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SUSSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS 132 (1994), 7–24

Dr V. Seton Williams' excavations at Combe Hill, 1962, and the role of Neolithic causewayed enclosures in Sussex

by Peter Drewett

with a contribution by
K. D. Thomas

Combe Hill is a small causewayed enclosure on the north scarp of the South Downs above Willingdon, East Sussex. First published by A. Hadrian Allcroft in 1908, it was sample-excavated by R. Musson in 1949. More extensive excavations were undertaken by the late Dr V. Seton Williams in 1962 but remained unpublished. This article describes these excavations and relates the enclosure to those of similar date in Sussex.

INTRODUCTION

The enclosure on Combe Hill (TQ 574 021) is one of the smallest causewayed enclosures in Britain, being only about 0.6 ha in area (Fig. 1). Two circuits of discontinuous banks and ditches are clearly visible although the inner circuit is much clearer than the outer circuit. The bank survives in places to a maximum of 0.5 m high. On the north side the enclosure is open to the steep natural scarp slope of the South Downs (Fig. 2).

Combe Hill was first recorded by A. Hadrian Allcroft in his 1908 *Earthworks of England*. There it was recorded with others as 'small camps . . . where the *vallum* and outer ditch have the slightest relief'. Dr E. Cecil Curwen published a detailed plan of the earthworks in his *Prehistoric Sussex* (1929). For this survey the discontinuous ditches were confirmed by percussion of the ground (bowsing). Dr Eliot Curwen then included Combe Hill in his classic paper on 'Neolithic Camps' (1930).

R. MUSSON'S EXCAVATIONS, 1949

In August 1949, Mr Reginald Musson excavated two ditch terminals and the causeway between them, together with part of two banks (Fig. 3, X). The bank and causeway excavations revealed no features and only a few sherds of Iron Age–Romano-British pottery were found. All other finds came from the ditch. It appears that nothing was found in a primary context, the bottom 300 mm of the ditch being filled with clean chalk rubble. Between 15 cm and 53 cm was found a dump of some 912 sherds of Neolithic pottery of the Ebbsfleet tradition. Associated with these were ox and pig bones, an end scraper, a leaf-shaped arrowhead and two sandstone rubbing stones (Musson 1950).

Associated with the Ebbsfleet pottery was a possible hearth, and charcoal identified by J. Cecil Maby as ash, hazel and hawthorn. As Mr Maby points out, 'The ash is a change from common oak, which, with hazel and hawthorn is more usual, and is of some interest here to that extent.' (Musson 1950). Oak is more common on early Neolithic sites, so does the Combe Hill assemblage perhaps represent secondary regeneration of scrub in the area? A sample of this charcoal was submitted for Carbon 14 dating which gave a date of 4590±100 BP (I-11,613). In radiocarbon years this is 2640±100 bc, but if calibrated would indicate a date of about 3400±100 BC.

V. SETON WILLIAMS' EXCAVATIONS, 1962

Dr Seton Williams' excavations at Combe Hill took place from 1st to 15th July, 1962 with a field team of some 20 volunteers. Twenty-one trenches were excavated in seven areas lettered A–G (Fig. 3). The excavation strategy was a mixture of trenches and a modified grid system. There are clear reasons for the excavation of some trenches but the reason for other trenches is less clear. This may be explained partly by the fact that the project was run as a training excavation.

AREA A

Area A consisted of a trench 19 m long and 1.8 m wide, excavated across the inner bank and ditch on its eastern side (Fig. 4). Little survived of the bank

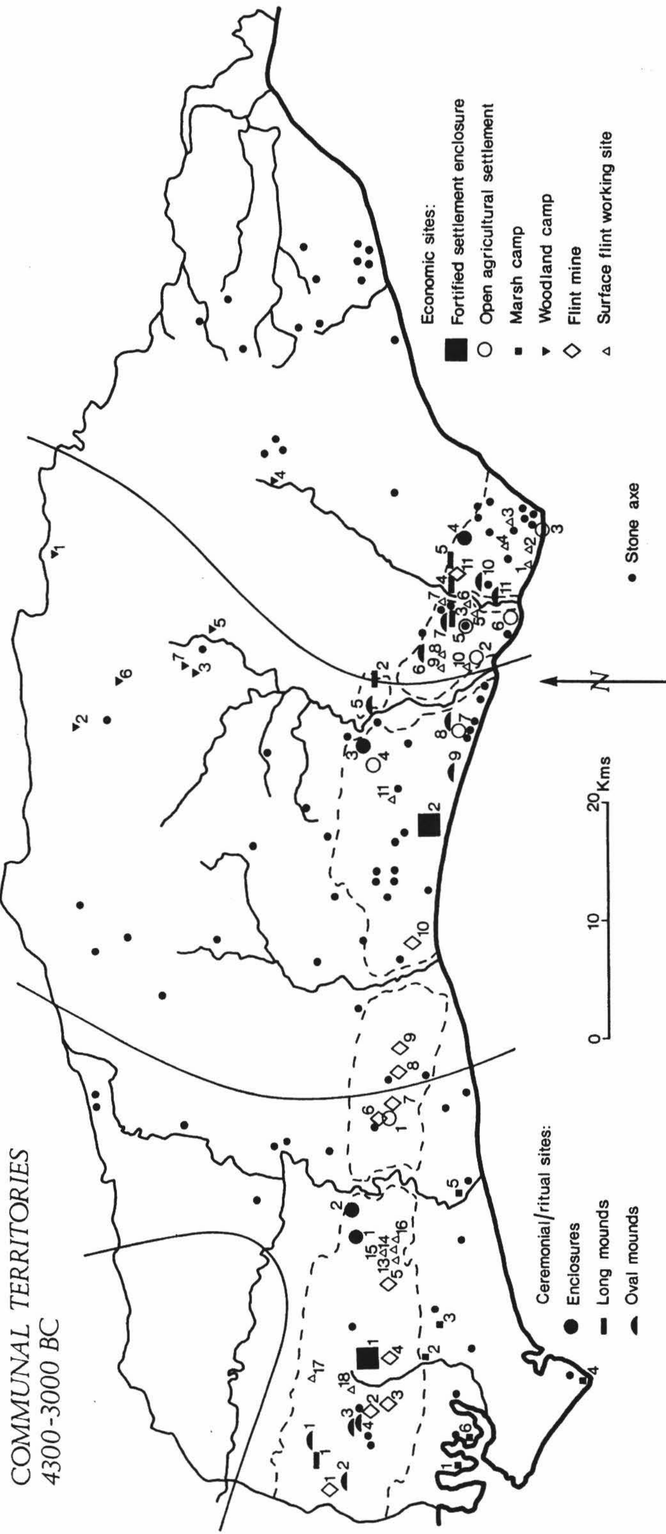

Fig. 1. Combe Hill. Location of Combe Hill in the context of Neolithic Sussex. Enclosure 4.

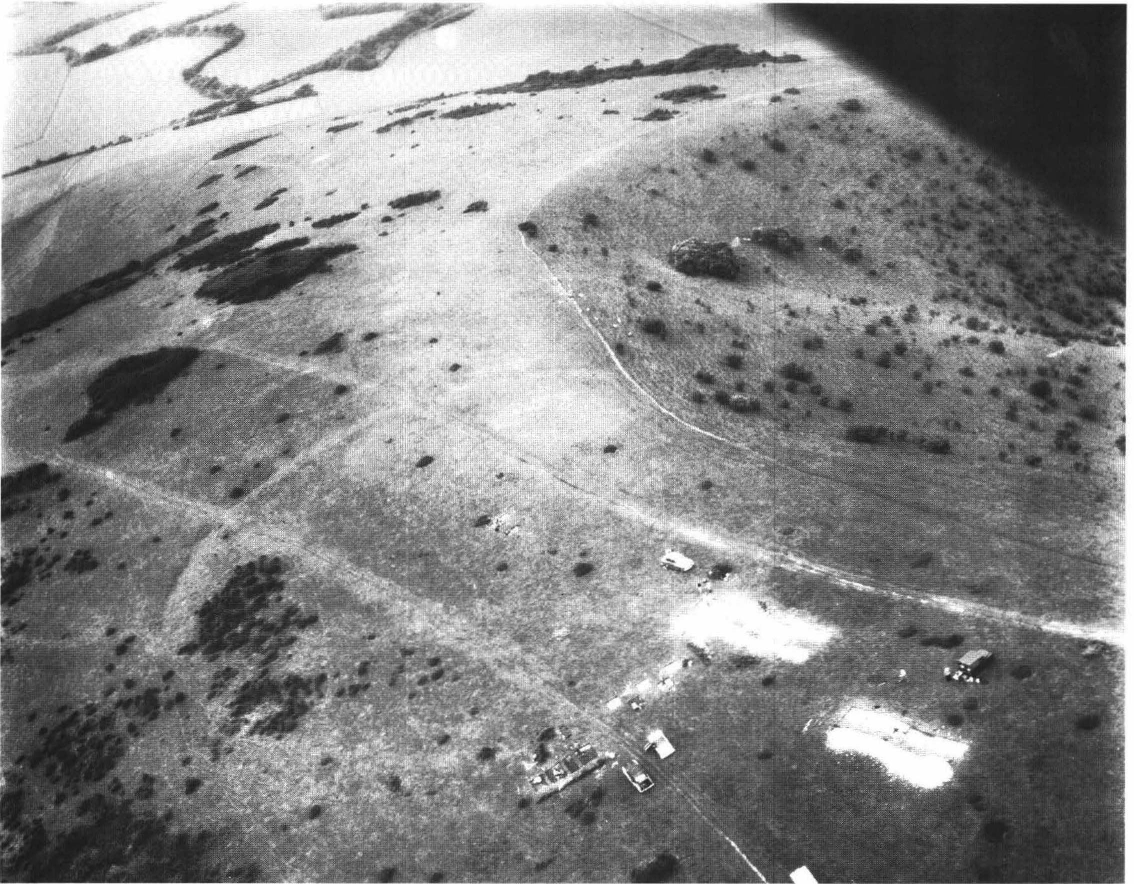

Fig. 2. Combe Hill. Air view of 1962 excavations. (Photograph J. Boyden, copyright reserved.)

other than a low spread of coarse chalk rubble (Fig. 5, Layer 5) over a preserved rise in the chalk (Fig. 5, Layer 6). Given the apparent absence of a buried land surface it is possible that Layer 5 is in fact the eroded surface of the preserved natural chalk. No evidence of revetment was located, so the bank was presumably a simple dump bank.

The ditch excavated was a maximum of 1 m in depth below the current land surface, and some 2 m wide (Fig. 6). The section and photographs indicate natural rapid silting of the ditch with coarse chalk rubble (Layers 11 & 13) followed by gradual silting, probably under grass cover (Layers 7, 8 & 9). Seventy-one flint flakes were found in Layer 1, two in Layer 7, and 19 in Layer 8. Pottery, possibly of Romano-British date, from Layers 1 and 10 is referred to in the site notebooks, but could not be located in the surviving finds. The notebooks also refer to a now lost leaf-shaped arrowhead from Layer 10.

AREA B

Area B consisted of an east–west trench cut across the external bank and ditch, together with the excavation of an area of the ditch to the north (Fig. 3). Layer 6 (Fig. 7) may represent the eroded remains of the bank but Layer 7 appears to be the excavated preserved rise in the natural chalk under the bank (Fig. 8). The ditch was some 1 m deep and apparently naturally silted in, with coarse chalk rubble (Layers 4 & 5). A shallow feature dug into the top of the ditch silts (Layers 2 & 3) appears to be of Romano-British date. Layer 1 produced 22 sherds of Romano-British date, while Layer 2 produced 13. The site notebooks state that 'no significant finds' were recorded from the ditch.

COMBE HILL 1962

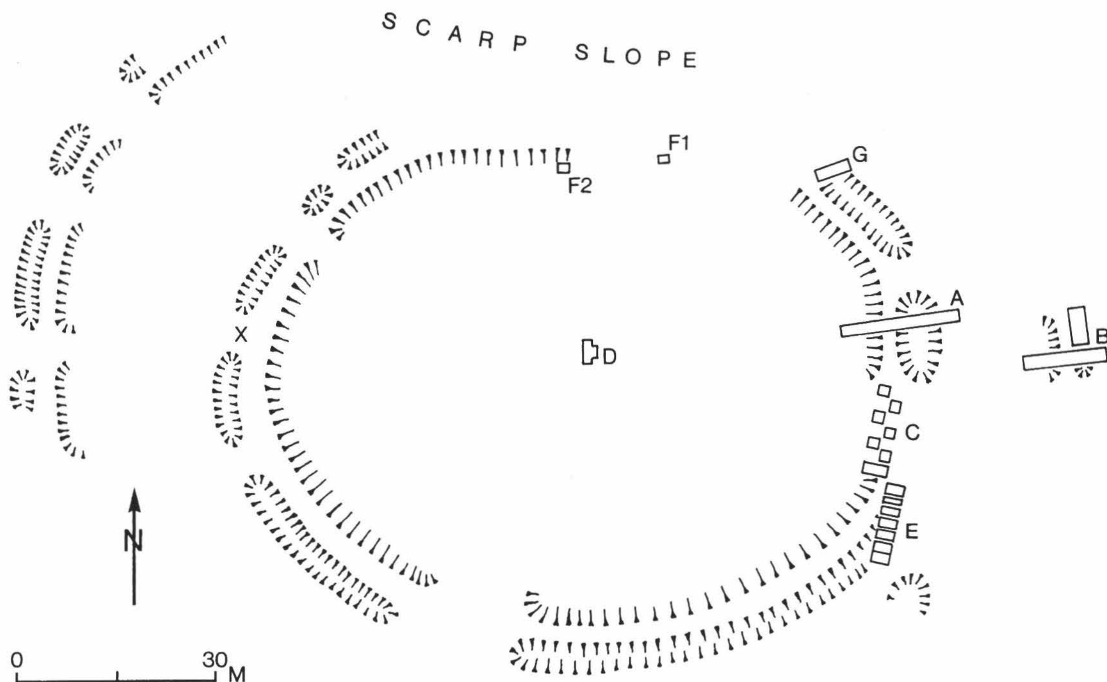

Fig. 3. Combe Hill. Plan of enclosure and location of Musson's 1949 excavations (X) and Seton-Willliams' 1962 excavations (A–G).

Fig. 4. Combe Hill 1962. Area A from the east. Scale: 6 ft.

AREA C

Area C consisted of the excavation of an inner circle causeway on the eastern side (Fig. 9). The area was excavated using a modified grid system. Solid chalk was found some 300 mm below the surface in all trenches. Within the 300 mm, chalk rubble and two soil layers were noted. All finds other than one fire-cracked flint were recovered from Layer 1. These consisted of 278 pieces of struck flint, including 188 primary flakes with cortex. This perhaps indicates some core preparation on the causeway.

AREA D

Area D consisted of two 4 ft squares which were subsequently linked and extended to the east. It was located at what was estimated to be the centre of the site. Removal of turf and top-soil revealed a patch of natural clay-with-flints. No finds were recorded. In 1983 a piece of carved chalk was found at this spot (Thompson 1984). Given the somewhat

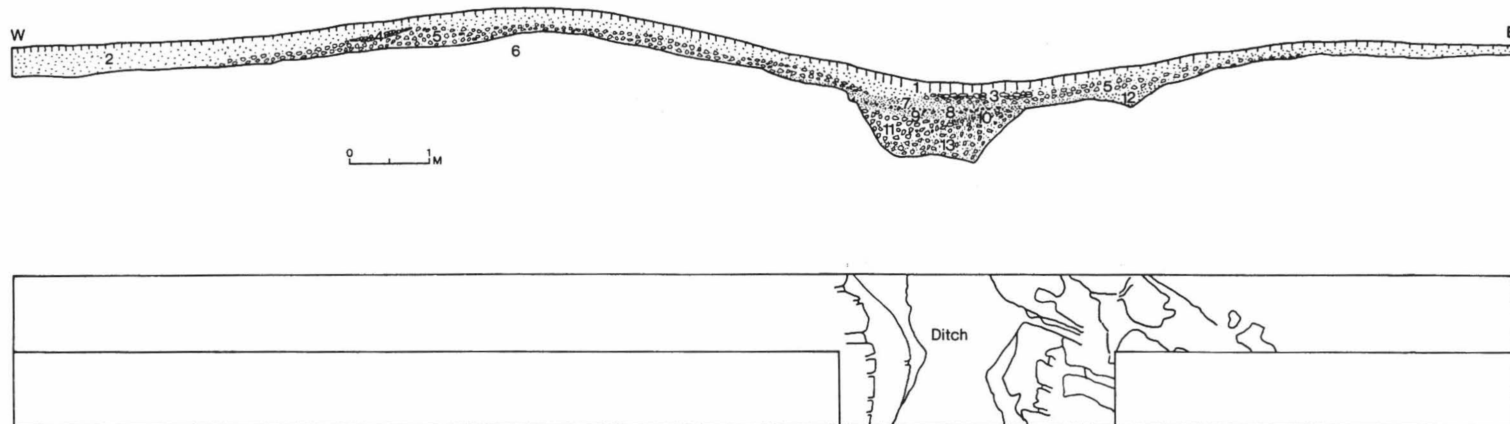

Fig. 5. Combe Hill 1962. Area A. Plan and section.

Key:

1. Turf and top-soil
2. Dark brown soil. Stone-free worm-sorted horizon
3. Flint nodules
4. Coarse chalk rubble
5. Orange-stained chalk rubble
6. Chalk rubble (probably natural)
7. Orange-stained graded chalk rubble
8. Fine chalk rubble with soil and flints
9. Fine chalk rubble and chalky wash
10. Orange-stained chalk rubble and soil
11. Cemented chalk rubble
12. Soft decomposed chalk
13. Loose chalk rubble

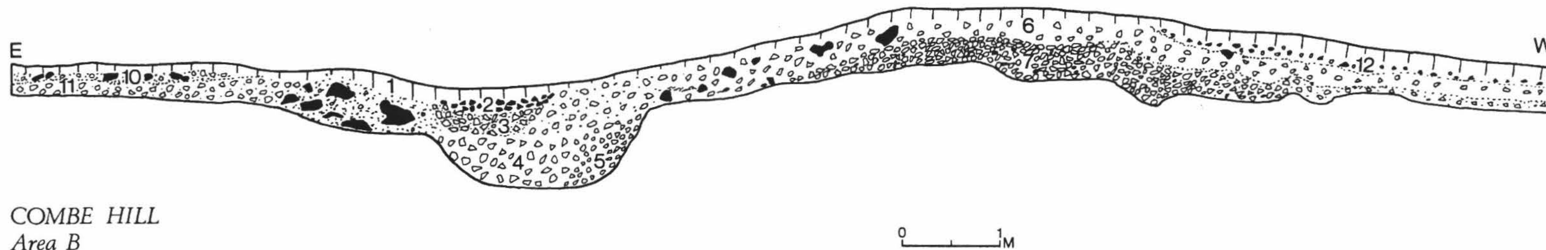

Fig. 7. Combe Hill 1962. Area B. Section of bank and ditch.

Key:

1. Turf and top-soil
2. Flint nodules
3. Chalk rubble
4. Loose broken chalk
5. Small chalk fragments with soil
6. Compacted small chalk fragments mixed with soil
7. Compacted chalk (probably natural)
8. Chalk and flint mixed with soil

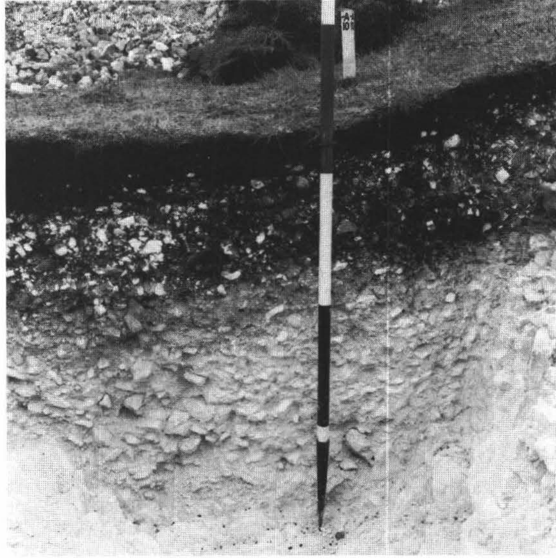

Fig. 6. Combe Hill 1962. Area A. Ditch section. Scale in feet.

Fig. 8. Combe Hill 1962. Area B. Bank from the east. Scales: 6 ft.

Fig. 9. Combe Hill 1962. Area C with Area E in background from the north. Scales: 6 ft.

Fig. 11. Combe Hill 1962. Area E. Deposit of polished flint axes *in situ*. Scale: 6 inches.

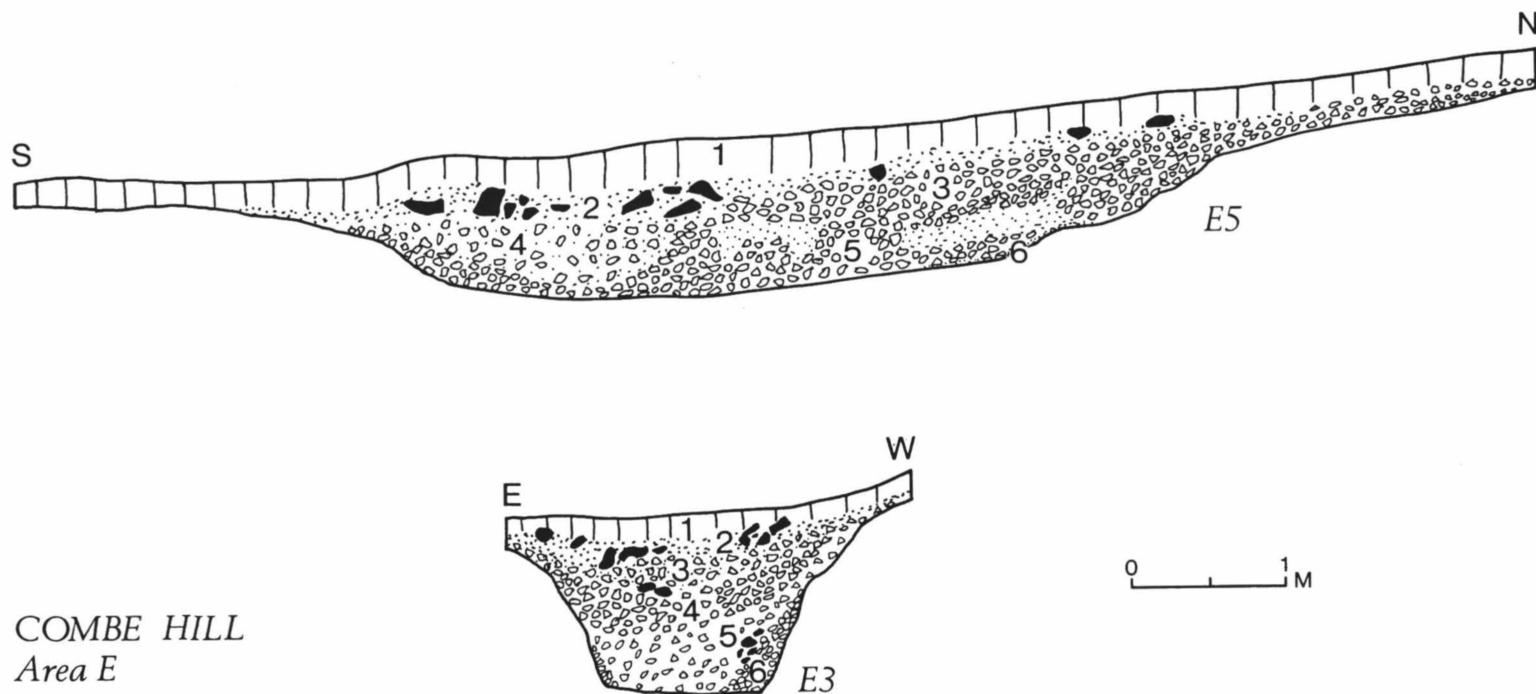

Fig. 10. Combe Hill 1962. Area E. Ditch sections of E5 and E3.

E5 key:
1. Turf and top-soil
2. Flint nodules
3. Chalk nodules
4. Chalk nodules
5. Rapid chalk fill
6. Very fine chalky fill

E3 key:
1. Turf and top-soil
2. Flints
3. Chalky rubble
4. Chalk nodules
5. Rapid chalk fill
6. Chalk rubble

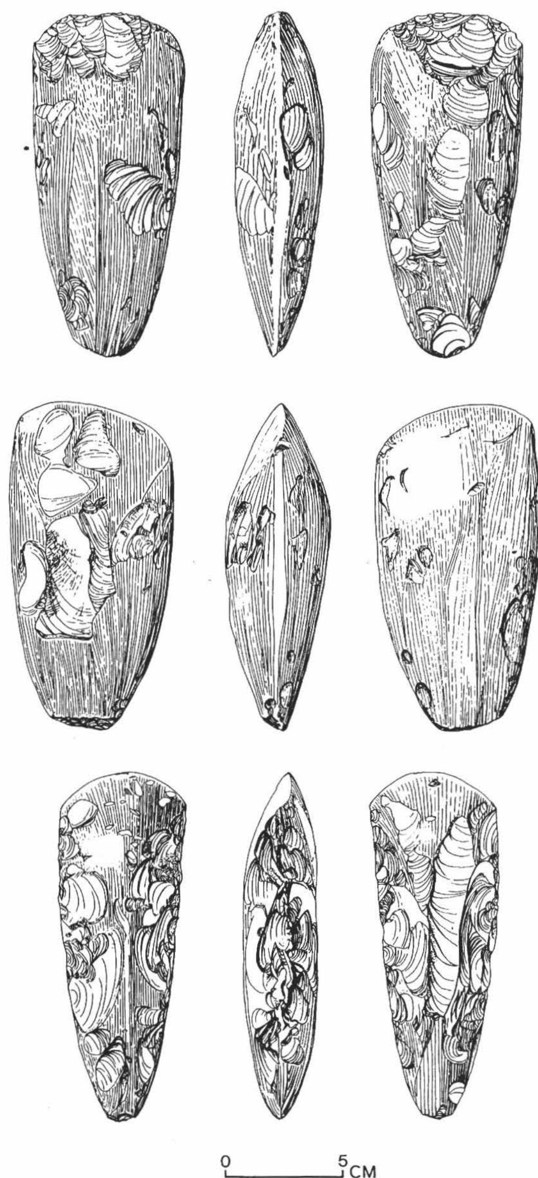

Fig. 12. Polished flint axes from Area E.

unusual nature of this piece, the possibility remains that it was carved during the excavation and is not Neolithic, as has been claimed.

AREA E

Area E consisted of a series of small trenches laid out in a north–south line across the ditch of the inner circle. The trenches were labelled E1–E7 from north to south. This modified grid system resulted in a series of ditch sections becoming more acute to the south. The section of Trench E3 (Fig. 10) is therefore more or less the width of the ditch, whereas the section of E5 cuts across the ditch at almost 45° (Fig. 10), making it appear in section to be far wider than it really is.

The ditch appears to have silted in naturally with chalk rubble (Layers 4, 5 & 6). Twenty-eight pieces of struck flint were found in these layers. Layers 5 and 6 may have formed fairly rapidly in the first year or two after the digging of the ditch. The most important find in this area was the deposit of three polished flint axes found carefully placed in a line within Layer 4 in E6 (Figs 11 & 12). When the ditch had virtually filled in, Beaker activity led to the deposition of 25 sherds in Layer 2.

AREA F

Trench F1 was apparently dug in order to establish whether the bank and ditch originally continued around the scarp slope on the northern side of the enclosure. Eroded natural chalk was found immediately below the top-soil and no sign of a ditch was recorded. Trench F2 also produced negative results, with the natural eroded chalk surface being just below the top-soil. Neither trench produced any artefacts.

AREA G

Area G excavated the terminal of the inner ditch on the eastern side of the enclosure (Fig. 13). The ditch was found to be just over a metre deep and naturally silted in. Most finds came from the surface layers. Layer 1 produced 31 struck flakes, and the site notebook refers to 'numerous' struck flakes and potsherds from Layer 2. None of the artefacts can be located. One sherd is described as having a 'slashed and chevron decoration'. The other sherds are not described and, given the context, were probably Romano-British.

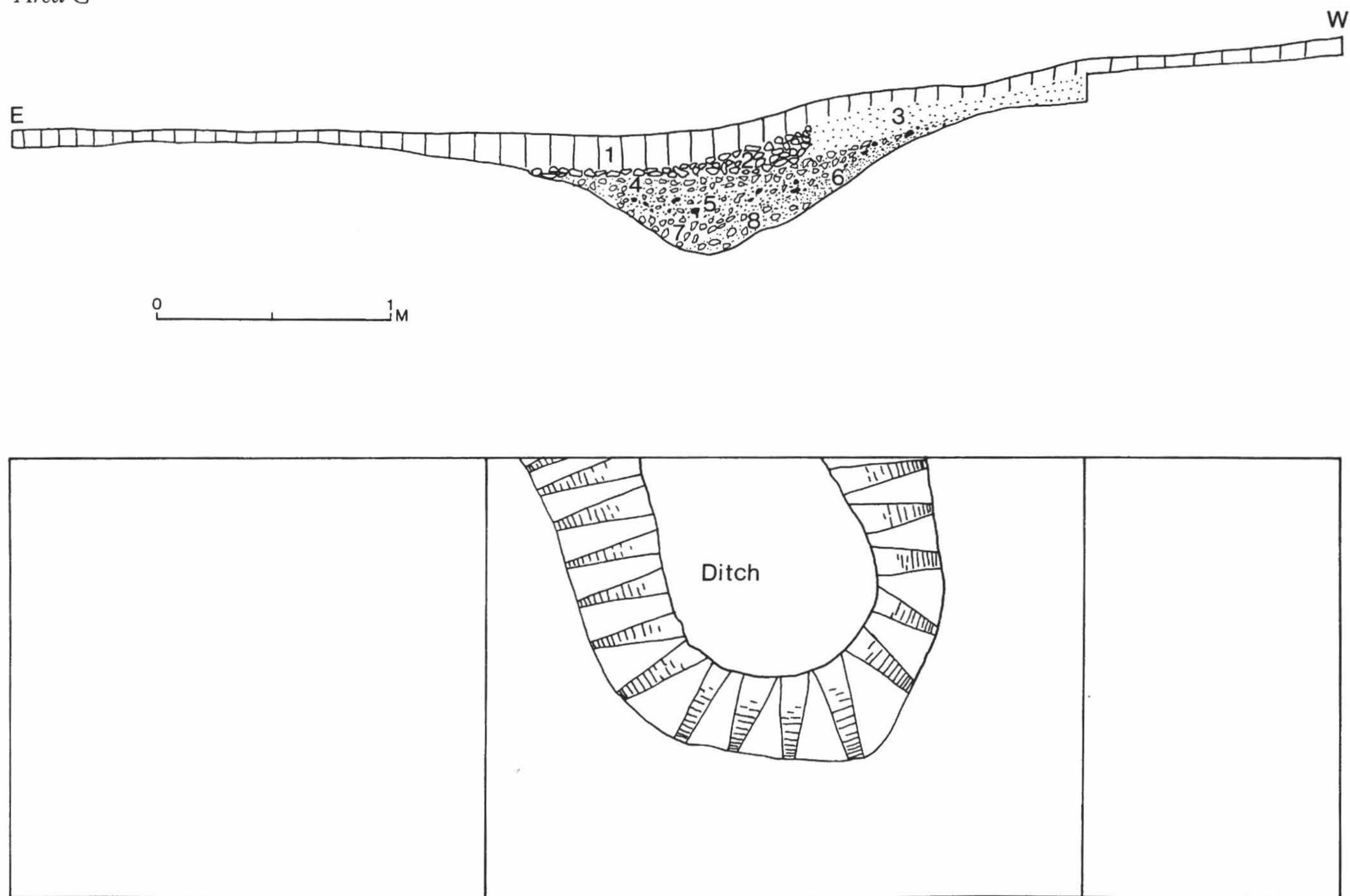

Fig. 13. Combe Hill 1962. Area G. Plan and section.

Key:

1. Turf and top-soil
2. Flint nodules
3. Brown soil. Stone-free worm-sorted horizon
4. Orange-stained chalk rubble with soil
5. Chalk rubble and soil
6. Chalky 'rain wash'
7. Cemented chalk rubble
8. Chalky 'rain wash'

THE FINDS

Not all finds mentioned in the site notebooks are present in the collection given to the Society following Dr Seton Williams' death. These reports are based only on the surviving finds.

POTTERY

Sixty-one pottery sherds were found. Thirty-five of these are Romano-British East Sussex wares. The remaining 26 sherds would all fit into a Beaker context. Five sherds (all from Area E, Layer 2), are comb-impressed Beaker sherds. Nine sherds are of rusticated ware commonly found in Beaker assemblages, e.g. Church Hill, Findon (Musson 1954) and Belle Tout (Bradley 1970). Eight of these sherds were associated with the comb-impressed wares in Area E, Layer 2, and one sherd came from Area E, Layer 5. The remaining nine sherds were plain, but of the same sparsely grog-filled ware with small to medium flint inclusions.

FLINT

Six hundred and forty-eight pieces of humanly-modified flint survive in the excavated collection (Table 1). It is clear from the records that some flint flakes may have been mislaid, together with the leaf-shaped arrowhead from Area A. The bulk of the assemblage consists of core preparation flakes, both primary (395) and secondary (233). No prepared cores were recovered but 14 chunks of flint with rough (probably trial) flaking were recovered. The only tools surviving in the collection are three round scrapers and three polished flint axes (Fig. 12).

EVIDENCE FOR THE ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING OF THE NEOLITHIC ENCLOSURE AT COMBE HILL, EAST SUSSEX By K. D. Thomas

Samples of soil from the excavations of Mr Musson (1950) in the deposits of the western side of the inner ditch of the enclosure were located by Dr Peter Drewett and sent to me for analysis. I am grateful to Caroline Cartwright for help with the laboratory work.

The soil samples had been taken in spits downwards from the recent land surface; three samples were available for analysis, as follows:

12 to 15 inches: dark soil with many flint fragments, abundant roots, some charcoal and a few charred seeds;

15 to 21 inches: brown soil with little charcoal but abundant lumps of chalk;

18 to 21 inches: dark brown soil with abundant fragments of flint and chalk; few roots and a little charcoal.

Sample 15/21 may be mis-labelled and in fact be 15/18, according to the table of layers given by Musson (1950, 108); this table also shows that all of the samples were from the Neolithic phase of the fill of the ditch.

The samples were extracted for land snails by the method outlined by Evans (1972). The results are shown in Table 2. No shells were recovered from sample 12/15 and only a few from samples 15/21 (18?) and 18/21. The results from sample 15/21 (18?) are summarized in Table 3, in terms of the representation of ecological groups. Both of the samples which contained

Table 1. Finds.

Artefact / Layer	Flakes with Cortex	Flakes without Cortex	Struck Flint Flakes	Scrapers	Fire Cracked Flint	Polished Axes	Beaker Period Pottery	Romano -British Pottery
Area A:								
1	56	17						
7	1	1						
8	12	7						
13	17	10	2					
Area B:								
1	12	15		1				22
2	2			1				13
3	1	1						
4	38	51	3					
6	3	5						
Area C:								
1	188	82	8					
3					1			
Area E:								
1	17	11		1				
2							25	
3		1						
4	2	1				3		
5	5	3					1	
Area G:								
1	17	14						
3	4	1						
TOTALS:	**395**	**233**	**14**	**3**	**1**	**3**	**26**	**35**

Table 2. Mollusca from the Combe Hill Neolithic enclosure identified by K. D. Thomas.

Species	Sample 15/21 (18?)	Sample 18/21
Pomatias elegans (Müller)	5	+
Carychium tridentatum (Risso)	–	1
Cochlicopa sp.	1	–
Pupilla muscorum (Linn.)	2	–
Vallonia cf. *pulchella* (Müller)	1	–
Discus rotundatus (Müller)	2	2
Vitrea contracta (Westerlund)	1	–
Oxychilus sp.	1	1
Limacidae	–	1
Clausilia bidentata (Ström)	3	–
Trichia hispida (Linn.)	3	–
Helicigona lapicida (Linn.)	–	+
Cepaea sp.	+	–
Cepaea/Arianta	3	1
Total specimens:	**22**	**6**
Number of taxa:	**10**	**7**

Table 3. Representation of ecological groups of molluscs in Sample 15/21 (?18) from Combe Hill.

Ecological Group	Percentage	No. of Taxa
Shade-loving	36.4	5
Pomatias elegans	22.7	1
Catholic	31.8	3
Open-country	9.1	1

Table 4. Radiocarbon dates from causewayed enclosures in Sussex.

Location	Radiocarbon date (bc)	Calibrated date (BC)	Lab. No.
Trundle			
1. Primary silt (Ditch 2)	3290±140	4320–4010	I-11615
2. Primary silt (Ditch 2)	3090±170	4190–3900	I-11616
3. Secondary silt (Ditch 2)	2910±100	3690	I-11612
4. Secondary silt (Ditch 1)	2895±95	3690	I-11614
Whitehawk			
1. Primary silt (Ditch 3)	2750±130	3500–3410	I-11846
2. Primary silt (Ditch 4)	2695±95	3500–3410	I-11847
Bury Hill			
1. Primary silt (Ditch)	2730±80	3500–3410	HAR 3596
2. Primary silt (Ditch)	2620±80	3450	HAR 3595
Offham			
1. Primary silt (Ditch 2)	2975±80	3710	BM 1414
2. Secondary silt (Ditch 2)	2790±60	3650–3540	BM 1415
Combe Hill			
1. Secondary silt (Ditch 2)	2640±110	3400	I-11613

shells are dominated by shade-preferring species. The assemblage from sample 15/21 (18?) contains only two specimens of an open-country taxon (*Pupilla muscorum*) and is otherwise composed of shade-loving elements with compatible catholic elements plus *Pomatias elegans*. A few cheek teeth of the bank vole *Clethrionomys glareolus* (Schreber) were recovered from this latter sample; this mammal has a strong preference for woodland and similarly shaded microhabitats.

Although the data from this site are rather sparse, it appears that the enclosure may have been constructed in shaded conditions or in an area which had only recently been cleared of woodland. Similar and more detailed environmental interpretations have been made for other Neolithic enclosures in Sussex (Thomas 1977).

THE ROLE OF NEOLITHIC ENCLOSURES IN SUSSEX

Six enclosures in Sussex may be dated with certainty to the 4th millennium BC by Carbon 14 dating or pottery styles. They are the Trundle, Whitehawk, Barkhale, Bury Hill, Offham and Combe Hill. Limited excavations at Court Hill (Bedwin 1984) also suggest a Neolithic date, while excavations at Halnaker Hill (Bedwin 1992) were inconclusive. This discussion is based only on the six certain sites, although Court Hill is almost certainly similar to Combe Hill and Offham.

Carbon 14 dates have been obtained for all the sites other than Barkhale where excavations produced no suitable material (Leach 1983). These dates are shown in Table 4. The dates show clearly that the enclosures are broadly contemporary, but with the possibility that the enclosures were constructed from the west to the east of Sussex. This may relate to the direction of the introduction of Neolithic ideas. Clearly the Trundle was constructed well before Combe Hill.

I have argued elsewhere, based on site location and the total archaeological evidence from each site (Table 5), that it is possible to divide Sussex enclosures in their final phase into two types (Drewett, in Drewett *et al.* 1988). The Trundle and Whitehawk are constructed on hill-tops (Fig. 14) with multidirectional views (Fig. 15). They both appear to have been constructed in areas of open country, and both have some evidence of defence. Both have some internal features and a wide range of artefactual and ecofactual material, suggesting mixed farming and craft activities took place in and around the enclosures. These enclosures I referred to as 'fortified settlement enclosures'. In contrast Barkhale, Bury Hill, Offham and Combe Hill have single-directional views (Fig. 15), were constructed in woodland or areas only recently cleared, have no evidence for defence, no internal features, and only a limited artefactual assemblage. They appeared to have a specialized function, apparently away from areas of farming and settlement. I originally suggested that they were areas perhaps set aside for exposure burial (Drewett 1977), but later widened the interpretation slightly by referring to them as 'unfortified ceremonial/ritual enclosures' (Drewett, in Drewett *et al.* 1988).

This division is based on the state of the monuments at about 3500 BC. It did not consider how the monuments may have changed in use over time. The importance of 'shifting meanings' in the Neolithic has recently been stressed by Julian Thomas in his seminal work on *Rethinking the Neolithic* (Thomas 1991). He also stressed the significance of the use of space, both the location of the monument within landscape and the use of space within the monument itself.

A case could be made that all enclosures in Sussex started as small non-defended enclosures with a ceremonial/ritual function. The inner circles at the Trundle, Whitehawk, Offham and Combe Hill are all about the same size as the single-ditched enclosure at Bury Hill, that is some 100 m in diameter. Barkhale is a little larger. A possible territorial model published in Drewett *et al.* (1988) suggested that the Ceremonial/Ritual Enclosures were located on the edges of territories, whereas the Fortified Settlement Enclosures may have been more centrally placed. If, however, the Fortified Settlement Enclosures developed out of earlier Ceremonial/ Ritual Enclosures, then these enclosures may have originally been on the edges of former territories but incorporated into new territories as the Neolithic shifted from west to east across Sussex. Combe Hill, as the last enclosure in this sequence, may hold the key to their primary use, as here the original function may not be confused by later activity of a different nature.

If we assume Combe Hill was originally constructed on the edge of a territory, it may be assumed that as Neolithic ideas came in from the west and the monument is located with minimal views to the east (Fig. 15), then the site was perhaps on the western boundary of a territory. Monuments may be seen as a way of ordering the existence of peoples (Thomas 1991) while artefacts may be seen as symbols. Axes, for example, have been argued to represent a singularly potent symbol in the Neolithic (Hodder & Lane 1982). In this context the range

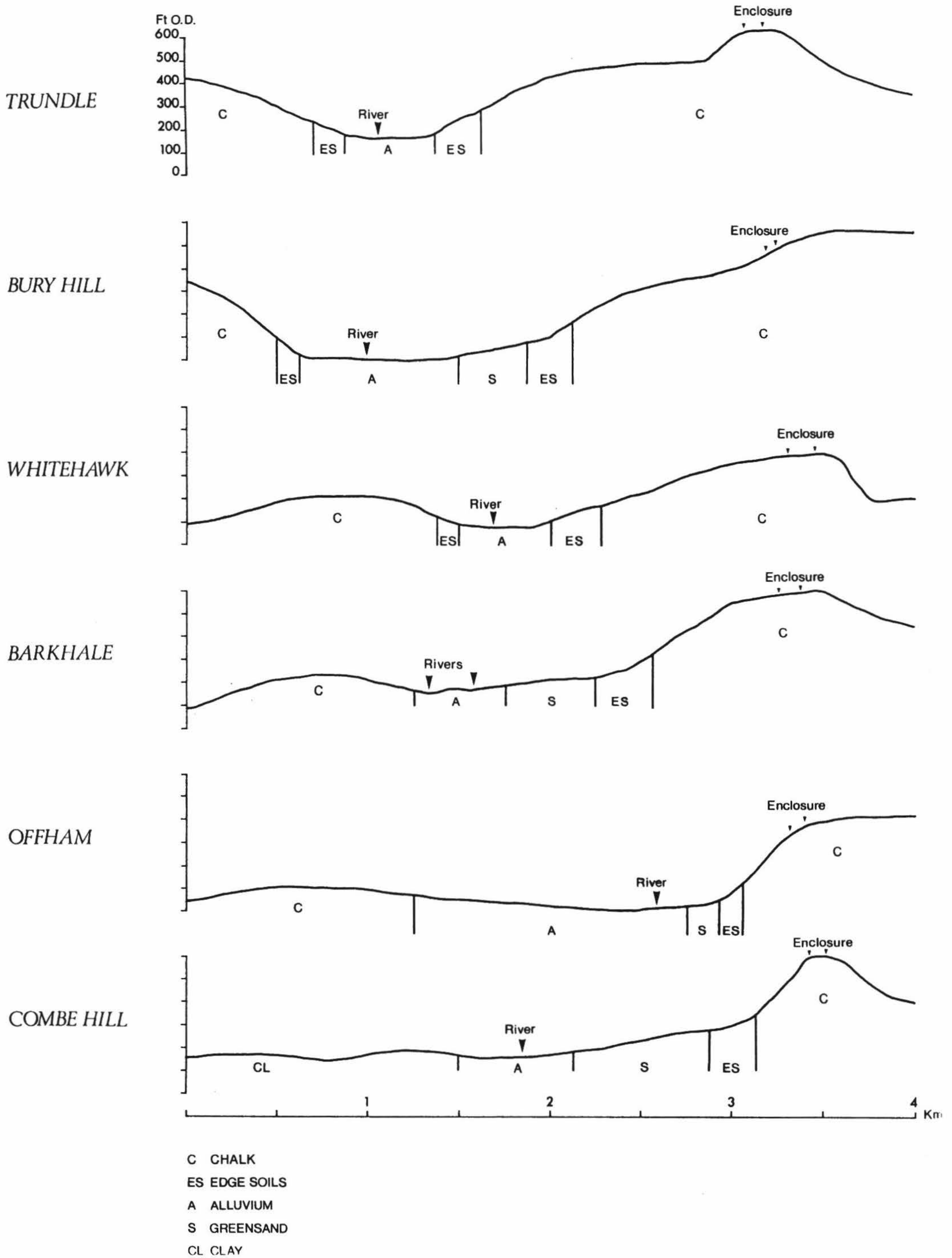

Fig. 14. Location of enclosures in Sussex.

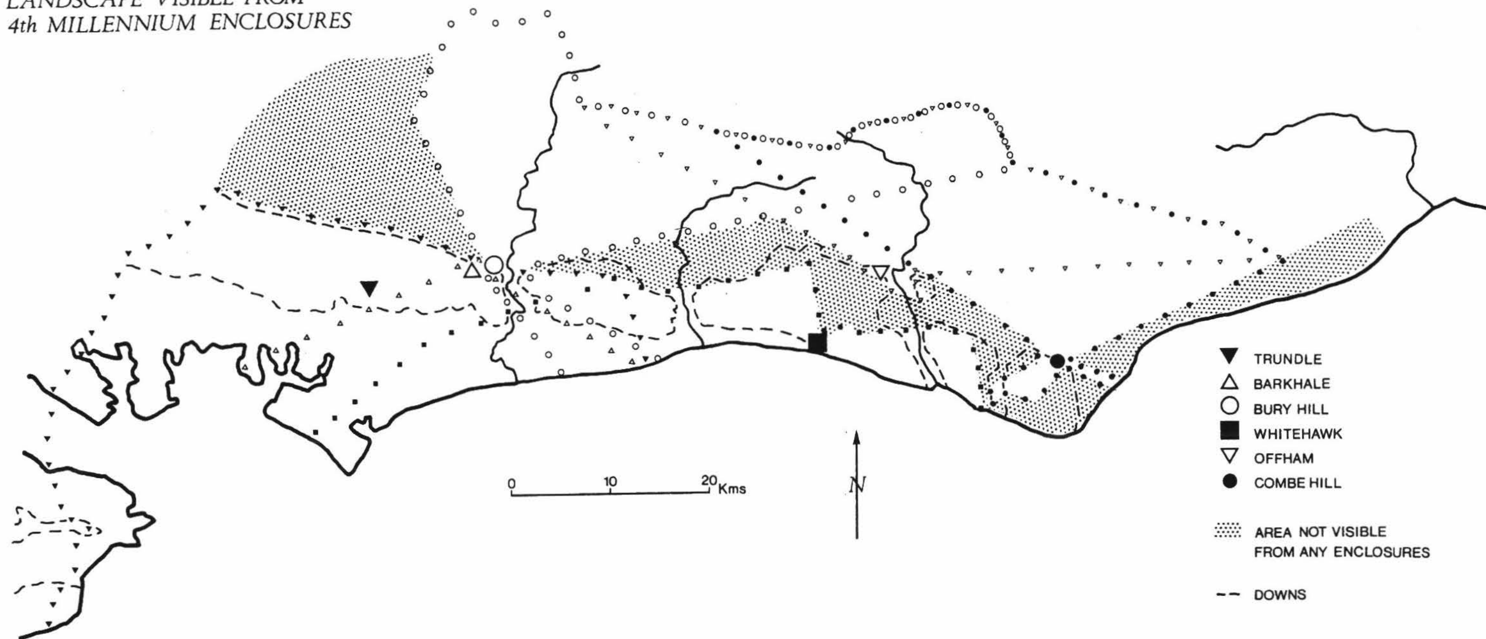

Fig. 15. Landscape visible and not visible from Sussex enclosures.

Table 5. Fourth-millennium enclosures in Sussex.

Trait / Enclosure	Trundle	Whitehawk	Barkhale	Bury Hill	Offham	Combe Hill
Location:						
Hilltop	+					
Saddle		+				+
False crested			+	+	+	
Visibility:						
Multidirectional	+	+				
One directional			+	+	+	+
Environmental evidence:						
Open country	+	+				
Woodland			+	+	+	+
Construction:						
Pit dug ditch	+	+	+	+	+	+
Many causeways left	+	+	+		+	+
One entrance causeway left				+		
Dump bank	+		+	+	+	+
Revetted bank		+				
Gate structure	+	+				
Internal Features:						
Pits	?	+				
Post-holes	+	+				
Construction Tools:						
Antler picks	+	+		+	+	
Construction By-Product Industries:						
Core preparation	+	+	+	+	+	+
Lithic Tool-Kits:						
Wood cutting tools	+	+		+	+	+
Tools for killing animals	+	+	+	+	+	+
Food/skin preparation tools	+	+	+	+	+	+
Fire making tools			+			
Lithic tool making tools	+	+		+		
Wood/bone working tools	+	+	+	+		
Agricultural tools			+			
% of Tools to Waste:						
>2%				+	+	+
<2%	+					
Pottery fabrics (see Drewett 1980):						
I	+	+	+	+	+	+
II	+	+	+		+	
III		+				
IV				+		
V		+		+	+	
VI		+				

Table 5. (cont.)

Enclosure **Trait**	**Trundle**	**Whitehawk**	**Barkhale**	**Bury Hill**	**Offham**	**Combe Hill**
Pottery Forms:						
Carinated bowls	+	+		+	+	+
Open bowls	+	+	+	+	+	+
Necked bowls	+	+				+
Cups		+			+	
Other Artefacts:						
Pointed bone tools	+	+				
Antler combs		+				
Hour glass perforated chalk						
(i) small with central hole	+	+				
(ii) large with off-centre hole	+	+				
Chalk cups	+	+				
Incised chalk blocks	+	+				
Sandstone grinding stones	+	+				+
Ecofacts						
Seed impressions:						
(i) Naked barley (*Hordeum* sp.)		+				
Animal bones:						
(i) cattle	+	+		+	+	+
(ii) pig	+	+		+	+	+
(iii) sheep/goat	+	+		+	+	
(iv) roe deer	+	+			+	
(v) red deer		+		+	+	
(vi) dog		+		+	+	
(vii) beaver					+	
Marine Molluscs:						
(i) winkle (*Littorina littorea*)		+				
(ii) cockle (*Cardium edule*)		+				+
(iii) mussel (*Mytilus edulis*)		+				
(iv) oyster (*Ostrea edulis*)		+				
Hazel nuts		+				
Post 4th-Millennium Use:						
3rd-millenium pottery in ditches		+		+	+	
2nd-millennium pottery in ditches		+	+		+	+
1st-millennium pottery in ditches	+		+	+	+	+
Round barrows constructed adjacent to enclosures			+	+	+	+
Enclosure replaced by hillfort	+					
Human Skeletal Remains:						
(i) articulated burials (in ditch)	+	+			+	
(ii) articulated burials (elsewhere)		+				
(iii) skulls		+				
(iv) jaws					+	
(v) long bones		+		+	+	
(vi) other bones		+		+	+	

and location of objects within Combe Hill may be important. Although only limited areas of Combe Hill have been excavated, a pattern does appear to be emerging. The western ditches (represented by Musson's 1949 excavations) contain symbols of domestic activity, the tamed landscape, cleared, farmed and grazed. Musson recovered a dump of 912 sherds of Ebbsfleet Ware, associated with charcoal, domesticated ox and pig, and sandstone rubbing stones perhaps used in food preparation. In contrast on the eastern side, perhaps facing an uncleared landscape or wildwood, domestic debris was largely absent. Three polished flint axes were carefully placed in the ditch on the eastern side, perhaps symbolizing the limit of clearance or the limit of human control of the landscape. Flint knapping on an eastern causeway, represented by 278 pieces of struck flint from Area C, may have significance in relation to the manufacture of tools used in the clearance of woodland. Similarly excavations at Offham produced symbols of the wild, e.g. a beaver tooth buried in a small pit in the outer ditch, and woodland clearance in the form of a polished flint axe (Drewett 1977).

Those enclosures that remained on the edge of cleared and wild landscape remained as Ceremonial/ Ritual Enclosures, a role perhaps enhanced by their use as exposure burial areas (Drewett 1977). The role of these, like the Trundle and Whitehawk, changed as Neolithic ideas spread east, and they became inside cleared areas rather than peripheral. The ritual power of these sites perhaps remained as the sites developed into Fortified Settlement Enclosures. Indeed, this ritual significance perhaps became part of the physical expression of the power of the ruling élite who constructed the Fortified Settlement Enclosure around the former Ceremonial/Ritual Enclosure.

Acknowledgements
I am indebted to the Sussex Archaeological Society for allowing me access to the Combe Hill material, and to Dr K. Thomas for his analysis of the molluscan evidence. I should also like to thank Mr J. Boyden for permission to reproduce his 1962 air photograph, which is now deposited in the National Monuments Record of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England). The illustrations were prepared by Lys Drewett with the support of a British Academy Small Personal Research Grant.

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Cissbury Ring

A SURVEY BY THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE HISTORICAL MONUMENTS OF ENGLAND

by J. D. Donachie & D. J. Field

A recent earthwork survey of Cissbury Ring by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (RCHME) is the first analytical examination of the site since the pioneering work of Herbert and Christine Toms in 1926. This paper describes the results of the RCHME survey which, building on the work of the Toms, has produced the first detailed plan of the extensive Neolithic flint mining complex set within the context of the hillfort. A number of important points of detail were recorded concerning the morphology and organization of space within the flint mining area and its stratigraphic relationship to the hillfort. New information concerning the earthworks within the interior of the hillfort has also been recorded.

INTRODUCTION

A survey of Cissbury Ring hillfort and flint mines was undertaken by the RCHME in the Autumn of 1993 in response to a request by the National Trust, the owners of the site. The site, centred on TQ 13950805, occupies a prominent flat-topped promontory which rises to 183 m OD, on the edge of the South Downs, some 3 km north of Worthing. The main components comprise a large univallate hillfort with counterscarp bank, enclosing some 24 ha which contain evidence of occupation and cultivation extending into the Romano-British period. Most of the western half of the hillfort interior is occupied by the remains of shafts and spoilheaps from earlier, Neolithic flint mines.

The site dominates the surrounding downland, commanding extensive views south and eastwards across the coastal plain as far as Beachy Head, westwards to the Isle of Wight and northwards and eastwards across the undulating chalk escarpments towards the Weald. The underlying geology is Cretaceous Sussex White Chalk overlain by a Clay-with-Flints capping, which covers most of the site. Present land use is restricted to permanent grassland and rough grazing with hawthorn scrub occupying the area of the flint mines.

HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

The first known depiction of Cissbury appears on Budgen's Map of 1724 (West Sussex Record Office (hereafter WSRO), PM 249) showing the hillfort ramparts only. The 17th-century historian, John Aubrey, had previously mentioned the site only briefly in connection with a beacon, although he gave no details as to its position (Aubrey undated, 332). In 1802 the site was surveyed by T. W. Huggins who depicted the fort in simplified form, showing only the defences and some interior earthworks, although he did try and depict some of the larger flint mine hollows (Huggins 1802). Huggins' map also shows a road from Steyning to Broadwater running from the southern entrance of the hillfort, across the interior and exiting via the break in the rampart to the north. Huggins returned in 1815 and surveyed two profiles across the fort from north to south and north-west to south-east, but added nothing further to his plan of the interior (WSRO Add MS 18, 429).

During the Napoleonic Wars Cissbury appears to have been one of a number of advanced infantry posts deployed on the south coast (Victoria County History 1905, 533). The Broadwater Tithe Map of 1848 shows the hillfort under pasture, with the

defences to the north and south-west forming the parish boundary between Findon and Broadwater (WSRO, Add MS 24, 653). The Tithe Map also shows under pasture the triangular area of land containing flint mines which extends beyond the defences to the south and is depicted as 'No Mans Land'.

The hillfort also seems to have been utilised during the 1939–45 war for the positioning of anti-aircraft guns, as a memo regarding war damage from Worthing Museum archives makes reference to '*several gun pits on top of the camp*', including one '*sunk through the floor of a Romano-British enclosure on the N side of the camp*' (Worthing Museum Records, memo from K. J. Barton). This evidence is substantiated by an aerial photograph from 1946 which clearly shows several circular structures constructed in chalk, clustered below the crest of the hill on the north side (RCHME VAP 1946, 3081). The remains of at least three of these still survive as sharply-defined circular banks (Fig. 1, n).

The history of archaeological research at Cissbury began with investigations which took place during the latter half of the 19th century. A number of the larger hollows were investigated in 1856 by G. V. Irving, who interpreted them as reservoirs (Irving 1857). In 1867–8, General Pitt Rivers (then Colonel A. Lane Fox) undertook his first major excavation at the site which was primarily aimed at determining the chronological sequence of the fort and the hollows (Lane Fox 1876, 378–9). He excavated approximately 30 hollows to a depth of about 1 m, concluding that they were used for procuring flint, and suggested that they were earlier than the fort. Unfortunately no records survive of these explorations and it is now impossible to determine either from surface or documentary evidence which shafts were excavated. Pitt Rivers also recorded and excavated three enclosures in the interior (Lane Fox 1869a, 62–4) and he appears to have been the first to draw attention to scoop-like excavations inside the eastern entrance (Lane Fox 1869, 32, fig. 14).

In 1870 Canon Greenwell excavated at Grimes Graves in East Anglia and demonstrated that depressions similar to those at Cissbury were in fact mineshafts. This prompted Pitt Rivers and others to return to Cissbury to carry out further research. In 1873 Plumpton Tindall excavated below the hard, compacted chalk fill of a shaft which Pitt Rivers had mistaken for the bottom in 1867–8 and found that the hollow was indeed the top of a filled-in mineshaft. The death of Tindall prevented publication of this discovery, although his colleague, E. H. Willett, excavated another shaft in 1874 (Willett 1875) and found that it had up to eight radiating galleries.

By 1875 Pitt Rivers had discovered that the hillfort ditch cut through a mineshaft with galleries running under the Iron Age rampart and further excavations were directed on shafts both inside and outside the ramparts (Lane Fox 1876). Pitt Rivers' colleague, Park Harrison, excavated further shafts in the years 1876–7 to add to the body of evidence (Park Harrison 1877; 1878). No further work was carried out at Cissbury until the early years of this century when Hadrian Allcroft produced a plan of the hillfort ramparts (Allcroft undated). However, it was not until 1926 that the first detailed archaeological survey of the surface remains was published jointly by Herbert and Christine Toms. The survey showed how much information Pitt Rivers had overlooked, despite the fact that he had worked at the site on two separate occasions. The Toms linked their surface observations to the stratigraphic sequence recorded by Pitt Rivers. This suggested three main phases for the hillfort, including a post-Roman refortification of the site which was later confirmed by excavation (Curwen & Ross Williamson 1931).

The excavation evidence indicated an original univallate rampart and ditch of middle Iron Age date. By the late Iron Age most of the interior was being cultivated with the result that plough-soil was building up against the inner edge of the rampart; late Iron Age pottery was found in the lower section of the accumulated material, with Roman potsherds higher in the profile (Curwen & Ross Williamson 1931, 23 & pl. 4, section B). The excavation evidence also confirmed the Toms' observations that the rampart was heightened and the ditch widened adjacent to the entrances after this agricultural phase, probably at some late Roman or post-Roman date (Curwen & Ross Williamson 1931, 33).

Interest in the site then waned for nearly 20 years until the 1950s when J. Pull and the Worthing Archaeological Society excavated two mineshafts on a spur to the south of the hillfort rampart. They also excavated one of the mounds surrounding the shafts which proved to be a manufacturing work-floor comprising a solid mass of struck flint flakes (Pull, undated).

DESCRIPTION OF EARTHWORKS

The letters in brackets refer to the letters on the plan (Fig. 1).

FLINT MINES

The earliest features recorded are those of the extensive complex of Neolithic flint mines that lie both inside and outside the hillfort on the western slopes of the hill. These appear as a series of hollows, ranging from 3 m to 36 m in diameter, the best preserved examples lying on the north-western slopes of the hill within the hillfort rampart. The shafts clearly underlie the hillfort defences, extending some 220 m to the south and 30 m to the west of the ramparts. At certain points the slight counterscarp bank of the hillfort overlies former mineshafts and spoil dumps derived from this activity are visible beside the bank. Around the lip of many of the shafts lie a series of mounds, some reaching to over 3 m in height. These have almost certainly been formed from spoil extracted from the shafts. A number of smaller mounds, up to 0.5 m in height, are likely to be former chipping floors, and a series of shallow hollows in them, for example (a), could point to the position of shafthead working areas. However, to understand these features more fully, further excavation and research will need to take place. An eroding area adjacent to one shaft (b) was recorded by the RCHME during the survey and consisted of a concentration of struck flint flakes of various sizes ranging from large cores to minute spalls.

A number of the spoil heaps within the hillfort appear to be arranged in a linear fashion, often following the contours. On the south side, for instance, a well-defined linear spoilheap (c), 85 m long and 0.8 m high, underlies and extends out from the counterscarp bank, while traces of similar underlying spoilheaps are also present outside the main rampart on the western side. Some of the mineshafts too appear to follow the contours, especially those on the north-west slopes. From this it seems reasonable to postulate that mining started on the north-western side of the hill, probably in the area now obscured by the hillfort ditch. Here the hillside is extremely steep and soilcreep, which would periodically expose the flint seam at the surface, has been considerable.

Owing to the effects of later cultivation, it is difficult to reconstruct the full extent of the mined area. However, shallow hollows, undoubtedly mineshafts reduced by ancient ploughing, can be traced over much of the southern part of the hillfort. Excavations of two pits in the eastern part of the hillfort in 1930 recovered flint-knapping debris which indicated that activity related to the mines extended over a considerable area (Curwen & Ross Williamson 1931, 20). Further confusion over the full extent of mining is caused by the numerous Iron Age pits and Romano-British hut sites that cover the north-eastern part of the hillfort interior. Despite this later activity, the survey suggests that mining covered a minimum of 9 ha and consisted of at least 270 mineshafts.

THE HILLFORT

Defences

The roughly pear-shaped defensive circuit of the hillfort, the long axis of which is orientated north-east to south-west, comprises a closely set rampart and external ditch, supplemented by a small but well-defined counterscarp bank on the outer lip of the ditch. The rampart is clearly defined for most of its circuit and on the north, west and south-east where the hillside falls steeply, its inner face averages 1.3 m in height. On the gentler approaches from the south and east, the rampart increases in height, rising to 3.9 m above the interior. In the area of the flint mines the rampart is irregular and it is very likely that its course here was influenced by the presence of spoilheaps associated with the Neolithic mines. Elsewhere it is generally flat-topped, averaging 3 m to 4 m in width, with occasional rises and troughs perhaps representing a constructional feature.

The outer face of the rampart is extremely steep in places, especially on the west. Here it rises 8.6 m above the bottom of the ditch. For most of its circuit the rampart face is interrupted by a break in slope, which in places, becomes a narrow ledge averaging 1 m in width. Other slight breaks of slope are evident and these may well represent episodes of localised collapse of rampart material.

The surrounding ditch is flat-bottomed and narrow, with an average depth of 1.9 m. It generally measures up to 5 m in width, but is 9 m wide at the eastern and southern entrances. A number of undulations are clearly visible in the ditch bottom throughout its circuit. On the south-western side some of these scoops are well-pronounced, being up to 13 m wide and 0.7 m deep and appear to represent the sites of underlying flint mine shafts. Elsewhere, the depressions are smaller and probably represent quarry scoops dug to gain material for the

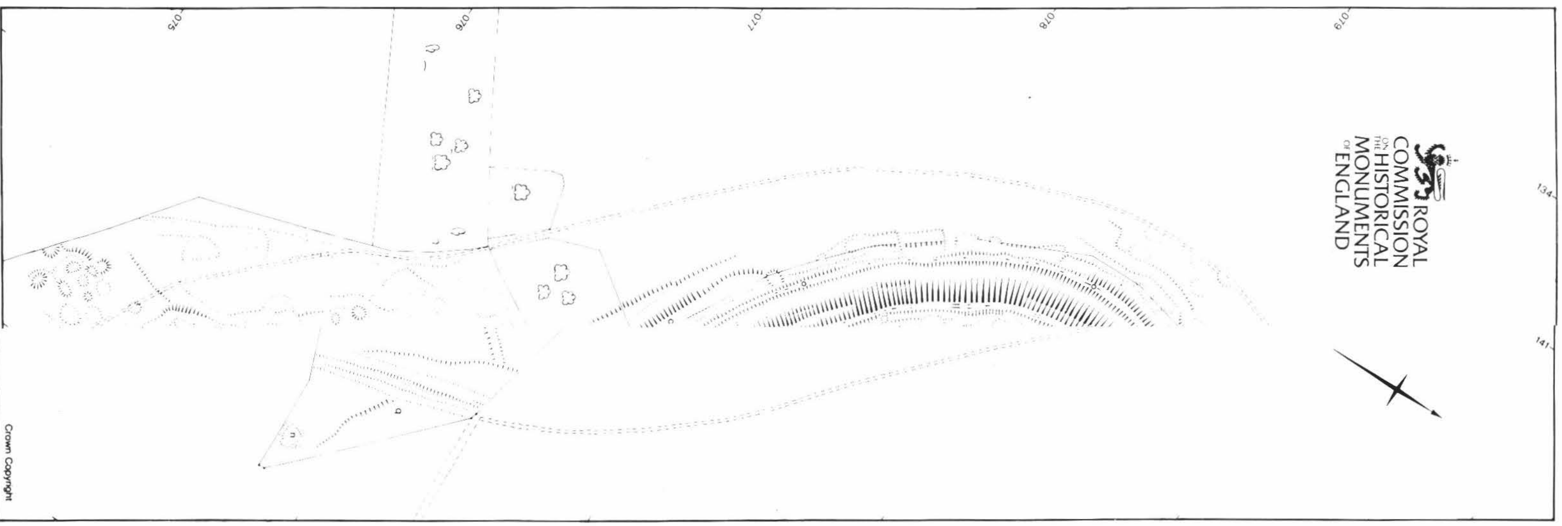

Fig. 1. Cissbury Ring and its immediate environs. Letters are referred to in the text.

rampart. A partially exposed concrete building foundation, 4 m by 4 m, located in the bottom of the ditch on the north-west is likely to have been associated with the 20th-century war-time activity that is known to have taken place on the hilltop.

The counterscarp bank survives up to 3 m wide and 1.5 m high. For most of its circuit it is a substantial bank, especially on the north and east, although on the western side of the hill it is badly mutilated. On the south-west the counterscarp bank mirrors the irregular nature of the rampart, due to the underlying flint mines.

Entrances

The main rampart is broken in four places, but only the gaps on the east and south represent original entrances. At both, the rampart terminals are considerably widened and raised, particularly so at the eastern entrance, thereby giving the impression of a slight inturn. Here there is a gap of 1.5 m between the two terminals, leaving only a narrow entrance that leads to a well-defined causeway across the outer ditch. At the southern entrance, the rampart ends are correspondingly thickened and rounded off and rise to a height of 2 m. Here, the inturn on the terminals is well-pronounced and a narrow gap 4 m wide is fronted by a well-defined causeway across the ditch. The ground between the rampart terminals at both entrances has been raised, which suggests that deliberate blocking has occurred at some time.

The counterscarp bank is absent in the vicinity of the entrances and it was suggested by the Toms that it formerly ran up to the entrance causeways, but had been entirely removed in order to refortify the main rampart at the entrances (Toms & Toms 1926, 63).

The interior

Much of the earthwork evidence for occupation and early land use in the interior of the hillfort has been considerably reduced, probably as a result of ploughing during or after World War Two. Most of the central and eastern portions are covered by the remains of a 'Celtic' field system consisting of a series of lynchets up to 2 m high, defining sub-rectangular plots 0.2 to 0.5 ha in extent. These are mostly orientated on an alignment parallel with the main axis of the hillfort, but also radially placed within the north-western end. Towards the west end of the interior the lynchets are much more irregular in appearance where the earlier industrial landscape was in the process of being reclaimed for agricultural use. Shorter, less clearly defined lengths of lynchetting running between the plots on both the eastern and western sides of the hillfort interior may be the result of later ploughing. These are, in turn, masked by traces of medieval ridge-and-furrow.

A double-lynchetted track (d), up to 9 m in width, originates from beneath the east terminal of the southern entrance and runs intermittently in a north-east to south-west direction for some 250 m before being truncated by circular hollows. There is a possible continuation of the trackway curving round towards the eastern gateway. The track appears to be integral with the prehistoric field system as lynchets are present on either side of its line. The course of the track has also been utilized as the route from the southern entrance through the interior to the later northern break, as depicted by Huggins in 1802 and subsequently (OS 1879; OS 1898; OS 1899 and OS 1974).

The central and eastern portions of the hillfort interior are honeycombed with circular depressions, varying in diameter from 0.8 m to 10 m, which extend eastwards from the flint mines in the south and west. On the crest of the hill there is a distinct grouping of larger, more rectilinear pits and platforms which range in diameter from 8 m to 10 m. The pits are, however, very shallow, averaging only 0.3 m deep. The grouping appears to post-date the latest phase of field system, with the exception of a rectangular hollow (e) which clearly pre-dates a lynchet; the latter alters direction in order to avoid the hollow. Several of the hollows also appear to overlie the line of the trackway.

There is a further distinct grouping of at least 11 closely spaced sub-rectangular depressions cut into the two prominent lynchets which run parallel to the rampart on the southeast. Each hollow measures about 11 m by 5 m and up to 1 m in depth and the grouping stretches for at least 300 m, up to the eastern entrance. Although no direct dating evidence is available, the form of these depressions is similar to that of Romano-British settlements recorded in Wessex, such as at Chisenbury Warren, Enford (Bowen & Fowler 1966, 52). A number of smaller sub-circular depressions to the south may be associated storage pits.

Two sub-rectangular enclosures were recorded just below the brow of the hill in the northern section of the fort. The largest of these (g) (Toms & Toms 1926, 56, fig. 1, III) is a double embanked enclosure, 50 m by 38 m in extent, with a medial

ditch up to 0.3 m in depth. There are at least five clearly defined rectangular subdivisions within the enclosure, with a possible causewayed entrance 3 m wide, on the southern side. The eastern side has been mutilated by two circular earthworks and a 6 m wide circular depression which cuts the north side (n) is almost certainly the remains of a 1939–45 gun pit (Worthing Museum Records, memo from K. J. Barton). The ditch on the west side clearly cuts a transverse lynchet. Although partially excavated by Pitt Rivers without any definite results (Lane Fox 1869a, 63), a Romano-British occupation date has been suggested for the enclosure, based on an assessment of surface ceramic assemblages (Toms & Toms 1926, 71).

The second enclosure (h) (Toms & Toms 1926, 56, fig. 1, II) lies some 50 m to the west of (g) and comprises a sub-rectangular ditch, 0.6 m deep which encloses an area measuring 18 m by 28 m. On the outer lip of the ditch is a bank, 3.5 m wide and 0.6 m high, which is badly denuded on its south-western side where it is cut by a number of pits. A break in the ditch on the north-west may possibly represent the original entrance. Within the centre of the enclosure is a sub-circular hollow, 1.1 m deep. The enclosure is certainly earlier than the field system as a field bank abuts it. However, it is uncertain whether it is of Neolithic date as suggested by Pitt Rivers (Lane Fox 1869a, 63).

Two further rectangular enclosures (f), up to 30 m in length and defined by banks 2 m wide by 0.4 m high, are situated between lynchets towards the western end of the Romano-British settlement complex. These are likely to represent a more substantial building than those of the hut scoops nearby.

Two parallel banks (i) lie just inside the eastern entrance; at best they are 0.4 m high and 3 m wide, separated by a shallow ditch 0.3 m deep. The Toms interpreted them as representing an enclosure which had been largely destroyed during the refurbishing of the main rampart (Toms & Toms 1926, 56, fig. 1, X).

Three possible ponds have been identified. The largest (j) is a deep circular pit 12 m in diameter and 1.3 m deep, with a surrounding low spread bank up to 3 m in width. Its dimensions and position suggest that it may be a reused flint mine shaft. Another flint mine shaft (k), 2 m deep, which may have been reused as a pond, lies 35 m to the northeast, while a much smaller rectangular embanked pond (l), 0.8 m deep with surrounding bank, is located just below the brow of the hill on the north.

A circular feature (m) in the south-western sector of the interior, 21 m in overall diameter, comprises a circular bank up to 3 m wide and 0.4 m high, surrounding an internal ditch 0.5 m deep. The feature clearly overlies a 'Celtic' field boundary, and a pit-like depression on the western side is indicative of an underlying flint mine. Previous interpretations have included a barrow or hut-platform (Aldsworth 1983, 198), although the sharp nature of the earthworks suggests much later use. The position of the earthwork on the west brow of the hill may be an indication of its former use, possibly as the site of the beacon mentioned by John Aubrey (see Historical and Archaeological Background), since it commands extensive views along the coastal plain.

THE ENVIRONS

The remnants of a 'Celtic' field system are represented by at least three lynchets running for up to 50 m on a south-west to north-east alignment outside the eastern gate of the hillfort. These are cut obliquely by a shallow ditch running from the outer defences in a south-easterly direction. Traces of lynchets or cultivation terraces were also observed on the slope of Vineyard Hill immediately to the east, below the southern rampart.

A very denuded bowl barrow (p), lying approximately 130 m southeast of the eastern entrance, measures 13 m in diameter by 0.1 m high. Its north-eastern corner has been obliterated by a farm track and a small circular depression at its centre is characteristic of early barrow investigation. The barrow appears to lie slightly below the projected line of the most easterly lynchet, although a definite stratigraphic relationship between the two features could not be established. A second bowl barrow, surveyed by the RCHME but immediately west of the area illustrated, was recorded at TQ 13360783. It is possible that two Early Bronze Age beakers known from Cissbury (Clarke 1970, 499) may have come from one or even from both barrows; their exact findspots are, however, unknown.

A section of holloway (q) was surveyed. It was depicted in 1808 as running from Sompting to Findon via the ridge (WSRO Add MS 407). Although it is now partially destroyed by an encroaching field, the route is clearly later than the adjacent lynchets, probably being of medieval or later date. A sub-circular feature similar in size to the Second World War gun-emplacements in the interior, lies close-by to the east.

CONCLUSION

The similarities in the key relationships identified by Herbert Toms and the recent RCHME survey is testimony to Toms' ability to analyse relationships on the basis of surface evidence alone. The RCHME survey confirms and builds on these observations by depicting the landscape of Cissbury as a whole. It illustrates for the first time the extent of flint mining activity on the hilltop, where in excess of 270 shafts are now recorded and provides an indication of the extent of post-extraction processing which took place *in situ*. In addition, the survey depicts how the Neolithic industrial landscape was reclaimed for agricultural use in later prehistory, as well as portraying the extent of Iron Age and Romano-British activity within the interior.

There is also numismatic evidence for the hillfort being used as a refuge mint under Aethelred II (Bell 1978, 66). Although current opinion still favours associating the coins with Cissbury (M. M. Archibald, pers. comm.), there is no conclusive evidence for this being identified with the post-Roman remodelling of the gateways.

SURVEY METHOD

The survey was carried out using a Wild TC 2000 Total Station theodolite and a GRE3 data logger. Main control points were established as a closed traverse around the main rampart of the hillfort and secondary control points added. Data was computed using RCHME Mathshop survey software out-putting to a Calcomp wide-bed plotter. Measurements of archaeological detail were then added to the survey framework, from the secondary control, by taped offsets.

Acknowledgements

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The field drawings, original inked plan and supporting archive material have been deposited in the National Monuments Record under the record numbers TQ 10 NW 1 and TQ 10 NW 4.

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SUSSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS 132 (1994), 33-51

Archaeological excavations at America Wood, Ashington, West Sussex

by Greg Priestley-Bell

with contributions by
Luke Barber
Mark Gardiner
Sue Hamilton
Wendy Wood

Excavations in advance of road construction at Ashington in West Sussex in 1993 produced evidence for Late Bronze Age and medieval activity. The earliest remains date from the 9th century BC *and include a small pit containing four LBA pottery vessels, a quern and a hammer stone. A large semi-circle of post-holes dated to this period may represent an associated enclosure. There is no evidence for subsequent activity on the site before the 12th century* AD *when a boundary ditch was dug, followed by further division of the area and possible quarrying. A substantial medieval building was constructed during the 12th century and stood on the site until its destruction in the late 13th or early 14th century.*

The Field Archaeology Unit (University College London) was commissioned in June 1993 by West Sussex County Council to undertake an excavation in advance of road construction within the designated route corridor of the A24 Ashington by pass. Remains of Bronze Age and medieval date had been identified during archaeological assessment undertaken by the Unit the previous month. The purpose of the excavation was to record the archaeology within the area to be destroyed by the road construction.

The site is located within the historic parish of Washington, the present parish of Ashington. It is situated to the east of the village on a small round-topped hill at about 44 m OD within an area of rough pasture immediately north-west of America Wood (TQ 134164) (Fig. 1). The underlying strata consisted of Weald Clay containing bands of sandstone and Paludina limestone. Two periods of activity were differentiated, late Bronze Age and medieval, and the latter was sub-divided into three phases.

PERIOD 1: LATE BRONZE AGE (Figs 3 & 6)

Features from this period comprised seven post-holes, one stake-hole, a small depression, a small pit, two short sections of possible truncated gully or ditch and a layer, possibly representing a buried former land surface. Post-holes 117, 123, 124, 351 and 358 lay in a curving pattern approximately 5 m apart and all had similar diameters of between 60 mm and 80 mm, though with depths varying between 90 mm and 380 mm. Late Bronze Age (LBA) pottery was found in all of these, except 351 which contained fire-cracked flint. One struck flint flake was recovered from both the post-holes 117 and 124. Pottery and/or flintwork was found in post-holes 87 and 197, and stake-hole 68.

Two broken halves of a block of heavily burnt Paludina limestone were discovered within a small depression (190) with a maximum diameter of 400 mm and a depth of 160 mm. A sandstone saddle quern and a quartzite hammer stone were found in pit 188 which had a maximum diameter of 1000 mm and a depth of 220 mm. The two fills of that feature also contained large quantities of LBA pottery representing four distinct, though incomplete vessels: a large jar or urn, two smaller jars and a bowl.

A layer (218) containing 5% fire-cracked flint and 5% burnt clay was located in one area of the excavation. It extended over an area of approximately 5 sq.m and had a depth of 20–30 mm. The layer produced one sherd of LBA pottery and a total of 42 pieces of struck flint, including 10 retouched tools, a core and a flint hammer stone. One small sherd of medieval pottery was also recovered. The material from this layer did not appear to be *in situ* and had apparently accumulated in slight depressions, probably through the action of surface run-off. Although the sherd of LBA pottery was abraded, the flintwork was predominantly in fairly fresh condition, suggesting that it had not been moved far. The survival of this layer may have been due to its position beneath a broad, low bank, identified in earlier fieldwork, which may have protected it from ploughing. The small sherd of medieval pottery

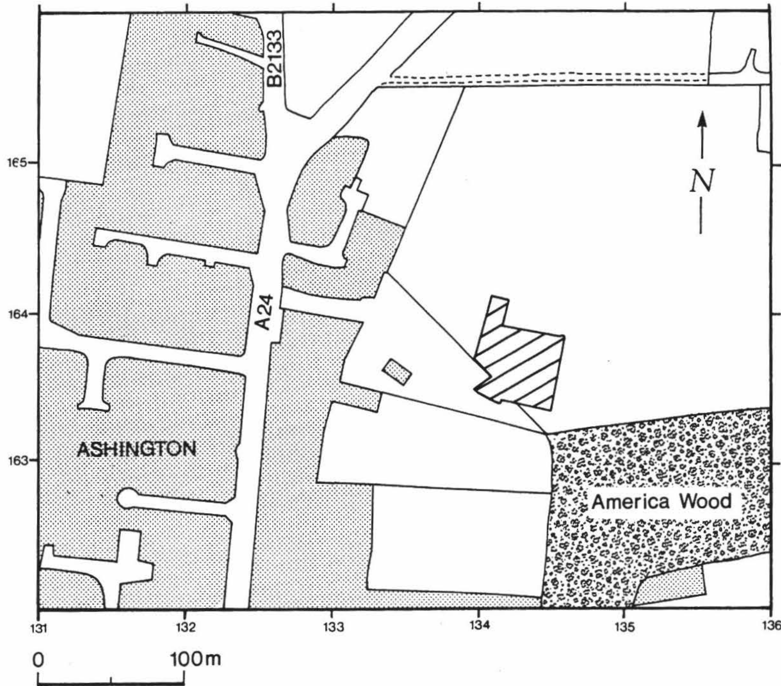


Fig. 1. Site location.

may have been introduced by worm action.

DISCUSSION

The arc of post-holes 117, 123, 124, 351 and possibly 358 resembles one side of a circular or oval enclosure. Unphased feature 116 (Fig. 4), a small depression, is possibly part of this arrangement, and though undated, post-holes 143 and 147 similarly may be related. The site had been truncated to a greater degree towards the south-east corner and further features in this area had almost certainly been destroyed.

The burnt limestone block from the small depression 190 has been identified as a probable rubber stone used in conjunction with the quern for processing food. The dimensions of the abraded surfaces of the block and the saddle quern from the nearby pit 188 correspond so closely that they suggest that they had been used together. Pit 188 may have had a domestic function; it may have been a cooking or rubbish pit.

Evidence of Bronze Age activity within the Weald is sparse and previously recorded prehistoric sites have usually been in the form of surface scatters of flintwork or barrows (burial mounds). Although LBA assemblages of pottery have come from elsewhere in Sussex, for example Yapton and Heathy Brow (see Bronze Age pottery report below), the Ashington assemblage is the first from the Weald. The results of studies of valley fill deposits and pollen suggest extensive use of the Weald in the Bronze Age involving the widespread clearance of woodland and the establishment of farmsteads and areas of arable agriculture (Gardiner 1990a, 42–3). Direct evidence for this however is completely lacking, giving particular significance to the results of the excavation at Ashington.

PERIOD 2: MEDIEVAL (Figs 4, 5 & 6)

PHASE 1 (12th century AD)

The earliest phase of medieval activity is represented by a ditch, an earthen layer and a single post-hole. An area of cobbling in the form of a spread of small pieces of Paludina limestone (164) probably dates from the end of the phase.

A ditch (8) of average width of 1.5 m and depth 0.5 m ran east–west across the excavated area. It contained a large quantity of mainly unabraded pottery suggesting that it may have been close to a settlement. It may be significant that the ditch ran

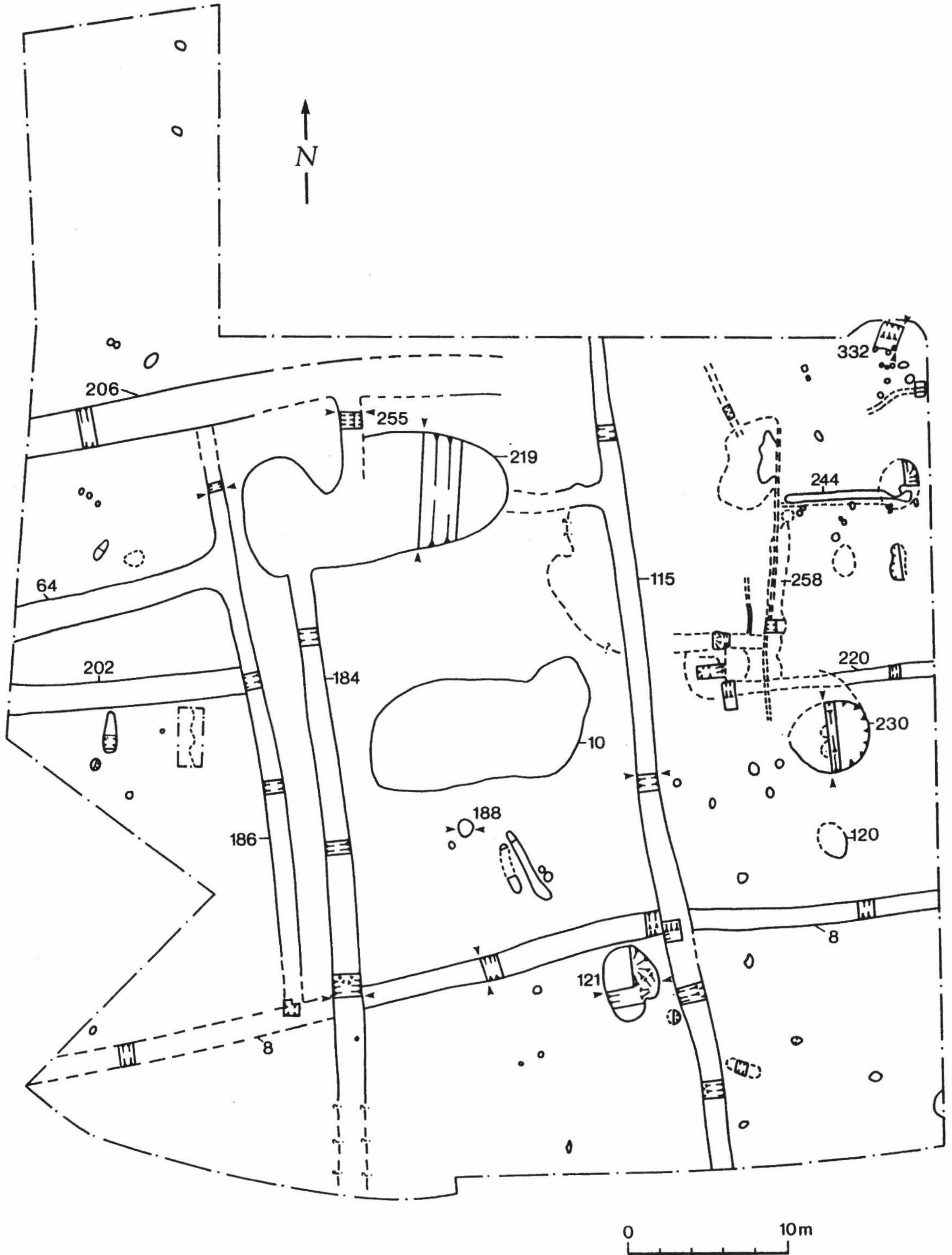


Fig. 2. Site plan. All features, phased and unphased. Arrows show the positions of illustrated sections.

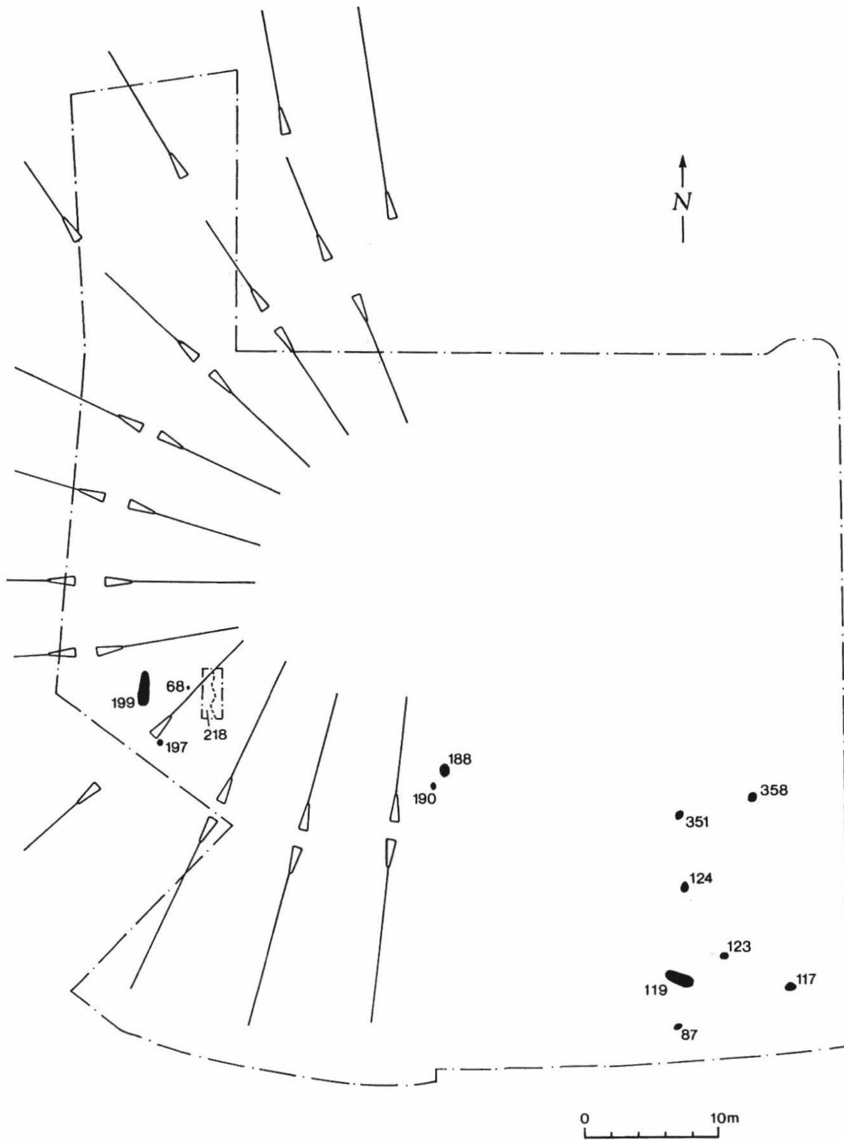


Fig. 3. Site plan. Period 1: Bronze Age. Overlying earthworks are shown by open hachures.

parallel with, and a few metres north of, a straight boundary shown on the Washington tithe map of 1839 (West Sussex Record Office TD/W137).

Layer 178 contained 12th-century pottery and possibly represents an earthen floor within a building. The spread of Paludina limestone cobbling may lie outside a doorway of the supposed building. The character of the building is considered further below.

PHASE 2 (13th century)

The features of the second phase of medieval activity are identified from the ceramic and stratigraphic evidence. Two parallel ditches of similar dimensions (115, 186) (Fig. 6) were dug. They lay at right angles to the earlier ditch (8), and one respected it and the other crossed it. These enclosed two large unphased medieval features (10, 219). These pits may have been dug as quarry workings: the Washington tithe map of 1839 gives the name 'Stone Pit Field' to the area in the eastern part of the site. The pits were subsequently allowed to silt up or were perhaps deliberately lined to create ponds. One purpose of the described ditches and unphased medieval ditches 184 and 206 (Fig. 6) may have been to

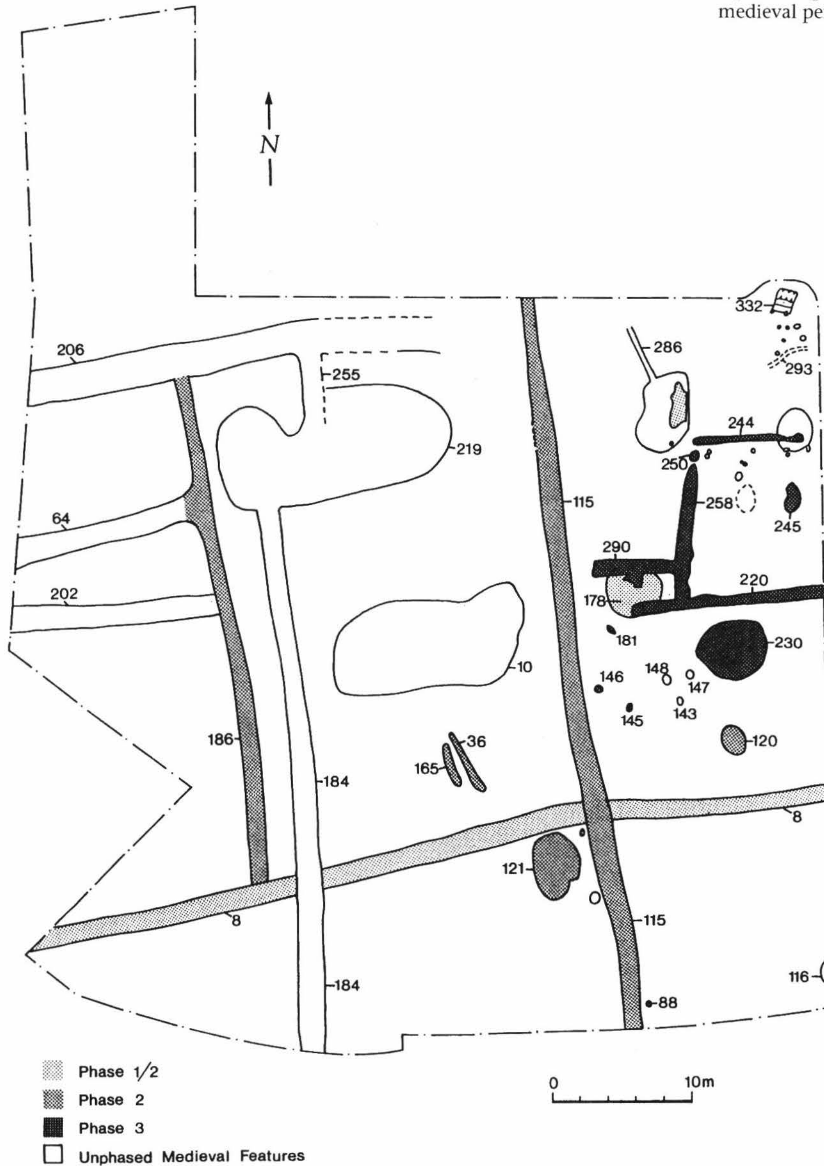


Fig. 4. Site plan. Period 2: medieval period.

channel water to the pond 219.

Two gullies (36, 165) and a shallow pit (121) (Fig. 6) also belong to this phase. They contained a large quantity of mainly unabraded pottery.

PHASE 3 (13th–14th century)

This phase is chiefly represented by contexts associated with the destruction of the building. The features comprise three probable robber trenches, five surface spreads of fragments of Paludina limestone or sandstone, and a discontinuous soil layer. Other, possibly unrelated, features consist of a large pit, a small pit and four post-holes.

The three robber trenches (220, 258, 290) measured between 850 and 1200 mm wide with depths varying between 120 and 240 mm and met at right angles (Fig. 5). Ditch 258 contained medieval pottery and appeared to be contemporary with ditch 220 with a fill containing 13th- to early 14th-century pottery. Ditch 290 was below context 177, a spread

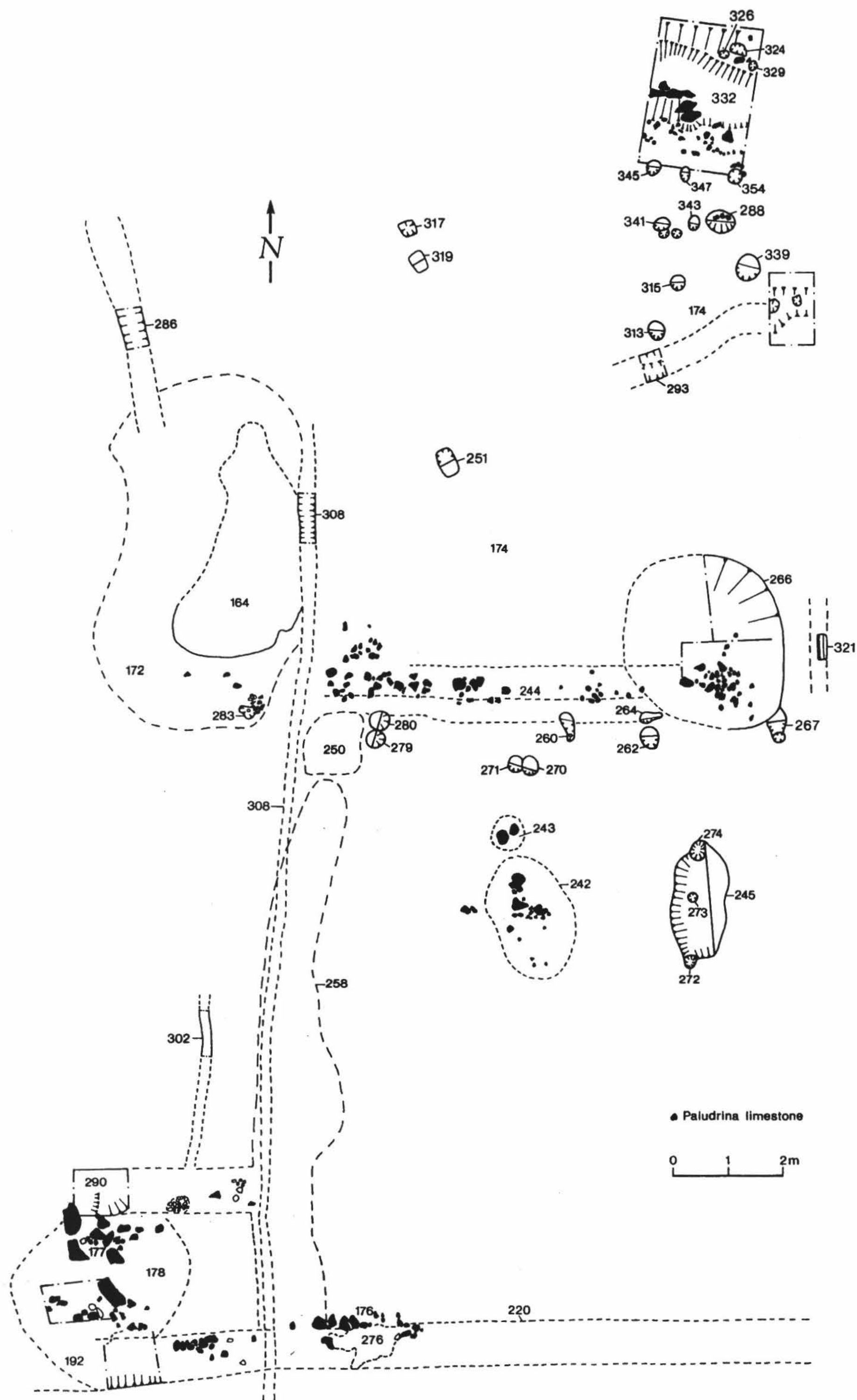


Fig. 5. Plan of medieval building.

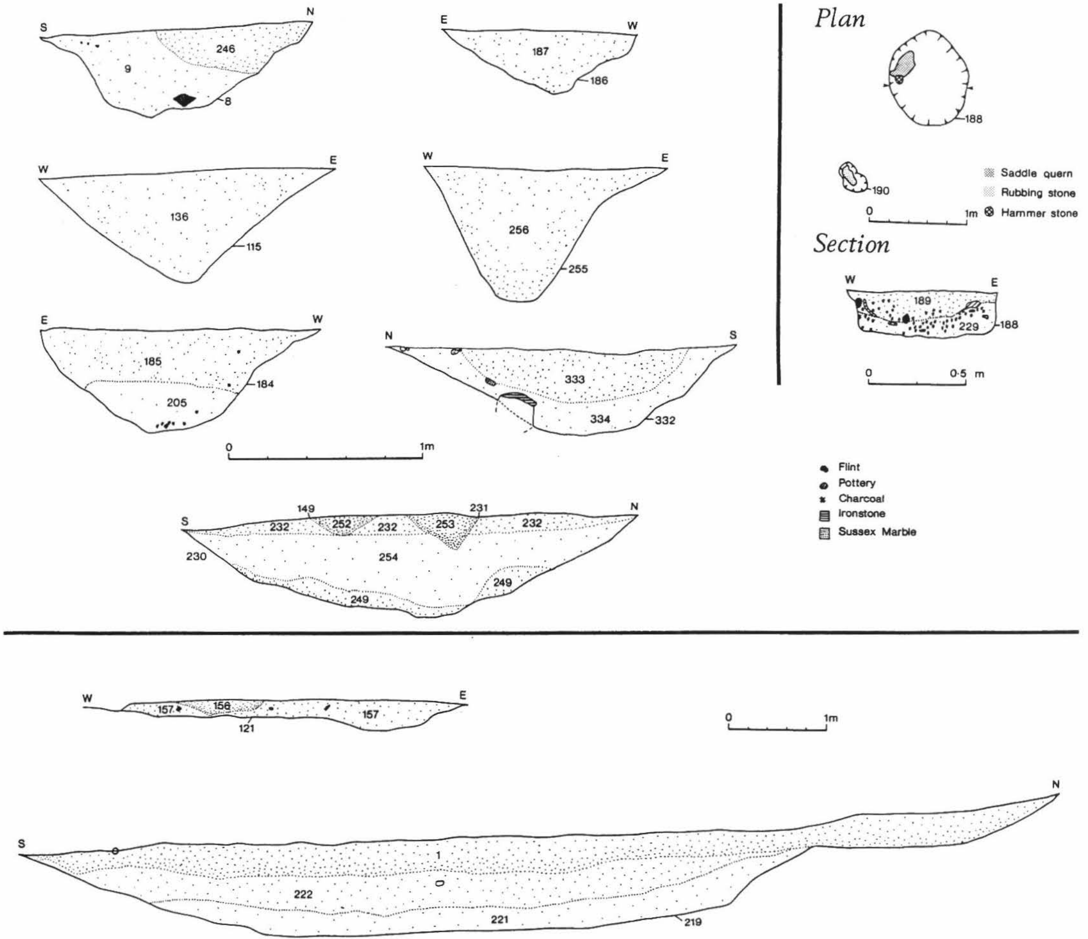


Fig. 6. Ditch and ponds sections, and plan and section of Bronze Age pit.

of limestone that produced 13th- to perhaps early 14th-century pottery.

Two spreads of Paludina limestone pieces (177, 244) produced late medieval pottery. Context 244 was a band of fragments running parallel with a line of unphased double post impressions. A spread of broken sandstone (276) was found above a patch of broken limestone fragments 176. The size of the stone fragments ranged between 30 and 200 mm, though much of the sandstone had been broken *in situ* and had originally been from larger pieces.

Two pits were found which could be securely dated to Phase 3. The large pit 230 had a diameter of between 4 m and 5 m and was 0.5 m deep. It had possibly been formed, like pits 10 and 219, by quarrying and contained a similar primary fill suggesting that it had been left open and had become a pond either by accident or intention. The other pit (245) lay within the building.

Discussion

The pattern of the three coeval trenches 220, 258 and 290 suggests that they were robber trenches that had followed the lines of two convergent walls and the outshut of a building. The spreads of limestone (176, 177) and the area of broken sandstone (276) were above or partially within the fill of the robber trenches and probably represented discarded building material. The linear spread of limestone 244 also marks the line of a robbed wall.

UNPHASED MEDIEVAL FEATURES

The large sub-rectangular pit (10) measuring approximately 7 m by 14 m had a maximum depth of 940 mm. The uppermost fill produced a few sherds of 12th- to 13th-century pottery, but these may have been residual. A second pit (219) was of similar size and measured 8 m by 17 m with a depth of 510 mm. It contained medieval pottery in its secondary fill (222).

Medieval pottery was found in the ditches 64 and 184, in the small gully 293 and in the small truncated ditch 286, though always in insufficient quantities to allow secure dating. Ditch 202 was not excavated, and no finds were discovered in the section cut across ditch 255. The ditch found in the north of the site (332) was 1.6 m wide, broader than many of the others. A flint scraper and a struck flint flake were found in the upper fill.

Discussion

The unphased ditches 64, 184, 202, 206, and 255 invariably intersect or meet the early and middle medieval ditches 8, 115 and 186 at near right angles. This may suggest that they were all related to the division of the area.

THE BUILDING (Fig. 5)

Elements of the building have been discussed under the phased description above and the evidence for its character may now be considered as a whole.

The evidence for the presence of a building in the first phase is inferential. The cobbled area (164) and the earthen floor (178) broadly fit the plan of the later structure. The unphased, paired post impressions (279, 280, 260, 264, 262, 267) may indicate the character of the early structure. These were between 30 mm and 80 mm deep and were formed by downward pressure of posts set at ground level. The diameters of the posts suggested by the depressions were between 180 mm and 330 mm.

The northern half of the building is marked by a band of Paludina limestone (244).

The absence of post-holes within the band suggests the use of a sill beam packed under with stone and not interrupted by principal posts. The feature dated to Phase 3 runs parallel to, and immediately north of, the unphased post depressions 279 etc.. The relationship, if any, between the linear spread of limestone 244 and the double post alignment 279 etc. is unclear. The post impressions may represent a lightly built internal wall from an early phase of construction subsequently replaced or augmented by a sill wall beside it on the same alignment. Alternatively, the line of post impressions could be associated with some form of fixture such as a fixed bench set against the southern face of the E–W wall represented by linear stone alignment 244.

The character of the rest of the northern part of the building is unclear. An unphased ditch (332) may indicate the northern limit of the structure. The areas of cobbling (164, 172) apparently mark the position of an entrance.

The gullies 220, 258 and 290 were formed by robbing out building stone on the southern half of the building and on the outshut to the west. The width of these, which exceeded 850 mm, suggests that that part of the building was constructed of Paludina limestone, numerous unworked fragments of which were discovered nearby. The double-post wall may have been retained within the building. Ceramic ridge and roof tiles, and fragments of a chimney pot were found in Phase 3 contexts associated with the dismantling of the building. A patch of burnt clay and sand marked the position of an unphased hearth (243), close to which lay a tumble of burnt stone (242).

The unphased alignment of double posts (279 etc.) and the two longest sections of robber trench form a rectangle measuring approximately 11 m by at least 8 m and, to judge by the length of robber trench 220, probably more. East of the cobbled area, and north of the post alignment, is an unphased area 174 of possible earthen floor measuring approximately 6 m by 9 m or more. The northern extent of context 174 is marked by a group of unphased post-holes 288, 313, 315, 339, 341 and 343 with no discernible alignment.

The likely overall dimensions of the building would have been approximately 17 m by at least 8 m on the assumption that trench 220 marks the southern extent of the building and that no lightly built structure existed beyond. The building was divided into two internal areas, one of 11 m by at least 8 m with an outshut to the west, and the other 6 m by at least 9 m with an access to the west across an exterior cobbled area. If correctly interpreted, the hearth (243) would have been within the larger enclosed area, 2 m south of the postulated internal wall, which might imply that the larger room was an open hall.

CONCLUSIONS

The evidence suggests therefore that a substantial building with a minimum width of 8 m was constructed in the 12th century. Having probably undergone one or more phases of rebuilding, the building was finally destroyed or dismantled in the

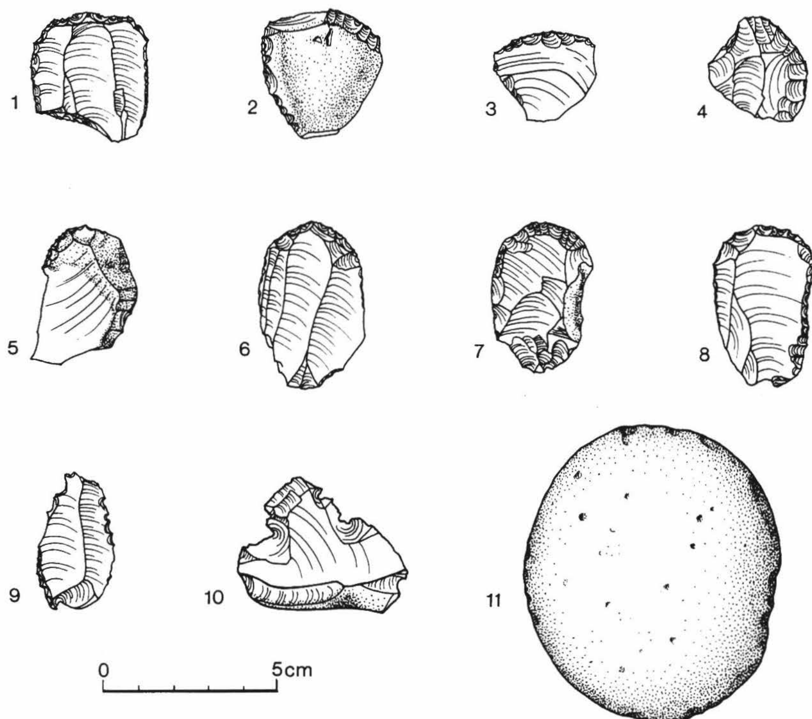


Fig. 7. Prehistoric flintwork: 1, 2 scrapers; 3, 4 side scrapers; 5–8 end scrapers; 9 possible projectile point; 10 double-notched flake; 11 hammer stone (X 1/2).

late 13th or perhaps early 14th century. The width indicates a structure of above vernacular status: later surviving vernacular 15th-century dwellings rarely exceed 6.5 m in width and are normally considered narrower. That inference is supported by the apparent use of stone for the wall construction. Unfortunately, the evidence is so fragmentary that it is impossible to make more detailed assumptions concerning the original lay-out and extent of the building.

THE FINDS

FLINTWORK (Fig. 7)

Three distinct types of flint are present within the assemblage as a whole:

1. A dark blue-grey/black very fine grained material with very few inclusions composing approximately 60% of the artefacts.

2. A mottled light grey/mid grey fine to slightly coarse grained material with many small and a few large inclusions composing approximately 30%.

3. A honey coloured slightly coarse grained flint with no inclusions making up the final 10%.

Less than 10% of the total assemblage is patinated. Some iron staining is present on the damaged dorsal ridges and edges of some of the material from context 1, the top-soil, and probably represents plough damage. With the exception of the patinated and the damaged material, the assemblage as a whole is in fairly fresh but not mint condition.

The worked flint is markedly different from the very cherty variety naturally present within the soil matrix and had apparently been brought on to the site from a source on the Downs. The absence of thermal fracture surfaces on the artefacts suggests that the raw material had been collected from fresh exposures in the chalk.

Waste flakes

The waste flakes are predominately of hard-hammer manufacture (see Table 2), with broad, unprepared and sometimes crushed platforms, and represent debitage associated with a flaking industry. Owing to the absence of blades and thinning flakes, and the lack of associated platform preparation, the small amount of soft-hammer material appears to be part of the same or a similar industry.

Scrapers

The scrapers consist of end-scrapers, side-scrapers and discoidal scrapers (included under Tool Type heading OS in Table 1), all three varieties being represented approximately equally. Both shallow and steep retouch is used on the distal and/or along one lateral edge; the one exception being the scraper from context 126 which has a very steep retouch on both the proximal and distal ends as well as shallow retouch on both lateral edges (Fig. 7:1).

Utilized flakes

The utilized flakes (see UF in Table 1), showed non-deliberate use-wear retouch on either one lateral edge or the distal end. Although only four examples of utilized flakes with no deliberate retouch were recovered, in many cases it can be difficult to identify positively use-wear and a higher proportion of waste flakes than has been identified may have been employed to fill other tool type requirements.

Projectile points

The possible projectile point from context 336 (see PP in Table 1), is a modified flake with dorsal surface retouch on the lateral edges and distal end (Fig. 7:9). The modification is limited to the margins and no thinning pressure-flaking is evident. Some modern damage to the proximal end is present.

Notched flakes

In two cases the notches have been produced by blows to the ventral surface margins and one to the dorsal. On one piece (Fig. 7:10), two notches have been used to isolate a section of working edge that shows signs of subsequently use-wear (see context 9, Table 3). Further deliberate retouch is present on only one notched flake (see context 60, Table 3).

Core

One small (25 mm by 30 mm) worked-out core was recovered from context 218. Flaking had been carried out in three directions; the final sequence would have produced hard-hammer flakes not larger that 18 mm by 14 mm. The unflaked surfaces are heavily patinated and suggest by their appearance that the core is a reworked older artefact. Considering the large quantity of fire-cracked flint present in some contexts, the apparent lack of worked-out cores might be explained by their re-use as 'pot-boilers'.

Hammer stone and hammer-stone fragments

The single hammer stone from context 218 is a broken flint fragment, the original surfaces of which are thermal fracture planes with a creamy white rind. Heavy battering and crushing, with associated flake scars, is present on three crests. The hammer-stone fragments (see HSF in Table 1), are struck flakes of rolled flint beach pebbles that have been produced spontaneously during knapping.

Conclusions

A comparison of the ratios of hard-hammer to soft-hammer within the waste flake and flake tool assemblages (9.8:1 and 6.7:1 respectively), produces sufficiently similar results to suggest that the soft hammer debitage is part of the same flaking industry as the hard hammer material. The low ratio of debitage to tools (4.55:1), and the lack of cores in any quantity, may be a consequence of some stage of the initial core reduction having taken place off-site and only selected flakes having been brought in. The assemblage, taken as a whole, therefore, seems to represent certain stages of a flaking industry producing for the most part short, thick hard-hammer flakes and a small proportion of soft hammer flakes as blanks for scrapers and for use as retouched tools.

The flintwork from stratified contexts 63 (also called 206), 68, 119, 124, 188, 199 and most interestingly 218 (Tables 1 & 3), was associated with Late Bronze Age pottery. The general nature of the industry represented in the assemblage and the range of tool types is not inconsistent with a Late Bronze Age date.

STONE ARTEFACTS (NON-FLINT)

Hammer stone (Fig. 7:11)

A quartzite beach pebble (86 by 74 by 28 mm) was recovered from the lower fill, context 229, of a small pit (188), which also contained Late Bronze Age pottery and struck flint (Table 1). Battering and pecking damage is present on all of its circumferential edge and is apparently a non-deliberate modification consistent with its use as a hard hammer stone for knapping flint. The term 'hard hammer stone' is used here to describe a percussor made of a material harder than flint. Quartzite beach pebbles are not naturally present within the soil matrix and this artefact therefore, would have been brought onto the site from perhaps a coeval or fossil beach exposure.

Rubber stone

A piece of Paludina limestone (225 by 120 by 110 mm), a variety of gastropod shelly limestone composed of a species of Viviparus, also known as Sussex marble, was recovered from the fill, context 191, of a small depression. A band of Paludina limestone occurs naturally within the substrata and the material may have been collected locally. The stone is heavily burnt and is broken into two refitting halves. Two of the broad faces are worn smooth by apparent abrasion, the maximum dimension of the affected areas being approximately 170 mm.

Saddle quern

A block of calcareous ripple-marked sandstone (383 by 202 by 68 mm), possibly Horsham Stone, was recovered from the lower fill (229), of a small pit (188). Some sandstones are present within the Weald Clay in the particular locality of the site and this block of material may have a local origin. One face of the artefact shows heavy abrasion that has produced the concave saddle-shaped profile characteristic of a quern of this type.

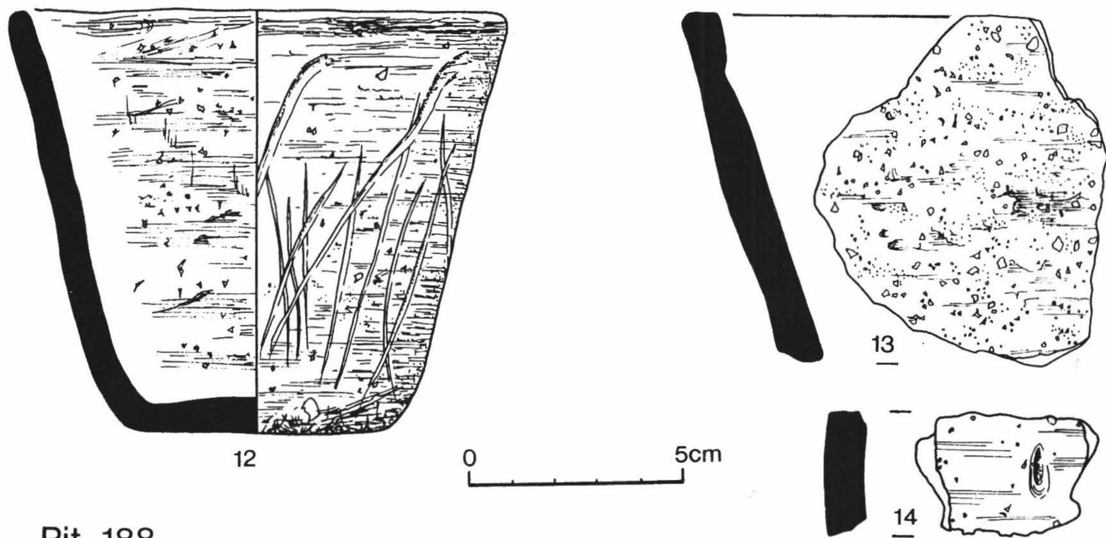
Conclusions

The hammer stone and saddle quern were both recovered from a sealed context (229) which also contained Late Bronze Age pottery. The rubber stone was from the fill of a small depression (190) less than 1 m away. The average width of the abraded surface of the quern is approximately 185 mm, which matches the maximum dimension, 170 mm, of the abraded areas of the rubber stone suggesting they were used in the same food-processing activity. Thus all three stone artefacts described above are likely to be part of the same assemblage and can be attributed to the Late Bronze Age period.

BRONZE AGE POTTERY By Sue Hamilton (Figs 8 & 9)

Introduction: The nature of the assemblage and its stratigraphic context

The prehistoric pottery from Ashington consisted of 109 sherds weighing 1.78 kg. This pottery comprises a single assemblage dating to the Late Bronze Age (LBA). The majority of sherds belong to a group of four vessels found together in a pit (188). The sherds from this pit are large, uneroded and conjoining across the two contexts comprising the pit fill (189, 229). This suggests that the group of vessels was placed or used together in the pit and subsequently fragmented *in situ*, rather than being a secondary deposit cleared into the pit after breakage and/or primary disposal elsewhere. The Bronze Age sherds recovered from two post-holes (132 (fill of 117), 124, 211 (fill of 197)), a stake-hole (68), a shallow circular feature (120), two lengths of ditch (63 (also called 206), 293) and two natural gullies (119, 240) are of the same fabrics as the pit group. These sherds are smaller and more eroded than those of the pit group,



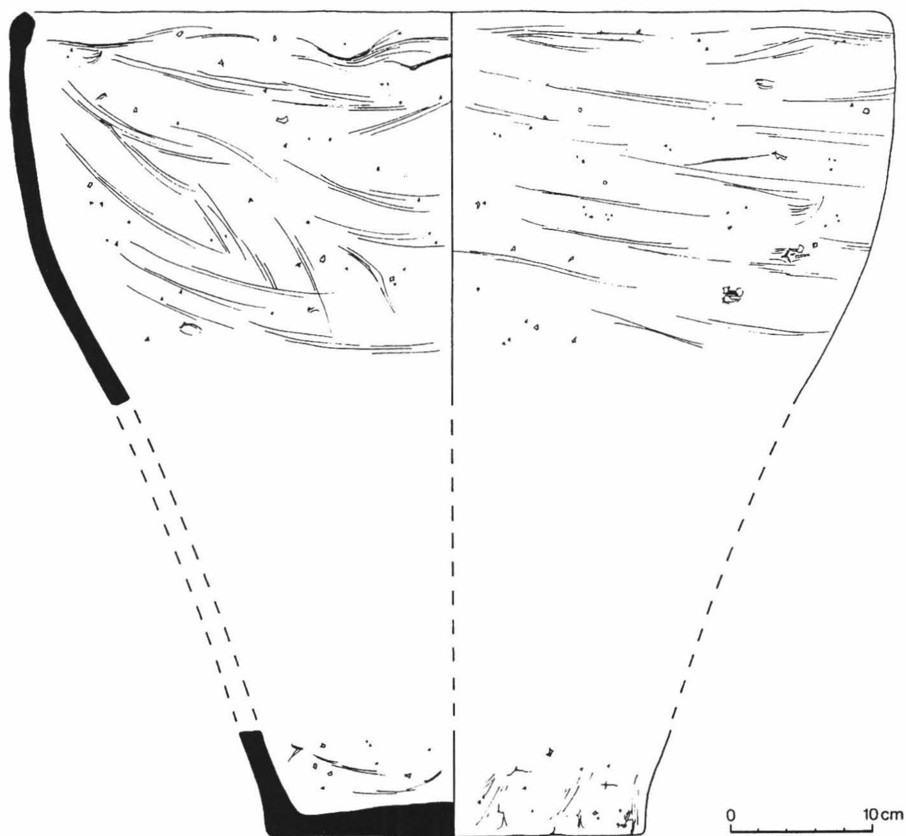


Fig. 8. Bronze Age pottery from pit 188 (all X 1/2, except 15 X 1/6).

indicating secondary deposition of pottery after breakage. These additional pit, post-hole and ditch features probably date to the same phase of site activity as that relating to the pit pottery group, since they lack other earlier or later sherds/ artefactual material.

A small quantity of burnt clay was additionally recovered from context 12 (see above). Burnt clay, one sherd of prehistoric pottery and one medieval sherd were recovered from context 218 ('the old land surface'). The dating of this old land surface is problematic since the presence of one small and abraded medieval sherd could indicate a medieval date, but the probability of 'contamination' cannot be excluded. A small quantity of residual BA pottery was also recovered from context 9, a ditch containing more substantial quantities of medieval pottery.

Ashington Bronze Age pottery is an interesting assemblage in its own right. This is the first LBA to be recovered from the Weald. Finds-spots for Sussex LBA have been restricted to the Downs and the West Sussex coastal plains but the fabrics associated with these assemblages indicate exploitation of the Weald for potting clays and temper (Hamilton 1993, chapter 13). The pit group is particularly important because it can be regarded as a 'closed' group of associated pottery (Collis 1977, 30). Such contexts remain rare for LBA pottery (Hamilton 1987, 53). The pit group is notable in having LBA pottery types in association with one large vessel more characteristic of Middle Bronze Age (MBA) assemblages.

Methodology

The pottery was analysed using the pottery recording system recommended by the Prehistoric Ceramics Research Group (1992). All sherds were assigned a fabric type, after macroscopic examination and the use of a binocular microscope (x20 power), and then counted and weighed to the nearest whole gram. Despite the fact that the majority of sherds related to virtually complete vessel profiles, for the purposes of quantification (Table 3) each diagnostic sherd was assigned a form type (Prehistoric Ceramics Research Group 1992, 16–18).

Fabric types

All inclusions/temper sizes given below are classified using the Wentworth sedimentary scale and descriptive terms (Krumbein & Pettijohn 1938, 30; Prehistoric Ceramics Research Group 1992, appendix 3) were used to standardize assessment of the quantity of inclusion/temper present in fabric matrices.

Fabric F1: coarse flint
Fabric F1 is tempered with coarse *c.* 2–5 mm calcined flint (pebble and granule size categories) fragments. This flint has a very common presence (5% density on sherd surfaces). Scattered medium sand grade (*c.* 0.25–0.5 mm) quartz is also present. The smallness of the quartz presence suggest that it is natural to the potting clay. Surfaces and cores are light orange to dark orange/red surface in colour, suggesting a patchy flow of air within generally oxidising firing conditions. The use of coil-building is evident, as is the use of finger pressing to bind the coils together. Sherd cross-sections measure *c.* 9 mm.

Fabric F2: scattered coarse flint
Rare (1% surface density) pebble size (*c.* 5 mm diameter) calcined flint inclusions are present together with occasional impressions/dark streaks from burnt out vegetation. Vessel fabrics are either light orange throughout or light grey throughout, suggesting that firing took place in a free-flowing oxidizing atmosphere. Vessels are coil-built, with the coil-joints still visible. One of the vessels has a grass wiped finish. Sherd cross-sections measure *c.* 8 mm.

Fabric F3: medium and fine flint
This fabric has a common presence of calcined flint inclusions (20% surface density). The flint falls within granule and very coarse sand size categories (mostly measuring *c.* 2 mm diameter but with a proportion measuring *c.* 1 mm diameter and under). Sherd exterior surfaces are oxidized dark red in colour, while sherd cores and interior surfaces are black. No evidence of forming technology remains. Sherd cross-sections measure *c.* 12 mm.

Fabric F4: fine flint
A moderate abundance (15% surface density) of fine (very coarse and medium sand size) calcined flint temper is present, with the majority of this measuring between 0.5 mm and 1 mm diameter. Moderately abundant fine sand size (< *c.* 0.25 mm diameter) dark mica flecks are also present and are natural to the potting clay. Evidence of coil-construction is present. Interior and exterior surfaces have been well smoothed such that none of the flint tempering protrudes above sherd wall surfaces. Sherd surfaces and cores are coloured an even dark grey suggesting kiln conditions in which the air flow was consistent and restricted. Sherd cross-sections measure *c.* 8 mm across.

Fabric G1: medium coarse grog
The fabric is dominated with moderately abundant (15% surface density) grog tempering. This grog occurs in pebble, granule and very coarse sand size categories, measuring between *c.* 4 mm and 1 mm in diameter. Very occasional calcined flint temper (*c.* 2 mm diameter) and shell inclusions (*c.* 5 mm diameter) are also present. Coil-joins and finger-pressing are evident. Exterior surfaces are lightly burnished. Sherd surfaces and cores are dark orange/red throughout, indicating an even flow of air during firing. Sherd cross-sections measure *c.* 11 mm across.

Fabric V1: vegetable inclusions
The fabric is silty with signs of moderately abundant (10% surface density) fired-out vegetable temper (grass and twigs). The fired-out matter has left impressions *c.* 4 mm long. Sherd surfaces and cores are light orange throughout. The vessel walls have been finger-pressed into shape. Sherd cross-sections measure *c.* 8 mm across.

Baked clay
Twenty-six pieces of baked clay were recovered from context 218 and one small pieces from context 124.

Clay/Temper sources

The flint tempering which dominates the majority of the Ashington fabrics would have been readily available from the Downs. The Weald Clay, the Gault Clay and the clays derived from the Lower Greeensand are all possible sources of the potting clay. The presence of mica flecks in Fabrics F4 and V1 suggests the use of clays derived from the mica-rich Lower Greensand. The other fabrics most likely relate to the exploitation of the more proximate Weald Clay. These suggested sources are of note in indicating coeval utilization of both Downland and Wealden zones for resource procurement.

Forms, decoration and technology

Introduction

Deliberate decoration is almost absent from the Ashington assemblage and jars rather than bowls are the main vessel form. The Ashington assemblage is essentially a LBA plain ware assemblage comprising straight-sided jars, convex-sided jars, one round-shouldered jar and one shouldered bowl with a flaring rim. In typology and lack of decoration there are similarities with the LBA Sussex assemblages from Yapton (Hamilton 1987), Bishopstone (Hamilton 1977), Heathy Brow (Hamilton 1982) and Thundersbarrow Hill (Rudling 1985 excavations, unpubl.). In Lowland Britain as a whole, post-Deverel Rimbury LBA plain ware assemblages have a date range of 1400–800 cal. BC (e.g. Rams Hill, Berkshire: Barrett 1975, fig. 3: 5, 13, 14; Cadbury Castle, Somerset phase 4: Alcock 1980, 664, fig. 5: 126A1, 2; Aldermaston Wharf, Berkshire: Bradley *et al.* 1980, pits 6 and 8, fig. 12: 18–24, fig. 14: 67–70; Coombe Hay, Bath: Barrett 1975, 103).

Quantification of form, decoration and technology elements

The elements of form, decoration and technology present in the LBA assemblage are listed in Table 5. Tabulation (Table 6) was based on the presence of diagnostic sherds. In tabulating both forming and finishing technology, and decoration, some sherds received more than one count due to the multiple presence of diagnostic elements.

Forming technology

All the vessel forms identified at Ashington have clear evidence of coil-joins and 'finger-dimpling' resulting from the use of finger pressing to bind coils and manipulate the vessel walls into shape. These forming processes are characteristic of MBA and earlier assemblages and continue to be used through the LBA. During the LBA, slab construction methods are additionally used (Hamilton 1987, 58), but there is no evidence for the use of slab construction at Ashington.

Straight-sided jars

Two straight-sided jars were recovered from Pit 188. One is a small, near-complete straight-sided jar with rounded rim, scattered coarse flint grits and a grass-wiped finish (Fig. 8: 12). The second is coarse flint-gritted and has a flat-topped, squared rim (Fig. 8: 13). This second jar is less complete and its size is difficult to determine. Straight-sided jars with flat-topped squared rims, and rounded rims are occasionally present in Sussex LBA assemblages by the beginning of the first millennium BC (e.g. Itford Hill settlement Deverel Rimbury settlement assemblage: Burstow & Holleyman 1957, fig. 22: A and Itford Hill cemetery assemblage: Hawkes 1935, figs 5:B, 9:E, F; Bishopstone LBA assemblage: Hamilton 1977, fig. 41: 8, 11, 12, 13). The Itford Hill settlement assemblage is associated with a 12th-century cal. BC date (Burstow and Holleyman 1957, 206–9), while the Plumpton Plain assemblage is associated with an 11th-century BC median winged axe (Barrett 1980, 311). At Bishopstone, straight-sided, flat-topped jars are associated with convex-sided jars which have a 1250–650 BC thermoluminescence date. Straight-sided jars are particularly characteristic of the East Sussex Heathy Brow coarse ware assemblage with a suggested 9/8th-century BC date (Hamilton 1993).

Grass-wiped finish: a distinctive feature of the near complete small jar is the grass-wiped finish (Fig. 8:12). Grass wiping is an occasional feature of LBA assemblages from Lowland Britain, for example at Knight's Farm, Berkshire (Bradley *et al.* 1980, 268). Grass wiping occurs in a limited number of Sussex LBA assemblages, namely the Bishopstone assemblage in association with flint-gritted fabrics (Hamilton 1977, fig. 40: 6), and similarly at Heathy Brow (Hamilton 1982, fig. 35: 61) and Highdown Hill (M. Gardiner 1988 excavations, unpubl.).

Convex jars with rounded rims

A very large grog-tempered convex urn/jar with a rounded, internally bevelled, slightly expanded rim (Fig. 8:15) was part of the Pit 188 group. In size it has comparisons with the large MBA Deverel Rimbury bucket urns. Additionally, one flint-gritted rim sherd from context 218 (Fig. 9:19) and one much eroded vegetable-tempered rim sherd from context 189 may belong to convex-sided jars (Fig. 9:16).

Ellison (1972, 112–13) recognized 'bag shaped profiles of

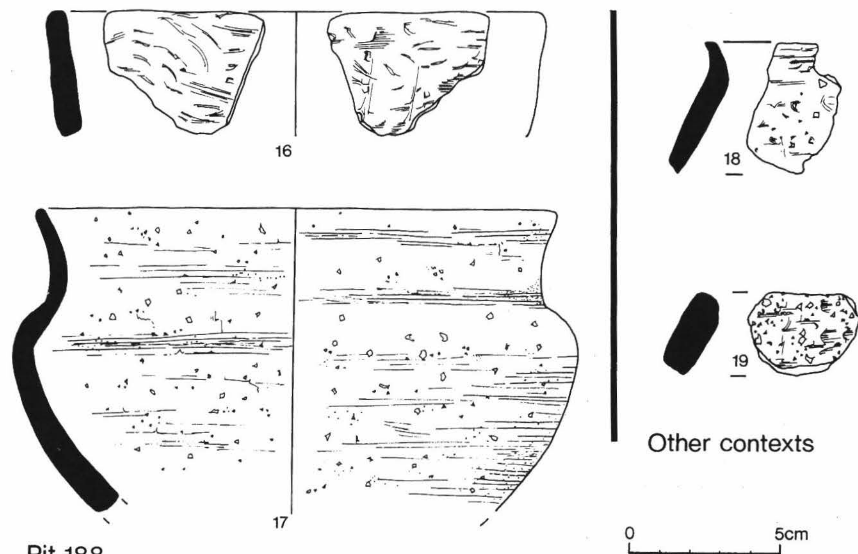


Fig. 9. Bronze Age pottery from pit 188 and other contexts (all X $^{1}/_{2}$).

more or less convex profile' as a Sussex variant within the Deverel Rimbury complex. These forms, together with round-shouldered forms, comprise the LBA post Deverel assemblage at Plumpton Plain B (Hawkes 1935, figs 8–10, 13). Plain convex jars, some with bevelled rims, occur alongside straight-sided jars in the Bishopstone LBA assemblage (Hamilton 1977, fig. 40: 1, 2, 6; see above). Plain convex jars, together with plain round-shouldered jars and plain shouldered bowls, occur at Yapton associated with a 9th–8th-century cal BC date (HAR-7038, Rudling 1987, 67). Given that small capacity vessels such as the associated straight-sided, small jar from Pit 188 are not a recognized component of Deverel Rimbury assemblages (Barrett 1980, fig. 2), the convex jars from Ashington are considered to be indicative of an early 1st-millennium BC date.

Finger-impressed sherds: two sherds in the same grog-tempered fabric as the jar (Fig. 8:15) each have a single finger impression (Fig. 8:14). A single row of finger-impressed decoration is characteristic of some of the later MBA Deverel Rimbury bucket urns (Ellison 1978, 34). The small number of sherds bearing finger impressions is not however great enough to clearly indicate decoration, as opposed to accidental impressions produced during the forming and finishing of the vessel.

Round-shouldered jar with up-turned rounded rim

Three small flint-gritted sherds from what appears to be a squat round-shouldered jar were recovered from context 124 (Fig. 9:18). In Lowland Britain this form emerges late within the 2nd millennium BC (e.g. South Cadbury, Somerset, phase 4: see above). In Sussex, the unstratified, mixed assemblages from Kingston Buci (Curwen 1931, figs 7–9) and Selsey (White 1934, fig. 2) include plain round-shouldered jars. The Yapton LBA assemblage provides a 9th- or 8th-century cal BC date (see above) for the Sussex occurrence of the form.

Angular bowl with flaring rounded rim

A single fine ware vessel was associated with the pottery group from Pit 188 (Fig. 9:17). The vessel is a burnished, fine flint-gritted shouldered bowl with a slightly flaring rim. Such finer ware bowls are present amongst the Kingston Buci LBA undecorated wares (Curwen 1931, figs 19, 22, 23) and in the Heathy Brow assemblage (Hamilton 1982, fig. 34: 51), but absent from the LBA plain wares from Highdown Hill (Wilson 1940; 1950) and Selsey (White 1934). In the Thames valley undecorated shouldered bowls with slightly flaring rims occur in assemblages which, on the basis of metalwork associations and radiocarbon dates, have 10th–8th century BC dates (Hamilton 1993). The Thames valley examples include Coombe Warren, Kingston Hill, Surrey (Field & Needham 1986, fig. 3: 9) and Beddington, Surrey (Adkins & Adkins 1983, 329).

Conclusions

Although the Ashington assemblage is small, it is an important assemblage because it contains a range of associated forms and is our first LBA group from the Weald. The very large straight-sided jar from Pit 188 suggests a partial continuance of MBA Deverel-Rimbury traditions. The combination of forms present is, however, characteristic of LBA plain ware assemblages throughout Lowland Britain. The most closely comparable assemblages are those from Yapton and Heathy Brow, although the hemispherical bowls in the Yapton assemblage are absent. The inclusions and tempers present in the Ashington pottery indicate an exploitation of both Downland (flint-tempering) and Wealden (Upper Greensand micaeous clays) resources.

MEDIEVAL POTTERY By Mark Gardiner (Fig. 10)

Introduction

Excavations in the Adur valley have enabled the identification of a provisional fabric-series for central Sussex medieval pottery (Barton & Holden 1977; Gardiner 1990b; Gardiner 1993). Much of the pottery from Ashington, though 7 km to the north-west of Steyning and Bramber has, however, few similarities with the ceramics from those towns. A re-examination of pottery from Bramber Castle, which extends from the 11th to 15th century, suggests that the contrast in ceramics is not a function of chronology: the settlement at Ashington was evidently drawing upon different sources for its supply of pottery.

There are few major sites in the central Sussex Weald with which the Ashington pottery might be compared. Only Stretham moated site (Henfield) has provided a large body of medieval ceramics. Though this material is unpublished, a preliminary examination by Dr Anthony Streeten has identified 26 fabrics. Sherds from this series were compared with pottery from Ashington, and some of the fabrics were grouped together and others added to create a provisional ceramic typology. For ease of reference Streeten's preliminary numbering of fabrics has been retained and, where necessary, augmented. The extent of the distribution of these fabrics has yet to be investigated, but the series is prefixed by the initials CSW, central Sussex Weald, to identify its initial find spots and possible area of manufacture. A total of 19 different fabrics were recognized at Ashington.

In the absence of external dating evidence, the pottery has been ordered using information that may be derived from the site itself. Few datable finds were discovered and few features were inter-cut. All the pottery from closed contexts (n=61) was classified by weight, sherd number and rim estimated vessel equivalent (rim eve) and the information entered into a database. The percentage by weight of each fabric was calculated for the whole assemblage. Pottery from the larger contexts was examined in detail and the representation of fabrics in each of these compared with the complete assemblage. The results are shown in Table 7.

The analysis is a crude form of seriation allowing the identification of a simple ceramic chronology. Fabrics CSW 2 and 26 have been placed at the beginning of the sequence, because of their similarity to the Saxo-Norman Adur Valley categories DH and DB respectively. Fabrics used for glazed jugs (CSW 12, 16, 17) are placed at the end. The remainder have been placed in general order between. Fabrics CSW 7, 28 and 29 show no clear trend. CSW 3 and 6 occur towards early part of the sequence and CSW 10 seems to be better represented in the middle.

The earliest medieval fabrics at Ashington are likely to date to the 12th century. Although both CSW 2 and 26 may extend back to the 10th century, they are found in conjunction with other sherds which cannot be so early. Adur Valley DB, which is very similar to CSW 26, is found at Bramber Castle in probable 12th-century layers in the trench KB2. This, the simple rim forms and the absence of glazed wares all support a 12th-century date. The rims are of two main types: simple club and underscored club. A category of middle medieval assemblages were identified which did not contain CSW 2 and 26 and these are a tentatively attributed to the later 12th and early 13th centuries. Finally, a group of contexts with a good proportion of glazed jugs of West Sussex Ware type were recognized and these are ascribed to the 13th century, though might continue into the subsequent century.

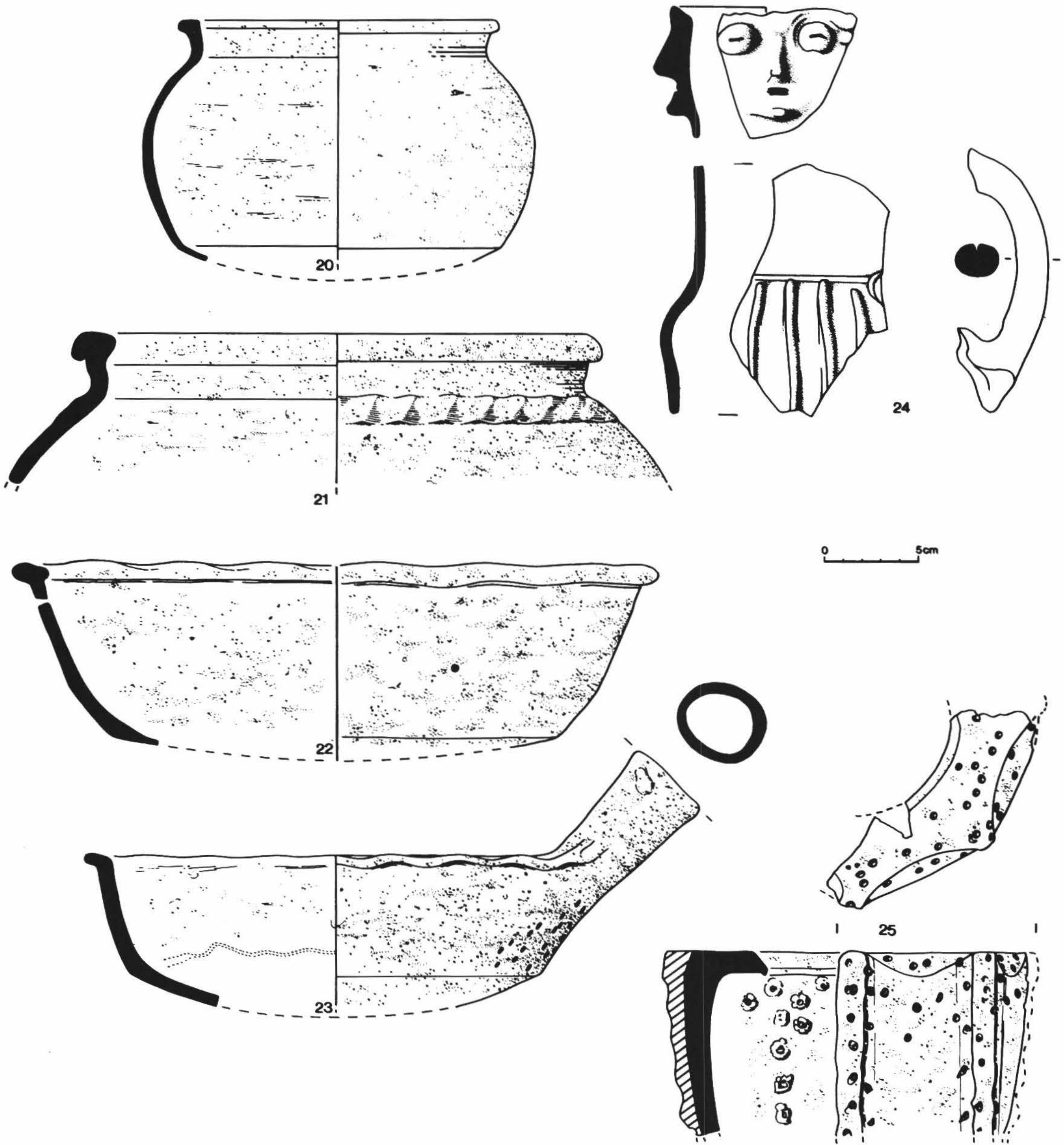


Fig. 10. Medieval pottery (20–24) and chimney pot (25) (all X 1/4).

Fabric descriptions
These broadly follow the descriptions given by Streeten in unpublished notes on the pottery from Stretham moated site. They have been elaborated and altered where necessary. The descriptions of fabrics not present at Ashington have been omitted.

Fabric 1 — Grey core with red-brown or grey surfaces. Soft, harsh texture with hackly fracture. Coarse angular white flint 0.5%, sparse sand and some mica.

Fabric 2 — Red or grey core, red-brown or grey surfaces. Soft, harsh texture with rough or hackly fracture. Coarse sub-angular sand 10%, sub-angular multi-coloured flint <0.5% mostly less than 1 mm. across. Same as Adur Valley DH.

Fabric 3 — Red or grey core with red or red-brown surfaces. Soft, harsh texture with rough fracture. Coarse sub-angular

sand 10–20%, sub-angular multi-coloured flint <0.1% up to 1 mm across.

Fabric 5 — Red-brown core and surfaces. Hard, harsh texture with rough fracture. Coarse sub-angular sand 10%, broken shell fragments 0.1–0.5%.

Fabric 6 — Grey core and red to red-brown surfaces. Some with sparse green glaze. Hard, harsh texture with rough fracture. Coarse sub-rounded sand 10–20%, some larger quartz inclusions up to 1.5 mm across, some mica.

20. Small, squat cooking pot with sooting externally on the base and half way up sides and internally at base. Context 9.

Fabric 7 — Grey core with buff pink surfaces. Hard, harsh texture with rough fracture. Coarse sub-rounded sand 10–20%, some larger quartz inclusions up to 1.5 mm across, no mica.

Fabric 8 — Grey core with red-brown surface and margins. Hard, harsh texture with rough fracture. Medium sand 2%, occasional iron ore pieces up to 3 mm across, occasional mica.

Fabric 9 — Grey core and margins with red surfaces. Sherds commonly bear green glaze. Hard, smooth texture with rough fracture. Fine grey or translucent sand 20%+.

Fabric 10 — Grey core and grey surfaces. Fairly hard, harsh texture with rough fracture. Sub-rounded clear, coarse sand >10%. Similar to or same as Adur Valley EC. Subsumes Streeten's fabric 11.

Fabric 12 — Pale grey core with pay grey or light buff surfaces. Hard, fairly smooth texture with rough fracture. Abundant grey medium sand.

Fabric 13 — Buff or pale grey core with light buff surface. Hard, fairly smooth texture with rough fracture. Abundant sub-angular fine sand, occasional grog flecks.

Fabric 14 — Pale grey or buff core, pale buff surfaces. Hard, slightly smooth surface with rough fracture. Fine to medium grey sand 10%, angular ironstone 0.1%, occasional grog.

Fabric 16 — Pale grey or buff core, pale buff surfaces. Hard, slightly harsh surface with rough fracture. Fine to medium grey sand 5%. Subsumes Streeten's fabrics 15 and 17.

24. Face-on-front jug. The exact relationship of the face and rim to the body of the pot cannot be established from the surviving pieces. This falls into Barton's 'Face-on-Collar' category, which he notes is the most common and occurs on West Sussex ware. He illustrates a similar piece from Selbourne Priory (Hants.). Both have eyes formed from horizontally slashed pellets and a moulded nose and chin (Barton 1979, 114).

Fabric 26 — Grey core with red-brown surfaces. Soft, fairly harsh texture with rough fracture. Sub-rounded limestone fragments 0.5–2% up to 2 mm across, frequent fine sand, occasional sub-angular flint, some mica dust.

Fabric 28 — Grey core with red-brown surfaces. Soft, harsh texture with rough fracture. Coarse sub-angular sand 10%+, common mica.

21. Storage vessel with applied horizontal band on shoulder. Context 1.

22. Bowl with faceted rim. Two holes have been drilled in the side of the pot, apparently after firing. Context 1.

23. Skillet with faceted rim and cylindrical handle. The body of the skillet is stabbed below the hand, presumably to ensure good firing at a point on the vessel which takes particular strain. The interior of the base and lower sides has a thin green glaze. Context 126.

Fabric 29 — Grey core with red-brown surfaces. Soft, harsh texture with rough fracture. Coarse sub-angular sand 10%+, grog up to 0.5 mm across 0.1%, some mica.

Fabric 30 — Grey core and surfaces. Soft, harsh texture with rough fracture. Medium to coarse sub-angular sand 10%+ with larger white sub-angular quartz inclusions up to 4 mm across.

Fabric 31 — Light orange-brown core and pale red-brown surfaces. Hard, slightly smooth texture with harsh fracture. Fine grey sand 20%+ with occasional larger quartz grains.

ROOFING MATERIALS By Mark Gardiner

The small quantities of roofing material recovered from the buildings at Ashington suggest that the site had been thoroughly stripped after it fell out of use. Broken fragments of Horsham Stone roofing slate were found across the line of the south wall of the hall and pieces of a glazed ridge tile were discovered in a gully (293) which ran across the line of the building. A fragment of ridge tile found in an assessment trench near Broadbridge Farm to the south of the excavation site was decorated with a coxcomb or 'crenellated' crest. Insufficient remains to show whether the stratified piece from the excavation was similarly finished. The two ridge tile pieces and the chimney pot (below) are the same light brown sandy fabric and are likely to come from a similar source.

CHIMNEY POT By Mark Gardiner (Fig. 10, no. 25)

Joining sherds from the upper part of a chimney pot were found towards the south end of the hall (context 192). The pot is in a sandy fabric similar, but slightly less coarse than CSW 29. The pot is of particular interest, because it does not fall into Dunning's Sussex type: fustrum-shaped pots narrowing to the top with small holes at the top and sides (Dunning 1961). The sides of the pot are nearly vertical, but widen slightly towards the top. Vertical applied bands with thumb impressions divide the side of the pot into eight parts. The top angle of the pot is faceted to emphasize the divisions and the whole surface was covered by stab-marks which penetrated the thickness of the walls. The aperture at the top was unusually large, measuring about 100 mm in diameter and had carefully shaped edges which sloped inwards. There is no sooting on the interior.

Though insufficient of the profile survives, the chimney pot may have been hour-glass shaped. This form is known from Bramber, Chichester and Pleshey Castle (Essex) (Barton 1971, 67, nos 9–11; Dunning 1970, 88). The top aperture on pots of this form is much wider for they lack the side vents common in the Sussex type (Dunning 1970, 88).

The Ashington pot is an important addition to the corpus

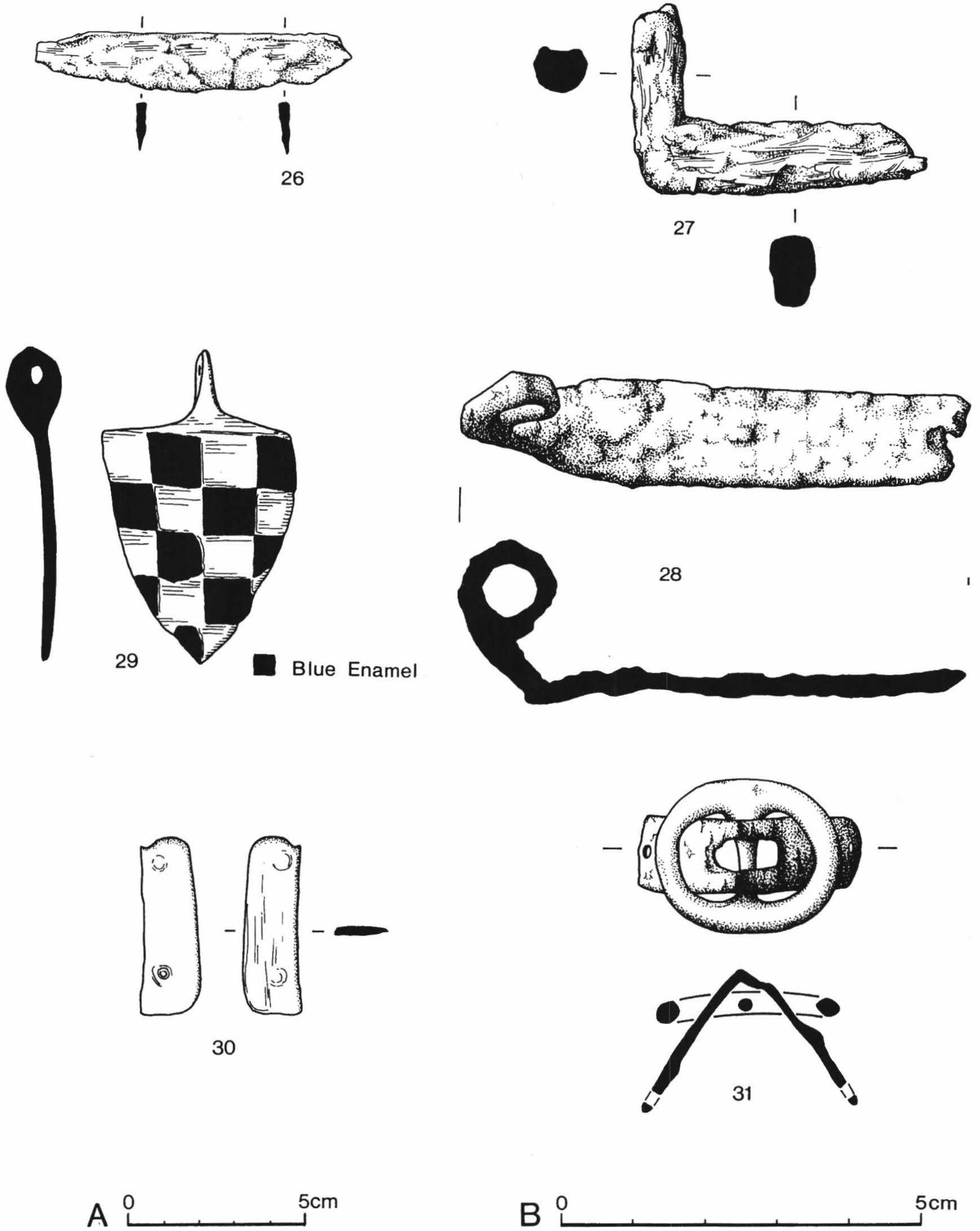


Fig. 11. Metalwork (26–8, X $^1/_2$: scale A; 29–31, X$^1/_1$, scale B).

of medieval chimney pots. Unlike most chimney pots which were purely utilitarian items, the pot shows a considerable element of design. The elements of the pot have been integrated into a clear form and, like finials and louvres; it was clearly intended for display.

METALWORK By Luke Barber (Fig. 11)

Iron objects

The excavations at Ashington produced 16 pieces of ironwork. most of these consisted of either nails or unidentifiable fragments from unstratified contexts. Of the 12 nails recovered, all have square- or rectangular-sectioned shanks with either rectangular or circular heads. All can be assigned tentatively to the medieval or early post-medieval periods. A full, detailed list of the ironwork forms part of the archive.

26. A knife blade of triangular section in three conjoining parts. The tip of the blade and tang have broken off. The overall surviving length of the blade is *c*. 84 mm. A similar example from the medieval village at Hangleton is dated to the 13th to 14th centuries (Holden 1963, fig. 36, no. 18). Context 157.

27, 28. Hinge pivot and hinge plate. The hinge pivot has parallels at both Bayham Abbey (Goodall 1983, fig. 45, nos. 17–18) and the 13th- to 14th-century sub-manor house at Alsted, Surrey (Goodall 1976, fig. 34, nos 2–3). The hinge plate is formed from a single piece of flat rectangular iron (now broken) bent upwards and narrowed at one end to form the hinge socket. Context 241.

Copper alloy

A full list of the seven objects and fragments of copper alloy found during the excavations forms part of the archive. Only selected pieces are described here.

29. Horse bridle decoration or heraldic pendent in the form of a shield, Museum of London Type I (Museum of London 1940, 118). Although the pendent has suffered severe corrosion during burial, the circular hole of the suspension loop is relatively unworn. The face of the pendent has the remains of a chequer board design (checquy) of azure enamelled squares. The spaces between have no signs of enamelling, inlay or gold and merely show the surface of the copper alloy below. If they were unfilled the pendent would have originally have appeared azure and or cheques, the arms of the Warenne family. 13th to 14th century. Context 1.

30. Part of a buckle plate or strap-end in sheet metal with traces of two iron attachment rivets. Context 164.

31. Oval buckle of the double-loop type with central bar. The loop/frame has an undecorated convex face. Although the pin is missing, the buckle plate with its aperture for the pin is present, though now splayed or bent out of shape. The plate has the remains of two 2 mm-diameter rivet holes to attach it to the leather strap. Mid 17th-century (Reid 1988, Fig. 36, no. 22). Context 244.

32. (Not illustrated.) Fragments of 1 mm-thick sheet from a metal vessel. The interior surface is smooth while the exterior face is rough, not having been finished to the same standard. A raised band or cordon 1 mm high and 3 mm wide runs around the exterior surface. Context 311.

SKELETAL MATERIAL By Wendy Wood

The bone assemblage from Ashington was sparse, numbering only 26 fragments in all. Many of these were small, eroded fragments of long bones less than 5 gms in weight, which could not be positively identified. The nature of this assemblage suggests poor preservation due to the acidic nature of the soil matrix. Bones were recovered by hand. Further details are preserved in the site archive.

Acknowledgements

The excavation and survey work was commissioned by West Sussex County Council. We are grateful to John Mills (West Sussex County Council) for his work in preparing the project briefs and managing the excavation for the County Council. The site archive (1995.2) will be stored in Horsham Museum. The place of deposition of the finds has yet to be determined.

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SUSSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS 132 (1994), 53–85

The Hassocks cemetery

by M. A. B. Lyne

A Roman and Early Saxon cemetery was destroyed by sand extraction at Stonepound, Hassocks during the last years of the 19th and the early years of this century. A large number of pots and other artifacts were recovered and many dispersed into private hands before J. R. Couchman intervened and arranged with the landowner for subsequent finds to go to the Sussex Archaeological Society. Couchman published some of the recovered items in 1925, but without drawings or significant discussion of the coarse pottery.

All known surviving vessels from the cemetery are reported on here, within Roman and Saxon fabric series, and sources and parallels discussed. The 153 Roman burial pots are subdivided and quantified under three successive dated groupings, in order to determine changes in pottery supply to the Hassocks area. The Roman coinage is also analysed and its pattern shown to support the Antonine/Early 3rd-century date arrived at for most of the pots.

Pottery from a pre-Flavian ?cremation hearth excavated in 1908 is also published for the first time, as is the Antonine pottery assemblage from a building on the west side of the cemetery. The form and fabric make-up of this assemblage is compared with that of the contemporary burial vessels and differences discussed.

The Saxon pots and ironwork are also described and discussed and some spearheads, now disintegrated, and a knife are drawn from an old photograph and classified for the first time.

INTRODUCTION

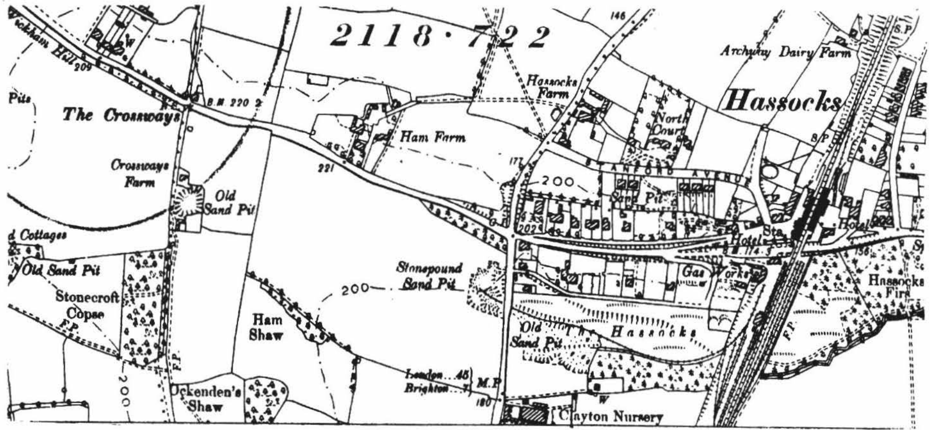
The cemetery was first discovered during the last decade of the 19th century, when a sandpit was opened on the west side of the road from Clayton to Burgess Hill, just south of the Stonepound crossroads (Fig. 1). Most of the discoveries from the earlier period of excavation, 1890–1905, were given to local collectors; some of them eventually found their way to Brighton museum as the Cunliffe, Griffiths and Campion bequests. They consisted almost entirely of Early Saxon cremation pots, but also include spearheads, shield-bosses, an axe and a scramasax knife from inhumations.

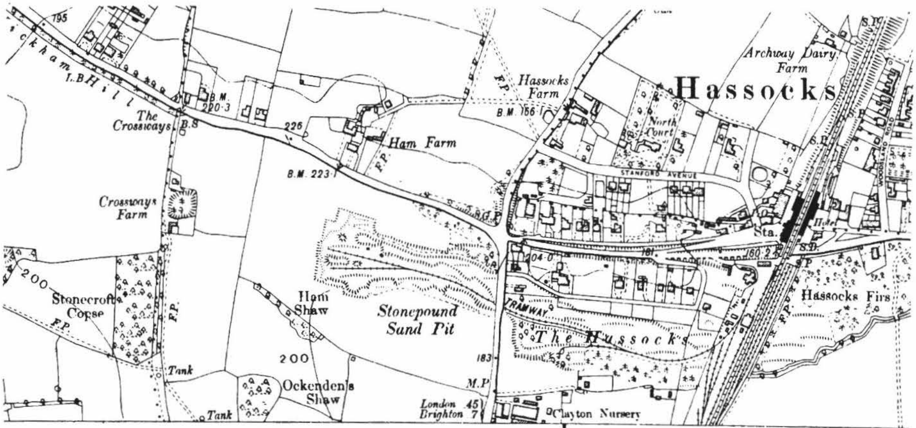
A few Roman vessels came to light during the following decade, but large numbers began to be discovered as the sand workers dug their way through the heart of the cemetery between 1914 and the late 1920s. This indicates that the main concentration of Roman burials lay immediately to the west of the Saxon cemetery. The rate of discovery declined after the 1920s, although vessels and fragments from shattered pots were still being discovered as late as the 1950s.

During the early years of sand extraction many of the more fragmentary pots were discarded by the workmen and others sold or given to local people. This practice largely ceased when J. E. Couchman, a member of the Sussex Archaeological Society, made an arrangement with Colonel W. H. Campion, the local landowner, for the Society to have authority to collect all finds and exhibit them at Barbican House museum in Lewes (Couchman 1925).

Most of the pots continued to be recovered by the workmen in an unscientific manner, but some more controlled excavation was carried out in December 1916 at a point described in the Barbican House accessions register as being ‘about 70 yards (63 metres) south of the Hurstpierpoint road and 10 yds east of Ham Farmhouse’. This work uncovered 12 pots of mainly Antonine and early 3rd-century date, including three groups of more than one vessel. Other burial groups were discovered on other occasions and were recovered and kept together.

As the sandpit was progressively enlarged, it passed beyond the limits of the cemetery into areas





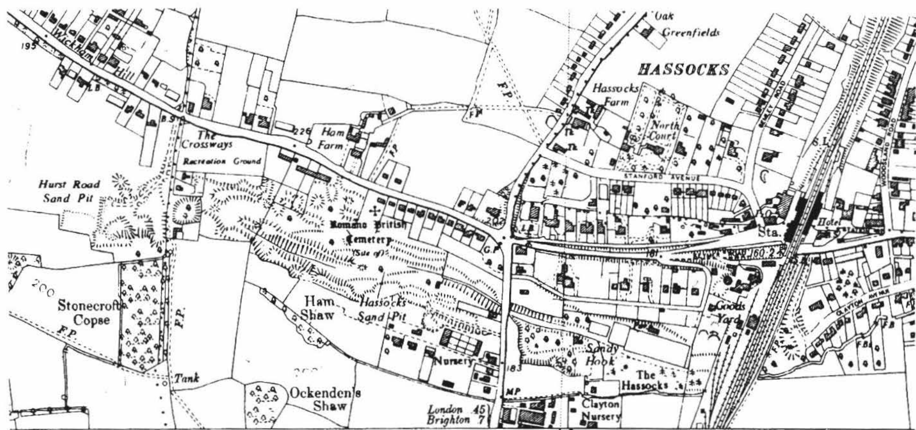


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Fig. 1. The growth of the Hassocks sandpit.

of Roman settlement to the west and north. Chance discoveries of pottery and other artifacts in the gardens of houses, as well as more recent excavations by the Field Archaeology Unit, have shown this occupation to be quite extensive. It took the form of a settlement at the intersection of the north/south Clayton Wickham–Portslade Roman road (Margary 1955, Road 154) and the east/west Sussex Greensand Way (Road 140), just west of the cemetery. Roadside occupation extended south and east from this intersection. The Sussex Greensand Way was exposed in the north face of the sandpit, as a 100 mm thick layer of stones overlain by 2nd- to 4th-century occupation debris from this ribbon development and was sectioned twice (Margary 1935, sections 21 & 22). Some of the pottery from the sandpit is very fragmentary and is perceived as coming from this occupation rather than from burials. As a result, it is disregarded in the catalogue of burial vessels.

THE ROMAN CEMETERY

THE POTTERY VESSELS

A total of 153 complete or partially complete Roman pots are known from the cemetery. They indicate that the bulk of the burials were of Antonine/early 3rd-century date, with just a few earlier and later ones being present. None of the burial vessels need be later than 350 in date. One hundred and twenty-seven of them are isolated pots, some of which are from dispersed grave groups and others from single pot burials. The other 28 pots are in the surviving 11 burial groups. Ten of the burial groups represent cremations, while the other probably comes from a late 3rd-century inhumation destroyed by acidic soil conditions.

Although most of these vessels were found under adverse conditions and in grave groups dispersed without record, they give valuable archaeological information as to the sources of pottery supply to the area at different phases of the Roman occupation. The following pottery fabrics were distinguished:

1A. Handmade East Sussex Ware with brown fired-clay grog, limonite, ironstone, chert and flint-grit inclusions (Green 1980). Some vessels have sparse surface vesicles where calcite and organic inclusions have been leached or burnt out. No production centres have been identified for certain, but wares of this type appeared shortly before the Roman invasion and were dominant on both downland occupation and Wealden iron-working sites east of the Adur until the mid-3rd century. From the mid-3rd century to the mid-4th century, the manufacture of East Sussex Ware was on a smaller scale, but there was a revival in the tradition after 370.

1B. Handmade fabric tempered with large, angular, up to 5 mm crushed red ironstone filler, and fired brown-black. The one pot in this fabric is very poorly potted and may be an example of household production.

1C. Tournette finished 'porridgy' fabric with chalk and up to 3 mm angular crushed tile inclusions. Pots in this fabric are rare and may have been made by the local tile/makers to serve specific requirements.

1D. Wheel-turned fabric with up to 1 mm orange grog filler. This corresponds with Monaghan's fabric G1/4 and has an Upchurch source in North Kent (Monaghan 1987).

2. Wheel-turned grey, sandy fabric with profuse black ironstone grits and colourless quartz sand. This is the main Hardham coarse fabric and can be subdivided into a coarse version with up to 2.00 mm grits (2A) and a fine one with up to 0.50 mm grits (2B). The presence of pot wasters or seconds at Hassocks may either indicate that local kilns were making pots in the Hardham tradition, or that trade in pot seconds for burial purposes came by road from Hardham.

3. Wheel-turned off-white/buff fabric with similar inclusions to those in Fabric 2. Vessels in this fabric usually have a blue-grey or blue-black surface wash and sherds can look very similar to sherds of Terra Nigra. As with Fabric 2, this fabric comes in a coarse version (3A), and a fine one (3B). It emanates, in part at least, from late 2nd-/early 3rd-century kilns recently discovered on the Chailey parish boundary, just south of the Sussex Greensand Way and only ten kilometres east of Hassocks (TQ390152). Fabric 3B was mainly used for beakers and other fine-ware forms.

4. Wheel-turned maroon to grey fabric fired polished black-brown. It is exceptionally fine, with very few visible inclusions, and the surface is often mica-dusted. This Hardham fabric was used mainly on necked and carinated bowls and comb-and-compass decorated 'London' ware Dr.37 bowl copies.

5A. Wheel-turned very fine orange fabric with minute black inclusions and a brown to maroon colour coat. This is the oxidized version of Fabric 4 and is mainly associated with rouletted copies of South Gaulish Samian forms (Winbolt 1927).

5B. Wheel-turned oxidized red fabric with a little coarse black and red ironstone and polished surfaces. This was used to make Samian copies and other fine-ware forms during the late 3rd and early 4th centuries and may originate at a kiln at Findon near Worthing. A large unpublished pottery assemblage from a deep well at Findon, dug by Dr Ratcliffe-Densham in 1971, includes a number of vessels in this and related fabrics as well as wasters and a lump of prepared potters' clay.

6. Very fine-sanded, wheel-turned grey ware with up to 0.30 mm. quartz sand and black or white slipped bands. Post-270 Alice Holt ware (Lyne & Jefferies 1979).

7. Thameside fine grey wares (Monaghan 1987).

8A. Dorset Black Burnished Ware (hereafter BB1). A black, soot-soaked and handmade fabric with profuse white quartz and occasional shale, gypsum and grog inclusions (Farrar 1973).

8B. Handmade imitation BB1 with brown flint-sand filler and occasional fired clay grog. This differs from genuine BB1 in its lack of white quartz sand and its tendency to fire brown. Quantities have been found at Beddingham and West Blatchington and indicate local production between *c.* 250 and 350 (Lyne forthcoming A).

9. Rough cream fabric with brown/black grits and sparse red inclusions. Probably a Wiggonholt fabric and used for flagons.

10. New Forest purple colour-coated grey fabric (Fulford 1975, Fabric 1A).

11. Nene Valley white-ware with brown-black colour-coat.

12. Trier dark colour-coated wares (Moselkeramik).

13. Colchester colour-coated wares (Hull 1963).

14. Miscellaneous grey-wares.

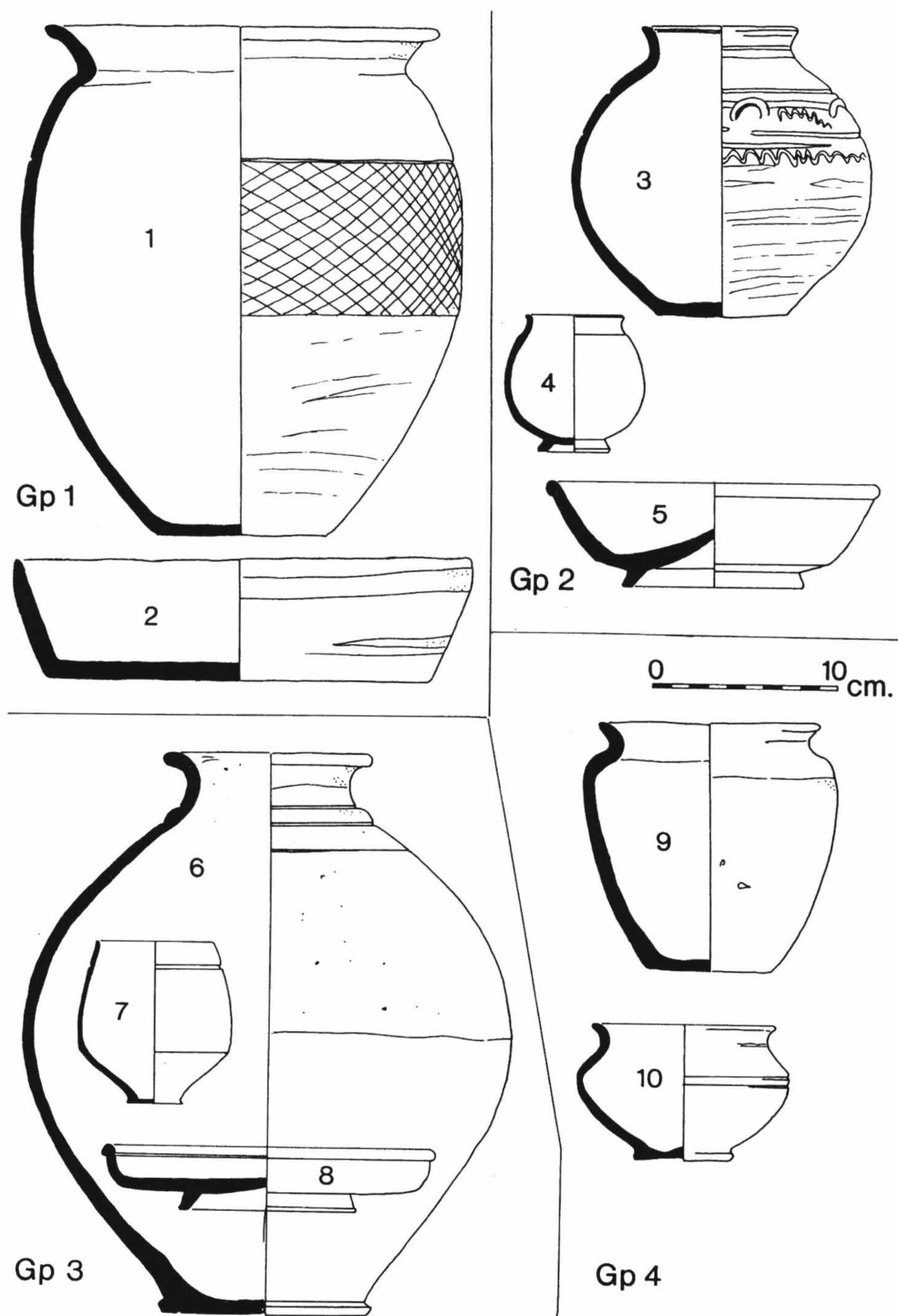


Fig. 2. Grave groups 1 to 4. Scale 1:4.

THE GRAVE GROUPS

All pot descriptions are followed by a museum accession number. These numbers refer to the Barbican House collections unless otherwise indicated.

Group 1 (Fig. 2)

1. Large, bulbous BB1 jar with obtuse lattice decoration on its girth. The scored line above the latticed band has been shown by Farrar to have appeared by AD 240 (Farrar 1981), whereas vessels with a girth diameter greater than that of the rim disappeared around AD 280 in favour of a more attenuated body form. Contained a cremation. (A008.1.201)

2. Large, straight-sided dish in tournette-finished black fabric burnished all over internally, and in irregular external bands. It is described as having been found inverted over the jar. (A008.1.283 in error for A008.1.201A)

Date. Mid-late 3rd century.

Group 2

3. Small, handmade jar of globular form with a constricted neck and with six simple lug-handles evenly spaced around its shoulder over the upper of two burnished zig-zag decorated bands. In Fabric 1C fired patchy orange-buff-black. (A008.1.269)

4. Small Central Gaulish Samian beaker of Dechelette 72 form. (A008.1.55)

5. Very worn Central Gaulish Samian Dr.31 platter from the Lezoux kilns, with nearly illegible stamp C..PV... Late Antonine. (A008.1.56)

Date. Late 2nd–early 3rd century.

This group of vessels was found in January 1915 and is significant because the unusual jar is dated by the accompanying Samian to the late 2nd century at the earliest, whereas had it had not been so accompanied, it would probably have been dated as immediately pre-Roman Iron Age.

Group 3

6. Large necked-and-cordoned storage jar in rough-surfaced grey Fabric 2A with perfunctory smoothing on its lower half. The form is similar to that of late 1st- and early 2nd-century Alice Holt Class 1A vessels (Lyne & Jefferies 1979) and suggests that this Hassocks pot is of similar date. (A008.1.272)

7. Small Nene Valley bag-beaker with brown-black colour-coat on white Fabric 11 (Howe *et al.* 1980, Type 44). Late 2nd century. (A008.1.270)

8. Central Gaulish Samian platter of Walters form 79 and stamped BORILLIOFF. Borillus is known to have worked at Lezoux between 150 and sometime after 170. (A008.1.54).

The platter contained a coin of Hadrian. Obv. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. Bust laureate and draped Rev. COS.III P.P. Fortuna seated l. with rudder on r., resting on globe before her feet, and cornucopia on l.

Date. Late 2nd century. (Found in 1915)

Group 4

9. Small, handmade jar in dirty-grey-brown Fabric 1A, fired patchy buff-grey/brown-black. (A008.1.276)

10. Small necked bowl in brownish-grey Fabric 2A, fired patchy pale to medium grey-black with rough surfaces and two grooves around girth. 2nd century. (A008.1.276.1)

Date. 2nd century. (Found in December 1916)

Group 5 (Fig. 3)

11. Large, handmade jar with a weak cavetto rim in grey-black Fabric 1A, fired black over the top of the vessel and base and orange-brown elsewhere. The shoulder and lower portion of the jar are horizontally facet burnished with vertical surface brushing in between. (A008.1.279)

12. Small, handmade jar with stubby everted rim, in dirty-grey Fabric 1A fired patchy orange-brown-black. (A008.1.279A). This small jar was found inside the larger one, together with cremated bone. It was recorded by Couchman as the only instance of this practice encountered by him in the cemetery. Date. ?3rd century. (Found in December 1916).

Group 6

13. Necked bowl in white Fabric 3B, fired flecky blue-grey with rough surface and watery-off-white slip bands on rim and body as shown. Contained cremation. (A008.1.292) Smaller vessels of this type are known from the early 3rd-century fills of the Beddingham villa cold plunge bath (Lyne forthcoming A).

14. Large East Gaulish Samian platter of Walters form 79 with central stamp consisting of concentric rings. Described as having been placed as a lid over the bowl. (A008.1.70)

15. Kimmeridge shale armlet of simple semi-circular cross-section. (A007.8.3) (Lawson 1976, Type 18. Dated 150–350)

16. Portion of copper alloy armlet with simple oval cross-section. (A007.8.2)

17. Copper alloy armlet of simple oval cross-section. (A007.8.1)

Date. Late 2nd–early 3rd century.

Group 7

18. Handmade necked jar in dirty-grey-brown Fabric 1A with three grooves roughly scored round its girth before firing. The jar is rather badly formed and has a weak upright rim. (40.3/1)

19. Small everted rim beaker in patchy grey-brown Fabric 2B with slightly pimply exterior. The form is similar to Upchurch form 3JG1 dated 130–200 (Monaghan 1987). (40.3/2)

20. Central Gaulish Dr.18/31 platter. The interior of the vessel is very scratched and worn and has an illegible central stamp. (40.3/3)

Date. Late 2nd–early 3rd century.

This burial group was found in the garden of Sandpit Cottage adjoining the sandpit, and given to the Sussex Archaeological Society in May 1940.

Group 8

21. Small handmade jar with everted rim, in patchy grey/ black/ brown Fabric 1A and with degenerate pedestal base. (51.13.2)

22. Tournette-finished biconical vessel in patchy pale/dark grey Fabric 2A with triple girth cordon and pedestal base. The rim was knocked off in antiquity. (51.13.1)

Date. Late 1st century.

This pot group was found by one of the sandpit labourers in 1921 and was given to the gardener at Hurstpierpoint College. It was described as having been found covered by part of a hypocaust tile.

Group 9 (Fig. 4)

23. Handmade necked jar with bead rim in dirty grey Fabric 1B fired patchy brown/black. The vessel is lopsided, has a vertical crack up one side and appears to be a waster. (Marlipins museum, Shoreham)

24 & 25. Two C.G. Samian platters of Walters form 79/80, showing considerable wear. Antonine. (Marlipins museum)

26. Oval copper alloy brooch of Glass Centre Boss type and lacking the pin. The central stone is missing but four smaller

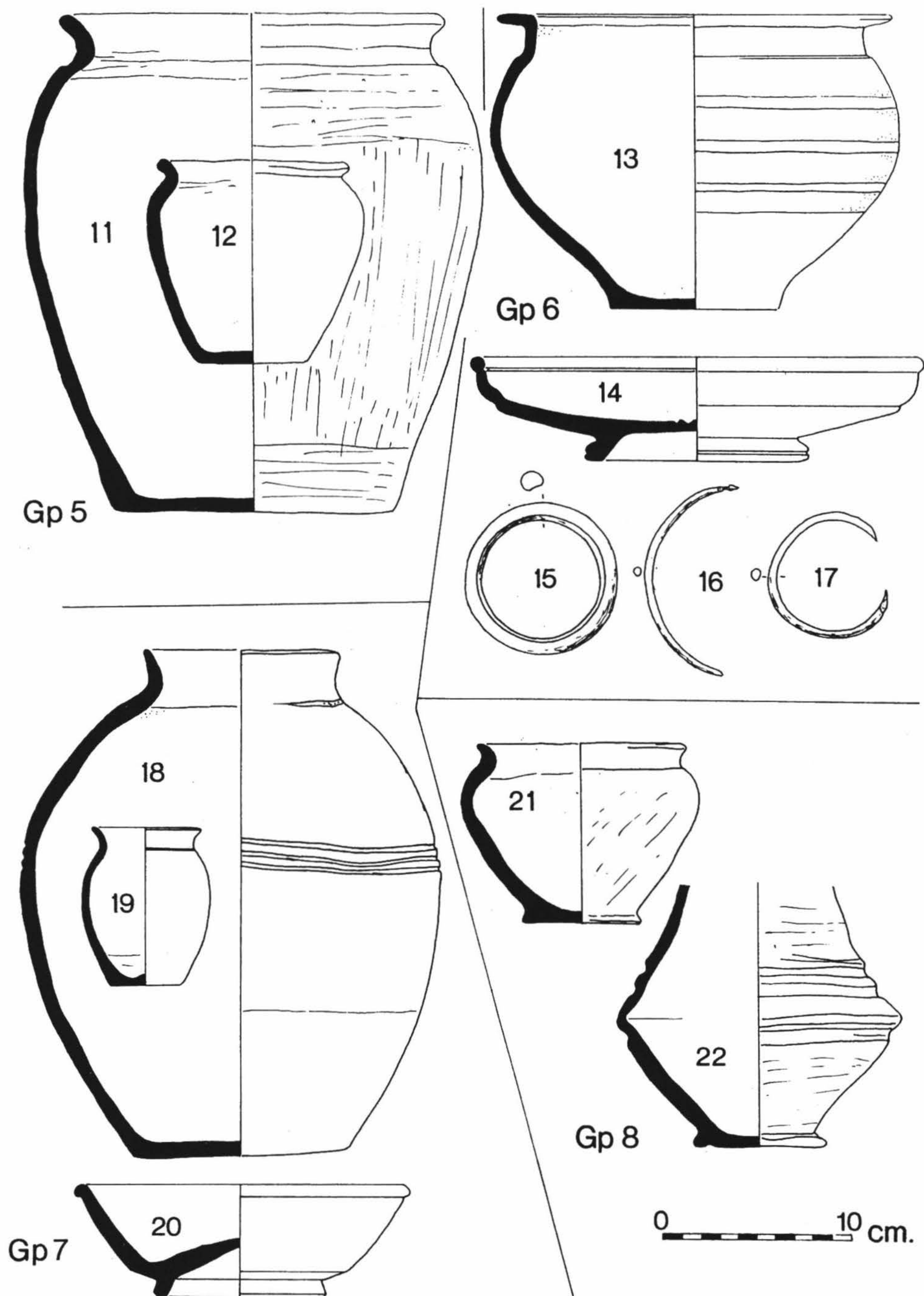
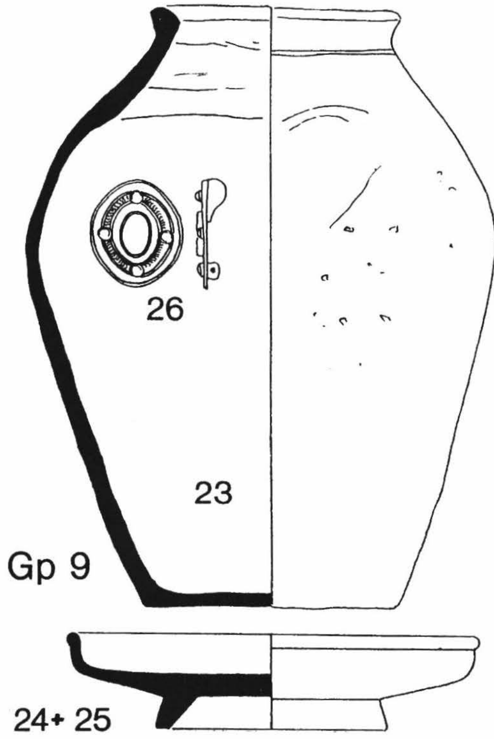
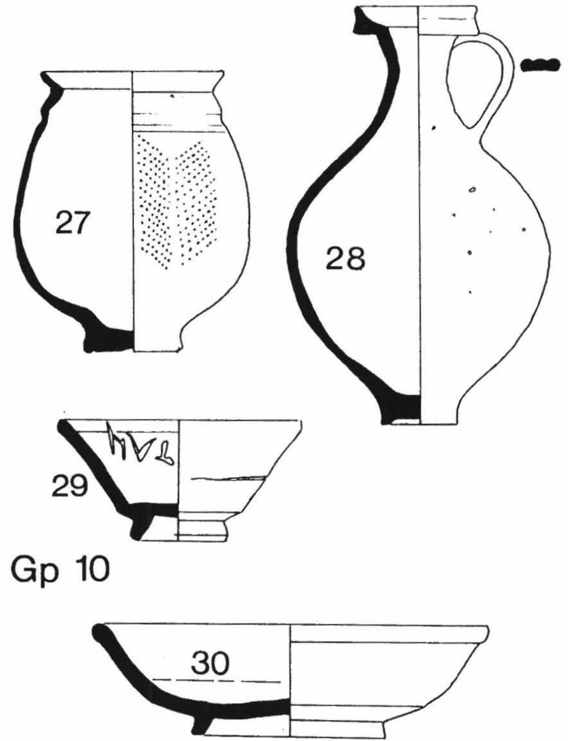


Fig. 3. Grave groups 5 to 8. Scale 1:4.





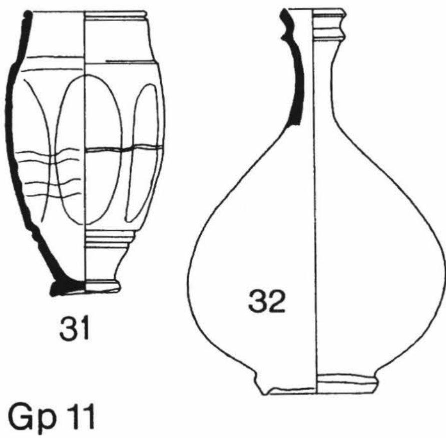


Fig. 4. Grave groups 9 to 11. Scale 1:4.

settings arranged around it still contain traces of blue frit. This is a particularly fine example of its genre and can be dated to the period 200–330. (Marlipins museum)
Date. Early 3rd century.

This grave group was handed in to Marlipins museum in 1988 by D. Sherborne F.S.A., having been given to his father by workmen many years previously.

Group 10 (Fig. 4)

27. Bag shaped poppy-head beaker with shoulder cordon and barbotine panels arranged herringbone style. In Fabric 3B with black surfaces. This pot contained charcoal and some cremated bone.
28. Small ring-necked flagon in very fine buff fabric with red grog inclusions and traces of red colour coat. With triple- reeded strap handle.
29. C.G. Samian Dr. 33 cup with CLA ISAV stamp. Late 2nd century.
30. Poor quality E.G. Samian Dr.18/31 platter in very pink fabric. Late 2nd–early 3rd century.
Date. Early 3rd century.

The pots are in private hands and have not been seen by the author, but were examined by C. Butler and O. Gilkes.

Group 11

31. New Forest purple colour-coat beaker of Fulford's type 27 (3rd grouping) and dated by him to *c.* 270–340 (Fulford 1975). (Brighton museum R.1588/1)
32. Findon kiln copy in Fabric 5B of Fulford's New Forest bottle type 8 or 9 (Fulford 1975). The New Forest version is dated 300–330. (R.1588/2)
Date. Early 4th century.

These vessels were found in February 1915. Their late date and lack of an accompanying cinerary urn suggests that they were probably associated with an inhumation.

MISCELLANEOUS POTS FROM UNRECORDED BURIAL GROUPS

Fabric 1A (Fig. 5)

Early forms

1. Large barrel-shaped jar with three finger-impressed cordons separating bands of scored arcaded decoration. Fired blotchy brown/grey. (A008.1.295) It is difficult to find parallels for this extraordinary vessel, but it may be a local version of the Cam.115D butt-beaker with the addition of finger-jabbed decoration characteristic of East Sussex Ware girth-cordoned jars.
Date. Latest Iron Age/Pre-Flavian.
2. Large pedestalled vessel fired patchy black/orange/grey. (47.2/3) A somewhat similar wheel-turned type was associated with the Neronian kilns at Chapel Street, Chichester (Down 1978, fig. 10-4, 8.10).
Date. Pre-Flavian.

Asham and derived jar forms

3. Large jar in 'porridgy' fabric, fired patchy grey/brown with herringbone burnished decoration around the neck. (A008.1.2100) This vessel was found with a Samian Dr.33 cup sitting in its mouth. The cup was stolen at the time of finding, later recovered, but is no longer extant in the museum collection.
Date. The Samian cup suggests a 2nd-century date.
4. Smaller vessel fired patchy black/buff-brown/grey with soapy texture. Stabbed girth cordon above burnished zig-zag line and diagonal line burnished cordon around neck. (A008.1.253)
Date. 1st/2nd century.

Probable Asham pot but lacking its rim. In soapy grey-black fabric with double neck cordon and slashed herringbone decoration around the girth. Contained a cremation. (A008.1.2121)
Date. 1st/2nd century.
5. Tiny Asham pot fired patchy orange/grey/black. (A008.1.220)
Date. 1st/2nd century.
6. Asham-derived form in grey-brown soapy fabric, fired patchy black/brown/grey with facet burnishing above girth and burnished lattice below. Contained cremation. (A008.1.2122)
Date. 2nd century.
7. Similar form in similar fabric. (A008.1.2120)
Date. 2nd century.

Everted and Cavetto-rimmed jar forms (Fig. 6)

8. Misshapen everted rim jar fired patchy black/brown with scratches on polished black exterior and cut graffito ..ARAIA.. on shoulder. (A008.1.208)
Date. The developed rim suggests an early to mid-3rd-century date.
9. Large cavetto-rimmed jar fired dirty-grey-black. There are two horizontal grooves around the girth and sand embedded in the underside of the base. Contained cremation. (A008.1.202)
Date. 180–300.
10. Similar, but smaller, vessel with four girth grooves. In dirty grey fabric fired patchy grey-black/brown/orange/buff. Contained cremation. (A008.1.212)
Date. 180–300.

The girth grooves on the above two vessels and 40.3/1 in Group 9 appear to be copying the girth cordons found on Alice Holt Class 1 jars and their Hardham/Wiggonholt imitations from the late 2nd century onwards.
11. Necked bowl/jar with spread foot, fired dark grey internally and patchy buff-brown/black externally. Acute lattice decoration around girth between horizontally burnished bands. (A008.1.281)
Date. 2nd century. (Found December 1916)
12. Pear-shaped jar with everted rim and burnished acute lattice below burnished band on shoulder. Fired patchy buff-orange/ black. (A008.1.211/1)
Date. 100–270.
13. Small everted-rim jar fired buff/brown/black with traces of burnished lattice. (57.16/2)
14. Small necked bowl/jar with everted rim, fired patchy buff/ black on exterior. (34.2.5) Found in a garden on the edge of the sandpit.
15. Small everted-rim jar in 'porridgy', black fabric. (A008.1.298)
Date. Small jars like the three above are very difficult to date and could belong to any time between AD 100 and 400.
16. Plain necked bowl in dirty-grey-black fabric fired patchy black/buff/brown. Contained cremation. (A008.1.280)
Date. 100–270. (Found December 1916)

Dishes

17. Imitation Gallo-Belgic platter in black fabric with orange blotches. (A008.1.215)
Date. 43–120.
18. Dish with offset on the exterior of its wall in the manner

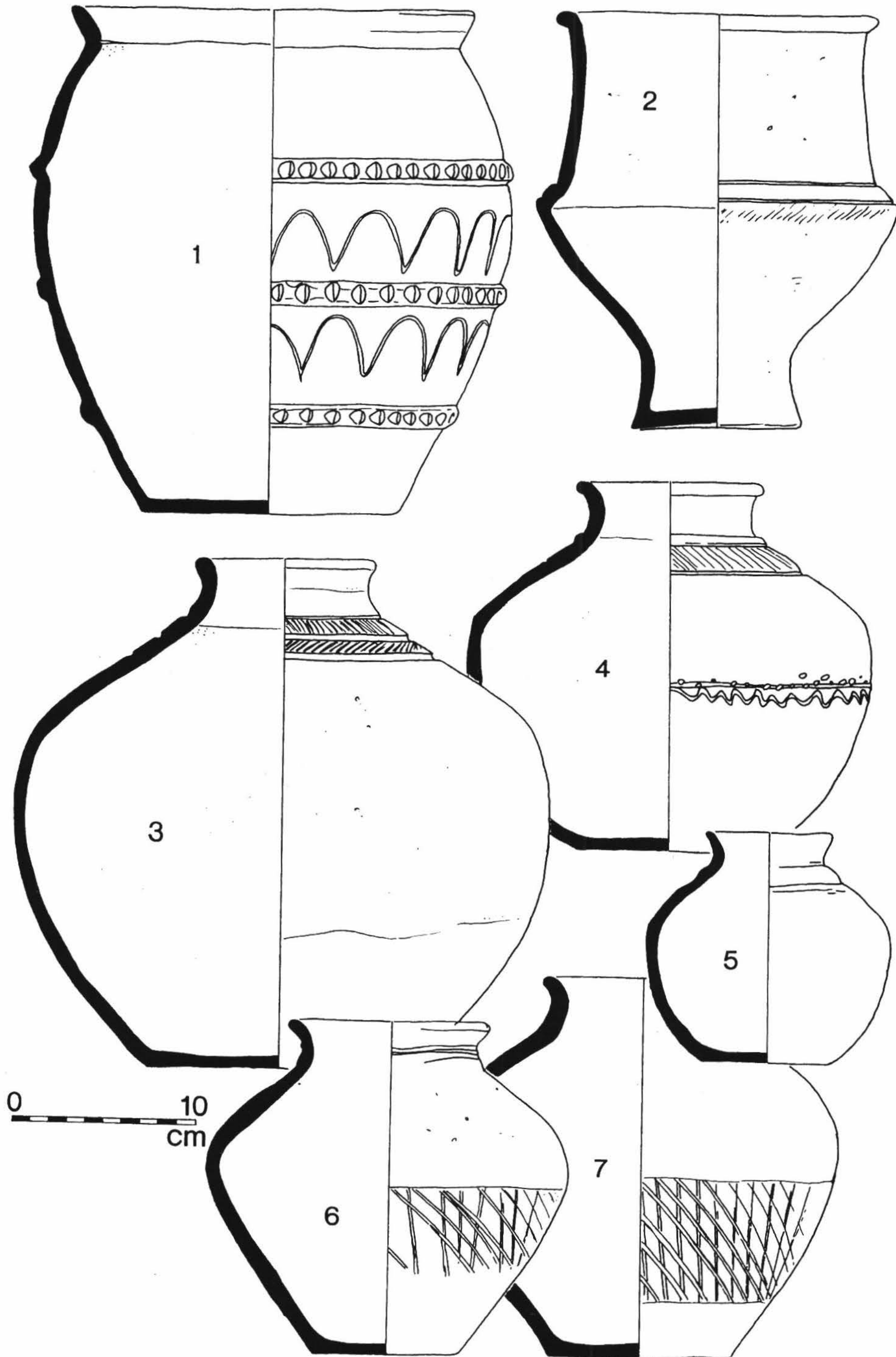


Fig. 5. Roman pots 1 to 7 from the cemetery. Scale 1:4.

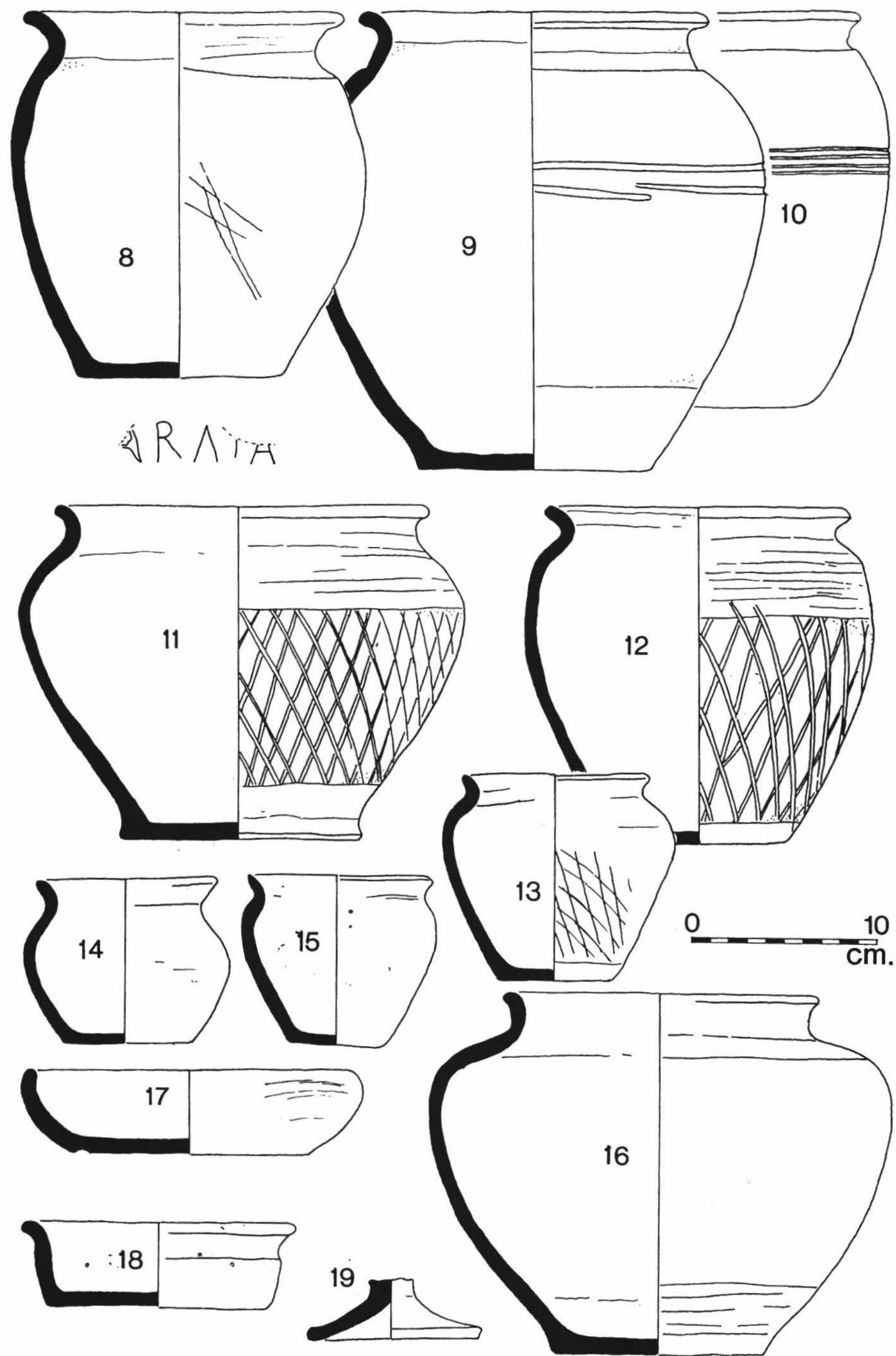


Fig. 6. Roman pots 8 to 19 from the cemetery. Scale 1:4.

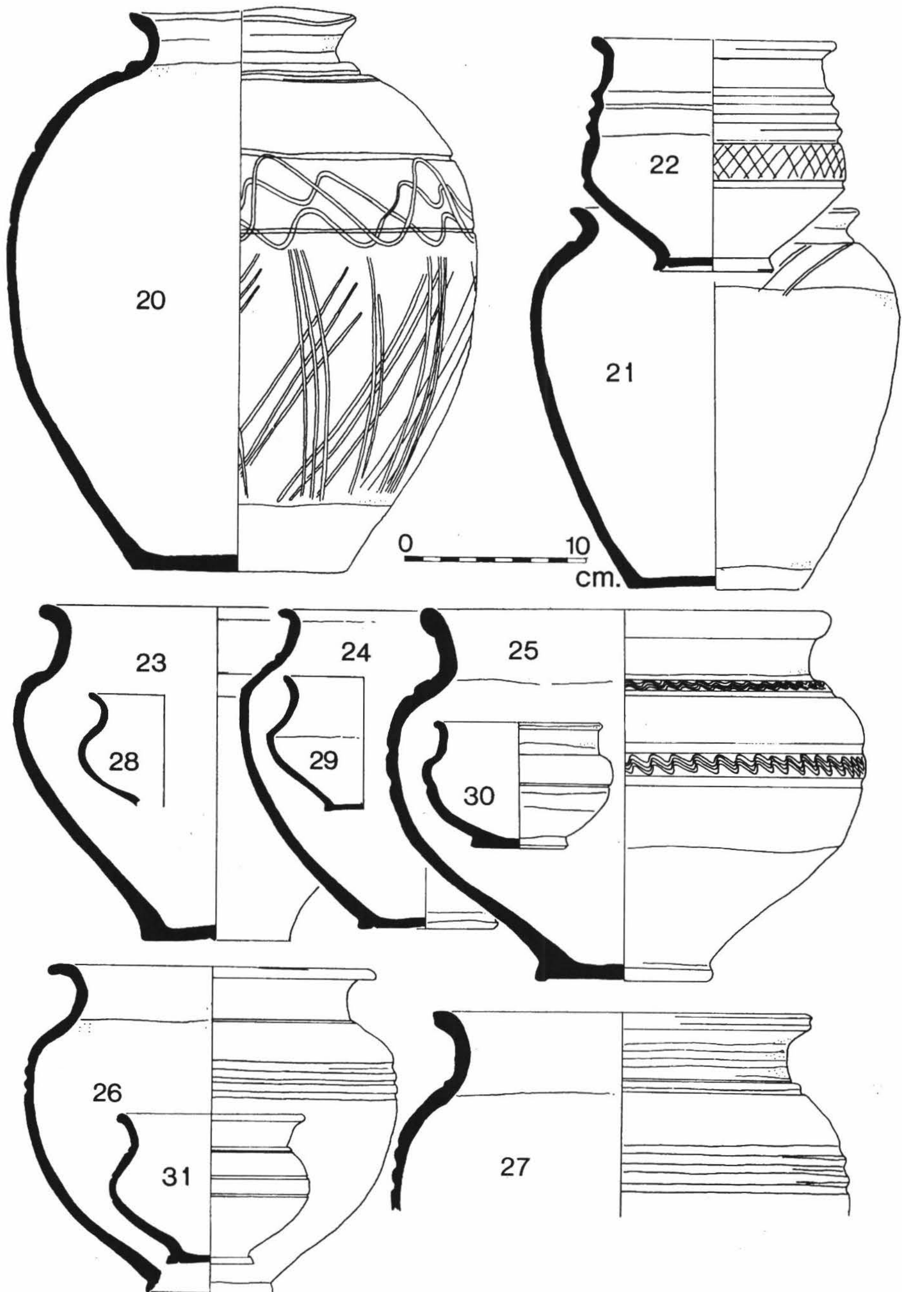


Fig. 7. Roman pots 20 to 31 from the cemetery. Scale 1:4.

of Alice Holt Class 5 Atrebatic bowls (Lyne & Jefferies 1979) and fired patchy buff/brown/black. (A008.1.226)
Date. 43–150.

Lids
19. Small lid in dirty grey-black fabric fired patchy orange/ black. (A008.1.274)
Date. 1st–2nd century. (Found in 1914)

Necked storage jars (Fig. 7)
20. Large vessel, fired patchy brown-grey/buff-black with burnished multiple acute lattice and scrolling. (A008.1.2154)
Date. 2nd century.

Fabric 1C
21. Pear-shaped jar in rather gritty version of the fabric with up to 2 mm angular black ironstone grits. Dirty-grey fabric fired patchy black-grey/buff-orange. (A008.1.204)
Date. 2nd century.

Fabric 1D
22. Multiple-cordoned bowl in very fine buff fabric fired buff/ grey/black with polished exterior. Monaghan's vessel type 4J1 (Monaghan 1987). (A008.1.244)
Date. 43/50–110/120.

Fabric 2
Necked and cordoned jars
23. Jar in gritty medium-grey Fabric 2A with rough surfaces. Contained cremation. This Belgic-derived form was also manufactured at Alice Holt, Highgate and other centres in lowland Britain. (A008.1.273)
Date. 70–150.
24. Jar with carinated shoulder, in Fabric 2A with surface smoothing. This form was also manufactured at Alice Holt simultaneously with form 23. (A008.1.211)

Another, smaller example in orange-buff Fabric 2B fired patchy grey/buff/black. External rim diameter 140 mm. Contained cremation. (A008.1.284) Found in December 1916. Another example in Fabric 2A is in Group 1 from Meeching School, Newhaven, and is there given a Neronian/Flavian date (Green 1976, figs 23–36).
25. Jar in rough-surfaced grey Fabric 2A with comb decorated neck and girth cordons and knife-trimmed lower half. Contained cremation. (A008.1.282)
Date. 150–250. (Found in December 1916)
26. Cordoned and necked jar in medium grey Fabric 2A with rough surfaces and triple girth cordon. Contained cremation. (A008.1.203)
27. Larger version of the same but with lid-seating. (A008.1.206)
Date. These two vessels are the Hardham equivalent of Alice Holt jar form 1.31, which is there dated 180–270 (Lyne & Jefferies 1979).

Necked bowl forms
28. Simple necked bowl in dirty-grey Fabric 2A. Paralleled at Meeching School, Newhaven in an Antonine context (Green 1976, fig. 32.204). (A008.1.218)
Date. 150–200.
29. Small necked-and-carinated bowl in grey Fabric 2B fired patchy buff /grey. (A008.1.275)
Date. 70–150. (Found in December 1916)
30. Small necked-bowl with girth cordon and in brownish-black Fabric 2B, with vesicular exterior surface caused by knife-trimming when in the leather-hard state. (A008.1.2157)
Date. 150–200.
31. Small necked-bowl with girth cordoning and in grey Fabric 2B with surface smoothing. (A008.1.217)
Date. 180–270.

Everted-rim jars (Fig. 8)
32. Large jar with everted and lid-seated rim, knife-trimmed carination below the girth and pairs of diagonal, burnished lines on the body above. In rough-surfaced grey-brown Fabric 2A. (A008.1.233)
33. Similar vessel in similar fabric, but lacking the lid-seating groove on the rim. Contained cremation. (A008.1.205)
34. Jar similar to the above, but lacking knife trimming over the lower portion. An extreme waster in over-fired grey Fabric 2A — oval in cross-section and split down one side. (A008.1.207)
Date. The jar type represented by the three vessels above is a Hardham one although the waster suggests that there may have been a satellite kiln or kilns of that industry at Hassocks itself. A small version of the vessel type came from Grave 228 in the St Pancras cemetery at Chichester, in a burial which also had Antonine Samian (Down & Rule 1971, fig. 5.26–228a). This suggests a date of *c.* 150–200 for the type. A variant with a splayed foot and no knife-trimming came from Newhaven and was dated Neronian/Flavian (Green 1976, figs 23–34). That form is probably an earlier version of this jar type.
35. Small pot with similarly knife-trimmed underside to that of A008.1.233 and in rough-surfaced buff-grey Fabric 2B. (A008.1.216).
Date. ?150–200.
36. Everted-rim jar in over-fired blue-grey Fabric 2B with pimply surfaces and external burnished bands. An extreme waster. (A008.1.268)
Date. ?150–200.
37. Small everted rim jar in high-fired patchy black/brown/ grey Fabric 2B with burnished acute lattice decoration. There is a hole in the base surrounded by black discolouration. Waster. (A008.1.214.1)
Date. 2nd century.

Pedestalled beakers
38. In grey-brown Fabric 2B fired patchy dark grey/brown with polished exterior. Spalling on the exterior surface indicates that the vessel is a kiln second. (A008.1.259)
Date. 43–80+.

Smaller version in dirty brown-grey fabric fired grey-buff/ orange/ black. (A008.1.257)
Date. 43–80+.
39. In patchy pale-grey/grey Fabric 2B. (A008.1.2139)
Date. 43–80+.
40. In medium-grey Fabric 2A with rough surfaces. (A008.1.256)
Date. 43–80+.

These four beakers copy a Gallo-Belgic form. Similar vessels, in similar fabric, were found in the Phase 1 occupation at Wiggonholt and were probably manufactured there (Evans 1974, figs 13–81 & 82).

Poppy-head beakers
41. In rather patchy pale to dark grey Fabric 2B with polished

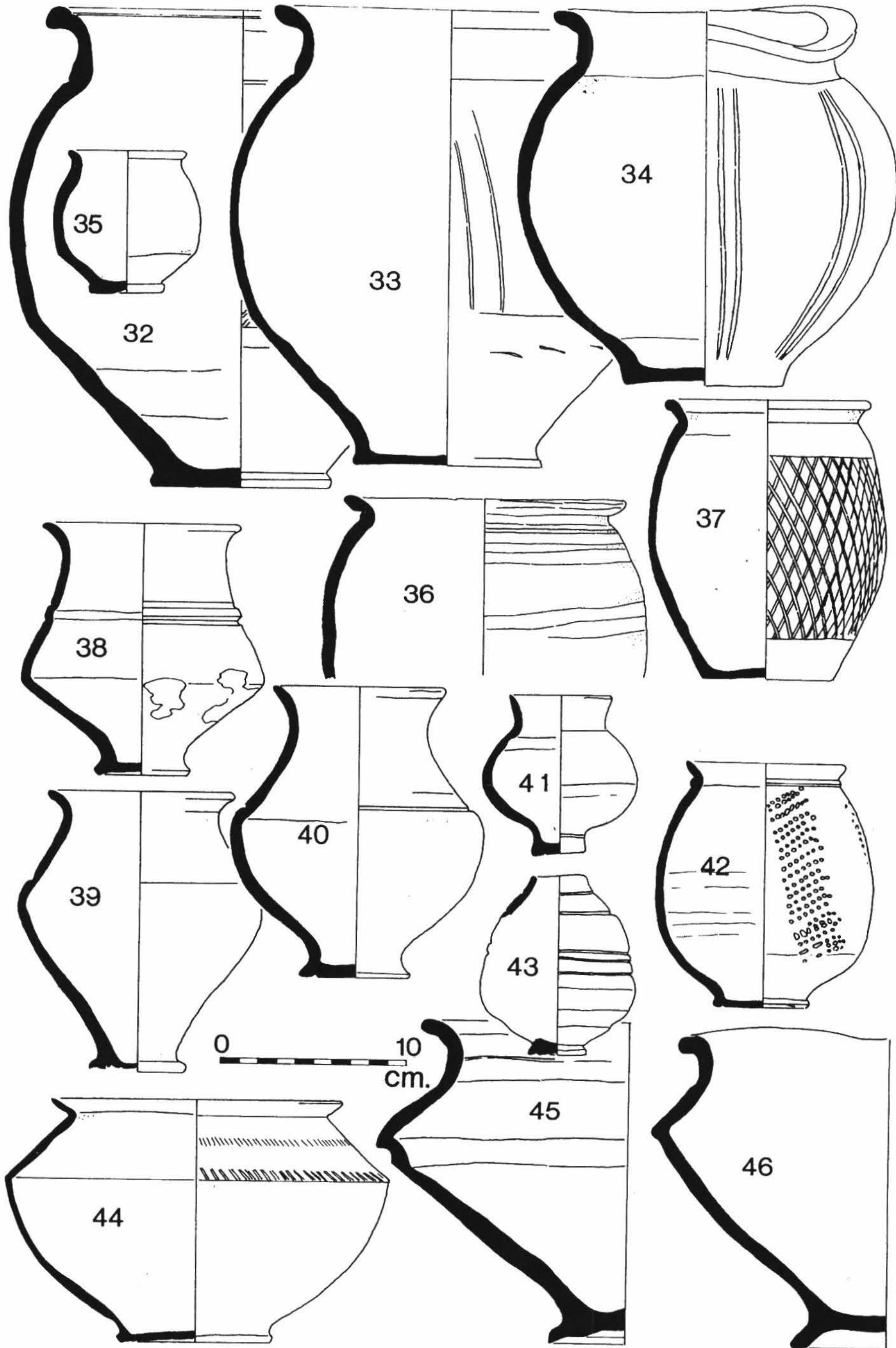


Fig. 8. Roman pots 32 to 46 from the cemetery. Scale 1:4.

exterior and knife-trimmed facetting on girth. No barbotine panels. (A008.1.2124)
Date. 150–250.
42. Bag-shaped poppy-head beaker in slightly pimply, grey-brown Fabric 2B with five barbotine panels and a cordon around the neck. Similar to Thameside form 2A4-4. Paralleled at St Pancras cemetery Chichester in Grave Group 14 (Down & Rule 1971, fig. 5.19–14a).
Date. 80/90–120.

Miscellaneous beakers
43. Hole-mouthed bag-beaker with multiple cordoning. In pimply-grey -buff Fabric 2B with surface polish. (A008.1.262).
Date. ?late 1st century. (Found in 1914.)

Carinated, necked and pedestalled bowls
44. In pale/medium-grey Fabric 2B with two rouletted bands on the shoulder. Contained cremation. (A008.1.214.2)
Date. 70–150.
45. In hard, pimply Fabric 2A fired dirty-buff-grey with rough external smoothing and undercut carination. Contained cremation. Distorted kiln second. (A008.1.2118).
46. Waster or second in similar fabric to the above. (A008.1.2119)
Date. Similar carinated vessels from the same source come from Grave groups 59 and 63 at the St Pancras cemetery in Chichester and in the former burial were associated with a Hadrianic Samian platter (Down & Rule 1971, fig. 5.21). 70–150.

Beaded-and-flanged bowls (Fig. 9)
47. Incipient beaded form in dark-grey, slightly pimply fabric with fettling scratches and knife-trimmed base. (A008.1.2158)
Date. Early/mid 3rd century.
48. Tournette-finished developed form in grey-black Fabric 2B with surface polish and copying Alice Holt type 5B.8 (Lyne & Jefferies 1979). (A008.1.2123)
Date. 270–400.

Dishes
49. Gallo-Belgic platter imitation in grey-brown Fabric 2A with rough surfaces. (A008.1.224)
Date. 43–120.
50. Another example with more convex sides and similarly rough surfaces, fired grey with orange patches. (A008.1.2128)
Date. 43–120.
51. Bead-rimmed dish in hard, bluish-grey fabric with wobbly rim. ?Waster or second. Similar to form 5C4.1 from Cliffe in Kent (Monaghan 1987). (A008.1.225)
Date. 150/180–250.
52. Another example in dirty buff Fabric 2A fired grey-black externally and grey-brown internally. (A008.1.229)
Date. 150–200.

Mortaria
53. In grey Fabric 2A with sparse up to 3.00 mm crushed flint trituration grits on interior surface, which also has three concentric grooves. Heavy internal wear. This looks like a Hardham copy of Gillam's form 255 (Gillam 1970), normally produced in a pinkish-buff fabric with flint trituration grit. The Gillam form 255 is thought to have been produced somewhere in Southern Britain, and possibly at Colchester (Hartley 1978).
Date. 170–230. (For buff version and probably this grey-ware example as well.)

Bottles and flagons
54. Bottle in leaden-grey Fabric 2B with polished surfaces. (A008.1.213)
Date. 150–250.
55. Single-handled flagon in medium-grey Fabric 2B with blue-grey surface slip. The rim is undercut and lid-seated in the manner of late 2nd-/early 3rd-century Alice Holt Class 1B flasks (Lyne & Jefferies 1979). Bilobate handle. (A008.1.258)
Date. 180–270.

Fabric 3
Necked bowls
56. Vessel in Fabric 3B with polished blue-grey surfaces. (A008.1.209)
Date. 150–250.

Latticed beakers and small jars
57. Small example in Fabric 3B fired patchy blue-grey/white. (A008.1.219)
58. Similar jar in Fabric 3B fired grey with off-white patches. (A008.1.215)
Date. The two vessels above are similar to Thameside form 3J1.3, which is dated 110/120–150/190 (Monaghan 1987).

Poppy-head beakers
59. Lower half of beaker in Fabric 3B, fired blue-black with barbotine SOSOSO decoration of similar colour. Another example, but with Ss only came from Wiggonholt (Evans 1974, fig. 15–140), and yet another, with Ss alternating with dot-barbotine panels, came from an Antonine context at Beddingham (Lyne forthcoming A). (A008.1.234)
Date. 150–200.
60. Cornice-rimmed bag-beaker in Fabric 3B with polished blue-grey surface wash and diamond-shaped barbotine panels above rouletted band. (A008.1.263)
Date. 150-250 (Found in 1914.)
61. Pear-shaped beaker with five rectangular panels of barbotine dots above four rouletted bands. In Fabric 3B with patchy blue-black to pale-grey wash. The underside of the base appears to have been ground down. (A008.1.2132)
Date. 150–250.
62. Beaker in Fabric 3B with blue-grey wash and decorated with five rectangular barbotine panels. Similar to Upchurch form 2A3-2 but squatter (Monaghan 1987). (A008.1.297).
Date. 100–150. (Found in 1920.)
63. Similar vessel but with four barbotine panels. (A008.1.223)
Date. 100–150.
64. Similar vessel but with five barbotine panels. (A008.1.2156)
Date. 100–150.

Indented beakers
65. Slender vessel with five indentations and spread foot. In Fabric 3B with polished blue-grey wash and slightly pimply surfaces. (A008.1.260)
66. Upper portion of beaker with six indentations and in Fabric 3B fired patchy blue-black. (A008.1.231)
Date. 250–300+.

Miscellaneous beakers
67. Vessel with carinated shoulder and flaring rim. In Fabric

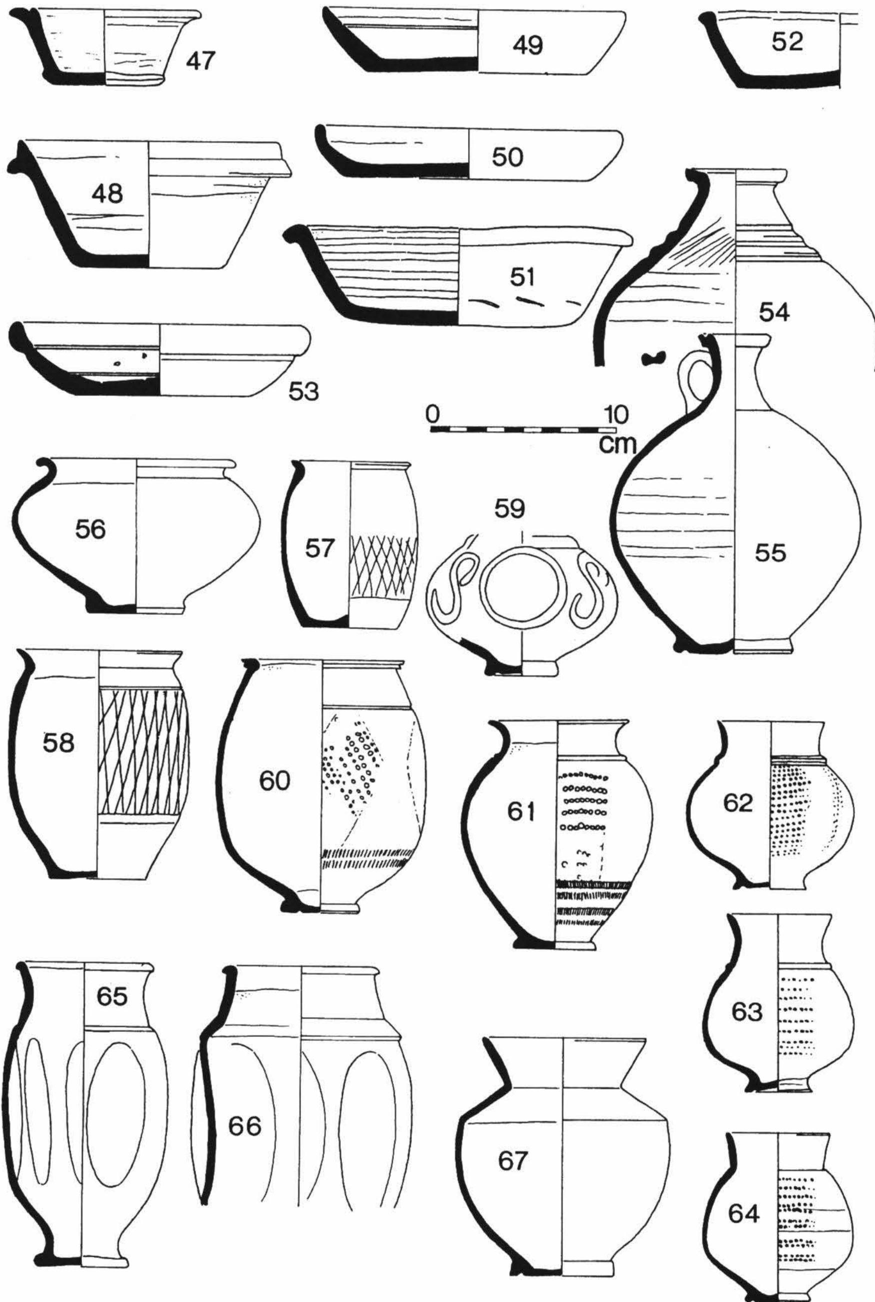


Fig. 9. Roman pots 47 to 67 from the cemetery. Scale 1:4.

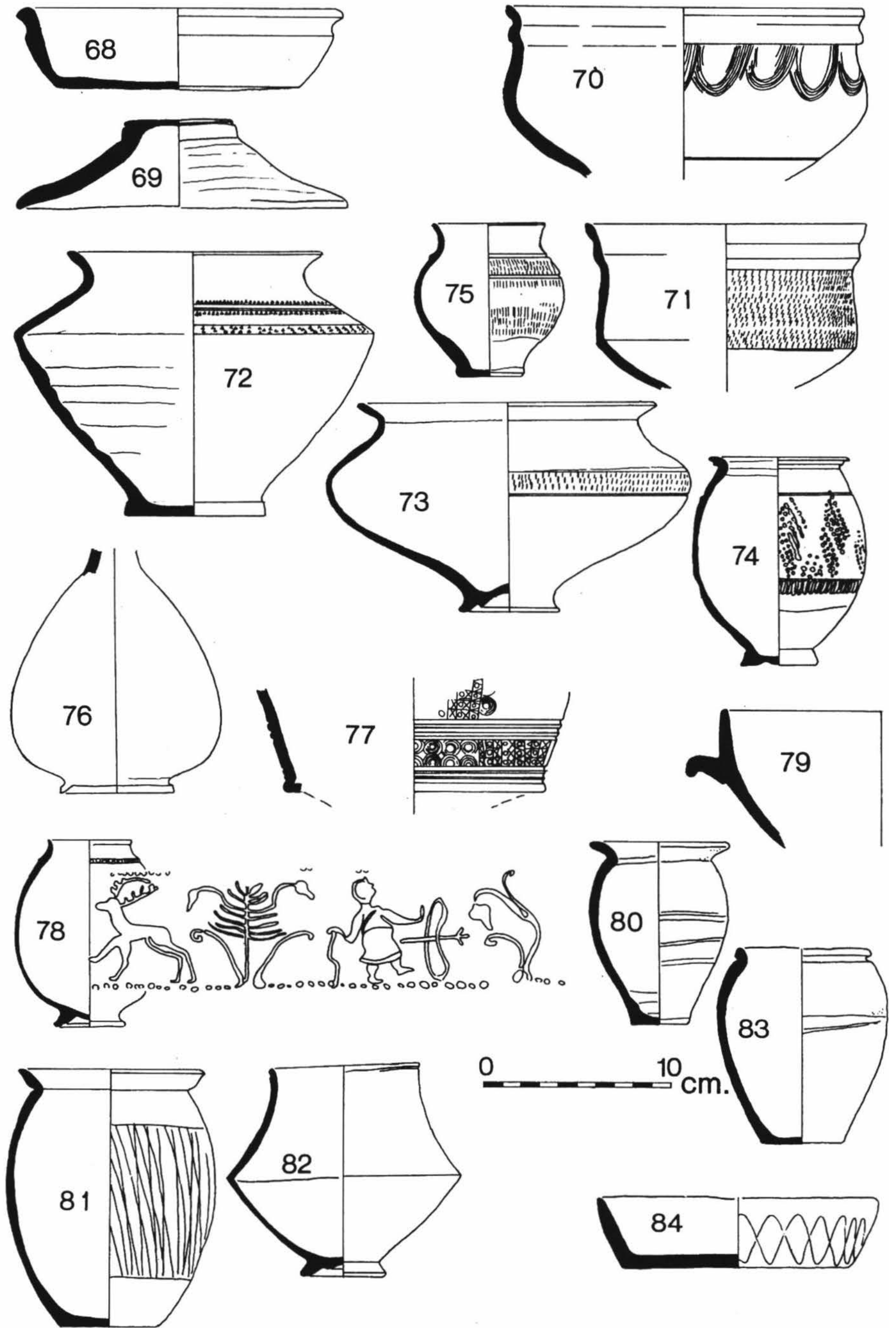


Fig. 10. Roman pots 68 to 84 from the cemetery. Scale 1:4.

3B fired pale bluish-grey. Similar to Thameside form 212.2 (Monaghan 1987). (A008.1.261)
Date. 80–140.

Dishes (Fig. 10)
68. Form with undercut rim in Fabric 3A, with rough blue-grey exterior surface. (A008.1.230)
Date. 150–250.

Lids
69. In Fabric 3A fired white with patchy grey/buff micaceous surfaces. Irregular and probably handmade. (57.16/2)
Date. 1st/2nd century.

Fabric 4
Bowls
70. 'London' ware bowl variant fired grey-brown with micaceous polished surfaces and combed decoration. (A008.1.236)
Date. 70–150.
71. Another such bowl, but with rouletted external decoration. Paralleled at Wiggonholt (Evans 1974, fig. 15–124) (A005.1.2105)
Date. 70–150.
72. Necked-and-carinated bowl fired black with surface spalling. Decorated bands below and above carination, executed with a tiny triangular section stamp. A similar vessel came from Meeching School, Newhaven, where it was dated Neronian-Flavian (Green 1976, fig. 24–57). The spalling indicates that the vessel is a second. (A008.1.2129)
Date. 70–150.
73. Squat necked bowl fired silky-grey with rouletted band on its girth. (A008.1.285)
Date. 150–200+.

Similar but smaller vessel fired glossy black with rouletted band around the girth. Paralleled at St Pancras cemetery, Chichester in Grave Groups 235B and 250A, in both cases accompanied by Antonine Samian (Down & Rule 1971). External rim diameter 135 mm. (A008.1.2104)
Date. 150–200.

Beakers
74. Corniced beaker in polished, slightly-micaceous, black-surfaced fabric with diamond-shaped barbotine panels above rouletted band. (A008.1.265)
Date. 2nd century.
75. Rouletted beaker with micaceous grey-black surfaces. Similar to Symonds Group 29-434 from Alsace (Symonds 1992). (A008.1.221)
Date. 150–250.

Bottles
76. Lower part of bottle, fired micaceous black/honey-brown. (LEWSA 1991,25/59).
Date. 70–150.

Fabric 5A
77. Carinated vessel fragments from a 'Stamped London Ware' pedestalled beaker which has block-stamped bands between cordons. Similar sherds are known from Wiggonholt (Evans 1974, fig. 15-143). Such wares were manufactured at Highgate (Group 1), in the Lower Thames Valley (Group 2), North Essex (Group 3) and at West Stow in Suffolk (Group 4) (Rodwell 1978). The first two industries shared stamps and those used on the Wiggonholt and Hassocks sherds are very similar, but not exactly the same as some used by the North Essex potters. These similar Group 3 stamps are considered by Rodwell to be of early 2nd-century date. (A008.1.231)
Date. 100–150.
78. Beaker with all-over chocolate brown colour-coat. The vessel depicts two barbotine scenes separated by stylized trees. They represent a stag and a man leaning on a knobbly stick with a bow and arrow pointed at him. The scene appears to be a naive copy of *'la chasse au brame'* found on similar Mid-Gaulish beakers from Jaulges-Villiers-Vineux (Symonds 1992, Gp.18, pl. 14–17), although the figure leaning on the stick has small horns and appears to be trying to avert the arrow with one hand. He may be the god Cernunnos and the scene may have mythological significance. (A008.1.286)
Date. 2nd century.

Fabric 5B
79. Imitation Dr. 38 bowl with brown colour-coat and all over polish (A008.1.2135)
Date. 250–350.

Fabric 6
80. Small, everted-rim jar of Type 3B.10 with black slip bands on shoulder and top of rim (Lyne & Jefferies 1979). (33.40)
Date. 270–400.

Fabric 7
81. Everted-rim jar in very fine sanded grey-black fabric, fired buff with polished black surfaces and burnished acute-lattice. Monaghan's type 3J1 (Monaghan 1987). (A008.1.277)
Date. 110/120–150/190.
82. Biconical beaker fired glossy black. Monaghan's type 2G2-3 (Monaghan 1987). (A008.1.2103)
Date. 50–100.

Fabric 8B
83. Small, bead-rimmed beaker fired black up to the girth and grey above. Copying BB1 form. (A008.1.222)
Date. 100–270.
84. Small straight-sided dish in patchy black/buff/brown fabric with burnished overlapping arcading on the exterior and random scrolling on the underside. Copying BB1 form. (A008.1.228)
Date. 220–270 (Based on decorative style)

Fabric 9 (Fig. 11)
85. Screw-necked flagon with double-reeded handle. (A008.1.2101)
Date. 43–200.
86. Similar flagon but with triple-reeded handle. (A008.1.2130)
Date. 43–200.
87. Upper part of double-handled lagena fired cream externally. (A008.1.2133)
Date. 43–200. Flagons of similar type were manufactured in the early 2nd-century kiln at Wiggonholt (Evans 1974, fig. 10.26).

Fabric 10
88. Indented beaker of Fulford's type 27.1–10 (1975) with chocolate brown colour-coat and 6 indentations. (A008.1.232)
Date. 260/70–340.
89. Indented beaker of Fulford's type 27.13 (1975) with patchy

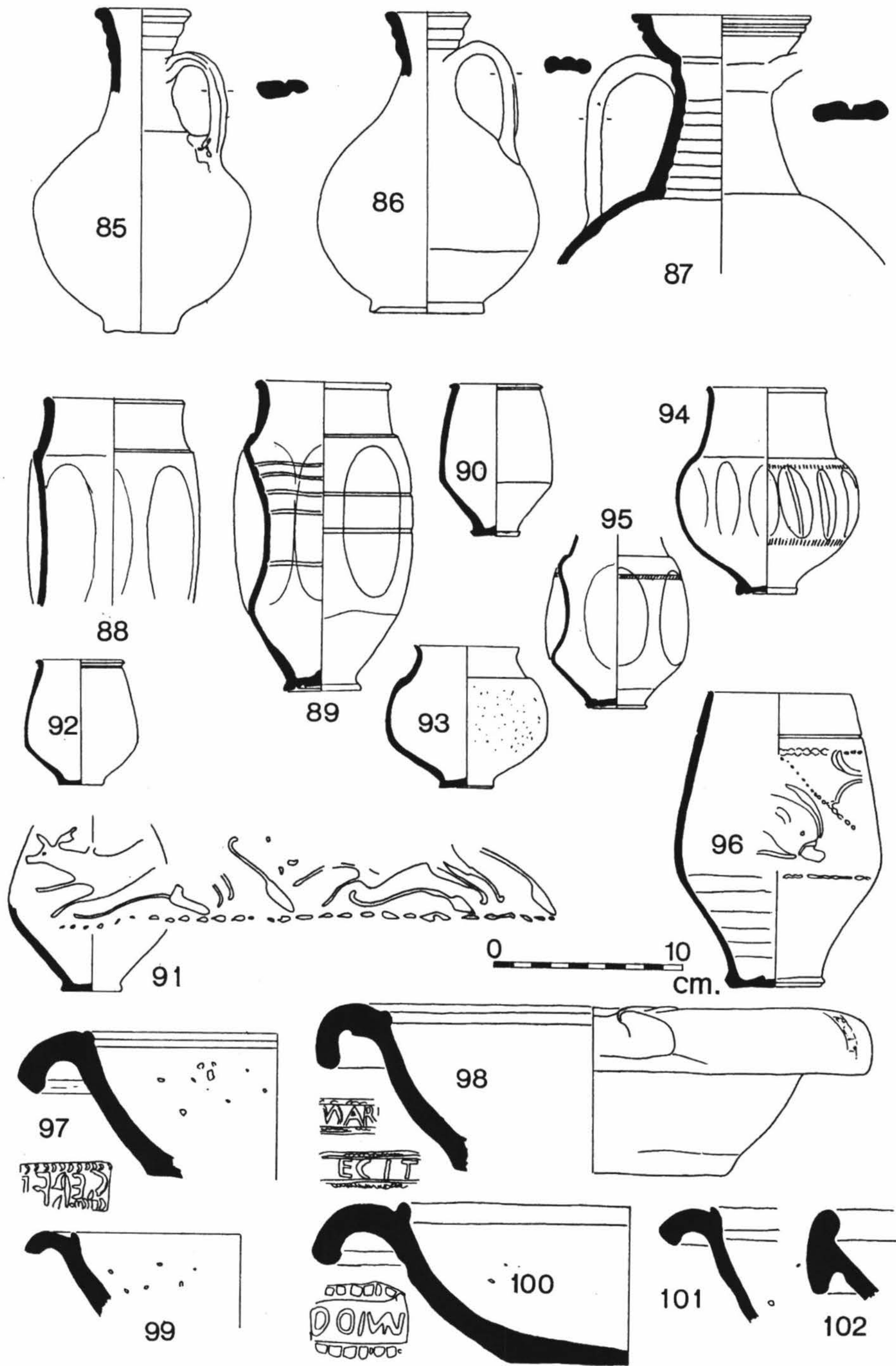


Fig. 11. Roman pots 85 to 102 from the cemetery. Scale 1:4.

purple colour-coat. (A008.1.214.1)
Date. 260/70–340.
90. Small beaker of Fulford's type 44.4 (1975) with purple colour-coat. (1991.25/56)
Date. 260/70–350.

Fabric 11
91. Lower part of beaker of Howe, Perrin and MacKreth type 26 or 27 (1980), with barbotine stag-hunting scene. (A008.1.2106)
Date. 150–250.
92. Small beaker of Howe, Perrin and MacKreth type 46 (1980). (A008.1.2099)
Date. 150–200.
93. Beaker with rough-cast brown-black colour-coat. (A008.1.286)
Date. 150–250.

Fabric 12
94. Beaker with 14 indentations and metallic-brown colour-coat, of Symonds Group 33 (1992). (1991.25/58)
Date. 200–276+.
95. Beaker with five or six indentations, rouletted band and metallic-brown colour-coat, of Symonds Group 33 (1992). (Lewes non-accessioned)
Date. 200–276+.

Fabric 13
96. Beaker fired matt reddish-brown grading into grey, with barbotine dolphins. (A008.1.2107)
Date. 150–250.

MISCELLANEOUS MORTARIA Identifications by K. Hartley
Mortaria are rarely found as grave goods but Figure 11.98 and 100 are largely complete and probably from burials.
97. In sandy, pinkish-cream 'parchment' ware type fabric with white and brown trituration grits and occasional red inclusions in the fabric. Stamped CERFI (Germanus fecit) retrograde. A Verulamium kilns product. (A008.1.271 and 2112)
Date. 70–110.
98. In fine sanded creamy fabric with minute brown and black sand inclusions and slightly pinkish core. No trituration grits. Two stamps reading MARI[NVS] and FECIT on either side of the spout. A Brockley Hill product. (57.16/2) Other stamps of Marinus are known from Hartfield and Great Cansiron.
Date. Within period 70–120 (Optimum date 75–110).
99. Small mortarium in hard very fine orange fabric with blue-grey core and darker, smooth maroon-orange surfaces and multi-coloured quartz trituration grits. Stamp has MAGVONNVS twice. (A008.1.2012).

Only one other (fragmentary) stamp is known, from Garden Hill, Hartfield, on a similar rim. Probably a local product.
Date. 100–250.
100. In brown/orange fine-sanded fabric with black and white flint trituration grits. Two similar DOINV stamps on either side of spout. A Brockley Hill product. (A008.1.137)
Date. 70–110.
101. In rough buff-grey fabric with profuse fine black and brown grit, fired orange with sparse calcined flint and ironstone trituration grits. External rim diameter 200 mm. (57.16/2)
Date. Late 1st/2nd century.
102. Collared mortarium in creamy fabric with up to 2.00 mm. orange, black and brown inclusions and pimply surfaces. Trituration grits include black flint and large, subangular, white and pink quartz.

A Rhineland import of Gillam Form 272. External rim diameter 260 mm. (57.16/2)
Date. 140–300.

Oxfordshire white-ware mortarium with multicoloured trituration grits. Young's form M22 (Young 1977). External rim diameter 240 mm. (A008.1.266)

THE PLAIN SAMIAN
A great deal of Samian pottery came from the sandpit. Much of it takes the form of small sherds and the high ratio of stamped basal fragments to other sherds suggests that there was a bias towards their retention by the labourers. Some pieces may, however, come from occupation deposits. Complete or reconstructed vessels almost certainly come from burials and are prefixed by an asterisk.

South Gaulish
*Dish formed by removing the sides of a Dr.29 bowl and covering over the break with reddish pigment. In brownish-red fabric with reddish-brown surface. External rim diameter 160 mm. (A008.1.50)
Date. Flavian.
Base of ?Dr.18 in hard dull-red-brown fabric fired maroon-orange with a good gloss. Not worn. Stamped ANTICVM. (A008.1.61)
Date. Pre-Flavian.
*Complete Dr.18 with high orange-red gloss but very worn. Stamped OFPONTI. La Graufesenque. External rim diameter 155 mm. Three stamps of Pontus are known from Fishbourne on a dish, and cup form Dr.27 (Dannell 1971, 313). (A008.1.48)
Date. 70–100.
Base of Dr.18 in hard-orange-brown fabric fired deep orange-brown. Stamped QVAR.... La Graufesenque. (A008.1.62)
Date. Neronian.
*Complete Dr.18 with high orange-red gloss and slightly worn. Stamped OFSEVERN. La Graufesenque. External rim diameter 130 mm. (A008.1.51)
Date. 70–90.
Base of Dr.27 cup in orange-pink fabric with rather matt dark-orange-brown slip. Stamped OFNIGRI. La Graufesenque. There are three examples of this stamp from Fishbourne, on forms 27 and 29 (Dannell 1971, 311). (A008.1.13)
Date. 43–70.

Central Gaulish
2 basal fragments from Dr.18 (40.25)
Date. Antonine.
Base from Dr.18/31 in hard orange-brown fabric with a high gloss. Stamped GONGIVS. Lezoux. (A008.1.14)
Date. 120–200.
*Complete Dr.18/31 in pale-orange-pink fabric with orange-red gloss. Stamped CASVAOI. Lezoux. (A008.1.84)
Date. 100–150.
Dr.18/31 base in slightly micaceous orange-pink fabric with matt orange-red slip. Stamped ...CATOR (Mercator) Lezoux. (A008.1.137)
Date. Late Antonine.
Dr.18/31 fragment in hard, pink fabric with orange-red gloss. External rim diameter 180 mm. (59.4/1)
Date. 2nd century.

Dr.31 basal fragment in hard, dull-orange fabric with high-orange-brown gloss. Stamped MACRIN VS. Lezoux. (A008.1.59)
Date. 150–200.
Dr.31 basal fragment in slightly micaceous orange-brown fabric with rather matt orange surfaces and tiny white inclusions. Stamped PATRI... Lezoux. (A008.1.37)
Date. 150–200.
Dr.31 base in buff-pink fabric with matt-orange-brown slip. Scarcely worn. Stamped MERCVSSEM. Lezoux. (A008.1.76)
Date. *c.* 150.
Dr.31 fragment in orange-pink fabric with orange-red gloss. External rim diameter 280 mm. (59.4/1)
Date. Antonine.
Base from Dr.31 in pale orange fabric with minute white inclusions and orange-brown gloss. Stamped TE.....F. Lezoux. (A008.1.15)
Date. Late Antonine.
Dr.31 base in pale orange fabric with deep-orange-red internal gloss and slightly less red exterior. Worn footring. Stamped SVOBNI[LLI]M. Martres de Veyre. (A008.1.25)
Date. Early Antonine.
Dr.31 base in micaceous orange-pink fabric with orange gloss. Stamped DRIPI... Terre-Franche. (A008.1.66)
Date. Antonine.
*Complete Dr.33 cup in slightly micaceous orange fabric with darker orange gloss and heavy wear in the interior and on the foot-ring. Any potter's stamp has been worn away. External rim diameter 90 mm. Lezoux. (A008.1.4)
Date. Antonine.
*Complete Dr.33 in soft-light-orange-pink fabric with a little mica and minute white inclusions. Orange-brown glossy surfaces. Very worn with no stamp remaining. Lezoux. (A008.1.77)
Date. Antonine
*Complete Dr.33 cup in light-orange fabric with deep-red-brown gloss and worn on both footring and rim. Stamped ASIATICV.M Asiaticus was based at both Lezoux and Terre Franche. External rim diameter 105 mm. (A008.1.9)
Date. 150–200.
Dr.33 base in orange-pink fabric with deep-orange-red gloss. Stamped ASIATICO Lezoux or Terre Franche. (A008.1.21)
Date. 150–200.
Dr.33 base in pale-orange-pink fabric with blotchy orange gloss. Stamped AVENTINI.M. Lezoux. (A008.1.13)
Date. 150–200.
Dr.33 base in highly micaceous orange fabric fired darker, rather blotchy matt orange with surface vesicles. Stamped CACASIM. Lezoux. (A008.1.42)
Date. Late Antonine.
*Complete Dr.33 in pale pinkish fabric with matt orange-red surface. Fairly worn on both the rim and footring but little on the interior. Stamped CAVI NII retrograde. External rim diameter 150 mm. At Richborough on Form 33 (Dickenson *et al.* 1968, 129). (A008.1.74)
Date. Antonine.
Dr.33 base in soft pink-orange fabric with minute white inclusions and rather matt surface. Stamped CAVPIRIVFCT. Lezoux. (A008.1.18)
Date. 140–150.
*Complete Dr.33 in soft, dull-orange fabric with minute white inclusions and deep-orange-brown gloss. Worn on rim and foot-ring with some internal wear. Stamped IVLLINIS. Lezoux. External rim diameter 105 mm. (A008.1.41)
Date. Late Antonine.

*Complete Dr.33 in orange-pink fabric with deep-red-orange gloss. Stamped L.ADN.ADGENI. External rim diameter 110 mm. Lezoux. Example of this rare stamp from Fishbourne (Dannell 1971, 300). (A008.1.39)
Date. Late Antonine.
Lower half of Dr.33 in deep-orange-pink fabric with matt orange-brown surface. Some wear in the base and on the foot and cut graffito O.N.F.. Stamped MCRINVS.F. Lezoux. (A008.1.35)
Date. Mid-late Antonine.
Base of Dr.33 in pale orange-pink fabric with worn orange-red gloss. Stamped MALLEDV. Lezoux. (A008.1.73)
Date. Antonine.
Dr.33 base in pink-orange fabric with blotchy reddish-orange matt surface and worn foot-ring. Stamped PRIMANI with damaged stamp. Lezoux. Example from Period 3 occupation at Fishbourne on Form 31 (Dannell 1971, 313). (A008.1.19).
Date. 165–195.
Dr.33 base in light-orange-pink fabric with orange-brown gloss and little wear on the interior. Stamped SABINIOF. Lezoux. (A008.1.30)
Date. 155–190.
Dr.36 fragment in highly micaceous orange fabric with deep-orange matt surface. Worn interior with knife marks. External rim diameter 170 mm. Lezoux. (A008.1.27)
Date. Antonine.
*Complete Dr.33 in orange-pink fabric with deep-orange gloss. Very worn. Stamped SOLIN... External rim diameter 100 mm. Lezoux. (A008.1.68)
Date. 120–170.
Dr.33 base in hard-brownish-orange fabric with minute white inclusions and orange-brown gloss. Very worn internally and on foot-ring. Stamped TIBERI.M. Lezoux. (A008.1.67)
Date. Antonine.
Fragmentary Dr.38 in orange-pink fabric with occasional minute black inclusions and high orange gloss. No stamp. Lezoux. External rim diameter 200 mm. (A008.1.53)
Date. Antonine.
*Complete Dr.38 in orange-red fabric with high gloss. Worn inside the base but not on the rim. Stamped CINT[VSM]I.M Known also from Fishbourne on Dr.33 (Dannell 1971, 304). External rim diameter 190 mm. (A008.1.52)
Date. 155–190.
*Complete Dechelette 72 beaker in orange fabric with a little minute grit and good orange gloss. Very worn around the rim and base. External rim diameter 50 mm. (A008.1.8)
Date. Antonine.
*Complete Walters 79 dish in soft orange-pink fabric with deep-red slightly matt gloss. Fairly unworn. Stamped CARATILI.M. a large plain potter of Lezoux. External rim diameter 250 mm. This stamp is also known from Richborough, Pudding Pan Rock and the destruction of the Antonine II fort at Corbridge. (A008.1.49)
Date. Late Antonine.
*Complete Walters 79 dish in micaceous orange fabric with small brown inclusions and slightly matt orange-red surface. Worn internally and over rim. Stamped S...... External rim diameter 120 mm. (A008.1.9)
Date. Antonine.
*Complete Walters 79 dish in pale-buff-orange, highly micaceous fabric with deep-red gloss. Stamped NOVIANVSFE. Lezoux. External rim diameter 95 mm. (A008.1.43)
Date. Antonine.
*Complete Walters 80 dish in soft orange-brown fabric with

small white inclusions. Very pitted with most of the surface gone and N graffito. No stamp. External rim diameter 170 mm. Lezoux. (47.2/4)
Date. Antonine.
Base, form not established. Highly micaceous orange fabric with very worn deep-orange-red gloss with some surface vesicles. Stamped ATILIANI.O. Lezoux or Terre-Franche. Also known from Pudding Pan Rock and Richborough on Form 31 (Dickinson *et al.* 1968, 127). (A008.1.63)
Date. Late Antonine.

East Gaulish

Base of Dr.31 or Ludowici Sx in light-pinkish-orange fabric with a few tiny brown inclusions and fired orange-red. Stamped AVGVSTINVS. Rheinzabern. (A008.1.60)
Date. Antonine.
Base from ?Dr.31 in orange-brown fabric with traces of white layer beneath orange-brown gloss. Stamped CLEMENS. Rheinzabern and Westerndorf. Also at Fishbourne on Dr.38 bowl (Dannell 1971, 304). (A008.1.64)
Date. 160–200.
*Complete Dr.31 in deep-orange-pink fabric fired glossy orange-red. Stamped SIIVIIRVFII. External rim diameter 225 mm. Similar stamps of Severus, but as SIIVIIRIM, are known from Richborough, Wroxeter and Silchester (Bushe-Fox 1926, 79). (A008.1.36)
Date. 160–190.
Dr.32 fragment in orange-brown fabric with deep-orange-red matt surface. External rim diameter 250 mm. (A008.1.29)
Date. Antonine
*Complete Dr.33 cup in soft, soapy reddish-brown fabric with sparse brown grit and poor orange gloss with vertical striae and pock marks. The interior of the base appears to have been ground flat, which resulted in any original stamp being obliterated. The rim is very worn and irregular. External rim diameter 120 mm. (A008.1.6)
Date. 200–250.
*Complete Dr.33 in orange-pink fabric with dull orange gloss and pocky surface. Worn on both the rim and foot. Stamped MARTIVSF of Ittenweiler and Rheinzabern. External rim diameter 150 mm. (A008.1.38)
Date. 130–200.

THE DECORATED SAMIAN All identifications are by Joanna Bird

Much of the material consists of small sherds and may be from occupation deposits rather than from burial groups. Vessels prefixed with an asterisk are largely intact, however, and may come from cremations.
* Dr 29, South Gaul. The upper zone is decorated with panels of leaf-tips alternating with dogs chasing hares; the incomplete lower zone has a central band of pointed leaves. Similar animal panels were used by a number of Neronian potters: *cf.* for examples, (Knorr 1952, Taf. 23, A, stamped by Felix). *c.* AD 55–70. (A008.1.1)
* [Examined from a rubbing] Dr 30, South Gaul. Trident-tongued ovolo above a frieze of panels, including two with figures in arcades. Both of these have narrow arches on slender columns (*cf.* Hermet 1934, pl. 86, no. 6), flanked by tendrils above vertical rows of palmettes. The figures — one robed (Hermet, pl. 20, no. 122B), one a Venus (Hermet, pl. 18, no. 24) — each stand on a row of arrowheads between formal leaves. The panel between them has a boar (Hermet, pl. 27, no. 42) above a block of arrowheads and diagonal wavy lines. The panel at the left apparently has a saltire or similar arrangement including rods and palmettes (*cf.* Hermet, pl .86, nos 5–6). The decorative details and general style indicate a date *c.* 85–110. Rivet-holes of uncertain but probable Swallow-tail form are present. (A008.1.57)
Dr 37, South Gaul. Blurred trident-tongued ovolo above a frieze of panels: these include one with a hare above an arrangement of rods and a tall grass-tuft. Similar designs occur on the Samian from Holt (Grimes 1930) and a date *c.* 90–110 is likely. A Swallow-tail rivet-hole is present. (A008.1.2)
Dr 37, probably by X-9 of Les Martres-de-Veyre. The details are blurred, but the ovolo is probably that on Stanfield and Simpson 1958, pl. 29, no. 344. The figure of Perseus (Oswald 233) is on several X-9 bowls, and occurs with the festoon on S&S, pl. 30, nos 355, 356. The wavy line border is a regular feature. *c.* 110–130. (A008.1.23)
Dr 37 in the style of X-6 of Lezoux. The ovolo, border and amazon on horseback are on S&S, pl. 76, no. 23, the boar on pl. 75, no. 20, and the trifid leaf on pl. 76, no. 28. *c.* 130–155. (A008.1.33)
Dr 37 in the style of Paullus of Lezoux. The bear, here incompletely impressed, is on S&S pl. 165, no. 3; the acanthus motif is probably Rogers K12, recorded for the associated potter Cinnamus. Cinnamus also used the mask (S&S, pl. 160, no. 35). The medallion above the bear probably contains another animal. *c.* 140–170. (No acc. no; 'sand pit')
*Dr 37 with the smaller mould-stamp used by Cinnamus of Lezoux (S&S, pl. 163, no. 66). Freestyle design of animals, with a small hound (pl. 163, no. 73), seated and running stags (pl. 163, no. 66), a leopardess (pl. 162, no. 60) and a tree (pl. 163, no. 72). There is also a larger hound. *c.* 145–175. (A008.1.80).
Dr 37 in the style of the Cinnamus group at Lezoux. The ovolo is Rogers B143, the crane close to Oswald 2196; the festoon is not identical with any shown by Rogers. *c.* 145–175. (A008.1.11)
Dr 37, Central Gaul. The border, terminal and medallion suggest the work of the Cinnamus group. Antonine. (A008.1.17)
Dr 37, Central Gaul. Freestyle design, including a leopardess and a stag. Not certainly attributable, but perhaps by the Cinnamus group. Antonine. (A008.1.22)
Dr 37 in the style of Censorinus of Lezoux. The ovolo is rather overlapped, but is probably Rogers B138. A similar saltire, with the corded rod and the trifid motif, is on S&S, pl. 102, no. 15; the rosette terminal is on pl. 102, no. 14. *c.* 160–190. (A008.1.3)
Dr 37 in the style of Paternus II of Lezoux. The fine beaded border, peacock and scrollery are on S&S, pl. 107, no. 26; the leaf is probably Rogers H25. The decoration is abraded. *c.* 160–195. (A008.1.10 & 20)
Dr 37 in the style of Casurius of Lezoux. A similar saltire of wavy lines and coarse beads, with this acanthus, is on S&S, pl. 135, no. 38. *c.* 165–200. (A008.1.75)
Dr 37 in the style of Casurius of Lezoux. The bird and medallion are on S&S, pl. 133, no. 17, the mask on pl. 133, no. 19 and a similar group of acanthus on pl. 133, no. 18. *c.* 165–200. (A008.1.5)
Dr 37 in the style of Doeccus of Lezoux. The vase is on S&S, pl. 149, no. 35, and, with similar medallion and ring motif, pl. 151, no. 55. Very abraded. *c.* 165–200. (A008.1.16)
*Dr 37, Central Gaul. The ovolo may be Rogers B159; the herringbone borders are apparently unparalleled. Sufficient survives to indicate that the whole design consists of two alternating panels, one containing the faun, Oswald 717. The wider panel has a festoon containing a hound (no close parallel in Oswald) and a smaller bear (*cf.* Oswald 1626); the bear is

impressed upside-down at least once. The festoons are flanked by columns (*cf.* Rogers P31) and sit above a pair of shell motifs (fewer spines than Rogers U77). The general style of the bowl and its shallow rim band suggest a later Antonine potter, and the ovolo and column may indicate an associate of Banvus. *c.* 170–200. (A008.1.58)
Dr 37 in the style of Reginus I of Rheinzabern. Gladiator (Ricken and Fischer 1963, type M220a) between two rosettes (type O138). Mid- to later Antonine. (No accession number)
Dr 37 in the style of Comitialis III of Rheinzabern. The ovolo (Ricken & Fischer 1963, type E10), column (type O220), festoon (type KB89), large medallion (type K48) and rosette (type O50) are all recorded in his work, the small medallion (probably type K33) for Comitialis I and II. First half of 3rd century, on fabric and moulding. (A008.1.34)
Dr 37 in the style of the Tribunus-Tocca group at Lavoye. The lion is Ricken 1934, Taf. 12, no. 42, and the leaf is close to Taf. 12, no. 14. The same leaf is certainly on Muller 1968, Taf. 19, no. 548. For the irregular rhomboid beads, *see* Oswald 1945, fig. 8, no. 17. Antonine. (A008.1.24)

THE SAXON CEMETERY

Most of the Saxon burials were found during the last years of the 19th century and many of the grave goods, including pots and ironwork, found their way to Brighton museum in the form of the Griffiths and Cunliffe collections. These collections were acquired as bequests in 1904 and 1905 respectively. Further pots were recovered by Couchman and given to the Sussex Archaeological Society.

Examination of the various revisions of the 6" Ordnance Survey map for the area made during the period 1873–1938 shows the way in which the sandpit was enlarged and suggests that, although the Roman and Saxon cemeteries overlapped, the centre of the latter lay to the east of the Roman one (Fig. 1). Some of the earliest burials discovered, and therefore the most easterly ones, appear to have been warrior inhumations interred with spears and shields. An axe and a scramasax knife were also found. The bulk of the burials were, however, single pot cremations. The grave-goods have been successively discussed by Myres (1978), Dudley (1980) and Welch (1983) and the burials dated to the 6th and early 7th centuries. No certain 5th-century Saxon burials were found, although some of the iron objects could have been deposited with inhumations during that period.

THE GRAVE-GOODS

Ironwork

Most of the spearheads and the knife from the Cunliffe bequest have disintegrated over the years and are no longer available for study. An old photograph taken by Professor Baldwin-Brown (Welch 1983, pl. IV) does, however, show an axe, knife, five spearheads, a ferrule and a binding ring in a display box, but by the time Swanton came to prepare his corpus of spear types in the early 70s only three spearheads could be readily identified (1973). They have all disintegrated now. Using the display-card typeface to construct a scale for Baldwin-Brown's photograph, the lost spearheads are illustrated here for the first time.

Spearheads (Fig. 12)

103. Example of Swanton's Group H1 with a blade 0.14 metres long. The socket is bent, suggesting that the spear was broken when put in the grave.
Date. 450–550.
104. Swanton's Group H2 with a blade 0.14 metres long.
Date. Latest 5th–6th century.
105. Swanton's Group G1 with a blade 0.15 metres long.
Date. 500–600.
106. Swanton's Group K1 with a blade 0.12 metres long. The socket is bent as Fig. 103.
Date. 400–550.

The fifth spearhead was too badly corroded for the form to be identified for certain, but it looks like another example of Group H.

Knives

107. Large iron knife of ?scramasax type.

Shield bosses

108. Example of Dickinson and Harke Group 2 (Dickinson & Harke 1992).
Date. 500–600. (Particularly 500–550.)
109. 2nd example of a shield boss of this type.

Axes

110. Small axe head with rectangular section socket and convex splayed blade. Parallels from Grave 13 at the Haillot cemetery in Belgium (Evison 1965, fig. 6) and in Petersfinger Grave 21 (Leeds & Shortt 1953, 16–19 pl. 11).
Date. 400–600.

Pottery vessels

Twenty-nine complete or partially complete Saxon pots are known from the cemetery. Seven fabrics can be distinguished:
A. Coarse flint-sand gritted some vegetative material and frequent small surface vesicles.
B. Black fabric tempered with vegetative material, sometimes with a little fine sand as well.
C.1. Very fine sanded brown-black fabric with occasional small vesicles.
C.2. Similar but with mica as well.
D. Soapy, polished fabric with pale buff grog, up to 2 mm, and fine calcite.
E. Fine-sanded hard fabric with 1 mm deep red ironstone sand grits and occasional larger ironstone lumps.
F. Brown-black ware tempered with crushed, calcined flint.

Fabric A

111. Irregular-shaped pot in patchy grey/black/buff fabric with a weak, upright rim. Contained a cremation. (A008.1.127)

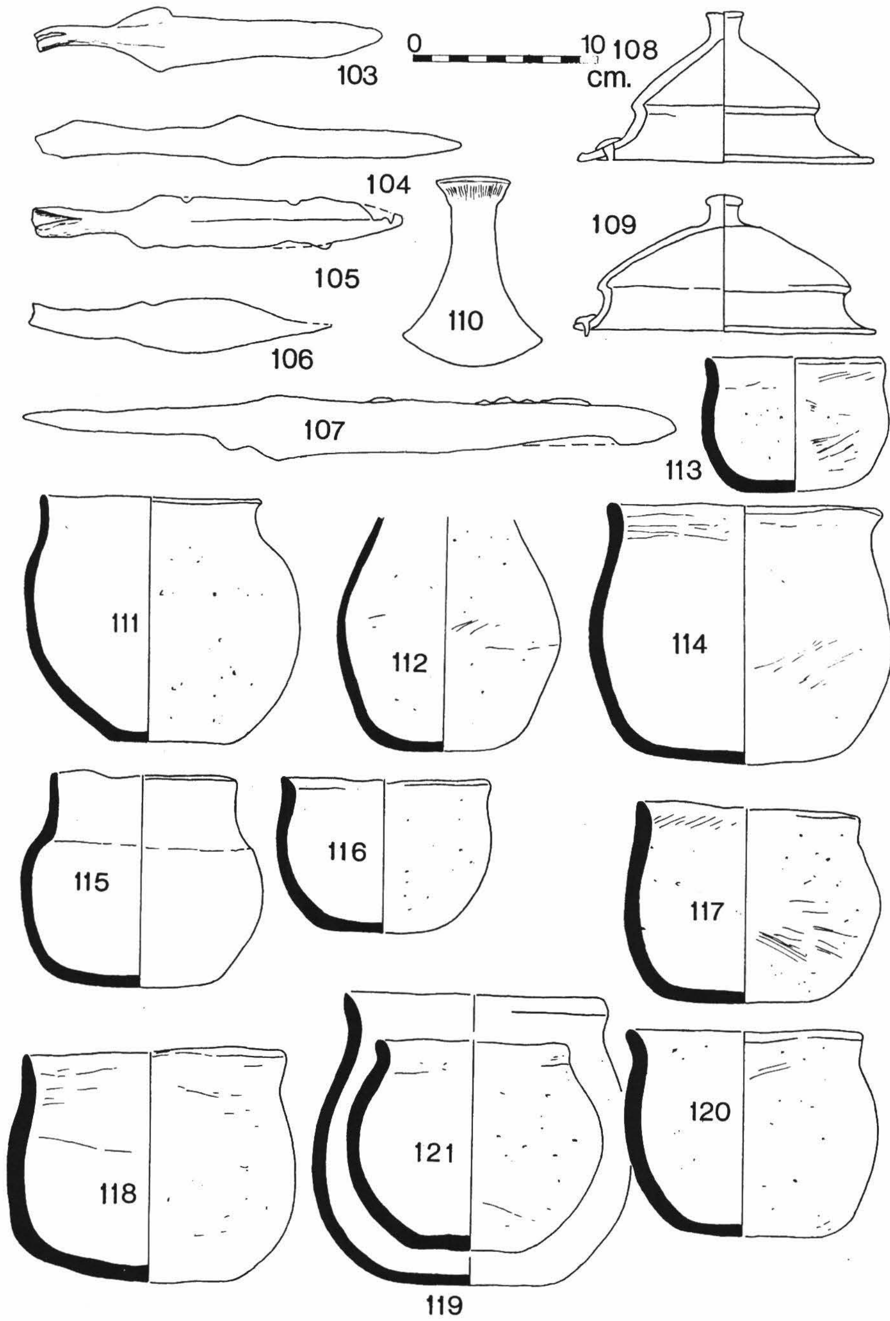


Fig. 12. Saxon grave goods 103 to 121. Scale 1:4.

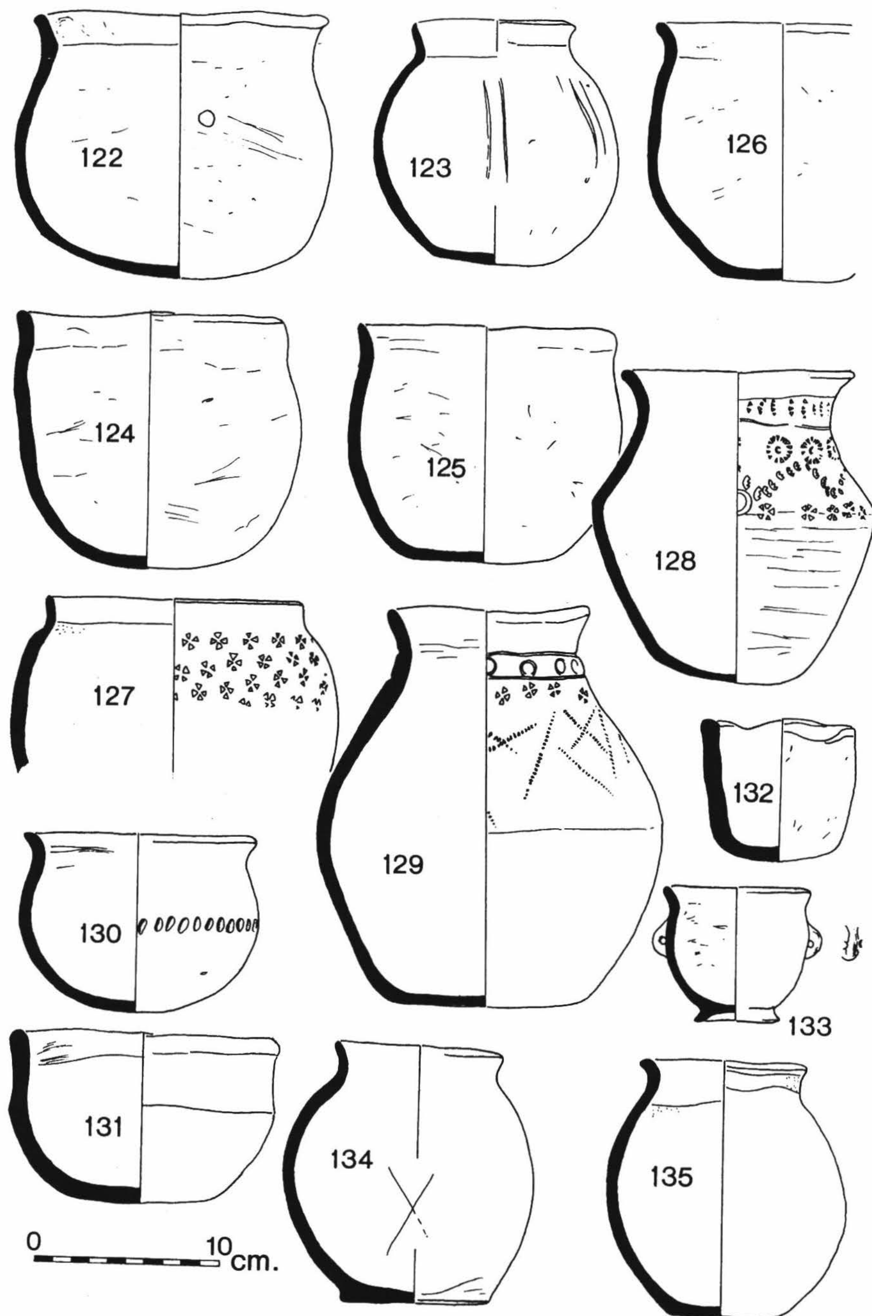


Fig. 13. Saxon pots 122 to 135 from the cemetery. Scale 1:4.

112. Biconical jar with rim missing and in 'porridgy', grey-black fabric. (A008.11.208)
113. Small bowl in 'porridgy', black fabric with soapy external surface, polished but lumpy with grass-wiping marks. Contained a cremation. (A005.11.209)
114. Jar with ill-defined rim in grey-black fabric, fired patchy black/brown/buff with rough surface smoothing. (Brighton R595b/1)
115. Vertical-rimmed bowl in black fabric, fired patchy black/brown with all-over polish and soapy feel. (Brighton R595b/2)
116. Bowl in black fabric, fired patchy buff/black with 'porridgy' polished surfaces. (Brighton R595b/3)
117. Bowl in patchy brown/black fabric, grass brushing on the exterior and with pimply-rough finish. Contained a cremation. (Brighton 619/1)
118. Necked bowl in dirty-grey-black fabric, fired reddish-brown with sooty patches and rough surface smoothing. Contained a cremation. (Brighton 619/2)
119. Jar with ill-defined neck in patchy grey/brown fabric with numerous surface vesicles. Contained a cremation. (Brighton 619/3)
120. Weakly necked bowl in grey-black 'porridgy' fabric with surface facet burnish and occasional vesicles. Contained a cremation. (Brighton 619/4)
121. Necked bowl in black fabric with orange blotches on 'porridgy' surface. Contained a cremation. (Brighton 675/115A)

Fabric B (Fig. 13)
122. Necked bowl in soapy brown/grey fabric with chaff impressions. There is a small suspension hole made in the side of the pot before firing and there may have been another opposite. External rim diameter 160 mm. (A005.11.112)
123. Globular jar decorated with vertical pairs of burnished lines on its exterior. In dirty-grey-black fabric, fired patchy buff/orange/black. (29.147)
Date. 500–599. (Welch 1983, 154)
124. Irregular bowl in black fabric fired patchy buff/black with grass wiped exterior. Contained a cremation. (A005.11.205)
125. Bowl in soapy, black fabric fired honey-brown with black external patches. (A005.11.207)
126. Jar in brown/black fabric. (Brighton 675/115A)

Fabric C
127. Jar with stubby, upright rim in black Fabric C.1, fired patchy buff/black with rosette stamps of Briscoe type A4aiii on its shoulder. (A005.11.201)
Date. 500–599. (Welch 1983)
128. Biconical jar in brown Fabric C.1, fired black with facet-burnished exterior surface and profuse stamping on the shoulder and neck. The stamp types are Briscoe's G3b, A1bi, A5ai and A5giii. (A005.11.210)
Date. 500–599. (Welch 1983)
129. Biconical jar in brown-black fabric C.1 with polished exterior. Ring-stamping on neck cordon and rosette stamping with comb impressed lines on its shoulder. The stamp types are Briscoe's A1bi, A4ai, B3a and N1. (A005.11.160)
Date. 600–699. (Welch 1983)
130. Squat, necked bowl in brown-black Fabric C.1 with stabbing around its girth and small surface vesicles. (A005.11.161) According to an old register, this pot contained a cremation as well as handmade nails and four fragments from two ivory pins.
Date. 500–699. A group of Frisian pots with similar ornament is known and is dated 600–799 (Welch 1983).
131. Small, carinated bowl in dense-black fabric C.2, polished externally and for a short distance inside the rim. The carination was created by the knife-trimming of the exterior of what is a very thick walled vessel. Contained a cremation. (A005.11.206)
132. Small cup in very crudely finished, patchy buff/black fabric C.1. Contained a cremation. (A005.11.204)
133. Cup with two opposing vertical lug-handles, in black fabric C.1 with plant impressions and facet-burnished exterior. (Brighton R675/115)

Fabric D
134. Pot in soapy fabric, fired patchy black/orange-brown with scratched cross graffito on its side. (Brighton Ac.16) There is a possibility that this pot is Roman, but its fabric, profile and finish are not typical.

Fabric E
135. Pot in hard, reddish-brown fabric. Well-potted with highly-polished exterior. Regarded by Dudley as being intermediate in form between the common globular type and taller, narrow-necked profiles of the later pagan period (Dudley 1980). (Brighton R675/114)

Fabric F (Fig. 14)
136. Small bowl with upright rim in very lumpy black fabric, fired orange with waxy, grey-brown surface. (A005.11.131)
137. Small pot in black fabric, fired patchy buff/black with the calcined flint filler concentrated in the pot base and thus indicating poor clay preparation. (A005.1.200)
138. Small, very crude pot in patchy orange/black fabric with exterior facet burnish and a few surface vesicles. (A005.11.203)
139. Lower portion of a jar in corky, black fabric fired brown with rough surfaces. (Brighton 595b/5)

THE SOURCES OF THE POTTERY FROM THE CEMETERY

Well over 100 pots survive from the Roman cemetery and span the period between the mid-1st and the end of the 3rd century or later. They were subdivided into three date ranges, 43–150, 150–270 and 270+ in an endeavour to determine any changes in pottery supply. One problem encountered is the different collection strategies originally used by Couchman for the coarse pots and Samian/mortaria. In the case of the coarse wares, nearly all of the surviving pottery consists of complete or nearly complete vessels, clearly from burials. The Samian, however, comprises a mixture of complete or reconstructed grave-group vessels and a number of small fragments which could have originated from occupation deposits around the northern and western edges of the cemetery. The same mixture was also evident with the mortaria. This suggests

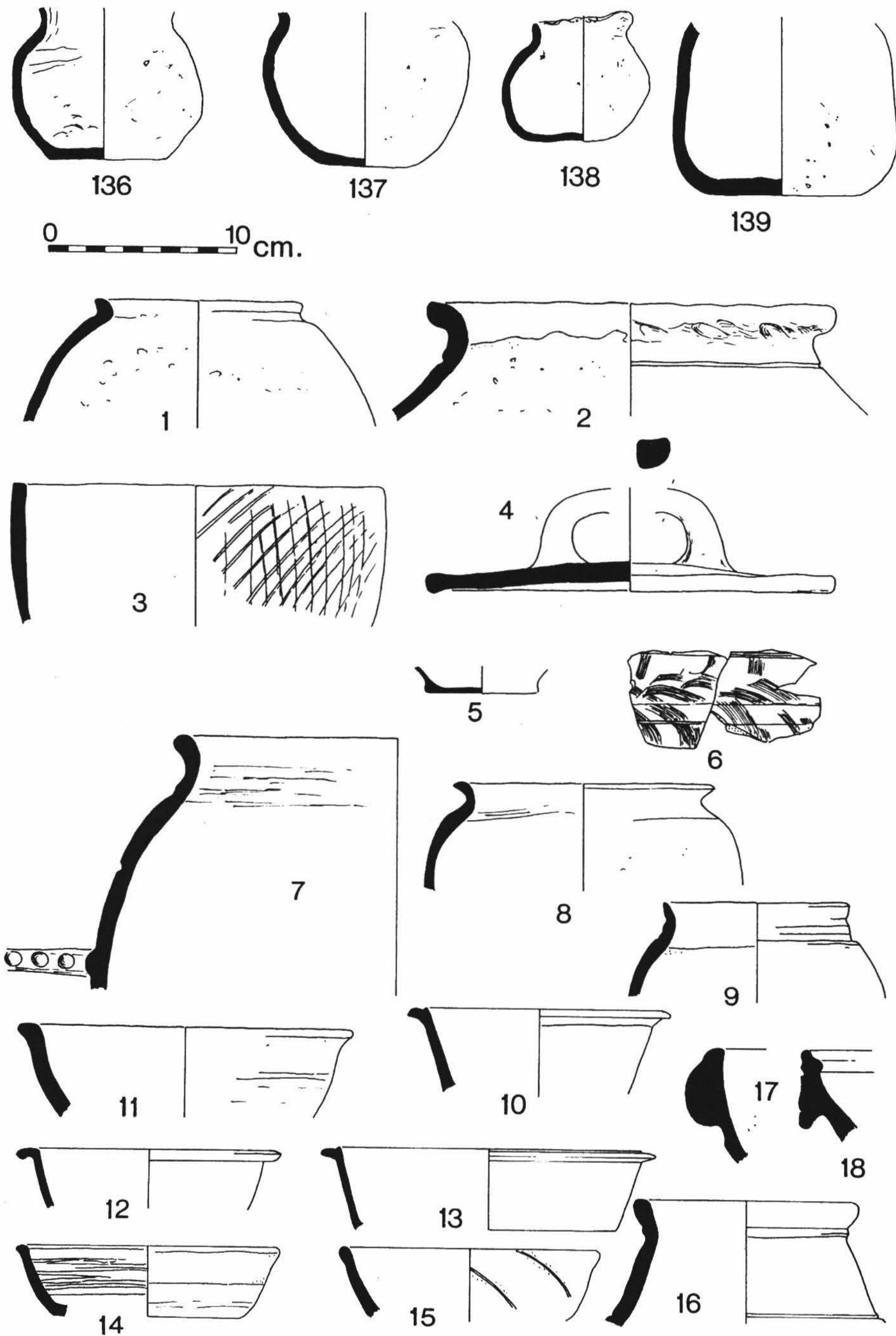


Fig. 14. Saxon pots 136 to 139 from the cemetery, and pottery, nos 1 to 6, from the 1908 hearth, nos 7 to 16 from the 'cemetery caretaker's lodge'.

that the more attractive nature of the sherds from these two pottery types meant that they were selectively retained from occupation deposits encountered by workmen. The smaller Samian and mortarium sherds have therefore been eliminated from the following quantifications.

Table 1 indicates that the bulk of the pottery was of Antonine and early 3rd-century date, confirming Couchman's original conclusion that the cemetery was in greatest use during that period. The ratio of ancillary vessels to cinerary urns (3:1) remains fairly constant during all periods, although the larger cinerary urns are more likely to have been broken and discarded by the sand-diggers, thus creating a bias towards the smaller vessels. The vessels later than 270 in date are much fewer in number and may reflect either a decline in cemetery use or the adoption of a Christian inhumation rite, which resulted in fewer grave goods.

Tables 2, 3 and 4 show the breakdown of the three dated groups of pottery as per fabric.

43–150. This collection of late 1st- to early 2nd-century pots is dominated by the various fabrics believed to emanate from the Hardham/Wiggonholt kilns, which together make-up 46.9% of the vessels. The various fabrics are associated with different vessel types, the coarse grey-ware fabric 2A being used for large jars, bowls and dishes, the finer 2B version for beakers and the gritty cream-ware fabric 9 for bottles and flagons.

Handmade East Sussex Ware is the second most important pottery fabric and accounts for the majority of the cinerary urns (reused cooking-pots), although dishes and a lid are also present. The earliest pot forms, such as Figures 5:1 and 5:2, 6:17 and 6:18, tend to be in this fabric and suggest that the supply of East Sussex ware was more significant during the pre-Flavian period, before pottery

Table 1. The pots by period.

Date	**Jars**	**Bowls**	**Dishes**	**Beakers**	**Store-jars**	**Others**		**Total**	**%**
	No.	**No.**	**No.**	**No.**	**No.**		**No.**	**No.**	
43–150	9	10	8	14	1	Flagons	4		
						Lids	1		
						Mortaria	2	49	32.0
150–270	27	24	16	19	1	Flagons	3		
						Lids	1		
						Mortaria	1	92	60.1
270+	2	2	1	6	–	Bottles	1	12	7.9
Total	**38**	**36**	**25**	**39**	**2**		**13**	**153**	

Table 2. Pots dated *c.* 43–150.

Fabric	**Jars**		**Bowls**		**Dishes**		**Beakers**		**Store-jars**		**Others**			**Total**	
	No.	**%**	**No.**	**%**	**No.**	**%**	**No.**	**%**	**No.**	**%**		**No.**	**%**	**No.**	**%**
1A	6		–		2		–		1		Lids	1		10	20.4
1D	–		1		–		–		–		–			1	2.0
2A	3		2		2		1		–		–			8	16.3
2B	–		1		–		6		–		–			7	14.3
3B	–		–		–		6		–		–			6	12.2
4	–		3		–		–		–		Flagon	1		4	8.2
5A	–		1		–		–		–		–			1	2.0
7	–		–		–		1		–		–			1	2.0
9	–		–		–		–		–		Flagons	3		3	6.1
S.G. Samian	–		2		3		–		–		–			5	10.2
C.G. Samian	–		–		1									1	2.0
Mortaria	–		–		–		–		–			2		2	4.3
Total	**9**	**18.4**	**10**	**20.4**	**8**	**16.3**	**14**	**28.6**	**1**	**2.0**		**7**	**14.3**	**49**	

production became fully established at Hardham. The predominance of Hardham/Wiggonholt wares after AD 70 is understandable, as the Hassocks settlement was directly linked to the production centres 25 kilometres away by road, and there were only one or two producers of quality wheel-turned wares east of the Adur at this time. One of these may have been in the Chailey area, only ten kilometres east of Hassocks on the Sussex Greensand way. The newly discovered kilns there are of early 3rd-century date, but their white-cored fabric differs little from that of the earlier fabric 3B vessels from Hassocks.

There was very little pottery from other sources: a small beaker is of Thameside origin and probably dates to the latter part of the period. As with the two Brockley Hill mortaria, it was probably brought down the road from London to Brighton. It is unusual to find mortaria being used as grave-goods, but these two examples are sufficiently complete as to suggest that they come from burials.

South Gaulish Samian ware accounted for 10.2% of the pottery and early 2nd-century Central Gaulish samian for an even smaller 2.0%. Of the South Gaulish Samian, one of the two figured bowls had been broken and rivetted in antiquity, and one of the dishes had been made by grinding down the base of a similarly figured Dr.30. All of this suggests that the vessels were old by the time they were interred and may belong to burials of the following phase.

150–270. The pottery of this period indicates changes in the nature of supply and suggests an inability by the big manufacturers to cope with local demand during the early 3rd century. The most important local supplier was still the Hardham/ Wiggonholt centre, although their share of the total pottery assemblage (30.4%) is down on that of the previous period, as is that of East Sussex Ware. Much of the pottery now came from much further afield, with Central Gaulish Samian accounting for nearly a quarter of all the pottery (including most of the bowls and dishes) and Nene Valley, Colchester and Moselkeramik fine-wares for many of the beakers. Fabrics 2A and B wasters present in the cemetery material could be from local kilns, but may have been obtained at the Hardham kilns for funerary purposes, as recent examination of the vessels from the Ospringe cemetery in Kent by the author has revealed Thameside wasters and seconds considerably further away from the kilns of that industry.

There are three handmade vessels in unusual fabrics (1B & C). Fabric 1C is characterized by orange, crushed-tile filler and represented by the globular jar from Grave Group 2 and another stray example

Table 3. Pots dated *c.* 150–270.

Fabric	**Jars**		**Bowls**		**Dishes**		**Beakers**		**Store-jars**		**Others**			**Total**	
	No.	**%**	**No.**	**%**	**No.**	**%**	**No.**	**%**	**No.**	**%**		**No.**	**%**	**No.**	**%**
1A	14		2		–		–		–			–		16	17.4
1B	1		–		–		–		–			–		1	1.1
1C	2		–		–		–		–			–		2	2.2
2A	6		2		2		–		1		Mortaria	1		12	13.0
2B	3		3		–		2		–		Flagons	2		10	10.9
3A	–		–		1		–		–		Lids	1		2	2.2
3B	–		2		–		4		–			–		6	6.5
4	–		2		–		2		–			–		4	4.3
5A	–		–		–		1		–			–		1	1.1
7	1		–		–		–		–			–		1	1.1
8B	–		–		1		1							2	2.2
9	–		–		–		–		–		Flagon	1		1	1.1
11	–		–		–		4		–			–		4	4.3
12	–		–		–		2		–			–		2	2.2
13	–		–		–		1		–			–		1	1.1
C.G. Samian	–		11		9		2		–			–		22	23.9
E.G. Samian	–		2		3									5	5.4
Total	**27**	**29.3**	**24**	**26.1**	**16**	**17.4**	**19**	**20.7**	**1**	**1.1**		**5**	**5.4**	**92**	

Table 4. Pots dated 270+.

Fabric	Jars		Bowls		Dishes		Beakers		Store-jars			Others		Total	
	No.	**%**	**No.**	**%**	**No.**	**%**	**No.**	**%**	**No.**	**%**		**No.**	**%**	**No.**	**%**
2B			1											1	8.3
3B	–		–		–		2		–			–		2	16.7
5B	–		1		–		–		–		Bottles	1		2	16.7
6	1		–		–		–		–			–		1	8.3
8A	1		–		–		–		–			–		1	8.3
10	–		–		–		4		–			–		4	33.4
14	–		–		1		–		–			–		1	8.3
Total	**2**	**16.7**	**2**	**16.7**	**1**	**8.3**	**6**	**50.0**	**–**			**1**	**8.3**	**12**	

(Figs 2.3 & 4.21). The Samian platter from Grave Group 2 is of Late Antonine date and had undergone very considerable wear before deposition. From this we can conclude that the burial was probably of early 3rd-century date. The fussy decoration on the fabric 1B vessel from that cremation is reminiscent of that on some Early Saxon pots and suggests production by someone skilled in the working of clay, but not involved in commercial pottery manufacture. A tile maker would be an obvious candidate and such a kiln was found just to the west of the Hassocks cemetery (Couchman 1925, 35). Fabric 1B is tempered with very coarse crushed-ironstone and the only externally-dated vessel of this type is in Grave Group IX. It is a split waster of exceptionally crude manufacture with profuse ironstone fragments up to 5 mm across and an irregular, rudimentary rim. This pot was almost certainly a household product, made by someone with minimal potting expertise. It can be shown to be approximately contemporary with the Grave Group 2 pot by association with two worn Antonine Samian platters and a 3rd-century Glass Centre Boss brooch. These two vessels suggest that there was a local coarse-ware shortage during the early 3rd century, possibly brought about by a decline in Hardham/Wiggonholt pottery production levels. This postulated shortage may also be responsible for the unusual practice of using worn out mortaria as grave goods.

270+. There are far fewer pots which can be attributed to this phase of cemetery use. The most important single source was now the New Forest kilns, which supplied purple colour-coated beakers from *c.* 270 onwards. The nearby Chailey kilns were responsible for another two folded beakers and a centre at or near Findon accounted for a polished red ware Dr.38 bowl and a bottle (Lyne forthcoming C). The putative Findon kiln supplied small quantities of copies of Dr.37 and 38 bowls and other forms to Chichester, Neatham, Otford and other sites. The production of these wares continued the Hardham/Wiggonholt tradition of producing good-quality Samian copies, previously expressed in rouletted South Gaulish imitations (Winbolt 1927) and then in the work of the Pulborough/Aldgate potter using Central Gaulish moulds (Simpson 1952). There is a solitary BB1 cooking-pot but no East Sussex ware for certain.

There are only 29 pots surviving from the Saxon cemetery and most of these mainly 6th- and early 7th-century vessels probably originated in local household production. Fabrics C.1 and 2 are, however, of superior quality and associated with stamped and otherwise decorated wares. They may have been some of the products of a more organized industry, which had a wider distribution for its pottery. In sharp contrast, the Fabric F pots are of exceptionally poor quality and may belong to the very end of the Saxon fabric series at Hassocks. Pottery manufacture declined both in quantity and quality during the Middle Saxon period in southern England and it has been suggested that this was due to the demise of the pagan burial rite (Dudley 1980). The crushed flint filler in these four pots certainly has more in common with later Saxon potting traditions than with earlier ones and we may perhaps attribute these little, undersized vessels to the late 7th century.

THE ROMAN COINS FROM THE SANDPIT

Couchman (1925) lists 34 legible coins from the sandpit and another 5 examples found more recently are in Brighton and Lewes museums. In

Table 5. The coins by period.

Period		No.	%	Period		No.	%
I	to AD 41	–	–	X	259–275	5	12.8
IIa	41–54	–	–	XI	275–294	8	20.4
IIb	54–69	–	–	XII	294–317	–	–
III	69–96	3	7.7	XIIIa	317–330	2	5.2
IV	96–117	1	2.6	XIIIb	330–348	2	5.2
V	117–138	3	7.7	XIV	348–364	5	12.7
VI	138–161	7	17.9	XVa	364–378	–	–
VIIa	161–180	2	5.2	XVb	378–388	–	–
VIIb	180–193	1	2.6	XVI	388–402	–	–
VIII	193–222	–	–				
IXa	222–238	–	–				
IXb	238–259	–	–				

analysing the pattern of this coinage Reece's system has been used (1975).

There is a clear peak in numbers of Antonine issues, of which the traceable coins tend to be rather or very worn — suggesting that they were deposited, along with similarly worn-out Central Gaulish Samian vessels, in early 3rd-century burials. There was very limited production of base coinage during the earlier part of the 3rd century and the Antonine issues tended to remain in circulation until they were illegible. This first peak in coinage therefore supports the evidence of the pottery in suggesting a predominance of late 2nd- to early 3rd-century burials within the cemetery. The two later peaks in coin loss or deliberate deposition are less easy to explain. The first of these was in the late 3rd century and does not conform with the pottery pattern, in that only 7.9% of the complete vessels are later than 270. These coins and those of the third peak during the mid-4th-century account for more than 50% of all the coinage and could reflect either the former presence of late and possibly Christian inhumations with no other grave-goods, or late occupation west of the cemetery continuing after its disuse. Pottery of 4th century as well as earlier date was found in black occupation soil over the Sussex Greensand Way metalling at the western end of the sandpit (Margary 1935, sections 21 & 22). 4th-century pottery has also been found in the gardens of the houses on the south side of Hurst Road, opposite and west of Ham Farm. It would appear that occupation extended from the Roman crossroads along the Sussex Greensand Way as far as Ham Farm throughout the Roman period and may have continued after the adjacent cemetery had ceased to be used.

OTHER FEATURES WITHIN THE CEMETERY

CREMATION PITS AND A HEARTH

Couchman refers to the finding of 50 or more pits, of which some were relatively modern and used for the interment of farm cattle. The smaller ones contained black soil with occasional charcoal and sherds of Roman pottery, and were thought by Couchman to have been dug to receive surplus cremation ashes — only part of which were buried within the urns. It is more likely that some of the pits contained entire un-urned cremations and that others were of a domestic nature, but, unfortunately, the contents of these features do not survive.

A hearth within the area of the cemetery was, however, excavated by a Mr Jacobs in 1908 and the finds given to Brighton Museum. The pottery which was found is described as including both Roman and Saxon sherds, but that which survives in the museum collections consists almost entirely of Latest Iron Age/pre-Flavian pottery, with just a few 3rd- and 4th-century fragments of probably intrusive nature. The early pottery was heavily refired and accompanied by a wing-and-fanbow brooch of mid-1st-century date. This hearth may well have been used for cremating the dead, although the recorded presence of animal bones in association suggests the possibility of domestic use.

The pottery is particularly interesting in that it includes large fragments from what must be some of the earliest examples of East Sussex Ware vessels.

Fig. 14

1. Top of large bead-rimmed jar in patchy orange-brown Fabric 1A with facet-burnished exterior and lumpy, pitted interior. (R5291/220A)

2. Top of storage vessel in very coarse fabric with profuse, up to 3 mm off-white and pink inclusions, and fired grey with patchy orange/grey surfacing. (R5291/220B)
3. Straight-sided bowl in hard, pale-grey Fabric 1A fired brownish-grey with burnished latticing. (R5291/220E)
4. Part of lid in five joining fragments. In hard, dirty-grey Fabric 1A fired patchy orange-grey. (Two fragments have been re-fired darker grey.) The rod handle is so far unique in East Sussex Ware lids, appears to be slightly off-centre and this suggests that there may have been more than one such attachment. (R5291/223)
5. Jar base in grey, micaceous Fabric 2B. (One sherd is grey but fits on to a buff fragment, suggesting re-firing on the hearth.) (R5291/221B)
6. Body sherds from a micaceous (?Hardham) 'London ware' beaker re-fired patchy orange-black. Six fragments altogether. (R5291/226)

Apart from the illustrated fragments, the early material includes fragments from a re-fired East Sussex Ware jar with acute latticing (226A), a base from a similar vessel (221D), a triple lobed lagena handle re-fired orange (224A) and a pottery spindle-whorl in Hardham grey ware (224B).

THE 'CEMETERY-CARETAKER'S LODGE'

Couchman refers to the remains of a small building lying on the west side of the cemetery as the cemetery-caretaker's lodge. The reserve collections of the Sussex Archaeological Society at Barbican House include a collection of pottery rims and other sherds acquired in 1960 and described as coming from this building. They are thought to have come from an otherwise unrecorded excavation of its site, now in the grounds of 20 Hurst Road. This pottery assemblage appears to be a coherent group of late 2nd-/early 3rd-century sherds and is quantified here using the Estimated Vessel Equivalent method, based on rim fragments as percentages of entire rim circumferences (Orton 1975).

The assemblage differs from the broadly contemporary cemetery group of vessels quantified in Table 3 in having far less Samian present: 10.9% compared with 29.3%. This disparity may be due to a bias towards the salvage of superior quality wares by the sandpit workers, but the possible practice of using old, worn out Samian vessels as grave-goods during the early 3rd century rather than discarding them in the rubbish could also have contributed to it. It is known that Samian was prized by its owners, witness the quantities present at the shore forts of Portchester and Pevensey (Cunliffe 1975; Lyne forthcoming B). These establishments were not founded until *c.* AD 280, 80 years after the last importation of Central Gaulish Samian. We should, therefore, expect fairly small percentages of Samian to appear in domestic rubbish deposits contemporary with its importation. This is particularly to be expected on rural sites, where it may not have been so easily obtained.

Despite the comparative lack of Samian dishes, the total percentage of this vessel form is up from 17.4 in the cemetery Antonine pottery to 32.6%. This is due to the presence of quantities of fragments from ?Chailey Fabric 3B dishes — vessels of inferior quality to Samian and therefore likely to have had a shorter life in use. Such products account for 24.0% of all the pottery in this assemblage; a similar percentage to that for Hardham fabrics (23.0%).

The caretaker's house assemblage is striking in

Table 6.

Fabric	**Jars**		**Bowls**		**Dishes**		**Beakers**		**Store-jars**		**Others**		**Total**	
	EVES	**%**	**EVES**	**%**	**EVES**	**%**	**EVES**	**%**	**EVES**	**%**	**EVES**	**%**	**EVES**	**%**
1A	1.52		-		0.30								1.82	37.7%
2A	0.66		-		0.12								0.78	16.1
2B	0.15												0.15	3.1
3A					0.26								0.26	5.4
3B					0.86		0.45						1.31	27.1
6	0.17												0.17	3.5
7							0.34						0.34	7.1
Totalcse	**2.50**	**51.8**	**-**		**1.54**	**31.9**	**0.79**	**16.3**					**4.83**	**74.4**
4	0.44												0.44	6.8
5A			0.12										0.12	1.9
Samian			0.07		0.57						0.06		0.70	10.9
Mortaria											0.39		0.39	6.0
Tot.all	**2.97**	**45.8**	**0.19**	**2.9**	**2.11**	**32.6**	**0.79**	**12.2**			**0.45**	**6.9**	**6.48**	

having very few bowls. This may reflect a specialized function for the building, but it may also be noted that the most common Hardham/Wiggonholt late 2nd-century bowl form was of the necked variety, sometimes with girth carination. Rim sherds from vessels of this type are often virtually indistinguishable from jar rim fragments, and may, in fact, be represented in Table 6 under the heading of jars.

The material acquired in 1960 also included two small, mortared bricks of the type used in *opus spicatum* flooring. Floors of this type are rare, but one is known in the Lickfold villa, which is only a short distance to the west along the Sussex Greensand way and close to the Wiggonholt pottery kilns. The Lickfold villa floor was dated *c.* 140–180 (Evans 1974, 114) and the pottery suggests that the Hassocks building is of similar date.

The following vessel types are not represented in the cemetery material (The mortaria identifications and comments are by K. Hartley):

Fig. 14

7. Large, girth-cordoned jar in dirty-grey-buff Fabric 1A with finger jabbed cordon.
8. Handmade jar in dirty-grey East Sussex Ware with some angular shaly grits and fired buff-brown with black patches.
9. Weak-rimmed jar in handmade Fabric 1A, fired black externally and over the rim and buff internally.
10. Incipient-beaded-and-flanged bowl in micaceous orange Fabric 5A with deep-red internal colour-coat.
11. Bead-rimmed dish in brown-black Fabric 1A, fired grey-buff internally and polished black externally.
12. Flanged dish in off-white/buff Fabric 3A with internal blue-grey slip extending over the rim. Paralleled at Meeching School, Newhaven in Antonine assemblage (Green 1976, fig. 32-202).
13. Incipient-beaded-and-flanged dish in buff Fabric 3A with internal blue-grey slip.
14. Straight-sided dish in pale-grey Fabric 3B, fired blotchy-brown/black with micaceous external surface polished in bands.
15. Similar dish in off-white Fabric 3B, fired micaceous black with internal black slip and with diagonal burnished lines on its exterior.
16. Upper part of large beaker in hard-grey Fabric 2A with smoothed exterior.
17. Mortarium of Gillam Type 255, in pinkish cream fabric with minute brown inclusions and crushed white flint trituration grits. Import from Gallia Belgica dated 150–200+. External rim diameter 240 mm.
18. Wall-sided mortarium in cream fabric with profuse brown and black inclusions and white to grey crushed-flint trituration grits. Almost identical to an example from Portchester (Fulford 1975A, no. 71) and perhaps made within a triangle between Fishbourne, Chichester and Winchester, where this form, in this fabric, mostly appears. *c.* 160–200/250.

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The excavation of a Romano-British site at Moraunt Drive, Middleton-on-Sea, West Sussex, 1992

by Luke Barber

with contributions by
John Cooper
David Goode
Pat Hinton
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Wendy Wood

Rescue excavations by the Field Archaeology Unit, University College London, revealed part of a Romano-British farmstead with occupation spanning the 1st to 4th centuries. One probable rectangular post-hole building was recognized as well as numerous other post-holes, pits, ditches and stake-holes. Economic data from the Romano-British features suggest a mixed agricultural regime. Although no prehistoric features were located, the presence of a little unabraded pottery suggests an Iron Age site may lie in the vicinity.

INTRODUCTION

The site at Middleton is situated on the West Sussex coastal plain at NGR SU 97010061. It is located on slightly raised ground at approximately 5 m OD (Fig. 1). The topographical setting of the site is similar to that of the nearby Iron Age settlement at North Bersted (Bedwin & Pitts 1978). The underlying geology of the immediate area consists of a typically orange-brown Brickearth (Hodgson 1967), although in some of the original assessment trenches irregular grey areas with a high organic content were also noted (for example Trench B: Fig. 2).

The area around the excavations is predominantly occupied by residential housing. Houses fronting Moraunt Drive border the site to the west, while Marlow Close with its associated housing, lies to the south. The area to the north and east were undeveloped at the time of the excavations (Fig. 2).

The area in the vicinity of the site is fairly rich in archaeological remains. Middle Bronze Age pottery was found in the 1980s prior to residential development at SU 968005 and a Bronze Age bucket urn was located during the extension of Priestley Way at SU 96990047 (Wedmore 1982). When a number of houses were proposed for the area of the site, Mark Taylor, County Archaeologist for West Sussex, required an archaeological assessment to be undertaken prior to the commencement of this development. As a result, the Field Archaeology Unit, University College London, was commissioned by Beazer Homes (Southern) Ltd to undertake these and subsequent archaeological works before construction started. The assessment took the form of six machine excavated trial trenches giving a 2% sample of the site. The specification for this work, and the subsequent larger excavations, was provided by Mark Taylor. Funding for all the archaeological work was provided by Beazer Homes (Southern) Ltd.

THE ASSESSMENT EXCAVATIONS

The six trial trenches (Fig. 2 A–F) were dug at the end of October 1992 in order to ascertain the presence or absence, character, extent, condition and date of archaeological remains on the site. Unfortunately owing to adverse weather conditions, all the assessment trenches flooded with 50 mm of water before detailed sample excavation and recording could take place. It was, however, clear that archaeological remains were present.

TRENCH A (Fig. 2 only)

This 14 x 1.5 m trench revealed two archaeological features cutting the Brickearth. The first was a roughly circular area of dark grey silt clay with a diameter of *c.* 410 mm (Context 2). This feature, which may have represented a post-hole or a natural variation in the Brickearth, was located 300 mm from the north-west end of the trench. The second feature consisted of an ill-defined, but steep-sided ditch (?) running obliquely across the trench in an east–west direction (Context 3). It was located between 9.2 and 10.8 m from the trench's north-west end. The fill, of medium to dark grey brown silt clay, yielded a single sherd of 16th- to 17th-

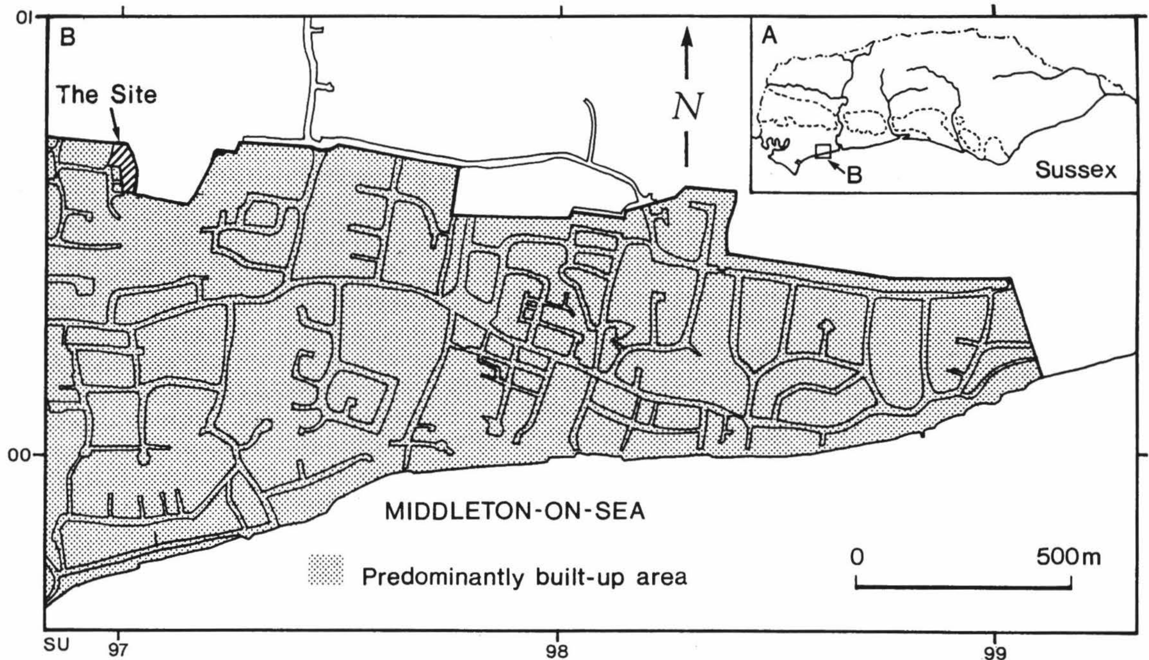

Fig. 1. Moraunt Drive, Middleton-on-Sea. Site location.

century pottery. Neither feature in Trench A could be fully investigated owing to flooding.

TRENCH B (Fig. 2 only)

This 16 x 1.5 m trench revealed a single feature cutting the Brickearth below 500–600 mm of overburden. This appeared to be a 530 mm wide ditch running at a right angle to the trench 1.9 m from its southern end (Context 3). The fill (Context 2), of light orange/brown silt clay, was only partly investigated owing to flooding and yielded no finds. It is possible that this ditch was of a similar date to that in Trench A.

TRENCHES C–E (Fig. 2 only)

These trenches revealed natural Brickearth below 400–600 cm of overburden. All were archaeologically sterile.

TRENCH F (Fig. 2)

Before its extension, Trench F was an east–west trench measuring 12 x 1.5 metres. The Brickearth was found to lie between 400–450 mm below the ground surface at this point. Cutting the Brickearth were a number of features, mainly consisting of small post-holes containing small quantities of Romano-British pottery. Owing to flooding, only an initial rough plan could be made of the exposed features (Contexts 2–15) and few could be sampled by excavation before the trench was backfilled.

THE AREA EXCAVATION: METHODS

Following the findings in assessment Trench F, Beazer Homes (Southern) Ltd agreed to fund rescue excavations of the area likely to produce archaeological remains. This work was undertaken by the Field Archaeology Unit over a four-day period in early November 1992.

Trench F was re-excavated and an area around the original trench was opened by machine (*see* Fig. 2 for trench size). After machining, the surface of the Brickearth was cleaned by hand in order to locate the archaeological features. Once cleaned, the larger features were individually numbered and most were subsequently subjected to a 50% excavated sample in an attempt to ascertain their nature, retrieve dating evidence, and where appropriate, environmental samples (Contexts 118, 128, 131, 145 & 152 *see below*). All numbered features (mainly comprising cuts, fills and cuts and fills) were described on context record forms which form part of the site archive. A few of the minor features were also numbered in the field, particularly if they were

sampled by excavation (for example stake-holes 16–19: Fig. 3). Owing to the quantity of small features and the limited time available, most were not numbered or investigated. All excavated features had their section drawn at a scale of 1:10 (a selection of these appear on Figs 4 & 5). All features (including unexcavated examples) were planned to a scale of 1:20 (Fig. 3). The finds from the site along with the archive will be housed at Littlehampton Museum (Acc. No. A1881).

THE AREA EXCAVATION: RESULTS (Figs 3, 4 & 5)

The removal of the top-soil (Context 1) from the extended trench exposed a densely-packed area of well in excess of 200 features (Fig. 3). Most of these consisted of pits, post-holes, ditches and numerous stake-holes/root-holes dating to the Romano-British period. Unfortunately, the relative chronology of most of these features was almost impossible to ascertain as even where they inter-cut, their fills were usually identical. The finds from certain features helped little in securing phasing as most consisted of small abraded coarse pottery body-sherds.

Despite the confusing jumble of pits and post-holes, one probable structure, represented by a roughly rectangular setting of post-holes, was located (Fig. 3, Contexts 74–84, 88(?), 91, 92, 95, 97, 100, 125, 133, 148 & 159–62). Only some of these post-holes were excavated (for example Figs 4 & 5, Sections 5, 6, 15, 16, 28 & 32), but taken as a whole appear to represent a timber building measuring some 7.5 by 3 m. Many of the building's post-holes were inter-cutting and presumably represent the insertion of replacement timbers. For example, Context 88 cut 95, but was subsequently cut by 89 (Fig. 3). However, when others were sectioned (Fig. 4, Sections 6 & 15) the similarity of their stone-free medium brown grey silt-clay fills made phasing impossible.

An alternative eastern end to this building, (or potentially a later extension), was marked by a line of inter-cutting post-holes (Fig. 3, Contexts 141–4). If this was the case then the lack of a post-hole in the south-east corner is somewhat surprising. It is likely, however, that if a post-hole existed at this point it was not recognized as it would have been cut through the fill of 145 (see below) rather than through the Brickearth.

Post-holes 148 and 159–62 overlay a series of large inter-cutting pits (Fig. 3, Contexts 146, 149 & 150 and Fig. 5, Section 28). The south and south-east sides of these features were not traced with certainty and it is possible they were related in some way to another large feature to the south-east (Fig. 3 145/147). The fills of 150 (Contexts 151–5, Fig. 5, Section 28) were generally all of dark grey/brown silt-clays but varied from each other in lithic and charcoal inclusions. With the limited time available it was not possible to trace the southern extent of these pits or the full plan of the large feature to the south-east (145). A slot was, however, excavated through the latter which defined part of its northern edge (Figs 3 & 5, Section 42). The southern edge to this feature (145) lay outside the excavated area.

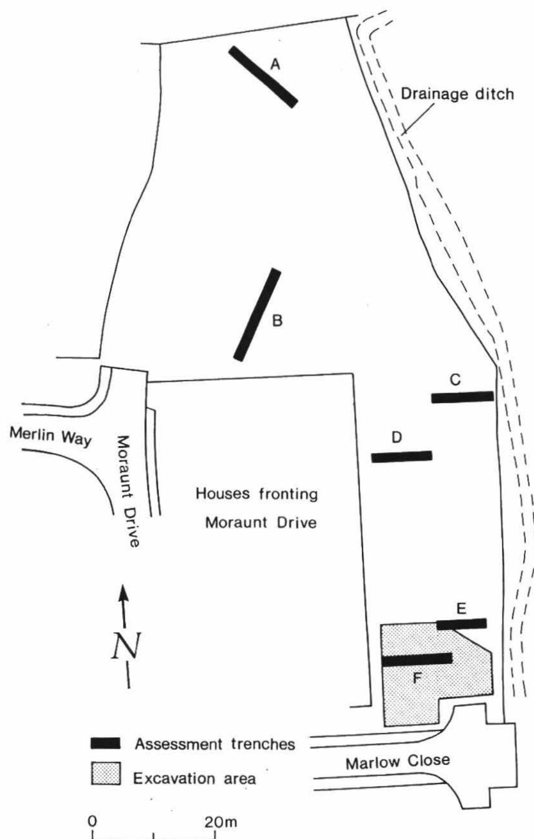

Fig. 2. Moraunt Drive, Middleton-on-Sea. Trench location plan.

A small test pit, excavated from the base of the slot, revealed the bottom of 145 (Fig. 5, Section 42). The fill of dark grey silt-clay contained relatively high quantities of pottery and Bognor Rock fragments. It is possible this feature represented an infilled pond.

Although the exact relationship was unclear, the

MORAUNT DRIVE, Middleton-on-Sea

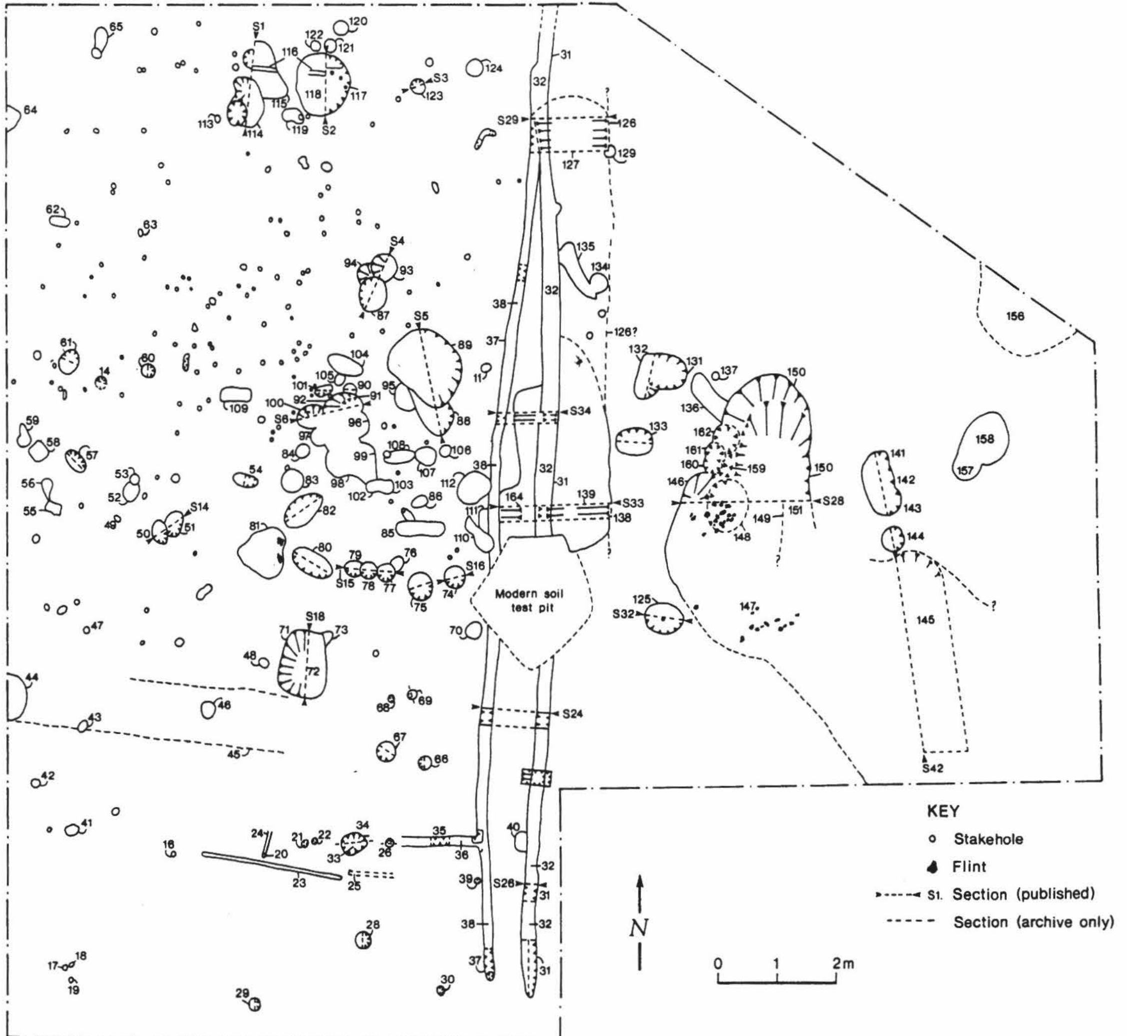

Fig. 3. Moraunt Drive, Middleton-on-Sea. Post-excavation plan of Trench F.

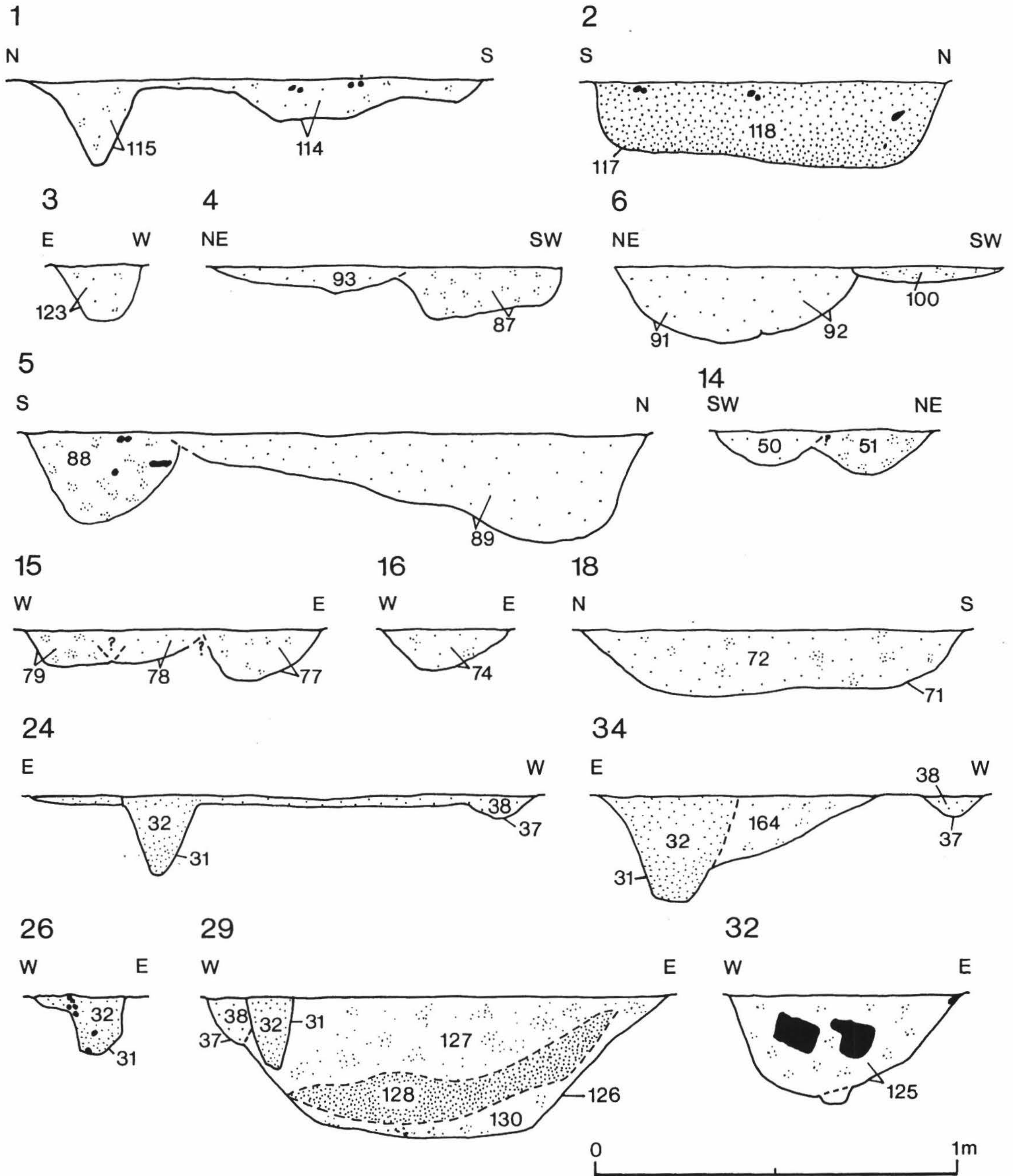

Fig. 4. Trench F: Sections.

lack of post-holes in the central section of the rectangular building suggested that a north–south ditch (Context 126) had subsequently been cut through the area, eradicating the earlier post-holes. The ditch contained three fills (127, 128 & 130, Fig. 4, Section 29). Although the central fill (128) was a distinctive dark grey-black charcoal rich silt-clay, the upper fill (127) consisted of redeposited Brickearth. This unfortunately prevented the ditch's entire course from being traced without full excavation.

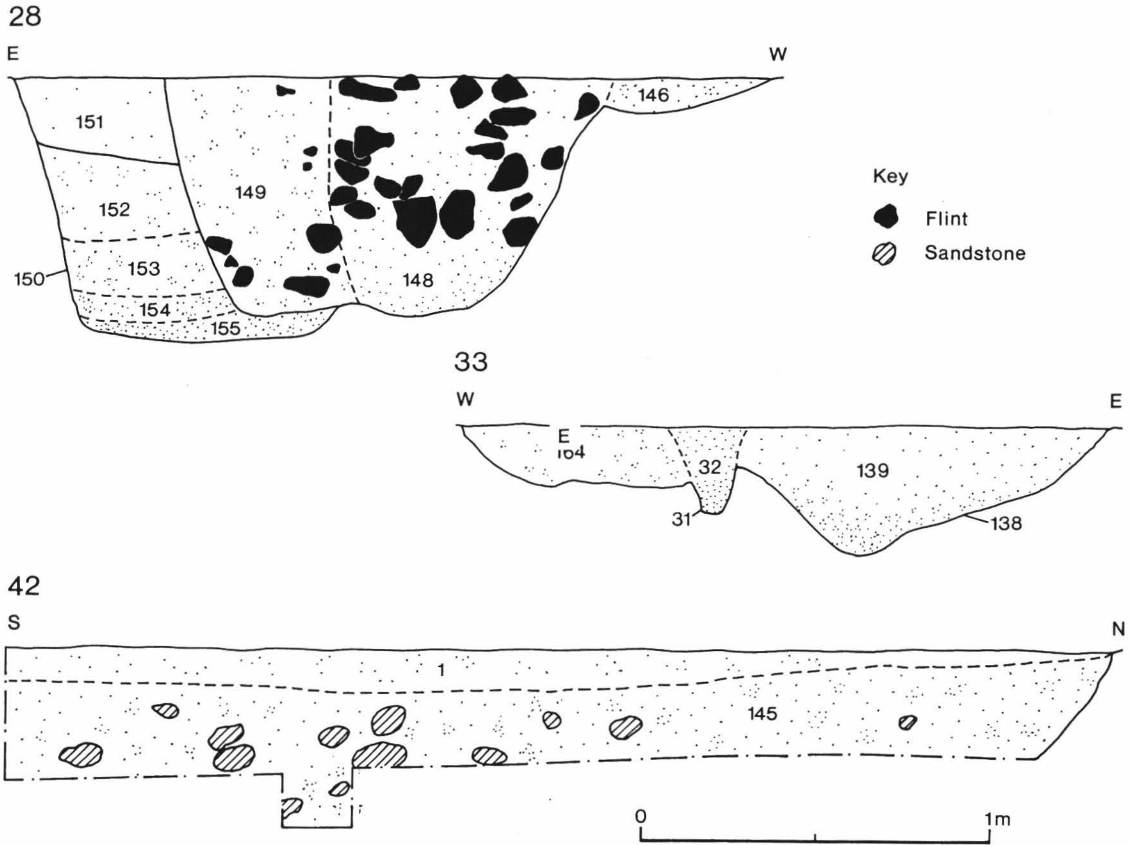

Fig. 5. Trench F: Sections.

However, it is likely that a feature sectioned to the south (Fig. 3, Context 138/139 and Fig. 5, Section 33) was part of the same ditch. The relationship of ditch 126/138 to a further cut (164, Figs 4 & 5, Sections 33 & 34) was not clear. To the south, the course of ditch 126/138 had been cut by a recent soil test pit. Beyond this point the ditch's course was not traced. It is possible this ditch represented a field boundary which was connected to an indistinct and unexcavated east–west ditch which lay to the west (Fig. 3, Context 45).

Cutting 126 was a narrow steep-sided slot (Fig. 3, Context 37, (fill 38)) which had subsequently been replaced by a similar feature (Fig. 3, Context 31, (fill 32) and Figs 4 & 5, Sections 24, 26, 29, 33 & 34). Both slots terminated before the southern trench edge although the earlier of the two (37), had an off-set slot (36) close to its southern terminal (Fig. 3). It is possible these features represented foundation trenches for fence lines which replaced the earlier ditched boundary.

To the west a number of shallow beam slots/ plank stains were located (Contexts 23, 24, 25, and to the north, Context 116, Fig. 3). Their exact function remains unclear.

A number of small pits/large post-holes were also located during the excavations. For example, Contexts 71 (fill 72), 117 (fill 118), 89, 114, 115, and 131. The low quantities of finds from these features suggests that rubbish disposal may not have been their primary function. Although most of these features were sectioned (Fig. 4, Sections 1, 2, 5 & 18), some remained unexcavated (for example Contexts 44 & 156).

The majority of the remaining features consisted of numerous small post-holes and stake-holes conforming to no obvious plan. (For example, Contexts 26, 28, 50, 51, 66, 87, 93, 94, 110, 114, 123, 124, 157 & 158 on Fig. 3 and Sections 3, 4 & 14 on Fig. 4). Stake-holes were found almost exclusively

to the west of ditch 126. Many of these were not numbered; they may have been the result of tree-root activity. However, the few that were excavated (Fig. 3, Contexts 16–19 & 30) all appeared to be shallow (most were less than 80 mm deep), straight-sided, and of probable man-made origin.

THE FINDS

THE POTTERY By Luke Barber (incorporating comments by Sue Hamilton, Malcolm Lyne and Valery Rigby)

Introduction

The excavations produced a relatively small quantity of pottery: 323 sherds weighing 3520 g. With the exception of a few prehistoric and post-Roman sherds, the vast majority of the assemblage is of Romano-British date (97% of the assemblage by sherd count).

The aim of this report is twofold: firstly to provide a date range for the excavated features/occupation of the site, and secondly, to illustrate the range of fabrics and forms present.

Unfortunately, the majority of the sherds are small and undiagnostic, often having suffered badly in the acidic ground conditions. Despite the small size of the assemblage, however, there is a diverse range of fabric types although no large sealed groups are present. For this reason the assemblage has been taken as a whole in order to study the ceramic types in use on the site generally.

The sherds from each context were divided subjectively into fabric groups based on a visual examination of their inclusions, texture, hardness and colour. The sherds in each group were counted and weighed per context and the information recorded on pottery summary sheets (these form part of the Archive). The data was fully quantified for both sherd count and sherd weight. However, owing to the presence of large sherds of an internally thumbed storage vessel (Fabric 2), sherd weight percentages were found to be misleading. For this reason all percentages used in this report are based entirely on sherd count. Where possible, sources of production have been suggested for the fabric groups, but in most cases a number of production sites are likely to have produced wares in each group. Owing to the small quantity of post-Roman and prehistoric pottery these sherds were not given fabric group numbers and are treated separately. All sherds, unless otherwise stated, are from Trench F.

THE PREHISTORIC POTTERY (incorporating comments by Sue Hamilton)

Only 5 sherds (1.2% of the total assemblage) of prehistoric pottery were recovered during the excavations. All five sherds are small and three are abraded. All are residual, although their presence suggests prehistoric activity/occupation in the near vicinity.

Two body-sherds are in a fine to medium moderately tempered flint fabric with black cores and dull orange surfaces (Contexts 72 & 159). These sherds are attributed to the Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age period. The remaining three sherds are all small rim sherds dating to the Later Mid-Iron Age or Late Iron Age. Two of these are in a black, fine to medium, abundantly flint tempered fabric (up to 40% tempering, with flint up to *c.* 1.5 mm). Both these sherds are from barrel-shaped saucepan type pots with simple rounded out-turned rims, and date to the later Middle Iron Age (Contexts 131 & 72). Both show some signs of exterior burnishing. The remaining sherd (Context 110) is from a Late Iron Age shouldered bowl. It is handmade in a black fabric tempered with moderate quantities of medium to coarse quartz sand, with occasional iron ore and calcined flint inclusions to 1 mm.

THE POST-ROMAN POTTERY

Four sherds of medieval pottery were located (1.2% of the total assemblage). All were small and abraded and may be seen as potentially intrusive. Two fabric types are present. The first (represented by three sherds) is a very coarse multi-gritted ware with abundant tempering of sub-angular and sub-rounded grits (quartz sand, haematite, flint) to *c.* 1 mm (some inclusions are up to 4 mm). The sherds are either dull orange or grey depending on firing conditions. A date range of the 11th to 13th centuries is possible, although with no diagnostic sherds it is difficult to be certain (Contexts 72, 75 & 127). The second fabric type is represented by a single oxidized fine sand-tempered ware jug body sherd with external dull green glaze (Context 1). This is likely to date to the 13th or 14th centuries.

A single sherd of internally green glazed earthenware dating to the 16th or 17th centuries was located in Trench A context 3.

THE ROMANO-BRITISH POTTERY (incorporating comments by Malcolm Lyne and Valery Rigby)

The Romano-British pottery from the site belongs predominantly to the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, although some material present suggests a possible continuance of occupation/activity into the 4th century. Unfortunately, the general lack of fine wares from the excavations greatly inhibits a more precise dating. Whether the absence of products from the New Forest and Oxford industries is indicative of the site's true date range, or is the result of the small excavated sample/type of site cannot be ascertained. The vast majority of sherds are local coarse wares, which, when coupled with the generally small sherd size, make precise dating virtually impossible as many of the forms are standard and continued in use for a long period.

Although a small sample, the fabrics are fairly diverse/numerous. However, the grey and black sandy wares predominate. Much of the material appears to have come from the Hardham area (M. Lyne pers. comm.) and this accounts for much of the material in Fabric groups 1, 4 and 5. Unfortunately, little has been published on this 'industry' and little is known at present about its forms and fabrics. Hard-fired sandy grey wares, probably from the Rowlands Castle kiln, are fairly numerous (Fabric groups 2 & 17), although very little material attributable to the Alice Holt/Farnham industry is present (Fabric 3). Sources for the other local material are either unknown or poorly represented, although products from Chichester and the Wiggonholt area are likely.

The Fabric Groups

Group 1: Fine to medium sandy grey wares (24.8% of assemblage)

This is the single largest fabric group. The wares are tempered with fine and medium sand giving a rough surface. Most sherds contain occasional to sparse brown/black iron ore inclusions to 1 mm. A few sherds also contain some off-white clay pellets. Colours vary from very light grey to dark grey throughout. A

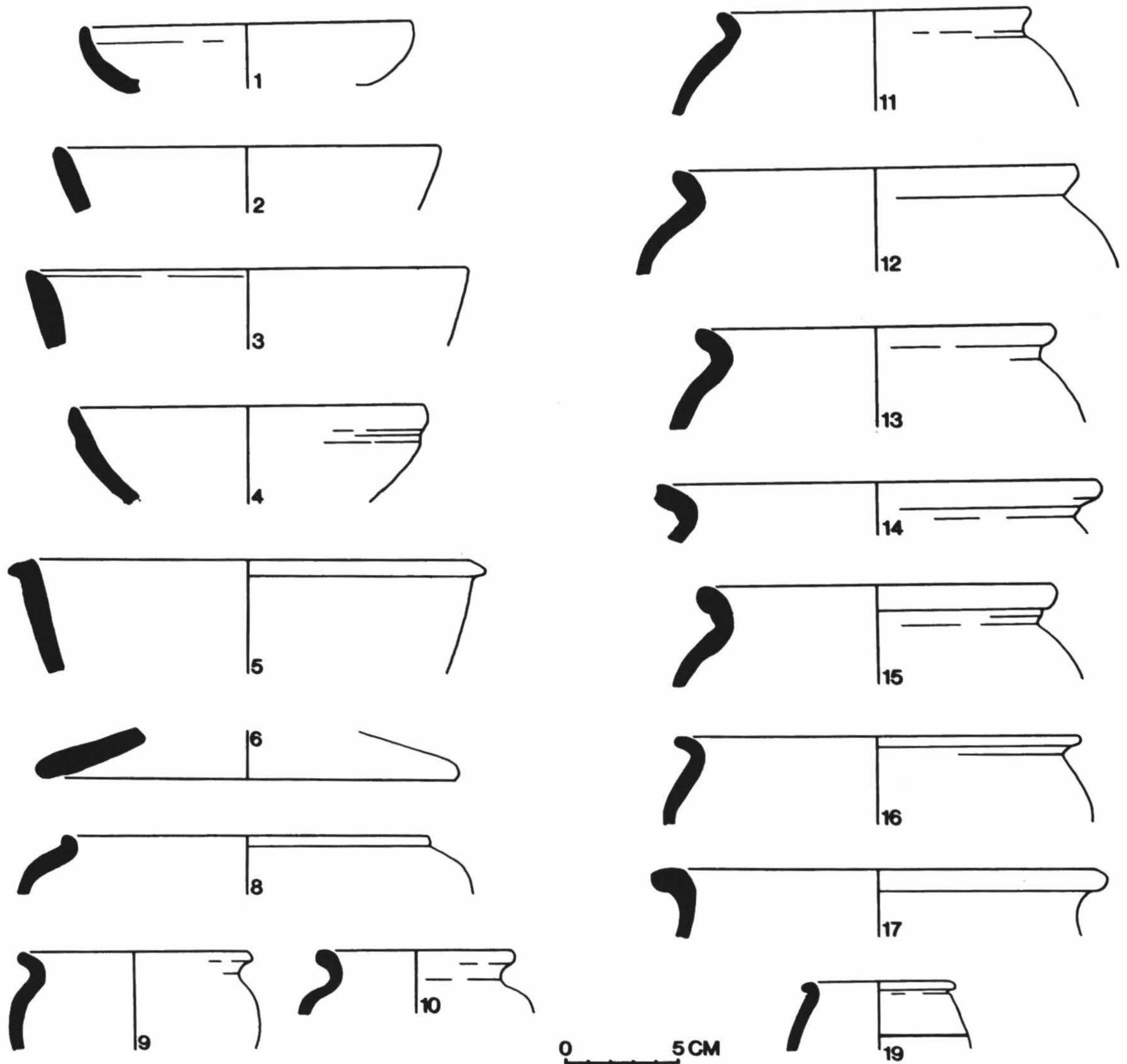

Fig. 6. Moraunt Drive, Middleton-on-Sea. The pottery.

single sherd (Context 131) has an oxidized orange surface similar to that found on material from Rowlands Castle. This sherd may be an unusually low-fired product from this source or an attempt by more local potters to produce a similar decorative effect. Undoubtedly, the source for much of the material in group 1 is the Hardham area.

Forms recognized include jars, dishes and bowls. Catalogue nos: 1, 3, 4, 15, 16.

Group 2: Hard-fired fine to medium sandy grey wares (16.1% of assemblage)
This group is distinct from Group 1 due to its high firing temperature giving a very hard fabric with hacky fracture. Tempering is similar to that of Group 1 but some calcined flint inclusions to 3 mm are occasionally present. Surfaces are slightly rough but generally, unlike Group 1, do not lose surface sand grains when touched. Colours usually range from off-white/light grey, to medium grey, occasionally with dull red margins. Some examples have a very thin orange outer surface which appears similar to a light wash. This orange decoration occasionally appears in lines where the surface has been burnished. Most of this group is attributable to the Rowlands Castle Kilns.

Forms recognized include storage jars, jars and lids. Catalogue nos: 5, 7, 9, 13, 14.

Group 3: Lower-fired fine sandy grey wares (1.9% of assemblage)
This group consists of a small number of soft, predominantly

fine sand-tempered wares. Certainly some, if not all are from the Alice Holt/Farnham industry. The ware is not usually rough to the touch and is often slightly powdery with a smooth fracture. Inclusions of flint and grey clay pellets (?) to 0.5 mm are occasionally present, but never in any quantity. Colours vary from light to medium grey.

Of the sherds present, few are diagnostic although jars are present. Catalogue no.: 17.

Group 4: Oxidized fine to coarse sandy wares (10.5% of assemblage)

This group is similar to group 1 in respect of the tempering agent and hardness, although some sherds contain a noticeable number of coarse milky sub-rounded quartz inclusions to 1.5 mm on their surfaces and there is a tendency for the iron ore inclusions to reach 3 mm occasionally. Some sherds contain very occasional flint inclusions. Core colours range from light grey to black, although some dull orange and buff cores are present. Surfaces are almost exclusively dull oranges, reds or browns. Some Hardham products fall within this group.

Recognized forms include jars, lids, bowls/dishes and flagons(?). Catalogue no.: 6.

Group 5 Black fine to medium sandy wares (18.9% of assemblage)

This group, which is the second largest, consists of medium- to hard-fired sandy wares with some sherds containing occasional brown/black iron ore inclusions to 1 mm (these are difficult to see in the reduced fabric). Some sherds do not contain iron ore inclusions and their tempering is exclusively of milky quartz sand. It is possible these are local imitations of BB1. Core colours are usually light grey to black. Margins are occasionally dull orange, but external surfaces are always very dark grey/black.

Forms recognized include jars and dishes, some with simple burnished line decoration. Some of the sherds with iron ore inclusions are Hardham products. Catalogue nos: 2, 8, 11, 12.

Group 6: Fine sandy reduced ware (0.6% of assemblage)

A very small group, probably a sub-group of Group 5. Tempering is predominantly of fine sand, although a little medium sand is present with very occasional grog/iron ore inclusions to 0.5 mm and milky quartz to 1 mm. Of the very small number of sherds present the fabric is usually dull orange with black outer surfaces and can be attributed to Hardham.

Form recognized: jars.

Group 7: Very fine grey sandy ware with moderate iron ore inclusions (0.9% of assemblage)

Another small group of sparse, very fine sand-tempered wares with moderate brown and dark grey (iron ore?) inclusions to 2 mm. Some sherds contain very occasional white inclusions (chalk/clay pellets?) and mica. Some of this group are probably Hardham fine wares. Core colours are usually light grey with buff grey or light grey surfaces. It seems this group is very closely linked to Group 9.

Forms recognized include dishes and beakers. Catalogue no.: 19.

Group 8: Gritted silty wares (0.9% of assemblage)

A fairly soft silty/powdery fabric with sparse/moderate angular to sub-angular clear and opaque quartz inclusions to 2 mm. These inclusions are mainly on the surface of the sherds. Very occasional mica flecks and dull red grog/iron ore inclusions are also present. Core colour is a dull pink orange with buff margins and surfaces.

Forms recognized: flagons (?), Context 145. Possibly either a Southern British or North Gaulish fabric.

Group 9: Sparse very fine sand/silty fine wares (8% of assemblage)

A broad group encompassing many fine ware variants probably from various sources, although most are likely to be local. Most of the sherds are small and have suffered badly in the acidic burial conditions: some of the sherds in this group may originally have been colour-coated. Sherds are usually medium fired, thin walled and powdery to the touch. Inclusions include sparse fine sand, occasionally sparse grog/iron ore (?) to 3 mm and some mica. Colours are variable but are usually cream, buff or dull orange. Within this group are 1st–2nd century Hardham/Wiggonholt flagon sherds (Context 72 & 139). Some sherds could be of North Gaulish origin.

Unfortunately, no diagnostic rim sherds were located in this group, but flagons and beakers seem to be present. Catalogue no.: 18.

Group 10: Samian (4.3% of assemblage)

The excavation yielded a total of 14 sherds of Samian. Virtually all of this material is too small and eroded to classify with any certainty. All, however, appear to be of Central Gaulish origin and of 2nd-century date. Contexts producing Samian: 1, 128, 141, 145 & 151. Of these context 145 produced the largest group (9 sherds). Forms recognized: Dr 31?, Dr 33 and Dr 37.

Group 11: Colour-coated wares (0.6% of assemblage)

Only two small sherds are present. One is in a very fine off-white fabric with occasional grog inclusions to 2 mm (most are less than 0.5 mm) with a dull brown/orange all-over colour coat. The exterior surface is finely rusticated. It is likely this sherd is from a Rhenish or Bordeaux region 2nd-century beaker. The other sherd in this group is possibly a Hardham white ware (Context 151).

Group 12: Oxidized medium sandy wares with flint and chalk (4.6% of assemblage)

This is a small but distinctive group similar to group 4. Tempering consists of fine and medium sand with occasional chalk inclusions and/or calcined flint to 2 mm. Very occasionally some sherds show orange/brown iron ore inclusions between 0.5–2 mm. Core colours are light grey to dull orange. Surfaces are dull buff to bright orange. Probably a 1st- or 2nd-century fabric.

Forms include jars and dishes.

Group 13: East Sussex Ware (0.6% of assemblage)

Only two sherds of this distinctive grog-tempered fabric are present. The fabric has been described in detail elsewhere (Green 1976; 1980).

Forms uncertain.

Group 14: Grog and sand-tempered ware (0.9% of assemblage)

A rather ill-defined group which includes an apparently handmade vessel. The tempering consists of fine to medium sand with moderate to abundant inclusions of grog (?) to 2 mm. These inclusions are grey on the interior of the sherds, but are fired to a dull orange on the surface (it is possible they are iron ore). Fabric colour is predominantly a dull orange although light grey patches are also present. This is possibly a

1st-century fabric.
Recognized forms: jars.

Group 15: Fine sand- and shale-tempered ware (0.9% of assemblage)
A small but very distinct group of sherds tempered with sparse fine sand and abundant grey sub-angular to sub-rounded laminar shale (?) to 2 mm. Fabric colour is light grey throughout. This fabric is not local and could be from either Brittany, West Normandy or Devon/Cornwall. The only distinctive sherds are from jars (one a globular cordoned jar: Context 72). Catalogue no.: 10.

Group 16: Fine to medium sandy pink/buff ware (0.3% of assemblage)
A single sherd in this fabric is present. Tempering is of abundant but mainly fine sand with occasional red/orange grog/iron ore inclusions to 1 mm. Colour is quite distinctive, being a pink buff. A local fabric, possibly from Wiggonholt or Chichester.

Group 17: Hard fired medium sandy grey ware with moderate chalk and iron ore inclusions (1.9% of assemblage)
This is without doubt a variant fabric of Group 2 as all details are identical except that this group has moderate inclusions of chalk to 3 mm and/or black iron ore (?) inclusions to 2 mm. Other details as Group 2. Probably a Rowlands Castle product but a coarser variant.

Group 18: Amphorae (0.3% of assemblage).
A single sherd, possibly from an amphora, was located in context 139. It is in a medium sand-tempered ware with dull red pellet inclusions (iron ore?) to 2 mm. Fabric colour is red/brown throughout.

CATALOGUE (Fig. 6)

1) Small curved walled platter. Fabric group 1. Similar examples from Fishbourne (*cf.* Type 3). Probably a Hardham imitation of a Gallo-Belgic platter. 1st century AD. Context 151.

2) Straight-sided dish with plain rim. Fabric group 5. Exterior partly burnished. Probably a local imitation of BB1. Context 145.

3) Straight-sided dish with tapering plain rim. Fabric group 1. Probably a Hardham product. 1st to early 3rd century. Context 145.

4) Small hemispherical bowl. Fabric group 1. Probably a late Hardham/Findon imitation. Late 3rd to 4th century. Context 145.

5) Bowl with small tapering horizontal rim. Fabric group 2. Possibly a Rowlands Castle product. Late 1st to early 2nd century. Context 88.

6) Lid with simple rim. Fabric group 4. Possibly a Hardham product. Context 145.

7) NOT ILLUSTRATED. Several sherds from an internally thumbed storage jar. Fabric group 2. A well-known form probably from Rowlands Castle (*cf.* Fishbourne type 391). 2nd–4th century. Context 145.

8) Bead rim jar. Fabric group 5 with very occasional flint inclusions to 1 mm. A common form (*cf.* Fishbourne type 166), this example being probably a pre-Flavian Hardham product. Context 110.

9) Small jar with simple out-turned rim. Fabric group 2. Rowlands Castle. Context 145.

10) Small necked jar with thickened out-turned rim. Fabric group 15. Context 128.

11) Jar with small thickened everted rim. Fabric group 5. A Hardham product. 1st–2nd century. Context 145.

12) Jar with thickened everted rim. Fabric group 5. A Hardham product. 1st–2nd century. Context 145.

13) Necked jar with out-turned rim. Fabric group 2. Possibly a Rowlands Castle product but not highly fired. Context 151.

14) Jar with out-turned rim. Fabric group 2. Rowlands Castle (?) 1st century. Context 151.

15) Necked jar with thickened out-turned rim. Fabric group 1. Probably a Hardham product. Context 72.

16) Jar with everted rim. Fabric group 1. A Hardham variant. Late 1st to 2nd century. Context 145.

17) Large necked jar with thickened horizontal rim. Fabric group 3. An Alice Holt product. 2nd–3rd century. Context 145.

18) NOT ILLUSTRATED. Base sherd from a bowl or platter with moulded foot-ring. Fabric group 9. Fine grog-tempered ware with occasional orange inclusions to 1 mm. Light grey core with remains of dark grey/black surfaces. Rouletted circle of lines around interior above position of external foot-ring. A local copy of a Terra Nigra form. 1st–2nd century. Context 131.

19) Barrel-shaped Beaker. Fabric group 7. Possibly a Hardham product. May originally have been colour-coated. 2nd century. Context 91.

Tile

The excavations produced five fragments of Romano-British tile (Contexts 1, 131 & 145) in three fabric types. The quantity is obviously negligible (weighing a total of 540 g) and full details are included in the Archive. Tile types present include tegula and flat (one and three pieces respectively).

Burnt clay

In all, 198 fragments of burnt Brickearth were located during the excavations. Most were small fragments of fine textured, powdery clay with colours ranging from black and tan brown through to orange. All the pieces were irregular and contained no signs of wattle impressions, suggesting that most at least are probably not burnt daub. Inclusions of sparse fine sand and sparse iron oxides were noted in the burnt clay lumps, but these appeared to occur naturally in the Brickearth. A fully quantified list of burnt clay forms part of the Archive.

Metalwork

Only two iron nails and a single piece of pewter were found during the excavations. This lack of metalwork can be seen as a direct result of the acidic nature of the subsoil: the two nails

contain virtually no metal, and consist almost entirely of corrosion products (Contexts 128 & 145).

The pewter object appears to be part of a rectangular (30+ mm × 5 mm) decorative mount with a semi-circular cross-section. A circular fixing stud is located at one end on the flat reverse of the mount; the matching stud has broken off. The condition of this object is very poor: broken and twisted, with little of the original surface surviving (Context 139).

THE FLINTWORK By Robin Holgate
Only seven humanly struck flints and a single shattered piece were located during the excavations (Contexts, 1, 131, 32, 66, 142 & 145). All are undiagnostic hard hammer flakes with no signs of retouch with the one exception of a possible soft hammer flake of Mesolithic origin (Context 32). The shattered piece (Context 66) could be from knapping associated with flint wall construction.

GEOLOGICAL MATERIAL (incorporating comments by John Cooper, Booth Museum, Brighton)
The excavations only yielded nine pieces of stone other than flint (Table 1 microfiche). Of these, most are undoubtedly of local origin. The most common stone was Bognor Rock which occurs naturally in the London Clay around Bognor Regis. The single piece of chert is water-rounded and is likely to have been collected from the nearby beach. The only quern fragment located is of Upper Greensand (Context 159/162). The fragment is unfortunately rather undiagnostic although it appears to be part of the top stone of a rotary quern with a maximum thickness of 65 mm.

ANIMAL BONE By Wendy Wood
The bone assemblage from Middleton numbered only 62 fragments in all (Table 2 microfiche), the majority of which (96%) could be identified according to bone type and species. The assemblage consisted of a few fragmented weathered bones of stock farmyard species: Cow (*Bos taurus*), Sheep/Goat (*Ovis aries/Capra hircus*) and Pig (*Sus domesticus*). The low presence and fragility of bone is most likely due to the acidic nature of the subsoil.

The majority of fragments were of *Bos* (56 in all) with three fragments of *Ovis* and one of *Sus*. All specimens appeared to be adult, although too fragmentary for sexing.

A phalanx of *Bos* from context 151 (pit fill) showed the ossification of a sub-periosteal haematoma — probably the result of a blow. This specimen also displayed a single knife score. Similarly a radius of *Ovis* had been sawn obliquely through the shaft.

Several bones showed signs of gnawing by dogs (*Canis familiaris*). These were the radius of *Ovis*, phalanx of *Bos*, and a scapula of *Bos* from context 148.

The assemblage is too small to draw any accurate conclusions about animal husbandry on the site. Indirect evidence suggests that in addition to Cow, Sheep and Pig, Dog was also present. Farmyard species would have been exploited for their primary and secondary products, but on such little data it is not possible to say whether these animals were imported as joints of meat or truly present on the site, although the latter is likely.

CHARRED PLANT REMAINS By Pat Hinton
The samples had been wet-sieved (*c.* 1 mm mesh) on site and were received after drying. They were then sorted by stereo-microscope at 7–40X magnification when charcoal was removed. The plant remains have been tabulated on Table 3 (microfiche).

The majority of the cereals are undoubtedly wheat but the incomplete and abraded condition of most makes closer identification difficult. However, on overall morphology, some have been identified as probable spelt (*Triticum spelta*) and glume bases characteristic of spelt confirm this.

The barley is identified as hulled barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) because of the slightly angular outline of most of the grains, but none is sufficiently well-preserved to study its symmetry and to consider whether 2- or 6-row forms are present.

The one oat grain is incomplete and retains no surface although there is a short length of the hilum discernible, but without the diagnostic floret base it cannot be said whether this is of a cultivated or wild species (Context 118).

The pea (*Pisum sativum*) is spherical and measures 4.9 mm in diameter (Context 128). No part of the testa remains but there is a slight impression at the position of the hilum. This is not complete, but the width suggests an oval outline which confirms the identification. In addition there are three half pulse seeds, i.e. cotyledons, 4.5, 4.9 and 5.0 mm in diameter, which could well be peas.

Three other half seeds in the same context (128) measuring 3.2, 3.4 and 3.7 mm, and one in Context 118, measuring 5.1 mm cannot be identified more closely than as vetch or vetchling (Vicia or *Lathyrus* spp.).

Pulses are found less frequently than cereals, possibly because they are less readily retrieved by flotation, possibly because thay are not exposed to fire prior to cooking. A single pea has previously been recorded for Sussex, from an Iron Age pit at Bishopstone (Arthur 1977).

In addition, also in Contexts 118 and 128, are seeds of smooth tare *Vicia tetrasperma*, another member of the same family. This straggling plant has been a very serious cornfield weed in the past.

The remaining seeds are difficult to classify. The one goosefoot (*Chenopodium* sp.) is probably a weed or ruderal, although the use of these plants as food is possible (Context 152). The probable *Sinapis* sp. seeds unfortunately are not firmly identified. Charlock (*S. arvensis*) has been a troublesome weed of arable crops but white mustard (*S. alba*) has a use as a spice, oil or fodder plant. Rye brome (*Bromus* sp.) is quite frequently associated with spelt, and although probably an impurity of the crop, the grains may well have been tolerated.

The fruit stone fragment of *Prunus* sp. is small, 5.2 × 3.4 × 2.3 mm, but its apparent slimness and suggestion of tapering at one end are perhaps more compatible with one of the primitive plums than with sloe (Context 128).

THE CHARCOAL By David Goode
The Middleton-on-Sea charcoal assemblage was very small; six contexts were submitted for analysis, representing a total mass of 10.47 grams. In a situation where such small quantities are available for interpretation it is difficult to attempt to describe palaeo-environments. In addition, any attempt to do so is limited by the lack of corresponding pollen and land molluscan studies. The charcoal recovered in this situation is best used to help characterize the condition, or character of each context. One context (128) had a total mass of 7.55 grams; much of this was material too small for analysis. It was decided to subsample this context by randomly removing approximately 15% by mass.

The range of 14 species recovered in the samples includes pine, maple, alder, birch, box, ash, holly, poplar/willow, oak,

lime and sweet chestnut and is summarized in Table 4 (microfiche). The variation present at the site is not unusual, and has been identified in the plant remains from other sites in Sussex (Cartwright 1985; Smyth & Jennings 1988; Scaife & Burrin 1985; Drewett 1989).

In addition, there was a total of 0.68 grams of unidentifiable charcoal recovered from Context 118. The pattern for the entire site suggests an environment dominated by *Fraxinus, Populus/salix*, and *Cornus*. The species *Ilex, Vibernum*, and *Castanea* also figure significantly in the percent of total mass.

Greater variation is shown in a study of the species distribution by context. In the summary below, the percentages given are representative of the percentage of the total context mass (including the mass of the unidentifiable material). In the case of Context 128, the percentage recorded represents the fraction of the sub-sample analysed.

Context 78 'Post-hole fill' (total sample mass = 0.23 grams)
A total of 0.23 grams of charcoal were submitted for analysis. One hundred percent of the charcoal was from a single species: *Fraxinus excelsior*. This supports the interpretation of Context 78 as a post-hole. The charcoal is likely to be the result of burning the end of the post prior to putting it in the hole. Charring of wood in this manner would help to prevent rotting and infestation of the post end. This is supported by the presence of cork and cork cambium on one charcoal fragment, suggesting that the bark was not removed from the post.

Context 118 'Pit fill' (total sample mass = 1.95 grams)
The sample was composed of charcoal, bone and mineral components. The charcoal component had a total mass of 0.54 grams. (The bone and mineral component weighed 1.41 grams.) There were seven identifiable charcoal fragments, representing three different species. *Cornus sanguinea* was the most common species, accounting for 22.2% of the total mass of charcoal. The other species represented were *Pinus sylvestris* (7.4%), and *Populus/Salix* type (3.7%). The unidentifiable collection represented 66.7%.

Context 128 'Ditch fill' (total sample mass = 7.55 grams)
The sample from context 128 was the largest presented for analysis. A sub-sample of 15.8% of the total sample was removed for identification. A total of eight species were identified, including sweet-chestnut (*Castanea sativa*). The sample was dominated by the presence of *Fraxinus* which represent 59.7% of the sub-sample mass. Other species identified include *Acer campestre* (4.2%), *Buxus sempervirens* (0.8%), *Cornus sanguinea* (10.9%), *Ilex aquifolium* (12.6%), *Prunus* type (0.8%), *Vibernum* type (7.6%), and *Castanea* (3.4%). The variation presented in this sample is analogous to the species variation found in the periphery of large woodlands. All the species recovered are shade intolerant, and most prefer wet or chalky soils. This would support the context interpretation as a ditch fill. The sample is likely to be the result of the collection and burning of wood recovered in, and around a woodland. Unfortunately, attempts at describing the site's contemporary environment based on such a small amount of charcoal remains are not possible without additional data from pollen studies and molluscan analysis.

Context 131 'Pit fill' (total sample mass = 0.24 grams)
Four species were recovered from this context. These are *Acer campestre* (25%), *Alnus glutinosa* (20.8%), *Buxus sempervirens* (8.3%), and *Tillia cordata* (4.2%). Approximately 41.6% of the sample was unidentifiable.

Context 145 'Fill of pond or natural hollow' (total sample mass = 0.44 grams)
Ten fragments were large enough for identification of six different species. The total mass of unidentifiable/mineral component was 0.21 grams (47.7%). The most common charcoal was the *Populus/salix* type which represents 40.9% of the total sample; each of sweet chestnut (*Castanea sativa*), *Pinus sylvestris, Betula pendula, Fraxinus excelsior* and the *Quercus* type represent 2.3% of the total sample, respectively. The range of species recovered from this sample suggests that it is not a natural hollow. Few of the native trees in Britain contain enough resin to burn in a forest fire situation. In addition, much of the ground cover in English forests is too wet to burn as a ground or brush fire (Rackham 1993, 32). The dominance of the poplar/willow type would suggest that this hollow may have been a pond. However, Rackham (1993) implies that very few of the ponds or depressions in England were made by humans.

Context 152 'Fill of large pit' (total sample mass = 0.06 grams)
Three species were represented, including *Buxus sempervirens* (33.3%), *Ilex aquifolium* (16.7%), *Populus/salix* type (16.7%). The unidentifiable charcoal equalled 33.3% of the sample mass.

Discussion
A great deal of species variation is present for such a small sample. Of particular interest is the quantity of *Buxus* and *Ilex* and the presence of *Vibernum*. Other charcoal reports for the West Sussex region show that *Populus/salix, Alnus* and *Quercus* dominate the samples. This is not reflected at the Middleton site. Differences in the composition of the charcoal samples may be the result of the small sample size, rather than of a conscious selection by the site inhabitants. Particular note should be made of the sweet chestnut charcoal recovered from two contexts. *Castanea sativa* was introduced by the Romans sometime in the 1st or early 2nd century AD. Recovery of sweet chestnut in Romano-British contexts of a similar age suggests that the tree was possibly introduced in the 1st century AD, rather than in the 2nd century.

DISCUSSION

Although a number of Iron Age sites and find spots are known from the coastal plain, few have been found in the immediate vicinity of Middleton-on-Sea (Bedwin & Pitts 1978). Despite the lack of features dating to this period from the recent excavations, the presence of small quantities of unabraded Later Middle and Late Iron Age sherds suggests that occupation during this period may have been situated close by. Similar pottery was found at the site of North Bersted (Bedwin & Pitts 1978). Some earlier activity in the area is suggested by the few pieces of flintwork and abraded Late

Bronze Age/Early Iron Age pottery sherds.

With the exception of two Romano-British pots found in the cliff at Middleton (Pitts 1979), little is known of this period in the area of the excavations. However, it is during this period that actual occupation within the excavated area started. Despite the fact that the pottery helps little in defining an absolute chronology of features, it does suggest that the main occupation spanned the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, with a continuation, perhaps less intensely, into the 4th century. It is possible that during the 3rd to 4th centuries a shift in the site's focus occurred, rendering the excavated area peripheral to the settlement. Unfortunately, the full extent of the occupation is not known, but it is likely the excavated features form a small part of a much larger site which probably extended under existing housing to the west and Marlowe Close to the south. The extent of the site to the east is unknown, although the evidence from the original assessment trenches suggests it did not extend much further to the north. Without a full plan of the entire settlement it is difficult to interpret the excavated features, as it is impossible to ascertain whether the excavations were at the nucleus or on the periphery of the overall site.

The clutter of pits, post-holes and stake-holes within Trench F hinders the identification of individual structures. One rectangular building, measuring *c.* 7.5 × 3 m, can be postulated however (*see above*). This find is of particular interest considering the lack of such structures on Romano-British rural sites in Sussex. The exact form of this building is impossible to reconstruct, although some observations may be made. The general lack of stone suggests that wattle and daub walling was used in this timber-framed structure. Unfortunately, no definite pieces of daub were found amongst the burnt clay. The negligible amount of tile suggests the roof was thatched. The virtual absence of nails can be seen as a direct result of the acidity of the Brickearth rather than as necessarily reflecting actual construction techniques. Most ironwork is likely to have decayed completely. The presence of replacement timber uprights shows the building to have been maintained for some time. It can probably be interpreted as either a small domestic farmstead or an agricultural out-building of some form.

Just as this building replaced earlier features, it appears that once it went out of use, for whatever reason, other features were subsequently cut through its site. The Samian sherds from ditch 126 suggest the building was abandoned before or during the 2nd century, although there is a danger of these sherds having been deposited at a later date, perhaps in the 3rd century. The ditch itself probably represents a combined field boundary and drainage ditch. Many such ditches were found at North Bersted (Bedwin & Pitts 1978, 310), although the Middleton example is later. After a period of use/silting, ditch 126 was deliberately backfilled with Brickearth, possibly with the material initially excavated during its construction. However, the line of this boundary was maintained by two sequential slots, both potentially fence lines. The reason why this boundary should have had its form changed in this way is not clear, although it could have been brought about by a change in land use. For example, a boundary formed by a shallow drainage ditch would facilitate arable cultivation, but an above ground boundary may have been subsequently needed to retain livestock. The presence of numerous stake-holes to the west of this boundary line is interesting, considering the virtual absence of them to the east. If many of these features were actually the result of tree-root activity, rather than being of anthropogenic origin, it is tempting to suggest that woodland/scrub existed to the west of ditch 126. Although the charcoal from 126 would tend to agree with this theory, without further environmental evidence no conclusive statements can be made on the area's vegetational cover.

From the limited data available, the occupation appears to have generally been of low status. The pottery assemblage shows a rather utilitarian range of local forms and fabrics with relatively few imports or fine wares. A peasant farmstead based on a mixed farming economy seems likely. Unfortunately the acidic subsoil meant few bones survived, although cattle and sheep are present in the assemblage. The quern fragment and the evidence from the charred plant remains strongly suggest the presence of arable cultivation, with crops including wheat, barley, pea and possibly oats. Any excess produce is likely to have found a market at Chichester.

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The excavation of a medieval site at Muddleswood, near Hurstpierpoint, West Sussex

by Chris Butler M.I.F.A.

A field survey carried out in advance of the A23 road improvements discovered a previously unknown medieval house platform. Sampling, and then larger-scale excavations during 1987 and 1989 revealed evidence for an early medieval settlement. Evidence for prehistoric activity and for a 19th-century military encampment was also found.

INTRODUCTION

During a field survey of the projected route of the A23 road improvements south of Hurstpierpoint, the farmer, Mr Andrew Nelson, drew my attention to a platform and other features in a field which were on the road's line (Fig. 1). During 1986 small-scale excavations were undertaken (Butler 1986), which confirmed that the site was medieval in date. In 1987, after carrying out a resistivity survey, two large trenches (Fig. 2) were excavated: Trench 8 on the western part of the platform, and Trench 9 across the 'hollow way'. These trenches revealed further evidence for occupation in the medieval period. During 1989, with the construction of the new road approaching, further excavation work was carried out.

A number of trenches (10 to 21: *see* Fig. 2) were dug across the site, and expanded as features were located. The opportunity was also taken to section the pond (Trench 21) which we hoped to be able to date to the medieval period, but no diagnostic material was found. Having completed the excavations, we were pleased to note that a last-minute change of route meant that the new road would miss the site, thus preserving for the future the parts not investigated.

THE SITE

The site is situated on the Greensand belt that runs between the north scarp slope of the chalk South Downs and the Wealden clays to its north. It comprises a large platform, 47 m × 27 m, divided into two by a shallow depression running north-south (Fig. 1c). To the north of the platform is a large ditch-like depression (hollow way?) which also extends around the west side where it broadens out. In the south-west corner of the site is a small mound (17 m × 8 m and 0.8 m high), and near to this a pond. On the east of the platform is a circular depression which is marked on a map of 1826 as a pond (ESRO Dan 228). This has been drained in more recent times.

The excavation produced extensive evidence for occupation during the medieval period, but although flint wall-footings were found, it was not possible to distinguish the complete plan of any building(s). The trenches that produced features are considered below in more detail (Fig. 3).

TRENCH 8

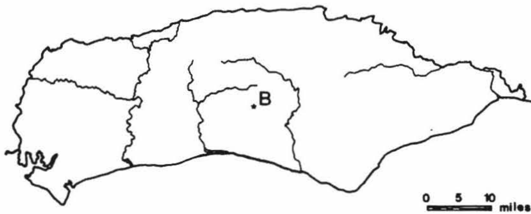
The eastern end of this trench produced no features and very few finds. Its western end, as finally excavated, revealed a number of areas of flint (Fig. 3). Two of these areas may be footings for walls, the third was an oval spread of flint and sandstone which was more likely to have been a floor or 'metalling' of some sort. The flint and sandstone pieces making up this floor had a rounded upper surface, possibly due to wear. A pit (47) contained a large amount of unabraded medieval pottery and a second pit (48), only partly excavated, at the edge of the trench, produced a smaller quantity of pottery.

TRENCH 9

This trench was cut across the hollow way on the north of the site and revealed a shallow ditch and an area of flint alongside. This may have been the metalling of a possible path, or simply flint that had

MUDDLESWOOD

A



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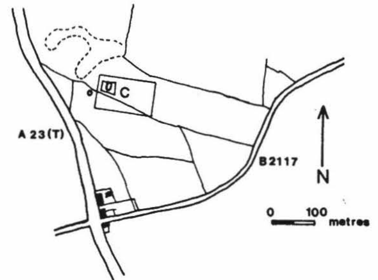

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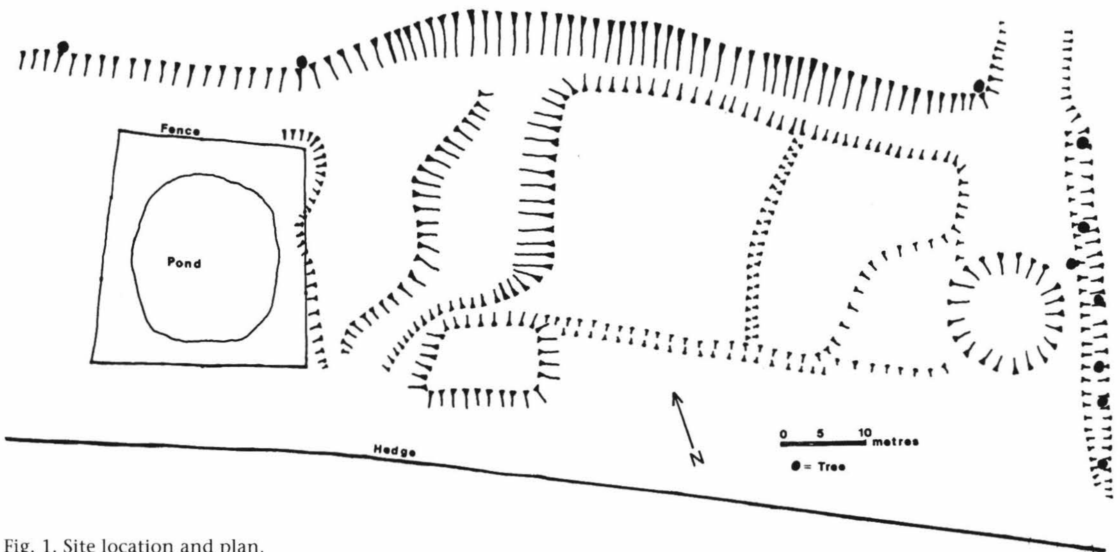

Fig. 1. Site location and plan.

accumulated in the bottom of the hollow way. The shallow depression running across the platform was seen to be a gully which ran into the ditch.

TRENCH 14

This trench produced a substantial quantity of medieval pottery in the top-soil, together with some possible wall-footings comprising sandstone blocks and flint at a depth of 450 mm.

TRENCH 17

This trench was immediately south-west of Trench 8. It produced similar areas of flint, and here it was possible to propose a sequence. The earliest feature was a pit (62) which contained medieval pottery and some animal bone. Above the pit was a layer which comprised a dark brown/black humic soil with charcoal, daub and medieval pottery in it. Probably contemporary with this layer and on its east side was a wall, the flint footings of which survived to a height of two or three courses in places; this wall was sitting in a shallow trench (64). At some stage the wall had collapsed across the humic soil layer sealing below it, amongst other things, a cut farthing likely to have

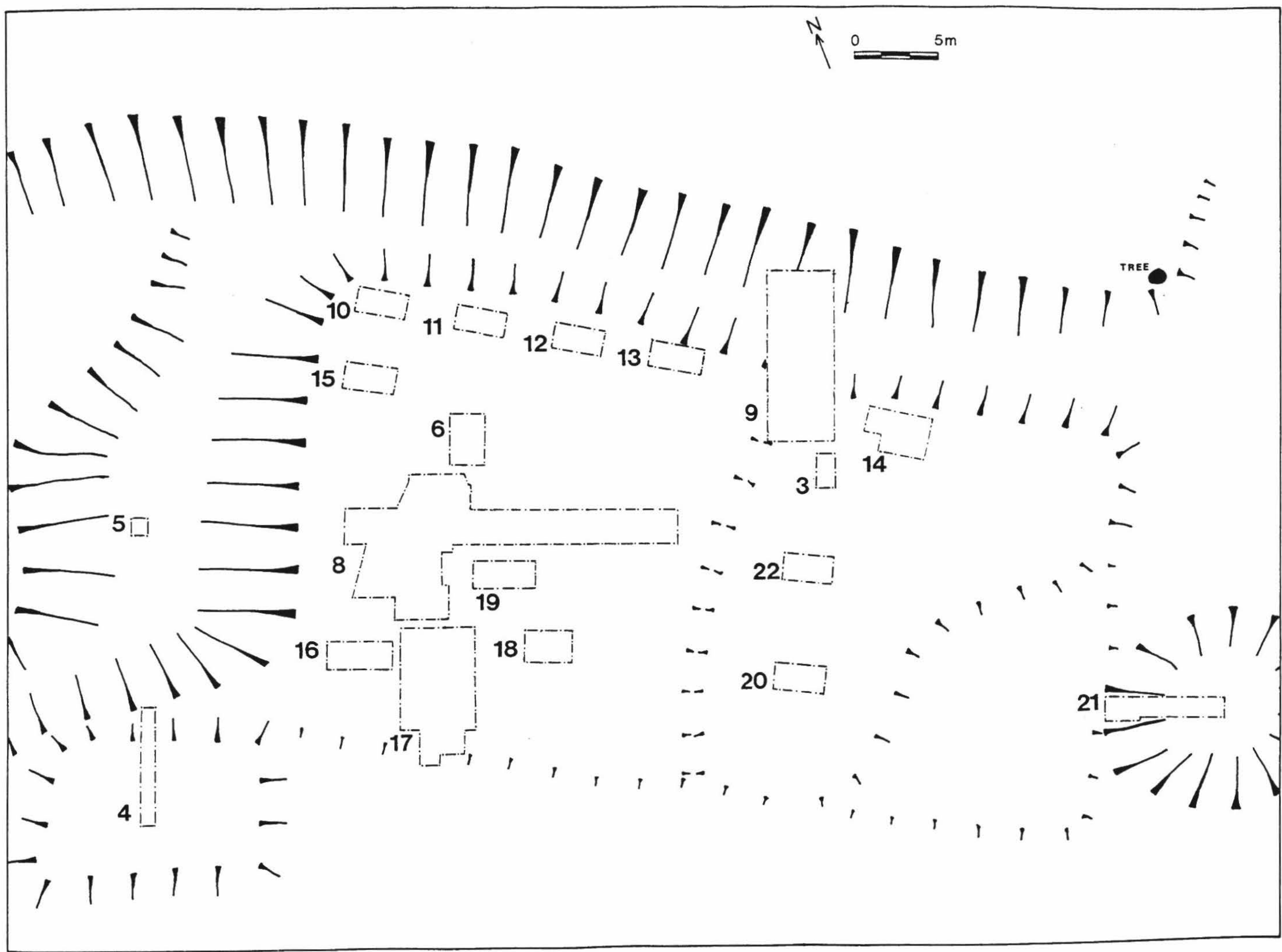

Fig. 2. Site plan showing location of trenches.

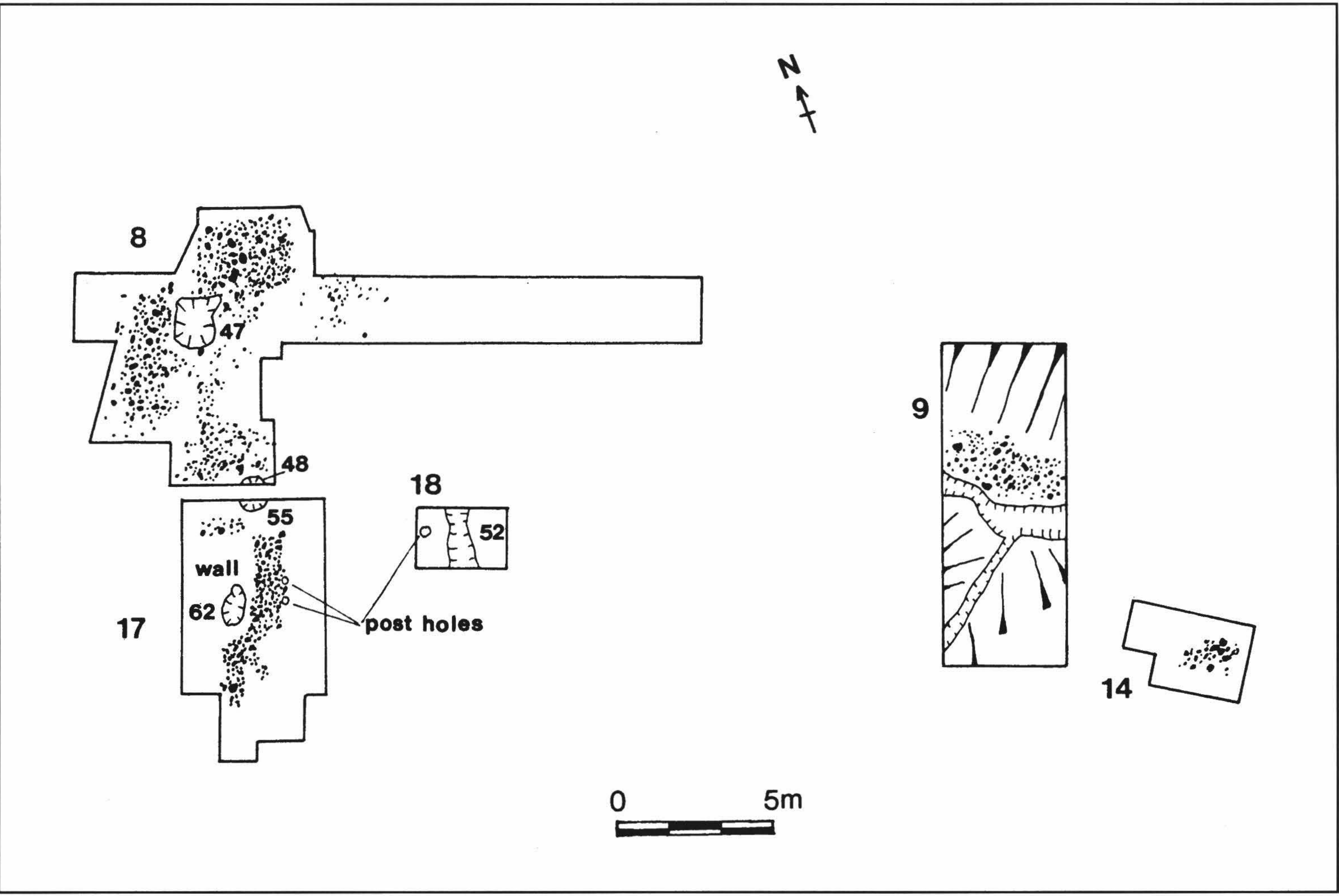

Fig. 3. Plan of trenches 8, 9, 14 and 17.

been lost before 1280 (see Rudling, this report). On the east of the wall were two post-holes, one of which (58) produced some medieval pottery. On the north edge of the trench, part of a pit (55) was revealed; this may be an extension of pit 48 in Trench 8.

TRENCH 18
Two features were revealed in this trench: a shallow ditch (52) running north–south which contained some early medieval pottery and also a barbed-and-tanged arrowhead. The other feature was a small post-hole to the west of the ditch.

TRENCH 21
This trench was excavated to section the pond (Fig. 2). A sequence of silts and fills was revealed in the section, although none of these could be dated from the material found.

None of the other trenches excavated revealed any features, although they all produced a large number of abraded medieval pottery sherds. In addition to the medieval features and finds from the excavation, a quantity of prehistoric flintwork was found together with a scattering of post-medieval material in the top-soil.

THE FINDS

POTTERY
A total of 11,727 sherds of medieval pottery, weighing 61.75 kg was recovered during the excavations, both from the top-soil and medieval contexts. In addition, small amounts of earlier pottery together with some post-medieval pottery came mainly from top-soil contexts, and are described on microfiche.

Medieval pottery
The medieval pottery was sorted into fabrics according to the type, quantity and size of inclusion, broadly based on Barton (1979). The five main fabrics, of which the first four are coarse ware fabrics, and the fifth a fine ware fabric, comprise the majority of the medieval pottery.

1. Black to buff-red or grey coarse soft fabric with frequent medium (<1 mm) to large (>1 mm) angular flint, and occasional chalk inclusions (Saxo-Norman ware).

2. Red or occasionally buff or black soft fabric. Frequent small (<0.5 mm) round and smooth quartz inclusions with small to medium angular flint inclusions. Almost always with a reduced core.

3. Buff, red, brown/black and occasionally grey in colour. Smooth soft fabric. Quartz inclusions as Fabric 2. Occasional small angular flint inclusions. Some sherds have a green or brown glaze. Generally reduced core.

4. Orange-red/buff in colour. Smooth soft fabric. Medium-sized grog and small quartz inclusions with very occasional small angular flint inclusions.

5. Grey-buff smooth hard fabric. No inclusions or very occasional small quartz inclusions. Most have a trace of green glaze, some have slip present, West Sussex Ware (Barton 1979).

In addition there were three medieval fabrics which were represented by small quantities of pottery.

6. Hard, grey, sandy fabric. Occasional small quartz inclusions. Some sherds are glazed.

7. Black fabric. Very frequent small to medium quartz inclusions.

8. Cream to buff hard fabric. Occasional small quartz inclusions. Thick sherd size.

Although large quantities of medieval pottery were recovered during the excavations, there were only seven sealed features which produced assemblages (Figs 4 & 5).

Pit 47
This pit contained some of the most interesting pottery, with examples of Fabrics 2, 3 and 5 present (Table 1 on microfiche). A number of these sherds could be rejoined.

Fig. 4
1. Rim sherd. Fabric 5.

2. Decorated sherd from jug with yellow-green and light brown glaze. Fabric 5.

3. Base sherd with traces of a green glaze on underside. Fabric 3.

4. Two sherds from jug with handle. Yellow-green glaze with the pattern in a brown glaze. Fabric 5.

13. Rim and spout from a jug. White slip under a green glaze. The slip extends inside the pot. Fabric 3.

14. Base sherd. Yellow-green glaze on outside. Fabric 5.

15. Handle, possibly from same vessel as 14. Trace of green glaze. Fabric 5.

16. Strap handle. Fabric 2.

17. Rim with rod handle. Two rows of slashed decoration on handle. Fabric 3.

Fig. 5
18. Rim from cooking pot. Fabric 3.

19. Rim. Red/brown outer surface and dark brown inner. Not reduced. Fabric 3.

20. Rim. Fabric 3.

21. Cooking Pot. Buff-orange fabric with slightly reduced core

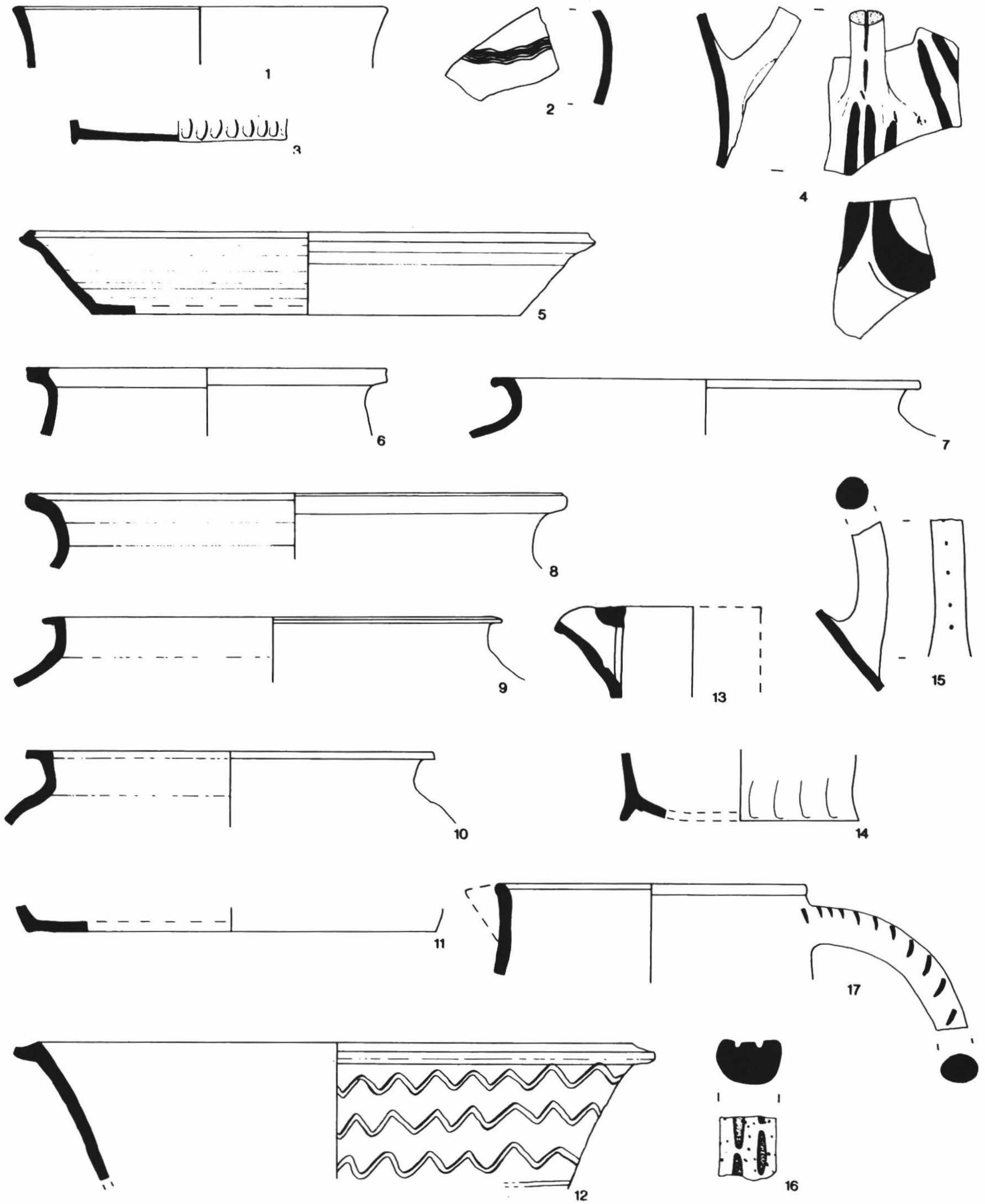

Fig. 4. Medieval pottery from sealed contexts.

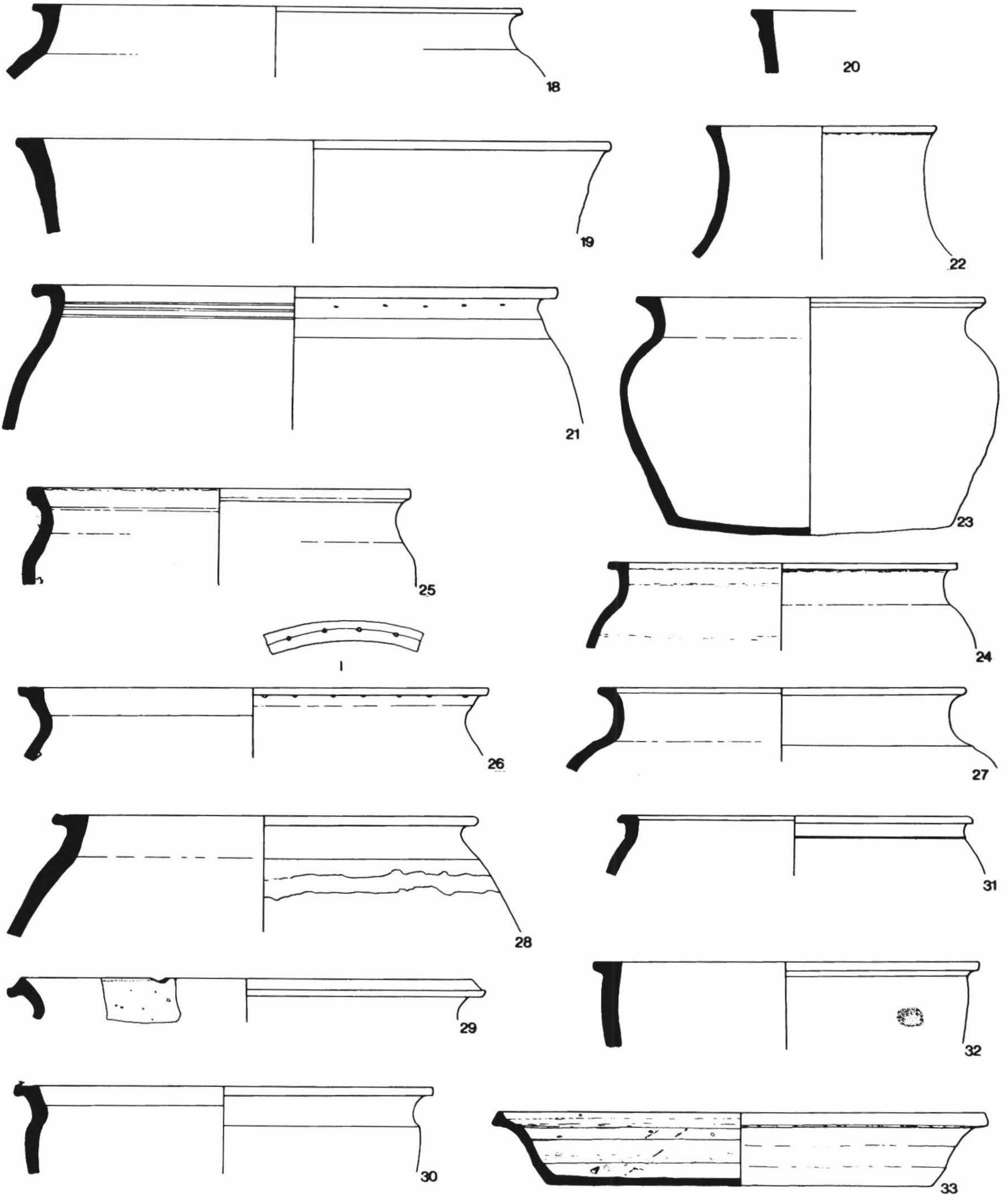

Fig. 5. Medieval pottery (i) from sealed contexts (18–25) and (ii) other illustrated vessels (26–34).

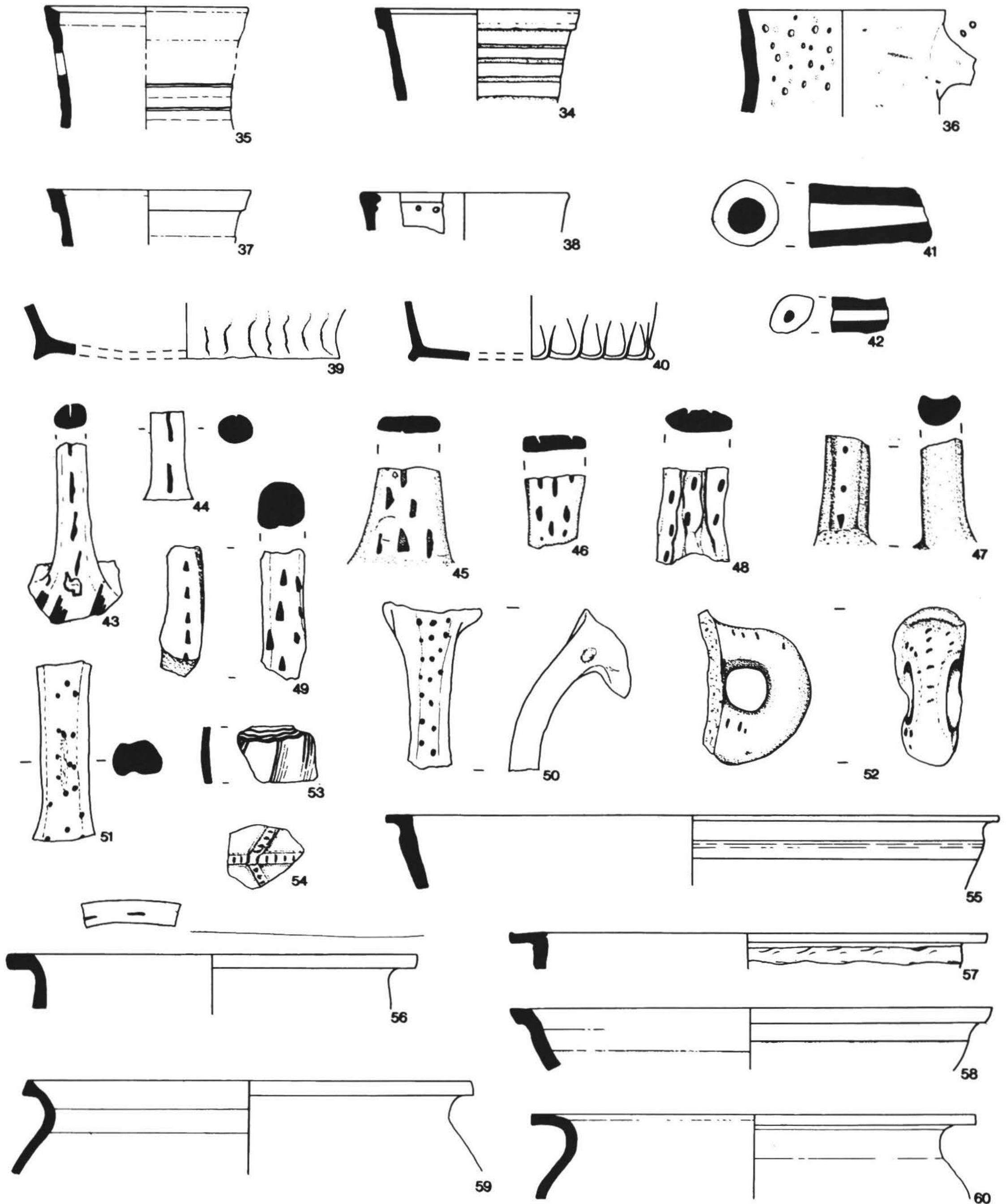

Fig. 6. Medieval pottery: jugs (35–40), spouts (41–2), handles (43–52), decorated sherds (53–4), other vessels (55–60).

in upper part of vessel. Few quartz inclusions and occasional holes from either burnt out organic, or dissolved calcareous, material. Stabbed decoration to top of rim and immediately below rim. Fabric 3.

22. Rim from jug. Fabric 3.

Pit 62
Amongst other sherds, this pit contained a partially complete cooking pot in Fabric 3.

23. Cooking pot. Blackened, due to sooting, over lower outer surface. Fabric 3.

Context 64
This wall footing trench contained a small number of sherds (Table 1).

24. Cooking pot. Fabric 3.

Figs 5 & 6
25. Cooking pot. Fabric 3.

26. Cooking pot rim. Blackened surface in places (due to sooting?). Incised decoration around rim. Fabric 3.

27. Cooking pot rim. Fabric 3.

28. Cooking pot or storage jar rim. Very roughly applied strip on body. Fabric 2.

29. Rim from dish. Black inside and buff outside. Reduced core. Groove on inside edge of rim. Fabric 2.

30. Cooking pot rim. Fabric 3.

31. Cooking pot rim. Rough surface. Fabric 3.

32. Rim from cooking pot or bowl. Finger impressions on outside of one sherd. Fabric 2.

33. Dish. Slight trace of glaze on lower inside and base. Fabric 3.

34. Jug rim. Green glaze on outside with trace of white slip under the glaze. Fabric 5.

35. Jug rim. Patchy yellow-green glaze on outside. Fabric 5.

36. Jug rim with part of handle. Roughly made and pock-marked inside. Fabric 4.

37. Jug rim. Faint trace of white slip on outside. Fabric 3.

38. Jug rim. Dark green glaze on rim and outside. Circular 'lumps' on inside below rim. Fabric 5.

39. Jug base. Yellow-green speckled glaze on outside, and traces underneath. Fabric 5.

40. Jug base. Red-brown slip and green glaze. Fabric 5.

41. Spout. Fabric 2.

42. Spout. Fabric 3.

43. Rod handle. Speckled green glaze with parallel line decoration in a darker green glaze. Handle has incised decoration. Fabric 5.

44. Rod handle. Trace of green and brown glaze. Fabric 5.

45. Strap handle. Trace of yellow/brown glaze inside vessel. Fabric 3.

46. Strap handle. Stabbed decoration. Fabric 3.

47. Strap handle. Stabbed decoration to underside of handle. Fabric 3.

48. Strap handle. Trace of white slip below a yellow /green glaze. Fabric 3.

49. Rod handle. Rough surface. Fabric 2.

50. Rod handle. Fabric 3.

51. Handle. Stabbed 'dots' along back of handle. Fabric 3.

52. Handle/lug. Traces of incised 'slash' decoration. Fabric 2.

53. Decorated sherd. Buff inner surface, orange outer surface. No reduction. Dark green glaze decoration. Fabric 5.

54. Decorated sherd. Applied strips with finger impressions. Green glaze on body and brown glaze on applied decoration. Fabric 5.

55. Rim from bowl. Fabric 2.

56. Cooking pot rim. Top of rim decorated with slashes. Fabric 3.

57. Rim. Band of applied decoration on outside below rim. Fabric 2.

58. Rim from dish. Fabric 3.

59. Cooking pot rim. In addition to the normal quartz inclusions, this vessel also appears to have had grog added to the fabric. Fabric 3.

60. Cooking pot rim. Fabric 3.

71. Two fragments probably both from same vessel. Variable green glaze. Fabric 5.

Medieval pottery — discussion
The medieval pottery from Muddleswood is similar to that found on most 12th- or 13th-century sites in Sussex. The predominant vessel type is the cooking pot, however, other coarse ware vessels such as storage jars were undoubtedly also present. One unusual feature for a site of this date was the large number of dishes apparently being used at Muddleswood. Dishes are rare on 12th- and 13th-century sites and only slightly more common in the late 13th and 14th centuries (Pearce *et al.* 1985). Most sites of this date have only one or two examples, whereas at Muddleswood sherds from a minimum of six dishes were found.

From the number of sherds found that have come from different jugs it is apparent that a large number of these vessels were being used at Muddleswood, mostly in the finer fabric (Fabric 5), although a small number were manufactured in the

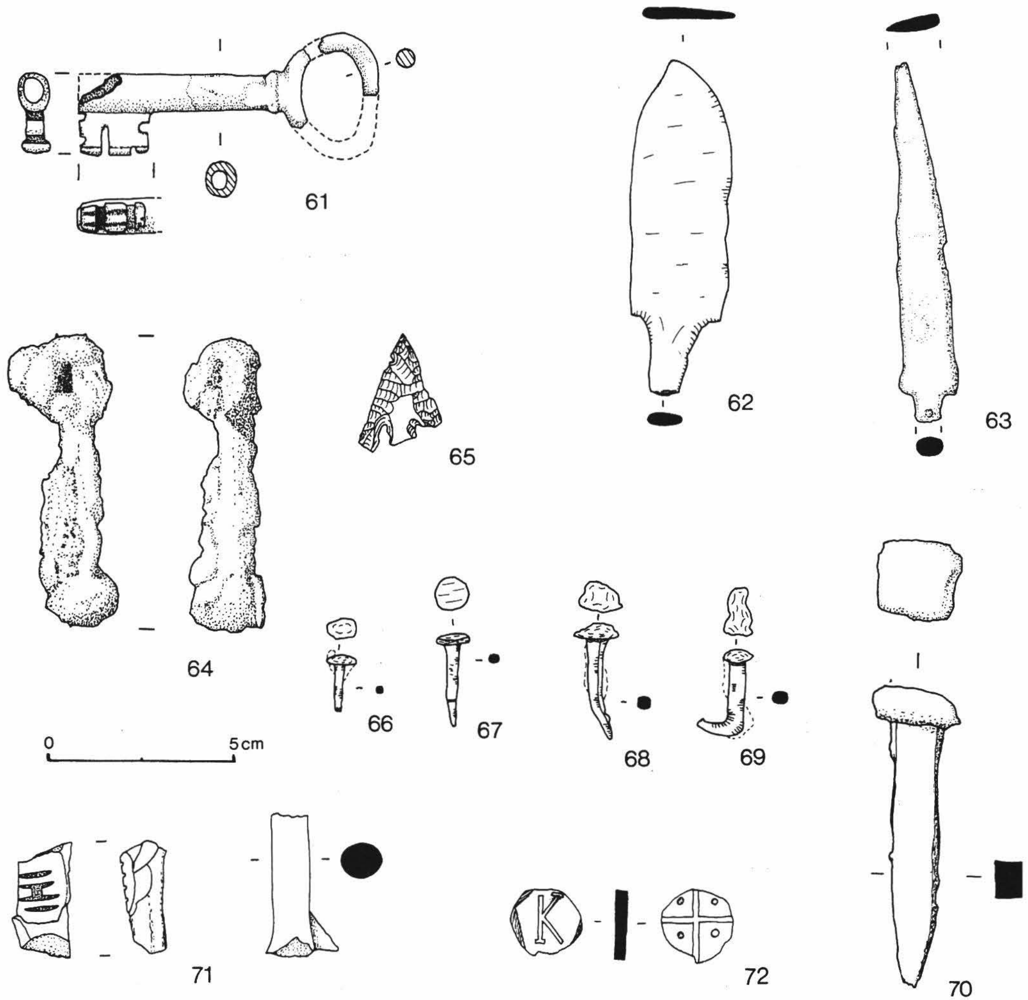

Fig. 7. Small finds: casket key (61), knives (62–3), latch/key (64), barbed-and-tanged arrowhead (65), nails (66–70), aquamanile fragments (71), lead token (72).

coarse fabrics as well (e.g. Fig. 6, no. 37). There was little evidence for any other vessel types in the finer fabric, apart from the two fragments (Fig. 7, no. 71) which may have come from an aquamanile. Both rod and strap handles were present on the site, the former generally being in the finer fabric and therefore associated with jugs.

Although there were only a limited number of sealed contexts that produced medieval pottery (Table 1), it may be possible to suggest a relative chronology based on the fabrics found in each context. The ditch in Trench 18 (Context 52) could relate to an earlier phase as there was a small quantity of Fabric 1 present and no Fabric 5. The pit (Context 47) in Trench 8, however, belongs to a later phase as this contains no Fabric 1, only a little Fabric 2, and a large quantity of Fabric 5. None of the fabrics can be traced to a known kiln, but there are some similarities with the fabrics from the Marchants Farm kiln at Streat and the kilns at Ringmer, in East Sussex (Con Ainsworth, pers. comm.). It is more likely that there is a closer, as yet undiscovered, kiln source for the Muddleswood pottery. One possible location could be at Albourne, a kilometre to the north of Muddleswood, where a field north of the village is known as 'Potters Field' (O.S. 1:25,000 TQ21/31). However, as yet no fieldwork has been carried out in this area to investigate this.

COINS AND TOKENS By David Rudling

1. HENRY II or RICHARD I. Silver cut farthing. Short Cross Coinage, Class 1–4. Probably Class 1 (*c.* 1180–9). Reverse: OSB[ER/N]. Unfortunately the name Osber is common amongst moneyers during the reign of Henry II, and is recorded for the mints of London, Exeter, Wilton and Winchester (North 1980, 185). The name Osbern is recorded for the mints of Winchester and Worcester. This cut farthing is likely to have been lost

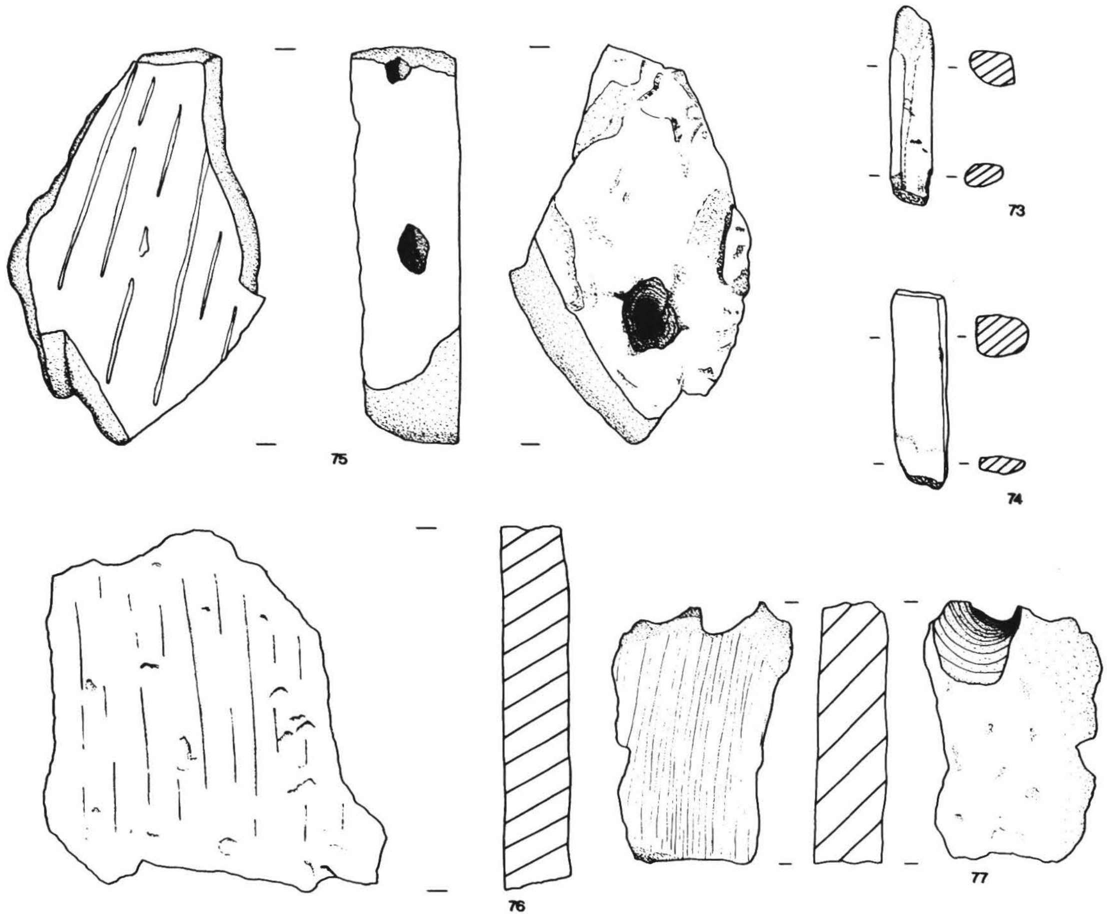

Fig. 8. Foreign stone; querns and whetstones.

before the major recoinage of Edward I, which was embarked upon in 1279. Round halfpence and farthings were struck at the end of 1280, ending the previous practice of making these denominations by cutting a penny into two or four parts (North 1975, 9). Context: 17/54.

2. ELIZABETH I. Third Issue. Silver half-groat. Initial mark: A (1583–84/5). Reference: North (1975) 2016. Top-soil.

3. WILLIAM III. *c.* 1695–1701, Silver Shilling, very worn, counter stamped with an 'S' and 'W' on the obverse and a 'U' on the reverse. Top-soil.

4. Illegible. Copper half-penny. Probably George II or George III, i.e. *c.* 1729–1775. Extremely worn/eroded. Top-soil.

5. GEORGE III. Copper half-penny. First issue. *c.* 1770–1775. Counterstamped with a 'T'. Top-soil.

6. VICTORIA. 1860 Farthing, pierced at the top and presumably re-used as a pendant. Top-soil.

7. GEORGE V. 1932 sixpence. Top-soil.

8. Illegible. Coin or token. ?Silver. 25 mm diameter. Extremely worn/eroded. Top-soil.

9. Illegible. Probably a jeton. Copper-alloy. 19 mm diameter. Extremely worn/eroded. Top-soil.

10. Lead Token. 17th/18th century. 19 mm diameter. Obverse: Cross and pellets. Reverse: Blank. *Cf.* Dean (1977, pl. 10) no. 51 and Read (1988, 106) nos 1–3. Top-soil.

11. Lead Token. 17th/18th century. 18 mm diameter. Obverse: Cross and pellets. Reverse: K. *Cf.* no. 11. Top-soil.

12. Lead Token. 17th/18th century. 20 mm diameter. Obverse: Cross and pellets. Reverse: K. *Cf.* no. 11. Top-soil. (Fig. 7, no. 72).

METAL OBJECTS

Copper-alloy

The only medieval copper-alloy object was a bronze casket key (Fig. 7, no. 61) which can be dated to the 13th–14th century: Context 35, Trench 8.

Lead

Small quantities of lead were found both in the top-soil and from medieval contexts. These comprised two fragments of white lead, and three fragments of what is probably window lead, together with an oblong sheet; measuring 105 mm × 25 mm, and weighing 30 g. There were also five musket balls found in the top-soil.

Iron

In addition to the iron nails, which are dealt with separately, a number of iron items were found during the excavation. The medieval pieces are: (a) latch or key, heavily corroded, context 35 (Fig. 7, no. 64). (b) knife, context 24 (Fig. 7, no. 62). (c) knife, context 62 (Fig. 7, no. 63).

IRON NAILS By Maureen Bennell

Thirty-four complete nails and 278 fragments of nails were collected from 34 contexts. Most were in an advanced stage of corrosion which made identification and analysis difficult, but their general appearance was consistent with the 12th–13th-century date suggested for the site (Fig. 7, nos 66–70). Little could be said about the shank fragments except to note that some had been clinched and some were larger in diameter than others. The bulk of the assemblage was of a comparatively small size, the norm was 4 mm in diameter, only 12 were smaller than this and 24 larger. There were also 25 small studs, probably used for decoration.

Complete nails and head fragments were divided into wedge-shaped nails and those with flat heads, as these characteristics to some extent define their function. It was found that there were 124 flat-headed nails (including five complete and the studs), and 70 wedge-shaped nails (including three complete). Less than half of the identifiable nails were the wedge-shaped type used to secure joinery or boards, sinking the head either for appearance or safety. There were slightly more of the flat-headed nails used to secure one surface to another, some clinched for greater strength. The small studs are likely either to have been decorative or used for applying a covering material to an artefact. There were a few more substantial nails, mostly from the top-soil, none of which appeared to be purely decorative.

It is likely that major timbers used in any building at Muddleswood would have been secured with wooden pegs. From the numbers, type and size of the nails found, it can be concluded that they were used in smaller items of woodwork such as partitions or shutters.

SLATE

A small amount of slate was recovered during the excavations, and was reported on by Mrs H. Holden. A number of pieces from the top-soil and from medieval contexts were identified as being 'typical of the slate found in 12th–13th century contexts, and which was brought along the coast from south Devon quarries'.

Such slate may have been used as roofing material or for wedging purposes in the walling. If a building on the site did in fact have a slate roof, and the small quantity of slate found does not necessarily rule this out, it would suggest that the building was of high status (Holden 1989).

ANIMAL REMAINS

The animal bone from the 1986 and 1987 excavations was looked at by Rod O'Shea, and that from 1989 by Pat Stevens; a full summary is on microfiche. Owing to the nature of the soil at Muddleswood very little animal bone had survived, and that which had was in a poor state. From medieval contexts, mainly the floor area in Trench 17, examples of cattle, sheep/goat, and pig were found. The post-medieval path in Trench 1 (Butler 1986) had the bones of cow (femur with butchery marks) and sheep/goat lying on it. Unfortunately the assemblage is too small to allow any firm conclusions.

FOREIGN STONE

A large number of fragments of foreign stone were found during the excavations, and were identified by Tim Gosden. Most of these fragments were incorporated into the flint wall footings and other features, and seem to be irregularly shaped natural fragments of sandstone, probably originating from the Greensand belt on which the site is located.

In addition to the fragments incorporated into the wall footings, a number of whetstone and quern fragments were also found; those illustrated are described below, with the remainder detailed on microfiche.

Whetstone. Feature 43, no. 1. Fine-medium grained micaceous sandstone, light grey-green. (73 g) Fig. 8, no. 73.

Whetstone. Feature 43, no. 2. Fine-medium grained micaceous sandstone, light grey-green. (93 g) Fig. 8, no. 74.

3. Quern fragment. Feature 42. Medium grained siliceous sandstone, dark brown/green in colour. Smoothed side has concentric striations. The other side has a well-worn indentation, and there are two further indentations on the outer edge of the quern fragment. (1.8 kg). Fig. 8, no. 75.

4. Quern fragment. Feature 60, no. 3. Deep red-crimson medium grained ferruginous sandstone. One side smoothed with striations. (1.62 kg) Fig. 8, no. 76.

5. Quern fragment. Feature 62. Deep red-crimson medium grained ferruginous sandstone. Smooth side exhibits concentric striations. Part of well-worn spindle hole present. (595 g) Fig. 8, no. 77.

FLINTWORK

A total of 336 pieces of worked flint were recovered during the excavation, and are summarized in Table 2. The flintwork occurred both in the topsoil and from features across the site, although little of it appeared to be *in situ*.

The flint was of several types, ranging in colour from grey, blue-grey and black to green and orange-brown. A large proportion of the pieces had some cortex present. The types of flint present are typical of those which naturally occur as nodules in the Lower Greensand.

A large number of the pieces of worked flint are Mesolithic in date, and are generally produced from the better quality flint. The flakes and blades have been removed with a soft hammer from small cores and then occasionally carefully retouched to produce an implement. Other pieces are later in date, generally removed with a hard hammer, and are mainly waste flakes. There is also the occasional later implement, including a single barbed-and-tanged arrowhead (Fig. 7, no. 65). These later pieces can be assigned to the Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age. Two gunflints from more recent times were also found.

Over 1700 fire-fractured flints, weighing 34.6 kg, came from the excavation. The majority were found in the medieval flint features uncovered in Trenches 8 and 17. It is likely that

they were already fire-fractured when they were incorporated into these features, as they were intermingled with other flints which were not fire-fractured.

BUTTONS

Twenty-seven buttons and studs were found in the top-soil during the excavation, and are summarized on microfiche. The non-military buttons were inspected by Miss A. Hart of the Victoria and Albert Museum, whose comments are incorporated here. The military buttons, and possibly some of the other earlier buttons, seem to relate to a military encampment on or near the site. The remaining buttons and studs represent occasional losses since that time.

Military buttons

Eight military buttons were recovered from the top-soil. Seven were Royal Ordnance Corps buttons in a variety of sizes, and date from the period 1790–1830. These buttons generally occur on military sites of this date (Holgate 1988). The remaining military button is that of the 1st Kings Dragoon Guards (Squire 1972), and probably dates from the later part of the 18th century or early 19th century.

Other buttons

In addition to the military buttons, there were 19 other buttons and studs, three of which have designs on them (see microfiche for details).

DISCUSSION

Previous evidence for prehistoric activity around Muddleswood suggested that the area was being exploited during the Mesolithic (Butler 1990, 25). The quantity of Mesolithic flintwork found during the excavation supports this view. A few sherds of pottery and associated flintwork indicates that there was some activity here during the Bronze Age, which corresponds with that located during the fieldwalking survey carried out to the north of the site (Butler 1990).

Also consistent with the results of fieldwalking was the limited evidence for Roman activity found during the excavation. There were only a small number of pottery sherds found which, owing to the closeness of the villa at Danny and the Roman Greensand Way (Butler 1992), may be the result of manuring fields around the villa.

Permanent occupation at the site probably commenced in the 12th century, when one or more buildings were erected on the platform. The walls had flint footings; however, it is unclear whether they were of a similar height to those found at Hangleton (Holden 1963), as those from Muddleswood had only survived to a height of two or three courses. It is possible that just a few courses of flint were laid into a shallow bedding trench, and that timber/daub walls were then constructed on top of the footings. Alternatively, it is just possible that cob may have been used, if so, it would also have been placed on a dry-stone footing such as flint.

There is little evidence of any roofing material having survived; the few small fragments of slate suggest that this was not used for roofing, but may instead have been used as wedging although it is difficult to see how this would have worked with flint. Since no tile or roof furniture was found, it is probable that the buildings were either thatched, or shingled. It is difficult to draw any conclusions beyond this, as to the size or layout of the buildings. The fact that no hearth was located, and the general untidiness of the excavated areas with pottery and other material scattered everywhere, may suggest that the buildings excavated are in fact outbuildings rather than a house. However, the thickness of the flint wall footings found in Trench 17 indicate that the building they supported may have been fairly substantial and the apparent untidiness could therefore reflect the state after abandonment rather than its occupied state. It is possible that there may have been more than one phase of occupation on the site, although it is not possible to suggest any relationships between these phases. It may be that they simply represent earlier and later phases of the same occupation. It is apparent from the number of trenches excavated which did not produce any features or traces of buildings, that a large proportion of the platform was being used for activities which have not left any trace.

The large quantities of pottery, both table and cooking wares, together with other small finds and the quernstones, do suggest that a house, or perhaps small farm was located here during the 12th and 13th centuries.

It appears that the site was abandoned in the late 13th century. This date is indicated by the lack of any later pottery, and the silver cut farthing sealed below the flint rubble from the fallen wall footings (Rudling, this report). Why the site was abandoned is not clear; there may have been a fire as some of the trenches revealed a thin layer of burnt material and a large proportion of the flint in the wall footings showed the effect of fire, having a reddish surface and occasionally being fire-cracked. However as this fire-fractured flint was intermingled in the footings with flint which had not been fire-fractured, this may suggest that some of the flint had been incorporated from footings of an earlier building which had been burnt down. Documentary sources provide further clues, but no firm evidence for settlement here. The name Muddleswood can be traced to William de

Methelwolde (1327) (Mawer *et al.* 1930), and is today given to the crossroads about 200 m to the south of the site.

Once the site had been abandoned, it appears to have been used for pasture, although parts of it may have been ploughed recently. Two maps, one dating from 1658 (ESRO AMS 2096) and the other from 1868 (ESRO Dan 228) show the site under pasture, with no indication of previous settlement shown. It is, however, interesting to note that on the latter map the field in which the site is situated is called the 'Toll'. The B2117 which joins Hurstpierpoint to the A23 used to be the main access west from Hurstpierpoint and at one time had a tollgate situated at Muddleswood. Possibly the original road, this being the one on which the toll was situated, used to follow the line of the Roman Greensand Way which passes within a few metres of the site at Muddleswood (Butler 1992). If this road was still in use at this later date then it must surely have been in use in the 12th/13th centuries and could indicate why the site is located where it is. Apart from this later agricultural use, the only other activity identified by excavation was a possible military encampment during the late 18th/early 19th century. The evidence for this was the quantity of military buttons and musket balls found in the top-soil. One of the buttons belonged to the 1st Kings Dragoon Guards (1st KDG), a regiment of heavy cavalry then and now part of the 1st The Queens Dragoon Guards. This regiment spent most of the period in question stationed in the British mainland, apart from 3 years in Ireland, until 1815 when it took part in the Waterloo campaign.

During its time on the mainland the 1st KDG visited Sussex twice; firstly in 1796 when it was 'encamped near Brighton' between June and October (Cannon 1837). The regiment was then quartered in Arundel in 1804 and marched to Brighton on the 7th October 1805, where it was reviewed by the Duke of York (Cannon 1837). It could be that the regiment, or more likely a detachment of it, was camped here during one of these occasions. The obvious attraction of this location for a camp or halt was its closeness to the London–Brighton road and a plentiful supply of water.

Acknowledgements
I would like to thank those people who helped on the excavation, especially Lawrence Gaston, John Funnell, Jackie and Tessa Mackling, and Ron Lloyd, those people mentioned in the text who provided reports on some of the finds, and the curator of the Museum of the 1st The Queens Dragoon Guards. I would also like to thank the farmer, Mr Andrew Nelson, for allowing the excavations to take place, and for his co-operation throughout. Finally, I would like to thank Mark Gardiner for reading the first draft of this report, and for making many suggestions and improvements to the content. The finds have been deposited at the Museum of Sussex Archaeology, Barbican House, Lewes, under accession number 1989-4.

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'Without violence and by controlling the poorer sort'

THE ENCLOSURE OF ASHDOWN FOREST 1640–1693

by Linda Merricks

This paper examines the process of enclosure in Ashdown Forest between the 1640s, when the effects of the Civil War led to disturbances in many areas of forest and waste in England, and 1693, when the decree dividing Ashdown was formally enacted. The involvement of various groups, and their motivation, is described, with particular attention being paid to the Sackville family who were the most powerful family with Forest connections during the period and who held the major offices. Changes in ideology are related to the changes 'on the ground'. Most important, the extent to which enclosure of Ashdown Forest was a process of protest, negotiation, and compromise over a period of fifty years is shown, with the result that the Forest was never totally enclosed and a large amount of land remains open today — almost entirely as a result of the continual fighting for retention of this common land by the commoners of the 17th century.

Ashdown Forest, or the Great Park or Chase of Lancaster, is an area of about 14,000 acres of scrubby, infertile, podsolic soil in the High Weald in the north of East Sussex (Fig. 1). Its precise status was uncertain. Until 1268 it was held to be a royal forest, subject to forest law, but after that it passed out of the direct control of the Crown. Granted to John of Gaunt in 1372, it became a part of the possessions of the Duchy of Lancaster. On Henry IV's accession in 1399, the Duchy and the Royal possessions were merged in the same individual, so the Forest, although a part of the Duchy lands, again belonged to the Crown. This descent accounts for the various descriptions of the holding. A forest was by definition a Crown possession: once granted to a subject it became a park or chase. This was not the end of the intricacies of the ownership and control. A park, unlike a forest, was fenced. During the early 13th century the 14,000 acres were empaled and divided into three wards and six walks. Some 6000 acres of common around the Park remained unfenced and common to the surrounding manors and villages.[1] These were numerous. The land of the Forest was divided between five parishes and two manors, but a large number of other manors claimed common rights for their tenants over the area or some part of it. These commoners were of three kinds. Tenants of the royal manors of Duddleswell and Maresfield were entitled to free common, which was the most extensive and also the cheapest. The rights of tenants of the other manors entitled to common, the so-called foreign tenants, were more restricted. Many individuals held land of several manors and were entitled to rights of both sorts; these were referred to as inter tenants.[2] However, there were other kinds of holding with yet other rights, the most important of which were the assart holdings. These seem to have been the result of assarting on the commons around the Forest throughout the period from 1250 until 1564 at least, and were probably the origin of settlements such as Forest Row and Horney Common, since many of the smaller assarts had cottages built on them, to which specific common rights became attached. Any estimation of the acreage involved has proved impossible, but the individual holdings were often very small, rarely more than two or three acres. In contrast, very few dwellings were actually to be found within the pale.

The Forest lands were used primarily for hunting, so the protection of the deer and the vert was most important and defined the extent of the common rights allowed. These reconciled the protection of the deer with the need to derive an income. They consisted of pannage for pigs; grazing of cattle, but not sheep nor goats; collection of some kinds of wood for fuel and building; and allowances of stone for buildings and repairs and of marl as fertilizer.

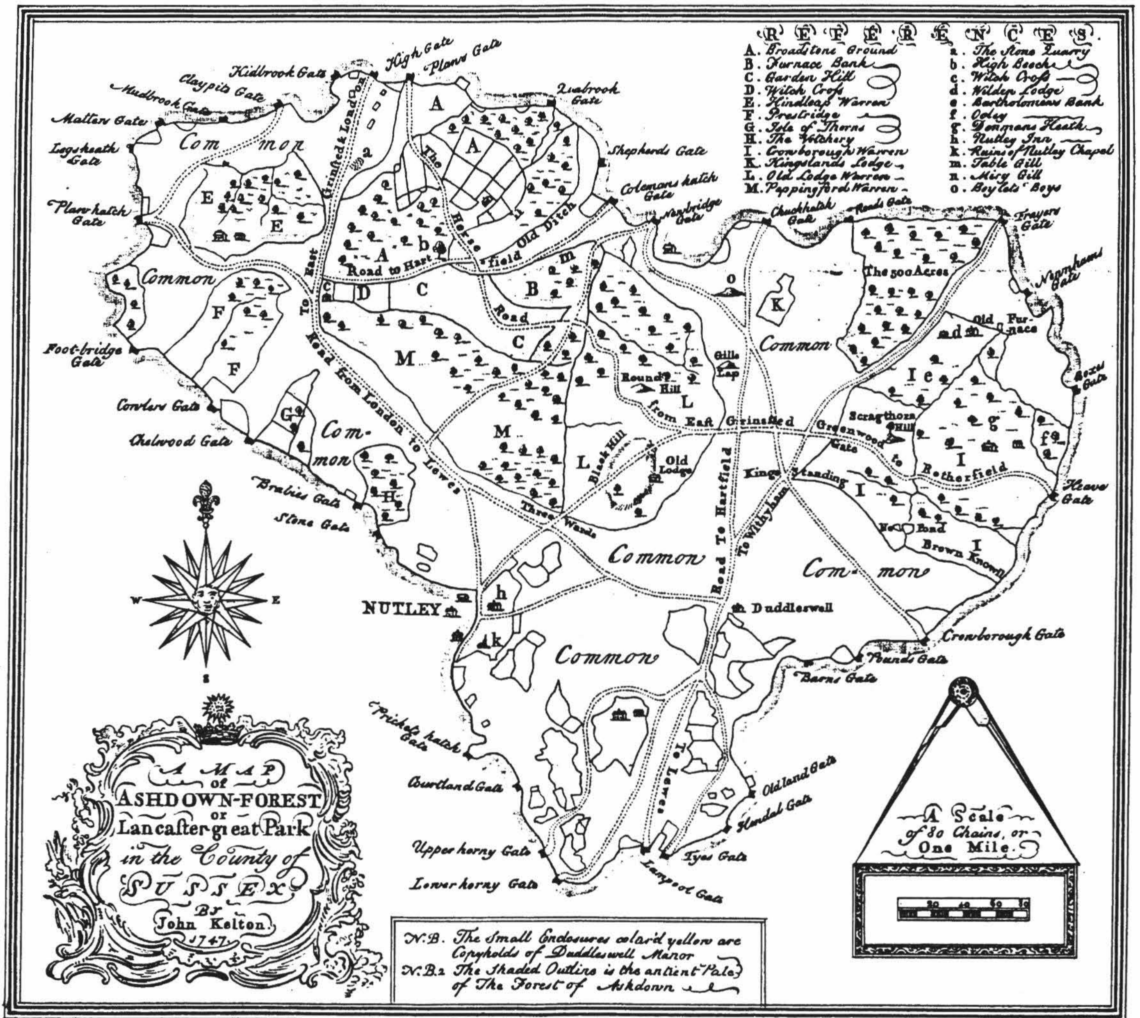

Fig. 1. John Kelton's map of Ashdown Forest, 1747 (from East Sussex Record Office, AMS 4804).

The precise allowances depended both on the type and size of holding, and some sub-tenants as well as tenants claimed rights. This immediately points to the importance of rights to the larger landholders who might be entitled to pasture hundreds of cattle at very low charges. All these uses of the Forest, common rights, the upkeep of the fences and other matters were administered through the forest and manorial courts. The most important were the Woodmote Court and Duddleswell and Maresfield manorial courts. These were controlled respectively by the Master of the Forest and the stewards of the manors, all of whom were local. Until the 17th century the Masters of the Forest came from families with ancestral homes in Sussex but that continuity was broken in 1604 when the Sackvilles moved their main residence from Buckhurst, on the edge of the Forest, to Knole in Kent.

From the 13th to the 17th century, although there were almost constant disputes over land use, the landlords and tenants of Ashdown co-existed broadly according to the customary ways and within a generally stable environment. However, this stability was challenged throughout the 17th century in ways which were fundamentally to change the nature of the area. These changes can be summarized as enclosure or improvement, a process which was proposed by men without local

loyalties, recipients of Crown favours or the purchasers of fee-farm rents and lawyers. Against them, the local residents, the gentry and the poorer sort combined to preserve their traditional rights and customary practices.

The changes during the early 17th century had little obvious effect. James I and Charles I were more interested in forests as financial assets than for hunting. Furthermore, the Sackvilles had been Masters of the Forest and of the Game, the principal officers of the Forest and representatives of the Crown, since the mid-16th century. Once they had moved to the larger and more prestigious Knole in Kent in 1604 there was no resident gentry to provide accommodation and entertainment; the frequency of hunts and the numbers of deer declined. While they continued to hold the offices until the mid-17th century, affairs of state, of marriage, of finance and of taste, directed their attentions to Knole and to the Court and so to London and away from Sussex.[3] This was to have important repercussions on the local community which by the end of the century was left without a powerful ally.

During the first half of the century, the lack of resident gentry enabled the commoners to maximize their exploitation of the forest's resources. It also effectively marked the end of Ashdown as a Royal Forest. This freedom from control allowed Ashdown to escape the disturbances which occurred in other forests and waste areas of England in the decade before the Civil War.[4]

1640–1660

The period of calm in Ashdown continued through the 1640s with very little local reflection of the troubles besetting the rest of the kingdom. The departure of the Sackvilles and their followers to support the king's family had little immediate effect. The machinery of authority within the forest had functioned without the direct intervention of the Masters of the Forest throughout the first half of the 17th century, and the local, minor officials could manage the day-to-day running of the area with only infrequent visits from the Steward as representative of the Master. The activities of the remaining officers saw no immediate alteration, the courts were held and offences were prosecuted. However, and very significantly, there was no longer any person or group who had sufficient power and influence to resist outside pressures. So long as threats came from within the local community and from the kinds of activity customarily presented in the Forest courts, such as wood-stealing or over-exploitation of common rights, the traditional methods had been sufficient to control the Forest without outside help. So long as it seemed possible that the war was merely a temporary phenomenon, and that the old order would be restored, the officers and courts of the Forest continued to function and control the area in their accustomed way. Thus, until 1654, the Woodmote and other courts were held as usual, and, except for a brief difficulty in the March and April courts of 1651 when no one appeared, they continued to hear offences against the customs of the forest and take surrenders, very much as usual.[5]

The continuity in the courts was mirrored by that of their personnel and suitors. The officers of the forest courts and the homage of the Duddleswell court continued to consist of the minor land-holding gentry of the Forest parishes. In 1657, the homage of the Woodmote court comprised 13 persons of whom six belonged to families which had held land in the area since at least 1610, and all but one of the 13 families still held land in 1693. Thus, the minor officers of these courts were not only much the same as before the war, they can be shown to have had interests in the long-term future of the forest.[6]

However, during the 1650s the continued existence of Ashdown was threatened from outside by the Commonwealth which, as a way of raising money, was to consider the sale of Crown Lands, including the forests. Against such a powerful enemy, the officers were impotent. In February 1649 Parliament instituted a committee which issued commissions to survey the forests and parks belonging to the Crown and the Duchy of Lancaster and 'to improve and dispose of them to the benefit of the Commonwealth'.[7] The resulting survey of Ashdown Forest was forwarded to William Webb, the Parliamentary Surveyor, in July 1650.[8] It represented the Forest as extending over 14,371 acres within the pale, divided into the six walks, each containing a lodge for a keeper. Outside the pale were the commons for which no acreage is given. There were only about 120 deer, red and fallow, remaining in the Park and about £600 worth of woods and underwoods. The commissioners reported various abuses against the forest, including the decayed pale and encroachments and illegal enclosures, and investigated the customs and numbers of free and copyholders of the manor of Duddleswell, giving details of the landholders who

had rights on the forest and the officers of the court.[9]

The intended disposition of the Forest was clearly stated: 'a considerable quantity of ground may be conveniently set out in convenient places for all that have right of Custom in the said Park . . . and also a considerable quantity disposed of for the use of the Commonwealth'.[10] This enclosure would benefit both the tenants, as there would no longer be any deer competing for the pasture, and the Commonwealth, as the value of the land would be improved. The improved rents from the Forest were estimated at £2415 6s. 7d. a year, or about 3s. 6d. an acre, a sevenfold increase over the most optimistic valuation of 6d. an acre in 1632.[11] However, no timetable was suggested, at least in part because short-term financial expediency had to be set against the longer-term prospects of improvement from leasing the lands.[12] In the end, the view that sale was the only method by which improvement would be ensured was eventually to triumph, probably because of 'the desperate need to pay the state's creditors quickly'.[13] Once this decision about the basic policy had been taken, many problems remained to be solved before implementation was possible. Eventually, they were narrowed down to two: 'a special regard to the poor and the preservation of timber fit for shipping'.[14] While legislation for the preservation of timber had already been passed, the problem of the poor was less easily solved. At the most simple level the contradictions between the need for unlimited grazing and the desire for enclosure and improvement were too great. As a result, throughout the 1650s, different suggestions were made without success to accommodate the probable difficulties of the commoners and the poor after enclosure.

For this reason and partly out of a desire for greater precision than in the 1650 surveys, Acts of 1653 and 1654 set out instructions for sale of the Forests. Orders for further surveys were then issued in June 1657 which were completed the following year.

In Ashdown other changes had already occurred. The first was the replacement of the Royalist Earl of Dorset as Master of the Forest by his stepfather, the Parliamentarian Earl of Pembroke, in 1646. (Pembroke's allegiances changed during the Civil War and Interregnum and his support of the Parliament seems to have been a matter of temporary expediency.) The only noticeable effect was Pembroke's appointment in 1647 of Thomas Wood of Uckfield, feodary of the Duchy of Lancaster in the Rape of Pevensey, as the bailiff of the Duddleswell manorial court and the Woodmote court, instead of the more usual local inhabitants. Pembroke died in 1650 and the office of Master was left vacant, no doubt in the expectation that the Forest would soon be sold and the post would be redundant. Although the 1650 survey of the Forest had no immediate consequences, the unaccustomed presence of Edward Raynes, the steward, in 1652 and 1653 suggests that a degree of caution and care in the running of these courts was felt to be necessary.[15] Then, perhaps in response to news of the Ordinance 'for the Sale of the Four Forests or Chases' passed by Parliament in August 1654, fewer cases were heard at the Courts throughout 1654 than usual during the preceding decade, and only the first three courts were held in 1655, although Thomas Wood remained as bailiff.[16] These were, however, the only signs of any decline in the traditional administration of the Forest.

Indeed in about 1655, attempting to relieve his financial pressures, Richard, 5th Earl of Dorset, sought to reclaim his family's traditional offices in the Forest which had been confiscated from his father during the war when he had been guarding the Royal Family. In an undated memorandum, Richard drafted a request for a lease at a considerably reduced rent, on the grounds that the woods were destroyed and fences thrown down, that the tenements were destroyed and needed long leases so that they could be repaired, that there were disputes over the courts which would be expensive to clear and that the swanmote court had not been functioning.[17] This description is at odds with accounts of the Forest in the court books of the earlier 1650s which do not mention any unusual damage, but it does accurately describe the Forest in 1657.

As the court did not meet between mid-1655 and mid-1657, the sources for these years are a lengthy statement by the Parliamentary surveyors and the findings of the resumed Woodmote court.[18] The first of these sets out the situation as perceived by the 'outsiders'. In response to the commission and Letters Patent of 1656, five surveyors returned to Ashdown Forest in June 1657. Their report included a general statement about possible enclosures, but more importantly:[19]

> That we find much waste and destruction to have been committed on the said Forest in a total destruction of the Game of Deer in plucking up & carrying away the pales of the said park now almost wholly dispaled &

cutting down the wood which we are informed did in great plenty grow there.

Appended was a list of the 59 principal offenders with the suggestion that since many of them were commoners of the forest they should be punished by 'abridging or wholly detaining of the said lands intended to be allotted them according to the proportion of their respective offences', and that those without common rights should be sent to Cromwell and his council for justice. A detailed examination of these offenders and their crimes suggests that the episode was a dispute over common rights in which the commoners were asserting what they believed to be their rights in the face of the intentions of the Surveyors to disafforest and therefore to abolish such rights.

This interpretation is strengthened by the proceedings of the Woodmote court when it was resumed in the summer and autumn of 1657. The steward had difficulty in getting the jury to present any offences. The court first sat in July when the jurymen met several times without giving their presentments in writing. Finally, Raynes called the court again.[20] The jury was sworn on 3 November and discharged to study 'articles and writings' before meeting again on 25 November. Then they were concerned first to know who would assess the amercements, no doubt needing to know something of the relationship between the findings of this court and the offenders named by the Parliamentary surveyors. At last, five of them were sworn as assessors 'to assess the fines'. Reassured, they made the presentments which were concerned almost exclusively with questions of common rights, there being no sign of any particular deliberate destruction.[21]

In their detailed 1658 surveys the surveyors could not substantiate their assertion of damage made the previous year.[22] These surveys give a total acreage of about 13,385 acres, with an annual value of 3s. 8d. an acre, compared to the 1650 figure of about 14,000 acres valued at 3s. 6d. an acre. While the wood was described as destroyed in the preamble to the survey, it was valued at £647 compared with £620 in 1650, so it had either survived remarkably well or market values had risen. Unfortunately, the condition of the pale is not mentioned, but almost invariably earlier accounts describe it as badly damaged, so it may have been no worse in 1658. Indeed, only one aspect of the Forest does seem to have deteriorated. This was the original *raison d'être* of the forest, the deer. By 1650, the numbers had declined to only 120, and by 1658 the animals had totally disappeared. This evidence suggests that little damage was done to the substance of the Forest during the war and Commonwealth and that, unlike other areas where advantage was taken of the lack of control, Ashdown continued in its traditional ways, functioning as an autonomous unit, very little affected by the larger questions being fought out in the rest of England.[23]

1660–1680

However, between the Restoration and the end of the century, changes in the composition and ideology of both local and national élites affected the ownership of the Forest and to some extent how people viewed the land. There was an increasing confidence in man's (women not being even mentioned in this context) ability to change the natural course of agriculture. The belief was growing that almost all land could be improved and crops could always be profitably grown. This belief was given material existence in Ashdown, but with rather mixed results.

The disappearance of the deer and the subsequent collapse of the customary economy of the Forest provided the opportunity for experimenting with new agricultural practices, but wider agricultural trends provided a further incentive. Falling land prices, falling prices for agricultural produce and difficulties with foreign competition all pointed to the need for change. In Ashdown the most important of these was the fall in the price of cattle. The estimated price of oxen in the southeast fell by about 13% between 1650 and 1699, and concern at their falling profits was voiced by cattle breeders and graziers nationally during the early 1660s. Competition from abroad was blamed and, although not the true cause of the problems, Irish cattle imports provided a ready scapegoat and prompted the passage of two Cattle Acts of 1663 and 1667 whose effects are still a matter for debate.[24] This decline in prices, together with restrictions on grazing, led to a reduction in the number of cattle commoned in Ashdown. Precise figures are impossible, but the general direction of movement can be seen in the fines for one ward of the Forest. In 1658 the commoners claimed grazing rights for 321 cattle in Costley Ward; in 1666 payment was received for 69 cattle and for 73 in 1671.[25]

The decline in the number of cattle seems clearly to have added to the ever-present difficulties of farming in Ashdown. As cattle-raising became less

profitable attempts were made to diversify agricultural practice but the possibilities were limited by the custumal of the forest, the poverty of many of the inhabitants and by the infertile soil. For example, coney warrens were an attractive proposition because, unlike sheep, rabbits were not prohibited in the Forest, but considerable initial investment was needed to buy or lease the land, build the banks and fence the warren. Even then it could prove a rather risky business depending much on demand from London. Only the wealthiest of the local people could afford conies which never provided a general alternative to cattle. There is also some evidence of attempts to shift from cattle to horses, whose use instead of oxen as draught animals became more frequent nationally during the 17th century, horses being thought by some to be more flexible, more 'intelligent' and cheaper to feed. But for the commoners of Ashdown they were nowhere near as flexible in their domestic use. While cattle could provide milk, draught power, meat and leather, horses could be used only for riding or as draught animals. More importantly, an economy had developed around cattle which employed butchers and graziers to whom horses were useless. Finally, the legendary Sussex clays demanded the strength of oxen. As a result, while there is some evidence of horse-breeding in the area, especially during the wars of the mid- and later 17th century, this could not provide sufficient income for the numbers of inhabitants who relied on the cattle trade.[26]

The most obvious alternative was a switch into arable production of some kind, but here two factors contributed to the difficulties of the commoners. First, as the 1665 rental and survey of Duddleswell shows, most of their holdings were very small. Eight freeholders and 94 customary tenants had a total of 604 acres. Apart from one of 100 acres, the average holding was of about six acres, only a small advance on five acres, the average of the pre-Civil War period. There is simply no sign of the access to capital and large-scale holdings which Joan Thirsk and others have argued were essential for a movement into the new crops which were the basis of much late 17th-century agricultural success.[27] There were even more fundamental problems for arable farming. The Commonwealth surveyors had estimated that much of the land needed 100 loads of marl per acre to make it fertile, but for most of the local inhabitants this was impossible. The court books show that in 1666 only 50 loads of marl were carted for the whole Forest, while in 1668 the total was 20 loads.[28]

To complete this gloomy picture, the prospects for employment within the proto-industrial sector were worse than they had ever been. The textile and iron industries had more or less completely died out due to competition from other areas after their brief renaissance during the War. Similarly gunpowder production was no longer needed and glass-making had always been a limited source of employment. Only the leather industries and wood-working trades continued to show any vigour, and even here the decline in raw materials caused by the reduction in the number of cattle and the decimation of the trees meant that no real growth could take place.

The only growth was in the numbers of poor in the area, leading to increased competition for scant remaining resources. Local inhabitants argued that this was due to the 'push' effects of smaller workforces on the downland farms and the 'pull' effect of ill-regulated wastes and the promise of employment on the newly enclosed farms on the Forest. In the 1693 court case, the commoners complained of 'Many poor brought into parishes round the forest . . . to the prejudice and charge of the inhabitants' and asserted that as the improvements had failed these strangers 'became poorer and are a great charge to the several parishes of Maresfield, Hartfield and others'.[29]

In addition to these internal pressures, national changes were to have fundamental effects on the stability of the Forest. The first was that the notice taken of Ashdown by the Parliamentary surveyors brought it unaccustomed prominence. At the Restoration, when his supporters were clamouring to Charles II for reward, several claimed the Forest.[30] The strongest claims were from Dorset, and from George Digby, 2nd Earl of Bristol. Dorset's claim seemed more likely to succeed. His family's original estate was on the borders of the Forest, and from the beginning of the 17th-century Sackvilles had occupied the joint offices of Master of the Forest and Master of the Game. Thus, his request for their grant described these offices as 'formerly granted to his ancestors' who, as an appended note adds, 'had held the custody of Ashdown Forest' for a century past.[31] Furthermore, his parents had been close to Charles I and his family. His father had been in charge of the welfare of the young Princes during the War, and his mother had been their Governess for twelve years.[32] This should have made his position unassailable. However, he himself had very little to commend him to Charles. He had been

neutral during the Civil War, enabling him to reclaim a considerable proportion of the lands confiscated from his father. More important, perhaps, his personality was anything but flamboyant, and he seems to have preferred domestic life with his wife, who had been the heiress Frances Cranfield, and their 13 children to the difficulties of Court life. In Parliament he was worthy and hard working, sitting on more committees than any other Lord in the restored House, and generally 'he was constantly involved with methodical, pedestrian accounts, and lacked utterly the dash and élan of his more famous father, or the humour and geniality of his more famous son'.[33] None of his personal attributes was likely to appeal to Charles, or to make him memorable in the confusion of the Restoration.

Bristol's claim on Charles II was very different and immediate,[34]

> He was a man of very extraordinary parts by nature and by art . . . a graceful and beautiful person; of great eloquence and becomingness in his discourse, and of so universal a knowledge that he never wanted subject for a discourse: he was equal to a very good part in the greatest affair.

In addition, as Clarendon was to remember, 'He had left no Way unattempted to render himself gracious to the King, by saying and doing all that might be acceptable unto him, and contriving such Meetings and Jollities as He was pleased with'. It is hardly surprising that 'the lord Digby was much trusted by the King'.[35] Bristol was not alone amongst courtiers who were ready to make themselves amenable to the King if the result was gifts of lands, money and offices. Bristol's claim to favour was more specific: he had commanded Royalist forces until injured during the War and then used his talents throughout the late 1650s not only to dazzle the King in exile with his person and character, but also to act as Charles' ambassador to the Spanish and French courts. The picture of loyalty to the Crown was marred only by his becoming a Roman Catholic in 1659, apparently in the hope of employment by the Spanish Court.

In the first instance, Bristol was the victor. Perhaps because his personal appeal was stronger than Dorset's argument for family rights; perhaps because Bristol was actually at court while Dorset was at Knole sending messages through intermediaries. For whatever reason, the lease of Ashdown Forest was granted to Bristol and the indenture enrolled on 13 January 1661.[36]

During the next two years, Dorset and Bristol continued to claim and counter-claim rights over the Forest until the presentation of a 'Bill for the Improvement of Ashdown Forest' in the House of Lords in April 1663.[37] The Bill passed the Lords with only minor alterations but was thrown out by the Commons on second reading on 18 May. Nevertheless, Bristol and his associates continued some enclosure of the Forest and took their profit from its most readily saleable asset, the wood, by felling one thousand cords.[38]

Bristol's activities in Ashdown were soon curtailed. In July 1663, Bristol published the Articles of Impeachment against Clarendon. The collapse of this case proved so ignominious that he absconded and his lease of the Forest was forfeited, leaving Dorset in possession of the field. Despite magnanimously promising not to 'take advantage of my Lords ill condition', Dorset again pressed his case to the King. Even after the Forest was granted to Queen Catherine as a part of her jointure in December 1668 he reasserted his supposed rights over Ashdown, treating it again as Forest subject to the restrictions of the common rights of pasturing animals and collecting wood.[39] In 1672 he issued a warrant to Richard Homewood, bailiff of the Duddleswell Court, to remove or impound sheep in the Forest and to receive the resulting fines. However, again Dorset's plans were to be thwarted. The grant to the Queen had been surrendered back to the King and passed in November 1673 to the trustees of one Colonel Washington who had fought and been killed on the Royalist side during the Civil War. A pension promised to his daughters had never been paid.[40]

The trustees' only interest in the Forest was financial and it had now become a commodity in the market place like any other with a value expressed strictly in monetary terms. Any connections with honour or service had been severed and a whole series of loans and mortgages with Ashdown as security were enacted. The Forest finally passed to Thomas Williams of Carwardine in May 1674 who, with his associate Joseph Fells, a London goldsmith, attempted to achieve some return on their investment by enclosure. Unlike Bristol, they ignored the cumbersome processes of law and dealt with those they perceived to be the most powerful, beginning with Simon Smyth, a tenant of Charles Sackville, the son and heir of Richard. Charles explained to the commoners in February 1675 that because of some 'perplexing circumstances' attaching to the

granting of leases to Washington's heirs, it was 'made impossible for me to turn Ashdown Forest again into a Forest. His Majesty having taken an absolute resolution of improving it to the best advantage it is possible of receiving'. However, 'all that belong to the Forest may be free from any apprehension of undue severity or any illegal attempts upon their just rights and privileges which he will be extremely tender of . . .'.[41]

Meanwhile, his father continued to oppose any enclosure. In June 1675, responding to a petition by the commoners against enclosure, he addressed himself to 'my very loving friends the commoning Tenants of the Forest of Ashdown' elaborating his position.[42] He was willing to help them,

> Provided that nothing be done in the prosecution of this business by any violent tumultuous or riotous causes in which I do not in the least suspect your having a hand in as being men of sufficiency & whose property in your estates will always make you desirous to preserve the due course of the law by which you yourselves are preserved therein: so I hope you will always be careful to the best of your power to restrain the poorer sort of people from doing or offering any sort of violence to any persons that are acting in the Forest upon & under any pretences whatsoever of right or usage upon the said ground or any part of it.

In this, the difference between the generations can be seen to be widening with the older Sackville firmly aligned on one side of the dispute with his tenants, for preserving the old ways, while his son, very much the man of his time, looked to the future and the newer, profit-making ways.

The 5th Earl's domestic inclinations had helped to restore the family finances after the restoration, and to retrieve most of the family property, but his son's reckless ways were to destroy them again. Charles Sackville had a very different set of ambitions. A Restoration wit and poet, friend of Charles II and patron of the Court poets, his early life had been that of the Restoration rake; as Dr Johnson was to describe him, he was 'eager of the riotous and licentious pleasures which young men of high rank, who aspired to be thought wits, at that time imagined themselves entitled to indulge'.[43] His notions of honour came far more from a London-based, literary, Court society. But his behaviour scandalized local feeling, as illustrated by an incident in London in 1663. Sackville, then Lord Buckhurst, with Charles Sedley and Thomas Ogle, had got drunk in the Cock Tavern in Bow Street. They went onto the balcony and Sedley stripped naked and 'acted all the postures of lust and buggery that could be imagined' to the crowd who gathered and then in turn stoned them.[44] At about the same time, the parish church in Withyham, which contained the family vault, was struck by lightning and caught fire, with severe damage.[45] The Nonconformist inhabitants of the High Weald saw this latter event as a judgement. The King, on the other hand, was on occasions to be found drunk with Buckhurst and his cronies and bestowed on Buckhurst many favours and offices, making him Baron Cranfield. These grants of offices and money were necessary to him to fund his extravagant lifestyle.[46]

While indebtedness was common among aristocrats, Buckhurst's debts were enormous and influenced his actions with regard to Ashdown. Partly in an attempt to fund his lifestyle, Buckhurst replaced the paternalistic support his father had shown towards his tenants with demands for strict financial accounting. For example, in April 1675, soon after succeeding to the Cranfield estates on the death of his mother, he gave the traditional dinner for his new tenants in Gloucestershire, where he could meet them and show himself to them. Having provided this symbol of paternalism, he then demonstrated his rigour by ordering his steward to serve notice on any tenant who did not immediately pay his rent.[47] However, Charles Sackville was not really a rational capitalist. His determination to maximize all opportunities for profit was to support conspicuous consumption, not investment. This ambiguity is repeated in his social relationships. He was prepared to benefit from the old-fashioned kind of dependence on the King, but refused the other side of the implicit contract, that he should in turn support his tenants.[48] As a result, when his father died on 27 August 1677 and Charles became 6th Earl of Dorset and 4th Earl of Middlesex, any support for the commoners from the Sackvilles ceased, and movements towards enclosure could proceed without such an obvious obstacle or focus of discontent. By April 1679, Williams and Fells had drawn up proposals to enclose 9500 acres, leaving the rest to be set out for the commoners 'in lieu of right'. The remainder would have been some 4500 acres or about two-thirds of the suggested allotment which would have been made by the Commonwealth in 1658.[49] Despite Williams, Fells and their associates arguing that the quantity left open would be

sufficient for the commoners as the King would no longer exert his rights over the Forest, it is not surprising that the commoners rejected the proposal.

1679–1693

Because of these disagreements, the parties agreed to appoint two commissioners to determine common rights and to suggest compensatory allotments, and in June 1679 74 commoners undertook to abide by their award.[50] Sir John Pelham (for the grantees), and Sir John Fagge (chosen by the commoners) were both of the county gentry, feeling their primary allegiance was to the county. They had both been supporters of Parliament and actively involved in county affairs during the Commonwealth. Once the Restoration appeared inevitable, they had both switched their loyalty. Pelham signed the county's address to the King in June 1660. Despite his more active role during the Commonwealth, Fagge had to wait only a little longer to be reinstated under the new regime, for his pardon was followed by a baronetcy before the end of 1660. Both also sat in Parliament during the 1670s and 1680s. Their commitment to county affairs made them obvious choices, as their judgement could be expected to carry weight with both those concerned and the rest of the Sussex community. As their main estates were not in the immediate locality, they were not personally interested, yet they were knowledgeable about local agricultural conditions. Fagge became involved in breeding prize bullocks at Wiston by 1697 and Pelham having the home farm at Laughton in hand. After some hesitation, they agreed to act.[51]

Pelham and Fagge made their award in April 1680, giving the commoners a total of 5500 acres, 1000 more than the grantees had offered. This total was to include a driftway of two furlongs against the inclosed lands on the pale of the forest, and was to be divided between the walks: Duddleswell Walk 1770 acres, Pippingford Walk 816, Hindleap Walk 1022, Broadstone Walk 660, Comden Walk 620 and Whiteden 606. All enclosures within these areas were to be thrown open and the wood growing on them was to become the property of the commoners. The tenants were to aver at the Woodmote court as before. All fences were to be made at the expense of the enclosers.[52]

Until this point, even if opposition had been growing, the broad consensus amongst the forest's inhabitants held that enclosure would be beneficial to most of them. Some concern had been shown, for example, at the particular proposals, but there had always seemed plenty of room to negotiate and come to a generally advantageous position. However, to judge by their actions, the commoners with ascertained rights now began to look at the whole affair very differently. It is difficult to assess what they expected from the Commission. They had been offered an increased allotment which was more or less the same as that suggested originally by the Parliamentary surveyors. Perhaps, as the number of those with common rights had increased in the meantime, there was a feeling that the allotment should have been proportionately bigger. Perhaps their concern was that their rights would be curtailed. Yet another unknown is the effect of the death of the 5th Earl. He was a moderate and moderating influence in the Forest, continuing a long tradition of attempting to protect his tenants and servants, and of resisting any change. After his death in 1677, some kind of violent opposition became more likely.

However, the commoners' first reaction was to issue a document in June 1680, with 101 signatories who 'do . . . unanimously declare that we do assert and will maintain our right of common in the said Forest against any inclosures whatsoever so far as by law we may'.[53] Various groups of commoners issued documents between the mid-1670s and1693, but this one was the more serious for being in response to actual enclosures of the Forest, presaging a fund being set up for expenses and a lawyer being employed.[54] Whether as a result of these actions or through extrinsic factors, Williams and Fells now, on 22 December 1682, assigned their lease of the Forest to Alexander Staples. Unlike the earlier lessees, Staples knew the area. He was a lawyer from East Grinstead, a JP since 1668, who had been steward at one of the Forest courts, made grants of the waste and had himself leased land on the Forest. More importantly for the Forest, he was also stakeholder to a group of 'King's Grantees', formed to profit from the enclosing of the Forest. This group consisted of Mr Baron Raymond, Mr Halford, Alexander Staples esq., William Wogan esq., Henry Smith, Andrew Philips, William Hastings and John Hefield. None except Staples can be found to have had any earlier connections with the area, but at least five of them were lawyers.[55]

The commoners accused Staples of having blatantly broken with forest custom and agricultural practice. First he had cut down the trees, 'several

hundred' cords in 1691 alone, thus clearing large areas and selling the timber. As a result the commoners claimed they would lose their estovers 'in a little time'.[56] He had also 'enclosed, hedged, and ditched' parts of the forest, 'and some of those inclosures sowed with several kinds of grain and others kept for pasture and meadow', all of which was against the customary law. Worse than that he brought strangers onto these lands, 'who hath erected cottages or other buildings within the said forest'.[57]

Except in the treatment of woodlands, Staples and his associates were doing no more than agricultural writers since the 1650s had recommended. They had divided and fenced some of the barren wastes which had, since the removal of the deer, provided no profit to the owners except for some payment for agistment for cattle. They had planted this land with some of the new seeds, including clover and cinquefoil, to try to provide improved pasturage. Other lands had been planted with wheat in an attempt grow profitable crops on the inhospitable Ashdown soils. This was more or less what the Commonwealth surveyors had recommended and should perhaps have brought the new lessees praise for their management of the lands rather than complaints. In the process they had achieved what had been predicted for decades, better employment opportunities for the poor, and they actually seem to have stimulated a demand for labour which could not be satisfied from within the local community. Even those areas which were not enclosed were altered. First, contrary to forest custom Staples introduced 'great flocks of sheep' and he took 'agistment at inconsiderable rates so that the defendants were forced to keep cattle on their own grounds'. He and others also 'with dogs [did] so disquiet the cattle that great loss hath happened'. He also, it was claimed, 'hath set up many warrens made large berryes for conies'.[58]

If the enclosures accorded with contemporary recommendations, they were against the traditional customary practices which the commoners hoped to preserve, and were resented accordingly. At first the commoners responded by putting their cattle into the newly sown fields of clover, as if they were still common lands. Possibly as a result, by the late 1680s the improvements were failing, and the poor who had moved in searching for employment lacked any means of support. Their plight added to the burdens of the middling sort of the local parishes and so to opposition to enclosure. Then the commoners' patience was exhausted as they recognized the persistent nature of Staples' 'illegal' behaviour in the Forest. Finally, in Easter Week of 1689 the commoners initiated direct action by breaking down the enclosures, so that by the end of that week 'the greater part of the forest lay open and unenclosed . . . there were not one thousand acres of the said forest enclosed when the said fences were thrown down'.[59]

In response a case commenced in the Court of the Duchy of Lancaster on 13 May 1689.[60] The plaintiffs were Charles, Earl of Dorset and Middlesex, Thomas Williams, bt, John Williams, kt, Joseph Fells and Alexander Staples esq., all of whom hoped to benefit from enclosure. The defendants, 133 of them, were all commoners of the Forest.[61] The bill runs for several pages and begins by reciting the grant of the Forest to Williams and Fells, the subsequent grant to Staples and the rent charge of £100 1s. 0d. from the Forest to Dorset. It then explains how Staples agreed with several persons for improvement so that parts had been enclosed with hedges and ditches and the plaintiffs had hoped to be allowed to 'quietly enjoy the same' by virtue of the letters patent of Charles II. But the defendants,

> Pretending to have Common or some other interest in the Premises, have by Combination and Confederacy opposed the said Improvements and have in a riotous manner by great numbers of people by them assembled for that purpose broke open the said inclosures and thrown down the hedges and fences of the said ground so inclosed and threatened to impound your orators cattle.

The bill then explained that this had damaged the Earl of Dorset since Williams and Fells were 'utterly disabled . . . to pay the fee farm rent' due to him, while Alexander Staples and others were damaged because they had 'laid out great sums of Money in the improvement of several parts thereof'.

In the Summer of 1689 the court issued an injunction to prevent any further damage. It demanded that all the commoners, their servants and agents 'and all others concerned in the said waste, destruction and disturbances' should forbear from committing any further waste and destruction on pain of 'One hundred pounds a piece' and also to forbear from disturbing the plaintiffs and their tenants in the quiet possession of their lands, until the hearing of the case.[62]

In August 1691, two years after the case had started, copies of the injunction were taken into the

Forest where, despite the case, the destruction of enclosures was still going on. Alexander Staples, the younger took one copy to a place near Broadstone Lodge where[63]

> John Ballard and one John Comon were at work pulling down fences and enclosures being part of the lands in the information mentioned and enclosed before Easter Week last.

Staples attempted to serve the injunction on Ballard who refused to accept it. Staples threw it down and left it in his presence, telling him of its contents. Ballard said 'he had nothing to do with the said Injunction and would take no notice of it'. After this, Ballard 'did proceed to dig cut and pull down the said fences and enclosures' in the lands described. Ballard's version of this event is slightly different. When Staples had offered him the injunction he did not receive it

> not being able to read it but desired him the said Mr Staples to read it . . . which he did not do but threw the same down upon the ground and did not show the Injunction under the seal to this Examinant whereupon this examinant said he would take no notice thereof.

Comon's account of this episode is substantially the same as that of Ballard, except he adds the detail that Staples showed them 'a lump of wax but [Comon] knows not what the same was'. Comon's contempt for this injunction was also shown on another occasion when he had been pulling down fences of an inclosed 'thirty acres sowed with wheat' with his brother. Again, Staples had appeared with an injunction, and told them to stop but 'they did not see any particular writing or seal'. Despite this denial, once Staples had departed, he 'took the said paper and after he had thrown down the Hedge into the Ditch he threw the said paper upon it and covered it with earth'. He and his brother had then continued to pull down the fences.[64]

Similar difficulties were experienced by John Awcock. He took another copy of the injunction into the Forest to the harvest field of Henry Cooper where Thomas Bray, a servant of John Smith, was found with others. Thomas Bray had a long history of destroying enclosures, including[65]

> dig[ging] down the hedges, fences and enclosures of John Awcock, gent of a piece of ground called the Nutley Croft . . . also the hedges ditches fences and inclosures of Mrs Coulstock and Richard Homewood . . . also . . . dig[ging] down the hedges fences and ditches and throw[ing] down the enclosures of several other persons being lands in the Forest of Ashdown in the information mentioned . . .

This time, Smith accepted the copy but Bray, who was actually doing the digging and cutting, did not and so seemed to feel he could continue.

What is interesting about these events is the complete lack of violence or even, it seems, of emotion. Small groups or individuals went into the forest where they found fences around the enclosures. They destroyed the fences and ditches in a methodical way, ignoring any interference but never offering any personal violence. They seem to have been especially contemptuous of the injunction, feeling there was no need to take notice of it, or perhaps their feelings were directed at those who actually delivered the notices. Most of the activities were carried on in daylight and in full view of other people: for example, John Awcock served the injunction on Smith in the presence of a group 'who were all in the harvest field of Henry Cooper in Ashdown Forest'.[66]

This orderliness is at least partly explained by the control over the proceedings exerted by the gentry and middling sort. They paid the poorer members of the community to destroy the fences, or offered them protection as they did so. At least two of the defendants announced that they had been paid by other, richer commoners. When asked if he had been hired by anyone else and whether some person or persons offered to indemnify him, John Smith explained that

> Mr John Newnham the Older and John Day did advise this examinant so to do and so doing promised to save this examinant harmless from all trouble and charge that should happen thereby [this examinant] received 30 or 40 shillings from John Newnham.

Similarly, Ballard and Comon were asked 'Were you employed by anyone. Did anyone promise to save you harmless. Had you any reward and how much.' John Ballard answered,

> that he was paid to do the same by one John Wickin who paid the examinant and the said Comon their wages and promised to save them harmless from all troubles and charges that should or might happen and come to them by reason thereof. And further says that he had none other moneys or promises of any saving 18d for his pains.

The injunction, which the courts had so much difficulty in serving, specifically mentioned the same

seven commoners who were named in the bill. All had themselves signed, or belonged to families which had been involved in signing, the previous petitions, and all were amongst the more influential members of the Forest community.[67]

Perhaps more important than individual status or differences over time in their position was the unifying belief among this group that Staples, not they, had acted illegally. It was Staples who had broken 'the law' of agricultural custom; they had simply reasserted their rights and those of their fellow-commoners who had been bound together for nearly ten years. Their argument was that because no division of the Forest had occurred the commoners should be allowed to continue to exercise their rights. They did not accept that this would be regarded as illegal. They were later to argue that, while they agreed that the Forest had been disafforested,[68]

> they believe that the Freeholders and Commoners adjacent to the said Forest might pull down the hedges and fences which were made for enclosing the same and did hinder the same which they might lawfully do as these defendants hope the same being done to hinder them from their enjoyment of their common of pasture and estovers.

The specific accusations concerning the throwing down of fences were never denied, nor does any particular action seem to have been taken in response to them. It seems to have been decided at some point, that the case was already sufficiently complicated without pursuing individuals for this kind of action. This was recognized directly in the final decree where it was said 'that multiplicity of suits in and about the premises might be stayed and prevented'.[69]

The result of the case was the decree of December 1691. This recited all the claims put forward so far and listed 133 defendants who needed to be considered in any further action. It then ordered 'A Commission to set out for the Defendants common according to their respective rights in convenient places' which was to return its findings to the Duchy Court in the Trinity term. Meanwhile the injunction was to continue, and the plaintiffs were to be free to cut down wood but not 'Birch, Willow and Alder being the sorts of wood usually allowed to the Defendants for their estovers'.[70]

The commissioners on this occasion were Sir John Pelham (again), Colonel Butler (presumably James Butler of Amberley Castle) and Peter Courthope esq. of Danny, who met the commoners at Nutley Inn in July 1692. There they were 'to set out of the Forest sufficient and convenient common for all the forest tenants'. These meetings of the tenants, not all with the commissioners, continued until June 1693 when, at last, Mr Richard Isted, a Lewes attorney, gave notice that on 'the 19 of this Instant . . . it will be the last meeting'. Even at this late stage, the major commoners wanted to present a united front, as shown by a letter from William Wilson asking for advice about the intentions of other commoners so that he could act in a similar way.[71]

The commissioners finally reported on 8 July 1693. They allocated 6400 acres, 'in most convenient places contiguous and adjacent to all several villages towns and farms' to the commoners as 'sufficient common of pasture and herbage'.[72] The commoners were to 'have the sole pasturage and the plaintiffs are excluded from all right of pasture'. The plaintiffs, 'Mr Staples and the proprietors' as they are called on the award map, were given the rest.[73] The award continued 'some are new inclosures and some are inclosures ready made. They are all to be enjoyed by the plaintiffs in severalty and the Commons are to be excluded from any Common of Pasture herbage or pannage therein.' This division was strikingly similar to the division made by the Parliamentary surveyors in 1658 and that suggested by Pelham and Fagge in 1679. It was considerably more than the 4000 acres which had been offered by the grantees. Even so, at the most simple level it could be seen as a crushing defeat for the commoners as they had opposed both of those proposals with some success in the preceding decades.

The commoners had been unable to prevent enclosure taking place. Although many of them had tried by both legal and illegal means to keep the forest open, this had proved impossible. The forces against them were too powerful. The enclosers had money and a strict interpretation of the law on their side. In latter years they had also had the influence of the Earl of Dorset. Always several of the commoners were actually in favour of agreement and this would not have helped the cause of the opponents. Most importantly, however, they were attempting to fight an increasingly capitalistic agriculture which stressed profitability and the forces of law which supported it, with the increasingly weak weapons of custom and practice.[74] It is therefore not surprising that they lost. But they did not lose all the battles.

They had certainly managed to postpone the

actual division of the Forest from the early 1660s. They had insisted that their point of view should be heard, and they had shown their resentment at the behaviour of those, like John Awcock, who had sided with the enclosers. They had also persuaded the court that any enclosure should take into account the continuing rights of the commoners and in this they had managed to remain within at least a broad definition of the law. They had protected their culture by using the traditional practices from within that culture. They prolonged the life of that culture until at least the 1870s, and possibly even longer. It is largely due to their actions that the Forest remains as it is today, an open area for recreation and for the protection of wild-life.

In contrast to other enclosure disputes, most of the actions had been without violence to any of the people involved. At no point was there need to use any available peacekeeping force or official body. The commoners governed and controlled the dispute in the same kinds of way they had been accustomed to govern and control their rights to the Forest. The middling sort who might well have been the officers of the Forest in earlier times became those who instituted and controlled the attacks. In this they continued customary social relationships within the community against the newer economic nexus of the enclosers. They showed how the traditional society had functioned at its best — although the danger of rose-tinted spectacles is great here; these were also the men who had exploited every opportunity to the full and had willingly allowed the poor to form a pool of labour in case of need. Through the Forest and manorial courts and in the markets they had competed with each other in the effort to make their livings and their fortunes. However, overall, they showed how right the Earl of Dorset had been in his assessment of the way they would act: without violence and by controlling the poorer sort.

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NOTES

The main body of evidence on which this study is based are the records of litigation concerning the Forest which was heard in the Court of Duchy of Lancaster Chamber, of which the archive is in DL classes at the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane (hereafter PRO). The extensive transcripts of the same material, made on behalf of the commoners in 1880, form East Sussex Record Office (hereafter ESRO), AMS 3959. The same material, extracted for Sir William Burrell, is preserved in British Library (hereafter BL), Add. MSS 5681, 5705 and 5709.

[1] P. F. Brandon, 'The common lands and wastes of Sussex' (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of London, 1963); C. E. Brent, 'Employment, land tenure and population in Eastern Sussex, 1540–1640' (unpub. D.Phil. thesis, Univ. of Sussex, 1973); J. K. Irons 'Aspects of the impact of man on the historical ecology of Ashdown Forest, Sussex, before 1885' (unpub. D.Phil. thesis, Univ. of Sussex, 1982). ESRO, AMS 4804 is a gathering of redrawn versions of 17th- and 18th-century maps of the Forest.

[2] J. E. Small, 'A review of Ashdown Forest and the common rights thereon', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter *SAC*) **126** (1988), 155–66.

[3] For references to the materials discussed here, see L. Merricks, 'Forest and waste in seventeenth-century England: the enclosure of Ashdown Forest, 1600–1700' (unpub. D.Phil. thesis, Univ. of Sussex, 1989), especially Ch. 1–4; P. Brandon, *The Sussex Landscape* (1974); G. Christian, *Ashdown Forest* (Lewes, 1967); G. Hammersley, 'Crown woods and their exploitation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* **30** (1957); E. Turner, 'Ashdown Forest, or as it was sometimes called, Lancaster Great Park', *SAC* **14** (1862), 35–64.

[4] J. Morrill, *The Revolt of the Provinces* (1980); B. Sharp, *In Contempt of All Authority: Rural Artisans and Riot in the West of England, 1586–1660* (Berkeley, 1980); K. Lindley, *Fenland Riots and the English Revolution* (1982); B. Manning, *The English People and the English Revolution* (Harmondsworth, 1978).

[5] Records of the Woodmote and other Courts of Duddleswell Manor are in Sussex Archaeological Society Library (hereafter SASL), Straker Papers 6A; ESRO, ADA 75, 93, and AMS 3959.

[6] ESRO, ADA 75, 93; SASL, Straker Papers 6A.

[7] *Journals of the House of Commons* **6**,150; H. J. Habakkuk, 'Public finances and the sale of confiscated property during the Interregnum', *Economic History Review* **2** ser. **15** (1962–63), 70–78; I. Gentles, 'The management of Crown Lands, 1649–1669', *Agricultural History Review* **19** (1971), 25–41.

[8] The surveys of Ashdown Forest are in PRO, E 317/10–17, 26, 27, reproduced, with an introduction, in M. Hawkins (ed.), *Unpublished State Papers of the English Civil War and Interregnum* (Hassocks,1977). Those of 1650 and 1658 are printed in J. R. Daniel-Tyssen, 'The Parliamentary Surveys of Sussex', *SAC* **23** (1871), 242–71, 294–313, and **24** (1872), 190–218, to which reference is made here.

[9] BL, Add. MS 5705, f. 112.

[10] Daniel-Tyssen (1871), 312.

[11] BL, Harleian MS 1579.

[12] J. Thirsk, 'Agricultural policy: public debate and legislation', in J. Thirsk (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1640–1750* (Cambridge, 1985) **2**, 314–17.

[13] Thirsk, 'Agricultural policy', 316.
[14] Thirsk, 'Agricultural policy', 317.
[15] ESRO, ADA 75, at rear.
[16] SASL, Straker Papers 6A.
[17] Centre for Kentish Studies (hereafter CKS), Sackville MSS, U269/C13.
[18] PRO, SP 18/135; SASL, Straker Papers; ESRO, AMS 3959.
[19] PRO, SP 18/66.
[20] ESRO, AMS 3887, ff. 25–37.
[21] ESRO, AMS 3959, ff. 201–3.
[22] Daniel-Tyssen (1872), *passim*.
[23] This interpretation is different from that offered by S. J. Madge in his magisterial *Domesday of Common Lands* (1938). For a detailed discussion of how the present argument differs, see Merricks (1989), Ch. 6. For descriptions of other areas, see works cited above; C. Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down* (Harmondsworth, 1984), Ch. 7; K. Thomas, 'Another Digger Broadside', *Past and Present* **42** (1969), 57–68.
[24] For a discussion of these questions, see P. J. Bowden, 'Costs and profitability', in J. Thirsk (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*: vii, 102–17.
[25] Irons, 'Historical ecology', 158; ESRO, AMS 3959, f. 229.
[26] Irons, 'Historical ecology', 162–5.
[27] J. Thirsk, 'Agricultural innovations and their diffusion' and 'Agricultural policy', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*: vii, 533–87.
[28] ESRO, AMS 3959, f. 229.
[29] PRO, DL1/449; DL1/450.
[30] J. Thirsk, 'The Restoration land settlement', *J. Mod. Hist.* **26** (1954), 315–28; C. Clay, 'The evolution of landed society after the Restoration', in *Agrarian History*, 162–98; I. Gentles, 'The sales of Crown lands during the English Revolution', *English Historical Review* 2nd series **XXVI** (1973).
[31] *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1660–1661*, 69.
[32] V. Sackville-West, *Knole and the Sackvilles* (1948), 99, 107.
[33] B. Harris, *Charles Sackville, 6th Earl of Dorset, Patron and Poet of the Restoration* (New York, 1972), 15.
[34] Edward Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England Begun in the Year 1641*, ed. W. Dunn Macray (Oxford, 1888) **5**, 127.
[35] *The Continuation of the Life of Edward, the Earl of Clarendon; Written by Himself* (Oxford, 1761) **2**, 395; **5**, 127.
[36] ESRO, AMS 3939, p. 30.
[37] *Journals of the House of Lords*, **11**, 507, 509, 520, 523, 524; *Journals of the House of Commons* **8**, 495, 497.
[38] CKS, U269/C67, f. 1.
[39] R. Latham & W. Matthews (eds.), *The Diaries of Samuel Pepys* (1971) **4**, 271, 298; CKS, U269/C96, f. 8; ESRO, DLW.279.
[40] ESRO, AMS 3959; BL, Add. MS 5705, f. 14b.
[41] ESRO, AMS 3887, f. 51.
[42] ESRO, AMS 3959, f. 245.
[43] Quoted in Sackville-West, *Knole*,116.
[44] *Diaries of Samuel Pepys* **4**, 209.
[45] C. J. Philips, *The History of the Sackville Family*, (1929), 406, 437ff.
[46] H. J. Habbakuk, 'English landownership, 1680–1740', *Econ. Hist. Rev.* **2** ser. **10** (1940), 2–17.
[47] Harris, *Sackville*, 63.
[48] For an introduction to these ideas, see K. Wrightson, *English Society 1580–1680* (1984), Ch. 1.
[49] ESRO, AMS 3959, f. 248.
[50] ESRO, AMS 3959, f. 249.
[51] A. Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War: Sussex, 1600–1660*. (1975), 318–21; M. J. Hawkins, 'Sir John Fagg', in R. L. Greaves & R. Zaller (eds.), *Biographical Dictionary of British Radicals in the Seventeenth Century* (Brighton, 1982) **1**, 264; J. H. Farrant, 'Laughton Place . . .', *SAC* **130** (1991), 153.
[52] ESRO, AMS 3959, f. 256.
[53] ESRO, AMS 3959, f. 258.
[54] ESRO, AMS 3959, ff. 250–51.
[55] SASL, Straker Papers 6A. For the importance of the employment of legal strategies and of new definitions of legal practice within notions of common law in cases of this kind, see E. P. Thompson, 'Custom, law and common right', Ch. 3 in *Customs in Common* (1991).
[56] PRO, DL1/449.
[57] ESRO, AMS 3959, f. 43.
[58] PRO, DL1/449.
[59] PRO, DL1/450; BL, Add. MS 5709, f. 43.
[60] Documents for the first stage are in BL, Add. MS 5681.
[61] ESRO, AMS 3959, ff. 289–320.
[62] BL, Add. MS 5705, f. 67.
[63] PRO, DL4/125/1.
[64] PRO, DL4/125/6. Concern about written evidence in an illiterate society was common. Various examples of similar cases have conveniently been collected in Thompson, *Customs in Common*.
[65] PRO, DL4/125/1.
[66] PRO, DL4/125/1.
[67] PRO, DL4/125/6.
[68] ESRO, AMS 3959, f. 279.
[69] BL, Add. MS 5709.
[70] ESRO, AMS 3959, ff. 289–320.
[71] ESRO, SRL 22/6
[72] ESRO, AMS 3959, ff. 321–42.
[73] SASL, Straker Papers 6A, contains a photograph, and ESRO, AMS 4804, a tracing of the map attached to the award.
[74] Thompson has discussed this conflict at length in *Customs in Common*.

SUSSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS 132 (1994), 129–42

The workhorses of the county

THE SUSSEX JUSTICES OF THE PEACE, 1660–1714

by Peter Le Fevre

During Charles II's reign remodelling of the commissions of the peace on political lines began. After 1690 the commissions were frequently renewed to ensure that the justices of the peace appointed to them supported the dominant, Whig or Tory, party. The consequent upheavals in local administration were mitigated in Sussex by a group of hard-working justices being appointed time after time. This article looks at who these justices were; at the development of a regular chairmanship; and at the impact of the frequent remodellings on the personnel of quarter sessions.[1]

INTRODUCTION

The importance of the justices of the peace in governing their localities has long been recognized, and several studies of local communities in early Stuart England have discussed the role they played in the structure of local government.[2] The upheavals caused by the English Civil War meant that those who traditionally were JPs, the élite gentry in a county, were replaced by lesser parish gentry. However, as J. C. D. Clark has pointed out, 'much in the localities remained the same', and 'a slightly ramshackle but resilient system of local government was triumphantly reinstated in 1660, and survived, despite an apparent challenge to it in the reign of James II, until the . . . nineteenth century', and the traditional élite again became JPs.[3]

Central government controlled the appointment of justices and this gave it the power, especially after the Restoration of Charles II in 1660, to create commissions of the peace to its liking. It was a weapon that was used ruthlessly during the period of the Exclusion Crisis as Charles II removed those JPs who supported the exclusion of his Catholic brother, James Duke of York, from inheriting the English throne. James also purged the justices of the peace, but in his case he tried to create commissions that would support him in his attempt to repeal the Test Act. After 1690 the commissions of the peace were continually renewed along party lines as successive lord chancellors expanded and purged them to ensure that the justices appointed to them were reliable and supported the correct party line.[4] Yet despite the successive remodellings, and the instability that they were intended to create, Sussex's commission of the peace showed notable continuity, which derived from a small core group of hard-working JPs of both political parties who survived successive renewals to serve for twenty years or more.

THE JUSTICES OF THE PEACE

A commission of the peace was a large parchment document issued separately for each county under the great seal of the Lord Chancellor. The commissions contained both 'honorary' appointments as well as the local, resident gentlemen of the county. The honorary names would include Privy Councillors, the Attorney General and Solicitor General, as well as the Assize judges for the circuit the commission covered. It was easy to make changes in the body of JPs, by issuing a new commission which superseded the previous one. New appointments could be included, while justices who were no longer to serve, for whatever reason, had their names removed. The Chancellor depended on a variety of people for his knowledge of which resident gentry should be placed on, or removed from, the commissions. Thus Sir Edward Selwyn, one of Sussex's deputy lieutenants and an active JP, forwarded a list of names to the Lord Chancellor in 1703 for inclusion in the next commission to be issued, but unfortunately the list does not survive.[5] Once the list had been settled the Clerk of the Chancery drew up a new commission which was sealed, with the date noted in the Crown Office docket book. One hundred and two commissions were issued for Sussex between July 1660 and December 1714.[6]

'Sussex was unique in having a single Commission of the Peace which . . . acted as two separate Benches'. By the 1570s sessions at Epiphany, Easter

and Michaelmas in both the eastern and the western divisions, and a joint summer session at Lewes, were well established. This pattern continued until 1687 when the western division gained a fourth session.[7] At the Midhurst session on 4 October 1686 the grand jury pointed out the problems faced by the local officers and residents of the three western rapes (of Chichester, Arundel and Bramber) in travelling to Lewes. They asked therefore for a separate summer court to be held at Petworth. The Chichester grand jury made a similar plea the next April. The justices obliged by ordering the clerk of the peace to issue instructions for a session at Petworth 'the week next after . . . the feast of the Translation of St Thomas the Martyr'.

All was not plain sailing as the Lewes grand jury petitioned the eastern justices three days later to retain 'the ancient custom of keeping the general quarter sessions at Lewes'. The Lord Lieutenant, Charles, Earl of Dorset, initially retained the status quo, but later changed his mind (though his papers do not reveal why), and the western justices held their first summer session at Petworth on 11 July 1687.[8] One further joint session only was held in November 1719 to discuss the repair of a county bridge. After that no western justices appeared with their eastern colleagues.[9]

Families such as the Pelhams, Gorings and Eversfields who had served as justices before the Civil War continued to be represented. Although in 1660 40% of the Sussex justices had a relative on the Bench in the previous two decades, and in 1714 only 11%, there were still families who showed a remarkable continuity of service as generation after generation succeeded each other.[10] Sir Thomas Pelham (d. 1652) was followed by his son Sir John, while his sons Thomas and Henry Pelham served with both him and his half brother, Sir Nicholas Pelham (d. 1739). Sir Nicholas was placed on the Bench in 1673 and served 'upwards of sixty years in the commission of the peace'.[11]

Long service was strengthened by marriage and kinship ties. Fathers, sons, uncles, cousins and grandsons frequently served together. Kinship was as important in uniting the Bench as it had been before 1660.[12] The Farrington family of Chichester is a good example. John Farrington of Chichester (d. 1680) was succeeded on the commission by his eldest son, Sir John, who served from 1682 until his death in 1685. Sir John's brother Richard became a justice in 1688, serving with his father-in-law John Peachey of Chichester (d. 1693), and with his own eldest son, John. Farrington was the brother-in-law to Sir John Miller, another western division JP. On the Bench with the Farringtons in the 1690s and 1700s was John Peachey of Chichester (d. 1717), a Tory cousin of Sir Richard Farrington's father-in-law, and William Woodyer of Chichester. A Whig, Woodyer was linked by marriage to the Peacheys and another leading Chichester Tory family the Elsons.[13]

Friendships were also another important linkage. Sussex justices left bequests to fellow justices in their wills. Sir Henry Peckham left a mourning ring to his colleague Sir William Morley, while Sir Thomas May was left rings by his cousin, Sir Richard May, and his colleague Sir John Farrington. Justices acted as trustees and overseers of their colleagues' wills. Robert Anderson appointed Thomas Palmer of Harting overseer of his will. Sir William Morley of Halnaker's trustees were Thomas Bickley and John Alford of Offington. Friendships and kinship ties also overrode party affiliations. Tory justices used Whig friends and colleagues as trustees of their wills. John Elson of Chichester, part of the strong Tory group in the town, appointed the Whig, William Woodyer, as a trustee of his will in 1716. Sir Thomas Dyke, a Tory, nominated Henry Campion (October Club Tory and Jacobite) and a Whig, John Cooke, as the guardians of his children.[14]

The decline in higher education apparent among the members of the Sussex Bench of the 1640s and 1650s was reversed after the Restoration.[15] Most of the active Sussex justices appointed between 1660 and 1714 had attended either a university or an Inn of Court or both. Richard Peckham of Lordington, George Gounter of Racton and William Elson of Chichester were all Oxford-educated. Among the JPs with a Cambridge education was Peter Courthope of Danny. Sir Henry Peachey, along with Henry May of Chichester and John Taylor of Tillington, west Sussex's chairman in the early 1700s, were among those educated at the Inns of Court who became barristers. Shared educational experiences may have further reinforced cohesion amongst the active justices.[16]

Between 1660 and 1714, 217 justices were involved in the county's administration. Ten never actually attended quarter sessions and played no role in the running of the county beyond returning one or two recognizances.[17] Of the 207 who did attend quarter sessions (listed in Appendix 1), 109 justices appeared only rarely.

This lack of interest among the majority was

more than compensated for by the outstanding performance of 53 justices, identifiable by their length of service and frequency of attendance. Amongst them, 13 JPs (4 knights and 9 esquires) from both eastern and western divisions, each with more than 30 years' service, comprised a 'core group' which shouldered the main responsibility of the county's administrative work (they are flagged in Appendices 2 and 3). John Fuller of Brightling was one of the eastern division's active core. Appointed to the commission in 1702, he attended sessions regularly for 43 years, serving as chairman of the eastern division for 15 years from 1722. Other offices held by him included sewer commissioner for Pevensey and Hastings rapes between 1708 and 1745, land tax commissioner for the same rapes between 1708 and 1712, and he even managed to squeeze in his election as Sussex's knight of the shire in 1713. Despite his Tory politics, Fuller was not purged after 1714 and attended quarter sessions assiduously until his death in 1745.[18] Another eastern core JP was Richard Bridger of Hamsey. In his 38 years as a justice he attended 123 sessions. As a sewer commissioner for Lewes and Pevensey rapes Bridger sedulously attended 35 watercourts between 1660 and 1696. As well as commanding a militia regiment Bridger, like Fuller, was an MP.[19]

Heading the few knights in the core group was Sir John Pelham of Halland, who, in the 43 years he served, attended 123 sessions and returned 122 recognizances. Pelham was also an active sewer commissioner for Lewes and Pevensey rapes and attended 42 courts, chairing every one of them, between 1660 and 1701. It was an impressive performance especially as Pelham was 80 when he died following a coach accident five days after attending the Epiphany session of 1703.[20] Another member of the core was Sir Nicholas Pelham who was as active as his half-brother Sir John, though over a longer period. He attended 114 sessions between 1673 and 1734.

In the western division the two knights who belonged to the core group were Sir Richard Farrington of Chichester and Sir Henry Peachey of Petworth. Over thirty years, 1688–1718, Farrington attended 61 sessions. Like Pelham, Fuller and Bridger in the east, he was also embedded deep in the county's administrative foundation. He was Sussex's sheriff in 1696, a colonel of the Chichester militia foot, a sewer commissioner for the rape of Chichester from 1690 to 1713, attending 23 courts, and was also Chichester's MP from 1681.[21] Peachey, Sussex's knight of the shire in 1701, and 1708–10, was placed on the commission in 1690. Although not attending quarter sessions until 1695, thereafter he chalked up 110 by 1737, becoming the western division's chairman from 1703.

To these 13 core members may be added another 40 who attended frequently over 15 to 30 years. In the west John Apsley of Pulborough, John Farrington of Chichester, Sir Richard Farrington's son, and William Woodyer of Chichester, were hard-working JPs. Apsley served for 23 years from 1683 to 1706. John Farrington served for 17 years from 1697 to 1713, attending 38 sessions. Like his father, Farrington was also a sewer commissioner for the rape of Chichester, and he chaired both the quarter sessions at Chichester from 1698 to 1713 and the sewers from 1700 to 1716. William Woodyer made 51 appearances at quarter sessions in the 19 years from 1708 to 1726. Like Farrington he also attended sewer courts for the rape of Chichester which, with the quarter sessions, he chaired from 1720 to 1725.[22]

In consequence the 36 JPs reappointed in 1689 by the first commission after the Glorious Revolution (Appendix 2) brought a wealth of local administrative experience as well as a continuity with the 1660s, 1670s and early 1680s. Nine, among them Alexander Staples, the east Sussex chairman, had been appointed in the 1660s. A second group of 17 included Thomas Bickley and William Peckham appointed in the 1670s. Another nine were appointed in the early 1680s and included John Apsley, George Goring and John Monke. Many of the Sussex Tories who were reappointed remained active in local administration, attending sessions through the 1690s and 1700s. On 21 December 1714 the new Hanoverian regime issued a new commission and it included 12 Whigs and 20 Tories appointed in the previous decades (Appendix 3). Sir Nicholas Pelham and John Cooke survived from the original hard-working core JPs of the 1660s and 1670s, while Sir Richard Farrington and Sir John Briscoe, reappointed to the Bench, remained of the Sussex justices appointed before 1688. Twenty-three of these 32 survived into the 1720s, 1730s and 1740s, among them the Tories, Richard Hay and John Fuller.

It was these active justices, returned at each renewal, regardless of their political allegiances, who provided the stability in local administration. Anthony Fletcher's comment after analysing the Sussex commission between 1625 and 1660 is also applicable to the period between 1660 and 1714 and

after: 'there was always in office a solid body of men, many of them leading magnates, with a decade or so of experience behind them . . . At no time . . . were the foundations of sound government in Sussex less than adequate'.[23]

The most important figure after the justices in Sussex's administration was the clerk of the peace. Appointed by the lord lieutenant who was also the custos rotulorum, he was the principal officer of the court and kept all its records.[24] In Sussex one clerk served both divisions and the attendance records show how very diligent he was in his duty.[25] Four clerks of the peace held office during the period. Timothy Shelley of Thackham bought the office, possibly from Hugh Potter, the Earl of Northumberland's steward.[26] He served from 1660 to 1668 and then as deputy clerk until his death in 1671. The clerk from 1668 to 1678 was James Tempest, but he never attended any meetings.[27] The active figure during Tempest's tenure was William Wheeler of Storrington who served for 42 years. Wheeler had succeeded Shelley as deputy clerk in 1671, attended all the meetings and kept the records.[28] In 1678 he became clerk. Unlike clerks in other counties, Wheeler was not replaced between 1682 and 1688 and had unbroken tenure until his death in 1713. His successor was Richard Manning of Petworth (1713–25). Wheeler's long period of service, his familiarity with the minutiae of the county's administration and his unrivalled knowledge of proceedings meant he was indispensable to the small core of hard-working justices.

Some of the deputy clerks may be identified: John Kettleby (d. 1688) of East Grinstead, who was undersheriff for Sussex in 1669, in the 1680s; John Linfield of Horsham, 1687–93; John Wheeler, 1693–98; Thomas Dyke, 1698–1701; Roger Beavans, 1701–7; Robert Searle, 1701–13 and Richard Manning, in 1713, briefly before succeeding Wheeler as clerk.[29]

It is not only in the commissions of the peace that non-partisan appointments can be found. Similar patterns can also be seen in appointments to the county militia and the sewer commissions. In 1697 the Chichester Militia's colonel was Sir Richard Farrington; among his captains was Thomas Woodyer, a Whig. Woodyer's lieutenant was a Tory alderman Robert Smith of Chichester. John Fuller of Waldron, a Tory, served as a captain under the Whig Sir Henry Pelham. Henry Plummer retained both his sewer and militia posts after 1688, despite his brief flirtation as one of James' JPs. In 1704 John Peachey of Chichester, a Tory, was a major under Farrington's command. Peachey's captain was Thomas Woodyer.[30]

As Mark Kennedy has recently pointed out, 'the commissioners themselves rather than central government controlled the membership of the . . . sewers'.[31] In Sussex the names were drawn up by members of the élite, all of whom were deputy lieutenants, JPs and sewer commissioners themselves, such as Sir Henry Peachey, Sir Richard Farrington and Sir William Morley. Their lists were approved by the lord chancellor without any changes to strengthen one side or another. The list of west Sussex sewer commissioners suggested in 1700 was signed by one Whig, Sir Richard Farrington, and three Tories, among them Sir William Morley of Halnaker and John Miller. They recommended 26 commissioners of whom 11 were Whigs and 6 were Tories. As the surviving minute books show, Whigs and Tories served together over long periods.[32]

THE SUSSEX QUARTER SESSIONS CHAIRMAN

The chairman of quarter sessions was usually a senior, experienced, justice or a barrister. It was the chairman who guided and advised the grand juries at the sessions and delivered the opening charge. The post was therefore 'highly prized'.[33] There was no standard pattern of nomination and it is possible that the justices themselves were beginning to elect the chairman at the quarter sessions. Chairmen were elected in Kent, Wiltshire and Shropshire, while in Norwich a rota system of four justices was used.[34]

In Sussex between 1625 and 1660 'a barrister took the chair . . . otherwise an experienced justice acted as chairman'.[35] In October 1660 Sir Henry Peckham, a barrister chairman before the Restoration, became the western division's regular chairman until his death in 1673. Thereafter, Thomas Henshaw of Billingshurst, Robert Anderson, Thomas Briggs and Richard May of Chichester shared the chair until Henshaw's death in 1680. In 1681 William Westbrooke first took the chair, and from 1683 he acted regularly as chairman until he died in 1703. From then Sir Henry Peachey, a staunch Whig, was the regular chairman until 1714 when he was replaced by John Shore, a Tory and a physician in Chichester.[36]

In the eastern division several JPs acted as chairman including, from 1668, Alexander Staples, a barrister and Treasurer of the Middle Temple, who had a practice at East Grinstead.[37] As with the western division the major change took place in the 1680s. From 1684

Staples was chairing all the four eastern sessions each year, including the October 1688 meeting attended by the Catholic JP Sir John Shelley. From 1693 Staples and the Tory Thomas Newdigate of Lewes shared the post until 1701 when Newdigate moved to Nottingham. William Nelson of the Middle Temple, author of one of the most widely used justice's manuals, became sole chairman from 1703 until the Epiphany 1714 meeting when he was removed from the commission for perjury and forgery.[38]

Norma Landau has suggested that the chairman reflected the strength at the quarter sessions of the national party, either Whig or Tory, because the JPs elected him.[39] In Sussex this was not the case. The JPs who were the chairmen in the western and eastern divisions were from both political parties. Briggs and May in the early 1680s were Tories, Westbrooke a Whig. After 1688 Whigs and Tories continued to share the role. In the 1690s John Peachey, a Tory, acted as chairman with Westbrooke. Even when the Tories dominated the quarter sessions as they did in July and October 1702, April, July and October 1703 and January and April 1704, Sir Henry Peachey and John Taylor, both Whigs, were the chairmen.

THE COMMISSIONS OF THE PEACE

In October 1660 Sussex's commission of the peace was renewed, with 70 justices appointed. From among the 53 justices in the last, 1657, Interregnum commission, only 13 were reappointed (increased by 2 in later commissions).[40] A further 5 had served earlier, several being reinstated after a decade's absence, but still the Bench saw a very large infusion of new blood. Over the next few years as the commissions were renewed, the changes were fairly minor, either to remove justices who had died, such as George Neville of Fletching stabbed to death in 1665,[41] or to appoint new justices.[42] In 1670 fear that the JPs might not enforce the Conventicle Act led to a major purge. Among the Sussex JPs dismissed was Samuel Gott of Battle.[43] In the following years the Sussex commissions were renewed to add justices, for example, John Alford of Offington and William Westbrooke in 1672, Thomas Bickley and Henry Goring in 1674, Sir Robert Parker in 1676 and Humphrey Fowle of Rotherfield in 1678.[44]

After 1678, however, appointments to the commissions of the peace became linked with the fears generated by the 'Popish Plot', a belief that there was a conspiracy by Catholics to kill the king and reintroduce Catholicism. The commissions were frequently remodelled as Charles purged them of those who supported the exclusion of his Catholic brother, James, Duke of York. These constant changes were intended to influence local affairs and elections. It was thought that the only justices remaining after these purges were 'those loyal and conformable to the Church', though in fact a great many socially prominent Whigs were also left on the commissions in the hope they might be won over to Charles' side.[45]

The commissions continued to be remodelled in 1680 as Charles tried to ensure that the benches were loyal to him. The purges were successful only so long as those appointed were willing to co-operate afterwards. JPs could find themselves in trouble over malicious accusations about their loyalty. For example in 1680 Thomas Bickley of Chichester, a Tory JP, appeared before the Whig House of Lords committee investigating the Popish Plot for having, according to John Peachey of Chichester, vilified Titus Oates at a sessions dinner at Chichester by saying that he was a liar and that the Popish Plot was a pack of lies. The committee recommended that Bickley should be removed from all his posts, though Bickley protested that 'the informant was under a mistake'. He was saved only because Oates told the committee that 'he is willing to forget'. The committee dismissed Bickley after telling him that 'he has been in ill company. You know how much the King and Kingdom is concerned in upholding the King's evidence'. Bickley probably suffered because he had described Richard Farrington of Chichester, Peachey's son-in-law, as 'a base lying rogue' shortly before the Chichester election in 1679.[46]

Changes to the commissions continued as reports reached Charles of opposition in the counties. In Sussex in 1683 'the factious party' was reported to retain its strength because of two justices, Henry Shelley of Lewes, 'a dangerous man', and Robert Palmer of Petworth. The Bishop of Chichester told Sir Leoline Jenkins, the Secretary of State, that Palmer 'makes it his business in an arrogant bold way to disperse his false rumours against the King and Government'. The Bishop suggested that they should both be removed at the next renewal of the commission and recommended John Apsley, another justice, as 'a stout, honest man', which, in the Bishop's eyes at least, made him a Tory. Shelley was removed from the Bench when the new commission was issued in July 1684; Palmer had died

in April.[47]

There are some doubts about the effectiveness of the purges carried out during the 'Tory Reaction' of the early 1680s, because of the continuity in service of the Sussex justices. The Sussex Bench was not completely purged of Whigs, and both Whigs and Tories continued to sit together at sessions between 1683 and 1685. John Machell, a Whig, was present at sessions at Steyning in January 1682, April 1683 and January 1684 along with the leading Tories Sir William Morley and Sir Richard May. William Westbrooke, a Whig, chaired several sessions which included Thomas Bickley, a Tory, during the same period. A similar pattern of attendances can be found in the eastern division. Sir John Pelham and Thomas his son, both Whigs, appeared frequently at Lewes quarter sessions between 1681 and 1685 with their Tory colleagues Sir Thomas Dyke and Thomas Frewen.[48]

The next major remodelling of the Sussex commission came in December 1686 as part of James II's plan to re-introduce Catholicism. Six justices, including the Pelhams, John Ashburnham and Sir Robert Parker were removed. Thirteen of the 24 names suggested for the new commission were Catholics. In 1687 James issued the Three Questions to the JPs. James replaced Sussex's Protestant lord lieutenant Charles Earl of Dorset by the Catholic Viscount Montagu of Cowdray in February 1688 and it was Montagu who put the Three Questions to the Sussex justices, privately over dinners held at Cowdray.[49] Of the 56 justices questioned 16 refused to agree to James' proposals, 10 consented outright while another 12 agreed to the proposals, but only if it was what the King wanted. Ten justices, among whom were Anthony Eversfield, Richard Bridger and John Apsley, adopted a wait-and-see attitude. Six were absent while Henry Bishop and Thomas Palmer replied they were too old to stand for Parliament or to argue with their neighbours.

Following his canvassing Montagu submitted 51 names to be deputy lieutenants and JPs. The new Sussex commission issued on 28 May 1688 contained a mixture of active JPs and newcomers. Among the latter were John Hay of Little Horsted Esq. and Henry Plummer gent. However Plummer already had experience in county administration, having served as an active sewer commissioner for Lewes and Pevensey rapes since 1681. Among the previously active JPs reappointed were William Westbrooke, a Whig and the chairman of the western Bench, and the Tory Thomas Bickley. They both publicly appeared at the quarter sessions in June 1688 with newly appointed Catholic JPs such as Richard Caryll and Anthony Kemp, and were part of the Assize grand jury that drew up the congratulatory address on the birth of James' son.[50]

Commitment to public service led 13 Sussex JPs to keep the county's routine local administration going during the period of confusion and chaos following William's invasion in 1688. In Sussex sessions were held at Midhurst on 1/2 October and at Lewes on 4/5 October 1688, but not again until the following summer: at Petworth on 15/16 July and at Lewes on 18/19 July 1689.[51] Though no sessions were held, some sort of local administrative structure functioned. The sessions rolls for the two divisions show that binding over for good behaviour, alehouse licensing and the signing of removal orders did continue. The west Sussex roll for July 1689 has 22 recognizances filed on it. The earliest is dated 3 October 1688, the day after the Bench met at Midhurst, the last 15 June 1689, a month before the next meeting. The eastern division rolls for 18 and 25 July 1689 show a similar pattern. These have 25 recognizances filed on them, the earliest dated 9 October 1688, five days after the Lewes sessions, and the last 15 July 1689 three days before the summer sessions.[52]

Who were these Sussex justices who kept the administrative system functioning between October 1688 and July 1689? In the western division they were five justices from both ends of the political spectrum: three Whigs (John Apsley, John Machell and William Westbrooke), and two Tories (John Alford and Thomas Briggs, who as Diocesan Chancellor also kept the church courts going).[53] They were already active in the county's administration. All five were reappointed to the new commission issued in the summer of 1689 and continued to play an active role

The eight eastern justices included four experienced JPs in Thomas Frewen, John Busbridge, Roger Shoyswell and Humphrey Fowle, each with a decade or more of administrative experience. Of the others, Samuel Hyland of Bodiam, a dissenter, had been placed on the commission by James. Another was John Spence (brother of William) who had served as a justice in Sussex during the 1650s, was removed in 1660 and had only in 1688 been reappointed. Spence survived the removals made by William, and diligently attended quarter sessions from 1689, acting as chairman until his death in 1691. Thanks to these justices with 'a tradition of

public service', in Sussex, at least, 'the re-establishment of routine in county government' was quickly and efficiently achieved.[54]

The new Sussex commission in 1689 contained 36 justices who had served before 1688, split fairly evenly, 15 and 21, between those recommended and not recommended by Montagu early the previous year (Appendix 2). The public identification with James' policies that both Bickley and Westbrooke had displayed did not prevent the hard-line Whig, John Peachey of Chichester, from sitting with Bickley at quarter sessions. They also publicly sat together at the Chichester sewers courts between 1690 and 1693. Westbrooke retained his chairmanship of the west Sussex division. However 90 JPs never served again. The eight Catholic JPs, Henry Arundell, Richard Biddulph, Richard Caryll, Sir John Gage, Sir William Goring, Anthony Kemp, Sir John Shelley and John Smith of Coby were all removed. The first six had been appointed in 1687, Biddulph and Caryll only in 1688; all had attended only one or two quarter sessions before William's purge. Six (Caryll, Gage, Goring, Kemp, Smith and Shelley) retired to their Sussex estates; Arundell retired to his father's home at Wardour Castle. Richard Biddulph accompanied James II to France, was appointed James' groom of the bedchamber and equerry, and died there, a naturalized Frenchman, in 1704.[55]

When an assassination plot against William was discovered in 1696, Associations were drawn up which pledged to defend the king and were used as a test of allegiance.[56] The Tory justices Sir Thomas Dyke, Sir William Morley and John Lewkenor were removed from the Sussex Bench for refusing to sign. Christopher Cole of Pulborough's refusal was permanently recorded in the sessions order book. Among the Tory JPs who did sign were Thomas Bickley and John Peachey of Chichester. Over the next few years, as the commissions were renewed, Morley was reinstated, as were, on 19 July 1700, Dyke and Lewkenor.[57]

In 1704 the House of Lords ordered complete lists of every justice appointed and dismissed since 1700 to be laid before them. All that survives is a list of the justices left out of the commissions since 1700. Of the 20 Sussex justices named, only two, Sir John Fagge and Sir William Morley, are marked as dead, though another five , Sir John Stapley, John Machell, John Busbridge, John Monke and Edward Dyne, had all died by 1704. So Glassey's figure of 18 living justices having been removed from the Sussex commission between 1700 and 1704, for reasons other than death, is overstated: the number was no more than 13. A further list submitted in February 1705 names the justices put into the commission since 1704. In Sussex four justices had been added and five had been left out of whom two, Sir John Pelham and William Westbrooke, were dead though not marked as such.[58]

Following the Tory victory in 1710 there were more Whig than Tory justices present at the Easter, Summer and Michaelmas sessions in 1711 and the Epiphany and Easter sessions in 1712. The eastern sessions rarely reflected national trends. Whig justices were either in the majority at most sessions or both parties were equally represented on the Bench. Between 1712 and 1714, however, Tory justices dominated the sessions in both divisions.

CONCLUSION

Edmund Bohun sourly commented that the office of justice was 'but a little profitable honour attended with much envy' and that it meant 'much loss of time, some expense and many enemies'.[59] Yet not everyone had Bohun's jaundiced view of the office of justice. There were those who were prepared to devote both the time and energy required, as the long-service record of the experienced hard-working justices show. The length of service of many of the Sussex JPs helped create a tradition of public service and provide stability at times of crisis, such as William of Orange's invasion. The Sussex 'fellow travellers' such as Alexander Staples, who chaired the October 1688 meeting where Catholic JPs were present, and western JPs such as Thomas Bickley who appeared with the Exclusionist MP Sir John Fagge and the Catholic Anthony Kemp, who by their actions were seen as sympathetic to James's cause, retained their place on the new commission of the peace and continued to act.

Anthony Fletcher has pointed out that: 'The most useful assets to a Stuart Bench . . . were continuity and stability of membership', and that it was the pre-Civil War benches that fulfilled these conditions and not 'those of the later Stuart period when party interest played increasing havoc with the personnel of government'.[60] In Sussex continuity and stability of membership can be found. Though the commissions were remodelled along party lines after 1689 to ensure the dominance of one party at election time, and under Walpole, a permanent Whig majority, any such remodelling was tempered by a pragmatic realism that since many refused to

act, then those prepared to do so should be left alone. Active JPs, regardless of their politics, were re-appointed and provided the reassurance that problems would be sorted out. Different political views were reconciled by a recognition that the county had to be administered.[61]

The stability created by the continuous service of the JPs was strengthened by the development of a regular chairman in the two divisions. In the west the peripatetic sessions benefited from having a single identifiable chairman. Many of the active JPs were also active sewer commissioners and Assize grand jurors and had plenty of years of service in local administration. Sir Henry Peachey was not only the western division chairman; he was also the Assize grand jury chairman. Local experience and knowledge often overrode the upheavals created by national politics. Despite appearing before the House of Commons in 1715 for illegal practices at the Horsham election, John Linfield was appointed clerk to the justices of Bramber rape in 1716 by a meeting where six Whigs (including the chairman), and five Tories were present.[62]

In contrast to other counties, such as Kent and Norfolk, where the élite county gentry withdrew from the routine administration of county government after 1689 and left it to the lesser gentry and the clergy magistrates, the Sussex élite did not abrogate their place in county government. The knights, baronets and esquires appointed to the commissions of the peace continued to attend both quarter sessions and sewer courts from 1689 and well into the next century.[63] It was because of the long periods of service that a tradition of public service was created. The surviving poll books show Sussex divided along party lines at elections, but the divisions did not remain long. Continuity of service and a tradition of public service combined with friendships and family ties, as well as a shared cultural and educational background, absorbed the effects of the frequent remodellings of the commissions of the peace. Despite political differences at election time the Hanoverians inherited in Sussex in 1714 a sound, local administrative structure which had weathered the upheavals and tensions of the previous decades. This local stability, combined with an economic and demographic stability, helped lay the foundations for 'the Growth of Political Stability' that was to take place under Walpole.[64]

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APPENDIX 1

SUSSEX QUARTER SESSIONS ATTENDANCES 1660–1714

This appendix lists the 207 Sussex JPs who are recorded as attending at least one session in the period 1660–1714, along with information on their service in quarter sessions and on other offices which they held. Those serving in the eastern division are listed first, followed by the western division. Aside from a few attendances from the west at the joint summer sessions at Lewes, only one JP, Henry May, sat in both divisions, by switching to the western in 1713. The columns and the sources (cited with the same abbreviations as in the endnotes) are:

Name: with place of normal residence.

Died

Sessions service:

No.: number of sessions attended in or after 1660, from ESRO QO/EW 3–15

Years: years of first attendance in or after 1660 and of last attendance, whether before or after 1714. * signifies appointment to the commission also between 1625 and 1660, from Fletcher, *County Community*, 349–54.

Ch: served as chairman of quarter sessions. This column also records Catholics, from HLRO, Main Papers 321, 3 Dec. 1680, List of all the Papists and Reputed Papists Within the County of Sussex.

DL: served as Deputy Lieutenant, mainly from PRO, SP 29/42/68 and SP 44/35A/7; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1700–1702*, 250; BL, M288.

Sh: served as Sheriff, from PRO, *Lists and Indexes* **9**, 141–2

Mi: served in the Militia, for sources, see Le Fevre, thesis, 102; also BL, Add. MS 33,058, ff. 328v–329.

Sw: served as a Commission of Sewers; CSw: as chairman, from PRO, C 181/5 & 6, C 191/1–3, DL 17/84, sewer commissioners, Rape of Pevensey 1676, 1681; ESRO, RA/C1/1 & 2, C 55/1/1; WSRO, LDI/SM 1/1.

MP: served as a Member of Parliament.

Party: T=Tory, W=Whig, mainly from poll books: W. D. Cooper (ed.), 'A Poll for the Election of Members of Parliament . . . for Sussex in 1705', *Miscellaneous Records*, Sussex Rec. Soc. **4** (1905), 21–67; Brighton Public Lib. 1708 poll (this vol. also has copies of the 1710 poll); ESRO, DAN 2188–9 (1710); BL, Add. MS 39,290 (1713); ESRO, ASH 3225 (1734).

Name	Died	Sessions service: No.	Years	Ch	Other offices: DL	Sh	Mi	Sw CSw	MP	Party
EASTERN DIVISION										
Apsley, Henry of Ticehurst	1693	22	1683–92							?
Ashburnham, Denny of Broomham	1697	23	1680–96		DL		Mi	Sw	MP	W
Ashburnham, John I of Ashburnham	1671	1	*1665		DL		Mi	Sw	MP	T
Ashburnham, John II of Ashburnham	1711	1	1681						MP	T
Ashburnham, William of Broomham	1755	16	1703–34	Ch					MP	W
Ashburnham, William of Ashburnham	1711	1	1707						MP	T
Baker, John of Stonelands	1688	34	*1661–87							W?
Beard, Thomas of Hurstpierpoint	1705	50	1676–96				Mi			T?
Bishop, Henry of Henfield	1692	3	1677–8				Mi			?
Bishop, William of Sedlescombe	1735	3	1703–9							T
Blaker, Edward of Old Shoreham	1678	44	1660–78				Mi	Sw	MP	T?
Board, William of Cuckfield	1697	63	1671–96							T
Boys, Samuel of Hawkhurst	1750	1	1714							T
Bridger, Richard of Hamsey	1698	123	1660–98				Mi	Sw	MP	W
Burrell, Walter of Cuckfield	1671	21	1660–71							T?
Busbridge, John of Etchingham	1703	51	1673–98							T?
Campion, Henry of Danny	1761	1	1713						MP	T
Collins, Thomas of Brightling	1667	4	*1661–4			Sh	Mi			?
Courthope, Sir George of Ticehurst	1685	5	*1661–6		DL			Sw	MP	T?
Courthope, George of Ticehurst	1741	37	1711–31							T
Courthope, Peter of Danny	1725	68	1673–96							T
Covert, Sir John of Slaugham	1680	18	1660–73		DL			Sw	MP	T?
Delachambre, John of Rodmell	1673	10	*1660–5				Mi	Sw		?
Dyke, Sir Thomas I of Horam	1669	26	1660–9		DL			Sw	MP	T
Dyke, Sir Thomas II of Horam	1706	31	1676–95		DL	Sh		Sw	MP	T
Dyke, William of Frant	c. 1687?	28	*1660–78	Ch						?
Dyne, Edward of Westfield	1701	6	1685–98	Ch						?
Everenden, Walter of Sedlescombe	1678	31	*1661–78							?
Fermor, William of Rotherfield	1686	9	1675–80	Ch						?
Fowle, Anthony of Rotherfield	1678	3	1663	Ch						?
Fowle, Edward	?	1	1663							?
Fowle, Humphrey I of Rotherfield	1692	22	1678–91			Sh	Mi			T?
Fowle, Humphrey II of Rotherfield	1756	23	1712–36							T
Fowle, Robert of Salehurst	1681	17	1662–79	Ch						?
Frewen, Sir Edward of Northiam	1723	1	1714				Mi			T
Frewen, Thomas of Northiam	1703	33	1672–93		DL				MP	T
Frewen, Thomas of Brickwall	1738	2	1711–14							T
Fuller, John of Brightling	1745	93	1702–45	Ch	DL			Sw	MP	T
Gage, Sir John of Firle	1700	2	1687–8	Catholic		Sh				
Goodwin, Charles of Worth	1730	8	1706–8		DL	Sh				T
Goring, George of Barcombe	1715	38	1685–1714				Mi	Sw		T
Gott, Peter of Hastings	1712	14	1693–1712		DL	Sh		Sw	MP	W
Gott, Samuel of Hastings	1671	9	1660–69	Ch				Sw	MP	W?
Gounter, George of Racton	1719	40	1684–1714		DL			Sw	MP	T
Graves, Sackville of West Firle	1686	86	1660–86					Sw		?
Hay, John of Little Horsted	1690	1	1688			Sh				W?
Hay, Richard of Little Horsted	1747	65	1702–37					Sw		T
Hay, William of Little Horsted	1664	1	1660						MP	?
Hendley, Sir Walter of Cuckfield	1675	1	1663			Sh				?
Lade, Sir John of Warbleton	1740	2	1711–12							T
Lyndsey, Richard of Buxted	1664	7	1661–3	Ch						?
Mason, Christopher of Greenwich	1700	1	1676							?
May, Edward of Ticehurst	1672	7	1661–71							T?
May, Henry of the Middle Temple West Sussex Bench from 1715	1730	22	1702–14	Ch	DL			Sw		T
Medley, Thomas of Buxted	1729	29	1713–23	Ch				Sw		T
Monke, John of Hurstpierpoint	1701	37	1685–1701				Mi		MP	T
Morton, Sir James of Slaugham	1696	19	1678–96		DL				MP	T?
Morton, James of Slaugham	1727	5	1712–14							T
Nelson, William of Lewes	1744	41	1702–14	Ch						?
Neville, George of Fletching	1665	9	1661–5							?
Neville, George Lord Abergavenny	1722	1	1687							T
Newdigate, Thomas of Lewes & Notts.	1718	32	1691–1706	Ch				Sw		T

Name	Died	Sessions service:				Other offices:				Party
		No.	Years	Ch	DL	Sh	Mi	Sw CSw	MP	
Nutt, Sir Thomas of Selmeston	1675	44	1664–75		DL			Sw		T?
Packer, Philip of Groombridge, Kent	1686	9	1661–85	Ch						T?
Parker, George of Ratton	1673	6	1661–6				Mi	Sw	MP	T?
Parker, Sir George of Ratton	1726	11	1704–10	Ch	DL				MP	T
Parker, Sir Robert of Ratton	1692	4	1677–8						MP	T?
Parker, William of Eastbourne	1727	26	1714–27							T
Payne, Edward of East Grinstead	1714	1	1712							T
Pelham, Henry of Lewes	1721	107	1689–1721	Ch				Sw	MP	W
Pelham, Sir John of Halland	1703	123	*1660–1703	Ch	DL		Mi	CSw	MP	W
Pelham, Sir Nicholas of Catsfield	1739	114	1673–1734	Ch	DL		Mi	Sw	MP	W
Pelham, Thomas of Laughton	1711	28	1676–1704		DL			Sw	MP	W
Pelham, Thomas of Catsfield	1759	81	1702–43	Ch				Sw	MP	W
Penkhurst, Ferdinando of Ticehurst	1708	1	1687					Sw		T
Piggott, William of Horsted Keynes	1722	17	1712–22							T
Plummer, Henry of Ringmer	*c.* 1700	2	1688				Mi	Sw		W?
Polhill, Edward of Burwash	1689	16	*1661–73	Ch						W?
Rivers, Nizell of Hamsey	1694	100	1660–91						MP	T?
Rivers, Sir George of Chafford Kent	1734	1	1697							T?
Rivers, Sir John of Chafford Kent	1679	5	1663–76							T?
Sackville, Richard Earl of Dorset	1677	2	1673							W?
Sackville, Thomas of Sedlescombe	1693	36	*1661–74	Ch	DL		Mi		MP	W?
Scrase, William of Shoreham	1714	1	1707							?
Selwyn, Sir Edward of Friston	1704	46	1684–1703		DL	Sh	Mi		MP	T
Shelley, Henry of Lewes	1691	42	1673–91	Ch						W
Shirley, Anthony of Preston	1681	1	*1660					Sw		?
Shirley, Sir Richard of Preston	1692	10	1689–92							?
Shoyswell, Roger of Etchingham	1697	70	1661–86	Ch						?
Smith, Simon of Withyam	1693	4	1662–6						MP	W
Spence, John of South Malling	1691	10	*1688–91	Ch		Sh				W?
Spence, William of South Malling	1677	32	*1668–77	Ch		Sh		Sw		W?
Springett, Anthony of Plumpton	1689	12	1683–87					Sw		?
Staples, Alexander of East Grinstead	1707	94	1668–1703	Ch						?
Stapley, Sir John of Patcham	1701	92	*1660–1701	Ch		Sh	Mi	CSw	MP	T?
Thomas, Sir William of Folkington	1706	48	*1669–1702		DL		Mi	Sw	MP	W
Trayton, Nathaniel of Lewes	1715	4	1713–14					Sw		T
Wilson, Sir William of Eastbourne	1685	2	1663–73							T?
Woodcock, Sir Thomas of Lewes	1680	9	1661–74					Sw	MP	T
WESTERN DIVISION										
Alcocke, Lawrence of Midhurst	1723	29	1703–23					Sw	MP	T
Alford, John of Offington	1691	50	1672–91		DL		Mi		MP	T
Anderson, Robert of Chichester	1687	50	1662–82							?
Apsley, John of Pulborough	1714	57	1683–1706							W
Arundell, Henry of Slindon	1721	3	1687–8	Catholic						
Bartelott, Walter of Stopham	1744	54	1706–31							W
Best, Nicholas of Horsham	1722	13	1701–14	Ch		Sh	Mi			T
Bickley, Brune MD of Chidham	1671	9	1664–71				Mi			T?
Bickley, Henry of Chidham	1707	4	1689–1705							T
Bickley, Thomas of West Thorney	1698	54	1674–94				Mi	Sw		T
Biddulph, Richard of Biddulph	1704	1	1688	Catholic						
Bishop, Sir Cecil of Parham	1705	2	1670–72	Active out of Sessions					MP	T
Brett, Charles of Warminghurst	1682	25	1661–70							?
Briggs, Thomas LLD of Chichester Diocesan Chancellor, 1671–1713	1713	22	1683–1705	Ch				Sw		T
Briscoe, Sir John of Amberley Castle	1723	47	1686–1723	Ch	DL					T?
Bulstrode, Henry of Petworth	1698	2	1690–91							W?
Butler, James of Amberley Castle	1696	19	1689–95		DL	Sh	Mi		MP	W
Byne, John of Washington	1661	5	*1660–61						MP	?
Carr, Alan of Chichester	1668	22	1660–8							T?
Carr, Thomas of Chichester	1721	18	1703–14				Mi	Sw	MP	T
Caryll, Richard of West Grinstead	1701	2	1688	Catholic						
Chowne, Henry of Horsham	1668	13	1662–68							?
Cole, Christopher of Pulborough	1706	10	1703–6							T

Name	**Died**	**Sessions service:**		**Other offices:**						**Party**
		No.	**Years**	**Ch**	**DL**	**Sh**	**Mi**	**Sw CSw**	**MP**	
Cooke, John of Petworth	1726	69	1676–1722	Ch	DL	Sh			MP	W
Cowper, Edward of Slindon	1678	1	1666							?
Cowper, Henry of Slindon	1707	15	1690–1706				Mi		MP	T
Edmonds, Robert of Chichester	1687	12	1683–7				Mi			T?
Elliott, Lawrence of Yapton	1726	11	1713–15							T
Elson, John of Chichester	1715	4	1713–14		DL			Sw	MP	T
Elson, William I of Chichester	1705	6	1702–5					Sw	MP	T
Elson, William II of Chichester	1727	4	1713–14						MP	T
Eversfield, Anthony of Horsham	1695	17	1677–85					Sw	MP	T?
Eversfield, Charles of Horsham	1749	20	1712–45		DL				MP	T/W
Eversfield, Edward of Horsham	1676	19	1660–76						MP	T
Fagge, Sir John of Wiston	1701	20	*1688–1700	Ch	DL		Mi	Sw	MP	W
Farrington, John I of Chichester	1680	22	1660–73			Sh		Sw	MP	W
Farrington, John II of Chichester	1685	9	1682–4				Mi	Sw		T
Farrington, John III of Chichester	1718	38	1697–1713	Ch	DL			CSw		W
Farrington, Sir Richard of Chichester	1719	61	1688–1718	Ch	DL	Sh	Mi	CSw	MP	W
Gale, Leonard of Worth	1750	2	1712–13						MP	T
Goring, Charles of Wappingthorne	1708	11	1690–1707		DL				MP	T
Goring, Sir Charles of Highden	1714	11	1701–13		DL				MP	T
Goring, Sir Henry of Highden	1702	71	*1660–88		DL		Mi	Sw	MP	T
Goring, Henry of Highden	1685	8	1677–85		DL	Sh			MP	T
Goring, Sir Harry of Highden	1731	22	1702–21	Ch	DL		Mi	Sw	MP	T
Goring, Percy of Parham	1697	3	1662–81				Mi		MP	T?
Goring, Sir William of Burton	1724	2	1687–8	Catholic						
Gratwicke, John of Shermanbury	1723	5	1707–12							T
Gratwicke, John of Eatons	1736	7	1712–14			Sh				T
Gratwicke, William of Tortington	1666	14	1660–66					Sw		?
Gratwicke, William of Angmering	1739	56	1713–39	Ch				Sw		T
Gunning, Peter, Bishop of Chichester	1684	2	1674							T
Henshaw, Thomas of Billingshurst	1680	27	1662–80	Ch	DL					?
Jewkes, Humphrey of Petworth	1710	13	1701–10			Sh				W
Kemp, Anthony of Slindon	1715	5	1687–8	Catholic						
Knight, Christopher of Chawton Hants	1703	7	1698–1701						MP	T
Lee, John of Plaistow	1706	25	*1661–1706	Ch						W
Leeves, Robert of Steyning	1743	10	1712–17						MP	T
Lewkenor, Sir John of West Dean	1669	9	1662–9	Ch	DL			Sw	MP	T
Lewkenor, John of West Dean	1707	31	1680–1705		DL			Sw	MP	T
Lumley, Richard Earl of Scarborough	1723	4	1705–8	Ch	DL					W
Machell, John of Horsham	1704	26	1678–1700	Ch	DL			Sw	MP	W
May, Henry of Chichester	1730	15	1715–27	Ch	DL			Sw		T
East Sussex Bench until 1714										
May, Sir John of Pagham	1672	3	1671–72		DL		Mi			T?
May, Sir Richard of Chichester	1713	62	1666–88	Ch					MP	T
May, Sir Thomas of Chichester	1718	18	1690–1710		DL		Mi	Sw	MP	T
Michell, John of Warnham	1701	1	1688		DL				MP	W
Middleton, John I of Horsham	1679	2	1677							?
Middleton, John II of Horsham	1745	5	1712–13						MP	T
Middleton, Thomas of Findon	1694	3	1673–4							?
Mill, Ralph of Greatham	1687	45	1667–84	Ch			Mi			W?
Miller, Sir John of Chichester	1722	13	1700–16	Ch	DL		Mi	CSw	MP	W/T
Miller, Sir Thomas of Chichester	1705	15	1689–1703		DL			CSw	MP	W
Morley, Sir William of Halnaker	1701	52	*1664–96	Ch	DL		Mi	CSw	MP	T
Morley, William of Halnaker	1694	11	1690–94					Sw	MP	T?
Oglander, George of Chichester	1720	30	1698–1719					CSw		W
Onslow, Sir Henry of Warnham	1667	19	*1661–6		DL					?
Palmer, Robert I of Petworth	1684	31	1671–84				Mi			W
Palmer, Robert II of Petworth	1710	10	1706–10							W
Palmer, Thomas of Harting	1706	44	1664–87				Mi			T
Parker, George of Chichester	1723	28	1708–23					Sw		W
Payne, John of Petworth	1671	26	1660–71							?
Peachey, John of Eartham	1694	8	1688–92					Sw		W
Peachey, John of Chichester	1717	20	1691–1705	Ch			Mi	Sw		T
Peachey, Sir Henry of Petworth	1737	110	1695–1737	Ch	DL			Sw	MP	W
Peachey, William of Petworth	1685	2	1680–81							W

Name	Died	Sessions service:Other offices:Party								
		No.	Years	Ch	DL	Sh	Mi	Sw CSw	MP	
Peckham, Sir Henry of Chichester	1673	38	1660–73	Ch	DL	Mi		Sw	MP	T?
Peckham, Henry of Chichester	1760	3	1713–14							T
Peckham, Richard of Racton	1718	27	1702–17							T
Peckham, William of Chichester	1697	39	1674–93				Mi	Sw		T
Potter, Hugh of Petworth	1662	1	1660						MP	?
Reason, Hugh of Westhampnett	1725	8	1708–13			Sh		Sw		T
Ridley, Edward of Lincolns Inn	1699	2	1685–6							?
Shelley, Sir John of Michelgrove	1703	4	1687–8	Catholic						
Shore, John MD of Chichester	1721	13	1711–14	Ch						T
Smith, John of Worth	*c.* 1697	4	1687–8	Catholic						
Steward, John of Milland	1694	11	1661–74	Ch					MP	?
Taylor, John of Tillington	1706	38	1690–1705	Ch						W
Tredcroft, Nathaniel of Horsham	1720	13	1711–15		DL				MP	T
Weeks, Carew of Tortington	*c.* 1717	14	1702–8					Sw	MP	T
Weeks, Oliver of Tortington	1689	40	1671–88							T?
West, Henry of Woodmancote	1674	14	1660–72							?
Westbrooke, William of West Ferring	1703	71	1672–1702	Ch					MP	W
White, Thomas of Shipley	1718	23	1691–1718						MP	T
Wicker, John of Horsham	1720	11	1704–19						MP	W
Woodyer, William of Pagham	1726	51	1708–26	Ch				CSw		W
Yates, Henry of Warnham	1716	9	1695–1703	Ch	DL	Sh	Mi		MP	W
Young, John of Goring	1721	10	1711–15			Sh				T
Young, Matthew of Midhurst	1676	7	1671–6							?
Shelley, Timothy of Thackham	1671	76	1660–71	Clerk of the Peace						
Wheeler, William of Storrington	1713	294	1671–1713	Clerk of the Peace						
Manning, Richard of Petworth	1725	71	1713–25	Clerk of the Peace						

APPENDIX 2

ACTIVE JUSTICES RETURNED IN 1689

Recommended by Viscount Montagu in 1688	
Alford, John	(1672)
Apsley, John	(1682)
Bickley, Thomas	(1674)
Briggs, Thomas	(1683)
Cooke, John+	(1676)
Dyne, Edward	(1685)
Lee, John*	(1660)
Lewkenor, John	(1680)
Machell, John	(1678)
Morley, Sir William	(1664)
Peckham, William	(1674)
Selwyn, Sir Edward	(1684)
Staples, Alexander+	(1668)
Stapley, Sir John+	(1660)
Westbrooke, William+	(1672)

Not recommended by Viscount Montagu in 1688	
Apsley, Henry	(1683)
Ashburnham, Sir Denny	(1660)
Beard, Thomas	(1676)
Board, William	(1671)
Bridger, Richard+	(1660)
Briscoe, Sir John	(1686)
Busbridge, John	(1673)
Courthope, Peter	(1673)
Dyke, Sir Thomas	(1676)
Fowle, Humphrey	(1678)
Frewen, Thomas	(1672)
George, Goring	(1685)
Gounter, George	(1684)
Monke, John	(1685)
Morton, Sir James	(1678)
Pelham, Sir John+	(1660)
Pelham, Sir Nicholas+	(1673)
Pelham, Thomas	(1676)
Rivers, Nizell+	(1660)
Shelley, Henry	(1673)
Thomas, Sir William	(1669)

*Removed from commission in 1665
+JPs counted in the 'core group'
Dates in brackets are of first attendance at quarter sessions

APPENDIX 3

ACTIVE JUSTICES FIRST APPOINTED BEFORE 1714 AND REAPPOINTED IN 1714–18

Name	First attendance	Party
Alcocke, Lawrence	1703	T
Ashburnham, Sir William	1702	W
Bartelott, Walter (a)	1706	W
Briscoe, Sir John (b)	1686	T?
Cooke, John (c)+	1676	W
Courthope, George	1711	T
Elliott, Lawrence	1713	T
Eversfield, Charles	1712	T
Farrington, Sir Richard+	1688	W
Fowle, Humphrey	1712	T
Fuller, John+	1702	T
Goring, Sir Harry 3rd Bart	1702	T
Gratwicke, William	1713	T
Hay, Richard+	1702	T
Leeves, Robert	1712	T
May, Henry	1702	T
Medley, Thomas	1713	T
Miller, Sir John	1700	W/T
Oglander, George (d)	1698	W
Parker, George of Chichester	1708	W
Parker, William	1714	T
Peachey, Sir Henry (e) +	1695	W
Peckham, Richard	1702	T
Pelham, Henry	1689	W
Pelham, Sir Nicholas+	1673	W
Pelham, Thomas of Catsfield+	1702	W
Piggott, William	1712	T
Tredcroft, Nathaniel	1711	T
White, Thomas	1691	T
Wicker, John	1704	W
Woodyer, William	1708	W
Young, John	1711	T

+ JPs counted in the 'core group'
(a) Removed 1712, reinstated 1715
(b) Removed 1702, reinstated 1715
(c) Removed 1708, reinstated 1716
(d) Removed 1708, reinstated 1716
(e) Removed 1713, reinstated 1718

NOTES

I am grateful to Dr Sue Berry, Miss Janelle Evans, Dr Mary Geiter and Mr T. Richardson for commenting on drafts of this article.

1 This article is based on sections of P. J. Le Fevre, 'Justices and administration: the political development of Sussex 1660–1714', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, CNAA/Brighton Polytechnic, 1989.

2 N. Landau, *The Justices of the Peace 1679–1760* (Berkeley, CA,1984); L. Glassey, *Politics and the Appointment of the Justices of the Peace 1675–1720* (Oxford, 1979); A. Fletcher, *Reform in the Provinces: The Government of Stuart England* (New Haven & London, 1986); A. Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War: Sussex 1600–1660* (London, 1975).

3 J. C. D. Clark, *Revolution and Rebellion. State and Society in England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1985), 53.

4 Glassey, *passim*.

5 Glassey, 4–10; Public Record Office (hereafter PRO), SP 34/3 Part 1, f. 114.

6 PRO, C 231/7–9 are the docket books.

7 Fletcher, *County Community*, 134–6.

8 East Sussex Record Office (hereafter ESRO), QO/EW 9 under dates; QR/E 233/2 (Lewes grand jury petition). Kent Archive Office (hereafter KAO), U269/10 61/1, Dorset's papers contain copies of the various petitions and the Chichester qs order. Fletcher, *County Community*, 136, states incorrectly that the Chichester grand jury petition was accepted by the whole Bench.

9 Fletcher, *County Community*, 136, and C. B. Herrup, *The Common Peace in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1987), 25, overlook this last joint session; ESRO, QO/EW

15, Brighton 13 Nov. 1719.

[10] Fletcher, *County Community*, 357 for 1660 fig.; the 1714 fig. is based on my calculations from the names in PRO, C 234/37 (Dec. 1714).

[11] *Gentleman's Magazine* **9** (1739), 605.

[12] Fletcher, *County Community*, 132.

[13] PRO, PROB 11/697/56.

[14] PRO, PROB 11/342/248v; 379/42; 445/169v; 488/196v; 495/41; 514/103; 536/102v; 554/138v; C9/280/1.

[15] Fletcher, *County Community*, 134.

[16] *Alumni Oxonienses 1500–1714* **2**, 460; **3**, 1135; *Middle Temple Admission Registers*, **1**, 215, 217.

[17] ESRO, QZ/EW 1–3, recognizance books 1660–1738.

[18] ESRO, QZ/EW 3; PAR 481/8/8, Sedlescombe rate 3 July 1708; RAC 55/1/1, ff. 7–134;

[19] *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1660–1690*, ed. B. D. Henning (London, 1983) (hereafter *Commons 1660–90*) **1**, 719; ESRO RA/C1/1, ff. 49v–140v.

[20] *Commons 1660–90* **3**, 218–19.

[21] *Commons 1660–90* **2**, 303, Farrington, but this overlooks his sewer commission; PRO, C 191/1; West Sussex Record Office (hereafter WSRO), LDI/SM 1/1, ff. 8–66.

[22] WSRO, LDI/SM 1/1, ff. 36–155.

[23] Fletcher, *County Community*, 134.

[24] Fletcher, *County Community*, 135, 144–6, for pre-Civil War clerk of peace; KAO, U 269/C 37/1.

[25] Fletcher, *County Community*, 135.

[26] KAO, U 269/C 15/1; U 269/0 20.

[27] KAO, U 269/C 37/1.

[28] KAO, U 269/0 20.

[29] Kettleby: ESRO, QM/EW 2, Lewes 4 Oct. 1683, QO/EW, 7 f. 126 (undersheriff, 1673); Sussex Rec. Soc. **29** (1924) 187 no. 815 (undersheriff 1669); PRO, E 362/19–37 for the names of the deputy clerks from Linfield onwards.

[30] British Library (hereafter BL), Egerton MS 1, 626, f. 96; WSRO LDI/SM 1/1, f. 43.

[31] M. E. Kennedy, 'Commissions of Sewers for Lincolnshire', *Lincolnshire Hist. Archaeol.* **19** (1984), 84.

[32] PRO, C 191/1/45; WSRO, LDI SM1/1; ESRO, RA/C 1/1; RA/C 55/1.

[33] Landau, 279–80.

[34] Fletcher, *Reform*, 167.

[35] Fletcher, *County Community*, 220.

[36] Analysis based on ESRO, QO/EW 3–15.

[37] *Journal of Giles Moore*, ed. R. Bird, Sussex Rec. Soc. **68** (1971), 78, 81, 91, 106.

[38] HMC Portland MS **5**, 401; Lewes Borough had a copy of Nelson's work in 1706, *The Town Book of Lewes 1702–1837*, ed. V. Smith, Sussex Rec. Soc. **69** (1972–3), 10.

[39] Landau, 279, 281.

[40] PRO, C 231/7, pp. 33, 321; C 193/13/5, ff. 105–7v (1658); C 220/9/4/85-88 (1660).

[41] *The Diary of Bulstrode Whitelocke 1605–1675*, ed. R. Spalding (Oxford, 1990), 692.

[42] PRO, C 231/7, pp. 301, 304, 394.

[43] PRO, C 231/7, p. 367.

[44] PRO, C 231/7, pp. 410, 475, 519, 540.

[45] Bodleian Lib., Carte MS 39, f. 129v; Glassey, 50–54.

[46] House of Lords Record Office (hereafter HLRO), House of Lords MS Minutes Vol. 22, 20 Nov., 23 Nov. 1680.

[47] PRO, SP 29/432/Part 1/431; C 231/8, p. 106.

[48] ESRO, QO/EW 8 and 9.

[49] PRO, PC 2/71, f. 190v; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1687–9*, 131; Hampshire Record Office, 18M61/Box 80/26, Knight Papers, Visct. Montagu to John Lewkenor 12 April 1688.

[50] PRO, ASSI 35/129/9; C 231/7, p. 192; G. F. Duckett, *Penal Laws and the Test Act* **2** (London, 1883), 260; ESRO, RAC 1/1, ff. 81v–128.

[51] ESRO, QO/EW 9; QM/EW 2 under dates.

[52] WSRO, QR/W 187/37–44, 47–61; ESRO, QR/E 240/9–25, 29; E 241/14–24.

[53] WSRO, EpI/7/33, ff. 144v–6v; EpII/9/31, ff. 34–7.

[54] Fletcher, *Reform*, 40; G. C. F. Forster, 'Government in Provincial England under the Later Stuarts', *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 5s **33** (1983), 47.

[55] *The Parochial Registers of St Germain-En-Laye: Jacobite extracts of Births Marriages and Deaths*, ed. C. E. Lart **2** (1912), 32; I am grateful to Nathalie Rouffiac-Genest of the Sorbonne for the information about Biddulph's naturalization.

[56] J. Garrett, *The Triumphs of Providence: The Assassination Plot 1696* (Cambridge, 1980); Landau, 79–80.

[57] *Commons 1660–90* **2**, 250, 743; **3**, 107; ESRO, QO/EW 11, Steyning 13 July 1696; PRO, C 213/275/1; C 231/8, p. 356; C 231/9, p. 9; PC 2/78, ff. 16, 67; SP 34/10 Part 1, f. 64.

[58] Glassey, 165; HLRO, Main Papers 2117, 16 Feb. 1704/5.

[59] Quoted in J. S. Cockburn, 'The North Riding Justices 1690–1750', *Yorkshire Archaeol. J.* **41** (1966), 483.

[60] Fletcher, *Reform*, 38.

[61] T. Harris, *Politics under the later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society 1660–1715* (London, 1993), 16–17.

[62] W. Albery, *A Parliamentary History of the Ancient Borough of Horsham 1295–1885* (London, 1927), 55–61; ESRO, QO/EW 15, Chichester 9 & 10 April 1716.

[63] P. Langford, *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman 1689–1798* (Oxford, 1989), 395–7, 402–3; J. M. Beattie, *Crime and the Courts in England 1660–1815* (Oxford, 1986), 59–60, 62–3; P. Clark, *English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution* (Hassocks, 1977), 407; J. M. Rosenheim, 'County Governance and élite withdrawal in Norfolk', in *The First Modern Society*, eds A. L. Beier, D. Cannadine and J. M. Rosenheim (Cambridge, 1989), 95–125.

[64] J. V. Beckett, 'Stability in Politics and Society, 1680–1750' in *Britain in the First Age of Party, 1680–1750: Essays presented to Geoffrey Holmes*, ed. C. Jones (London, 1987), 1–18; Rosenheim, 'County Governance', 125, makes a similar point.

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'Much troubled with very rude company ...'

THE 2ND DUKE OF RICHMOND'S MENAGERIE AT GOODWOOD

by Timothy J. McCann

On 11 November 1732, Lord Hervey wrote to the Duke of Richmond, 'As to the account of the loves, courtship and marriages of your beasts, it seems to me not so much a literal description of Goodwood dens as an allegorical epitome of the whole matrimonial world'. And he continued in reply to the Duke's letter to develop the theme. 'If you would follow the example of Aesop', he suggested, 'and write fables upon your birds and beasts, I have a notion that without going out of your own park you might characterise the persons, tempers and occupations of all your acquaintances. The marriages of your bears, tigers, wolves and monkeys would certainly do for a representation of half the conjugal performances in England. But now and then you would, I confess, be a little puzzled to represent some matches one sees between brutes of a different species, which is a privilege I believe peculiar to human brutes, and consequently would be difficult to be well couched in fable and allegory'.[1]

Charles Lennox succeeded his father, the natural son of King Charles II, as 2nd Duke of Richmond and master of Goodwood in May 1723. His patrimony consisted of a smallish house, built for the Earl of Northumberland and used by Richmond's father as a hunting lodge, and a small estate consisting of the immediate park, and farms in Boxgrove and Westhampnett. The family's royal origins were not reflected in their wealth, and in spite of many schemes, Richmond never rebuilt Goodwood, but he did purchase the Manors of Singleton and Charlton in 1730, which included the forests of Singleton and Charlton, so that with other minor purchases he bequeathed an estate of some thousand acres to his son in 1750.

Although he never rebuilt the house, Richmond populated the park at Goodwood with buildings, trees and animals.[2] He built a pedimented temple to house the Neptune and Minerva Stone, which had been dug up in Chichester in 1723.[3] He persuaded Roger Morris to design Carne's seat, a stone banqueting hall with magnificent views over the Channel to the Isle of Wight.[4] Nearby to the north, was constructed the delightful Shell House, decorated by the Duchess of Richmond and her daughters with shells sent from the West Indies. Colen Campbell described 'the Park, Gardens and Plantations' at Goodwood, 'which for the beautiful variety and extension of prospect, spacious lawns, sweetness of herbage, delicate venison, excellent fruit, thriving plantations, lofty and aweful trees, is inferior to none'.[5] Richmond introduced the famous Cedars of Lebanon, purchased plants and shrubs from his friend Peter Collinson, and, on the renowned horticulturist's advice, bought a number of specimens from Lord Petre's nursery at Thorndon in Essex.[6] Such was his enthusiasm for planting that Dr Richard Pocock, writing four years after the Duke's death, described 'thirty different kinds of oaks and four hundred different American trees and shrubs' in the park.[7]

Finally Richmond created the 'Catacombs', which George Vertue described as, 'stone cells under ground and dark recesses — or passages — subturane, which are as well contrived as curious, vast stone porpheryes sea pebbles &c. varyously disposed'[8] to house his remarkable menagerie. For Richmond collected strange animals, just as he collected strange plants, and the famous menagerie that he formed at Goodwood, was one of the most noted features of the estate in his time. The menagerie was situated in the High Wood in the Goodwood Pleasure Gardens (Fig. 1), and there Richmond collected wild beasts and birds from all parts of the world. The first reference to the animals among the Duke's surviving accounts is to a coat for the monkey in March 1725/6,[9] and the latest, a reference to a present of a West Indian sow from Governor Worsley in 1733.[10] However, it is clear from his correspondence with Sir Thomas Robinson, who was sending him

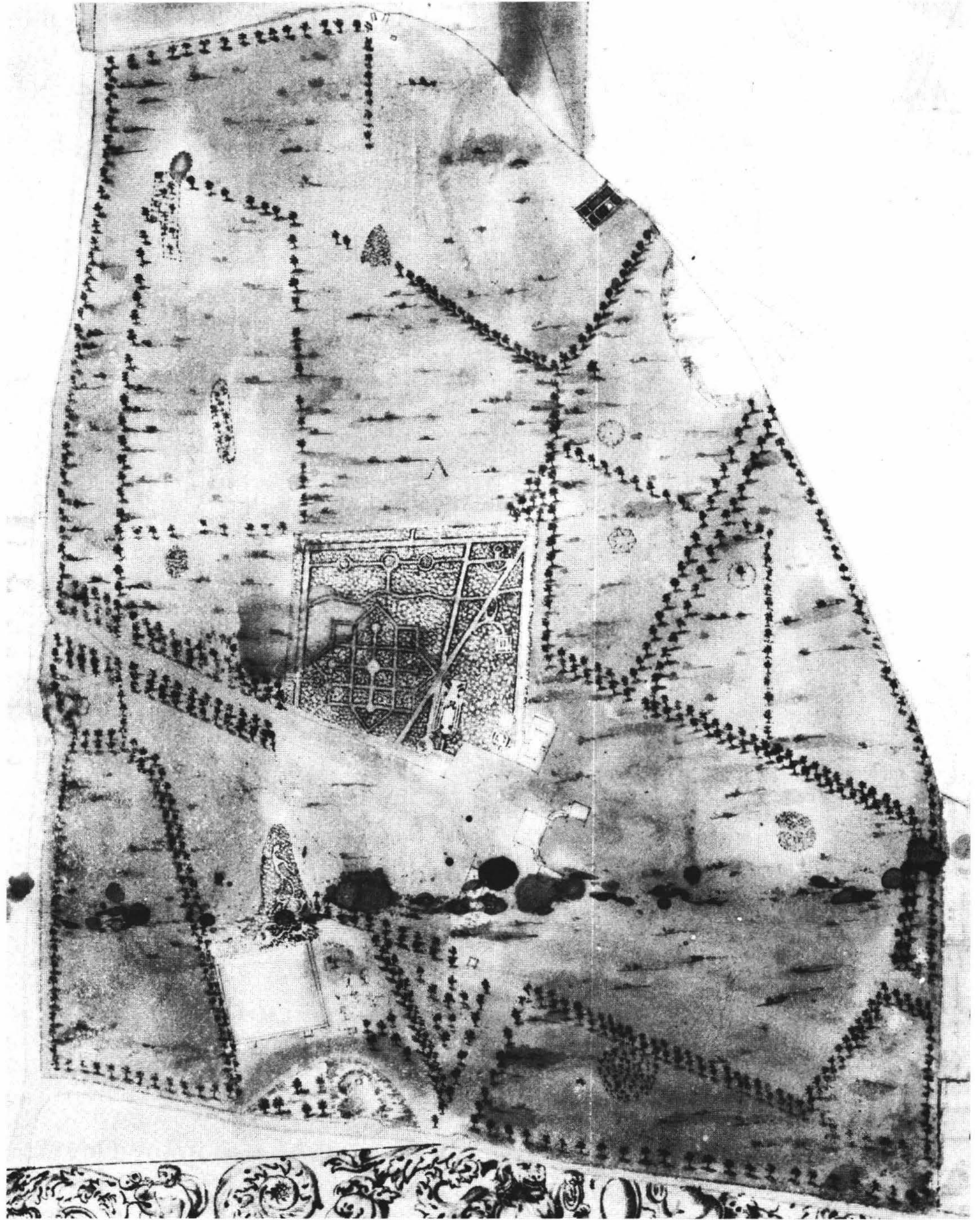

Fig. 1. Plan of Goodwood Park by Thomas Bucknall, 1731. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. E 4992. This section of a larger plan of the Manors of Charlton and Singleton is the only surviving map of the park in the time of the 2nd Duke of Richmond. It bears a strong resemblance to the plan published by Colen Cambell in *Vitruvius Britannicus III* in 1725 even to the extent of showing in block plan Campbell's projected new house, but it shows the arrangement of the area where the menagerie was situated, as it might have been.

animals from Barbados at the time, that Richmond was still collecting animals in the mid 1740s. The 3rd Duke of Richmond received the present of a bull moose from Canada, when he was interested in domesticating the species, and the painting by Stubbs, commissioned by William Hunter,[11] shows that although the menagerie had disappeared by then, the family enthusiasm for collecting animals was not extinct. This was the moose that Gilbert White saw at Goodwood on Michaelmas Day 1768.[12]

The meticulous Duke kept lists of the animals in his care, and, at one time, they consisted of '5 wolves, 2 tygerrs, 1 lyon, 2 lepers, 1 sived cat, a tyger cat, 3 foxes, a Jack all, 2 Greenland dogs, 3 vulturs, 2 eagles, 1 kite, 2 owls' that were meat eaters, and '3 bears, 1 large monkey, a woman tygerr, 3 Racoons, 3 small monkeys, armadilla, 1 pecaverre and 7 caseawarris' that ate bread. Underneath are listed 'one wild Boare, 2 hoghs afatning, one sow and one sow with piggs'.[13] Another list mentioned '5 wolves, 2 Tygers, 2 Tiger Catts, 2 Mush Catts, I sivet Catt, 2 volturs, 3 foxes, 2 greenland dogs, 6 eagles, 1 leopard and 2 martins as carnivores, with 5 bears, 1 white bear, armadilla, 2 racoons and the manligo' as bread eaters.[14] Other animals that occur in the accounts are an elephant, an ostrich, a baboon, a mountain cat, Indian pigs and an African squirrel. The list of animals is very similar to 18th-century lists of animals in the Tower menagerie.[15]

The Duke made use of his wide circle of friends to look out for exotic animals for him and to send them back to England. Lord Tyrawley wrote to Richmond from Lisbon in 1729, that 'two blue Macao's shall certainly set out from Lisbon as soone as ever they can be procured, and Senor Ricardo, who desires his duty to you, is indefatigable in the search of them'.[16] Richmond continued the search for several years, and as late as 1738 Mr Wolters wrote to him from Rotterdam that, 'you can't get Macows, all spoken for and too dear'.[17] In 1733 Robert Sedgwick, the Duke's agent at Goodwood, reported to his master that 'just now was brought a Bear from Dr. Hoysden at Jamaica. He seems to be a young one & a very fierce one, the person who came along with him, says the capt. expects 5 guineas for bringing him over, but that I shall hear from the captain himself'.[18] Thomas Robinson reported from Barbados in 1744 that 'the vessel that carrys this, will bring your Grace one of the most beautiful Civit Cats I ever saw'.[19]

Most of the animals arrived in England at London, and the Duke's accounts give details of how they were transported to Goodwood. Richard Buckner was the Duke's steward and on 9 January 1728/9 he paid 5s for 'a cart with ye Lyon from Bishopsgate Street' and 3s. for the porters at Deptford and Whitehall, and, on January 13, 1s. 'for removing the lyon'.[20] In May the same year, Richmond paid 8s. 'for a great boat bringing ye baboon from Deptford'.[21] In the following year, the fox, the mountain cat, and a bear were all collected by boat from Southwark.[22] In December 1729 the tiger was collected from Tower Hill, when the cost of the boat and the porter was 3s..[23] In 1730 two bears were transported from Cadiz at a cost of £7 6s. and 8d., and they were kept in London for a charge of 14s..[24]

However, perhaps the most celebrated animal failed to survive the journey. 'Your Grace has heard without doubt', wrote Tom Hill, Richmond's old tutor on 13 October 1730, 'and wept the misfortune of the poor elephant that was burnt with the vessel he came in. I assure you I should not have been more touched, perhaps not so much had I heard his Master the King of Siam had perished the same way. I have a particular value for that creature, not so much for its being an exotic, as that it is said to be an animal (philanthropon). As for your misanthropon whether beasts or men, I care not what becomes of them.'[25]

The larger animals seem to have been kept in iron cages and the smaller ones in collars. In 1726 John Montigny built an iron cage for the tiger at a total cost of £93. The cage was to be 15 feet each way with a covering on the top and the total weight, some 41 hundredweight, agreed with His Grace at 4d. per lb. The detailed bill included charges for painting the cage, for a wagon that took the cage to the waterside, for a barge that took the cage to the ship, for the men who erected the cage, and for seven iron-rim locks with keys, screws, nails and scutcheons for the cage.[26] Richard Buckner's bills make clear that the ostrich and the monkeys lived in their own separate houses,[27] and there are regular payments for chains for the eagle, the monkey and the cats and dogs.[28]

Feeding the animals was as much a problem as keeping them safe and secure. The animals described in the earlier list ate 36 lbs of beef a day and 39 lbs of horse flesh, while the bread-eating animals disposed of 6 loaves a day.[29] In 1729 and 1730 Richmond was paying for between 140 and 156 loaves of bread each week.[30] Surviving bills suggest that the fowls were fed with barley, oatmeal and occasional chicken.[31] The cats were given straw,[32]

Fig. 2. The statue of the lioness in the High Wood marking the burial place of the Duke of Richmond's favourite animal. W.S.R.O., Goodwood PD 262.

the monkeys had a diet of bread and greens, supplemented occasionally with apples and carrots and sometimes with milk.[33] The eagles fed on sheep's heads, beef and bullocks' hearts,[34] the sheep on hay, oats and turnips,[35] and the bears on bread.[36]

This food was expensive, and it is clear that the animals were not always fed regularly. On 20 May 1730, Henry Foster, who was put in charge of the animals at Goodwood, told the Duke that 'I am afraid we shall have a famine amongst the animals',[37] and on 14 October, he expressed the 'hope there is no more creatures to cum here for here is no more Roome of entertainment nor vitles enough to get for them to eat so that ye must be obliged to faste some days in ye week but what days I can't say'.[38] By 4 April 1731 Foster was in despair writing that 'your Grace will see in my account the money is all gon and if your Grace don't send some more I shall be obliged to turne ye old horses which is brought for ye animals a way for I have not a crown in my keeping'.[39]

Richmond wrote to Peter L'abbe, his London secretary, in April 1729 asking him to 'tell Foster he should also send me an account, once a fortnight, how all the animals doe'.[40] Foster was true to his instructions, but his epistles are sad tales of famine and death, as a result of the unsuitable conditions, food and temperature. However though he may have complained about the lack of food for the animals, he could have no complaint about their treatment when they fell ill. Sir Hans Sloane, the President of the Royal College of Physicians and President of the Royal Society, and John Ranby, shortly to become surgeon in ordinary to the King's household, were both called in to offer medical advice. In 1730 for example, bills survive for a porter who took a pig to Sir Hans Sloane in September;[41] for a porter who took him a dead Civit Cat in October; and for a porter who took him a dead chameau in January 1731.[42] Nor was the traffic entirely one way, for in a postscript to one of the Duchess' letters to Sir Hans, Richmond complained

that 'I wish indeed it had been the sloath that had been sent to me, for that is the most curious animal I know, butt this is nothing butt a common black bear, which I do not know what to do with, for I have five of them already. So pray when you write to him, I beg you would tell him not to send me any Bears, Eagles Leopards or Tygers, for I am overstock'd with them already.'[43] John Ranby was taken a dead lynx in in October 1730 , and an eagle in 1731.[44] No doubt, though, this arrangement benefited both parties, as the physicians probably used the animals for dissection. Tom Hill, writing to Richmond on 27 August 1734, told him of a curiosity that the Governor of New York had for him — 'tis a West Indian sheep; but whether male or female, as he is silent upon that head, so must I be too. All that he said more of it is that he doubts not but that Sir Hans will have the examining of its parts.'[45]

Notwithstanding the stories of hunger and disease, Henry Foster's letters do graphically illustrate the appeal of the menagerie to the 18th-century populace. On 8 April 1730 Foster reported to Richmond that 'we are very much troubled with very rude company to see ye animals. Sunday last week we had about 4 or 5 hundred good and bad but I Can't say which was ye gretest number,of ye two, but ye pull down ye peals treds ye coal all to dust and gets into ye grove two or 3 hundred and to say anything goes for nothing. Ye threten to breck John Hanes Bones and he Beat some of them prette well, and he is to be taken up ye next time he goes to Chichester as he told me, and what they say in ye town, so it would be well if his Grace would give some orders in this case, that peace and quietness might Rain amongst us.'[46] His other letters, though, catalogue the decline of the animals. On 20 May 1730 he reported to Richmond that 'it will be proper to let your Grace know ye old Boar is dead and ye Black Burd which was given to His Grace at Ester is dead also'.[47] On 4 April 1731 he wrote that 'the wolf have had four young ones som time last friday but two is dead, one of the sows have pigs about a week old'. Occasionally though,the reports were good — 'the 2 foxes and Ratown came safe' he reported in October 1730,[48] and 'all the animals are well' he was able to say in April 1731[49] — and there were some who fed less well than the animals. Pulteney, writing to Richmond in September 1731, complained that 'temperance and regularity are still neccesary for me to observe, and at Goodwood I believe no one ever heard of either of them . . . nay there is not a bear or wolf in your menagerie that shall not live more plentifully than I will , till I am perfectly recover'd'.[50]

Apart from his request for fortnightly accounts of the animals from Henry Foster, little of Richmond's instructions to his staff at Goodwood has survived, apart from his request to L'abbe to tell Foster to 'kill all the old Turkey Cocks, (except only those that I brought from Portugal with me) or if he has a mind to them to dispose of them himself they are at his service, but they must be imediately dispos'd of, for fear of their spoiling the Portugal breed'.[51] But it is clear from the family correspondence that interest in the animals was by no means confined to Richmond, and that the menagerie excited the interest of the nobility and their family and friends as well as the general populace. Fairly soon after the first animals arrived, the Duchess of Richmond wrote to her husband to express the 'hope that the great baboon is got safely into much's cage'[52] that had presumably been sent to London to bring it down to Sussex. The Countess of Albemarle kept Richmond informed when the Duke was abroad — 'all your relaytions this side the water are very well, & your lion allso & I hear Lord Baltemore has Brought over a Bare for you I think a white one, but I wont be sure'.[53] Tom Hill mentioned in October 1730 that 'your Bear for instance; during the cold rainy weather we have had, has been in the utmost delight. The villain cares not if we were all starved to death, provided he can enjoy his ice and snow and cutting eastern winds'.[54]

But the most enthusiastic chronicler of the menagerie was Richmond's daughter, Lady Emily Lennox, who married James Earl of Kildare and later Duke of Leinster. Her first letter to her father mentions that 'Mama begs you would send her an account of her pea chicks and Canary birds',[55] but by 1747 she is expressing firm views of her own. 'I can't help owning my dear Papa', she wrote in August 1747, from Ireland, 'that I have often thought that since these Catacombs have been in fashion at Goodwood my poor birds have decreased daily and that I had even some suspicion of there not having had fair play for their lives, however since you assure me you had no hands in their deaths I am persuaded it was a natural one, not but that I am sure you have so much good nature that if you saw them suffer you would put them out of their pain. I will say no more on this subject but that poor Wanns esteemed himself very happy to be out of the way, while this rage of burying reigns'.[56] Later, on 8 October 1747, she wrote what might well

stand as an epitaph for the menagerie. 'I find the fate of all the unlucky animals that come to Goodwood is to be burying them in the Catacombs and an epitaph by Sam Chandler.'[57]

The 2nd Duke of Richmond died on 8 August 1750 at the early age of 49, and his menagerie died with him. Indeed as early as 1743 the Revd Jeremiah Milles was able to write that, 'The Duke had formerly a good menagerie at Goodwood, but within these few years he has disposed of allmost all his beasts.'[58] His biographer, the 7th Duke, wrote in 1911 that 'in the High Wood a few scattered, ivy-covered rocks, with, here and there, a half-obliterated inscription, represent all that remains of the quaint "Hermit's Cave" and the "Catacombs" wherein lie buried the pet dogs and birds of their long dead masters and mistresses, though the underground passages remain to this day in almost as good condition as when they were constructed, and the stone lioness still guards the head of the old chestnut avenue'.[59] Today, some 80 years later, the site of the menagerie is still discernible, but there is little obvious evidence of the Duke of Richmond's bold experiment to people his park with animals.

Tom Hill in his letters mentions a menagerie belonging to the Duke of Bedford, and describes the break up of another belonging to Lord Weymouth, reporting that 'his eagles and vultures he has disposed of among their relations in the Tower'.[60] His experiment was by no means unique even in Sussex — the steward's accounts of the 6th Duke of Somerset in 1694 include a payment for 'helping to file the teeth and cut the paws of a bear',[61] while Lady Anson writing to Marchioness Grey in 1758 speaks of 'Lady Egremont's violent passion for her menagerie' at Petworth, when recommending her to offer an eagle,[62] and Sir Matthew Fetherstonhaugh at nearby Uppark mentions his menagerie there in his 1748 Account Book[63] — but it was conducted on a far larger and more ambitious scale. Mick Broughton remonstrated with the Duke in 1735 when he had made an elaborate monument for a dog, 'now you have begun with a Dog, should you persist in Doing the honours to all your Quadrupeds and Feather'd Animals: What a noble field of invention and Expence will be Given by the death of the king of Beasts, or of the Bird of Love. I advise the interment of the first Lyon, under the Chichester Council-house, where his busto is already fixed'.[64] The stone Lioness (Fig. 2) still stands guard at the head of the High Wood at Goodwood to mark the site of the 2nd Duke of Richmond's menagerie.[65]

Author: Timothy J. McCann, West Sussex Record Office, County Hall, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 1RN.

NOTES

1 Lord Hervey to Richmond, 11 November 1732. W(est) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice), Goodwood MS. 111, f. 199. The Goodwood Archives are quoted by courtesy of the Trustees of the Goodwood Collections and with acknowledgements to the West Sussex Record Office and the County Archivist.

2 T. P. Connor, 'Architecture and Planting at Goodwood, 1723–1750', in *S(ussex) A(rchaeological) C(ollections)* (1970) **117**, 185–93.

3 M. Hills, 'Remarks on a Stone bearing a Roman Inscription. Found at Chichester in 1723, and now at Goodwood', in *SAC* **7** (1854), 61–3.

4 The Goodwood Archives contain a plan of the floor of Carne's Seat,1744 (Goodwood MS. 137) and a description of the ceiling, 1747 (Goodwood MS. 1999).

5 Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Brittanicus* III (1725), 9.

6 W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 108, ff. 793–9.

7 J. J. Cartwright, (ed.), *The Travels through England of Dr Richard Pocock, successively Bishop of Meath and Ossory during 1750, 1751 and later years.* Camden Society, (1889), 111.

8 Walpole Society, *Vertue's Notebooks* V, (1939), 143.

9 W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 120, f. 82.

10 W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 126, f. 4.

11 W. D. Ian Rolfe, 'A Stubbs Drawing recognised', in *Burlington Magazine* 125 (1983), 738–40, and 'William Hunter, 1718–1783, On Irish "Elk" and Stubb's Moose', in *Archives of Natural History* **11** (1983), 263–90.

12 Gilbert White, *The Natural History of Selborne*. Letter XXVII, March 1770.

13 W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 134, f. 3.

14 W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 134, f. 4.

15 John Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, (1720).

16 Lord Tyrawley to Richmond, 25 March 1729. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 112, f. 368.

17 D. Wolters to Richmond, 29 December 1738. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 112, f. 398.

18 Robert Sedgwick to Richmond, 4 August 1733. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS.112, f. 342.

19 Thomas Robinson to Richmond, *c.* 1744. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 112, f. 328.

20 W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 120, f. 189.

21 W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 120, f. 168.

22 W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 121, f. 122.

23 W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 121, f. 80.

24 W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 121, f. 164.

25 Tom Hill to Richmond, 13 October 1730. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 103, f. 205.

26 W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 120, f. 96.

27 W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 121, f. 94.

[28] W.S.R.O., Goodwood MSS. 121, ff. 72, 180 & 189; 120, f. 189 & 126, f. 56.
[29] W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 134, f. 4.
[30] W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 120, ff. 205 & 261.
[31] W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 121, ff. 96 & 119.
[32] W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 121, f. 188.
[33] W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 121, f. 188.
[34] W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 121, f. 120.
[35] W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 121, f. 188.
[36] W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 121, f. 188.
[37] Henry Foster to Richmond, 20 May 1730. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 108, f. 816.
[38] Henry Foster to Richmond, 14 October 1730. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 108, f. 822.
[39] Henry Foster to Richmond, 21 April 1731. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 108, f. 824.
[40] Richmond to L'abbe, 2 April 1739. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 102, f. 98.
[41] W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 121, f. 189.
[42] W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 121, f. 203.
[43] Duchess of Richmond to Sir Hans Sloane, 14 [January 1736/7]. British Library. Sloane MS. Add. MS. 4078, f. 66.
[44] W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 121, f. 203.
[45] Tom Hill to Richmond, 27 August 1734. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 103, f. 221.
[46] Henry Foster to Richmond, 8 April 1730. W.S.R.O., Goodwood Ms. 108, f. 815.
[47] Henry Foster to Richmond, 30 May 1730. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 108, f. 818.
[48] Henry Foster to Richmond, 14 October 1730. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS.108, f. 822.
[49] Henry Foster to Richmond, 4 April 1731. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 108, f. 824.
[50] William Pulteney to Richmond, September 1731. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS.112, f. 293.
[51] Richmond to L'abbe, 2 April 1729. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 102, f. 98.
[52] Duchess of Richmond to Richmond, nd. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 102, f. 26.
[53] Countess of Albemarle to Richmond, 11 November nd. W.S.R.O.,Goodwood MS. 106, f. 462.
[54] Tom Hill to Richmond, 13 October 1730. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 103, f. 215.
[55] Lady Emily Lennox to Richmond, nd. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 102, f. 51.
[56] Countess of Kildare to Richmond, 18 August 1747. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 102, f. 67.
[57] Countess of Kildare to Richmond, 8 October 1747. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 102, f. 70.
[58] British Library, Add. MS. 15,776, f. 246.
[59] Charles Gordon Lennox, Earl of March, *A Duke and his Friends* (1911), 719.
[60] Tom Hill to Richmond, 13 October 1730. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 103, f. 221.
[61] Petworth House Archives 173.
[62] Bedfordshire Record Office. Lucas MSS. L30/9/3/82.
[63] W.S.R.O., Uppark MS. The original of Sir Matthew Fetherstonhaugh's Account Book perished in the fire at Uppark in 1979, but a partial typescript has survived at W.S.R.O., and the reference appears on p. 13.
[64] Mick Broughton to Richmond, 1 January 1734/5. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS.103, f. 157.
[65] This article is based on a paper delivered to the Autumn Conference of the Society for The History of Natural History, 23–25 September1993, held at West Sussex Institute of Higher Education, Chichester (Bishop Otter College).

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Sunday schools in Sussex in the late 18th century

by John M. Caffyn

Most detailed accounts of the early Sunday schools relate primarily to London or the industrial Midlands and North; this article records the experience of a rural county in the South. The evidence of the extent of the 'Sunday school movement' in Sussex in the late 18th century is examined. Sunday schools were then one-day-a-week charity schools. Motives for setting them up were mixed, but in Sussex the dominant motive appears to have been to preserve the social order. They were established more at the instigation of the laity than of the clergy. They evidenced growing acceptance of the idea of more widespread schooling of the poor, financed by the affluent, and the relatively large numbers of children the 18th-century Sunday schools accommodated prefigured the general expansion of elementary education that occurred in the early decades of the 19th century.

A canon of the Church of England required every parson, vicar or curate to examine and instruct the youth of his parish for half an hour or more every Sunday before evening prayer; and in the service for the making of deacons, the candidate was specifically required, among other duties, 'in the Church where he shall be appointed... to instruct the youth in the Catechism'.[1] In the lax 18th century, it may be doubted whether most incumbents and curates obeyed these instructions, but a number certainly did so; and it would seem that sometimes, in addition to teaching the catechism, they gave some instruction in reading. In 1709, George Keith, rector of Edburton, advised the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge that, although there was no charity school in his parish, most of the children there could read and say their catechism;[2] this was almost certainly as a result of his own teaching. In 1724 the Steyning churchwardens reported that the incumbent, John Mathew, catechized every Sunday afternoon from Michaelmas to Lady day and after recording the number of dissenting families in the parish, they added: 'Note — Many of the Children of these come to Church'.[3] The fact that the children of dissenters came to the church strongly suggests that Mathew gave them some schooling — an early Sunday school open to all denominations. Another example of charity schooling that may have prefigured the Sunday schools of the late 18th century occurred at Mayfield. In October 1730, James Oldfield wrote to the S.P.C.K. 'That he is endeavouring to introduce Catechising there & last Sunday had about 30 Children for whose Use he desires some Books to be paid for.' In April the following year he ordered some further tracts from the S.P.C.K., noting that he had made 'a good Collection at Mayfield for the poor Children to the number of about 40' and hoped it would become a regular charity school. Later in 1731 he reported that he had 'several Children at School' but could not yet form it into a regular charity school.[4]

One or two Sunday schools had been started in England in the 17th century, and from 1750 a number were set up by both Anglicans and dissenters, and by both clergy and laity. But the 'Sunday school movement' as such did not gather momentum until, in 1784, the *Gentleman's Magazine* published an account by Robert Raikes of how he had founded four small Sunday schools in Gloucester. This account was further disseminated by other magazines and newspapers, and Sunday schools quickly became a widespread form of charity.[5]

Was there a 'Sunday school movement' in Sussex? The difficulty is that we have no certain knowledge as to how many Sunday schools were established in Sussex in the early years of the 'movement'. There was no formal register, and often the only evidence that a Sunday school existed comes from a passing reference. Thus, there was such

a school at Pulborough from at least the beginning of 1786 — possibly the earliest Sunday school in Sussex — but we know this only because the parish accounts show that the parish paid for teaching Sunday school from that time (initially 6d. a week to Dame Sheppard, but from March 1786 until at least November 1799 1s. a week to Nicholas Warner).[6] There was a Sunday school at Bishopstone from 1793 through to the 19th century, the evidence being that the overseers paid Mrs. Clark 1s. a week for 'Sunday School'.[7] There was one operating at Southover before March 1790, when the parish advertised for a properly qualified person 'to instruct the CHILDREN of the SUNDAY SCHOOL, belonging to the above parish, in PLAIN PSALMODY.'[8] The *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* reported that a Sunday school was opened at Selsey in October 1788, 'under the patronage of the Minister'.[9] We know that a Sunday school was started at the Countess of Huntingdon's chapel in Brighton in 1788 because in September 1913 it celebrated the 125th anniversary of its founding.[10] It is clear that a Sunday school was started at Ditchling in 1788 or 1789 because the Baptist John Burgess noted in his diary for 30/31 January 1789 that he 'paid Mr Attree four Shilings What I Subscribed toward the Sunday School at Ditchling this is the first year of its been Established'; and we can safely infer that it was a parish and not a Baptist Sunday school, since no Attrees are known to have belonged to the Baptist community there and since the bishop's transcripts record a John Attree as churchwarden in 1785/6 and 1786/7 (and very likely also in 1787/8 and 1788/9, when the churchwardens did not sign the transcripts). This last example, apart from identifying the existence of a Sunday school, is of interest on two counts: for the support given to a Church of England school by a dissenter (Burgess was a General Baptist preacher) and for the support from a not very successful tradesman (Burgess was a breeches-maker; the income from his trade does not appear to have been very large, and in 1794 his business failed: his 4s. subscription was generous).[11]

At least 18 Sunday schools were set up in Sussex between 1786 and 1797:[12]

1786	Pulborough
	Waldron
1787	Horsham
1788	Brighton ('Brighthelmston' in the 18th century)
	Southover (subscription raised before February 1788; certainly in operation prior to March 1790)
	Lewes (subscription raised February 1788; two or more Sunday schools operating by December 1789)
	Brighton, Countess of Huntingdon chapel
	Selsey
By 1789	Glynde
1788/89	Ditchling
1789	Chichester (two Sunday schools)
1790	East Grinstead (subscription raised and house donated April 1790)
1792	Arundel
1793	Bishopstone
1795	East Dean (West Sussex)
c. 1797	Rottingdean

There were almost certainly others, and we may speculate — on the basis of rather faint clues — that certain parishes may have been among them. Each year at Brighton a charity sermon was preached on behalf of the Sunday school. The preachers were clearly promoters of Sunday schools, and it seems probable that they would have had such a school in their own parishes. In September 1789 Nicholas Turner, instituted that June as rector of Sutton, was advertized to preach the sermon. In the event, the sermon that year was preached by Joseph Fearon, vicar of Fittleworth. He was also master of Cuckfield grammar school and became vicar of Cuckfield in 1801; his influence could well have led to the establishment of a Sunday school there before the end of the century. The sermon in September 1791 was preached by George Pelham, vicar of Laughton since 1790. So there may well have been Sunday schools at Sutton, Fittleworth, Cuckfield, Laughton.[13] Another possible source is the 3rd Viscount Gage's account book, which records payments for schooling at West Firle from at least 1793 to the end of the century. One payment, in 1797, is attributed to 'The Church Children', which suggests he may have supported a Sunday school there. He also paid sums for schooling children at Alciston, and in 1800 he gave £1.16.0 for the 'Prayer Book Children', which may indicate support for a Sunday school. So perhaps Sunday schools existed at West Firle and Alciston.[14]

Like the subscription charity schools, Sunday schools could fail. In 1789 the *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* reported: 'We hear from Chichester, that two Sunday schools have lately been opened in that

city, under the patronage of many respectable Ladies.' But by June 1796, editorial comment and an article on education in *The County Mirror and Chichester Magazine* make it clear that there was then no Sunday school at Chichester.[15] Nevertheless, a significant 'Sunday school movement' was certainly under way in Sussex before the end of the 18th century.

ONE-DAY-A-WEEK CHARITY SCHOOLS

Sunday schools, at this time, were all-day schools, or one-day-a-week charity schools with a special emphasis on religious instruction. The rules for the Sunday school at Glynde have survived; they were drawn up at some point before August 1789.[16]

> The children are to be in the School by nine o Clock every Sunday morning and stop till Eleven and at two in the afternoon & stay till four, except when the Evening service begins at two, then to be at the school at one o Clock and stop one hour before service and one hour after.

Attendance at the church services may be assumed, although this is not mentioned in the rules. It is clear, however, that there was time for teaching the children to read. Discipline was maintained by the threat of expulsion:

> If any of the scholars are guilty of lying swearing or talking in any indecent manner, or otherwise misbehaving themselves, the teacher shall point out the evil of such conduct, and if after repeated reproof the scholar shall not be reformed, he or she shall be excluded the said school.

The children were required to be clean and neatly dressed, but the rules show an understanding of the difficulties of poor parents:

> The Parents are desired to send their Children regularly to school clean in their persons and as decently clothed as their circumstances will permit.

One other rule, later deleted, is of interest on two counts — firstly, that it was initially included; secondly, that it was later deleted. It required the following admonition to be read to the children before they left the school:

> Your benefactors require you to refrain (during the remainder of this day) from Hallowing or making any noise — but those who chuse to amuse themselves behave quietly and soberly, thus will recommend yourselves to the favor of your betters and incline them to do you many Acts of kindness, which noisy wicked and Illnatured Children will be excluded.

The school continued into the 19th century, and in 1803 was being kept by the parish clerk.[17]

We may note that at Glynde the children were referred to as 'scholars'. A correspondent from Waldron, writing in 1788, two years after the Sunday school had been established there, commented as follows:

> As to that specious objection which some have made, that young persons instructed but *one day* in seven are not likely even to learn to read, I am happy to have it in my power to lay a-side, as futile and fallacious; for I aver there are at this time several at our Sunday-school, that did not know so much as the letters when they first entered, who are now able to read decently, and *without any other assistance*.[18]

The purpose of the proposed Sunday schools at Lewes, agreed at a public meeting in February 1788, was simply 'the Education of poor Children resident in Lewes, and its Environs'.[19] At Horsham, in 1787, the Sunday school children were 'taught reading, and a proper observance of the Lord's day'.[20] At Arundel, in 1794, where 30 boys and 30 girls were being 'attentively educated' at the Sunday school, every Sunday 'the clergyman and committee, or at least two of them, attend regularly to hear them read the lessons of the day, &c. &c.'[21]

Within the general framework of a Sunday school, there were in the country as a whole many different types. Regional differences were important; motivations and practices in the industrial north appear to have been different from those that were predominant in the south. Above all, the ethos of such schools could vary widely. There is no evidence in Sussex of any of the extreme evangelical persuasion, such as that at Southwark where Thomas Cranfield, addressing his pupils, would give such scope to his feelings that he himself would be overcome, and 'both teachers and children were excited to tears'.[22] Nor in 18th-century Sussex is there evidence of Sunday schools, such as some created by the Wesleyan Methodists, which subjected poor children to 'a pitiless ideology of work'.[23] Mary Fletcher, a Methodist schoolmistress, said of a charity school in 1764: 'As our Design is to fit them for good Servants, we endeavour as early as possible to inure them to Labour, Early Rising, and

Cleanliness... We never use the Term Play, nor suffer any to give those Toys or Playthings, which Children are usually brought up to spend half their time in.'[24] Despite John Wesley's concern for education, and his several visits to George Pike's school at Robertsbridge in the 1770s and early 1780s, no Wesleyan Methodist Sunday schools were started in Sussex until 1809, when two were opened, one at Brighton and another at Lewes.[25]

A 'DUTY INCUMBENT ON THEM, TO INSTIL MORALITY INTO THE MINDS OF THE YOUTH'

Malcolm Dick has written: 'The origins of Sunday school provision lie in the atmosphere of moral alarm which entered the mental world of the English propertied classes of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.'[26] As in the charity schools, Sunday school children were to be taught that their social duties — that is, their social subservience — and personal well-being were the same. William Wilberforce in *Practical Christianity* (1797) asserted that Christianity rendered 'the inequalities of the social state less galling to the lower orders'; it instructed them 'that their more lowly path has been allotted to them by the hand of God; that it is their part faithfully to discharge its duties and contentedly to bear its inconveniences.'[27] But there was more to it than this. Robert Raikes was moved to set up his Sunday schools after seeing ragged poor children at play in a street, lamenting their misery and idleness, and being told that on Sunday 'the street is filled with multitudes of these wretches who, released on that day from their employment, spend their time in noise and riot and playing at chuck, and cursing and swearing'.[28] Thomas Laqueur has observed:

> Three sets of ideas or feelings influenced to varying degrees the founding of Sunday schools. For some, the new institution was an instrument for the moral rescue of poor children from their corrupt parents, thereby at one stroke insuring the happiness of the little ones and the regeneration of society. Others saw in the schools primarily a means of spreading the Word of God, an end valuable for its own sake. Thirdly, a new, soft, kind, more optimistic and sentimental view of children and childhood induced benevolent men and women to direct their attention to the young.[29]

All three 'sets of ideas' are evidenced in Sussex. Illustrating the evangelical appeal with its consequent social benefits, the correspondent from Waldron reporting in 1788 on the Sunday school there, saw the purpose of Sunday schools as 'to rescue the children of the poor from ignorance, idleness, and vice, and to instruct them in the duties of morality and religion ... to lead them, by a pious and moral conduct, to happiness on earth, and to everlasting glory and felicity in the world to come ...'. The evangelical motive did not preclude giving poor children some education, that is, teaching them to read. Nor did it preclude a genuine concern for, even compassion for, the children of the poor. Ten months after the Sunday school at Brighton was set up, the *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* reported:

> The attention shown to the poor children of the Brighthelmston Sunday-School, by the ladies who condescended to dine at their table on Christmas-day, was truly laudable, and affords an example for the imitation of others, whereby these useful seminaries may be rendered as permanent as they are promising to the cause of Religion and Virtue.[30]

The word 'condescend' has a pejorative meaning today; it did not then. Within the rigid class structure of the 18th century, the action of these ladies in giving up their time on Christmas day, and in sitting down with the poor children and eating with them, was, indeed, 'truly laudable'.

But in Sussex those who founded and supported Sunday schools appear to have done so primarily to preserve the social order: a Christian indoctrination of children of the poor was seen as a means to this end. The priorities were clearly stated by the inhabitants of East Grinstead in April 1790, on the occasion of a celebration of 'the anniversary of his Majesty's recovery':

> In the course of the day, the following resolutions were entered into:
> 1. That the happiness and prosperity of the kingdom depend upon the morality of its people.
> 2. That the meeting considered it a duty incumbent on them, to instil morality into the minds of the youth of the said parish: they therefore agreed to establish a Sunday School, and immediately entered into an annual subscription for that purpose...[31]

The value of enforced observance of the Sabbath was stressed by the *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* in 1788:

> Had Sunday Schools been instituted a century ago, after the manner they are now diffusing themselves throughout the kingdom, we much question if the records of the Old Bailey had been so voluminous as they now are. A strict observance of the Sabbath Day (which Sunday Schools are so admirably calculated to enforce) is certainly very essential to the well-being of society, as hath been made manifest by the dying declarations of numberless unhappy wretches who have made their exit at the gallows and who attributed all their misfortunes to an early abuse of the Lord's Day.[32]

This may seem an exaggerated claim, but as Malcolm Dick has noted: 'There was a widespread belief that the misuse of the Sabbath led first to idleness, then to drink followed by disorder and crime. Sabbath-breaking, Raikes wrote, "appears by the declaration of every criminal to be their first step in the course of wickedness".'[33]

At the Quarter Sessions held at Lewes in October 1792, 'the Chairman in his charge to the Grand Jury observed and lamented, that of late felonies had much increased in this division of our County; and as a means of preventing them in future, he recommended attention to *Sunday* Schools.'[34]

In December 1788 the *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* proposed that pressure be put on the poor to encourage them to send their children to Sunday schools:

> 'Tis submitted to the consideration of those who at this inclement season, may have the distribution of charitable donations, whether it would not be proper to discriminate a little between the parents of poor families who show a disposition to religion and morality by sending their children regularly to the Sunday Schools, and those who do not; as such discrimination might produce a good effect on those who through indolence or a vicious habit, refuse their children the advantages which are so liberally offered to them through the medium of those useful seminaries.[35]

Not all thought Sunday schools 'useful'. There was opposition to them because they taught the poor to read. John Byng, later 5th viscount Torrington, who put his son Henry to school at Victor Raymond's French academy in Lewes in 1788, wrote in his diary for 13 June 1790:

> I have met some of the newly-adopted Sunday-schools today [in Stockport], and seen others in their schools; I am point blank against these institutions; the poor shou'd not read, and of writing I never heard, for them, the use.[36]

After the start of the French revolution (1789) and more particularly after the execution of the king and the subsequent terror (1793), there were in England increased fears that teaching the poor to read would lead to subversion. Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man*, published in two parts in 1791 and 1792, was regarded as especially subversive. The second part included Paine's proposals for 'improving the condition of Europe' and particularly of England; among them were: a large reduction of administrative expenditure and taxation; provision for the aged poor; family allowances; allowances for the education of the poor; maternity grants; funeral grants; a graduated income tax; and limitations of armaments by treaty.[37] Paine, at one time a schoolmaster, lived in Lewes for six years, being posted there as an excise officer in 1768; in 1771 he married at Lewes, as his second wife, Elizabeth Ollive, a young schoolmistress, daughter of Samuel Ollive in whose house he had lodged.[38] Fears of subversion may have been exacerbated in Sussex by the Paine connection and by the closeness of the county to France, especially when in 1792 the war with France resulted in a great influx of militia and regular troops all along the coast. But these fears would have also added impetus to the drive to combat the threat of social disorder by indoctrinating the children of the poor — through charity schools and Sunday schools — with 'the principles of the Christian religion', and in particular with the divinely ordained subservience, or subordination, of the poor. The schools increased.

THE 'GENTLEMEN, CLERGY, AND PRINCIPAL INHABITANTS'

The Sunday school at Selsey was 'under the patronage of the Minister'; and that at Rottingdean was established *c.* 1797 and superintended for over 40 years by the vicar, Thomas Hooker;[39] but in general the Sussex Sunday schools appear to have been initiated and supported primarily by the laity. The establishment of the largest such school, that at Brighton (1788), is credited to Nathaniel Kemp, gentleman, of Preston Manor and later of Ovingdean Hall; and the school of industry started there in the same year and supported by the same subscriptions,

was under the patronage of his wife, Martha, and other ladies.[40] At Chichester, the two Sunday schools that were opened in 1789 were 'under the patronage of many respectable ladies'. At Arundel, where the Sunday school was started in 1792, 'Mr. Bushby, Mayor of that Town, and Mr. Thomas Coote, have the credit of the Institution'.[41] At East Grinstead, in 1790, 'the inhabitants of the town' agreed to establish a Sunday school and immediately raised an annual subscription of over £16 and William Tooth, one of the gentlemen present, offered to supply a house, worth at least £8 a year, in which the school could be kept.[42] The managers of the Glynde Sunday school were the vicar and five of the leading laymen in the parish. At Lewes, in February and March 1788, a number of meetings were held 'of the GENTLEMEN, CLERGY, and principal INHABITANTS' with a view to establishing Sunday schools there; the meetings were under the chairmanship of Sir Henry Blackman; subscribers of one guinea annually were entitled to be on the committee. The 16 members of the committee nominated to solicit and receive subscriptions were all laity, their occupations being:

Sir Henry Blackman, wine-merchant
John Boys, Esq., probably the gentleman freehold farmer at Ashcombe, near Lewes
William Sisson, Esq., of Lucan, Ireland, and later of Chester
Thomas Harben, Esq., ironmonger and banker
Bamster Flight, Esq., banker
Mr Richard King, soap-boiler and banker
William Cooper, Esq., Mr W. B. Langridge and Mr John Hoper, jun., attorneys
Mr Henry Verrall, surgeon
Mr Samuel Snashall, probably rentier and former surgeon
Mr R. P. Rickman, brewer, coal-merchant and grocer
Mr William Lee, printer and newspaper proprietor
Mr Thomas Funnell, draper
Mr T. Rickman, jun., corn-miller
Mr Joseph Morris, jun., soap-boiler and tallowchandler.[43]

FINANCING THE SUNDAY SCHOOLS

Like all charity schools, Sunday schools depended on money. But a village Sunday school could be operated at very little cost. As has been noted, some were paid for out of the poor rate, at 6d., or more usually 1s. a week — or, allowing a little for primers, at a cost of £2 to £3 a year. The bishop of Chester observed: 'The whole expence of instructing twenty children, including books, rewards, and every other charge, will not amount to five pounds a year; a sum so trifling and so easy to be raised that it cannot create the smallest difficulty.'[44] At other larger and more elaborate Sunday schools a very different order of cost was involved. The largest and most ambitious 18th-century Sunday school in Sussex was that at Brighton.

In January 1788 a subscription for a Sunday school was 'set afoot' at Brighton and the early response was 'upwards of twenty guineas'.[45] An address was circulated to every householder in the town, which began: 'The intended objects of this institution are infant children of either sex, or of any denomination, whose necessities require this assistance'.[46] On 12 February, 128 children were admitted to the school — 54 boys and 74 girls — and two mistresses and one master were engaged; the school began on Sunday, 17 February.[47] By September that year a school of industry had also been set up, and from that time all fund-raising activities were for both institutions, the Sunday school and the school of industry. The latter was initially established in the Town Hall; by 1813 it was in Church Street, and was educating 46 poor girls; by 1818 it had 150 girls, 70 of whom were clothed (in green, according to one report).[48] Advertisements placed by the charity suggest that the school of industry was concerned to teach girls to read, sew, knit and spin.[49] In 1789 and 1791 Miss Paine was responsible for the children of both schools, who were under her 'care and tuition' and on whose 'respectable appearance' she was commended (she later kept her own school in Brighton).[50] In an advertisement in 1797 for a mistress for the Sunday school and school of industry, the salary was described as 'considerable'.[51] Efforts were made to give the schools an identity, and the children were provided with uniforms. On the first anniversary of the Sunday school, in 1789, 'the Children appeared in their little uniforms, with the addition of a blue favour, worn in commemoration of the day. - They were in number near two hundred, and walking in procession, made a very neat and respectable appearance'.[52]

The institution was fortunate in having, from the beginning, the public patronage of 'His Royal Highness the PRINCE of Wales', and later of 'their Royal Highnesses, the PRINCE and PRINCESS of

WALES'.[53] But despite the royal patronage and the annual subscriptions, the schools were dependent on funds raised by concerts, charity sermons, and even charity plays given by the theatre. (The idea of the theatre managers and their companies, at both Brighton and Lewes, giving performances for the benefit of the Sunday schools, 'originated with Lord Eardley, whose contributions have been very liberal on the occasion'.[54]) Within a month of its opening, the Sunday school advertised a concert and ball, with the assistance of the band of the 11th Regiment of Dragoons: 'Tickets 3s. 6d. (Tea included)'.[55] But the most important supplementary contributions came from annual charity sermons preached at the parish church or, from 1795, at the Chapel Royal — at the opening of which on 2 August, there was a charity sermon for the children of the Sunday school and school of industry, and 'Their Royal Highnesses the PRINCE and PRINCESS of WALES were present.'[56] These services sometimes had added attractions: on three occasions solos were sung by Mrs Barthelemon, accompanied by Mr Barthelemon on the violin; on another 'Master Welsh ... sung divinely'. Always, the children sang their own hymns; in 1789 these were by two Sussex poets of national reputation, Charlotte Smith and William Hayley (both of whom had been scholars for a time at Chichester).[57] The service in 1788 raised more than £60, in 1789 £46, in 1790, £66, in 1794 'upwards of fifty pounds', in 1797 more than £60.[58] The dependence of the Sunday school on the collections at charity sermons is clear from the following report on that preached in 1797:

> The excellent discourse of the Bishop of Rochester, on yesterday se'nnight, at the Chapel Royal, Brighton, for the benefit of the Sunday Schools and School of Industry, established in that town, was followed by a collection of more than £60. The good Prelate, added example to precept, by a very liberal donation to the charity; and the Committee who superintend the school, are indebted to his Lordship for a continuance of the institution, which without his pious exertions in its behalf, must have sunk under its almost exhausted funds.

The committee could not have anticipated a contribution that had come to them in 1792. At Brighton races on 3 August, Lord Egremont's horse, Felix, won the £50 plate. Immediately after the race he asked some gentlemen who stood near him whether there was a Sunday school at Brighton. He was told there were two, and desired that the plate might be equally divided between them.[59]

The Brighton Sunday school was started in February 1788: in that month and in March there were meetings in Lewes set up with a view to establishing a Sunday school there. On 28 February, 'a very liberal subscription was entered into';[60] but Lewes, containing a number of parishes, was faced with a problem that had not arisen at Brighton, namely '... whether one general School, under the direction of a Committee of Subscribers at large, or distinct parochial Schools, were the most eligible'.[61] The meetings were concerned with 'Lewes, the Cliffe, and adjacent Places', and thus with seven parishes; one of these, Southover, had already entered into a subscription for a Sunday school. At a meeting in March, officers were appointed and procedures agreed, and it was resolved:

> That it be recommended, (and it is herein accordingly recommended) to all Ministers, Churchwardens, Overseers, and other Inhabitants of the Town of Lewes, the Cliffe, and Neighbourhood thereof, to open and establish SUNDAY-SCHOOLS, within their respective Parishes, for the Instruction of poor Children, of all Denominations.
>
> That parochial Schools opened as above recommended, on proper Application being made to the Secretary, be entitled to the Benefit of the general Fund, raised for the support of this Institution, in such Proportion as their Exigences may require, or as a Committee at their Meeting shall judge proper.[62]

Lewes, then, adopted central funding for the support of individual parish Sunday schools. No doubt such were established, but it is not known how many, or when (there were two or more operating by December 1789).[63]

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SUNDAY SCHOOLS

The most important characteristic of the Sunday schools was the large number of children that they taught. The Sunday school at Brighton, even without its associated school of industry, was by far the largest school of any kind in Sussex at that time. The Sunday school at Waldron was even more remarkable. By 1801, the population there was 752; in 1788, two years after its beginning, the Sunday school had 134 children, aged from 7 to 16, both

boys and girls, of whom more than 100 would be present on any one Sunday — an unprecedented number for any type of school at any Sussex village prior to that date.[64] There are only three other early Sunday schools for which we have numbers: at Horsham (1787) there were 'upwards of sixty poor children, of both sexes', and at Arundel (1792) 30 boys and 30 girls; at the small village of East Dean (1795) there were 40 children.[65]

The significance of these numbers is two-fold. In the first place, they show that poor parents were willing, perhaps anxious, to put their children to school. When a subscription was first raised for a Sunday school at Brighton, and before such a school had been established, the organizers received nearly 200 applications for places.[66] The support of the parents may have been attributable to the fact that these were *Sunday* schools, that did not interfere with a child's work or earnings during the week; but this nevertheless expressed a positive response to the idea of schooling, when this was practical. The correspondent from Waldron, previously cited, made a shrewd point regarding the interaction that could be generated between children at a Sunday school and their parents:

> Besides, when children have books given to them, and have the *name* of going to school, their parents will do all in their power to instruct them, when at the same time, but for the Sunday school, they would not, of themselves, have taken the trouble of teaching them a *single letter.*

We can note, as evidence of the potential of home instruction, that in East Sussex in the second half of the 18th century, in 73% of families either the father or mother (or both) could *write* — at least, as far as signing their name — and there would have been a higher proportion of families where one of the parents could read.[67] The fact that Sunday schools could act as a catalyst prompting home instruction is part of the ground swell that preceded the great increase of primary education in the early decades of the 19th century; at the very least they encouraged poor parents to take an interest in the education of their children. The correspondent from Waldron claimed that the effects on the parents went further than this:

> Our Sunday-school has not only been the means of instructing the children to read, and giving *them* an idea of Morality and Religion, but even their *parents*, who before were too apt to spend the sabbath in sloth and idleness, and sometimes in riot and intemperance, have since the commencement of this laudable institution, been pretty regular in their attendance at public worship.

The second significant aspect of the relatively large numbers of children catered for by the Sunday schools, is that, in Sussex at least, this education was paid for by the charity of the gentry and the middle classes. They also, of course, paid most of the poor rates, out of which some small Sunday schools were financed. The Sunday schools showed what could be done at a modest cost. In the early 19th century, two factors combined to promote a rapid expansion in the provision of elementary education. The first was the growing recognition and acceptance of the value of such education for the poor, and the second was the trick — used in both Joseph Lancaster's undenominational schools and Andrew Bell's National Church of England schools — of keeping the cost down by using older pupils to teach the younger. (Older pupils had been used as monitors in Sussex charity schools throughout the 18th century and this extension of their role was not all that extraordinary.) That many of those who supported Sunday schools were genuinely concerned with the education of the children, and not just with keeping them off the streets on Sundays, is evidenced from the beginning of the 'Sunday school movement' in Sussex. At Waldron, two years after the opening of the large Sunday school there in 1786:

> Our annual subscription is on so *liberal a plan*, that besides the expence of a master to attend at the Sunday-School, and other incidental charges, we are able to send from fifteen to twenty to a *day-school* all the year.

At Brighton, in the same year that the Sunday school was opened (1788), the charity was extended to provide also, out of the same funds, the regular school of industry for girls.

Malcolm Dick, referring to the country as a whole, has written:

> An English social revolution started in the 1780s. These years and subsequent decades witnessed a take-off in educational provision which propelled mass schooling — the notion that all the children of the poor should be formally instructed — into the experience of working-class boys and girls. The Sunday school was the first major expression of this

> process; it spread rapidly between 1783 and 1840 providing education for large numbers of children.[68]

By 1818 there were 91 Sunday schools in Sussex, and 6750 children were enrolled in them.[69] Impressive though this is, when set against the number of poor children in receipt of charity education during the 18th century, we may note that Sussex was far from the forefront in this development. In 1818, in terms of the percentage of the population enrolled in Sunday schools, of the 41 English counties Sussex was ranked 32nd equal.[70] Nevertheless, in Sussex as elsewhere: 'Despite some concern that teaching the poor to read was socially dangerous, Sunday schools enabled mass schooling to secure acceptance within the traditionally minded upper and middle classes. They were created when these classes feared England faced moral and political collapse' and they 'transmitted a culture which attempted to reproduce conservative values and social relations in opposition to the pressure of accelerating change.'[71]

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NOTES

Abbreviations used include:

Dick	M. Dick, Religion and the origins of mass schooling: the English Sunday School *c.* 1780–1840, in V. A. McClelland (ed.), *The Churches and Education* (1983)
ESRO	East Sussex Record Office, Lewes
Laqueur	T. W. Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability — Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture 1780–1850* (1976)
SWA	*Sussex Weekly Advertiser*
WSRO	West Sussex Record Office, Chichester

1 Laqueur, 30. Book of Common Prayer.
2 Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Abstract Letter Books (hereafter SPCK, ALB), vol. 1B, no. 1830.
3 WSRO, Ep.I/26/3, 16–17.
4 SPCK, ALB vol. 15, no. 10,973; 16, nos 11,213 & 11,302.
5 Laqueur, 23, 25. Raikes account appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine,* 54, Pt. 1 (1784), 410–11; it was originally in a letter of November 1783 from Raikes to Col. Townley of Bolton.
6 WSRO, Par 153/31/1.
7 ESRO, PAR 247/31/1.
8 *SWA,* 22.3.1790.
9 *SWA,* 6.10.1788.
10 *Sussex Daily News,* 29.9.1913.
11 L. J. Maguire (ed.), *The Journal and Correspondence of John Burgess 1785–1819* (privately published 1983), 69. K. Twinn, personal communication. Bishop's Transcripts at WSRO.
12 Sources are given in other notes relating to these schools.
13 *SWA,* 21.9.1789; 28.9.1791; 3.10.1791. Clergy Index at Sussex Archaeological Society Library, Lewes.
14 ESRO, SAS/G/ACC 741, which also records Viscount Gage subscribing £2 2s. to the Sunday school at East Meon, Hants, in 1793.
15 *SWA,* 1.6.1789. *The County Mirror and Chichester Magazine,* June 1797, 226, 228.
16 ESRO, PAR 347/25/1. The document included a list of six managers, one of whom was the vicar, Thomas Davies, who died August 1789 (Sussex Record Society (1924) **30**, 72); the other five were laymen.
17 *1st Report of the Commissioners on the Education of the Poor* (1819), Appendix, 384–5.
18 *SWA,* 11.2.1788.
19 *SWA,* 18.2.1788.
20 *SWA,* 4.2.1788.
21 *SWA,* 10.3.1794.
22 Dick, 42, quoting R. Cranford, *Memoir of Thomas Cranford by his son* (1840), 258–9.
23 Dick, 34, quoting E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1968), 412.
24 V. E. Neuburg, *Popular Education in Eighteenth-Century England* (1971), 36–7, quoting Mary Fletcher's pamphlet published anonymously in 1764, *A Letter to the Rev. Mr John Wesley.*
25 E. Austen, 'John Wesley, the 'Pikes' and early Methodism in Robertsbridge ...', *The Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* **15** (5), (1926), ESRO AMS 6361/2, copy with many MS annotations, by Austen. R.C. Swift, 'Methodism in Sussex', M.Phil. thesis, University of Sussex (1984), 91.
26 Dick, 35.
27 Dick, 40.
28 Laqueur, 23.
29 Laqueur, 4.
30 *SWA,* 5.1.1789.
31 *SWA,* 26.4.1790.
32 *SWA,* 4.2.1788.
33 Dick, 39.
34 *SWA,* 8.10.1792.
35 *SWA,* 22.12.1788.
36 F. Andrews (ed.), *The Torrington Diaries* (1954 edn), 246.
37 This summary of Paine's proposals is taken from P. Harvey (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to English Literature,* 3rd edn (1946), 667.
38 A. Williamson, *Thomas Paine* (1973). W. H. Godfrey, *At the Sign of the Bull* (1924). ESRO, PAR 414/1/1/3.
39 R. Tibble, 'Rev. Thomas Redman Hooker DD (1762–1838)', *Sussex Family Historian* (Dec. 1988) **8** (4), 151.
40 J. C. Michell, in his dedication of the 1829 edn. (re-edited by him) of A. Relhan, *Short History of Brighthelmston,* V. A. Dale, *Brighton Town and Brighton People* (Chichester, 1976), 15. *SWA,* 8.9.1788. C. Wright, *Brighton Ambulator* (1818), 111–12. *Sussex Notes and Queries* (1944) **10**, 80.
41 *SWA,* 19.3.1792.
42 *SWA,* 26.4.1790.

[43] *SWA*, 18.2.1788; 3.3.1788; 17.3.1788. I am indebted to Colin Brent for identifying the occupations of these people.
[44] R. Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (1982), 314.
[45] *SWA*, 4.2.1788.
[46] *SWA*, 25.2.1788.
[47] *SWA*, 18.2.1788.
[48] F. Shoberl, *The Beauties of England and Wales* (1813), 113. C. Wright, *Brighton Ambulator* (1818), 111. J. Erredge, *History of Brighton* (1862), 355.
[49] *SWA*, 16.4.1792.
[50] *SWA*, 5.10.1789; 3.10.1791; 21.5.1792.
[51] *SWA*, 23.10.1797.
[52] *SWA*, 9.3.1789.
[53] e.g. *SWA*, 21.9.1789; 25.9.1797.
[54] *SWA*, 21.12.1789.
[55] *SWA*, 17.3.1788.
[56] *SWA*, 3.8.1795.
[57] *SWA*, 2.8.1790; 3.10.1791; 20.8.1792; 1.9.1794; 21.9.1789.
[58] *SWA*, 29.9.1788; 16.8.1790; 8.9.1794; 9.10.1797. *The Lewes and Brighthelmston Pacquet*, 1.10.1789.
[59] *SWA*, 6.8.1792.
[60] *SWA*, 3.3.1788.
[61] *SWA*, 18.2.1788.
[62] *SWA*, 17.3.1788.
[63] *SWA*, 21.12.1789.
[64] 1801 Census. *SWA*, 11.2.1788.
[65] *SWA*, 4.2.1788; 19.3.1792. The East Dean reference is from the *Portsmouth Gazette*, 31.8.1795; the report of the opening of the Sunday school does not identify which East Dean is referred to, but since it appears under the byline 'Chichester', the West Sussex village is clearly meant (a school house had been erected there in 1782, with the date and Richmond arms on it, so there was an established interest in schooling in the village).
[66] *SWA*, 4.2.1788.
[67] From my unpublished analysis (1990) of the marriage registers of 18 parishes in East Sussex, 1754–1810, involving 5230 marriages and 10,460 adults. The parishes were, by 1801 population size of parish or town embracing more than one parish: (over 2000) Lewes St Michael, Lewes St John sub Castro, Battle; (1001–2000) Mayfield, Wadhurst, Fletching; (601–1000) Ewhurst, Seaford, Chiddingly; (301–600) Westham, Brightling, Hooe, Newick; (0–300) Ripe, Patcham, Falmer, Bodiam, Pevensey.
[68] Dick, 33.
[69] *A Digest of Parochial Returns made to the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the Education of the Poor, 1818* (1820), *1171, summary table ('THIS TABLE is calculated from the Digests and Tables for the different Counties, the incomplete returns being filled up by means of Averages deduced from those which are complete'); this table gives for Sussex 90 Sunday schools and 6492 children. Additional returns (p. 1494) add one Sunday school and 260 children.
[70] Laqueur, 49. Kent and Surrey were even lower, both at 35th equal; Hampshire was a little higher in the list, being ranked 26th.
[71] Dick, 48.

SUSSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS 132 (1994), 161–72

A Maresfield entrepreneur

WILLIAM WOOD AND WOODLANDS NURSERIES

by Barbara Abbs

William Wood, a native of Fletching, returned to Sussex after 30 years as an embassy servant and founded a nursery at Tyes Gate in Maresfield, on the edge of the Ashdown Forest, in 1826. The business was active, at first with great success, for almost a century, and was a major seasonal employer in the area. It took advantage of changes in horticultural and landscaping fashions and the rise of the 'gentleman gardener'. The second generation had none of William's resistance to the railway and used it to the full. Untimely deaths, changing fashions and post-war depression led to the decline of the business, and ultimately to its closure in 1922.

In a narrow lane just north of Maresfield a large robinia, a yew and clumps of raspberry canes are unusual occupants of a stretch of country hedgerow. On the other side of the lane, a large-leaved bamboo grows through the hedge surrounding a cottage garden. Further on, in a muddy field adjoining a farmyard, there is a close-set row of lime trees standing three or four feet inside the boundary hedge. A fine compact golden oak, *Quercus robur* 'Concordia', can be found standing in a meadow, again just inside the field boundary. One field division is marked by huge multi-stemmed sycamores with hundred-year-old pollards growing from six-hundred-year-old boles. The fields slope down to a wooded valley and at the edge of the woodland is a group of large old larches and a fallen, but still living, *Quercus coccinea*.

The cottage garden contains more interesting trees and shrubs, mostly well over fifty and often over a hundred years old, including many different hollies, *Thuya plicata* 'Zebrina', *Parrotia persica* and that strange chimera, the Laburno-cytisus cross which produces yellow and pink flowers on the same shrub. These are surprising plants to find in a cottage garden on the edge of the Ashdown forest, where the indigenous tree population is oak, birch and pine.

The garden of Woodlands, Nursery Lane, however, is no ordinary cottage garden. For almost a century it was the centre of one of England's largest nurseries. In 1892 the Earl of Sheffield held a grand fête for 2000 children from schools on his estate. Sheffield Park was decorated for the occasion by 21 men who worked for three days creating arches of greenery, with the names of each school worked in dahlias above each one. They also made 900 feet of flowery festoons and arranged 150 pots of flowers on the tables. The firm which provided the men and the flowers was William Wood and Son of Woodlands Nurseries.[1]

At that time, Woodlands must have seemed the most permanent of businesses. Already in existence for over sixty years, it covered 120 acres and employed nearly 30 men full-time and twice that number in the winter. Yet today, although many contemporary nurseries are prominent in horticultural history, Woodlands is almost unknown.[2] Although it lasted for nearly 100 years, extended over 200 acres at its height and advertised regularly in the local and gardening press from its foundation, it faded away with very few traces in 1922.

Almost as puzzling as its disappearance was the founding of the business in the first place. Why did William Wood, who spent 30 years on the continent as a trusted embassy servant, return to Sussex, to the difficult land on the edge of Ashdown Forest, and start a nursery?

WILLIAM WOOD

William Wood, the founder of Woodlands Nursery, was born in 1781, the third (but second legitimate) son of John Wood, a butcher of Northlands in Horsted Keynes, and Elizabeth Adarel of Fletching.[3]

His will, made shortly before his death in 1863, hints that his life had been no ordinary one. For a butcher's son from rural Sussex it contains many intriguing items:

> A Russian Gold Cup and a Russian five Koupek coin ... the picture of Lord Stuart de Rothesay ... a blue and gold tea service ... which was presented by the late Napoleon Buonaparte to Maria Louisa Archduchess of Austria on the day of their marriage ... an antique Cabinet with Drawers presented to me by Lady Sheffield ... A Silver Egg Stand for boiling Eggs and also a Napoleon of 1812 presented to me by the duke [of] Arenburgh ... also a double barrelled Gun which belonged to Napoleon the first ...[4]

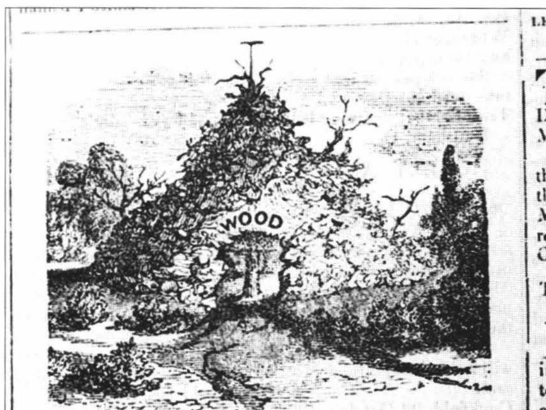
In 1796 his widowed father remarried and moved to North Northlands in Fletching, his wife's property; William Wood left home, carrying with him 'a half Guinea coin of this realm of the year 1762 given to me by my late revered Father ... and which has been in my possession ever since'. What he did next can only be guessed at, but in about 1800 he came 'raw from Fletching' as footboy, groom, postillion and odd-man to Lady Louisa Stuart, who had been widowed in the same year.[5]

In 1802, 'having got into a scrape with the parish on account of a damsel 10 years older than himself, he begged to go abroad' with Lady Louisa's son Sir Charles Stuart, as a means of escape. Wood joined Sir Charles and travelled with him to Vienna, St Petersburg, Madrid, Lisbon (where he married), The Hague and Paris, where his son Charles was born.[6] He remained with Sir Charles, as his trusted confidential servant, until forced to resign his position 28 years later.

Sir Charles Stuart entered the diplomatic service on his father's death in 1801, having failed to be selected for his father's parliamentary seat of Poole. He seems to have been responsible for espionage in mainland Europe throughout the Napoleonic wars, an activity in which his father had also engaged during his military career. Lord Malmesbury referred to him as 'Wellington's right-hand man in the Peninsular War, ... managing the Spanish and Portuguese Juntas ... with great ability'.[7] Family tradition, supported by the memoirs of Henry Walter of Nutley, a former nursery employee, suggests that William Wood acted as an undercover courier for Sir Charles, often in the guise of a trader of hardware goods. One account is as follows:

> ... it was when Napoleon escaped from St Helena. At that time [Wood] three times went through the French lines as a spy. Once, when selling ribbons and trinkets to the soldiers, he was suspected and taken before a tribunal to be searched. Climbing on to the table, he threw down his cap, saying: 'Search me; I've nothing to conceal.' They cut his clothes to ribbons, tore off the buttons and linings — in fact, left him naked; and finding nothing, brought him more clothes. He dressed, picked up his cap and walked out — with despatches for the Duke of Wellington sewn underneath the button of his cap.'

There is a belief in the family that on that occasion Wood was carrying the text of the Treaty of Tilsit — how the 'secret articles' of that treaty reached the British with such speed is still a matter of speculation. William Wood was very dark, spoke French and



WOODLANDS NURSERY, MARESFIELD, SUSSEX.

WILLIAM WOOD,

BEGS leave to return his best thanks to his Friends and the Public for their many past favors, and respectfully informs them that he will engage to execute orders for his superb COLLECTION OF DAHLIAS, consisting of upwards of 150 sorts, at the very moderate charge of one guinea per dozen, to be delivered in May next, strong Plants in pots.

His unequalled collection of Standard and Dwarf ROSES, upwards of 1,000 sorts, at the following prices:—Standards 2s. 6d.—Half-standards 1s. 6d.—and Dwarfs 1s. per plant. He also begs leave to say his Stock of Forest and FRUIT TREES, Evergreen and Flowering Shrubs, greenhouse and herbaceous Plants, &c. is very extensive, and luxuriant, at very reduced prices. Gentlemen who are about to plant will find, at Wood's Nursery, some particularly strong transplanted Spanish Chesnuts, and Seedlings, Larch, Beech, Spruce and Scotch Fir, Ash, Alder, Birch, and Willow, of all sizes.

W. W. undertakes to lay out grounds on the most improved plans, and contracts to plant on the lowest possible terms.

Ladies and Gentlemen who have already favoured W. W. with their orders, will have them delivered at the above prices, and at the time stated—May next.

Fig. 1. Wood advertisement from *The Sussex Advertiser* 22 Oct. 1832, p. 1, col. 4.

possibly other languages, fluently. He was also adventurous and enterprising. Given these qualities, it is highly likely that the family tradition contains a strong element of truth.[8]

William continued to work for Sir Charles until 1830, when his career was overturned by a diplomatic row. In 1829 *The Times* had discovered that Wood, along with other embassy servants, had taken advantage of the exemption of the diplomatic bag from customs inspection. Shipments of net or tulle were sent from Nottingham to Calais, where the material was finished, and then returned to England in the diplomatic bag as French lace. In November of 1829 Wood returned with Lady Stuart to Highcliffe at Bure in Hampshire, the family home. She was puzzled by the regular disappearance of copies of *The Times*, but only when her husband wrote from Paris with orders for Wood's dismissal did the truth dawn upon her. Wood 'cried bitterly', saying that there could be no harm in helping 'our poor manufacturers', and threatening to throw himself over the cliff. The matter had been the subject of correspondence between the prime minister and the Duke of Wellington in 1828; Aberdeen regarded the size of Wood's cut — £100 or £200 at each crossing — as 'beyond the reasonable limit of indulgence and ought to be checked'. Whatever the actual details may have been, the suggestion that smuggling, rather than espionage, was the true source of William Wood's fortune cannot be discounted.[9]

THE NURSERY

Wood may not have expected the suddenness of the end of his service with Sir Charles Stuart, but four years earlier he had begun to make provision for an alternative occupation. The idea of starting a nursery garden was no sudden whim. In 1819 he had remained in England, overseeing the improvements to the gardens at Highcliffe.[10] His letters to his employer in Paris show him to have been knowledgeable about the layout and planting of fruit trees; he had of course been in France while that country was experiencing an explosion in rose-growing and breeding, ignited by the enthusiasm of the Empress Josephine. On 10 December 1835 he wrote to *The Floricultural Cabinet* 'Having resided twelve years in France I can affirm that nothing can exceed the beauty of their Roses. It was this which first induced me to establish my Rose-gardens in England...'.[11]

In 1826 he had purchased a cottage and 11 acres of rough land at Tyes Gate in Maresfield for £550 in the name of his son Charles.[12] This holding soon became known as Woodlands. Wood must have started work immediately; he later claimed to have introduced standard roses to Sussex in that same year.[13] Charles Wood, who had been born at the Paris embassy on 15 January 1816 and had his father's master as his godfather, was only ten years old at the time. He was put under the guardianship of his uncle, John Pratt, who had an earlier association with the land, and was sent to school. Four years later, in 1830, he went to work with John Mackay at the well-known Clapton nurseries. He stayed for four months and then returned to Maresfield where he was to remain for the rest of his life — in contrast to the peripatetic youth of his father.[14]

William Wood wrote his last surviving letter from Paris in the March of 1830;[15] in November the first advertisement for 'Wood's New Nursery' appeared in *The Sussex Advertiser*:

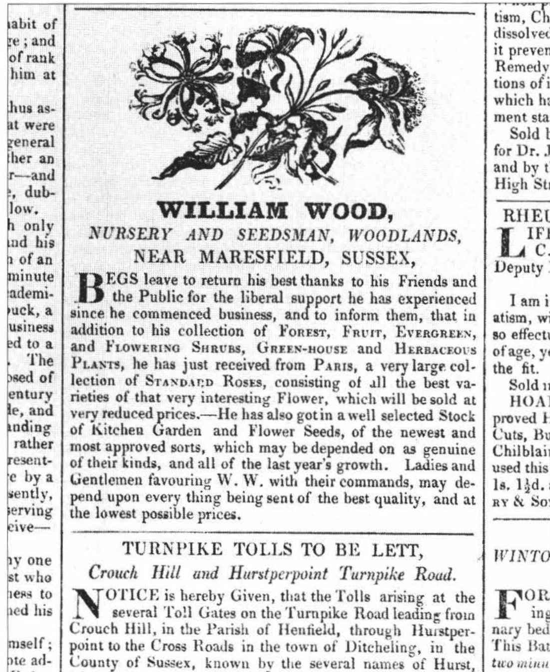
> William Wood has, at a considerable expense, established a NURSERY situated on the edge of Ashdown Forest ... where he has formed a collection of the most rare and finest species of Foreign and British Plants, consisting of American plants, and flowering shrubs, greenhouse, hothouse and herbacious plants, fine collections of double dahlias and chrysanthemums, a great variety of orange trees, standard roses, daphnes, &c. of which W. Wood has had an opportunity of making the choicest collection from his long residence on the Continent; and having now formed an establishment near Paris, where either himself or one of his foremen will constantly reside, he will be able to keep up a constant supply at his Sussex and Paris nurseries ... Maresfield, 18th October 1830.[16]

The Paris branch of Woodlands was at Barrière du Roule in Faubourg St Honoré on the edge of the city, very close to the British Embassy, and an area of nurseries since at least 1773.[17] It seems likely that Wood expected to be able to continue his Paris associations despite his dismissal from Stuart's service, and indeed the French outpost seems to have survived until 1837 at least. Advertising in the first edition of the *Sussex Express* on 4 February, Wood claimed personal acquaintance with 'all the principal Rose Growers on the Continent, ... with whom he at present carries on a communication, it therefore fully enables him to obtain every New Rose

as it is introduced better than any other Rose Grower in England'. In 1840 the Maresfield nursery still claimed to receive several consignments of roses from Paris every year.[18]

By 1832 William was well established in Maresfield; he was registered as an elector, was advertising regularly in the *Sussex Advertiser* (Figs 1 & 2) and was a subscriber to Horsfield's *History of Sussex*. The Great Age of Woodlands had begun.

Woodlands advertising must have been successful.



WILLIAM WOOD,
NURSERY AND SEEDSMAN, WOODLANDS,
NEAR MARESFIELD, SUSSEX,

BEGS leave to return his best thanks to his Friends and the Public for the liberal support he has experienced since he commenced business, and to inform them, that in addition to his collection of FOREST, FRUIT, EVERGREEN, and FLOWERING SHRUBS, GREEN-HOUSE and HERBACEOUS PLANTS, he has just received from PARIS, a very large collection of STANDARD ROSES, consisting of all the best varieties of that very interesting Flower, which will be sold at very reduced prices.—He has also got in a well selected Stock of Kitchen Garden and Flower Seeds, of the newest and most approved sorts, which may be depended on as genuine of their kinds, and all of the last year's growth. Ladies and Gentlemen favouring W. W. with their commands, may depend upon every thing being sent of the best quality, and at the lowest possible prices.

TURNPIKE TOLLS TO BE LETT,
Crouch Hill and Hurstperpoint Turnpike Road.

NOTICE is hereby Given, that the Tolls arising at the several Toll Gates on the Turnpike Road leading from Crouch Hill, in the Parish of Henfield, through Hurstperpoint to the Cross Roads in the town of Ditcheling, in the County of Sussex, known by the several names of Hurst,

Fig. 2. Wood advertisement from *The Sussex Advertiser* 30 Jan. 1832, p. 3, col. 2.

By 1837 the nursery covered 40 acres; Tyes Gate itself covered 11¾ acres, and an additional 13 acres known as 'Goldsmiths' was leased from Sir John Shelley of Maresfield Park. The remainder was either leased from other landowners, or was the product of Wood's hyperbole. In later years the nursery was to grow considerably; acreages of between 120 and 200 are referred to between 1871 and 1910, and the neighbouring farms of Spring Gardens and Copthall were at times included in the enterprise. Apart from the original purchase, the rest of the land was always leased, and it was the original holding of 11 acres, 2 rods and 32 perches which went under the hammer in 1919.[19]

By 1841, when William Wood was already 60 years old but the nursery was still young, a new house had been built at Woodlands for the owner and his family; a 35-year-old propagator, Benjamin Hayerstone, moved into the old house. This pattern of family, servants and nursery staff living side by side continued through the years. In 1851, Wood had 40 employees, and a £1200 mortgage, taken out in that year, was stated to be on the security of the two houses, greenhouses, propagating houses and other buildings which had been built on the original piece of rough ground.[20]

By 1861 Woodlands Old House was home to Joseph Curd, a plant propagator and his wife and son. In another house called Woodlands Rocks, there were two families: Albert Burrell, his wife and three children and a lodger called James Walker (who was also a nursery employee) and Henry Burrell and his lodger William Attree, who also worked there. In 1871 the community was even larger. In Woodlands Cottage were Joseph Curd, his wife Mary, their son Joseph and Walter Povey, a lodger of 18 years; James Shingsland, his wife Martha, a grandson Walter and two boarders, Edwin Pollard and John Maxton, are also recorded at the same address. All the males, except the youngest boy, who was at school, worked in the nursery. At Woodlands House, Charles Wood, an employer of 51 men and 6 boys, lived with his wife, four children and three servants; at the same address were Walter Burrell, nursery labourer, his wife, their 18-year-old son Charles and five younger children. The nursery's standing can be gauged by the fact that the lodgers came from as far as Scotland and Cheshire.[21]

Henry Walter of Nutley gives a picture of how the day-to-day work at Woodlands was organized:

> ... Mr Charles Wood ... used to employ at least 60–70 men and boys in the winter months during the planting and taking up period. The nursery contained many thousands of young fruit trees of every sort and kind; all known species of conifers and bush and standard roses, acres of them; besides greenhouse plants, heathers, and flowering shrubs, rhododendrons etc.
>
> Men from Fairwarp, Maresfield and other places used to find work there in the winter months; in the summer the staff was reduced to about 25–30 of the leading men who did the budding and grafting. In the late summer they trained the Peach, Nectarine, Plum and

> Cherry trees some time before it was time to begin taking up for sale. The orders were lifted, carefully packed and sent by waggon to Uckfield Station and the waggons generally came home loaded with London manure from the railway.
>
> Most of the digging and trenching was piecework. A good part of the digging was done for 2½d. a rod and the trenching for 9d to 1s a rod. Very hard work for little money. The pay for day work for men was 13 shillings in winter for 54 hours and 14 shillings in the summer for 63 hours work. What would men think of that pay now?
>
> At the age of 19 I started work at the Woodlands Nursery and when I asked for the job Mr Wood told me to bring my working clothes with me. That was what they told everyone in those days, 1891. I worked there till I was married for 11 shillings a week for 54 hours. When I was married in 1892, they raised my pay to 13 shillings in the winter and in the summer to 14 shillings for a week of 63 hours ... The shops were kept open till 10 o'clock on Saturday nights as we did not get our wages till Saturday night in those days.[22]

The importance of Woodlands as an employer, particularly in the winter, is emphasized in the obituary of Charles Wood:

> Oftimes in his busy season, that being a very dull time in the country, 40 or 50 men were employed. To Woodlands Nursery in the winter months, all the unemployed in the locality looked for work and very many labourers unfit for work requiring practical knowledge of any sort were indebted for healthy employment.[23]

The wages paid at Wood's compared unfavourably with those enjoyed by the staff at Cheal's nursery at Crawley, where in the 1870s labourers were paid £1 a week, and by 1887 a foreman could command 5s. a day and a labourer 3s. 6d.[24] The family was also capable of taking a strict line with its employees, as the case brought against John Hobbs in 1887 for the theft of 6d. worth of wood illustrates.[25] The incident seems to have been an exception to the generally good and close relationships that William, Charles and later Frederick and Frederick's widow Blanche had with their staff. All the employees attended Blanche's funeral in 1919 and among the pallbearers were Albert and Henry Burrell, whose family had been at Woodlands since before 1861, and the sons of Henry Dadswell, nursery foreman in 1880.[26]

HORTICULTURE

Wood could not have started his business at a more opportune time. From the end of the 18th century, the fashion for landscape parks had gradually given way to a new taste for ornamental flower-gardens, as well as for the 'picturesque'. Exciting plants were being discovered abroad, and their arrival in Europe added another impetus towards a different style of garden in which they could be displayed. Any illustration of a Victorian garden, with its bedded-out parterres, rock-work and water features, shows the result of all three trends.

At the same time, improved communications enabled prosperous tradesmen to buy country estates and aspire to join the landed gentry; at a humbler level, the proprietors of suburban villas also had their smaller plots to care for. The fashion for gardening, particularly ornamental flower-gardening, spread to nearly all levels of society, as is evidenced by the plethora of gardening magazines founded during the period.

In 1834 *The Floricultural Cabinet* carried the first of several contributions by William Wood and his son Charles that continued until 1841, as well as a series of articles by 'St Patrick' listing 1000 species and varieties of rose that were cultivated at Woodlands.[27] Most of their roses were imported from France but they may have already been breeding roses themselves for the list contains 'Superb Wood's' — a fine, purple semi-double, 'Wood's Superb Globe', a fine red, and a pink Noisette called 'Belle of Woodlands'.

William Wood was a regular and enthusiastic advertiser, both in the local press and in specialist magazines with a national readership. *The Sussex Agricultural Express* began publication in 1837; on Saturday, 4th February, he advertised on page 5:

> Wm. Wood and Son embrace this new medium of respectfully returning their grateful thanks to the Nobility, Gentry, and Planters in general, for their extensive support and kind patronage with which they have hitherto been so liberally favoured, of which they sincerely hope to merit a continuance, and at the same time beg to state that their extensive Nurseries, amounting to upwards of 40 acres, are well stocked with every article in the line.

Fig. 3. Portrait thought to be of William Wood, *c.* 1830.

W W and Son beg particularly to attract the attention of the lovers of the Queen of Flowers, 'The Rose', to their most extensive, superb, and unequalled collection of that most beautiful flower, but more especially to their perpetual and autumnal flowering varieties, and of which upwards of 300 sorts have been introduced by them within the last two years, and which they can with the greatest confidence recommend to the amateur as being highly beautiful and very desirable on account of their luxuriance of growth, perpetual blooming until Christmas, the very great variety of colours, and their most delicious perfume. They beg under, to enumerate a few of the most remarkable classes of the perpetual blooming Roses, viz:- Portland or Perpetual - Bengal or China - Odorata or Tea-scented -Macartney or Bracteata - Noisettes - New Musk Roses, and the Isle de Bourbon; this last class, which until the last two years only consisted of the old semi-double variety, and now amounting to upwards of forty sorts, is more peculiarly desirable than the rest, on account of the

> richness and brilliancy of colour, profusion of blooming, luxuriant habit, and splendid green foliage, and lastly their extreme novelty.
>
> Catalogues of general Nursery Stock, Rose Lists, &c may be had on application. Agent in London, Mr Henry Nixon, 123 Great Portland Street.

The advertisement in *The Sussex Agricultural Express* was repeated twice more; Woodlands did not advertise until November when they offered 'Their new and well arranged catalogues of Roses and Dahlias ... just published.' The following November they had 'forest trees in great abundance, which owing to the late, very favourable season are of the most luxuriant'. Another rose catalogue was in the press, offering an 'unrivalled collection of roses consisting of upwards of 2,000 different varieties ...'[28]

The *General Catalogue* of 1842–43 is the only one to survive,[29] and it gives a more detailed picture of the scope and quality of the enterprise. It is a list that makes a gardener's mouth water and it has to be said that no nursery today, not even the most famous, offers anything like the range that William Wood offered — and that does not include the 'upward of 2,000 varieties' which appeared in a parallel *Rose Catalogue*, now lost. The catalogue offers several plants said not to have been in cultivation until much later — always supposing that the stock was correctly named. Wood's naming is not absolutely reliable however; he occasionally offered the same plant under two different names — *Alnus incisa* and *A. oxycanthifolia*, and *Oenethera missouriensis* and *O. macrocarpa*.

The catalogue brings the whole notion of the early Victorian garden vividly to life. It has a sumptuous collection of greenhouse plants with four achimenes species, three of which had been introduced from Mexico since 1840. There are named varieties of petunias, calceolarias and cinerarias, 28 different verbenas and 76 different geraniums (strictly speaking pelargoniums).

The price of the plants also gives an indication of the horticultural fashion of the time. The catalogue lists standard trained peach, apricot and nectarine trees for 7s. 6d. and 10s. 6d. Magnolias could be obtained for between 1s. 6d. and 10s. 6d. while the top price for some of the 37 different camellias was 10s. 6d.. The very rare *Pinus gerardiana*, still only stocked by two nurseries in this country, was priced at 10s. 6d.. Many of the geraniums however cost a guinea each and the most expensive items in the catalogue are Geranium 'Gem of the West' and *Lilium speciosum rubrum* at 31s. 6d..

In January 1841 a new national gardening paper appeared: the weekly *Gardeners' Chronicle*. The first three editions had very few advertisements for nurseries, but by the fourth edition Woodlands Nurseries appears on the front page.[30] They offer 'Plants added to the order GRATIS to compensate for carriage and packing' and roses are available as standards, half standards, dwarfs and climbers offered by the dozen or by the hundred, to the trade as well as to the gardening public. The *Chronicle* sent a correspondent to Maresfield on 5 July, and a detailed description of the nursery and its stock appeared a week later. Perhaps the editor's attention had been drawn to Wood's operation by a letter from Joseph Wells of Redleaf near Tunbridge Wells, which attempted to clarify the confusion caused by the renaming of some of his hybrid roses. Mr James Young of Epsom had applied the name 'Madame D'Arblay' to the rather pedestrian 'Wells Large Clustered White', and William Wood had been guilty of the same offence — by a horticultural sleight of hand 'Wells' Garland' had become 'Wood's Garland'.[31]

The business appeared to be going extremely well with an 1842 advertisement declaring that 'in consequence of the unceasing demand for Roses, Messrs William Wood and Son find it absolutely necessary immediately to clear on several large quarters of land in order to make room for an entire, new and very extensive plantation of Rose Stocks'. In order to achieve it, the firm 'sacrifice' 600,000 transplanted ash trees from 2 to 6 feet tall, as well as many other forest trees. It could well have been the national advertising in the new *Gardeners' Chronicle* which led to this 'unceasing demand'.[32]

By November 1843 Woodlands had 14 acres of roses out of their total of just 40 acres. The planting season was upon them and they were hoping to clear many of the transplanted forest trees, which they had in hundreds of thousands. By 1859 they had larch seedlings by the million, for sale to 'Gentleman Planters' for their estates.[33]

Although the site chosen for the nursery was relatively isolated, it lay at the hub of the local network of turnpike roads.[34] Wood's catalogues were obtainable from addresses in London, Brighton, Tunbridge Wells and Maidstone where orders could also be received. The surviving catalogue gives details of how to reach the nursery by coach — the London to Lewes and Eastbourne coach passed

through Maresfield daily — and recommends The Chequers, the 'most excellent Posting Inn at Maresfield, conducted by James Bourner, replete with every accommodation, and where the best Horses are kept'.[35] Nevertheless, distance from London seems to have been perceived as a problem; William Wood and Son's 1842 catalogue offered one, two or more plants free to the purchaser, to defray the expense of carriage and packing.

Although there had been a daily railway service from Lewes to Uckfield since 1858, William Wood, whose transport costs amounted to between £700 and £800 a year, had refused to use it from the outset. Indeed, his refusal was alluded to by Col. Francis Vernon Harcourt, the owner of the Buxted Park estate, in his speech at the railway's inauguration banquet at Uckfield, and drew cheers and laughter from his audience.[36] It is clear that William Wood, as he approached his eightieth year, was still very much in command.

An opportunity to re-assess the operation of the business came with William's death on 3 December 1863. Nursery advertisements appeared on the 5th, 12th and 19th, without mentioning the founder's demise. However, for the first time the pieces do not have their customary positive tone:

> Since issuing their new Rose catalogue for the autumn of 1863 and the spring of 1864, William Wood and Son have ascertained that other houses in the trade are offering the same kind of roses at a lower rate than themselves and as they are fully determined NOT TO BE UNDERSOLD by any RESPECTABLE HOUSE they have prepared a R E V I S E D L I S T of R O S E S at reduced prices and will have much pleasure in forwarding copies of the same Gratis and post free to all applicants.[37]

Perhaps William's final decline caused a lack of concentration on business affairs, or perhaps his conservative approach to marketing had caused friction with his son Charles Wood, his partner since at least 1851 and the property's nominal owner since the nursery's establishment.

Charles Wood did not share his father's prejudice against the 'fiery courser'. In 1868 the connecting line from Uckfield to Tunbridge Wells, which had formed part of the original scheme, eventually opened. It allowed direct access to customers in London, brought metropolitan manure to Maresfield in the returning waggons, and seems to have opened a new era in the development of Woodlands.[38] In 1869 Charles advertised that seeds at least could be sent in a hamper, carriage free, to any station on the London, Brighton & South Coast and South Eastern lines. For a large order, he promised delivery to any station in Great Britain. The business was sufficiently profitable to enable the 1851 mortgage to be paid off in 1874.[39] By 1883 payment could be made by Postal Order and all orders over 10s. would be delivered carriage-free to any railway station in Sussex, Surrey or Kent.

It is difficult to gain an impression of the range of Wood's customers. Lord Gage at Firle bought trees from William Wood in 1840 at a cost of £33 6s. 6d.; Mitchells of Piltdown, the other local firm, supplied nursery plants in the same year.[40] The poet Coventry Patmore estimated that he had planted 120,000 trees when developing his estate at Herons Ghyll in the 1860s; he paid Wood £180 for ornamental shrubs in one year.[41] John Cheal of Crawley visited Woods in the February and October of 1869 to buy stock for what was soon to become his own nursery business — Cheal's of Lowfield Heath.[42]

We get far more information about the day-to-day working of the nursery in the last 20 years of the century. In the absence of catalogues it is impossible to be sure, but there does seem to be a change of emphasis to a larger scale but simpler nursery operation, supplying seeds in quantity and stock to the trade in hundreds. An advertisement of 1883 offers the sort of 'cut price, our choice' roses one finds today in cheaper nurseries and describes Woodlands as 'The South of England Seed Warehouse'.[43]

In 1890 there was an eyewitness account of Woodlands Nursery by a correspondent in *The Sussex Express*:

> We had the pleasure last week of a delightful walk with Mr Wood junior among the beautiful specimen plants which surround one on every side as soon as the outer boundaries are passed and most difficult it was to decide which we admired most.
>
> There are hardy trees, from six inches to 60 feet high, bearing all the colours of the rainbow, from the black Austrian pine to the silver Cedrus atlantica; within the line of sight are various tints of gold, silver, blue and white which are represented on the labels as aurea, argentea, glauca and alba. We asked Mr Wood the secret of his shrubs being in such perfection. His reply was 'We have no secret; we grow all our plants in exposed situations, so that they

shall improve after leaving our nurseries.' Having spent an interesting hour amongst the lovely conifers and evergreens, we most unwillingly left them to inspect large quarters planted with deciduous trees, such as chestnuts, limes, acacias, maples, poplars &c. which are recommended for avenue and park planting. We then inspected a very *recherché* collection of hardy flowering shrubs such as altheas, deutzias, rhus, ribes, sambucas, spireas, lilacs, &c. &c. which are, of course, at present leafless, but will by and by put forth foliage and masses of flowers of every hue. Among the large assortment of evergreen and flowering plants we noticed besides laurustinus, arbutus &c., a very beautiful scarlet rhododendron, now in flower. We then examined a fine collection of fruit trees, some trained as standards, some as pyramids, others as bushes — they consisted of the best varieties of apples, pears, plums and cherries besides bush fruit. Complimenting Mr Wood on the appearance of his fruit trees, he said 'They are just the sort for landlords to plant their farms with, and in five years time they will double in value.' We were then invited to look into 'the cradles' which consisted of pits and frames, sheltered borders and beds filled as thick with baby plants as a sieve is full of holes. There they stood until bedded out and given elbow room, the lovely relatives of the specimens we had been admiring for the last two hours. Some were cuttings, others seedlings and some had been grafted in order to keep a young face on an old friend who had proved good and true. We were informed they require good nursing during their infancy, and hearing that most of them are natives of Japan, China, North America, Mexico, California and other regions we quite agreed that they not only wanted a nursery but a good nurse. They certainly have both at Woodlands.[44]

At the end of April 1883, Messrs Wood supplied the Earl of Sheffield with shrubs to decorate his new cricket pavilion. The school fête of 1892 produced an enthusiastic report in the *Sussex Express*:

> A particular pleasing feature of the decorations was the skilful manner in which the names of the various schools were worked out upon the arches. The following are the flowers and the colours of which the names were composed:- Newhaven, dahlia Constance (white); Newick, dahlia Juarezii (crimson); Chailey, dahlia Lady E Dyke (yellow); Fletching Helianthus multiflora (golden yellow); Danehill, dahlia Mrs Hawkins (sulphur, edged with pink). Altogether Messrs Wood and Son are to be heartily congratulated on the splendid result of their onerous labours.[45]

This, in retrospect, may have been the high point of Woodlands Nursery — established, highly regarded, well connected, seemingly permanent.

THE DECLINE

Charles Wood died on 16th January 1900, on the day after his 84th birthday. His second wife, Emma Elizabeth, died six days later in the same influenza epidemic. On 22 January a brief obituary in *The Gardeners' Chronicle* described Charles Wood as 'one of the oldest and most respected of our nurserymen'.[46] *The Sussex Express* carried a much longer item on 30 January, including more personal details:

> Mr Wood was born in the English Embassy in Paris... and ... came to Maresfield when he was 10 years old. He never forgot the place of his birth and to the day of his death he spoke French like a Frenchman. He never lost the courtly demeanour he learned at the Embassy. . . . In his middle age he associated himself fully with parish matters — Guardian of the Poor, School Manager, Rector's Churchwarden and he kept at hard work in his office until ten days before. A neighbour says 'There are few who could equal and scarcely any who could excel him for the gentleness of his nature and the personal charm and grace of his manners as well as for his good disposition. He will be a severe loss to the Parish such a gentleman is not easily replaced ... Mr and Mrs Wood are buried side by side near their old friend, Lady Louisa Shelley, in the Maresfield cemetery.[47]

Woodlands Nursery would undoubtedly have continued for many more years under the competent management of the next generation. Further capital of £1000 had been raised by mortgage in 1898, perhaps at their initiative.[48] But with Frederick's untimely death on Groombridge Station in October 1907, a mere seven years after his father and in the same year as his older brother William, the nursery began its decline.[49] Henry Walter noted that 'His son Mr Charles Wood took over but the business was gradually fading out and the remaining stocks of

trees and plants were sold by auction.' Mrs Blanche Wood must have struggled to keep the nursery going in spite of being an invalid for some years. Three months after her death in August 1919, Woodlands Nursery, described as 'one of the best known properties in Maresfield', was sold by auction at Uckfield. The purchaser was Mr Barnard of Southend on Sea, who 'declined to purchase the remaining stock for £300'.[50]

Harry Barnard was a fellow of the Royal Horticultural Society and his unwillingness to buy the stock is a sad comment on the nursery's state. William and Charles Wood might have been more distressed to read that, than to be told of the sale of their once great enterprise.

Barnard did not remain in business at Woodlands for long; perhaps he lacked sufficient local connections to make a success of the business at a difficult time. Three years later, he sold off his entire stock 'at considerably reduced prices', because of illness. His tenure of Woodlands could not have been without stress. In 1920, the price of agricultural produce slumped dramatically, and continued to fall during subsequent years. In 1921 there had been a severe drought. *The Sussex Express* carried statements from the National Farmers Union about the fall in farmers' incomes and reported proposals to lower the wages of agricultural labourers. There were also complaints from gardeners and growers, many of them ex-soldiers who had been persuaded to take up market gardening on their return from the Great War.

Maresfield and the Ashdown Forest had both changed radically in the century which separated the foundation of Woodlands from its end. The great Ashdown Forest case of 1881 had polarized attitudes in the area.[51] Both William and Charles Wood had been on friendly terms with the second Lord Sheffield, who died in 1876, and with the Shelley family at Maresfield Park. By Charles Wood's death in 1900 his friend Lady Louisa Shelley was dead, and the estate had been acquired in the previous year by Count Alexander Munster, the German ambassador in Paris. His son inherited the estate on his death in 1902, but left the country on the outbreak of war; the estate vested in the Public Trustee in 1915, was requisitioned by the army and a large barracks established. It was sold in 1924 to William Henry Abbey, a Brighton brewer, who broke it up into smaller lots for sale.[52]

William Wood's request in his will that his tombstone 'shall be inscribed that I was the first person who in the year 1826 introduced standard Roses into this part of the County ...' was not carried out, neither was his desire that the 'Coin and other articles be preserved as mementoes of my successful establishment at Woodlands ... and that they may pass to posterity'. Under Charles' will 36 years later, his personal possessions were left to his second wife, the estate, which was mortgaged, sold and the proceeds divided into three. No individual items were mentioned.

Woodlands Nursery was the tangible expression of the enterprise and personality of William Wood and his son Charles. William's extraordinary early life, the mystery of his French and aristocratic connections, his energy and flair and his probable wealth combined to create a business which immediately flourished. His constant advertising kept his name before the gardening public, and the success of the enterprise soon made him a major employer of local labour. His son Charles Wood, whose upbringing at the Paris Embassy may have given him a social polish not enjoyed by his father, was able to consolidate the firm's position as 'growers to the gentry', and to make personal contacts among them. He had none of his father's suspicion of the railway, and seems to have used it to great effect. The early deaths of William's grandchildren soon left Woodlands in the hands of a stranger to whom its history meant nothing, and who had not been brought up with its legends. So when Woodlands Nursery finally ceased trading, no one really noticed.

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NOTES

[1] *Sussex Express* (hereafter *Express*), 10 Sep. 1892, p. 5.

[2] John Harvey, *Early Nurserymen* (London, 1974), 8–9 and n.19, citing James Mangles RN, *The Floral Calendar* (London, 1839), which lists nurserymen celebrated for particular classes of plants: Wood & Son is noted for roses.

[3] On 25 Jan. 1775 Elizabeth Adarel from Fletching baptized a base-born son at Horsted Keynes whom she named John Wood. On 4 May 1778 John Wood of Horsted Keynes married Elizabeth Atherel of Fletching and in Sep. they had a daughter, Elizabeth. A son, Thomas, was baptized on 1 Jan. 1781 and another son, William, on 26 Dec. 1781: East Sussex Record Office (hereafter E.S.R.O.) parish register transcripts.

[4] Proved at the Lewes district probate registry, 4 Jan. 1864.

[5] *Danehill Parish History Society Magazine* **2**, no. 3 (1983), 9–12 describes the descent of North Northlands and the subsequent history of the Fletching branch of the Wood family; probate of the will of William Wood, 4 Jan. 1864; J. A. Home (ed.), *Letters of Lady Louisa Stuart to Miss Louisa Clinton* **2** (Edinburgh, 1903), 181, 187; G[eorge] E[dward] C[ockayne], *The Complete Peerage* **12** (1953), 409–10.

[6] Home **2,** 187; for Stuart's diplomatic career *see British Diplomatic Representatives, 1789–1852* (Royal Historical Society, 1934); *Express*, 30 Jan. 1900 (obituary of Charles Wood).

[7] James Howard, 3rd earl of Malmesbury, *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister* **1** (1884), 161–2.

[8] Copies of documents preserved by Wood's descendants, including 'A link with the Past', a brief account of William Wood's life by his great-grandson Guy Turner, are E.S.R.O. AMS 6297; for Stuart's retainer of *un Anglais qui habite la France depuis longtemps* at a salary of £40 a month, who brought him intercepted letters to the French king from his ministers in the field, *see* Ernest Daudet, *La Police Politique: ... d'après les Rapports des Agents secrets et les Papiers du Cabinet Noir, 1815–1820* (Librairie Plon, Paris, 1912), 75; for Stuart's reference, in letters to Lord Castlereagh, to 'an agent I habitually employ', see Public Record Office FO 97/161, 162.

[9] 'Smuggling in the name of the English Ambassador' in *The Times*, 2 Oct. 1829; Home **2**, 178–88; Southampton University Library, Wellington papers, WP 1/971/8 (Aberdeen to Wellington, 9 Dec. 1828).

[10] National Library of Scotland MS 21281, ff. 111–12, 128–9, MS 21282, ff. 17–18, MS 21297, ff. 48–9, MS 21298, ff. 74, 77–8, 85–6, MS 21306, f. 37, MS 21303, ff. 108–9, 110–11 (letters from William Wood to Sir Charles Stuart).

[11] *Floricultural Cabinet* **4** (1835), 70, consulted at the library of the Royal Horticultural Society, Vincent Square, Westminster; I should like to thank the staff for their help.

[12] This property, a copyhold of Maresfield manor called Catslands, consisted of a cottage and 11 acres of rough land, and was held by a quitrent of 2s. 2d. and a hen: the purchase was by an out-of-court surrender on 27 Oct. 1826, when William Wood was described as 'of Berkeley Square ... gentleman': E.S.R.O. SAS/G 903, f. 154.

[13] Probate of the will of William Wood, 4 Jan. 1864.

[14] Obituary of Charles Wood, *Express*, 30 Jan. 1900; Pratt was shown as owner of the land on a plan of a neighbouring estate drawn in 1820 — E.S.R.O. PAR 420 26/1.

[15] National Library of Scotland MS 21306, f. 37.

[16] *Sussex Advertiser or Lewes and Brighthelmston Journal* (hereafter *Advertiser*), 15 Nov. 1830, p. 1.

[17] Marie Blanche D'Arneville, *Parcs et Jardins sous le Premier Empire* (Paris, 1981), 128, 238n.

[18] *Express*, 4 Feb. 1837, 25 Jan. 1840.

[19] The extent of land occupied by William Wood & Son at any one time is very difficult to determine since much of it was rented from Sir John Shelley and his successors; Henry Walter (*see* n.22) said 'He hired many acres of land from Sir John Shelley and at one time it was the largest nursery in England with the outlying farms of Spring Gardens and Copthall as well.' In 1873, the first edition of the Ordnance Survey shows part of Spring Garden as nursery while the second edition of 1899 shows Copthall as being Nursery. Pike's *East of Sussex Directory* of 1886 describes Messrs Wood as occupying about 150 acres of land, and 'long celebrated for their roses, fruit trees and American plants.' *Kelly's Directory* of 1889 claims that Woodlands 'with its extensive nurseries and flower gardens, roses, fruit and forest trees and American plants' occupied only 120 acres. In 1910 the estate covered $89^1/_2$ acres, most of which was leased from the Maresfield Park estate: E.S.R.O. IRV 1/96. The land tax returns (E.S.R.O. LLT) do not appear to reflect these fluctuations. The sale was reported in the *Express* on 5 Dec. 1919.

[20] P.R.O. HO 107/1118, 1641 (microfilm E.S.R.O. XA 19/6, XA 9/14); ESRO SAS/G/ACC 904, f. 235; repaid on 11 Dec. 1874: 905 f. 138.

[21] P.R.O. RG 9/577, RG 10/1054 (microfilm E.S.R.O. XA 2/7, XA 17/13).

[22] E.S.R.O. A5640 (copy in searchroom library).

[23] *Express*, 30 Jan. 1900.

[24] West Sussex Record Office MP 3617 (Alison Benton, 'Two Great-Grandfathers: John Cheal of Crawley, 1800–1896 ...' (1981), 33).

[25] Reported in *Express*, 27 Mar. 1887, under the headline *Uckfield: A Caution to Hedgecutters*. Hobbs thought he was allowed to take 'short ends' home, but the piece he was accused of stealing was large enough for an axehandle. Hobbs was of good character and had been employed for several years but the Woods brought the proceedings as a caution, having recently been the subject of petty thefts.

[26] *Express*, 8 Aug. 1919.

[27] *The Floricultural Cabinet* **2** (1833) 1–2, 8–11, 34–7, 60, 87–88, 107–8, 133–4, 154–6, 181–2, 230, 253–5, 276–9; **3** (1834) 91, 191, 284; **5** (1836) 66; **6** (1837) 224–30; **8** (1839) 210–13; **9** (1840) 30–31, 163, 194–7.

[28] *Express*, 11 Nov. 1837, 3 Nov. 1838.

[29] It is preserved in the Liberty Hyde Bailey Hortorium at Cornell University, NY, USA.

[30] *The Gardeners' Chronicle*, 23 Jan. 1841.

[31] *The Gardeners' Chronicle*, 10 July 1841 (456), 27 Mar. 1841 (198).

[32] *Express*, 19 Feb. 1842, p. 1.

[33] One such gentleman planter, Coventry Patmore of the Herons Ghyll estate in Buxted, remembered that an active man was able to plant between 700 and 1000 trees in a day: *How I managed and improved my estate* (1886), 23–4.

[34] The turnpike roads in Sussex and their condition are usefully summarized in *Appendix to the Report of the Commissioners for inquiring into the State of the Roads in England and Wales* (1840), 421–47.

[35] *Pigot and Co.'s Directory* (1839), 655 allows the identification.

[36] *Express*, 16 Oct. 1858, p. 2.

[37] *The Gardeners' Chronicle*, 5, 12 and 19 Dec. 1863.

[38] S. A. Pierce, 'The Impact of the railway on Uckfield in the 19th century' in *Sussex Archaeol. Collect.* **122** (1984), 193–206; reminiscences of Henry Walter: see n. 22.

[39] E.S.R.O. SAS/G/ACC 906 f. 138.

[40] E.S.R.O. SAS/G ACC 1161.

[41] Patmore, 23–4, 64.

[42] West Sussex Record Office MP 3617 (Alison Benton, 'Two Great-Grandfathers: John Cheal of Crawley, 1800–1896 ...' (1981), 27, 28).

[43] *Express*, 28 Apr. 1883, p. 7.

[44] *Express*, 15 Feb. 1890, p. 7.

[45] *Express*, 10 Sep. 1892, p. 5 under the heading 'Maresfield — the children's fête at Sheffield Park'. The story is reported at much greater length, but without the horticultural detail, on page 7, and it seems likely that the Maresfield story was supplied by Charles Wood to the local correspondent.

[46] *The Gardeners' Chronicle*, 22 Jan. 1900.

[47] *Express*, 30 Jan. 1900.

[48] E.S.R.O. SAS/G ACC 906 f. 140.

[49] *East Sussex News*, 4 Oct. 1907.

[50] *Express*, 5 Dec. 1919.

[51] Raymond Cocks, 'The Great Ashdown Forest Case' in T. G. Watkins (ed.), *The Legal Record and Historical Reality* (1989), 175–97.

[52] For Count Alexander Munster (1820–1902), created Prince Munster of Durneburg in 1899, who had been German ambassador in London until 1885, see *Who was Who ... 1897–1916* (1920), 514 and *The Times*, 31 Mar. 1902; for his son, see W. T. Pike (ed.), *Sussex in the Twentieth Century* (Brighton, 1910), 199, which includes a portrait; for the descent of the estate, see E.S.R.O. AMS 6282.

Lewes in the Boer War, 1899–1902

by Daniel Waley

The paper takes Lewes as a microcosm for a study of British involvement in and attitudes towards the Boer War. The population was notably patriotic and social occasions such as smoking concerts and rejoicings to mark victories became an important feature of Lewes' social life. A Roll records 214 Lewesians as having served in the War. Of these, volunteers (some of whom had been members of local Volunteer units before the War) had most publicity, but almost certainly 'regulars' were more numerous. The local papers printed many informative (and uncensored) letters from local men serving in South Africa. In many ways the War was perceived as a sum of individual patriotic enterprises rather than as an instance of a state at war. The letters of Trooper B. Moore, which show some disillusionment in the face of hardships and disappointments, illustrate the attitudes of a volunteer. Nine Lewesians died through sickness and three were killed in action (but it is difficult to draw lines in attributing death to service). Participation was also financial; there were many charitable appeals. The Sussex Volunteers Equipment Fund purchased life insurances to cover volunteers and made a grant to the wife of a volunteer to compensate for lost pay. Criticism of the War was expressed at an early stage by Quakers. Critics ('Pro-Boers') had to face local unpopularity, extending to protest by 'Rough Music' demonstrations. From the summer of 1901 more doubts were expressed and conversions were made to the ranks of the critics.

A tablet in Lewes Town Hall commemorates the twelve Lewesians who died in the South African conflict usually known as the 'Boer War'. The scale of that conflict, as measured by the numbers involved, was not large, yet its impact on the public consciousness was considerable because it brought to a confident imperial power shaming and quite unexpected defeats and then prolonged defiance by a financially and technologically weak enemy. It seems worth investigating the effect of the war on the people of a small county town, with the intention of eavesdropping on the beliefs and activities of those strange foreigners, our ancestors of a century ago.

Something must be said about the origins of the war because these had some influence in determining attitudes — particularly critical ones — towards the conflict. Essentially the *casus belli* was the status of the 'Uitlanders', the newcomers — mainly British — to the gold-rich Transvaal, a virtually independent republic dominated by Dutch settlers. Negotiations over this question between Paul Kruger's regime and the British High Commissioner in Cape Town, Alfred Milner, lasted from March to August 1899, but Milner saw the Boers as irreconcilable and seems to have been anxious to bring matters to a head with them. The British despatched troops to South Africa in September of that year, first from India, then from England, and war broke out in October.

LEWES IN 1899

The population of Lewes at this time was around 11,000.[1] The town had recently (1881) been incorporated as a borough, but had lost its own parliamentary representation under the redistribution scheme of 1885. With a nucleus of small-scale industry as well as of artisans and shopkeepers, no longer a port yet still a market and social centre for farmers, the place had a local oligarchy of sternly Protestant tradesmen, yet lay much within the spheres of influence of landed families, Gages, Brands, Nevills and Christies. There was no clear predominance for Conservative or Liberal in the traditions of the town, yet the Mid-Sussex constituency saw three successive uncontested Conservative victories, the last of these being in the 'Khaki' election of 1900. The strongly Protestant tradition was very marked indeed and Christian practice and belief was a much more topical and

controversial issue for Lewesians than colonialism and the scramble for Africa, which in any case tended to be considered in terms of religious rather than economic interest.

Interrogation of a Lewesian in 1899 about the town's military involvement would probably have evoked the initial reply: 'We have the Volunteers'. The national Volunteer force had been brought into being in 1859 and the following years as an auxiliary body for home defence in the event of invasion. The Volunteers had come to be accepted, largely for social rather than military reasons, as an institution to which a town should give encouragement, but nobody expected they should become involved in warfare beyond the sea.[2] The Volunteer units based in Lewes were the Lewes Artillery Volunteers (the 7th (Lewes) Company of the 1st Sussex Volunteer Artillery), who had a depot at Southover and numbered about sixty members in 1899, and D (Lewes) Company of the 1st Cinque Ports Rifle Volunteers, whose strength was much the same. The drills and other activities of both these bodies were reported at length in the local papers, but their problems too were well known. They tended to lack officers (gentlemen were reluctant to serve), uniforms were expensive and working-class volunteers needed financial assistance, whilst employers were notoriously reluctant to release men for attendance at the summer camps.

If the Volunteers were well known in Lewes this was partly because they could be seen locally in their uniforms and because membership was felt to be meritorious and public-spirited. There must in 1899 have been an at least equally large number of Lewesians serving in the regular army, a great many of them in the local infantry regiment, the Royal Sussex. Yet this career (as Kipling emphasized) had little prestige and families were more likely to talk proudly of the son in the Volunteers than of poor Tommy, unskilled and jobless, who had been reduced to taking the Queen's shilling. One theme which will emerge in the following pages is the gap between Lewes' perceived involvement in the War, emphasizing the role of volunteers and in particular of former members of the town's Volunteer companies, as contrasted with an actual involvement in which there was a numerical predominance of regular soldiers. This failure to notice that the regulars in South Africa greatly outnumbered the more attractive volunteers, who in fact provided only about one in four or five of the soldiers involved, was a national and not merely a Lewesian phenomenon. This exaggerated emphasis on the role of the Volunteer element was perhaps connected with the hopeful belief that the War demonstrated that 'volunteers armed with modern weapons . . . could hold their own against the finest troops in the world'.[3]

With this point about perceptions in mind, it may be well to consider Lewes' attitudes to the War, and also the celebrations and ceremonies to which it gave rise, before proceeding to questions about actual participation and about opposing, critical views. The flavour of Lewesian patriotism was Protestant and enthusiastically parliamentary, as well as royalist. A bust of Queen Victoria in the Town Hall, commemorating the Diamond Jubilee, was unveiled soon after the outbreak of war (December 1899) and the same year saw the laying of the first stone of an ambitious memorial to the town's Protestant martyrs. Prominent in the historical memory of the time too was a national hero, King Alfred, who was thought of as the founder of the English navy; the millenary of his reign had recently been celebrated. Trafalgar Day, St George's Day, the Queen's Birthday were all important annual occasions.[4] These various themes came together in the stained glass for the Town Hall presented by the Mayor, Mr George Holman, to mark the Queen's eightieth birthday (24 May 1899); among the principal figures were the participants in the battle of Lewes (1264), Simon de Montfort, King Henry III and the latter's brother Richard Earl of Cornwall. An alderman proposing in the borough council the acceptance of this gift referred to the battle and 'thought Lewes people did not make sufficient of that important event, which brought about, as they knew, the representative government enjoyed by the country and which had proved so beneficial'.[5] A year earlier a loyal address presented to the Duke of Connaught, one of the Queen's sons, contained the claim that 'the Borough of Lewes may be regarded as the cradle of the system of Parliamentary representation in this country, a system on which is based our glorious Constitution, which under the rule of Your Royal Highness' ancestors has been the foundation of the period of liberty and progress the country has so long enjoyed'.[6]

Combined with this self-confident patriotism was a strong consciousness of Empire, assisted by the fact that a high proportion of Britons had relatives who had left the Mother Country in this great age of emigration. Involved in imperial pride there was also more than a trace of Teutonist racial feeling, which provided an awkward paradox during

the War, since the Boers were incontrovertibly of Germanic stock. At the prizegiving of the Artillery Volunteers in 1899 Major-General A. E. Turner confessed that 'it was a matter for greater sorrow and regret because it was two Christian nations which had sprung from the great Saxon root — which ruled the greater part of the world — that were now in conflict with each other'.[7] By the same token, such racialist feelings could lead to doubts about the Uitlanders on behalf of whom the War was being fought; the Liberal John Burns, a leading 'pro-Boer', confessed 'I thought I had landed myself in a synagogue when I went to the Commission'.[8]

PATRIOTIC ATTITUDES AND OCCASIONS

The War was a glorious opportunity for those who enjoyed making patriotic speeches. 'Lewesians are nothing if not patriotic', said the *Sussex Agricultural Express* (28 May 1901), though the attitudes displayed by their orators often seem ingenuous and self-righteous to readers made sceptical by exposure to a further century of propaganda and education. 'I am sure that we all hope that the churlish insolence of the Boers will soon be suppressed', said the Borough Society's 'Bishop' on Bonfire Night 1899; he rejoiced 'that the honour and dignity of the country is to be upheld and the ultimatum received from the most arrogant and rapacious government in the world hurled back in their teeth'.[9] Perhaps cautious nuances should not be expected on such an occasion, when the effigy of Kruger was about to be consigned to the flames, but the speeches made at a debate a fortnight later, organized by the Man's League of All Saints church, hardly suggest a more critical approach. It is not surprising that the Rector thought the Transvaal War 'entirely righteous', nor that the Warden (the Rev. C. F. Nolleth) believed it 'an extraordinary thing that the grandest empire the world has ever seen should be invaded by one of the most contemptible people on the face of the earth'. But Mr M. S. Blaker, Town Clerk and an extremely prominent Lewesian, was confident that 'the Boers had no business there', whereas the British had a right to dominate 'savages', because they 'colonized in a true sense, while other countries seemed to do their best to seize all they could to acquire territory and do nothing with it'. The discussion was on 'The right and wrong of war' and all the seven speeches reported were pro-War.[10]

At a farewell dinner at the Royal Oak for departing reservists, ten speeches were made, no less than three of them by the Mayor. Mr W. W. Grantham 'hoped they would help to bowl out the Boers, and that when Paul Kruger said "How's that?" the umpire would call "Out !"' — though one might think that under conventional cricketing rules Kruger's appeal would be directed against the British side, whom the speaker would have wished to be 'Not out'. But such an approach is too rational. Views about the War arose directly and naturally from the confident patriotism mentioned above. Speaking at a smoking concert soon after peace had been signed, the then Mayor, William Gates, proclaimed that 'this country started on the war with the view of spreading that good government which their empire enjoyed', whilst Blaker (at the annual dinner of Lewes Priory Cricket Club) rejoiced at the War's 'wonderful effect . . . consolidating the British Empire', a reference to the large volunteer contingents sent by Canada, Australia and New Zealand.[11]

Alongside this vein of straightforward chauvinism ran another, much less amiable, which accused the Boers of cheating. Indignation that the enemy had 'laid waste the farms of our fellow-countrymen' (as the Rector of St John-sub-castro complained at a Thanksgiving Service after the relief of Mafeking) shows an unwillingness to face the fact that the same complaint could be made against the British. As happens at times in all wars, the usages which should govern the white flag were defied and Boer 'treachery' in such matters was often reported. Meanwhile an alleged Boer plan to place a bomb on a ship conveying reinforcements to South Africa was recorded in the Lewes *Sussex Agricultural Express* as a 'diabolical' and 'dastardly plot'.[12]

Prize-givings, annual dinners, talks to schools — with or without lantern slides and 'patriotic selections on the gramophone'[13] — were all prime occasions for speech-making. The young may have found so much patriotic oratory wearisome, but there is no reason to suppose that they greeted it with scepticism and indeed it may have provided a relief from a straightforward diet of religion and morality. At least the provision of exciting news of 'adventure' was welcome and one Sussex newspaper reported convincingly that 'almost every boy has his favourite general at the Front'.[14] A most characteristic social institution of this time, which conveniently combined fund-raising with good cheer, song and eloquence, was the Smoking Concert. This was not an innovation, but throughout the thirty months of the War innumerable smoking concerts were held in Lewes, of which only a few

illustrative examples can be cited here. The one at the Lamb Public House in Fisher Street on 2 October 1900 was typical. The singing included a rendering of 'When the boys in khaki all come home' by W. N. Barnard, a Corporal in the Volunteers whose voice was an indispensable feature of such occasions. A collection made 'for Lewes men at the front when they return home' raised £1 7s. 6d. On 23 February 1901 a smoking concert was held at the Crown Inn to bid farewell to the contingent of Volunteers about to leave for South Africa. Many songs were sung, including 'Comrades in arms' and 'The Old Brigade', and 'Saved by a Woman (an incident of the Boer War)' was recited. It was announced that Mr Towner of Newhaven had presented a Balaclava helmet for each of the men going. Dr Burbidge made a foolish speech in which he pronounced that 'the very fact of having to scrap for their food will make them fit'. Presumably he was unfamiliar with the sickness figures from South Africa, but in that very day's *Sussex Agricultural Express* he could have read the news of Private Floyd's death from enteric fever at Bloemfontein. A later favourite smoking concert song was 'Baden-Powell's Scout'. Not all smoking concerts, however, were war-oriented. At a Cyclists Club 'Smoker' (23 January 1900) a speaker remarked that 'the Lewes Cyclists Club had always been a patriotic institution. With a membership of 220 they had five volunteers', a joke that was greeted with laughter.[15]

Nor, of course, were all concerts 'Smokers'. The Mayoress, Mrs Holman, organized a concert in December 1899 in aid of the Mayor's fund for refugees, widows and orphans in South Africa.[16] About £60 was raised, together with £20 from a collection for the *Daily Mail*'s fund. NCOs of the Volunteers acted as stewards. Many songs were sung, most but not all of them patriotic, and a special performance was given of Rudyard Kipling's very recent 'The absent-minded beggar', for which music had been composed by Sir Arthur Sullivan; this song was written in aid of the fund for assistance to the troops and their dependents and first appeared, in the *Daily Mail*, on 31 October 1899.

It was couched in Kipling's characteristic mixture of apparent plain speaking with euphemistic evasiveness. The purpose of his 56 lines was to persuade the listener or reader to

'Kindly drop a shilling in my little tambourine
For a gentleman in khaki ordered South.'

This gentleman, the soldier, was 'an absent-minded beggar' and

'There are girls he married secret, asking no permission to,
For he knew he wouldn't get it if he did.
There is gas and coal and vittles and the house-rent falling due,
And more than rather likely there's a kid.
There are girls he walked with casual. They'll be sorry now he's gone,
For an absent-minded beggar they will find him,
But it ain't the time for sermons with the winter coming on,
We must help the girl that Tommy left behind him.'

The poem of course referred to a real problem and presumably contemporaries understood that Kipling was saying that soldiers often neglected the institution of marriage and that there would be many young women who had been abandoned by men now posted to South Africa. 'The absent-minded beggar' was to echo around the land in the following years and to be closely associated with memories of the War.[17]

On Trafalgar Day 1900 a 'Patriotic Concert', organized by the local Volunteer rifle and artillery companies, was held in the Assembly Room of the Crown Hotel.[18] The Mayor delivered a speech, complacently proclaiming that 'he was glad to have been the means of stimulating patriotism among the young men of Lewes'. The omnipresent Corporal Barnard sang 'The Death of Nelson' and other songs included 'Dear old Bobs' (in honour of the commander-in-chief in South Africa, Field Marshal Lord Roberts), 'Marching through Pretoria', 'The Royal Sussex' (presumably the regimental march 'Sussex by the sea'), 'The boys of red and blue' and 'Soldiers, sailors, volunteers'.

One Bonfire Night speech has already been quoted, and naturally the annual celebration on November 5th was an occasion for patriotic display. 1899 was the great year for this, since the War had just begun. Three of the Societies, Borough, Cliffe and Commercial Square burned effigies of Kruger and their tableaux also referred to the War, the title of one being 'Briton or Boer' and of another 'Kruger delivering his last speech'. As for the remaining Society, Southover, the puzzled report of the *Agricultural Express* on their tableau states that the general opinion was 'that in some remote way it was an allusion to the Transvaal Rebellion'. A year later there were again patriotic speeches. The 'Lord Chancellor' of the Southover Bonfire Society claimed (improbably) that Kruger had sent the Pope a diamond, whilst the 'Lord Bishop of Lewes' in his anti-papal oration rejoiced that 'among the many

good things resulting from the war in South Africa by no means the least important is the growth of patriotism to which it has given rise'. In 1901 there was more justification for seeing the War as nearly won and the 'Archbishop of St John sub castro' thought himself perhaps 'wrong in using the word war, for it is now nothing more than a mere Boer hunt'. Southover was still burning an effigy of Kruger and the 'Lord Bishop' took the opportunity to criticize bitterly the Bishop of Hereford and the Dean of Durham (both moderate 'pro-Boers') for expressing 'their disapprobation of the present war and their sympathy with the King's enemies'. By November 1902 the War was at last over, but the Southover Society was still able to find a foreign foe worthy of burning, in the person of the 'Mad Mullah', a Muslim sheikh who led a rebellion in Somalia against European administrators and Christian missions.[19]

Many of the patriotic occasions during the War were of course religious ones, church parades, services for departing Volunteers, services of celebration and thanksgiving for victories, and so on. In January 1900 a number of churches synchronized collections on behalf of the Transvaal War Fund. Union Jacks were displayed, the National Anthem sung and appropriate sermons preached. At St Anne's the preacher, a clergyman from East Grinstead, explained that the Dutch in South Africa had failed to christianize the Kaffirs and Hottentots and disliked the British for having abolished slavery. Three Anglican churches and the (Congregationalist) Tabernacle held services of thanksgiving for the relief of Mafeking. When St Anne's held a service for Volunteers about to leave for South Africa the text chosen for the sermon was Judges 5.1, 'Praise ye the Lord for the avenging of Israel, when the people willingly offered themselves'.[20]

An instance of the universal penetration of patriotism is provided by the celebration of Christmas Day in the Lewes workhouse. In 1899 Mr Francis Verrall, as he mentioned in his report, thought that 'the children looked particularly well, and he advised them all to study hard and learn discipline, as there was a grand chance for any boy who wanted to be a soldier'; the speech is a reminder of the background whence the English expected their regular army to be recruited. The following year the workhouse staff made a special effort with the decorations. Portraits of Lord Roberts and General Baden-Powell were displayed on the walls, surrounded by mottoes such as 'Welcome Home to Lord Roberts', 'Success to England's Defenders' and 'Long Life to the Hero of Mafeking'.[21]

Mention of the hero of Mafeking brings us, belatedly, to Colonel R. S. Baden-Powell, the defender of Mafeking during the town's long siege (October 1899 to May 1900). Mafeking was a town destined to give a new word to the English language, to 'maffick' being (*Oxford English Dictionary*) 'originally used to designate the behaviour of the crowds (in London and other towns) that celebrated with uproarious rejoicings the relief of the British garrison besieged in Mafeking'. It so happened that the hero had Lewes connections. Mr H. J. Powell and Mr R. H. Powell, who lived respectively at 118 and 82 High Street, and Mr T. Baden-Powell of nearby Newick (who was president of Lewes Chess Club) were all cousins of the Colonel. Mr R. H. Powell was very active at St Michael's church as choirmaster and was a member of the Schools Central Maintenance Board. It is clear that the Lewes members of the Baden-Powell family were pleased to join in this reflected glory.

In recounting the joyful celebrations which marked, at Lewes and elsewhere, some British military successes, it is worth emphasizing that much of the initial news from South Africa had been bad. Unexpected news of costly defeats had come crowding in during 'Black Week' (10–15 December 1899). Thus the word 'relief' was appropriate to the rejoicings of 1900. Soon after 10 on the morning of Thursday 1 March the news reached Lewes by telegram that the previous day the garrison of Ladysmith in northern Natal had been relieved after a lengthy siege. Let the *Sussex Agricultural Express*, whose special service of telegrams was responsible for the receipt of the news, take up the story (3 March 1900):

> 'The gladsome news spread like wildfire . . . Flags and bunting were at once displayed at the public buildings and leading hotels in the borough, while by order of the Mayor "Old Gabriel" [the bell of the market tower] was rung in honour of the auspicious event. At the residence of the Mayor, "The Rowans" on the Wallands, a large Union Jack was at once hoisted, while on the four turrets of his residence the Scotch and Irish flags and the Union Jack and Royal Standard were also displayed. At a number of schools in the town the happy intelligence evoked loud cheers on the part of the juveniles, who heartily joined in the singing of "Rule Britannia" and the National Anthem, while in several instances a half holiday was proclaimed in honour of the

> occasion . . .' [unsurprisingly, the] 'lads . . . are anxiously looking forward to the relief of Mafeking in order to still further give expression to their pent-up feelings of loyalty and enthusiasm . . . By order of the Mayor, the Town Band performed a number of patriotic selections in the High Street . . . while quite a large number of pedestrians were to be seen wearing national favours. Church bells were rung and mortars frequently discharged, the general tone of gratification the good news evoked being of much greater depth than has been witnessed in the town for many years.'[22]

As the day wore on, 'delighted bands of school children paraded the principal thoroughfares singing snatches of patriotic songs' and 'in the hotels . . . scenes of jubilation and irrepressible outbursts of ardour and patriotism were very remarkable'. The word got around that a torchlight procession would be held, 'it being almost a tradition of the town to celebrate national events in this particular way', and that members of bonfire societies and others available were to assemble in fancy costume at the top of St Anne's Hill at 8.30. Nearly three hundred marched to the Cliffe 'to the inspired strains of martial and patriotic airs' provided by the Town Band, and then back to the White Hart, where a vast crowd had gathered. A framed portrait of General Buller, wreathed with laurels, was displayed at County Hall. Blazing torches were thrown. The Mayor made a speech, inaudible to all but his immediate neighbours, from the balcony of the White Hart. Three cheers were given for the Queen and for the victorious generals, White and Buller. Corporal Barnard 'gave a characteristic rendering of "The absent-minded beggar", his unique and vast audience joining in the chorus with remarkable effect'. More singing and rejoicings followed, calm being restored near midnight after a final National Anthem and 'Auld Lang Syne'.

It may have been felt that 'Ladysmithing' (a word which somehow never came into being) was not an easy act to follow, whatever the anticipation of lads with 'pent-up feelings of loyalty'. It was perhaps fortunate for organizers of rejoicings and participants that eleven weeks passed before Mafeking was relieved. This time the news reached Lewes' Mayor through his son who arrived by the mail train from Brighton, but it was not generally known in the town till the following day, 19 May, when it was proclaimed at 6 a.m. by the booming of miniature cannon on Cliffe Hill and Brack Mount. Soon church bells and the steam hooters of the Phoenix Ironworks and the Southdown & East Grinstead Brewery joined in and 'in an incredibly short space of time the town was decorated with flags and bunting from end to end'. Decorations and inscriptions abounded. On Councillor Pelling's residence 'appeared the words in red letters, on a white background with a blue border: "Good news from a far country; Let us do or die"', together with the less obviously appropriate sentiment: 'Long live the Mayor and Mayoress'. Lamps and flags adorned the Powell residences in St Anne's Hill, a placard at Mr R. H. Powell's returning to cricketing metaphors with 'Mafeking! Baden-Powell not out, 216; Kruger retired hurt, 0'. Large portraits of Roberts and Baden-Powell outside the *Sussex Express* offices were accompanied by poetical inscriptions which included the couplet:

'How shall we rank thee on glory's page
Thou more than soldier, but just less than sage'![23]

The temptation to continue with a fuller account of the visual display and the eloquence which characterized these occasions must be resisted, though a historian cannot help remarking that if these had dated from 1500 rather than 1900 they would constitute standard source-material for many theses and learned articles.

As with the Ladysmith celebrations, these also culminated in a torchlight procession, the planning of which benefitted from the preparations already in train for the Queen's birthday (24 May). An effigy of Kruger was carried, apparently under the command of the 'Lord High Chancellor of Southover', who was arrayed as one of the Guards at the Crimean battle of Inkerman (fought on 5 November 1854). The procession paused to cheer at the Powell residences in St Anne's. Again the Mayor spoke from the balcony of the White Hart, there were cheers for Colonel Baden-Powell, Lord Roberts and the Mayor himself, and Corporal Barnard, in khaki, accompanied the chorus of 'Rule Britannia' with the bugle.

Later the Mayor, George Holman, was to remember this period as a time of constant amazing scenes, 'personally he did not believe he slept for three weeks'. Certainly one has the impression of satiety when reading of the celebration of the capture (5 June 1900) of Pretoria, the seat of the Transvaal government. This was only a fortnight after Mafeking. Naturally the flags, church bells and cannons were again in evidence and the Town Band played 'patriotic selections' in the High Street. There was, however, 'no general attempt at illumination'

and the decision to stage a torchlight procession was not reached till well on in the evening. Consequently the procession did not assemble till 10 p.m. and there were rather fewer participants. Nevertheless the stalwarts were there, in fancy costume and with a bugle band, and the rejoicings had the now customary climax outside the White Hart, where Corporal Barnard 'asked those present to sing the National Anthem and to give three cheers for Lord Roberts and his army and the hundred odd Lewes men at the front'.[24]

A very long time elapsed between the Pretoria celebrations and those which marked the War's conclusion (Peace of Vereeniging, 31 May 1902). The negotiations had been lengthy and peace disappointingly delayed. It so happened also that preparations were in train to celebrate the coronation of Edward VII, which was planned for 26 June, though in the event it had to be postponed owing to the King's illness. Yet a torchlight procession was mounted on a very large scale (2 June) to mark the Peace, and as usual the Mayor spoke, this time apparently in the Town Hall.[25] A congratulatory telegram from the borough was sent to the King and 8 June became 'Peace Sunday', when thanksgiving services were held in several churches.[26]

THE PARTICIPATION OF LEWESIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

A good deal had happened between 1900 and 1902 to make the Lewesian in the street a sadder and wiser man. To understand this we must turn to the actual involvement of Lewesians in the campaign. Much caution is required in attempting quantitative answers in this field. For example, some young men joined up in Lewes but had little connection with the town, in other cases the parents were Lewesians but the soldier himself not a Lewes resident; roots were not necessarily deep or hardy and they might be in the surrounding country rather than the town itself. Such factors explain varying estimates of how many Lewesians went to war. But the Roll of Honour compiled by the patriotic Corporal Barnard 'of Lewes soldiers who have served or fallen in the war in South Africa', which records 214 names, is an inescapable starting-point.[27] Barnard's list records name (with initials) and rank and in most cases army number. Usually the unit is included in the case of infantry and cavalrymen, but in other instances (Royal Army Medical Corps, Royal Field Artillery, Army Service Corps or Ordnance Corps, etc.) only the arm or corps may be recorded. Barnard rarely goes into more detail, but does record deaths, some other casualties, and some awards of decorations.

I have attempted to analyse Barnard's rather informal (and quite unofficial) Roll in such a way as to separate pre-1899 regulars from wartime volunteers. The undertaking is not easy and the verdict on quite a high proportion of those who served must be: 'Don't know'. The 1st Battalion of the Royal Sussex Regiment was serving in Malta on the outbreak of war but was soon sent to South Africa and reached the Cape in February 1900. Forty-two Lewes men served in the 1st Royal Sussex at the front, some of whom were recalled reservists, though certainly most had been with the colours when the War began.[28] Thirty-nine men served in other regular units, mainly in other regular infantry battalions (four of these were in the 2nd Bedfordshires, three each in the 2nd Royal West Surreys and the 2nd Buffs) though there were some in the cavalry (six in the Dragoon Guards, five in Hussar regiments, two in Lancer regiments). Perhaps to be ranked with these regulars — and in any case not volunteers in the normal sense — were the members of the Militia. These men had served by compulsion through a system of choice by lot, parishes having to provide a fixed quota of men for militia training. Militiamen had no obligation to serve overseas but could (in wartime) volunteer to do so. The Sussex Militia was embodied as the 3rd Battalion of the Royal Sussex Regiment in 1899 and was given training in England; in 1900 those who volunteered for active service were sent to South Africa. They served on the lines of communication, then in 1901 were moved to St Helena to act as guards to Boer prisoners of war. Fourteen Lewes men were in the battalion in South Africa, so that at least 95 of the 214 names on the Roll were regulars, reservists or militiamen.

The volunteers are more difficult to identify. Eighteen Lewes men served in the Imperial Yeomanry, five of whom had been peacetime members of the local infantry (Cinque Ports) Volunteers. Thirteen members of the same unit went in the two Active Service Volunteer companies (six in the first group, seven in the second); a third contingent was despatched but only reached South Africa at the time peace was signed and saw no active service.[29] To this minimum number of 31 volunteers must be added a good many others who arrived by less normal routes. A number of the colonial enlistments (in the Cape Mounted Rifles and Police, the South African Constabulary, Natal Rifles and

Bechuanaland Rifles, not to mention units from Ceylon and Canada) — which totalled eleven — should probably come under this heading. Would-be volunteers in England were by no means always successful and they needed much persistence. Mr Louis Avenell of the (Cinque Ports) Volunteers left for South Africa in January 1900 as part of the West Kent contingent of the Imperial Yeomanry (only one Lewes man served in the Sussex contingent) after twice failing the compulsory riding test and then securing the cancellation of his indentures as an apprentice. More and more the utility was realized of men accustomed to riding. Trooper R. P. Blake, who died in South Africa, had joined the Imperial Yeomanry after having 'worked zealously to make himself efficient as a horseman and marksman'. At one stage the Rifle Volunteers advertized for men to serve in a mounted infantry Company: 'Men joining must provide their own horses, which should, if possible, not exceed 15 hands'. After three months only 20 had been found of the 35 recruits needed. Even for these service abroad was not guaranteed; the men had to volunteer for three years, to go into camp yearly and to provide forage as well as harness when in camp.[30]

Many Lewesians are recorded in Barnard's list merely as having served in the Royal Artillery (also Royal Field Artillery and Royal Horse Artillery), Royal Engineers, Royal Army Medical Corps, the Army Ordnance and Army Service Corps, and, with no indication of the unit, it is not possible to know how many of these had been in the army at the outbreak of war.[31] There is another complication about the regular/volunteer ratio. In wartime there was much more recruitment into the regular army; are men who signed on in these circumstances to be seen as volunteers rather than regulars?

Perhaps it is best to turn now to the national figures (themselves in part guesswork) in order to test the surmise that Lewesian regulars in South Africa greatly outnumbered volunteers. The official statistics record 380,577 men as having served in South Africa.[32] Of these at least 250,000 were regulars from Britain (including those who had been serving in India) and at least 30,000 men who had joined as volunteers. The balance included colonial forces and militiamen. In whatever ratio the 'unknowns' are divided between regulars and volunteers, it is evident that among Lewesians the former element greatly exceeded the latter and that this was characteristic of the country as a whole. Yet attention in the local press was concentrated on the wartime volunteers in a way which underlines Kipling's contention that Tommy Atkins, his 'absent-minded beggar', was still a neglected and disdained individual.

Lewes' 214 men were not all in South Africa at one time. The total built up by degrees and lists compiled by Barnard and published in the *East Sussex News* put the numbers at 117 in March 1900 and 134 in June of that year.[33] These participants, and particularly the volunteers, were reported on with much interest in the local press, in which the War appears as a sum of individual patriotic enterprises rather than as a single one organized and carried on by the state. This attitude, which seems so alien to those accustomed to the Leviathan of our own day, shows not only in the press but in more fundamental matters such as the private financing of many aspects of the war effort. This has already been met in the form of the man serving with his own horse and harness, and the same man might be transported to Africa on a vessel provided by a patriotic shipping line, whilst his life might be covered with the cooperation of a patriotic insurance company.[34] Even family allowances were sometimes provided by private initiative. A striking case of this occurred when Colour/Sergeant Willis left to serve in South Africa with the second Active Service Company attached to the Royal Sussex. Twenty-one of his comrades in the Volunteers banded together to contribute 1s. each per week so that he might receive 21s. a week 'towards the maintenance of your wife and family for the period of one year, commencing the day you embark, or in the event of your earlier return, until such time as you arrive in England'. Willis was asked to accept this offer 'as a token of esteem and regard'.[35]

Lewes papers — and not merely Lewes ones[36] — reported the departure and return of individual soldiers and kept readers in touch by printing, often at some length, their letters to family and friends. These were recent letters, since mail by sea took little more than three weeks (whereas urgent news, including notification of casualties, came by cable). The *Sussex Agricultural Express* specialized in the letters of Lieutenant A. F. A. Howe, a local dentist, to his professional partner Mr Beckley. Between May and October 1900 at least eight of Howe's letters were quoted and good patriotic reading they made.[37] At Bloemfontein, he reported, 'the best sight of all is the dear old Union Jack flying over the town' and it was 'impossible to describe the feelings of patriotism . . . among all ranks'. But less enthusiastic letters were also quoted. Driver Wimhurst of the

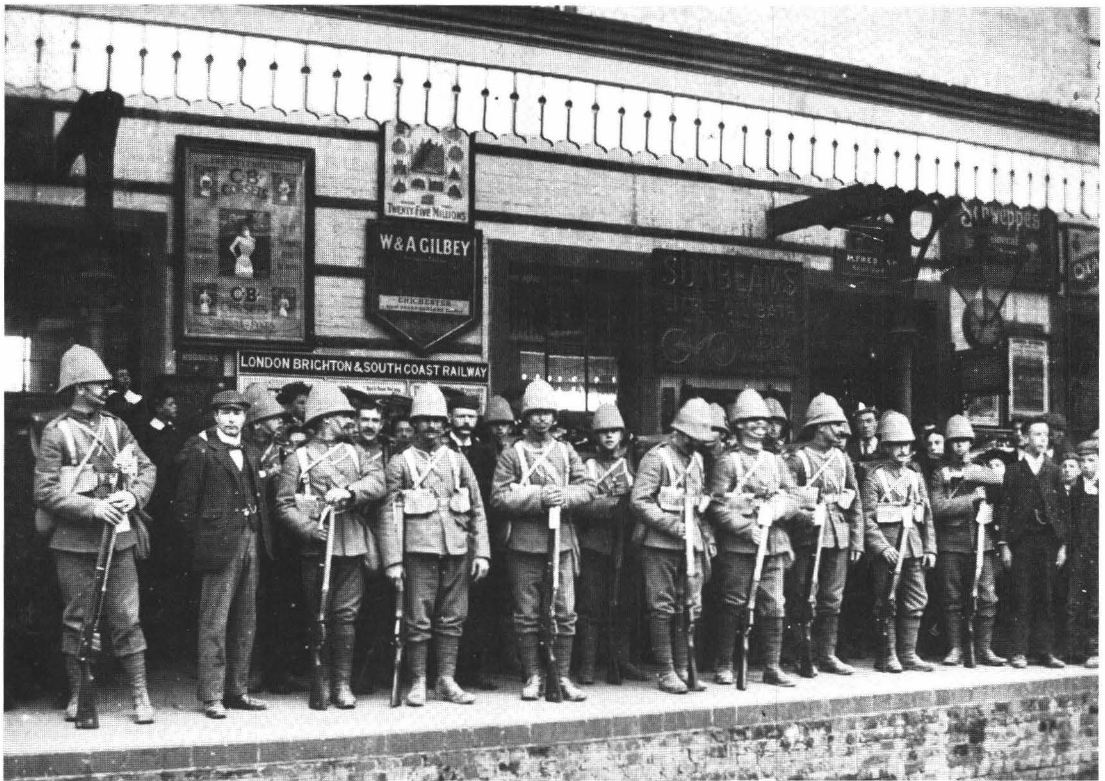

Fig. 1. The departure from Chichester of the second Active Service Volunteer company, 27 April 1901 (WSRO, RSR, PH 4/13).

Royal Horse Artillery reported to his parents that 'we are nearly starved. We get one biscuit and $^{1}/_{4}$ lb. of flour a day. We have had that this last fortnight. There is plenty of meat, but nothing to eat with it, and I am quite a light weight now'. Yet more alarming was the letter of a former Lewes man, Cpl Carpenter (then with a Rhodesian Regiment) to his parents in Worthing: 'with our acclimatized troops over 75% have been through hospital sick or wounded' and some hospitals were very full, 'mostly fever and dysentery'. In general there was a willingness not to shirk descriptions of dangers and hardships. Shoeing-smith Venness of the 6th Dragoon Guards told his mother that in heavy shelling a man standing three yards from him had been killed and Pte Humphreys told his 'young lady' that in a recent battle 'we had 98 men killed and wounded in our Regiment', whilst Pte Kenward of the Imperial Yeomanry related that the horses were 'as thin as crows' and once 'twenty horses dropped dead in the gallop'.[38] Other letters criticized British officers (but not their courage) and guns.

The rites of leave-taking and returning reflect in the same way the view of the War itself as the sum of many individual endeavours. The local papers reported the departure for the War of small groups and even individuals; there was no notion at all that the publication of such items could be considered of interest to the enemy, indeed 'security' in that sense appears to have been non-existent. The Phoenix Ironworks Company organized a farewell smoking concert for four employees who were recalled as reservists; those present subscribed towards 'pocket money' for the four and the sum donated was doubled by the owner of the firm and his son. Such gifts became the norm: another local man, leaving with the Imperial Yeomanry, was 'presented by his fellow employees with the regulation pound of "Navy Cut" and a silver-mounted pipe'. The departure of the first Active Service Volunteer company was marked with greater formality, the Mayor himself entertaining the six men (a Lieutenant and five Privates) at a dinner at the Royal Oak, for which tickets (at 3s. 6d.) could be purchased. A few days later the same party was stood breakfast at the White Hart by the proprietor

before marching to the station, accompanied by a band and bugler. The Mayor was on the platform to see them off (for the departure from Chichester of the second Active Service Volunteer company, *see* Fig. 1).[39]

A still grander occasion was the departure from Arundel of the Duke of Norfolk. The town was decorated with flags and an arch of evergreens bore the inscription 'May God protect our noble Duke in the hour of danger is the fervent wish of his employees'. The Duke was driven in a carriage from the castle to the station, where he was presented with farewell addresses and made a speech. To the tune of a band and to cheers he departed by special train for Southampton. Unfortunately the Duke had a fall from his horse a few weeks after reaching the Cape and had to return home.[40] He was then able to resume his duties as Postmaster General.

Returns from Africa were reported on in the same style as departures. 'Back from the Front', announced the *Sussex Express*, giving news of the 'unexpected return' of Pte Webb of the Active Service Volunteers company. The *East Sussex News* apologetically explained that 'his return was unexpected and consequently no demonstration took place when he arrived'; Webb had been invalided home. Corporal Tanner of the City Imperial Volunteers was at least met at the station by his brother but, if proper notice was given, even an individual return could expect a more formal reception. Pte J. Wood was a South Street resident who had been recalled as a reservist to the Royal Sussex: 'A considerable crowd had assembled at the station to meet him, and he was loudly cheered on his arrival at 7 o'clock. After an affectionate greeting with his relatives he was conveyed in a cab to his home, a band accompanying'.[41] Naturally groups returning received a yet warmer welcome. The first Active Service Volunteers were met by hundreds at the station and given a military reception, after which they marched via Friars Walk and School Hill to the Town Hall, where the Mayor and Howe (now a Captain), on behalf of the contingent, made speeches. The streets were 'gaily if not lavishly decorated', flags and streamers flew, welcoming messages proclaimed 'Well done, Active Service Company', 'There is no place like home', 'Welcome Home', 'Lewes is Proud of You' and other appropriate sentiments (see Figs 2 & 3). A meat tea followed at the White Hart, where the same contingent, then two stronger, had breakfasted before their departure. Five days later the group were guests at a reception and dinner at the Corn Exchange, the Mayor again presiding. There were more speeches, commemorative medals were presented and a smoking concert followed.[42]

The second Active Service contingent did not return till after the conclusion of the War, which no doubt explains its quieter reception, though they too rated a dinner, at the White Hart. Lewes' homecoming celebrations culminated in September 1902 with a dinner and smoking concert at the White Hart. Nearly fifty men who had served in South Africa were present on this occasion, but the Active Service Volunteers were special guests and probably they alone were the recipients of the medals subscribed by townspeople. The Mayor proposed the health of 'the Reservists and other returned Lewes men', but once again the Volunteers provided the framework for the occasion and secured the limelight.

Probably many who had been seen off with ceremony were greeted similarly on their return. More than two and a half years after the departure dinner at Harvey's brewery, at which he had received cigars, cigarettes and a cheque, Cpl Parks was dined and toasted there on his return.[43]

HOW IT SEEMED TO A SOLDIER

Despite the occasional quite ample quotations of soldiers' letters in local newspapers it is not easy to secure a consecutive view of the campaign in South Africa as it appeared to a British participant in the ranks. One is therefore all the more grateful for the preservation of the text of 19 letters written in 1900 by Trooper Benjamin Moore of the 33rd Company (East Kent) Imperial Yeomanry to his elder sister Emily Florence (Mrs Urry). A copy was made of these letters in an exercise book, perhaps by the recipient.[44] Trooper Moore (born 1867) had served as a regular in the Royal Sussex (2nd Battalion) and received his discharge in 1891, probably after eight years with the colours. His years on the reserve would have been completed in 1895, but he seems to have hastened to join the Imperial Yeomanry soon after the outbreak of war in the Transvaal. His parents had kept the 'Welcome Stranger' public house (now no. 23) in Eastport Lane, Southover, and in 1900 his sister was resident either there or at Spring Gardens, Southover.

Ben Moore's letters to his sister are informative and affectionate. The first six (25 January–28 February 1900) are written from England. Thanks to them we can follow his moves, first to the School of Musketry at Hythe — where 'the Colonel asked

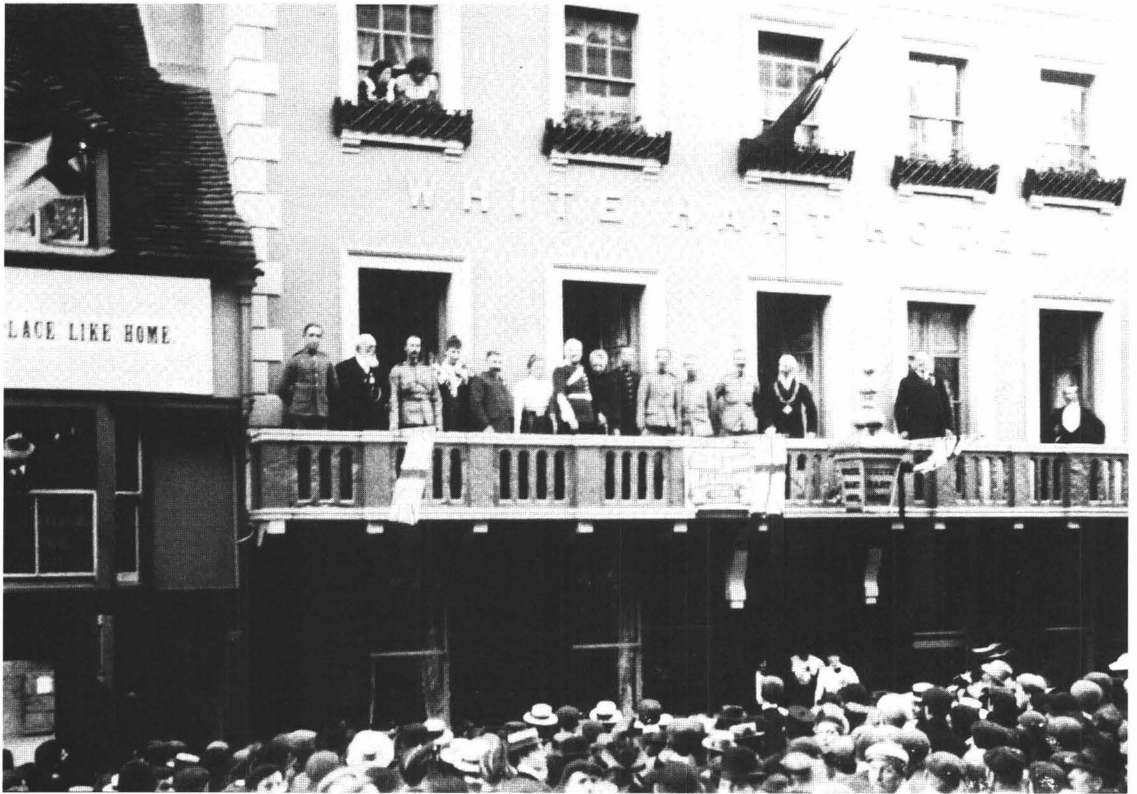

Fig. 2. The ceremony of welcome for the returning Lewes contingent of the first Active Service Volunteer company, 12 June 1901 (the White Hart) (Edward Reeves, Lewes).

me to go out with him . . . he said it does not matter about me passing [the course] for he intends to take me if I have no objection and I have told him I will go' — and then to Canterbury. There 'we have to sleep out in Private Lodgings, we have to find that ourselves out of 35 shillings a week and all food found so it is not so bad', but at mealtimes they were terribly crowded and 'I dont want to stop in this hole much longer'. He had a brief period of leave when at Canterbury and was generously sending his sister money from there (£3 on 25 February). He mentions, just two days before his unit was due to move for embarkation, that 'we have got about 25 absent today, but I suppose they will turn up alright'.

Moore wrote again from Liverpool on the day he embarked (28 February) and twice during the voyage on S. S. *Cymric*. The first of these letters (4 March) reported 'a splendid voyage up to now'; the ship was then nearing the Canaries. On 19 March he wrote that they were due to dock at Capetown around midnight, after 'a splendid voyage all the way', though the conditions for the horses had evidently been appalling. There were some 500 horses on board, of which several died and many fell sick; they had been 'packed in a little box just room to stand' and got no rest. Moore's unit had only 40 horses with them and would need more on reaching the front, but the poor state of those which they had brought out was a sign of troubles to come.

By 3 April he wrote again, from Maitland Camp, now in less good spirits, with indignant expressions about the lack of food and rueful jokes about sand in what there was of it ('the sand at Brighton is a lot better than the sand of South Africa it comes in allright at dinner time serves us for pepper but I dont care much for it'). Though the troops were at work more than twelve hours a day their daily ration was only 'four ounces of meat which is supposed to be a pound and three spuds, 1 pound of bread . . . some times we only get about 2 ounces and yesterday I got nothing so you can guess I am getting my weight down'. A fortnight later he reported 'the horses are very small, they are not really strong enough, 2 or 3 weeks hard work will kill them quite,

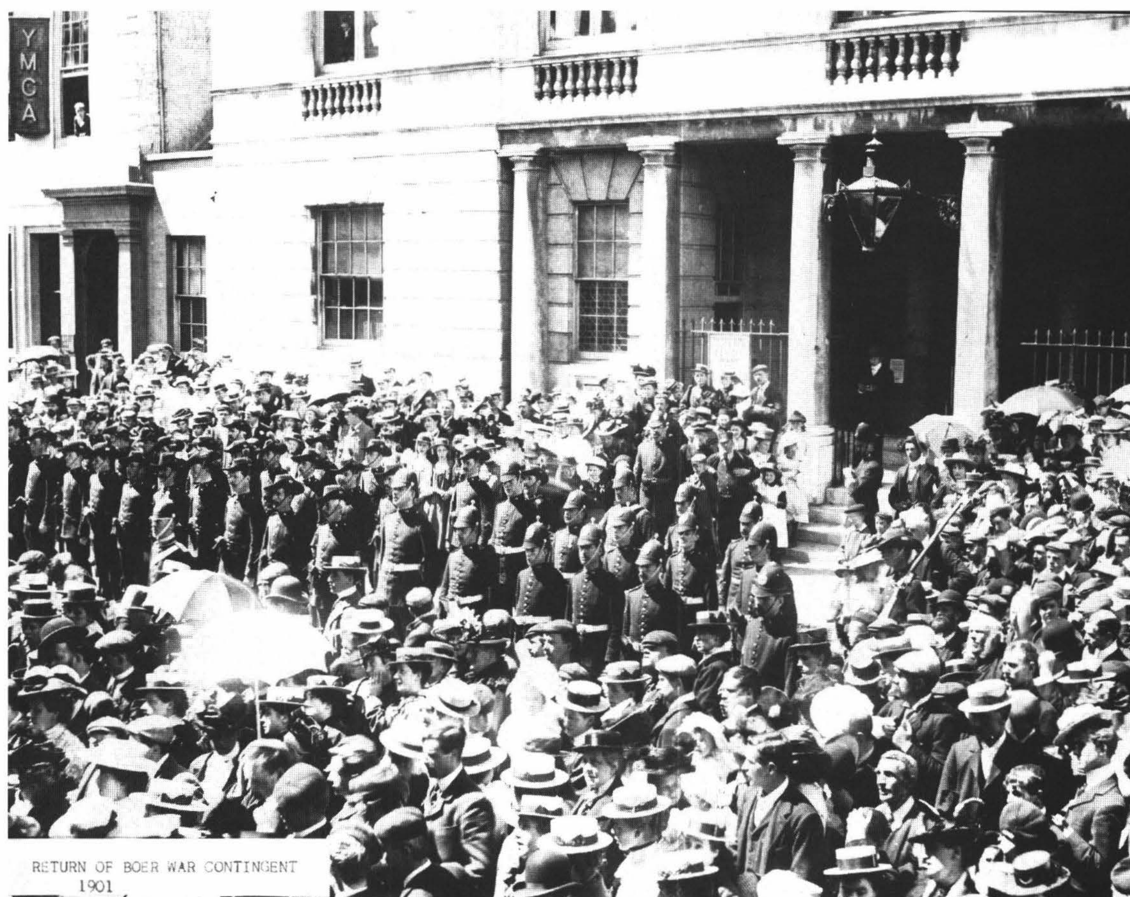

Fig. 3. The same occasion as Fig. 2, seen from the White Hart (Edward Reeves, Lewes).

some of them are nearly dead now'.

In early May, still ill-fed, Moore was on the move and expressing sentiments about Abroad familiar to many generations of British service men: 'Well Flow (sic) if they give me the whole of Africa what I have seen they couldnt get me to stop, nothing but Kopges all through the country, now and then a farm house but I cant think how people can live in such a place'. Soon after this, still short of food ('its nothing to go all day with only a biscuit or two'), he saw some action. In one engagement:

> . . . didnt they let us have it, I cant think how we only lost 2 horses and one man wounded, it is fine sport but I would rather be out of it, especially when the bullets are flying around as I have (sic) one or two narrow shaves but as long as they dont come any closer I shant care . . .

In a later action, described in a letter written on 9 August:

> . . . didnt they pepper us not half we wasent more than two hundred yards and we had to mount our horses and slide just as fast as they could carry us in nothing but a shower of bullets and not a man was hit not even a pony.

Moore mentions in several letters the possibility of joining the police and staying on in South Africa. The pay offered (10s. a day) was good, but 'one would want nearly all that to live on some places', with bread at 3s. a loaf, and anyway there was 'nothing like old England'. Like so many fighting on the British side, he felt that there was a peculiar malignity in the formation of the terrain: 'I never saw such ground in all my life and the worst of it is we cant see them before we are shot at'. By July he had heard rumours that a return to Britain was imminent. At this stage the commanders were extraordinarily optimistic. 'I dont think we shall be much longer so you had better get my clothes aired

now' (12 July). However the campaign continued and by September Moore was reporting on the poor state of British uniforms; one battalion had such ragged trousers that some men were reduced to wearing sacking.

'They are always telling us we are on our way home' (1 September), but by then he was becoming pessimistic and 'I dont believe we shall get home before the end of the year prehaps (sic) not then'. Moore usually ended his letters with an affectionate word about his nephew 'little Jim' and he even wondered 'when is little Jim going to be ready for a soldier?'. Sadly, the author of this series of letters was taken ill and died at Frankfort on 1 January 1901.[45] At least the preservation of the letters has served to preserve his memory.

CASUALTIES

Of the 214 participants named in Barnard's Roll, three are recorded as killed in action and nine as having died.[46] Also nine had been wounded and several had been prisoners of war, usually for a brief period only.

It has been and still is difficult to establish criteria for compiling a list of casualties, as a few examples will demonstrate. Private G. Sinden, a reservist who had served seven years as a regular, was recalled to the 2nd Battalion, Royal West Surreys; he was 28 and had been employed by Mr Kent of the Cliffe. He was wounded in action, later contracted enteric twice and was invalided home and admitted to Netley Military Hospital. Enteric fever, a term which includes typhoid and paratyphoid, was the main cause of death on the British side during the War. The hospital discharged Sinden on 26 June 1900 and he died at home in Malling Street nine days later. He was still a soldier and was buried with full military honours, hundreds of spectators lining the route.[47] He is recorded as a casualty of the War in Barnard's list and on the tablet in the Town Hall. Private S. Williams, also a reservist, had served with the 1st Royal Sussex. He too had been invalided home and at some stage must have been discharged from the army. He died of consumption in the Victoria Hospital, Lewes, on 5 October 1901. His widow had no money for a burial and applied to the Poor Law authorities, but Williams escaped the stigma of a pauper's grave because the news reached William Barnard and, through him, the Mayor, who himself provided the necessary funds. Williams counted as a victim of the War on the town's memorial tablet but since he was not a soldier at the time of his death his name does not appear on the Royal Sussex Regiment's Boer War memorial in Regency Square, Brighton. Private F. I. Thompson was another reservist (he had enlisted in 1888 and served six years in India) who had been recalled to the 1st Royal Sussex in January 1900. He became ill with enteric in South Africa and was invalided home in January 1901, later contracting consumption also, of which he died at his home on 23 May 1902, aged 31. He had been discharged from the army six weeks before his death, therefore military honours could not be rendered at his funeral; Barnard and Captain Howe made enquiries but were warned that such honours would be against regulations. The coffin, covered by a Union Jack, was borne to the churchyard at All Saints by men who had served with Thompson in South Africa. Thompson and Williams had attended the celebratory banquet at Lewes in June 1901. Neither is recorded on the regimental memorial.[48]

Such episodes, which cannot have been rare, presumably reflect among other things a War Office policy of discharging from the service those whose death when in uniform would have had pension implications. A small disability pension was payable to men who had served at least fourteen years with the colours when the invalidity was the result of their service. If a regular was killed on active service his widow was granted one year's pay as a gratuity. In practice a more important financial resource for widows was probably the £5 (with £1 for each child) paid during the War to each widow of a ranker by the charitable Royal Victoria Patriotic Fund.

Two weeks after Thompson's death, John Cox, aged 21, died in Lewes prison whilst awaiting trial for 'a misdemeanour'. Cox, who was not a Lewes man, had served with the 3rd (Militia) Battalion of the Royal Sussex in South Africa, where he had broken a leg and, like so many others, contracted enteric; he had been four months in hospital at Bloemfontein. Invalided out of the army, he had fallen foul of the law and died in gaol of pneumonia following erysipelas.[49] It seems most unlikely that he is recorded in any list of victims of the Boer War.

The death of twelve of Lewes' 214 participants (to adopt Mr Barnard's criteria for inclusion) was probably close to the national average. However the statistics of casualties in the Report of the Royal War Commission (p. 99, App. 5) include only 'killed', 'died' and 'invalided', while omitting all commissioned

officers. By these rather eccentric criteria, about 72,000 of the men who served in South Africa, or about one in six of the total, became casualties. Of these, about one in 13 (5,256) were killed. The deaths in action work out at rather more than 1% of those involved, for Lewes and for the nation as a whole.[50]

It seems worth remarking, à propos Lewes' nine deaths through disease, that some such deaths would have been likely in the age group involved over a period of two and a half years even without the rigours of an active campaign. This is confirmed by the deaths of two members of the local Volunteer force (one of them of consumption) during the same period, whilst not on active service. Moreover it was not peculiar to the Boer War that a very high proportion (about 75%) of the deaths on campaign were not directly due to enemy action. Much the same proportion had applied in the Crimea and during the Indian Mutiny. Even in peacetime, because the army tended to be recruited from the less robust and to live in more unhealthy conditions than civilians, its mortality rate was higher than that of the civilian population.[51]

To bring together the figures for Lewes' direct participation in the War with those for casualties, it would seem likely that of the town's population of some 11,000, no more than a quarter of these (probably less) would have been males of military age. If the suggestion is hazarded that Lewesians within this category numbered rather over two thousand, then somewhere around 10% of them served in the Boer War campaign (though a figure of about 14% has been guessed for the country as a whole).[52] Of the 214 participants, twelve met their deaths through the War, i.e. rather over 5%. Hence perhaps one in 200 of male Lewesians of military age died as a direct result of the campaign. The proportion may seem low, but there was nothing unreal about the anxiety of the time.

FINANCIAL PARTICIPATION

It would be misleading to measure Lewes' contribution solely in terms of military service. Several forms of money-raising characterize the strikingly 'private enterprise' nature of the War.

We may begin with the Sussex Volunteer Equipment Fund launched by Lord Abergavenny, Lord Lieutenant of Sussex, to assist with the equipment of the Sussex element of the Imperial Yeomanry. This was a county enterprise but it involved Lewesian occasions such as the Patriotic Entertainment organized at the Lecture Hall, with singing, conjuring, ventriloquism and slides of the War. The initial appeal 'for aiding the equipment of the Force now being raised for immediate service in South Africa' was soon widened 'to complete the equipment and make other provision for Sussex Volunteers going to the seat of war in South Africa'. One very considerable item was life insurance. In February 1900 it was decided to insure for £250 the life of each of the Volunteers going to the War, the premium per head (agreed at favourable terms with the Prudential) being £5 per annum. Premiums were duly paid in respect of three officers and 147 other ranks of the Special Service Company of the Royal Sussex, the 1st Sussex Engineering Volunteers and the 'Bearer Company' attached to the Royal Sussex's Volunteers, at the cost of £733 7s. 11d.. These policies were renewed (when appropriate) and new insurances made: 238 lives were covered at £5 each by February 1902 and eventually £5700 was paid over to beneficiaries, the Prudential's involvement being demonstrated 'in a most liberal manner'.[53]

Considerable sums were spent from the same Fund on equipment and warm clothing for the Sussex (69th) Company of the Imperial Yeomanry and, as a number of Sussex men had enrolled in the contingents of other counties, grants were made to such of them as were in the Middlesex and Hampshire Companies: these equipment grants amounted to £900. Over £3000 was raised by the first appeal, but the cost of insurance premiums necessitated a further appeal in February 1902 and eventually receipts were £4657, leaving the Fund with a balance of rather over £300. Though most of the money had been expended in the ways described above there was a certain elasticity of definition; for instance a grant of 6d. per day was made to the wife of Colour/Sergeant Instructor Willis 'in recoupment of loss of pay'. The major sums for this county Fund came from Brighton and Hove, Hastings, Worthing, Rye and Chichester. It would be difficult to keep trace of all forms of philanthropy concerned with the War; for example the decision of Lewes' Sons of Temperance to pay from incidental funds the routine sick pay contributions due from reservists who had been recalled was probably typical of many such measures.[54]

Meanwhile there were other charitable appeals in the form of the national Transvaal War Fund, on behalf of which several Lewes churches held special collections on 7 January 1900, and the Mayor of Lewes' own Funds for Refugees and for Widows and

Orphans. The Mayor's Funds reached over £500 by late November 1899, well over £600 by mid-December, thanks to smoking concerts and to donations from Bonfire Societies, firms, churches, 'racing lads', schoolchildren and private individuals.[55]

All this was in addition to the routine charitable activities of the Lewes branch of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association, which acknowledged gifts totalling over £50 from some 30 donors at about the same time. Also an appeal for clothing for the troops came from the Hon. Mrs Charles Brand at Glynde Place and Viscountess Gage at Firle Place. The two ladies were 'putting together a parcel' and wanted flannel shirts, tam o' shanters or fishermen's caps and knitted socks. Definitions of 'comforts' for the troops were very loose. When kind people in Newhaven launched an appeal for these they provided a long list of articles beginning with 'cholera belts' and concluding with 'pocket money', taking in on the way various items of clothing, 'housewifes' for darning and repairs, stationery and tobacco.[56]

The necessity for private initiatives of this sort is illustrated by a letter received by the secretary of the 'Wives and families' fund launched at Hastings for the succour of the dependants of those who had gone to the War. Q. M. S. Hatton, a builder at St Leonards who seems to have been the moving spirit of this body, which raised more than £300, explained that the parents of a certain Mr Martin, who had joined the army, 'have had their only support (their son) taken from them to go to the war' and they 'should be looked after, as they are very respectable and steady people'.[57]

There were also cases which illustrated the truth of Kipling's 'The absent-minded beggar'. A report in the *Sussex Express* (13 Jan. 1900) under the heading 'A Sad Case' related the story of a young woman who pleaded guilty at the Lewes Assizes to attempting to commit suicide. The accused 'had been deceived by a soldier at present in South Africa'. She had found a permanent situation and the court gave her a discharge.

Requests for money did not only concern the welfare of the living. Even before peace had been signed, a Royal Sussex Memorial Fund was set up with the object of erecting a monument in memory of the men of the county regiment who had died in the War. Contributions to the Fund were channelled through nine district offices, one of which was at Lewes. Many old soldiers contributed and rather over £2600 was raised by the autumn of 1905. Of that sum about £1500 had at that time been paid to the sculptor, C. L. Hartwell (£509), to a builder, and an architect and for work designed and carried out in bronze; the monument is in Regency Square, Brighton. The residue was placed in a Benefit Fund, the income from which was to be used to assist men 'who have served or shall serve in the Royal Sussex Regiment, including Militia, Volunteers and Yeomanry'.[58]

CRITICISM AND DOUBTS

Towards the end of the War a Medical Corps Major gave a talk at East Grinstead and was courageous enough to say that 'we had 250,000 men in South Africa and they were not all angels'. This piece of information should not have been found surprising, but many patriots would have found it shocking and its proclamation ill-timed. No doubt the fact had come to the attention of Lewesians in various circumstances, among them an episode which led to a case coming before the Brighton bench in January 1901. A trooper of the 10th Hussars had been arrested as a deserter and sent to Lewes to await escort. The escort party, including a corporal, duly arrived, but instead of undertaking the prescribed journey to Woolwich they went to Brighton and got drunk, with unfortunate consequences. The deserter himself assaulted a ticket collector at Brighton station and this was the cause of his appearance before the magistrates.[59]

Meanwhile doubts about the War itself were not voiced readily even when they were felt. They started among the sort of people who had doubts about all wars — and, in some cases, about all imperialism, though this was a less significant factor in view of a fairly general acceptance of British and other 'white' colonialism.[60] The nationwide split in the Liberal party between the 'Liberal Imperialists' and the 'Pro-Boers' (as critics of the War were opprobriously called) was as deep and embarrassing at Lewes as elsewhere. In December 1899 a lantern lecture had been arranged by the Lewes Liberal and Radical Association on the all-too-germane topic of 'The British Empire'. The attendance was sparse and the lecture itself seems to have passed off peaceably, but disagreement arose in the subsequent discussion. A Mr Virgo thought that 'the present war was one of the most ungodly that had ever taken place', whereas Mr T. R. White, in the chair, 'was of the opinion that if the British Government had obeyed the Boer ultimatum they would be lowering their

national honour of prestige'.[61] The curious phrasing of the newspaper report cannot mask the paradigmatic nature of this Lewes occasion.

Criticism of the War in the country as a whole, organized initially by the Transvaal Committee, was taken up by the South Africa Conciliation Committee, the Stop the War Committee and the League of Liberals against Aggression and Militarism.[62] National figures such as John Morley, John Burns, Lord Bryce and Lloyd George were involved, as was the newspaper editor W. T. Stead. There were certainly Lewesian sympathizers with this cause, such as Mr Virgo, but the organizations concerned were mainly active in London and other cities and do not appear to have sprouted local branches in towns. No trace seems to survive of there having been any pro-Boer meetings at Lewes.

One early expression of opposition to the War was a circular published by a meeting of Sussex members of the Society of Friends. The Rev. Dr Belcher, Rector of St Michael's, made public his rejoinder (in a letter to a Friend) to this circular, of which he had been sent a copy, and later the *Sussex Express* published the text of the original circular. The very prominent Lewes Quaker Mr J. G. Hopkins was also successful in persuading the *Sussex Express* to publish a Minute of the yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends 'expressing sorrow on account of the South African War, appealing to the government to remove misunderstandings and praying for the establishment of an early and durable peace'.[63]

Lewesians came to know who were the pro-Boers, as is clear from an episode during 'Ladysmith Day' reported in the *Sussex Advertiser* (10 March 1900) under the headline 'A Pro-Boer in Hot Water':

> A member of one of our local boards, who has pronounced pro-Boer views, found himself in pretty hot water on Ladysmith day last week. A large number of working-men assembled outside his residence in North St. and treated him to what is called 'rough music' on a motley collection of instruments, musical and unmusical. As the crowd gathered round rather threateningly, the object of their attention hastily barricaded his downstair windows and retreated to his bedroom, from which coign of vantage he assailed his opponents with cold water. After enjoying the fun for some time, and finding that the besieged gentleman would not vacate his stronghold, the crowd dispersed and subsequently took a demonstrative part in the patriotic procession.

Unfortunately it is not possible to identify with certainty the victim of this demonstration. Considerably the most likely candidate seems to be Samuel Thornton, a boot maker, who lived at no. 12 North Street; he was a Liberal and a conscientious member of the Board of Guardians who decided against seeking re-election at this time. Two other residents of North Street who also had Liberal and Nonconformist connections cannot be ruled out: they are Henry Card (no. 10) and Clement Mannington (no. 69).[64]

The affair in North Street was mild compared with some 'rough music' elsewhere; at Midhurst, for instance, disturbances occurred during which hundreds of people thronged the streets. At Tunbridge Wells, on Pretoria night and the two following (5–7 June) there were violent demonstrations against Councillor Dodds. A consequence of this sort of thing was the abandonment of a planned pro-Boer meeting at Hastings under pressure from the local authorities. Lewes was spared the most violent manifestations of both rejoicing and protest. At Newhaven the Mafeking procession led to the appearance in court of four men who were found guilty of having 'used very obscene language and started fighting among themselves', whilst at Robertsbridge several people received severe injuries from improvised bombs ('pieces of metal gas piping charged with gunpowder') during the Ladysmith celebrations.[65]

The Lewes town council's first meeting (6 June 1900) after the news of the capture of Pretoria was a potentially embarrassing occasion. It was clear that congratulatory messages should be sent to the Queen and the commander-in-chief, but the Mayor and his deputy happened to be absent, hence the chairman for the occasion was Caleb Kemp, a Quaker (a former Mayor). Kemp explained that 'it had been remarked to him since he came on the premises that some few words would be expected from the occupant of the chair' about the military successes. 'As his friends knew very well he approached war and warlike proceedings from a different viewpoint than the majority of Englishmen'. He then took the opportunity to express his own minority views. Apart from a fervent prayer that 'peace might be lasting and durable', he hoped that under the British flag 'rule might be maintained of justice and of magnanimity and liberty to all classes of the people', with 'equal rights to all people there, as far as possible, even including the coloured races (hear,

hear and applause)'. After this unwonted reference to the vast majority of South Africa's population, Kemp's motion proposing the congratulatory messages was carried.[66]

It was not till 1901 that the pro-Boer cause was reinforced by awareness in Britain, thanks mainly to Miss Emily Hobhouse, of the conditions prevailing in the camps in which the Boer civilian population had been interned. Emily Hobhouse's campaign was assisted by the protest of the Liberal leader Campbell-Bannerman, first in a speech to the National Reform Union and later in the Commons, against 'methods of barbarism'. Disillusionment at the prolongation of the campaign must have been another factor. Certainly criticism of the War came much more into the open in Lewes from around the time of Campbell-Bannerman's famous outburst (14 June 1901). Opposition by Liberal women had begun on a national scale in May, when the council of the Women's Liberal Federation passed by a large majority a motion criticizing the conduct of the War and the demand for unconditional surrender. This was echoed in June at the monthly meeting of Lewes' Women's Liberal Association at the Co-operative Hall. The Association was a body normally concerned with such matters as the evils of drink, but on this occasion it passed unanimously resolutions in favour of women's suffrage, peace and arbitration. Unanimity on the controversial question of the War suggests that very strong feelings had been aroused. A large part in this must have been played by Miss Hobhouse's campaign.[67]

By the late summer of 1901 objections to the War were being expressed more openly and widely and some unexpected conversions were made. Mr John Burder of Barcombe, who was a member of the Lewes Board of Guardians and of the Chailey Rural Council, was a public-spirited gentleman who, in the words of the *Sussex Advertiser*'s 'Notes by the Way', 'has always struck me as being a Conservative familiarly known as the "good old sort"'. Yet at the meeting of the Board on 23 August he gave notice of a resolution: 'That this Board of Guardians respectfully memorialize H. M. Government to offer such terms of peace in South Africa as may be acceptable to a brave and struggling people; and further to grant such a measure of self-government (free from Colonial Office control) as may tend to consolidate the vast Empire of our gracious King, and to bring about that peace, goodwill and harmony which are consistent with the aspirations of our Christian brotherhood'. At the next meeting (6 September) the chairman not surprisingly ruled that Mr Burder's resolution — the phrasing of which seems to have been entirely his own work — was 'out of order'. This was hardly a motion for a body concerned with the application of the Poor Law, nevertheless Mr Burder's action was an interesting straw in the wind.[68] In the same month the Rev. Dr Belcher complained in his sermon at St Michael's (22 September) that 'this town of late, and his parish included, had been placarded with appeals inviting them to be of a peaceable spirit'. He believed that 'these appeals had been put there by persons for whom he had the greatest respect' (he was not more specific about the nature of these notices or what organization inspired them), but 'the peace they desired was that there should be peace at all hazards', whereas 'true Christian peace' was not always the same as this. He thought the history of the Roman Empire a warning of the dangers of a lengthy peace since as a result of this 'an Empire fell to pieces like rotten cheese'.[69]

By the last winter of the War prevalent feelings had changed considerably and the very patriotic Mayor, William Gates, was clearly reacting to Miss Hobhouse's campaign when he spoke defensively of 'the kindness which the Boer women and children had received in the concentration camps'.[70]

PEACE

On 2 June 1902 the Mayor, aldermen and burgesses were able at last 'to offer to His Majesty their respectful and sincere congratulations on the restoration of Peace'.[71] There was now a different emphasis in the mayoral speeches. 'They would say to the Boers: "Come with us, brothers, and let us join together in this great empire."' The Boers had shown great valour' and the British 'were anxious to hold out the hand of fellowship'. This admirable willingness to abandon the bellicose note which had marked Gates' earlier official pronouncements was accompanied by predictable statements of general relief. The chairman of a meeting of Lewes Nonconformists which had originally been called to protest about the Education Bill said that 'a great, grim load had been lifted off the nation's heart by the glad news of peace'.[72] One has the impression that a good many people had felt doubts about the prolongation of the War but had been too cautious to rock the patriotic boat by expressing their doubts in public. The sermon delivered at a thanksgiving service on 8 June by Mr J. P. Morris, the minister

of the Eastgate Baptist church, is interesting in this connection.[73] Mr Morris suggested that the circumstances of the War could now be dispassionately considered. There was 'little room for British boasting'. The Boer had been 'a brave, self-reliant, resourceful, and, in many respects, a much-to-be-admired opponent'. As 'our thoughts naturally turned to widows and orphans in Africa', the preacher proposed that the churches in England should initiate a fund for them. 'Such an action would magnify the British character and give to the "peace" declared a sacred importance'.

Mr Morris' proposal does not seem to have borne fruit, but his sermon is an impressive instance of impartiality and magnanimity. The mood was a chastened one and the voices which now spoke out were distant from the characteristic patriotism of the previous three years, when the Boers had been 'contemptible people' who 'had no business' in South Africa.

AFTERMATH

In some ways, not all agreeable for them, Lewesians had grown up in the years 1900 to 1902. After 'peace Sunday' (8 June 1902), with its many sermons, the War was still much in mind, with soldiers returning from Africa and recruitment to the Volunteers high. When the customary municipal party undertook the ceremonial 'Treading the Bounds' ten days later, it was understandable that the minutes should describe them as having come to resemble 'a Boer commando rather than a body of respectable citizens of the borough of Lewes'.[74]

In 1904 the commemorative tablet (paid for by public subscription) based on Barnard's Roll of Honour was unveiled in the Town Hall; an earlier suggestion of commemorative chalk figures on the Downs, of rampant lions, came to nothing.[75] There was no topographical extension of Lewes in these years, hence the town lacks the street names which recall the Boer War in so many places, for instance Mafeking Road, Kimberley Road, Ladysmith Road, Natal Road, Redvers Road, Buller Road, Baden Road and Milner Road, all of which lie in northeast Brighton in the angle between Lewes Road and Bear Road.

A good deal of anxiety had been felt as to whether those who had left jobs to serve in South Africa would get them back. As early as the summer of 1900 an Active Service Volunteer, Private A. Williams, wrote to the Mayor, of whom he was a former employee, to ask about his chances of employment as a clerk on his return. This question was one which was to exercise the next Mayor, Gates. At a dinner in honour of returning Volunteers he mentioned his sincere hope that 'those men who left their employment to fight for their country would find work now that they had come back. If any of them who had returned had been unable to obtain work he hoped the fact would be made known in order that something might be done. He should do his best to help them in this matter. (Cheers)'. It is not clear whether this speech had consequences, or indeed whether there were instances of out-of-work ex-soldiers, but a month later, at the St Michael's Cricket Club dinner, the Mayor again appealed to employers and others to do all they could to find work for soldiers who had come home from the war. He asked them not to believe that soldiers were unfit for work.[76] In the absence of other evidence (and in an age of casual employment rather than long-term unemployment) it is likely that Gates, who incidentally commanded the Newhaven Volunteers, was simply being benevolent in a generalized sort of way, without having encountered instances of unemployment.

The unfortunate Trooper Moore had considered staying on in South Africa and undoubtedly some Lewesians did this, though it is difficult to trace them or the length of their stay. At least two members of the Volunteers enlisted in the South African Constabulary and one of the Active Service Volunteers, Private Ansell, did not return with his contingent because he had joined the South African Scouts; however, Ansell was back in Lewes by September 1902.[77]

Only 12 years passed between the Peace of Vereeniging and the outbreak of the 'Great War', in which a far greater proportion of Lewesians was involved and casualties were more catastrophic. In the folk memory of regulars and reservists on the Western Front in 1914–18 the Boer War was a quite recent and often-mentioned event.[78] The 1914–18 Lewes War Memorial at the top of School Hill records six names which are on the Boer War roll of service: J. Moore, J. Thorpe, J. Wood (all Royal Sussex), A. Page, A. Richardson (both Dragoon Guards), F. Funnell. The surnames are sufficiently common for there to be a clear possibility that a homonym, rather than the same man, was involved, but certainly some of these had returned safely from South Africa only to perish in the greater conflict.

Some of the 'fever wagons' which had been used

as horse-drawn ambulances in South Africa were later shipped home and, oddly enough, one which had been disembarked at Newhaven ended up in the 1930s near Firle, serving as a caravan for Eric Ravilious, that unsurpassed painter of the South Downs, and his friends.[79]

The choice of Lewes as a microcosm seems justified by its typical share of participants and casualties, as well as by the characteristic roles of hectic celebration after early military disappointments and the slow emergence of doubts and criticism. Certainly not a great turning-point in British history nor even an episode which left a very deep impression, it serves conveniently as a sort of chronological magnifying-glass beneath which we can perceive in detail the attitudes and institutions, now so strange to us, of our ancestors a century ago, so full of enthusiasm and enterprise, so deficient in scepticism.

Acknowledgements

The extracts from Tpr Moore's letters are published by kind permission of Mrs V. C. Davey and the West Sussex Record Office and the illustrations by that of Mr L. S. Davey, the West Sussex Record Office (Fig. 1) and Edward Reeves (Castle Studio, Lewes). I have received generous assistance in my research from Prof. Olive Anderson; Dr C. Brent; Mrs J. Brent; Mr L. S. Davey; Dr John Ramsden; Mr C. H. C. Whittick; Mrs Margaret Whittick; Prof. Glyndwr Williams; the staffs of the East and West Sussex Record Offices, the Brighton Reference Library, the library of the Sussex Archaeological Society and the Newspaper Library, Colindale (British Library).

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NOTES

1 *Kelly's Directory of Sussex* (London, 1899), 442.

2 Captain Gates, later mayor of Lewes, 'proceeded to condemn the apathy of the young men of the town to the Volunteer movement . . . It was a standing disgrace', *Sussex Advertiser* (hereafter *SAdv*), 22 Jan. 1900. Hugh Cunningham, *The Volunteer Force. A Social and Political History 1859–1908* (London, 1975), *passim*.

3 Statement by speaker at East Grinstead, *Sussex & Surrey Courier*, 24 Feb. 1900.

4 *Sussex Agricultural Express* (hereafter *SAE*), 30 Dec. 1899; East Sussex Record Office (hereafter ESRO), BLE/A1/3, f. 84; *SAE*, 7 Oct. 1899; the celebration of Trafalgar Day at Lewes appears to have been an innovation of the mayor George Holman (*SAdv*, 23 Oct. 1899).

5 ESRO, BLE/A2/19, f. 82v. A speaker at the Rifle Volunteers prize distribution in 1899 'believed it was owing to the battle of Lewes that the Houses of Parliament were in the excellent condition they were now in' (*SAdv*, 30 Oct. 1899).

6 ESRO, BLE/A1/3, f. 18.

7 *SAE*, 21 Oct. 1899.

8 Quoted in S. Koss, *The Pro-Boers* (Chicago/London, 1973), 95.

9 *SAE*, 8 Nov. 1899 and 28 May 1901.

10 *SAE*, 25 Nov. 1899.

11 *SAE*, 17 Feb. 1900, 7 June 1902, 29 Oct. 1901.

12 *SAE*, 26 May 1900, 15 May 1900, 28 Apr. 1900.

13 *SAE*, 22 Dec. 1900.

14 *Brighton & Hove Guardian*, 17 Apr. 1901.

15 *SAE*, 6 Oct. 1900, 26 Feb. 1901; *East Sussex News. Brighton Observer & Hove Mail* (hereafter *ESN*), 22 Feb. 1901; *SAE*, 27 Jan. 1900.

16 *SAE*, 9 Dec. 1899.

17 *SAE*, 9 Dec. 1899 (see also *ESN*, 19 Jan. 1900). *Rudyard Kipling's Verse* Definitive Edition (London, 1943), 459–60. On Kipling and the War see G. Shepperson, 'Kipling and the Boer War' in J. Gross (ed.), *Rudyard Kipling: the Man, his Work and his World* (London, 1972), 82–8. Official permission to marry was normally restricted to six men in each Company of 100 (A. R. Skelley, *The Victorian Army at Home. The Recruitment and Terms and Conditions of the British Regular, 1856–1899* (London/Montreal, 1977), 30–31).

18 *SAE*, 27 Oct. 1900.

19 *SAE*, 4 & 8 Nov. 1899, 6 Nov. 1900, 6 Nov. 1901, 8 Nov. 1902.

20 *SAE*, 26 May 1900, 26 Feb. 1901.

21 *SAE*, 30 Dec. 1899, 29 Dec. 1900.

22 *SAE*, 3 March 1900 (for Mr R. H. Powell see *SAdv*, 9 Oct. 1899 etc.).

23 *SAE*, 22 May 1900.

24 *SAE*, 9 June 1900, 18 Jan. 1902; *ESN*, 8 June 1900.

25 *SAE*, 7 June 1902.

26 ESRO, BLE/A1/3, ff. 222–3 & BLE/A2/20, f. 83r & v.; *SAE*, 10 June 1902.

27 *ESN*, 13, 20, 27 June 1902 and reprinted as separate publication (made available to me by the kindness of Mr L. S. Davey).

28 In 1899, 98% of reservists rejoined, a total of some 80,000 men. The treatment of both C. H. Madden, 'The Volunteer Forces in Sussex', *Sussex County Mag.* **13** (1939), 639–42, and G. Pass, 'The Royal Sussex Regiment in the Great Boer War', *Sussex County Mag.* **18** (1944), 100–102, is necessarily very brief.

29 For the Active Service Volunteer companies see E. A. C. Fazan, *Cinque Ports Battalion* (Chichester, 1971), 66–81.

30 *SAE*, 27 Jan., 3 March, 5 June 1900; *SAdv*, 30 Oct. 1899, 17 Dec. 1900 (Blake).

31 For those whose units are not recorded (only the corps being given) it would be difficult to attempt research at the Public Record Office or regimental repositories since vast numbers of men are involved, the surnames are often common ones (and some lack army numbers).

32 M. H. Grant, in *History of the War in South Africa, 1899–*

1902 **4** (London, 1910), App. 14 & 15 (677–9). These figures probably omit troops raised in South Africa and perhaps those from India. Compare the figures in Skelley, *The Victorian Army at Home*, 301. Skelley suggests a total of 448,000, composed thus: regulars and reservists from Britain, 238,000; regulars from India, 18,000; colonials, 30,000; raised in South Africa, 52,000; British militia, yeomanry and volunteers, 110,000. Compare also R. C. K. Ensor, *England 1870–1914* (Oxford, 1936), 347, for an estimate of 450,000 as a total, of which 250,000 were British regulars.

[33] *ESN*, 9, 16 & 23 March, 22 June 1900; also *SAE*, 27 Feb., 9 June 1900.

[34] E. M. Spiers, *The Army and Society, 1815–1914* (London, 1980), 239 (shipping); for insurance see below.

[35] *SAdv*, 29 Apr. 1901. Since Willis was serving with the Active Service Volunteer company his wife may have been ineligible for the normal 6d. per day separation allowance (plus 2d. per child) due to regulars in respect of active duty abroad: see Skelley, 216.

[36] On 23 Jan. 1901 the *Brighton and Hove Guardian* reported: 'Mr G. C. Morphett (Royal Sussex Regiment) sailed again for South Africa last Saturday. It will be remembered that Mr Morphett was invalided home some time ago . . .'.

[37] *SAE*, 5, 15, 26, 29 May, 9 June, 7 July, 4 Aug., 27 Oct. 1900.

[38] *SAE*, 7 Apr., 2 June 1900; *SAdv*, 26 March, 7 May 1900; *ESN*, 13 Apr. 1900. The *SAdv* rather specialized in publishing letters to family and friends (e.g. 26 March, 16 & 23 Apr., 7 May, 4 & 11 June, 2 July 1900).

[39] *ESN*, 19 Jan. 1900 (letter of E. Reed); *SAE*, 10 & 20 Feb., 3 March 1900.

[40] *SAE*, 3 Apr. 1900; Fazan, *Cinque Ports Battalion*, 69–72.

[41] *SAdv*, 5 Nov. 1900; *SAE*, 7 Dec. 1901.

[42] *SAE*, 28 May, 2, 15, 22 June 1901.

[43] *Ibid.*, 28 June, 5 July, 20 Sept (and 7 Oct. for similar dinner at Rye), 11 Oct (*cf.* 10 Feb. 1900) 1902.

[44] West Sussex Record Office (hereafter WSRO), RSR, Mss 1/106 (unfoliated). I have taken some liberties with Tpr Moore's — or his copyist's — punctuation, to make for easier reading. For information about the family I am greatly indebted to Mr and Mrs L. S. Davey of Burgess Hill. Mrs Davey is a granddaughter of Emily Florence Urry. The discharge papers are RSR, Mss 2/23. For the Spring Gardens (later St Pancras Gardens) address, *ESN*, 11 Jan. 1901 and *SAdv*, 14 Jan. 1901.

[45] The cause of death is recorded as 'cancer on the liver' or 'abscess of the liver': *SAE*, 12 & 15 Jan. 1901; *ESN*, 11 Jan. 1901; *SAdv*, 14 Jan. 1901; Roll of Honour (Barnard).

[46] To the three killed should perhaps be added the name of Tpr H. White of the 19th Hussars, severely wounded on 1 Oct. 1901 but 'reported from South Africa and twice afterwards confirmed by the War Office as being killed' (Barnard Roll). However his name was not included on the memorial tablet.

[47] *ESN*, 6 July 1900; *SAE*, 10 July 1900.

[48] *SAE*, 12 Oct. 1901, 24 May 1902; *ESN*, 23 May 1902.

[49] *SAE*, 10 June 1902; *ESN*, 13 June 1902. For pensions see Skelley, 52, 206–10, 216–18, 233.

[50] R. J. S. Simpson, *The Medical History of the War in South Africa* (London, 1911), 48–9. The statistics in the official *History of the War in South Africa* **4**, 680–97, exclude the category of 'invalided' and are even more unsatisfactory; their criteria produce a total of about 55,000 casualties.

[51] *SAE*, 22 Sept. 1900 (Pte J. Smith), 20 Apr. 1901 (Bdr Reed). For losses in other wars see Spiers, *Army and Society*, 158 and Simpson, 53, 55, 57.

[52] M. D. Blanch in P. Warwick (ed.), *The South African War. The Anglo-Boer War 1899–1902* (London, 1980), 229.

[53] *SAE*, 13 Jan., 3 March 1900; ESRO, LCV/6/EW 11 & LCV/1/EW 4; *ESN*, 21 Feb. 1902. A delighted soldier wrote: 'Yesterday . . . we were all insured for £250 by the county' (*Sussex & Surrey Courier*, 24 Feb. 1900).

[54] ESRO, LCV/6/EW 11, LCV/1/ EW 3–4; for private subscriptions in aid of Mrs Willis see above; *ESN*, 24 Nov. 1899.

[55] *SAE*, 31 Oct., 11, 15 , 21, 28 Nov., 2, 16 Dec. 1899. There are archival remains of Sussex's contribution to the national (Lord Mayor of London's) Transvaal War Fund in ESRO, C/C, 54/7, but none of this relates to Lewes.

[56] *SAE*, 2 & 8 Dec.1899; *SAdv*, 22 Jan. 1900.

[57] WSRO, RSR, Mss 5/37 (Hastings Fund for Volunteers (Cinque Ports) and dependents).

[58] WSRO, RSR, Mss 11/6.

[59] *Sussex & Surrey Courier*, 15 March 1902; *Brighton & Hove Guardian*, 30 Jan. 1901.

[60] Note the opinion of K. O. Morgan in 'Wales and the Boer War', *Welsh Hist. Rev.* **4** (1969), that 'at the high noon of Anglo-Saxon imperialism, some Welshmen, too, sought to claim their place in the sun' (380).

[61] *SAE*, 2 Jan. 1900.

[62] See Koss, *Pro-Boers*, *passim*.

[63] *SAE*, 24 Feb., 3 March, 16 June 1900: for Mr Hopkins see D. Hitchin, *Quakers in Lewes* (Lewes, 1984), 80.

[64] There was a briefer report, not naming the street, in *ESN*, 9 March 1900 ('it having been rumoured that his sympathies were with the Boers'). For residents of North Street see *Kelly's Directory of Sussex* (1899), 446–54. For Thornton's decision not to seek re-election *ESN*, 16 March 1900. The episode was not reported in the *SAE*. See also 'Rough Music' by E. P. Thompson in his *Customs in Common* (London, 1991), 467–538 (with a reference to rough music visited upon 'pro-Boers' in Sussex, 531).

[65] *SAE*, 3 March & 2 June 1900; Sussex Archaeol. Soc. Library, album 'War Cuttings etc., 1899–1915', ff. 5, 7 (Midhurst); Koss, 114–15, 118; R. N. Price, *An Imperial War and the British Working-Class. Working-class Attitudes and Reactions to the Boer War, 1899–1902* (London, 1972), esp. 139–40.

[66] ESRO, BLE/A2/20, f. 83 & v; BLE/A1/3, ff. 113, 120.

[67] Koss, 207–10; *SAdv*, 24 June 1901.

[68] *SAdv*, 26 Aug., 11 Sept. 1901 (for another reference to Mr Burder, 10 March 1902); *ESN*, 13 Sept. 1901.

[69] *SAE*, 24 Sept. 1901.

[70] *SAE*, 22 Feb. 1902.

[71] ESRO, BLE/A1/3, ff. 222–3 and A2/20, f. 83 & v.

[72] *SAE*, 7 June 1902.

[73] *ESN*, 13 June 1902.

[74] ESRO, BLE/A2/22, ff. 95–6; for the 'Mad Mullah', see above.

[75] *ESN*, 2 Nov. 1900.

[76] *SAE*, 9 June 1900, 20 Sept. & 25 Oct. 1902.

[77] *Ibid.*, 28 June & 20 Sept. 1902; *SAdv*, 12 May 1902.

[78] See, for example, David Jones, *In Parenthesis* (London, 1937), ix, 136, 142–3, 183 (concerns the Royal Welch Fusiliers).

[79] Helen Binyon, *Eric Ravilious* (London, 1983), 68–9.

Short articles

A polished flint axe from Seaford Head, East Sussex

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Following a cliff fall in July 1993, a polished flint axe (Fig. 1) was found by Mr P. Hudson of Seaford on the beach under Seaford Head at TQ494978. It was found amongst sandy clay soil which may have been the remains of the matrix in which it was situated before the cliff fall.

The axe is 181 mm long, 41 mm broad, 68 mm wide at the cutting edge and weighs 862 g. It has a cream to grey-brown patination which is typical of that on flint mined from the chalk of the South Downs. The whole surface of the axe has been polished except for some areas where there are deeper flaking scars, into which the polishing has not reached. The axe is of the thick-butted type I variety (Adkins *et al.* 1978), and as such could date to any part of the Neolithic (Holgate 1988). It is in excellent condition with a finely sharpened cutting edge and is completely undamaged except for one or two minor chips which may have been caused during the cliff fall. There is no indication that it has been hafted although there is some abrasion on the butt end. Although it was probably intended as a wood-cutting or tree-felling tool, its condition suggests that it has almost certainly never been utilized, and may, therefore, have been a votive deposit.

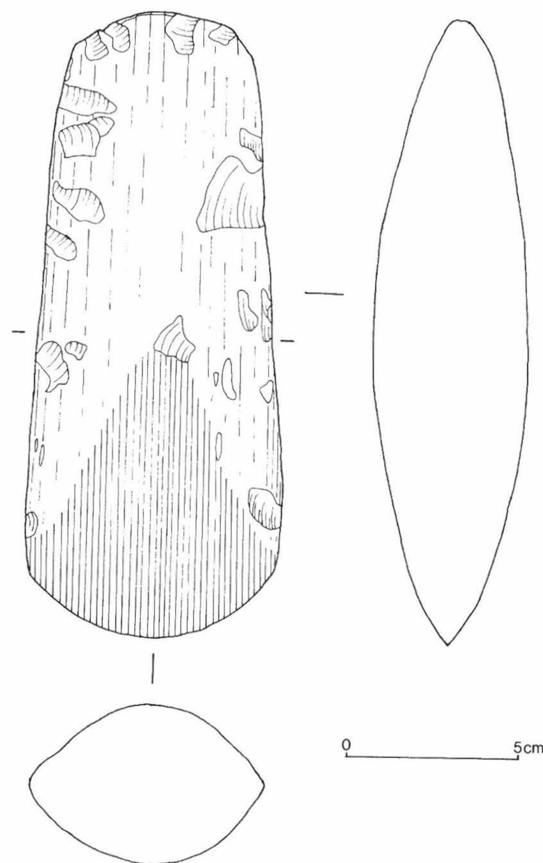

Fig. 1. Polished Neolithic axe from Seaford Head.

There have been many finds of Neolithic flintwork nearby, especially immediately to the east of Seaford Head. Flintwork was collected here by W. J. Mortimore and E. D. Arundell in the late 1940s and 1950s (SN&Q 13), and generally around Seaford by Messrs Hurrell and Price Jones (Holden 1979). Amongst the many flint implements found are polished axes, leaf-shaped arrowheads and petit-tranchet arrowheads, which are all distinctive types of Neolithic flintwork. A further 'reflaked polished flint axe' from Seaford is known from the Hewlett collection in Canada (Drewett 1983) and other axes have been found in the sea, off Seaford Head, where they had probably been deposited by earlier cliff falls.

Seaford Head itself is the site of an Iron Age hillfort, and there is a barrow inside the hillfort which, when opened in 1876, produced Early Bronze Age material. More recent excavations have not located any Neolithic activity there (Bedwin 1986).

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A Neolithic polished flint axe from Hand Cross

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The axe illustrated was handed to the writer recently, found at High Beeches Nursery, Hand Cross (TQ 279 308). Of Neolithic date it is of polished flint, heavily patinated, with some

iron staining. Obviously well-used, the end shows damage sustained in antiquity.

The axe is now in the possession of the finder at the Nursery.

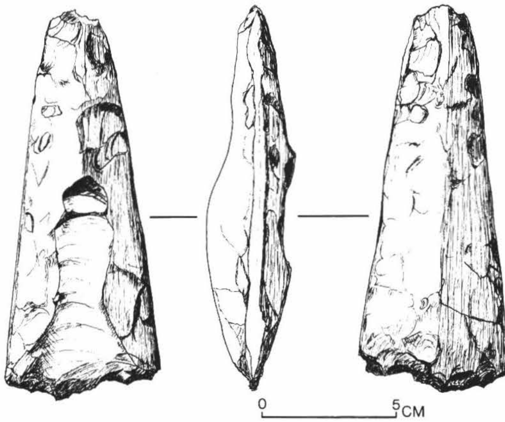

Fig. 1. A polished flint axe from Hand Cross.

A collection of Late Anglo-Saxon pottery from St Mary's Church, Walberton

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Limited excavation was undertaken by the Field Archaeology Unit, University College, London, in the churchyard of St Mary's church, Walberton, in advance of the installation of a septic tank. The excavation had been requested by the County Archaeologist's office and was conducted under a faculty issued by the Chancellor of the diocese.

St Mary's is of medieval origin and possible pre-Conquest elements have been noted. For example, the re-use of Roman brick and tile in the nave walls work may represent earlier work. Such evidence suggests that within the graveyard there may exist, inter alia, unmarked medieval graves and Romano-British deposits not directly associated with the church.

No medieval graves were found during the excavation, but two medieval features were recorded at a depth of about 1.5 m, above which level any 'archaeological' deposits had been truncated by a complex series of later, probably 18th- or 19th-century burials. Of greater interest, however, was the recovery of a collection of medieval pottery, predominantly late Saxon in date.

A total of 65 medieval sherds was recovered from the excavation and although almost all were from residual contexts, the sherds are largely of one date. With the exception of four sherds which are probably Binsted ware (late-13th–early-15th century), and of one sherd which is possibly early Anglo-Saxon, the remainder are late Anglo-Saxon.

The Anglo-Saxon pottery closely parallels the excavated collection from Botolphs (Gardiner 1990) in the Adur valley, where ten Saxo-Norman fabrics were recognized, of which five are present at Walberton. Similar wares are also known from the Chapel Street kilns at Chichester. The greater part of the pottery, therefore, belongs to the period AD 900–1100. The most common fabric was Adur Valley DA, and its sandy variant DB. The few rim forms that are present are also characteristic of this period.

The single sherd of possible early Anglo-Saxon date is too badly abraded to allow certain identification, but the inclusion of organic temper and its soft, fine, sandy fabric make it similar to some of the pottery from Highdown Hill.

The majority of sherds were not badly abraded, which suggests that they had not been moved far from their original place of deposition. It would not be unreasonable to posit that the graves had been dug into archaeological deposits and the artefacts incorporated along with the disturbed contexts into the grave fills.

This small collection of pottery confirms the archaeological potential of the site suggested by the County Archaeologist and underlines the desirability of undertaking such archaeological recording whenever areas of such high potential are to be disturbed.

The archive is stored at Littlehampton museum: accession number A1807.

REFERENCE

Gardiner, M. 1990. An Anglo-Saxon and medieval settlement at Botolphs, Bramber, West Sussex, *Archaeological Journal* **147**, 216–75.

Seal matrix from Tarring, West Sussex

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In 1992 Mr J. Hersey of Tarring found a medieval seal matrix in his garden (TQ 135043). The matrix has been retained by the finder.

The seal matrix (Fig. 1) is made of lead and is 29 mm in diameter. It is carved in intaglio with the inscription +S':AVICIE:UXORIS:FRANC (The seal of Avice, wife of Francis). The inscription is bordered by incised bands. The centre is decorated with a crudely incised crescent which partly encloses an 8-pointed star. At the top of the reverse, there is a cast suspension loop.

Seal matrices of this type were common in the medieval period and are difficult to date unless they can be associated with a known individual; in this case there is no such association. To have a seal in her own name, Avice must have been a woman of some standing. Women seldom held land in their own right unless they had inherited it before their marriage. Lead seals are less common than those made of silver or latten, and this one is at the smaller end of the size range. Small lead personal seals most commonly date to the late 13th or early 14th centuries and there is no reason to think that this one falls outside this date range.

Acknowledgement
I would like to thank Jane Russell for drawing the seal matrix.

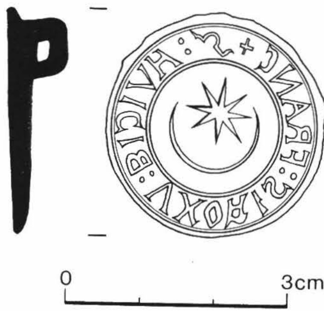

Fig. 1. Seal matrix from Tarring.

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A 7th-century gilt-bronze mount from East Preston, West Sussex

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In late 1992 Mr F. Salvia uncovered a gilt-bronze mount in his garden at Saxon Close, East Preston (TQ076031). He took the mount to Worthing Museum for identification. It was later bought by the Museum and given the Accession number 1993/32.

The mount (Fig. 1) is circular, 37 mm in diameter and 3 mm thick. It is made of bronze and the surface has been gilded. Some of the gilding has been damaged. The body of the mount is covered with Style II ornament. There is a white paste setting in the centre of the disc. This would originally have enclosed a garnet or piece of glass which is,unfortunately, missing. The main body of the mount is decorated with Style II interlaced animal ornament enclosed by two outer rings. The disc is pierced by two asymmetric pairs of holes. One pair is slightly larger than the other. They appear to be secondary, since they pierce the decoration. The back of the disc is plain, apart from a shallow, raised circle in the centre, which may be the remains of an attachment stud.

Fig. 1. 7th-century mount from East Preston.

The mount was probably used to decorate a box or shield and the closest parallel to the decoration is on a gilt-bronze mount from Caenby, Lincs. (Speake 1980, fig. 10g & pl. 15j). This similarity reinforces the dating of the East Preston mount, on purely stylistic grounds, to the early 7th century. Saxon Close is only 2.5 km from the important Saxon cemetery site of Highdown, which went out of use in the late 6th century. The mount is especially interesting, since it is the first piece of early 7th-century metalwork to have been found in this part of West Sussex.

Acknowledgements
I would like to thank Linda Stiles for drawing the mount and Leslie Webster of the British Museum for help in dating it.

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A *Mensa* stone found at Rustington Parish Church

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In January 1993 the Field Archaeology Unit (University College London) was commissioned by Rustington Parochial Church Council to undertake an archaeological watching brief. Masonry was removed for the purpose of investigating wet rot in the Lady Chapel and north transept of Rustington Parish Church. The parish church of Ss Peter and Paul is situated at the junction of Sea Lane and The Street in Rustington (TQ 051023).

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Traces of a small stone-built church, thought to have been built soon after the Norman Conquest have been found, but are not now visible (Heynes 1983). The church was considerably enlarged in *c.* 1170, by the addition of a south aisle and a tower, and possibly the north aisle. In *c.* 1220 the side chapel was added to the north transept and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, now known as the Lady Chapel (*cf.* Peckham 1948). In 1861 the church was 'considerably restored' and it was at this time that the church floor was tiled throughout, including the centre of the chapel.

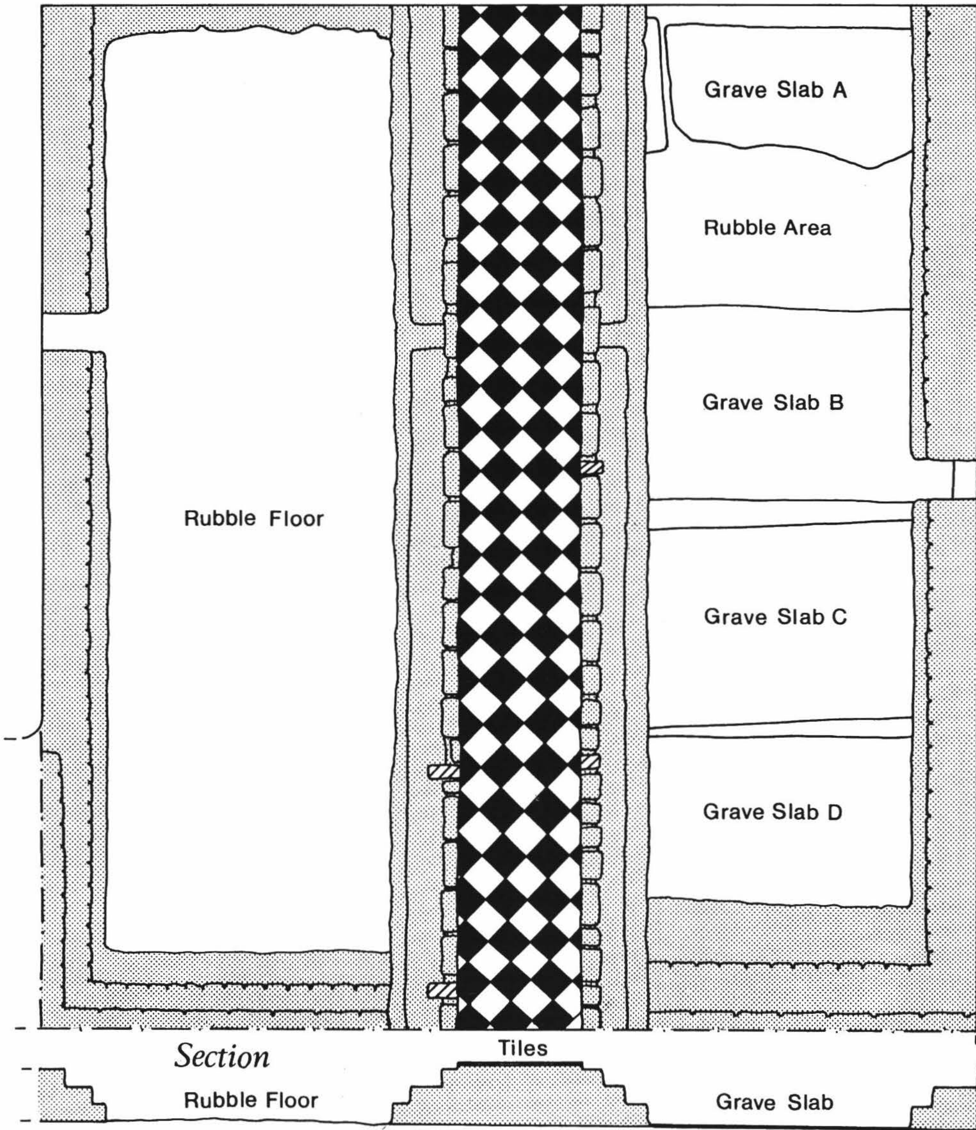

Fig. 1. Plan of Lady Chapel, Rustington Parish Church.

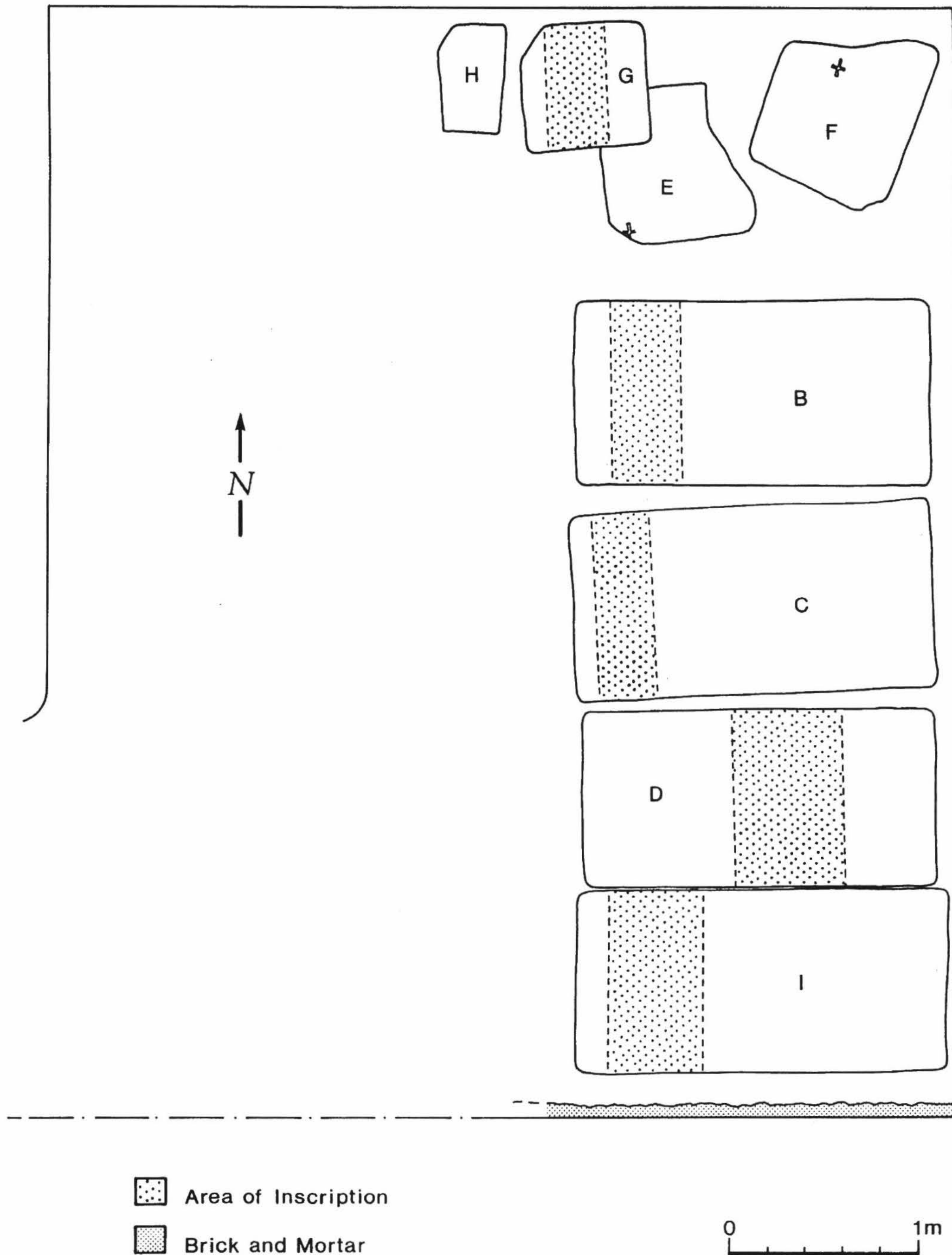

Fig. 2. Plan of location of grave slabs and *mensa* stone.

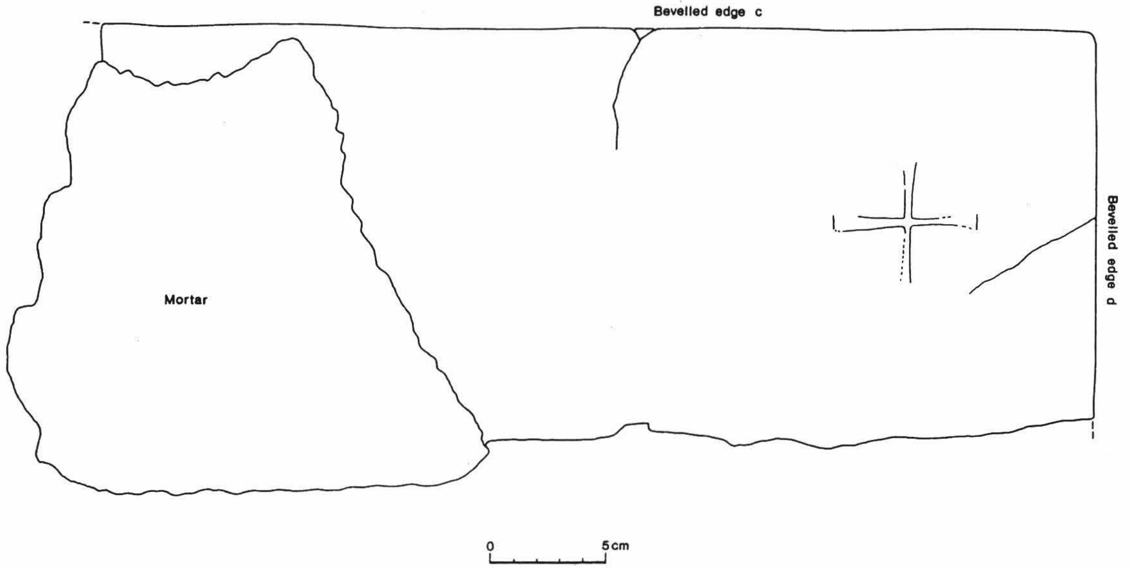

Fig. 3. Slabs E and F: the *mensa* stone.

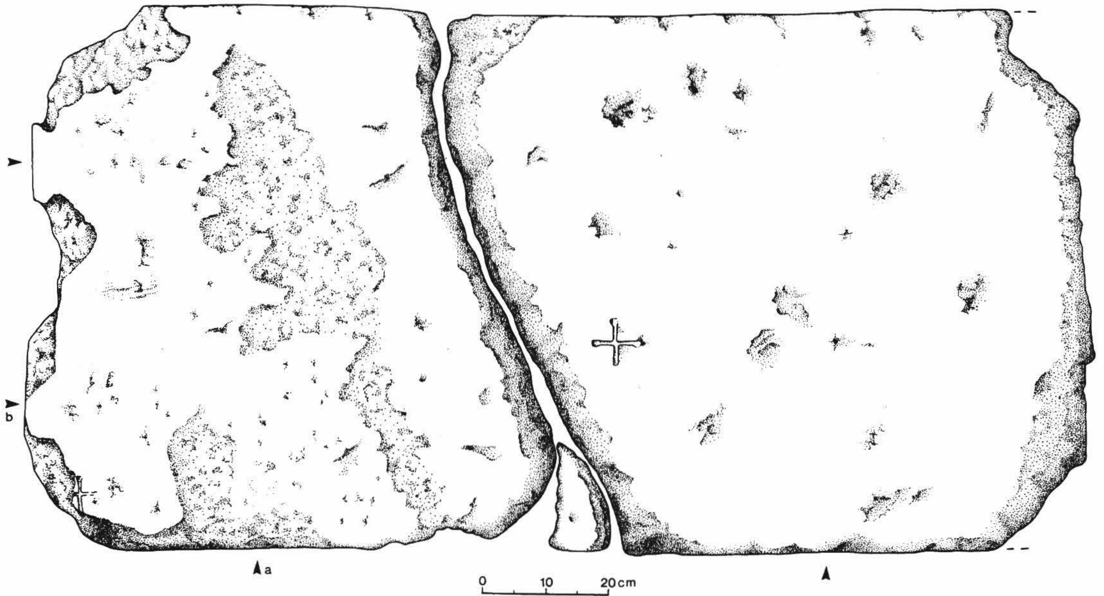

Fig. 4. Slab J.

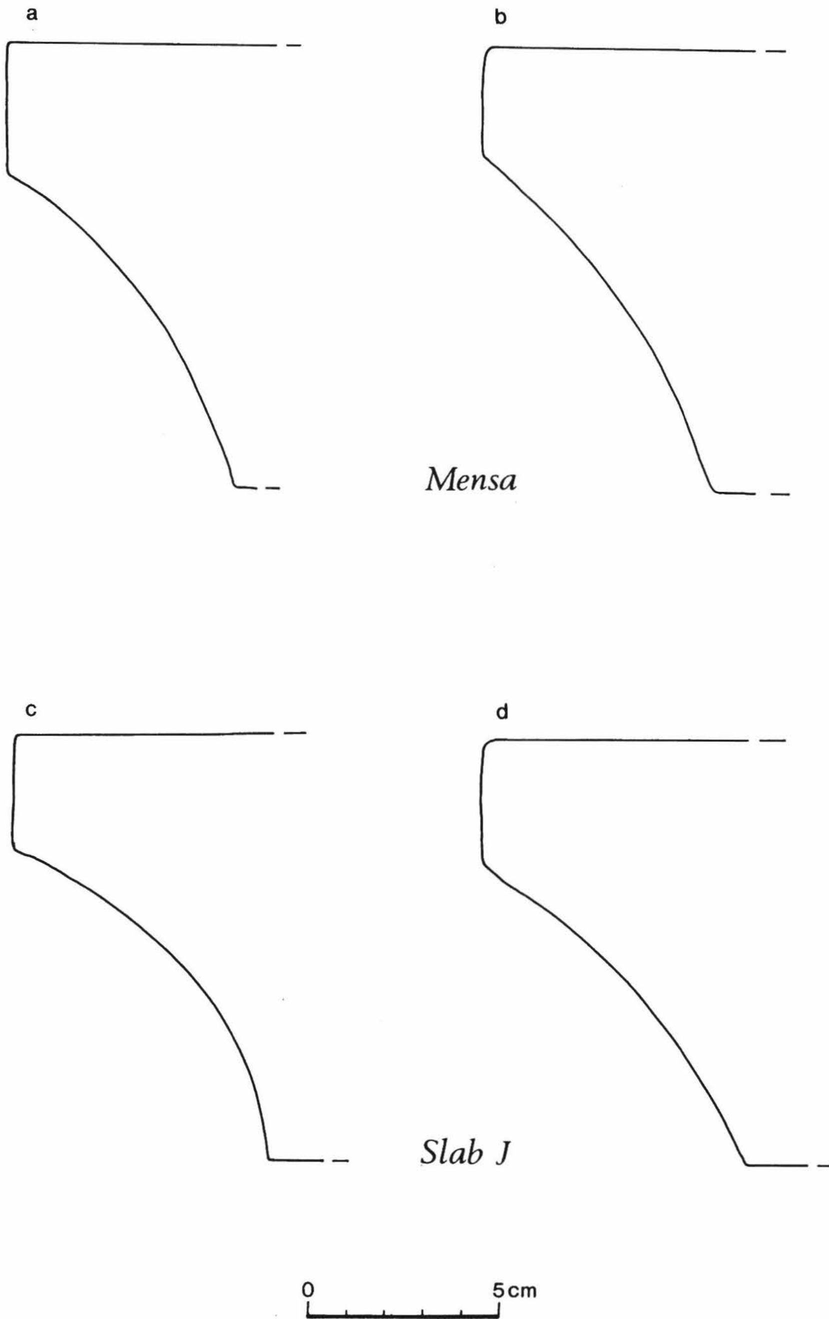

Fig. 5. Profiles of stones.

THE WATCHING BRIEF

The wooden floors which had been suspended between the dwarf walls at the sides of the Lady Chapel and the centre tiled aisle were removed, along with much of the rubble below the floor level. Nothing was revealed on the west side of the aisle, but five grave slabs were found on the east side. These were positioned in an east–west direction with the inscriptions on the western end, except for one which was inverted. (Fig. 1; slabs A, B, C, D & I). Two other broken fragments of grave slabs were also recovered (Fig. 2; slabs G & H).

A small area of redeposited building rubble in the north-east corner was sectioned to investigate whether the slabs had been laid as a foundation for the Victorian floor or were actually covering the tops of vaults. At a depth of 130 mm below the level of the top surface of the grave slabs another stone slab was found, lying at an angle, with the lower northern end beneath the grave slab positioned in the corner of the chapel. Further investigation of this area revealed a second similar slab, neither having a written inscription.

Careful probing beneath the corner grave slab indicated that a void existed, so it was decided to lift this slab. This revealed the full extent of the two similar slabs and it was noticed that both had bevelled edges and each one had a small inscribed cross on the top surface (Fig. 2; Slabs E & F).

When all the slabs had been removed, the top edges of two brick built vaults were found, one in the north-east and the other in the south-east corner.

THE GRAVE SLABS

From each grave slab it was possible to read the name of the person or persons buried, and in most cases the dates and years could be seen. There are a few discrepancies concerning the date recorded on some slabs and the dates recorded in the Parish Registers, but this is probably because Parish Registers tended to record baptisms and burials rather than births and deaths.

Slab A: This was broken down its length with about a third of the slab missing. The inscription refers to two sisters who died within 17 days of one another. Ann Wilson died 8th January 1792, aged 60 years, and Mary Jupp died 25th January 1792, aged 58 years. The Parish Register records the burials as the 15th and 29th respectively.

Slab B: Recorded the death of Edward Greene, Gent, senior, who died 25th July 1707, the Parish Register recorded the burial as 29th July.

Slab C: Edward Greene, gent, junior, (son of Greene senior) died 10th June 1704, the date in the Parish Register is recorded as 16th June.

Slab D: Anne, wife of Greene senior, died December. Unfortunately the inscription was badly eroded and other dates could not be read. The Parish Register records the death as 24th September 1713.

Slab G: This records the death of John and William Ashton, who were nephews of Ann Wilson and Mary Jupp (Slab A). Only one date is recorded in the Parish Register, that of 16th July 1751.

Slab I: John Greene, also son of Edward Greene, senior. He died 10th March, 1731, aged 68 years.

These families were all tenants of Manor Farm, leasing it from the Lord of the Manor for periods of 21 years. Their burial in the chapel of the church is indicative of their status.

THE *MENSA* STONE (Fig. 3)

It is thought that the two slabs (E & F), when placed together, represent the *mensa* or altar table used either in the church or the chapel up to the Reformation. It was recorded by Dr Carruthers Corfield (Church Warden 1940–61) that during the Reformation the original stone altar top was broken and buried somewhere within the church. These slabs do fit together despite being badly degraded by the damp conditions under the floor. Two sides have bevelled edges (Fig. 5) with the back edge being flat. The fourth edge is missing. On the surface in one corner is a small engraved cross, and approximately in the centre is another. This does indeed suggest that this could be the original *mensa* of the church. Generally, *mensa* had engraved crosses at each of the four comers and one in the centre. When placed together the two stones measure approximately 1.64 × 0.81 m.

A sample of the stone was taken to the Geological Department of Booth Museum, Brighton, where John Cooper identified it as Sussex Marble or small Paludina Limestone from the Weald Clay. The only presently known bed is at Burgess Hill, but there could have been others that have been worked out and lost to us today.

A third fragment (Slab J) was found and thought to be of a stone similar to that of the other two (Fig. 4). It had been positioned near to them, but was partially buried under the west wall of the chapel. The conditions here were drier than in the chapel itself so this piece had not been so degraded as the other two. The two bevelled edges meet at a comer with a cross engraved on the upper flat surface. This piece is obviously part of a larger slab and could possibly be the missing fourth side of the *mensa* stone.

Acknowledgements

The Field Archaeology Unit would like to thank the Rev. K. L. Masters, Mr Gordon Evans of Tunmore Builders, Mr Purser, Chartered Architect, and Mr John Mills, Assistant County Archaeologist for West Sussex, for their help throughout the archaeological investigations. Also thanks are due to John Cooper, Keeper of Geology, Booth Museum, Brighton, and to Bev and Mary Taylor for their historical information concerning the church and the families recorded on the grave slabs. The *Mensa* stone may be viewed with permission from the vicar, the Rev. K. L. Masters.

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DESCRIPTION OF EARTHWORKS

The letters in brackets refer to the letters on the plan (Fig. 1).

FLINT MINES

The earliest features recorded are those of the extensive complex of Neolithic flint mines that lie both inside and outside the hillfort on the western slopes of the hill. These appear as a series of hollows, ranging from 3 m to 36 m in diameter, the best preserved examples lying on the north-western slopes of the hill within the hillfort rampart. The shafts clearly underlie the hillfort defences, extending some 220 m to the south and 30 m to the west of the ramparts. At certain points the slight counterscarp bank of the hillfort overlies former mineshafts and spoil dumps derived from this activity are visible beside the bank. Around the lip of many of the shafts lie a series of mounds, some reaching to over 3 m in height. These have almost certainly been formed from spoil extracted from the shafts. A number of smaller mounds, up to 0.5 m in height, are likely to be former chipping floors, and a series of shallow hollows in them, for example (a), could point to the position of shafthead working areas. However, to understand these features more fully, further excavation and research will need to take place. An eroding area adjacent to one shaft (b) was recorded by the RCHME during the survey and consisted of a concentration of struck flint flakes of various sizes ranging from large cores to minute spalls.

A number of the spoil heaps within the hillfort appear to be arranged in a linear fashion, often following the contours. On the south side, for instance, a well-defined linear spoilheap (c), 85 m long and 0.8 m high, underlies and extends out from the counterscarp bank, while traces of similar underlying spoilheaps are also present outside the main rampart on the western side. Some of the mineshafts too appear to follow the contours, especially those on the north-west slopes. From this it seems reasonable to postulate that mining started on the north-western side of the hill, probably in the area now obscured by the hillfort ditch. Here the hillside is extremely steep and soilcreep, which would periodically expose the flint seam at the surface, has been considerable.

Owing to the effects of later cultivation, it is difficult to reconstruct the full extent of the mined area. However, shallow hollows, undoubtedly mineshafts reduced by ancient ploughing, can be traced over much of the southern part of the hillfort. Excavations of two pits in the eastern part of the hillfort in 1930 recovered flint-knapping debris which indicated that activity related to the mines extended over a considerable area (Curwen & Ross Williamson 1931, 20). Further confusion over the full extent of mining is caused by the numerous Iron Age pits and Romano-British hut sites that cover the north-eastern part of the hillfort interior. Despite this later activity, the survey suggests that mining covered a minimum of 9 ha and consisted of at least 270 mineshafts.

THE HILLFORT

Defences

The roughly pear-shaped defensive circuit of the hillfort, the long axis of which is orientated north-east to south-west, comprises a closely set rampart and external ditch, supplemented by a small but well-defined counterscarp bank on the outer lip of the ditch. The rampart is clearly defined for most of its circuit and on the north, west and south-east where the hillside falls steeply, its inner face averages 1.3 m in height. On the gentler approaches from the south and east, the rampart increases in height, rising to 3.9 m above the interior. In the area of the flint mines the rampart is irregular and it is very likely that its course here was influenced by the presence of spoilheaps associated with the Neolithic mines. Elsewhere it is generally flat-topped, averaging 3 m to 4 m in width, with occasional rises and troughs perhaps representing a constructional feature.

The outer face of the rampart is extremely steep in places, especially on the west. Here it rises 8.6 m above the bottom of the ditch. For most of its circuit the rampart face is interrupted by a break in slope, which in places, becomes a narrow ledge averaging 1 m in width. Other slight breaks of slope are evident and these may well represent episodes of localised collapse of rampart material.

The surrounding ditch is flat-bottomed and narrow, with an average depth of 1.9 m. It generally measures up to 5 m in width, but is 9 m wide at the eastern and southern entrances. A number of undulations are clearly visible in the ditch bottom throughout its circuit. On the south-western side some of these scoops are well-pronounced, being up to 13 m wide and 0.7 m deep and appear to represent the sites of underlying flint mine shafts. Elsewhere, the depressions are smaller and probably represent quarry scoops dug to gain material for the

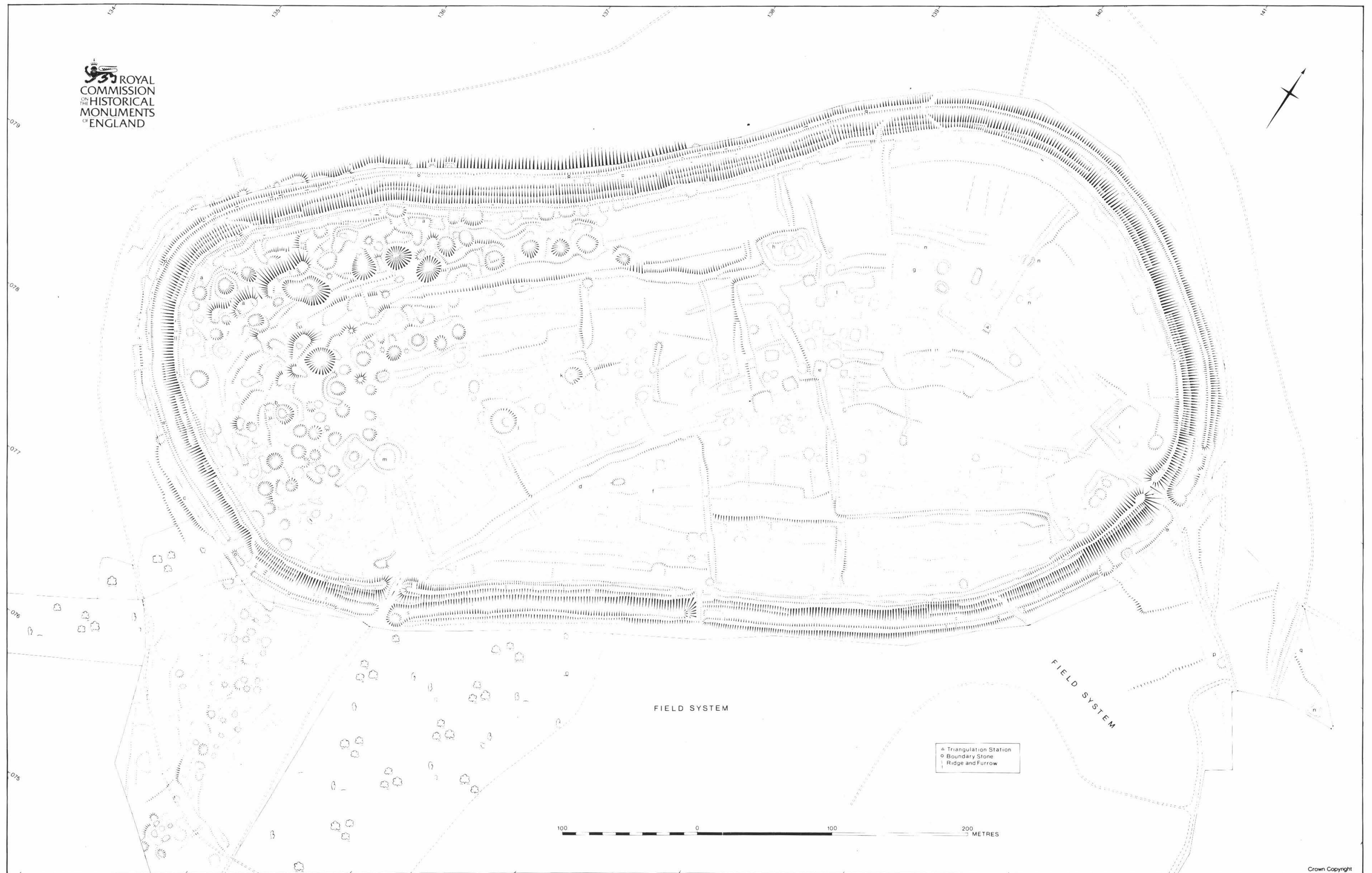

Fig. 1. Cissbury Ring and its immediate environs. Letters are referred to in the text.