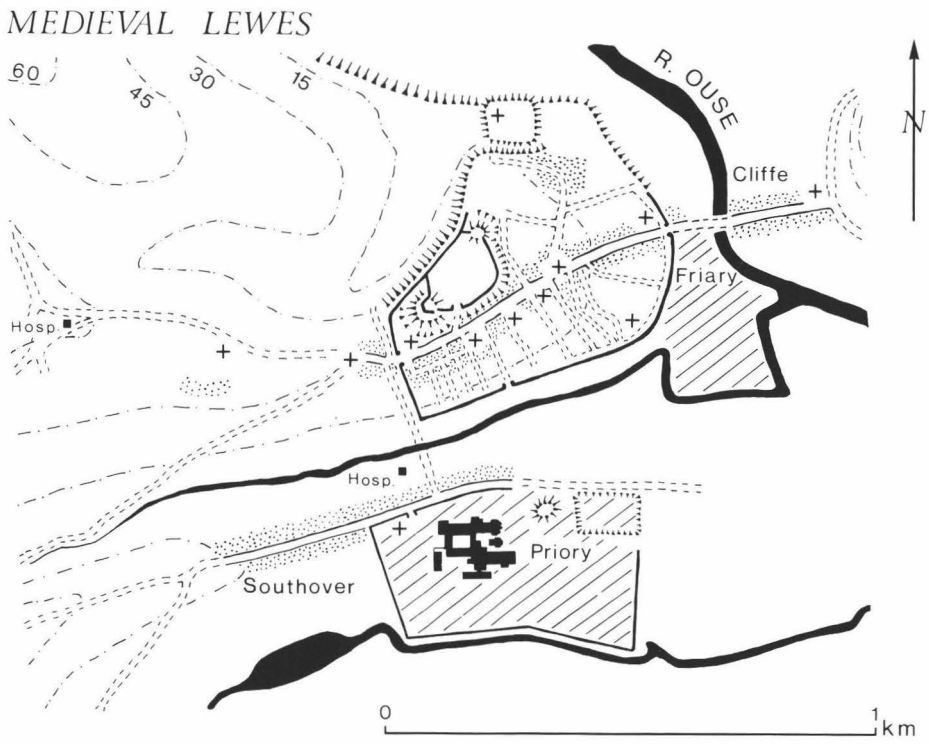

Fig. 1. Medieval Lewes and Cliffe.

phase of redevelopment. This work, which was directed by the author, was funded by the East Sussex County Council and the Margary Research Fund of the Sussex Archaeological Society. The developers again kindly made available the use of a mechanical excavator. Volunteer help on the excavation was provided by students of the Institute of Archaeology.

THE EXCAVATIONS

a) *1987*

Two trenches were machine excavated to a depth of about 2.5 metres to the north of the Parish Church (Fig. 2). All that was encountered below the surface was a compacted deposit of chalk blocks/rubble. No finds were made.

b) *1988*

Trench III

A 10 metres long and 1 metre wide trench was machine excavated to a maximum depth of 2.4 metres. A compacted deposit of chalk blocks/rubble was encountered at a depth of approximately 1.3 metres and was still present at 2.4 metres. A few finds were recovered from the deposits above the compacted chalk. These included two sherds of medieval pottery, several sherds of post-medieval pottery and a halfpenny dated 1807. Unfortunately no finds were retrieved from the chalk itself.

Trench IV

An approximately rectangular area, some 7.6 × 6.6 metres, was machine excavated to an average depth of 1-metre. A 1 metre wide strip along the southern face of the trench was machine excavated to a depth of approximately 1.5 metres.

The removal of the upper-most layers (Context 1) of the trench by the JCB cut through a number of brick foundations (Fig. 3). The deeper machine excavation along the southern

Cliffe 1987 & 1988

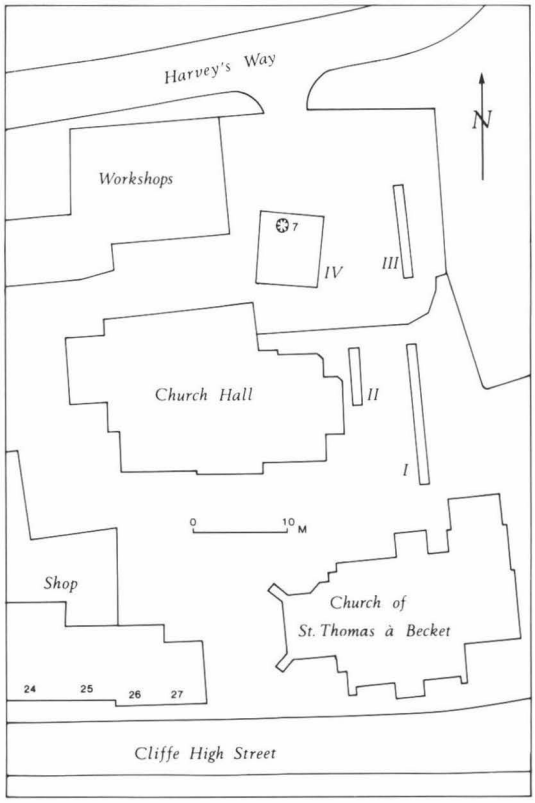

Fig. 2. Cliffe 1987 and 1988. Trench plan.

face of the trench resulted in the disturbance of three deposits/features. At the eastern end the machine disturbed a concentration (probably a rubbish pit or midden) of late 17th- and early 18th-century material. Although the exact edges of this deposit/feature could not be recorded, the finds from this area were assigned to Context 2. The pottery, glass and clay-pipe evidence suggest that this deposit dates to *c.* 1720–40. Just to the west of Context 2 was a small clay deposit (Context 3) which contained 13 pieces of window glass, some animal bones, marine molluscs and a piece of clay-pipe with spur dating to *c.* 1690. At the western end of the machine slot the JCB clipped the edge of a pit (Context 6). The fill (Context 4) of this feature (Fig. 3) yielded three pieces of glass which probably date to the early part of the 17th century. Other finds from this pit include animal bones and oyster shells.

Over the rest of the trench the machine stripping stopped just above an extensive layer of compacted chalk (Context 9). The remaining soil (ie. the base of Context 1e, but allocated Context 11) was removed by hand. This disturbed layer contained a mixture of medieval, early post-medieval and a few modern pottery sherds. Context 9 proved to be cut by four features; two of which (Contexts 12 and 13) were modern pits (one contained GPO fittings). The other two features (Contexts 5 and 7) were rubbish pits.

Context 7 (Fig. 2) was a small pit approximately 1 metre across and surviving to a depth of 45 cm. (Fig. 3). A sample of the fill (Context 8) of this feature was wet-sieved. The main dating evidence consists of post-medieval pottery and a Nuremberg jeton of Hans Krauwinckel II (Master 1586: died 1635). Unfortunately all of the pottery sherds are fairly small and the assemblage contains a number of residual late-medieval examples. The imported stonewares have been dated by Clive Orton (see below) to the mid-16th to mid-17th century. There is also, however, a sherd (Catalogue No. 21) of stoneware which may be later; possibly even early 18th century. Given that this sherd could be intrusive, the rest of the material from the pit indicates a date of mid-17th century. Other finds from this feature include window glass, metalwork, a lead token, building materials, charcoal, animal bones and marine molluscs.

The earliest feature which cut Context 9 was Context 5—a pit (fill: Context 10) located in the north-west corner of the trench (Fig. 3). Unfortunately only one piece of pottery (Catalogue No. 7) was recovered from this feature; a 14th or 15th century date is possible. Other finds from the pit were fragments of iron, animal bones and oyster shells.

In an attempt to try to date Context 9 (the layer of compacted chalk) the top 20 cm. of this deposit was excavated by 'pick and shovel'.

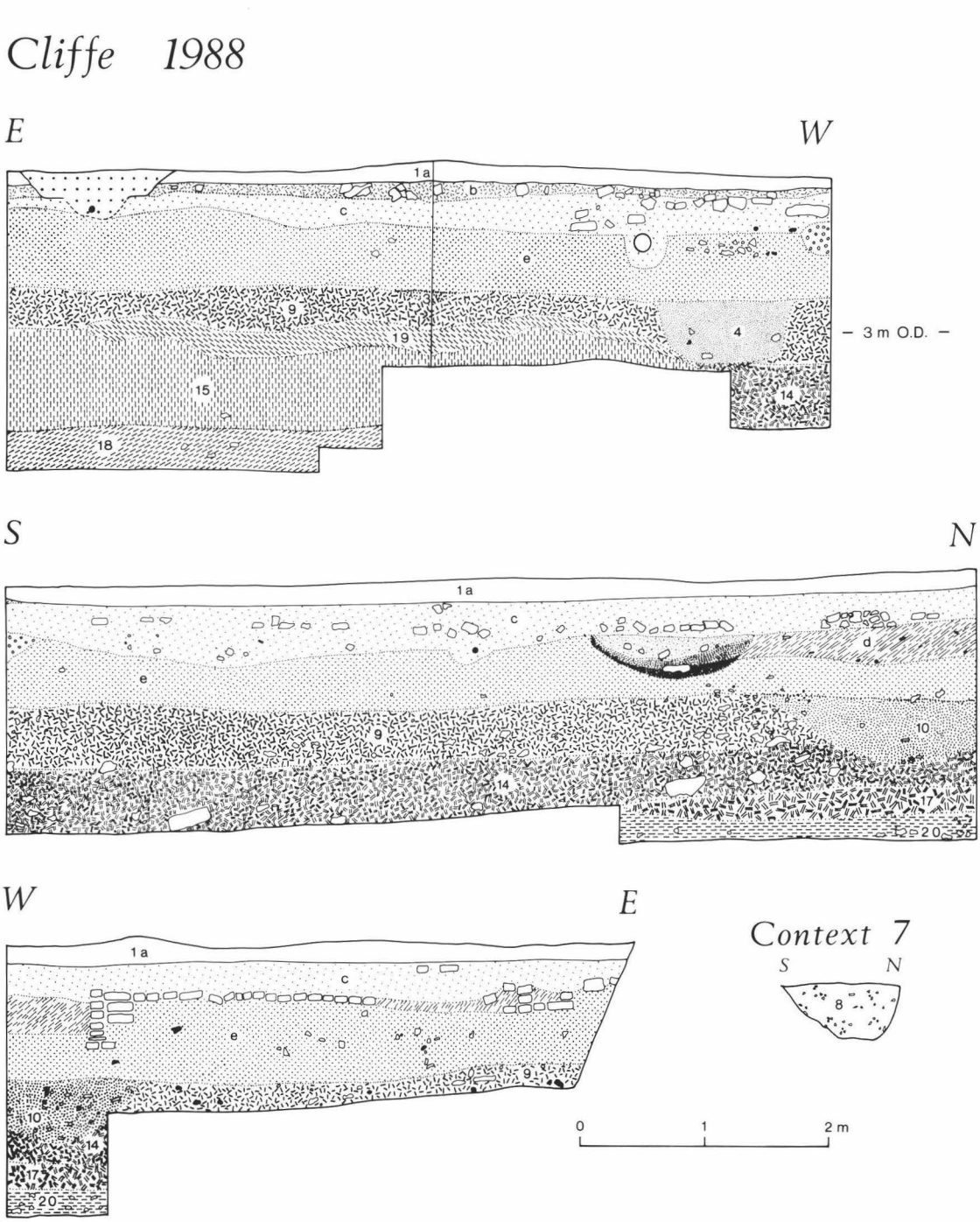

Fig. 3. Cliffe 1988, Trench IV. Sections.

Finds were not plentiful, but included oyster shells; animal bones; roofing tile and slate; and two small pieces of pottery. Both sherds are late medieval sand tempered wares.

Due to a shortage of time, the subsequent excavations concentrated on the digging of slots against the southern and western faces of the trench (Fig. 3). In the western slot Context 9 was found to overlie Context 14; which was another deposit of compacted chalk, this time including some substantially larger pieces. No finds were made. At the northern end of the western slot Context 14 was found to overlie a clay deposit (Context 17). Finds from this clay include 16 sherds of 13th/14th century pottery, animal bones and oyster shells. Beneath Context 17 was another deposit of compacted chalk (Context 20), but unfortunately this did not yield any finds.

In the southern slot Context 9 overlay a deposit (Context 19) of chalk containing some light brown clay. No finds were recovered from this context, which in turn overlay another layer of compacted chalk (Context 15). Finds from Context 15 include 5 small sherds of medieval pottery (including one piece, Catalogue No. 6, dated to the 13th century); roofing slate; charcoal; and animal bones. Below Context 15 was a layer (Context 18) of grey brown humic clay with chalk inclusions. The water table was reached at approximately 30 cm. below the bottom of Context 15. For safety reasons the excavations were only continued for a further 10 cm. Unfortunately Context 18 did not yield any archaeological finds, and its date is thus uncertain.

THE FINDS

(N.B. Finds marked with an asterisk are illustrated)

Pottery

The 1988 excavations (mainly Trench IV) yielded a small quantity of medieval and post-medieval pottery. A selection is described below to give an indication of the dating of contexts and the range of pottery types and wares.

a. Medieval (Fig. 4).

* 1. Cooking pot. Sand-tempered grey ware with occasional flint inclusions. Trench IV, Context 17.

* 2. Cooking pot with impressed decoration below the rim. Sand tempered orange ware with grey core. Trench IV, Context 17.

* 3. Body sherd from a jug with applied leaves/petals and stems below a yellow/green lead glaze. Grey sand tempered ware with orange inner surface. London-Type ware (Pearce *et al.* 1985). 13th century. Trench IV, Context 17.

4. Body sherd of jug. Fine sand tempered light grey ware with cream inner surface and external green lead glaze. Trench IV, Context 17.

* 5. Base of jug with thumbed decoration. Sand tempered grey ware with cream surfaces and external mottled green lead glaze. 13th/14th century. Trench IV, Context 17.

6. Body sherd of jug. Fine white ware with external light-dark green lead glaze. Probably French or possibly Surrey Ware. 13th century. Trench IV, Context 15.

* 7. Dripping dish. Sand tempered orange ware with grey core. The base of the interior has an orange lead glaze. Trench IV, Context 10.

* 8. Cooking pot. Sand tempered grey ware with buff inner surface. Trench IV, Context 1.

* 9. Cooking pot. Sand tempered orange ware with grey core and patches of mottled orange lead glaze on the interior surface. Trench III, Context 1.

b. Post-medieval (Fig. 5)

*10. Skillet handle. Fine buff ware. Surrey-type. 16th/17th century. Trench IV, Context 1.

11. Small body sherd. Orange hard-fired local earthenware with black exterior surface. Late 15th/16th century. Trench IV, Context 8.

12. Small body sherd. Fine hard orange ware with orange lead glaze on both surfaces. 17th century. Trench IV, Context 8.

*13. Footring base of a charger. Dutch or English polychrome (blue, light blue and brown on white background) Delft Ware, *c* 1580–1650. Trench IV, Context 2.

*14. Chamber pot. Delft Ware with white glaze over a fine light yellow fabric. Late 17th/early 18th century. Trench IV, Context 2.

*14A Ointment pot. Delft Ware with white glaze over a fine light yellow fabric. Early 18th century. Trench IV, Context 2.

*15 Tea bowl with carnation decoration. Tin-glazed cream ware with decoration and internal mark in blue. *c*. 1700. London or Low Countries. Trench IV, Context 2.

*16 Cup. Imitation porcelain. Tin-glazed cream ware with red and green decoration. Mid 18th century. Trench IV, Contexts 1 and 2.

c. The Stonewares (by Clive Orton) (Fig. 6)

*17 Large straight-sided tankard in London stoneware, upper part of exterior mottled. Base burnt. Capacity one quart. Inscribed:

]ye King & Queen in ye[
]ft Lewis 1715

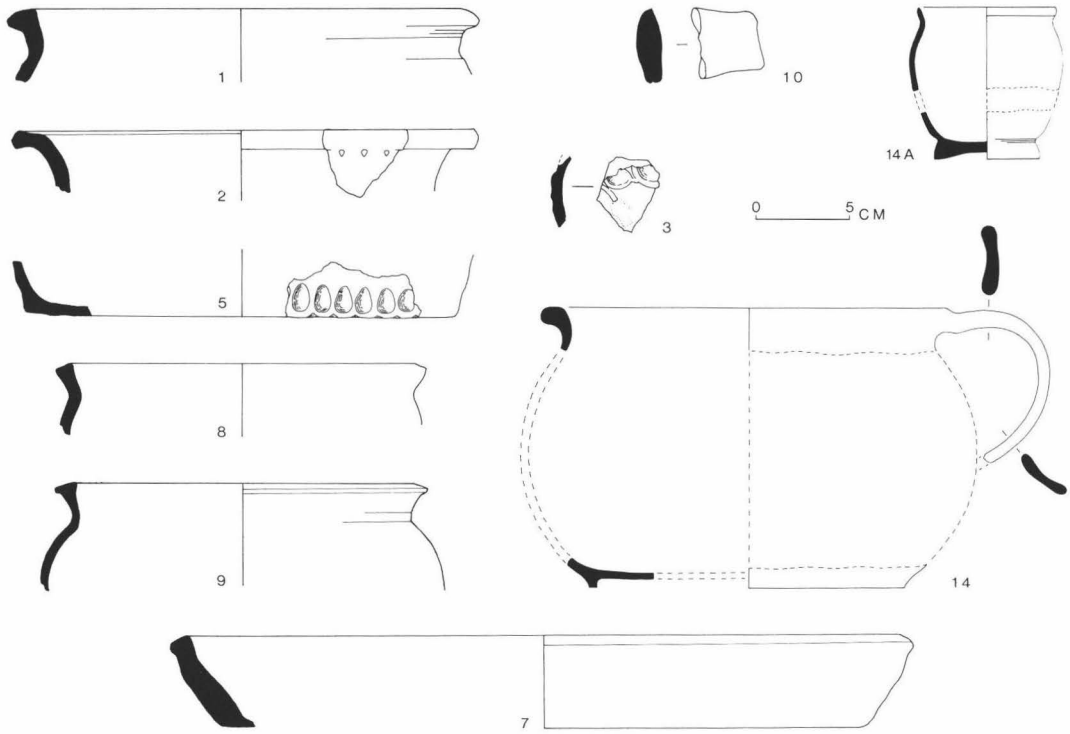

Fig. 4. Cliffe 1988. Pottery.

*18, 19 Two small, straight-sided tankards in London stoneware. No. 18 has the upper part of the exterior mottled, and No. 19 is burnt. Both have a capacity of ⅓ pint. No. 18 is inscribed:

Thos. Ford at ye King[ ]en
In the Clift 1715

No. 19 is inscribed:

]g & Quee[
]1715

In addition Nos. 17 and 18 bear WR ale-marks. Trench IV, Context 2. These inscriptions can be conflated to a full reading of: Thos. Ford at ye King & Queen in ye (the) Clift Lewis 1715.

This presumably refers to an inn, its proprietor and its location. The significance of 1715 is not clear; it might refer to the opening of the inn, a new proprietor, or the date of some historical event. It does not mean that the tankards were necessarily made in 1715. That George I was king by 1715 does not contradict the WR (William Rex) ale-mark since it continued in use for long after his death (Bimson 1970).

20. Globular mug with heavily-ribbed rim in London stoneware. Very late 17th or early 18th century. Trench IV, Context 2.

These four drinking vessels presumably form part of the normal debris of the King and Queen Inn, at a date shortly after 1715.

21 Rim sherd of mug in grey stoneware with clear glaze.

22 Body sherd of mug or bottle in grey stoneware with mottled yellow-brown glaze.

23 Body sherd with handle, probably from a mug, in grey stoneware with mottled brown glaze.

24 Similar body sherd, probably not from the same vessel.

Nos. 21–24 are all from Trench IV, Context 8. Nos. 22–24 are all Cologne or Frechen types of mid-16th to mid-17th century date. No. 21 looks later, possibly up to early 18th century, and could be from London.

*25 Body sherd of globular vessel in Westerwald stoneware with blue and purple decoration. There are no convincing parallels in von Bock (1976), but Noel Hume (1970, 281) asserts that purple decoration did not start until 1665, giving a *terminus post quem* for this sherd. Trench IV, Context 11.

Clay Pipes (by David Atkinson)

A catalogue of all the clay pipe finds forms part of the Archive. A selection of finds from Trench IV is described below. (Fig. 7)

1 Piece of stem with relief decoration, *c.* 1850. Context 1.

* 2 Piece of spur which bears the initials T/H, *c.* 1770–1780. T/H is Thomas Harman II, working 1768–74. Context 1.

3 Polished bowl with no initials, *c.* 1720–40. Context 1.

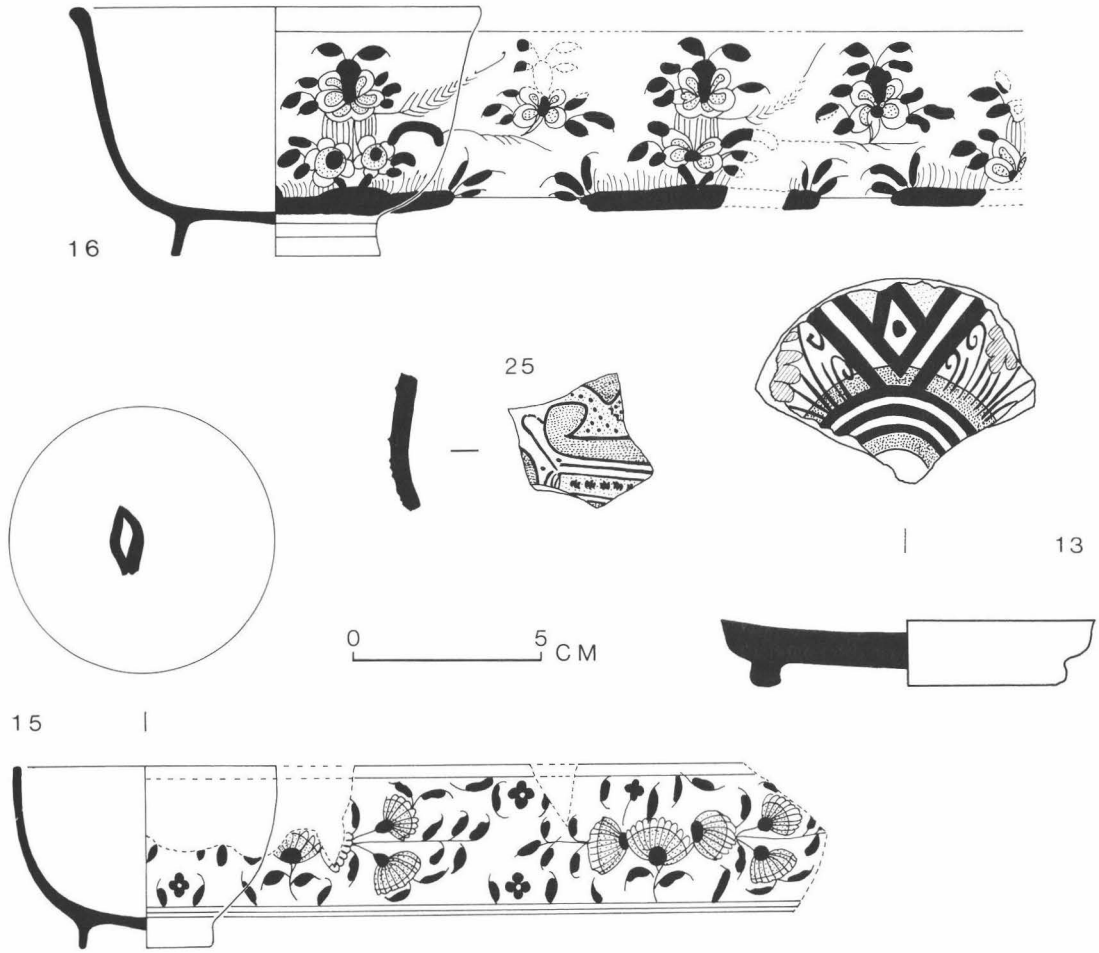

Fig. 5. Cliffe 1988. Post-medieval Pottery.

* 4 Bowl with initials H/A, stem nearly 10 cm., *c.* 1720–40. H/A is an as yet unidentified early 18th century Lewes pipe-maker. Context 1.

* 5 Polished bowl with initials T/H, *c.* 1720–40. T/H is Thomas Harman who lived in Lewes from 1697–1781. Context 1.

6 Bowl with H/A moulded at base, *c.* 1720–40. See No. 4. Context 2.

7 Piece with spur, *c.* 1690. Context 3.

* 8 Small wig curler made of pipe-clay. Context 11.

9 Two pieces of stem, probably late 17th century. Context 12.

Glass (by Christopher and Prue Maxwell-Stewart)

The bulk of the glass finds from Trench IV consist of parts of wine bottles of shaft-and-globe shape made in the English style, mostly round but some oval, all dating from 1680–1720. There are some pieces from cylindrical wine bottles from later in the 18th century: one in particular with a curiously shaped base, the kick having been a quatrefoil shaped indentation. This bottle is probably of Continental manufacture.

As well as the quantities of dark green bottle glass there are also parts of several small bottles in thin green/blue glass, probably medicine bottles, one with a very high pointed kick. All these would date from the late 17th century.

The earliest pieces of glass found were three forest glass sherds from Context 4: the pit in the south section. These are from a vessel with a folded pedestal foot 80 mm. in diameter, and would probably date from the early part of the 17th century. This is likely to have been of Wealden manufacture.

There are pieces from two very different types of drinking glass, both dating from the first quarter of the 18th century. One is a fine Silesian stemmed six-sided pedestal

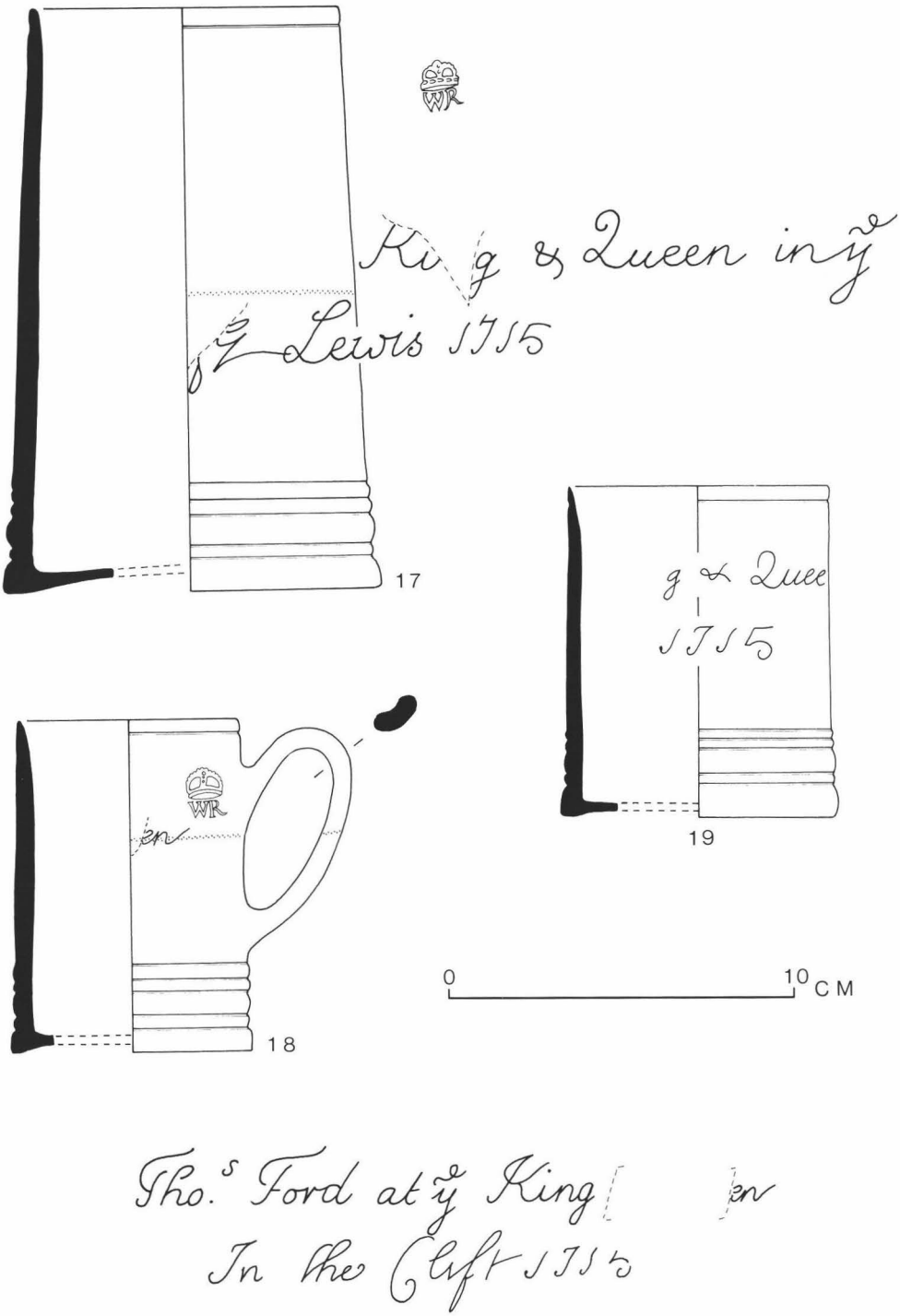

Fig. 6. Cliffe 1988. Stoneware Tankards from the King and Queen Tavern.

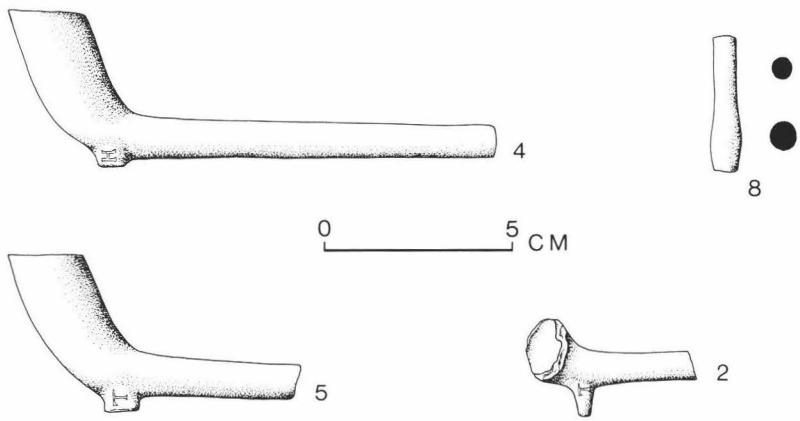

Fig. 7. Cliffe 1988. Clay Tobacco Pipes and part of a clay Wig Curler.

moulded wine glass with stars on the shoulders of the stem and a thick rounded base to the bowl, in leaded metal. The other a complete stem with a tear in the centre, and part of the conical foot of a crudely made drinking glass in soda metal. Both these glasses would appear to be of English manufacture.

There were also quite a few sherds of window glass, some of which had been made by the broad glass technique: several pieces showed finished edges where the cylinder had been cut.

Apart from a few erratic items of more recent date, the glass from this site covered a date span from 1600–1720 with a preponderance of finds from the period 1680–1720.

A complete catalogue of all the glass finds from Trench IV forms part of the Archive. A selection of finds is described below. (Fig. 8)

1 Three pieces of glass from a lightly leaded vessel, one with crudely folded rim. Probably from a shallow bowl or pattipan. Late 17th/early 18th century. Context 1.

2 Thirty nine body sherds from onion-shaped wine bottles. Complete short necks with sharply bladed string rims and flaring rims above. Two large base sherds from same with shallow domed kick. English style *c.* 1680–90. Context 2.

3 Complete neck and part body of large oval wine bottle with crudely applied string rim. English style of manufacture *c.* 1690. Context 2.

4 Complete base and part body of round bottle of squat globular form with shallow kick and indistinct pontil. English style *c.* 1690. Context 2.

5 Complete neck of smaller round shaft-and-globe type wine bottle with well applied bladed string rim. English style *c.* 1700. Context 2.

6 Neck of thin green/blue glass bottle approximately 70 mm. in diameter with bladed string rim; two pieces of base from the same bottle with conical kick and broken pontil; three body sherds from the same bottle. Late 17th century. Context 2.

7 Whole base of stemless glass with small rounded foot. Lightly leaded, possibly a jelly glass. Late 17th/early 18th century. Context 2.

8 Stem and part of conical foot of crudely made drinking glass with an off-centre tear. Soda metal. Probably early 18th century. Context 2.

9 Five body sherds from large bowl, two pieces of base of the same vessel with shallow domed depression; and one piece of folded rim, probably from the same bowl. All soda metal. Early 18th century. Context 2.

*10 Part of thistle-bowl wine glass on a hexagonal moulded stem with stars on the shoulders ('Silesian' pedestal). Leaded metal. English. *c.* 1720. Context 2.

11 Complete base of wine bottle: a very high kick with quatrefoil mark from kick stone. Probably Continental. Mid to late 18th century. Context 2.

12 Three very small pieces of window glass. Context 8.

*13 Three pieces of forest glass from a pedestal footed bowl, 80 mm. in diameter, made from one piece of glass with the base folded back on itself. Late 16th–early 17th century. Context 4.

Coins

1 Louis XIV of France. Copper Liard. Dated 1698. Mint of Lille. Trench IV, Context 2.

2 George III of England. Copper halfpenny. Fourth issue. Dated 1807. Trench III, Context 1.

Tokens

* 1 Lead token, the 'Cross and Pellets' series, *c.* 1425–1490. 12 mm. (Fig. 9) Obverse: a shield quartered by linear cross within a circle: the whole enclosed within a broad oblique ray border.
Reverse: a cross with expanded arms: a dot-in-circle in each angle: the whole enclosed within a broad oblique ray border.
Reference: Type M, No. 8 (Mitchiner and Skinner 1985, 95 and Plate 4). Mitchiner and Skinner (1985,

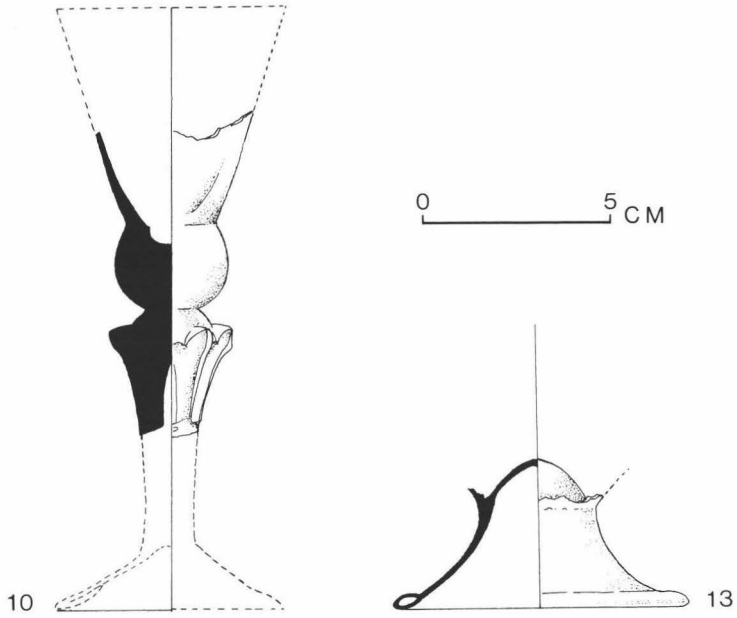

Fig. 8. Cliffe 1988. Post-medieval Glass.

94) note that at the time of writing their paper, all the recorded 'Cross and Pellets' Series M tokens were found in London. Trench IV, Context 8.

2 Brass jeton of Hans Krauwinckel II (Master 1586: died March 1635) of Nuremberg, 25 mm.
Obverse: DAS WORT GOTES BLEIBT EWICK rosette, three crowns, alternately with three lis, arranged centrifugally around a central rose with six heart-shaped petals.
Reverse: HANNS KRAUWINCKEL IN NVRNB:, Imperial orb surmounted by a cross patty, within a tressure with three main arches: no ornaments around tressure.

Fig. 9. Cliffe 1988. Lead Token.

Reference: Type as Mitchiner (1988) No. 1496, but struck from different dies (e.g. rev.: bottom of tressure points to letter 'C'). Trench IV, Context 8.

Copper Alloy Objects (Fig. 10)

* 1 Head of stud or boss with centre surrounded by five convex circles. Possibly an ornamental stud for clothing. *Cf.* Crummy (1988, 17–18) Nos. 1773–1775; 1786 and 1788. Trench IV, Context 8.

* 2–3 ?Lace-ends. In both cases a single strand of wire has been folded and twisted to leave a loop. *Cf.* Crummy (1988, 13) Nos. 1621–1623. Trench IV, Context 8.

* 4–18 Pins with a head where the wire has been wrapped round the shaft and shaped to globular form. Whilst all of the complete pins range in length from 27–30 mm., the shaft of one broken pin (head missing) from Context 8 measures 35 mm. *Cf.* Crummy (1988, 8), Type 2. Trench IV, Context 2 and 8 (Nos. 5–18).

*19–21 Thin strips/fragments of sheet metal of uncertain function. Trench IV, Context 8.

*22 Bent strip. Trench IV, Context 8.

Lead

23 A small, thin and narrow curled strip of lead. Trench IV, Context 8.

*24 A small rod of lead bent to form a loop. Possibly a form of binding. Trench IV, Context 8.

*25 Binding. 37 mm. long. Trench IV, Context 3.

*26 Large fragments of a circular disc of 48 mm. diameter. ?dress weight. Trench IV, Context 2.

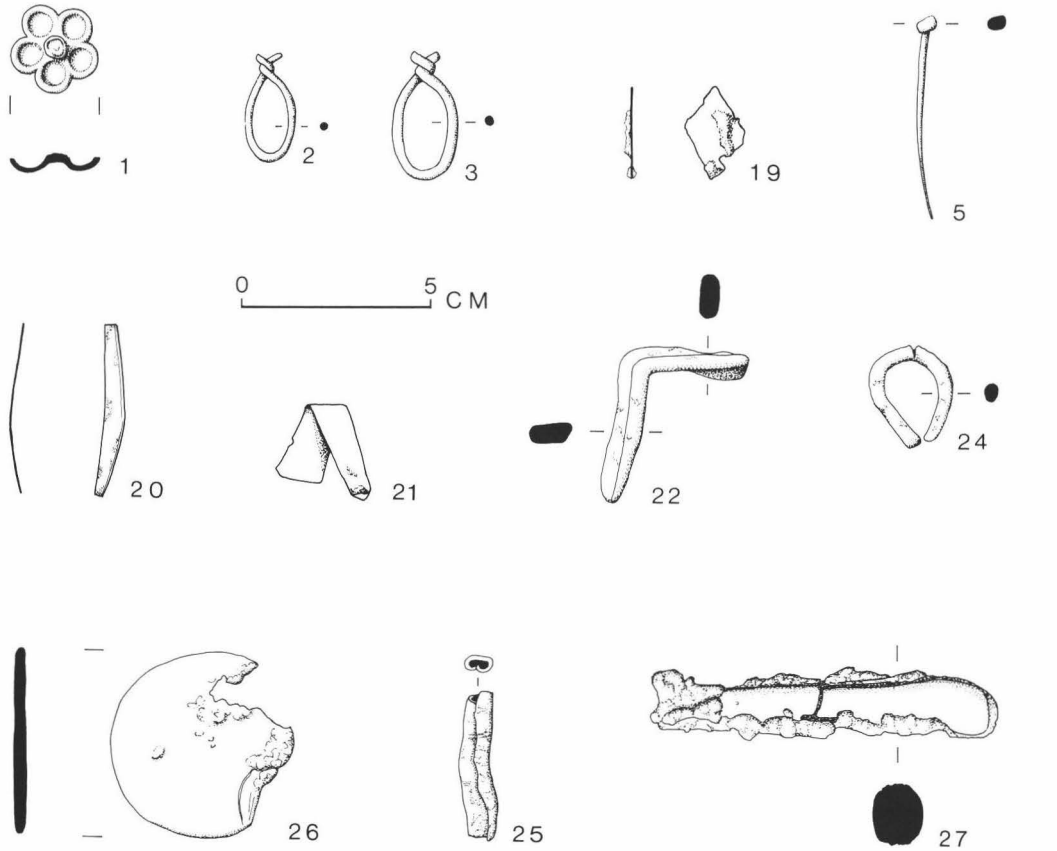

Fig. 10. Cliffe 1988. Metalwork. Copper-alloy: 1–22; Lead: 24–26; Iron: 27 (all at $\frac{1}{2}$, except Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 22 and 24 which are 1:1).

Iron Objects

*27 Iron knife with two-piece bone handle. Trench IV, Context 2.

Other fragments of iron, mainly from nails, were found in Trench IV, Contexts 1, 2, 3, 8, 10 and 11.

Slag

Two pieces of slag/vitrified material were recovered from Trench IV, Context 2.

Roofing Slate (by the late Eric Holden)

Pieces of roofing slate were recovered from Trench IV, Contexts 1, 2, 8, 9, 11, 12, 15 and 17. All are small fragments and are typical of slate found in Sussex, principally from the 13th to 15th centuries, although it is known in the 12th and 16th–17th centuries (Holden 1965). Colours vary from various shades of grey, grey-green, lilac, purple, all of which can be matched with specimens from the Start Point area of South Devon (Murray 1965). South Cornwall may be an alternative source. One piece from Context 1 has signs of a fixing-hole; others have traces of mortar, used in bedding the tails of slates. Most slates have 'delaminated', i.e. they are less than their original thickness. Three pieces appear not to have done so, and are *c.* 8 mm. in thickness.

There is ample evidence that slates were more used in coastal areas and river valleys than elsewhere within the county, and were especialy favoured for ecclesiastical buildings (Holden 1989). Slates were used at the same time as clay tiles, shingles or thatch, and more than one material may form a roof-covering. They are very difficult to date, being of long-lasting material, and they may well be residual.

Tile and Brick

Fragments of flat clay roofing tile, approximately 1 cm. thick, were recovered from Trench IV, Contexts 1, 2, 8, 9, 11 and 12. One fragment, from Context 2, had a square peg-hole. Two fragments of tile from Context 1 are probably from ridge tiles. One of these fragments, which is 1.2 cm. thick and in a sand tempered orange fabric with grey core, has partial mottled green lead glazing on the upper surface. This tile could be medieval.

The same contexts yielded a number of fragments of brick. One from Context 8 (17th century) is 5 cm. thick.

Burnt Clay

Two pieces of burnt/vitrified clay were found in Trench IV, Context 17. These fragments are possibly pieces of furnace lining.

Struck Flint

A struck flint flake, probably caused during shaping flint for building purposes, Trench IV, Context 1.

Geological Material (by Caroline Cartwright)

Trench IV, Context 11 yielded two fragments of greensand.

Charcoal (by Caroline Cartwright)

Small fragments of bark, root, twig and larger rounded charcoal were recovered from four contexts in Trench IV. The largest sample came from Context 8 (17th century pit fill) and the species included *Quercus* sp. (oak), *Salix/Populus* (willow/poplar), *Betula* sp. (birch), *Fagus* sp. (beech), *Fraxinus* sp. (ash) and *Corylus* sp. (hazel). *Salix/Populus* charcoal was also present in Context 11, and *Quercus* sp. charcoal was recovered from Contexts 12 and 15.

It may be suggested that the charcoal fragments relate largely to fuel for hearths or fires, but in the absence of precise corroborative contextual information from the evidence on site, this must remain speculative.

Animal Bones (by Patricia Stevens)

The animal bones from the 1988 Cliffe excavations were recorded using the method devised by A. J. Legge of the University of London Extra-Mural Department and adapted by the writer.

Of the 754 bone fragments examined, 31 per cent were identified to species or family, the remainder being assigned to large or small ungulate or unidentified mammal. Large ungulate is that material which, in this instance, cannot be identified to either cattle or horse with any degree of certainty; small ungulate is material too small to assign to either sheep or pig, and unidentified mammal is used where fragments are too small to be assigned to any of the species identified from the site.

Each bone fragment was examined and recorded by species and anatomy where possible, and further examination for possible butchery cuts and chops, gnawing by canids and rodents as well as any evidence of pathology. Measurements were taken whenever possible to help an estimation of size of the animals present, and mandibular teeth were recorded for wear, and fusion data of all bones was recorded; both latter giving an indication of the age of animals at death. All this detailed information forms part of the Archive.

The 754 bones were collected from twelve contexts ranging from the medieval period to the 18th century. Fourteen species were identified and are listed in Table 1 below.

Looking at the material as a whole, butchery evidence from the site is low, with cattle showing more evidence than the other species present. Two radii, a fused radius and ulna had been chopped through the midshaft, and an ilium and tibia had also been chopped in the same way. An atlas split through axially is a possible indication that the animal was cleaved through axially after killing. One metatarsal had knife cuts at its proximal end which are probably due to skinning and dismembering. Only two ovicaprid bones show butchery evidence—a metacarpal and a tibia both chopped through midshaft. A pig femur has the head chopped through indicating that this was probably done to remove the leg from the pelvis. There is little to indicate that the bones had been left on the surface for any length of time, as only two cattle bones—a tibia and a radius and ulna show gnawing by dogs, and only one distal humerus fragment shows some slight erosion.

TABLE 1
Cliffe, Lewes—Bone Species List

Species	*No. of Bones*	*%*
Cattle (Bos sp.)	56	7
Ovicaprid	93	12.5
Pig (Sus sp.)	9	1
Horse (Equus sp.)	1	
Dog (Canis sp.)	5	
Cat (Felis sp.)	5	
Mouse (Apodemus sp.)	1	
Brown Rat (Rattus Norvegicus)	1	
Fowl (Gallus sp.)	5	
Goose (Anser sp.)	1	
Pheasants (Phasianidae)	1	
Magpie (Pica pica)	1	
Cod (Gadus morhua)	29	4
Herring (Clupea harengus)	2	
Large ungulate	48	6
Small ungulate	54	7
Unidentified mammal	433	57
Unidentified fish	9	1
Species present: 14		
Number of Bones: 754		

The Site by Period

The site contains material from the Medieval period to the present, and the bones are discussed in three main groups (see Table 2 below): medieval—post-medieval, late 16th/mid 17th century, and late 17th/early 18th century. The other contexts and periods contain few or no bones at all.

Probable Medieval or Early Post-Medieval

There is nothing remarkable about those species represented from this period, but the absence of fowl is worth noting, as it is generally a common species throughout most sites of this date (Table 3).

Very few measurements could be taken, but the length of lower molar 3, taken from two ovicaprid mandibles measuring 21.1 and 20.2 mm., are of a similar size to those taken from Wharram Percy (Stevens 1987). Little can be said

TABLE 2

Medieval/ E. Post-Med.		*Late 16th/ Mid. 17th*		*Late 17th/ Early 18th*		*Topsoil/ Modern*	
Context	*Bones*	*Context*	*Bones*	*Context*	*Bones*	*Context*	*Bones*
9	20	6	5	2	43	1	20
10	14	8	485	3	17	12	11
15	10			11	111	13	1
17	17						
	61 (8%)		490 (65%)		171 (22%)		32 (5%)

about the ages of those animals present apart from two sheep mandibles which indicate that they were of between three and four years, which indicates that they could have come from a flock kept for milk, meat or wool. The fusion data also points to mature animals as there were no unfused bones present.

Butchery evidence for the period is very slight, with one cattle radius chopped midshaft, one vertebra chopped through axially, one mandible fragment split along its base, and one ovicaprid rib split through.

There is no dog or rodent gnawing of the material from this period of the site which, together with the absence of eroded material, suggests that this material was diposed of rapidly and was not left lying around for any length of time.

Late 16th/Mid. 17th century

This period contains the largest collection of material from the site. As can be seen from Table 4 below, practically all the bones come from Context 8, which was sieved. Unfortunately, the majority of the bone fragments were too small to identify the species; a not unusual occurrence where the bones have been broken up to facilitate the removal of marrow. Very few bones show evidence of fresh breakage which could bias the numbers.

All the species represented for this period appear to be adult, there being no unfused bones present; the one ovicaprid mandible that could be used for ageing purposes indicates an age of between four and six years.

The bones from Context 8 are generally from the poorest meat-bearing bones together with teeth, feet and horn-core fragments. Of the 21 cattle bones, two radii and one ilium have been butchered by chopping through the midshaft. Two ovicaprid bones out of 40, a metacarpal and femur, have also been chopped in the same way. Again only one bone, a metacarpal, shows signs of dog gnawing, again indicating that the material was not left lying around and in this instance was probably deposited directly into the pit.

Two herring bones were recovered, but the majority of the fish bones come from cod, represented by all parts of the skeleton indicating that the fish were brought in whole.

Late 17th/Early 18th Century

The bone from the late 17th/early 18th century comes from three contexts, the majority of the bone comes from Context 11 (Table 5).

Bones from this period appear to be adult, as they were all fused. An age-wear pattern of between four and six years was obtained from an ovicaprid mandible. Few measurements could be taken from material from this period, although one cattle metacarpal gives an estimated withers height of 135.7 cm. and one ovicaprid metacarpal gives an estimated withers height of 57.9 cm. Both these measurements compare favourably with those measurements taken from Exeter (Maltby 1979) and Wharram Percy (Stevens 1987).

Butchery evidence is very slight, with one cattle mandible being chopped through, a femur being chopped through the midshaft, and a metacarpal with proximal knife cuts probably indicating dismembering of the carcase or skinning. A pig femur has been chopped through the head, probably when removing the leg from the pelvis. Only one

TABLE 3

Context	*Cattle*	*S/G*	*Pig*	*Lar*	*Sar*	*Unid.*	*Total*
9	0	5	0	0	0	15	20
10	6	5	1	1	1	0	14
15	2	5	0	0	0	3	10
17	7	2	0	8	0	0	17
TOTAL:	15	17	1	9	1	18	61

TABLE 4

Context	*Cattle*	*S/G*	*Pig*	*Cat*	*Fowl*	*Cod*	*Herr.*	*Lar*	*Sar*	*Unid.*	*Total*
6	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	5
8	21	38	4	1	1	29	2	25	13	351	485
	21	40	4	1	1	29	2	25	13	354	490

TABLE 5

Context	*Cattle*	*S/G*	*Pig*	*Horse*	*Dog*	*Cat*	*Mse*	*Rat*	*Fowl*	*Goose*	*Pheas.*	*Magp.*	*Lar*	*Sar*	*Unid.*	*Total*
2	2	6	1	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	5	23	43
3	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	11	17
11	17	19	2	1	3	0	1	1	3	1	1	1	0	25	36	111
Total:	19	26	3	1	5	3	1	1	4	1	1	1	5	30	70	171

bone, a cattle femur, was gnawed, again confirming that the area was kept clean.

Summary and Conclusions

The remains from Cliffe are dominated numerically by ovicaprid, cattle, cod and pig, in descending order.

Numbers of cattle and pig bones remain constant throughout all periods, whereas ovicaprid bones are doubled in the late 16th/mid-17th century, compared to the other periods. It is interesting to speculate whether the low numbers of bones recovered is due to poor retrieval or whether numbers would have been increased greatly if all contexts had been sieved (Payne 1972). In this latter period, cod becomes the second most numerous species indentified; cat, fowl and herring are also identified. The late 17th/early 18th century sees a further increase in the identified species and this may be an indication of some change, perhaps in the use of the site, as mouse and rat are included. It is of interest that pig numbers are extremely low for all periods.

A comparison with North Street, Lewes (Freke 1976) where some sieving was carried out, shows that the proportions of the major species identified are similar, except that fowl is absent from Cliffe in the Medieval period. One of the most striking contrasts between the two assemblages is that all parts of the cod are present at Cliffe, whereas at North Street no skull bones are present.

It can be seen from the foregoing that the site contains evidence of general food waste with some evidence of butchery. There is no evidence to support any specialist activity within the site and it would appear that the material was from the poorer quality meat cuts being supplemented by cod in the late 16th/mid-17th century. Although there is evidence of dog and rodents within the site, there is little gnawing of bone to indicate that the material was left lying around for any length of time, and in all probability it was deposited directly into pits.

Acknowledgements

I acknowledge the time given by E. Somerville and D. Gregory in identifying and recording the bones from the site.

Marine Molluscs (by Mary Rudling)

The excavations at Cliffe yielded a total of 110 marine molluscs. The range of shells on the site was as follows (in order of decreasing numbers): Oyster *Ostrea edulis* 101 (91.8 per cent of the total sample), great scallop *Pectens maximus* 4 (3.6 per cent), whelks *Buccinum undatum* 2 (1.8 per cent), periwinkle *Littorina littorea* 1 (0.9 per cent), limpet *Patella vulgata* 1 (0.9 per cent), and mussel *Mytilus edulis* 1 (0.9 per cent). Whole oyster shells were counted, in addition a total of 109 oyster fragments was recorded, which suggests that the total oyster count could have been much larger.

The following contexts contained marine molluscs: Context 1 (post-Medieval) contained oyster, periwinkle and scallop; Context 2 (post-Medieval) contained oyster; Context 3 (post-Medieval) contained oyster and scallop; Context 6 (post-Medieval) contained oyster; Context 8 (17th century pit) contained oyster, limpet and mussel; Context 9 (Medieval/post-Medieval) contained oyster; Context 10 (late Medieval pit) contained oyster; Context 11 (post-Medieval) contained oyster and scallop; Context 12 (modern) contained oyster and whelks; Context 13 (Modern) contained whelk; and Context 17 (Medieval) contained oyster.

The largest numbers of shells were found in the late Medieval pit (Context 10) 59 oysters and 50 oyster fragments, and the 17th century pit (Context 8) 12 oysters and 21 oyster fragments, one limpet and one mussel. The oyster shells from Context 10 were fairly large and thick, and a quick study of the annual growth layers of several of the shells suggests that they were five or six years old. The shells show light to moderate parasitic infestation by worms. In contrast the oyster shells from Context 8 were much smaller than those in Context 10. It is thus possible that they were either harvested/collected younger than those found in Context 10, or that they were growing in less favourable conditions. With only one exception (perhaps residual) which was somewhat larger than the other shells and heavily infested, the shells were only lightly infested by worms. Although the numbers involved are small, the oyster shells from both Contexts 8 and 10 have a predominance of right (upper) valves over left (lower) valves (63 per cent and 60 per cent respectively). This may indicate kitchen as opposed to dining-room rubbish.

Whelks were found only in the modern features (Contexts 12 and 13)

A more detailed study of the shellfish from Cliffe excavations, and also from other sites in Sussex, is being undertaken by Dr E. Somerville of the Lewes Archaeological Group.

DISCUSSION

All of the trial trenches reported above revealed extensive deposits of compacted chalk. This area is very low lying, with the surface of Trench IV being approximately 4 metres O.D., and the water table being reached in that trench at approximately 2 metres O.D. Woollgar (n.d., 247) informs us that 'the streets of Cliffe are made grounds raised from a Marsh formerly overflowed by the River as appears from the Slub and Sea sand found beneath in sinking wells for

the use of the inhabitants'. The chalk deposits are evidence that this part of Cliffe is indeed built upon 'made ground'. Dating evidence from the investigated chalk deposits (ie especially Trench IV Contexts 9, 15 and 17) would suggest that these were laid down during the later medieval period, probably 13th/14th century. No finds were recovered which could be dated to Saxon or Norman times. The absence of such finds does not necessarily rule out the utilization of this area to the north of the church before the 13th century, but the problem could only be resolved by an investigation of the deepest deposits of dumped chalk/clays. It is possible that the presumed Saxon settlement of Cliffe was located slightly further to the east at the edge of the chalk, and/or along West Street (modern Cliffe High Street) to the south of the Parish Church, which may have been reclaimed earlier than the lands to the north.

The original use of the made ground to the north of the Church is uncertain, but is unlikely to have involved burial. No human bones were discovered in any of the trial trenches, and the nearness of the water table would have made burial an unattractive option. Dunvan (1795, 322) notes that the 'inhabitants of this parish had long continued to bury their dead at South Malling, and St John's in Lewes; but for a considerable time back, they have had a small cemetery in North Street' (modern Malling Street). Woollgar (n.d. 328) also records that the 'ancient burying place of the Parish is situated on the east side of the North Street and adjoining up to the Down'. Horsfield (1824, 289) records that this 'ancient burying place' . . . 'having been found too small, an addition was made there to, by the purchase of some premises adjoining, on the south of it, about the year 1718'.

It is known that the 'Fair Place' was located to the north of the Parish Church (Salzman 1940, 8). Thus it is possible that starting in 1410 the area investigated by the trial trenches undertaken in 1987 and 1988 may have been the location of the two annual three-day fairs. Dunvan (1795, 313) records that in about 1747 the sheep fair held on the 22nd October was 'removed to a field of Mr Trayton's and since to a field called the Paddock, belonging to Henry Shelley, Esq., north of the town of Lewes'. Of the fair held on the 5th May 'which is chiefly for black cattle', Dunvan notes that it 'is still held in the Cliff and lower part of Lewes-Street'. Pedlary fairs continued to be held at the Fair Place until at least the 1830s. By the late 18th century however, part of the land to the north of the Parish Church had been built upon and was known as St Thomas' Square (Colin Brent pers. comm.). The buildings included houses and a school. It is possible that the brick foundations found in Trench IV may belong to this episode.

From the period prior to the construction of the brick buildings referred to above, the area investigated by Trench IV has revealed evidence for one particular activity—rubbish disposal. The earliest pit, Context 5(10), dates to the late medieval period. Two pits, Contexts 6(4) and 7(8) probably belong to the early/mid-17th century. Contexts 2 and 3 were rubbish deposits dating to the late 17th/early 18th century. Some of the pottery finds from Context 2 are of particular interest. These are the fragments of stoneware tankards (Catalogue No.'s 17–19) bearing inscriptions that refer to Thomas Ford at the King and Queen, in Cliffe, at Lewes, 1715.

The King and Queen tavern, which was located at number 15 North Street (modern Malling Street), was only some 50 metres to the east of Trench IV. Colin Brent, who has made a study of the historical evidence for Cliffe, has kindly informed me that the first record of the King and Queen's Head tavern is in a deed of conveyance dated 1694, which refers to the fact that the tavern had lately been new built by John Hodge. This dating suggests that the name of the tavern had been chosen to commemorate King William and Queen Mary. John Hodge is recorded as having held the same property in 1685 when the freehold rent to Ringmer Manor was 9d. In 1705 the freeholder of the King and Queen was John Grover, but there is then a gap in the records until the Land Tax of 1749 which

refers to the late Charles Boore. In 1755 it was owned by Robert Chester of the Castle Brewery, Lewes, and in 1794 its name was changed to the Swan. The discovery of the inscribed tankard fragments thus helps to provide the name of one of the owners during the otherwise undocumented period between 1705 and 1749. Thomas Ford Senior 'of the Cliffe' is known from his will made on 18 February 1724 (East Sussex Record Office SM/D7 p. 34) to have been an Inn holder. The will was proved in 1738, presumably the year of Thomas' death.

Also of interest is the fact that broken tankards from the tavern, together perhaps with other tavern rubbish such as glass bottles and other broken pottery, was being disposed of on the land to the north of the Parish Church. Colin Brent has pointed out that both the King and Queen tavern and the land to the north of the Church were part of the Church Estate in Cliffe. This Estate can be traced back to the possessions of the religious fraternity of St Thomas, which had been suppressed in 1545. On 22 December 1591 the former possessions of the fraternity together with those of Malling College were granted among other lands and tenements to William Typper and Robert Dawe, 'gents' of London (Dunvan 1795, 314). On 10 June 1592 Typper and Dawe sold these lands to John Whiting of Ditchling and Richard Shorewell of Wivelsfield. Ten days later the lands were sold to William Covert, Andrew Stone, John Pierce and Abraham James. Ten years later on 18 March, John Pierce of Glynde released all claim in the premises to Gargin Archer of Cliffe, freemason. On 28 February 1603 Gargin Archer and John Pierce with Abraham James of Hellingly granted by deed to John Stansfield of Cliffe, Gent. and 13 other persons and their heirs for ever, the lands and premises for the maintenance of the Church of St Thomas the Martyr and for the relief of the poor of Cliffe. The name or names of those responsible for this benefaction to the town and parish of Cliffe is uncertain (Dunvan 1795, 317). Unfortunately the pious intentions of the donors were soon abused and some of the property was sold to private individuals (Woollgar n.d. 326). This situation resulted in an Inquisition held at Lewes in 1631 which decreed that the rents and profits of the estates should thenceforth be received by the Parish for charitable purposes. By *c.* 1715 therefore the area to the north of the church and the King and Queen tavern were both parts of the Parish Estate. Perhaps this connection has something to do with the reason why rubbish from the tavern was being disposed of on land to the north of the Church. Alternatively, the rubbish may be derived from a booth which the tavern may have had at the Fair Place on fair days.

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ARNOLD NESBITT AND THE BOROUGH OF WINCHELSEA

by Janet H. Stevenson

The Winchelsea Causes was the name popularly given to the series of law suits between 1766 and 1769 by which Arnold Nesbitt attempted to wrest control of Winchelsea corporation from the earls of Egremont and Thomond.[1] The account of the actions given by T. H. B. Oldfield in about 1792 was restricted to a mere hundred or so words and he concluded that 'the Nesbitt interest was, upon the whole, successful upon this occasion. The treasury have since made some other rude attacks on the Nesbitt interest, in which they have at times so far succeeded, as to return one member'.[2] Although the historian of Winchelsea, W. D. Cooper, writing in about 1850, devoted more space to the Causes, he asserted, wrongly, that Nesbitt's candidates had defeated those of the Treasury at the parliamentary election of 1768.[3] The most recent commentary on the Causes, and the fullest, was given by Margaret Cramp in 1953.[4] None of them, however, subjected the composition of the corporation, the conflicts within it, or the Causes themselves, to systematic analysis. It is the aim of this article to describe the origin of the Nesbitt interest in Winchelsea and the background and business career of Arnold Nesbitt; to demonstrate how, by land purchase, commercial enterprise, the patronage of local men, and the introduction of his own freemen, Nesbitt attempted to fend off Egremont's and then Thomond's attacks on his parliamentary interest; to show how, when forced to accept a compromise in the Winchelsea Causes, his persistence and large expenditure enabled him to preserve the influence of the Nesbitts in the borough; and finally, to trace the decline of the Nesbitt interest after his death and bankruptcy in 1779.

Arnold Nesbitt, the third son of Thomas and Jane Nesbitt, was born at Lismore, co. Cavan.[5] His father was a member of parliament for Cavan borough and the descendant of a family which had migrated from West Nisbet in Berwickshire to co. Donegal during the plantation of Ulster in the 17th century. In 1713 Thomas's means were apparently sufficient for him to marry as his second wife Jane Cosby, a daughter and coheir of Arnold Cosby of Lismore and a descendant of Arnold Cosby of Stradbally Abbey, co. Leix, who died in 1596, and his wife Dorcas Sidney. Thomas gained not only a prestigious Ascendancy connexion, but also, by purchasing from his impecunious father-in-law the Lismore estate, a base from which to pursue his political ambitions in Cavan borough. The cost of his political career, of a growing family, and of the large mansion built for him at Lismore forced Thomas to sell his Donegal estates in about 1737 to his younger brother Albert, a successful merchant in London.[6]

It was to Albert Nesbitt that Arnold Nesbitt and his younger brothers Albert and Alexander were apprenticed before 1750, in which year their father died.[7] Like many sons of Ascendancy families, Albert Nesbitt established a career in London, and by about 1717 he was trading to the Baltic. In 1729 he married Elizabeth Gould and entered into partnership with her brother Nathaniel, trading in Coleman Street as Gould & Nesbitt, Nathaniel died in 1738, and it was possibly then that Albert took his nephews into the business.[8] Arnold and the younger Albert were employed there in 1750, when Alexander was in France, 'breeding up for business',[9] which shows that the firm of Nesbitt no longer dealt

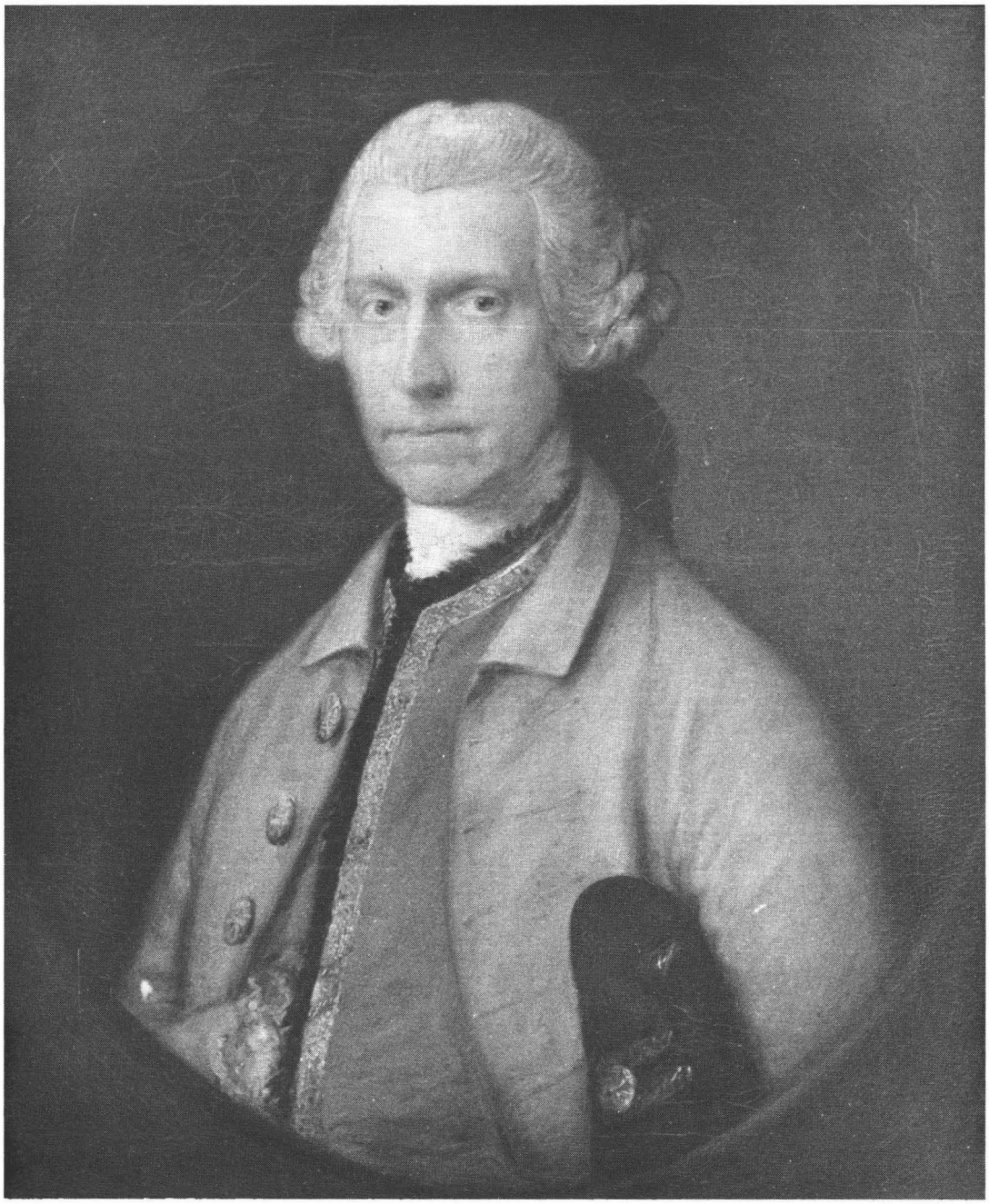

Fig. 1. Arnold Nesbitt. Portrait attributed to Thomas Gainsborough, reproduced by permission of Major R. H. Lucas-Clements.

exclusively with the Baltic, and that an important part of its trade was the import of wines.[10] At the time of the elder Albert Nesbitt's death on 12 January 1753, Arnold and Albert were full partners with him, and on 13 January they obtained probate of his will.[11]

The firm of Nesbitt was still based in Coleman Street in 1746[12] but before 1753 it had moved to 8 Bishopsgate Street, and from about 1773 had a counting house at 18 Aldermanbury.[13] The Nesbitts were general merchants who managed and transacted all types of business. They acted as bankers and financial agents for members of the Pelham and Nesbitt families, and after 1753 greatly widened their range of business. Many of Arnold Nesbitt's more grandiose ventures involved his closest friends, his brother-in-law Henry Thrale, the Southwark brewer, and the brothers Sir James and Sir George Colebrooke. The Colebrookes were his partners in several government contracts with which, as adherents of Newcastle, they were rewarded from 1756. Nesbitt's continued support for the administration after the duke's death in 1768 ensured further contracts, worked with Adam Drummond and Moses Franks.[14] In 1764 Sir George Colebrooke and Arnold Nesbitt became partners in a Dublin bank, an enterprise which failed in 1773. Before 1774 the two men bought an estate of sugar plantations (425 acres later called Mount Nesbitt) in Grenada, and at an unknown date Nesbitt alone bought the 2,095-acre Duckenfield estate of plantations in Jamaica.[15] Passages to the West Indies, as for William Hickey in 1775 in the 'New Shoreham', were arranged in the firm's ships sailing from Rotherhithe.[16] As an adjunct of the wine trade, letters were carried between France and England.[17] From 1759 to 1762 Arnold Nesbitt dealt in large amounts of government stock, either on behalf of clients or for 'stagging'.[18] The firm's expansion was the result of his ambition, energy and enterprise. His aunt Elizabeth Nesbitt recognised early that those qualities were not matched by circumspection, caution and sound judgment. So far as is known, neither she nor her daughter ever entrusted the Nesbitt brothers with the management of their affairs. That the firm was weakened by unwise speculation and over-ambitious projects is suggested by the fact that two of the Nesbitt brothers died insolvent, Albert in 1776 and Arnold in 1779.[19]

Although the elder Albert Nesbitt's brothers-in-law John and Nathaniel Gould followed their uncle Sir Nathaniel Gould into parliament, John sitting as member for New Shoreham and Nathaniel for Wareham in Dorset from 1729 to 1734, Albert himself did not apparently become seriously interested in acquiring a seat until after 1738 when his sister-in-law Sarah Gould married Thomas Pelham, member for Hastings from 1728 to 1741 and for Lewes from 1741 until his death in 1743. As a result, Albert entered the vast political network controlled by the Pelham family. He sat as a member for Huntingdon from 1741 to 1747 and, on the Courtenay interest controlled by the earl of Sandwich, for Mitchell in Devon from 1747 until his death. Albert Nesbitt's closest acquaintances in the Pelham family were James Pelham of Crowhurst Park, who sat for Hastings between 1741 and 1761, and Thomas Pelham of Stanmer, member for Rye from 1749 to 1754 and for Sussex from 1754 to 1768 who succeeded as Baron Pelham in 1768 and was created earl of Chichester in 1801.[20] It was possibly at their instigation, and certainly with the help and advice of John Collier of Hastings, surveyor-general of the riding officers of the customs for Kent from 1733 to 1755 and from 1734 an agent of the Pelhams in Sussex,[21] that Albert Nesbitt began to buy land in the county in the 1740s with a view to establishing a parliamentary interest there. He owned land at Ringmer by 1750.[22] In 1751, after patient and protracted negotiations on his behalf by Collier, and with the encouragement of the Pelhams, he bought the small Winchelsea estate of Arthur St Ledger, Viscount Doneraile,[23] who had died in 1750.[24] It comprised 46 acres in the north-west and south-west parts of the borough, and, to consolidate it,

Albert Nesbitt bought 14 acres along the north part of the borough's western boundary from William Stone.[25] Also, in 1751, he bought 3 houses and another 10 acres in Winchelsea, 6 acres in Icklesham, and Parnell's Wood comprising 7 acres in Pett, from Henry Staffield.[26]

No further opportunity to add to his parliamentary interest in Winchelsea occurred, although in August 1751 it was decided that when the Pelhams judged the time to be right, Albert Nesbitt's contribution 'towards solacing the worthy gentlemen' of the borough was to begin.[27] His health, possibly already failing in the summer of 1752 when he and his wife went to Tunbridge Wells,[28] may have precluded further effort. He died suddenly in his coach on 12 January 1753 while returning to London from taking a cure at Bath.[29] Most of his property was devised to his only child Rachel, and all that his nephew Arnold received was several small pieces of land in Winchelsea acquired after 1751.[30] Clearly surprised, possibly chagrined, but undaunted at the apparent stunting of his parliamentary ambitions, he wrote immediately to John Collier, ostensibly to report his uncle's death, but principally to test the political water. He told Collier he did not intend to lose sight of Winchelsea and had resolved to speak on the subject in a few days' time with Henry Pelham, the prime minister. He confidently predicted that he would be able to manage his cousin's Winchelsea property as if it were his own.[31] Nesbitt's open ambition irritated his redoubtable aunt Elizabeth Nesbitt, who shortly afterwards wrote to instruct Collier not to spend her daughter's money to gain an election at Winchelsea.[32] Meanwhile, with the agreement of the patron, the earl of Sandwich, who was by then in opposition to the Pelhams, Nesbitt was allowed to succeed to his uncle's parliamentary seat at Mitchell on 27 January 1753.[33] In 1754 Henry Pelham insisted that Nesbitt stand at Winchelsea to oppose William Belchier,[34] a London banker, who had either bought or acquired by foreclosure John Caryll's heavily mortgaged Winchelsea estate.[35] To that end, Nesbitt leased Crowhurst Park, about 12 miles from Winchelsea, from James Pelham.[36] He was returned, although the campaign proved costlier than the Pelhams had expected.[37] The wealth produced for him by the firm of Nesbitt enabled him to build up a parliamentary interest in the borough by manipulating a system of patronage and place in which there was no distinction between public and private affairs.

Winchelsea corporation was responsible for all aspects of borough government. Its officers were chosen each Easter Monday: the mayor, *ex officio* coroner of the borough, was chosen by all the freemen, and he then chose from among them the jurats, whose number was restricted to twelve. A clerk, bailiff and serjeant were also chosen. The right to vote for the two members returned to parliament for Winchelsea was vested in the resident freemen. To qualify, a stranger had to live in the town for only a year and a day and to pay scot and lot before he could apply for freedom at an assembly, one of the four courts held in the borough. The number of freemen was unrestricted. Such a constitution left the corporation open to manipulation by those who wished to control its political allegiance. Abuses were rife by the 17th century, and in the 18th Winchelsea was brought entirely under the control of the Treasury[38] by the agents of the prime minister, Henry Pelham, and his brother Thomas Pelham-Holles, duke of Newcastle. Nesbitt's election in 1754 had been secured partly by the introduction as freemen of four men, who included his brother Alexander, on 4 March 1754.[39] Although all four were leasing houses in the town on 17 March,[40] it is extremely unlikely that any of them could have fulfilled the year-and-a-day residence qualification at his election.

A substantial property owner would encounter little difficulty in securing the admission of compliant freemen, and Nesbitt bought property in and around Winchelsea

whenever the opportunity occurred. Between 1753 and 1767 he bought 4 acres at the Crutches in Winchelsea, 4 acres elsewhere in the town, and a house called the Magazine. In the large parish of Icklesham, which surrounded Winchelsea, he bought a farm of 91 acres from Dr Thomas Frewen of Northiam and another nine acres from Robert Bristow, who had represented Winchelsea from 1738 to 1741. His largest purchase was the manor of Icklesham itself, bought in 1760 from the devisees in trust of the coheirs-at-law of Edmund Sheffield, duke of Buckingham and Normanby. Part of the £22,000 purchase price was underwritten by mortgagees who included Henry Thrale. Of the manor's 1,388 acres, only about 60 were in Winchelsea, the rest being west of the town and including Thorn farm, 53 acres; Wickham farm, 239 acres; Crutches farm, 285 acres; New Place farm, 244 acres; Church farm, 65 acres; three unnamed farms of between 50 and 100 acres; and five of fewer than 50 acres. On his frequent visits to Winchelsea, Nesbitt occupied one of his own properties, Periteau House opposite St Thomas's church.[41]

A manufactory for cambric, supervised by two Frenchmen, a Mr Mariteau and François-Marie Corbaux, was established early in 1761. Its presence in the town was legalised in 1763 when for the first time the making of cambric in England was allowed by statute. The promoters, incorporated as the English Linen Company, included Arnold Nesbitt, Sir George Colebrooke and Moses Franks. The Act enabled them to buy lands to the value of £500 a year and to raise capital of £100,000.[42] The company's property in Winchelsea included the Magazine, which had been bought by Nesbitt before 1767 and became a dwelling house, 15 houses in Bear, later Barrack, Square in the north-east corner, and seven elsewhere, all of which stood on land owned by Nesbitt.[43] By 1765 the company had also leased Salutation House from him.[44] Cambric manufacture was later replaced by Italian crepe, produced under the direction of another Frenchman, Pierre Novaille. The enterprise survived Novaille's bankruptcy in 1778, and still flourished in the early 19th century.[45] Other local enterprises undertaken by Nesbitt included shipbuilding. A ship built for him at Rye in 1773 was appointed by the customs service in the summer of 1774 to cruise against smugglers between the North Foreland and Portsmouth.[46] That Nesbitt subscribed in 1775–6 to the new harbour being built for Rye[47] suggests that the construction of the revenue sloop may not have been his only local maritime undertaking.

Nesbitt was actively promoting the Pelham interest in Kent in 1760,[48] and was presumably confident of Newcastle's continued support for him at Winchelsea. A strong rival interest, however, was in 1759–60 being built up by Charles Wyndham, earl of Egremont. In 1759 William Belchier and Egremont were brought together by Thomas Browne, 'a small attorney dabbling in elections'. Belchier, financially hard pressed, could no longer hope to challenge Nesbitt, and was anxious to sell the manor of Iham, an estate of some 939 acres which comprised 68 acres in Winchelsea and extensive tracts of marshland between Rye and Winchelsea and around Camber castle. Also included was the right to present a rector for St Thomas's church at Winchelsea. Belchier's tenants, John Parnell, Joash Adcroft, Edward Catt, Charles Stephens, John Knight and Charles Browne, were all Winchelsea voters and former customs officers to whom Belchier had leased the land. None had any experience of farming and Belchier had lent them money to stock their farms and had allowed them to build up arrears of rent. Four lived in new houses in Winchelsea built for Belchier. The bonds which secured the tenants' debts were included in the sale. Thomas Browne reckoned that as only six or seven of the Winchelsea voters were attached to the estate, it would not support an interest in Winchelsea. Nonetheless, it was an effective counterbalance to Nesbitt's estate west of the borough. Belchier

was declared bankrupt in 1760, the need to sell became urgent, and after certain aspects of Belchier's title to the manor had been assured, the sale to Egremont was completed in 1762.[49]

It is probable that Newcastle's request to Nesbitt to stand down at Winchelsea at the general election in 1761 resulted more from the duke's desire not to offend Egremont than from any fear of Nesbitt's intentions in Winchelsea. Newcastle first decided to support Egremont's candidate, Percy Wyndham O'Brien, earl of Thomond, and Nesbitt to the exclusion of Hunter. Hunter successfully lobbied the earl of Bute, who wrote to Newcastle to persuade him not to abandon Hunter, and Egremont brought pressure to bear on Newcastle in support of his brother, Thomond. Nesbitt was resolved to contest the election and to that end attempted to suborn the Treasury agent in Winchelsea, Edwin Wardroper.[50] Wardroper, a Rye attorney, was from 1747 to 1753 a sub-agent in Rye and Winchelsea of John Collier, the chief Treasury agent for the east part of Sussex, and held offices in both boroughs. In Rye he was collector of the customs from 1747[51] and town clerk from 1748 to 1753.[52] In Winchelsea he became a freeman in about 1739 and was town clerk in March 1747. On 6 April he was re-elected a freeman to strengthen his title before being chosen a jurat next day and, on Easter Monday (20 April), was elected mayor.[53] From 1761, when he was removed from his offices at Rye, including his customs post, he concentrated on his interests in Winchelsea. By 1762 he had bought a house and 16 acres in the town,[54] and he leased other property from the corporation in the same year,[55] and from Nesbitt's cousin Rachel Harcourt in 1767.[56]

Wardroper, suspicious of Nesbitt's motives, accepted the more attractive bargain offered by Egremont and Newcastle early in February 1761. At the general election in March, Thomond was returned for Minehead in Somerset and was replaced at Winchelsea by Thomas Sewell. Newcastle resigned as prime minister in 1762 and for the first time in some 20 years the Treasury interest was separated from that of the Pelhams. Despite Newcastle's treatment of him in 1761, Nesbitt remained loyal to the Pelhams. For that reason, and also because Egremont was secretary of state in the new administration, Nesbitt's influence in the borough was greatly weakened. After Egremont's death in 1763, the Wyndham interest there was taken up by Thomond, for whom Wardroper exploited Nesbitt's position.[57] The manoeuvring which ensued, described as 'a complete scene of villany', culminated in 1766 with Nesbitt's attack on Wardroper's election as mayor.[58]

Treasury patronage in Winchelsea, as in Rye, was exercised chiefly through the Rye customs establishment, and Wardroper's first tactic was to manipulate its composition to Nesbitt's disadvantage. The chief officer, based at Rye, was collector of the customs, the post Wardroper held until ousted in 1761. Under him were a supervisor and riding officers at Rye, another supervisor at Winchelsea, and other riding officers based at Winchelsea and Pett. The customs establishment at Winchelsea when Nesbitt first represented the borough was headed by a supervisor, William Marten, in charge of the officers who patrolled the coast between East Guldeford, south-east of Rye, and Hastings. Three officers, William Vousden, John Knight and Nathaniel Dawes, were based at Winchelsea and two more, Thomas Miles and Thomas Marten, at Pett. In addition, a sloop cruised between Dungeness and Beachy Head.[59] All the riding officers, with the exception of Miles, lived at Winchelsea,[60] but only two had been born there, William Marten in 1716 and his brother Thomas in 1726. John Knight's family may have come to the town in the early 1700s,[61] William Vousden came in about 1736,[62] and Nathaniel Dawes in about 1747.[63] In 1761 Wardroper caused Thomas Marten, an adherent of Newcastle, to be removed from his post at Pett because Marten had been appointed Nesbitt's steward in Sussex, and replaced him with Charles Stephens, who supported Egremont.[64] Earlier in the same year Nesbitt's sponsorship of the

cambric manufactory was represented to Newcastle as evidence of his intention to promote an independent parliamentary interest in the borough. Although the accusation was not without foundation, Nesbitt rejected Wardoper's insinuations and defended its establishment as of economic benefit to the town.[65] Wardoper's attacks continued, and in 1763 two more of Nesbitt's supporters, William Marten and John Knight, were removed from their customs posts. Wardroper's attempts to undermine Newcastle's confidence in Nesbitt failed, and when the marquess of Rockingham became prime minister in July 1765 Nesbitt regained the support of the Treasury, although it was thought unlikely that Nesbitt could influence elections at Winchelsea to the administration's advantage while Wardroper controlled the borough.[66]

An immediate result of Rockingham's support was the reinstatement to their customs posts of William Marten in 1765 and Thomas Marten in 1766.[67] Early in 1766, with Newcastle's encouragement, Nesbitt mounted a vigorous campaign to achieve the election of William Marten as the next mayor and *ex officio* returning officer.[68] The task was a difficult one because only 14 of the 34 voters in the borough supported Nesbitt.[69] An unsuccessful attempt to seduce one of Wardroper's supporters, Richard Tireman, rector of Winchelsea, by promise of another living, was made during February and March, and there may have been others.[70] Wardroper countered such moves on 12 March by the election as freemen of two supporters, John Easton and John Johnson, and on Easter Monday (31 March) Wardroper's mayoral candidate, Nathaniel Dawes, defeated William Marten by 17 votes to seven.[71]

Immediately afterwards Nesbitt brought a series of law suits to challenge Wardroper's interest. The ostensible target was the titles to the franchise of some of Wardroper's supporters, but the ulterior motive was the political destruction of Wardroper himself. Proceedings continued in King's Bench and at Sussex assizes during the next two years, and delays meant that actions intitiated by one side were still unresolved when a fresh attack upon a different issue was mounted by the other. Nesbitt instigated proceedings to oust nine of Wardroper's supporters with the aim of invalidating the election of Easton and Johnson as freemen and of Dawes as mayor. A judgment made in similar circumstances in 1740 had ruled that no man could become a freeman unless at the time of his election he lived in Winchelsea and paid scot and lot.[72] That rule was ignored as soon as it was made, and few of the elections between 1753 and 1766 would have been considered valid if measured against it. The elections of Nesbitt himself in 1753, of his brothers Alexander in 1754 and Albert in 1756, and of his fellow Irishman and close friend Jeremy Sneyd in about 1756[73] were illegal according to the rule, as were those of several of Wardroper's adherents, including Nathaniel Dawes, who, although not resident in the borough, was elected a freeman in 1747.[74] All such freemen afterwards rented houses in the town,[75] although, except Dawes, a tanner,[76] and a few other tradesmen or farmers who married local women and settled there, none resided for more than a few days at a time.[77]

One of Dawes's first acts as mayor was to refuse to swear a Nesbitt supporter, John Parnell, as a jurat and in 1766 Nesbitt sought redress on Parnell's behalf in King's Bench. Dawes, ordered by a writ of *mandamus* of 12 May 1766 to confirm Parnell as a jurat, refused on the grounds that it was not customary to admit jurats or to continue in office those chosen for life, after the mayoral election. An unsuccessful counter-attack was afterwards made, either under Dawes's mayoralty or that of his successor, Wardroper's son Richard, on a Nesbitt supporter, John Peters, whose title to the franchise was confirmed by King's Bench.[78] The sitting members of parliament for Winchelsea, Thomas Orby Hunter and Thomas Sewell, did not consider the attack upon the titles of the nine freemen who had voted for Dawes, Easton and Johnson worth contesting because the re-election

of the nine could be easily secured, and therefore allowed judgment of ouster to go against them by default. Nesbitt had achieved his objective and established that their disqualification invalidated the election of Dawes, Easton and Johnson, thus giving his mayoral candidate a majority of one. Wardroper retaliated by questioning the titles of some of Nesbitt's supporters, of whom four, possibly five, did not live in Winchelsea, and so had been elected freemen in contravention of the 1740 rule upon which Nesbitt based his case.[79]

During the numerous actions the titles of both Nesbitt's and Wardroper's supporters were examined according to a new rule established by Lord Mansfield that a freeman's title could not be challenged if he had peaceably possessed the franchise for 20 years. The cases of both Nesbitt and Wardroper were, as Mansfield observed, undermined because the supporters of each had, as freemen and borough officials, connived at the elections, and condoned the corporate acts, of those very men whose titles they now challenged, and against whom they were prepared to testify. The cases against Edwin Wardroper, his son Richard, and Nathaniel Dawes in 1766–7, and against Thomas Marten, a Nesbitt supporter, in 1767, were all dismissed by Mansfield,[80] as, inexplicably, were those against Nesbitt's non-resident freemen, his brothers Albert and Alexander, Jeremy Sneyd, James Bogle French, a London apothecary, and William Johnson, a London bookseller, and Wardroper's, John Milbourne, William Markwick and Francis Wilson.[81] At the general election in March 1768 Wardroper successfully returned Thomond, who received 20 votes, and Hunter, who received 23, after a contest against Nesbitt's, and the Treasury's, candidates, Sir Thomas Sewell and Richard Phillipson, who received eight votes each.[82]

Wardroper's victory was reinforced on 21 March when, at the Lent assizes at East Grinstead, he successfully challenged the validity of Nesbitt's own title as a freeman.[83] Nesbitt retaliated by challenging as freemen Easton and John Johnson. On 19 July 1768 he wrote from London to Jeremiah Curteis, a Rye attorney who acted for him in Sussex affairs: 'I shall be down on Sunday and give you verbatim what I shall swear to at the trial. I trust that the evidence to be collected in the county will not be neglected, and that people may judge the rectitude of their *conscience*: the adverse side I'm sure will have no scruples of that sort. Notwithstanding the great expense I have been at, I shall never fail in a ready supply of ammunition, but I wish it had been better directed in some points.' Although his letters to Curteis suggest a lack of confidence in Christopher Hull, the barrister briefed by Curteis, the titles of Easton and Johnson were adjudged defective at the summer assizes held on 1 August at Horsham.[84] The stalemate thus reached was finally resolved when Wardroper, driven hard by Nesbitt to incur legal costs beyond his means, declared himself bankrupt. Although Wardroper's motives were suspected by the Egremont faction, Thomond continued to use him as agent in Winchelsea until at least 1769, but before 1771 Wardroper had left the town.[85]

Nesbitt's next tactic was to support a petition to parliament from the defeated candidates objecting to Wardroper's conduct as returning officer at the 1768 election. For reasons that are unclear, the petition was withdrawn in the spring of 1769. It has been suggested that its withdrawal was the result of a deal between the supporters of Rockingham and Grenville,[86] in which Nesbitt, in return for abandoning the petition, was promised the reversion of Hunter's seat. Nesbitt re-entered parliament as one of the members for Winchelsea early in 1770, after the death of Hunter in the autumn of 1769. After Thomond's death in July 1774, Nesbitt and the Treasury returned one member each.[87] Nesbitt's nominee William Nedham was returned in August 1774 and in January 1775 replaced Nesbitt himself, who had again been returned for the borough in October 1774. Having established his influence at Winchelsea beyond question, Nesbitt chose instead to sit for the borough of Cricklade in Wiltshire, which, with the hundred and manor, he had bought during his exclusion

from Winchelsea, and for which he had also been elected after a contest in 1774.[88]

Nesbitt continued to foster Winchelsea after 1770 and offered terms to freemen who had opposed him in the 1760s. In particular he cultivated Nathaniel Dawes, who, as Wardroper's tool, had been his main opponent. The election of Dawes as mayor again in 1771 is unlikely to have occurred had Nesbitt opposed him.[89] In 1773 Nesbitt requested that a Nathaniel Dawes, probably Dawes's son, should be appointed first mate of the ship being built for him at Rye and intended for the customs service,[90] and in 1774 he lent the elder Dawes money.[91] Nesbitt continued to introduce into the borough his own freemen, including John Stevenson in the spring of 1771 as riding officer at Pett in place of Thomas Miles. Stevenson's wife Ann was before her marriage the mother of one of Nesbitt's bastard sons. Having fulfilled the letter, if not the spirit, of a freeman's residence qualifications, Stevenson was admitted to the freedom on 25 March 1772.[92] The costs of fighting the Winchelsea Causes, his far from frugal way of life, and the fact that he was 'a liberal paymaster to his *virtuous* constituents'[93] combined to make Nesbitt's financial position precarious by 1770. In 1772 his business and his ambitious speculations were threatened by financial panic in the city of London,[94] and he was forced to borrow £23,500 from his kinswoman Dorothy Parker, countess of Macclesfield, in 1772 and 1773.[95] It is possibly significant that Nesbitt's health began to fail at this time.[96] By January 1779 his affairs were in complete disarray, a fact apparently unsuspected even by his closest associates, including his brother-in-law Henry Thrale. The plea of debt for £20,000 brought against him in King's Bench in Hilary term of that year by his fellow government contractors Adam Drummond and Moses Franks suggests that his financial embarrassment was mainly a result of his government contracts.[97] By March Nesbitt was no longer able to attend to business;[98] according to Samuel Johnson, he did not attempt to fight his illness,[99] and he died on 7 April 1779. He was buried on 18 April at Icklesham, and was commemorated by a monument in the church's south aisle, the chapel of the lords of the manor.[100]

Nesbitt devised his Winchelsea and Icklesham estates, both heavily mortgaged, and with them his parliamentary seat at Winchelsea, to his nephew John Nesbitt,[101] who had become his partner after the death of Albert Nesbitt in 1776.[102] Nesbitt's executors, Thrale, John Nesbitt and a solicitor, Bateman Robson, proved his will and possessed themselves of enough of his personal estate, which was small and comprised stocks and annuities in English and French public funds, to pay his funeral expenses and some small debts before his creditors closed in.[103] The revelation to Thrale, who stood surety for several of Nesbitt's speculations, of the extent of his involvement caused him to suffer a stroke from which he never fully recovered.[104] In the spring of 1780 the executors of the countess of Macclesfield successfully impleaded Nesbitt's executors in King's Bench for the repayment of the £23,500 which she had lent to him.[105] To compel Nesbitt's executors, who after Thrale's death in 1781 included Thrale's widow Hester and Samuel Johnson, to account for his estates and to settle his personal debts, Nesbitt's creditors in 1781 joined to exhibit a bill in Chancery. An early settlement was precluded by the extent of Nesbitt's indebtedness to the government, and his creditors had to petition parliament for permission to bring in their bill. An analysis of his affairs showed that many of Nesbitt's kinsfolk, including his mother and his brothers Albert, Alexander and William, were heavily indebted to him.[106] Both foreclosure by his mortgagees and the sale of his estates were thus prevented unless by express permission of the court of Chancery. The sale of the hundred, borough and manor of Cricklade to Paul Benfield, negotiated in January 1780 by Nesbitt's executors, was sanctioned in 1790 and took effect in 1791.[107] Sales of property in Winchelsea and Icklesham made in 1791 and 1798 were

apparently ineffective,[108] although in about 1790 John Nesbitt sold his parliamentary interest at Winchelsea.[109] He remained nominal owner of Icklesham manor and of land in Winchelsea while the Chancery suits rumbled on into the early 19th century,[110] and himself became bankrupt in 1802.[111] Shortly before his death in 1817,[112] he succeeded on behalf of his uncle's fellow government contractors or their representatives in negotiating a substantial reduction, from £180,000 to £50,000, of the debts owed to the government, and the debtors' estates were finally discharged by statute in 1815. Over half of the £50,000 was due from Arnold Nesbitt's estate.[113] All his properties, in the West Indies as well as in Winchelsea and Icklesham, were sold for £97,000 to agents;[114] in 1817 John Nesbitt's brother and heir-at-law, Thomas Nesbitt of Lismore, paid Arnold Nesbitt's debt of £26,114 into the Treasury;[115] and in 1818 the agents sold the manor of Icklesham to Wastel Brisco.[116]

The Causes were possibly in Samuel Johnson's mind in 1772 when, in conversation with Boswell about electioneering, he observed that if 'gentlemen of family would allow rich upstarts to spend their money profusely, which they are ready enough to do, and not vie with them in expense, the upstarts would soon be at an end, and the gentlemen would remain . . .'[117] It is ironical that insolvency, which had ended Wardroper's influence, also occasioned Nesbitt's ruin and that of his nephew and successor. Had judgment, that characteristic so conspicuously absent, tempered Nesbitt's ambition, ruthlessness and tenacity, his downfall might have been avoided.

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Notes

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[2] T. H. B. Oldfield, *Hist. Boroughs,* **3** (1792), 87.

[3] W. D. Cooper, *Hist. Winchelsea* (1850), 215–17, 243.

[4] Cramp, 'Parl. Rep. Five Suss. Boroughs'.

[5] Nat. Libr., Dublin, MS. 4487, p. 55 (transcripts of Kilmore par. reg.).

[6] For the Nesbitt fam., Burke, *Land. Gent. Ireland* (1958), 125; for the Cosby fam., *Burke's Irish Fam. Rec.* (1976), 281.

[7] A. and C. Nesbitt, *Hist. Fam. of Nisbet or Nesbitt* (Torquay, priv. print. 1898), 38.

[8] *Hist. Parl., Commons, 1715–54,* **2,** 291.

[9] Nesbitt, *Hist. Fam. of Nisbet or Nesbitt,* 38.

[10] E.S.R.O., Sayer MS. 462.

[11] Ibid. Sayer MS. 515; P[ublic] R[ecord] O[ffice], PROB 11/799, ff. 185–188.

[12] B[ritish] L[ibrary] Add. MS. 32,710, f. 338.

[13] *New Complete Guide to London* [1772]; *Kent's Dir.* (1774); P.R.O., PROB 11/799, ff. 185–188.

[14] E.S.R.O., Sayer MSS. 462, 492, 558; P.R.O., C 12/579/8; C 12/585/6; C 13/1620/12.

[15] *Hist. Parl., Commons, 1754–90,* **2,** 236; P.R.O., C 33/554, ff. 993–996v.; ibid. C 117/112 (partic. of Nesbitt's estates, 1816); ibid. PROB 11/1052, ff. 187–192v.

[16] *Memoirs of William Hickey* (ed. A. Spencer), **1,** 332–3, 337–8.

[17] *Horace Walpole, Correspondence* (ed. W. S. Lewis), **7,** 380.

[18] L. Sutherland, *Politics and Finance in the Eighteenth Century,* 111; L. Namier, *Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III,* 55–6; B.L. Add. MSS. 32,901, f. 238; 33,040, ff. 290–291.

[19] B[edfordshire] R[ecord] O[ffice], L 30/14/274 (letter, Arnold Nesbitt to Grantham, 26 March 1776); P.R.O., C 12/579/8.

[20] *Hist. Parl., Commons, 1715–54,* **2,** 74–5, 291, 333–4; **3,** 257–9.

[21] J. M. Baines, *Historic Hastings* (1963), 63.

[22] *Correspondence of Mr. John Collier, 1716–80* (ed. C. L. Sayer, 1907), **2,** 55.

[23] E.S.R.O., Sayer MSS. 463, 467–9, 475.

[24] *Complete Peerage,* **4,** 396.

[25] Cooper, *Hist. Winchelsea,* 191; E.S.R.O., AMS 5788/1/1–20.

[26] E.S.R.O., DAP, box 43 (Staffield's abstract of title).

[27] *Correspondence of Mr. John Collier,* **2,** 81.

[28] E.S.R.O., Sayer MS. 501.

[29] Ibid. Sayer MS. 515.

[30] P.R.O., PROB 11/799, ff. 185–188.

[31] E.S.R.O., Sayer MS. 515.

[32] Ibid. Sayer MS. 519.

[33] *Hist. Parl., Commons, 1754–90,* **3,** 194.
[34] B.L. Add. MS. 32,733, ff. 80–81v.
[35] *Hist. Parl., Commons, 1754–90,* **2,** 80.
[36] *Correspondence of Mr. John Collier,* **2,** 133.
[37] *Hist. Parl., Commons, 1754–90,* **3,** 194.
[38] Cooper, *Hist. Winchelsea,* 218–21; *Hist. Parl., Commons, 1754–90,* **1,** 457; E.S.R.O., SAS/WH/475Q.
[39] E.S.R.O., Sayer MS. 524.
[40] Ibid. SAS/WH/460.
[41] Ibid. AMS 5788/1/1–20; ibid. SAS/RA/94; A. L. Frewen, *Hist. Brickwall,* 53; *Hist. Parl., Commons, 1715–54,* **1,** 488.
[42] Cooper, *Hist. Winchelsea,* 121; B.L. Add. MS. 32,928, ff. 103–104v.; E.S.R.O., PAR 511/1/1/2.
[43] E.S.R.O., AMS 5788/1/2–3.
[44] Ibid. SAS/WH/462.
[45] Cooper, *Hist. Winchelsea,* 121; P.R.O., B 4/21.
[46] P.R.O., T 11/30, pp. 32, 109.
[47] Ibid. C 12/579/8; J. A. Callard, *Maritime Hist. of Rye,* 38–9.
[48] B.L. Add. MS. 32,906, f. 360.
[49] Cramp, 'Parl. Rep. Five Suss. Boroughs', 208 n.; W[est] S[ussex] R[ecord] O[ffice], PHA 1455; PHA 3373; PHA 6370.
[50] Cramp, 'Parl. Rep. Five Suss. Boroughs', 207–10.
[51] Ibid. 159, 169, 214; E.S.R.O., SAS/WH/475D.
[52] L. A. Vidler, *New Hist. of Rye,* 99, 102.
[53] *Correspondence of Mr. John Collier,* **1,** 357; E.S.R.O., SAS/WH/475L.
[54] W.S.R.O., PHA 3373; P.R.O., CUST 18/283, f. 19; CUST 18/284, f. 20.
[55] E.S.R.O., SAS/WH/413.
[56] Ibid. AMS 5788/1/2–3.
[57] Cramp, 'Parl. Rep. Five Suss. Boroughs', 175–6, 214.
[58] Ibid. 158.
[59] P.R.O., CUST 18/262, f. 20.
[60] E.S.R.O., SAS/WH/460.
[61] Ibid. PAR 511/1/1/1.
[62] Ibid. WIN 498.
[63] J. Burrow, *Reports of Cases in King's Bench* (1776), **4,** 2122.
[64] B.L. Add. MS. 32,922, f. 204 and v.; P.R.O., CUST 18/284, f. 20; CUST 18/285, f. 20.
[65] B.L. Add. MS. 32,928, ff. 103–104v.
[66] Cramp, 'Parl. Rep. Five Suss. Boroughs', 214; P.R.O., CUST 18/292, f. 20.
[67] P.R.O., CUST 18/305, f. 20; CUST 18/306, f. 20.
[68] Cramp, 'Parl. Rep. Five Suss. Boroughs', 215.
[69] E.S.R.O., WIN 512.
[70] Cramp, 'Parl. Rep. Five Suss. Boroughs', 215–16; B.L. Add. MSS. 32,974, ff. 103, 151; 39,349, ff. 292v.–293.
[71] E.S.R.O., WIN 512; ibid. SAS/WH/418.
[72] Ibid. WIN 512.
[73] Ibid. WIN 498.
[74] Burrow, *Rep. Cases in King's Bench,* **4,** 2122.
[75] E.S.R.O., SAS/WH/459–62.
[76] P.R.O., KB 29/428.
[77] e.g. Joash Adcroft: *Correspondence of Mr. John Collier,* **2,** 79; E.S.R.O., WIN 498.
[78] Cooper, *Hist. Winchelsea,* 238; P.R.O., KB 29/426.
[79] E.S.R.O., WIN 512.
[80] Burrow, *Rep. Cases in King's Bench,* **4,** 1962–5, 2022–5, 2120, 2122–5, 2277–9.
[81] E.S.R.O., SAS/WH/421–4, 426, 446, 450, 453; ibid. WIN 498.
[82] Cramp, 'Parl. Rep. Five Suss. Boroughs', 219A; *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **51,** 133.
[83] P.R.O., ASSI 34/16.
[84] Ibid.; E.S.R.O., FRE 5999; ibid. SAS/WH/475A; R. A. Roberts, *Cal. Inner Temple Rec.* **5,** 179.
[85] Cramp, 'Parl. Rep. Five Suss. Boroughs', 220, 222–3.
[86] Ibid. 220, 224.
[87] Ibid. 226; *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **51,** 134.
[88] *Hist. Parl., Commons, 1754–90,* **3,** 193, 195. Conflicts in Cricklade borough 1776–93 which echo those in Winchelsea are discussed by J. A. Cannon, 'Samuel Petrie and the Borough of Cricklade', *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* **56,** 371–87.
[89] Cooper, *Hist. Winchelsea,* 238.
[90] E.S.R.O., PAR 511/1/1/2; P.R.O., T 11/30, pp. 32, 109.
[91] P.R.O., C 12/579/8.
[92] J. H. Stevenson, 'Arnold Nesbitt and the Origins of the Stevenson Family of Winchelsea', *Suss. Family Historian,* **8** (7), 297–303; P.R.O., CUST 18/329, f. 21; CUST 18/331, f. 21; CUST 18/332, f. 21.
[93] Oldfield, *Hist. Boroughs,* **3,** 89.
[94] *Hist. Parl., Commons, 1754–90,* **3,** 195.
[95] P.R.O., KB 122/443, rott. 375–6.
[96] *Letters of Samuel Johnson* (ed. R. W. Chapman), **1,** nos. 310–11.
[97] P.R.O., KB 122/443, rot. 375.
[98] Ibid. T 1/555/235–6 (letter, Franks and Drummond to H.M. Treasury, 22 March 1779).
[99] *Letters of Samuel Johnson* (ed. Chapman), **2,** no. 748.
[100] *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **14,** 259; B.L. Add. MS. 39,337, f. 20 and v.
[101] P.R.O., PROB 11/1052, ff. 187–192v.
[102] B.R.O., L 30/14/109/84; L 30/14/274/7–8.
[103] P.R.O., C 12/579/8; C 12/1367/8.
[104] *Thraliana* (ed. K. C. Balderston, 1951), **2,** 803–4.
[105] P.R.O., KB 122/443, rott. 375–6.
[106] Ibid. C 12/579/8; C 12/1367/8; *Lords' Journals,* **36,** 29.
[107] Wiltshire Record Office 37/15; 177/14; 177/16 (deed, Nesbitt to Benfield, 1791); 700/135/1 (deed, Nesbitt and others to Benfield, 1791).
[108] E.S.R.O., DAP, box 43 (copy Chancery order in Knox v. Nesbitt, 23 Jan. 1816).
[109] Oldfield, *Hist. Boroughs,* **3,** 89–90.
[110] P.R.O., B 3/3690 (sale particulars, 1814).
[111] Ibid. B 4/26.
[112] *Gentleman's Magazine,* **87** (1), 375.
[113] P.R.O., B 3/3690 (sale particulars, 1814); E.S.R.O., DAP, box 43 (copy certificate, H.M. Treasury to Pitt and Mills, 4 Dec. 1817).
[114] P.R.O., B 3/3768, f. 445.
[115] E.S.R.O., DAP, box 43 (copy cert., *see* n. 113).
[116] Ibid. DAP, box 43 (3rd supplementary abstract of title to Crutches farm, Icklesham).
[117] *Boswell's Life of Johnson* (ed. G. B. Hill and L. F. Powell), **2,** 153–4.

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A SUSSEX DISSENTING FAMILY: THE RIDGES OF WESTGATE CHAPEL, LEWES

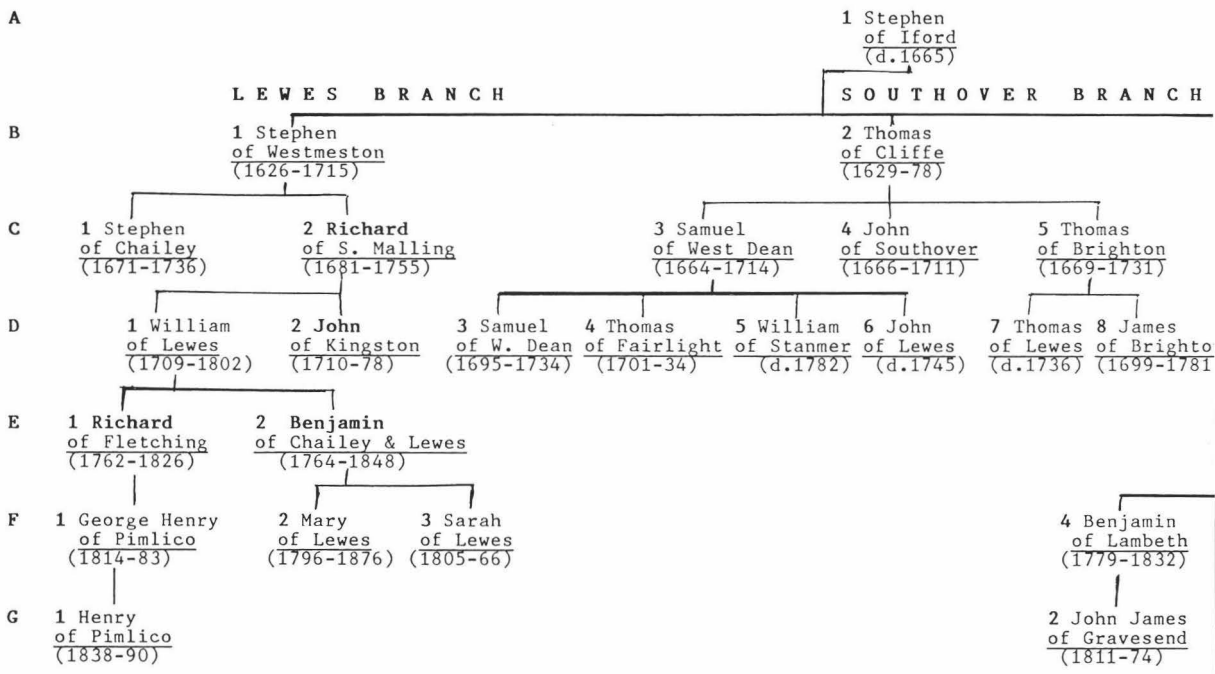
by Jeremy Goring

Members of the widely extended Sussex family of Ridge were prominent in the affairs of the congregation of Westgate Chapel, Lewes from the late 17th century until the 1870s. This article examines the part the Ridges (as trustees and principal subscribers) played in the life of the chapel and the part that it (as meeting-house and social centre) played in theirs. In the belief that religious developments are best studied in their wider political, social and economic context some attempt is also made to find out how far the family's Nonconformist principles affected their everyday lives. Contrary to the popular view, which associates Nonconformity with urban trade and industry, most of the Ridges were farmers and a few were landlords rich enough to live off their rents. But they all lived unostentatiously. They seem to have exhibited the 'plain living and high thinking' characteristic of the old English Presbyterians. Some of them were well read in theology and philosophy, and one of them founded the first Lewes library. A number took an active part in public affairs, serving as constables, overseers of the poor, tax assessors and (in one instance) as an inspector of militia. All members of the family who were worshipping at Westgate when Thomas Walker Horsfield was minister probably supported his liberal stance in political matters. In one way or another the Ridges made a significant contribution to the social and religious life of their locality over a period of two centuries.

Thomas Walker Horsfield, minister of Westgate Chapel, Lewes from 1817 to 1827, was the first writer to draw attention to the Sussex family of Ridge. In his *History of Lewes* he described them as 'ancient' and printed a long pedigree to prove it;[1] and although they were in no sense a 'county family', he later recorded their arms in his *History of Sussex*.[2] But it was over a century before anyone was to succeed in unravelling the complicated genealogy of a family which, at any one time, contained so many members named William, Benjamin, Samuel, Ruth, Sarah and Jane that even contemporaries had difficulty in distinguishing between them.[3] When, for example, Samuel Ridge of Iford appointed Willliam Ridge of Lewes as his trustee in 1796, he made doubly sure that there would be no mistake by specifying that the William he wanted was 'the brother of John Ridge of Kingston'.[4]

The first recorded member of the family was John Ridge of Barcombe who moved to Ovingdean in the late 1540s[5] and died there in 1558, leaving a son, another John, who settled at Iford, where he died in 1612. His son Stephen, who died in 1638, had a son of the same name who lived until 1665. This Stephen had three sons who reached adulthood and stayed in Sussex—and from them descend the people who are the subject of this article.[6] Four separate branches of the family have been identified (Table 1). Those in the 'Lewes branch' lived mainly in Lewes or in the adjoining parishes of South Malling, Hamsey or Kingston. Those in the 'Iford branch' lived mostly at Iford, but at times there were outlying members at Alciston, Little Horsted and Litlington. Members of the 'Southover branch' were located at Beddingham, Brighton, Fairlight, Stanmer and West Dean—but rarely, it seems at Southover. Those in the 'Chichester

TABLE 1 THE GENEALOGY OF THE RIDGES



N.B. In this and the following tables the names of trustees of Westgate Chapel appear in **bold type**

branch' lived at Iford, Southease and Rottingdean as well as at Chichester, where there was a strong Ridge presence from the 1740s to the 1860s.[7] Nevertheless, as Table 2 shows, there was so much inter-marriage among the Sussex Ridges that it is doubtful whether the concept of 'branches'—so useful for the subsequent compilers of family 'trees'—would have had much contemporary significance. It is likely that they regarded themselves as members of one widely extended family.

THE RIDGE FAMILY CHAPEL

Apart from kinship what most bound members of the family together and gave them their distinctive identity—was their religion. In the period under discussion almost all the Sussex Ridges were Dissenters and belonged to the congregation of Westgate Chapel, Lewes. That, of course, is why Horsfield knew them well. He knew that they had taken a prominent part in the history of Protestant Dissent since its beginning, several Ridges being among those who had left the Church of England after the passing of the Act of Uniformity in 1662. At Lewes these early 'nonconformists' fell into two main groups: one, who had seceded from St Annes, were called 'Presbyterians'; the other, who had withdrawn from St Michael's, were called 'Independents'.[8] From 1662 to 1687 (except for a brief interlude in 1672) both groups were obliged to worship secretly in houses, barns or in the open air.[9] At this stage the Ridge family loyalties were divided. Some belonged to the Presbyterians, the larger of the two bodies who, according to an episcopal survey of 1669, numbered 'about 500'.[10] Among those fined for attending a large open-air

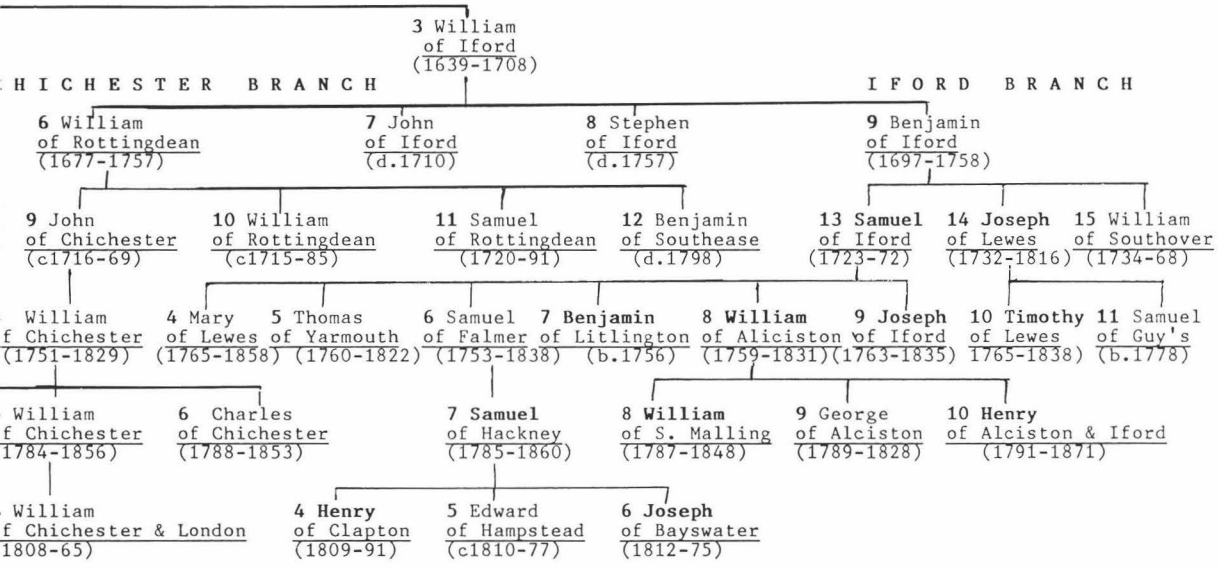
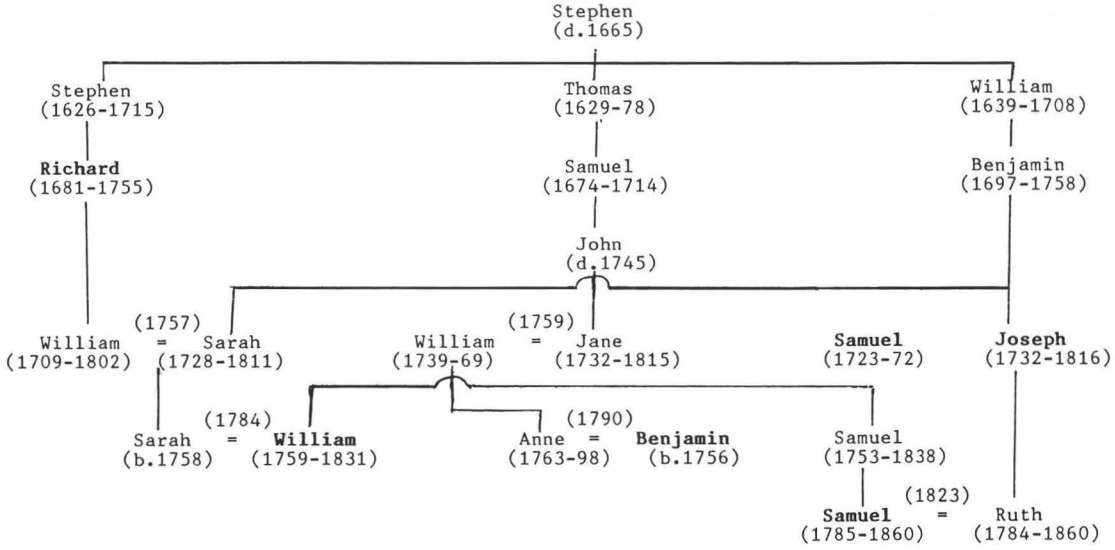


TABLE 2 RIDGE INTERMARRIAGES



'conventicle' held at South Malling in May 1670 were William Ridge of Iford, yeoman, and his brother Thomas Ridge of Cliffe, draper.[11] Thomas died in 1678 but his mantle passed to his son John Ridge, tanner, of Southover who, after the issue of James II's Declaration of Indulgence in 1687, is found as a leading member of the Presbyterian group now worshipping openly in a house in Lewes specially 'fitted up for the purpose'.[12] He and his uncle William of Iford lived on long enough to see the congregation installed in the commodious new meeting-house opened near the West Gate of the town in 1700.

Meanwhile other members of the Ridge family were taking a prominent part in the affairs of the second group of Lewes Dissenters—the Independents. Since the Independents are usually thought to have been drawn from a slightly lower stratum of society than the Presbyterians, the presence among them of Stephen Ridge, the elder (and evidently more prosperous) brother of the leading Presbyterian, William Ridge of Iford, may occasion some surprise. Be that as it may, his Independent credentials were impeccable. In 1673 Stephen, whose house at Westmeston had been temporarily licensed for worship the year before, was named among those attending an illegal conventicle in Thomas Fissenden's barn in Lewes.[13] Early in the next century, after he had retired to Lewes, his name headed the list of members of the Independent congregation which, since 1687, had been worshipping in All Saints parish. Also listed was his son Richard, who then lived and farmed at Upper Stoneham in South Malling. It may have been at their suggestion that in 1711 the Independents decided to accept the Presbyterians' invitation to move up the hill to Westgate and share the use of their spacious new meeting-house; whatever their ecclesiastical differences it would probably have made sense to the Ridges to have the whole family worshipping under the same roof, albeit at different times of day.[14]

This arrangement appears to have worked well, at any rate for a time. In 1719, when the ownership of the building was vested in a body of 13 trustees, it was agreed that five should be drawn from the original Presbyterian congregation and five from the Independent one, plus three others who had become members since the merger.[15] Second on the list of names on the trust deed is that of Richard Ridge who, appropriately, had made the second highest contribution to the fund raised to purchase the building.[16] When, a few years later, theological differences led the Independents to contemplate seceding from Westgate his opposition to the scheme appears to have been decisive.[17] It is significant that in 1742, when the two congregations—having finally settled their differences—decided to unite and invite Ebenezer Johnston to be their joint minister, Richard Ridge was the first of seven signatories to the letter of invitation. We know about this from the diary kept by his elder son William, who gave a vivid account of Johnston's ordination at Westgate on 21 July 1742, when the celebrated Dr Doddridge was among the ten ministers officiating at the four-and-a-half hour service.[18]

The Ridge family quickly took the new minister to their bosom. In 1743 he married Richard's daughter Mary and in the following year, having struck up a close friendship with his younger son John, the two men went on a six-day ride into Kent, of which Johnston wrote a graphic description in his journal.[19] John Ridge evidently inherited his father's devotion to the Dissenting cause: in 1755, shortly after Richard's death, he was appointed a trustee of the chapel—along with his cousins Samuel and Joseph (Table 4). The family's involvement in the life of the congregation was probably at its greatest during Johnston's long ministry, which terminated in 1782: in the course of his 40 years at Westgate he baptised 22 Ridge babies and six more born to mothers of Ridge parentage.[20] However, towards the end of his ministry Johnston's relations with some of the Ridges—and with other long-standing members of his congregation—came under strain. Like many other former pupils of Doddridge, he had

gradually broken loose from Calvinism and embraced Arminian views, consequently alienating some of his more conservative hearers.[21] Among them, it seems, were the minister's brothers-in-law William and John Ridge—who, being men of Independent judgment, were likely to be out of sympathy with his Presbyterian latitudinarianism. Putting their convictions before considerations of family and friendship, they appear to have thrown in their lot with the Calvinistic Methodists, for in 1775 their names are found among the trustees of the Countess of Huntingdon's newly built chapel in Cliffe.[22] But old loyalties die hard. The two brothers, who had been among Westgate's most substantial subscribers, continued to contribute —albeit at a lower level—to its funds.[23]

John, who died in 1778, and William, who lived on until 1802, were apparently the only Ridges to withdraw from Westgate at this time. Significantly neither of William's sons followed him down the hill to Cliffe. The religious beliefs of his younger, more highly favoured son Benjamin were probably closer to those of his mother who, born a Ridge of Iford, was steeped in the liberal traditions of English Presbyterianism and was perhaps less likely than her husband to be influenced by Calvinistic preaching. Benjamin became a trustee of Westgate in 1789, brought his daughters there to be christened in 1796 and 1805, and remained a strong supporter of the chapel until his death in 1848. His elder brother Richard was apparently never an active member of Westgate, but he brought his first six children there for baptism: only in 1803 (the year after his father's death) did he transfer his allegiance to Ote Hall, the Countess of Huntingdon's chapel at Wivelsfield.[24] That his six younger children were baptised there, however, may have had less to do with theology than with geography, since Wivelsfield was closer to his home at Fletching.

By the beginning of the 19th century Westgate could almost have been called 'the Ridge family chapel' (Fig. 1). The Ridges, it may be imagined, assembled there on Sundays not only to worship God but also to meet each other. For those engaged in farming it would provide an opportunity to discuss the kinds of things that William Ridge (1709–1802) most frequently recorded in his memorandum book—the state of the weather, the rate of the land tax or the price of wheat and barley.[25] In the later years of the 18th century the blending of business and religion would have been almost unavoidable for Joseph Ridge of Iford, for instance, since among his fellow Westgate trustees (whom he would probably have met on Sundays) were not only his farming brothers Benjamin and William but also James Glover and Samuel Snashall, two Lewes men from whom he rented land at Iford.[26] Moreover, it was not only the Ridges who lived in the near vicinity that came regularly to worship: some of those on quite distant farms were evidently in the habit of riding into Lewes on Sundays, probaly leaving their horses in the chapel's spacious stables during the service. William Ridge of Alciston, for example, was clearly a frequent attender, for at a meeting in 1818 he seconded the motion that the minister should continue to serve the congregation after his probationary year was up—something he would presumably not have been eligible to do if he had not been one of his regular 'hearers'.[27]

For the widely dispersed family of the Ridges, Westgate meeting-house, conveniently located in the county town, clearly had an important social function. While wedding ceremonies were not permitted to be performed there until 1837 the place long seems to have had something of the character of a marriage mart. Although the English Presbyterians, with their unsectarian outlook, were never as strict as the Baptists or Quakers in insisting that their members only marry within the denomination, there was inevitably much intermarriage among them. With the Ridges the search for suitable spouses often began and ended within the walls of Westgate Chapel. Throughout the 18th century matches were made between them and the families of Attersoll, Boys, Cruttenden, Snashall and Weller, all of whom were

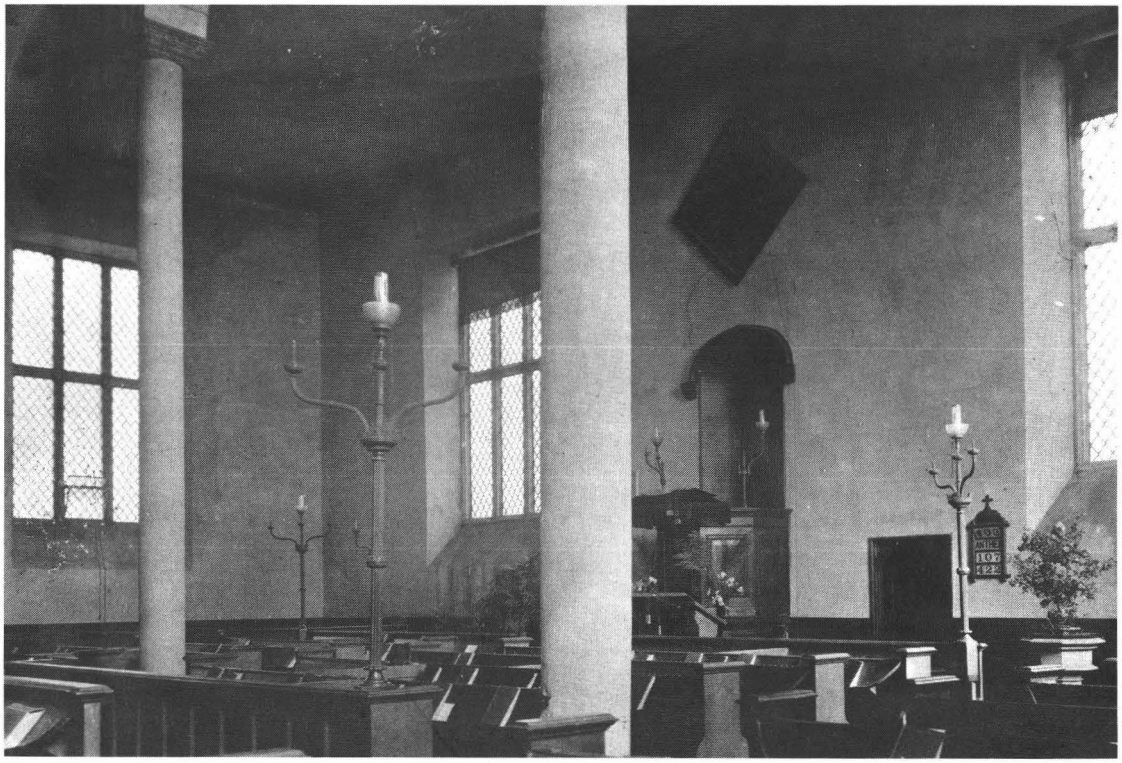
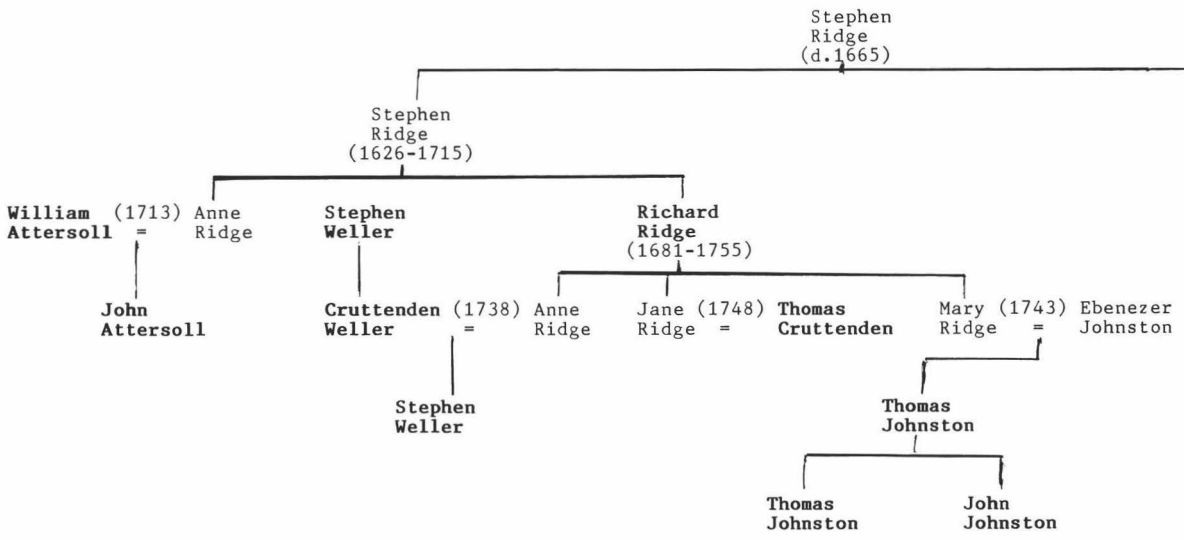


Fig. 1 The interior of Westgate Chapel, Lewes before alteration in 1913.

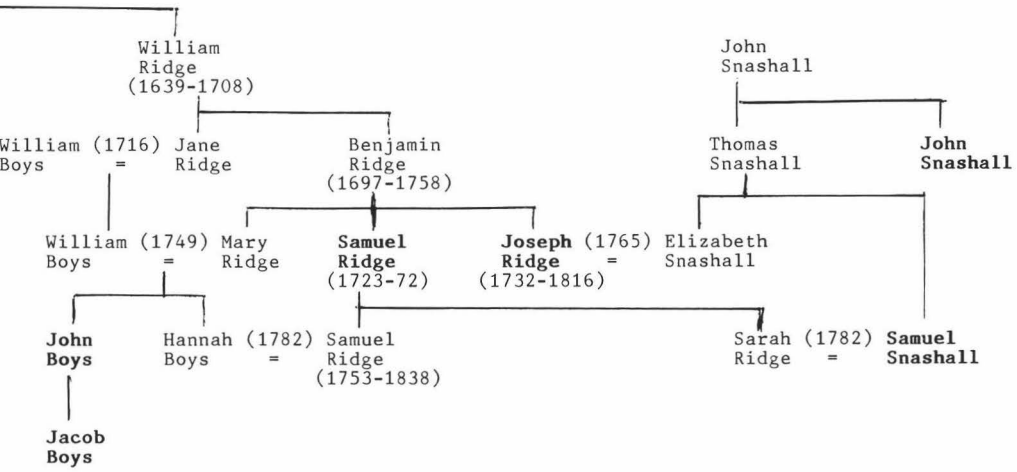
TABLE 3 TRUSTEES' INTERMARRIA



prominent in Westgate's affairs (Table 3). There were also some instances of Ridge marrying Ridge (Table 2): both Benjamin of Litlington and his brother William of Alciston did so; that Benjamin's wife was his first cousin may help to explain why three of their four children, all baptised at Westgate in the 1790s, died young.[28]

The baptismal register provides evidence of the increasing predominance of the Ridges at Westgate. In the last decades of the 18th century there was a marked rise in the ratio of Ridge entries to the rest: in 1771–80 four out of 61 baptisms were of Ridge babies; in 1781–90, five out of 37; and in 1791–1800, 14 out of 39. (If the numbers of babies born to mothers of Ridge parentage are added, the family's preponderance becomes still more remarkable.)[29] Ridges also came to dominate the subscription lists, where their share of the total sum raised rose from about 20 per cent in 1756 to nearly 50 per cent in 1838.[30] And a similar pattern can be seen in the appointment of chapel trustees who, among the Presbyterians, constituted the ruling oligarchy of a congregation.[31] In 1719 the Ridge representation had amounted to 7.5 per cent of the total; in 1789 it rose to 23.5 per cent. Moreover, the four Ridges appointed in 1789 were closely related to four out of the remaining 13—John Boys, Thomas Johnston, Samuel Snashall and Stephen Weller. In 1836, when 15 new trustees were appointed, the 'cousinhood'—six Ridges, three Johnstons and a Boys—outnumbered the rest by two to one.[32]

The family's predominance became more marked as the years passed because, while others fell away, most of the Ridges remained loyal to the cause. Their continuing loyalty in the early years of the 19th century is the more remarkable in that this was a period of rapid change in which Westgate acquired not only a new theology but a new denominational name. In Lewes, as elsewhere in England, the introduction of Unitarianism[33] was not always acceptable to the more traditional Presbyterians, distinguished as they were, not so much by a particular doctrine (or its denial) as by an insistence that no doctrine should be made a test of faith. They had strong reservations about the 'doctrinal preaching' then being introduced by some of their more radical ministers. Their attitude is best summed up in the obituary notice of Samuel Ridge, who died in 1838 and who was said to have 'inherited the best principles of his family':



> [He] was a Protestant Dissenter in the sense in which that character was and is understood by the English Presbyterians, whose distinction is not a creed but the freedom of individuals to choose and profess their opinions without any external interference, and the freedom of congregations to conduct their worship and enjoy their communion without any imposition upon, or annoyance to, private conscience.[34]

Possesing such principles it was understandable that some of the Ridges had doubts about the appointment of Horsfield as minister when the strong-minded young Yorkshireman came to candidate in 1817, fresh from the heady atmosphere of the Unitarian Academy at Hackney. Joseph Ridge of Iford, who had dined with him after his sermon, expressed doubts about the wisdom of his intention to introduce 'doctrinal and other subjects' into his preaching.[35] Like his brother Samuel, he did not relish disputes over doctrine, but eventually seems to have come to accept that the introduction of Unitarianism would not endanger 'liberty of conscience'. Until his death in 1835 Joseph remained 'a liberal supporter' of the chapel and 'a regular and willing attendant' at its services.[36] His cousin Timothy, who had been the only person actually to vote against Horsfield's appointment, also came round to accepting it: for many years the chapel treasurer, he continued to be a loyal supporter until his death. It was said of him that 'he did not attach such importance to conscientious differences of opinion as to disable him for living in peace and charity with all his fellow-christians.'[37]

The old English Presbyterians attached great importance to what they termed 'practical Christianity': in their view how people behaved was more important than what they believed. How some of the Ridges behaved can be gained from their obituary notices (although allowance has always to be made for an element of pious exaggeration). Three in particular deserve quoting—those of Joseph Ridge of Iford (who died in 1835), his brother Samuel and his cousin Timothy (who both died in 1838). Joseph was described as a 'good man and true Christian':

> He made himself esteemed and beloved amongst his relatives and neighbours by his kindness and charity. His benevolent mind appeared in his will, by which he bequeathed five pounds to every widow in his parish, and the like sum to every poor householder.[38]

Of Samuel, whose 'whole life had been directed by a strong sense of Christian and pious duty', it was said:

> Before he had attained to the years, he was called to the duties, of manhood. This was one cause of his habitual sedateness and seriousness, and, joined with his robustness of constitution and firmness of mind, gave to his character the occasional appearance of

TABLE 4

The Ridge Trustees of Westgate Chapel

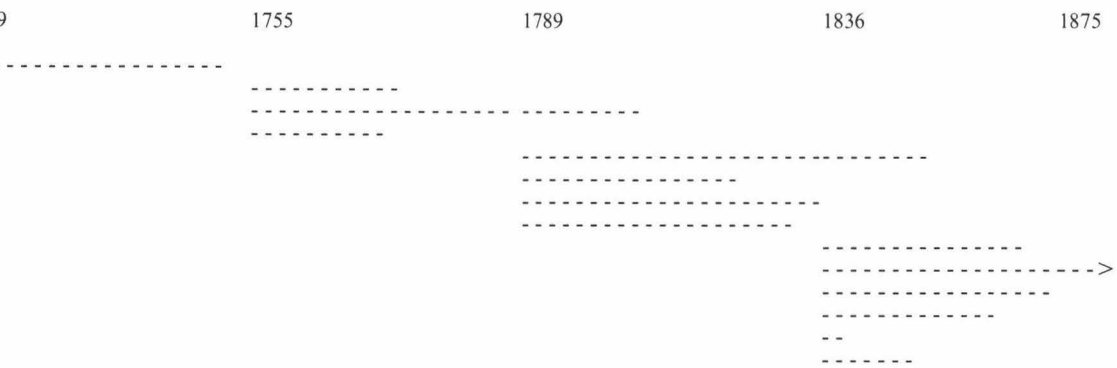
Name	Code	Occupation	Place(s) of Residence
Richard	C2	Yeoman > Gent	S. Malling > Hamsey > Lewe
John	D2	Yeoman > Gent	S. Malling > Kingston
Joseph	D14	Apothecary	Lewes
Samuel	D13	Farmer	Hamsey > Iford
Benjamin	E2	Gent > Esquire	Chailey > Lewes
Benjamin	E7	Farmer > Gent	Lt. Horsted > Litlington > S
Joseph	E9	Farmer > Gent	Iford
William	E8	Farmer > Gent	Alciston
Henry	F10	Farmer > Gent	Alciston > Iford
Henry	G4	Stockbroker	Middlesex
Joseph	G6	Physician	London
Samuel	F7	Stockbroker	Middlesex
Timothy	E10	Gent	Lewes
William	F8	Farmer > Gent	S. Malling

> severity, which was heightened to the view of distant acquaintance, by a reservedness of temper and a retiringness of manners. Under this exterior he maintained and exhibited to his friends many estimable qualities. Frugal in all that related to himself, he took pleasure in acts of kindness and liberality, some of them unknown to the world.[39]

And it was said of Timothy that 'all who knew him will remember with respect and esteem the Christian simplicity of his mind and manners, the purity of his heart and his upright, honourable and unblemished course of life'.[40]

Timothy's death marked the beginning of the end of an era. Henceforward there were only three male Ridges left in the congregation at Westgate—Benjamin of Lewes, Henry of Alciston and William of South Malling. When Benjamin and William in their turn died, within a few weeks of each other in 1848, the rule of the Ridges may be said to have ended. There were still members of the family among the trustees but only one, Henry (now of Iford), lived in the neighbourhood of Lewes; the other three Ridge trustees all lived in London. However, as so often happens when the men give up or go away, there were still women around to maintain the cause. This article so far has hardly referred to any women, except in passing, and only then because they happened to be someone's wife or mother. But although they were debarred from serving as trustees women, who probably always constituted a majority of the people in the pews, played a crucially important part in the life of the worshipping community. Among the Ridge womenfolk two in particular deserve mention: both were named Mary, both remained unmarried and both had life-long links with Westgate. The elder of the two, the sister of Joseph Ridge of Iford, was born in 1765 and died in 1858. According to the writer of her obituary, Mary Ridge had been a sickly child, not expected to reach adulthood: that she had succeeded in attaining the advanced age of 93 was attributed to her 'serene, quiet temper' and 'placid amiable disposition', which were 'conjoined with and sustained by a fervent, gentle piety'. Throughout her life she had been a 'zealous member' of the Westgate congregation: 'Always, when strength permitted, it was her delight to be in her accustomed pew.' After her death she was long remembered. Her loss was said to be felt particularly by 'the poor in her neighbourhood', to whom she had shown much generosity.[41]

The other Mary was the daughter of Benjamin Ridge of Lewes, who died in 1848. She lived most of her life in Lewes, where she and her younger sister Sarah shared a house in St Anne's parish.[42] After Sarah's death in 1866 she was the last surviving Ridge worshipping at Westgate. Her death ten years later at the age of 79 marked the end of a family association with the congregation extending over two centuries. Her fondness for the place and her concern for the



future well-being of its people were tangibly expressed in her will, proved 18 August 1876, by which she bequeathed what was then the very substantial sum of £400 in Consols, the interest therefrom to be applied in carrying on services at Westgate.[43] Today, over a century later, the congregation still benefits from her charity and remembers with gratitude and pride all that her family contributed to the chapel and to the local community.

Although most of them did not live long enough to realise it the Ridges, by their continuing allegiance, were helping to ensure the congregation's rights to their building. For in due course people began to challenge the right of the Unitarians to buildings and endowments that had originally belonged to 'trinitarian' Dissenters. To counter this charge the Unitarians assembled a mass of evidence to show that, although the doctrines had changed, the people had not. From deeds, registers and gravestones they were able to produce names of families that had enjoyed a close and continuous association with a particular chapel since its foundation. When the Dissenters' Chapels Bill, which secured the Unitarians' rights, was before Parliament in 1844, many congregations sent in petitions in support. Apparently the Westgate congregation did not send one in: had they done so they would certainly have cited the example of the Ridges. Since the chapel had no graveyard they could not have pointed to names on tombstones: most Ridges were buried at Iford or at St Michael's, Lewes. But they could have produced deeds, registers and other documents to prove that the family's association with the congregation went back, without interruption, to 1670. Few other Dissenting congregations in Sussex could have substantiated such a claim.[44]

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS

Apart from religion one of the most important things that members of this widely extended family had in common was their involvement in agriculture. For those who associate Dissent with urban industry and trade it may come as a surprise to discover that throughout the 17th and 18th centuries—and on into the 19th—most male Ridges were farmers (Table 5). The main centre of activity continued to be the scattered estate that the family had built up at Iford. Most of this land was copyhold of Lord Abergavenny's manor of Northease with Iford, where the custom of Borough English applied—and so, right down to the extinction of copyhold in the late 19th century, it was the youngest son who inherited.[45] William, youngest son of Stephen Ridge who had died in 1665, held the land until his death in 1708. The scale and scope of his operations can be calculated from the post-mortem inventory of the goods and chattels of his son John, who took over the farm but died prematurely in 1710: his stock comprised nine working oxen, five steers, five milch cows, two calves, five hogs, three horses, 336 sheep and lambs, 21 acres of wheat, 38 acres of barley and 16 acres of grass, tares and oats.[46] Succeeding generations considerably extended the size of the farm: in 1843 Henry Ridge, who had inherited additional land from his aunt Sarah Snashall and was the last of his line to farm at Iford, occupied nearly 300 acres—in addition to having further rights over 450 acres of downland.[47]

As the family ramified it was inevitable that those wishing to take up farming would have to move away from Iford (Fig. 2). Some did not have to travel far: John's brother William merely moved into the adjoining parish of Rottingdean, where his son Samuel, an inventor of agricultural machinery, farmed until 1791. Others went further afield: John's cousin Samuel (son of his father's brother Thomas) farmed first at Beddingham and then moved to West Dean, where he had the lease of the Manor Farm. He operated on a much more extensive scale than his relatives at Iford, as is clear from the post-mortem inventory of his goods and chattels, made in 1714: his arable amounted to nearly 200 acres and he had pasture for over 1,600 sheep and lambs.[48] Another who farmed at a distance from

TABLE 5
Farms Occupied by Members of the Ridge Family since 1665

Map No.	Parish	Farm	Period	Occupier	Code
1	Alciston	Court Farm	1784–1820	**William**	E8
			1820–1828	George	F9
			1828–1842	**Henry**	F10
2	Chailey	Woodbrooks*	1665–*c*1700	Stephen	B1
			*c*1700–1736	Stephen	C1
3	Falmer	Hodshrove	1782–1793	Samuel	E6
4	Fletching	Burnt House*	1801–1826	Richard	E1
5	Hamsey	Tulleyswells*	1715–*c*1750	**Richard**	C2
6	Iford	Ridges*	1665–1708	William	B3
			1708–1710	John	C7
			1710–1757	Stephen	C8
			1757–1772	**Samuel**	D13
			1772–1782	Samuel	E6
			1782–1783	**William**	E8
			1783–1790	Sarah	**
			1790–1835	**Joseph**	E9
		Ridges*, Snashalls*	1835–1871	**Henry**	F10
7	Litlington	Clapham	1794–1807	**Benjamin**	E7
8	Little Horsted	Brockwells	1786–1793	**Benjamin**	E7
9	Rottingdean	Balsdean*	1828–1842	**William**	F8
10		Norton*	1833–1848	**William**	F8
11	South Malling	Upper Stoneham	*c*1700–1735	**Richard**	C2
			1735–1755	**John**	D2
			1821–1848	**William**	F8
12	West Dean	Manor Farm	*c*1700–1714	Samuel	C3
			1714–1734	Samuel	D3
13	Westmeston	Blackbrook	*b*1670–*c*1700	Stephen	B1

**Farms owned as well as occupied by Ridges*
**Widow of Samuel (D13)

Iford was Stephen Ridge (head of the 'Lewes branch'), who occupied Blackbrook in Westmeston in addition to Woodbrooks in Chailey, bequeathed to him by his father, before moving to Upper Stoneham in South Malling, where he was residing in 1705. Before his death in 1714 he had retired from farming, leaving his younger son Richard to take charge at Stoneham. Stephen's elder son, another Stephen, occupied Woodbrooks until his death in 1736, when the property reverted to his brother Richard, who by this time had moved to Tulleyswells in Hamsey, leaving his younger son John to look after Stoneham. Richard' s elder son William, who inherited the freehold of Woodbrooks and the leasehold of Stoneham from his father in 1755, does not appear thereafter to have been actively engaged in farming—preferring to live comfortably in Lewes on his rents. His younger son Benjamin, who inherited the bulk of his property in 1802, seems never to have needed to earn his own living.[49]

While the agricultural activities of the 'Lewes branch' were contracting, those of the 'Iford branch' were expanding. Samuel Ridge of Iford, who died prematurely in 1772, left five sons, of whom four were to follow him into farming. The eldest, also Samuel, farmed at Iford until 1782, when he married his cousin Hannah Boys of Ashcombe and moved to Hodshrove in Falmer. The second son, Benjamin, farmed at Little Horsted from 1787 to 1794, when he moved to Clapham in Litlington; leaving there in

Fig. 2 Farms occupied by members of the Ridge family since 1665 (the numbers correspond with the details in Table 5)

1807, he took a farm on the Kent-Surrey border and is henceforth lost to view. Much more is known about the third son, William, who followed Samuel at Iford but only stayed a year: in 1784 he moved to Alciston, leaving his mother to carry on the family farm until his brother Joseph (who, as the youngest son, inherited the copyhold by the custom of Borough English) was old enough to take over. At Alciston William took up the tenancy of the 800-acre Court Farm, recently vacated by one of his Boys kinsfolk: here he farmed until 1820, when he was succeeded by his sons William, George and Henry. William soon departed to take up the tenancy of Upper Stoneham in South Malling, but the two younger brothers farmed together at Alciston until George's premature death in 1828, when Henry took sole charge. This was a major undertaking: Horsfield states that most of the inhabitants of Alciston, who numbered 266 in 1831, were 'principally engaged in husbandry' and were 'for the most part in the employment of Mr Henry Ridge, who rents of Lord Viscount Gage nearly the whole of the parish'. Four years later, when his uncle Joseph died childless, it fell to his lot to take on the additional burden of running the family farm at Iford, and in 1842 he finally left Alciston. At Iford Henry occupied both the hereditary lands and also those formerly rented from the Snashalls which had been bequeathed to his brother William—who, in addition to Upper Stoneham and 800 acres in the adjoining parish of Ringmer, now occupied Balsdean and Norton, two large sheep farms in Rottingdean parish just over the hill from Iford. After William's death in 1848 Henry was the last remaining Ridge farming in Sussex: he continued to occupy the Iford farm until his death in 1871, but by then he was nearly 80, living in Brighton and presumably leaving the day-to-day management of affairs to a bailiff.[50]

The later years of the 18th and the early years of the 19th century—the period culminating in the Napoleonic Wars—had been a time of great prosperity for Sussex farmers,[51] and as a consequence some of the Ridges became very rich indeed. For the practice of sheep-corn husbandry much of their land was among the very best in the county. Arthur Young observed that the finest wool in Sussex was produced on the Downs 'between Lewes, Eastbourne and Brighton' and also commented on the quality of the 'slip of very rich and stiff arable' found at the foot of the Downs.[52] In his tour through Sussex in 1794 he had been particularly impressed by what he had seen along the Lewes-Eastbourne road, which 'introduced me into the very centre of the finest flocks and most spirited farmers in this part of Sussex'.[53] He was thinking particularly of the great sheepmaster of Glynde, John Ellman, but the 'spirited farmers' whom he encountered along the way may also have included William Ridge of Alciston. He became exceedingly prosperous and at his death in 1831 ordered his sons William and Henry to sell his real estate and, having invested the proceeds in government stock or other securities, to pay annuities totalling £300 to their mother and sister, and hold £2,000 in trust for their sister's children. The residue remaining to the sons was evidently considerable: when William died childless in 1848 he left nearly 400 acres of freehold land to Henry, £10,000 on trust for his sister and her children, and bequests totalling over £3,000 to various friends.[54]

Although most male members of the Ridge family were farmers a number went into trade. As was appropriate for a sheep-farming family, two became woollen-drapers: Thomas Ridge of Cliffe, younger brother of Stephen of Westmeston, followed this occupation; so did his nephew Benjamin, who completed a seven-year apprenticeship to a Lewes draper in 1720 before abandoning trade for farming. Another occupation closely associated with farming was tanning: Thomas's son John took up the trade and followed it at Southover until his death in 1711; his nephew, another John Ridge of Lewes, who died in 1746, was also a tanner. The only other local trade followed by the Ridges was that

of grocery: William, sixth son of Benjamin of Iford, served a seven-year apprenticeship to a Southover grocer but died in 1768, only ten years after completing it.[55] As has already been suggested, the absence of strong links with urban trade and industry meant that the Ridges were not 'typical' Dissenters. They were certainly not typical of the people appointed trustees of Westgate Chapel in the period under discussion. Apart from 14 Ridges (Table 4), 44 men were appointed between 1719 and 1836: of these 27 were tradesmen of one kind or another, while three more were apothecaries—a 'trade' that was in the process of becoming a profession.[56]

The first Ridge to enter medicine was Joseph of Lewes (1732–1816), who in 1748 was apprenticed to John Snashall, a Lewes apothecary who had in turn been apprenticed to the celebrated Richard Russell. Joseph, who was officially designated 'apothecary and man-midwife-surgeon' (Fig. 3), married Snashall's niece Elizabeth and practised in Lewes (at 80 High Street) from 1755 until at least 1805. He was followed by his nephew Thomas, who was apprenticed to John Chambers of Lewes from 1782 to 1785: he then entered Guys Hospital—the first of a long line of Ridges to do so—and later practised at Great Yarmouth. The next member of the family to take up medicine was Joseph's fourth son Samuel, who was apprenticed to his father for seven years before going to Guys in 1798. Of all the Ridge doctors perhaps the most distinguished was Joseph's great-great-nephew and namesake Joseph Ridge, M.D., F.R.C.P., Vice-President of the Hunterian and Sydenham Societies who, although practising all his life in London, maintained his ancestral links with Lewes and was a trustee of Westgate Chapel from 1836 to his death in 1875.[57]

Not all members of the family were as rich or successful as this account may suggest. In every generation there seem to have been those who fell, or at any rate failed to rise, in the world. Successful fathers often have unsuccessful sons, and in this respect the Ridges were not exceptional. Stephen, the elder son of Stephen Ridge of Westmeston, was evidently much less successful at farming than his father, who recognised the situation in his will—where he showed greater favour to his younger, more gifted son Richard. Richard's son William, who died a very rich man in 1802, was even more punitive in his treatment of his ne'er-do-well elder son, another Richard, who was cut off with little more than the proverbial shilling: he had to eke out a living as a small farmer at Fletching until his death in 1826.[58]

Although some Ridges enjoyed large incomes they do not seem to have been conspicuously lavish in their expenditure. Their

Fig. 3. Joseph Ridge, founder of the Lewes Library. Reproduced from Burwood Godlee's MS 'History of the Lewes Library Society', 1859 (E.S.R.O. R/L 11/7/6), by kind permission of the Lewes Library.

plain and unostentatious life-style, characteristic of Dissenters, can be seen from their houses. The old family house at Iford, built in Tudor times, was apparently not enlarged or greatly modernised during the centuries that the Ridges lived there. Horsfield, who knew it well, described it in 1835 as 'commodious' but, with only three large ground-floor rooms, it was in fact no bigger than many small yeomen's houses: his earlier (1827) description of it as a 'neat dwelling' was perhaps closer to the truth.[59] The other farmhouses occupied by the family were also of modest proportions. Tulleyswells, the newly-built house at Hamsey to which the wealthy Richard Ridge moved in 1735, is a solid, square, brick house on three floors, but plainly utilitarian in design: had his aim been to impress his neighbours he might, with little more expenditure, have given the building a wider and more pretentious facade. Nor was Alciston Court, the fine old farmhouse occupied by a succession of prosperous Ridges from 1784 to 1842, much more prestigious in its scale or appearance: according to Horsfield, the family 'considerably improved and modernised' the house during their occupancy[60] but, since they were only tenants, they understandably did not seek to rebuild or enlarge it. The family's town houses were also unimposing: no. 143 (now 142) Lewes High Street, where rich William Ridge lived until his death in 1802 (and his son Benjamin after him), was a modest house by comparison with many other houses in the street.[61]

How far was the increasing wealth of the Ridges matched by a rise in social status? Throughout the 17th century they had generally been called 'yeoman': Richard Ridge (1681–1755) was the first of the family to be designated 'gentleman'.[62] But this change was probably due less to a rise in social standing than to a debasement of the coinage of social classification. Because of this debasement—a process begun in the 16th century and continued into the 18th (and beyond)—the distinction between 'yeomen' and 'gentlemen' gradually came to have less significance. By the mid-18th century Ridges apparently regarded themselves (and were regarded by others) as 'yeomen' so long as they were actively engaged in farming, but were usually transformed into 'gentlemen' when they retired. Nevertheless, social aspirations varied from one individual to another: some Ridges were more interested in gentility than others. One who may have had ideas above his station was Samuel Ridge of Rottingdean: in his will, made in 1789, he describes both himself and his brother Benjamin as 'gentlemen', but when Benjamin made his will a year later he referred to himself as 'yeoman' and his brother as 'farmer'.[63] By this time, however, yeomen Ridges were a dying breed: in a Westgate deed of 1789 'gentleman' was the designation given both to Benjamin Ridge of Chailey, who lived in leisure off his rents, and to his cousins Benjamin, Joseph and William, all of whom were working farmers.[64] Early in the next century a degree of differentiation was reintroduced with the extended use of 'esquire'—a rank once mainly reserved for substantial landowners, but now adopted by anyone who did not actually have to earn his living. In a deed of 1836 Benjamin Ridge, formerly of Chailey and now of Lewes—the only survivor among the four Ridges named in the 1789 deed—was designated 'esquire', while his younger cousins Henry and William, farming at Alciston and South Malling respectively, were each described as 'gentleman'.[65] When the next Westgate deed was drawn up—in 1875—there were no longer any Ridges around to be appointed trustees; but if there had been, it is likely, with the continuing gentrification of the English middle class, that they would all have been 'esquires'.

For the Ridges, as for other people of their class, social status brought with it certain responsibilities to the community; and throughout the 18th and on into the early part of the 19th century some of them were active in public affairs. The most prestigious public office was that held by William Ridge of Alciston, who

in 1803, shortly after the renewal of war with France, was appointed a district inspector of militia[66]—not the kind of appointment normally thought appropriate for a Dissenting tenant farmer. Most Ridges, however, were called to no higher service than that of parish or town office. Although they were Dissenters, successive members of the family served as churchwardens and overseers of the poor at Iford.[67] Three were constables of Lewes: John of Stoneham in 1741–2; William, his elder brother, in 1772–3; and Benjamin, William's son, in 1824–5 and again in 1829–30. Benjamin's term as senior constable was a particularly eventful one: in September 1830 he presided over two public meetings in the County Hall called to draw up letters of congratulation—one to King William IV on his accession and the other to the citizens of Paris on the success of their revolution.[68] Of all the Ridges it was probably Benjamin, who never had to earn his living, who gave most time to public affairs. He served as a land tax assessor from 1817 to 1832: his bold signature can be seen on the returns not only for Lewes but also Iford, Chailey, Streat and other parishes round about.[69] He was also involved in party politics: in 1826 he nominated and Horsfield seconded an outside candidate, Alexander Donovan, in an abortive attempt to oust a local magnate who had been one of the M.P.s for Lewes in the previous parliament.[70] The main issue at this election was Catholic Emancipation, of which Horsfield, like most Unitarians, was a strong advocate.[71]

Perhaps the family's most distinctive contribution to the life of the local community lay in the provision of a lending library. In 1785 Joseph Ridge the apothecary founded the Lewes Library Society and remained its president until 1804. Most of its meetings were held at his house in Lewes High Street and many of its books were bought on his recommendation: among the subjects he favoured were history, geography, philosophy and theology.[72] On his retirement from office John Viney Button wrote a poem in honour of the man who first

> Conceived the generous thought
> By virtue planted and with wisdom fraught
> The ample page of knowledge to unroll
> And warm the genial current of the soul.[73]

Three other members of the family were among the 13 people listed as founder members of the Society: Joseph Ridge of Iford, James Ridge (son of William, the grocer of Southover) and 'Miss Ridge', who was probably James's sister Anne. By 1790, when the membership appears to have been restricted to about 50, no fewer than ten Ridges were on the roll. The family remained prominent in the Society's affairs until the 1830s. Timothy Ridge, son of the founder, was president from 1825 to 1826 and a regular attender at meetings until his death in 1838.[74] He was an avid reader, whose 'strong memory enabled him to profit by all that he read' and whose 'conversation was rendered interesting and instructive by his ready and correct information on the subjects of English history and genealogy'.[75] He was an assiduous recommender of books, especially those about foreign travel and local history. It was he who proposed, in April 1822, that the Library's rules be suspended to allow Horsfield, who 'had undertaken to compose a new work on the History and Antiquities of Lewes', to borrow more than one volume at a time.[76] Two years later, when the *History of Lewes* was published, Timothy's name and that of eight other Ridges (nearly all of them members of the Library Society) appeared on the list of subscribers.[77] The inclusion in the *History* of a detailed Ridge genealogy (probably compiled by Timothy) may therefore have been in the nature of a *quid pro quo*. Horsfield was indebted to them not only for their assistance with his historical research and writing but, since they were the principal members of his congregation, for a large part of his livelihood.

While most of the Ridges so far mentioned in this article belonged to Westgate Chapel and took a prominent part in its affairs, some had a different ecclesiastical allegiance. Apart from the 'defectors' already noted—William Ridge and

his brother John, who supported Cliffe Chapel, and William's son Richard, who took his children to be christened at Ote Hall—there were some who may never have belonged to Westgate at any time.[78] They included not only Samuel Ridge of West Dean, who lived much too far away to worship regularly in Lewes, but also one or two who lived within reasonable riding distance of the town. Among them were Stephen Ridge of Iford (d. 1757), all of whose children were baptised in Iford church, and his brother William of Rottingdean, two of whose two sons appear to have been Anglicans: William, who built 'the Elms' at Rottingdean, and Samuel, the farmer-inventor who (as already noted) had rather unrealistic social ambitions.[79] The social pressures to conform to the established religion were always strong in rural England and it is surprising that so few Ridges succumbed to them. It may seem remarkable that the Ridges of Alciston, occupying the former manor house close to the parish church and employing nearly everyone in the village, should have remained Dissenters throughout nearly 60 years' residence there. But in their case family loyalty, native obstinacy and hereditary commitment to the principles of Protestant Dissent doubtless represented too strong a combination to be discarded simply for the sake of social convenience.

THE RIDGE DIASPORA

Some Sussex Ridges, even though they were Dissenters, did not attend Westgate because they lived in or near Brighton and belonged to the Presbyterian congregation there. At the end of the 17th century Thomas, youngest son of Thomas Ridge of Cliffe, woollen-draper, settled in Brighton, where he entered the grocery trade. He soon became an active member of the local congregation: in 1699 he and his brother-in-law James Friend were among the ten trustees to whom land was conveyed for the purpose of erecting a meeting-house in Union Street. The new body of trustees appointed shortly after his death in 1731 included his son James, who in 1766 was described as 'the only survivor'. He then conveyed the property to himself and 17 others: by this date the Brighton congregation had become so reduced that, in order to make up the requisite number of trustees, three Ridges from Westgate—Joseph, Samuel and William—were appointed. Since four other new trustees—John Attersoll, William Boys, Samuel Snashall and James Friend—were close relations of the Ridges it appears that here, as at Westgate, the 'cousinhood' was in control. Their influence became greater still after 1775 when another cousin, William Johnston (son of Ebenezer), became minister at Brighton. During his ministry Samuel Ridge, who had moved to Falmer in 1782, transferred his allegiance from Lewes to Brighton: six of his seven children were baptised there between 1783 and 1791. That they represented as much as a quarter of all the children christened there at this time is an indication that this congregation, like so many other Presbyterian causes, was now in a weak condition. Johnston apparently could do nothing to halt the decline and, after his departure in 1798, there was apparently only a handful left in the congregation. In 1799 Joseph Ridge and the two other surviving trustees, recognising the reality of the situation, decided to hand the meeting-house over to a group of evangelical Independents.[80]

Apart from those at Brighton and Lewes the only other Presbyterian congregation in Sussex at this date was at Chichester—and here too the Ridge family was not without influence. The first to settle in the city was John, son of William Ridge of Rottingdean: like his brothers William and Benjamin (of Southease) he was evidently not a Dissenter, for his children were all baptised at St Peter Less, Chichester.[81] An unsuccessful brewer, he went bankrupt in 1753[82]—a circumstance that may have made his son William (born in 1751) determined to succeed in life. Like other young men of modest means in other towns at this period he perhaps thought that the best way to make his way in the world

was to join the Presbyterians.[83] What is certain is that in 1775 he married Sarah Lacy, daughter of one of the wealthiest members of the Presbyterian (later Unitarian) congregation meeting in Baffin's Lane, Chichester. In 1790, by which time he had become a highly successful brewer and brandy-merchant, he was appointed a trustee of the meeting-house.[84] Chosen mayor of the city in 1787 and again in 1799, he died a very rich man in 1829 and his body was buried in the Cathedral cloisters. While his eldest surviving son Benjamin, who entered Guy's Hospital in the same year as his distant cousin Samuel Ridge of Lewes, became a surgeon and settled in Lambeth, his younger sons William and Charles stayed in Chichester and became bankers. Charles, who was mayor of the city in 1828–9, went bankrupt in 1842 and died in 1853. William, who lived at Broyle House, East Street, served as mayor in 1820–1 and 1834–5, and died in 1856.[85] It is not certain whether the brothers, who had both been baptised at Baffin's Lane, worshipped there as adults but, on her death in 1837, William's wife Ann (nee Lacy) was described as a devout Unitarian.[86] After 1856 there were apparently no Ridges remaining in Chichester, but for many years thereafter the bodies of members of the family were brought back for burial in the Cathedral precincts. The last to be interred there was that of William and Ann's grandson Lacy William Ridge, the well-known ecclesiastical architect, who practised in London and Sussex and died at Worthing in 1922.[87]

By the middle of the 19th century many members of the Ridge family were living in the environs of London. The first to move there was Samuel Ridge (formerly of Falmer) who, having received a legacy of £2,000 from his mother, settled at Bethnal Green in about 1800 and henceforward prospered in business as a brick-maker.[88] He and his family were prominent supporters of the Presbyterian/Unitarian chapel at New Gravel Pit, Hackney, where the celebrated Robert Aspland was minister from 1805 to 1845.[89] Since the Ridges were on the friendliest terms with the minister and his family their influence may help to explain how Aspland's star pupil, Thomas Walker Horsfield, came to candidate at Westgate in 1817.[90] Although living so far from Sussex the Hackney Ridges maintained close connections with Lewes: in 1833 Samuel's son Samuel, a London stockbroker, took as his second wife Ruth, the sister of Timothy Ridge—who thereafter became a regular visitor to their home at Hackney and in fact died there in 1838.[91] Two years earlier the two brothers-in-law had both been appointed trustees of Westgate Chapel: after Timothy's death Samuel continued to take an interest in the affairs of the congregation there, remaining a regular subscriber until 1854.[92] After his death in 1861 the family's ties with Westgate were not completely broken, for his sons Joseph and Henry had also been appointed chapel trustees in 1836. Joseph, the distinguished physician, lived until 1875 and Henry, a stockbroker, to 1891: he was the last of 18 Ridges to be laid to rest in the family vault in the New Gravel Pit chapel graveyard.[93] His demise marked the end of the Ridges' links with Lewes and with the Presbyterian/Unitarian strand of Protestant Dissent.[94]

CONCLUSION

One purpose of this article has been to try to correct an imbalance in the historiography of Protestant Dissent. Most 'chapel histories' record the achievements of succeeding ministers but say little about the laity who maintained the continuity of the congregation. J. M. Connell's *The Story of an Old Meeting House,* although much more comprehensive than most books of its kind, is primarily an account of the careers of the ministers (like himself) who served at Westgate down the years. Although he recognised the importance of the Ridges—and mentioned them in his text more often than his index indicates—he saw them as merely having a supporting role: the ministers were the main actors on the stage. Thus he omits to mention the part Richard Ridge played in 1723 in healing the

rift between the two congregations then sharing Westgate—and so helping to avoid the kind of Presbyterian-Independent schism that took place in so many English towns. Nor does he acknowledge the Ridges' later role in keeping the cause at Lewes alive at a time when so many other Presbyterian/Unitarian congregations were dying. The contribution of an outstanding minister such as Horsfield was clearly considerable, but he could have achieved little without the backing of the Ridges who, with their relations, constituted a veritable oligarchy. How the Ridges had come to have such pre-eminence is a question of central interest to the historian of Nonconformity. The story of this remarkable Dissenting family illustrates the vital importance of the laity in the life of the church and serves as a reminder that, in Sussex as elsewhere, social and religious history are best studied together.[95]

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Notes

[1] T. W. Horsfield, *The History and Antiquities of Lewes and its Vicinity* (1824, 1827), **2,** 138–9.

[2] Horsfield, *The History, Antiquities and Topography of the County of Sussex* (1835), **1,** 198.

[3] Most of the research was undertaken (successively) by C. Harold Ridge (1890–1956) and Jessie C. Ridge (b. 1903). Their findings are published in J. C. Ridge and M. J. Burchall, 'The Ridge Family of Sussex', *Sussex Genealogist and Local Historian,* **1** (1979), 87–98. Much of the information in the present article is derived from that valuable study.

[4] East Sussex Record Office (hereafter E.S.R.O.), W/A 62/527.

[5] West Sussex Record Office (hereafter W.S.R.O.), Ep II/5/1, f. 20 (card index in E.S.R.O.).

[6] For the early history of the Ridges see D. Ridge, *A Sussex Family: the Family of Ridge from 1500 to the Present Day* (1975), 11–15. This book reproduces numerous wills, inventories and other primary source material, and provides much useful information about the familly in the 17th and 18th centuries; its later chapters deal only with the 'Lewes branch', from which the author himself was descended.

[7] Ridge & Burchall, passim.

[8] The 'Presbyterians' were so called, not (as is often thought) because they favoured the Scottish form of hierarchical church government, but because they attached more importance to the body of 'presbyters' (or ministers) than did the 'Independents', who emphasised the autonomy of the local congregation.

[9] J. M. Connell, *The Story of an Old Meeting House* (1935 edn.), 2–22.

[10] C. E. Brent, 'Lewes Dissenters outside the Law, 1663–86', *Suss. Arch.Coll.,* **123** (1985), 195, 203, 209.

[11] Horsfield, *Lewes,* **1,** Appendix, xxv–xxix.

[12] R. M. Montgomery, 'The Deeds of Westgate Chapel, Lewes', *Trans. Unitarian Hist. Soc.,* **1** (1917), 178; Connell, 22.

[13] *Suss. Arch. Coll.,* **51** (1908), 12; E.S.R.O., QR/E 179, m. 56.

[14] E.S.R.O., NU 1/1/1 (at rear in reverse), f. 5; Connell, 43–4.

[15] Connell, 49.

[16] Montgomery, 179–82; E.S.R.O., NU 1/2/1 (at rear in reverse). The total sum raised was £40: Samuel Swane, a leading Presbyterian, gave £6 and Richard Ridge, £5 8*s.*; the deficit of £3 18*s.* 10*d.* was later made up by Swane, Ridge and two others jointly.

[17] *Suss. Arch. Coll.,* **51** (1908), 106.

[18] Connell, 57–9.

[19] Ridge, *Sussex Family,* 35–8.

[20] *Lewes Nonconformist Registers,* ed. M. J. Burchall (Suss. Fam. Hist. Grp. 1975), A 2–7.

[21] 'Arminian' was the term used to describe those who had rejected the Calvinistic belief that only 'the elect' would gain salvation. For Doddridge's influence, see J. J. Goring, 'The Break-up of the Old Dissent' in C. G. Bolam *et al, The English Presbyterians* (1968), 194–6.

[22] E.S.R.O., NI 1/27/1/2.

[23] E.S.R.O., NU 1/2/1, subscription list, 1777.

[24] Ridge & Burchall, 91.

[25] *Suss. Arch. Coll.,* **37** (1890), 116–32.

[26] E.S.R.O., LT Iford.

[27] Connell, 90.

[28] Ridge & Burchall, 97.

[29] *Lewes Nonconformist Registers,* A 5–9.

[30] In 1756 seven Ridges jointly contributed £11 4*s.* towards a total of £60 13*s.* 10*d.*; in 1838 six gave £23 2*s.* towards a total of £48 5*s.* 6*d.*; E.S.R.O., NU 1/2/1, 1/2/13.

[31] For the role of trustees in English Presbyterian (in contrast to Independent) congregations, see A. P. F. Sell, 'Presbyterianism in 18th Century England', *Jnl of United Reformed Church Hist. Soc.,* **4** (1990), 380–1.

[32] Montgomery, 179–86.

[33] Although by the end of the 18th century most English Presbyterians had abandoned belief in the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, few were as militantly antitrinitarian as was Horsfield, who was one of those who wished to make the denial of the deity (and the affirmation of the full humanity) of Christ the distinguishing feature of a new 'Unitarian' denomination.

[34] *Christian Reformer* (hereafter *C.R.*), **5** (1838), 584.

[35] Connell, 82–8.

[36] *C.R.*, **2** (1835), 592.
[37] Ibid., **5** (1838), 434.
[38] Ibid., **2** (1835), 592. Joseph, who never married, also made bequests totalling over £7,500 to various relatives and left £100 to the Rev. Charles Porteous Valentine, Horsfield's successor at Westgate—and writer of the 1835 obituary; Public Record Office, PROB 11/1856/45.
[39] *C.R.*, **5** (1838), 584.
[40] Ibid., 434.
[41] *C.R.*, n.s. **14** (1858), 584.
[42] *Post Office Directory* (1853), 920.
[43] *V.C.H. Sussex*, **7** (1940), 43.
[44] See H. L. Short, 'Presbyterians under a New Name' in Bolam *et al*, 248; Connell, 103–5. In 1844 a petition from the General Baptist/Unitarian congregation at Horsham stated: 'Many of the present attendants are descendants of the original founders—in particular six generations of the family of John Dendy'. See *Parliamentary Debates on the Dissenters' Chapels Bill* (1844).
[45] *Book of John Rowe*, ed. W. H. Godfrey (Suss. Rec. Soc. **34** 1928), 86–8.
[46] Ridge, *Sussex Family*, 77–8.
[47] E.S.R.O., TD/E 61.
[48] C. E. Brent, *The Rural Economy of Eastern Sussex 1500–1700* (E.S.R.O. 1978), 7.
[49] Ridge, *Sussex Family*, 30, 47–51, 71–4; E.S.R.O., SAS/SH 175.
[50] E.S.R.O., LT/LLT Alciston, Iford, Litlington, Little Horsted, Ringmer, South Malling; TD/E 25; *The Ringmer Tithe Schedule and Map*, ed. J. Kay *et al* (Ringmer Hist. Study Grp., 1982); Ridge & Burchall, 96–7; Horsfield, *Sussex*, **1,** 332; Montgomery, 186.
[51] Cf. B. M. Short, 'The Changing Rural Society and Economy of Sussex 1750–1945', *Sussex: Environment, Landscape and Society* (Geography Editorial Committee, Gloucester 1983), 157.
[52] A. Young, *General View of the Agriculture of Sussex* (1808), 6, 350.
53 A. Young, 'A Tour through Sussex', *Annals of Agriculture*, **22** (1794), 225, cited in S. P. Farrant, 'John Ellman of Glynde in Sussex', *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, **26** (1978), 81.
[54] E.S.R.O., ROB 5/26.
[55] Ridge & Burchall, 92, 96.
[56] The 44 trustees comprised a mercer, three grocers, a tobacconist, a draper, a haberdasher, a glover, a currier, a dyer, a peruke maker, a basket maker, a sieve maker, a cutler, a hairdresser, two tallowchandlers, a clockmaker, two carpenters, a bricklayer, a painter, an upholder, a surveyor, a musician, a bookseller, three apothecaries, a village shopkeeper (from Rodmell), three yeomen/farmers and 11 gentlemen/esquires; Montgomery, 179–86.
[57] Ridge & Burchall, 88, 96–8.
[58] Ridge, *Sussex Family*, 48–9, 53–4, 70–4.
[59] Horsfield, *Sussex* , **1,** 198; Horsfield, *Lewes*, **2,** 139. Some time after 1835 Henry Ridge (**F10**) moved from the old family farmhouse (now 1–3 Sutton Cottages) to Snashalls House (now Sutton House). In the 1870s Ruth Ridge-Jones, daughter of Henry's cousin Joseph Ridge (**G6**), who evidently inherited the Snashall holding of Iford manor, moved to the more prestigious 'Iford Manor House'. (I am grateful to John Houghton for information about houses and manors in Iford.)
[60] Horsfield, *Lewes*, **2,** 14.
[61] John Houghton tells me that the Ridges lived in what is now 142 High Street and not in the more imposing St Anne's House next door (as stated in Ridge, *Sussex Family*, 48).
[62] Ridge, *Sussex Family*, 28, 32.
[63] E.S.R.O., W/A 66/162, 67/815.
[64] Montgomery, 185.
[65] Ibid., 186.
[66] E.S.R.O., LCG 3/EW 1.
[67] Ridges served on and off as churchwardens between 1692 and 1722, and as overseers between 1694 and 1785; Suss. Arch. Soc. Library, Woolgar's 'Spiciligia', **4,** 225–8; E.S.R.O., ROB 7/1.
[68] *The Town Book of Lewes 1702–1837*, ed. Verena Smith (Suss. Rec. Soc. **69,** 1973), 36, 62, 250, 259, 265–8.
[69] E.S.R.O., LT Chailey, Iford, Streat.
[70] *Town Book*, 254.
[71] For the 1826 election, see G. I. T. Machin, *The Catholic Question in English Politics 1820–1830* (1964), ch. iv. Among Unitarian supporters of Catholic Emancipation Horsfield's mentor, Robert Aspland, was prominent; R. W. Davis, *Dissent in Politics 1780–1830* (1971), 225–7.
[72] E.S.R.O., R/L 11/1/2, 3, 4; 2/1; 7/6, p. 6.
[73] Ibid., 11/7/6, p. 7.
[74] Ibid., 11/1/5, 6; 11/7/6 Appendix.
[75] *C.R.*, **5** (1838), 434.
[76] E.S.R.O., R/L 11/1/5, pp. 70–1.
[77] Horsfield, *Lewes*, **1,** p. xiii.
[78] Another apparent 'defector' was Thomas Ridge (**E5**), whose children were baptised at the Independent New Meeting, Great Yarmouth; Norfolk R.O., FC31/16.
[79] Both William and Samuel took their children to be baptised in Rottingdean parish church; Ridge & Burchall, 93–4.
[80] Ridge & Burchall, 92–3; J. Sawyer, *The Churches of Brighton* (Brighton n.d.), 255–6; E.S.R.O., NC 12/1/1; *Brighton Presbyterian Registers*, ed. M. Burchall (Suss. Fam. Hist. Grp. 1979), i–ii.
[81] Ridge & Burchall, 93–4.
[82] *Gentleman's Magazine*, **23** (1753), 492.
[83] Cf. H. L. Short, 'Presbyterians under a New Name', 223.
[84] W.S.R.O., NC/GB 1/7/5.
[85] Ridge & Burchall, 94–5; *Minute Book of the Common Council of the City of Chichester*, ed. F. W. Steer (Suss. Rec. Soc., **62,** 1962), xxxvii; F. W. Steer, *The Church of St John the Evangelist, Chichester* (Chichester Papers, **35,** 1963), 30.
[86] *C.R.*, **4,** (1837), 239.
[87] Ridge & Burchall, 94–5; for Ridge's church building and restoration work in Sussex, see I. Nairn and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Sussex* (1965), 85, 261, 271, 419, 462, 504, 539, 541, 614.
[88] Ridge & Burchall, 97; E.S.R.O., W/A 68/289.
[89] Aspland's daughter Mary married Henry Ridge (**G4**): their only child, who married Alfred Lawrence, was the mother of Lord Pethick-Lawrence.

[90] *C.R.*, n.s. **17** (1861), 760. The influence of the Ridges' cousin Ebenezer Johnston, another prominent Hackney Unitarian, was probably also significant; Connell, 96–7.
[91] *C.R.*, **5** (1838), 434–5.
[92] E.S.R.O., NU 1/2/13.
[93] Dr Williams's Library, OD 47, p. 411.
[94] Links with the Independent/Congregationalist strand of Dissent were established by John James Ridge (**G2**), whose great-granddaughter Jessie Ridge is a member of Seaford United Reformed Church. She occasionally attends Westgate Chapel, of whose congregation her direct ancestor William Ridge (**B3**) was a founder member.
[95] I am grateful to Ronald Bocking, Colin and Judith Brent, John Houghton, Christopher Whittick and Jessie Ridge for their comments on an earlier draft of this article. I am further indebted to the last-named for much help and guidance over a long period of time.

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SETTING BRIGHTON'S POOR TO WORK. THE WORK OF BRIGHTON DISTRESS COMMITTEE, 1905–1914.

by John Jacobs

The Unemployed Workmen Act 1905 was the turning point in dealing with the unemployed. It marked the transition from a system based on charity and local relief works to one in which the state accepted responsibility for tackling unemployment as a national issue. The Act was a failure and did little for the unemployed, but Brighton used it to better effect than any other town. This is an account of how the Act was implemented in Brighton, and of how a group of councillors campaigned against the Act while at the same time using it on behalf of the men they represented.

Strolling along Preston Road past the park on Monday 20 November 1905 you might have caught sight of a small group of eight poorly dressed men digging flints out of the ground and collecting them in barrows for later use in road making. If a little further on you had slipped into the Stanford Arms Hotel hoping to relieve yourself you would have been disappointed to find the urinal closed for repairs, but if you had got talking to the four men doing the work there you might have been interested to learn that these men, like the flint pickers, were the first group of men to be set to work in Brighton by the newly formed Distress Committee. Around the town that week another 60 men were engaged in various forms of digging, painting, or levelling the beach, and between them they were part of a new development in social policy which was eventually to change the relationship between the unemployed and the state. With so much unemployment about the men would have been glad of the 5*d.* an hour they were getting, but they would have been wondering what they were going to do next week, as this job would be for that week only as there were many others who needed a share of the scant amount of work the Committee had to offer.[1]

Unemployment had been a problem for local and national authorities for at least 20 years. In 1886 Joseph Chamberlain, President of the Local Government Board, had issued a circular exhorting local authorities to provide work so that the deserving unemployed could be dealt with outside the stigma of the Poor Law, but by the summer of 1905 the great demonstration of the unemployed in Hyde Park and deputations to Parliament testified to the failure to find lasting remedies. The Unemployed Workmen Act which was passed on 11 August in that year was the final attempt to set up machinery which was outside the Poor Law but which avoided the Government's having to take full responsibility for relief measures.

DISTRESS COMMITTEES

The aims of the Unemployed Workmen Act were to provide a means of relief which did not depend upon the Poor Law, since all this had to offer the able-bodied unemployed was a stay in the workhouse or some degrading form of test-work such as stone-breaking, wood chopping or oakum-picking which was shunned by the respectable working-class. The new Act was aimed at what Gerald Balfour, then President of the Local Government Board, called 'the élite of the unemployed.' 'It was intended', he said, for

'respectable workmen, settled in a locality, hitherto accustomed to regular work, but temporarily out of employment through circumstances beyond their control; capable workmen with hope of return to regular work after tiding over a period of temporary distress.'[2]

Regulations were drawn up to ensure that these intentions were put into effect. No-one who had been in receipt of poor relief during the preceding year could apply, no-one was to be helped more than two years under this Act, and every applicant for help had to be interviewed and answer questions designed to weed out the undeserving.

The mechanism through which the Act worked was the Distress Committee. Every local authority serving a population of 50,000 or more had to establish one consisting of members of the local authority with additional members drawn from the local Boards of Guardians and others experienced in the relief of distress. It was a committee of the local authority, charged with setting up a register of those seeking work and investigating applications for assistance. If satisfied that the applicant was deserving of help it could try to find work for him (very few women applied and even fewer were helped), could help him and his family either emigrate or resettle in another part of the country, or could send him away to a farm colony such as Hollesley Bay in Suffolk.[3]

What it could *not* do was provide work and pay wages from the rates. As originally conceived in 1905 it was only allowed the product of a halfpenny rate to be spent on staffing and running the Committee and on the costs of helping with emigration, migration or the farm colonies. All other income was to be provided by voluntary contributions, so that the amount of wages that could be paid would depend on the success of the Mayor's appeals for charity. Such was the pressure from the local authorities for this arrangement to be changed that after the first year the Exchequer made £200,000 available for distribution towards wages. This in turn had the effect almost immediately of drying up the voluntary contributions, which fell from £105,000 in the first year of the Act to £36,000 in the second and £7,800 in the third.[4] Thus by default the state had begun, albeit in a small way, to assume responsibility for funding work for the unemployed.

The reason that the Distress Committees were established according to these curious rules is not hard to see. The two ways in which help had been offered to the unemployed, apart from the Poor Law, before 1905 had been through municipal works or by charity, usually by means of ad hoc appeals. The 1905 Act sought to put these two methods on a more orderly footing in the hope that voluntary contributions would be more forthcoming if the donors believed that their money was being wisely administered and in an attempt to encourage local authorities to make more relief works available.

When the *Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress* reported in 1909 both the Majority report and the Minority report united in their outright condemnation of the Unemployed Workmen Act. In seeking to perpetuate the use of municipal relief works and charity it had perpetuated two measures which had already been discredited. Charity was capricious and unreliable, and often given indiscriminately to the 'undeserving', which only encouraged them in their bad habits, while relief works were condemned as costly, inefficient, and the cause of unemployment among those workers whom the local authorities laid off when taking on workers from the ranks of the unemployed. Both reports judged the Distress Committees to have failed to select only the élite of the unemployed, and condemned them for doling out small parcels of work as relief rather than putting men back on the road to self-sufficiency. The Majority report concluded that 'the unsuccessful methods of the Distress Committees are in our opinion so harmful, that we feel it to be in the interests of the State that they should be discontinued.'[5] The Minority report stated that they had found 'an almost

universal dissatisfaction with the Act, which sometimes takes the form . . . of declaring it to be of no utility whatsoever.'[6]

The Act and the Distress Committees that it spawned had therefore a short and inglorious life which ended with the outbreak of the Great War. How it was put into effect in Brighton and with what results is the subject of this report.

The Relief of Unemployment in Brighton before 1905

In common with some other local authorities Brighton had dealt with periods of high unemployment by instituting municipal relief works and by the use of charity. In the winter of 1892, a time of high unemployment, the Local Government Board re-issued Chamberlain's appeal for local authorities to provide relief work, and followed it up by asking every local authority what they had done.[7] They received replies from 673 authorities, of whom only 73 had made any work available. Brighton claimed to have provided work for a total of 700 men, with a daily average of 200. Of the 55 outside London who did anything at all, only Leeds and Leicester claimed to have done more. The men had been engaged in 'roadmaking, cleansing, shifting beach, levelling land, painting public buildings, improvements to esplanade and clearing of condemned sites' for 24 weeks. They stated that the majority of men were employed in painting and given two weeks work each. This had cost £610 in work made specially available, and £8,200 in 'expedited' work, i.e. work brought forward specially to provide for the unemployed.

The figures are puzzling; if, as is most likely, the men were earning 10*s.* each for three days work the wages for a daily average of 200 men over 24 weeks would have been £4,800, not the nearly £9,000 they claimed to have spent, and if the majority of men were given only two weeks work and the average number of men helped every day was 200, the work for the 700 men would only have lasted about seven weeks and not the 24 claimed. Nevertheless, even allowing for some exaggeration, it is clear that Brighton at least tried to do something when most other authorities did nothing and only two claimed to have done more.

Two years later in 1895 the *Select Committee on Distress from Want of Employment* called for reports on how local authorities were dealing with the problem, and from the reports of a Poor Law Inspector and from the Town Clerk of Brighton we have two pictures of Brighton's activities.[8] J. S. Davy, the Poor Law Inspector for Kent, Sussex and Surrey, wrote:

> Speaking generally, the distress which exists among able-bodied men is entirely the result of frost and has in both (sic) cases been met and apparently adequately met by private charity. In all the towns and in many villages Relief Funds have been started and funds are readily subscribed and up to the present time have been wisely administered.

He went on to praise the thrift of the agricultural labourer who he claimed was much more able to provide for himself and his family in times of distress than he used to be before, in contrast to the town labourer:

> The more helpless class of labourers have always a tendency to drift into the large towns of Brighton and Hove where there are many charities. For some weeks past from 100 to 200 men, a considerable proportion of whom are apparently able-bodied, have been walking in a procession through the town collecting money. It is alleged that many of these men were not residents in the town and there have been many complaints of their proceedings from the inhabitants. The Brighton corporation are now finding work for the unemployed though not, I should judge, in a very systematic manner.

Reporting that Maidstone council had started relief works by opening a new quarry, laying a new sewer and laying out a new playground, he said that this 'would appear to be the only case in this district where the municipal authority have started organised relief works'. He clearly did not think much of Brighton's efforts in this respect.[9]

Not so F. J. Tillstone, Brighton's Town Clerk, whose report was far more positive. Beginning by noting that there had been 'considerable distress . . . due in great measure to the severe weather' he went on:

> The Board of Guardians had their labour shed in use, but this did little to meet the case. The Town Council carried out all possible works and were employing extra men as far as possible. But beyond this it was evident that there was urgent and exceptional distress which could only therefore be met by an appeal to private charity. On 11th. February, the Mayor, in accordance with a requisition, called a public meeting at the Town Hall and a relief fund was established. All persons were free to make application if they had resided six months in the borough. We have received about 2,000 applications and about £2,000 in money and kind. As far as possible we have found employment for all the men, paying out of our fund 4½d per hour, and giving three days per week, thus enabling them to earn about ten shillings per week.
>
> The work found for the men consisted; 1) of pulling down houses in the condemned area and removing materials; 2) breaking flints; 3) pile-driving etc. for sea defences; 4) levelling land and sifting ashes; 5) sifting coombe rock and flints; 6) pulling down house and levelling site for Technical Schools; 7) Sending men round with turncock, to carry water from the standpipes to the houses of all persons whose supply was stopped by the frost.
>
> The names, residences, occupations etc. of all applicants are registered and in a few cases private residents have offered to give employment and we have sent the kind of men required. In all about 700 men have been given employment. The other 1,300 have received relief to the average extent of 1/- per day in kind, by tickets for bread, coal, groceries and soap available at any shop in the borough, thus helping also the small shopkeepers. Single men have received a little less than 1/- per day. The average daily number relieved by this fund, by work, or food etc. during the week ended Saturday the 16th of February was 1,465.
>
> A register of the unemployed has been compiled and the number of each occupation ascertained. Very few applications from employers have been received, but the men are slowly returning to their former work as the weather moderates. The Committee have had some assistance from the police and relieving officers and have perhaps succeeded in preventing notorious bad characters and well-known idle loafers from participating in the fund, but beyond this they have not attempted any close discrimination as they had not the requisite machinery. They would venture to recommend some extension of the powers of the Guardians to relieve able-bodied men at exceptional times like the present, such relief not to disfranchise the recipients.[10]

This detailed report is remarkable because it shows that Brighton had almost all the elements of a Distress Committee in operation ten years before the Act and was using them on a grand scale. Recognising the reluctance of the unemployed to use the workhouse labour yards they had opened up their own register, called for charitable funds and made municipal works available, whilst making a rudimentary attempt to weed out 'bad characters'.

The Labour Bureau

The register established in 1895 was ad hoc, in response to the severe distress of that winter. Once established, it seems to have been kept on and was taken over by the Labour Bureau Sub-Committee which was set up for the first time by the Council in October 1904 in response to another anticipated winter of distress. It had been suggested by Cllr Black in August 1904 and adopted by the Council on 1 September.[11] Its job was to invite all the spending committees of the Council to provide work specifically for the

unemployed on the register, who would have to have been resident in Brighton for at least six months. The sub-committee undertook to screen the applicants by using the experience of the 'Sanitary Officers and the School Attendance Officers of the Council, who are closely in touch with the working classes, and who know the deserving from the loafer.'[12] In setting up a Labour Bureau and anticipating the implementation of the Act Brighton was one of a small group of councils who had taken responsibility for dealing with unemployment. Liverpool and Plymouth had opened labour bureaux in 1894, and Glasgow in 1896, but they were the only ones until 1904, when another six councils opened them in addition to Brighton.[13]

Municipal Works

Brighton had sometimes made work available to the unemployed from its own programme of works, as in 1895. It also, in times of severe distress, made it a condition of outside contracts that work be given to unemployed men from Brighton. In December 1903 Cllr Heun suggested that the Council should 'draft a practical scheme by which any contemplated work may be pushed forward for the purpose of giving work to the unemployed' only to be told by the Council that 'the whole of the Committees of the Council having the control of public works are alive to the necessity of the case and have already put certain work in hand and are arranging to press forward other work for the unemployed.'[14]

During the debate the Mayor reported that 'the Surveyor had had distinct instructions only to employ Brighton men' on the drainage work in Hollingdean Road, and when later that month Ald. Carden urged that Brighton's unemployed be used to lay out roads at the Loder Road site for the Council's school his proposal was accepted.[15] In November 1904 a contract to erect thirty artisans dwellings in Tillstone Street included a condition that the labourers had to be Brighton residents of at least 12 months.[16] Giving preference to the local unemployed was clearly common practice.

The provision of direct work was open to all the arguments usually put forward against municipal relief works. If it was *additional* work which would not otherwise have been done it would have been a useful means of providing work, but it was almost always work which would have been done by the Council anyway, resulting in less work for the Council's regular workforce. Where the Council would otherwise have put the work out to contractors the effect was simply to take work away from the contractors, thereby increasing the chances of their laying off their men. The following minute from the Buildings Committee in November 1905, having been pressed by the newly formed Distress Committee to find work for the Brighton's unemployed, makes this crystal clear;

> The Council will remember that on 18th May last they confirmed a resolution of the Committee directing the execution of certain work to property belonging to the Corporation in Orange Row, at an estimated cost of £900 under the contracts for general works. The Committee now recommend that the resolution referred to be rescinded and that the Council authorise the Borough Surveyor to execute the work by labour directly employed by the Corporation. If this recommendation is adopted, employment will be found for about twenty men.[17]

Meanwhile, of course, the contractor lost the work.

THE BRIGHTON DISTRESS COMMITTEE

The Brighton Distress Committee had its first meeting on 25 October 1905 in the Town Hall. Formally a sub-committee of the Council, it consisted of 14 councillors (one from each ward), eight members from the Brighton Board of Guardians, two from the Steyning Guardians (which included Hove), and six persons 'experienced in the relief of distress'.[18] It was a stormy meeting, the first of several at which arguments against the Act were put with passion

and eloquence. At the first two meetings Ald. Carden mounted 'vigorous protests' against the whole conception of the Unemployed Workmen Act, arguing that it was wrong in principle and would make things worse for the unemployed.[19] He denounced the reliance on voluntary subscriptions as 'an outrage and a mockery' and claimed that the Council had spent more last winter without the Act. The Committee therefore resolved to petition the Government to amend the Act to allow Distress Committees to pay wages for work done from the rates.[20]

Carden resumed his attack at the Committee's second meeting a month later. Calling the Act 'useless and mischievous' he argued that it was a very short-sighted policy to 'perpetuate this system of doles and charity'.[21] He claimed that it was the duty of the Committee to tell the Government that unemployment was a national problem and proposed a motion that 'the UWA 1905 is unworkable in its present form', which, with 'unworkable' amended to 'wholly inadequate', the Committee unanimously accepted. They sent copies of the motion to the Prime Minister, the Local Government Board, their MPs Mr Villiers and Mr Wentworth, and asked the Association of Municipal Corporations and other large Boroughs to call a Conference 'to urge the Government of the necessity of dealing with unemployment as a whole.'

During the debate it was pointed out that the Act 'would inflict positive harm' because it debarred from help anyone who had been in receipt of poor relief within the previous 12 months, a ban which the Council had not applied previously when recruiting unemployed labour.

A second motion by Carden that 'funds for dealing with unemployment should be supplied from national sources' was accepted by 11 votes to two, but his proposal that no appeal should be made for voluntary funds because 'if there were no voluntary subscriptions for the purpose, such a fire would be lighted in England that the problem would be dealt with in such a drastic way that it would never occur again' was too 'visionary' to find favour. A counter proposal from Ald. Reeves that the Committee 'hears with pleasure' that the problem was to be dealt with by the Mayor's appeal for voluntary subscriptions also fell, leaving the Committee somewhere between these two extremes. They did however express their intention to keep the money raised by the Mayor as a separate fund, rather than hand it over entirely to the Distress Committee, so that they could use some of it to provide work for men barred from the remit of that Committee, thus circumventing one of the intentions of the Act.

Carden carried the debate into the full Council, where, to 'a crowded gallery of Brighton's unemployed', in November 1905, he urged the Council to bring forward work on a number of major projects, including the building of the public baths in London Road and the fire station at Preston Circus, widening the Lewes Road and Ditchling Road north of Surrenden Road and improvements to Hollingbury Park.[22] He had some success with the last three proposals, but his proposals on the baths and fire station were defeated. His opponents accused him of once again flying his pet kite of 'municipal trading' and claimed that work on these sites could not be put in hand in time to benefit the unemployed. Nevertheless, committees of the Council did come forward with proposals which would provide work for 129 men supplied by the Distress Committee.

The Committee thus began with its members recognising the limitations of its powers and protesting its own inadequacy. It appointed a Labour Bureau Sub-Committee, charged with the job of selecting applicants and finding work for them, re-opened the register and badgered the Council into providing work, all of which was made easy because Brighton had done it all before.

Selecting the Men

The work of the Committee was done by the Labour Bureau Sub-Committee, which consisted of seven members elected from the main

Committee. The Sub-Committee in turn elected three of its members to be the Selection Committee, who met, often more than once a week, to select those who were to be given work. The Act and the regulations which accompanied it tried to put into effect the intention that only the 'élite' of the unemployed should be helped by laying down conditions as to eligibility, some of which were very general such as that the applicant had to be 'honestly desirous of obtaining work' and 'of good character', others of which were more restrictive, such as the requirement that the applicant must have lived in the area for at least 12 months and that he must not have been in receipt of poor relief during the preceding year. (After the first two years of the Act another restriction was imposed which barred anyone who had received help under the Act in each of the previous two years, though such was the outcry that they dropped this requirement the following year.)

To ensure that only bona fide workers were offered help all applicants had to fill in a 'record paper' which asked 18 questions, the forerunner of the present form whose intention is still to weed out from benefit all those deemed not to be 'actively seeking work'.[23] Among the questions asked were the particulars of the applicant's employment record over the preceding five years, the reason for leaving his last job, his income from all sources and that of his wife and children, membership of trades unions, his current rent and the number of rooms in his tenancy. The applicant even had to give the names of referees, whose report was then sought, though this requirement was dropped after the first year. The record paper was not popular; at the first meeting of the Committee Cllr Evans, chairman of the Labour Bureau Sub-Committee, denounced some of the questions as 'not only an insult but an attempt to personally degrade the applicant.'[24] The Rev. Cocks, vice-chairman of the main Committee, agreed that 'a number of the questions could be rightly resented' and added that 'because a man has come down in the world it was not a reason why they should enquire so tremendously into his private affairs.'[25]

The Selection Committee took its work seriously. It not only required every applicant to fill in the record paper but also insisted on a home visit from an Inquiry Officer employed for the purpose, who would then make any further enquiries necessary. Every application was sent to the Poor Law Relieving Officer to check whether the applicant had been in receipt of poor relief and where necessary the police were also asked for their comments.[26]

This extraordinarily thorough vetting system reveals the obsession that only the deserving should be helped while loafers should be left to fend for themselves or be dealt with in the workhouse. It was hardly necessary. Out of the 2,050 applicants in the first year only 31 were considered to be 'bad characters'. This figure remained the same for the next two years, after which it was no longer separately recorded. The applications of these men were not accepted. Of the remaining 2,019 who were, the Committee reported that 'the men with few exceptions gave satisfaction in the way they worked.' There were 'some who appeared to think they need only do as little work as possible' whose names were reported to the Committee and who were struck off the list, but this only applied in 25 cases in 1905 and 29 in 1906, after which no record was given. In Brighton at least, the whole paraphernalia of careful vetting yielded only a tiny handful of men considered to be loafers.[27]

In contrast to the hunt for loafers the Selection Committee went to some lengths to subvert the intention of the Act to bar those who had been in receipt of poor relief. The Distress Committee had had the foresight to leave the money raised by the Mayor's appeal in the hands of the Mayor rather than asking for it to be handed over to the Committee.[28] This money was used each year to provide work for men who were disqualified from help from the Distress Committee because they had received poor relief in the preceding year. In 1905/6 the number of men so helped was 110, in 1906/7 it was 103.[29] In

1907/8 the Local Government Board added another and much larger category of men who were to be refused help, namely anyone who had been helped by the Distress Committee in each of the two preceding years. This was in response to the Board's fear that the men would come to rely upon such help as, so the conventional wisdom had it, men had come to rely upon the labour yards of the workhouse. Faced with actual men in genuine distress the Brighton Committee was unimpressed by such theoretical arguments. There were 521 such men in Brighton that year, to be added to the 106 men disqualified for having received poor relief, and the Committee simply subverted the Board's high-minded intentions by creating a separate list of both cases from which men were recommended to the Borough Surveyor for works being done by the Council.[30] The wages of the disqualified men were then paid from the Mayor's relief fund, thus treating the men exactly the same as applicants who were not disqualified. The vehement opposition to this harsh rule caused the LGB to repeal it in subsequent years, though it kept the bar on anyone who had been in receipt of poor law relief. This ban even extended to men whose children received the newly introduced free school meals which were technically a form of poor relief and carried the associated penalties.

Married men accounted for just over three-quarters of the applications each year, and in the peak year of 1908/9 when the number of applications reached 2,659 the number of dependents was 6,898, of whom 4,576 were children. Together with the men this meant that 9,557 people were dependent on the Distress Committee for some form of relief that year.[31] Roughly 5 per cent were widowers, the rest being single men, to whom the Committee was urged by the LGB to give low priority.

After the first year the residential qualification was raised to two years. In fact the vast majority of the applicants were long-standing Brighton residents; in 1907/8, the only year in which full figures are given, 70 per cent of the applicants had lived in Brighton all their lives and a further 13 per cent had lived there over 20 years, while just under 5 per cent had lived there less than five years.[32]

The proportion of men in the different trades remained much the same throughout the five years for which full records were kept. In the peak year of 1908/9 45 per cent were classed as labourers and 19 per cent as painters. The next highest group was that of the hawkers (4.5 per cent), followed by bricklayers (3.7 per cent) and fishermen (2.7 per cent). In the skilled building trades of bricklaying, carpenters, plumbers, excavators, scaffolders, slaters and plasterers there were a total of 286 men, nearly 11 per cent of the total. If these are added to the labourers and painters to form a rough grouping of those in the building trade then these men account for 75 per cent of all applicants.[33]

The rest of the men were scattered throughout the 60 trades and occupations listed for that year. It included some men whose trades have since vanished or declined, such as a bathchairman, eight blacksmiths and seven coachmen, and some whose day had yet to come; there were for example only one electrician, one waiter and one whose trade is listed as 'vacuum cleaner'. All were in manual trades, with the exception of four clerks, the sole representatives of white-collar workers.

The references throughout this account to men is no oversight. The only women whom the Committee tried to help were charwomen and other domestic workers, but they abandoned even this limited scheme after one year. In 1905/6 a list was kept at the Sanitary Offices in the Town Hall of 'charwomen and others in need of work', and the Mayor sent a letter to the vicars and ministers of the various churches and chapels in Brighton asking them to draw the attention of their congregations to its existence. Seventy-two women registered for work, but only 14 applications for charwomen were received that year.[34] After such a poor response no further attempts were made to repeat or improve upon the scheme, and no Brighton women were

subsequently assisted directly by the suitably named Unemployed Workmen Act.

The Distress Committee and Municipal Works

To find work for the men on its register the Distress Committee continued the former practice of touting for municipal works. Every committee of the Council was urged to find suitable work, and they usually obliged. The condition laid down by the LGB was that the work should be 'of actual and substantial utility', which ruled out the kind of degrading task work done in the workhouse or the more absurd kinds of municipal works such as the celebrated case when the Paddington Borough surveyor was ordered by his Council to use unemployed labourers to do the work which had been done much better by steam-roller and scarifier simply in order to employ as many men as possible.[35] What this meant in practice in Brighton was that works which added to the general amenities of the town were approved and therefore qualified for the LGB grant, while more routine maintenance work did not.

Brighton councillors accepted that it was their responsibility to find work for the town's unemployed. It was not a matter of dispute. The only problem for them was finding enough work. This was in contrast to the Brighton Board of Guardians who were split over the issue of providing useful work for the men in the workhouse, where in addition to the vexed issue of whether such work should be punitive or not some Guardians felt that to give any work, other than frankly task work such as stone breaking or oakum picking, was to take work away from non-pauper labourers.[36] The men who applied to the Distress Committee were never seen as being in competition with other workers, despite the fact that they obviously were. They were seen simply as men out of work through no fault of their own and councillors of every shade of opinion were constantly claiming that they were doing all they could to find work for them.

As Ald. Carden had pointed out, Brighton had made work available to its unemployed before the Act. Faced with the restrictions placed upon it by the new regulations Brighton simply got round them by providing two sorts of work for the unemployed; those which qualified for grant from the LGB and those which they continued to provide as they had done before. Most of the latter was routine maintenance work such as painting, street cleaning, road levelling etc., and in the five years from 1905/6 to 1909/10 they spent more on these kinds of works than they did on the more substantial kind for which the LGB provided grants.[37] In other words municipal works continued, some organised through the Distress Committee and paid for by either charitable donations or grants from the LGB, some organised by the Council and paid for from the rates.

The bulk of the work done through the Distress Committee came through the Council's proposals for making two new leisure facilities in Brighton. In January 1906 the Parks and Gardens Committee adopted a scheme to level a part of Tenantry Down/Whitehawk Bottom and to make cricket pitches there. (This is now the playing fields near the junior school in Whitehawk Road). A path by the side of the ground and a zig-zag path down the slope to the cricket ground were also part of the scheme. This provided work for anywhere between about 50 and 200 men a week throughout the next four winters, during which time the ground was extended and more pitches and a roadway were added. It was on this work that the men who should have been disqualified because they had been helped during the previous two years were used during the winter of 1907/8.[38]

The other major scheme which provided work for about 50 men in the winter of 1907/8 was laying out the municipal golf links at Hollingbury Park at the top of Ditchling Road. Nine holes were laid that winter and the following winter about 100 men were employed in generally improving the park, building a roadway around it and a wooden shelter and a similar number were employed the following winter adding another nine holes, planting trees

on both sides of the south part of the eastern boundary road, and building a road on the eastern side of the park to Upper Roedale Farm.

The Education Committee used the men to paint its schools, and in the winter of 1910/11 they left a more permanent mark when they levelled the ground at the Loder Road site to make a playing field for the girls of Varndean School, and in that and the following winter they levelled the playing fields at Moulscoomb School.[39]

Dotted around Brighton are the smaller memorials to those seven years between the winters of 1905/6 and 1911/12, when small bands of men built bowling greens in Preston Park, Madeira Drive, and Queen's Park, tennis courts in Queen's Park, two cricket pitches on Race Hill, laid out flower beds in Regency Square next to the war memorial, and others in Bedford Square and Madeira Drive. Over several winters they created the kerbed bank at Duke's Mound at the end of Madeira Drive and built a footpath through its precipitous shrubbery. They built and repaired walls at the municipal cemetery, where they built a shelter with a lavatory and a sheltered coffin bier in the upper ground and a shed with a lavatory. They prepared the 18 acres of ground between the Small Holdings and Ditchling Road, which is now a recreation ground, and ran a road to the allotments from the adjacent Hollingbury golf course.

As well as employing the men directly the Council continued to require contractors to employ local men. In the winter of 1909/10, for example, the Council made it a condition of any contract that 'the men employed should so far as practicable, be selected from those whose names were entered on the Committee's Register'.[40] The effect of this was that in 1908/9 about 50 men were employed for anything between 10 and 18 weeks laying water mains in Lancing, Rottingdean and Telscombe and in building a reservoir at Lancing, and in the following year about 35 men were employed from three to 11 weeks laying water mains at 'Bungalow Town', Shoreham, and elsewhere, and the Education Committee stipulated that the new Training College should be built by men from the register.[41]

One of the hopes of the Committee was that private employers would offer work to the men on the register, but this hardly ever happened. The Committee wrote letters to the local papers advertising the trades of the men on the register. In 1905/6 they reported that they received requests for the services of '1 carpenter, 2 gardeners, 6 labourers, 1 whitesmith, 1 boot repairer, 5 men for bill distributing, and 1 man for window cleaning.' They also reported finding permanent employment for only one man as a porter at an auctioneer's office. They concluded, as they were to do in each subsequent report, that they regretted that the public's response to their appeal was so limited.[42] One employer who did make use of the available seasonal labour from 1908/9 was the Brighton postmaster, who took on extra men to deal with the Christmas post.

Value for Money?

One of the conventional criticisms of relief work was that it was poorly done, because the men had no skills and were often poorly motivated, and that therefore it was costly. The Majority Report of the *Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress* put it with its usual clarity:

> As we have seen, among the unemployed are always a number and sometimes a majority of inefficients who have become so from want of food, of training or of brains. These inefficients set the pace at relief-works, just as the least efficient vessel in a fleet sets the pace of the fleet. The pace and standard of the inefficient on relief-work spread by contagion and example to the few efficient men employed, with the result that there is a general deterioration in the industrial efficiency on relief-work. Hence the extravagant cost of relief-work, as compared with commercial work, which has been so generally admitted.[43]

Addressing a meeting of Regency Ward Ratepayers' Association in February 1907 Mr W. T. Donovan, a member of the Distress Committee, made a similar accusation about the work being done in Brighton. He claimed that the Committee had spent £1,850 in wages to the men working on the Whitehawk Bottom project and that 'it had been estimated by an expert that if the work had been done by a contractor it would only have cost £350!'[44] But his was a lone voice, contradicted by the figures and by the frequent statements about the cost and quality of the work made by the Committee. In the annual report for 1906 they reported that 'the men, with few exceptions, gave satisfaction in the way they worked', and as we have seen, only 29 of the 2,050 applicants were refused further work because they had been idle.[45]

The Local Government Board produced annual reports on the work of all the Distress Committees. In their first report in 1906 they confirmed the conventional view by stating that the work done was 'very generally reported as inferior to that of work performed under ordinary conditions'.[46] This however was not what Brighton had reported to them; in their return to the LGB that year they said:

> having regard to the conditions under which it was performed, i.e. changes of workmen employed and employment of men unused to the work, the quality of the work done was satisfactory.[47]

Brighton continued to report in subsequent years that the work was done satisfactorily. Other authorities were less generous in their comments; Portsmouth for example reported that the work had cost about three times as much as expected.[48]

Another indication that the Brighton men were an exception is that the cost of the work they did was always very close to the cost as estimated by the Council. The total estimated cost of the work done on the Whitehawk cricket pitches over four years was £6,868; the actual cost was £7,435; whoever Donovan's 'expert' was it was clearly not the Corporation's surveyor.[49] The actual cost of the other major project, the Hollingbury golf links, was in fact less than the estimate, £2,435 as against an estimate of £2,860. In the two years for which there are useable figures the actual cost and the estimated cost of all the work other than these two major projects are remarkably close; in 1908/9 the estimated cost was £6,686, the actual £6,610, and in 1909/10 the estimated cost was £2,481, the actual £2,555.

A reliable estimate of such additional costs as there were from employing unemployed men can be seen in the extra amount which the Council paid to contractors for taking on such men. In 1908/9 the Council paid the contractor laying the water mains at Telscombe an extra £40 to cover the cost of employing local unemployed men. We do not know the total cost of the contract so it is impossible to say what proportion of the wages bill this was, but we do know that the contractor made a donation of the £40 to the Distress Committee, so presumably he was not dissatisfied with the work.[50] The following year the Council paid an extra £55 to the contractor laying the water mains in Shoreham, on a total wage bill of £605, so the Council had estimated that the use of the unemployed added only 10 per cent to the cost.[51]

Of the conditions under which the men had to work little is known. They were paid the going rate for the job and worked one week at a time. They worked in winter, and on one occasion at least, just after Christmas in 1908, they had to stop their work on the golf course to clear away a heavy fall of snow. When one of the Councillors, Mr Hardy, saw the men at work at Whitehawk Bottom he was struck by how cold and hungry they looked. He wrote to the Committee saying he regarded this as 'neither humane nor businesslike' and suggested that the men be provided with a hot breakfast or dinner from 'the House on the Hill' (the nearby workhouse) and that similar arrangements be made for the men at Hollingbury. The Committee agreed to arrange with the Committee of the Soup Fund to provide

soup and bread, but at a charge of ½*d.* a pint and a piece of bread, thus showing that while they might be induced to be more humane they were not prepared to become unbusinesslike.[52]

Did it help the unemployed?

Brighton ratepayers benefited from the Act by acquiring a new recreation ground at Whitehawk at about a seventh of its real cost, Hollingbury park and golf course at about a quarter of its cost and assorted tennis courts, bowling greens, and flower beds also at about a quarter of their cost. Between 1905/6 and 1909/10 over £5,000 of private charity and £4,700 in grant from the LGB subsidised these and other municipal works in the town, while the Council spent just over £19,000 in relief works. How much help was this to the unemployed?

In the same speech to the Ratepayers' Association Donovan claimed that the work provided by the Distress Committee:

> 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.

Unlike his previous claim, this is borne out by the figures. Table 1 shows the number of applicants and the number of weeks work they were offered.[53]

Some applicants, ranging from 125 in 1906/7 to 292 in 1908/9, were offered no work at all because they did not qualify for assistance, either because they did not meet the residential qualification, or they were considered bad characters, or because they had other means of help available to them. By dividing the number of offers of work, always for one week at a time, by the number of men to whom the offers were made we can see that the average number of weeks work offered to the men ranged from 2.4 in 1909/10 to four in 1908/9, and that was in the winter when unemployment was at its peak and the register stayed open for six months. Even then this only refers to offers of work, not the amount of work actually done, since only about 80 per cent of offers were accepted. In short, it was of no help to some and of very little help to the rest.

The regulations required that preference be given to men with dependants; when in 1907 the *Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress* asked every Distress Committee whether they had been able to adhere to this policy Brighton replied:

> Preference has been given to men with large families and who were proficient in the class of work on which they were to be employed. These men have been given one week's work in four instead of one week in every five or six weeks, as is the case with the general body of applicants.[54]

Table 2 shows the effect of this policy.[55]

Although the average number of weeks offered was between 2.4 and four a lot of men were offered five or six weeks work, and a select few with special skills or who acted as foremen could be offered up to 12 weeks or even more. Table 2 shows the percentage of men offered different amounts of work; the figures in brackets are the percentages of single or widowed men without dependants. It is clear from this that

TABLE 1
Number of Applicants to Brighton Distress Committee and Outcome of the Applications

Brighton	*1905/6*	*1906/7*	*1907/8*	*1908/9*	*1909/10*
No. of applicants	2,050	1,992	1,929	2,659	1,994
No. of men offered work	1,863	1,867	1,754	2,367	1,714
No. of offers of work	5,568	5,084	4,507	9,394	4,132
No. of weeks that work was offered	20	23	18	26	26
Average no. of weeks work offered per eligible man	3	2.7	2.6	4	2.4

TABLE 2
Percentage of men offered differing amounts of work comparing men with and without dependants

No. of weeks work offered	*1905/6*	*1906/7*	*1907/8*	*1908/9*
1	22 (44)	25 (45)	28 (46)	10 (22)
2	19 (24)	25 (31)	30 (31)	13 (17)
3	22 (24)	24 (16)	25 (18)	17 (25)
4	16 (6)	15 (5)	12 (2)	19 (23)
5	17 (*)	7 (1)	3 (2)	19 (9)
6	2 (*)	2 (*)	1 –	13 (2)
7	* (*)	* (1)	* –	5 (*)
8	* –	* –	* –	2 –
Over 8	* –	* (*)	* –	* –

Figures in brackets are for single men or widowers without children. (* means less than 1%. Columns do not add up to 100% because of rounding.)

men with no dependants were given far fewer offers of work; in 1905/6, for example, whereas 35 per cent of men with dependants were offered four weeks work or more, only 6 per cent of men without dependants were. It is also clear from this table just how few men were offered more than five weeks work in any one year. Even in the year of highest unemployment, 1908/9, only about 20 per cent of men were offered more, while in the other three years the highest proportion of men offered more than five weeks work was only 3 per cent.

Looked at another way, in any one week from 1905 to 1910 the best that the Distress Committee managed to do was to place 17 per cent of the men on its register in work, and usually it was far less than this. The peak was reached in the week after Christmas 1909 when 455 men were at work, mainly at Whitehawk and Hollingbury, which represented 17 per cent of the 2,650 men registered.[56] Usually they were far less successful; in 1905/6 they had more than 300 at work in only three of the 20 weeks they had work to offer; in 1906/7 they never achieved 300 at all, and only had more than 200 in seven of the 24 weeks; in 1907/8 they reached 300 in three weeks out of 18, and in 1908/9 they reached 300 in 10 of the 26, of which three were over 400. This meant that for the majority of the time, in any one week, well over 80 per cent of the men on the register were offered no work.

Table 3 is of interest because it shows that Brighton ignored the concern of the Local Government Board that men who had been on poor relief or who had been in receipt of assistance from the Distress Committee in the preceding two years should not be helped.[57]

TABLE 3
Percentage of men offered differing amounts of work comparing eligible applicants with those disqualified by LGB regulations.

No. of weeks work offered	*1906/7*	*1907/8*
1	25 [18]	28 [11]
2	25 [28]	30 [26]
3	24 [24]	25 [35]
4	15 [17]	12 [20]
5	7 [10]	3 [3]
6	2 [1]	1 [2]
Over 6	2 [0]	1 [1]

Figures in square brackets are for men who were disqualified under the regulations. (Figures do not add up to 100 because of rounding.)

This table compares the offers of work to all the men who were eligible under the regulations with the offers made to the men whom the LGB would have liked to have disqualified, shown in the square brackets. In 1906/7 there were 103 such men who had been in receipt of poor relief in the preceding twelve months; and in 1907/8 there were 620 men, the extra 500 or so having come from the prohibition introduced that year on men who had been assisted in each of the two preceding years. In 1906/7 there is scarcely any difference in the way each group was treated; roughly half in each group received offers of three weeks or more. In 1907/8 the disqualified group was actually given more favourable treatment; whereas 42 per cent of the eligible men were offered three weeks work or more, 61 per cent of the disqualified group were. Presumably the explanation is that these men were, by definition, regulars and therefore well known to the Committee who were clearly not disposed to penalise them just because they had been helped before.

Emigration

The Act gave the Distress Committees the power to assist men and their families to emigrate. As with the other provisions of the Act, this too was controversial. The argument for emigration was that it reduced the labour surplus at home; the arguments against were that it was irrelevant to the real problems of unemployment, which were seen by such opponents of emigration as the Independent Labour Party as having more to do with the organisation of industry for the profit of the few rather than in the interests of the community in general, and as depriving the country of its more enterprising workers. These arguments were fought out in Brighton. In March 190⁶, only a few months after the start of the Act the Brighton and District Trades' and Labour Council wrote to the Distress Committee a 'vigorous protest against the Ratepayers' money being expended on the obsolete method of emigration to solve the question of poverty'.[58] They gave as their reasons:

> that there was an abundance of good land in England waiting for cultivation, and that was only used to rear game upon, so that a pleasure loving class could live at the expense of their less fortunate brethren. Also that the Canadian government only had emigrated the very class of workmen that it is to the best interests of the nation to keep at home.[59]

The Trades Council was pushing at an open door; only one week previously the Committee had passed a resolution proposed by Cllr Black to stop recommending men for emigration.[60] However, the ban was short lived; when in the following October the Committee received letters from Manitoba and from the Western Canada Land Co., asking them to send 140 men they rescinded their decision and resumed help with emigration.[61] In February 1907 the arguments continued; Cllr Black still held that it was 'unmitigated foolishness to send the best men out of the country and keep the unfit', while others argued that unless the men went they might become a drain on the ratepayers.[62] As we shall see, the matter was finally resolved not by reference to principled argument but for a much simpler reason.

Having decided to assist men to emigrate the Committee went about it in characteristically thorough fashion.[63] Every applicant was visited at home by two members of the Labour Bureau Sub-Committee who had to satisfy themselves that the applicant was 'honestly desirous of obtaining work', that his current unemployment was not his own fault, and that he was deserving of being treated by the Distress Committee rather than the Poor Law Guardians. This selection was no formality; in 1907/8, only 35 of the ⁶3 applicants were recommended for help. Once approved, the applicant was sent to the Church Army farm at Newdigate, near Dorking, where they spent two weeks being vetted for their suitability as farm labourers. The arrangement was that the Distress Committee would pay the cost of the passage for the men and their dependants while the Church Army paid for the cost of testing them and offering some elementary instruction in farm work, escorting them to their destination, which, in the case of men from Brighton, was exclusively Canada, and then looking after them until they could be placed in permanent work through their agents in Montreal, Winnipeg or Calgary.

Most of the men and their families had no suitable boots or clothes and had to be provided for. This job was delegated to the women on the Committee, who wrote to the local papers 'inviting the public to send cast-off clothing to them'. The response was 'totally inadequate', so the Committee had to pay for the clothes itself, after once again interviewing the applicants to limit the clothing to the barest necessities.[64]

Where men had families the Committee was only prepared to assist if they took their dependants with them. Men who wanted to go leaving their wives and children behind were refused, even where these agreed to being left, and at least two women who were happy to seize the opportunity to get rid of their husbands were

disappointed by the Committee's insistence that they would help only if the wives went too.[65]

Brighton sent only six men and their families to Canada in 1905/6 and 28 the following year. Twenty-two had wives and children, three were married but childless, and the rest were single. About half were labourers, the rest being bricklayers, carpenters, gardeners, hawkers, and one each from other trades. There was only one painter, which is surprising given the number of these among the unemployed, but otherwise the list was representative of those on the register; it was not the case that the emigrants were more skilled. They were, however, a much younger group than the men on the register as a whole; 56 per cent of the emigrants were aged under 30, compared with only 27 per cent of all the men, and only 14 per cent were aged over 40, compared with 48 per cent of all the men.[66]

One of them, George Lidbetter, was grateful for the opportunity for a new life. In March 1906 he wrote to the Committee's chairman:

> I am now on the Church Army farm colony and I have many reasons to be thankful, the food is regular, and the beds good and clean; although the company is mostly rough characters and uncivilized, yet, thank God, there is no drink allowed here, and all are sober. They have kept me busy here, and I find the time flies fast, although every day I begin to like the place more... Although most of the men grumble here over one thing and another, I have never had reasons to grumble, and I must say I like being here very much. I thank you, dear Sir, also the rest of the Distress Committee, for all you have done on behalf of me, and I trust this emigration will be the beginning of a new era of my life, and the starting point in the lives of my children. I have made up my mind to make the most of the opportunity, which the Committee have given me. All the Brighton men, I think, are comfortable here.[67]

The farm colony was not to everyone's liking; three of the men sent there from Brighton left before their two weeks were up, and the Committee had to arrange their passage through Thomas Cook as the Church Army refused to take them.

From reports back from the men it seems that they soon found work.[68] However, to the chagrin of the Committee, this did not mean that they paid back the money they had been given to assist their passage despite the written undertakings they had signed to do so. From the six who went in 1905/6 only one man repaid his debt, and from the 28 who went the following year only one paid up in full, two paid a first instalment, three asked for an extension of the loan period, and the rest paid nothing. Despite the best efforts of the Church Army to winkle the money out of the men, nothing more was ever paid back to the Committee. After this unfortunate start they decided not to send any more men abroad, and, apart from one man and his family in 1910, that was the end of assisted emigration under the Act. Whatever the arguments about the principles of emigration the non-repayment of over £900 of ratepayers' money settled the matter.

Assisted Removal

The Act also enabled Distress Committees to assist in the removal of men and their families to other parts of the country where labour was needed. In April 1907 the managing director of Messrs Hattersley, Sons and Co. Ltd., wrote to the Brighton Distress Committee asking for families with children to work in their mills at Haworth.[69] It was the children they wanted, although they agreed to take the fathers as a temporary measure until they could find work elsewhere. The Committee found three families who were visited by the managing director. Two, one with eight children the other with six, were offered jobs. The company was pleased with the experiment; the following year it reported that 'the two men, Pocock and Bowles, with their families, have turned out very well and have quickly got into the way of things here, and we have no trouble of any moment with their work.' The Committee were also pleased that the letter

was accompanied by an instalment on the repayment of the removal loan, which the company collected from the wages of the families. Three years later the men were still doing well and the instalments were still coming in. However, these were the only families Brighton helped in this way.

NATIONAL COMPARISONS: BRIGHTON TOPS THE LEAGUE

Between 1905 and 1910 Brighton was a town in distress. The great era of expansion in the town had come to a halt and all the men who had been attracted to Brighton by the boom in the building industry were still living there but without work. In a debate occasioned by a deputation of the unemployed to the Council chamber in November 1908 Ald. Carden gave chapter and verse. Still arguing strongly that unemployment was too serious to be left to the whims of local councils and should be taken up by the Government he said:

> If they looked back and considered the expenditure of the Corporation for the last fifty years they would see that they had expended very large sums—no less than £4,000,000 on capital expenditure. There was £800,000 on the Waterworks, three quarters of a million on electric light, a quarter of a million on trams, a quarter of a million on schools, £50,000 on the Town Hall, and similar sums on the Sanatorium and Library, £100,000 on groynes and £50,000 on telephones besides forcing the National Telephone Company to spend another £100,000. All this meant they had been spending tens of thousands of pounds in labour. Now, all of a sudden, they absolutely ceased their expenditure, and where they had been spending hundreds of thousands of pounds a year they were not spending £10,000 a year. This necessarily meant that all the men they had been keeping by this expenditure were out of work. It was not altogether the deliberate choice of the Council; it was the fact that they had practically finished all their work.[70]

That Brighton was particularly affected can be seen from Table 4, which shows the number of applications each year to the Distress Committee.[71]

As can be seen by comparing the number of applicants per thousand population with that of all Distress Committees outside London, Brighton had a far higher proportion of applicants than the country as a whole. For example, in 1906/7 15.6 per thousand of the population of Brighton applied to the Distress Committee as compared with an average of 5.7 in the country outside London, and this pattern of Brighton's having several times the proportion of the average of the rest of the country was maintained in the following six years. Between 1905 and 1913 Brighton had between the second and fifth highest number of applicants per thousand population. Even compared to London, Brighton's distress was exceptional and in general it had roughly twice the proportion of applications relative to population as the London boroughs.

TABLE 4
Applications to Brighton Distress Committee compared with applications nationally (excluding London.).

1905/6	*1906/7*	*1907/8*	*1908/9*	*1909/10*	*1910/11*	*1911/12*	*1912/13*
2,050	1,992	1,929	2,659	1,994	1,776	1,358	1,281
(16.1)	(15.6)	(14.9)	(20)	(15.2)	(13.5)	(10.3)	(9.7)
—	[5.7]	[5.7]	[11.7]	[6.7]	[3.7]	[2.7]	[3.5]

Numbers of applicants to Brighton Distress Committee. Figures in (brackets) are the numbers of applicants per thousand of Brighton's populations; Figures in [brackets] are numbers of applicants per thousand of the population of all Distress Committees outside London.

In 1905/6, out of 114 Distress Committees in the country, which included all the London boroughs, Brighton had the seventh highest number of men from the building trades out of work, while in the following year it was second only to West Ham.[72]

Despite its strong ideological opposition to the whole concept of the Unemployed Workmen Act, faced with this exceptional degree of unemployment the Brighton Distress Committee did far more for its unemployed than did most of the rest of the country. As Table 5 shows, it was active in raising money from voluntary and government sources and in using it to put men to work.

TABLE 5
Position of Brighton in league table of all 64 County Boroughs in respect of money raised for the unemployed.

1905/6	6
1906/7	6
1907/8	7
1908/9	10
1909/10	9
1910/11	19
1911/12	9
1912/13	8

This includes total amount of money raised from rates, voluntary contributions and Local Government Board grants, used for providing work for the unemployed.

Between 1906 and 1913, apart from 1910/11 when it failed to raise any money from the LGB, out of the 64 county boroughs it was never below tenth in the league table of money raised from all sources, and generally never less than sixth in the league table of money raised by voluntary subscription. The exception was in 1908/9, the year of extreme distress, when Brighton fell to thirteenth place; still well above its rank order in population terms. Having raised the money we can see from Tables 6, 7 and 8 that Brighton did more than any other county borough to provide at least some work for its unemployed.[73]

Table 6 shows the percentage of applicants to Distress Committees for whom work was provided. The national average for all Committees varied between 39 per cent and 56 per cent; in Brighton the equivalent figure was between 70 per cent and 92 per cent. Relative to the country as a whole Brighton found work for a far higher proportion of its applicants. This was the result of two factors; Brighton accepted a higher proportion of its applicants as eligible for assistance than did most other towns, and once having accepted their claim to be helped placed a higher proportion of them in work. For example, in 1908/9 Brighton accepted 98 per cent of its applicants as eligible for help, as opposed to only 69 per cent nationally, and then offered work to 82 per cent of these, as opposed to 65 per cent nationally.

TABLE 6
Percentage of applicants to Distress Committee for whom work was provided, comparing Brighton with Great Britain

	National	*Brighton*
1905/6	56%	91%
1906/7	42%	92%
1907/8	*	*
1908/9	45%	81%
1909/10	46%	76%
1910/11	39%	74%
1911/12	43%	70%
1912/13	42%	71%

Table 7 shows the position of Brighton in the league table of all county boroughs according to the number of men on the Distress Committee register for whom work was provided, whether directly by the Committee itself or by the local authority. Since there were 64 county boroughs, including all the big towns such as Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool etc., 22 of whom had

TABLE 7
Position of Brighton in league table of all 64 County Boroughs according to the number of registered men provided with work

1905/6	1
1906/7	2=
1907/8	*
1908/9	6
1909/10	3
1910/11	2
1911/12	5
1912/13	5

larger populations than Brighton, it is a remarkable record.

At no time between 1905 and 1913 was Brighton ever below sixth place in the number of men for whom it found work; in 1905/6 it was top of the league and twice thereafter it was second, which is a considerable tribute to the efforts of the Committee and to the willingness of Brighton Council to provide work.

Table 8 is an attempt to relate the number of men for whom work was found to the degree of distress and to the population of the town. In this way it is possible to allow for the fact that one might expect a town like Liverpool, for example, which had roughly six times the population of Brighton, to place more men in work simply because there were more men out of work and more opportunities for large authorities to find work. This table shows the position of Brighton in the league table of all county boroughs if one takes the number of men for whom work was provided as a percentage of applicants.

TABLE 8
Position of Brighton in league table of all 64 County Boroughs according to the percentage of registered men provided with work

1905/6	1
1906/7	1
1907/8	*
1908/9	1
1909/10	4
1910/11	1
1911/12	3
1912/13	3

Here Brighton's record is even more remarkable; it is top of the league in four of the seven years, and never lower than fourth. Some other towns, notably Swansea, Cardiff, Norwich, Plymouth and West Ham, regularly found work for their unemployed men, but only Kingston-upon-Hull, which, from 1908/9 onwards was either second or third in this table, came anywhere near rivalling Brighton.

Brighton's decision to parcel the work out in small doses may be open to criticism, but that they were prepared to accept nearly all those who applied to them as eligible for help and to try to give them what little help they could shows an unusually positive attitude towards the unemployed. As we have already seen, they even went out of their way to help those whom they were obliged by the regulations not to help.

Although this diligence was not extended to finding work for women, in this Brighton was no exception. Nationally only around two to four per cent of all applicants were women, and outside London only four Committees found work for them. Bolton, Liverpool, Manchester and West Ham provided workrooms for women, which between them provided just over 200 places. The women were paid 1*s.* 3*d.* a day in Liverpool and 2*s.* in the other towns. In the latter, this worked out at 3*d.* an hour, in contrast to the 5*d.* an hour paid to men.[74] Providing work for unemployed women had not yet become a national priority.

CONCLUSION

When asked by the *Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress* in 1907 for its comments on whether the Unemployed Workmen Act had justified being kept on the statute book the Brighton Distress Committee debated whether to say yes or no, but finally gave the Act a qualified approval. The qualification, however, was so strong as to be tantamount to a thumbs down and demonstrated once more the Committee's views on the Act's inadequacy:

> The Committee are strongly of opinion that the unemployed problem is incapable of local solution, but must be dealt with on a national basis, and that, although use may be made of local bodies in administration, the inauguration and organization of remedial measures, in order to prove effective and economical, must be by a national authority which is capable of acting on more comprehensive lines than those found practicable under the present Act.[75]

We saw at the beginning of this report that others took much the same view; certainly it was

the view taken by the Royal Commission. William Beveridge, who, as a member of the Central (Unemployed) Body for London, which was London's equivalent of a Distress Committee, had seen the Act from close quarters, reviewed the working of the Act in his seminal work on unemployment in 1909. He concludes a detailed analysis of its failures with this condemnation:

> It has not made any appreciable impression on the problem. Its main service has been to demonstrate beyond question its own essential inadequacy and the inadequacy of all measures which, like itself, leave industrial disorganisation untouched and deal only with the resultant human suffering.[76]

But even in Brighton, where the Act was used to the best advantage, it could scarcely be said to have dealt with the resultant human suffering as the amount of work it provided was pitifully inadequate.

As a remedy for unemployment the Act failed. Its significance lies in the acceptance by the Government that it was not enough to rely on voluntary contributions. As soon as the Government made money available from the national exchequer, albeit only £200,000, it accepted the principle from which there was no going back. The Great War effectively ended the need for measures to deal with unemployment, and when in 1919 the need returned with a vengeance, the unemployed were now seen as returning heroes whose resistance to a return to the Poor Law or to charity meant that other remedies had to be found. The rudimentary pre-war schemes of unemployment insurance and labour exchanges were expanded, and local authorities alone no longer had to shoulder the burden of dealing with unemployment.

Why was Brighton so active in its opposition to the Act and at the same time so progressive in its implementation? From the 1890s onwards Brighton used municipal works to provide relief, and was one of the first authorities to set up a register of the unemployed; when the Act came in 1905 they continued to provide more work than most authorities far larger than they, bent the rules to provide for men who should have been disqualified from help, and operated the Act to provide for as many men as possible, while all the time protesting its futility. While it needed the active co-operation of the predominantly Liberal Council to do all this, and the willingness of the townspeople to subscribe the funds, the driving force was provided by a group of politically active councillors who understood the shortcomings of the Act but were determined to exploit it for the good of the men they represented. The names of Herbert Carden, Milner Black, Will Evans and Alfred Heun occur repeatedly in all the debates, simultaneously pressing for action and denouncing the Act's inadequacies. These four men, coming from different political backgrounds, were the nucleus of the Brighton Labour Party which had been active on the Council since 1892. Carden, a successful solicitor, later to become leader of the Labour group in Brighton and a Labour peer, articulated the group's political vision in a series of powerful speeches combining a thorough grasp of the details of Brighton's local economy with a passionate commitment to the socialist ideals of 'municipal trading', the collectivist solution to social problems. He and Milner Black, the owner of a chemist shop, were the middle-class, Fabian and ILP wing of the party, who worked in an often uneasy alliance with Will Evans, a member of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, sponsored by the Trades' and Labour Council and a member of the marxist Social Democratic Federation, and Alfred Heun, a member of the Costermongers and Fruit Sellers Union, also a member of the SDF.[77] Despite their different ideological positions and class origins they managed to work together on the subject of the unemployed, providing what the *Brighton Herald* called 'pushful energy' in forcing the issues to the forefront of the Council's agenda.[78] The unemployed themselves were also very active, organising marches and sending

deputations to the Council, both asking for action and calling for unemployment to be made a national issue. This combination of an active political force inside and outside the Council, together with a Council which was prepared to accept that it had a duty to provide for its own unemployed meant that Brighton at least did what it could where many other authorities did little or even nothing. The playing fields at Whitehawk and the golf course at Hollingbury are testaments to Brighton's efforts to work an unworkable Act for the benefit of its unemployed, to the unemployed themselves and to the men who represented them so vigorously.

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Notes

[1] The records of the Brighton Distress Committee (hereafter D.C.) are held in the East Sussex Record Office (E.S.R.O.), DB/B49/1. The minutes, together with annual reports, are in full from October 1905 to October 1910. The minutes of the Labour Bureau Sub-Committee (L.B.S.C.), DB/49/2–4, continue until May 1913, but with no annual reports. The page numbers of the D.C. records are the E.S.R.O. numbers, not the numbers in the original documents. The record of the work provided in November 1905 is the *D.C. Annual Report* 1906, p. 27, Table D.

[2] *Majority Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress 1909 (Royal Commission)*, para. 429.

[3] The Regulations are Statutory Orders, 1905, no. 1035 and 1071. For an account of them see *Royal Commission*, Part VI, ch. 3, (4).

[4] *Royal Commission*, para. 462

[5] *Royal Commission*, para. 469.

[6] *Royal Commission, Separate (Minority) Report*, Pt. II, ch. III, (G), para. 1.

[7] *Report of Agencies and Methods for Dealing with the Unemployed*, Board of Trade, 1893, C. 7182. See Appendix on 'The Provision of Work For the Unemployed by Municipal and Other Authorities', HC papers, 1893/4, LXXXII, p. 565 et seq. The returns from Brighton are on P. 205 of the *Report*, (HC p. 585.)

[8] *Second Report from the Select Committee on Distress from Want of Employment 1895*, HC 1895, VIII, p. 215 et seq. (HC p. 253.)

[9] Ibid., p. 266/7.

[10] Ibid., p. 582.

[11] *Minutes of Brighton Council, (Brighton Council)* Brighton Reference Library SB 352 TOW, 20926., 1 September 1904, and Minutes of General Purposes C'ttee, ibid, 25 August 1904 and 24 October 1904.

[12] Ibid., General Purposes C'ttee, 24 October 1904, p. 19.

[13] *Labour Bureaux*, a report by Mr H. D. Lowry for the Local Government Board (L.G.B.), 1906, 86. Brighton is not included in the list of labour bureaux though one had been set up in October 1904.

[14] *Brighton Council*, General Purposes C'ttee, 10 December 1903.

[15] *Sussex Daily News*, 18 December 1903 and *Brighton Council*, 17 December 1903.

[16] *Sussex Daily News*, 18 November 1904.

[17] *Brighton Council*, Building C'ttee, 16 November 1905.

[18] D.C., 25 October 1905.

[19] *Sussex Daily News*, 26 October 1905.

[20] Ibid.

[21] D.C., 21 November 1905 and *Sussex Daily News*, 22 November 1905.

[22] *Sussex Daily News*, 17 November 1905.

[23] For regulations and record paper see *L.G.B. Annual Report*, 1906, Appendix Pt. 3, HC 1906 XXXV, p. 417, amended at p. 433.

[24] *Sussex Daily News*, 26 October 1905.

[25] Ibid.

[26] *D.C. Annual Report*, 1906, pp. 20/21 and Table B. Similar accounts and records are given in all subsequent Annual Reports.

[27] *D.C. Annual Report*, 1906 and 1907.

[28] *Sussex Daily News*, 22 November 1905.

[29] *D.C. Annual Report*, 1906, Table B; 1907 Table E.

[30] Ibid., 1908, p. 86.

[31] Ibid., 1909, Table B.

[32] Ibid., 1908, Table D.

[33] Ibid., 1909, Table A.

[34] Ibid., 1906, p. 23.

[35] Reported in *Royal Commission, Separate (Minority) Report*, Pt. II, ch. III (A), para. 1.

[36] See J. Jacobs, 'Drastic Measures for Sturdy Loafers', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **128** (1990), 225–42.

[37] *D.C. Annual Reports*, 1905–1910. The 'Voluntary Contribution Account' at the end of each report gives details of receipts and expenditures under the headings of voluntary contributions, L.G.B. grant, and contributions from Brighton Council.

[38] For reports of these and subsequent schemes see *D.C. Annual Reports*, 1905 onwards. Each report gives details of how many men were employed for how long on which schemes.

[39] *L.B.S.C.*, January 1911, 23 January 1911 and 25 November 1912.

[40] *D.C. Annual Report*, 1910, p. 148.

[41] Ibid., 1909, p. 121 and 1910, p. 148.

[42] Ibid., 1906, p. 22.

[43] *Royal Commission*, Pt. VI, ch. III, para. 400.

[44] *Sussex Daily News*, 13 February 1907.

[45] *D.C. Annual Report*, 1906, p. 22.

[46] *Proceedings of Distress Committees*, L.G.B., *(Proceedings)*. These provide comparative data on all distress committees from 1905–1914. They are HC papers as follows; 1906 civ p. 507; 1907 lxviii p. 707; 1908 lxxxviii p. 807; 1909 lxxi p. 891; 1910 lxxiv p. 623; 1911 lxiii p. 825; 1912 lxvii p. 567; 1913 lv p. 383; 1914 lxix p. 497. All page numbers refer to HC pages, not to the pages in the original documents. The quotation is from 1906, p. 530.

[47] *Proceedings*, 1906, p. 530.

[48] Ibid., p. 534.

[49] Estimates and actual costs given in each *D.C. Annual Report*.

[50] *D.C. Annual Report*, 1909, p. 121.

[51] Ibid., 1910, pp. 147 and 149.

[52] *D.C. Minutes*, 28 January 1908.

[53] *D.C. Annual Report*, 1910, Table D. Table 1 is compiled from relevant tables in the *D.C. Annual Reports*.

[54] *D.C. Minutes*, 21 May 1907.

[55] Table 2 is compiled from relevant tables in *D.C. Annual Reports*.

[56] *D.C. Annual Report*, 1909, Table F.

[57] Table 3 is compiled from *D.C. Annual Reports*, 1907, Tables D and E, and 1908, Tables F and G.

[58] *L.B.S.C.* Minutes, 13 March 1906.

[59] Ibid.

[60] *D.C. Minutes*, 6 March 1906.

[61] Ibid., 10 October 1906.

[62] *Sussex Daily News*, 6 February 1907.

[63] *D.C. Annual Report*, 1906, p. 22; 1907, p. 56.

[64] Ibid., 1907, p. 56.

[65] See e.g. *L.B.S.C.*, 3 April 1906 and 7 May 1907.

[66] *D.C. Annual Report*, 1906, Table F and 1907, Table H.

[67] *L.B.S.C.*, 27 March 1906.

[68] *D.C. Annual Report*, 1907, p. 56.

[69] Ibid., 1907, p. 57 and 1908, p. 89.

[70] *Sussex Daily News*, 6 November 1908.

[71] Table 4 is compiled from relevant data in *Proceedings*.

[72] *Proceedings*, 1906, p. 511 and 1907, p. 719.

[73] Tables 5, 6, 7 and 8 are compiled from relevant tables in *Proceedings*. These give details of number of applications, money raised and spent on work, and number of men provided with work for all distress committees. (I have omitted the figures for men provided with work for 1907/8 because the Brighton returns do not include the disqualified men provided with work. It is not possible to tell which other authorities also omitted such men, so comparisons would be unreliable.)

[74] See e.g. *Proceedings*, 1910, p. 629.

[75] *D.C. Minutes*, 21 May 1907.

[76] W. H. Beveridge, *Unemployment; A Problem of Industry*, 3rd edition, (1912), 191.

[77] I am very grateful to Andy Durr of Brighton Polytechnic for the details of the political affiliations and careers of Carden, Black, Evans and Heun. For a full account of the early history of the Brighton Labour Party see *Labour In Brighton 1890–1906*, Andy Durr, 1980.

[78] *Brighton Herald*, 23 September 1905, again, thanks to Andy Durr.

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 Palaeolithic Handaxe, from Atherington, West Sussex

The Palaeolithic implement illustrated here (Fig. 1) was recovered in 1982 by Mr D. Tucker of Orpington, Kent whilst visiting the Littlehampton area. The find spot was on Atherington beach just above the high tide mark at approx. SU 0210 0105. Mr Tucker took the implement to Orpington Museum where Susan Palmer the Curator identified it as a handaxe of Middle Acheulian type. The axe was subsequently presented to Littlehampton Museum (Accession No. A488).

The axe is a ficron of Wymer's (1968) form M. The point is broken and only the butt is present. The grey white flint is heavily gravel stained by ochre, which may indicate that it has been eroded from the coombe rock gravels. The surfaces are heavily water worn suggesting a prolonged exposure to water action, and a number of chips represent modern damage. Other larger scars, the facets of which are also gravel stained, indicate damage sustained in antiquity.

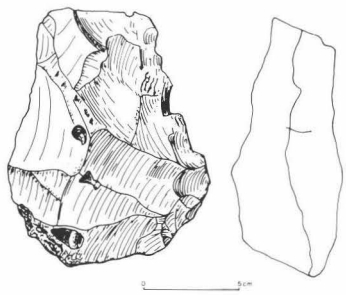

Fig. 1

The visible flaking scars tend to a wide shallow form. This should indicate a high level of technical competence and quite possibly the use of a bar hammer of bone or antler. This implement is one of a series associated with the 7.5 metre raised beach deposits (Woodcock 1981 pp. 285–94). A number of other handaxes of Middle Acheulian type have been found in the Littlehampton area in the past. Most of these are unpublished but remain in store at Littlehampton Museum.

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to Mr Tucker for recovering this implement, additionally the help of Carolyn Brown and Con Ainsworth is gratefully acknowledged.

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Wymer, J. J. *Lower Palaeolithic Archaeology in Britain as Represented by the Thames Valley*, 1968.

A Sussex Loop from Patching, West Sussex

In the summer of 1989 a Sussex loop was discovered by Mr A. Grout who was using a metal detector on the South Downs near Patching Reservoir (approx. TQ 093073). The Loop was found at a depth of *c.* 25 cm. and had a flint jammed through its centre which was discarded by the finder. The Loop was discovered on land owned by Worthing Borough Council and is now in Worthing Museum where it has the accession number 1989/501. This is the first recorded find of a Sussex Loop for over 50 years.

Sussex, or Brighton Loops as they were once called are an unusual form of late Middle Bronze Age ornament. They are generally considered to be armrings, although probably not for the 'young druidess or other sacred damsel' suggested by Martin Tupper! (Dixon 1849, 266). They are only found in the area around the South Downs and the Weald with two outliers believed to have been found near Reigate. The majority have been found within 16 miles of Brighton, hence the name. The latest find is the most westerly to date (Fig. 2).

Rowlands (1976, 96) defined Sussex Loops as armrings made from a thick bronze rod 'which is bent double forming a loop at the bend over which the terminals have been bent

TABLE 1
Incidence of Sussex Loops and their present location.

Findspot	*Number of Loops*	*Location*
Blackrock	3	Brighton Museum
East Dean	2	British Museum
Handcross	3	1 Lost, 1 British Museum 1 Newcastle Museum
Hanley Cross	2	Alnwick Castle
Hodsgrove Farm, Falmer	4	3 Lost, 1 Brighton Museum
Hollingbury Camp	4	British Museum
Near Hollingbury Camp	2	British Museum
Patching	1	Worthing Museum
Pyecombe	2	Barbican House Museum, Lewes
Near Reigate?	2	British Museum
Stump Bottom, Sompting	2	Worthing Museum

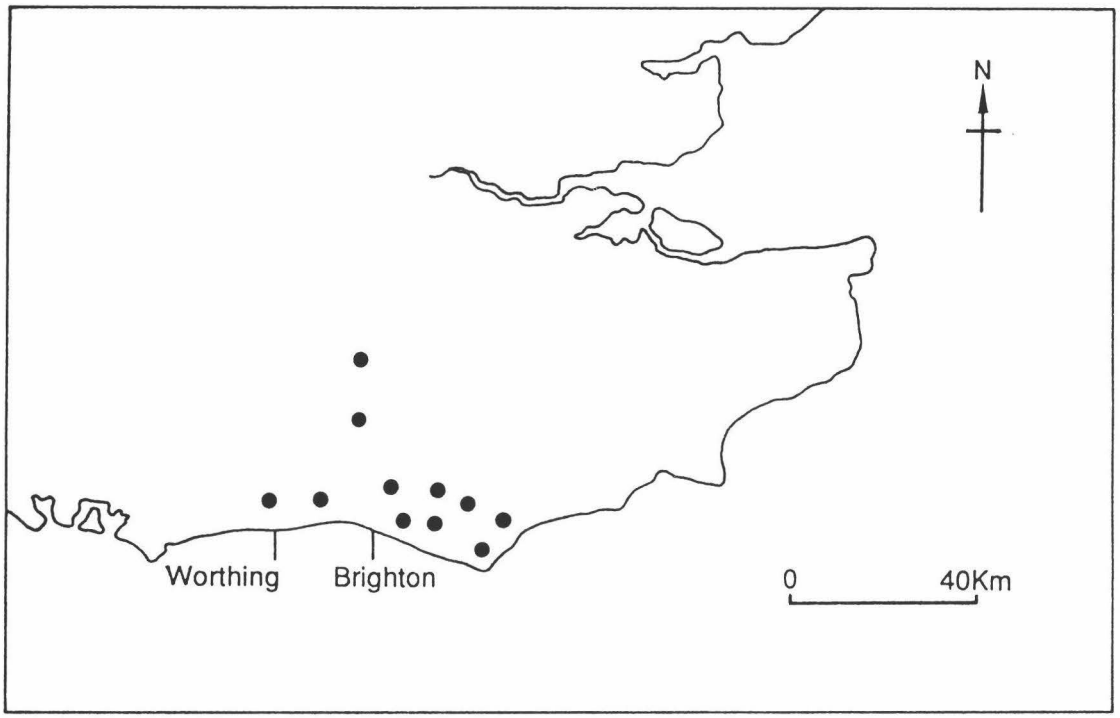

Fig. 2. Distribution of Sussex Loops.

back and hooked over.' He divided them into two forms. In one form the rod is lozenge-shaped in section and in the other, round. The Patching Loop is the 27th to have been found on a total of 11 sites (Table 1). Of these 27, 20 are lozenge-sectioned. Four Loops have, unfortunately, been lost; three from Hodsgrove Farm, Falmer and one from Handcross.

The Patching Loop is decorated with nicking along the outer face angles and with an incised zig-zag line round the outer face on each side of the Loop (Fig. 3). It is in good condition, although slightly distorted. It is 8 cm. in diameter and the rod is 5–7 mm. thick. It weighs 702 gm. Most Sussex Loops are plain although six lozenge-sectioned and one round-sectioned Loops do have nick decoration similar to that on the Patching Loop. This nicking has been interpreted as an imitation of the appearance of twisted armrings from Dorset and Somerset (Piggott 1949, 114).

The latest find is the only instance where a single Loop has been found. The others were found in pairs or threes and were probably worn in pairs. However, since the Patching Loop was found close to a reservoir, in soil which may well have been disturbed when the reservoir was built, it may originally have been one of a pair.

In three instances Sussex Loops have been found as part of significant hoards; at Hollingbury, Blackrock and Stump Bottom. The Hollingbury Hoard consisted of two pairs of Sussex Loops, a spiral torc, three spiral finger rings and a palstave. At Blackrock three Sussex Loops were found with a dagger blade, a pommel, a spiral finger ring, two oval bracelets and eight palstaves. The Stump Bottom Sussex Loops were found with a looped spearhead, five spiral finger rings, a plain finger ring and an amber bead. At East Dean the Loops were found with three quoit-headed pins, at Hanley Cross with a quoit-headed and an urnfield pin and at Handcross with a plain finger ring.

Curwen (1954, 201) suggested that Sussex Loops were all made by one craftsman working in the Brighton area. Rowlands (1976) postulated a concentration of highly efficient Middle Bronze Age smiths along the South Coast making large numbers of palstaves and other items for local use. He also suggested that the techniques used in the manufacture of the Loops show links with smiths in Somerset.

The discovery of any new Sussex Loops is of great interest and in this case the interest is heightened by its decoration and by the findspot to the west of the usual area.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Linda Stiles for drawing the Sussex Loop and the map.

Author: **Sally White, Worthing Museum and Art Gallery, Chapel Road, Worthing, West Sussex BN11 1HD.**

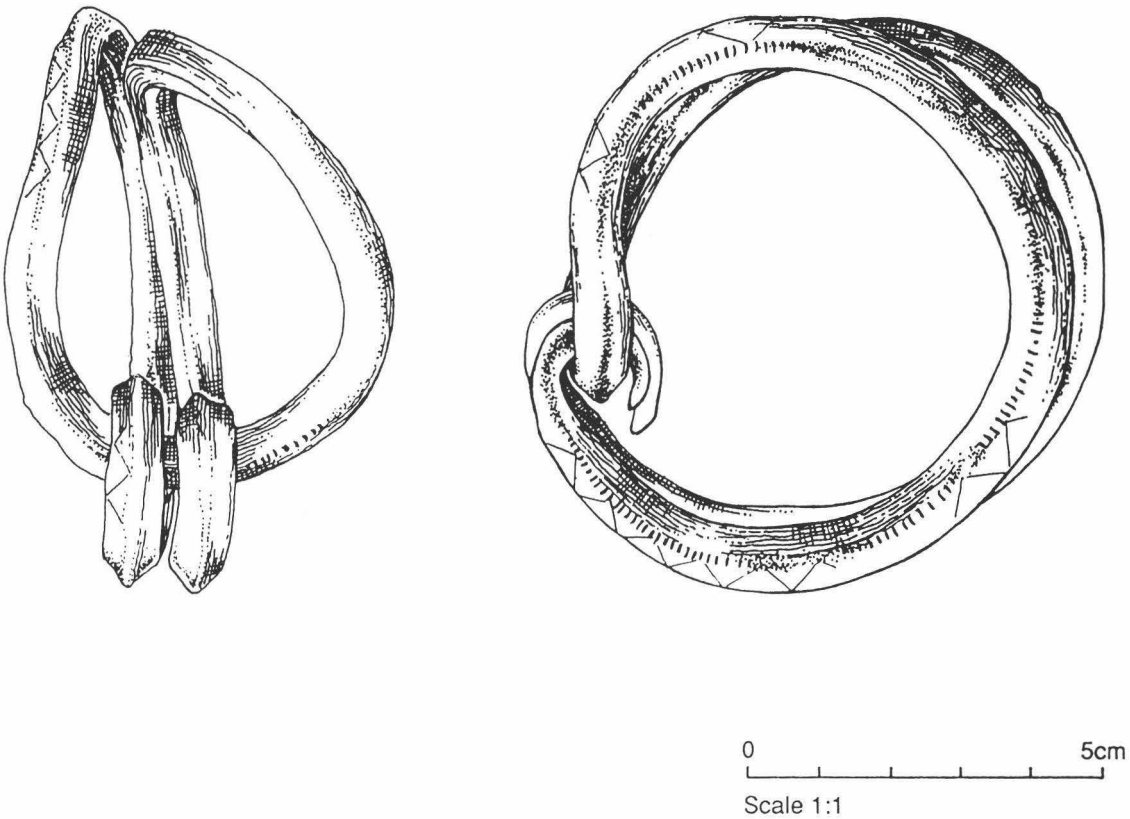

Fig. 3. Sussex Loop from Patching.

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Archaeological Discoveries at Toddington, West Sussex

During March and April 1990 building work on the Watermead Industrial estate at Toddington (TQ 037035) revealed a series of features and spreads of occupation associated with an early Roman settlement (Fig. 4). Mr P. Hammond carried out a watching brief and under exceptionally adverse conditions was able to salvage some finds and produce a plan of the main features uncovered.

The site is situated on brickearth on or just above the 5 metre contour mark overlooking the alluvial deposits of the Black Ditch. This latter is now well drained, but before the embanking of the Arun regularly flooded, and at high tide at least, would have been navigable by appropriate craft. Some 250 metres to the north east of the main area of the site is a freshwater spring, one of a number which drain northwards from the slightly elevated southern ground into the Black Ditch.

The archaeological deposits on the site appeared to be remarkably intact and spreads of occupation were in places sealed beneath up to 40 cm. of later deposits, presumably artificial make up. A number of ditches were observed. Two of these, ditches A and B (Fig. 4) were traced running in a north-east/south-westerly direction parallel to each other for some 44 metres and some 9 metres apart. Both were V-shaped and about 1.5 metres deep and had been backfilled with domestic debris including animal bones, some showing indications of butchering, daub, fragmentary tile, pottery and quernstone fragments. The pottery recovered although only a small sample suggested a late 1st to 2nd century date for the infilling of the two ditches. This suggests that they may be contemporary, possibly part of a trackway.

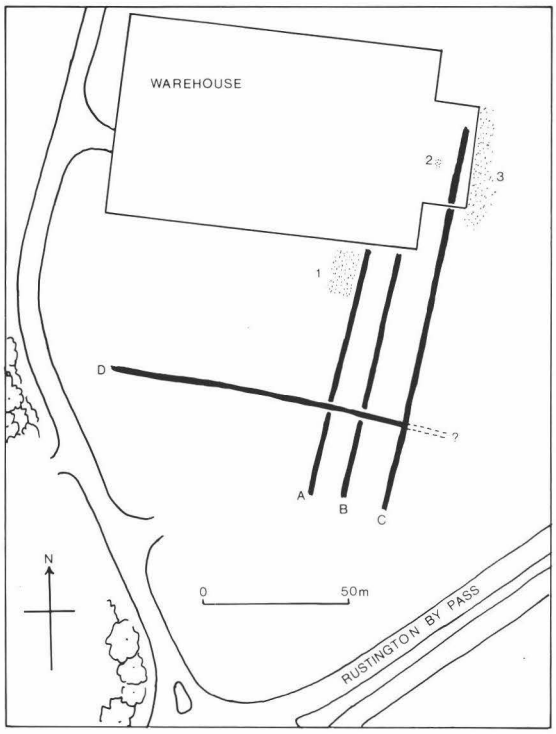

Fig. 4

Two further ditches were recorded (Fig. 4). Ditch C ran parallel to A and B, and ditch D appeared to intersect this running eastwards for 62 metres across ditches A and B, although the relationship here is not totally clear. Again ditch C produced second century pottery, but no finds were forthcoming from ditch D which was largely machined away leaving only its lowest levels showing. If ditches C and D were contemporaneous then it is possible that they be forming part of an enclosure or series of enclosures, possibly field boundaries.

To the west of ditch A a series of rubbish pits, postholes and possible beam slots appeared to denote the site of a timber building (site 1). A marked concentration of burnt daub and charcoal fragments may indicate destruction by fire or possibly domestic activity. Site 1 also produced the originally intact remains of a vessel of second century form. Unfortunately this had been broken by earthmoving machinery, but the pieces were salvaged by the machine operator. Although no bones were recovered this may possibly represent a cremation burial. A fragment of a rotary quernstone lower stone also came from here.

Site 2 was to the north of site 1 and appears to have been a rubbish pit. The only diagnostic find was a fragment of an upper stone of a rotary quernstone with a square pivot hole probably of 2nd century AD plus date (Peacock 1987, 69, Curwen 1937, 144). Site 3 was noted in the sides of a contractor's trench. A distinct horizon of loamy soil some 20–30 cm. thick was overlain by a similar depth of brickearth. This soil again produced 2nd century pottery, and other domestic debris in abundance and on the western side of the trench a distinct and concentrated area of burning containing fragments of daub was noted.

Further finds were made over the entire area including in the southern part of the site a small scatter of Mid-Late Iron Age pottery. A general scatter of 14th-century and later-medieval pottery may denote nearby activity of this date, or possibly manuring.

As it stands, the site on the Watermead Industrial Estate would appear to have had its main period of occupation in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, although a settlement of earlier date may be nearby. Certainly there were no finds of a demonstrably later date, although it is possible that activity continued into the early 3rd century. The series of ditch features would, if correctly interpreted appear to indicate at least two main phases of use within a relatively short time of each other.

In the local area there is a paucity of sites which can show late activity. Only Wickbourne, Belloc Road (Gilkes forthcoming), Angmering and a burial group from Hampton Fields, Littlehampton (Johnston, 1903 and Littlehampton Museum) show definite signs of activity in the later 3rd and 4th centuries. At these sites the later occupation is distant from the sites of earlier utilisation. All the other local sites, Gosden Road (Gilkes forthcoming), Darlington Nurseries (Rudling forthcoming), Beaumont Estate (unpublished) as well as numerous isolated finds show occupation in the first two centuries AD but thereafter the settlement pattern becomes uncertain. It may be significant that many of these sites are low lying, and would therefore be vulnerable to marine transgression associated with environmental deterioration. Just such an event is known to have occurred elsewhere in Britain, probably in the 3rd century (e.g. Potter 1981, 128; Devoy 1980, 145; Cunliffe 1966, 71). There may also be other factors involved. A similar chronological bias has been observed in the distribution of sites elsewhere on the coastal plain (Pitts 1979, 80–81) and in the remainder of the territory of the Regni (Cunliffe 1973, 130). While environmental factors could provide at least a partial explanation for the paucity of occupation on the coastal plain; sites within other geographic and environmental contexts would obviously be less susceptible to the effects of marine transgression.

The small scatter of Iron Age pottery might indicate activity of this date in the vicinity. The construction of the western end of the Rustington By-Pass immediately to the east of the Watermead Industrial Estate revealed what appears to have been Late Iron Age activity and possible associated structures, and the pottery on the site at Watermead may be connected with this.

The Finds

The Illustrated Pottery (Figs 5 and 6)

All the finds have been deposited in Littlehampton Museum, and accession numbers are given in brackets where applicable. All pottery is illustrated at 1:4.

Ditch A, (A851, 852, 854, 855).

1) Neck and fragmentary body sherds of a flagon. Soft

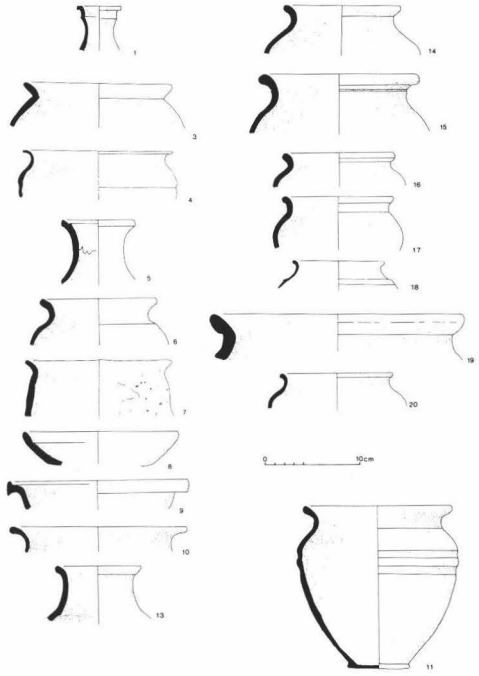

Fig. 5

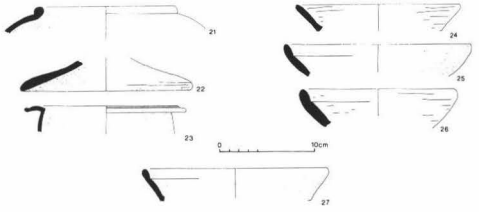

Fig. 6

orange pink fabric with inclusions of iron rich red clay pellets, medium sand and some mica and black ironstone.

Ditch B, (A863, 871, 872).

2) Rim sherd of a central Gaulish form 18/31 samian bowl, early–mid 2nd century date. Not illustrated.
3) Everted rim jar in a hard light grey fabric with inclusions of black ironstone and some small pellets of crushed chalk. A Rowlands Castle product, in places the inclusions are characteristically 'smeared'.
4) Small jar in an orange pink fabric with orange yellow surfaces. Tempered with coarse quartz sand.
5) Neck of a large lid seated flagon, in a very hard mid grey buff fabric with medium coarse sand, fragments of ironstone and mica inclusions. A fine black slip on the exterior continues halfway down the interior of the neck.
6) Jar in a dark grey medium sand tempered fabric.
7) Everted rim jar in a hard black handmade fabric with inclusions of coarse quartz, fragments of calcinated flint and medium sand.
8) Imitation Gallo-Belgic platter in a sandy hard dark grey micaceous fabric.
9) Bowl in a soft oxidised orange brown fabric with coarse quartz sand inclusions.
10) Fragments of the rim of a jar in the same fabric as 9.

Site 1, (A849).

11) Small jar in a mid grey sandy fabric with darker surfaces slightly blotchy in appearance, with some inclusions of mica.
12) Fragments of a samian form 18/31R bowl in a central Gaulish fabric, early–mid 2nd century date. Not illustrated.
13) Rim and neck of a large flagon in a mid-grey fabric with buff/brown surfaces. Medium sand inclusions with some larger lumps of quartz and occasional grogs.
14) Small jar in hard sandy mid grey fabric with darker surfaces.
15) Jar in a very hard sandy light grey fabric with darker surfaces. Some mica inclusions and occasional crushed flint.
16) Small jar in a hard sandy mid grey fabric slightly micaceous.
17) Small jar in a mid grey hard sandy fabric, with inclusion of mica and ironstone pellets.
18) Small jar with a cordoned neck in a pinkish red fabric with dark grey burnished surfaces slightly micaceous.
19) Rim of a large storage jar in a very hard sandy buff fabric blotchy grey on the rim, fairly micaceous.
20) Small jar in a light grey fabric with black surfaces, highly micaceous.
21) High shouldered bead rimmed jar in a very hard mid grey sandy fabric, with darker surfaces.
22) Lid in a very hard grey buff sandy fabric, highly micaceous.
23) Hemispherical bowl in a red orange fabric, with fine sand, iron rich clay pellets and some mica inclusions. A Neronian-Flavian form.
24) Dish in very hard light grey micaceous fabric with well burnished surfaces.
25) Imitation Gallo-Belgic dish in a mid-grey hard sandy fabric.
26) Imitation Gallo-Belgic dish in a hard fine red pinkish fabric with dull black burnished surfaces, highly micaceous.
27) Imitation Gallo-Belgic dish in a very hard dark grey sandy fabric.

The pottery assemblage represents only a very small sample of the total potentially recoverable. Nevertheless it is fairly typical of groups of the late 1st to mid-2nd century. The imitation Gallo-Belgic platters are a common find locally, usually from first or early/mid second century contexts. One centre of production may have been in the Hardham/Wiggonholt area (Winbolt 1926, 121–22, Rigby 1974, 130). A surprising absence is any vessels of Cunliffe's (1974, 89–92) Eastern Atrebatic tradition, although this tradition is known from a number of local sites, and this may be the result of the

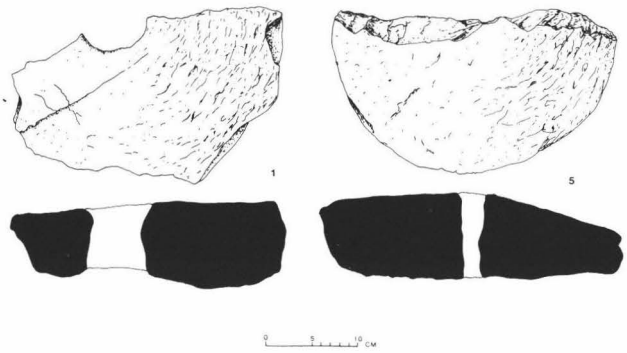

Fig. 7

small sample recovered. Alternatively, it might suggest a 2nd rather than a 1st century date for the refilling of the various features.

Quernstones (Fig. 7)

We are indebted to Dr John Cooper of the Booth Natural History Museum, Brighton for the stone identifications. With the exception of 1 (below), all the stones recovered appear to have been manufactured from stone quarried at or near the recently discovered site at Lodsworth, West Sussex (Peacock 1987). All the quernstones are illustrated at 1:4.

Site 1, (A889).

1) Large fragment of the lower stone of a Roman rotary quernstone. The stone is highly siliceous and coarse grained, and is probably a tertiary sarsen. The underside is unworked and retains a smooth undulating appearance, and the whole lowerstone was probably cut from a single small boulder. The shallow angle of the grinding surface suggests an early Roman date.

Site 2, (A887).

2) Fragment of the upperstone of a Roman rotary quernstone of green-sandstone. Tooling marks are visible on the upper surface, and the grinding surface has a shallow angle. Traditional typology would assign this stone a second century AD date (Curwen, 1937), but the Bishopstone evidence (Bell, 1977) makes it clear that this form was utilised in the Late Iron Age. Not illustrated.

Ditch A, (A851).

3) Fragment of the upperstone of a rotary quernstone in green-sandstone. Not illustrated.

Ditch C, (A835).

4) Fragment of the upperstone of a rotary quernstone in green-sandstone. Not illustrated.

Unstratified, (A888).

5) Large fragment of the lowerstone of a rotary quernstone in green-sandstone. The grinding surfaces are of different angles which would have produced an eccentric rotation. The stone is fully perforated, a feature which Curwen (1937 144) considered to be a post AD 43 development. However, it is clear from other fully perforated examples from Bishopstone (Bell 1977, 125) and Hayling Island (King Downey and Soffe 1978, 3–4), that complete perforation was in use by at least the later Iron Age.

Acknowledgements

We would like to acknowledge our grateful thanks to the following people for their assistance; Carolyn Brown, John Cooper, Mark Taylor and Malcolm Lyne.

Authors: **Oliver Gilkes and Peter Hammond, Littlehampton Museum, 12a River Road, Littlehampton, West Sussex BN17 5BN.**

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Two Iron Age silver coins found in East Sussex

I report on two rare Iron Age silver coins which were submitted to Lewes Museum for identification purposes.

Coin 1. This was found by Mrs B. King at Alciston (TQ 5037 0557). See Fig. 8.

Obverse: Head right with corded hair, uncertain ring and pellet ornament/object in front of forehead.

Reverse: Horse right, boar below, head of charioteer behind head of horse.

No such coin has previously been recorded in the Index of Celtic Coins maintained at the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford (C. King pers. comm.). A similar coin however was recently taken for identification purposes to the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum (A. Burnett pers. comm.). The finder of this other coin, which is of different dies to the Alciston example, said that it was found 'within three miles of Chichester'. The horse on the Chichester coin has a triple tail and this is a characteristic of Iron Age coins from the South Coast/Sussex region. This clue, together with the fact that the only two recorded examples of this type of coin were both found in Sussex, suggests that these coins were probably of local manufacture. They are thought to date to the 1st century B.C. The Alciston example weighs 1.35 g., and the Chichester example weighs 1.27 g.

Fig. 8

Coin 2. This was found by Mr B. Forrest on Birling Manor Farm, East Dean (approximately TQ 559 978). See Fig. 8 (the photographs were kindly supplied by Lewes Museum).

Obverse: A symmetrical design comprising two similar facing heads. These have spiky brushed-back hair and trailing locks. In between the mouths/chins of the two heads is a device comprising three annulets and a corded line. Part of a ?similar device is between the two foreheads.

Reverse: Horse left with beaded mane, single strand tail and 'feathered' feet. Various ornaments (annulets etc.) surround the horse.

The only other recorded example of this type of coin (but from different dies) was found at the north eastern corner of the Isle of Thanet (Sellwood and Metcalf 1986). This very unusual coin type (it is the only known British Iron Age coin type with facing heads) is thought to be of Kentish origin—the feathered feet of the horse being a regional characteristic. Messrs Sellwood and Metcalf (1986) suggest that it dates to the last two decades B.C.

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

References

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Roman Remains at Angmering, West Sussex

In 1986 Mr P. Hammond carried out a watching brief on a housing development in north Angmering. The site is to the north of Palmer Road centred on SU 0665 0510 and is now known as Decoy Close. Topsoil removal revealed several spreads of occupation and a number of finds were made.

During the construction of nos. 25–27 a dark loamy horizon was uncovered which contained a number of fragments of pottery of 1st to mid 2nd century form, as well as some fragments of tile, brick, and quernstone. Further to the east and south similar archaeological horizons were seen in footing trenches. However it was noticed that finds were far fewer in these latter areas.

In addition to the Roman material a few fragments of flint tempered pottery from below nos. 20 and 21, which may indicate Iron Age activity, were found together with a small scatter of struck and worked flint flakes.

Other sites of Roman date are known from the Angmering area. The best known being the complex of buildings of 1st and 2nd century date on the banks of the Black Ditch to the west. Additionally another site is known in closer proximity to Decoy Close at TQ 0660 0460. Here fragments of Roman tile have been found, and the site is supposed to contain a bath house (County SMR 2265), although the evidence for this is uncertain and this may be a confusion with the villa complex further west.

The Finds

Littlehampton Museum accession numbers for this site are A496 and 1027. The finds (Fig. 9) are illustrated at 1:4.

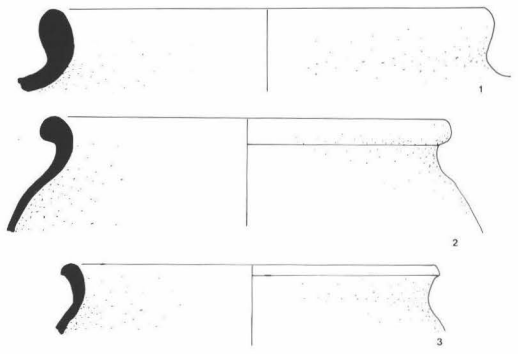

Fig. 9

1) Jar in an oxidised orange buff fabric.
2) Jar in a reduced grey buff fabric, with inclusions of coarse sand.
3) Jar with a slightly everted hook rim in a light grey sandy fabric.
4) Fragment of the upperstone of a rotary quernstone in Lodsworth green sandstone, as defined by Peacock (1987). Slight tooling marks are visible on the upper surface. The slope of the grinding surface is consistent with an early date. Not illustrated.

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to Peter Hammond for carrying out the watching brief on this site.

Author: **Oliver J. Gilkes, Littlehampton Museum, 12a River Road, Littlehampton BN17 5BN.**

Reference

Peacock, D. 1987, 'Iron Age and Roman Quern Production at Lodsworth, West Sussex', in *Antiq. Jnl.*, **LXVII**, 61–85.

Three Saxon Pennies found in Sussex

I report on the discovery of three Saxon silver pennies found in Sussex (see Fig. 10).

Coin 1. Aethelred II. First Hand type. *c.* 979–85. *B.M.C. IIa, Hild.B1.*

Obverse: + AETHELRED REX ANGLOX, bust right, no sceptre.

Reverse: + DODDA MO TOTANES, Hand of Providence issuing from clouds, at sides A W.

ie the moneyer Dodda of the Totnes mint (Devonshire).

Found by Mr P. Day at Yapton.

Coin 2. Aethelred II. Intermediate/Last Small Cross type. *c.* 997–1017. *B.M.C. i, Hild.A.*

Obverse: + AETHELRAE[D REX A]NGL, diademed bust left (North 1980 121, Fig. 3).

Reverse: + B]RIHTMAER ON [, small cross pattee.

North (1980 123–7) lists the moneyer Brihtmaer (or Beorhtmaer—see Smart 1981) for the mints of Cricklade, Dover, London, Rochester and Winchester.

Found by Mr J. Derkin at Alfriston (TQ 526 031).

Coin 3. Edward the Confessor. Trefoil quadrilateral type. *c.* 1046–8. *B.M.C. iii, Hild.C.*

Obverse: EDWERD REX, diademed bust left; in front, a sceptre.

Reverse: + GODRIC ON WINC, over short cross voided, quadrilateral ornament with three pellets at each angle and one in centre.

ie. the moneyer Godric of the Winchester mint.

Found by Mr B. Forrest on Birling Manor Farm, East Dean (approximately TQ 559 978).

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank the finders for allowing me to examine their coins, Mr Day for the photographs of Coin 1, and Lewes Museum for the photographs of Coins 2 and 3.

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

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Pipe-like Objects from Bloomery Sites

Stored by the Sussex Archaeological Society at Michelham Priory and by the Rother District Council at Bexhill Museum, there is a series of objects collected during the 1930s by E. Straker and B. H. Lucas, mainly from a bloomery site or sites in the Crowhurst area of East Sussex. At Michelham they are described by Straker as various pipes, such as are found at numerous bloomery sites—purpose not identified. At Bexhill a note reads: 'Pipe-like objects of iron produced during the bloomery process of smelting'. The Straker and Lucas report[1] however, makes no mention of the objects.

With the consent and assistance of the Curators, these objects have been examined by the writer in some detail and photographs taken of a selection of them by David Calvert. David Butler M.I.M. has kindly commented on the text. To all of these, I am greatly indebted.

The Michelham Priory collection:

Three objects were examined, the numbers are the writer's and, where such exists, the museum reference or mark is given in brackets.

1. (no museum mark) This is a small wrought-iron rod, forged with some elegance to a quinquelateral cross section. It is 220 mm. long and 9 mm. at widest cross

Fig. 10

section. Much corroded, it has been subject to considerable heat. At one end, there is an adhering mass of globular iron having a roughly pear-shaped formation, which is 40 mm. long and 20 mm. at widest cross section. The total weight of rod and adhering iron is 77.45 g. Fig. 11 shows this rod and against it, for comparison, a charred wooden rod with an almost identical pear-shaped mass of globular iron, found by the writer lying on top of one of five furnaces at the Turners Green bloomery near Heathfield, East Sussex.[2] In each case the small pear-shaped mass of iron is truly globular with no trace of forging or manual shaping. Both are highly oxidized. The Michelham object is too fragile for further examination and expert conservation is recommended.

2. (museum mark CP) This is part only of a broken, slightly tapered formation in bloomery slag 140 mm. long. It is round in cross section being 29 mm. at widest dia. and 16 mm. at least dia. The outer surface is very uneven. There is a very small core 4 mm. dia. of rusty iron in the centre, disclosed when the small end was cut to remove 1 g. for analysis.

Colour	black with brown tinge
Weight	205.22 g.
Spec. gravity	3.28
Iron content	13.40% Fe (two analyses made)

3. (museum mark CH) Part of a broken tapered rod of slag rounded in cross section, 112 mm. long and 15 mm. at greatest dia. It tapers to an oval formation 11 mm. at minimum cross section.

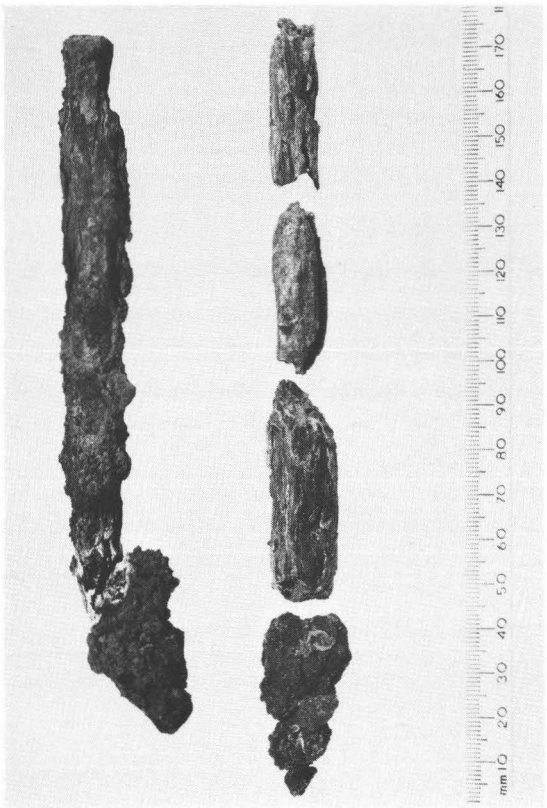

Fig. 11. Left: Wrought iron rod at Michelham and right: Wooden rod from Turners Green. Both with iron agglomerations.

Fig. 12. End view of slag 'pipe' at Bexhill—enlarged, showing heavier accumulation of slag on lower side.

Colour	black
Weight	31.91 g.
Spec. gravity	2.54
Iron content	not taken

Bexhill Museum collection:

All from box numbered 137 in sealed plastic bag marked A137, no individual museum numbers. Eleven objects were examined.

1. Part of broken rod of slag 104 mm. long and 40 mm. greatest dia. with round formation and slight taper. Uneven outer surface.

Colour	outer surface brown, internal black
Weight	213.53 g.
Spec. gravity	3.66
Iron content	39.90% Fe

This piece has a similar metallic core to Michelham No. 2.

2. A formation similar in shape to Bexhill 1 but slightly less in diameter.
3. This is a group of six slag fingers each about 65 mm. long and 12 mm. dia. and each between 22 g. and 30 g. in weight. All are broken from longer formations. Three of these have pipes running through their length. An end view of one of these, considerably enlarged, is shown in Fig. 12. It will be noticed that this piece is considerably thicker on one side than on the other.
4. A group of three heavier formations, much as described in Bexhill 1 but these again have more accretions on one side than on the other.

All the material, with the important exception of Michelham 1, appears to constitute slag formations cast in a vertical or a horizontal column or space made deliberately in the heat-softened ore body of bloomery furnaces. Michelham 1 and indeed the wooden rod from Turners Green could well be the types of instrument whereby such spaces were made. As to why such a procedure was adopted, it seems reasonable to suggest that at a point in the smelting cycle when the furnace charge was near to its maximum temperature, an attempt was being made to provide a vertical channel down which some of the solid state reduced iron could collect or a

horizontal space for the same purpose. Michelham 1 and the Turners Green object show that this was achieved at least to some small degree. The metal rod, if it could be withdrawn prior to disintegration, might well cause a slag pipe to form. The wooden rod, if left to carbonise and be consumed in situ, would certainly allow the slag casts to form as the wood disappeared. Other than such operational procedures, there are also the obvious uses for probes to clear tuyere openings and to open the slag tapping vent. Such uses, however, could scarcely be expected to result in the production of solid slag casts.

So far as any vertical rodding might be concerned, furnace bottoms examined by the writer, both in Sussex and in the north of England, have shown depressions which might possibly be construed as the result of a rod being hammered down on to the softened slag floor of the furnace but this cannot be conclusive. Certainly neither Michelham 1 nor the Turners Green rod would reach more than half way down the depth of a domed-type furnace of the Romano-British or earlier period and, even less so, down the depth of a low shaft furnace. It will however be appreciated, that at the point in the smelting cycle which has been suggested in this note, much of the charcoal in the furnace charge would have been consumed and, since this constitutes by far the greatest bulk of the original charge, the level would be much reduced.

It should be mentioned that the Fe contents, given in this note, were taken mainly to check the Bexhill reference to 'objects of iron'. This was determined by the writer by the rather laborious wet chemical process, using one-gramme samples taken with the minimum of wastage. For normal work of this kind, much larger sampling would be essential. Analysis of the Michelham 1 wrought-iron bar and of the two pear-shaped masses of globular iron was unwarranted, having regard to their obvious composition, their fragility and the relatively small size of the lumps of adhering iron, each of these being about 8–12 g. in weight. Further examination could proceed on the lines of dissecting one of the heavier slag objects lengthways and surface polishing.

It will be seen that at 13.40 per cent the Fe content of Michelham 2 (CP) is remarkably low for bloomery slags. It is suggested that furnace temperatures in excess of 1,000 C were just possible, in which case some re-carburisation of the reduced iron would occur, at least where a wooden rod was being used, thus giving the iron a sharply lower melting point with a speeding up of its separation from the slagging elements. This would also leave a reduced amount of iron to be subject to reoxidation and consequent combination with the slag.

At the Bexhill Museum, stored, but not available for examination, are a few pencil-like iron objects from the Crowhurst collection. These were briefly noted by the writer some years ago, as slivers of iron, perhaps 120 mm. in length and 14 mm. cross section and heavily oxidized. These may have a bearing on the substance of these present notes and it would be helpful to have them analysed for both carbon and iron content when they become available.

It is concluded that, in the operation of these bloomery furnaces, the practice of rodding with a metal or a wooden instrument, was probably adopted at a point in the smelting cycle for the purpose of assisting the agglomeration of metallic iron in the lower part of the furnace. In the case of the 1st Century AD operations in the Crowhurst area and at Turners Green, the practice appears to have been successful.

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Notes

[1] E. Straker and B. H. Lucas, 'A Romano-British Bloomery in E. Sussex' *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **79** (1938), 224.

[2] W. Beswick, 'A Note on Early Iron Making in Sussex', *Suss. Ind. Hist.* **8**, (1978) 23. (The C14 dating has since been revised to 1st century AD).

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.

Anderida: not the Roman name of Pevensey

Anderida is the commonly given spelling for the Roman-period name of Pevensey, but it is a fake. The earliest occurrence of it that I know is in Camden's *Britannia* (1586), under both Kent and Sussex. Camden thought it was the name of a site at Newenden in Kent. Somner, in his *Ports and forts of Kent* (1693) correctly identified it with Pevensey for the first time. It is mentioned in this form in Blaauw's article in *Sussex Archaeological Collections* **1** (1848), 4, and has entered popular consciousness in this shape. The actual Roman-period and post-Roman records look rather different. We find *Anderidos, Anderitos* as variants in the *pictura* accompanying the *Notitia dignitatum* ('Register of (Imperial) Offices'; probably drawn up originally in the fifth century) and *Anderelio*. This last form is in a bad text, the *Ravenna Cosmography* (the original of which may date from just after 700 A.D.), and presumably a gross mistake (? for *Anderet(i)o*). In Gaul there was a place called *Anderitum* (now Javols), which seems pretty certain to be a Latinized version of a Celtic (Gaulish) name 'big ford'. Since there are uncertainties attaching to our name, it has generally been assumed to be identical in origin with the Gaulish name, and it is certainly possible for **Anderitu* to be British as well as Gaulish. But why the actual spellings mentioned should occur is not easy to explain without going into some philological detail. One problem, for instance, is the final *-s*, which may be a simple scribal duplication (dittography) from *Rutupis*, the place-name in the preceding entry in the *Notitia*, where an *-s* could be authentic, given what we know about the origin and transmission of the name. Another possibility is mentioned below, as are other problems.

The fake *Anderida* has been reinforced by the general reverence accorded to Camden as an authority, by the confusion of the genuine record *Anderidos* with the inscription on the notorious fake Roman tile *Hon Aug Andria*, and by the fact that Kenneth Jackson, a usually impeccable authority, derives the name of Pevensey from the 'plural of **Anderitū*', namely *'Anderita' (Journal of Roman Studies* **38** (1948), 54–5). The point in Jackson's suggestion must be to try to account for the *-a* in the fake forms *Anderida, Andria;* there is no need for it otherwise.[1] British **ritu* 'ford' was a neuter *u*-stem,[2] in which case its plural would have been **ritū* with a long final vowel, later replaced by the originally purely masculine *u*-stem plural form **ritowes* when the neuter gender disappeared in British and **ritu* accordingly became feminine, as it is in Welsh and shows signs of having been in Cornish (O. J. Padel, *Cornish place-name elements* (1985)), or masculine, as other evidence in Cornish suggests. The *-owes* forms thenceforth were of either surviving gender.[3] Only if **ritu* had become a so-called *o*-stem in British (which would have meant that it could only have been masculine or neuter) could it have had the British neuter plural **ritā* which Jackson's solution demands. The fact that the element *ritu* 'ford' usually turns up as *-ritum* in Latin place-names *(Augustoritum, Camboritum)*, an *o*-stem form, is more likely to reflect the common shift of neuter *u*-stems to neuter *o*-stems in *Latin* (i.e. to forms ending in *-um*) than a parallel Celtic change for which there is no other evidence. So a British neuter singular **Anderitu* would most likely have been latinized in the process of borrowing as a neuter singular *Anderitum*. It is worth noting that the element turns up in the plural in no other early place-name known to me. I conclude, then, that there is no authority at all, in British or in Latin, for final *-a*. On balance, it looks as though the real Romano-British name was *Anderitum*, a Latin neuter noun in the singular reflecting the British neuter singular **Anderitu*.

It is not quite impossible that the attested *Anderitos* is an attempt to come to grips with a late British plural form **Anderitowes;* but such a form, if heard as *-ōs*, could not have been taken for a nominative or ablative case form by a Latin-speaker, and these are the cases most often giving rise to the eventual forms of later place-names. Moreover, it is by no means certain that the suffix-substitution of *-owes* for *-ū* took place as early as the fifth century. The solution for the *-s* that I gave earlier, involving dittography, is less unlikely.

The spelling *Anderitos* in the *Notitia dignitatum* is more authentic in showing a *-t-;* the source of the *-d-* in the variant spelling is uncertain, but may reflect developments affecting continental Latin in the centuries between the drawing-up of the original and a later copying. The form in *-t-* has some support from a derivative word in another document (see A. L. F. Rivet and C. C. Smith, *The place-names of Roman Britain* (1979), 222, 250–1).

The name was taken over by the Saxons as *Andred, Ondred*, and compounded into their name for Pevensey and into that of the Wealden forest, as is well known. These Saxon forms are consistent with being borrowed from very late British (i.e. post-Roman but before *c.*500 A.D.) **AndVridV* (where *V* stands for short vowels of indeterminate quality), the normal development of *Anderitu*.[4] This date for the creation of the Saxon form ties in nicely with the date of the siege of Pevensey by the South Saxons, given in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (MSS. Ā, E) as 491 A.D.

The RB form would have been pronounced *andeRItum* with the stress on the last but one syllable, pronounced approximately like English *writ*. The British **Anderitu* would have had the same stress-pattern. The early Welsh would have been *andVRIDV* (approx.), later *anRID, enRID*, and these later forms could clearly not have been the sources of the Saxon name, given the disappearance of the first *d* and the vowel-quality change. The Saxon forms would have been stressed on the first syllable, as was normal in Old English, and the variation between *A-* and *O-* is explainable in terms of the known phonology of Old English.

Let this be a plea, then, for the form *'Anderida'* to disappear for ever from archaeological and historical writings, and preferably everywhere else as well. Jackson's preferred *'Anderita'* should also disappear, in favour of *Anderitu*.

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Notes

[1] Jackson is critical of the form *Anderida* too, but his point is to query the second *d* rather than the final *-a*, which is my main concern here.

[2] The terms *u*-stem and *o*-stem used in historical linguistics are potentially misleading. For the purposes of the present paper, *u*-stems are Latin fourth-declension nouns like *fructus* (masculine) and *cornu* (neuter), and nouns of similar origin in the Celtic languages. *o*-stems are Latin second-declension nouns like *servus* (masculine) and *bellum* (neuter), and nouns of similar origin in the Celtic languages. The labels reflect the pronunciation of the Indo-European source-words.

[3] From this form **ritowes*, or from a parallel formation at a slightly later period of the language, descends the Modern Welsh *rhydau* 'fords', the plural of *rhyd* from **ritu*.

[4] The fact that the *-t-* becomes *-d(-)* in Welsh cannot explain the *-d-* spelling in the *Notitia dignitatum*, since there is precious little evidence that continental topographers had any evidence for developments in Britain after the withdrawal of imperial troops in 410 A.D., and the relevant change in Welsh took place around 500 A.D. or a little later.

An 'Image of Lust' on Steyning Church?

The south side of Steyning church displays a Romanesque corbel table in varying states of decay. It is generally Norman-French in character, which is hardly surprising, as the church was rebuilt by Fécamp Abbey between the late 11th and mid-12th centuries. In style it is comparable with contemporary churches in northern France. The scale and quality of the surviving work indicates that it was one of the outstanding churches in the area.[1] Some of the corbels are badly weathered; others have been totally destroyed or perhaps deliberately defaced. One of those less damaged is the second from the west end of the nave. It displays a head, with the right hand entering the mouth. The fingers are curved, and it would appear that the tongue or the edge of the mouth is being held (see Fig. 1). The lines under the chin and the squarish head could represent a female headdress. The carving is known locally as 'the only silent woman in Steyning', confirming a long-standing tradition that it represents a female holding her tongue.[2]

Weir and Jerman's well-researched book, *Images of Lust, Sexual Carvings on Medieval Churches*, describes numerous church carvings, particularly corbels, many of which show males and females holding or exhibiting intimate parts of their anatomies.[3] These carvings would have represented a stern moral warning to the medieval mind, though it is difficult today to imagine the effect they then had; nowadays they would probably produce the opposite effect to that intended by the commissioners of the carvings. There is a well-recognised 'pilgrim trail' of such carvings in Europe, England, Wales and Ireland. Most of the medieval sexual church carvings in England have been defaced by later generations, though a few, like the sheela-na-gig at Kilpeck church in Herefordshire, have escaped. Apart from the more explicit sexual carvings, a common motif of Romanesque iconography which continued well into the later Middle Ages was the mouth-puller and tongue-protruder, a variant of these being the tongue-puller. They were often associated with sexual ideas. Weir and Jerman describe examples of mouth and tongue-pullers in France,[4] which could lead to the idea that the Steyning carving crossed the channel by way of Fécamp. I believe that the 'silent woman' on Steyning church is a mouth or tongue-puller and as such stood as a warning against licentiousness to all who saw her in earlier times.[5]

It may also be of interest to note that at Buncton Chapel, near Steyning, there is a figure, probably male, on the north impost of the Romanesque chancel arch with its genital area defaced. Weir and Jerman think that it has been much 'rubbed', rather than defaced,[6] though I would suggest that it is too high for this to have happened, and that it has been

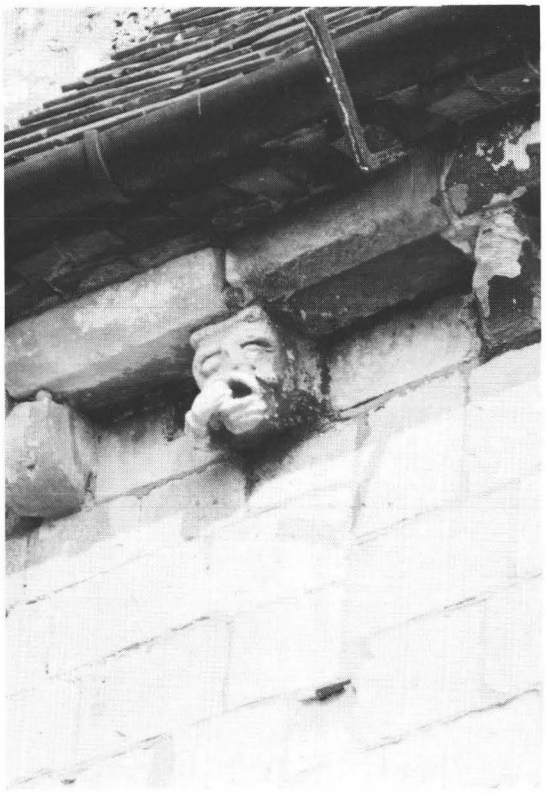

Fig. 1. Corbel on Steyning Church.

deliberately desexualised. The Steyning corbel did not display such an obvious sexual connotation to later generations of ecclesiastics, or iconoclasts, which has no doubt allowed its survival into the 20th century.

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Notes

[1] T. P. Hudson, (ed.), *V.C.H. Sussex* **6,** part 1, (1980), 237, 243. Edward the Confessor granted the manor of Steyning to Fécamp Abbey before the Conquest.

[2] C. A. Grigg, *Memories of Steyning,* (1967), 14.

[3] A. Weir & J. Jerman, *Images of Lust. Sexual Carvings on Medieval Churches,* (1986).

[4] Weir & Jerman, *op. cit.,* 104.

[5] Weir also puts forward the idea that tongues which are not notably phallic in appearance (and many are) may be pulled to represent the sin of false witness, or even heresy. (Letter to Janet Pennington dated 28 April 1990).

[6] Weir & Jerman, *op. cit.,* 150.

Gun-casting pits

Contrary to the suggestion in 'Parson Levett and English Cannon Founding' (*Suss. Arch. Coll.,* **127** (1989), 133–45) that permanent wood-lined gun-casting pits might first have been used in the Weald, evidence has now been published in Germany of their use in the Eifel, the German or eastern Ardennes, well before the celebrated example of 1604 at Asslar in Hessen, and even prior to the casting of the first cannon at Buxted in 1543.

Cleere and Crossley describe the method of construction as being 'to dig a pit and to construct or to insert within it a form of barrel, made of vertical staves with exterior hoops'.[1] The Eifel example describes a hole dug by two men 'in which the vat (or barrel) is set, in which the cannon-moulds are placed' (*da dat fass ingesaitz ist, dar man die buyssen formen insetzt*). The blast furnace in question was built, or rebuilt, by Walloons in 1540 at the Dollartswerke near Aachen. The type of gun cast at the Dollartshütte is not known, but the 1539/40 accounts for the neighbouring Schevenhütte show that the guns produced there were falconets (*Falckenythen*) with an average weight of around 500 kg.[2] They were therefore probably similar to the guns first produced by Levett at Buxted in 1543.

Gun casting is known to have been carried on in 1538 at two other locations in the Eifel, at Kronenberg in the central Eifel, and at a furnace belonging to the duke of Arenburg, probably on the river Ahr in the east of the region.[3] In France, the first foundry for the casting of iron cannon was set up in 1540 by Francis I on the royal estates at Breteuil in Normandy. It included among its first productions four falcons, four bastard culverins and four demi-culverins, so here too muzzle-loading guns of the latest type were being cast.[4] One cannot help but be struck by the closeness in date of all these developments.

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Notes

[1] H. Cleere and D. Crossley, *The Iron Industry of the Weald* (1984), 255.

[2] P. Neu, *Eisenindustrie in der Eifel: Aufstieg, Blüte und Niedergang* (2. Aufl., 1989), 205.

[3] *Idem,* 141.

[4] *Catalogue des Actes de François I^er^,* **4** (1890), nos. 11639, 11676 and **8** (1905), no. 32916. I am indebted to Professor R. J. Knecht for these references.

The lost street-name Bukettwin, Lewes

In the *Book of John Rowe,* dating from 1624 (fo. 81v.), Ireland's Lane on the former western boundary of the borough of Lewes is alternatively called *Bukettwin.* This form is seen only once again in the documentary record. It appears as *Buckettwin* in the (almost-)verbatim (but not literatim) transcript of Rowe in the *Town Book of Lewes* (1697; fo. 132). It has not been explained. The first element is no doubt *bucket,* to which I return shortly. The second, *win,* is highly interesting. It is phonologically most plausible to regard it as identical with the North Country, especially Scots, dialect word *wynd* (now pronounced [waind]) 'narrow lane', but this word had not, until recently, been noted in the South Country. Joseph Wright's *English dialect dictionary* reports it no further south than Westmorland and County Durham. It may well be related to, or even descended from, Old English *gewind* 'ascending, winding path', which appears also in the place-name *Chetwynd* (Shropshire), some considerable way further south that the dialect distribution of *wynd.*

However the facts of dialectology are not as strongly against the word *wynd* itself appearing in Sussex as might be supposed from this, even though there is no direct evidence for it in ordinary vocabulary, i.e. outside proper names. The most directly interesting evidence is that offered by the surname *Winder,* discussed in Richard McKinley's *The surnames of Sussex* (pp. 171–2). This name appears to originate in the 13th century at Wilting in Crowhurst (TQ 7711), and to vary in form between (a) *atte Wynde/Wyn(n)e* and the like and (b) the 14th-century *Winder* and the like; or rather the former develops into the latter. The former appears to guarantee the existence of Middle English *wynd(e)* as a lexical word in Sussex; McKinley takes it to mean 'winding path or street'. It is equally significant that forms without *-d-* are found from the 14th century onwards, since this is the development required by my etymology for *Bukettwin.* (A surname *atte Wend* is also known from the 14th century in Great Ellingham (Norfolk). It is discussed in Stig Carlsson's *Studies on Middle English local bynames in East Anglia* (p. 114). Carlsson is probably right that this name is not identical in origin with the Sussex surname. He derives it from an OE **wende* 'bend', which would, however, be another, more distant, relative of the form *gewind.* He does this because OE *i* is most unlikely to surface as Middle English *e* in Norfolk.)

There is in addition, support for the existence of a relative of this word *wind(e)* in Sussex in one medieval name of the river Ouse, at least as applied to its course in the Weald. This is *Midwyn,* as in *Midwyn Bridge,* Lindfield, recorded as

aqua de Midewinde (1236, Feet of Fines), *Medewynd* (1288, Assize Roll), *Midwen(e)/Mydwynd Bridge* (1585 AddMSS.). This is analysed in Mawer and Stenton's *The place-names of Sussex* (from which these spellings are taken) as containing a relative of the mentioned word *gewind,* specifically a derivative of Old English *winde* 'winding', and to mean 'middle winding (river)'. The editors clearly believe that such a word was known in Sussex. The loss of the final *-d(e)* in Elizabethan spellings is also suggestive, because this too makes it possible to interpret the Jacobean *Bukettwin* as containing a form with a lost final *-d(e)*. On the Kent/Sussex border in Lamberhurst is a bridge called *Win Bridge* for which early spellings are lacking but which may have a common origin with the second element in *Midwyn* (cf. J. K. Wallenberg, *The place-names of Kent* (1923, p. 202). It gives rise to a surname *Wenbregg* in the 1332 Subsidy Roll; the first *e* in which leaves open the possibilty of an origin in OE *y*, i.e. a different word from *(ge)wind,* unless this *y* could represent a local development of *wi* > *wy* which has parallels elsewhere (Campbell, *Old English grammar,* para. 318).

Ireland's Lane is a rather steep approach to the ridge-top High Street of Lewes, and constitutes the southernmost end of an ancient right of way perpetuated by Gundrada Road and Bradford Road. Certainly from the perspective of the High Street, therefore, that right of way could justly be called ascending and winding, or at least significantly curving. It is thus highly likely that the second element of *Bukettwin* derives from the Middle English descendant of Old English *gewind* or a close relative of it.

An alternative account might appeal to the common South Country dialect word *went,* recorded in Kent and Sussex in the sense 'lane, track' (Parish, Wright), but not previously noted in a street-name in a town. The loss of the final *-t* could be ascribed to dissimilation from the preceding *-t-*; the appearance of *-i-* for *-e-* causes no real problems in this dialectally highly-variable word-form; *-i-* for *-e-* before a consonant articulated against the teeth-ridge, like [n], has been remarked on in Sussex place-names before. However, the fact that the word seems to be applied only to country lanes, and the existence of the surname evidence discussed above, make it desirable to reject firmly this second possibility.

As for *bukett,* it is surely significant that Ireland's Lane is immediately adjacent to Well House Place, a name dating from 1963 but commemorating the former well situated at the Pelham Arms (previously known as the *Rose* and the *Dog,* cf. Davey's *Inns of Lewes*), close to the junction of Ireland's Lane and the High Street. It seems probable that *Bukettwin* contains an allusion to the difficulty of carrying water from the well down the steep lane to cottages below the line of the High Street. The situation is set up to be the prototype of the *Jack and Jill* rhyme.

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Chichester's Civil War Scars

Chichester suffered on a much greater scale in terms of damage to its buildings and institutions in the Civil War in 1642 than it did in the second world war. This short note explains why this happened and where the damage occurred.

In 1642 the sympathy of the majority of the inhabitants of Chichester was with Parliament, but the influential clergy and gentry supported the King and initially their views prevailed. This led inevitably to a confrontation. The story of the siege itself has been well recorded.[1] The siege over, Chichester had to survey its wounds, and sources in the County Record Office, especially the Capitular Archives give details of the damage.

Little damage had occurred to buildings within the walls—which is surprising in view of the timber-framed construction of most of them—or outside the Northgate, where the major forces had gathered. At this time, this northern area of the city was undeveloped: there was no suburb. On the southside there was ribbon development along the road to Stockbridge, but the focus of the Parliamentarian attack on this side did not have to be the south gate itself, for there was a known weak point in the walls a little distance to the west. The Deanery then stood against the wall, with part outside: the site can still be seen. There was a postern gate in the wall, granted by Henry II in 1178,[2] which enabled the Dean to pass through conveniently to his farm lands which occupied much of the area to the south.

Some accounts suggest that the Deanery was destroyed in the siege. It is certain that it was damaged only. The description of the old Deanery in the Parliamentary Survey of 1649[3] shows that it still had a hall 45 by 21 ft, a winter parlour (20 by 13 ft) at one end of the hall, a small buttery, a small summer parlour with two little rooms adjoining, all wainscotted, a kitchen and two cellars. Above the hall was 'a fair and great dining room wainscotted' with two closets adjoining, the Dean's study, six lodging chambers, a garrett and a gallery. Outside was a courtyard and a stone gatehouse with a porter's lodge. The survey concludes: 'a strong stone

built house and all covered with tyles but the aforesaid Hall thereof hath all the Glasses of the windowes and most of the Bricks wherewith it was paved broken and carried away. Besides the said house is much delapidated in many other parts of it . . .'.

So the old Deanery decayed and it was 1725 before a new Deanery was built a little distance from the old site. The subsequent maps of Chichester, starting with Stukeley in 1723, show no ruins, but it is not certain they would have considered ruins worth recording, if indeed any survived by then.

The same Parliamentary Survey of 1649 also gives the following entry[4] for the area south of the walls: 'Parcel of ground late the Site of the Mansion house of the Deanery farme, and the Barnes, Stables and other Outhouses thereof, all demolished in the late Warre . . .'. Thomas Stanford, who wrote the best account of the siege, does not say much about the action on the south. The extracts from the Parliamentary Survey suggest that the guns were mounted in the lands south of the Deanery, and that they were aimed at the weak point in the wall, causing damage to the Deanery and destruction to the farm buildings which lay in the path of the shots.

There had been settlement outside the Westgate in the 13th century running westwards along the road. On the north side of the road the area destroyed was from the wall to the site of what was later to become the Brewery. Before the siege the White Horse Inn stood on the south side where the Avenue de Chartres is now. Then there were a number of houses as far as the round Church of St Bartholemew (St Sepulchre), approximately where the 19th-century church is today, and a Parsonage House beyond, on the west side of the modern Mount Lane. The Parliamentary Survey gives the following entries:

> 'a piece of ground where lately was the house of the White Horse Inne'[5]
>
> 'The Rectory and Prebend of St Bartholomewes did before the late warre consist of a Parsonage House having the ground whereon the Church stood on the east side'.
>
> 'The Parsonage House . . . with the Barnes, Stables and other Outhouses thereunto belonging were all ruined and demolished in the late warre . . . And at the same time also the Church of the said Parish of St Bartholemewe and the greatest number of the houses within the said Parish were in the like manner ruined and demolished'.[6]

The same Survey lists the lost houses, giving the names of the freeholders and a description of the lost property:[7]

> Elizeius Good, gent.—a tenement, barn and 2a. land
> Mr. Hill Clarke—a house, late Symon Maxes
> Katherine Maxe, widow—a house, late Maxes
> Elizabeth Lee, widow—a house
> John Crossingham—two tenements
> John Wadey—a house once Bedicks late Randalls
> William Butler—a house, late William Edmunds
> Thomas Vallor—a house, late William Edmunds
> Widow Underhill—a house
> Mr Thompson Clarke—a house
> William Austine—a house

It also mentioned several other houses which were copyhold of the Manor of St Bartholemew, which had been demolished in the late war.

Except for the church, which was not rebuilt until the 19th century, and the Parsonage House, which was never replaced, most of the vacant plots described in the survey were soon built on. The White Horse Inn was again recorded in 1677 in the Inventory of John Scott,[8] a victualler, when it had a little parlour, hall, kitchen, four chambers, a shuffleboard room and sundry bedrooms, garrets and lofts, a cellar and brewhouse. The inn is also mentioned in a rental of the Dean in 1673/6,[9] as are also two houses to the west and several on the north side. By 1700 about 16 houses can be identified outside the Westgate. A house on the site of 8 Orchard Street, which was burned, had been replaced by a barn.[10]

It is not easy now to visualise the appearance of the immediate eastern suburbs before the Civil War. The centre of Eastgate Square was filled with buildings. The Lavant flowed through and under a bridge in the Square. Market Avenue did not exist. There were several inns and a forge immediately outside the gate, but otherwise, except for St Pancras Church, property was small, wooden and poor. The main industry of the suburb was needlemaking, a largely cottage activity using the Lavant's water. Descriptions of the siege and the evidence of title deeds show that the destruction was caused both by the defenders, wishing to create a clear field of fire, and by the attackers, who used the church tower as a gun platform. The area lost embraced the whole of the buildings in the centre of the Square, the area on the north side from the city wall eastwards to beyond the church to what is now New Park Road; this included the Church and the Parsonage House. On the south side of St Pancras destruction went a short distance eastwards of the Square. None of the Hornet appears to have been lost: the clear field of fire was evidently achieved by the clearing of the Square and it was not in line of fire of the guns at St Pancras Church.

The records of the major property owners—the City Corporation, the Dean and Chapter, St Mary's Hospital and others—provide enough evidence, in the form of immediate post-war leases, to confirm what happened to the sites.

> Centre block:
> Dolphin Inn 1655, 'by reason of the late Warre . . . tenement and all the buildings therunto belonging were totally burned and pulled downe and carryed away.'[11]
> Tenement called Crackhalls in 1663/4, was described as 'all that parcel of ground' in 1683[12]
> North side of St Pancras:
> Next to the wall. 1644 'garden plot lately a forge'[13]
> 'Parcel of ground whereon a house lately stood', 1644.[14]
> Parsonage House and Church—a petition, attached to the Glebe Terrier describes the Church and the Parsonage house and divers other houses being pulled down,[14] and in 1685 the Churchwardens reported that 'we have noe church and our consecrated ground is put to the youce of a timber yard'.[15]
> 1 and 2 St Pancras. After the houses were destroyed by the garrison, William Reynolds, the Paymaster of the Chichester garrison, and obviously ahead of his time as an entrepreneur, bought the site, and by 1652 several houses had been built.[16]
> South side of St Pancras:
> Unicorn. 'a piece of ground on which a house lately stood'.

Nos 152/4 This site, owned by St Mary's Hospital, had a house on it in 1638: by 1675 it is described as 'a garden plot formerly a messuage'.

There is no documentary evidence of demolition beyond this point,[17] and in fact a little further east there is evidence of continuity of use in the form of successive 17th century leases both before and after the war. The House of Correction in this stretch is mentioned in 1617 and 1649.[18]

Many printed histories have recounted that the St Pancras suburbs and its needle industry was destroyed, implying that the whole suburb was laid waste. The most important part of the suburb, immediately outside the Eastgate certainly went completely along with the focal point, the Church, three inns and a forge. Buildings of the suburb stretched on well out towards the east and many survived; though doubtless they were mainly poorer buildings. There is no documentary evidence that the needlemakers lived in Eastgate Square. The decline of the industry could have been caused by the general chaos and poverty in the suburb, which would have quickly affected people who were living not far above the poverty line, and it certainly was not helped by competition from cheap manufacture in other parts of the country. That the suburb became a slum is revealed by the attempt by the Justices to relieve the poverty by levying a special rate on 17 nearby parishes; in every case these parishes found excuses to be let off the levy. Eleven years later in 1660 the situation was still unresolved.[19] In 1670 the Hearth Tax Returns show that there were 38 houses in St Pancras with 98 hearths; however 20 of the houses—with 39 of the hearths—were either empty or tax was unpaid.[20]

The city was held by Parliament as a garrison until 2 March 1646 when it was disgarrisoned and the ordnance transferred to Arundel.

Finally what about the problems of the occupation? Were there any buildings which 'Cromwell knocked about a bit'? The Cathedral was the target of the soldiery who were not restrained.[21] Whilst damage to the structure was limited, much vandalism was perpetrated on the vestments and ornaments, the organ, monuments, seats, wall paintings and the Library. The Old Treasury was described in 1686 as 'of longtime bene much ruinated and delapidated and such delapidations happened cheifly in the time of the great Rebellion in the years 1644, 1645 and 1646 or thereabouts and that amongst other things the great Hall belonging to the said house was made wholly uselesse so that it was indeed a burthen only and charge to keep upp the same . . . And that the said Hall . . . was so ruinated by Collonell Downes and by him converted to a stable and the walle and roofe likely to fall . . .'.[22] Ultimately the old building was replaced in 1834 by the present one.

The Chancellor's house, which was to the rear of the south side of West Street opposite the detached Bell Tower, was also ruinous in 1642, and was described in 1649 as 'a large decayed Hall which is Divided into three parts, within one of which parts is a Closett And at the end of the said Hall soe divided as afforsaid is an old Waynscotted Parlour and at the West End of the said Parlour is an Entrance into another small Parlour waynscotted with another one also waynscotted, a Closett adjoining and at the North end of the said Great Hall is a Butterie, Kitchen and a Panterie, And over the aforsaid Great Hall is a large Gallerie . . .'.[23] The building was eventually demolished and the site sold in 1803 for use by the Prebendal School.

The final bill for seven days of token resistance was two suburbs largely ruined, major buildings vandalised and occupation as a garrison for four years. Presumably none of this would have happened if the majority view had prevailed.

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Notes

[1] See Charles Thomas Stanford, *Sussex in the Great Civil War* (1910); Anthony Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War: Sussex 1600–1660* (1975); and Patricia Gill, 'The Siege of Chichester, December 1642', in J. W. A. Hussey, (ed.), *Chichester 900* (1975), 18–27.
[2] *S(ussex) R(ecord) S(ociety)*, **46,** para. 125.
[3] W(est) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice), Cap. I/30/2, 28–33.
[4] W.S.R.O., Cap. I/30/1, 54–5.
[5] W.S.R.O., Cap. I/30/1, 87.
[6] W.S.R.O., Cap. I/30/1, 72–3.
[7] W.S.R.O., Cap. I/30/1, 103–8.
[8] W.S.R.O., Ep. I/29/38/9.
[9] W.S.R.O., Cap. II/3/1/5.
[10] W.S.R.O., Cap II/3/1, Cap. II/3/2, Cap. II/4/12, and Add. MS. 12,518.
[11] W.S.R.O., Add. MS. 24,615.
[12] W.S.R.O., Cap. IV/6/34.
[13] W.S.R.O., Add. MS. 16,668.
[14] W.S.R.O., Par. 42/6/1.
[15] W.S.R.O., Ep. III/7/5.
[16] W.S.R.O., Add. MS. 18,359.
[17] W.S.R.O., Cap. IV/6/23.
[18] W.S.R.O., Add. MS. 12,513
[19] *S.R.S.*, **54,** 171.
[20] Public Record Office, E/179/191/41 0.
[21] Thomas-Stanford, *op. cit.*, 59–61.
[22] W.S.R.O., Cap. I/4/5/2.
[23] W.S.R.O., Cap. I/30/2, 46.

The Victorian Boarding School in a suburb of an English seaside resort

The 19th century saw a considerable increase in the number and type of boarding schools, which was probably a by-product of the urban explosion and the associated rise of the middle classes. Upper middle class education had been catered for by a small number of often Spartan public schools with their origins in medieval charity, and by the use of private tutors. But education was not always highly regarded. Attitudes changed in the Victorian era and education began to be seen as a way of making gentlemen out of the sons of the 'nouveaux riches' and this was one of the principal causes of the great expansion of the public school. There were few other alternatives for a reasonable schooling. The religious squabbles about the type of education for the majority of

children, exemplified in the rivalry between the British and Foreign School Society and the National Society, can be said to have delayed the introduction of a universal system of schooling for English children. Provision of elementary education was often late and inadequate. Even the public schools only served the needs of older children and were mainly for boys. Thus a parallel growth of preparatory and girls' schools was also seen as desirable. Another factor which encouraged expansion was the increasing requirement for an education at home for the children of those serving in the Colonies and Empire in administration, commerce and the armed forces. The Englishman in India had begun to be joined by the memsahib and his family and the young ones needed a healthy and secure base for their schooling.

Brunswick Town was begun in 1824 as an extension to the built up area of Brighton, which had reached the boundary of the parish of Hove. It was planned on the grand Georgian scale as an estate with fine houses around a square and sea esplanade supported by other facilities such as a market, Anglican chapel, hotel, lesser houses and mews. From 1830 it had a measure of self government being administered by Commissioners elected by people who had the franchise with a high financial qualification, reinforced by a system of plural voting which gave more votes to the wealthy.[1] A Commissioner had to have an even higher degree of wealth to be able to stand for election. Many of the houses on the estate were taken for short periods; a season, a month or even a few weeks, but in Brunswick Square and some other streets a more permanent community was established early on, and seasonal lets declined after the middle of the century. The population of the estate rose from 1,900 in 1841 to a peak of 6,150 in 1871 but fell back to about 5,750 in 1881.[2]

One way of providing education, so far not mentioned, was the custom of lodging children with clergymen, who combined their pastoral duties with some teaching (Jane Austen's father was an example), whilst others 'without the care of souls' ran small schools for the sake of the income which they produced. Both these examples of clerical education existed in Brunswick Town; for instance the Rev. John Holloway kept pupils at 110 Lansdowne Place as late as 1861,[3] but the practice was dying out except for 'weak children' who still might have private tutors. Probably the first school in the area was that run at Wick House by the Rev. Dr Edward Everard, the founder of the proprietary chapel of St Andrew's, Waterloo Street, and a chaplain to King William IV. This academy for young gentlemen was sometimes called 'the young House of Lords' and it was honoured by a royal visit in 1833.[4] This doubling up of clerical and teaching duties was also noted in the Portsmouth suburb of Southsea, which shared many of the characteristics of high social quality with Brunswick Town.[5]

Most of the following analysis is based on the census returns but these only recorded boarders and did not show whether the schools took day pupils who lived locally. Local newspapers advertised some schools. In 1836 Madame Lefaudeux (formerly Miss Maria Crabtree of East Sheen) announced the removal of her establishment from 29 to 33 Brunswick Square where 'she continues to receive a limited number of young ladies to be boarded and educated'.[6] This advertisement suggested that day pupils were not encouraged but in 1856 Mrs Load ('daughter of a clergyman'), who ran a preparatory school for young gentlemen at 54 Upper Brunswick Place, stated that daily boarders were received.[7] William Olding would accept 'a few day boarders and scholars, the sons of gentlemen only' in his lower school but none in his upper school.

Statistics for boarding schools are shown in Table 1 below;

TABLE 1
Private Boarding schools in Brunswick Town

Schools	*1841*	*1851*	*1861*	*1871*	*1881*
Boys	2	7	16	15	10
Girls	6	11	20	22	13
Mixed	0	0	1	1	1
Total	8	18	37	38	24
Pupils					
Boys	20	89	208	214	164
Girls	97	173	225	314	176
TOTAL	117	262	433	528	340
Staff					
Male	1	9	23	22	16
Female	20/7	47	89	96	67
TOTAL	21/8	56	112	118	83

Note: The 1841 figures for staff reflect the problems of definition (see below)

The significant fall from 38 schools in 1871 to 24 in 1881 probably reflected the alternatives being provided in the rest of the expanding urban area. There were substantial schools at Belmont in Dyke Road and ten in Cliftonville in 1871, an increase of 40 per cent since 1861.[8] Equally impressive was the doubling from 18 in 1851 to 37 in 1861. Also more than a doubling from 1841 to 1851. By 1861 there were 4.5 times as many schools as in 1841 and 3.5 times the number of pupils. Teaching staff were not always easy to assess; did a proprietress teach? Was a resident clergyman also a teacher? Did the wife of a teacher also help with classes? In 1841 Mrs Scott ran a school at 41 Brunswick Square which had 15 girl boarders. She was the only person described as a teacher but four unmarried ladies aged from 20 to 45 were listed as 'independent' and they were also likely to be teachers. In the same year there were only two schools for boys but a girls' school would take the young brothers of a pupil and vice versa. Girls' schools were always more significant but the differential narrowed. Another misleading element in the census was that it might not clearly identify as one school a number of adjoining houses in educational use but which operated as a single establishment. The Misses Thomson, who were later to receive Winston Churchill as a pupil, ran their preparatory school from 29 and 30 Brunswick Road and, in the same road, William Olding headed the Camden House School based in four houses.

Tables 2 and 3 show the significance of boarding schools in the life of Brunswick Town. At its peak 8.6 per cent of the inhabitants were pupils of these schools and the children's presence must have been very apparent. Teachers were not so significant overall even as a proportion of employed women.

TABLE 2
Significance of boarding schools in Brunswick Town: Pupils

	1 *Total Population*	*2* *5–19 Age Group*	*3* *No of Pupils*	*4* *3 as % of 1*	*5* *3 as % of 2*
1841	1889	585	117	6.2	20.0
1851	3219	982	262	8.1	26.7
1861	5740	1822	433	7.5	23.8
1871	6155	1599	528	8.6	33.0
1881	5718	1599	340	5.9	21.3

Note: 1 = the population figure where ages are known
2 = chosen to bracket school ages, but most pupils were in lower half of the band

Table 4 may give an indication of the normal place of residence of a pupil. The older the child the less likely this would be but there was no better evidence. In 1841 only 12 out of 117 pupils were born in the county of Sussex (10 per cent). Nearly half of the pupils in 1851 were born in the Home Counties, including London, and under a fifth were from Sussex. Thirty pupils were born in the Colonies, most in India. Some schools specialised in certain catchment areas. Thirteen of the 16 children at Rockingham House, Lansdowne Place, were born in Sussex but all the pupils at 25 Lansdowne Place came from London. Eight of the 14 pupils at 38 Brunswick Road in 1871 were born in Lincolnshire. In the same year, of the 30 pupils at 57 Lansdowne Place, eight were born abroad; six in Russia where the Proprietor's daughter was also born. 1861 was the peak year for colonials; of the 32 pupils at 59/61 Lansdowne Place 24 were born in India and two in China. 'East Indians' totalled 44 in 1871 but children also came from South America, China and the USA. Kipling, born in Bombay, was boarded in Southsea as a child and there was a lady in Brunswick Town who cared for 'Indian children'. Only five pupils appeared to be of foreign parentage including a seven-year-old Georgian princess. Of the total pupils, most were born in the Home Counties. London suburbs such as Clapham, Brixton, Walthamstow and Putney frequently occur as birthplaces. Pupils from the Home Counties gradually increased in proportion from 46.6 per cent in 1851 to 54.7 per cent in 1881. Only one child was born in Hove. The high number of pupils from the London area was probably due to the reputation of Sussex for a good climate coupled with the nearness of the capital, whose accessibility had been enhanced by the opening of the Brighton and South Coast Railway.

TABLE 3
Significance of boarding schools in Brunswick Town: Staff

	1 *Employed People*	*2* *No of Teachers*	*3* *2 as % of 1*	*4* *Employed Women*	*5* *Women Teachers*	*6* *5 as % of 4*
1841	850	21/8	2.5/3.3	513	20/7	3.9/5.2
1851	1629	56	3.4	961	45	4.7
1861	2738	112	4.1	1725	79	4.6
1871	2993	118	3.9	1901	82	4.3
1881	2904	83	2.9	1828	52	2.8

TABLE 4
Birthplaces of Boarding School Pupils

	1841		*1851*		*1861*		*1871*		*1881*	
	No	*%*	*No*	*%*	*No*	*%*	*No*	*%*	*No*	*%*
Sussex	12	10.3	46	17.6	28	6.5	35	6.6	30	8.8
Home Counties			122	46.6	206	47.6	279	52.8	186	54.7
Rest of England	98	83.8	46	17.6	73	16.9	101	19.1	58	17.1
Wales			0	0	3	0.7	2	0.4	0	0
Scotland	3	2.6	7	2.7	7	1.6	8	1.5	6	1.8
Ireland	3	2.6	5	1.9	6	1.4	6	1.1	12	3.5
Colonies	0	0	30	11.5	87	20.1	44	8.3	34	10.0
Europe	0	0	6	2.3	9	2.2	15	2.8	2	0.6
Other foreign birthplaces	0	0	0	0	12	2.8	16	3.0	5	1.5
Unknown/Indistinct	1	0.9	0	0	2	0.5	22	4.2	7	2.0
Total	117		262		433		528		340	

Note: The 1841 census only recorded birthplaces as Sussex; other counties in England and Wales; Scotland, Ireland and Foreign birthplaces.

Foreign nationals, especially French and German, were employed particularly to teach their own languages. M. Janson, the former professor to H.R.H. Prince George of Cumberland, insisted that the French language be the medium of conversation at his school at 19 Lansdowne Place.[9] It was not easy to judge the social status of the pupils beyond the assumption that their parents could afford the fees, but in 1861 the Rev. Henry Yates at 98 Lansdowne Place taught the heir to the Earl of Leicester, whilst the daughter of the Duke of Marlborough was at 29 Brunswick Road (where her cousin Winston Churchill was to go). Lady Emily Corry was educated at 32 Brunswick Terrace.

The age of pupils ranged from three to 19 in 1841. Women ran schools for young boys as well as girls. In 1871 all schools had an age range of seven to 19 but most specialised in a shorter range. The schools with young pupils tended to be boys' schools.

The size of schools was difficult to assess because of the lack of knowledge on day pupils and the confusion caused by multiple property establishments. Some were little more than coaching institutions with three pupils but a school at five properties in Lansdowne Square in 1851 contained 57 pupils and Olding had 58 in 1858. Large houses such as Dr Everard's at the Wick House were occasionally used for schools. The Southsea schools varied in size from two to 17 pupils,[10] whilst those in Cliftonville provided for between three and 14 scholars.[11] Because of the prohibition on business uses in the 1830 Act, schools were discouraged in Brunswick Square and Terrace but there were still two in 1882 (32 Brunswick Terrace and 33 Brunswick Square). The principal locations of schools were in Brunswick Road, Holland Road and Lansdowne Place. None of these schools (or those in Southsea and Cliftonville) were in purpose built accommodation, but the return wing added after its completion to 32 Brunswick Terrace may be a relic of its use as a school.

Private education could be expensive. Fees of over £1,000 for two years were paid for the exclusive 32 Brunswick Terrace in the 1830s[12] but this was far above the norm. In 1864 the Taunton Commission reported that first grade private schools would provide education for the gentleman and rentier class for £60–120 per annum for boarders. Figures for Brighton suggested a going rate of between 22 and 50 guineas for boys' middle schools and 16 to 100 guineas for girls' schools. 'In Brighton there is every facility for giving a girl a good education if you have the money' said a respondent. Assistants were paid between £20 and £100 p.a. but board may have been added.[13] The fees for a boarder at Eton in 1938 were still only £245 p.a.[14]

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Notes

[1] Set up by the *Brunswick Square Brighton Improvement Act 1830* (11 Geo 1V c16); See M. G. I. Ray, 'Who were the Brunswick Town Commissioners? A Study of a Victorian urban ruling élite 1830–1873', *Suss. Arch. Colls,* **127,** (1989), 211–28.

[2] Calculated from an analysis of the Census 1841–1881. For more details see M. G. I. Ray., 'The Evolution of Brunswick Town, Hove 1830–1881', unpublished MPhil. thesis University of Sussex, 1987.

[3] 1861 Population Census enumerator's returns, Public Record Office PRO/RG/9/605/86.

[4] A. Dale, *Fashionable Brighton 1820–1860*, (1947), 124.

[5] R. C. Riley, *The Houses and Inhabitants of Thomas Ellis Owen's Southsea*, (Portsmouth 1980) esp. p. 16.

[6] *Brighton Gazette* 27 November 1836.

[7] *Brighton Gazette* 3 January 1856.

[8] Public Record Office RG/10/1091 and J. Lowerson, *Cliftonville, Hove: A Victorian Suburb* (Univ. of Sussex, Centre for Continuing Education occasional paper 1977), 19.

[9] *Brighton Gazette* 15 January 1846.

[10] Riley, *op. cit.*, 17–18.

[11] Lowerson, *op. cit.*, 19–20.

[12] M. C. Borer, *Willingly to School* (1876), quoted in J. Middleton, *The History of Hove* (1979), 62.

[13] Parliamentary Papers 1867–8, **XXVII** *Schools Inquiry Commission, vol. VIII G, Reports of Assistant Commissioners, Southern Counties*, (1868), 172, 182, 199 and 233.

[14] R. Lewis and A. Maude, *The English Middle Class* (1953), 19.

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Notes: Alphabetization is word-by-word. A reference preceded by M indicates a page of microfiche. A page reference in italics indicates an illustration. Other abbreviations: b., born; m., married; d., died; f., flourished; *c.*, *circa*.

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