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New evidence for a Late Bronze Age occupation of Selsey Bill

by Mike Seager Thomas

Recent archaeological work on the Selsey peninsula has identified a previously unrecognized settlement of Late Bronze Age date. Two (small) feature concentrations, including pits and post-holes, are being studied. The finds made so far include important assemblages of pottery, stone and charred material. In the present paper, these are examined in context, and their implications for our understanding of local site organization and the economy of the south-east during the Late Bronze Age discussed.

INTRODUCTION

Archaeologically, Selsey is best known for its finds of Late Iron Age gold. The association of these with a possible Selsey or Chichester *oppidum* by writers such as Bedwin (1983) has tended to overshadow the evidence for occupation at other periods. Finds from the area, however, both antiquarian — where these or diagnostic records of them survive (*vide* Aldsworth 1987) — and modern (Kenny 1989), show that this spanned all periods from the Mesolithic through to modern times, and suggest significant episodes during both the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. The present paper discusses a new and possibly rich find dating from around the end of the Late Bronze Age (*c.* 800–700 BC). The site is of importance for three reasons. Firstly, it is only the fourth find of stratified material of this date from the West Sussex Coastal Plain — the others are Knapp Farm, Bosham (Gardiner & Hamilton 1997), Yapton (Rudling 1987), and Broadreeds, Selsey (Kenny 1989) (Fig. 1) — and thus it fills a potentially distorting gap in the local archaeological record. Secondly, it puts the better known Iron Age finds in perspective: Selsey was *not* an Iron Age development. Thirdly, the quality and the nature of the new finds enables us to draw some new and different conclusions about the Late Bronze Age of the south-east generally.

METHODOLOGY

Exposed prehistoric features at Selsey were first identified by the author in December 1996 (site A). These were monitored through 1997, and after the vandalization of pit 11, they were reported to the County Archaeologist, Mark Taylor. After the appearance of site B and the recovery of a large amount of material from the slump beneath pit 55, permissions to examine the two sites archaeologically were obtained from the landowner, Mrs J. R. Bunn, English Nature (the area is an SSSI) and the Environment Agency. Exposed features were cleaned, redrawn (measured sketches had been made during various monitoring visits), photographed and described; archaeological material in the sections was removed and selected features were sampled archaeologically, their surfaces being pared down context by context. In addition, a two-litre trial sample was taken for environmental analysis. No feature was fully excavated. The present paper discusses and puts into context the material, both artefactual and documentary, recovered so far.

SITE CONTEXT (Fig. 1)

SITES A AND B

Two concentrations of stratified material have been identified, both in the sea cliff to the west of Selsey village. This part of the coast bears the brunt of the prevailing wind and tide and it is eroding rapidly. The first, site A, is at the end of West Street at TQ 8447 9300 (close to the Coastguard Station). It is the more stable of the two, protected as it is by modern sea-defence works. A number of features are visible in the cliff (Fig. 2), at least seven of which are of possible or probable Late Bronze Age date. These include six pit-like features and two possible post-holes. The second, site B, was located about

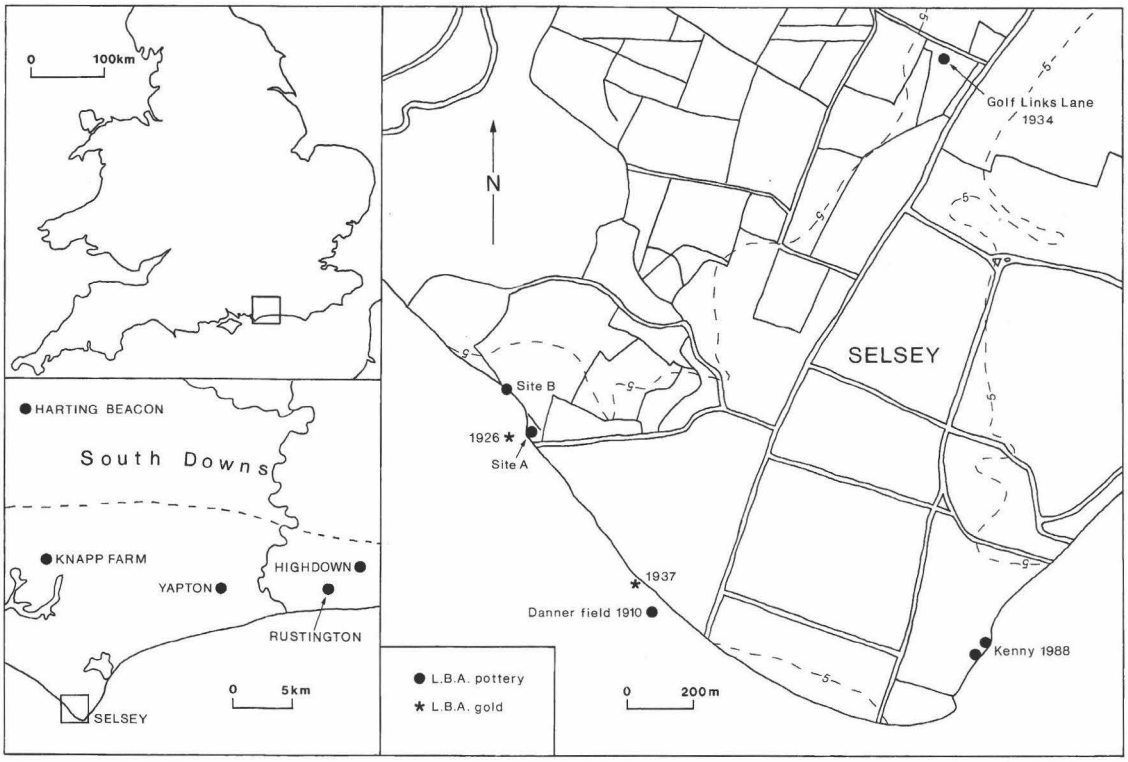

Fig. 1. Site location. Late Bronze Age occupation sites.

200 metres along the cliff to the north-west at TQ 8440 9320, edging the appropriately named Seaside Field (Heron-Allen 1911, 54). It appeared in December 1997 or January 1998, at about the time of the Selsey tornado. Two features were visible: a deep, vertically-sided pit which contained the bulk of the diagnostic pottery considered below (Table 1, Figs 3, 4 & 5), and a smaller concave feature. The latter is probably not of Late Bronze Age date. A shingle feature between the two sites contains *in situ* frost-shattered pebbles and is periglacial in origin. This part of the beach lacks sea-defence works of any sort. By the time this paper comes to press it is likely that the features discussed here will no longer exist.

STRATIGRAPHY

Features at sites A and B were cut both into and, in a few cases, through drift deposits which overlie the Selsey raised beach. These are of clayey silt, usually with a few matrix-supported beach pebbles towards the base. Where clasts occur close to the modern land surface they have usually been intruded from above. As can be seen from Figures 2 and 3, unless they incorporate a significant clastic element (e.g. fill 36), early features only become visible at about 0.4–0.5 metres below the modern land surface. This is not because they have been buried (it is unlikely that any significant deposition of sediment has occurred in the area since the beginning of the Holocene), nor because they have been truncated by later ploughing, but because the acidity of the soil has resulted in the development of a particularly deep soil profile (an argillic brown earth or *sol lessivé*). The whole, or a significant part, of many Late Bronze Age features will almost certainly be irrecoverable. For this reason, conventional machine stripping and planning of the site has little to recommend it.

PREVIOUS FINDS OF LATE BRONZE AGE MATERIAL FROM SELSEY BILL

In his catalogue of Prehistoric and Roman finds from Selsey, F. Aldsworth (1987) listed four finds of Late Bronze Age and eleven of Iron Age pottery. The dating of this material was based upon a ceramic chronology which has now been superseded. Two of so-called Late Bronze Age date (1 and 7) can be

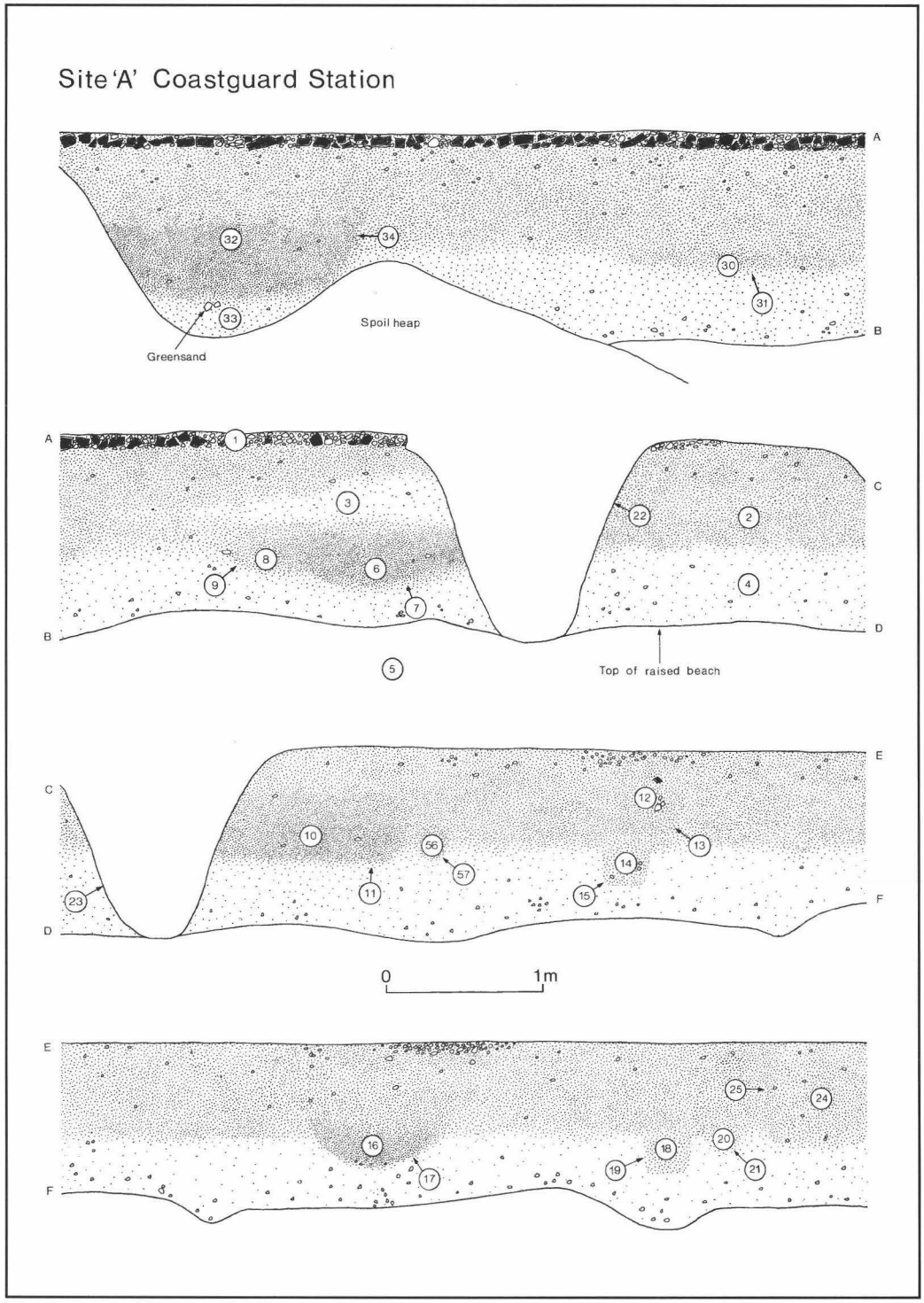

Fig. 2. Exposed section of site A.

Table 1. Quantification of the pottery from sites A and B.

Context	Fabric	Nos.	(g)	Burnished	Finger-impressed	Finger-smeared	Brushed	Grass-wiped	LBA form*	Smooth	Rough-cast	Weathered
Site A												
6	Fa	1	24	1						1		slightly
	Fb	1	9	1						1		no
	Fe	3	9	1						3		one
	Fk?	12	32			5					6	eight
	U	6	14	2						2	2	three
6/8	Fj	1	10									yes
	Fk	2	12		1	1			SJ:SR		1	no
8	Fe	1	3							1		interior face
10	Fi	1	4									interior face
14/12	U	1	2									very
16	Fa	1	18							1		exterior? face
	Fk	1	13									very
18	Fk	1	19			1?					1	exterior face
30	U	1	17		1							one face
32	Fk	10	46	3		3			BB	3	6	four
Site B												
36	Fb	1	10	1						1		no
	Fk	8	44	1		1					5	no
	U	16	22	5					R	5		nine
36/40	Fa	1	17									very
	Fe	7	91	7					BB or TB	7		no
	Fg	1	10	1						1		no
	Fk	3	17						FPB		3	slightly
	U	6	13	2						2	1	slightly
40	Fc	1	5	1						1		no
	Fd	2	6	1		1				2		one slightly
	Fg	2	108	2						2		no
	Fh	1	6	1						1		no
	Fi	1	26							1		slightly
	Fk	4	19			2		1			4	two slightly
41	Fa	3	59		1	3			SJ:C		3	no
	Fd	2	29	2		2				2		no
	Fg	1	16			1?						slightly
	Fi	3	67								3	no
	Fj	4	182	1						4		one slightly
	Fk	7	230	1	1	3	1		SJ:SPCR/S			
44/42	Fa	1	25	1					TSJ?	1		no
	Fd	3	46	3						3		no
	Fi	8	222								8	no
	Fk	2	6			1				1	1	no
44/45	Fe	28	72	28		28			TB	28		one
	Fi	1	8								1	no
	Fj	2	24							2		no
45	Fe	1	5	1						1		no
	Fj	3	101			1			SJ:SPCR	3?		slightly
47	Fa	2	25	1		1		1	SJ:SFPR	1	1	no
	Fg	2	143	2		2				1		no
	Fk	3	9								3	slightly
49	Fa?	1	3	1					HB(fine)	1		no
	Fg	2	46	2		1				2	1	slightly
50	Fa	1	8	1?		1				1		exterior face
	Fb	4	126			3					4	two
	Fg	14	182	14						14		no
	Fk	5	70	1		4			dish:SR		5	no

Table 1. (*cont.*)

Context	Fabric	Nos.	(g)	Burnished	Finger-impressed	Finger-smeared	Brushed	Grass-wiped	LBA form*	Smooth	Rough-cast	Weathered
53	Ff	1	7	1						1		no
	Fe	1	3	1		1				1		no
	Fk	1	6			1	1				1	no
	U	1	8							1		no
55	Fa	3	54	3					FPB	3		no
(slump)	Fd	1	15	1						1		no
	Fk	5	91	1	1	3			HB	1	4	no
60	Fj	1	26							1		no

*SJ = shouldered jar; SR = squared rim; C = finger-impressed cordon; SPCR = squared and pie crusted rim; S = finger-impressed shoulder; TSJ = tri-partite shouldered jar; BB = bi-partite bowl; TB = tri-partite bowl; SFPR = squared and finger-pinched rim; HB = hemispherical bowl; FPB = finger-pinched base; R = fineware rim.
UU = unclassified fabric

reassigned to the Middle Bronze Age; as can vessels in Chichester Museum, identified by him with a third (6). All of these are of the Deverel-Rimbury tradition. The fourth (8) is no longer datable and must be set aside. Of the finds of so-called Iron Age material, however, two included forms of probable Late Bronze Age type. The first find was made in the sea cliff at TQ 8486 9247, then the edge of Danner Field (5). It probably included a jar from this location now in store at Chichester Museum. The second was made during gravel extraction in a pit to the south of Golf Links Lane at TQ 8576 9421 (6), now part of Greenlawns Caravan Park (White 1934, 43, fig. 2). The remainder were either later (11) or are no longer datable. Of these, three were made in the vicinity of sites A and B, though in locations which are now in the sea (4, 8 and 9). Two gold bangles with trumpet-shaped terminals are also of Late Bronze Age date. These, too, were from locations which are now in the sea. One was found within 50 metres of the Coastguard Station (Anon. 1926; Heron-Allen 1926), while the other came from between the end of West Street and Hillfield Road, a few hundred metres to the south-east (Anon. 1937). Both were found on the beach. Lastly, finds of Late Bronze Age pottery — not included in Aldsworth's list — were made at TQ 8590 9238 during excavations by J. Kenny at Pontins' Broadreeds Holiday Camp (1989).

THE LATE BRONZE AGE FEATURES

DATING

Feature dating at Selsey is tied to the pottery. Assuming that a context contains nothing of later date, its presence provides a *terminus post quem*, a date before which it could not have been deposited. The specifically Late Bronze Age date, however, relies in addition upon the form of the features, their association with each other and the extent to which they have been subject to subsequent soil development. At best it is only *probable*. A further complication is the evidence for earlier prehistoric activity locally (Mesolithic or Early Neolithic in pit 7 and Middle Bronze Age at TQ 8410 9300) (Aldsworth 1987, 44, fig. 2:6). Because this may have involved the importation of pottery, non-diagnostic prehistoric sherds — as opposed to diagnostically Late Bronze Age sherds — are considered insufficient evidence for proper dating. Elsewhere this would not necessarily be the case.

There were four categories of date at Selsey: Late Bronze Age, possibly Late Bronze Age, uncertain, and modern.

Late Bronze Age features included those which contained sherds which are diagnostic of the period and/or sherds of the same fabrics and general vessel type as these (Table 1), and those which could be related to such a feature stratigraphically. Late Bronze Age features included, from site A, pits 7 (fill 6), 9 (fill 8) and 34 (fills 32 & 33), and post-hole 19 (fill 18), and from site B, pit 55 (fills 36 to 54, and 60 & 61). Post-hole 15 (fill 14) at site A is included because it resembled post-hole 19 almost exactly.

Features of possible Late Bronze Age date contained sherds of fabrics which, at Selsey, could not be firmly associated with a Late Bronze Age type (e.g. Fl), or were too small or infrequent to be relied upon, but which shared the same general characteristics as those which could. These included pits 11 (fill 10) and 31 (fill 30), both from site A.

Features of uncertain or modern date — characterized by the absence of finds or the presence of modern material — are not considered in this paper.

SITE A

At site A two features, about four metres apart, resembled post-holes or post-sockets (Fig. 2). In terms of their size, shape and fill — which was darker and sandier than the surrounding natural — they were alike. No doubt they belonged to the same structure. Close by but respecting the post-holes were six other features, all more diffuse (Fig. 2). These are interpreted as pits. Pit 34 had two definite fills, the lower of which (fill 33) was only distinguished from the 'natural' by its finds. Pit 6, fill 3, and a further deposit overlying pit 32 also resembled 'natural'. Otherwise all were darker (and less sandy) than those of the post-holes. Except for fill 3 and the deposit overlying 32, all contained small amounts of pottery and burnt material. Neither bone nor shell was present — presumably owing to the acidity of the soil — and none was rich in charred material.

The *purpose* of these features is irrecoverable. Data, however, are available on *how* they were used. Firstly, pit 7 cut pit 9. Secondly, pit 7, fill 6, was set apart from the other fills by the inclusion of a small quantity of struck flint, some of which is Mesolithic or Early Neolithic in date (Appendix 1, nos 1 & 2). This is interpreted as the spoil generated by the re-excavation of an earlier deposit. Presumably fill 3, overlying it, is the sub-soil from the base of this excavation. Thus we can infer at least three episodes or phases of pit digging and use. The diversity, the size and the sparsity of the Late Bronze Age material suggested, in addition, the incidental incorporation of domestic waste, not systematic waste disposal. This view is consistent with the observation that pit 7 was backfilled with — and perhaps closed by — freshly dug material.

SITE B

The fill of pit 55 comprised a series of interdigitating deposits, many inclined downwards from the edge of the cut. In part this is attributed to dumping or collapse from the edge of the pit. But much of the profile — in particular to the north-west — may be due to differential post-depositional subsidence, i.e. it need not have any functional significance at all (Fig. 3). Fill 54, the primary fill, was of clean, clast-supported shingle, only distinguishable from the adjacent 'natural' by its smaller clast size. Fills 37 and 39 comprised a deposit of displaced 'natural' in which the relationship of the drift to the shingle of the raised beach was preserved. They form part of a single stratigraphic unit. Fills 46, 48, 61 and 52 also resembled 'natural' shingle; and they too are interpreted as episodes of collapse rather than deliberate dumping. Though undulating, three fills — 43, 47/60 and 49 — of relatively clean clayey silt and of similar thickness throughout *may* have been waterlain. The rest were deliberate dumps. Of these, fills 50 and 53, both incorporating discontinuous charcoal- and find-rich laminae, and fill 42, wholly of charcoal-rich laminae, represented several dumps each. Pottery in these layers was aligned with them. The same may have been true of fill 45. By contrast, the irregular orientation of pottery recovered from fills 36, 40 and — possibly — 41 suggest that these comprised individual, bulk deposits. In terms of its appearance and its physical relationships the latter belonged to the period of piecemeal dumping; whereas fills 36 and 40, which diffused into one another, represented the final infilling of the feature after it had collapsed.

Note: Originally fills 41, 42, 43 and 45 had continued across the feature as far as the interface between fills 39 and 50. But to the south-east of the feature, all had been distorted by the collapse of fills 37/39. This may have involved the displacement of finds. To the south-east, therefore, fills 42, 43 and 45 were contexted as 44. Stratigraphically this is later than the units from which it was derived. In Table 1 the layers to which they originally belonged are given second (e.g. 44/42). Unfortunately, when 41 was sampled, its nature was not recognized and finds from different parts were not distinguished. It remains a stratigraphic anomaly.

As at site A purpose was irrecoverable. Two types of data were available: morphological and compositional. From these inferences could be made about both feature use and general site activity. Firstly, feature use: the large number of dumps and — in some instances — their separation from each other by deposits of varying colour and composition showed that deposition was piecemeal, their lack of reworking that they were deposited in a short period of time. Finds from individual dumps suggests that the pit was used for the disposal of domestic rubbish, and similar finds of pottery and stone from different dumps (Table 1 and Appendix 3) that it was used repeatedly by the same pottery- and stone-using unit, possibly a single household. Secondly, site activity: a wide range of activities is indicated and in many cases these were grouped — at least as far as rubbish disposal is concerned.

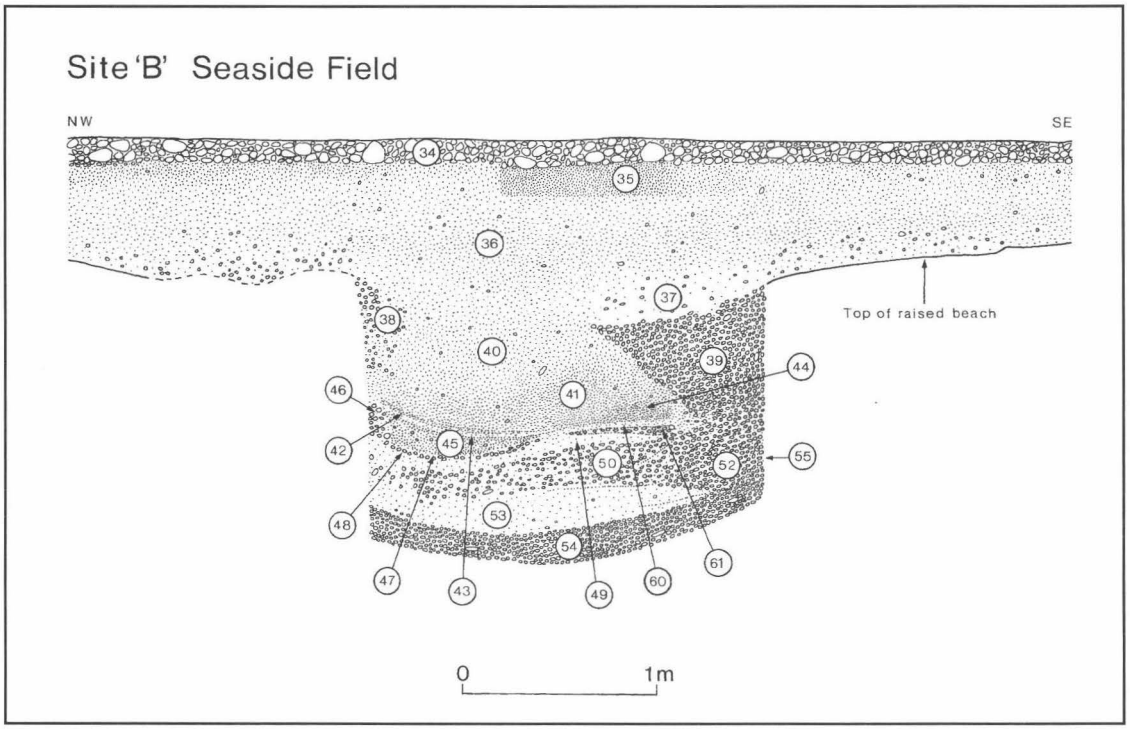

Fig. 3. Site B. Exposed section of pit 55.

For example, the small bulk sample taken for environmental analysis proved to contain a mixture of charred wood, grains of barley (*H. vulgare*) and wheat (*T. spelta*), rachis fragments and weed seeds. There were also pieces of hazelnut shell and a small fragment of calcined bone. The weed seeds have not yet been analyzed but the former resembles the waste product of G. Hillman's phase 7 — second sieving — in the traditional processing of free-threshing cereals (Hillman 1981, 135). The sample taken straddled fills 42 and 45. These contained pottery (Table 1), struck flint (Appendix 1, nos 14–16), possible rubbers of local and non-local stone, and burned stone (Appendix 3, nos 11–16). Most likely the activities with which these were associated occurred in the same place. Other categories of find from pit 55 include pottery with possible food residues and daub (both from fill 41), and the remains of what may be a loom-weight (fill 53). The activities for which there is evidence, therefore, include flint knapping, stone selection and burning, cereal processing, weaving (possibly), and food preparation and consumption. The feature was not used for the purposeful and symbolic 'placement' of rubbish, nor does it indicate levelling of the site prior to abandonment, an interpretation suggested by S. Hamilton for other Late Bronze Age deposits in West Sussex (Gardiner & Hamilton 1997, 79).

NEW POTTERY FINDS

The 200-odd sherds so far recovered from sites A and B represent only the second stratified assemblage of Late Bronze Age pottery from Selsey Bill. Material from the two sites is of differing quality. At site A much is weathered, presumably because of the site's long exposure to the elements, whereas that from site B is preserved in its original — unweathered — condition (Table 1). Twelve fabric groups can be distinguished (Appendix 2), five of which can be related to Late Bronze Age vessel types. These fabrics — plus one other — occurred on both sites (Table 1). From this we can conclude two things. Firstly, the two concentrations are broadly contemporary; and, secondly, both had a common source of supply of finished pottery. No doubt they formed part of the same complex. Finds from both, therefore, can be and are treated as coming from a single assemblage.

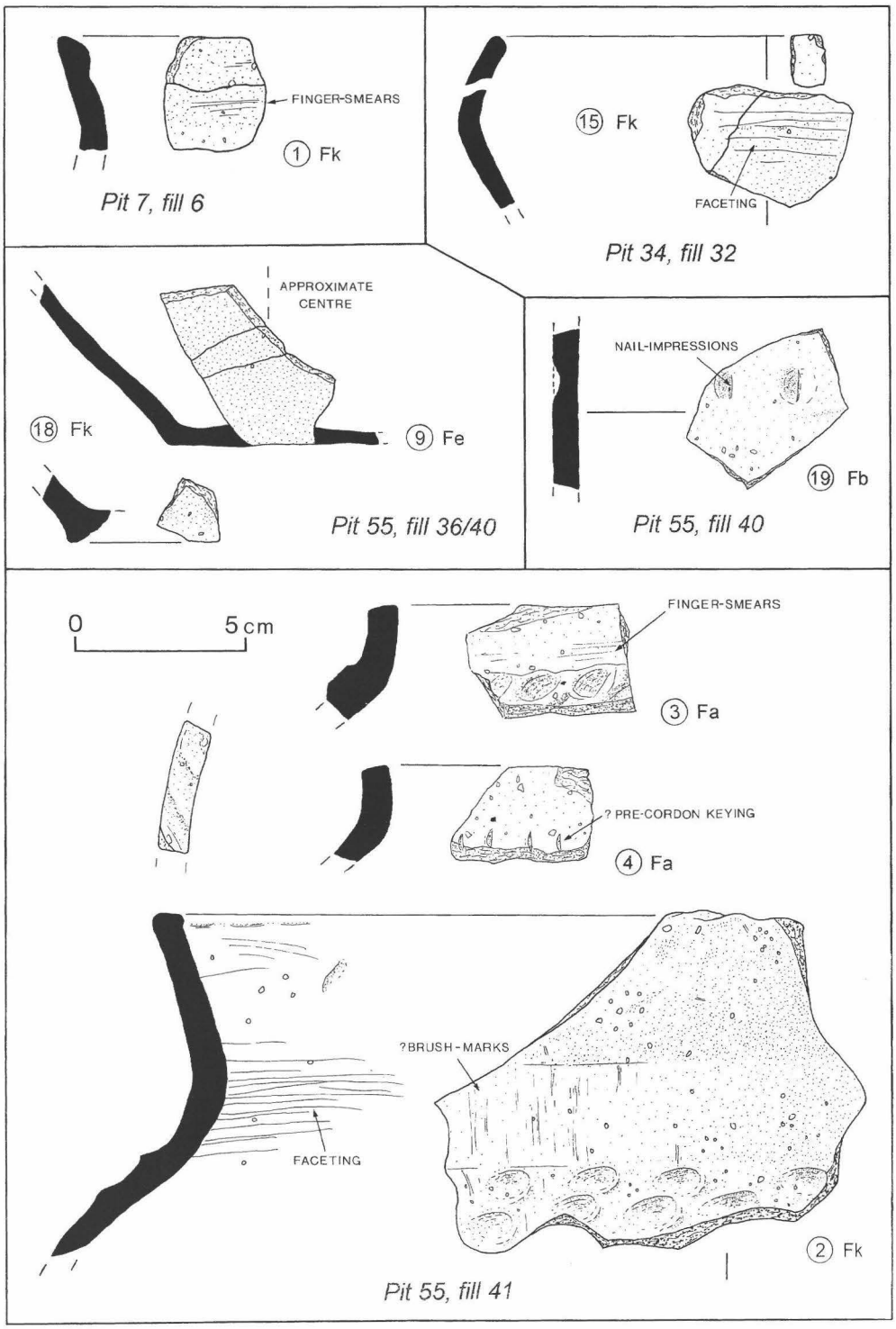

Fig. 4. Pottery from sites A (pits 7 & 32) and B (pit 55).

Fabric Fa is distinguished from Fb by the inclusion of grey — as opposed to white — calcined flint. Several sherds have been burnished, the surfaces of others have been finger-smeared (as opposed to impressed or furrowed) (e.g. pit 55, fill 41) (Fig. 4:3), one has been grass-wiped (pit 55, fill 47) (Fig. 5:10), and one appears to have formed part of a pinch-splayed base (pit 55, slump) (Fig. 5:13), a characteristic which S. Hamilton considers 'recurrent' through the Late Bronze Age period (1988, 65). Perhaps because it rarely survives, published examples of finger-smearing are difficult to identifiy. Pinch-splayed bases, however, occurred in stratified Late Bronze Age assemblages at Knapp Farm (Gardiner & Hamilton 1997, 82, fig. 8:7), Bishopstone (Hamilton 1977, 103, fig. 40:6), Heathy Brow (Hamilton 1982, 84, figs 34:45 & 34:46) and Slonk Hill (Morris 1978, 103, fig. 12:16), and in the unstratified assemblage at West Blatchington (Norris & Burstow 1950, 44, pl. 1:8). Other distinct forms present include a fine angular ?tri-partite shouldered jar (pit 55, fill 44/42) (Fig. 5:6), best paralleled in unstratified Late Bronze Age assemblages from Hollingbury Camp (Cunliffe 1966, 112, fig. 2:64) and Highdown (Wilson 1940, 196, fig. 7:d3), and — also paralleled at Highdown (Wilson 1940, 192, fig. 3:a; 196, fig. 6:j; 190, figs 2:a & 2:b; and 198, fig. 7:f1) — a coarse ?tri-partite shouldered jar with a squared and pinched rim (pit 55, fill 47) (Fig. 5:10), a ?bi-partite shouldered jar with a finger-impressed cordon (pit 55, fill 41) (Fig. 4:3) and pre-cordon keying (pit 55, fill 41) (Fig. 4:4), and a rare fine hemispherical bowl (pit 55, fill 49) (Fig. 5:11). Sherds from a vessel with a finger-impressed cordon also occurred in the stratified Late Bronze Age assemblage at Yapton (Hamilton 1987, 60, fig. 5:13). Fabric Fb is restricted to thick bodied (*c.* 10 mm) coarsewares. One sherd is finger-impressed (pit 55, fill 40) (Fig. 4:19). Otherwise none are of a diagnostic type. A sherd from fill 50 includes the impression of a grain of wheat, probably *T. spelta*.

Fabrics Fc to Ff are restricted to finewares. They are always smoothed or burnished and few exceed 5 mm in thickness. Possibly all are variants of a single fabric. Only fabric Fe occurred in a diagnostic form. Several sherds — including rim, base and sharply-carinated body sherds — are probably from bi- or tri-partite bowls (pit 55, fill 36), (pit 55, fill 44/45) (Fig. 5:7) (pit 55, fill 36/40) (Fig. 4:9). Such carinations are one of the principal innovations in the pottery of the early post-Deverel-Rimbury period. Fragments of similar vessels occurred in stratified Late Bronze Age assemblages at Harting Beacon (Hamilton 1979, 28, fig. 6) — associated with two gold ornaments dated to the 7th/8th centuries (Keef 1953) — and Knapp Farm (Gardiner & Hamilton 1997, 82, fig. 8:4), and unstratified assemblages at Belle Tout (Bradley 1971, 14, figs 3:2 & 3:3), Stoke Clump (Cunliffe 1966, 110, fig. 1) and West Blatchington (Norris & Burstow 1950, 44, pl. 1:7), but they are best represented in assemblages from sites outside Sussex such as Runnymede Bridge (Longley 1980, 181, fig. 78:28) and St Mary's Hospital, Carshalton (Adkins & Needham 1985, 24, fig. 8:215; 28, fig. 11:327). The fine quality of these particular vessels probably places them towards the end of the Late Bronze Age period. Several sherds from a fineware vessel of Late Bronze Age type recovered during Kenny's excavations at Broadreeds, Selsey (Kenny 1989, 15, figs 5:6 & 5:8), are of the same fabric. The single sherd of Ff (pit 55, fill 53) includes the impression of what looks like a grain of barley.

Fabric Fg closely resembles Fa but was restricted to thick-bodied burnished wares. The principal difference is the inclusion of fragments of quartz/mica rock and conspicuous (1 mm) mica crystals. No sherd is of an identifiable Late Bronze Age form, but one from pit 55, fill 40, is coil built.

Fabrics Fi, Fj and Fk differ only slightly and may, like the finewares Fc to Ff, represent variants of a single fabric. Their use at sites A and B was restricted to coarse wares. The interior surfaces of a number of sherds have been roughly smoothed, either by finger-smearing or burnishing (e.g. Figs 4:2 & 5:14). All these surfaces are unoxidized, i.e. the vessels were fired mouth down. Possibly this treatment was to facilitate water retention. Two external surfaces only showed evidence of having been smoothed and they too were unoxidized. They were in Fj, the finest of the three fabrics (pit 55, fill 45) (Fig. 5:8), and Fk (pit 34, fill 32) (Fig. 4:15). A sherd in each of fabrics Fi and Fj, and seven sherds in fabric Fk are of diagnostically Late Bronze Age type. Three of these belong to shouldered jars. One in Fk is from a very large vessel (pit 55, fill 41) (Fig. 4:2): the rim is squared and 'pie crusted', the neck flared and the shoulder decorated with a double row of finger impressions. The latter are difficult to parallel, but a similar configuration — comprising a finger-impressed shoulder and a finger-impressed cordon — was present in a vessel from the Late Bronze Age site at Shinewater Park, Eastbourne

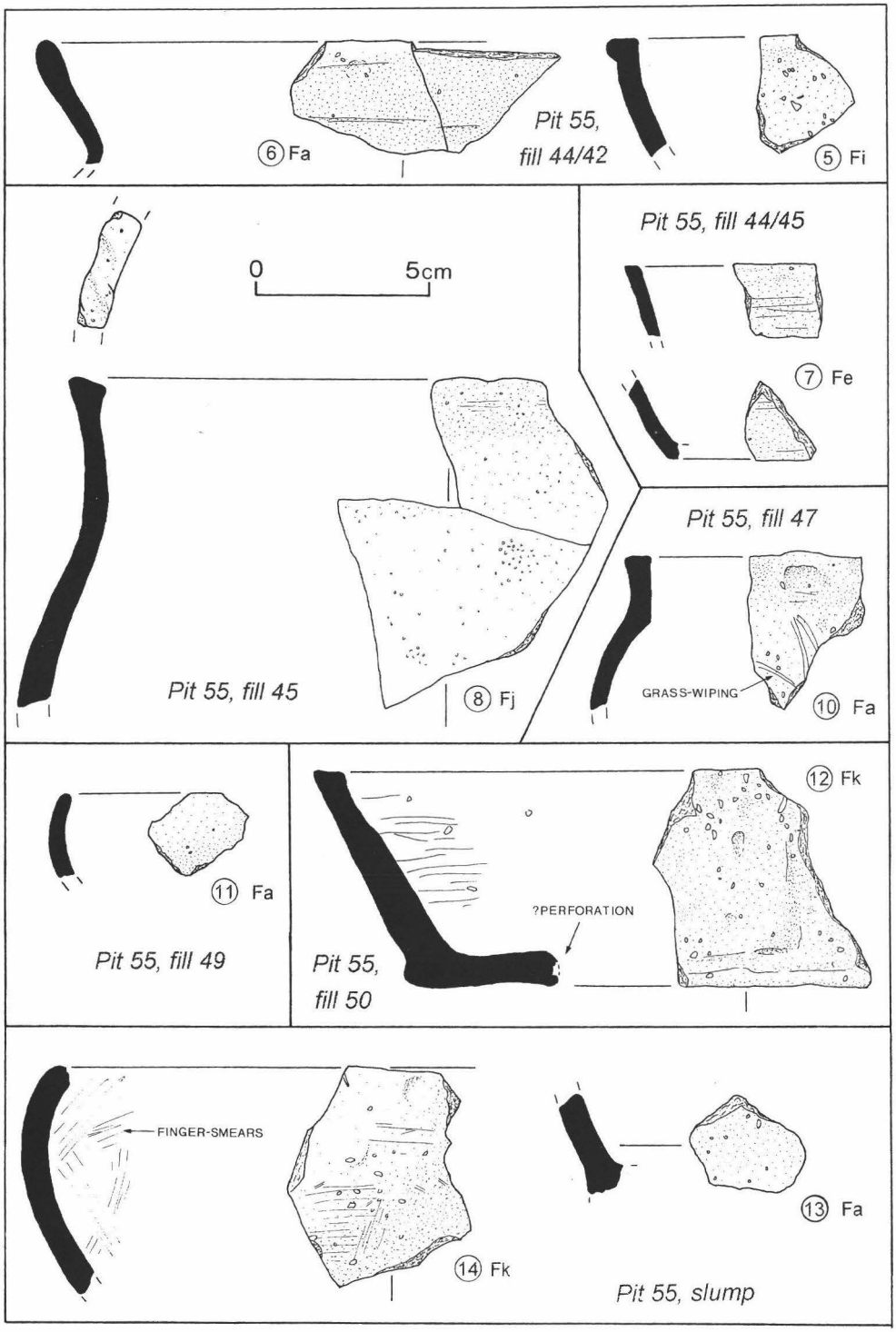

Fig. 5. Pottery from site B (pit 55).

(Greatorex in prep.). Flared necks with slash-decorated rims, however, occurred in stratified Late Bronze Age assemblages at Slonk Hill (Morris 1978, 103, fig. 12:13), West Blatchington (Norris & Burstow 1950, 47, pl. 2:11), and Broadreeds, Selsey (Kenny 1989, 15, fig. 5:4), and unstratified assemblages at Rustington (Hamilton 1990, 10, fig. 6:3) and Stoke Clump (Cunliffe 1966, 110, fig. 1:13); squared and 'pie crusted' rims (from a variety of vessel types) occurred in stratified Late Bronze Age assemblages at Knapp Farm (Hamilton 1997, 84, fig. 9:14) and Bishopstone (Hamilton 1977, 110, fig. 47), and unstratified assemblages at West Blatchington (Norris & Burstow 1950, 44, pl. 1:1), Golf Links Lane, Selsey (White 1934, 43, fig. 2) and Highdown (Wilson 1940, 195, fig. 5:b); and flared necks and undecorated squared rims occurred in unstratified assemblages at Golf Links Lane, Selsey (White 1934, 43, fig. 2:4), and Kingston Buci (Curwen & Hawkes 1931, 196, fig. 20). The sherd in Fj (pit 55, fill 45) (Fig. 5:8) and another in Fk (pits 7 and 9, fills 6 and 8, interface) (Fig. 4:1) also have squared rims and flared necks. The former is 'pie crusted' and compares closely with the sherd from Highdown referred to above. That in Fi also has a squared rim (pit 55, fill 44/42) (Fig. 5:5). Further rim and body sherds in Fk belong to bi-partite (pit 34, fill 32) (Fig. 4:15) and hemispherical bowls (pit 55, slump) (Fig. 5:14), both Late Bronze Age standards. These occurred in stratified Late Bronze Age assemblages at Yapton (Hamilton 1987, 62, fig. 6:17) and Plumpton Plain B (Hawkes 1935), and in the unstratified assemblage at Kingston Buci (Curwen & Hawkes 1931, 193, fig. 5). Finally, a sherd in Fk belongs to a dish, the base of which may have been perforated prior to firing (pit 55, fill 50) (Fig. 5:12). It too has a squared rim. So far dishes have not been recognized in assemblages of the Late Bronze Age in Sussex, and they are rare elsewhere. A possible parallel, however, exists in that from Weston Wood, Albury, in Surrey (Russell 1989, 26, fig. 13:18). Sherds in fabrics resembling Fj and Fk occurred at Broadreeds, Selsey.

Fabrics Fh (a fineware), and Fl (a coarseware) were rare. All were consistent with the general trend of pottery on site but no sherds of diagnostically Late Bronze Age type were found. The single sherd in Fm is probably part of a heavily gritted base, another characteristic not uncommon in pottery of Late Bronze Age date in south-east England (Hamilton 1997, 82).

The pottery is important for the following reasons. Firstly, in terms of the forms present, it belongs to a distinct and culturally rich horizon now recognized throughout south-east England (Barrett 1980), and confirms Selsey's place within this horizon. A close parallel — at least typologically — occurred at Highdown Hill. Secondly, the association in it of types previously recognized in unstratified assemblages — such as Highdown — with types recognized in stratified assemblages confirms that they are indeed contemporaneous. By adding to the number of stratified co-occurrences, it makes more viable the seriation of Late Bronze Age pottery in Sussex. Thirdly, it establishes a relationship between vessel type and fabric at sites A and B and Kenny's site at Broadreeds, Selsey. If this was not functional, it may indicate the existence of centralized potting — the same can be inferred of a iron oxide-rich ware widely distributed in East Sussex during the period (Hamilton 1977, 93). Lastly, it adds to the corpus of Late Bronze Age forms already recognized.

SITE RESOURCE PROCUREMENT STRATEGIES

In her discussion of the potting clay and tempers in the Knapp Farm assemblage, S. Hamilton suggests differences between the resource procurement strategies of sites on the West Sussex coastal plain and sites on the Downs. Knapp Farm and Yapton used only local material whereas sites on the Downs used both local and more distant, Wealden resources. This is attributed to the 'greater ease of access to the Wealden area from the Downs' (1997, 80). In terms of the pottery, the evidence from sites A and B at Selsey is consistent with this view. The clay could have been obtained either from the Brickearth or one of the more mica-rich Tertiary deposits which outcrop locally, the flint and more exotic stone types from the beach or the marine gravels which underlie much of the peninsula. The same is true of the majority of stone finds (Appendices 1 & 3).

Contacts with the Weald, however, are demonstrated by the occurrence in pit 34 (site A) of two saddle quern fragments of Lodsworth-type Lower Greensand (Appendix 3, nos 2 & 3). 'Lodsworth Stone' is characterized by the presence of cherty stringers harder than the sandstone itself; it did not become smooth and, therefore, was recommended for the manufacture of querns. No stone type which

occurred naturally at Selsey would have been as suitable. Until now the only Late Bronze Age site in Sussex at which it has been recognized is Harting Beacon (Peacock 1987, 77), but it was widely distributed during the later prehistoric period and may have occurred in the stratified Late Bronze Age assemblage at Runnymede Bridge (Higbee 1996, 165). Its occurrence at Selsey is of interest for two reasons. Firstly, it suggests the existence of resource procurement strategies which were less restricted than those suggested by Hamilton for potting resources; and, secondly, it establishes a possible *overland* connection between the important Late Bronze Age site at Runnymede and the south coast. This reflects the wide cultural horizon evidenced by the pottery itself. Other occurrences of non-local material from the site include the gold bangle found in 1926, a further, unfaceted clast of 'Lodsworth stone' (Appendix 3, no. 1), a flint flake which *may* have been struck from downland flint (Appendix 1, no. 9), and two flakes — one of them faceted — of different, non-local cherts (Appendix 3, nos 7 & 15).

CONCLUSION

SUMMARY

Sites A and B comprise one of four known concentrations of Late Bronze Age material from Selsey (Fig. 1). The site of which they form a part was a large one. Much of this has been lost to coastal erosion. Owing to the nature of soil development on the site, the density of occupation within it remains unknown. However, not all the features identified were in use at the same time. Prestige goods have been found, but the types of feature and the variety of finds made suggest that sites A and B were domestic in nature. Activities included flint knapping, stone selection and burning, cereal processing (sieving), food preparation and consumption, and possibly weaving. Many of these were grouped on site — at least at the stage of rubbish dumping, which — contrary to the evidence from other West Sussex sites — was piecemeal. One feature was backfilled and possibly closed with freshly dug material. The pottery shows that the two sites belonged to a widespread cultural tradition recognized throughout south-east England. The exact source of the pottery is unknown. Some *may* have been produced 'centrally'. But other data are consistent with those from sites such as Runnymede Bridge and Shinewater Park which suggest that this cultural horizon was accompanied by equally far-reaching economic activity.

THE FUTURE

Much of the foregoing could not have been said of other Late Bronze Age sites in West Sussex. Almost certainly this is a result of the site's location and the nature of the sample available; for Selsey is unique both in terms of the history of archaeological inquiry there, and the instability — and therefore the visibility — of sites. There was no fundamental difference between its occupation and that of sites elsewhere. Further work is called for, however. Owing to the abundance of charred material in the small sample taken for environmental analysis, further samples were taken. These await analysis. Likewise the pottery from Kenny's site at Broadreeds, Selsey, has not yet been studied in detail. The results of such work should sharpen — and perhaps qualify — much of the foregoing.

Currently there are no plans to excavate the site. It would either have to be hand dug from the level of the first stone-packed feature (possibly as much as 0.8 metres) or truncated by machine. This would be uneconomic, both financially and archaeologically. But the sampling programme is continuing, and — it is hoped — will do so until such time as no new archaeology appears, either because it has all been eroded away or because of the construction of sea-defence works. The principal objectives are, firstly, the identification of relationships within and between features which might improve our understanding of the operation of the site, both during and at the end of its life, and, secondly, the recovery of finds which might improve our understanding of its relationship to the Late Bronze Age of Sussex generally. The results of this and the foregoing analyses will appear in a future report.

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APPENDIX 1: STRUCK FLINT

With the exception of the three Mesolithic or Early Neolithic blades (1, 2 & 5), all the flintwork recovered from sites A and B is probably of Late Bronze Age date, though it *could* be earlier. Most of that from site B is from the beach. This is shown either by the presence of chatter-marked surfaces (13, 15 & 16) or — less certainly — by a very poor concoidal fracture indicative of stress (11 & 12). One flake (9) retains a large area of cortex. It *may* be from the Downs but a small amount of abrasion suggests that it too is water-worn. Unfortunately, however, it has been struck in such a position that it is impossible to be sure. Two others which retain some cortex (15 & 16) are certainly water-worn. No doubt fresher, less stressed flint would have been favoured. A single iron-stained flake may be from the Brickearth. At site A one flake is from

the beach (3), and one other — though lacking any diagnostic characteristics — closely resembles it (4). The source of the rest remains unknown, but it is of very good quality: it was certainly selected and it may have been imported.

SITE A
Context 6
1) Blade (42 × 13 mm). Minimal butt. Possibly from a prepared core. Mesolithic or Early Neolithic.
2) Broken blade (20 × 8 mm). Minimal butt. Mesolithic or Early Neolithic.
3) Broken flake (34 × 35 mm). Broad butt.
4) Broken flake (30 × 30 mm). Broad butt.

Unstratified
5) Broken notched blade (45 × 13 mm). Mesolithic or Early Neolithic.
6) Broken single-edged retouched blade (40 × 25 mm).
7) Broken then single-edged retouched flake (42 × 21 mm). Broad butt.
8) Retouched flake (32 × 30 mm). Broad butt.

SITE B: PIT 55
Context 40
9) Edge-worn flake (60 × 30 mm). Broad butt.
10) Flake (35 × 30 mm).

Context 41
11) Blade or flake (80 × 40 mm).
12) Flake (53 × 40 mm).
13) Flake (43 × 22 mm).

Context 44
14) Flake (39 × 24 mm). Broad butt. Burnt.

Context 44/45
15) Retouched flake/point (32 × 30 mm). Broad butt.

Context 45
16) Flake (57 × 35 mm). Broad butt.

Context 49
17) Broken blade or flake (22 × 20 mm). Broad butt.

APPENDIX 2: MACROSCOPIC EXAMINATION OF THE POTTERY FABRICS

Fa
Rare to sparse (2–5 per cent) medium sand to small granule-sized (0.5–2.5 mm) angular calcined flint of grey colour. Common fine quartz sand. Very occasional 'chaff' impressions and black (carbonaceous) flecks. Oxidized and unoxidized surfaces and core: yellow brown and dark grey.

Fb
Sparse to moderate (3–10 per cent) medium sand-sized to small granule-sized (0.5–2.5 mm) angular calcined flint of white colour. Common fine quartz sand. Occasional sand to small granule-sized (0.5–2.5 mm) round Fe oxides. Abundant 'chaff' impressions and black (carbonaceous) flecks. Oxidized surfaces: orange. Oxidized and unoxidized core: grey to buff.

Fc
Sparse to moderate (3–10 per cent) medium sand-sized (0.5 mm) angular calcined flint. Common fine quartz sand. Occasional 'chaff' impressions. Oxidized surfaces: brown. Unoxidized core: black.

Fd
Rare to sparse (1–5 per cent) medium to coarse sand-sized (0.5–1.5 mm) angular calcined flint. Common fine quartz sand. Abundant 'chaff' impressions and black (carbonaceous) flecks. Note: a single sherd from 44/42 is mica rich. Unoxidized surfaces and core: light to dark grey.

Fe
Sparse to moderate (3–10 per cent) medium to coarse sand-sized (0.5–1.5 mm) angular calcined flint. Common fine quartz sand. Abundant 'chaff' impressions and black (carbonaceous) flecks. Oxidized and unoxidized surfaces: grey or dark grey brown. Oxidized core: grey.

Ff
Rare (1–2 per cent) medium sand-sized to small granule-sized (0.5–2 mm) angular calcined flint. Common fine quartz sand. Abundant black (carbonaceous) flecks. Oxidized surfaces and core: dark red.

Fg
Rare to sparse (2–5 per cent) medium to coarse sand-sized (0.5–1.5 mm) angular calcined flint. Rare (1–2 per cent) granule-sized (3.5–6 mm) angular calcined flint and coarse sand to small granule-sized (2–3 mm) angular quartz/mica rock fragments. Rare (1–2 per cent) sand-sized (1 mm) mica. Common fine quartz and, possibly, Fe oxide sand. Occasional black (carbonaceous) flecks. Oxidized and unoxidized surfaces: dark red or brown. Unoxidized core: grey brown.

Fh
Sparse (3–5 per cent) medium sand to small granule-sized (0.5–2.5 mm) angular calcined flint. Common fine quartz sand. Very rare (<1 per cent) small granule-sized (2.5 mm) round Fe oxides. One wholly oxidized sherd: buff.

Fi
Sparse to moderate (7–10 per cent) medium sand to small granule-sized (0.5–2.5 mm) angular calcined flint. Common medium to coarse rounded quartz sand. Abundant 'chaff' impressions. Oxidized and unoxidized surfaces: buff and black. Unoxidized core: black.

Fj
Sparse to moderate (7–10 per cent) medium to coarse sand-sized (0.5–1.5 mm) angular calcined flint. Common fine to medium quartz sand. Occasional pale, non-calcareous earthy pellets and black (carbonaceous) flecks. Oxidized and unoxidized surfaces and core: buff and grey.

Fk
Sparse to moderate (7–10 per cent) medium sand to small granule-sized (0.5–2.5 mm) angular calcined flint. Common

fine to medium quartz sand. Occasional grey, non-calcareous earthy pellets. Oxidized and unoxidized surfaces: black and buff. Unoxidized core: black.

Fl
Sparse (3–5 per cent) medium sand to small granule-sized (0.5–2.5 mm) angular calcined flint. Common fine quartz sand. One sherd with oxidized and unoxidized surfaces: black and buff.

Fm
Sparse to moderate (7–10 per cent) medium sand to small granule-sized (0.5–2.5 mm) grading into common (25 per cent) small granule sized (2.5 mm) angular calcined flint. Common fine to medium quartz sand. A single unoxidized sherd: black.

APPENDIX 3: MACROSCOPIC IDENTIFICATION OF THE STONE FINDS

PIT 6
Context 7
1) Lodsworth-type Greensand (21 g). Small angular pebble. Light red-brown, but not obviously burnt. Lower Greensand. Midhurst area.

PIT 34
Context 33
2) Lodsworth-type Greensand (156 g). Large angular pebble with the remains of a slightly convex facet. Probably from the upper stone of a saddle quern. Light red-brown, but not obviously burnt. Lower Greensand. Midhurst area.
3) Lodsworth-type Greensand (205 g). Large angular pebble with the remains of two slightly concave and converging facets. Probably from the lower stone of a saddle quern. Light red-brown, but not obviously burnt. Lower Greensand. Midhurst area.

PIT 55
For the most part, the origin of the clasts considered here is uncertain. Most, however, *could* have been derived from the beach or the marine gravel underlying the site. Their identification as manuports is based on two things. Firstly, the proportion of clasts other than flint was far greater than it is in either of the aforementioned 'natural' deposits, with examples of the same types occurring in different deposits (clasts of stone types other than flint had been selected). Secondly, though few had been modified by abrasion or sculpture, many were burned. This is typical of assemblages of humanly transported stone from sites of the later prehistoric period, including the Late Bronze Age. The assemblage from pit 55 differs only insofar as there is little evidence for the burning of flint. This perhaps suggests a different role or function. If so, not only does it help to characterize the nature of activities represented by the deposits in pit 55, but it heralds the possibility of such differences elsewhere. For example, Kenny's excavations at Broadreeds, Selsey, recovered much fire-cracked-flint from Late Bronze Age deposits but no other burnt stone.

Context 36
4) Coarse sandstone (19 g). Small angular pebble. Friable with the remains of an earlier smoothed surface. Either from a rubber or a large water-worn clast. Grey. Burnt.

Context 40
5) Fine-grained sandstone (48 g). Small angular pebble. Friable with the remains of an earlier smooth but pitted surface, possibly a varnish or weathering rind. Very pale grey. Similar to a large sarsen stone found in the gravel pit to the south of Golf Links Lane.
6) Coarse sandstone (60 g). Small round pebble. Friable with the remains of an earlier smoothed surface. The same as (4). Either from a rubber or a large water-worn clast. Grey. Burnt.
7) Limestone chert (58 g). Angular pebble from an unweathered nodule. Creamy white. Probably an import.
8) Fine sandstone (135 g). Large angular pebble. A non-calcareous ?concretion with gastropod casts. Yellow brown. ?Bracklesham Beds. Selsey area.

Context 41
9) Quartzite (42 g). Small, well-rounded water-worn pebble. Disc-shaped with thermal fractures and one very smooth face. Possibly a rubber. Grey on one side and dark grey on the other — smoother — side. Burnt or from the raised beach.
10) Ferruginous sandstone (23 g). Small very angular pebble. Dark red interior; yellow-brown weathering rind. Burnt.

Context 44
11) Fine-grained sandstone (146 g). Large angular pebble with the remains of a water-rolled surface. Thermal fractures. Pale grey. Burnt.

Context 45
12) Coarse sandstone (104 g). Angular pebble. Friable with the remains of a smoothed surface. The same as (4). Either from a rubber or a large water-worn clast. Grey. Burnt.
13) Coarse sandstone (146 g). Angular pebble. The same as (4). Red grey. Burnt.
14) Coarse sandstone (129 g). Large angular pebble. Friable with the remains of a smoothed surface. The same as (4). Either from a rubber or a large water-worn clast. Grey. Burnt.
15) Greensand chert (22 g). Small angular pebble. A flake from an unweathered nodule. Traces of facetting. Possibly from a rubber. Greeny grey interior; very pale grey cortex. Lower Greensand. Probably an import.
16) Greywacke (25 g). Angular pebble-sized flake. Grey.

Context 49
17) Unknown (273 g). Large well-rounded water-worn pebble. Trapezoidal. Fractured. Green grey. ?Effluent-stained.

Context 50
18) Fine-grained sandstone (241 g). Small angular cobble with the remains of two smoothed surfaces. The same as (11). Either from a rubber or a large water-worn clast. Thermal fractures. Pale grey. Burnt.

Context 53

19) Coarse micaeous sandstone (64 g). Angular pebble-sized flake. From a water-worn clast. Red.

20) Fine sandstone (365 g). Angular cobble. A non-calcareous ?concretion with gastropod casts. The same as (8). Yellow-brown. ?Bracklesham Beds. Selsey area.

The slump

21) Pyrites (231 g). Angular cobble with one smooth facet. Gun metal interior; brown weathering rind. London Clay. Bognor area.

22) Fine-grained sandstone (77 g). Large angular pebble. Friable. A non-calcareous concretion. Red brown. Burnt.

23) Fine-grained sandstone (77 g). Large angular pebble. Friable. A non-calcareous concretion. Brown.

24) Chert (51 g). Very angular pebble. Thermal fractures. Grey. Burnt.

25) Flint (72 g). Angular pebble. Fragment from a water-worn clast. Thermal fractures. Grey. Burnt.

26) Flint (150 g). Angular pebble. Thermal fractures. Grey. Burnt.

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Using elderly data bases

IRON AGE PIT DEPOSITS AT THE CABURN, EAST SUSSEX, AND RELATED SITES

by Sue Hamilton

This paper considers the value of Sussex's 'early' excavation archives for reconsidering 'rubbish' deposits on Iron Age sites. The review concentrates on pit deposits from Middle Iron Age prominent enclosures (hillforts). The focal data base of the study comprises the contents of over 140 pits excavated at the Caburn hillfort in the late 19th century by Lane Fox, and in the 1920s under the auspices of E. and E. C. Curwen. The results suggest, particularly on hillfort sites, that rubbish deposition was purposefully structured and that the deposition of highly symbolic artefacts and remains was part of this tradition.

INTRODUCTION

Over the last decade it has become apparent that there is structured patterning in the intentional disposal of 1st-millennium BC material culture, previously considered to be 'random rubbish' (Fitzpatrick 1997b; Hill 1989; 1995). While practitioners of Iron Age studies are now beginning to sense that this 'new' topic 'has run its course' (Collis 1997, 299), the regional characteristics of such patterning have hardly begun to be defined. Work in southern Britain has largely concentrated on Wessex sites (Hill 1995). In this review of Sussex material (Fig. 1), I wish to consider its potential for such analysis. I will concentrate on pit deposition, and particularly on deposition practices within prominent hilltop enclosures traditionally called hillforts.

In terms of hillfort excavations, Sussex is distinguished by its substantial 'elderly data bases'. The most extensive excavation of Sussex hillforts took place between the 1920s and 1960s. It is vital to assess the quality of these archives in order to establish whether contemporary debates, such as that on deposition practices, are open to investigation in a Sussex context. Themes of general interest relating to deposition practice include the possible existence of regional-specific patterns of deposition and the character of *domestic deposition practice and ritual* versus *public and community acts of deposition/ritual*. My intention is to address these themes by concentrating on Sussex Middle Iron Age hillforts and associated sites. The reason for this particular choice of site category and period centres upon the fact that the Caburn hillfort has produced by far the largest Sussex Iron Age data base of excavated pit deposits. Although the Caburn has evidence for earlier 1st-millennium BC use (Drewett & Hamilton 1996), it was not until the Middle Iron Age that it was substantially enclosed. The Caburn is currently undergoing re-analysis (Drewett & Hamilton 1996; Hamilton 1997), and with this in mind, the present discussion is exploratory rather than definitive.

Sussex had four downland prominent enclosures (hillforts) which can be securely dated to the Middle Iron Age. These are the Caburn, Cissbury, Torberry, and the Trundle (Hamilton & Manley 1997). While the provision of a visually prominent barrier may be part of the intention of enclosure, the term hillfort may be deceptive in suggesting that the *raison d'être* of such sites was based on defence (Bowden & McOmish 1989; Hamilton & Manley 1997; Sharples 1991). A consideration of deposition practices at these sites can contribute to a wider illumination of their likely multiple functions. In Sussex, the Middle Iron Age (*c.* 450–200 BC) coincides with a major reconfiguration of the landscape in which the number of hilltop enclosures in active use was substantially reduced (Hamilton & Manley 1997, figs 2 & 3). The prominent enclosures which were (re)constructed at this time are positioned centrally in the South Downs, in contrast to the preceding hillforts which are mostly situated on the northern and southern edges of the South Downs. The topographic locations of the Middle Iron Age hillforts suggest that they are landmark sites, being highly visible from the outside.

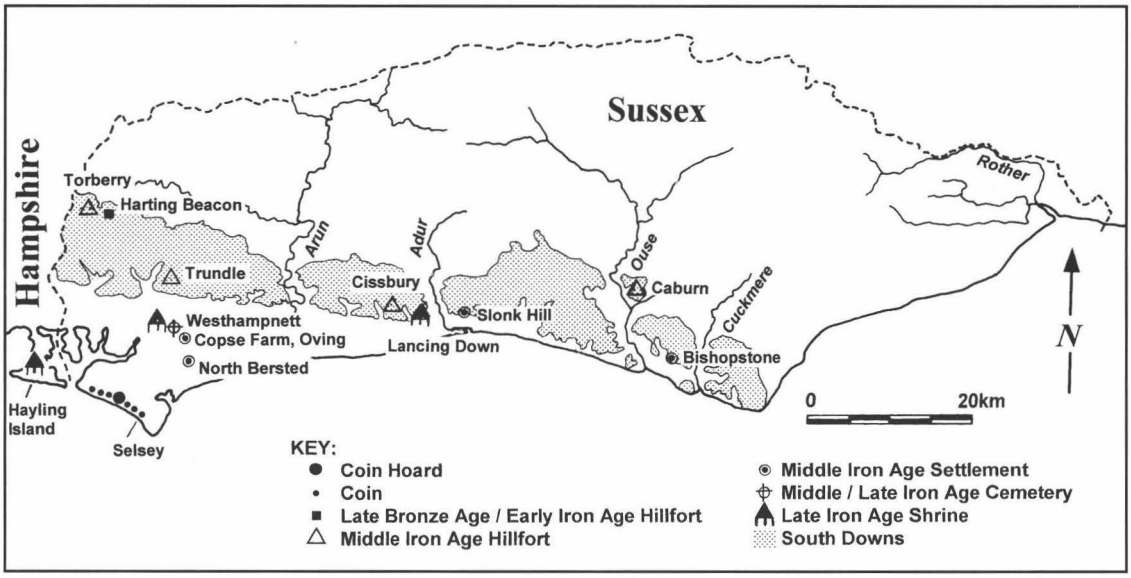

Fig. 1. Location map of sites and findspots mentioned in the text.

DELIBERATE DEPOSITION AND CEREMONIAL PRACTICES

The interpretation of any individual item of Iron Age material culture in terms of a discrete domestic, mortuary, funerary or ritual function is self-evidently impossible and inappropriate. The meanings and roles of items may have been transmutable according to their changing contexts of use and the 'life stage' of the object/material. The topic has been exhaustively researched by Hill (1989; 1994; 1995), specifically for the ditches and pits found on Iron Age farms in Wessex. Hill notes that such pit deposition would have been infrequent, given that when the number of pits on a site is considered in relationship to the overall occupation of that site, the contents of pits account for only a minor proportion of rubbish potentially generated by such sites. The implications of this are that pit deposition was an unusual event and potentially more susceptible to the deposition of specially curated or selected material. For enclosed settlements Hill (1994, figs 2.3 & 2.4) , and Wait (1985) have noted an emphasis on the placement of human remains at boundaries. A list of deposits associated with the bottom of pits at Danebury (Cunliffe 1992, fig. 5) and interpreted as 'special deposits' or 'offerings' includes human remains, animal skulls and limbs, bird bones, querns, iron tools, and sets of clay and chalk weights. Hill (1995) notes recurrent combinations, such as bird bones with human bones, and fixed sequences of deposition such as human bones after deposits of animal bones and pottery.

For our Sussex data base, by studying the different places and combinations in which items were *deliberately* deposited, it is possible to suggest that certain things were more specifically imbued with ideological or metaphoric meaning. The contexts of deliberate deposition to be considered are i) *the contents of backfilled 'disused' negative features in settlements and enclosures* (pits, large post-holes from dismantled posts, and ditches); ii) *the finds from shrines*; and iii) *grave goods or offerings associated with formal human burials*. Studying the range of sites associated with deliberate deposition has the potential to elucidate the existence of everyday, personal, or public 'rites' of deposition.

THE CABURN ARCHIVE

THE SITE

The Caburn is a prominent enclosure (1.4 ha) placed on a hill of striking topography. The site merits special attention because of its extraordinary data base. The Caburn's interior (Fig. 7) provides a data base of more than 140 totally excavated chalk-cut pits and their contents (Figs 2–4). These almost wholly relate to excavations undertaken in the 1870s

and 1920s. Forty-two pits were excavated by Lane Fox in the summers of 1877 and 1878 (Lane Fox 1881, relic table pits 1–40, and entry 16 labelled 'twin pits'). Ninety-nine pits were subsequently excavated by Reginald P. R. Williamson, with one labourer (H. Gordon) between October 1925 and January 1926 for E. and E. C. Curwen who 'were not able to be there ourselves' (Curwen & Curwen 1927, 2–3, pits 41–147). Some of the Curwens' pits turned out to be conjoined pairs, although they appeared as a single depression on the surface. These paired pits were distinguished by suffixes (pit 42 east and west; pits 43/43A, 44/44A, 47/47A, 49/49A, 54/54A, 77/77A, 92/92A, 93/93A & 105/105A). Pit 74 proved not to be pit but a platform/terrace devoid of further features. Some 17 pit numbers are absent from the 1–147 pit number sequence on the Curwens' plan and 'Table of pits' (Curwen & Curwen 1927, pl. 1). It must be presumed that these depressions proved not to be pits on excavation (nos 102, 117–19, 123–5, 128, 132, 135, 139–45). Recent excavations have additionally recovered finds from a previously unrecorded pit (Drewett & Hamilton 1996).

THE NATURE AND QUALITY OF THE CABURN ARCHIVE

The excavation reports of Lane Fox (1881) and E. and E. C. Curwen (1927) notably provide pit 'relic tables'. In the absence of section drawings of pit fills, and of plans of the pits, these 'relic tables' are central to my reconstruction of the pit deposits. In each case, the 'relic table' provides written descriptions of pit shapes. These descriptions are tantalizing in that many of the pits appear not to have been of the classic cylindrical and bell shapes traditionally associated with southern British Iron Age pits (Cunliffe 1991, fig. 15.2). Lane Fox's (1881: 'Mount Caburn relic table') descriptions of pit shapes includes 'oblong' (45 per cent of pits), 'oval' (30 per cent), 'round/circular' (15 per cent), 'square/squarish' (5 per cent), and 'heart-shaped' (3 per cent). E. and E. C. Curwen (1927, 'Table of Pits') describe excavated pits which include 'rectangular' (44 per cent of pits), 'oval' (22 per cent), 'sub-rectangular' (9 per cent), 'circular' (4 per cent), 'sub-circular' (2 per cent), 'square' (2 per cent), 'triangular' (1 per cent), 'quadrangular' (1 per cent), and other more bizarre descriptions such as 'pyriform' (3 per cent). It is possible that several of these shapes are constructs of excavation. The descriptions from each report are, however, or perhaps predictably, very similar. The square/rectangular ascriptions concur with the pits' shapes recognized in subsequent excavations at the Trundle by E. C. Curwen (1929). The latter were photographed (e.g. plates 5 & 7) and show prehistoric adze marks in the sides of the features, suggesting that in that instance the features were *not* over-cut. While these shape oddities are perplexing and confound interpretation of the original function of the pits, they do not invalidate considering the types of finds and deposits in the Caburn pits and their sequence of deposition.

The Caburn pit finds were exceptionally well-illustrated (Lane Fox 1881; Curwen & Curwen 1927), which greatly aids their identification and interpretation (Figs 2, 3 & 4). The original finds illustrations, and their descriptions, were grouped together by type (e.g. loomweights: Curwen & Curwen 1927, figs 47–9), and not by context, but in conjunction with the tables it has been possible to reconstruct the contents of each pit. Both Lane Fox's and E. and E. C. Curwen's 'relic tables' list the contents of each pit and the depths (to the nearest inch) at which individual artefact finds, and sometimes shells, antler, boar's tusks, and certain animal bones were recovered.

Pottery sherds, flint flakes, selected pebbles and fire-cracked flints are less precisely attributed and quantified and cannot be central to our analysis. The pottery is particularly well-illustrated (notably Gurd's illustrations in Hawkes 1939), but the illustrated pieces do not necessarily reflect the real numbers of sherds from different vessel types and chronological phases. Lane Fox (1881) gives sherd counts (by fabric) for each pit, which facilitates assessment of the number of sherds present in individual pits 1–40. E. and E. C. Curwen omit sherd counts, but there are sometimes statements ascribing pottery and stone finds to a pit's 'top', 'middle', or 'bottom', or comments such as 'pottery zone at 12–18" (Curwen & Curwen 1927, table of relics, pits 43A & 45). As part of the recent re-analysis of the Caburn archive (Hamilton 1997) all sherds have been documented. Many of the pits contain exclusively Middle Iron Age sherds (e.g. pits 41, 48, 49, 87, 95 129 & 127). Other pits contain both Middle Iron Age and Late Bronze Age/earlier Iron Age sherds, the latter sherds relating to the 'pre-rampart' phase of the site. This suggests the incorporation of previously 'curated rubbish' in some of the pits. Late Iron Age and Roman pottery has also been recovered from the pits but, where

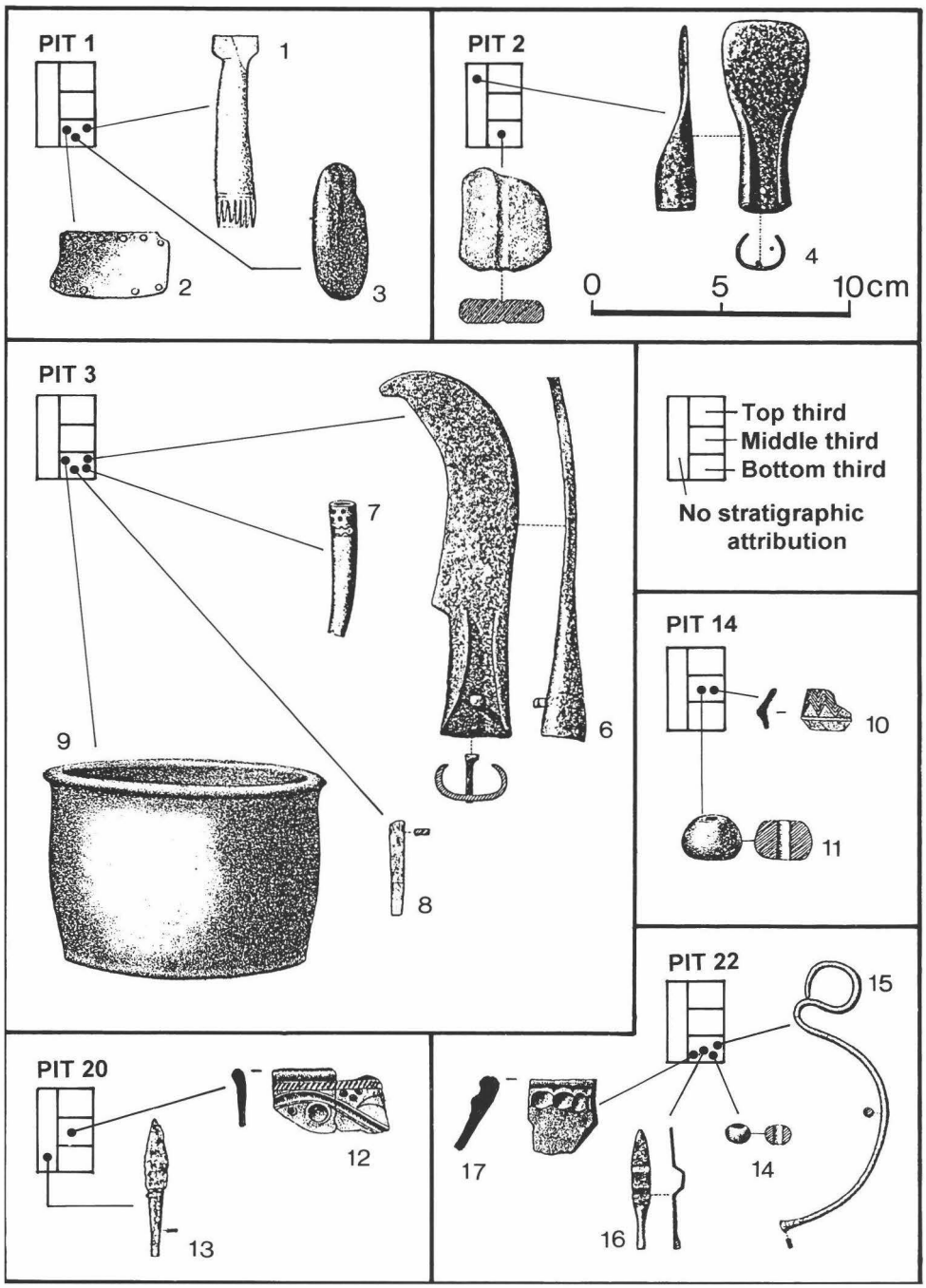

Fig. 2. Examples of Caburn small finds and pottery. (Source: Lane Fox 1881). See Curwen & Curwen 1927, pl. 1 for the locations of all numbered pits. In the present analysis small finds comprise the following categories: antler knife handles; grooved pebbles and pebbles used as burnishers; latch-lifter; personal ornaments, potin coins; iron tools; iron weaponry; loomweights; spindlewhorls; weaving combs; and whetstones.

attributable, this has generally come from the uppermost fills (which are not considered in the present analysis, see below).

The identification of the animal bones is the most problematic. Lane Fox's 'relic tables' give species' identifications, whereas E. and E. C. Curwen's 'relic tables' often merely state 'bones present'. Relatively few of the bones have been deposited in the museum archive (Barbican House, Lewes).

'PIT THIRDS'

Both 'relic tables' give the depth and dimensions of each pit. Hill's (1995) concept of grouping pit deposits into sequential 'pit thirds' is ideal for the lack of detailed stratigraphic information associated with the Caburn pits. When deposition is considered at a gross scale, irrespective of the placement angle of individual pit deposits and fills, the lowest third of a pit fill must have been largely deposited before the middle fill, and the middle third of a pit deposit likewise before the uppermost third. The Caburn pits were excavated in horizontal spits, thus where the depths of finds have been recorded they bear no precise relationship to discrete stratigraphic layers or events. The recorded finds depths do, however, allow artefacts to be ascribed to the bottom, middle or top of each pit. The simple method I employed was to divide the recorded depth of each pit into 'pit thirds', and to allocate finds to the top, middle or bottom 'third' according to which 'pit third' the recorded 'finds depth' fell within (Fig. 5). In the case of E. and E. C. Curwen's (1927) 'Table of Contents' some pits' depths are given a depth range, because these pits are markedly not flat-bottomed. In these instances the median figure in the depth range was taken for the calculation of 'pit thirds'. Lane Fox's 'relic table' gives the depth of 'surface mould' for each pit, which can be taken to be the looser topsoil and most recent infill. In each case, the 'surface mould' depth reassuringly corresponds with the top third calculation. My analysis ignores finds from the top 'pit third' for the purposes of considering secure patterns of deliberate deposition. It is, however, recognized that the artefact contents of the top 'pit third' may have implications for the longer-term chronology of on-site activity.

Catalogue of selected, illustrated finds from the Caburn pit archive (Figs 2, 3 & 4)

Figure 2

1. From Lane Fox 1881, pl. 24:11. Weaving comb (seven teeth) of deer antler. Pit 1.
2. From Lane Fox 1881, pl. 24:8. Iron scale of armour, or fragment of cheek-piece of helmet. Pit 1.
3. From Lane Fox 1881, pl. 24:21. Pebble worn along the edge by friction. Pit 1.
4. From Lane Fox 1881, pl. 24:5. Iron spud. Pit 2.
5. From Lane Fox 1881, pl. 24:20. Pebble with shallow groove on both sides and top, and marks of hammering at the three prominent corners. Pit 2.
6. From Lane Fox 1881, pl. 24:13. Iron billhook. Pit 3.
7. From Lane Fox 1881, pl. 24:25. Knife handle? Deer antler tine cut at one end and broken at the small end. Pierced at the big end as if to receive a blade. Ornamented with a dot and circle pattern. Pierced laterally at 12 mm from the big end with a 6 mm hole. Pit 3.
8. From Lane Fox 1881, pl. 24:14. Iron bar. Pit 3.
9. From Lane Fox 1881, pl. 25:56. Rim, base and body sherds from a plain Middle Iron Age saucepan pot. Fabric not known. Pit 3.
10. From Lane Fox 1881, pl. 25:46. Thin-walled early Iron Age sherd with dark grey/black unoxidized surfaces (and core?). The fabric is described as 'fine' and is probably iron-oxide rich, based on comparisons with the pottery in the Curwen's archive (Barbican House). The sherd has a raised cordon at the shoulder angle and an incised herringbone pattern decoration above the shoulder. In the original publication, the sherd appears to have been drawn upside down. Pit 14.
11. From Lane Fox 1881, pl. 25:54. Clay spindlewhorl. Pit 14.
12. From Lane Fox 1881, pl. 25:40. Decorated sherd from a Middle Iron Age saucepan pot ornamented with a tooled curvilinear line, and impressed dots. The fabric is greyish brown in colour and of a smooth, 'grainless' fabric (grog-tempered?). Pit 20.
13. From Lane Fox 1881, pl. 24:15. Tanged iron knife. Pit 20.
14. From Lane Fox 1881, pl. 25:49. Opaque, dark blue glass bead, with a cylindrical hole. Pit 22.
15. From Lane Fox 1881, pl. 24:17. Iron ring-headed pin, flat at the end opposite the loop. Pit 22.
16. From Lane Fox 1881, pl. 24:9. Iron loop, possibly the loop of a scabbard for the passage of a sword belt. Pit 22.
17. From Lane Fox 1881, pl. 25:33. Late Bronze Age/

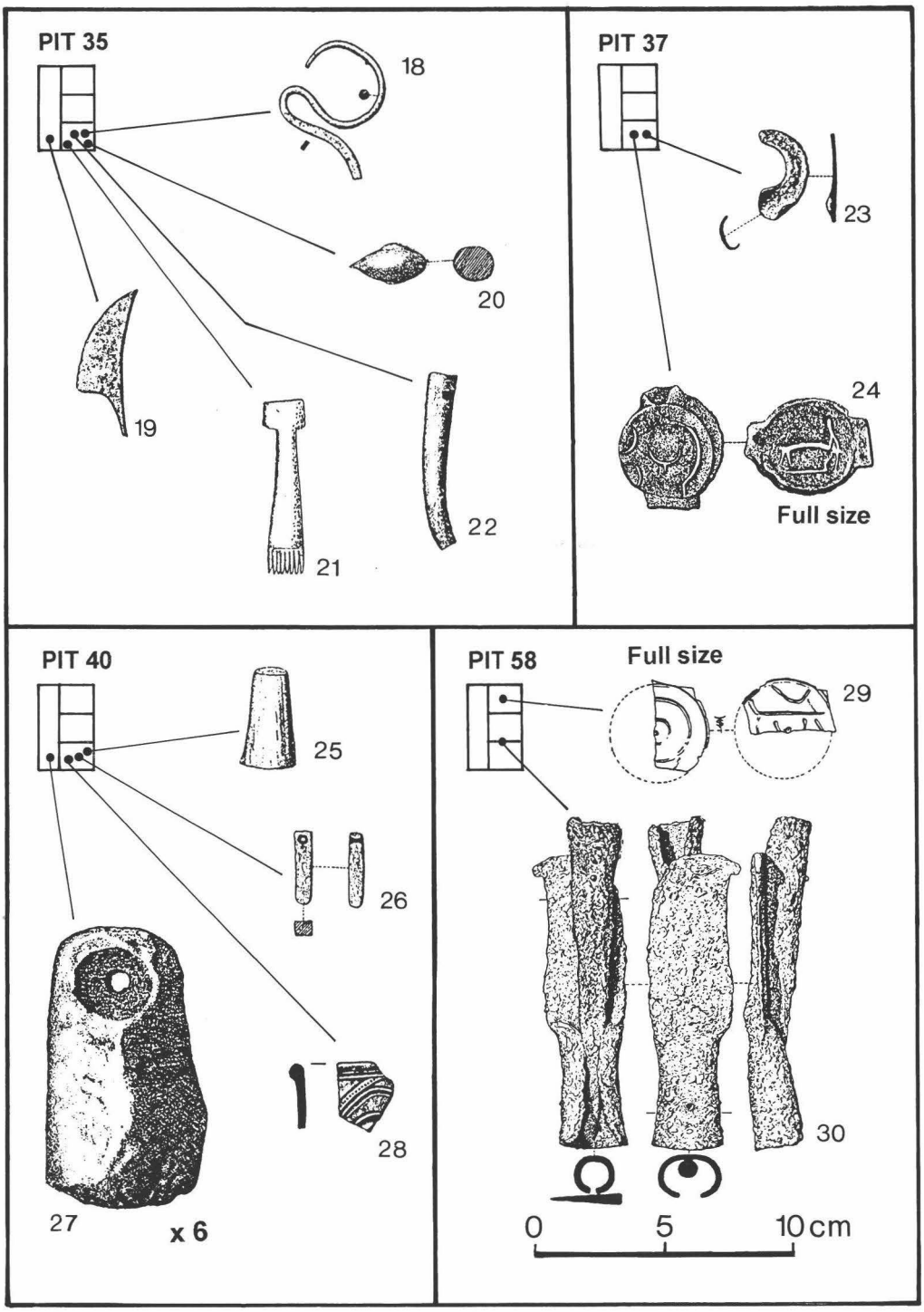

Fig. 3. Examples of Caburn small finds and pottery. (Sources: Lane Fox 1881; Curwen & Curwen 1927.)

Early Iron Age rim sherd with raised, applied, finger-impressed cordon. Dark brown fabric with 'white quartz or shell tempering'. Pit 22.

Figure 3

18. From Lane Fox 1881, pl. 24:16. Iron, ring-headed pin, flat at the end opposite the loop. Pit 35.
19. From Lane Fox 1881, pl. 24:7. Tanged, iron knife with curved blade. Pit 35.
20. From Lane Fox 1881, pl. 25:47. Baked clay slingstone. Pit 35.
21. From Lane Fox 1881, pl. 24:12. Weaving comb (eight teeth) of deer antler. Pit 35.
22. From Lane Fox 1881, pl. 24:24. Tine of deer antler cut at both ends and pierced near the bigger end by a cylindrical hole. Pit 35.
23. From Lane Fox 1881, pl. 24:10. Iron sickle blade. Pit 37.
24. From Lane Fox 1881, pl. 25:61. Potin coin, on the obverse a schematic head; on the reverse side the figure of an animal (horse?, bull?). From a 'string' of castings, the runlets having been cut through with a chisel. Pit 37.
25. From Lane Fox 1881, pl. 24:27. Deer antler tine which has been cut flat at both ends with a metal saw. Pit 40.
26. From Lane Fox 1881, pl. 24:29. Sandstone whetstone, with a hole for suspension. Pit 40.
27. From Lane Fox 1881, pl. 24:28. Chalk loomweight, bored with a hole 12 mm in diameter in the centre and enlarging at both ends. Found with six other loomweights at the bottom of pit 40.
28. From Lane Fox 1881, pl. 25:35. Beaded rim sherd from a Middle Iron Age saucepan pot. Decorated with both linear and curvilinear tooled lines. Smooth brown fabric with no inclusions noted (grog-tempered?). Pit 40.
29. From Curwen & Curwen 1927, pl. 2:5. Part of a potin coin (similar to Fig. 24) with a schematic representation of a human head on the obverse and of a bull or horse on the reverse. Pit 58.
30. From Curwen & Curwen 1927, pl. 3:12. Iron billhook with a socket formed by beating flanges around the former wooden haft. Between the two flanges a long pointed iron tool, interpreted as the ferrule end of a spear, has been driven and jammed (to slight the tool?). The 'conjoined' tools were found lying on sticks or wood shavings, which were preserved owing to iron impregnation. Pit 58.

Figure 4

31. From Curwen & Curwen 1927, pl. 4:15. Iron ploughshare made from a flat triangular-shaped piece of metal, with the basal angles beaten round to form a flange-socket. Pit 77.
32. From Curwen & Curwen 1927, pl. 4:22. Iron knife with curved blade, and the stump of a tang remaining. Pit 77A.
33. From Curwen & Curwen 1927, pl. 4:14. Leaf-shaped iron dagger blade with mid-rib. Pit 80.
34. From Curwen & Curwen 1927, pl. 4:19. Iron razor, with curved tang providing a notch for the finger. Pit 87.
35. From Curwen & Curwen 1927, pl. 4:23. Small iron blade, probably from a razor. Pit 97.
36. From Curwen & Curwen 1927, pl. 4:24. Iron, narrow blade from a knife. The point is missing, but a hafting tang is present. Pit 97.
37. From Curwen & Curwen 1927, pl. 4:16. Small iron hammer-head, perforated in the middle for hafting. One end has been burred out (through use, or deliberately slighted). Pit 101.
38. From Curwen & Curwen 1927, pl. 3:11. Part of an iron sword including the tang of the handle and the greater part of the blade. Found lying on sticks or wood shavings (preserved through iron impregnation) on the bottom of Pit 129.
39. From Curwen & Curwen 1927, pl. 3:13. Iron sickle blade with a flanged socket and a rivet hole. Pit 138A.

SEQUENCES OF DEPOSITION (Figs 5 & 6)

Four of the Caburn pit bottoms produced weapons (pit 9: a piece of a bronze sword; pit 22: an iron staple loop for a sword scabbard; pit 31: an iron spearhead; and pit 80: an iron dagger blade). The remaining weapon finds came from close to the botton/middle 'pit third' interface. Other metal finds consistently occurring in the bottom 'pit third' include iron knives/razors (pits 11, 77A & 87). All three finds of weaving combs came from pit bases (pits 1, 35 & 131). With the exception of three loomweights, all other stratified loomweights (a total of 35, including seven loomweights from pit 40, and a further seven loomweights from pit 47) also came from the bottom of pits. Of the 18 quern fragments recovered from the pits, we only have stratigraphic information on one of them, which came from the base of pit 81. The only stratified latch-lifter came from the bottom of pit 105A.

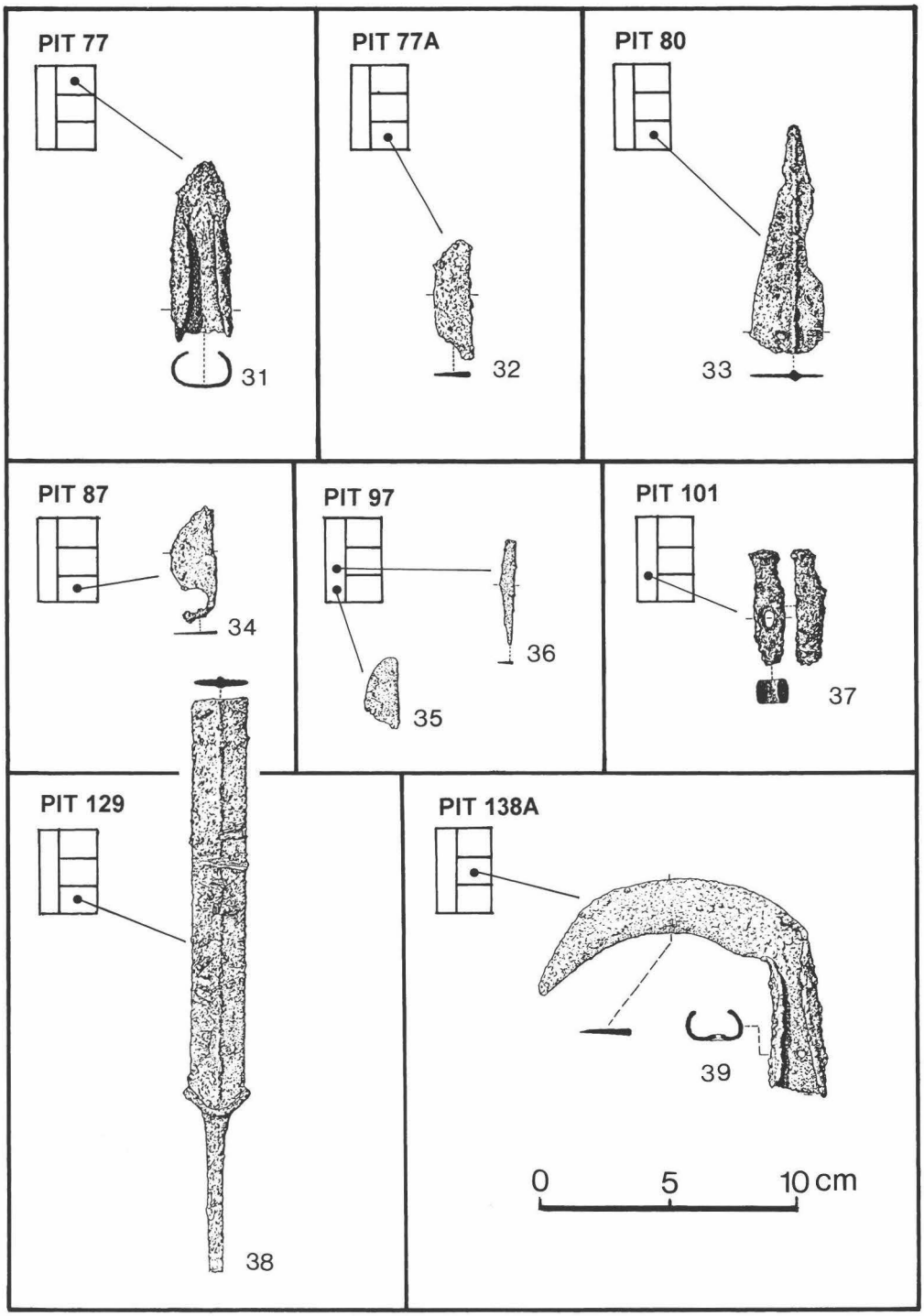

Fig. 4. Examples of Caburn small finds. (Source: Curwen & Curwen 1927.)

Costume items (glass beads and pins) occur at the bottom of four pits. All stratigraphically attributable animal skulls (two sheep skulls, pit 6), and human remains (one jaw, and one mandible) can also be ascribed to pit bases (pits 27 & 80). Middle 'pit thirds' evidence less intense deposition and are most recurrently characterized by the presence of tools, including an iron hammerhead (pit 7), an iron billhook (pit 58), an iron spud (pit 2), and spindlewhorls. Sickle blades (and billhooks) occur in both middle and lower pit thirds (Fig. 5).

HIGHLY SPECIAL DEPOSITS AND THEIR SPATIAL LOCATION

SPECIAL DEPOSITS

It is difficult to be objective on what might characterize a highly ritually charged 'special deposit'. Finds from other 'local' contemporary and indisputably ritual contexts are relevant to such an assessment, together with the patterning suggested by the Wessex material. For Sussex, Middle and later Iron Age sites which incontrovertibly fall within a ritual sphere are the Iron Age temple sites at Hayling Island (just over the 'border' in Hampshire) and Lancing Down (Bedwin 1981), and the cremation cemetery at Westhampnett (Fitzpatrick 1997a). These various data bases allow the following categories of Caburn finds to be isolated as being particularly 'special':

1. Selected animal bones

On the basis of the patterning observed on Wessex sites, animal skulls and remains of wild and 'work' animals were considered to be of particular significance. At the Caburn the following fall within these categories: i) *horse bones* (pits 2, 17, 26, 38 & 40); ii) *dog bones* (pit 27); iii) *wild boar tusks* (pits 4, 29 & 54); iv) *wild mammal bones*: roe deer (pit 5); badger bones (pit 9); bones from two foxes (pit 27); v) *bird bones*: bird of unknown type (pit 32); raven (pit 32); fowl (pit 35); duck (pit 35); and curlew (pit 35); vi) *animal skulls*: two sheep skulls (pit 6); one *bos* skull (pit 89).

2. Weapons

Finds of iron, or copper alloy weapons are generally rare in Iron Age burials in southern Britain (Collis 1973). Weapons are almost wholly absent from the Westhampnett cemetery (Fitzpatrick 1997a, 221). They do, however, have a long tradition of being

	PIT THIRD: Middle	Bottom
Costume items		
glass bead	0	2
iron ring-headed pin	0	2
iron fibula	1	0
Weaving equipment		
loomweight	3	35
weaving comb	0	3
Other personal items		
latch key	0	1
iron knife/razor	0	3
Human remains and animal skulls		
sheep skulls	0	2
human remains	0	1 mandible
	0	1 jaw
Agricultural		
iron ploughshare	0	1
quern	0	1
iron sickle	1	1
Military equipment		
bronze spearhead	0	1
bronze sword fragment	0	1
staple for sword scabbard	0	1
scale of iron armour or helmet cheek-piece	0	1
bronze armour ring	0	1
iron dagger	0	1
iron spearhead	1	2
Spinning		
spindlewhorls	6	1
Other tools		
iron bill hook	1	1
iron hammerhead	1	0
iron spud	1	0
Other 'special finds'		
coins	5	4
boar's tusk	1	1
Other items		
bronze T-stop	1	0
bone toggle/ bridle cheek-piece	0	1

See Fig. 2 for a definition of small finds. See text for elucidation of 'special finds'.

Fig. 5. The Caburn archive: small finds and 'special finds' which can be attributed to middle and bottom 'pit thirds'.

an important component of ritual deposition in rivers and bogs (Bradley 1990; Fitzpatrick 1984), and are associated with Iron Age shrines (Woodward 1992). Offerings at the Hayling Island Iron Age temple included numerous spearheads, together with the remains of scabbards, shield bindings, belt loops, and chain mail (Downey *et al.* 1980; King & Soffe 1994). The Caburn's weaponry finds comprise part of a bronze sword or spearhead (pit 9); an iron staple for a sword scabbard loop (pit 22); two iron spearheads (pits 13 & 31); an iron 'point' (pit 58); an iron dagger (pit 80), and a 'snapped' iron sword (pit 129).

3. Human remains

Articulated human inhumation burials are rare on southern British Iron Age sites. Many of the Westhampnett burials can be regarded as 'token burials' in that there is rarely an attempt to collect all of the cremated bone, and in some cases extremely small quantities are present (Fitzpatrick 1997a, 71). The presence of any intentionally deposited human remains on sites might be seen as a token of ritual/human burial. The votive deposits at the Hayling Island Iron Age temple, for instance, included a token representation of human remains in the form of a human cranium, and mandible (Fitzpatrick 1997a, table 30). Human remains were identified for three of the Caburn pits: a femur bone (pit 16), a jaw bone (pit 27) and a male mandible (pit 80). These human remains are notably associated with bird bones or the bones of other wild animals (Curwen & Curwen 1927, 28; Lane Fox 1881).

4. Coins

There are indications that the deposition of coins as votive or religious deposits emerged during the Middle/later Iron Age of southern Britain. The deposition of *c.* 170 Celtic coins in the main courtyard and outer boundary area at the Iron Age temple on Hayling is indicative of the importance of coinage in votive deposition (King & Soffe 1994, 115). Similarly, the large number of Iron Age coins eroded out of the Selsey Bill cliffs (Fitzpatrick 1997a, fig. 4) has been explained as a series of votive deposits (Haselgrove 1987, 149, 458–61). In Britain, it is rare to find coins in Iron Age graves. Fitzpatrick (1997a, 88), however, notes three definite examples including a gold stater from Westhampnett grave 20493. Fitzpatrick (1997a, 89) also notes several examples of coins in burials from northern France and central Europe where they are associated with female burials. Ten of the Caburn pits produced potin coins: pits 22, 23, 29, 37 (2 coins), 43, 48, 58, 106, 133 (Curwen & Curwen 1927, pl. II; Lane Fox 1881, pl. 25), and one from the pit excavated in 1996 (Drewett & Hamilton 1996). Haselgrove (1987, 461) suggests the possibility of an 'early', Middle Iron Age dating for these coins.

5. Special placements, and/or deliberately slighted objects

Finds which can be placed under this heading are the iron point jammed into an iron bill hook and placed on a pile of wood shavings or sticks (preserved as a result of iron impregnation) in pit 58 (Curwen & Curwen 1927, 11, pl. 3: fig. 12), a broken sword similarly placed on sticks in pit 129 (Curwen & Curwen 1927), and a burred hammer from pit 101 (Curwen & Curwen 1927, 12, pl. 4: fig. 16). A Late Bronze Age/Iron Age tradition of ritually slighting weapons is well-attested both on the Continent (Brunaux 1988), and on British sites such as Flag Fen, Cambridgeshire (Pryor 1991). Several of the weapons from the Hayling Island temple were slighted.

At the Caburn, the joining parts of a broken quern distributed between pits 49 and 49A might also be considered within the category of ritually broken objects. The ritual symbolism of querns is uncertain, but in this context it is perhaps relevant to note the quern fragments derived from three of the post-holes of the Late Iron Age shrine at Lancing Down (Bedwin 1981, 46).

SPATIAL PATTERNS AT THE CABURN

Having isolated certain Caburn pit deposits as being of possible heightened metamorphic and ritual status (e.g. Fig. 6: pits 1, 9, 22, 27, 31, 35, 37 & 80), it is interesting to consider their spatial location. To do so prompts questions about how such things were deposited. Was deposition, whatever its secular or ritual meaning, a public or private event? Is there any spatial pattern suggesting that parts of the site were designated for distinct categories of deposition? More prosaically, one might ask 'who owns a pit?' and 'can "fly tipping" take place?'.

Two spatial patterns are of interest: *first*, when the distribution of number of artefacts per pit is plotted, it is evident that the pits with the greatest number of finds (Fig. 7) are situated on either side of the entrance, and in the centre (i.e. the highest locations) of the site (Fig. 8); *second*, if the distribution of 'highly ritually charged deposits' is plotted (Fig. 8) a similar pattern emerges. Proximate

PIT 1	*Middle 'pit third*	**PIT 2**	*Middle 'pit third'*	**PIT 31**	*Middle 'pit third'*	**PIT 35**	*Middle 'pit third'*
No stratigraphic attribution	no attributable finds	*No stratigraphic attribution*	iron spud spindlewhorl	*No stratigraphic attribution*	no attributable finds	*No stratigraphic attribution*	pottery
none	*Lower 'pit third'* weaving comb helmet cheek-piece/ piece of armour *bos* horn	remains of: *bos* pig sheep/goat horse	*Lower 'pit third'* grooved pebble	remains of: *bos* pottery	*Lower 'pit third'* iron spearhead pottery piece of bent iron	iron knife remains of: sheep *bos* fowl duck curlew	*Lower 'pit third'* weaving comb cut deer antler bronze swan-necked pin boar's tusk pottery
PIT 3	*Middle 'pit third'*	**PIT 7**	*Middle 'pit third'*	**PIT 37**	*Middle 'pit third'*	**PIT 80**	*Middle 'pit third'*
No stratigraphic attribution remains of: *bos* pig goat	no attributable finds	*No stratigraphic attribution*	iron hammer bone implement	*No stratigraphic attribution* remains of: *bos*, goat cut deer antler iron knife pottery pebbles	no attributable finds	*No stratigraphic attribution*	loomweight
	Lower 'pit third' iron bill hook deer horn knife handle iron bar pottery pebble	remains of: *bos*, sheep pig mussel shells pebbles	*Lower 'pit third'* no attributable finds		*Lower 'pit third'* sickle 2 potin coins	pottery quern oyster shell cores of cow horn	*Lower 'pit third'* human mandible iron dagger blade scapula bone
PIT 9	*Middle 'pit third'*	**PIT 14**	*Middle 'pit third'*	**PIT 87**	*Middle 'pit third'*	**PIT 95**	*Middle 'pit third'*
No stratigraphic attribution remains of: badgers pig sheep, *bos* goat horn pebbles pottery whetstone	no attributable finds	*No stratigraphic attribution* remains of: calf *bos* pieces of wattle-impressed clay	2 spindlewhorls pottery	*No stratigraphic attribution* pottery spindlewhorl pebble, oyster & limpet shells	no attributable finds	*No stratigraphic attribution*	bronze 'T'stop
	Lower 'pit third' piece of bronze sword/ spearhead bronze ring from armour? pottery cup deer antler knife handle		*Lower 'pit third'* hammerstone		*Lower 'pit third'* razor daub	pottery	*Lower 'pit third'* loomweight
PIT 22	*Middle 'pit third'*	**PIT 27**	*Middle 'pit third'*	**PIT 120**	*Middle 'pit third'*	**PIT 129**	*Middle 'pit third'*
No stratigraphic attribution remains of: *bos* sheep limpet shells	flint flakes	*No stratigraphic attribution* remains of: 2 foxes dog horse pig goat sheep *bos* pottery	no attributable finds	*No stratigraphic attribution* pottery	no attributable finds	*No stratigraphic attribution*	no attributable finds
	Lower 'pit third' iron staple for sword scabbard iron ring-headed pin flat piece of iron potin coin glass bead pottery		*Lower 'pit third'* human jaw piece of bent iron pottery		*Lower 'pit third'* 4 loomweights	pottery	*Lower 'pit third'* sword
				PIT 131	*Middle 'pit third'*	**PIT 138A**	*Middle 'pit third'*
				No stratigraphic attribution pebbles clay sling bullet	loomweight dog coprolites	*No stratigraphic attribution* 'bones' mussel shells	iron fibula iron sickle iron nails pottery
					Lower 'pit third weaving comb pottery		*Lower 'pit third'* no attributable finds

Fig. 6. The contents of selected Caburn pits (middle and bottom 'pit thirds').

to the high, central cluster is a basin-like depression some 10.5 m in diameter with a 3.3 m deep shaft in its base. This was excavated by Lane Fox (1881) and interpreted as a well, or cistern. Its dating is problematic, and its stratigraphy vague. It certainly contained numerous Iron Age sherds, but also two sherds of Romano-British grey ware in its lowest fill. As Webster (1997, 135) notes 'wells and shafts are firmly entrenched within the "Celtic ritual" corpus', and it may be that the location of this 'shaft' is governed by the 'symbolically charged' meaning of this part of the Caburn site. Given that its Iron Age, or Roman, dating is equivocal and that it contained no clear evidence for special deposits (Lane Fox 1881, 'relic table': 17), its 'meaning' must remain unresolved.

Overall, it would seem that some parts of the enclosed area of the Caburn had an 'elevated *cachet*' and were focal zones for prestigious/symbolic deposits in pits. The apparent interest in pits located near the entrances and rampart circumference mirrors the interest in entrances and boundaries as

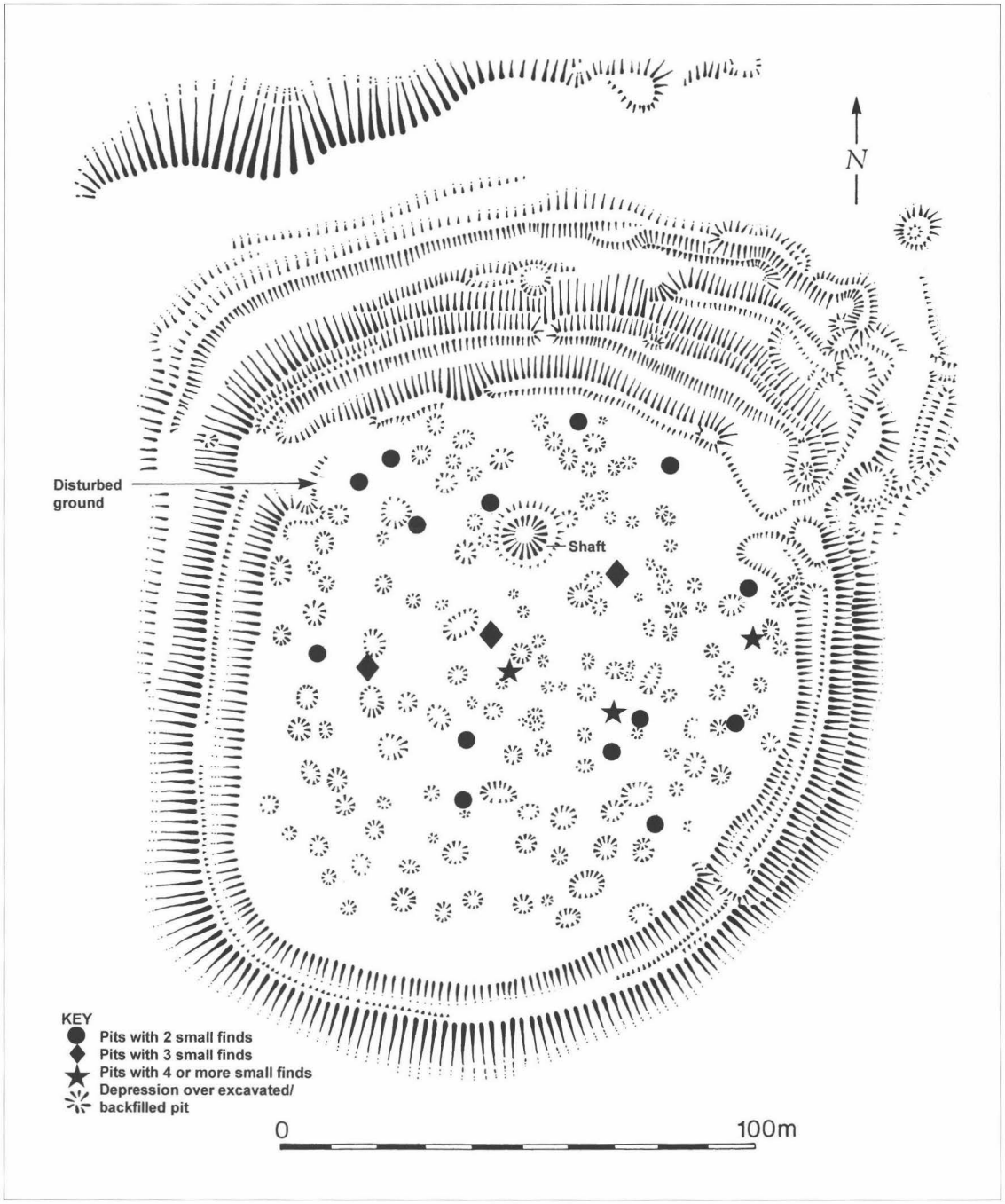

Fig. 7. Distribution map of Caburn pits with more than two small finds attributable to middle and lower 'pit thirds'.

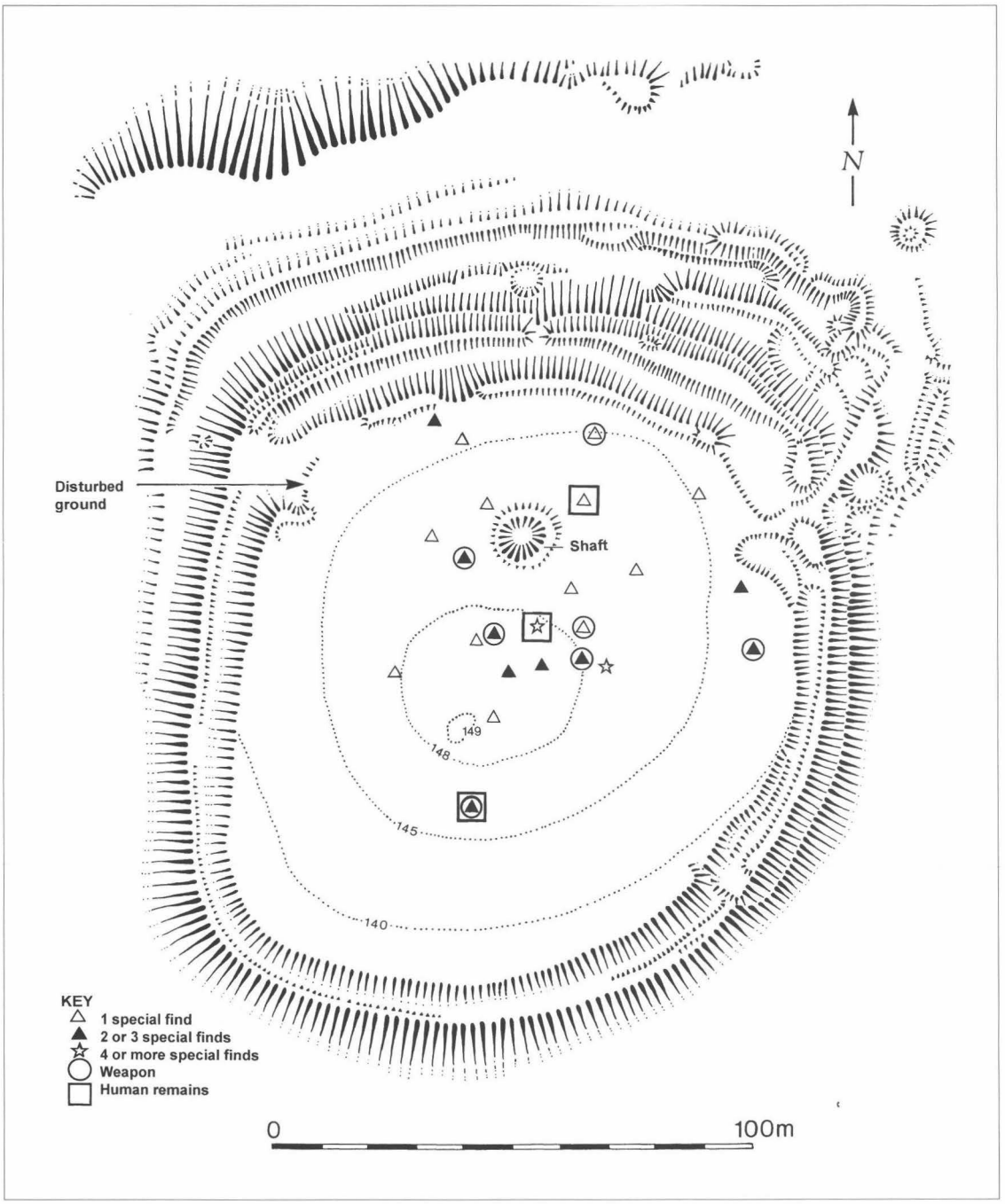

Fig. 8. Distribution of Caburn pits with 'special finds'. See text for definition of a 'special find'.

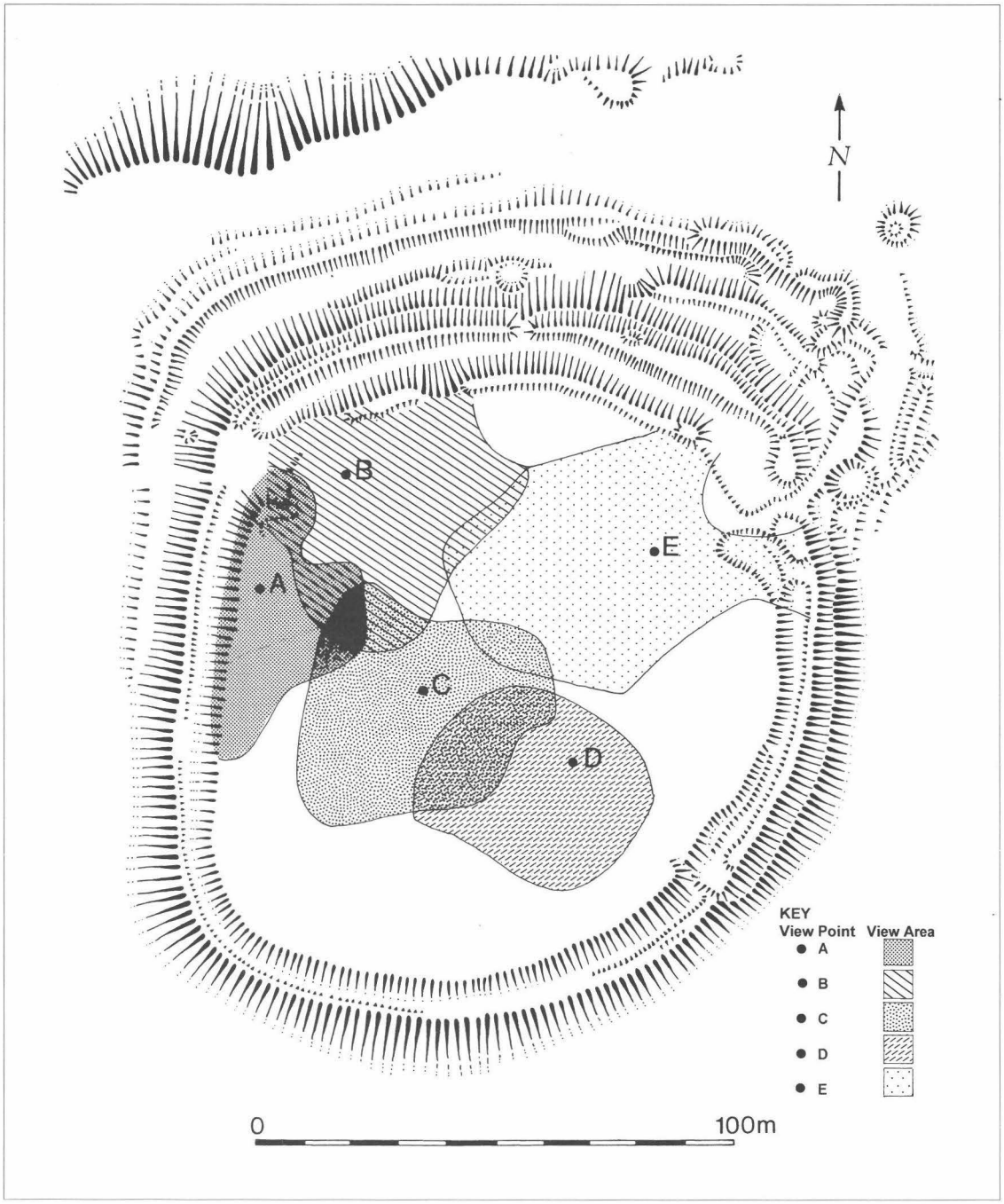

Fig. 9. Caburn intra-site 'visibility map'. The map plots the maximal distance of five optimal points (A–E) from which a person's head and shoulders (height of person used was 1.65 m) can be fully seen by someone 1.50 m tall.

places for 'ritual' deposition noted by Hill (1994) for Wessex settlement enclosures, and by Bowden and McOmish (1987) for Wessex hillforts. The importance of height at the Caburn (Fig. 8) may have something to do with the view from the outside. The Caburn is a domed hill. Looking at the Caburn from the outside, the ramparts are situated well below the crown of the hill and the locations of many of the pits are extremely visible. From the inside, by contrast, the Caburn offers visibility over very short distances (Fig. 9). Indeed, from the top, virtually nothing can be seen of the 'ramparts' and lower parts of the site. Likewise, from the entrances there is minimal visibility into the centre of the site. Whatever meaning we ascribe to the pit deposits at the Caburn, they provide the interesting topographic paradox that from the inside what would 'appear' to be a private act of deposition, is actually a highly public action to any observer outside the site, albeit one situated at a distance.

DEPOSITION TRADITIONS ON SUSSEX MIDDLE IRON AGE SETTLEMENTS AND 'HILLFORTS'

SETTLEMENTS

The large number of pits at the Caburn interestingly contrasts with the persistent lack of contemporary evidence for 'houses' on the site. Wilson's excavations in the 1930s located two putative round houses ('Hut Sites' A and B, Wilson 1939). These are associated with Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age pottery and predate the Middle Iron Age rampart and dating of the majority of the pits on the Caburn. If we wish to consider the Caburn pit finds in the context of unequivocable settlement sites and their deposits we must look to other sites.

Evidence for Middle Iron Age settlements in Sussex is scant compared to that of the earlier 1st millennium BC (Hamilton forthcoming). For East and central Sussex the best data bases come from the Slonk Hill and Bishopstone. Slonk Hill (Hartridge 1978) lacks extensive stratigraphic details, but it is possible to deduce from the 18 excavated pits attributed to the Middle and Later Iron Age that querns and weights were placed in the lowermost parts of pits, also a horse skull and a weaving comb (pits 13, 19, 57 & 73). It is difficult to ascertain the exact stratigraphic position of the Bishopstone pit finds (Bell 1977: a total of 22 later Iron Age pits), but querns again occur on the base of pits (pits 228, 920, and possibly 737), and also in the enclosure ditch near to the entrance. The above patterning is not dissimilar to the Caburn's.

The Middle Iron Age sites of West Sussex are primarily located on the coastal plain, and lack a tradition of storage pits. Human skeletal remains have, however, been recognized on some of these sites. Middle Iron Age settlement deposits from Copse Farm, Oving, produced legs and skulls from three individuals (from the enclosure ditch: Bedwin & Holgate 1985). Nine fragments of human bone were recovered from North Bersted (from ditch 20, probably from a single skull, Bedwin & Pitts 1978, 339–40). The 'body parts' concerned again mirror the Caburn finds.

The evidence for 'formal' burials from these settlement sites, perhaps significantly, seems not to repeat these patterns. Articulated burials dating to the Middle Iron Age occur in two of the Slonk Hill pits (Hartridge 1978, 80) and one of the Bishopstone pits (Bell 1977, 78). The associated 'grave deposits' comprised mussel shells (grave 1, Slonk Hill), a shale bracelet, quern fragment, an involuted iron brooch and an ox sacrum (grave 2, Slonk Hill), and a chalk spindlewhorl and a bone object (burial 1, Bishopstone). None of these grave good/deposits are particularly characteristic of the finds from pit and ditch deposits.

PROMINENT ENCLOSURES

The Middle Iron Age hillforts contemporary with the Caburn provide uneven data bases. Excavation of Cissbury has been very limited, but includes one Iron Age pit with a range of finds located stratigraphically on a section drawing (Curwen & Williamson 1931, pit 29, pls. III & V). Of note are an iron knife and quern fragment from the bottom 'pit third' (which mirrors the Caburn pattern), and two loomweights (mostly found on pit bases at the Caburn), and an iron rod from the middle 'pit third'. Evidence for Torberry's use in the Middle Iron Age comes from the excavation of the east entrance, but we have minimal evidence of the nature of use of its interior (Cunliffe 1976).

The Trundle provides more detailed data, specifically from six Iron Age pits within its interior (dug in spits and detailed in 'relic tables'), and from the east entrance (Curwen 1929). The pits produced similar finds to the Caburn and largely replicate the Caburn patterning of deposition. Human remains were found in the lower parts of pits (pit 3, middle

fill: a human cranium; pit 5, middle or bottom fill: part of a left human ulna; pit 6, middle or bottom fill: a left human femur). Pit 1 produced a small iron knife from its bottom 'third', while the bottom 'third' of pit 6 produced an iron spearhead and ferrule together with two chalk loomweights and possibly the left human femur noted above. The east gate area also produced part of a human jaw, together with the greater part of a rotary quern (deliberately? broken by fire), and a perforated boar's tusk from a gate post-hole (post-hole 9). At Harting Beacon hillfort the entrance gateway was dismantled in the Middle Iron Age (Bedwin 1979, 25; Hamilton & Manley 1997), and the post-holes were backfilled with deposits suggestive of a similar repertoire of special deposits, namely quern fragments, a boar's tusk, and human teeth.

CONCLUSION

It is clear from the above that there is a multitude of items that can occur in both putative ritual and domestic contexts. The finds from the Westhampnett cemetery, for instance, included 'everyday' items of clothing and personal ornamentation (iron, and copper alloy brooches, bracelets, and a bone toggle), personal tools (iron razors/knives), and a latch-lifter or key (grave 2071). It is therefore difficult to ascribe meanings to deposits based *solely* on their context, *or* on their artefact type. What is more interesting is the repetition of specific types of deposition across the boundaries of overtly ritual and supposedly domestic contexts. This suggests that the symbolism of beliefs manifested itself at different scales of daily life and public ceremony.

With these comments in mind, the above review of pit deposits at the Caburn and related sites suggests the emergence in Sussex, by the Middle Iron Age, of centrally placed prominent enclosures where intensive structured deposition took place in pits and gateway entrance areas. In contrast to the observation that the greater proportion of Wessex hillfort pits were left to infill naturally (Fitzpatrick 1997b, 79), the majority of pits on Sussex hillforts appear to have been deliberately backfilled. A correlation between the visibility, from the outside, of the interiors of the enclosure sites and the loci of 'special' pit deposits, suggests that there was an element of overt public display/action involved in the deposition.

Highly special deposits include human remains, slighted and carefully placed weapons and tools, coins, and wild animal bones. More generally, recurrent patterns of deposition include querns placed on pit bottoms, and human remains combined with bird or wild animal bones and placed in the lower part of pit fills. While contemporary settlement sites partially mirrored these finds, the deposition of objects and animal remains was less intense. There was a lesser emphasis on tools, and weaponry was absent. Collectively this points to a duality of low-level 'everyday' rites and traditions of deposition on settlement sites versus more intense public and community ritual of prominent enclosures such as the Caburn.

It would seem that notably in the case of the Caburn we cannot merely abandon elderly archives, particularly when we are dealing with sites which remain potently present in today's landscape. Further excavation is clearly part of understanding such sites. There is, additionally, the vastly untapped resource of the topographic emplacement of places of deposition. The latter is readily available to investigation in the present.

Acknowledgements

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The development of Roman villas in Sussex

by David Rudling

The Roman conquest of Britain in the 1st century had a dramatic impact on this island's social and economic environments. These developments, together with others in technology, were responsible for major changes at some rural settlements in Sussex, and more minor changes at others both during and after the period of the client kingdom of Cogidubnus. In the 1st century the favourable economic and political climates of the client kingdom led to the construction of a relatively large number of elaborate early villas, at least some of which (e.g. Fishbourne and Southwick) incorporated major elements of Mediterranean architecture and decoration. By the 2nd century the owners of these early villas may have faced growing competition from a large number of other rural settlements, and at certain of these farms there are increasing signs of romanization, including the building of houses which show a significant degree of the Roman style of life: i.e. villas. During the later 3rd and 4th centuries the development of villas began to decline in certain areas, especially the coastal plain. This decline may be linked to such factors as pirate raids and the establishment of a major military presence at Pevensey. In other areas, and to the west in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, villas continued to develop, and at Bignor the relatively humble 3rd-century winged corridor villa grew into a very large and luxurious courtyard villa. Little information is available about the nature and dating of the final phases of villa life in Sussex, but at Beddingham parts of the site may have been occupied or used by Saxons during either the late 4th or early 5th century.

INTRODUCTION

The Roman conquest of Britain in the 1st century resulted in dramatic alterations to this island's social and economic environments. The results of these changes, together with equally major changes in technology, make the period of Roman occupation one of the most distinctive and dynamic episodes in the history of south-east England (Rudling in Drewett *et al.* 1988, 178–80).

In this article, which is an expanded statement of a paper presented at Dieppe in 1996 (Rudling 1998a), I consider these developments with regard to one major type of settlement in Roman Sussex: villas. In particular it concentrates upon the recent extensive investigations at two villas: Beddingham in East Sussex and Bignor in West Sussex. By the end of the 3rd century the main domestic buildings at both sites were of similar size and type (i.e. winged corridor villas). Subsequently the villa at Bignor developed into what was, for Roman Britain, a very large and luxurious courtyard villa, with an outer stockyard or farmyard. In contrast, the villa at Beddingham appears to have declined considerably in importance, or to have gone out of use, by the mid-4th century. By the end of the 4th century or early 5th century Saxon occupation was present at Beddingham, but was apparently absent at Bignor.

In order to place the Beddingham and Bignor villas into their wider Sussex contexts this paper begins by reviewing the conquest, the client kingdom, the integration of the region into the Roman Province, and other Sussex villa and 'non-villa' farm settlements. These background sections provide both an updated bibliography to supplement those forming parts of earlier reviews of Roman rural Sussex (Cunliffe 1973; Rudling 1979; Rudling 1982a; Black 1987; Rudling 1988), and the first comprehensive presentation of Sussex villa plans all drawn to the same scale (Figs 3–5).

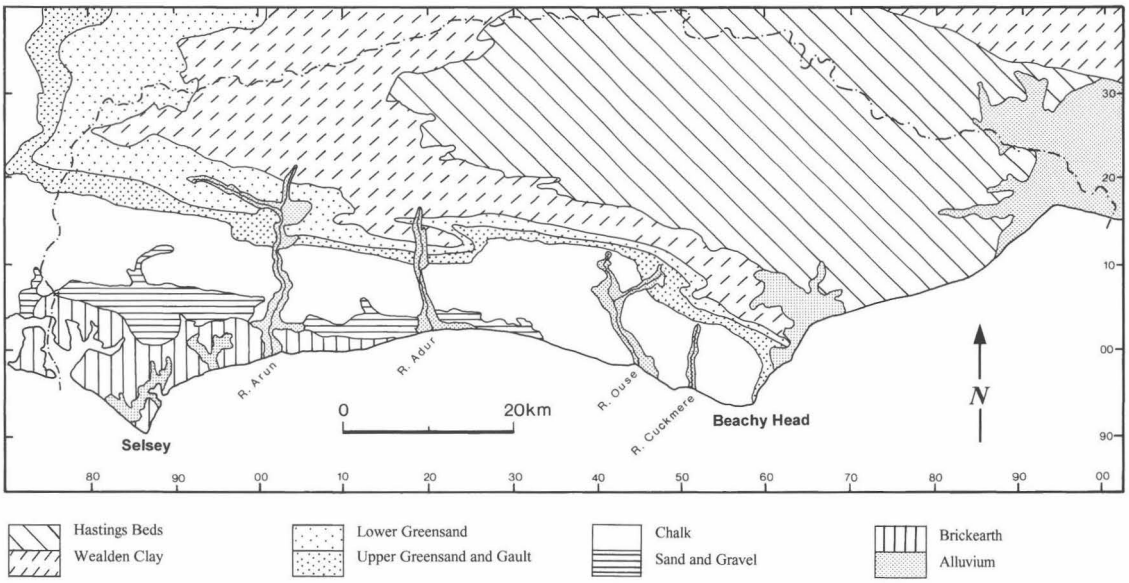

Fig. 1. Sussex geology. (Based on Sheldon 1978.)

THE CONQUEST

The flight from Britain to the protection of Rome of the pro-Roman king Verica provided the emperor Claudius with a convenient diplomatic reason for invading Britain — the restoration of Verica to his Atrebatic kingdom located in parts of the modern counties of Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire and Berkshire. Details of the landing point/s of the invasion force and the subsequent military encounters are currently the subject of review (Drewett *et al.* 1988, 182–5; Hind 1989). Hind puts forward the suggestion that Aulus Plautius' force landed not at Richborough in Kent (the traditional view), but along the south coast of Britain in either Sussex (Fig. 1) or Hampshire. Here were safe harbours (e.g. Chichester Harbour) and the Romans could expect political support from among the local inhabitants. There is as yet little archaeological evidence for this theory, but Claudian military buildings, including granaries, were found during the excavation of the Fishbourne Palace site (Cunliffe 1971). Excavations in the field to the east of the Palace have revealed traces of a pre-Flavian timber building, which was later replaced by a masonry courtyard structure (Down 1996; Manley & Rudkin 1996; 1997). The size and plan of the masonry structure have led Manley and Rudkin to suggest that it might have been a military principia, demolished prior to the building of the Palace. If the courtyard structure is not the principia of a fort (and to date there have been no discoveries at Fishbourne of any defences or barracks), it is possible that this building, and perhaps two other masonry structures (i.e. the Period 1C 'Proto-palace' and a Period 1B or 1C building beneath the west wing of the Period 2 Palace), together with a large ditched enclosure, smaller ditched enclosure, and metalled roads (Cunliffe 1971, fig. 20) may have functioned as parts of a continuing military supply base, replacing and/or adding to the existing timber structures on the site. The extended period postulated for a military supply base at Fishbourne may have continued until the mid-70s, by which time its location was probably no longer suitable for supplying the army which was then in Wales and the north (Black 1998).

The date of construction of the Palace is the subject of debate, with *c.* AD 75 advanced by the excavator (Cunliffe 1971; 1991a), whilst Ernest Black has argued for the slightly later date of *c.* AD 90–110 (Black 1987, 84–6; 1993, 236).

Excavations at Chichester have also revealed possible evidence for a Claudian military presence or involvement (Down 1988, 7–16). Other traces of possible early military activity in Sussex are the major roads such as Stane Street, which links

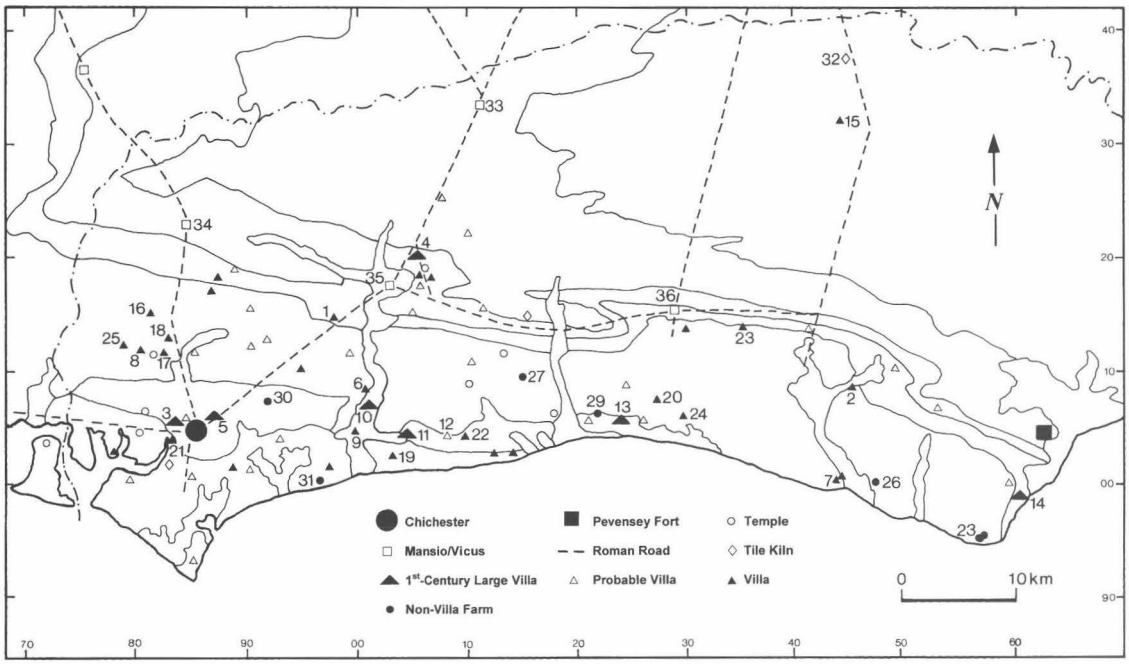

Fig. 2. Distribution map of various Roman sites, including all villas and probable villas, in West Sussex and part of East Sussex. The numbered sites are - villas: Bignor (1); Beddingham (2); Fishbourne (3); Pulborough (4); Westhampnett (5); The Shepherds Garden, Arundel (6); Newhaven (7); Up Marden (8); Tortington (9); Tarrant Street, Arundel (10); Angmering (11); High Down, Angmering (12); Southwick (13); Eastbourne (14); Garden Hill, Hartfield (15); Batten Hanger (16); Chilgrove 1 (17); Chilgrove 2 (18); Littlehampton (19); West Blatchington (20); Fishbourne Creek (21); Goring (22); Plumpton (23); Brighton (24); Watergate (25); - 'non-villas': Bishopstone (26); Park Brow (27); Bullock Down (28); Slonk Hill (29); Boxgrove (30); Middleton-on-Sea (31); - other sites: Hartfield Tile Kiln (32); Alfoldean (33); Iping (34); Hardham (35); and Hassocks (36).

Chichester with London (Fig. 2). The precise dating of these roads is uncertain, however, and some may postdate *c.* AD 50 (Drewett *et al.* 1988, 186).

THE CLIENT KINGDOM

Soon after the invasion the Romans established in southern England a client kingdom consisting of part of Sussex, and probably also other areas to the north and west. We have no evidence that Verica returned to rule this kingdom, and the only historical information about a client kingdom in this area concerns one Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus (Barrett 1979; Bogaers 1979). Barrett's work suggests that Cogidubnus (or Togidubnus: Tomlin 1997, 129) became king between AD 43 and 52 and that he was dead or had retired before AD 78, and probably before the end of Nero's reign in AD 68. According to Tacitus the king remained loyal to the Romans for a long time, and it is clear from the archaeological evidence from Sussex that during his reign he was fairly successful in introducing elements of Roman culture into his kingdom — the famous temple dedication-stone (*RIB 91*) found in Chichester being an impressive example. In addition to the generally widespread acceptance and distribution of products of Roman manufacture, such as coins and pottery, various other archaeological discoveries in Sussex also shed light on the processes of romanization during the period of the client kingdom, especially so in Chichester which was clearly developing as a romanized centre. The undated dedication inscription (*RIB 91*) referred to above is proof that there was a temple to the gods Neptune and Minerva erected with the permission of King Cogidubnus, and paid for by a guild of artisan craftsmen. Another dedicatory inscription (*RIB 92*) can be dated to AD 58. In the north-west quadrant of the town the Claudian military-type timber buildings (*see* above) were superseded by new timber-framed structures

and extensive areas of industrial activity (Down 1988, 18). This concentration of craft work may indicate a developing civilian market.

Romanization (i.e. the adoption by the native Britons of aspects of Roman culture) during the period of the client kingdom was also occurring in the countryside. Sussex has a relatively large number of early villas (Cunliffe 1973, 79; Black 1987) and at least some of these may date to the reign of Cogidubnus. Borough Farm (Pulborough) and Westhampnett Church, and possibly also The Shepherds Garden (Arundel) and a site at Newhaven, have all yielded half-box tiles — the earliest type of wall-jacketing found in Britain which probably predates *c.* AD 75–80 (Black 1987, 12).

Subsequently in the late 1st/early 2nd century new types of wall-jacketing were introduced. Finds of such tiles at over 15 sites demonstrate both a considerable expansion of villa construction (as at Compton, Fishbourne, Lavant, Bignor, Tortington, Arundel, Angmering (x2), Southwick, Beddingham and Eastbourne) and alterations to earlier buildings. Who were the owners of these establishments, and what were the economic conditions which provided the finance for such building projects? It is probable that these villas were the property of the native aristocracy, which was 'left in peace to develop in the strongly philo-Roman atmosphere created by the client kingdom of Cogidubnus' (Cunliffe 1973, 79). The wide distribution of the large early villas may be very significant, with each located on a distinct block of land which may 'represent the territory over which the land-owning aristocracy held control' (Cunliffe 1973, 79). Could this pattern be a clue to one distribution of the tribal sub-units, the *pagi*, about which so little is known (Ernest Black pers. comm.)? In most cases the major source of wealth for the aristocracy would have been the sale of agricultural surpluses from the villa estates and tenant farms. In some cases these sales may have included valuable military supply contracts (Black 1987, 17). Other sources of finances for the villa-building projects could have involved Roman moneylenders. Some of the villa developments may have been over-ambitious and later necessitated contraction, especially since the favourable economic advantages which are thought to have benefited the aristocracy of the Sussex area in the 1st century may have diminished in the course of the 2nd century (Black 1987, 34). One may question whether the motivation for early villa building in Sussex had been a competitive desire by prominent men to display their status in a new, romanized way. If so, these villas must have been displayed to people who mattered, governors or procurators, or *legati iuridici* (Ernest Black pers. comm.).

The Palace at Fishbourne (Fig. 3) may be an example of such an over-ambitious project, but parts of it at least continued in use until the late 3rd century when it was destroyed by fire. The precise functions, dating and ownership of both the Proto-Palace and Palace at Fishbourne remain uncertain. Originally Professor Cunliffe suggested that the owner of both phases of buildings might have been King Cogidubnus (Cunliffe 1971, 75 & 153). Other possibilities, however, include foreign businessmen (*negotiatores*), other members of the local aristocracy, or high-ranking Roman administrators, perhaps after the death or retirement of Cogidubnus (Drewett *et al.* 1988, 190–93). The whole Proto-Palace complex has been reinterpreted as a bath-building (Black 1993, 236), and may have been part of a military supply base (*see* above). As to the function and ownership of the Palace, at a meeting of the Brighton and Hove Archaeological Society held on 20th February 1998, Ernest Black discussed the theory that this complex was the residence of an important member of the ruling class of the Regni. He suggested that the domestic quarters of the owner were located in the west wing immediately to the north of Room W14, the formal dining room (or audience chamber: Cunliffe 1971, 87–8), and could be identified owing to the presence there of a room (W11) that Black identifies as a *hypocauston*, which was probably designed to heat an adjacent bedroom (W8). This *hypocauston* is the only domestic room in the Period 2 Palace to have under-floor heating, and as such is likely to represent a high status feature used by the owner himself. Black further suggested that the north wing of the Period 2 Palace may have provided domestic accommodation for various important retainers and their families. This suggestion regarding the status of the domestic accommodation in the north wing differs from that put forward by the excavator, i.e. that 'these residential units' were 'perhaps for visitors' (Cunliffe 1971, 150), and also from an earlier idea by Black that both these quarters and those in the west wing may 'have been occupied by more than one family of similar status' (Black 1987, 28).

One piece of evidence which may provide some support for the theory that the owner/s of the Period

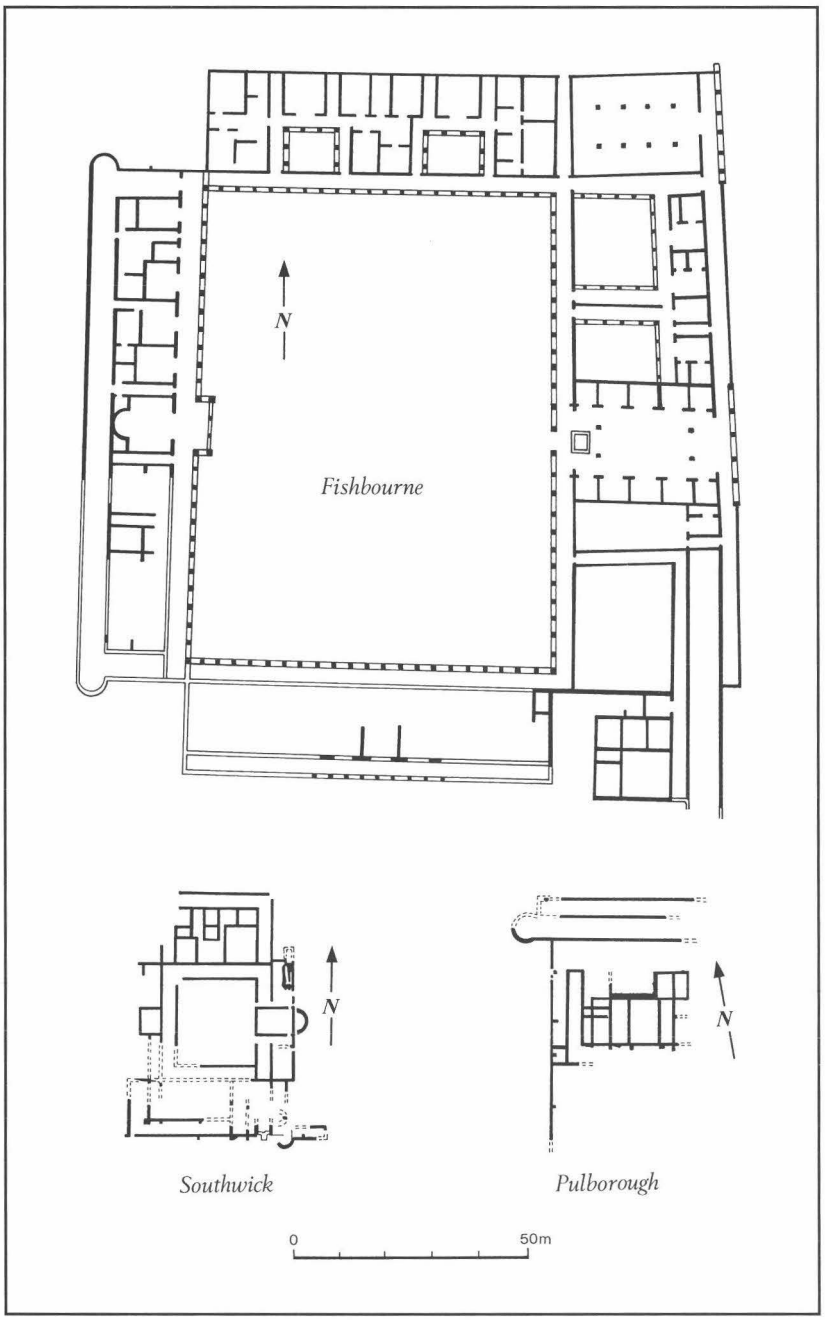

Fig. 3. Plans of the Fishbourne Palace and the 1st-century villas at Southwick and Pulborough.

2 Palace was of Celtic origin is a 1st-century gold signet ring, recently discovered some 200 metres to the east of the Palace. This ring and its inscription have been published by Dr Roger Tomlin (1997) who identifies the owner of the ring as one Tiberius Claudius Catuarus. The name of this individual (like

that also of King Cogidubnus) indicates that he was a new Roman citizen of Celtic origin. The ring owner's probable status is further indicated by the fact that the ring is made of gold, which at this period was worn only by those of equestrian rank (i.e. the Roman upper class). Tomlin speculates that Catuarus may have been a British chieftain sympathetic to the Romans, who was given Roman citizenship either by the emperor Claudius or by Nero in recognition of his wealth and support. Tomlin further proposes that Catuarus may have been a kinsman of King Cogidubnus.

INTEGRATION INTO THE ROMAN PROVINCE

Following the death or retirement of King Cogidubnus his extensive kingdom was integrated into the Roman province of *Britannia* and probably divided into three regional tribal units or *civitates*, to which various administrative functions were delegated. Much of Sussex, especially the areas to the south of the Weald (Fig. 1) and part of south-eastern Hampshire formed the *civitas* of the *Regni*, with a capital at Chichester (Cunliffe 1973, fig. 1). Discussion of Roman Chichester (*Noviomagus Regnensium*) is outside the scope of this paper and the reader is referred to a book on this subject by the late Alec Down (1988).

Other parts of Sussex, especially large areas of the Weald where there were major 1st- and 2nd-century iron-workings, some associated with the *Classis Britannica*, may have been separately administered as an Imperial Estate (Cleere & Crossley 1985, 66–9). If this was the case, it may help to explain the apparent absence of agricultural villas to the north and east of Eastbourne.

During the 3rd century the south coast became threatened by pirate raiding. This increasing problem may have been one of the reasons for the sudden end of the eastern group of large iron-working sites in Sussex (Cleere & Crossley 1985, 84–5) and the destruction and abandonment of some of the Sussex coastal villas, including perhaps the Palace at Fishbourne. Traditionally it has been argued that in general the Roman response to such raiding along the coast of south-east England was the gradual establishment of a system of coastal fortifications: the 'Saxon Shore-forts' (Johnson 1976; Johnston 1977; Maxfield 1989). Other scholars, notably D. A. White (1961), have argued, however, that most of the Shore-forts were constructed by the usurpers Carausius and Allectus in order to defend Britain from invasion by the central empire. In Sussex the only Shore-fort was at Pevensey and here recent excavations by Professor Fulford have provided new dating evidence (dendrochronology and coin finds) interpreted as providing a *terminus post quem* of AD 293 for the original construction of the fortress wall (Fulford & Tyres 1995, 1012). Whatever the reasons for the construction of the Pevensey fort, its presence may have had a detrimental effect upon nearby villas. Black (1987, 42) has argued that whilst the military market is beneficial for villas located at a distance from the army centres, agricultural communities in the hinterland of the forts would have been especially vulnerable to the requisition (as opposed to contract purchase) of supplies by the military.

The seriousness of the threat of Saxon and pirate raiding along the south coast is probably also reflected in the late-3rd- or early-4th-century modifications, including the addition of D-shaped bastions, to the defences of Roman Chichester. Although there is as yet only limited evidence from Chichester for the construction at this time of masonry houses comparable to those being built as villas in the countryside, the town's strong defences may have become an increasingly desirable attraction to wealthy landowners on the coastal plain.

RURAL FARMS

The basis of the Roman economy was land and its exploitation by farming to produce sufficient surpluses to support the more sophisticated aspects of Roman life: the towns, the luxurious country and seaside houses of the rich, large-scale manufacturing industries (such as pottery and iron production) and the army. Given the importance of farming, it is therefore surprising that there has been relatively little detailed examination of this aspect of the countryside, especially land-use and settlement patterns, field systems, methods of drainage, the crops and domesticated animals, and farm buildings and tools. In contrast, much time and resources have been spent on the study of one aspect of the Roman countryside: the 'villas'.

There are many definitions of the term 'villa', but most would probably agree that it refers to a rural house which significantly reflects the Roman

style of life. In practical archaeological terms this assessment is usually determined by the finding of masonry footings; multiple rooms; tessellated or mosaic floors; clay tiles/bricks; window glass; painted wall-plaster and sometimes hypocaust heating systems and bath-suites. One or more of these criteria have been used to select the sites of Sussex villas and probable villas in Figure 2. Most of these establishments are presumed to have been the centres of farms, but other functions are occasionally possible, as at the iron-working site at Garden Hill, Hartfield, East Sussex (Money 1977).

The majority of the farming settlements in Roman Sussex, however, were the less wealthy and less sophisticated native 'peasant' farmsteads. Despite their numerical superiority, they have received remarkably little attention. This situation is very disappointing because large numbers of 'non-villa' farms span the entire period of the Roman occupation. Many such sites originated in the Late Iron Age or earlier, and some continued into the 5th century. Bishopstone (Bell 1977) is a good example of such lengthy continuity. For information about the 'non-villa' farms of Roman Sussex the reader is referred to discussions by Cunliffe (1973, 97–102) and Rudling (1988, 205–13), and to the reports on excavations at Park Brow (Wolseley *et al.* 1927); Bishopstone (Bell 1977); Bullock Down sites 16 and 44 (Rudling 1982b); Slonk Hill (Hartridge 1978); Middleton-on-Sea (Barber 1994) and Boxgrove (Bedwin & Place 1995).

Of the excavated sites listed above perhaps the most illuminating is that at Park Brow. The Romano-British settlement is the last of three distinct occupation areas of different periods dating back to the Late Bronze Age. It is possible that the three settlement areas represent continuous occupation with the occasional relocation of the habitation area. The entire complex is also closely linked by trackways and field systems, which again may have been in continuous use for a considerable period of time. Excavations during the 1920s at the Iron Age/Romano-British habitation site revealed three successive boundary ditches, various pits, and five rectangular 'house sites' (Wolseley *et al.* 1927). One of these houses was totally excavated and proved to have been constructed of timber with wattle and daub infill, the daub internally keyed to take an application of plaster which was painted red. The finding of window glass, roof tiles and a door key are other indications of the degree of the sophistication and 'romanization' of the building. In the absence of good dating evidence the phasing of this group of rectangular buildings is difficult. Possibilities therefore include: successive single houses; a 'hamlet of cottages' (Cunliffe 1973, 98); or groupings of buildings which may have been used by one family for different purposes (Black 1987, 96–7). Black suggests that the buildings at Park Brow fall into two groups, each with a principal building which is approximately the same size in each group. He further suggests that the groups were not contemporary and that they 'look like two discrete houses'. At Bullock Down site 16 survey revealed Romano-British domestic rubbish in association with four pairs of building platforms (Rudling 1982b). Although the total excavation of one of these platforms failed to reveal sufficient evidence that can be interpreted as a domestic building, it is possible that as at Park Brow the groupings (i.e. pairs) of building platforms may represent discrete houses. This idea that at Romano-British 'native' settlements, groups of buildings many have formed a 'house' is based upon a theory put forward by Professor Rivet that on such sites individual 'huts' should be regarded as the equivalent of a single room in a villa (Rivet 1964, 108). Black's eastern group of buildings at Park Brow is shown in Figure 5 alongside various villa buildings drawn to the same scale. If Black is right and this group of three buildings functioned as a discrete house, it would have provided accommodation comparable in size with the main domestic buildings (assuming that these were single-storey) at small villas such as Goring (Rudling 1983; Fig. 5) and Up Marden (Down & Magilton 1994; Fig. 4). This factor, together with the signs of sophistication revealed at Park Brow, should warn us that the domestic accommodation at some small villas and at some 'non-villa' farm settlements may not have been significantly different. In addition, as Rivet has pointed out with regard to an analogy from East Africa, the 'architectural revolution' of replacing individual 'huts' by a single building which incorporates all the 'rooms' under one roof does not on its own imply changes to either the social organization or the system of land-tenure (Rivet 1964, 110).

A major difference frequently noted between villa and 'non-villa' rural settlements is the presence of bath-suites. Thus at both Goring and Up Marden there were detached bath-houses away from the main domestic buildings (Figs 4 & 5). The importance

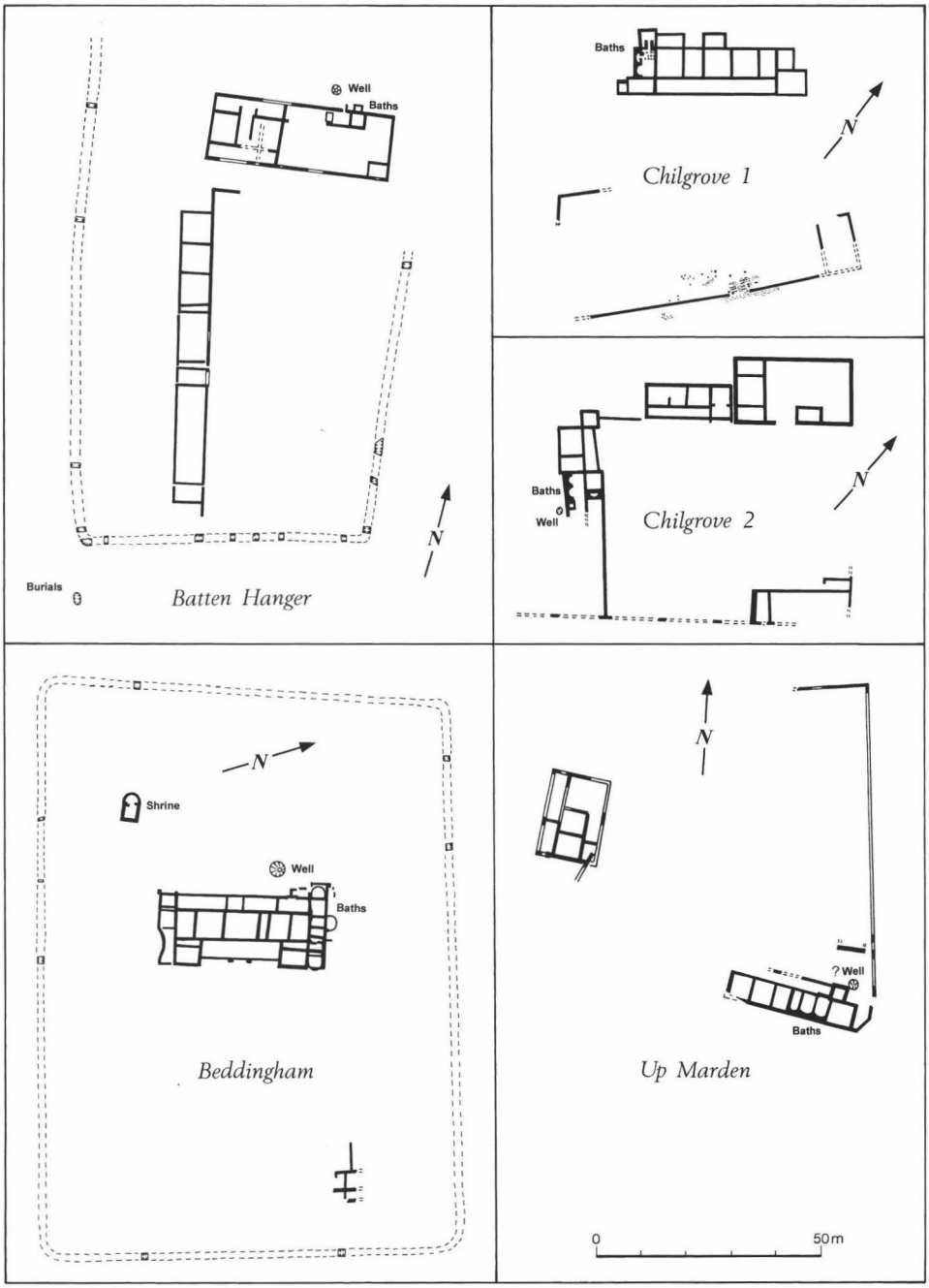

Fig. 4. Plans of various Sussex villas with ditched or walled enclosures.

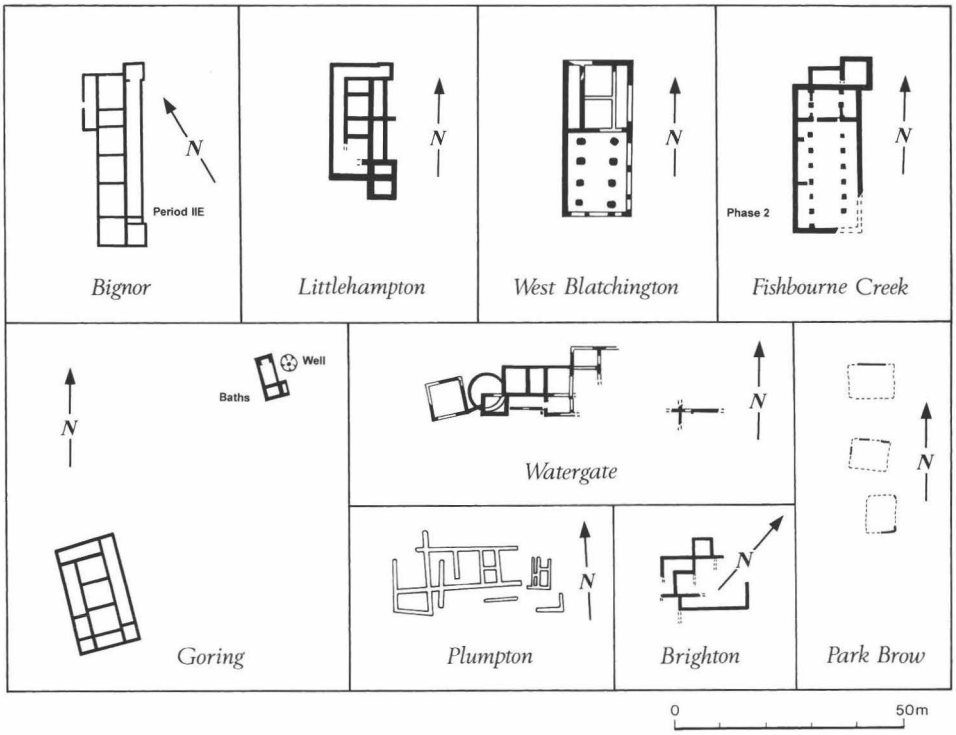

Fig. 5. Plans of various Sussex villas and a group of three buildings (a possible house) at Park Brow.

of suitable sources of water for such Roman 'necessities' is demonstrated at Goring, Batten Hanger, Chilgrove 2, Beddingham and perhaps Up Marden (Figs 4–6), by the discovery of wells only a short distance from the baths. In contrast, as one might expect, villa and 'non-villa' complexes reveal many similarities in other aspects of settlement and farming practices. Thus many examples of both types of settlement are located within ditched enclosures, as are the villas at Beddingham and Batten Hanger (Magilton 1991), and the Downland farms at Bishopstone, Park Brow and Bullock Down site 44. Similarly 'corn-drying ovens' occur at both types of site: Bishopstone and Bullock Down site 44 being examples of Downland farms with such ovens, whilst West Blatchington was a small villa (Fig. 5) with at least eleven 'corn-drying' ovens (Norris & Burstow 1950). (For an alternative interpretation of the function of 'corn-drying ovens' as 'malting floors': *see* Reynolds 1979.) It is worth noting that many Sussex villas, such as Goring, West Blatchington and Beddingham, probably originated as 'non-villa' farms. It is thus of importance to consider the reasons why some farms developed into villas, while others did not. The range of possible factors includes the ownership and the fertility of the land; access to markets; alternative sources of income; and suitable supplies of water. Most of the excavated and other known 'non-villa' farms are located on the chalk Downs, and many other sites exist on the coastal plain. Only the locations of those farmsteads mentioned in this text have been shown in Figure 2, and for an impression of the density and distribution of the other Sussex 'native' sites the reader is referred to figure 6.2 in *The South-East to AD 1000* (Drewett *et al.* 1988, 181).

THE DEVELOPMENT OF VILLAS IN SUSSEX

The villa buildings of Sussex have been reviewed in several surveys (Cunliffe 1973; Down 1979; Rudling

1982a; Black 1987; Rudling 1988; Scott 1993). Given the volume of such coverage, and the limitation in length of this article, it would be both impossible and unwarranted to undertake a detailed examination of all the Sussex villas. I therefore recommend the reader to consult the publications listed above, especially that by Ernest Black which considers in detail such regional (south-east England) topics as 'The Development of Villas'; 'Rooms and their Functions'; and 'Estates', and also provides a gazetteer of villas. I shall thus confine myself here to providing a few general observations and plans of most of the excavated villas drawn to the same scale (Figs 3–5).

Many of the Sussex villas grew 'organically' out of native farms, a pattern which is normal for many areas of Britain (Applebaum 1966, 99). Such growth usually involved a gradual development, often with a change from a house built of timber to one built of stone (or with masonry foundations) of much the same size, to which luxuries such as simple mosaics, baths and perhaps underfloor heating were occasionally added. The late 2nd- to 3rd-century villa at Bignor (Frere 1982; Fig. 5) and the two phases (late 1st–4th centuries) of aisled buildings at Fishbourne Creek (Rudkin 1986; Fig. 5) are good examples.

The Bignor Period II villa and the Fishbourne Creek villa are examples of two of the main types of villa buildings found in Sussex and elsewhere in Britain: the 'winged corridor villa' and the 'aisled villa' respectively. Relatively recent work on such sites in Sussex includes the publication of a winged corridor villa discovered at Littlehampton in 1949 (Gilkes 1993; Fig. 5). This site, which is dated to the 2nd century, has also yielded evidence of occupation during the Iron Age. At Plumpton new survey work by the Field Archaeology Unit is currently taking place on and around the site of an unexcavated winged corridor villa which was first fieldwalked between 1973 and 1977 (Allen 1984; Fig. 5). At Batten Hanger excavations between 1988 and 1991 revealed extensive remains of a villa within a ditched enclosure (Magilton 1991). The north range was found to consist of at least three successive buildings with stone foundations. The second building, which was of aisled construction and 40 m long, subsequently had its western end subdivided into a number of rooms and a small bath-suite inserted towards the north-east corner (Fig. 4). Later a rectangular building (not shown on Fig. 4) measuring approximately 32 m long and about 11 m wide was laid over most of the earlier aisled house. Although the lateral walls had been predominantly timber-framed, the eastern gable appears to have been built entirely of masonry. This gable, which had collapsed outwards, was fortunately fairly undisturbed and it was possible for the excavators to record a square-headed doorway and a possible window above. This important building, with its exceptionally rare surviving eastern gable (Magilton 1991, fig. 14 & pl. VIII) has been dated on coin evidence to the late 4th century. Finally, excavations in 1992 and 1993 at Pitlands Farm, Up Marden, were designed to increase our knowledge of a villa first investigated between 1966 and 1969 (Down 1979, 101–7). The excavations revealed parts of an aisled building consisting of at least six rooms (Down & Magilton 1994; Fig. 4). This building, at least part of which is thought to have had domestic functions, is similar in size and form to the villa at Goring (Fig. 5). Also as at Goring, a separate bath-suite (probably a precaution against the risk of fire) was located elsewhere in the farmyard. Both the aisled house and baths at Up Marden appear to have continued in use in the 4th century.

In contrast to the sites discussed above, at other sites it is possible to recognize that very major and rapid developments occurred, as in the case of the large rich early villas discussed in the section on the client kingdom. These villas include Fishbourne (Cunliffe 1971; Cunliffe *et al.* 1996); Pulborough (Praetorius 1911); Arundel (Rudling 1984); Angmering (Scott 1938; 1939; Wilson 1947); Southwick (Winbolt 1932; Rudling 1985); and Eastbourne (Sutton 1952; Stevens & Gilbert 1973), and possibly other sites at such locations as Newhaven (Bell 1976) and near Westhampnett Church. Some of these villas, such as Fishbourne, Southwick and Pulborough, are exceptional (Fig. 3) and are clearly derived from Mediterranean rather than North Gallic-type villas. These buildings exhibit similarities in elements of design, construction and decoration, and some probably involved the same architects and craftsmen. Given the general absence of evidence from these sites for any significant pre-conquest occupation, the villas appear to have been 'imposed' on the Late Iron Age settlement pattern, and are presumably a reflection of the favourable political and economic climate of the client kingdom of the *Regni*. Unfortunately, only the site at Fishbourne has

been investigated on any scale under modern conditions. The immense size of the 'palace' at this site can be appreciated from Figure 3 where its plan is compared with those from Southwick and Pulborough.

Other major villa developments, as at Bignor during the 4th century (Fig. 12: Period III), may have been caused by major changes in economic possibilities (for example the development of new markets), by the merger of two or more previously separate farms (perhaps in order to benefit from economies of scale) or by immigration into the area (including landowners and farmers from both elsewhere in Britain and overseas, and retired soldiers). Any attempt to explain major changes at particular villas will therefore require a detailed understanding of the locations, chronology and fortunes of other sites — rural, urban and military — in the area (Fig. 2).

The distribution of villas (Fig. 2) is very important. In Sussex they concentrate in three main areas: the very fertile coastal plain, the chalk Downs, and on or near the Greensand to the north of the Downs (Fig. 1). In all areas the river valleys or sites with easy access to the major roads (examples include Bignor and Chilgrove 2) were particularly popular locations. Communications by road or water (as at Arundel and Newhaven), and access to suitable markets (for example Chichester), were clearly major considerations and may have been more important than the quality of the land on which the villas were built. Much of the Weald appears to be devoid of villas (Figs 1 & 2). This absence may be due to the lack of archaeological fieldwork, but may have been determined by poor soils, dense woodland, and perhaps the existence of an Imperial Estate designed to control the valuable iron-works (*see* above).

The economic basis of most of the villas (and also the 'non-villa' farms) was mixed farming and many (for example Bignor) were situated at places chosen for the exploitation of several environments, including good arable and grazing lands. In addition to the 'corn-drying ovens' mentioned above, other evidence for farming at villas includes ancillary farm buildings, tools, bones of domesticated animals and carbonized seeds. Occasionally evidence also survives of the associated field systems, as at Chilgrove 1 (Down 1979, figs 2 & 5). Although hunting appears generally to have provided only a small proportion of the meat diet, most villas have yielded evidence (often considerable) for the consumption of shellfish, especially oysters.

Finally the fate of villas in Sussex must be considered. I have already mentioned that some of the large early 'imposed' villas may have been over-ambitious projects. Several of them, including Fishbourne Palace (Cunliffe 1971, 186), may have contracted during the 2nd century, perhaps as a result of changes in both the social and economic environments. At about the same time, however, there was a considerable increase in the building of new villas and it has been suggested that the profits of agriculture were now being 'shared amongst a larger number of landowners' (Black 1987, 34). It is possible that this expansion of villa construction in Sussex may have been linked to a decline in the power of King Cogidubnus' heirs and nobles, especially if villa construction had formerly been restricted to the élite. Thus with the demise of the client kingdom more farmers may have aspired to live in villas, however humble in comparison with the large and luxurious 1st-century examples. In the 3rd and 4th centuries increasing inflation, pirate attacks along the south coast, and the establishment of a substantial military presence, may all have been factors which led to a large number of coastal villas being either deserted as was Fishbourne, or subject to contraction as possibly at Beddingham. During this period, however, various villas located inland and away from both coastal raiding and military garrisons as at Bignor and to the north of Chichester (and also to the west of Sussex in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight), were continuing to expand and develop. Perhaps the large 4th-century villas such as Bignor indicate that society had possibly then come full circle: the large 1st-century villas occupied by rich tribal notables and their retinues had been followed by the big expansion of villa-ownership by 'middle-rank' farmers during the 2nd and 3rd centuries and then by a 4th-century reversion to a smaller number of villa-owners, some of whom were very rich and had larger households (Ernest Black pers. comm.). Finally, in the late 4th or early 5th centuries these villas too show signs of decay or abandonment. In contrast, some of the downland farmsteads, including even those located near to the coast as at Bishopstone and Bullock Down Site 44, show signs of continued occupation throughout the 4th century, and perhaps into the 5th century. At Bishopstone there may even have been continuity of settlement into the Saxon period (Bell 1977).

CASE-STUDY ONE: THE BEDDINGHAM VILLA

During 1986 aerial reconnaissance by the author and Dr Andrew Woodcock, County Archaeologist for East Sussex, revealed a previously unrecorded Roman villa near the foot of the north scarp of the South Downs at Beddingham, East Sussex (NGR TQ 45850740). Subsequently both a systematic surface artefact-collecting survey and a geophysical soil resistivity survey were undertaken (*Britannia* **18**, 353 & pl. XXVIIA). Between 1987 and 1992 excavations each summer fully exposed the main villa building and sampled adjacent buildings and the villa farmyard/ditched enclosure (Fig. 4; *Britannia* **19**, 481; *Britannia* **20**, 319 & pl. XX; *Britannia* **21**, 358–9 & pl. XXXIA; *Britannia* **22**, 289 & pl. XXXB; *Britannia* **23**, 306 & pl. XVIII; *Britannia* **24**, 307, fig. 21 & pls XIVA & XIVB).

The discovery of a villa at Beddingham was very interesting since the site is over 50 miles from a major Roman market centre and is located in an area between the rivers Ouse and Cuckmere (Fig. 1) which had previously been thought to contain no villas (Welch 1971, 232). Martin Welch suggested that the area between the rivers Ouse and Cuckmere, being 'blank on the Romano-British map', may have been given by 'some sort of treaty-arrangement' to Saxon settlers. Professor Cunliffe developed this approach further and proposed various 'Saxon and British enclaves in the territory of the Regni during the 5th century' (Cunliffe 1973, fig. 45), with the old nucleated settlements (e.g. Chichester and Pevensey) continuing to defend themselves and adjacent territory, while intervening territories may have been put under the control of mercenary bands (Cunliffe 1973, 137). The discovery of the Beddingham villa in a possible Saxon 'enclave' thus provided a rare opportunity to examine some of the implications of the enclave theory.

The fieldwalking and excavations at Beddingham have produced evidence for multi-period occupation/usage of the site from the Mesolithic to the post-medieval period. The oldest definite settlement evidence dates to the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age and includes finds of pottery, spindle-whorls and pits, one of which contained several conjoining flint flakes. A lack of finds, particularly pottery, suggests that settlement at the site may have then been abandoned until the Late Iron Age or early Roman period.

There is very little evidence for Late Iron Age occupation at Beddingham. Two coins (a bronze issue of Cunobeline and a silver issue of Epatticus) and a very abraded sherd from an Augustan Pascual amphora (Malcolm Lyne pers. comm.) are the only finds which can definitely be dated to the Late Iron Age. Although the other pottery finds include several imported 1st-century Gallo-Belgic butt-beakers, most of these are likely to be post-conquest. Similarly in the 1st century the Samian is mainly Flavian in date. In addition, the local 1st-century grog-tempered coarse ware pottery is unfortunately difficult to attribute to either the pre- or post-conquest period.

The one feature which may possibly date to the Late Iron Age is a two-phase timber round 'house' with a possible entrance to the south-east (Fig. 6). Unfortunately, the small pieces of pottery recovered from the second-phase post-holes of this structure do not confirm such dating, and tend to suggest a pre-Flavian but post-Conquest date (Malcolm Lyne pers. comm.). The lack of pottery recovered from the first-phase post-holes indicates that the earliest round 'house' was constructed on an unoccupied site. Thus if the ring-post structure had a domestic function it could represent the original farmhouse at the very end of the Iron Age or during the first decades of the Roman period. Whatever its date, the interpretation of this circle of upright timbers is uncertain (Rudling 1997). It is similar in form and size to plans of Iron Age single ring-post houses (Cunliffe 1991b, 242–4). Other possible interpretations could include an estate office (Black 1997, 61) or a shrine. The suggestion of a shrine, for which there is no firm evidence (e.g. offerings), is based upon various factors which include the lack of any associated domestic features (e.g. a fireplace), and the fact that the location of this structure, which *defines a circular space*, was respected long after it went out of use and was only unintentionally encroached upon during the final building phase of the adjacent farmhouse (*see* below). Circular shrines and temples, as at Hayling Island, have been documented for both the Iron Age and Roman periods (Cunliffe 1991b, 510–18; Woodward 1992, 17–50; Lewis 1966, 78–86). In addition, at Westhampnett in West Sussex the excavation of a Late Iron Age cemetery revealed the religious importance of a circular space (perhaps a 'symbolic house'), around which the cemetery was organized (Fitzpatrick 1997, 239). Other dating evidence for the ring-post

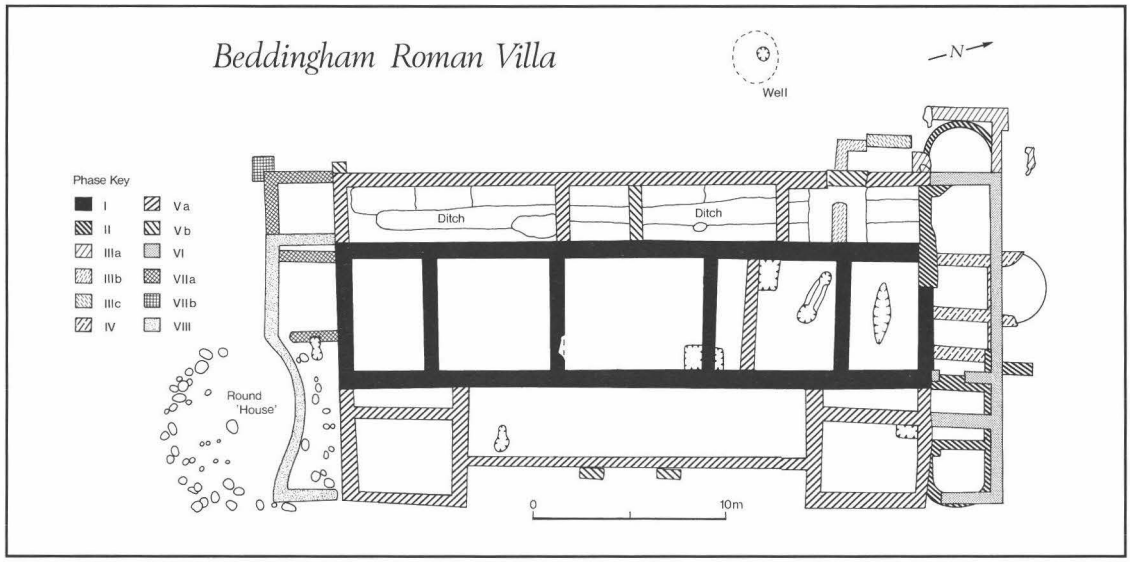

Fig. 6. Multiphase plan of the timber round 'house' and the masonry villa at Beddingham.

structure at Beddingham includes the construction of Phase I of the main villa building (Figs 6 & 7). This phase of building does not encroach upon the circle of posts, and may therefore have been constructed alongside it. Phase 1 is dated (*see* below) to the Flavian period, and therefore indicates that the round 'house' is either also of this period, or earlier.

The main period of occupation at Beddingham villa dates from the late 1st to the mid-4th centuries, and included a large domestic building with masonry foundations, a well, a shrine, a detached bath-house, a building made of timber, and two phases of enclosure ditch.

The farmhouse is situated immediately to the north of the timber round 'house' (Figs 6 & 7). Phase 1 consisted of five adjoining rooms aligned north-east/south-west. Although evidence was lacking, it is possible that this rectangular range of rooms, which had mortared flint foundations, may have replaced a building made of timber. Unfortunately, the precise functions of the excavated rooms is unclear since in all cases plough-damage had destroyed the floor levels. Finds of small tesserae, especially from the large central room, indicate the former presence of at least one mosaic. The central room, which lies opposite the later entrance into the Phase Va front corridor, was presumably the principal reception room. The two rooms to the north contained an oven and a ?forging furnace respectively. An archaeomagnetic date (AJC-52) for the tile oven indicates that this feature was last fired *c.* AD 100–180 (95 per cent confidence level). Unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain an archaeomagnetic date for the ?forging furnace, but an adjacent pit containing iron-forging slag is evidence that at some stage this room was used for non-domestic purposes. These iron-working activities may belong to a phase of villa construction, to a period of decline, or to subsequent 'squatter' occupation. Up-slope and immediately to the west of the Phase I cottage (or row-type) villa was a drainage ditch containing Flavian pottery.

Later modifications and enlargements to the Phase I house included the adding of at least three phases (II–IV) of baths at the northern end of the cottage villa. The intended addition (Phase IIIb) of a heated room at the western end of the baths was never completed. Although there is little direct dating evidence for the various phases of baths, one of these episodes probably utilized relief-patterned flue tiles of Die 5A (Lowther 1948) which were found at a tilery at Hartfield and dated by archaeomagnetic dating to *c.* AD 100–130 at the 68 per cent confidence level (Rudling 1986, 198). The discovery also of a few examples of relief-patterned flue tiles of Dies 19 and 20, which have been dated by Ernest Black to *c.* AD 90–110, may either belong to a different

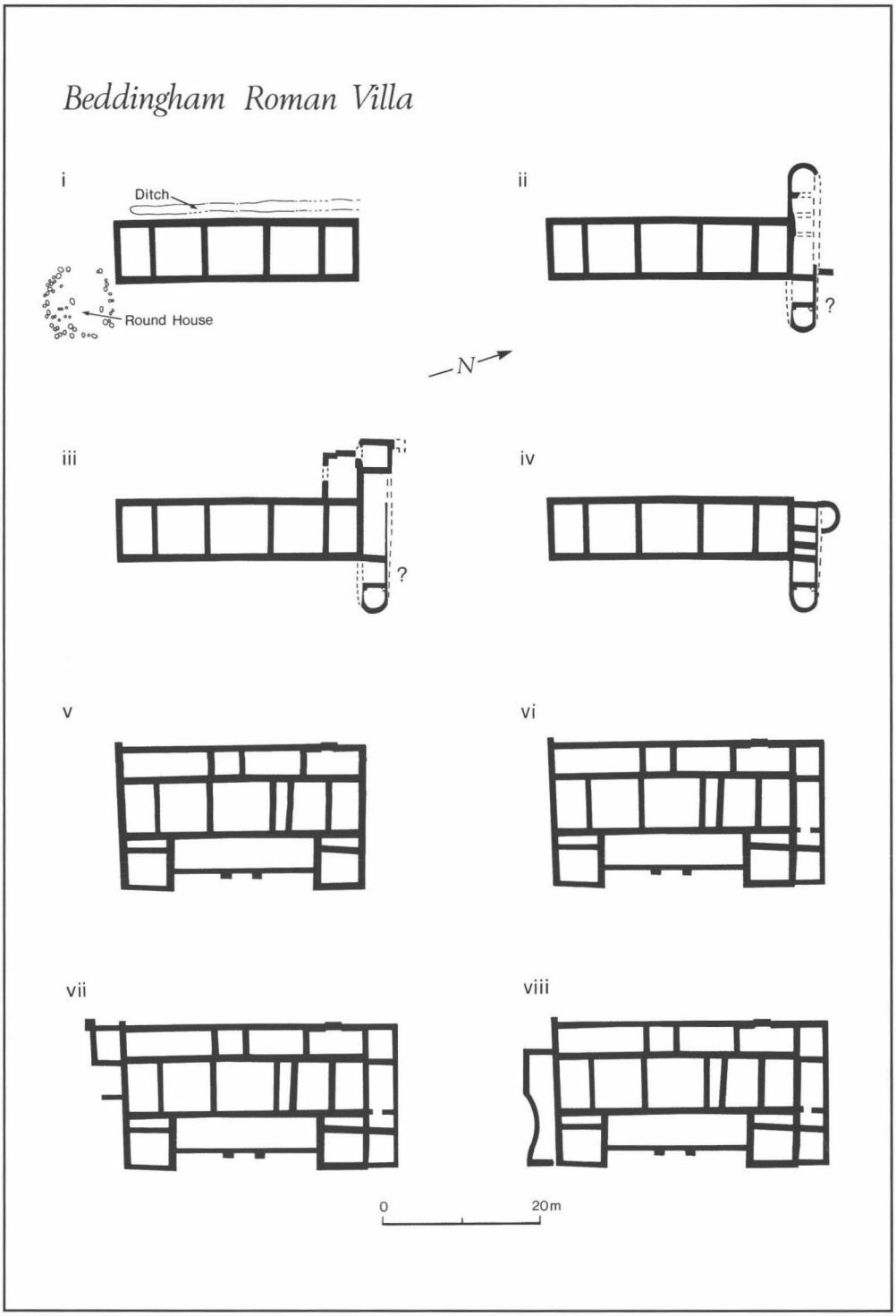

Fig. 7. Phase plans of the Beddingham villa.

phase of the baths or represent the retaining in stock of old voussoirs (Ernest Black pers. comm.). The eastern plunge-bath of the Phase II baths and the hypocaust of the Phase IV baths had gone out of use by the early 3rd century. The disused eastern plunge-bath continued to be a place for the depositing of rubbish until *c.* AD 270, when it was overlain by masonry of Phases Va and VI. It is possible that the dismantling of the Phase IV baths coincided with the construction of a detached bath-house to the north-east of the farmhouse. Unfortunately, this bath-house has been only partly exposed by trial trenching (Fig. 4) and remains undated.

Building Phase Va (probably Antonine) saw the addition of new rooms to both the eastern and western faces of the cottage villa. On the eastern side these changes consisted of a corridor and two wing rooms. Also at this time, one of the main rooms was subdivided in order to create a passage between the new front corridor and the new western range of rooms. Subsequently *c.* AD 270 (Phase VI) the long disused Phase IV baths were replaced by a rectangular range of rooms. Phase VIII (undated) consisted of the construction of a room and an entrance or lean-to at the south-western corner of the building. These additions were later replaced by a verandah (Phase VIII) which is unusual in having foundations made of chalk and involving an irregular curved section along the eastern half of its south wall. Both this irregular section of wall and the east wall overlie the northern part of the timber round 'house', and it is assumed that the shape of the irregular section was designed to respect the location of the former ring-post structure. If this theory is correct, since part of the round 'house' lies under the chalk wall foundations, it can be assumed that the exact position of the ring of posts was no longer visible or remembered. Memory of, and respect for, the location of such a structure is an extremely important indication of continuity of ownership through most of the Roman occupation of Britain.

To the west of the revered round 'house' are the remains of a masonry structure which in its 3rd phase had an apsidal western end (Figs 4 & 8). Originally (Phase A — probably 3rd century) this building had been approximately square, with external sides measuring 3.6–3.7 metres long. In Phase B (undated) the foundations of this building were widened on the northern and southern sides, and the west wall moved slightly to the west of its original position. Ultimately in Phase C an apsidal end was added to the west wall. Although the finds (which include a coin issued *c.* AD 322–323) recovered from this building provide no clues with regard to its function, it is thought to have served as a shrine. If so, and if the earlier timber round 'house' actually served a religious rather than a domestic function, we may have at Beddingham evidence of continuity of religious structures. Such a scenario may also have occurred at the Watergate villa in West Sussex where a fairly substantial masonry circular structure predates the construction of the first masonry cottage villa and was subsequently demolished and replaced by a new square building (Rudling 1997; Fig. 5).

Of the other evidence for Romano-British occupation at Beddingham villa it is important to draw attention to one very important development: the settlement's two phases of enclosure ditches. The smaller of the enclosures is the earlier, and the lower fills of its ditch include pre-Flavian to Hadrianic pottery. This ditch may therefore be a primary feature of the villa, and have been in existence at the time of the round 'house'. Probably during the mid-2nd century the original enclosure was replaced by a considerably larger version (Fig. 4), the ditch of which has produced pottery dating to the 2nd to 4th centuries. Other Sussex examples of villas where there is evidence for the expansion of the settlement's boundaries include Bignor (*see* below) and Batten Hanger (Magilton 1991, 30). Such developments indicate an increase in prosperity at these sites.

One of the most important discoveries at the Beddingham villa site concerns the final use of the masonry 'shrine' during the early Saxon period. At this time a large area was hollowed out at the western end of the Roman building (Fig. 8), and finds from its fill (Context 648) include sherds of Saxon pottery dated to the late 4th or 5th century (Lyne forthcoming). The Saxon vessels (Fig. 9) are in two fabrics, a coarse black sandy ware (Fig. 9:2, 3 & 6) and a fine-sanded polished black ware (Fig. 9:4, 5 & 7). They include the base from a pedestalled bowl (Fig. 9:2); a body sherd from a rusticated vessel with random stabbing (Fig. 9:3); the base from a jar with twin vertical grooves flanked by vertical rows of dimples (Fig. 9:6); three body sherds decorated by pairs of vertical grooves separated by rows of dimples (Fig. 9:5); a pedestal-based necked bowl with a

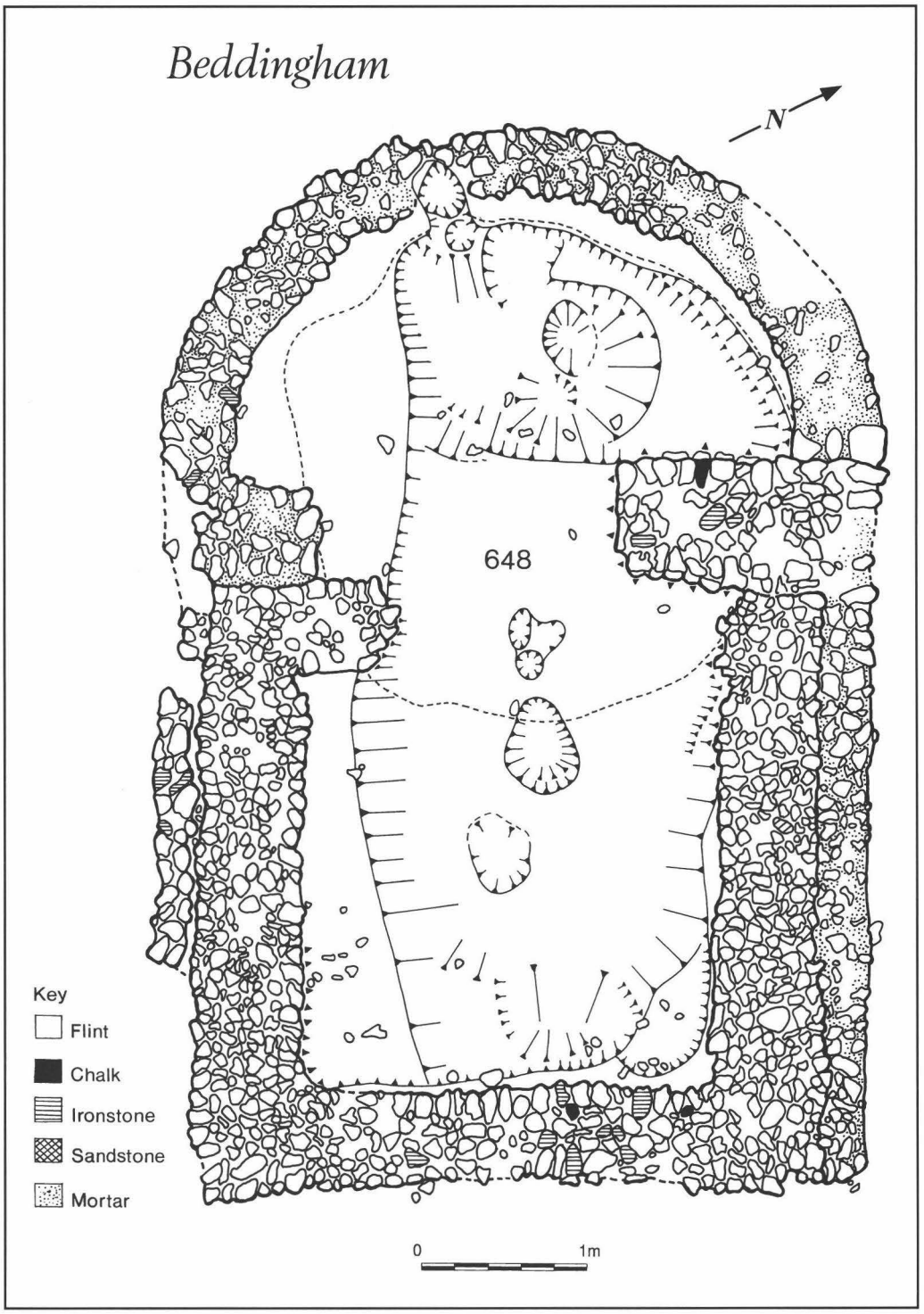

Fig. 8. Multiphase plan of the masonry shrine at Beddingham. Context 648 contained Saxon pottery.

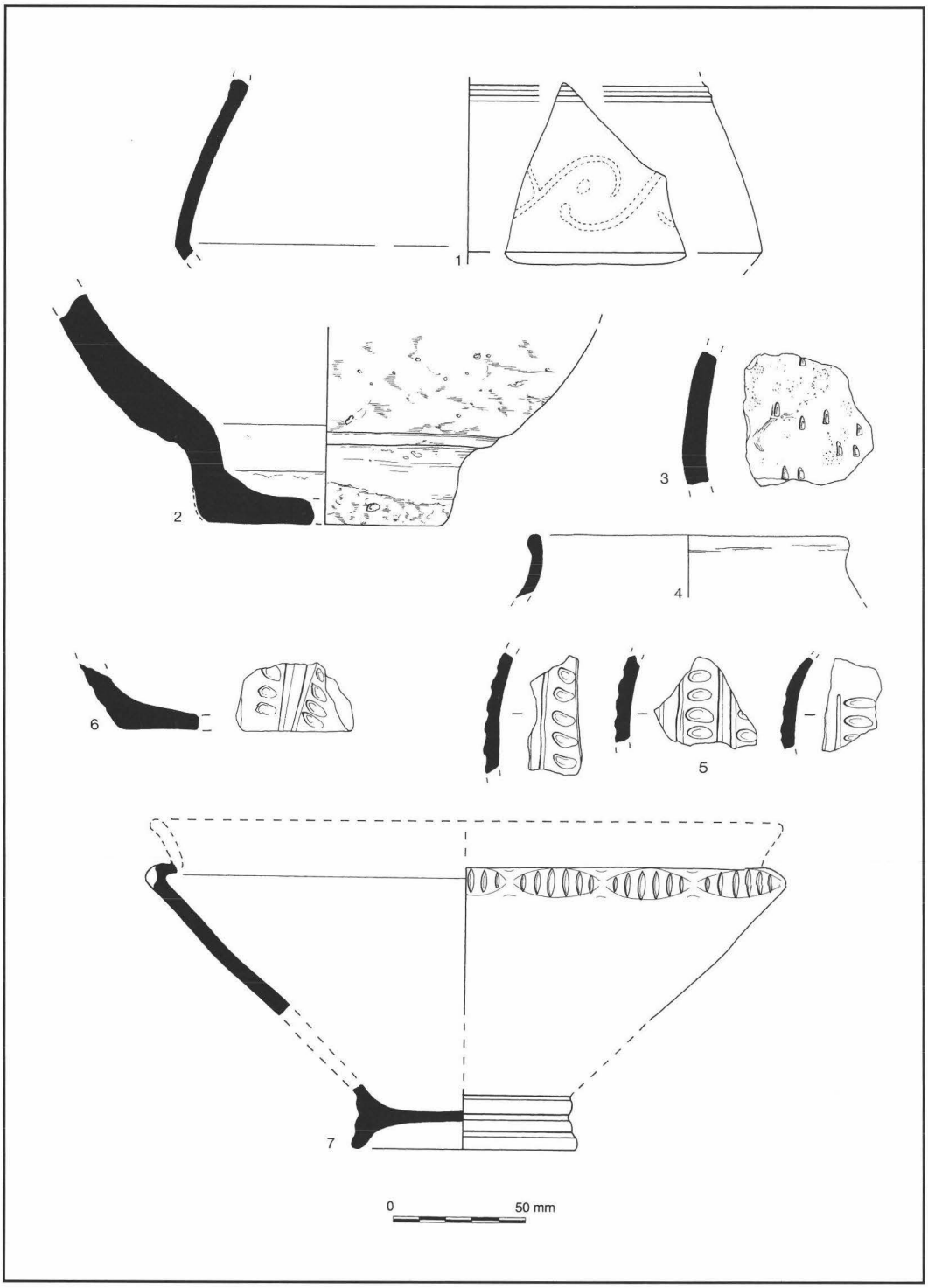

Fig. 9. One late Roman (No. 1) and Saxon pottery sherds from Context 648 in the shrine at Beddingham.

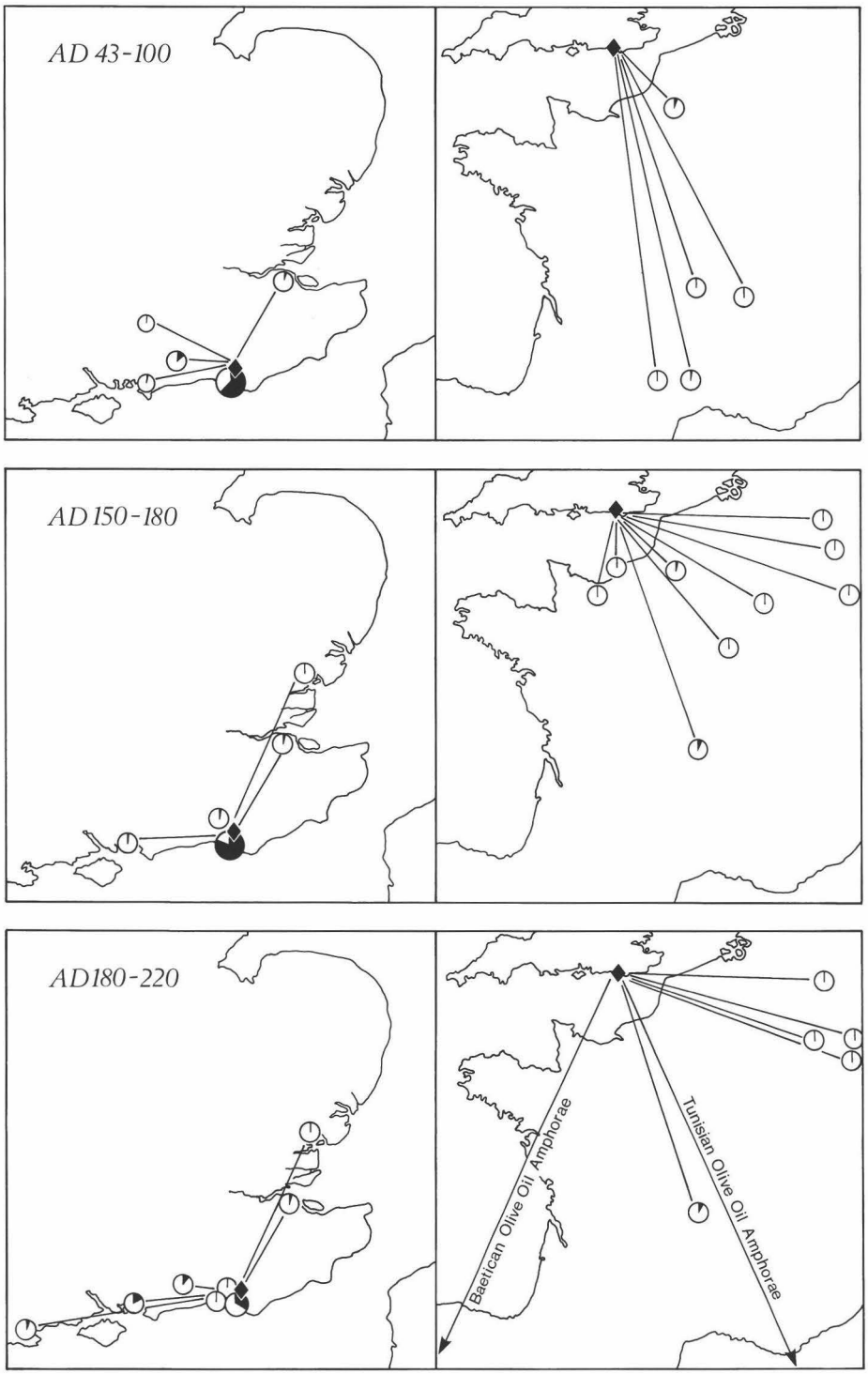

Fig. 10. Changes in the supply of Roman pottery to the Beddingham villa during the period *c.* AD 43–220.

carinated girth decorated with vertically slashed facetting (Fig. 9:7); and an everted rim (Fig. 9:4). The fill (Context 648) also yielded a quantity of Roman sherds including a large and unabraded piece (Fig. 9:1) from a Pevensey ware bowl dated to *c.* AD 350/70–400+. There is thus the possibility that at least some of the late-4th-century Roman pottery, which is later than the main villa building occupation, could be contemporary with some of the Saxon pottery. In addition, the two Saxon bowls with pedestal feet (*Standfussgefassen*) are of types which disappeared from the Saxon pottery repertoire during the mid-5th century. Other sherds of late Roman and early Saxon pottery were retrieved from several features in the vicinity of the Roman shrine and to the west of the main villa building. To conclude, it is suggested that part (i.e. Context 648) of the fill of the 'shrine' and its associated finds represents late Romano-British or early Saxon occupation/activity at the Beddingham villa site. Such activity may have been associated with the nearby 'Drayton Field' Saxon inhumation cemetery (Welch 1983, 396–7).

The post-excavation analysis phase of the Beddingham villa project is in progress, and the various specialist reports are shedding light on a wide range of topics. To take just one — contacts with other sites — the pottery and tile reports have been particularly rewarding. Thus in his study of the Roman and later pottery finds, Malcolm Lyne has been able to examine the changing patterns of Roman pottery supply to the villa. Examples of some of these patterns are shown in Figure 10. The study of the tile finds has also been revealing, and some of the Beddingham tiles, including some, but not all, of the Die 5A relief-patterned flue tiles discussed above, have been provenanced to the Hartfield tilery (Middleton *et al.* 1992). This discovery appears to contradict my original conclusion that the Hartfield tilery may have been operated by itinerant tile-makers who located themselves near sources of demand (Rudling 1986, 227). It would now appear that the products of the tilery were required at villas as far south as Beddingham, and as far north (*c.* 20 miles) as Beddington.

To conclude, at Beddingham villa there is evidence to indicate continuity of building development from a 1st-century ring-post structure to a number of increasingly complex buildings with masonry foundations. After the 3rd century the villa may have been in decline, and at the end of the 4th century or early in the 5th century part of the site, but apparently not the former main house, was occupied or used by people using Saxon pottery.

CASE STUDY TWO: BIGNOR ROMAN VILLA

The villa at Bignor is one of the largest in Britain. It is situated on the southern slope of the Upper Greensand, just north of the chalk Downs in West Sussex (NGR SU 987146). In addition to being located on very fertile arable land, the villa was well placed to utilize grazing lands on the nearby Downs, and perhaps also the woodlands of the Wealden clays to the north. It is very close to Stane Street, and was thus advantageously located for good communications with the markets at Chichester, the minor urban settlement in the Hardham–Pulborough area (Cunliffe 1973, 69–71) and London.

The site was discovered in 1811 and was extensively excavated until 1819 (Lysons 1817; 1819; 1821). (A revised version of Lysons' plan is the basis for Fig. 11.) Thereafter much of the site, including all of the farmyard, was returned to arable cultivation. Cover-buildings were erected over the principal mosaics and the site became a tourist attraction.

The first of the modern research excavations were undertaken by Professor Shepherd Frere between 1956 and 1962. These works investigated parts of the west, north and south wings (Frere 1982), establishing for the first time a chronology for the constructional phases of the west wing. In 1975–76 excavations were undertaken in the north corridor (Room 10) prior to the re-laying of the mosaic and the erection of a cover-building (Aldsworth 1983).

In 1985 a programme of assessment and research excavations were commenced by Fred Aldsworth, the County Archaeologist of West Sussex, and the author. These excavations were designed to locate and assess the condition of parts of the villa (especially the area of the large baths and also the boundaries of the 4th-century villa) which had previously been excavated during the 19th century and subsequently re-buried. As well as achieving their primary aims, the excavations undertaken between 1985 and 1990 added considerably to our knowledge of the development of the site (Aldsworth & Rudling 1995). The 1985 excavations also revealed evidence in support of a theory that Lysons' Rooms

BIGNOR ROMAN VILLA

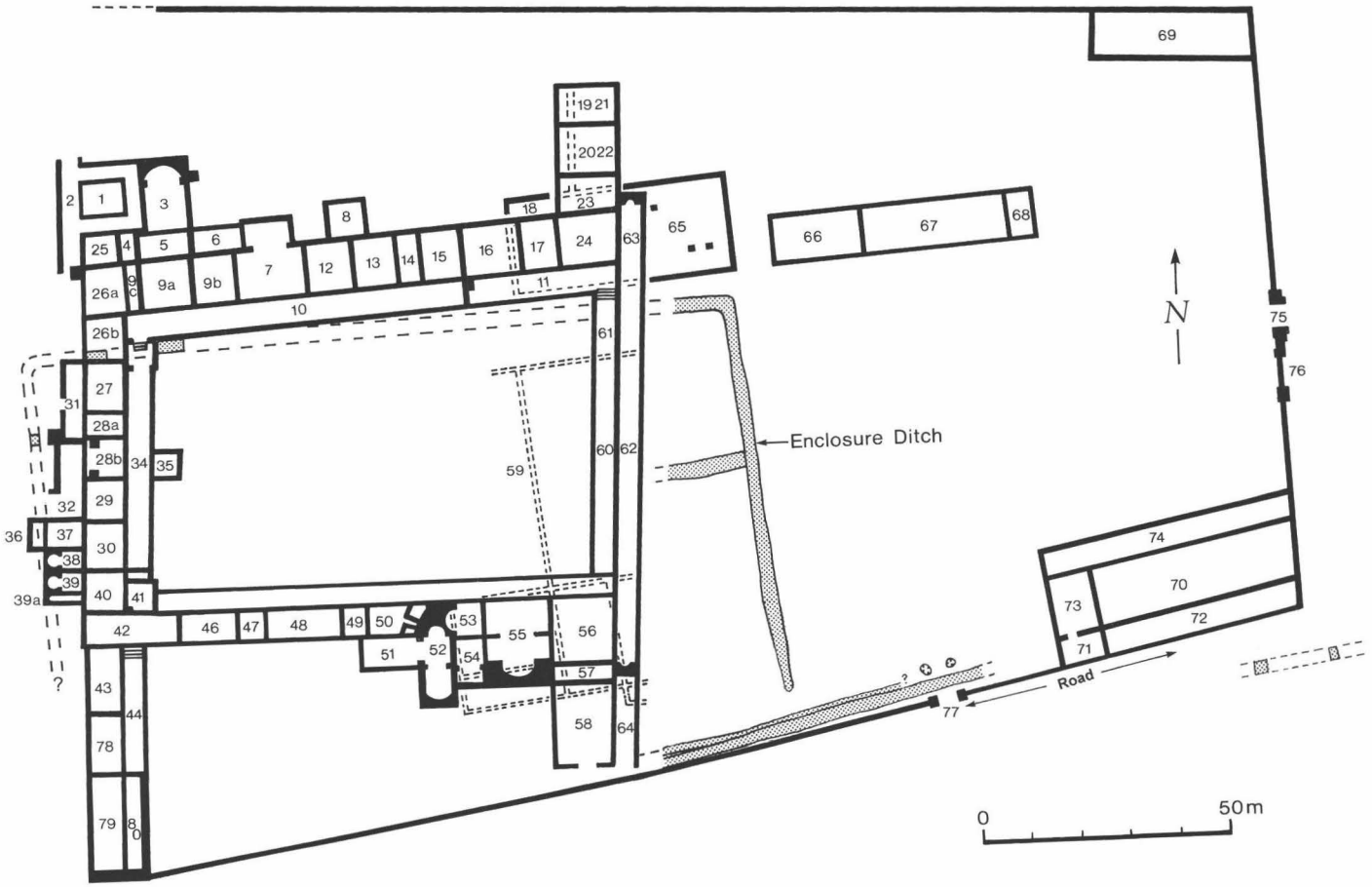

Fig. 11. Revised multiphase plan of Bignor Roman Villa. Room numbers 1–77 are based on Lysons (1819) and Frere (1982), numbers 78–80 have been added by F. Aldsworth.

18 and 65 (Figs 11 & 12) were parts of a free-standing aisled building, the foundations of which were later overlain by extensions (Rooms 16–17; 19–24) to the Period IIIA villa (Fig. 12). This theory was an important element in a major review of the evidence for Bignor during the 4th century (Black 1983). In this and other aspects, Black's interpretation of Bignor during the 4th century contrasts with that put forward by Professor Frere (1982). Thus, for instance, Frere argues against an earlier theory (Smith 1978) that Bignor was a 'unit-system villa'. Instead he suggests that it 'remained a unity revolving round a single great household'. In contrast Black follows up Smith's unit-system approach and proposes that in his Phase III:1 the villa may have been occupied by three families, one in the west wing and two in the new north wing. It is further suggested that the large, elaborate bath-suite in the south wing would have been used by all the households living in the villa. Black goes on to explain later constructional developments at the villa and also suggests the social emergence, linked to economic factors, of one family above the others. Thus in contrast to earlier theories (such as a change of ownership or a substantial economic improvement) Black provides an alternative explanation, based on economic and social evolution, for the exceptional developments that occurred at Bignor during the 4th century. For further discussion of these and other issues the reader is referred to Rudling (1988, 221–7), Aldsworth and Rudling (1995) and Rudling (1998b).

Since 1991 annual summer research and training excavations at Bignor have been directed by the author on behalf of the Institute of Archaeology, University College London. Between 1991 and 1993 these excavations investigated parts of the South Corridor, the Porticus, the Ambulatory, the south-eastern area of the Courtyard, and two early phase 'oblique' walls (Fig. 11:59) recorded in the 19th century. Since 1994 the excavations have been located in the outer enclosure (the so-called 'Stockyard' or 'Farmyard'), especially along its western edge where it was hoped it would be possible to gain further information about the early phase walls referred to above and others of this date which were recorded by Fred Aldsworth between 1985 and 1988 (Fig. 12). Annual interim reports on the excavations undertaken between 1991 and 1997 have appeared in *The Archaeology of Chichester and District*.

The main discoveries between 1994 and 1997 included various ditches which, together with similar ditches discovered in 1986 and 1958 respectively to the west and north of the Period II villa, formed the boundaries of an enclosure of at least two phases (Figs 11 & 12). The southern boundary of this enclosure is also apparently of two phases and the excavations revealed two ditches just to the north of, and roughly parallel with, the masonry southern wall of the 4th-century 'Stockyard'. The larger of these ditches, which cuts the smaller version, is partly overlain by the masonry wall. Pottery dating for the earlier ditch is Late Neronian–Flavian, perhaps extending into the early 2nd century (Malcolm Lyne pers. comm.). The ditch's fill also yielded seven sherds of flint-tempered prehistoric pottery. The larger ditch produced early/mid-2nd-century pottery from its basal fill and Antonine pottery from its upper fill. In comparison, the north-east corner of the ditched enclosure has yielded late 1st- to 2nd-century pottery from its lower fills and large quantities of Antonine and Severan pottery from the upper fills. At some stage the northern boundary of the enclosure was to the south of its final position (Figs 11 & 12). The most recent excavations (in 1997) were designed to investigate both the south-east corner of the early Roman ditched enclosure and the southern gateway into the 4th-century masonry enclosure.

The south-east corner of the ditched enclosure proved different from the north-east corner excavated in 1994. Thus instead of the north–south and east–west ditches joining at the south-east corner, the eastern enclosure ditch ended in a terminal some three metres to the north of both phases of ditch bordering the southern boundary of the Stockyard (*see* Figs 11 & 12). Perhaps this gap represents an entrance. Alternatively the southern ditches, which both continue eastwards, may be earlier than the eastern enclosure ditch. If this is correct the 'gap' may have been the location of part of a bank created from the upcast of the adjacent southern ditch/es.

The re-exposure of the southern entrance into the Stockyard demonstrated that the masonry gateway and flanking walls overlie part of the flint metalled road or track which lies just outside the southern boundary of this enclosure (Aldsworth & Rudling 1995, 151). A surprise discovery in the vicinity of the entrance was a pair of large post-holes (Contexts 395 & 402) approximately three metres to the north of the gateway. These post-holes may

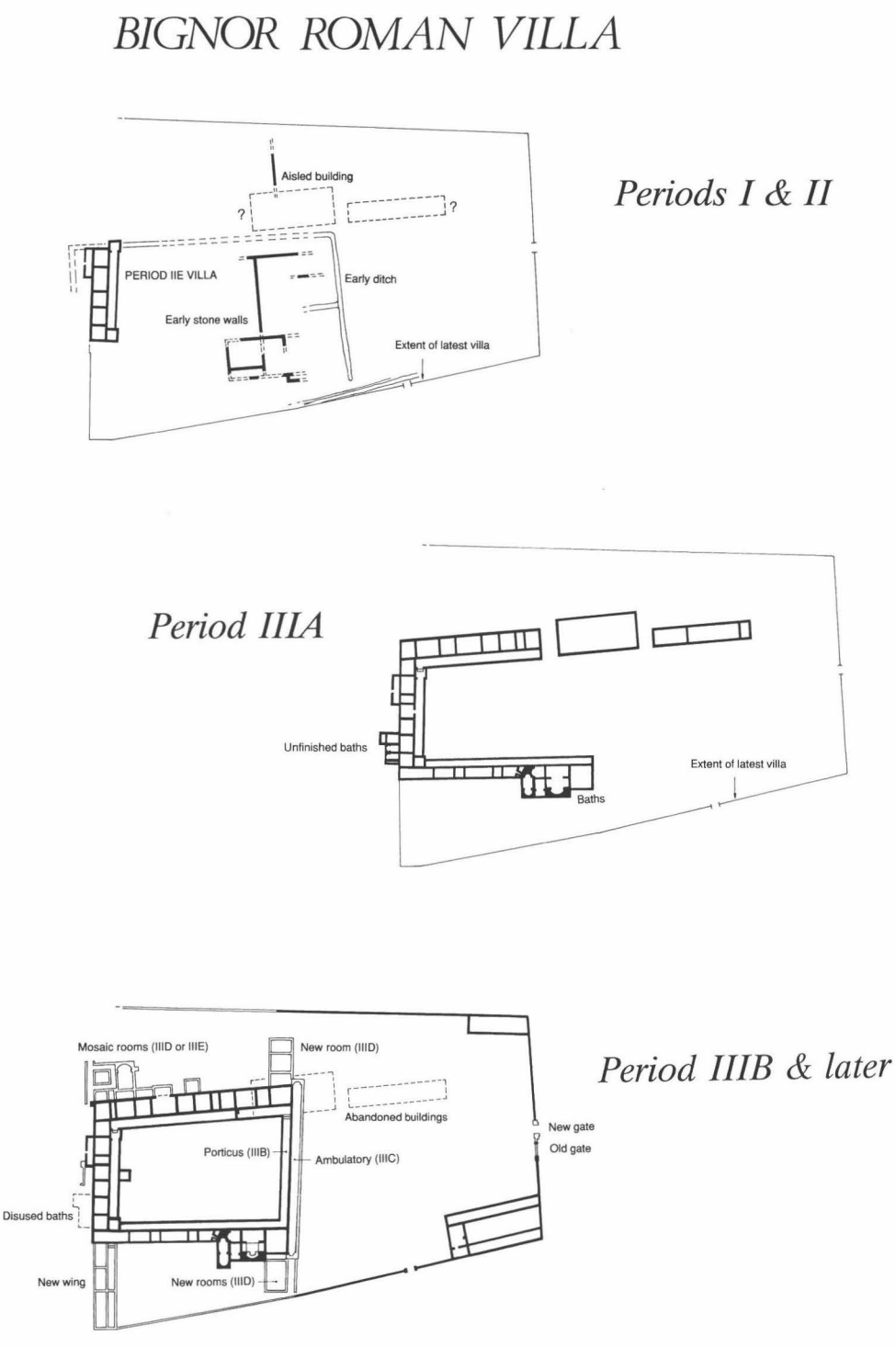

Fig. 12. Phased plans of Bignor Roman Villa based on Aldsworth and Rudling (1995).

represent an earlier phase of entrance, perhaps associated with the first of the two southern boundary ditches.

Another important discovery in 1997 was an Iron Age coin — the first to be discovered at Bignor. The uninscribed bronze coin is of the Chichester Cock type (Hobbs 1996, 81:657–9). This Southern issue, which is found in Sussex and Hampshire, is thought to date to the mid- to late 1st century BC (Hobbs 1996, 15–16). The significance of this find, however, is uncertain since the various excavations at Bignor have failed to yield much pottery which can be dated to the Late Iron Age. Thus, as at Beddingham, it is difficult to identify with certainty an immediately pre-conquest occupation at Bignor.

Generally the recent excavations and the earlier discoveries are helping to document the early stages of occupation at a site which in the 4th century developed from a fairly ordinary winged corridor villa (Fig. 5) into a very large courtyard villa (Fig. 12). The boundaries of the ditched enclosure are very important for several reasons. First, the late-2nd-century timber and the 3rd-century masonry winged corridor villa buildings are positioned in one corner of the enclosure and partly overlie it. Second, if the northern boundary of the enclosure was originally further to the south this would locate the early phase oblique masonry walls found beneath the 4th-century baths in a central position within the enclosure. Finally, assuming one or both of the ditches found adjacent to the southern stockyard wall to be part of the enclosure, this would indicate that the boundary alignment at this location was probably in use throughout the occupation of the site. Unfortunately, our understanding of the early phases of the villa is very limited. What, for instance, was the function and date (?2nd/3rd century) of the early masonry buildings? Why was the ditched enclosure extended, and why was the late 2nd-century timber villa built where it was?

Thus although the main sequence of, but not the reasons for, the dramatic development of Bignor villa in the 4th century is now fairly well understood, the initial history of occupation at the site is very incomplete. Perhaps even more uncertain is the fate of the villa. Did it suffer a period of decline, and when, why and how was it abandoned or destroyed?

Acknowledgements

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Amateurs and professionals

THE EXCAVATION OF ANGMERING ROMAN VILLA 1935–1947

by Oliver J. Gilkes

In recent decades, amateur, or independent, archaeology has suffered from a perceived exclusion from active and major archaeological fieldwork owing to the increasingly professional nature of British archaeology. The situation is sometimes contrasted with a past where amateur archaeology was the mainstay of the discipline, without problematic relations with professionals. This paper assesses the actual situation in the interwar period, a presumed golden age of amateur archaeology, via the examination of a case-study, the excavation of Angmering Roman villa. The organization and progress of the excavation project are discussed. It will be seen that while independent societies were in the past far more active in terms of fieldwork, the tension between amateur and professional archaeologists has always existed and is a function of their differing perspectives and objectives.

'Abjure voluntary labour' wrote Mortimer Wheeler in his archaeological text book, *Archaeology from the Earth* (Wheeler 1954, 172). This comment might be considered strange, coming as it does from a figure who did so much to encourage volunteers and students on his excavations (Biddle 1991, 124–5). However, the words of the consummate professional that Wheeler represents are symptomatic of a tendency in British archaeology, one that has hardened into the discipline since the war: the professionalization of archaeology. In the letter pages of a popular journal such as *Current Archaeology*, it is easy to find complaints concerning the difficulties faced by amateurs and others in acquiring practical experience in the field. Similarly, in *The Archaeologist,* the journal of the Institute of Field Archaeologists there is apparently little room for amateur or independent archaeology, or indeed, as some might argue, for archaeology *per se*. In 1995, the Council for Independent Archaeology (CIA) published *The Role of Local Societies in PPG 16*, a booklet which was a brave attempt to encourage a dialogue between amateur archaeologists and the increasingly commercial professional groups, in order to provide a framework which might allow both parties to participate in what has become an increasingly symbiotic relationship between archaeology and the local government planning process (Biddle 1994b).

The climate in which the CIA launched its campaign was increasingly bureaucratic. The progressive professionalization of archaeology since the 1970s under the dual influence of high-pressure development and economic stringency has created a world of deadlines, contracts and liabilities which, with some exceptions (*Current Archaeology* **138**, 231–7), has largely excluded independent groups from participation at a local level. The increasing lack of archaeological projects to which independent archaeologists can contribute, the growing maturity of local society memberships which, starved of new recruits, reflects a national trend, and the disregard shown to local groups by professional units are all topics which have been aired in the letter pages of national journals over the past few years. Yet these complaints presuppose a time when amateur archaeology flourished unchallenged. If one had to select a specific span of time for this independent 'golden age' in Sussex the inter-war period would surely be a prime contender.

Sussex was especially fortunate during this period, occupying a prime position nationally. This was a time when momentous discoveries were made: the identification and excavation of the first Neolithic causewayed enclosure in Britain at Whitehawk, the extensive examination of the flint mines of the Sussex Downs, and, perhaps most significantly, the surveying of the extensive surviving earthwork sites of the 1st millennium BC and accompanying ceramic studies. A succession of talented archaeologists worked in the county during the 1920s and 30s, Herbert Toms, formerly an

assistant to General Pitt Rivers, L. F. Salzman, John Pull, Robert Gurd, Hadrian Allcroft, Ivan Margary and, most importantly for the legacy that they left for Sussex archaeology, Eliot Curwen and his son Eliot Cecil Curwen.

Yet, from a postwar perspective, one is left wondering at the extent of the role assumed by these amateur groups and the nature of their relationship with professional practitioners. What follows is an attempt to review these questions by examining a local case-study, the excavation of Angmering Roman Villa in West Sussex, to see how all these elements interacted. It is possible to do this in some detail owing to the preservation in Littlehampton Museum of almost all the documentation relating to the organization of the excavations. Of interest are: the organizing body itself, the level of 'professional' involvement, and the practical organization and technical execution of the excavation in the field.

THE SOCIETY

The Littlehampton Nature and Archaeology Circle (N&AC) was founded in 1924. Its avowed aims were ambitious:

> To enable persons interested in Natural History and Archaeology to meet and interchange communications and specimens; to explore the district; to develop a taste for the study of Zoology, Botany, Geology &c., and Architectural and other Archaeological works; to form a cabinet of Zoological, Geological and Mineral specimens, a Herbarium of plants found in the locality, and an album of photographs of subjects of local interest (*N&AC Proceedings* 1924–25, 2).

Despite the emphasis placed on the natural sciences, it was the archaeological activities which proved to be the most ambitious and which brought the Circle firmly into the public gaze.

The response to the creation of the Circle was encouraging. By the end of the first year the membership roster stood at 93 and had sufficiently increased by 1931 for the name to be changed to the Littlehampton Natural Science and Archaeology Society (NS&AS). Membership numbers had risen to 203 by 1937 when the excavation of the Angmering villa commenced. Its composition was fairly typical for societies of the time being recruited mainly from the middle classes, local businessmen and professionals, some retired professionals and a smattering of those with independent means. Members of some of Littlehampton's most influential families, the Smarts, Ockendens and Butts, joined at the outset and remained prominent throughout the first 14 years.

Attendance at the Society's functions was generally high, with an average turnout of 59 at the lectures and excursions during the first few years. However, as with all such societies, there was a central core of dedicated members who shouldered most of the running and organization. Some of this core group were scholars of more than local significance, such as H. L. Foster Guermonprez, the Bognor naturalist, who was a founder member. Amongst others were Dr William Fraser Hume, a well-known geologist specializing in the study of Egypt, for a long time president of the NS&AS; Edward Wyndham Hulme, formerly the chief librarian of the Patent Office who placed his considerable organizational skill and erudition at the Society's disposal by heading the exploration committee for many years; and Lt Colonel R. R. Barber who was responsible for many of the fine surveys of local earthworks still to be seen in Littlehampton Museum. However, the pivotal figure of the NS&AS was E. J. Frazer Hearne, the Society's secretary who became the curator of the Society's museum when it was opened in Maltravers Road.

A vigorous start was made to the archaeological programme with the examination of a medieval pottery kiln in the Binstead woods. Thereafter attention switched to the investigation of a number of sites on the estate of the Duke of Norfolk north of Arundel. Nanny's Croft, a late Roman site, was excavated in 1926–27 (*N&AC Proceedings* 1926–27, 17–23) and was followed in 1930 by the cutting of the first sections across the 'War Dyke', which was interpreted as part of a Late Iron Age defensive system (*N&AC Proceedings* 1928–30, 24–34) (Fig. 1). Publication in the Society's proceedings, which appeared annually or bi-annually throughout the 1920s and 30s, promptly followed excavation. Though limited in scale, the contributions reveal the serious scientific intentions behind the archaeological activities of those years. Surviving photographs show neatly cut trenches; excellent drawings and plans by Lt Colonel Barber illustrated the reports and for the excavations at the 'War Dyke' section drawings were presented. Short finds reports

Fig. 1. Excavation about to commence at the War Dyke, Arundel Park.

were produced and included the coarse ceramics and animal bones discovered. The vertical positions of finds in the excavations were carefully noted. Substantial background research was undertaken and numerous correspondents were consulted. For example, in September 1927 Hearne was in communication with a Mr Owen Adames, a resident of Havant, who had excavated a Roman villa in his back garden. Adames had identified what would now be called Rowland's Castle ware storage jars amongst the finds from Nanny's Croft, relating them to his own finds.

In 1931 the NS&AS embarked on its most ambitious project: the excavation of a Romano-British site at Shepherd's Garden in Arundel Park. The site had been identified first by Hadrian Allcroft and was proposed as a worthwhile exercise in excavation by Dr Eliot Curwen, who together with his son took a close interest in the NS&AS activities. The excavation of the site continued seasonally until 1935 and surviving photographs show Society members hard at work (Fig. 2). In fact the site proved to be too ambitious for the Society to tackle alone, there were never sufficient volunteers despite repeated appeals to the membership, and the narrow trenching technique utilized was quite unsuited for this complex early Roman site. The confusion of the published report, so different from the earlier small-scale work, tacitly admits that the Society was out of its depth at Shepherd's Garden, a realization that was to be an important consideration at the commencement of the Angmering villa excavations in 1937 (Frazer Hearne 1936). Despite some interesting finds and an avowed intention to return to Shepherd's Garden, 1935 was the last season of excavation, for shortly after the NS&AS was to become involved in far greater things.

The fulcrum of the Society's activities was provided by its museum, the end result of the 'cabinet of specimens' envisaged at the foundation of the Society. This was established with the help of a private bequest and the co-operation of Littlehampton Urban District Council who agreed to house it in an annexe built for the purpose to the

Fig. 2. Trenching in progress at Shepherd's Garden, Arundel Park.

rear of the public library in Maltravers Road. A museum committee was appointed to manage this new civic asset, but the real impetus came from E. J. Frazer Hearne. Hearne was retired and living in Rustington, and although his professional background is obscure, he was well-connected with several of the national museums. Consequently he was in a good position to act as Curator, to which office he was appointed with a small stipend from the Urban District Council. Hearne, who almost always signed his name Frazer Hearne, seems to have been an amiable and capable figure. Under his guidance the small premises soon became filled with exhibits arranged in glass cases and fine wooden storage chests. It was a sort of Aladdin's Cave for many of the local residents who recall the mélange of items on display ranging from a great stuffed brown bear which guarded the entrance, to mummified cats and 'Queen Victoria's stockings' which resided in a corner (Fig. 3). Despite the impression of clutter, all was well catalogued. The museum registers were meticulously maintained by Hearne, who upon acquisition of an object, firstly noted details into rough books and then copied them into a great leather-bound register. Full notes gave provenance, donor, and dimensions, often with a small sketch and other comments. Cross-references were given to supplementary notebooks and museum correspondence.

Not content with his role as curator, Hearne went out in active search of antiquities. The museum registers are full of his discoveries made during walks or excursions with the Society. These included: Neolithic ground flints from Barnham; medieval pottery brought to light through the erosion of a well by the sea at Clymping; a Bronze Age hoard from Flansham and Roman pottery and coins from fields, ditches and building sites all over the town. Further items were collected via his extensive contacts with other Sussex archaeologists, and the collections still contain items donated by Dr E. C. Curwen, John Pull, S. E. Winbolt and H. S. Toms, providing a miniature cross-section of Sussex archaeology.

Fig. 3. The Society's Museum to the rear of the library in Maltravers Road; a photograph taken in the 1950s.

ANGMERING ROMAN VILLA

Angmering Roman villa lies on the edge of low-lying marshy ground around the Black Ditch, a kilometre to the east of Angmering village. The Black Ditch is one of a number of tributaries that feed the Arun and which isolate a series of islets of higher ground where medieval and modern settlement developed. Whilst today these low-lying areas are well-drained, in centuries past they were decidedly marshy and even until the 1950s were prone to seasonal flooding (M. Haynes pers. comm.).

By the 1930s the presence of a villa on the site had long been known. Excavations in the early years of the 19th century had exposed parts of the bath-house with its great vaulted drain, then intact, along with a series of burials (Dallaway 1832, 72–3).

The site formed part of the estate of the Duke of Norfolk who leased the land to a local tenant farmer, a Mr J. Uridge. To Mr Uridge the villa represented an asset of dubious value, proving a hindrance to ploughing and an irresistible attraction to the local antiquaries. Various solutions were postulated, ranging from the deep ploughing of the whole site so as to remove it completely, to Mr Uridge suggesting that he might excavate the villa on his own behalf. In the end a compromise that seemed to satisfy all parties was reached and in 1937 the villa site was leased by the NS&AS for a period of 10 years at £10 per annum.

Nevertheless, the relationship between the archaeologists and the farmer were never entirely happy. Having disposed of the problematic field for a period, Uridge was keen to exploit the flurry of activity that followed. The farm road which led to the site was resurfaced following its utilization by the archaeologists and Uridge presented the bill to the NS&AS. Hearne wrote that Uridge had told him that '"we should have to pay him", and he is so sure of us doing this that he is beginning now. Of

course I told him that the matter must come before my committee, but he fell back on his usual "I know you'll treat me like gentlemen" — very exasperating!' (LMC Hearne to Sherriff, 26/4/1938).

The NS&AS had long considered taking up where the antiquaries of 1819 had left off. The question of excavation had been raised at the inaugural meeting in 1924, but the realization that substantial funds would be necessary had forced the shelving of the project. In 1934, however, the NS&AS had a good ten years of practical experience behind it and was keen to attempt something on a grander scale. Consequently, that summer a series of trial pits were opened in the field containing the remains. In charge of the work was Mr G. R. Cutler, an employee of Hillyards, the Littlehampton boat-builders, and another of the NS&AS's most active members. Cutler was to play a prominent part in the salvaging of Littlehampton's prehistoric and Roman past in advance of the town's postwar expansion. While many of the techniques that he employed later were instilled into him during the villa excavations, his initial notes for 1934, a plan of trial trenches with a brief description of the layers and finds from each, show an appreciation of archaeological technique. These initial efforts were sufficiently successful for more extensive soundings to be arranged for 1936, and a temporary agreement was made with Uridge. A sondage uncovered the top of the drain, found originally in 1816, and work proceeded along this removing the 19th-century backfill and uncovering the drain's entire length.

At this point the magnitude of the undertaking seems to have been realized. Perhaps the difficulties experienced at Shepherds Garden prompted a pause for thought; in any case it was decided that further assistance would be required. Wyndham Hulme was charged to write to Richard Ward, one of the excavators of the villa at Southwick for advice. Ward in turn, contacted Eliot Curwen at the Sussex Archaeological Society and Christopher Hawkes, then an assistant keeper at the British Museum. On his own account Hearne wrote directly to Hawkes, laying out the NS&AS's strategy so far, to allay concerns over the safety of the site, and adding a phrase which was to have far-reaching consequences 'We have simply been removing 1819 backfill and the one place where we have found intact levels these were left and filled in again, and we reserved the spot for the future when I *hope* we may obtain some expert guidance' (LMC Hearne to Hawkes, 1935).

OFFICIALS FROM LONDON

The advice that the NS&AS received from all quarters was encouraging, but urged that the uncovering of the villa should be undertaken as a major excavation project rather than as 'preliminary scratching'. Curwen wrote to the Council of the Sussex Archaeological Society: 'This is work that I should very much like to see our Littlehampton friends take up, and I should like to suggest that they do their best to collect the necessary funds . . .' (LMC Curwen-SAS, 21/2/1935). Christopher Hawkes replied to an enquiry from Richard Ward in a similar vein, suggesting that a professional excavator ought to be appointed to oversee the work:

> I know Mr Hearne and from what he has told me it is clear that his Society cannot take adequate action on its own. I am sure it ought therefore to 'pass the buck' up to the County Society, and thence if necessary to London . . . I hope our friends in Littlehampton won't think this advice distasteful, and that I want them to be 'ordered about by officials from London'. Of course I want nothing but what everyone ought to want with any sense of spirit, namely, sane co-operation and pulling together between local and county and central (LMC Hawkes to Ward, 5/1/1935).

Evidently the advice was not considered distasteful and although the finances had yet to be resolved, the NS&AS was sufficiently keen to commence enquiries as to the availability of an excavator. At that time this was not an easy task: professional archaeological technicians did not exist and it was unlikely that a university department could be tempted by a dig such as Angmering. Christopher Hawkes had a solution, however, and put the Littlehampton Society in contact with Mortimer Wheeler, at that time Director of the London Museum. Wheeler had a growing reputation as a field archaeologist and was widely known to be concerned with the technical development of archaeology. Very much the showman, Wheeler was considered to be something of a bounder by some of the more academic elements of the discipline for his extrovert, and sometimes outrageous, style. Nevertheless, he had a spark of genius which drew people and possibilities to him.

Wyndham Hulme had been despatched to Lancaster House in London to talk to Wheeler about the possibility of finding an assistant. This was not to be a problem as Wheeler already had someone in

mind. As to the other outstanding problem, that of finance, Wheeler also held the solution.

Wheeler had been approached a short time previously by R. C. Sherriff, then an established playwright who also had archaeological ambitions. In particular he wanted to run an excavation. On the advice of the great Oxford historian of Roman Britain, R. G. Collingwood, Sherriff made arrangements to meet Wheeler in London early in 1937. Sherriff was far from sure what to expect in this encounter: 'He had invited me to lunch at the Athenaeum, and that in itself was enough to scare me. The Athenaeum was the most exclusive of all clubs, hotbed of bishops, and scientists and scholars of the highest order'. Wheeler's charm was duly applied, 'He didn't treat me as a groping amateur in a world beyond my reach: he received me as a fellow traveller in a great adventure' (Sherriff 1968, 311–12).

There remained the problem of the supervisor, but here Wheeler already had a candidate and a meeting was arranged in the foyer of the Ritz between Sherriff and Leslie Scott, one of Wheeler's students at the University of London. Nigel Nicolson, an Oxford colleague of Sherriff's, was with him on this occasion:

> Sherriff and I sat for half an hour eyeing each young man as he entered, expecting some sort of bearded Ayatollah acolyte. None seemed suitable. Then it dawned on me that 'Leslie' might be female, the girl who had been sitting in the far corner for the same half-hour. She was beautifully dressed, and seemed engagingly modest. I still remember the mauve saucer hat she wore, from which a light veil descended to her nose. She might be someone's niece or fiancée. She was neither. She was Leslie Scott (Nicolson 1992).

Leslie Scott was born in Scotland in 1914 and is remembered by many as having a typically dry Scottish sense of humour combined with an occasional fiery temper, some of which at least was to show itself at Angmering. Had Sherriff known Wheeler better, then his nomination of one of his female students would have occasioned no surprise.

Fig. 4. Wyndham Hulme (left) and Frazer Hearne (right) working at Angmering Roman villa.

Wheeler's chief assistants were invariably women (Hawkes 1982, 169) and Leslie Scott in particular was at this point deeply involved in his projects. She had worked for him at *Verulamium* and Maiden Castle and then gone on to undertake the preliminary survey for his excursion into Brittany and Normandy as well as running his excavation sites during the two campaigns in France. She was also no stranger to Sussex, having worked, again at Wheeler's behest, with E. C. Curwen at Whitehawk Camp in 1935. There was, it seems, another side to their relationship.

> She was not only competent, but devastatingly attractive. Wheeler, whose visits to the site were more frequent than was strictly necessary, was obviously in love with her, and soon most of us were too. We spent memorable evenings with them in the local pubs, he acting Odysseus, she Nausicä (Nicolson 1992, 156).

Till now much of the organization of the project had happened at third hand in London out of sight of the NS&AS. Consequently, Sherriff's interest in the Angmering villa was the cause of some surprise and, realizing that the perceived interference of 'officials from London' might be taken amiss in Littlehampton, Sherriff was quick to establish a direct link with the Society. At a special meeting of the committee on 8 March 1937, he was elected to the membership setting the stage for the excavation itself.

THE EXCAVATION

To organize the excavation of the villa, an excavation committee was formed which immediately spawned an executive committee consisting of C. A. Butt, Frazer Hearne, Wyndham Hulme, R. C. Sherriff and Richard Ward, the latter presumably as a villa expert, to oversee the actual work. The initial problem to be faced was that of finance, the stumbling block which had dissuaded the Society from attempting excavations in 1924.

Sherriff was prepared to underwrite a large proportion of the cost of the excavations, and eventually made £150 (which would be the equivalent of £4624 in 1998) available for the 1937 season. Despite this further finance needed to be raised. An appeal was launched, which brought in the large total of £135 (1998: £4104) during 1937. Some contributors were most generous: 'One lady sent £25 (1998: £759), thanking us for courtesy shown on a recent visit. We are wondering *who* took

Fig. 5. A guided tour being shown the bath house of Angmering Roman villa.

her round! . . .' (LMC Hearne to Sherriff 3/9/1937). The experiment was sufficiently successful to persuade the executive committee to issue a special brochure in 1938, appealing for further funds. At the excavation, collection boxes were positioned around the site. Visitors' attention was directed to these at the conclusion of guided tours which were frequent during the summer months (Fig. 5). One such group in 1938 was attended by Philip Burstow who was disappointed with the site: 'There is not very much to see except the edges of rooms in the villa proper . . . I understand that they are really disappointed with the "dig" as there seems little hope of any mosaic pavements' (Society of Antiquities MS 949/7 MR 12A). Nevertheless, the tours brought in a regular trickle of money: 'The collection boxes have done well. Here are the weekly totals since you left, £2.6s.1d., £1.8s.3d., £1.4s.6d., £1.18s.7d.' (LMC Hearne to Sherriff 3/9/1937). However, on one occasion the temptation of the collection boxes proved too much for some of the local lads who were caught one weekend in July after breaking into the excavation hut to the side of the site and removing 1/6d. from the collection boxes.

For 1937 we have all the particulars of the project's accounts. The total income for the excavation was some £326 (1998: £9903) while expenditure was only £204 (1998: £6197), apparently leaving a healthy surplus. The largest call on expenditure was the wages of the workmen, of whom up to four were employed during the summer of 1937, and Leslie Scott. The workmen were paid £2 each a week, later raised to £2.11s.6$^{1}/_{2}$d., and the foreman, Mr Squires in 1937, was given an extra shilling. Money was also paid for finds recovered. This system of 'baksheesh' was extensively employed by British excavators before the war, both within Britain (Winbolt 1925, 36) and abroad (Woolley 1952, 39–42). At Angmering the scale of payment seems to have been 3d. for marble objects and unusual pottery including spindle whorls, while coins and bronze objects netted 6d. each. Leslie Scott was considerably more expensive. Her weekly wage of £5.5s.0d. totalled £60.5s.0d. (1998: £1822) over the summer of 1937. It had been decided at the outset that even with Sherriff's help the NS&AS could not afford to employ her full time and so she was effectively retained on a consultancy basis to visit the site at intervals to direct and advise.

While less detail is available for the 1938 season,

Fig. 6. Leslie Scott and her husband Peter Murray-Threipland on the day of their wedding.

once again it seems that the greatest call was for wages. Three workmen were employed for two weeks, together with Leslie Scott, who seems to have been employed in a similar capacity as 1937, for four weeks in July.

Whilst workmen were employed to undertake the heavy labour, and some consolidation work during the winter, volunteers were a significant factor in the excavation. The core of the volunteer workforce seems to have been formed of a varying number of Society members. In 1938 this was a hard core of six to eight, working under the supervision of Wyndham Hulme and Frazer Hearne (Fig. 4). During the main summer months, these might be reinforced by undergraduates brought down from Oxford by Sherriff; twelve such volunteers worked at the site during July 1938, including a young Leo Rivet, who later moved on to work with Wheeler in Brittany. At other times Sherriff provided members of the Balliol rowing team who appeared periodically for a weekend's work, staying at his house in Bognor. Excavation work continued out of season with work by local volunteers occurring at weekends.

There were other more casual local volunteers, some of whom became regular members of the team. Mrs D. Craven recalled her time working on the villa:

> I became interested through talking to a group of people at Yapton aerodrome about aerial photographs. I was interested in the results [of aerial photos taken at the villa site] and so one Saturday after the 'dig' had started I made my way to Angmering . . . I was set to wash pots and sherds, being shown by Mr Cutler or else Mr Hearne. So, for the first few weeks that's all we were allowed to do . . . (Daphne Craven, pers. comm.)

Many of the volunteers camped in the vicinity of the excavation; others put up in local hostelries. In 1938 Leslie Scott stayed at The Lamb at Angmering; 'The rooms are quite nice but as she charges £2.2s.0d. with lunch, and we won't require that, it would be fine if you could get her to take 5/- off (only 1 bathroom in the whole house!)' (LMC Scott to Hearne, May 1938).

The technical side of the excavation was skilfully executed. Whilst specializing in Palestinian archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology in London, Leslie Scott had gone through the mill of Wheeler's field training, an experience which could be quite disconcerting for some of his favoured supervisory staff (Hawkes 1982, 169). It is unsurprising to find typical Wheelerian methods in use. Whilst the 'Wheeler box' system was not employed in its fully developed form at Angmering, photographs show neatly laid out trenches, well-revetted spoil heaps and the generally neat appearance of the site which were such a mark of excavations directed by Institute-trained archaeologists from this point on (Fig. 7).

It has not been possible to consult the site notebooks, but it is clear from the finds that close control was kept over the stratification. In Leslie Scott's absence, supervision was generally the responsibility of Hearne, Hulme, Cutler or Miss Phoebe Keef, a regular volunteer from 1938. When there was no digging to be done there was plenty of finds-cleaning and marking, carried out in the wooden shed provided by Mr Butt which was the dig's field headquarters. The finds were all recorded with care: the pottery, for example, is all clearly marked with trench, layer number and other detail which can be related to the surviving section drawings. Not surprisingly Leslie Scott was quite emphatic about the importance of sections: 'she wants her precious sections-a *second* one-preserved' bemoaned Hearne, having been prevented from demolishing a particularly crucial example (LMC Hearne to Sherriff, 12/6/1939). A certain conflict of technique is clear from the surviving correspondence. Leslie Scott was employing what was for the time a precise methodology, especially in comparison with the less controlled excavation techniques employed by the Society at sites such as Nanny's Croft and Shepherd's Garden: 'we hope to see Leslie Scott on Sunday, Cutler is feverishly tidying up. We have tried to be good boys, but we shall no doubt catch it for all that', wrote Hearne towards the end of the 1937 season. The give and take between Leslie Scott and the local directors had by the end of 1937 become something of a joke amongst them. Hearne wrote a farewell note before Leslie Scott departed for Brittany at the end of July:

> No longer is the eye of the headmistress on her bad little boys. When I go up to villa this evening, I'll cast my eye around, spit on my hands, and begin to enjoy myself. 'Come on', says Hulme, 'let me get my fork under it and *Heave*!' (Hearne to Scott, 28/7/1937) (Fig. 4)

Nevertheless, ensuring that there were sufficient numbers of volunteers working on the site seems to have been a problem. 'I was thinking . . . of the hope that professional supervision would stimulate

Fig. 7. A general view of the excavations at Angmering Roman villa.

local interest, and bring along more volunteer workers . . . this has, unfortunately, not been fulfilled', wrote Sherriff to Hearne in October 1938 (Fig. 5). The same problem that the Society encountered at Shepherd's Garden had occurred at Angmering, namely the difficulty of encouraging enough dedicated volunteers to keep a large site running. Part of the problem may have lain with the choice of supervisor, 'I felt that not only did local members not avail themselves of this opportunity [of professional supervision], but some unfriendly criticism was the only payment received' (LMC Sherriff to Hearne 7/10/1938). Sherriff himself seems to have been rather ambivalent in his opinion of Leslie Scott. In 1938 he wrote to Hearne that 'having seen some of the other lady experts I think we are all agreed that we are very lucky to have one so pleasant to work with' (LMC Sherriff to Hearne, 20/1/1938), while virtually removing her from the otherwise lengthy account of the excavations in his autobiography (Sherriff 1968, 309–16). Conflicts of interest between amateur and professional archaeologists were by no means unknown in the late 1930s. In fact, there was a steady series of small but significant clashes, over the copyright of photographs, the purchase of items of equipment without agreements, over the visits of journalists and finally over the Society carrying out work outside of Leslie Scott's supervision. There had been a gentle struggle between Leslie Scott and her team at the villa over excavation strategy. In particular she requested that building B, the so-called 'main house' — 'an extremely important early building and of real importance and value to the study of Roman Britain' (LMC Scott to Hearne 1939) — be left, if necessary until after the war which had by that time commenced. However, in 1940 and 1941 more work on behalf of the Society was carried out at the villa by Miss Phoebe Keef. News of this intervention was not well received by Leslie Scott (LMC Scott to Hearne 20/10/1941).

It is possible to be overly negative when considering relations between the amateurs and the professional, the 'generally half jocular — well, call it dissent' described by Hearne (LMC Hearne to Sherriff undated). There were distinct advantages in

the relationship and Hearne was convinced of the need for some professional involvement, especially in regard to producing the vital annual reports on the villa excavations which he did not think it possible to present 'without professional superintendence, or at least editorship' (LMC Hearne to Sherriff, 12/10/1938). Also, there was at least one major success arising from the training aspect of the course, which was the postwar work of George Cutler, the employee of Hillyards the Littlehampton boat-builders, who had a strong interest in archaeology and who had been involved in the Angmering project from its inception. Cutler is mentioned frequently in the letters of Hearne, Sherriff and Scott as directing work on various parts of the site. His handwriting is to be found on much of the pottery and the stratigraphic lessons dished out by Leslie Scott were obviously well learnt.

THE LONG SUNSET

Barely four seasons of excavation were fitted into the ten-year lease taken out on the villa. The last major season was in 1939, although this was on a modest scale compared to the great efforts of the previous two years. At Angmering, as with projects in Britain and France, the threat of war overshadowed all else. In his autobiography Sherriff described the final days of the excavation:

> The digging party broke up at the end of August . . . I packed my bags to go home, but broke the journey for a last visit to our Roman villa to say goodbye . . . It was a lovely evening, with a sunset that lingered in the sky long after it had usually gone: as if it were loath to leave another of the few days of peace that remained to us. When I stopped to look back at those desolate Roman ruins it seemed as if history had made full circle (Sherriff 1968, 314–15) (Fig. 7).

The lives of all the major participants were caught up in the Second World War. Frazer Hearne and other members of the NS&AS became involved with civil defence. Hearne became a senior sector warden, although he still managed to work two mornings a week at the museum. He fell ill in 1943 and seems to have withdrawn from an active role in the Society's affairs. He was still living in Rustington in 1947, but may have died shortly afterwards. Wyndham Hulme died in about 1951. In 1939 Leslie Scott was married, to another of Mortimer Wheeler's archaeological acquaintances, Peter Murray-Thriepland (Fig. 6). The match made the national newspapers, much to the surprise of Hearne, and Leslie Murray-Threipland eventually went to work in air photographic intelligence (Daniel 1988, 109). Despite her avowed intentions, she never returned to complete the work at Angmering or produce a full report. The published accounts were never intended to be more than interim statements (Scott 1938; 1939). After the war she worked closely with John Ward-Perkins, the director of the British School at Rome from 1948, excavating in Southern Etruria (to the north of Rome).

The Natural Sciences and Archaeological Society also suffered from the war. Though it has survived, it has never resumed its former scale of activities. The museum was moved by the Urban District Council from Maltravers Road to River Road in 1965, an event which resulted in the ill-advised sale of much of the wonderful collection assembled with such enthusiasm and the mismanagement of the rest (a situation now happily resolved thanks to the commitment of local Councils and the efforts of curators and volunteers since 1983).

Ironically the real need for an active local society was in the postwar period, during the rapid expansion of Littlehampton during the building boom of the 1950s. The challenge posed by the massive surge in building activity was not, however, taken up by the NS&AS, but by George Cutler. Working without the support of the Society, Cutler carried on the recording work of Frazer Hearne, virtually all of it salvage archaeology of the most desperate kind. Despite the pressure of circumstances, Cutler managed to record valuable sequences at Wickbourne and Gosden Road, where he recovered the plan and part of the sequence of a small Roman villa (Gilkes 1993). During this work the lessons learned by Cutler under the tutelage of Leslie Scott were well and rationally applied. Some of the fine plans and detailed section drawings of this work survive in Littlehampton Museum and despite the partial dispersal of the finds during the 1960s and 70s, the neatly marked provenances have allowed the reconstruction of an important late Iron Age to late-Roman sequence.

What of the site itself? Some intermittent work was undertaken during the early war years, and in 1941 a small season of work was directed by Miss Phoebe Keef, occasioning a last clash with Leslie Scott (Keef 1945). Work was continued periodically in 1942, but thereafter the villa was covered by

tarpaulins and effectively abandoned. A last impression of the villa was recorded by Richard Wyndham, who visited the site in 1940:

> over five acres stretched waterlogged trenches and rectangular patches of foundations — black tarpaulins kept down with stones covered the more important finds . . . I looked through the window of a little wooden shack and saw shelves of oddments, everything precisely labelled even down to 'Large Empty Tins'. Outside the shed on a rickety table, lay a selection of tile and brick fragments . . . still offered for sale at a penny or twopence apiece . . . On this winter evening these relics seemed more lost than during all their seventeen hundred years under Sussex soil (Wyndham 1940).

This is not quite the end of the story. The lease on the site was due to expire in 1947 and consideration was given to having the Sussex Archaeological Society take this over and organize a final major season. A campaign of excavation planned for 1944 did not materialize. Following the close of hostilities Dr A. E. Wilson was commissioned to undertake some excavations, uncovering and recording a previously undiscovered series of buildings to the south of the bath house and a possible canal (Clare Wilson pers. comm.; Wilson 1947). While it was the last effort on the villa site, Wilson's excavations posed more questions than they answered. The archaeological sequence is complex, and probably more extensive, than Leslie Scott realized. The site also seems to be larger and extends to the north, south and east of the area explored in the 1930s. The full story of Angmering Roman villa remains to be uncovered.

AMATEURS AND PROFESSIONALS

The account of the excavation of Angmering Roman villa reveals that tensions and conflicts of interest existed between amateurs and professional archaeologists even at this early date. The problems are familiar: lack of locally-based support; a certain concern on the part of the local society concerning their own competence; and the conflict of interests between the professionals with their own concerns elsewhere and amateurs operating from a local base. That these difficulties are not more apparent in the period before the late 1960s is perhaps due to the comparatively tiny number of professional field archaeologists active in the country at the time. A more serious difficulty was that of inconsistency. The project was effectively abandoned following the deaths of the principal movers during the 1940s. The same might be said of the finds and records from the site which suffered badly without the diligent eye of an able enthusiast such as Hearne to maintain them.

Such a lack of consistency is a criticism which has been levelled at amateur societies by professionals, and although it has some basis, such criticism would ignore, in Sussex at least, the fundamental role of amateurs in internationally important research work. The work of the two Curwens in prehistoric studies shows what could be achieved. In fact, here indeed is another element which ensured some continuity that might otherwise have been lacking. The meeting of Philip Burstow and E. C. Curwen at Thundersbarrow Hill in 1932 established what might be considered as a distinct 'school' of archaeology in Sussex, one which maintained its impetus into the late 1960s.

Nevertheless there is an important lesson to be learnt. Essentially this might be summed up as 'societies which do not dig, die'. Certainly the NS&AS, despite maintaining itself as a going concern has fallen prey to this malaise. However, it is possible to be too critical and pessimistic. Despite various problems, the excavation of Angmering Roman villa was generally a success. The fact that it was not brought to a full conclusion was in part due to the outbreak of war in 1939. It stand as an example of what an active amateur group could achieve. If this was possible in the 1930s, then surely in the 1990s, with the vastly increased resources available, such projects should be within the reach of dedicated independent archaeological societies.

Acknowledgements

The idea for this paper was conceived whilst working for Littlehampton Museum during the years 1989–1991. For help and advice during its writing I would like to thank Ian Friel and Carolyn Brown, present and past Curators of the museum. Special thanks are due to the museum's dedicated team of volunteers, in particular Daphne Stanford, Iris Jones, Sid Fogg and also to Morris Haynes, Bob Frost and the committee of the NS&AS. Other local information, recollections and advice were offered by Sid Robinson, E. R. Alar, Jack Easbacher, Peter Hammond and Daphne Craven. For insights into some of the figures involved in the excavations I owe thanks to

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OTHER SOURCES

Documentary sources, letters, accounts and minute books of the Angmering villa excavation committee and the NS&AS are stored in Littlehampton Museum. It appears that that almost all the records of the NS&AS for the prewar years have survived, and together with the various notebooks of Frazer Hearne they constitute a vitally important archival source for the history of Sussex archaeology. Of similar importance recently made available are the diaries of Philip Burstow in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of London, MS 949/1-20 MR12A.

Archaeological investigations on the route of the Crawley High Street relief road, Crawley, West Sussex

by M. John Saunders

with contributions by
Jeremy S. Hodgkinson
John B. Letts
David Richards
Kevin Rielly
Jane Timby
Jessica Winder

This report describes an excavation along the route of Crawley High Street Relief Road. Several deposits of medieval date were examined and a relatively small but useful corpus of medieval pottery was recovered. The excavation has produced further evidence for the importance of Crawley in the Wealden iron industry during the medieval period. Detailed site description and some specialist reports are on microfiche.

INTRODUCTION

Between May 1995 and June 1996 excavations were carried out along the line of a proposed dual carriageway relief road on the west side of the High Street in Crawley, West Sussex (NGR TQ 266366) (Fig. 1). While much of the route of the relief road lies on land formerly used as car parks or follows the line of existing streets, some demolition of existing buildings was necessary on the southern part of the route, including a much altered house fronting the High Street which incorporated some timber framing of later 15th-century date. The relief road lies at a height of *c.* 69 m above OD. Its route slopes gently to the north and lies mainly on the Upper Tunbridge Wells Sand (BGS 1981), which consists of mudstones, thinly-bedded sandstones, silts and occasional clay ironstones. From the northern end of Orchard Street to its junction with the High Street, however, the route crosses Weald Clay and an alluvial deposit on the western fringe of the affected area marks the line of an old watercourse flowing south-west to north-east to a now infilled pond on the north side of The Driftway.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

Much of the archaeological potential of the development area derives from its location in the core of what was a 13th-century 'new town'. A number of historic buildings are present in the area, while the town itself appears to have been involved in the production of ironwork, forming a centre for the medieval Wealden iron industry as witnessed by the discovery of a number of sites relating to this activity. The evidence for iron-working takes the form of numerous finds of forging slag, tap slag, bloomery slag and occasionally, almost complete, furnace bottoms. Furnace cinder and medieval pottery have also been found at a number of locations close to the line of the relief road. Excavations at the Old Post Office site, 15–17 High Street (Stevens 1997) revealed a number of medieval features including 13th- to 14th-century pits and associated deposits of iron slag suggestive of the close presence of a forge. More recent investigations by Wessex Archaeology (in prep.) on the site of the proposed Leisure Park, an area of land bounded by London Road and Ifield Road, have produced evidence for the smithing and forging of iron during the second half of the 14th or early 15th centuries. In addition, an Iron Age site is known to have existed in the Southgate area, although this is a little distance from the study area.

THE EXCAVATIONS

(Detailed accounts of the excavation of each site are on microfiche.)

The desk-top study had located a number of areas on the route of the relief road which had archaeological potential and the subsequent

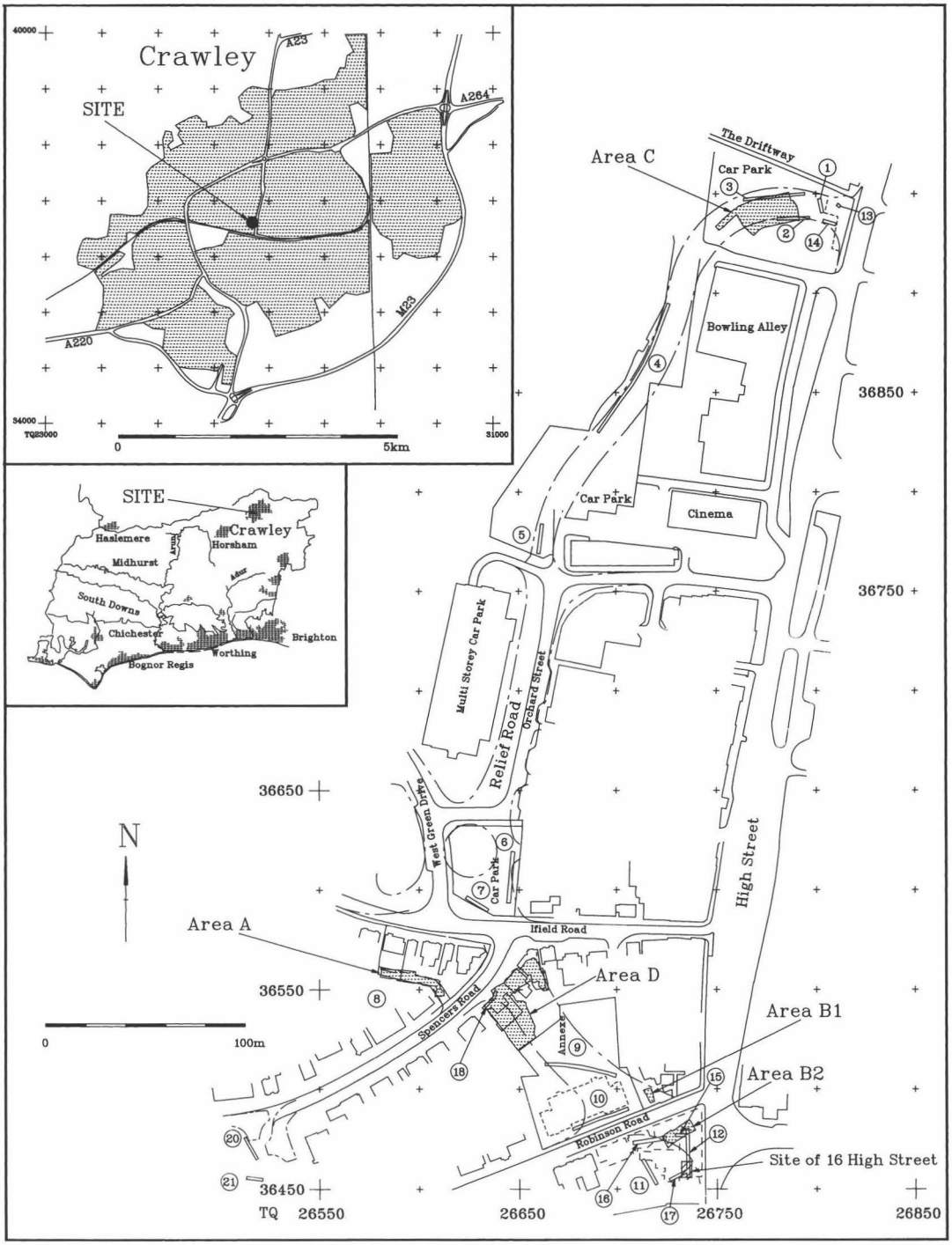

Fig. 1. Crawley High Street relief road showing the location of evaluation trenches, excavated areas and the location of the site in Sussex and Crawley.

evaluation of 20 trenches revealed that concentrations of archaeological features were situated in four main areas which were to be disturbed by the construction works (Fig. 1, Areas A, B, C & D). The deposits excavated during the evaluation were all of medieval date, consisting largely of discrete archaeological features such as pits and ditches. Finds included medieval pottery, brick/tile, iron slag, and a little metalwork. Two struck flints were found: a broken blade of Mesolithic date from Trench 6 (F2) and an earlier Neolithic leaf-shaped-arrowhead from a medieval pit (F30) in Trench 2.

AREA A (Fig. 2 & Fig. 3, sections, on microfiche)
This area, situated to the rear of nos 16–30 Ifield Road (Fig. 1), was located to determine the full extent of a probable medieval iron-working site found in 1988 during building works to the rear of 5–7 Spencer's Road (NGR TQ 26563653). A total of 28 features were excavated, comprising 12 pits, 6 gullies, 4 post-holes, 4 probable ploughmarks, 1 scoop and a large dump of slag.

Gwynne (1990, 34) has suggested that until the Conquest, Crawley was marked by a crossroads at West Green with a south-west to north-east route following the line of Horsham Road and Small's Lane and an east–west route formed from Ifield Road and a footpath to the east of the present High Street leading to Worth. West Green itself spread north and south of the crossroads. To the east of the crossroads lies Area A, roughly between West Green and the new Crawley High Street. The 1839 Tithe map of Ifield (West Sussex Record Office MF81/147 TD/W156) shows no buildings to the south side of Ifield Road in the area excavated and the presence of the vestiges of possible plough marks or, more probably spade marks, would seem to confirm that in the early period at least this was cultivated land, albeit on a small scale. Two features at least were found to contain pottery of an early date, especially gully F502 which contained material from the 10th to 11th centuries, although this could equally well be residual. It would be feasible to assume either that the features in Area A were on the extended backlands of properties running eastwards from the High Street, or that a number of medieval tenements once fronted on to Ifield Road. In either case, the evidence in the form of pits containing pottery and iron slag reflects domestic occupation with an emphasis on iron-working. Faunal remains were mostly absent from excavated sites on the relief road and their survival in features on Area A may be a product of differential preservation. A number of sheep/goat horn-cores recovered from pit F503 seem to suggest that horn-working or tanning was being carried out in the vicinity.

It is clear from the excavation evidence that occupation of this area of Crawley continued at least until the 15th century.

AREAS B1 AND B2 (Fig. 4)
Area B1 was situated on the north side of Robinson Road, a little way to the west of its junction with the High Street (Fig. 1). This area contained just one feature (F503), a circular shallow pit approximately 2.6 m in diameter and 0.30 m deep. Its primary fill contained post-medieval pottery, together with a small quantity of iron slag, several fragments of clay pipe stem, wood, and brick.

Area B2, an area considerably disturbed by modern building activity, was located to the south of Robinson road in the angle formed by its junction with the High Street (Fig. 1). The excavation of this area revealed a stone-built wall (F506), and a drainage culvert (F507), neither of which were closely datable. The wall was constructed of sandstone blocks and the culvert had a base of roof tile and a covering of sandstone slabs. Insufficient evidence was recovered from adjacent areas to determine whether this wall was part of a structure, such as a house, or was a boundary feature.

AREA C (Fig. 5 & Fig. 6, sections, on microfiche)
Area C was located at the northern end of the relief road in a car park on the west side of the High Street and immediately to the south of the Driftway (Fig. 1). This area contained 54 features, including pits, post-/stake-holes, gullies and a well. Pottery was recovered from 28 of these features.

One interpretation would consider these features to indicate the use of land to the rear of properties fronting the High Street, with the linear gullies representing plot boundaries. Pottery from the site had a restricted date range from the 12th to 14th centuries with no evidence for either late medieval use or for post-medieval use of the site until the late 19th century.

Most of the features contained iron slag and several had been backfilled with this material. Particularly large quantities of both smelting and forging/consolidation slags were present. Tap slag and furnace cinder were found and, more interestingly, a number of fragments of plano-

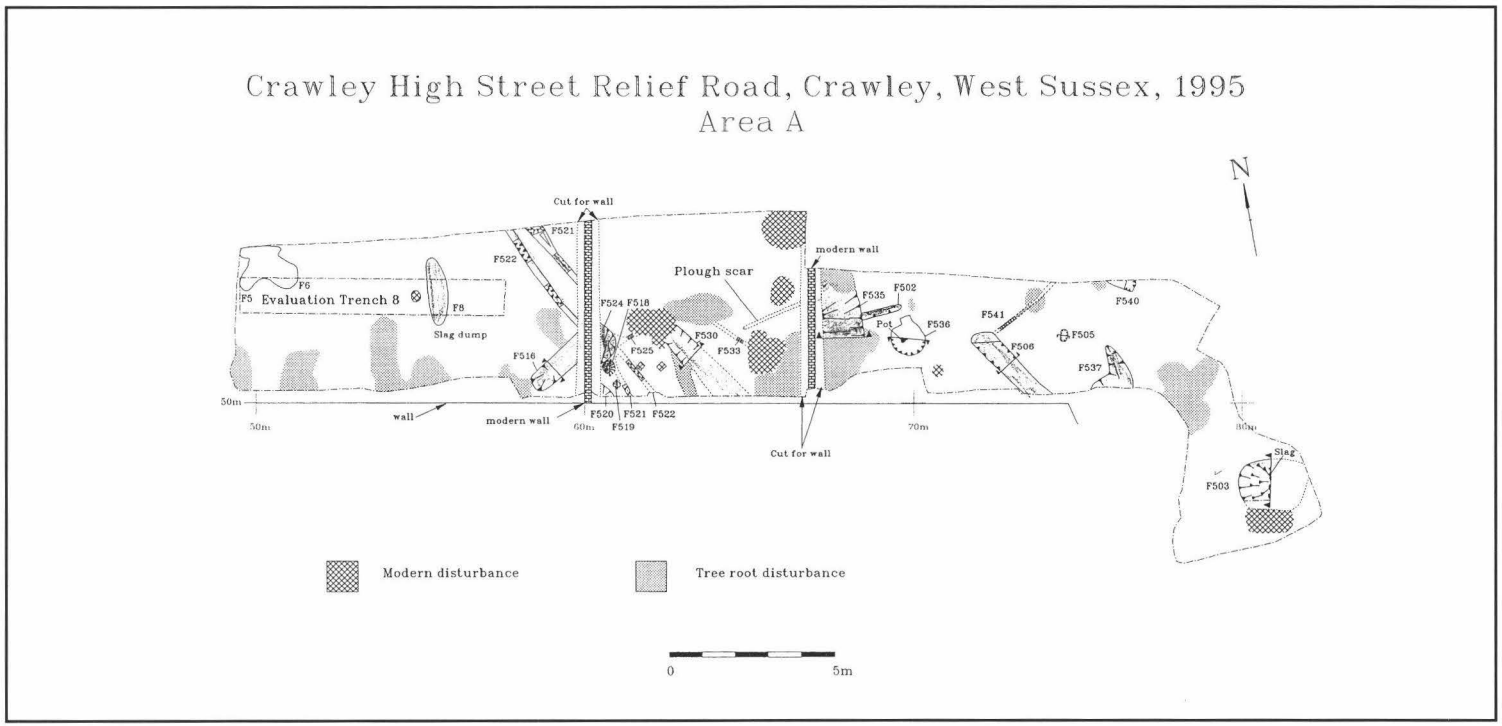

Fig. 2. Plan of Area A.

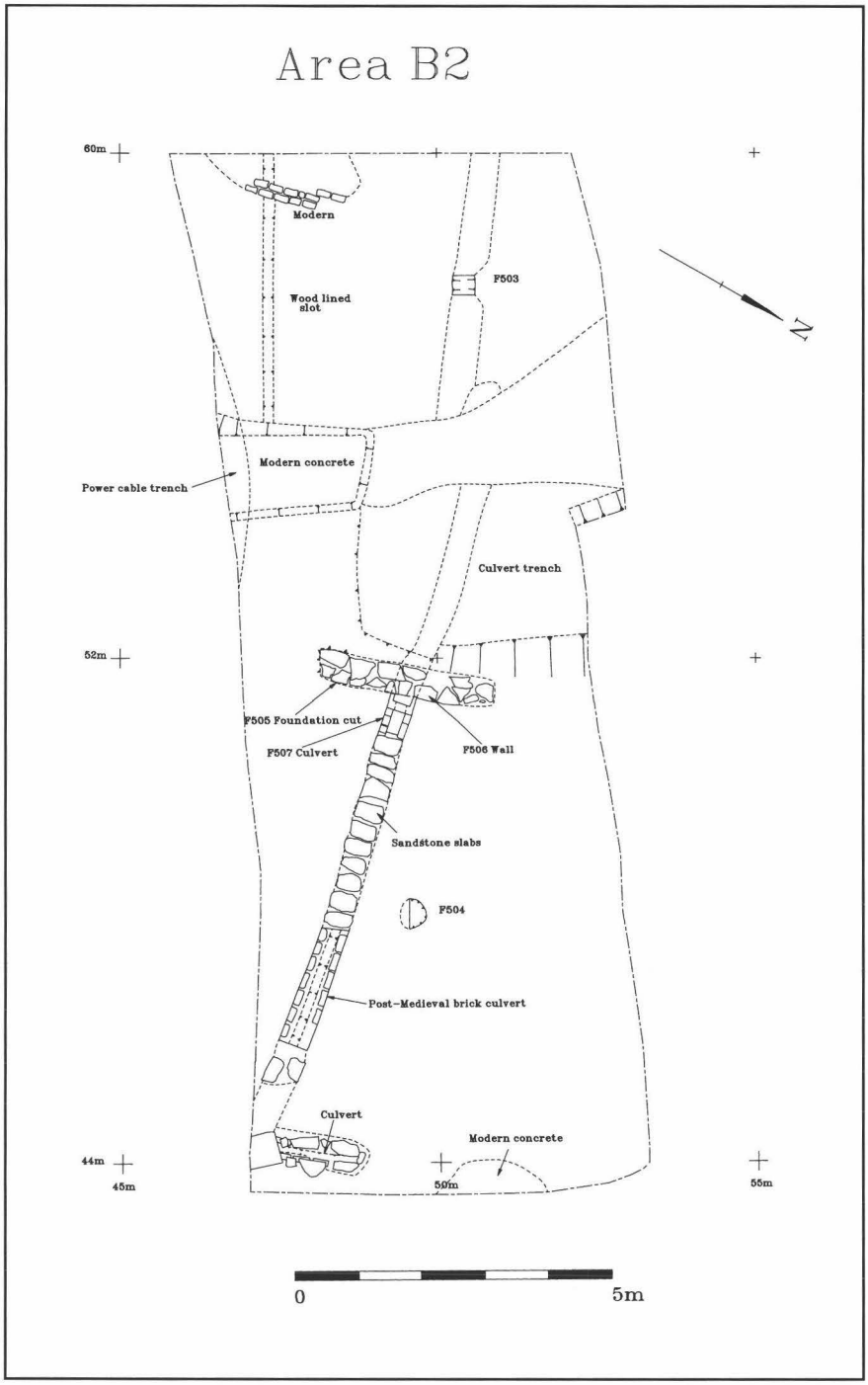

Fig. 4. Plan of Area B2.

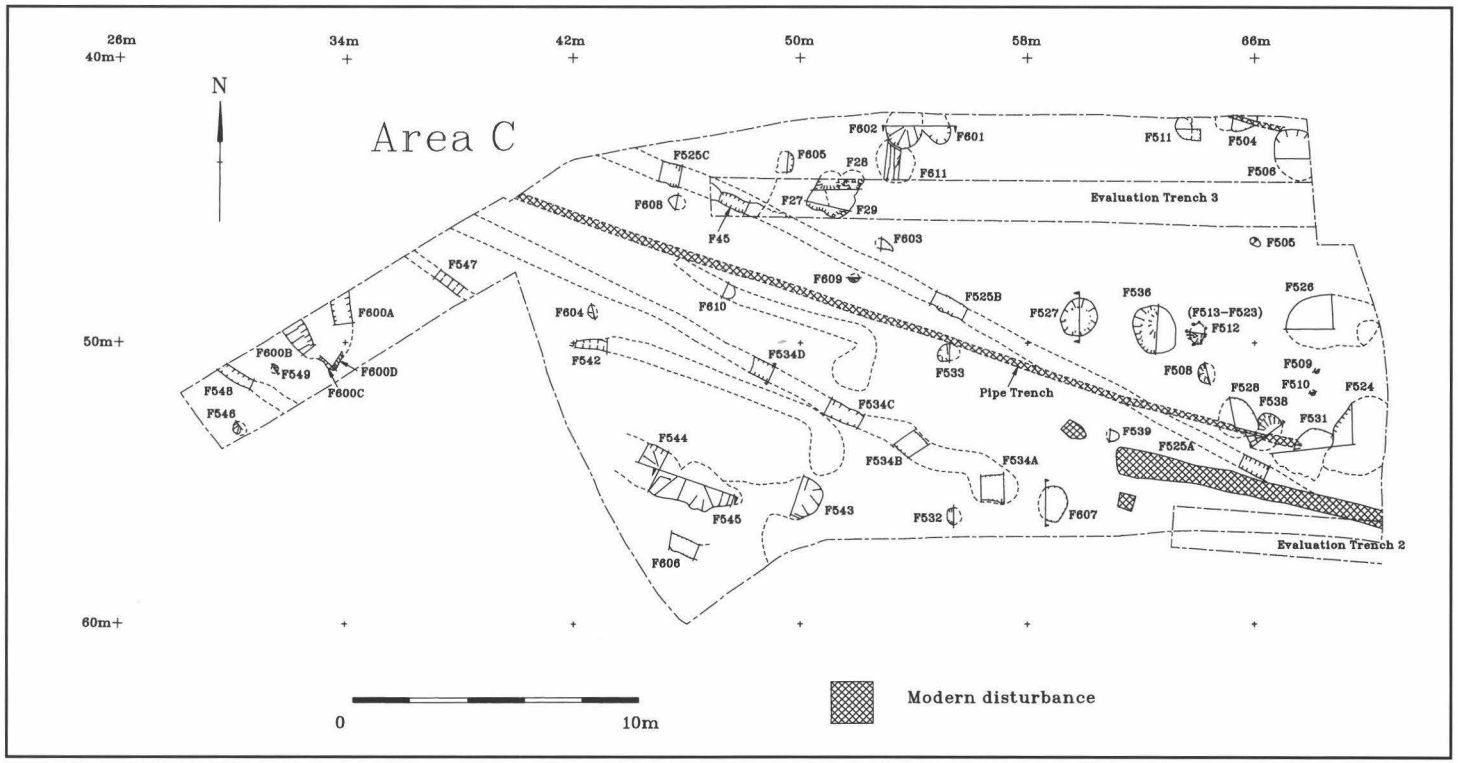

Fig. 5. Plan of Area C.

convex hearth bottoms came from pit F536, suggesting that both smelting and primary reworking were being carried out nearby. While no actual iron-working surfaces or hearths could be positively identified, pit F531 contained a layer of ash and burnt material suggestive of a possible hearth. The well, F527, may have been a source of domestic water, but equally well may have been used in part of the iron-working process — for washing the ore or for quenching.

The discovery of areas that may have been used for iron-working is not unexpected. Evidence from cartographic and documentary sources, principally the Ifield Tithe map of 1839, implies the presence of iron-working in this area, although it is clear that this information does not relate directly to Area C. The Tithe map shows two buildings to the south of the Driftway; the site of one is currently under the bowling alley, that of the other is on the southern side of the relief road. A photograph of a print taken from an engraving made in 1821 by J. G. Strutt, on display in Crawley Museum, indicates another building, which appears to be medieval in style, and which would have lain directly on the route of the relief road close to the High Street. Deeds of 1357 (West Sussex Record Office Add. Ms 27001) onward show a two-acre piece of land denoted as 'tyes', a medieval term for the troughs in which iron ore was washed. The holding was sold in 1367 to Thomas Blast, whose family were local ironmasters (West Sussex Record Office Add. Ms 27002).

AREA D (Figs 7 & 8 on microfiche)

Area D was situated to the east of evaluation Trench 18 and south of the junction of Ifield Road and Spencers Road. Much of the ground was heavily disturbed owing to the demolition of nos 6–8 Spencers Road and additional modern buildings to the south of the site. As a consequence, it was only possible to excavate a reduced area. Nevertheless, in addition to the four features discovered during the evaluation, a further 25 features were examined (Figs 7 & 8): they comprised 10 pits, 3 post-holes and 3 spreads, and several features of modern origin.

Although the majority of this area had been severely disturbed by post-medieval and modern foundations and the demolition of the present buildings, two small areas produced evidence for iron-working in the near vicinity. Each comprised a group of pits, most of which contained iron slag and charcoal, although no actual hearths or obvious working surfaces were identified.

Most of the features, other than those of modern origin, can be dated no later than the 14th century, so it seems unlikely that any are related to the 17th-century building still standing to the north-east of the site (number 10, Ifield Road), although the pit group comprising F517, F518 and F525 may be associated with an earlier building.

THE FINDS

IRON SLAG by Jeremy S. Hodgkinson

Evidence of early iron-making in Crawley is plentiful. In the late Iron Age smelting was carried out at a settlement in Goffs Park (NGR TQ 263363) and contemporaneously and during the subsequent period of Roman occupation, at Broadfield (centred on NGR TQ 263354) (Cartwright 1992). Evidence of iron-working in the later medieval period has been found at a number of locations both east and west of Crawley High Street (Wealden Iron 1973, 14–15; 1988, 8–9; 1989, 2; 1990, 2–3; 1995, 2; 1996, 2–3). In the post-medieval period blast furnaces were established at Tilgate and Bewbush, and finery forges at Ifield, Blackwater Green and Tinsley Green.

Evidence of iron-making was present in evaluation trenches 2, 3, 4, 8, 11, 12, 17 and 18. The location of Trench 8 was subsequently examined as Area A, and a larger quantity of slag was recovered. All the slag recovered was the product of the direct or bloomery iron-making process.

The predominant evidence of iron-making was slag from the consolidation stage, although tap slag was found in Area A (incl. Trench 8) and in Trench 18. All the slag was recovered from pits, gullies or post-/stake-holes and no evidence was found of iron-working surfaces or hearths. The most interesting group was recovered from pit F536 in Area C, where a number of fragments of plano-convex hearth bottoms, as well as pieces of tap slag, were identified, suggesting that both smelting and primary reworking were carried out close by. Evidence of secondary reworking, in the form of hammer scale, came from both evaluation Trench 18 and excavation Area A, further pointing to a greater concentration of activity in this vicinity. Both smelting and forging/consolidation slags have been found in most of the locations, although in no instance has evidence of smelting or forging hearths been found. A number of the locations suggest quasi-domestic activity in the closes behind medieval tenements; examples being the finds at nos 15, 43, 101 and 103 High Street (east side). The slag found in evaluation trenches 11 and 17, behind the site of the former 16 High Street (west side) corresponds to these finds. The lack of slag evidence from behind other properties on the west side of the High Street is more related to the progress of recent building development and the opportunities to watch site clearance than to the possible non-existence of such evidence.

Of particular interest is the evidence revealed in the area around Spencers Road, some 150 m west of the High Street. Trenches 8 (rear of no 28 Ifield Road) and 18 (front of nos 6 and 8 Spencers Road) and the subsequent excavation of Area A (rear of nos 18–28 Ifield Road), all lie close to an unexcavated

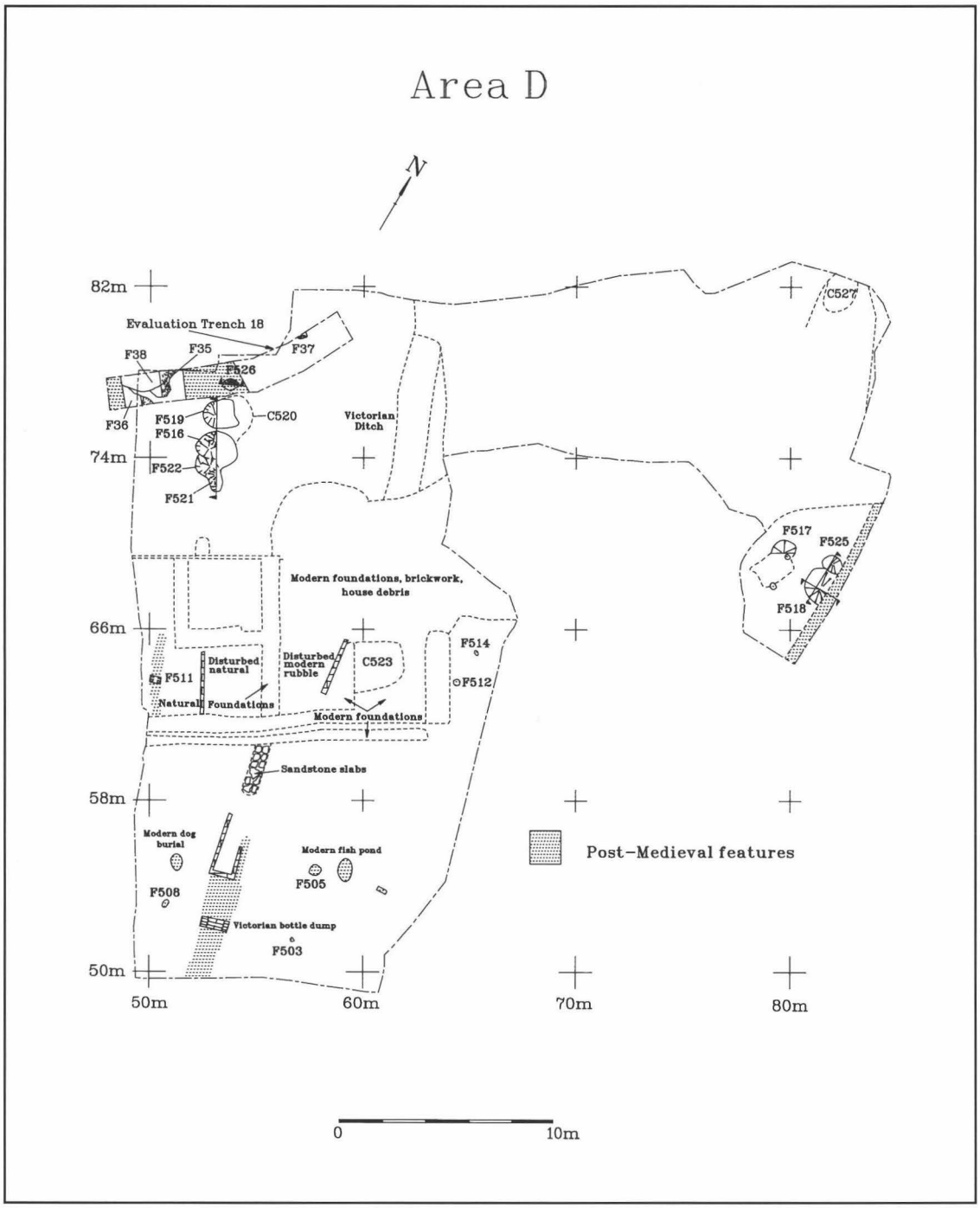

Fig. 7. Plan of Area D.

site, where slag and medieval pottery were found after topsoil was stripped from the former gardens of nos 5 and 7 Spencers Road (Wealden Iron 1989, 2). The abundance of slag in the High Street area, associated with late medieval pottery, is strong evidence of a quasi-domestic, or even more highly organized, craft industry in that period.

THE POTTERY by Jane Timby

Introduction

The archaeological work produced a relatively small assemblage of approximately 1200 sherds, 17.7 kg, of pottery. Most of the material dates to the medieval period with few later post-medieval pieces, the latter mainly recovered from surface layers. The pottery was recovered from 55 individual features, of which only seven (gully F506 and pits F503 and F536 in Area A; gully F525 and pits F524 and F607 in Area C; and pit F516 in Area D) contained more than 50 sherds, (the sherds from pit F516 came mainly from one vessel). Some joins are evident between fills both within and across features suggesting some contemporaneity of activity. The material is of variable condition with, on the one hand, the substantial part of three jugs present in F607 and F527 (both in Area C), and, on the other, a much more fragmented collection.

The assemblage was sorted into fabric types and quantified by sherd count, weight and estimated vessel equivalent (eve) for each context. A representative sherd of each medieval fabric identified during the initial analysis was examined by Luke Barber of Archaeology South-East, who provided a cross-reference to the fabrics identified from other recent work in the High Street area of Crawley to try and provide some element of consistency for the medieval assemblage from the town.

Medieval wares

Fifteen medieval fabrics have been defined (some of the original groups being later amalgamated), most of which can be cross-referenced into the Archaeology South-East type fabrics (ASE 00). A quantified summary is presented in Table 1 (microfiche). Fabric descriptions can be found in the site archive.

Earlswood-type wares (M1, M2, M10)

Fabrics M1/M2 (= ASE fabric 1b). Forms: Cooking-pots, bowls and decorated glazed jugs. The cooking-pots and bowls are generally plain. The jugs include the two semi-complete examples from pit F537 (Area A) (Fig. 9:1–2) with a glossy dark olive green mottled glaze over a white slip and a sgraffito design. Also within this group is the polychrome jug from pit F607 (Area C) decorated with overlapping barbotine scales (Fig. 10:13). Other jug sherds are decorated with vertically combed lines and impressed double circles, again with a white slip and a more patchy green glaze (Fig. 9:9). Less common, but broadly within the same group, are jugs decorated with crisscross lines of slip under a clear (brown) glaze. Bases are generally thumbed whilst handles include both strap and rod types.

M10 (=ASE fabric 1a). Forms: Cooking-pot body sherds only, one with an applied thumbed strips and glaze splatters.

Sandy wares (M4/M11, M5/M7, M6, M8/M15, M9)

M4/M11 (= ASE fabric 3b). Forms: The majority of sherds came from handmade cooking-pots with slightly sagging bases, mainly plain, although two examples from pit F531 and scoop F545 (both Area C) had applied thumbed strips. A single handle was recovered from pit F504 (also Area C).

M5/M7 (= ASE fabric 3c). Forms: A small group of eight body sherds, mainly from cooking-pots. One sherd from pit F602 (Area C) has an applied thumbed strip, another from gully F525 (also Area C) has a line of finger-nail impressions around the shoulder zone.

M6 (= ?ASE fabric 3a). Forms: Most of the sherds belong to plain cooking-pots. A single rod handle from a jug was also recorded.

M8/M15 (=ASE fabric 2). Forms: Cooking-pots, jugs and cisterns. Some body sherds show a partial pale green internal glaze. Jug sherds are rare. A bunghole from a cistern was recovered from pit F536 (Area A).

M9 (=ASE fabric 8). Forms: Plain cooking-pots and bowls.

West Sussex type (M14)

M14 (=ASE fabric 4). Forms: Jugs with a pale olive or brownish-green glaze. Decoration includes vertical combed lines on one example and a combination of vertical applied strips and horizontal combing on another. Only represented by seven body sherds.

Shelly wares (M3/M12)

M3 (= ASE fabric 9). Forms: Handmade cooking-pots.

M12. Forms: Wheel-made plain sherds, probably largely from cooking-pots although no featured sherds were present.

Surrey Border wares (M13, CBW, TG)

M13 ?Kingston whiteware. Forms: Represented by jug sherds, one example with combed decoration under a pale green glaze with some reddish-black mottling.

CBW - Coarse Border Ware (Pearce & Vince 1988, 9). Forms: Mainly cooking-pots with flanged and lid-seated rim forms

Table 1. Summary of fabrics.

Fabric	No.	%	Weight	%	EVE	%
M1: Earlswood-type	574	48	9730	56.5	279	43
M10: Earlswood-type	8	*	65	*	0	*
M4: sandy ware	152	13	2493	14.5	126	19
M5/M7: sandy ware	30	2	255	1	17	2.5
M6: sandy ware	132	11	1404	8	73	11
M8: sandy ware	29	2	579	3	15	2
M9: sandy ware	77	6.5	859	5	46	7
M14: West Sussex type	7	*	59	*	0	*
M3: shelly ware	18	1.5	211	1	30	4.5
M12: shelly ware	8	*	66	*	0	*
M13: Kingston	17	1.5	142	*	10	1.5
CBW: Border ware	128	11	1257	7	56	8.5
TG: Tudor Green	4	*	8	*	5	*
TOTAL	**1184**	**100**	**17,128**	**100**	**657**	**100**

(Pearce and Vince, types 1 and 2) and dripping-pans and to a lesser extent jug fragments. Many of the cooking-pots had internal glazing and applied thumbed strips.

TG - Tudor Green (Pearce & Vince 1988, 10 & 79 ff.). Forms: Represented by just four sherds, one of which is from a cup.

DISCUSSION

The majority of the sherds analyzed, *c.* 56 per cent by weight (48 per cent by count) fell within the Earlswood type of wares. The excavated kiln at Earlswood, north of Reigate, Surrey, dated by the excavator to the 14th century, produced a range of cooking-pots, bowls and decorated jugs (Turner 1974). The range of vessels from the Crawley deposit would broadly accord with a 13th- to 14th-century date. The style of decoration used on the jugs, in particular sgraffito patterning, matches well with several of the Crawley products (e.g. Fig. 9:1, 9 & 11). Of the other fabric groups, Coarse Border wares, sandy fabrics M4/M11 and M6 make an almost equal contribution of 11–13 per cent each by sherd count. In London the earliest groups to contain Coarse Border ware and Kingston ware date to the middle of the 13th century (Pearce & Vince 1988, 13ff.). Kingston-type ware appears to be well-established by the later 13th century. By the mid-14th century Surrey whitewares were the commonest type of pottery in the City of London and Coarse Border ware was almost twice as common as Kingston ware. The dominant form at Crawley is the cooking-pot with examples of Pearce and Vince (1988, 61–2) types 1 and 2. Type 2, characterized by a lid seating, appears from the 15th century and was present in pit F503 (Area A) and ditch F534 (Area C).

The sandy grey wares M4/M11, M6 are probably local products. Fabric M4/M11 could potentially date to the 12th to 13th centuries, M6, with its wheel-made forms, probably a little later.

The other fabrics identified all contribute less than 5 per cent by weight to the overall assemblage. Possibly amongst the earlier wares are M3 (shell-tempered) and M12 (sand- and shell-tempered). The former, featuring as handmade cooking-pots, typologically resemble the London early-medieval shelly wares (EMSH) which are common in the north-west Kent area in the late 11th to mid-12th centuries (Vince & Jenner 1991, 64). Their presence at Crawley alongside later material suggests possible redeposition or longevity of use.

Other named wares include a few sherds of Kingston ware current from the late 12th century but surprisingly few West Sussex-type jugs (M14), although Crawley may fall just on the periphery of the main market area for these products (Barton 1979, 93). A few sherds of Tudor Green dating to the 15th to 16th century are also present, although only associated with one feature, pit F536 (Area A).

The generally low scatter of material in most of the features precludes too detailed an analysis for the purposes of determining a chronological progression. Leaving aside the sherds from pit F607 (Area C) which largely constituted a single vessel, the main fabrics from the other six features with more than 40 sherds were examined with regard to percentage weight (gully F506 and pits F503 and F536 - Area A; pit F524 and gully F525 - Area C; pit F516 - Area D). It is difficult to be certain whether the observed differences are chronological, or caused by other factors. In four cases Earlswood products dominate the groups, the exceptions being pits F503 (Area A) and F516 (Area D). Pit F503 (Area A) contained a high percentage of Coarse Border wares and a significant proportion of Kingston ware, perhaps indicating that this feature may be slightly later in the overall sequence. Pit F516 (Area D) had a particularly high proportion of grey sandy wares but no Coarse Border ware, perhaps suggesting that this may date to the 13th century. Coarse Border wares were also absent in gully F506 (Area A), pit F524 and gully F525 (both Area C) which may, therefore, have been abandoned before the later 14th to 15th centuries. Gully F506 (Area A) is also significantly different in that it contains 31 per cent by weight shelly ware, fabric M3, suggesting it may be amongst the earlier features, although the high proportion of Earlswood suggests it must be at least 13th-century. In contrast to the finds from pit F516 (Area D), however, fabric M4/11 is not so well-represented. The only other features to contain fabric M3 are pits F536 (Area A) and F538 (Area C). With its Tudor Green sherds and one of the more diverse ranges of material, pit F536 (Area A) would appear to have still been receiving material in the 15th century, although this may simply be a reflection of the fact that it is the largest single group.

Sherds from the same or very similar decorated jugs were present in pits F516, F521 and F520 (all Area D) suggesting some contemporaneity of fill. Other joins were evident between pit F528 and gully F525 in Area C.

Catalogue of illustrated pottery (Figs 9 & 10)

9.1. Almost complete baluster-type jug with a fluted base and round-section handle. The body is decorated with sgraffito pattern below a white slip and glossy glaze, which is a dullish green mottled with darker green. The glaze covers the top two-thirds of the vessel. Fabric M1/M2. from the well F527 (593). Area C.

9.2. Base of a second jug of identical finish. Fabric M1/M2. Well F527 (593). Area C.

9.3. Wheel-made cooking pot with occasional glaze splatters. Sooted exterior. Fabric M1/M2. Well F527 (593). Area C.

9.4. Handmade cooking pot in a reddish-brown, vesicular ware with a grey core. Fabric M3. Gully F506 (553). Area A.

9.5. Jug with a round-section, intermittently slashed handle. The exterior is covered with a mottled green and brown glaze. Traces of decoration just visible on the body. Fabric M1/M2. Pit F536 (583/589). Area A.

9.6. Rim from a dripping pan. Coarse Border ware. Pit F536 (583/589). Area A.

9.7. Handmade cooking pot in a coarse, reddish-brown, vesicular ware. Fabric M3. Pit F536 (583/589). Area A.

9.8. Wheel-made cooking pot decorated with applied thumb-strips. Fabric M11. Pit F536 (583/589). Area A.

9.9. Jug decorated with incised combed lines alternating with incised double ring circles and vertical wavy incised lines. The vessel is covered in a white slip and a patchy, light green, glaze. Fabric M1/M2. Pit F516 (564). Area D.

9.10. Plain, wheel-made cooking pot in a dark grey, sandy ware with a reddish core. Fabric M6. Pit F516 (564). Area D.

9.11. Jug with sgraffito decoration. White slip under a pale green glaze. Fabric M1/M2. Pit F531 (578). Area C.

9.12. Wheel-made, plain cooking pot. Fabric M1. Pit F518 (567) Area D.

(Fig. 10)

10.13. Semi-complete but fragmented polychrome handled jug with a fluted base. Most of the rim and part of the neck area are missing. The upper body, handle, and neck area, have been brush-slipped creating a slightly streaky cream and dark purplish brown effect. The lower body is

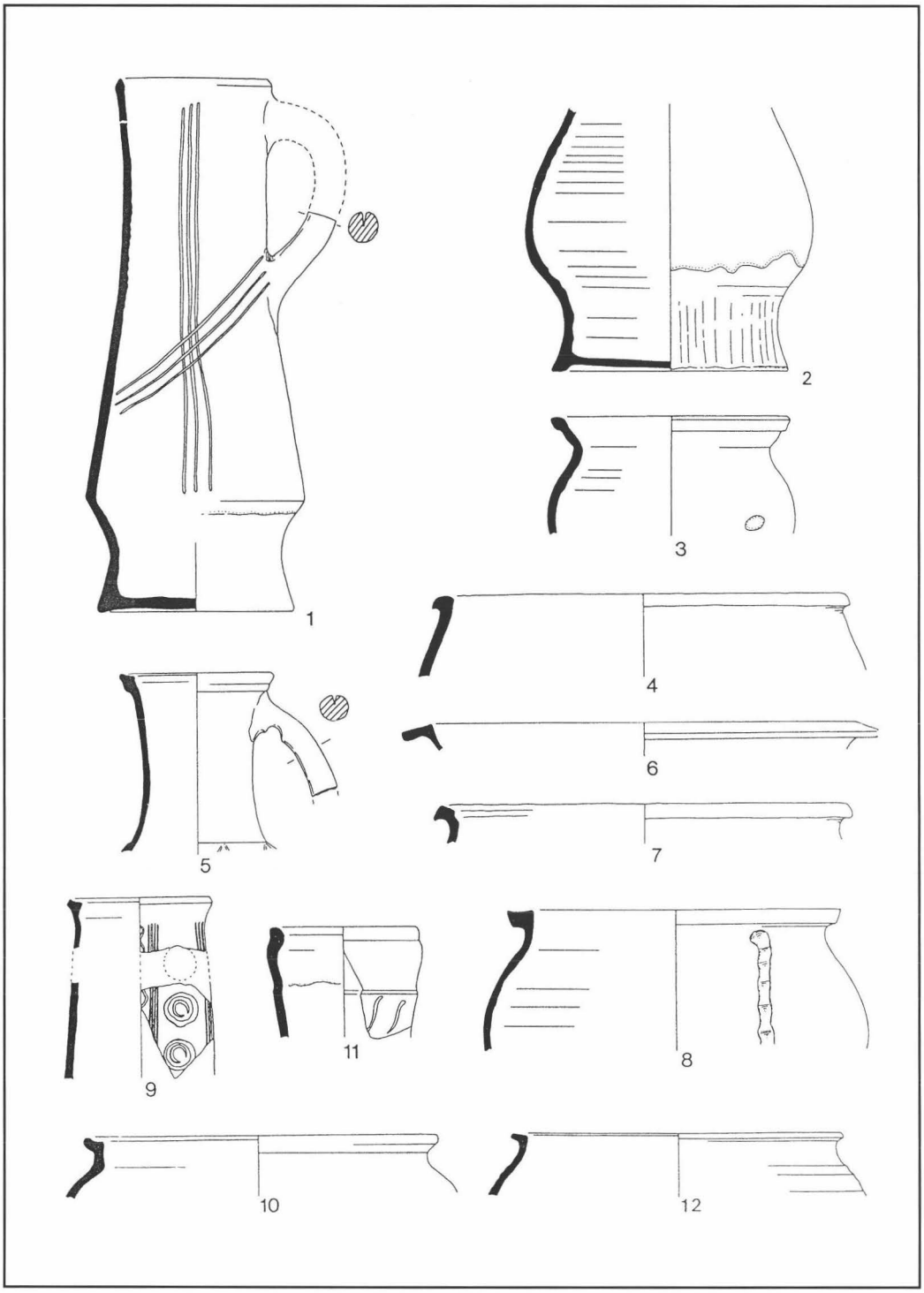

Fig. 9. The pottery.

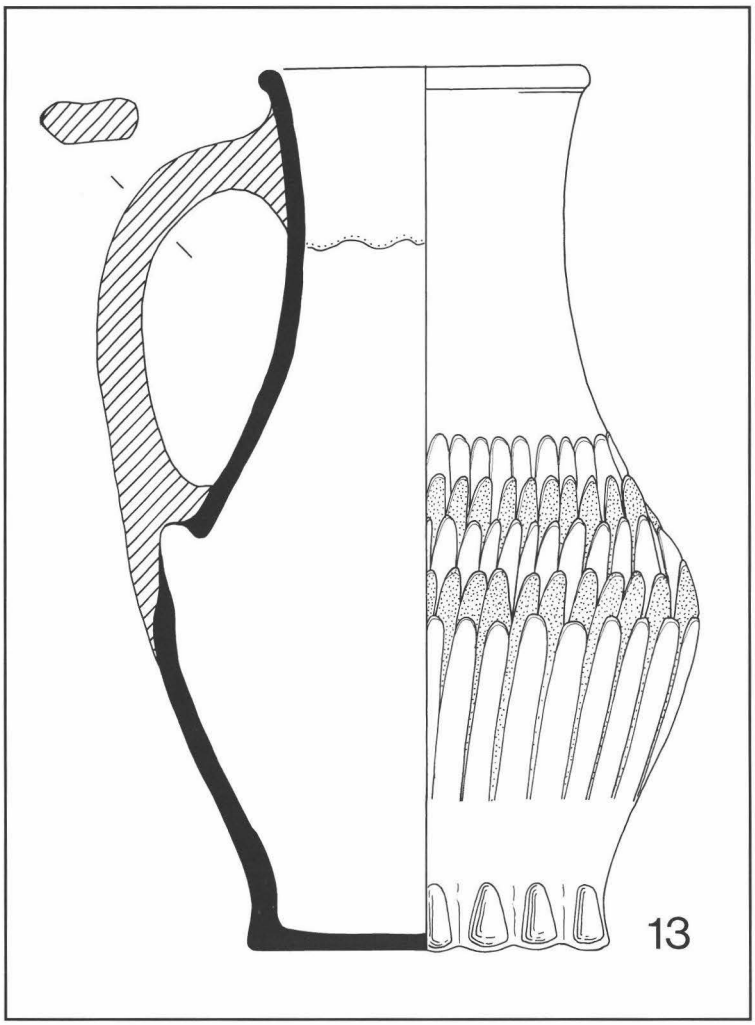

Fig. 10. The pottery.

decorated with applied barbotine scales with alternating bands of cream and dark purplish brown. The oval-section handle has been applied by pushing through from the lower body into the base of the handle creating a hollow. The vessel is covered with a patchy, incomplete, thin clear glaze.

In conclusion, therefore, it would appear from the range of wares present that most of the activity in the High Street area dates from the mid- to late 13th through to the 15th centuries. The range of material is good, and the relatively high proportion of decorated jugs indicates that this is the rubbish from moderately well-appointed establishments.

Post-medieval wares

Post-medieval wares account for just 3 per cent of the overall assemblage by weight and mainly comprise wares dating to the 18th to 19th centuries. No detailed work on the wares has taken place. They include glazed refined white earthenwares, a fine red micaceous earthenware, glazed red earthenwares, stone wares including one piece of Raeren stoneware, and flowerpot.

MOLLUSCAN REMAINS by Jessica Winder

A substantial deposit of 81 oyster shells (*Ostrea edulis L.*) was recovered from pit F503 in Area A. These comprised 44 right valves and 37 left valves, giving a minimum number of 44 individual oysters. Although an estimation of age was not attempted from the right valves, it is evident that most of the oysters were of some age — certainly greater than four years, which is the age of maturity and the phase at which most common flat oysters are fished for consumption.

The evidence, as it stands, points to the exploitation of a natural bed of oysters. For at least part of their life the oysters rested in warmer, shallow waters on the south coast, as shown by the presence of damage caused by *Polydora hoplura* and *Cliona celata*. Notches which were tentatively identified at various positions on the margins of 19 per cent of the valves, are thought to result from the opening procedure. The browny iridescence recorded for the internal surfaces of 19 per cent of the shells is thought to indicate that the oyster shells were burnt or heated.

The nearest likely source for oysters is Shoreham-by-Sea, a distance of 12 miles to the south of Crawley. Although there do not appear to be any surviving records relating to oyster fishing in Shoreham from the medieval period, the industry is well-documented for the 19th century, by which time it provided employment for a large number of men and was a main contributor to the prosperity of the town (Cheal 1909, 111–15). The deep sea natural oyster beds being fished were situated midway between the English and French coast and were about 20 miles in length and seven or eight in breadth. The oysters were bought by merchants who laid them down in beds near to the town. At the end of the 19th century the Board of Trade mapped the beds in the River Adur and also storage pits on the foreshore to the west of the wharves in the harbour at Southwick (Local Government Board 1896). The oysters were then sent to inland markets as far north as Newcastle. In London the Shoreham oysters were known as 'scuttlemouths'. Philpots (1890, 247) tells us that 'In 1848 very large-shelled oysters, the animals being very small, were brought in from the Sussex coast, and had an enormous sale in Thames-Street and near the Borough-Market'.

The evidence from the Crawley shells is consistent with these descriptions of the Shoreham-by-Sea oyster shells themselves and the way in which they were harvested and fattened by relaying inshore.

CONCLUSIONS

From the assemblage of pottery recovered from all five areas excavated along the route of the relief road it would seem that most of the activity to the west of the High Street dates from the mid- to late 13th century through to the 15th century. There is a good range of material and the high proportion of decorated jugs shows that the establishments whose refuse is represented were moderately well-to-do. This is further evidenced by the large quantity of oyster shells, possibly brought from Shoreham-by-Sea. Virtually all the areas examined display evidence for at least one stage of the iron production process having taken place in the near vicinity, and, while no features can be directly attributed to *in situ* iron-working, it is certain that the results of the archaeological investigations further verify the status of Crawley during the 13th to 15th centuries as a town whose economy was, to a considerable extent, reliant on its position in the local Wealden iron industry. It is probable that much of this industry was of a quasi-domestic nature during this period, although an increasing body of evidence is now being uncovered by recent excavations to suggest industrial-scale production. Tax returns for the majority of Sussex made in 1296, 1327 and 1332 (Sussex Record Society vol. 10) refer constantly to people whose names reflect the occupation in which they were engaged i.e. Smith, Blower (or bellows-man). In the 1379 poll tax returns for Crawley there are references to iron-makers, smiths and farriers showing the continued prosperity of the iron industry (Gwynne 1990, 51).

By the end of the 15th century, however, the blast furnace had been introduced to Sussex and this required a large amount of capital for the building of ponds, water-wheels and the necessary buildings (Gwynne 1990, 71). The need for plentiful supplies of ore and wood for charcoal, as well as the necessity of having several separate ponds, often meant that the furnace and forge were far removed from one another. All of this could well have resulted in a decline in the small-scale type of industry that had supported Crawley's economy for so many years. There is not enough evidence to put forward the theory that the apparent decline in the bloomeries of Crawley was wholly consequent upon the ravages of the Black Death; there is more to suggest that industrial progress and innovation resulted in the demise of this once prosperous 'cottage' industry as furnaces became concentrated in those areas outside the town where raw materials were ready at hand. This is witnessed by the paucity of archaeological evidence, from all five areas excavated, for the period following the 15th century. This is not to say that the Wealden iron industry declined generally; it did not, for many of the furnaces continued in operation in West Sussex throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, particularly prospering from the 1490s onwards as evidenced by the migration of French ironworkers to the Weald (Crossley 1990, 156).

The evidence from these excavations is helpful in examining the topography of the town and its changes through time. The late medieval house at 16 High Street and recent excavations carried out on the opposite side of the High Street (L. Barber pers. comm.) indicate occupation at the southern end of the High Street, and medieval deposits adjacent to Spencers Road (Areas A & D) point to another focus of settlement. Area C, at the northern end of the High Street, is particularly informative as it clearly shows settlement here in the 12th to 14th centuries. It is possible that this, and the occupation on Areas A and D, represent outlying settlements associated with the iron-working industry, but, equally, Area C may reflect expansion of the urban area from an earlier core located further to the south. If Area C does indicate expansion, then abandonment of this area in the 14th century provides an important indicator of the economic fortunes of the town, perhaps due to the changes in the nature of iron production discussed above or as a consequence of the Black Death (Postan 1972).

Crawley, like many small towns, came into the historical record during the later 12th/13th century with the granting of a royal charter to hold a market. Little work has been addressed to the examination of the origins and development of the small towns and rural markets in the south-east apart from limited investigations in places like Steyning, Lewes, and Winchelsea (English Heritage 1991). However, comparisons can be drawn with similar-sized towns in other counties. The shape of the High Street, funnel-like, with its burgage plots regularly aligned, resembles many others such as Bletchingley, Reigate, and Haslemere, all in Surrey (O'Connell 1977). In the case of Crawley these appear to have been set out initially on either side of the southern part of the High Street (Gwynne 1990, 34) with later expansion northwards to include Area C (as discussed above). Evidence of some degree of

economic decline during the late 14th century has come from both Reigate and Bletchingley (O'Connell 1977) and also from Great Bedwyn in Wiltshire (Haslam 1976). Like Crawley, this decline is reflected in the gradual failure of its status as a market town, and it has been suggested (O'Connell 1977, 45) that in some cases the economic decline of a town might be attributed to an absentee landlord, as in the case of Reigate. It is possible that the death in 1429 of the last member of the Poynings family, lords of the manor of Crawley, may have had a similar effect.

The site code is CHRR 95 and the finds and site archive have been deposited with Crawley Museum (Accession no. CS.CMS:1997/95/27).

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The characterization of medieval Wealden settlements

EXCAVATIONS AT *IVENDEN*, COMBE FARM, MAYFIELD, EAST SUSSEX

by Mark Gardiner

with contributions from
Richard Coates
Pat Hinton
Eric Keble

The medieval site of Ivenden was located through documentary work and fieldwalking. It appears to have been occupied between about 1150 and 1300. An excavation of sample areas sought to examine the quantity and distribution of artefacts within and below the ploughsoil. The excavation was intended to characterize the archaeology of medieval farmsteads in the High Weald. Roman metal-working had taken place on the same site and the distribution of finds of that period suggested that materials within the ploughsoil had not been widely dispersed by ploughing or colluviation. The distribution of medieval finds was complex, but it was found that the pottery in the ploughsoil was correlated with the distribution of phosphates. The fragmented nature of the pottery recovered seems to have resulted from activities on the site during the period of occupation.

Why are so few medieval archaeological sites known in the Weald? In part, the paucity reflects the lack of fieldwork in this region, the small number of ploughed fields which might be examined, the extent of woodland cover and a land-use history which has led to the survival of few earthworks.[1] A review of the evidence from known sites, however, suggests that there are other difficulties which are specific to sites of medieval date. The broad scatters of pottery in the ploughsoil found around medieval sites elsewhere in England appear to be rare in the High Weald.[2] The small numbers of identified sites cannot, therefore, be attributed merely to the level of fieldwork in the region. In 1981–82 a study was undertaken to consider the problem of the identification of medieval sites in the High Weald as part of a wider research project.[3] Through an examination of known sites and through further fieldwork it sought to characterize the remains of medieval settlements, so that their remains might be better understood and more effective methods of survey might be devised.

Most of the studied archaeological sites of medieval date in the Weald lie in a comparatively small area of East Sussex. Work on these sites has produced very low densities of pottery. For example, a programme of fieldwalking was carried out by David Freke in the parish of Wadhurst. This located very few medieval sites and similar trial work in Rotherfield was equally unrewarding. Fieldwalking on the presumed site of a row of medieval houses at Lines Farm, Hartfield, an area 100 yards long and 30 yards wide, produced only about 250 sherds.[4] The sub-surface density of pottery appears to be equally low. Only 23 sherds were found in the excavation of a medieval building at Faulkner's Farm in Withyham.[5] Excavation of a medieval grange at Park Farm, Salehurst recovered considerably more: 489 sherds, but one third of these were from the period of the abandonment and demolition of the building.[6] The examination of a pipeline trench from Clay Hill, Ringmer to Horsted Keynes led to the recovery of very little pottery and, except for a single location, the results from another pipeline trench from Mountfield to Hastings were similar. That exception was a site in Whitefield Wood near Battle where 130 medieval sherds were found.[7] Work on the higher-status moated sites has produced mixed results. Small quantities of pottery were found at Hawksden (Mayfield) and Bodiam moats, but considerably more from Glottenham (Mountfield)

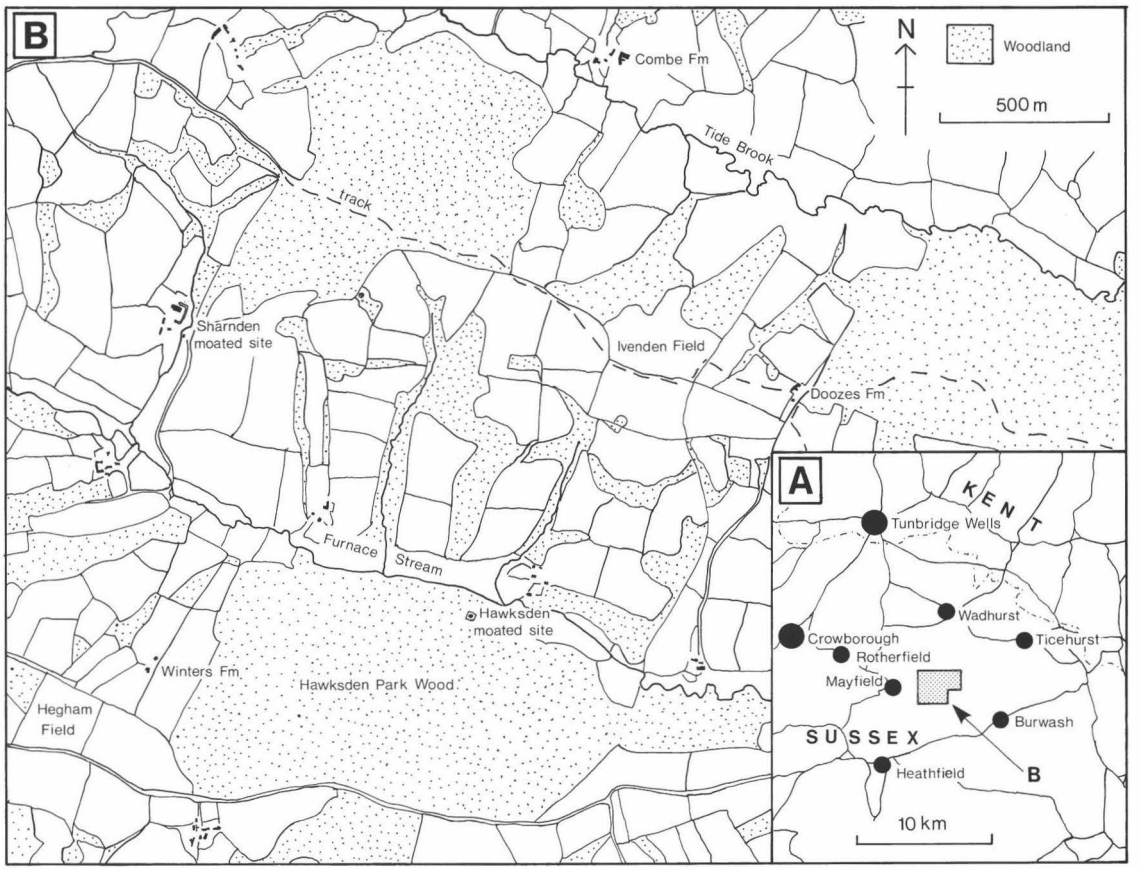

Fig. 1. Location of Ivenden Field. Map based on the 1st-edition six-inch Ordnance Survey map of 1874.

where a midden of 12th- or early 13th-century date was found sealed by the upcast of the moat.[8] These results may be set in context by contrasting them with the 11,700 sherds found in excavations at Muddleswood, near Hurstpierpoint on the periphery of the Weald.[9]

Fieldwalking, the recovery of finds from the surface of ploughed fields, is a well-established method of locating archaeological sites. It is a rapid and generally effective means of prospecting for evidence of past activity. Given its wide usage, it is rather surprising that there is very little understanding of the relationship between the artefacts present on the field surface and the remains which lie beneath. Comparatively little research has been undertaken specifically to examine the relationship.[10] It is a common assumption in the interpretation of fieldwalking results that the focus of past activity lies in the area of the greatest concentration of finds. The encircling scatter of material is interpreted as artefacts dispersed from that point, commonly by the manuring of the surrounding fields. Some work has suggested that this interpretation may be too simplistic.[11] The processes of deposition and subsequent incorporation of artefact concentrations into the ploughsoil need to be considered critically rather than assumed.

Haselgrove, following Schiffer, has suggested in an important discussion of the nature of refuse that discarded or abandoned material may fall into three categories.[12] He has identified primary refuse as the material lost or deposited at its point of use. It may be distinguished from artefacts discarded away from the place of use, for example, material dumped in a ditch or scattered on a field with manure, which is termed secondary refuse. A third type, *de facto* refuse is the material left when a settlement site was abandoned. It is clearly necessary to attempt to

distinguish between material of these types in order to interpret the results of fieldwalking. Could concentrations of finds be, for example, from a ploughed-out midden (secondary refuse) rather than the site of a settlement (primary or *de facto* refuse)?

An understanding of artefact distribution also needs to include a consideration of the processes which have taken place since the abandonment of a site. These are likely to include the movement of artefacts by ploughing which may result in horizontal and vertical displacement.[13] Colluviation may move artefacts downslope on fields, even those with a minor gradient. It may also have the effect of entirely burying finds well beneath the reach of the plough, as has happened in some valleys on the South Downs.[14] Even earthworms may displace finds, moving artefacts down through the soil profile so that they become buried beyond the ploughzone.

A programme of fieldwalking and excavation was devised as a preliminary attempt to examine some aspects of these problems. It sought to address the particular question of the character of artefact distributions and densities on medieval sites within the High Weald, and the more general problem of the relationship of surface and sub-surface finds. The study examined a single site in depth. The likely position of a medieval farm was identified through documentary research. A collection of artefacts during the winter of 1981–82 confirmed the presence of the site and its approximate location. Excavations were carried out in September 1982 and detailed surface collection took place after ploughing later that year.

Attention was first drawn to a medieval farm called *Ivenden* near Combe Farm, Mayfield by Mr Eric Keble. Its likely situation was suggested by the 19th-century name, 'Iveyden Field' and later confirmed by fieldwork. The site lies on the top of a broad ridge which runs east-south-east from Mark Cross in Rotherfield towards Witherenden in Ticehurst (Fig. 1B). The edges of this ridge are dissected by a number of steep-sided ghylls or valleys which drain water northwards to a stream called Tidebrook and southwards to Furnace Stream. Although now defunct, a track is shown running along the length of the ridge on the 1st-edition one-inch Ordnance Survey map and is mentioned in a document of 1440.[15] This would have provided access to the settlement at *Ivenden*.

The site lies on Wadhurst Clay which produces a soil which is heavy to work and poorly drained in winter, and bakes hard and cracks badly during the summer months. The soil is generally acidic, sufficiently so to have destroyed all the bone on the site. It has been treated with lime and has a near neutral pH value of between 6.1 and 6.3. The site is situated on a slight slope (about 1°) which falls gently towards the north-east (Figs 2 & 3).

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE
by Eric Keble & Mark Gardiner

Iveyden Field may be identified with the medieval settlement of that name which is recorded in 13th- and early 14th-century documents.[16] Members of the de Ivenden family appear to have been substantial farmers with property, not only at *Ivenden* itself, but also with a virgate of land at Burwash acquired through marriage.[17] The earliest record of a member of the family occurs in a charter of *c.* 1210 which was witnessed by Simon de Ivenden.[18] Two successive heads of the family during the 13th century were named Peter de Ivenden. The second of these died after 1278.[19] Other members of the family were William (fl. 1248–75) and Gregory. The former was the brother of Richard (II) and Gregory was perhaps a cadet member of the family. In the mid-13th century Gregory granted two charters to Walter de Scotney of rents from land in Wadhurst.[20]

Our knowledge of the tenement of *Ivenden* is largely due to its piecemeal purchase by Godfrey Waleys, son of Sir Richard Waleys (II) and the subsequent preservation of the records among the archive at Glynde Place. The Waleys family have been discussed in greater detail by Saul.[21] It is possible that the Waleys family bought some of the land in the area around *Ivenden* to compensate themselves for the loss of West Tarring in 1277, as Dell has suggested, but some of the purchases in this area preceded that.[22]

During the final quarter of the 13th century the Ivenden family appear to have suffered a severe reverse in fortune. In 1275 Richard de Ivenden mortgaged his land to Godfrey Waleys, but the presence of the mortgage among the Glynde archives and an enfeoffment of Godfrey by Richard for the same indicates that it was not redeemed. Gradually, Godfrey Waleys obtained a substantial part of the *Ivenden* tenement. A grant of 1305 transferred land at *Ivenden* to Godfrey Waleys from Nicholas le Cat, who evidently had himself acquired it from Richard. It is significant that this grant was

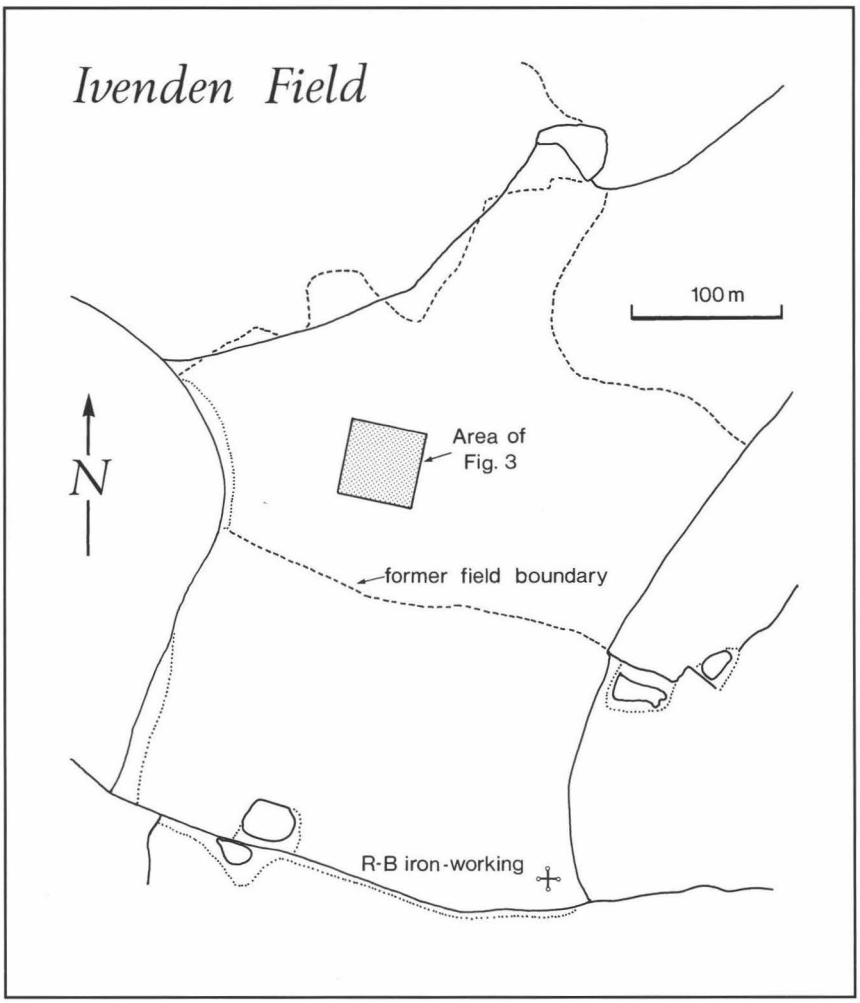

Fig. 2. Area examined within Ivenden Field. Former field boundaries are indicated by broken lines, current boundaries with solid lines. Extent of hedge and scrub shown by dotted lines.

issued at *Ivenden* and no member of the Ivenden family was either party or witness to the deed, suggesting that the messuage had by then passed from their hands.[23]

The abuttals given in the charters allow the positions of fields in the vicinity to be reconstructed schematically (Fig. 4). Beginning on the western side, the name *Hegham* was recorded as a field-name in the Tithe Award and it lay near to Hawksden Park Wood, close to which must have been the 'field called Hauekesdene'. To the north of this was the land of Henry de la Forde, later the land of Winters Farm.[24] The 'Water of Ivenden' is the watercourse which has been known as Furnace Stream since the construction of the iron-working site at Hawksden in the 16th century. The land to the north of the stream cannot be identified with the present fields with any certainty. The name suggests the tenement of *Ivenden* extended as far south as Furnace Stream. To the east the holding abutted the land of John Dosy, which surrounded the present Doozes Farm and to the north its boundaries marched with those of Combe Farm (Figs 1 & 4).[25]

By the early 14th century the northern part of the land of *Ivenden* had been bought up by Adam de Combe who incorporated it into Combe Farm. Sometime after 1469 it was purchased by the Vicars Choral, Chichester, to augment their existing

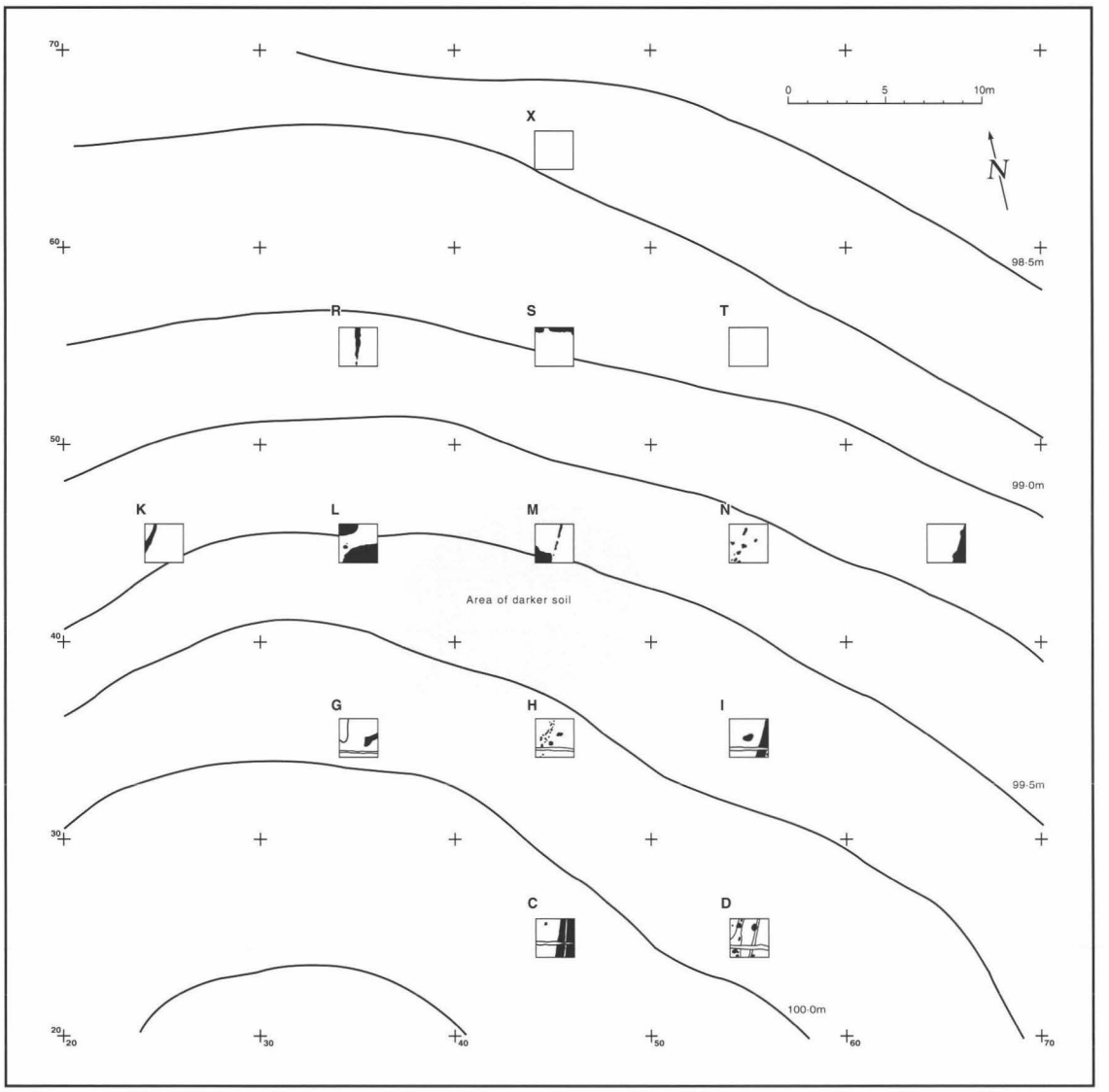

Fig. 3. Location of site grid and excavated sample quadrats. Contours in metres from arbitrary datum.

holding of Sharnden and it was subsequently leased as part of the manor of Combe-cum-Gregories. The Vicars Choral had obtained a licence to acquire land in mortmain in 1468. The southern part of *Ivenden* tenement was purchased by Godfrey Waleys from the south and some fields were incorporated into Hawksden park.[26]

THE PLACE-NAME *IVENDEN*
by Richard Coates

This name was lost, and has been revived in the above spelling by R. F. Dell to refer to the site of the excavation. The early forms are as follows:

Ivend' (p)	Deed, mid C13	ESRO GLY 1210
Yvedene (p)	Deed, mid C13	ESRO GLY 1210
Ivendenne (p)	*Ipm*, 1274	PRO C133/4 (5)
Yvindenne	Deed, *c.* 1275	ESRO GLY 1212
Ivendenne (p)	Ass 1278/9	PRO JUST 1/916, m. 2v.
	Deed, 1281	ESRO GLY 1216
Ivyndenne	Deed, 1305	ESRO GLY 1217
	Misc., 1320	PRO C145/83 (5)
Ivyngden	*List of Fees*, 1469	PRO SC11/658
Eiuyden	*Map*, 1640	WSRO Cap. III/11/11
Ivie-dean(e)	*Survey*, C17	WSRO Cap. III/4/1
Iveyden	*TA*, 1840	ESRO TD/E 133, parcel no. 1810.[27]

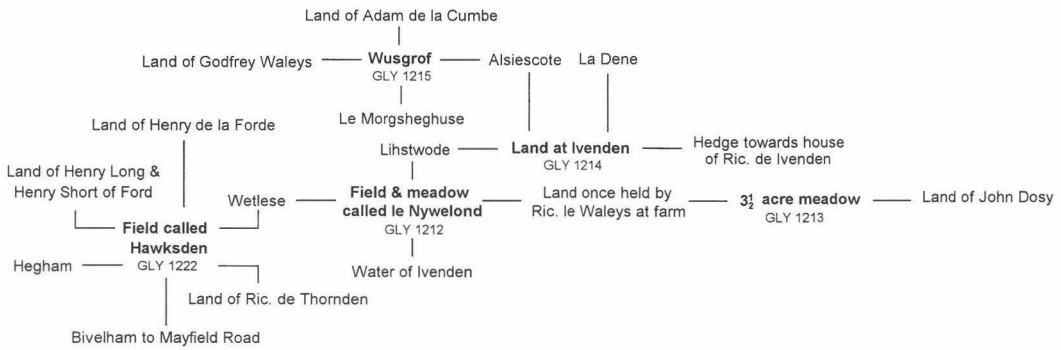

Fig 4. *Ivenden* and adjoining tenements reconstructed diagrammatically from documentary sources (compare with Fig. 1).

These point fairly certainly to a meaning 'Ifa's *denn*' (swine pasture). *Ifa* is a known personal name.[28] If the name was formed in Old English, it would have been **Ifandenn*, though in the south of England a formation of this type could possibly have been made in the earliest Middle English (say up to 1150) as **Ivendenn*. The exact date of coining hinges on the currency of Ifa as a given name, which is unknown.

It is just about possible that an Old English form **ifigen- denn* is responsible; this would mean 'ivy-grown swinepasture', and would account for the 13th-century spelling with *i* in the second syllable. But special pleading for this is not really necessary, and the first etymology is almost beyond question.

EXCAVATION METHODOLOGY

The aim of the excavation was to conduct a detailed study of the distribution of artefacts within a single site, compare this with the results from fieldwalking and examine the character of sub-surface features. An initial survey allowed the area of the greatest density of finds to be located. An area 50 m^2 around this was divided up into a grid with 25 smaller squares of length 10 m (Figs 2 & 3). It was intended that at the centre of each of these an area or quadrat of 4 m^2 should be excavated to provide a 4 per cent sample of the area. The excavation was conducted entirely by hand to ensure that all finds in the ploughsoil were recovered. This work was supplemented by phosphate analysis to identify the location of middens and a programme of flotation to sample suitable contexts to attempt to locate areas of waste disposal.

In the event, it was not possible to complete all the programme of work. Limited labour allowed the excavation of the ploughsoil from only 14 quadrats. It was not practical either to wet or dry sieve the clay soil to ensure full artefact recovery. Consequently, the ploughsoil was removed carefully by mattock and shovel, and all lumps of soil were broken up. The soil beneath the ploughzone was removed by trowelling. In this way it is probable that a substantial proportion of finds present were discovered; only three further sherds were found during backfilling by hand.

EXCAVATION RESULTS

The ploughsoil was removed to reveal in most quadrats a homogenous, generally thin second layer interpreted as a lower ploughsoil. This was excavated by trowel and the position of all finds were individually recorded. This deposit in turn overlay Wadhurst Clay into which archaeological features had been cut.

DESCRIPTION OF SUBSOIL FEATURES (Fig. 5)

Quadrat C - Two shallow depressions were cut into the subsoil separated by a strip of natural clay. At the base of these were a number of slight stake-holes. Four more substantial post-holes (57, 61, 63 & 70) were also recorded.

Quadrat D - Two groups of post-holes were linked by a raised band of natural clay, The post-holes contained a similar dark fill which included numerous fragments of charcoal. There were three distinguishable post-holes in the northern setting (59, 73 & 77). The southern post-hole group, which had been badly disturbed and partly removed by the sub-soil furrow, comprised four post settings (90,

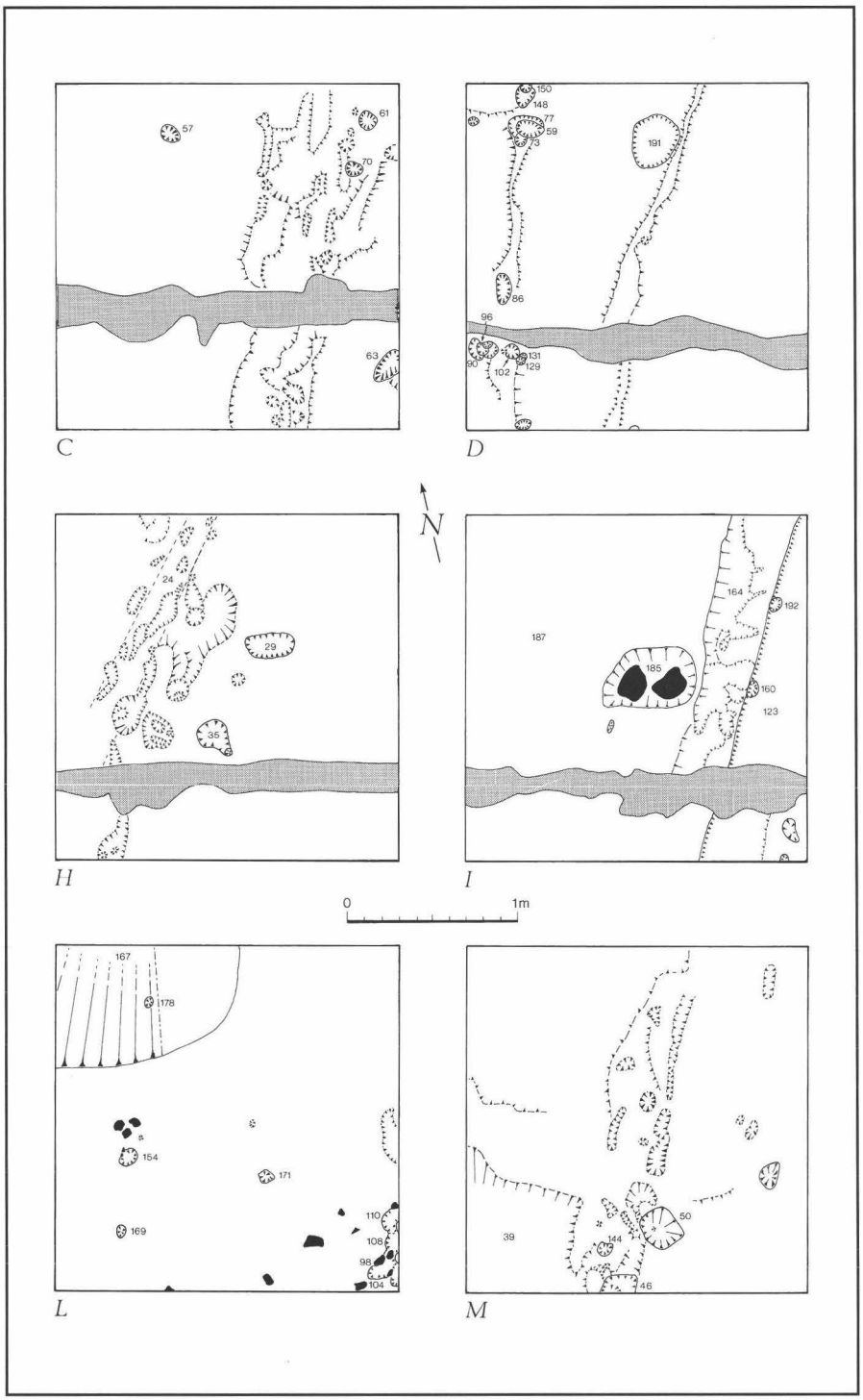

Fig. 5. Selected plans of excavated quadrats. Areas disturbed by subsoiling are shown by tone.

92 (not shown), 96 & 102). Also along the line of raised clay were a number of smaller post- and stake-holes (86, 129, 131, 148 & 150). This is interpreted as a wall or fence line which had been renewed a number of times.

A second slightly raised band of clay and a substantial post-hole (191) lay to the east.

Quadrat G - The excavation of the subsoil features in this quadrat was not complete, and there was some trace of disturbance due to ploughing. The features were generally shallow.

Quadrat H - Two lines of stake-holes (24) (indicated by dotted lines) crossed the quadrat, though they were most apparent in the northern half. A pattern of alternate stakes was clearly visible in the eastern line suggesting a wattle fence or wall. The ends of the stakes may have been charred for at the bottom of many of the stake-holes were fragments of charcoal. Two post-holes (29 & 35) and a stake-hole between them may suggest a possible third structural line.

Quadrat I - Three phases could be identified in this quadrat. A shallow pit (185) containing two large stones belonged to the first phase. The stones were nearly covered by a broad layer (187) which had been laid over the western part of the quadrat. In the second phase this had been cut to form a wide flat scoop (123). Two post-holes (160 & 192) dug parallel to the edge of the scoop belong to this phase. The scoop was backfilled in the third phase with a layer of redeposited clay and the edge of the scoop (164) filled shortly after with a grey silty clay. It is probable that this was packed against a sill beam for the clay had a sharp, vertical edge, which would not have been maintained otherwise. Later this beam must have been removed and the depression (123) filled by two further fills.

Quadrat K - Only about 15 per cent of this square was excavated below the plough soil.

Quadrat L - Four inter-cutting post-holes with identical fills (98, 104, 108 & 110) were found in the south-east corner of the quadrat. Three of these were of uncertain depth since their fills were indistinguishable from the ditch or pit into which they had been cut. The underlying ditch or pit, which contained East Sussex Ware had been sealed by a layer of redeposited natural. Post-hole 98 had been packed with fragments of stone to provide adequate rigidity, for the feature beneath had a loose fill. The packing overlay post-holes 104 and 108 which established feature 98 as a later setting. Feature 108 was also cut by a small stake-hole (not shown). The post-holes 110 and 154 also had some evidence of stone packing.

It seems possible that the post-holes 178, 154 and 169 represent a post or fence line. The first of these was cut by a shallow scoop, 167. A second line at right-angles to the first may be represented by features 154, 171 and 110. The interpretation is speculative, for too small an area was opened to allow any view to be advanced with confidence.

When the layer of redeposited natural was removed a pit or ditch (182, not shown) was exposed. This was sectioned and a group of Roman sherds was recovered.

Quadrat M - The quadrat was crossed by a line of possible stake-holes and associated with these may be two post-holes (46 & 50) and a larger stake-hole (144). A depression in the south-west corner (39) though only 150 mm deep contained four fills.

Quadrat N - Most of the 'features' seem to be attributable to modern disturbance or cracking of the natural clay. One depression contained charcoal and burnt clay. It was surrounded by a band of reddened clay produced by burning. There was no dating evidence.

Quadrat P - Excavation of this quadrat was not completed, but no features were identified.

Quadrat R - A single line of shallow disturbed soil with slight, irregular areas of pitting was recorded running across the centre of the excavated area.

Quadrat S - A small slot of irregular form was found running across the northern side of this square.

Quadrat T - Only the ploughsoil was excavated within this square.

Quadrat X - No features were present.

DISCUSSION OF EXCAVATION

The features excavated in the sample quadrats were generally very shallow and were mostly in bands

aligned south-west to north-east. There must be some doubt whether these features were archaeological in origin, or the result of natural processes or agricultural activity. Stake-holes are very difficult to distinguish on some sites from root-holes.[29] It seems very unlikely that the features at Combe Farm were due to plant growth, because the holes were generally in a regular pattern and in some cases lay alternately on either side of a central line. This also seems to preclude the possibility that the features were the result of the drying and cracking of the clay subsoil. Cracks in the clay were recorded in some quadrats, though these were not aligned in a single direction and were quite different from the features recorded. There remains the possibility that the raised clay bands and lines of stake-holes might be the result of agricultural work. This may be discounted by the presence of well-defined post-holes cut into the raised bands and apparently aligned with them, for example in Quadrat D. It seems probable, therefore, that the features are of archaeological significance.

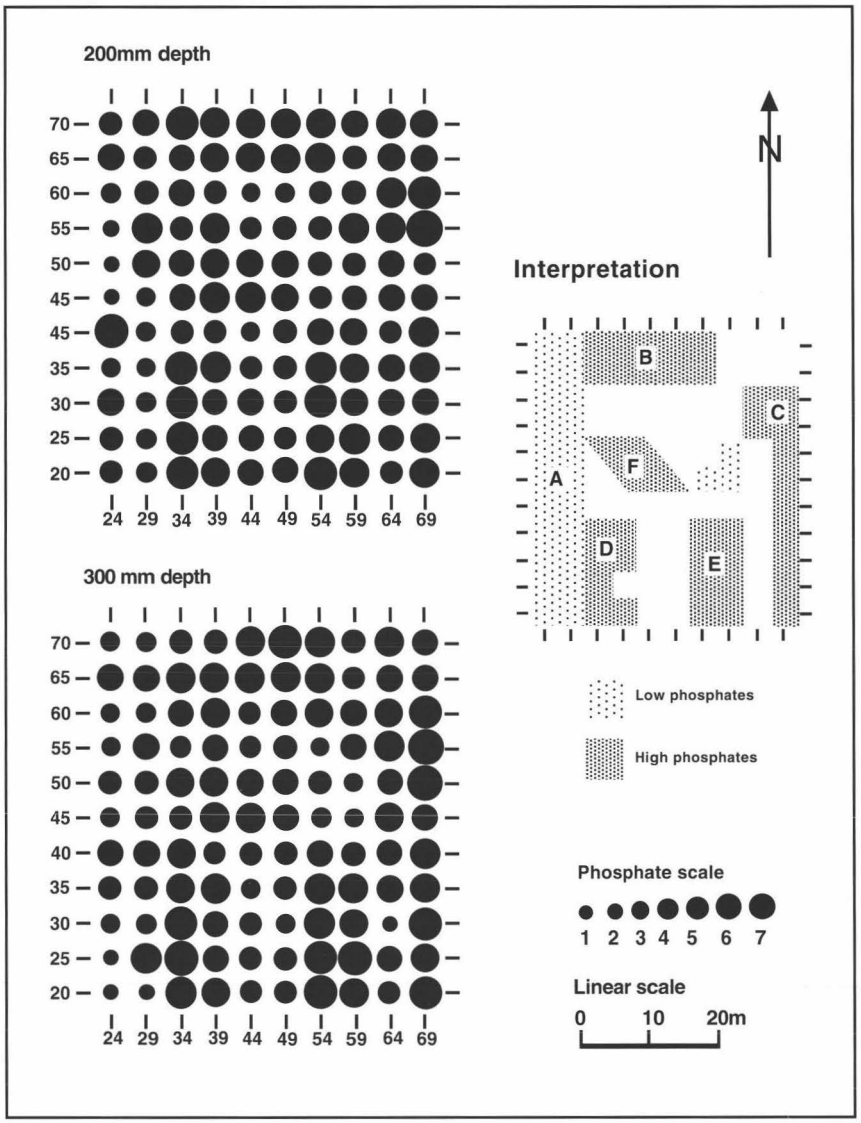

Fig. 6. Results of phosphate sampling at 200 and 300 mm depth. Higher numbers indicate greater phosphate concentrations.

PHOSPHATE ANALYSIS (Fig. 6)

Phosphates are concentrated in humans and animals and may be returned to the soil, either through body wastes, or on the death and subsequent decay of the living organism. Phosphates are only sparingly soluble in water and consequently there is limited downward movement through the soil. Human and animal activity can lead to concentrations of phosphates in the soil which may persist for many centuries if there is little subsoil disturbance. Phosphate sampling may therefore be able to detect the positions of byres, middens and burials.

Samples were taken using a one-inch (25 mm)

screw auger in a gridded pattern at five-metre intervals across the area of the excavation. Samples were removed at each point from two depths, 200 mm and 300 mm below the surface. These were analyzed by Caroline Cartwright according to the method described by Clydesdale.[30] Values between one and nine were given to the results, the higher numbers representing greater phosphate concentrations.

The values obtained from the two depths are broadly similar and the mean values of the two sets of samples are virtually the same. Trends apparent at 200 mm, however, are more pronounced at 300 mm. For example, the band of higher phosphate values along the eastern side of the sample area shows more clearly at the greater depth (Fig. 6).

FLOTATION

Samples were taken from deposits considered to be sealed. The soil was mostly clay or silty clay and had to be defloccated with concentrated hydrogen peroxide. The soil was then processed in a water-filled flotation tank and the flot collected in 630 and 300 micron sieves. It was apparent that the defloccation was inadequate with some samples as their residues contained lumps of clay. These were treated a second time with hydrogen peroxide and again floated. Full details are contained in the site archive.

PLANT REMAINS By Pat Hinton

The charred plant remains are too few in number to be very informative. Chickweed, knotgrass and daisy, found in medieval samples may occur as weeds of cultivated fields and also in waste or grassy places. Sloe, represented by one small fragment of stone in the Roman deposit, is a shrub of hedgerows and scrub, and its edible fruit is found in archaeological samples of all periods.

During the excavation recent straw and chaff had blown into the trenches and in addition most of the samples contained seeds and root fragments which were undoubtedly of recent origin. All of these were discounted.

However, distinguishable from these very obvious contaminants are the uncharred seeds from the medieval samples of uncertain date. All of these have the appearance of considerable age. All appear desiccated, some have a very shrivelled appearance, others, particularly the buttercups, are completely split apart and in all cases the internal parts are missing. Since the seeds are not charred it should be questioned whether they could have survived, even to this degraded condition, for 700 years or whether they might be intrusive from later periods, by means of ants, down-wash through root holes, worm channels etc. There are, however, no such possibly intrusive seeds in the Roman deposit.

Like the charred remains, all are common plants of fields and grassland. Full details are in the site archive.

FIELDWALKING (Figs 7 & 8)

After excavation the site was ploughed, left to weather and during the following winter a surface collection was made. Finds were collected in ten-metre squares using the grid laid out during the excavation. The surface of each square was examined for a period of five minutes by two people to ensure a consistent and thorough collection of all surface artefacts. It was not possible to collect finds from the northernmost row of 10 m squares.

The finds comprised mainly medieval pottery and bloomery slag, which were quantified by weight. The figures from the 10 m squares sampled by excavation were multiplied by 1.042 to compensate for the finds already abstracted. The results plotted on Figures 7 and 8 show that fieldwalking was able to isolate concentrations of finds. The area of iron slag, in particular, is clearly shown.

ANALYSIS

Four periods of activity may be identified on the site. The first is represented only by a barbed-and-tanged arrowhead. It was found in the lower ploughsoil in Quadrat D, but since it occurred on a medieval site, it may have been collected from elsewhere and kept as a curio. A similar arrowhead was found in the excavations on the nearby moated site at Glottenham.[31] Limited quantities of worked flint are regularly discovered in the Weald on almost all excavations of any size and were presumably lost or discarded during hunting or other activity.

The area was used more intensively during the second phase, the late 1st or 2nd century AD. The presence of iron slag within a sealed pit in Quadrat L with Roman pottery suggests that the bloomery waste found elsewhere on site was probably of the same date. Work by the Wealden Iron Research Group has shown that the great majority of

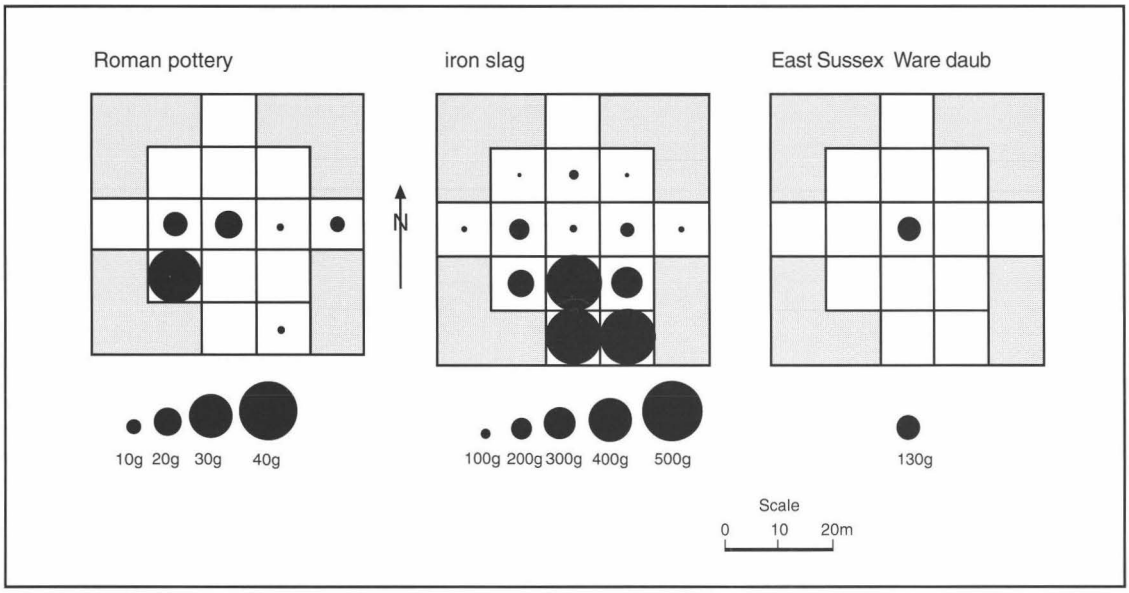

Fig. 7. Distribution of Roman material within the excavated ploughsoil. Unexcavated areas are indicated by tone.

bloomery sites in the Weald can be dated to the Roman period and iron-working here would have been close to another site to the south of Doozes Farm where two sherds of East Sussex ware of probable Roman date have been recovered.[32] A third concentration of bloomery slag was noted on the western side of Ivenden Field during the course of work (Fig. 3).

In the third period, the site was reoccupied and a farmstead established. A single sherd has large flint inclusions and is probably of Saxo-Norman date, but the remaining pottery may be attributed to the range 1150 to 1300. Finally, in the fourth period beginning about 1300, the settlement was abandoned and the land was used for agriculture. A ploughsoil developed over the site during cultivation which buried the remains.

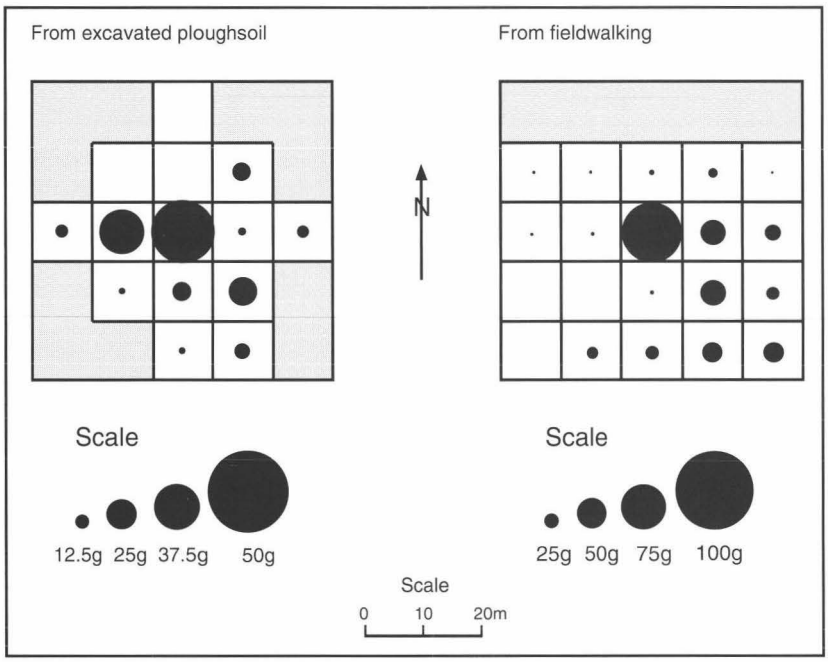

Fig. 8. Distribution of medieval pottery in the excavated ploughsoil and recovered from fieldwalking.

The main purpose of the work at *Ivenden* was to consider the problem of artefact density and distribution on medieval rural sites in the Weald.

The excavation confirmed that a settlement had been identified from the surface scatter of pottery and the period of medieval activity matches well with the historical evidence which supports the identification of the study site with the documented farmstead of *Ivenden*.

The quantities of finds from the surface of the ploughed field were not substantial (Table 1). The small number and size of medieval sherds on the ground-surface reflects the problems in locating sites of this period through fieldwalking. Medieval pottery might readily be missed on poorly-weathered soils, or fields where the crop is already coming through. The number of Roman sherds present is one tenth the number of the medieval and, unless slag was present, a site of that period would be very difficult to detect. A comparison of the finds found on the surface through fieldwalking with those located in the ploughsoil emphasizes this point. The quantities of Roman East Sussex Ware found on the surface were particularly low in comparison to the amounts present in the ploughsoil, probably because it has a similar colour to that of the soil and was therefore more likely to be found during careful excavation than in walking over the surface.

There are two important conclusions to be drawn from the excavation of the sub-surface features. Firstly, the medieval features are comparatively slight and the areas excavated suggested that the buildings did not leave significant remains. A corollary of this observation is that a large proportion of the pottery survives in the present ploughsoil or lower ploughsoil and relatively little in the archaeological features (Table 2). This is less true for the Roman pottery, but the figures have been distorted by a small number of large sherds found in a single pit. Secondly, the size of medieval sherds found within the features was not very different to that of those in the ploughsoil or on the surface (Table 1). This suggests that the medieval pottery was not fragmented during later ploughing, but was broken during the period of occupation: it is primary or secondary material as defined by Schiffer.

We may turn now from a consideration of the density of finds to their distribution across the site. Artefact distribution within the ploughsoil has been affected by a number of processes since site abandonment: movement from tillage, colluviation, worm action and, perhaps, other biotic disturbance. The impact of these remains poorly understood, although Boismier's discussion of tillage has demonstrated the way artefacts are dispersed by ploughing, obscuring the original pattern.[33] Colluviation within the Weald in the historic period has not been studied in detail, although studies of the river valleys have shown that very large quantities of soil were washed from the slopes during prehistory.[34] It is apparent, however, that soil movement has continued in the last 2000 years, although at a lower rate. Roman deposits, evidently of alluvial origin, have been recorded at a depth of 1.8 m below the present surface of the valley floor at Bodiam and blast furnace slag, probably of mid-16th-century date, was found at a depth of 0.45 m.[35]

The remains of the Roman period are relatively simple to understand. The distribution of the slag recovered through both fieldwalking and the excavation of the ploughsoil shows a clear concentration in an area measuring 20 m by 20 m (Fig. 7). Contemporary pottery lies mainly to the north-west of that. A third material type, which almost certainly dates to the same period, is daub with a distinctive soapy feel. The fabric of the daub

Table 1. Pottery found in fieldwalking and excavation.

	Roman	**Medieval**
Fieldwalking (area of 2000 m², with correction applied for excavated areas)		
Fieldwalking (number)	20	183
Fieldwalking (weight)	42 g	452 g
Ploughsoil (13 squares of area 52 m²; does not include Quadrat X)		
Ploughsoil (number)	37	88
Ploughsoil (weight)	119 g	249 g
Weight per sherd (g)		
Fieldwalking	2.1	2.4
Ploughsoil	3.2	2.8
Surface finds as a percentage of total present in ploughsoil for equivalent area		
By number	1.4	5.4
By weight	0.9	4.7
Weight per sherd (g) from archaeological features		
By weight	6.8	2.4

Table 2. Percentage of pottery by weight found in each context type corrected for number of quadrats excavated.

	Roman	**Medieval**
Fieldwalking	6	27
Ploughsoil	24	23
Lower ploughsoil	3	23
Features	67	27

was compared with Roman East Sussex Ware under a low-power microscope and was found to be almost identical. The daub differs only in the greater size of the inclusions and the poorly mixed character of the clay. The daub, however, bears distinct impressions of the small-diameter wood to which it must have been applied and most can easily be distinguished from pottery. The daub was found almost entirely in the excavation of Quadrat M and in fieldwalking the surrounding square. The daub has not been highly fired and bears no trace of iron slag so it must be doubted whether it formed any part of an iron-making furnace.[36]

These distributions are of considerable significance since they demonstrate that material of apparently discrete activities has not been widely dispersed through ploughing or colluviation in the last 2000 years. The distribution of medieval material is more difficult to understand and apparently reflects the nature of activity in the farmstead. Documentary evidence suggests that rubbish was generally accumulated in dung heaps near to farm buildings and was later carted away to be spread on the fields.[37] Archaeological finds around the unploughed house in the deserted medieval village of Wharram Percy (N. Yorks) supports this. Rubbish was dumped at the boundaries of the property of the Area 6 farmstead and particularly outside the doors of the farmhouse.[38] Space at *Ivenden* may have been less constrained than at Wharram. The farmhouse on the Sussex site did not adjoin others and rubbish may have been gathered further away from the dwelling than was possible within a village.

The data from *Ivenden* do not allow these aspects to be studied in detail, although the results of the work enable them to be explored a little further. It has been suggested above that the small sherd size and the abraded character of the pieces reflects activity during the medieval occupation rather than subsequently. Either the farmyard was kept clear of most pottery so that only small sherds remained, or the material was thoroughly broken by activity within it. Phosphate analysis gives some further hint of the manner of rubbish disposal, although the phosphates could have been produced during either the medieval or Roman occupation, or indeed both. The phosphate levels on the west side of the studied area were low (Fig. 7:A), but were higher than average on the eastern and north margins (B, C). Dung might have been accumulated on these sides in the lee of the farm buildings to keep it as dry and therefore as 'undiluted', as possible.[39] There are also two clear bands of higher phosphates separated by an area of average concentration on the south (D, E). The phosphates were sampled close to the excavated quadrats and the values may be tested for correlation with the distribution of medieval pottery in the ploughsoil (measured by weight). These are significant at greater than 95 per cent when tested using Spearman's rank correlation coefficient. It is not possible to compare numerically the phosphate distribution with the pottery from the fieldwalking since the areas sampled for each were rather different. Nevertheless, comparison by eye suggest a degree of coincidence, except on the north of the study area where the high phosphate levels are not reflected in the number of finds.

The excavation was not intended to recover structural remains and the evidence from a series of 2 m squares is difficult to interpret. The structures implied by the evidence can be divided into three types: aligned post-holes, none of which seems large enough to have supported a building, lines of small-diameter, alternating stake-holes, presumably from a wattle hurdle, and sill beams. Only the last of these seems certain to represent a building. A sill beam was found only in Quadrat I. The other features presumably represent fence-lines, although until there is more evidence of the nature of buildings of 13th-century or earlier date from this region, it is not possible to be certain.

The excavations also raised issues about settlement change and continuity. No evidence was found in the excavation for the site of the *denn* or animal pasture with its associated buildings which is implied by the place-name. This was presumably the earliest form of medieval settlement in this region. There is no reason to assume that such a settlement occupied the same site as the later medieval farmstead. In the absence of any topographical feature, such as a spring, or of geographical constraint, for example steeply sloping land, a settlement need not have continued in the same location. The persistence of the place-name does not imply continuity of site. The names of Wealden farms were as much, or even more, attached to the tenement as to the particular place occupied by the farmstead. This point may be illustrated by considering the nearby tenement of Winters, which was so-named from the holder in the later 15th century.[40] The tenement had earlier been known as 'atte Forde', evidently from its

position near a way across Furnace Stream.[41] However, the later farmstead of Winters was some considerable distance from the stream (Fig. 1) and can hardly have been in the same position as the original farm by the eponymous ford.

Changes in building location may have also involved displacement over much shorter distances. Excavations, most famously at Wharram Percy, have shown how peasant buildings might be reconstructed on adjoining sites within the croft.[42] Similar changes may have occurred at *Ivenden*. In apparent contrast to such mobility of settlement, we might note the coincidence of Roman and medieval occupation at *Ivenden*. Although the two were found on the same site, there is no reason to infer any continuity of settlement for the two periods of activity were separated by a period of up to 1000 years

CONCLUSIONS

The work at *Ivenden* has advanced both the understanding of medieval Wealden settlements and of the methods which will be needed to locate and examine them further. The limited quantities of material recovered in excavation did not allow detailed quantitative analysis, but it has been possible to draw a number of conclusions. The material remains at *Ivenden* were very slight, confirming the results of work on other sites in this region. Either very little pottery was used on these sites or it was collected efficiently and spread with the manure far from the site of the farmstead. The prevalence of flint- and shell-tempered wares at *Ivenden* reflects the pattern also found elsewhere on sites dating to before 1300.[43] The temper suggests that the source of the pottery was coastal and ceramics may not have been readily available to inland communities. It is only in the late 13th century that there is evidence for a developing commercial network within the Weald which will have facilitated distribution.[44] The difficulty of access to goods may also help to explain why the material remains on the site provided no evidence for the status of the occupants. Before their collapse in wealth in the late 13th century the Ivenden family was, at least within the local community, relatively well-off, but this could not be inferred from the excavated evidence.

It has been shown that the finds from *Ivenden* have not been widely displaced by farming activity or colluviation. The scatter of pottery, and the distribution of phosphates which seems to be associated with it, were the result of activities on the farmstead itself. The small medieval sherd size is likely to be the result of fragmentation during the period of occupation and not later. Finally, the evidence from the archaeological features has provided a reminder that a farmhouse is only one element of a farming complex, the whole of which may occupy a considerable space. Future excavations should seek to examine the farm as a complete working space, comprising the house, other buildings, animal enclosures and areas of rubbish disposal. This study has given some indication of how such further work might be carried out.

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The finds (acc. 1983.1) and site archive, which includes the finds reports, have been deposited with the Sussex Archaeological Society, Lewes.

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Conquest, lordship and religious patronage in the Sussex rapes, 1066–1135

by Emma Cownie

Post-Conquest Sussex had an exceptional structure of lordship; five semi-independent compact power-bases. It is the aim of this article to investigate whether this structure affected the strength of the tenants' allegiance to their lord and lordship and was reflected in their donations to honorial foundations.

The Sussex overlords focused their generosity primarily on their favourite continental houses and their foundations in and near their castles at Arundel, Bramber, Lewes and Hastings and only the tenants of the lords of Arundel and Pevensey chose to follow their lords' example and give to continental houses. William the Conqueror also founded St Martin's, at Battle, which failed to attract patronage on any significant scale from outside Hastings Rape. It was William de Warenne's foundation at Lewes, the first Cluniac house in England, which dominated the picture of gift-giving in Sussex. Tenants of the Rape of Lewes almost exclusively supported St Pancras and it was also supported by those of neighbouring Pevensey and more distant Hastings. Geographical proximity was not the important factor at play here; the tenants of William de Braose's Rape of Bramber, to the west of Lewes, ignored it completely. The only other foundation to draw benefactors in any number was Robert Count of Eu's foundation at Hastings.

To understand the different behaviour of the Sussex tenants one needs to consider the wider national and international context. It is apparent that there was tension between the localized interests of these tenants of the compact lordships and the far-flung interests and lands of their very wealthy overlords. This was compounded by discontinuities in lordship as at one time or another each Sussex rape was deprived of its lord, either temporarily, or permanently — but undoubtedly the greatest continuity of lordship was to be found in Lewes. The cross-honorial patterns of religious patronage that grew up after 1066 make it clear that an 'enclosed' society such as Sir Frank Stenton envisaged did not exist in Sussex. Yet, the shire's unique tenurial configuration in 1086 did produce a political society which was unquestionably focused on Sussex.

The Norman Conquest of England was begun on the morning of the 28th September 1066 when William the Conqueror's eager invasion force disembarked onto an empty Sussex beach. The Conquest was not only launched onto Sussex soil but it was also realized and maintained in Sussex: on the killing-field at Battle, and through its strategic strongholds at Arundel, Bramber, Hastings, Lewes and Pevensey which safeguarded the ports and seaways to Normandy.[1] The campaign of October of 1066 had a profound impact on the social and political structure of Sussex; William's forces had deliberately devastated the eastern end of the county and the Battle of Hastings effectively wiped out the political leadership of the region with the deaths of Harold Godwinson and most local thegns. In the urgency of the early days of the campaign any question of maintaining 'continuity' with the recent Anglo-Saxon past was a secondary consideration.

THE ANGLO-NORMAN SETTLEMENT OF SUSSEX

The arrangements made for the securing and settling of the region were essentially dictated by military and political expediency. Consequently, the Conqueror's arrangements for the settlement of Sussex were radical but not totally unique and share some common features with the settlement of other areas of extreme strategic importance in the early years of the Conquest, such as Kent and Hereford. They also possessed many early castles, and by 1086 a very large number of knights enfeoffed and tenants-in-chief whose honors included lands in other parts of the country.[2] The structure of lordship in post-Conquest Sussex is already well known, but the pattern of monastic patronage that emerged before the death of Henry I and its implications for our understanding of lordship in post-Conquest England need to be explored.

Within six years of the Battle of Hastings, probably less, landholding in Sussex was organized into five north/south corridors, known as 'rapes', and placed in the hands of William the Conqueror's most trusted magnates. The Conqueror's half-brother Robert of Mortain held Pevensey, his father-in-law, Roger of Montgomery held Chichester and Arundel, William de Warenne held the Rape of Lewes, Robert, Count of Eu, held Hastings and William de Braose held Bramber. In addition, Battle Abbey was granted a *banlieu* or *leuga*, that is immunities and supreme jurisdiction over all men and land within a league of the high altar. Thus, by creating five semi-independent compact secular power-bases William the Conqueror transformed the whole tenure of the county. It is possible that the rapes had existed as tenurial units before 1066, but their subsequent organization was a Norman innovation. The lordships of the Anglo-Saxon lords had straggled over the county, but these Norman estates were now reorganized and each tenant-in-chief held Sussex lands only within his own rape.[3] Thus 'lordship of land was now determined not by the manor to which it had belonged, but by the rape in which it lay'.[4] Furthermore, except where ecclesiastics, such as the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Chichester and the abbot of Battle held land in chief (roughly nine per cent of Sussex holdings), each overlord's follower held exclusively from him in Sussex.[5] This apparent solidity was also reinforced by the fact that many of his Sussex tenants had also been his tenants or neighbours in Normandy.[6]

Furthermore, there was little royal demesne, except the king's land at Bosham and Rotherfield, assessed at 41 hides in 1086. This was in stark contrast to pre-Conquest conditions when Edward the Confessor had held approximately 400 hides in Sussex and in 1066 when the Godwinson family held over 1000 hides.[7] No royal sheriff acted here, until the later years of Henry I's reign; instead each rape had its own sheriff.[8] This situation had no parallel anywhere else in England or Normandy. The formation of such compact lordships might be expected to affect positively the strength of tenants' allegiance to their lord and lordship.[9] For Sir Frank Stenton post-Conquest society was one in which the honor was fundamental. And if his model of the honor as an 'enclosed world' and a 'feudal state in miniature' actually works, in theory it would be most likely to have been seen in action in Sussex.[10] In 1086 all lay tenants held from one of five Norman lords, rather than directly from the king, and there was minimal multiple lordship.[11] There were, however, some relatively minor exceptions to this, as most rapes also possessed a few tenants who also held a small amount of land from ecclesiastical landlords.[12]

PRE-CONQUEST RELIGIOUS HOUSES IN SUSSEX

In 1066 there were no Benedictine monasteries located in Sussex. A number of Benedictine houses located outside the shire held lands here: Westminster, Wilton and Shaftesbury.[13] The Norman monastery of Fécamp also held lands in Sussex before 1066. It had been granted by Cnut and Edward the Confessor the manors of Brede and *Rameslie* with its port, and two parts of the tolls at Winchelsea, the church of Eastbourne and the manor of Steyning, which was to be held after death of Bishop Ælfwine.[14] There were also a number of secular foundations established at Bosham, Boxgrove, Selsey (after 1050), South Malling and Singleton.[15] All these secular foundations were small, such as Boxgrove which held land assessed at one hide in 1086.[16] The canons of St Michael, South Malling, held 24 hides in 1086 from Archbishop Lanfranc, valued at £18.[17] The largest of the secular foundations, by a long way, was the collegiate foundation at Bosham which had close associations with the Godwinson family. At the time

of the Conquest Bosham had held lands assessed at £344.[18]

By the time of the Domesday survey, the nature of religious life in Sussex was very much altered. The tenurial reorganization had meant that Bosham, held by the Confessor's one-time chaplain, Osbern, now Bishop of Exeter, had lost about half its lands and the remainder was worth a much reduced £55.[19] The religious house that was at Singleton in 1066, had clerks introduced probably sometime before 1086.[20] The cathedral at Selsey was moved in 1075 to Chichester; Boxgrove became a cell of Lessay abbey and was refounded by Robert de la Hay in 1105; Bosham was later remodelled in the 12th century by Bishop William Warelwast of Exeter; Archbishop Theobald refounded South Malling *c.* 1150 building a new church and endowing it.[21] Some of the Benedictine houses located outside Sussex, Wilton in particular, lost land in the confusion of the Conquest and then to Tréport and Lewes. In total it lost lands assessed at 67 hides 3 virgates at Falmer, West Firle, Arlington and Alciston, Sussex.[22] St Peter's, Winchester, also claimed the manor of Treyford which was held in 1086 by Robert fitz Theobald from Roger of Montgomery.[23]

CONTINENTAL HOUSES AND SUSSEX

Fécamp had done rather well out of the Norman Conquest as it secured its possession of the valuable manor of Steyning which Edward the Confessor had promised and was granted another, Bury, by the Conqueror.[24] In 1086 its possessions were assessed at £194.[25] Other continental houses benefited too. Roger of Montgomery made grants of land in Sussex worth in total well over £74 in 1086 to St-Martin, Sées, Almenèches and St-Martin, Troarn.[26] Roger gave to the monks of St-Martin, Sées, 20 hides of land at Fishbourne, Climping, Eastergate and a burgess at Arundel castle, all valued at £26 in 1086.[27] Roger also gave a substantial amount of land at Nunminster and Climping, assessed at £40 in 1086, to the nunnery of Almenèches, where his daughter, Emma, was abbess and then he added the manor of Lyminster to his benefactions before his death in 1094.[28] St-Martin, Troarn, also received from Roger Sussex property valued at just under £8.[29] A monk of St-Evroult also held one hide of the manor of Singleton, from Earl Roger in 1086.[30]

The count of Eu, founder of Tréport abbey, gave lands at Bullington in Bexhill and possibly those in Henhurst hundred.[31] Robert of Mortain had given his family foundation at Grestain 21 hides of land at Wilmington, Frog Firle and Beddingham, in Sussex.[32] By the end of the century Grestain had some kind of out-post at Wilmington where their monks could reside as bailiffs for their English lands.[33] Robert also gave the manor of Withyham to Mortain, a cell of Marmoutier, which sent a single monk to administer the house's Sussex property.[34] The great house of Cluny was given the manor of Falmer and also the church of St Pancras, Lewes, by William de Warenne.[35] As a group the continental houses held lands in Sussex assessed in 1086 at £311 and over 80 per cent of that land (to the value of £261) had been acquired after 1066. So in terms of landed possessions, 20 years after the Battle of Hastings the continental houses clearly dominated the scene. This was not to last.

NEW FOUNDATIONS IN SUSSEX

New religious houses had also been quickly established in post-Conquest Sussex. St Martin's, at Battle, was founded by William the Conqueror on the battlefield of 1066. However, its *banlieu* was not immediately established and its first abbot, Gausbert from Marmoutier, was not consecrated until 1076.[36] By 1086 the abbey's landed possessions traversed seven shires and were valued at £200, about a quarter of this property being located in Sussex.[37] William the Conqueror himself had given the abbey six manors, assessed at just over 180 hides in Domesday Book: at Wye with rights in 22 hundreds and its Shore member of Dengemarsh in Kent, Alciston in Sussex, land on the South Downs, Limpsfield in Surrey, Brightwalton in Berkshire, Crowmarsh in Oxfordshire, Hou in Essex, and also the valuable church of Cullompton in Devon and its dependent church of St Olave in Exeter.

A number of secular colleges were also founded in or close to the new castles of Sussex: St Mary at Hastings (1070x90), St Nicholas at Bramber (*c.* 1073) and St Nicholas at Arundel (1094x1102).[38] Around 1080 William de Braose abandoned the idea of a collegiate church at Bramber and granted it to the monks of St-Florent de Saumur together with the church of St Peter of Beeding, later known as Sele, and by *c.* 1096 there was a tiny priory there.[39] There is also mention of a castle chapel at Pevensey, but shortly after 1086 Robert of Mortain granted it to Grestain.[40] By 1102 Roger of Montgomery's grants of

land to Sées had spawned a small monastic settlement in Arundel which was subsequently converted into a priory in the mid-12th century.[41] In 1077, however, William de Warenne had outshone all his neighbours by establishing the first English Cluniac priory, dedicated to St Pancras, at the foot of the hill upon which stood Lewes castle.[42] It had taken a personal visit to Cluny itself by William and his wife to secure monks for his foundation. In this achievement he surpassed even the king who had previously attempted, and failed, to get Abbot Hugh to send monks from Cluny for his new foundation at Battle abbey.

As far as the Sussex lords were concerned post-Conquest religious provision focused on the castles of the rapes and continental houses.[43] Thus, arrangements for religious life initially established by the Sussex lords were tied into the framework of conquest, defence and settlement. The pattern of religious patronage of the Sussex tenants, however, suggests that the 'conjunction of castle and religious community as one of the chief instruments of Norman colonization' was a short-lived phenomenon of foremost concern to their lords.[44] The pattern of religious patronage given by the tenants of the different Sussex rapes was far from uniform. Although fellow tenants certainly tended to favour the same religious houses as each other, patronage was not always confined solely to the overlord's own foundation.

ST PANCRAS, LEWES AND PATRONAGE

The most conspicuous feature of the distribution of patronage between the Sussex houses is that Lewes dominated the scene. Fifty-six tenants of the rape of Lewes supported their overlord's house, showing negligible interest in religious houses elsewhere.[45] Before 1121 they gave between them 30 hides and 25 acres of land, £2 0s.10d. worth of rents, five meadows or pastures, one and a half mills, tithes in 40 locations and 16 churches. In the 1120s and 1130s they added another 60 acres, £3 0s.8d. worth of land, two churches, two grants of tithes, a mill and six houses or messuages.[46]

Lewes also drew support from just under 40 tenants from neighbouring Pevensey rape, three small gifts from further away in Hastings and just over 20 grants in Arundel rape.[47] Pevensey tenants were generous benefactors, giving Lewes 18 hides of land, plus unspecified amounts of land in eight other locations, rents amounting to £4 9s.4d., five grants of tithes, three churches and a chapel and other miscellaneous gifts.[48] In the 1130s and 1140s another 10 grants of tithes were made along with a fishery, land in three locations and a 5s. rent.[49] The tenants of Arundel rape, whose lands lay in western Sussex, were keen to give away their churches and chapels, 18 in total. They also gave Lewes grants of tithes in nine places but relatively little land, half a hide, unspecified amounts in two other places and rents of 19s.[50] Geographical proximity was not the only factor at play here: the tenants of William de Braose's Rape of Bramber, just to the west of Lewes, ignored St Pancras completely.

Except for the lords of Arundel, the lords of each rape were all at one time or another patrons of Lewes priory. Robert of Mortain and Roger of Montgomery witnessed William Rufus's confirmation of William de Warenne's grant to Lewes given sometime between 1088 and 1091.[51] Robert's son and heir, William, was to confirm the grants made to Lewes by four of his men, Alvred his *pincerna*, William de Keynes (*Cahaignes*), Hugh de Dives and Herbert fitz Ranulf.[52] He was also to witness Henry I's general confirmation to Lewes in the later part of 1100.[53] Additionally, sometime between 1103 and 1104 the count granted St Pancras one hide of land called *Healdeleia* in the manor of Ripe with a yearly rent of 43s.4d. and confirmed an earlier grant made by his sheriff, Ranulf.[54] King Henry I's nephew and favourite, Stephen of Blois, who became count of Mortain some time before 1115, also made a small grant to Lewes of the tithe of Sutton-in-Woking, in Surrey.[55] Around 1120 Count William of Eu granted Lewes his land *Burwarehea* (?Burwash, in Hawksborough hundred in Hastings rape) with men and five houses.[56] Philip de Braose gave Lewes four salterns at Bramber sometime before 1121 and his heir William II de Braose made a grant of land and houses in Shoreham *c.* 1130.[57] Richer Laigle, son of Gilbert who was granted Pevensey after the fall of William of Mortain, later confirmed the grants of some of his men to Lewes *c.* 1140.[58]

As the first house in England to be founded from the great abbey of Cluny, in Burgundy, it is not surprising that Lewes was so popular.[59] It was infinitely more impressive than the small foundations established in the other Sussex castles; indeed, it was to become the richest and biggest Cluniac

foundation in all England. It was originally given land for 12 monks but by the end of the 12th century it housed something like 50 or 60 monks and possessed a massive abbey church, 440 feet in length.[60] In the late 12th century the monks' dormitory was greatly enlarged to accommodate the growing numbers of inmates.[61] Furthermore, at one time or another, Lewes held 56 churches in Sussex.[62] It is also possible that Lewes influenced three of the other Sussex lords, Roger of Montgomery, Robert Count of Mortain and his son William, to found Cluniac houses at Much Wenlock in Shropshire, 1080x1, and at Montacute, in Somerset, *c.* 1078, respectively.[63] William was also reputed to have chosen to enter and be buried in another Cluniac house, at Bermondsey, in Surrey.[64] Furthermore, when Abbot Warner of Battle abbey chose to retire as a result of political disfavour in 1138, he chose Lewes as it was a monastery 'very notable for its religious life'.[65]

It is evident that St Pancras was not solely a seigniorial house. This was a religious house of national significance. Outside Sussex the house attracted many grants from the wealthy Clare family and their tenants, Stephen of Blois, the count of Mortain and future king of England, Rotrou of Perche, who was either the brother-in-law of Gilbert Laigle or his nephew, Robert of Essex and Ranulf the chancellor.[66] Lewes was granted possessions in Norfolk and Essex by Geoffrey and his brother Ralph Baynard, in Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire by Richard, Stephen and Hugh I de Scalars, in Leicestershire, Lincolnshire and Warwickshire by Geoffrey de Stuteville and Gundreda de Gournay. The abbey also received a number of grants of land in London from Huard, Godric the priest, Miles, Benedict son of Wibert and Gisla daughter of Vitalis *Grossus*, which must have been economically very beneficial to the abbey.[67]

ST MARTIN, BATTLE AND PATRONAGE

The Conqueror's abbey at Battle was the only other Sussex foundation of significance. In 1086 Battle ranked fifteenth in wealth amongst English monasteries.[68] The bulk of Battle's property was either given by its founder or purchased from local neighbours.[69] The six manors that the Conqueror had given in his lifetime were worth about £200 and William Rufus also granted two manors worth £64 and nine churches.[70] When compared with the endowment of Lewes the difference is striking. William de Warenne's endowment amounted to approximately one third of Lewes' property and the house was also able to draw on a very large number of benefactors from both within and outside Sussex well into the 12th century.[71] What is so surprising about the pattern of religious patronage in Sussex is not so much that Lewes was a very popular choice for gifts, but rather that Battle abbey was never even close to being as fashionable.

Despite the abbey's obviously strong royal connection, its principal source of benefactors were men and women with strictly local interests. Many of the tenants of Hasting rape, in the midst of whom Battle abbey had been planted, engaged with that house as benefactors, vendors and lessees.[72] Many of these land transfers were part sale and part gift, as when before 1087 Osbern fitz Hugh gave 30 acres in Bodiam (partly as gift and partly as a sale).[73] In the latter part of Henry I's reign, Ingelran 'Beacon-bearer' (*Becchenridere*), a man of Withelard de Balliol, sold to the abbey three wists of land at Barnhorn on the coast near Bexhill for 57 shillings. Ingelran was also charitable to the monks, giving them the tithes from his land at Buckholt as well as land at St Martin's Marsh.[74] William de Braose and three of his tenants, Hanselin, Ralph fitz Theodore and Tetbald, also made grants to Battle.[75] Other notable non-royal benefactors were Bernard de Neufmarché and his wife, Agnes, the daughter of Osbert fitz Richard, who granted the manor of Berrington, Shropshire, in the reign of the Conqueror.[76] Bernard, dubbed *vir magnificus* by the abbey's chronicler, had important interests in Wales and later founded Brecon priory as a cell of the abbey.[77] Agnes, or Nest as she was originally called, had a Welsh mother, also called Nest, who was the daughter of Gruffydd ap Llwelyn, prince of North Wales.[78]

The abbey spent much time, effort and money purchasing and developing new property and defending its legal and ecclesiastical privileges.[79] Henry I's first action on behalf of the abbey was to grant that it was to have its court in all matters.[80] But the settlement of land disputes to the monks' satisfaction was no easy matter. In 1102 the new abbot, Geoffrey of Saint-Calais, not only had to resort to a royal summons to force a number of disobedient barons to attend his court but also had to lock them in the church to get them to accept

the power of his court.[81] Even so, the abbey had to obtain another two writs in the 1120s to secure its possession of the disputed lands.[82] The abbey's struggle to defend its rights and privileges was due to be a long one and one that was to escalate to dizzy heights in the reign of Henry II.

The reason Battle abbey was comparatively overlooked may lie in a combination of factors: it certainly seems to have suffered from being so close to fashionable Lewes, and also from the lack of a local founding family that would have protected and promoted the monastery. Although founded by the Conqueror, the abbey never took first place in his heart, nor in his sons' affections. No member of the royal family was buried here. Its founder was buried at Caen and his son Rufus at Winchester. The fact that Battle possessed neither important relics nor bodies may well have compounded its relative unattractiveness to potential benefactors. Other abbeys with royal founders or special legal privileges such as Reading, Bury St Edmunds and Thorney possessed between them St James's hand, Henry I's heart, St Edmund's incorrupt corpse and St Botulph's bones. Westminster abbey had a strong connection with the neighbouring royal palace, its officials and inmates. It was also the resting place of Edward the Confessor and of the Queens Edith and Matilda. While monasteries did not always need relics and famous bodies to attract donations, if they were not associated with a powerful local family the possession (or lack of) of such things became critical.

THE SUSSEX LORDS AND THE ANGLO-NORMAN REALM

The Sussex lords were some of the richest men in Conquest England: Roger of Montgomery's Domesday holdings were valued at just over £2100, Robert of Mortain's were assessed at £1974 and Warenne's at £1165.[83] These men were responsible for important lordships elsewhere in England and in Normandy too. Their Sussex lands may well have been substantial territories, but for some of them they were 'medium-sized' when compared with the total holdings of these great tenants-in-chief.[84] Montgomery's Sussex lands accounted for just under 50 per cent of his lands in England in 1086, Warenne's 45 per cent, Eu's 40 per cent, Mortain's 20 per cent but for William de Braose they account for about 80 per cent of his English holdings in Domesday Book.[85]

William de Warenne also held substantial lands in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex and by 1085 established Castle Acre as a dependency of Lewes.[86] William was made Earl of Surrey by William Rufus in Easter 1088 at the height of the rebellion against the king and he was given four estates previously held by Queen Matilda in Surrey.[87] William's son, William II, also gained additional lands in Yorkshire, at Wakefield, and *c.* 1110 he was given castle and lordship of Saint-Saens in Upper Normandy close to the Warenne castle of Bellencombre.[88] The magnitude and character of an overlord's wealth and authority, on a national and international level, could have very beneficial repercussions for their favourite religious houses. William promoted Castle Acre as a focus for religious piety for his East Anglian tenants. Yet, whereas Lewes had received grants of land in Norfolk from William de Warenne and from a few of his tenants, who were enfeoffed there, Castle Acre did not receive any grants in Sussex. In terms of territorial and political interests outside Sussex, the Braose family look very much less impressive than the Montgomerys and the counts of Mortain. Yet they too had significant interests outside Sussex. William de Braose married Bertha, the daughter and co-heiress of Miles of Gloucester, taking her brother's Welsh lands.[89]

However, wealth and influence elsewhere did not automatically translate into riches for the new Sussex houses. For most, except for Lewes, it meant they were frequently overlooked by their founders. The greater tenants-in-chief, Mortain and Montgomery, inevitably had other much bigger fish to fry and their concerns were centred on the religious houses they founded and supported elsewhere in Normandy, Shropshire and Somerset. Roger of Montgomery's grants of Sussex property to Almenèches, Troarn and Sées have been outlined above. He was also a patron of many other continental houses, including St-Etienne, Caen, Jumièges, Troarn, Cluny, Sées, Holy Trinity, Rouen and Marcigni-sur-Loire.[90] In England Roger of Montgomery established Much Wenlock, as mentioned above, and also a Benedictine house dedicated to St Peter at Shrewsbury some time between 1083 and 1086.[91]

Robert of Mortain founded the collegiate church of Saint-Evroult, Mortain *c.* 1082, and also patronized the abbeys of Grestain, Marmoutier, Caen, Préaux, Fécamp, Mont St-Michel, St-Nicholas,

Angers and St Albans.[92] The Mortain foundation at Montacute, in Somerset, has already been referred to above.[93] Yet, both before and after the Conquest of England it was Grestain that received the bulk of Robert's patronage, primarily because it was located in the heart of Robert's patrimony.[94]

The interests of the Counts of Eu were also split across the English Channel. Count Robert I founded the priory Sainte-Croix, at Flamangeville in Normandy, as dependent on his foundation at Tréport, at the time of his wife Beatrice's funeral.[95] Although no foundation charter survives for St Mary, Hastings, a confirmation charter of Henry II shows that a dozen of Count Robert's tenants had supported his foundation.[96] In the mid-12th century John Count of Eu granted the church of St Mary, Hastings, to Tréport abbey and gradually replaced the canons with monks.[97]

SUSSEX TENANTS AND CONTINENTAL HOUSES

The prestige, power and sheer wealth of these 'super-magnates' would have strongly influenced their more substantial followers into wanting to be seen as benefactors of Sées and Grestain, Montacute and Shrewsbury.[98] Patronage of their lord's favoured continental foundation, inevitably close to their family's place of origin, was indeed an option favoured by some Pevensey, Arundel and Hastings tenants. They made grants to Grestain, Sées and St-Amand, Rouen.[99] For example, in 1087, in the presence of his son Hugh, Robert fitz Tetbald, the sheriff of Arundel, granted Sées his manor of Tottington (in Lyminster), Sussex.[100] In return, he begged that he might be buried near St-Martin, where his wife Emma lay, because he knew that 'certain prayers of the brethren there dwelling would avail him with God'. Six years later Roger Baolt, a man-at-arms of Earl Roger, made the more modest grant in the chapterhouse at Sées of the tithes of one ploughland and of all his stock at Arundel.[101] Roger also requested burial in the abbey 'if he died a layman'. Soon after the Montgomery family was ejected and exiled from England, Savaric son of Cana, who was enfeoffed with land in Arundel rape, made a grant to Sées. Savaric and his wife Muriel, gave the church of *Isemburna*.[102] Finally, some time in Henry I's reign, a certain 'Alan', gave Sées another Sussex church, this time at Cocking.[103]

SUSSEX TENANTS AND ENGLISH HOUSES

Although the Sussex overlords had important territorial interests elsewhere in England, many of their followers did not.[104] The exception to this were the honorial officials like Robert fitz Tetbald, sheriff of Arundel, who was a benefactor of both Shrewsbury, Sées and Lewes, and Robert of Mortain's butler, Alvred, who was benefactor of Grestain, Montacute, St Albans, Shaftesbury and Lewes.[105] Robert and Alvred were pre-eminent amongst their fellow tenants. Robert's Sussex lands were valued at £190 in 1086, and Alvred held lands in nine Domesday counties.[106] The sheriffs of Hastings and Lewes, however, followed their fellow tenants in patronizing local houses: Hastings, Battle and Lewes. Of the sheriffs of Hastings, Rainbert was a benefactor of Hastings, Ingelran sold land to Battle and was a benefactor of Hastings, Drogo of Hastings witnessed a grant to Lewes, Drogo's son Simon was a benefactor of Lewes *c.* 1150.[107] The sheriffs of Lewes rape, Warin, Peter, Guy de Menecourt were all benefactors of Lewes.[108] Only one sheriff of Pevensey was known to have been a religious benefactor: William of Mortain's sheriff, Ranulf, who gave land called *Malpeth* to Lewes.[109] Yet, many of the tenants of Pevensey rape decided to patronize Lewes, both before and after the removal of William of Mortain their lord in 1104. The fact that both Robert of Mortain and his son William had been benefactors of Lewes would have also encouraged their vassals to support it.[110]

CONTINUITY AND DISCONTINUITY IN SUSSEX LORDSHIP

It is important to note, however, that local conditions within each lordship were not uniform. Discontinuities in lordship were, by and large, the direct result of the Anglo-Norman civil wars of succession of 1088 and 1101–6. Serious interruptions in lordship at the highest level created further diversity of circumstances between the lordships. 1066 was not the only time when Sussex was vital to national security. In the 1088 revolt against William Rufus the 'crucial zones' to control were Kent and Sussex, the south-eastern arc.[111] There was a very real danger that this was where Robert Curthose's invasion fleet would land. Rufus's supporters included William de Warenne and 'other

loyal barons of mature age', William de Braose and Robert of Eu.[112] According to the Anglo-Norman chronicler Orderic Vitalis 'almost all the lords between the Seine and the sea joined the English and received large sums of money from the king's revenue to provide arms and men for the defence of their homes'. On the other side, Robert Curthose was supported by Robert Count of Mortain, Roger of Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury, and his son Robert of Bellême, although William Rufus successfully persuaded the latter to change sides.[113] During the revolt Odo of Bayeux and his brother Robert of Mortain were besieged by William Rufus at Pevensey. It was here that Robert's neighbour William de Warenne, only recently made Earl of Surrey, was fatally wounded.[114] Although Robert and Odo both surrendered, only Odo lost his lands.

Thirteen years later William Rufus's successor, Henry I, waited at Pevensey for another of Robert Curthose's invasion fleets to land; it was, however, diverted to Portsmouth.[115] In 1102 Henry I laid siege to Arundel for three months after he had declared Robert of Bellême public enemy number one.[116] At one time or another a lord of each Sussex rape was deprived of his English lands, either temporarily, as with the case of William II de Warenne in 1101–2, or permanently as was the case with Robert of Bellême in 1102 and William of Mortain in 1104. William had supposedly demanded to be given his Uncle Odo's Kent earldom 'with shameless arrogance' and the king's refusal drove him to revolt.[117] He was captured with Robert of Bellême at the Battle of Tinchebrai in 1106 and incarcerated by Henry I. Robert was not imprisoned until 1112, when he joined William in spending the remainder of his natural life thus. The monks of Bermondsey, however, claimed that an aged William of Mortain was released 30 years later and spent his last days as a monk there.[118] Pevensey was then given to Gilbert Laigle, Henry I's military commander.[119] This family's tenure of Pevensey was also interrupted in 1118–19 when Henry I tried to stop Gilbert's son, Richer, inheriting his father's English lands, because he had rebelled against Henry in Normandy in 1118.[120]

The honor of Arundel, however, was taken into crown hands for the rest of Henry I's reign. Henry deprived the nuns of Almenèches of the Sussex manors they had been given by Earl Roger and bestowed them on Savaric son of Cana, in return for military service.[121] Savaric decided to grant a number of local churches to Roger of Montgomery's foundation of Sées *c.* 1105 and later *c.* 1142 to Lewes.[122] It is significant that besides the grants of land made to Savaric son of Cana and Ralph Hareng, Henry I chose not to 'dismantle' Arundel and Pevensey by extensive new enfeoffment. This contrasts with the Conqueror's treatment of Odo of Bayeux's fee in Kent after his arrest, which was broken down into a number of small and medium-sized baronies.[123] Aside from the five original Domesday lay lordships and Chichester only one small barony was created and granted to Robert Peverel.[124]

Fortunately for the lords of Bramber and Hastings the fact that two leading members of their families were exiled in 1096 and 1110 did not permanently displace their families' position in Sussex.[125] William of Eu was found guilty of treason in 1096 and was judicially blinded and castrated and disinherited to be replaced by Henry of Eu as lord of Hastings.[126] In 1118 Count Henry of Eu rebelled and Hastings castle was in the king's hands for a while.[127] Finally, Philip de Braose was mysteriously exiled in 1110 and Bramber passed from him to his nephew Philip *c.* 1112 (d. 1134x55).[128]

The greatest continuity in lordship was to be found in Lewes rape. William I de Warenne supported William Rufus in his hour of need in 1088, while his son, William II, revolted in favour of Robert Curthose in 1101 but was soon after reinstated at Robert's behest.[129] William II, once reconciled to Henry I, was ostensibly an energetic supporter and intimate companion, even at the last moments of the king's life. William was at Lyon-la-Forêt in 1135 at Henry's death-bed and was one of the five *comites* who escorted the royal corpse to Rouen for embalming. The fact that St Pancras, Lewes, was not like the other Sussex religious foundations must indicate that very early on William de Warenne intended Lewes, both the castle and the priory, to act as the political and spiritual heart of his English holdings. The other Sussex lords acted differently, in particular Roger of Montgomery, who gave most of his donated Sussex land to Norman houses. In contrast, he chose to give gifts of land in Shropshire to local foundations at Much Wenlock and Shrewsbury.[130]

Discontinuity in lordship elsewhere in Sussex, therefore, probably also gave Lewes a stabilizing role in the local political community. The 'removal' of the prestigious families who had held Arundel and Pevensey, in the early years of Henry I's reign, resulted in increasing notice being paid to Lewes priory by their tenants. Thus, in the early 12th century, the tenants

of Arundel and Pevensey increasingly chose to patronize Lewes.[131] Although nine Mortain tenants had patronized Lewes before the fall of Count William, just under 30 more did so in the following 30-odd years. The tenants of Arundel were more circumspect. Ten tenants made gifts in the years before 1120 and another twelve in the two decades that followed. The tenants of the honor of Lewes had the advantage of continuity of lordship, the abbey benefited from lords who were able to maintain its interests not only in Sussex and Surrey, but also further afield in East Anglia, Essex, Cambridgeshire, Wiltshire and Dorset.

CONCLUSION

The cross-honorial patterns of religious patronage that grew up after 1066 make it is clear that an 'enclosed' society such as Stenton envisaged did not exist in Sussex.[132] For a significant number of the tenants of Sussex it was the personal connection with the lord himself that was more important than the formal tie of lordship alone. The location and scale of their lord's interests elsewhere, as well as his standing in local and national politics, were important determinants in their loyalty, behaviour and generosity. Most important, however, were the scale and location of the tenant's own wealth and landed interests. A few Sussex tenants followed their lords further north to Shropshire, west to Cornwall and Somerset and to north-east to Norfolk and their interests were therefore fundamentally different from those of the majority of the men and women who came to Sussex after 1066 and went no further. Thus, it is apparent that there was tension between the localized interests of these tenants of the compact lordships and the far-flung interests and lands of their very wealthy overlords. This was compounded by discontinuities in lordship as at one time or another each Sussex rape was deprived of its lord, either temporarily, or permanently — but undoubtedly the greatest continuity of lordship was to be found in Lewes.

This was a political society which was clearly focused on Sussex. St Pancras, Lewes, was not just an honorial foundation but one which appealed to many men and women across Sussex, and beyond, largely regardless of lordship. So although cross-Channel linkages have been emphasized by many scholars of post-Conquest England, particularly in the lordships of the 'super-magnates', the murky local conditions have often been played down or even neglected. The closest we get to seeing honorial society in action here is Lewes and the Warennes, but this all took place in the context of complex and shifting local conditions. It is evident that honors cannot be looked at in isolation but need to be looked at in both their regional, national and international context. Thus, while conditions in Sussex can only be understood in the context of national politics, conversely our understanding of national politics can only be begun to be pieced together through detailed studies of regional circumstances such as existed in Sussex after 1066.

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NOTES

1 For Sussex and the Rapes *see* J. F. A. Mason, *William the First and the Sussex Rapes*, Historical Association Pamphlet, 1972; for the Montgomery family *see* J. F. A. Mason, 'Roger de Montgomery and his Sons', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th ser., **13** (1963), 1–28. On Pevensey as the beachhead *see* B. S. Bachrach, 'Some observations on the military administration of the Norman Conquest', *Anglo-Norman Studies* (hereafter *ANS*) **8** (1985), 21–5.

2 E. Searle, *Lordship and Community: Battle Abbey and its Banlieu, 1066–1538* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1974), 49. For the military lordships, castellanies, established by William the Conqueror in Kent *see* R. Eales, 'Local loyalties in Norman England: Kent in Stephen's reign', *ANS* **8** (1986), 95.

3 Searle, *Lordship and Community*, 48.

4 *The Victoria History of the Counties of England* (hereafter *VCH*), *Sussex* **1**, 354.

5 *Domesday Book* (hereafter *DB*), i, ff. 16b–18a. Ecclesiastical landlords held 48 Sussex holdings out of a total of 527.

6 *VCH Sussex* **1**, 377.

7 *VCH Sussex* **1**, 369–70.

8 E. Searle, 'The abbey of the conquerors: defensive enfeoffment and economic development in Anglo-Norman England', *ANS* **2** (1980), 157; J. A. Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154* (London: HMSO, 1990), 80–2; F. M. Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism, 1066–1166* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), 66.

9 *See* my article, 'Religious patronage and lordship: the debate on the nature of the honour', in K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (ed.), *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1997), 133–46.

10 Stenton, *English Feudalism*, 50.

11 *VCH Sussex* **1**, 371.

12 For examples of this phenomenon *see* the holdings of William of Cahaignes (Pevensey rape and the archbishop

of Canterbury), Hugh son of Ranulf (Lewes rape and the bishop of Exeter), Reinbert (Hastings rape and Battle Abbey) and Osmelin (Arundel and the archbishop of Canterbury). It seems, however, that the tenants of Bramber rape did not hold land from ecclesiastics; *DB*, i, ff. 16c, 17b, 17d, 18a, 18c–d, 19c–d, 20c, 20d, 22d, 25a, 27b.

[13] *DB*, i, ff. 17a, 17d, 19a.

[14] P. H. Sawyer (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated List and Bibliography* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1968) (hereafter abbreviated S, with number of document), S949, S982, S1054; D. Matthew, *Norman Monasteries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 19–20.

[15] D. Knowles & R. Neville Hadcock (eds), *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales* (London: Longman, 1971), 413–18. For South Malling *see* Edward Turner, 'The college of Benedictine canons at South Malling', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter *SAC*) **5** (1852), 127–44, 'On the Saxon college at Bosham', *SAC* **7** (1856), 189–200 and 'The priory of Boxgrove', *SAC* **15** (1863), 83–122.

[16] *DB*, i, fo. 25c.

[17] *DB*, i, ff. 16c, 16d.

[18] *DB*, i, ff. 17b–c, 27a.

[19] *VCH Sussex* **2**, 4, 109. R. W. Finn, *The Norman Conquest and its Effects on the Economy: 1066–1086* (London: Longman, 1971), 58.

[20] Roger of Montgomery held the manor in 1086 and had granted 1 hide to a monk of St-Evroult; *VCH Sussex* **2**, 4; *DB*, i, fo. 23a.

[21] *DB*, i, fo. 17a; *VCH Sussex* **2**, 46, 56, 110, 118. Although Boxgrove was refounded by Robert it owed its 'phenomenal expansion' to the family of his daughter's husband, Roger de St John. He and his sons, William and Robert, so increased its endowment that by 1187 provision had been made for 16 monks; Matthew, *Norman Monasteries*, 45.

[22] *DB*, i, ff. 19a–b, 19d, 21a, 26a.

[23] *DB*, i, fo. 23b.

[24] As Steyning was in Harold's hands in 1066, Fécamp had clearly failed to make good their claim on the property. William the Conqueror's 1085 confirmation charter supports this as it reads: 'even if the abbey did not hold the manor in the time of king Edward, he gives it'; Matthew, *Norman Monasteries*, 21; *DB*, i, fo. 17b; J. H. Round (ed.), *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France Illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland* (hereafter *CDF*) (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1899), no. 115.

[25] *DB*, i, ff. 17b.

[26] *DB*, i, ff. 23a, 24b–d, 25a, 25d; *CDF*, nos 655, 656; *VCH Sussex* **2**, 46, 121.

[27] *DB*, i, ff. 23a, 24b, 25a. Roger also gave the abbey at Sées churches with their priests and land at Shingay and Arrington and the tithe of Orwell, in Cambridgeshire. His sons Roger and Arnulf used Sées to establish priories at Lancaster and Pembroke, endowing them principally with churches and tithes; Matthew, *Norman Monasteries*, 54.

[28] *DB*, i, ff. 24d, 25a; *VCH Sussex* **2**, 46, 121.

[29] *DB*, i, fo. 25d.

[30] *DB*, i, fo. 23a; *VCH Sussex* **2**, 4.

[31] *DB*, i, ff. 18b, 19d; *VCH Sussex* **9**, 119; quoting *CDF* no. 80; *VCH Sussex* **2**, 404 n.8.

[32] *DB*, i, ff. 20d, 21c.

[33] *VCH Sussex* **2**, 122.

[34] *VCH Sussex* **2**, 123. They also had 66 burgesses paying 66d. in the borough of Pevensey; *DB*, i, fo. 20c.

[35] H. W. C. Davis *et al.* (ed.), *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066–1154* (hereafter *RRAN*) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913–69), **1**, nos 179, 192. Cluny also held four hides and two acres in Carlton, Cambridgeshire, from William of Warenne; *DB*, i, fo. 196b.

[36] Searle, *Lordship and Community*, 26: E. Searle (ed.), *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 42–6.

[37] *DB*, i, fo. 17d.

[38] F. H. Baring, 'Hastings Castle 1050–1100 and the chapel of St Mary', *SAC* **57** (1915), 119–35; *VCH Sussex* **2**, 46, 60, 112–3; P. M. Johnston, 'Steyning church', *SAC* **57** (1915), 149–61; J. Martindale, 'Monasteries and castles: the priories of St-Florent de Saumur in England after 1066', in C. Hicks (ed.), *England in the Eleventh Century* (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1992), 135–56, esp. 143–4, 148–9; A. Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses in England and Wales, 1066–1216* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1989), 94, 104, 113.

[39] Binns, *Dedications*, 104–5; *CDF*, nos 37, 397; *SAC* **57**, 151; L. F. Salzman (ed.), *The Chartulary of the Priory of St Peter at Sele* (hereafter *Chart. Sele*) (Cambridge: W. Heffer, 1923), 1–3; Knowles & Hadcock, *Religious Houses*, 91.

[40] B. Golding, 'Robert of Mortain', *ANS* **13** (1991), 134; C. Bréard, *L'abbaye de Notre-Dame de Grestain* (Rouen: A. Lestringant, 1904), 207; A. J. Taylor, 'Evidence for a pre-Conquest origin for the chapels in Hastings and Pevensey castle', in A. J. Taylor (ed.), *Château Gaillard III* (London: Phillimore, 1969), 149–51.

[41] Knowles & Hadcock, *Religious Houses*, 86–7; Matthew, *Norman Monasteries*, 55–8; Mason, 'Roger de Montgomery', 10.

[42] B. Golding, 'The coming of the Cluniacs', *ANS* **3** (1980), 65–77. For Lewes *see* Marvin Clarke, 'The Early Endowment of Lewes Priory: with Special Reference to its Spiritual Possessions *c.* 1077–*c.* 1200', unpubl. M.Phil., Univ. Reading, 1996.

[43] For Bramber in particular and castles and monasteries in general *see* Martindale's comments, 'Monasteries and castles', 153–6.

[44] Martindale, 'Monasteries and castles', 156; John Le Patourel, *The Norman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 317–8; R. Eales, 'Royal power and castles in Norman England', in C. Harper-Bill & R. Harvey (ed.), *Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood* **3** (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1990), 49–78, esp. 59–61, 65.

[45] L. F. Salzman (ed.), *Chartulary of the Priory of St Pancras of Lewes*, Sussex Record Society (hereafter *SRS*) **38**, **40** (1933–5); **38**, 12–14, 17–18, 30–36, 38–40, 61–3, 65, 72–4, 131; Clarke, 'Early Endowment of Lewes', app. 3, 24–5, 30; W. Farrer, C. T. Clay & E. M. Clay (eds), *Early Yorkshire Charters* (hereafter *EYC*) Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record series **1–12** (1935–65); **8**, nos 6, 14, 18, 20; William Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees* (London & Manchester: Spottiswoode & Ballantyne, 1923–5) **3**, 308–13.

[46] Clarke, 'Early Endowment of Lewes', app. 24–5, 30–31.

[47] *SRS* **38**, 13, 72–3, 75, 119–20, 135, 157–8: *CDF*, no. 1391; Clarke, 'Early Endowment of Lewes', app. 5, 32–3, 35–7.

[48] Clarke, 'Early Endowment of Lewes', app. 35–6.
[49] Clarke, 'Early Endowment of Lewes', app. 37–8.
[50] Clarke, 'Early Endowment of Lewes', app. 32–3.
[51] *RRAN* **1**, no. 325: *EYC* **8**, no. 5.
[52] *SRS* **38**, 75; *CDF*, no. 1391.
[53] *RRAN* **2**, no. 510.
[54] *SRS* **38**, 119–20.
[55] John Blair, 'Surrey endowments of Lewes priory before 1200', *SAC* **72** (1980), 115. *See also Early Medieval Surrey* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1991), 143.
[56] *SRS* **38**, 154; *CDF*, no. 1391.
[57] Farrer, *Honors*, iii. 308–13, *SRS* **40**, 72.
[58] *SRS* **38**, 159–60. Richer Laigle also confirmed gifts that had been made to Grestain; W. Dugdale, R. Dodsworth, B. Bandinel, J. Caley & H. Ellis (eds), *Monasticon Anglicanum* (Hereafter *Mon*) (London: Joseph Harding, 1817–30) **6**, part 2, 1091; Bréard, *Grestain*, 209. For Richer and Sussex *see* Kathleen Thompson, 'The lords of Laigle: ambition and insecurity on the borders of Normandy', *ANS* **18** (1996), 187.
[59] Martindale, 'Monasteries and castles', 139.
[60] Bermondsey, Surrey, was 310 feet in length: W. F. Grimes, *The Excavation of Roman and Medieval London* (London: Routledge & Paul, 1968), 210–7, at p. 215.
[61] Knowles & Hadcock, *Religious Houses*, 100.
[62] *VCH Sussex* **2**, 45.
[63] *ANS* **3**, 67.
[64] *Mon* **5**, 96.
[65] *Chronicle of Battle*, 140.
[66] *CDF*, no. 1391; *SAC* **72**, 113. For the marriage of Gilbert Laigle to Juliana of Perche, sister of Rotrou, *see ANS* **18**, 183–4.
[67] *ANS* **18**, 183–4.
[68] D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England, 943–1216*. 2nd edition. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 702–3.
[69] Searle, *Lordship and Community*, 23.
[70] *Chronicle of Battle*, 76–81, 90–1, 96–7; *RRAN* **1**, no. 290; Searle, *Lordship and Community*, 23, 27, 36.
[71] *ANS* **3**, 71.
[72] *Chronicle of Battle*, 86–7, 118–9, 120–21, 122–3, 210–13; *RRAN* **2**, 408, nos 1061, 1225, 1404, 1805.
[73] *Chronicle of Battle*, 86–7.
[74] *Chronicle of Battle*, 118–9; 210–11; *RRAN* **1**, no. 1061.
[75] *Chronicle of Battle*, 88–9.
[76] *Chronicle of Battle*, 88–9.
[77] Bernard hailed from Seine-Inf. His daughter, Sybil, married Miles of Gloucester and acquired land forfeited by Roger de Lacy. He was also a benefactor of Gloucester and Fécamp abbey; W. H. Hart (ed.), *Historia et Chartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae* (London: Rolls series, 1863–7) **1**, 64, 80, 314; *Chronicle of Battle*, 86–8; Binns, *Dedications*, 64; D. Walker, 'The "honours" of the earls of Hereford in the twelfth century', *Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* **79** (1960), 174–211, at 184–5.
[78] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales and the Description of Wales* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Press, 1978), 88–9.
[79] For example *see Chronicle of Battle*, 210–13.
[80] *RRAN* **2**, no. 529. This writ also ensured the abbot's presence when pleas were removed from his own court into the king's.
[81] *Chronicle of Battle*, 108–13.
[82] *Chronicle of Battle*, 112–13; *RRAN* **2**, nos 1313, 1394.
[83] W. J. Corbett, 'England 1087–1154', in J. R. Tanner *et al.* (eds), *Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press 1957) **5**, 521–3; Mason, 'Roger of Montgomery', 4; Hollister, 'Taming of a turbulent earl', 141.
[84] Eales, 'Royal power and castles', 65.
[85] My own figures.
[86] Mason, 'Sussex Rapes', 15–16.
[87] J. A. Green, *The Government of England Under Henry I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 60.
[88] Green, *Government*, 59.
[89] Walker, '"Honours" of the earls of Hereford', 192–3; I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies: a Study of their Origin and Descent* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), 21; *Historia* **1**, 110. Martindale, 'Monasteries and castles', 149.
[90] *Inventaire Sommaire Archives Départmentales* (Alençon; E. Renaut - De Broie, 1891), Orne, H **1**, 86; *CDF*, nos 73, 152, 449, 453, 465, 480; *RRAN* **1**, nos 96, 168, 172, 353; Mason, 'Roger of Montgomery', 11–12.
[91] Knowles & Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 76, 101; *RRAN* **1**, no. 356, 358. Much Wenlock must have been a significant endowment as by the mid-12th century there were 50 monks there.
[92] I. N. Soulsby, 'The Fiefs in England of the Counts of Mortain, 1066–1106', unpubl. MA diss. Cardiff, 1974, 10, 15, 22–6, 125–33, 137–41; *ANS* **13**, 141–4; *CDF*, nos 453, 715–16, 729, 1201, 1203–7; *RRAN* **1**, nos 145, 146, 204; **2**, no. 645.
[93] Binns, *Dedications*, 115.
[94] For the endowment of Grestain *see* D. Bates & V. Gazeau, 'L'abbaye de Grestain et la famille d'Herluin de Conteville', *Annales de Normandie* **40** (1990), 5–30.
[95] Matthew, *Norman Monasteries*, 61–2.
[96] They were Ralph de Balliol, Walter fitz Lambert, Rainbert the sheriff, Ralph fitz Ralph, Ranulf the priest of Udimore, Ingelran of Eu, Robert de Criel, Henry of Eu, William fitz Robert, William fitz Robert, William fitz Wibert and Engeler of Scotney; Edward Turner, 'The College and priory of Hastings and the priory of Warbleton', *SAC* **13** (1861), 132, 134–9; *Mon* **6**, pt 3, 1470.
[97] *VCH Sussex* **2**, 112–23.
[98] *See* Matthew, *Norman Monasteries*, 54.
[99] The abbey of Grestain received seven donations, Sées received four and Saint-Amand, Rouen, one: C. Bréard, *Grestain*, 27, 29, 33–4; George Miles Cooper, 'Illustrations of Wilington priory and church, *SAC* **4** (1851), 37–66, esp. 40–42. The followers of the count of Eu had made grants to Tréport at the time of its foundation in 1060; *CDF*, no. 230.
[100] *CDF*, no. 655.
[101] *CDF*, no. 660.
[102] *CDF*, no. 669.
[103] Farrer, *Honors* **3**, 21.
[104] Mason, 'Roger of Montgomery', 9.
[105] *CDF*, 510, nos 655, 656, 1391; *SRS* **38**, 75; Farrer, *Honors*, **3**, 16–7, 21; *Mon* **2**, 182b, 220; **5**, 3; *VCH Yorkshire* **2**, 155. For Robert *see* L. F. Salzman, 'On the early history of the honor of Petworth', *SAC* **68** (1927), 60–66. For Alvred *see* Sanders, *English Baronies*, 34. L. F. Salzman, 'Some Domesday tenants: Alvred *pincerna* and his descendants', *SAC* **47** (1916), 162–79; J. F. A. Mason, 'Barons and their officials in the later eleventh century', *ANS* **13** (1991), 243–62 esp. 249; *ANS* **13**, 138.

[106] Mason, 'Roger of Montgomery', 7; *SAC* **47**, 162.
[107] *SAC* **13**, 136, 138; *Chronicle of Battle*, 118–19; 210–11; *RRAN* **1**, no. 1061; *Chart. Sele*, no. 11; *SRS* **38**, 131–2, 161–2.
[108] *SRS* **38**, 12, 20, 34, 36, 62; **40**, 46, 49–50; Farrer, *Honors*, **3**, 310.
[109] *SRS* **38**, 119.
[110] In 1086 'the clergy of St Pancras' held two and a half hides at West Firle from Robert; *DB*, i, fo. 21a.
[111] F. Barlow, *William Rufus* (London: Methuen, 1982), 72.
[112] M. Chibnall (ed.), *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis* (hereafter *OV*) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969–80) **4**, 128, 180, 182.
[113] *OV* **4**, 124, 127n; Mason, 'Roger of Montgomery', 16.
[114] E. Edwards (ed.), *Liber Monasterii de Hyda* (London: Rolls series, 1866), 299.
[115] *OV* **5**, 314; D. Whitelock, D. C. Douglas & S. I. Tucker (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1961), annal 'E' for the year 1101.
[116] *OV* **6**, 20–24.
[117] William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum Libri Quinque*, ed. by W. Stubbs (London: Rolls series, 1887–9) **2**, 473.
[118] *Mon* **5**, 96.
[119] For Gilbert Laigle and Pevensey *see* Green, *Government*, 115, 179–80. Kathleen Thompson has suggested that the integrity of Pevensey rape had been 'eroded' with the grant to the Laigle family. I would like to thank Dr Thompson for sending me a copy of her paper 'Lords, castellans, constables and dowagers: the rape of Pevensey from the eleventh and thirteenth century', which was delivered at the Sussex Archaeological Autumn Conference 1996 at Michelham priory, Sussex and was published 1997, *SAC* **135**, 209–20.
[120] *ANS* **18**, 186.
[121] *OV* **6**, 32
[122] *CDF*, no. 669; *SRS* **40**(**2**), 79.
[123] The lords of these baronies held lands outside Kent but their interests were 'mostly localized'; *ANS* **8**, 97.
[124] H. Hall (ed.), *The Red Book of the Exchequer* (London: Rolls series, 1896) **1**, 203.
[125] Green, *Government*, 115.
[126] *OV* **4**, 284; Sanders, *English Baronies*, 119.
[127] Mason, 'Sussex Rapes', 20.
[128] *OV* **4**, 284, 285n.
[129] For William II of Warenne *see* C. W. Hollister, 'The taming of a turbulent earl: Henry I and William of Warenne', in C. W. Hollister, *Monarchy, Magnates and Institutions* (London: Hambledon Press, 1986), 137–44. Marjorie Chibnall has suggested that Orderic Vitalis may be wrong about Warenne's disloyalty to Rufus in 1101 as he is the only source for forfeiture of earldom; *OV* **5**, 308.
[130] Mason, 'Roger of Montgomery', 9.
[131] Clarke, 'Early Endowment of Lewes', app. 5, 32–3, 35–8.
[132] John Hudson has also recently criticized Stenton's view of the honor as 'feudal state in miniature'; *Land, Law, and Lordship in Anglo-Norman England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 278.

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The rise of the Dallingridge family

by Nigel Saul

The Dallingridges are one of the most famous of Sussex's medieval gentry families, and Sir Edward is celebrated as the builder of Bodiam. The origins and early history of the family, however, have been little studied. This article looks at the fortunes of the Dallingridges from c. 1270 to c. 1380 and considers in detail the career of Roger Dallingridge, Sir Edward's father. It is suggested that two factors in particular contributed to the family's rise: magnate patronage and a series of good marriages. The article ends by speculating on the possible influence on the family's fortunes of their origins in Ashdown Forest.

By the later 14th century the Dallingridges had established themselves as one of the foremost gentry families in east Sussex. Roger Dallingridge was a leading figure in private service and royal administration in the 1360s and 1370s. His more celebrated kinsman Sir Edward, the builder of Bodiam, was not only active in his county but also served King Richard II at court. In the next generation, Sir Edward's son John, an active member of the Lancastrian affinity, maintained the family's influence into the reign of Henry IV. For three-quarters of a century the family mediated the flow of magnate and royal patronage in east Sussex. Underpinning their local influence was their landed wealth. When John died in 1408 he held estates and annuities in Sussex alone worth over £100, and his estates outside the county were probably worth as much again.[1]

The careers of the later Dallingridges, in particular of Edward and John, have been studied in some detail;[2] and aspects of Edward's life have figured in the broader history of England. Altogether less well understood are the origins and early history of the family. Unlike for example their neighbours, the Sackvilles, the Dallingridges were not a long established knightly lineage. They were of yeoman or squirearchical stock. Their ascent came in stages in the early- to mid-14th century. Among the factors that help to account for their rise are access to magnate favour and a series of marriages to heiresses. Similarities are to be observed between the Dallingridges' rise and that of some other gentry families. For that reason it is worth looking at the family's early history in the more general context of the factors that aided social mobility in late medieval England.

The earliest member of the family to figure in the records is Roger, who flourished in the later 13th century. In an extent of Ashdown Forest made in 1274 Roger appears as a serjeant forester drawing a fee from the king of 3s. per annum.[3] Five or six years later he also appears in an extent of the Ashdown manor of Maresfield. In this document he is said to hold a messuage at 'Dalling Ridge' and 80 acres of land by the serjeanty of acting as a forester, the king being entitled to claim his best animal as a heriot on his death.[4] It is likely that the estate of Dalling Ridge, south of East Grinstead, from which Roger took his name, was his main seat. Roger's date of death is not known. Unfortunately, there is no inquisition post mortem because the Dallingridges did not hold their lands in chief (directly from the Crown). But it is possible that Roger was dead by the early 1290s;[5] one Matilda Dallingridge, who was assessed at 7s.0d. at Riston for a parliamentary subsidy in 1296, may well be his widow.[6]

The next members of the family to be mentioned are two brothers, John and William Dallingridge. In March 1309 Edward II ordered the commissioners Sir Henry Cobham and Sir Andrew Sackville to cease surveying the waste committed in Ashdown by John Dallingridge and William his brother and to enquire thereof by a jury instead.[7] Six years later John was to be accused of further trespasses, this time of vert and venison, in Ashdown.[8] John and William were probably, although not certainly, the sons of Roger, for John was to call his own son Roger. It is reasonable to suppose that John was the elder of

the two, since it is from him that the main line of the family descended.

In the time of the two brothers the Dallingridges made the first stages of their ascent into the greater gentry. William began establishing himself as a landed proprietor in the southern parts of Ashdown. In 1308 he acquired a messuage, 30 acres of land, 3 acres of meadow and 740 acres of meadow at Hamsey, near Lewes.[9] It is unclear where he obtained the capital for this acquisition, but the impression is given of a man on the make. William also acquired interests in Parrock and Hartfield.[10]

John's advance was more spectacular. What underpinned it was his marriage — the first of a series that were to augment and extend the family's interests. In or shortly before 1312 John married Joan, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Walter de la Lynde of Bolebrook, near Hartfield, and his wife Isabel.[11] Joan came from a distinguished lineage. Her grandfather, Sir John de la Lynde, had been active in royal service under Henry III. He was a 'king's knight' by 1261, and in 1265 was appointed keeper of the Tower of London after the royalist triumph at Evesham; from 1267 he was frequently employed as an envoy to the king of France. Joan's father, Sir Walter, had been summoned to fight in the Scottish wars of Edward I.[12] The de la Lyndes held a string of manors. The main ones were Bolebrook, in Sussex, Laceby, Lincs., Broomfield and Sock Dennis, Somerset, and Swire and Hartley in Dorset. The family's income probably totalled between £100 and £200 per annum. In terms of both status and income Joan was of superior standing to her husband. The match was in that sense a strange one. It is tempting to wonder if it was the product of an elopement. But whether or not this was so, the de la Lyndes gave it their blessing. In 1311, soon after the match was made, Joan's parents settled lands and rents in Hartfield and Withyham on the couple.[13] Four years later, Sir Walter obtained licence to enfeoff them with a moiety of the manor of Laceby.[14] Five years after that, on his father-in-law's death, John inherited the manor of Bolebrook. It is interesting to note that he also took over the de la Lyndes' arms. The arms that the Dallingridges later bore *Argent a cross engrailed gules* were those of John's in-laws. Presumably John was not of prior armigerous rank himself.

John's rapidly improving fortunes were reflected, in the mid-1320s, in his entry into the lower ranks of the office-holding elite. In July 1325 he was appointed to a commission to inspect walls and ditches along the coast of east Sussex.[15] Ten years later he was appointed with William de Sessingham and the prior of Michelham to survey the manors and parks of the honour of the Eagle (i.e. the Rape of Pevensey) for waste.[16] These were relatively minor appointments of the kind often given to non-knightly gentry. Their significance was that they marked governmental acceptance of his entry into local political society.

By the time of his death John had lifted his yeoman family into the ranks of the county gentry. In the next generation the Dallingridges' fortunes were to improve further. The new head of the family was a second Roger. The relationship of Roger II to other members of the line has sometimes given rise to confusion.[17] In the mid- to late-1330s there are references to two Rogers: Roger son of John, and Roger son of Thomas.[18] Roger son of Thomas was based at Little Horsted near Uckfield and acted as one of John's executors.[19] He and his father had connections with the Pierpoint and the Poynings families, and in 1345 he witnessed a bond of Sir Simon Pierpoint.[20] This Roger is known to have died by 1368, when his widow Cecilia was named as an executrix of his will.[21] However, the Roger who was active in administration is known to have been active still in the 1370s; he appears to have died around 1380. This Roger accordingly must be Roger, the son of John. This is a conclusion supported by the evidence of the family's heraldry. In Fletching church is a brass datable to *c.* 1380 which almost certainly commemorates Roger the administrator.[22] On the jupon of the male figure and on a shield couché in the fragmentary canopy gable appear the Dallingridge arms without marks of cadency and without differencing. The man commemorated must be an eldest son, and since he displays John's newly acquired arms he must be John's son.

When John Dallingridge died in the autumn of 1335, an inquisition post mortem was held in respect of his lands at Laceby, Lincs. His heir was said to be his son Roger, who was aged 24.[23] It is not clear how much weight should be attached to this statement of his age. Ages in inquisitions are often unreliable and there are grounds in this case for supposing that Roger was several years younger. In the first place, on his father's death he had more than another 40 years' active life ahead of him. Secondly, he was not to begin his career in arms until the following year, and he was not to begin

office-holding in the county until the early 1360s.[24] The signs are that he was probably 20 or less in 1335. His mother and other kin may have misrepresented his age in order to avoid the unwelcome prospect of a royal wardship.

The earliest references to Roger all relate to his performance of military service. In 1336 he fought in Scotland as an esquire in the retinue of the king's son John of Eltham, Earl of Cornwall.[25] From the end of the 1330s he regularly enlisted in the king's armies to fight on the continent. In 1339 he received a protection for service in Flanders.[26] In the following year he was a member of Sir Michael de Poynings' retinue in the expedition that won the great naval victory at Sluys.[27] In 1342 he was granted a protection for service with the king in the autumn campaign in Brittany.[28] In 1346 he again attached himself to Sir Michael de Poynings for the important crossing to Normandy.[29] Almost certainly he was a member of the army that defeated the French at Crécy in July and went on to take Calais in the following year.

After the Crécy-Calais expedition Roger figures little in the record sources until his emergence as a major office-holder in the county in the 1360s. In the 15-year interval he appears to have been chiefly involved in seigneurial administration. In his native Ashdown he had his hereditary responsibilities as a forester in fee. It is hard to say how demanding these were, but during Queen Philippa's highly exacting lordship of Pevensey in the 1350s it is unlikely that a forestership was a sinecure.[30] Around the same time he began to acquire obligations to other lords. During or before the 1350s he had entered the service of the dowager Countess Warenne. On 22 March 1360 the Countess addressed a letter to him as her 'vadlet' and 'her estates steward in Surrey and Sussex'.[31] Very likely he had initially entered the service of her husband, Earl John, the last of the Warennes, and on the Earl's death in 1347 had committed himself to his widow. On the Countess' death in August 1361, he transferred in turn to the service of Richard, Earl of Arundel, who had inherited the bulk of the Warenne estates on John's death 14 years before. He quickly became one of the Earl's inner circle. The Earl named him as one of his feoffees in a settlement of 1366, and on several occasions he appears as a justice of oyer and terminer in cases involving the Earl, doubtless at the latter's suggestion.[32] The connection that he forged with the comital family continued into the next generation. Roger's son Edward, the builder of Bodiam, was active in the second Earl's service to the late 1380s. When Edward fell foul of John of Gaunt in the 1380s, it was the Earl who delivered him from prison.[33]

Roger Dallingridge's many connections with the powerful greatly enhanced his standing in Sussex society. Nonetheless it was the first of his two marriages that did most in the short term to transform his prospects. Sometime around 1340 Roger wedded Alice, one of the three daughters of a local knight, Sir John de Radingdon.[34] Like Walter de la Lynde a generation earlier, Sir John was wealthy. He held a string of manors in Sussex, the main ones being Sheffield in Fletching, Little Horsted, 'Hyndedale' and Charleston. He had probably come into contact with Roger by virtue of his custody, in 1325, of the manor of Maresfield, where the Dallingridge family held interests.[35] According to the feet of fines, John had three daughters, Alice, Agatha and Maud. But only Alice, it appears, survived. On her father's death in around 1350 she took his entire inheritance to her husband, who henceforth established himself at Sheffield. Alice probably died in the early 1360s. Fairly quickly, and no later than 1362, Roger remarried. His second wife was another Alice, the widow of Sir Thomas St Maur, who had died in 1358 leaving no issue.[36] Roger's aim was to acquire her lands. The St Maur family, among their numerous estates, held the neighbouring manor in Fletching, that of Sheffield St Maur.[37] By marrying Alice, Roger immediately gained the dower third of the manor which Alice brought with her. Shortly afterwards he obtained the rest of the manor from Sir John Worth, Thomas's cousin and heir and the Princess of Wales's steward.[38] Roger had effectively made Fletching parish the centre of his lordship.

Roger's wealth and his close connection with the Arundels together ensured his appointment to all the offices and commissions of importance in the county. From the early 1360s he regularly served as a justice of oyer and terminer and commissioner of array or commissioner to inspect ditches.[39] In 1360, 1362 and 1363 he was elected a knight of the shire for Sussex in parliament.[40] In March 1371 he was appointed a collector of the parishes tax.[41] Later the same year he was pricked as sheriff, and five years after that he served as escheator.[42] By the mid-1370s he was also serving regularly as a justice of the peace, and three years before his death he was elected a fourth time to represent Sussex in

parliament.[43]

Roger's administrative work led to a broadening of his social and political horizons. His father's world had been largely confined to the Rape of Pevensey. Roger's extended to the whole of Sussex. His earliest contacts outside the closely-knit Ashdown community had been with the Poynings family. He had twice fought under Sir Michael de Poynings in the 1340s, and his kinsman Roger, the son of Thomas, had had dealings with the family in the same decade.[44] By the early 1360s, after he had been retained by the Earl of Arundel, he forged a series of ties with members of the Arundels' affinity. He regularly interacted with such men as Sir Edward St John, John de Kingsfold, Henry Asty, Sir Andrew Peverel and Robert Halsham.[45] At the same time he was drawn towards a lesser magnate with interests in Sussex, Roger, Lord de la Warr. De la Warr held a string of manors in the Rape of Pevensey, including Wilmington, Arlington, Isfield, the last of which marched with the Dallingridge manor of Little Horsted.[46] De la Warr was a veteran campaigner and probably visited Sussex infrequently.[47] Dallingridge may have held a position in his administration to watch over his interests: in 1368, when he witnessed a charter of de la Warr's, he did so alongside the latter's close associates Sir Robert Holand, Sir Thomas Latimer of Braybrooke, Northants., Robert Boteler and the lawyer Sir William Tauk.[48] Roger also forged associations with a number of gentry-based network groups. In the centre of the county he interacted with a group of non-knightly proprietors including John Weyvill, William Merlot the elder, and Richard, son of William Fifhide.[49] Further to the north he was also closely involved with the gentry of Ashdown and the Wealden country stretching into Surrey. Among his close associates here were his neighbour Sir John St Clere of Brambletye, another Ashdown landowner Sir Thomas Lewknor and, from the Surrey side, Richard de Burstow and William Newdigate.[50] Over the county border to the east there was another proprietor with whom he had connections, the Kentish knight Sir Nicholas de Loveyne of Penshurst.[51] Loveyne's many conveyancing activities also brought him into independent contact with Peverel, Burstow and St Clere.[52] It is likely that Dallingridge established social or business relations with various others outside the county as a result of his frequent parliamentary service. In 1370, for example, he was appointed to impress mariners with the steward of the royal household, Sir William Latimer.[53] But oddly, he appears to have had few if any contacts with the Londoners.[54]

Roger's work as a local office-holder and commissioner brought him into contact with all the main knightly families of his shire. Yet strangely it seems that he never took up knighthood himself. As late as the early 1360s, when he was well into his 40s, he was still referred to by the Countess Warenne as her esquire ('vadlet').[55] It is possible that he could have taken up knighthood subsequently; but on balance it seems unlikely. In all the sources for the later years of his life — the feet of fines and the series of chancery enrolments — he is referred to simply as Roger Dallingridge and never as Roger Dallingridge 'knight'. On occasions the clerks took particular care over details of status: for example, they did so when noting the returns of members of parliament.[56] If Roger had been a knight he would surely at some time have been referred to as such.

Roger's reluctance to take up the higher rank is a little puzzling. There can be no doubt that he had the necessary wealth. His father had been distrained for knighthood in 1335;[57] and he himself was considerably richer. Part of the answer may be that in mid-career he had given up performing military service. Knighthood held the greatest attraction to those who were regular campaigners because a knight's pay was double that of an esquire. Roger, however, never fought after the 1340s; so to him the attraction of higher pay was irrelevant. Another possible reason is that he considered the assumption of knighthood an unwelcome burden. Traditionally the Crown looked to the belted knights to fill the main offices of county administration. Someone of knightly wealth who did not wish to be appointed might thus see his way to avoiding it by declining the rank. Dallingridge's administrative record hardly suggests that he fell into this category. However, it is intriguing that in 1364 he sought from the Crown an exemption from being appointed to office against his will;[58] quite possibly his commitments in seigneurial administration left him with too little time for work in the shire. Either or both of these reasons could offer an explanation for his lack of interest. But there may well have been a third, and a very different, reason. In the later Middle Ages knighthood no longer commanded the respect it had once had as a mark of status. Instead, there was a greater emphasis on lineage.[59] Lineage was a matter of blood; it was not, as knighthood was, a mark of

personal or individual distinction: rather it attested the growing fame of the family over generations. Appropriately, the outward and visible sign of lineage was possession of a coat-of-arms, for this was an hereditary ensign. Thus a proprietor whose ancestors had borne coat armour for generations had little or no need to take up knighthood; possession of arms was proof of ancestral worth. Roger Dallingridge, coming from a family that had never produced knights, may well have been content with the evidence of status which his lineage afforded him. His father had taken over the arms of the de la Lyndes, and that was sufficient. Like a growing number of landowners, he saw no need to bother with knighthood itself.[60]

In the absence of any personal details, or of a family archive, it is difficult to form much of an impression of Roger's character. Personal qualities are rarely illuminated by the main sources at our disposal — the chancery enrolments, feet of fines and so on. But a few impressions emerge. It appears that soldiering had only a limited appeal to him; he had fought as a youth, but despite the renewal of war in the 1350s, he never took up arms after 1346. He was evidently ambitious and keen to seek personal advancement: it is noticeable how assiduously he courted the rich and the powerful. On the other hand, his careful avoidance of knighthood points to a certain reticence in him. Possibly the main impulse driving him on was a dynastic sense: in other words, a search for family rather than personal advancement. There are a number of pointers to this. The first is the evident pride that he took in his armigerous status: heraldry figured prominently on his tomb.[61] A second, hardly less striking, is the marriage that he arranged for his son and heir Edward.[62] The marriage was negotiated around 1364.[63] It was the third and the most successful of the series of matches that lifted the Dallingridges to the higher rungs of Sussex society; and its consequences were far-reaching.

The bride whom Roger selected for his son was Elizabeth, the daughter and heiress of Sir John Wardieu of Bodiam. Wardieu was another wealthy man: he held a string of estates in the midlands and the south of England, among them the manors of Bodiam and Hollington in Sussex, Sywell, Hannington and Arthingworth in Northamptonshire, and various properties in Kent, Leicestershire and Rutland.[64] Elizabeth was to be his eventual heiress. Whether her future status was apparent at the time of the marriage is hard to say. In 1364 she may have have had a brother or brothers, and her father was still in his prime. However, on her father's death, 13 years later, she inherited all. Elizabeth's title to certain properties in Leicestershire and Rutland, notably the bailiwick of Leighfield forest, was far from sound, but she succeeded in establishing possession. Edward strengthened his position by seeking a royal pardon for trespasses done by Wardieu as keeper of the forest, but soon afterwards he decided to dispose of the Wardieus' midland properties.[65] It was never easy to manage a scattered inheritance, and Edward wanted to consolidate his holdings in the south.[66] Accordingly, in 1381 he sold the manors in Rutland to Sir William Burgh, the future judge, and a few years later he similarly disposed of the Northamptonshire properties. From now on the main family seat was to be Bodiam in Sussex. In the 1380s Edward embarked on a series of measures to develop the manor as a major lordship centre. In 1383 he secured the right to hold an annual fair and weekly markets there.[67] A couple of years later, after obtaining a licence to crenellate, he embarked on the construction of a state-of-the-art castle on a site a mile to the south of the Wardieus' manor house, near the Rother.[68] At the same time he built a new mill and diverted the Rother to serve the millpond.[69] These mightily ambitious works bore witness to his emergence as a major figure in Sussex society. Their cost, admittedly spread over many years, must have been enormous. There can be little doubt that by the early 1380s Dallingridge was wealthy. He had the income of his own and his wife's ancestral lands; he collected retaining fees from a host of lords;[70] and there are signs that he had made money from ransoms.[71] But even so the outlay was such that he would have needed to borrow or to draw on capital. Perhaps it was partly for this reason that he sold the Wardieus' midland properties. He needed the money to pay for the building programme at Bodiam.

Edward Dallingridge was a vigorous, assertive man, keen to make a mark on the world. But his father may not have been so very different. Roger had died in about 1380: the last references to him are in 1379.[72] He was buried in Fletching church, and almost certainly the great tomb at the end of the south transept is his. Although sadly mutilated today, this was once a splendid piece. It consists of a long tomb chest with projecting buttresses which supported a large stone canopy. At the apex of the

canopy gable was a stone achievement. Along the front of the chest are 15 cusped niches which probably held small, free-standing figures of weepers, now lost. On the top of the chest are the brasses of Roger and his wife. Roger is shown in armour, with an heraldic jupon, and the figures are surmounted by a tall canopy and embattled super canopy.[73] The tomb was probably commissioned after Roger's death; only occasionally did a commemorated order a tomb or a brass in his lifetime. But it affords a clear enough insight into his self-image: and not surprisingly, as his executors would have known what he wanted. The tomb is unusually large and self-conscious: a witness to someone who had done well in the world. There is a heavy emphasis on heraldry: Roger's arms are shown on his jupon. The impression is conveyed of a man much preoccupied with lineage: we know that blood mattered more to him than his knighting.

The character of the tomb is so singular and forceful as to prompt the speculation that he left instructions for it in his will. It was by no means unusual for testators to specify the location of a tomb and the form that it should take, and, when they did so, they usually gave particular attention to heraldry. Roger's will does not survive, but it is perfectly possible that some of its provisions related to the design of the tomb and the placing of arms on the jupon. It may be significant that one of the relatively few other brasses of this date to show an emblazoned jupon is that of someone known to Roger: the fragmentary figure of a knight, *c.* 1370, at Bodiam generally identified as that of John Wardieu.[74] Possibly Roger knew about Wardieu's brass and suggested it as a model for his own.

The splendour of Roger's monument at Fletching is testimony to how far the Dallingridges had come since the 1280s. In the 13th century the family had been minor gentry: they were holders of a serjeanty in Ashdown and their interests were predominantly local. A century later they could support knighthood and they were appointed to all the main county offices. A number of factors contributed to their rise. The first and most obvious of these was the series of marriages to heiresses which enabled them to extend their interests; by the mid-1340s they were lords of a string of manors across eastern Sussex. The second was the aristocratic patronage which they assiduously cultivated, in particular that of the Earls of Arundel, the most important landowning family in Sussex. It was thanks largely to the Arundels' influence that Roger was able to play so active a role in Sussex political life. It is hardly coincidental that his appearance as a regular office-holder in the county coincides with the consolidation of Arundel's territorial power after the dowager Countess' death in 1361. Roger was one of the main agents of the earl's 'rule'. Quite possibly it was to the earl that he was indebted for his election to parliament in the two consecutive years of 1362 and 1363.[75]

However, in explaining the family's rise, account should also be taken of more personal factors. To contemporaries what may have been most apparent about John and Roger was less their success in the marriage market than their vigour and the force of their personalities. Roger in particular was active and assertive: the mere record of his public career shows that. He knew how to make himself indispensable to the mighty, and he knew how to advance his family's interests. It is true, of course, that he greatly profited from his ready access to magnate power. But paradoxically he may also have profited from the gradual weakening of that power in the further parts of the county. In the years when he was emerging as an administrator there was no longer a resident magnate in the eastern rapes of Sussex: the FitzAlans, who had succeeded the Warennes, lived chiefly either at Arundel or in the Welsh Marches. In the rapes of Pevensey and Hastings, held by members of the royal family, lordship was exercised vicariously, by stewards and bailiffs, and the gentry were lacking in a local sponsor.[76] Roger and, still more, his son, by their personal vigour and powerful connections, went some way to filling the vacuum. Later, other gentry were to challenge them for position: in the early 1400s, for instance, there was Sir John Pelham of Laughton, a councillor of Henry IV.[77] But the role of the local patronage broker was one which, in Sussex, the Dallingridges were the first to fashion and develop.

There is much in Roger's career that invites comparison with the experience of careerist gentry elsewhere in England. It was, of course, common for gentry dynasties to enlarge their interests by a combination of magnate favour and marriage to heiresses. Magnates found it advantageous to take into their service intelligent, talented men who could prove their worth as administrators; and they were willing to offer them due reward. Sometimes

the hand of an heiress was given as recompense for exceptional service. In the early 15th century John Throckmorton, a leading retainer of the Beauchamp Earls of Warwick, won the hand of the Spiney heiress thanks to the influence of his patron, whose tenant her father was.[78] It is tempting to wonder whether Roger's marriage to the Radingdon heiress owed anything to the brokerage of his Arundel or Poynings patrons.

However, it is appropriate to balance these remarks with a concluding emphasis on the distinctive elements in the Dallingridges' ascent. The factor that most obviously set the family apart was their forest background. By heredity and occupation they were foresters in fee — in other words, verderers; they held by serjeanty. It is possible that the family's rise can to some extent be attributed to this. The forest environment was very different from the world of village and field outside. In many ways it fostered a freer and less rigidly structured society. Manorialism was less developed. Possibly it was easier to be self-assertive: a verderer could harness jurisdictional power to advance his private interests. There was almost certainly greater opportunity to put together an estate. Land could be acquired by a variety of means: notably by assarting, in other words by cutting into the waste, and by buying out smaller freeholders. In short, the constraints on upward mobility that operated in other parts were here less powerful.

With this background in mind, it is worth noting the similarities between the Dallingridges' ascent and that of successful families from other forested areas. Some useful points emerge from a study of the Greyndours of Clearwell in the Forest of Dean. The Greyndours, like the Dallingridges, were sprung from the middling squirearchy. They were office-holders in the forest, although they also gained employment as archers.[79] Like the Dallingridges, the Greyndours profited from the sponsorship of the mighty. Ralph Greyndour the younger was retained by Edward III as an archer in 1377;[80] other members of the family were taken on by Richard, Lord Talbot and John of Gaunt, either as annuitants or keepers of nearby castles.[81] Like the Dallingridges, the Greyndours were highly successful in the marriage market. Laurence made the initial breakthrough in the 1340s by marrying the heiress of Sir Ralph de Abenhall of Abenhall; in the next generation his son John married a co-heiress of the Hathewys, landowners in the eastern Forest, while John's son in turn, Robert, won the hand of a Somerset heiress.[82] In just three generations the Greyndours had made themselves the leading gentry family in the Forest; and the key factors in their rise — employment in forest office and possession of magnate favour — were ones that aided the Dallingridges.

A similar picture is revealed by a study of another family, the Archers of the Forest of Arden in Warwickshire. The Archers, who lived in the parish of Tanworth, started off with a holding of no more than about 25 acres. By a combination of assarting and piecemeal accumulation they gradually expanded this holding into a substantial estate which constituted a manor in all but name. The Archers, like the other families, also successfully exploited their possession of magnate favour. They were tenants and, for over a century, dependants of the earls of Warwick and by virtue of their connection secured a series of good marriages. Their greatest coup came in 1415, when Richard Archer won the hand of the heiress widow of Thomas Lucy, a fellow retainer.[83]

Thus in the search for an explanation for the Dallingridges' success, account should be taken of their forest environment. It allowed them to enlarge their holdings and extend their power. Significantly, Roger — the key figure in the family's history — even after acquiring estates elsewhere in the county continued to make his Ashdown lands the focus of his lordship. It is true that by the 1380s Sir Edward had established himself at Bodiam. But even for Edward the continued exercise of power in Ashdown was crucial. This was why he responded so fiercely to Gaunt's challenge to his authority there. The Dallingridges, unlike for example some careerist families in Cheshire, were never ashamed of their origins.[84] They did not seek easier social acceptance by moving elsewhere.[85] Ashdown mattered to them, and they consolidated their position there — just as the Greyndours did in the Forest of Dean and the Archers in the Warwickshire Arden. Roger's and Edward's was more than an atavistic attachment to family roots; what concerned them was the material foundations of their power.

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NOTES

[1] *Feudal Aids 1284–1431* **6**, 526; J. S. Roskell, L. Clark & C. Rawcliffe, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1386–1421* (hereafter *Commons*) **2** (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1992), 743. The figure of £100 for Sussex is likely to be a gross underestimate.

[2] For Edward, *see* in particular A. Rogers, 'The Parliamentary Representation of Surrey and Sussex 1377–1422' (unpub. M.A. thesis, Univ. of Nottingham, 1957), 272–85; and for Edward and John, *Commons* **2**, 738–44.

[3] Public Record Office, London (hereafter PRO), SC12/15/46. There were 8 serjeanties: *Victoria History of the County of* (hereafter *VCH*) *Sussex* **2** (1907), 315. The foresters' duties were to protect the vert and venison and attach offenders throughout the forest woodlands.

[4] PRO, SC12/15/66, datable to *c.* 1280.

[5] In 1296 John Dallingridge paid relief to the king. As is shown below, John was almost certainly Roger's son and heir: PRO, E101/136/19 m.4. I am grateful to Christopher Whittick for this reference.

[6] W. Hudson (ed.), *Three Earliest Subsidies for the County of Sussex*, Sussex Record Society (hereafter SRS) **10** (1910), 33. A Roger Dallingridge also appears as a witness to an undated grant of a messuage at West Hoathly. Since the other witnesses to the grant are clearly of peasant freeholder background, it is tempting to identify this Roger as a 13th-century member of the family: *Calendar of Ancient Deeds* **4**, no. A7239.

[7] *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (hereafter *CPR*) 1307–13, 106.

[8] L. C. Loyd & D. M. Stenton (eds), *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals*, Northamptonshire Record Society **15** (1950), no. 356.

[9] L. F. Salzman (ed.), *An Abstract of Feet of Fines for the County of Sussex, 1: Edward II to 24 Henry VII*, SRS **23** (1916), no. 1257.

[10] *Feudal Aids* **5**, 145; *Three Earliest Subsidies*, 298.

[11] W. D. Scull, 'Bolebroke House', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter *SAC*) **52** (1909), 34, where John is mistakenly said to have been the father of Edward. The other daughter was Cicely, who married Herbert de Flynton: C. Moor, *Knights of Edward I* **3**, Harleian Society **82** (1930), 90.

[12] For the details of the two men's careers, *see* Moor, *Knights of Edward I* **3**, 89–90.

[13] *Sussex Feet of Fines*, no. 1304.

[14] *CPR 1313–17*, 334.

[15] *CPR 1324–7*, 145.

[16] *CPR 1334–8*, 206.

[17] See, for example, C. Thomas-Stanford, 'The Manor of Radynden: the de Radyndens and their successors', *SAC* **62** (1921), 76–7.

[18] *Sussex Feet of Fines*, nos 1884, 2135.

[19] *Sussex Feet of Fines*, no. 2135. British Library (hereafter BL), Add. MS 39374, f. 38v (notes of Edwin Dunkin, citing Common Pleas roll, Michaelmas term 1338).

[20] East Sussex Record Office (hereafter ESRO), AMS 5592/105.

[21] BL, Add. MS 39374, f. 220r (notes of Edwin Dunkin, quoting Common Pleas roll, Michaelmas term 1368).

[22] The brass can be dated to *c.* 1380 on stylistic grounds: it bears a strong similarity to brasses of around that date at Bray, Berkshire, Chrishall, Essex and South Acre, Norfolk. Since references to Roger the administrator cease around 1380, there can be little doubt that the brass is his.

[23] *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* (hereafter *CIPM*) **7**, no. 649.

[24] *See* below, notes 39–43.

[25] PRO, E101/19/36 m.1.

[26] PRO, C76/14 m.18.

[27] PRO, C76/15 m.21.

[28] PRO, C76/17 m.19. For the early campaigns of the Hundred Years War, *see* J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years War: Trial by Battle* (London: Faber, 1990).

[29] G. Wrottesley (ed.), *Crécy and Calais* (London: Harrison & Sons, 1898), 137.

[30] For discussion of her lordship, *see* N. E. Saul, *Scenes From Provincial Life: Knightly Families in Sussex 1280–1400* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 23–4.

[31] W. D. Peckham (ed.), *The Chartulary of the High Church of Chichester*, SRS **46** (1942–3), no. 882. The Countess was Joan, daughter of Henry, Count of Bar: *Complete Peerage* **12(1)**, 511. She died in 1361.

[32] *CPR 1364–7*, 198, 237; *CPR 1374–7*, 495.

[33] S. Walker, 'Lancaster v. Dallingridge: a franchisal dispute in fourteenth-century Sussex', *SAC* **121** (1983), 87–94; S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity 1361–1399* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 127–41. Edward's connection with the Earl probably ended in 1389, when he was retained as a king's knight (*CPR 1388–92*, 102). Since Arundel, a former Appellant, was by this time out of favour at court, Edward probably believed that it would serve his interests better to establish a connection directly with the king.

[34] Thomas-Stanford, 'Manor of Radynden', 76. Radingdon had been an active retainer of the two Despensers, Hugh the elder, Earl of Winchester, and Hugh the younger, in the time of Edward II. *See* N. E. Saul, 'The Despensers and the downfall of Edward II', *English Historical Review* **99** (1984), 7.

[35] Thomas-Stanford, 'Manor of Radynden', 74.

[36] Thomas-Stanford, 'Manor of Radynden', 76.

[37] *CIPM* **10**, no. 437; BL, Add. MS 39502, ff. 64r–6r (Dunkin's notes).

[38] *Calendar of Close Rolls* (hereafter *CCR*) *1360–64*, 404; *CCR 1374–7*, 101. For John's kinship to Thomas, *see CIPM* **10**, no. 437.

[39] *CPR 1361–4*, 546; *CPR 1364–7*, 365; *CPR 1367–70*, 350, 420, 447; *CPR 1370–74*, 99; *CPR 1374–7*, 495, 499.

[40] *CCR 1360–64*, 440, 557; *Returns of Members of Parliament* **1**, Parliamentary Papers, H.C.(1878), LXII, 165, 171, 173.

[41] *Calendar of Fine Rolls* (hereafter *CFR*) *1369–77*, 111. The parishes tax was a subsidy of £5 16s.0d. levied on each parish in England: for discussion, *see* W. M. Ormrod, 'An experiment in taxation: the English parish subsidy of 1371', *Speculum* **63** (1988), 59–82.

[42] Ormrod, 'An experiment in taxation', 146, 190; *List of Escheators for England*, PRO Lists and Indexes 72 (1932), 160. He did not account as escheator.

[43] *CPR 1374–7*, 136, 314; *CCR 1374–7*, 536.

[44] For Roger's military service with the Poynings family, *see* PRO, C76/15 m.21; Wrottesley (ed.), *Crécy and Calais*, 137. The Poyningses regularly led retinues to France or the Low Countries in the early stages of the Hundred Years War: Saul, *Provincial Life*, 37–8. In 1345 Thomas and Roger Dallingridge (Roger being presumably Thomas's son) were witnesses to a bond of Sir Simon de Pierpoint to Sir Michael de Poynings. The bond was place-dated at Fletching: ESRO, AMS 5592/105. In later years the

connection with the Poynings family was maintained. Roger was one of Sir Thomas's feoffees in 1375: *CCR 1374–7*, 178; *CIPM* **14**, no. 190. He also acted for Sir Thomas's widow, Blanche, who subsequently married Sir John Worth: *CIPM* **19**, nos 605–6.

[45] *CCR 1360–64*, 440, 557; *CCR 1364–8*, 272; *CPR 1364–7*, 198, 237; *CPR 1374–7*, 136, 314. Edward St John was one of the most senior of the Earl's retainers: A. Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy: the Lords Appellants under Richard II* (London: Routledge, 1971), 114–15. He held the manors of Goring, Linch and Wildbridge in Yapton (Sussex), Wolverton, Ewhurst and North Oakley (Hants.) and Staunton (Wilts.): *CIPM* **16**, no. 150. In 1364 he and his wife settled the manor of Linch on themselves and the male heirs of his body with remainder to the Earl's son: *VCH Sussex* **4** (1953), 65. John de Kingsfold held the Kingsfold estate in Warnham on the northern edge of the county (*VCH Sussex* **6(2)** (1986), 209); he was MP for Surrey in 1366, 1368 and Jan. and Oct. 1377. He is probably the man commemorated by the brass of *c.* 1382 at Rusper: C. E. D. Davidson-Houston, 'Sussex monumental brasses', *SAC* **79** (1938), 109. Asty, who does not appear to have been a gentry proprietor, was probably an Arundel estate official. Peverel was the second husband of Katherine, the Earl's daughter: N. H. Nicolas (ed.), *Testamenta Vetusta* **1** (London: Nichols, 1826), 97. He held manors at Ripe, Blatchington, Sompting and Ewhurst in Shermanbury (Sussex), Barton Peverel (Hants.) and Barford and Newton Peveril (Dorset): *CIPM* **14**, no. 189. Halsham may have been the founder of the family later settled at West Grinstead. He was MP for Sussex in 1352 (twice), 1355, 1357, 1362 (with Dallingridge), 1363 and 1372.

[46] Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, 130. De la Warr also held rents worth £6 at Fletching in the Dallingridge heartland: *CIPM* **13**, no. 57.

[47] He fought in all the main campaigns in France between 1346 and 1369 and died while serving the Black Prince in Gascony in 1370. The focus of his interests lay in the east midlands. His will was dated at Wakerley, Northants., and he was buried at Swineshead abbey, Lincs.: *Complete Peerage* **4**, 144–5. For his estates, which were considerable, *see CIPM* **13**, no. 57.

[48] *CCR 1364–8*, 472; and dated at Isfield. Robert Holand was de la Warr's second cousin: *Complete Peerage* **4**, 144. William Tauk also acted alongside Roger Dallingridge as a feoffee of Sir Thomas Poynings and later of Thomas's widow Blanche: *CIPM* **14**, no. 190; 19, no. 606. Tauk, who was made Chief Baron of the Exchequer a year before his death, held the manor of Westhampnett, near Chichester: *Commons* **4**, 572; J. B. Post, 'The Tauke family in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries', *SAC* **111** (1973), 93–107.

[49] *CCR 1369–74*, 174. John Weyvill held an estate at Catsfield: *VCH Sussex* **9** (1937), 240. He was sheriff of Surrey and Sussex in 1365–6, MP for Sussex in 1366 (with Andrew Peverel), and in 1376 and 1377 served as a justice of the peace alongside Dallingridge: *CPR 1374–7*, 314, 499. William Merlot the elder held an estate at Annington in Botolphs. In 1375 he acquired Muntham, in Itchingfield, from his son's father-in-law John de Muntham: *VCH Sussex* **6(1)** (1980), 196; **6(2)** (1986), 10. He was active in local government and probably had Arundel connections: *CPR 1364–7*, 202; *1367–70*, 191, 194; *1377–81*, 581; *CCR 1369–74*, 406–7. Richard Fifhide was the son of William Fifhide of Shermanbury and Kingston-by-Shoreham, a Lancastrian retainer: Walker, Lancastrian Affinity, 132, 269. His father held tenements at Barkham in Fletching: *CPR 1381–5*, 188. Richard probably predeceased his father, who died in 1387: *VCH Sussex* **6(3)**, 192. In 1375 William and John Fifhide served on a commission alongside Walter Dallingridge, Roger's kinsman: *CPR 1374–7*, 222. On 7 May 1377 Roger was appointed, with other Arundel dependants, a justice of oyer and terminer to investigate trespasses on the Earl's property by William Fifhide and others: *CPR 1374–7*, 495. When the commission was reissued in the following year, he was omitted: *CPR 1377–81*, 42–3. Was this because of a conflict of loyalty, or was he becoming infirm? He died two years later.

[50] *CCR 1364–8*, 188, 272; *CCR 1369–74*, 185; *CCR 1374–7*, 101. St Clere held the manors of Chiselburgh (Som't), Aldham (Kent), Jevington, Brambletye, Heighton, Exceat, Tarring and Laverty (Sussex): *CIPM* **7**, no. 686; **14**, nos 458–60. Brambletye, near East Grinstead, was his main seat. Like Dallingridge, he was involved in the administration of Ashdown: from 1366–70 he was Queen Philippa's main farmer of the chase: PRO, SC6/1028/4. When John of Gaunt was granted the Rape of Pevensey, he became a retainer of the duke: Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, 130, 281. He was sheriff of Surrey and Sussex in 1375–6. Sir Thomas Lewknor was more loosely identified with Sussex: his family's main estates were Horsted Keynes and Selmeston (Sussex), South Mimms (Herts.) and Greatworth (Northants.). It is clear that the family resided at least part of the time in Sussex: in 1351 Sir Roger Lewknor, presumably Thomas's father, was indicted for hunting in Ashdown: *VCH Sussex* **2** (1907), 316; *CIPM* **11**, no. 359. The Lewknors were later to inherit the Dallingridge estates. Richard de Burstow, an esquire ('armiger': *Returns of Members of Parliament* **1**, 192), was lord of Burstow, 4 miles north-west of East Grinstead: *VCH Surrey* **3** (1910), 177. He was MP for Surrey in 1373: *Returns of Members of Parliament* **1**, 192. William de Newdigate was lord of Newdigate, north of Horsham (and close to Kingsfold: *see* above n.45). He was MP for Surrey in 1360, 1363, 1372 and 1376, and sheriff of Surrey and Sussex in 1370–71. He died in 1377. For his career and family, *see* J. G. Nichols, 'The origin and early history of the family of Newdegate', *Surrey Archaeological Collections* **6** (1874), 227–67. Further testimony to Roger Dallingridge's connections with the gentry of south Surrey is found in his appointment as an executor of Joan, widow of Reginald, Lord Cobham, of Sterborough (in Lingfield): J. W. Flower, 'Notices of the family of Sterborough Castle, Lingfield, Surrey', *Surrey Archaeological Collections* **2** (1862), 173, 176. Joan is the person misconstrued as John (sic.) Cobham at Sterborough of whose will Dallingridge is said to be an executor in *CPR 1377–81*, 320.

[51] *CCR 1364–8*, 188. Loveyne had court connections. For his tomb in the abbey of St Mary Graces, London, *see* W. J. Blair, 'Henry Lakenham, marbler of London, and a tomb contract of 1376', *Antiquaries Jnl.* **60(1)** (1980), 66–74. He acquired Penshurst by marriage to Sir John Pulteney's widow.

[52] *CCR 1364–8*, 271–2; *CCR 1369–74*, 185. In 1365 Loveyne acquired the manor of Hedgecourt, near Godstone (Surrey): *CCR 1364–8*, 188. Margaret, his daughter and

heir, married Philip, Sir John St Clere's son: *VCH Surrey* **4** (1912), 294.

[53] *CPR 1367–70*, 447.

[54] In this respect he is to be contrasted with such other Sussex gentry as Sir Andrew Sackville of Buckhurst, Sir William de Etchingham IV and Sir John Tregoz of Dedisham: Saul, *Provincial Life*, 183–6.

[55] *Chartulary of the High Church of Chichester*, no. 882.

[56] In January 1377, when Dallingridge and John St Clere were returned, the latter was identified as a knight whereas his colleague was not: *Returns of Members of Parliament* **1**, 196. Back in 1364, when Dallingridge and St Clere had witnessed a charter for Loveyne, the same distinction was made: *CCR 1364–8*, 188, 272.

[57] PRO, C47/1/19 m.15. Strangely, Roger himself never was named in a distraint. There are returns from Sussex in PRO, C47/1/13, 15, 16, 19.

[58] *CPR 1364–7*, 25. Interestingly, the letters of exemption are place-dated at Lewes. Possibly the king was staying there at the time. For a discussion of exemptions, *see* N. E. Saul, *Knights and Esquires: the Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 46.

[59] M. Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1984), 145.

[60] From the late 14th century increasing numbers of well-to-do gentry declined to assume knighthood. Thomas Chaucer, the Lancastrian councillor, whose income must have been at least £500, is only the most famous.

[61] *See* below, p. 128.

[62] Edward was born around 1346. When he gave evidence in the Scrope-Grosvenor hearings in October 1386, he said he was aged 40: N. H. Nicolas, *The Controversy between Sir Richard Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor in the Court of Chivalry* **2** (London: Bentley, 1832), 372. Unlike his father, he took up knighthood.

[63] *CCR 1364–8*, 85.

[64] Only Sywell is listed in his inquisition post mortem (*CIPM* **14**, no. 340). Presumably it was the only manor that he held in chief.

[65] *Commons* **2**, 739.

[66] In 1383 he purchased Iden, near Bodiam: *CPR 1381–5*, 273; *VCH Sussex* **9** (1937), 153.

[67] *CCR 1341–1417*, 281.

[68] *CPR 1385–9*, 42. A still indispensable source for Bodiam castle is Lord Curzon's pioneering study *Bodiam Castle, Sussex* (London: Cape, 1926). The fullest and most convincing modern study is C. Coulson, 'Some analysis of the Castle of Bodiam, East Sussex', in C. Harper-Bill & R. Harvey (eds), *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood* **4** (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992), 51–107.

[69] C. Whittick, 'Dallingridge's Bay and Bodiam Castle Millpond — elements of a medieval landscape', *SAC* **131** (1993), 119–23.

[70] In addition to his fee from Arundel, he received an annuity of £40 from John, duke of Brittany, lord of the rape of Hastings. Before 1375 he had also received a £40 annuity from Edward, Lord Despenser; very likely this was still paid after Despenser's death that year: *Commons* **2**, 739.

[71] For a reference to a prisoner of his, *see* PRO, C76/66 m.12.

[72] *CFR 1377–83*, 163; PRO, KB27/475 m.78d. There is no inquisition post mortem because he did not hold in chief.

[73] The brasses are of London style 'B'. For a discussion of the tomb, and a reconstruction of its original appearance, *see* B. S. H. Egan & R. K. Morris, 'A restoration at Fletching, Sussex', *Trans. Monumental Brass Society* **10(6)** (1968), 436–44.

[74] Illustrated in C. E. M. Davidson-Houston, 'A list of monumental brasses in Sussex, part I', *SAC* **76** (1935), 85. The surviving fragment is small; it measures 14 inches, and the whole figure could hardly have been more than 2 feet. It is likely that it stood in the head of a floriated cross. The composition probably resembled that commemorating Nicholas de Aumberdene at Taplow, Bucks., illustrated in W. Lack, H. M. Stuchfield & P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Buckinghamshire* (London: Monumental Brass Society, 1994), 203. Whatever indebtedness Dallingridge's brass had to Wardieu's was therefore limited; it could not have extended beyond the heraldry.

[75] On both occasions his fellow member was Robert Halsham, another dependent of the earl: *CPR 1364–7*, 198, 237; *Calendar of Papal Registers* **4**, *1362–1404*, 46. In the late 1350s and 1360s the earl's dominance of county representation in parliament is particularly noticeable. This mirrors the more general influence that he exercised over Sussex political life. For comment on this, *see* C. Given-Wilson, 'Wealth and credit, public and private: the earls of Arundel, 1306–1397', *English Historical Review* **106** (1991), 1–26.

[76] The Rape of Pevensey was held from 1331 until her death in 1369 by Queen Philippa, and Hastings from 1342 to 1372 by John of Gaunt. In 1372 Hastings was taken from Gaunt and given, for diplomatic reasons, to John, Duke of Brittany; Gaunt was awarded Pevensey as compensation. There, from the late 1370s, his lordship was to be more assertive.

[77] *Commons* **4**, 39–44; Saul, *Provincial Life*, 69–72.

[78] *Commons* **4**, 606.

[79] In 1385 John Greyndour was Sir Guy Brian's deputy as constable of St Briavels and the Forest: *CPR 1385–9*, 52.

[80] *CPR 1374–7*, 429.

[81] The connection with the Talbots went back to at least the 1360s (*CCR 1364–8*, 109); John Greyndour was a feed retainer of Lord Talbot by the 1390s (*CPR 1396–9*, 138). The family had many ties with Gaunt. Thomas Greyndour received an annuity of £10 from him; his brother Ralph was keeper of his castle of Skenfrith, and Ralph's son, another Ralph, held the same post at Whitecastle: R.R. Davies, 'The Bohun and Lancaster Lordships in Wales in the Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries' (unpub. D.Phil. thesis, Univ. of Oxford, 1965), 206–8; Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, 270.

[82] *Commons* 3, 244, 246.

[83] B. K. Roberts, 'A study of medieval colonization in the Forest of Arden, Warwickshire', *Agricultural History Review* **16** (1968), 108–9; C. Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: a Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401–1499* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 100, 135, 684; *VCH Warwickshire* **5** (1949), 36.

[84] Cheshire's careerists invested in lands in a range of counties — Hugh Browe in Rutland, Robert Knolles in Norfolk, and John Norbury in Hertfordshire: *see* M. J. Bennett, *Community, Class and Careerism. Cheshire and Lancashire Society in the Age of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 188–9.

[85] Edward, after all, could have moved to his wife's east midland estates.

The participation of women in the journal *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 1900–1950

by Pauline Phillips

Until recently there has been a perception that the historiography of archaeology has failed to acknowledge or recognize the contributions of women to the discipline.[1] However, a recent publication, edited by Diaz-Andreu and Stig Sørensen, has begun to address this problem by bringing together a number of accounts about women within the history of European archaeology.[2] This article will examine the participation of women within Sussex Archaeological Society. By concentrating on women's contributions to the Sussex Archaeological Collections *(1900–1950) this work will assess the membership of the Society and will identify and acknowledge a number of women who contributed to the journal and/or held executive and administrative positions with the Society. Thus by identifying these women and examining their contributions, this article hopes to overcome the bias of a historiography that has failed to acknowledge or recognize them.*

INTRODUCTION

One of the problems in recognizing women within the history of archaeology has been the way in which previous histories of archaeology have been written and the types of data upon which the research was based. Before 1980 most histories of archaeology provided chronological frameworks in which perceived important events were noted. These events all contained the vital ingredients of great discoveries, few of which involved women, and famous archaeologists, few of whom were women. By placing so much importance on great events this type of history has failed to provide a context for much of the development of archaeology.

As Diaz-Andreu and Stig Sørensen outline in their discussion it is very hard for women to gain recognition in the history of a discipline that places so much importance on excavation and publication.[3] Most women, until recently, have tended to specialize in areas other than excavation and fewer women than men have contributed to major publications. It is only by examining the social context of the history of archaeology that we can discover many archaeologists, male and female, whose contributions have influenced the discipline.

In the last ten years there has been a move towards more critical study of the history of archaeology. Christenson, Pinsky and Wylie and Reyman have published collections of studies which have examined the history, philosophy and sociology of the discipline.[4] Works like Murray's examination of the philosophy behind the Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1882, Kehoe's study of the early development of the discipline and the way in which archaeological data were used to validate the politics of the time and Chapman's analysis of the powerful personalities that dominated 19th-century British archaeology all highlight factors that have impacted upon the history of archaeology and influenced the discipline.[5]

This growing awareness has resulted in the publication of two major works specifically on women within the history of the discipline by Claassen and by Diaz-Andreu and Stig Sørensen.[6] As well as producing some discussion on women within the history of British archaeology, such references include a chapter by Sara Champion, some discussion by Ebbatson, brief mentions by Levine, Piggott and Hudson, a limited number of biographies and autobiographies, two articles in *Antiquity* by Gilchrist and Smith *et al.* and a short report of a conference in 1993.[7] These few works demonstrate that women within the history of British archaeology do not appear to be on the

publishers' agenda. The only British woman in this field to have received any major biographical recognition is Gertrude Bell and it is debatable whether it was her skills as an archaeologist that singled her out for such recognition. Other women such as Margaret Murray, Joan Evans, Mary Leakey and Gertrude Caton-Thompson all had to document their own lives.[8] Women perceived as successful archaeologists, such as Dorothy Garrod, Jacquetta Hawkes, Aileen Fox and Kathleen Kenyon, have had no major biographical works written about them.

This lack of representation and recognition alerts us to issues faced by women in the recent past, issues linked to the social perception of women's work, the type of contributions they made, the areas in which they studied and the structure of British archaeology as a profession. These factors have created a contemporary perception that few women participated in the history of British archaeology, although as Champion has shown, recent research is changing this perception.[9]

One area in which women can be identified as participating in archaeology is the county archaeological society. Many county societies were founded in the mid-19th century and allowed the membership of women. Such societies were initially founded to encourage antiquarian investigation of the local region and as such retained an eclectic interest in that region. As the discipline of archaeology became more scientifically orientated, the county societies maintained a balance between historical studies, archaeological research and other interests. It is within the area of local historical research, rather than archaeological fieldwork that we find many women involved, especially during the period 1900–1950. With this in mind we need to define a way in which their contributions can be understood and recognized.

The original research upon which this paper is based examined six British archaeological journals,[10] of which *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter the *Collections*) was one.[11] British archaeological journals are an undervalued source of social information on the development of British archaeology. Most societies publish an annual journal which can contain complete membership lists, minutes of meetings, reports of excursions, transcripts of financial records, as well as articles of an archaeological and historical nature written for it by members and non-members alike. By using these sources of information a paper examining the numbers of women involved in archaeological societies, the types of articles they contributed to the journals and other information concerning their contributions to archaeology was presented at the fourth *Women in Archaeology* conference in Cairns, Australia in July 1997.[12] This current article focuses upon the women members of the Sussex Archaeological Society detected within the pages of the *Collections*. It contrasts their membership and contributions with those of women in other societies and identifies a number of women who contributed to the journal and/or held executive or administrative positions in the Society. This research provides an effective way to identify and acknowledge the presence of women within county archaeology in Britain.

METHODOLOGY

This article will identify a number of women involved with Sussex Archaeological Society 1900–1950. Part one will identify the extent of women's membership within Sussex Archaeological Society, analyze the composition of women's membership and examine the number and type of articles written by women in the *Collections*. Part two will examine a number of women who contributed articles to the *Collections* and identify a number who held official positions within the Society. In conclusion this article will discuss a number of these women and the way in which they participated and contributed to the Society.

The time span 1900–1950 was chosen as a period during which a number of dramatic events, that had serious social repercussions, took place: the fight for women's rights, two world wars, and the economic depression are seen as significant points in history which might have affected the participation of women in archaeological societies.

Data were gathered from six archaeological journals on the gender of members, authors and holders of committee posts and other positions within the societies. Some of the data were incomplete, for example, the Society of Antiquaries are not represented by a graph showing their membership figures because they did not publish their membership lists. Unfortunately, in some instances the dates do not match precisely between the journals because some societies did not publish their lists during wartime.

The membership numbers were examined at

eight intervals during the 50-year period. These intervals, separating the war and interwar years, were seen as representing significant social points which may have influenced the number of women belonging to an archaeological society. At each interval, membership lists and the number of women members were examined. Women were identified by the titles of Mrs, Miss and Lady. These members were then examined in relation to the other names and addresses on the lists to identify how many women were living at the same address as other members of the same surname. This method allowed a general distinction to be made regarding the influence of family upon membership; it did not allow for a married woman's birth family to be recognized however.

The gender of authors was established by cross-referencing them with membership lists. For the historic period under consideration women were acknowledged by a title. Of those articles identified as written by women, the topics were recorded and individual numbers of articles counted. The frequency of individual women's contributions was also noted. The lists of council members were examined and the minutes of meetings read. These were used to determine if women were present within the influential circles of the Society's hierarchy. If they were, the roles they played, for example, chairman, secretary and council member were recorded.

MEMBERSHIP OF SUSSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY 1900–1950

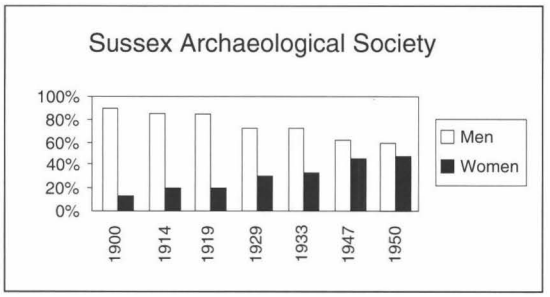
Figure 1 examines the number of men and women members present in each of the societies studied at the selected intervals. Of the four societies whose membership lists were surveyed, it is interesting to note that Sussex Archaeological Society had the largest number of members, male and female, throughout the entire period. It is suggested that the attraction of the Society, then as now, was the focus it provided for people who lived in or came to the Sussex area and were interested in the county's past. The Society accommodated its members by publishing an annual journal containing contributions on all aspects of local history and archaeology; it provided excursions and walks to local archaeological and historical sites and held a number of meetings each year at which papers on the county could be read and heard.

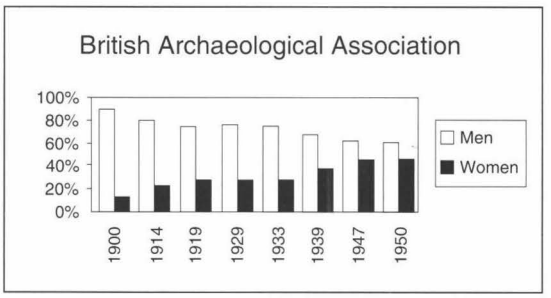
Unlike the Society of Antiquaries, who did not permit the membership of women before 1920, women in Sussex were permitted to be members from the founding of the Society in 1846. In the early years they, unlike men, were elected members on the nomination of two members, without going to ballot. By the turn of the century this had changed with the membership of women following the same rules as men.

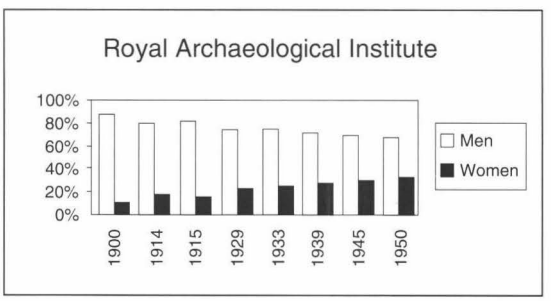
The first 24 women members of the Society constituted just over 10 per cent of the total membership of 217. Of these eight were related to male members of the Society; 13 were married and 12 were single. By 1900 the number of women had risen to 63, but out of a total membership of 633 still constituted only 10 per cent of the overall membership.

However, during the next 50 years the membership of women in archaeological societies rapidly increased. When comparing the membership of women in the four societies it can be seen that all societies increased between 1900 and 1950 and that Sussex Archaeological Society compares with the national level. Figure 1 shows that women's membership rose by 29 per cent across all four societies. Although the chronological markers chosen are only a guide to possible trends, Figure 1 would seem to indicate that two world wars and an economic depression had a serious effect upon the membership of men but little influence upon the steady rise of women's membership.

By 1950, women accounted for 44 per cent of the total membership of the Sussex Archaeological Society. This percentage level is closely followed by 42 per cent in the British Archaeological Association, and 33 per cent in the Royal Archaeological Institute. Ebbatson has noted that the membership of women within the RAI rose dramatically between 1893–1913, a period that encompassed the political struggle for women's rights.[13] This is matched by a rise of approximately 10 per cent in the other societies between 1900–1913 and would seem to indicate that women's membership could be influenced by social change. By referring to the general social history of the period it can be suggested that the gradual rise in women's membership over the 50-year period is a reflection of the long-term process of the easing of social mores. As social constraints lifted and women's lifestyles changed, it is possible they were more able







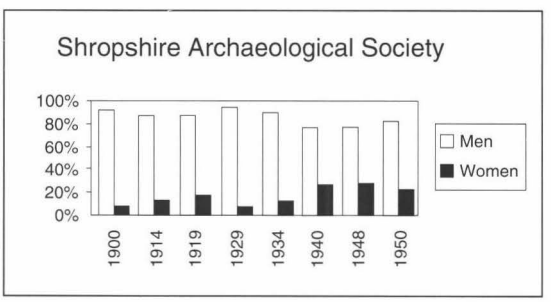


Fig. 1. Society membership numbers.

to pursue interests of their own, which resulted in a number of them joining archaeological societies.

THE COMPOSITION OF WOMEN'S MEMBERSHIP

The four categories of women's membership examined are presented in Table 1. The results of the survey shown in Figure 2 indicate that the majority of women members within these archaeological societies, throughout the 50-year period, belonged to two categories: those of the unrelated single women,'Miss NR', and the unrelated married woman, 'Mrs NR'.

Table 1. Categories of women's membership.

Category	**Explanation**
Miss NR	Single women listed at different addresses to other Society members
Miss R	Single women listed at the same address as other Society members
Mrs NR	Married women listed at different addresses to other Society members
Mrs R	Married women listed at the same address as other Society members

The category Miss NR encompasses those single women who were listed at addresses different to those of other Society members. This would indicate that, apart from the relationship of a married sister, most single women members of these Societies were unlikely to be related to other Society members. The numbers of this category remain high throughout the period examined in three of the Societies, swinging between 45 per cent and 60 per cent over time. This would indicate that single women were able to belong to archaeological societies with ease and in some numbers. It is possible that, as Piggott has discussed, societies provided a venue in which single women could socialize with people of the same class and interest.[14]

However, in Sussex they constitute approximately 40 per cent of women's membership along with the category Mrs NR (unrelated married women). Some possible explanations for this lower number might be that single women not related to other members may have preferred to belong to the London-based national institutions rather than the local society, or that fewer unrelated single women interested in archaeology lived in the region.

The second largest category of women for three of the Societies and an equal one in Sussex, was the Mrs NR category. These were the women designated as being married or having been married and living

at different addresses to other Society members. Unfortunately, this category cannot determine relationships such as those between a married woman and her birth family, neither can it tell if such women were widows continuing their membership after the death of husbands.

The results indicate that a large number of unrelated married women were members of Sussex Archaeological Society. This trend is consistent with other societies and indicates that women in this category, whether widows or wives with families not interested in archaeology, were interested enough to become members in their own right.

In the category Miss R we can see that single women listed at the same address as other members of the society, probably daughters and sisters, are few. This is possibly a reflection of how many women related to members of the Society could share a *de facto* membership and did not seek membership of their own.

In the last category, that of Mrs R, we have the married women listed at the same address as other members of the Society, presumably husbands, but possibly sons or single daughters. As with the previous category, a possible reason for the lack of related women members may be that those women related to other members of the Society enjoyed a *de facto* membership and did not invest in individual membership.

In 1931 a new category of membership was introduced in Sussex Archaeological Society: that of associate membership.[15] This category was extended to

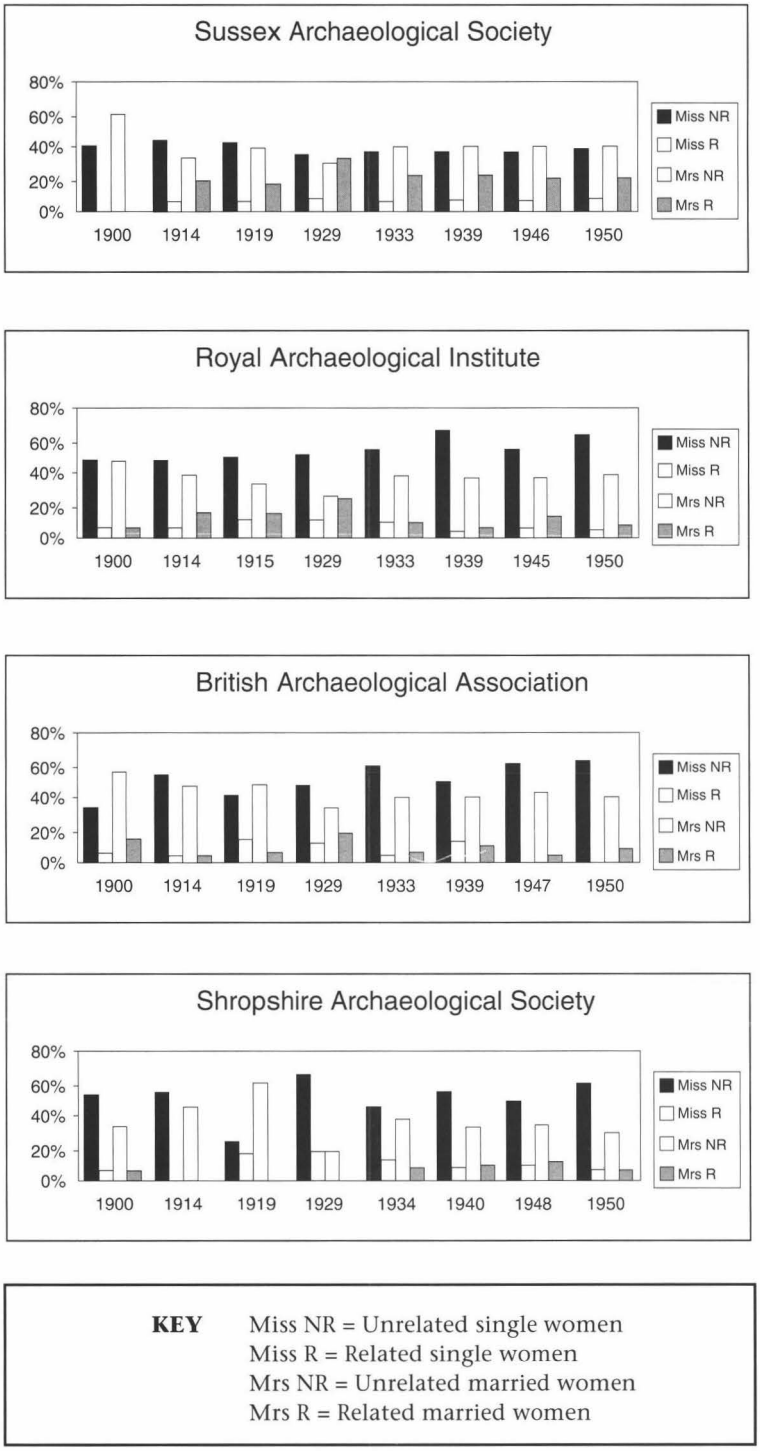


Fig. 2 The composition of women's membership.

family members living at the same address as full-paying members (i.e.: Categories Miss R and Mrs R). Associate members enjoyed all the privileges of membership but did not receive copies of the Society's publications. However, looking at the numbers of women within the categories Miss R and Mrs R before and after 1931 it would appear that this new category did not entice any new female members related to existing members; in fact the number of women in these two categories dropped.

This survey found that the number of related married women in Sussex Archaeological Society fluctuated. This can be seen quite prominently from 1919 to 1929 when the figures doubled from 15 per cent to 30 per cent. This rise is matched in the Royal Archaeological Institute and the British Archaeological Association. 1929 was at the beginning of the economic depression and one would expect a family to cut back on expenses rather than pay for another membership. However, by 1933 these high figures had dropped and it would appear that even the introduction of an associate membership subscription in Sussex was unable to entice related married women back to Society membership in any numbers. Nevertheless, it might have been responsible for maintaining the numbers of such women. It can be seen in the other societies, which did not offer this type of membership, that the number of related women members fell after 1929.

This study into the composition of women's membership has revealed that it was the women who had no obvious family background in archaeology who were more inclined to take out archaeological membership.

THE NUMBER OF ARTICLES WRITTEN BY MEN AND WOMEN

As Figure 3 demonstrates, women wrote very few articles in the 50-year period compared with men. The articles written by women totalled 4 per cent for *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 4 per cent for the *Antiquaries Journal*, 5 per cent for *Archaeologia*, 8 per cent for the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 10 per cent for *The Archaeological Journal* and 13 per cent for *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*.

Figure 4 compares the number of articles written by women for the *Sussex Archaeological Collections* with the number of women members within the Society during the seven designated intervals. It demonstrates that despite an increase of 29 per cent in women's membership, the number of women's contributions rose to only 11 per cent during a pre-war peak.

This type of research indicates that although women appear to have been more willing to belong to archaeological societies over time, they were not publishing articles in the *Collections*. It is difficult to say what factors are responsible for this lack of representation in publishing. However, a brief examination of the general social history of the period might suggest that women were encouraged more to pursue the roles of dutiful daughters, wives and mothers

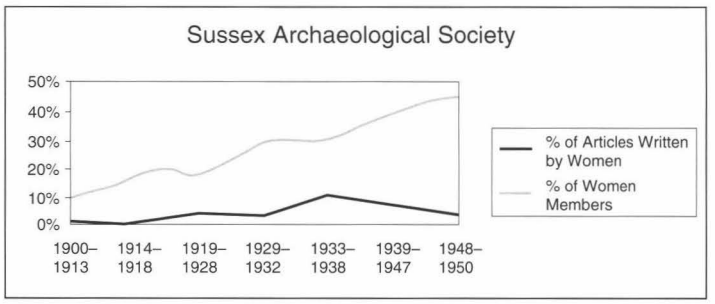


Fig. 3. The percentage of men's and women's contributions to the journals.

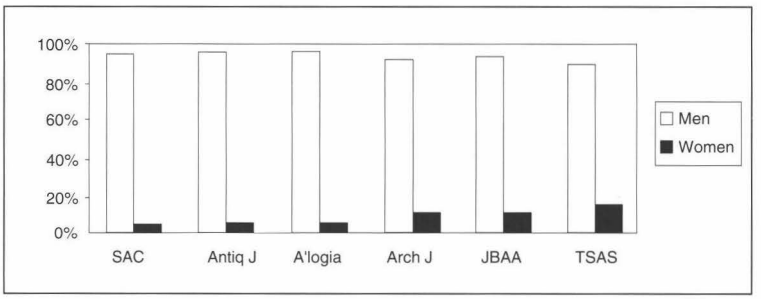


Fig. 4. The percentage of women's membership and contributions.

than to pursue active interests of their own.[16] Factors such as a lack of time, family commitments, lack of support or encouragement at home and a perception that publishing was not a woman's place, can be suggested as to why so few women published.

TYPES OF ARTICLES WRITTEN BY MEN AND WOMEN

The types of articles written by men and women for the journals were examined. Five categories were established on the basis of their content to give an indication of the areas in which women appear to have preferred to write and to determine whether there was a difference between the types of articles written by the men and women. The categories chosen are described in Table 2.

In Table 3 it can be seen that of the 460 articles published by men in Sussex Archaeological Society, 240 were in the Historical/Documentary category, followed by 127 in the Prehistoric/Roman category. The women published 23 articles, mainly between 1933–1938: eight were in the Prehistoric/Roman category; ten in the Historical/Documentary category and five in the Ecclesiastical category.

This contrasts with the *Antiquaries Journal* and *Archaeologia* where the largest number of articles written by both men and women over the 50 years were in the Prehistoric/Roman category. In the *Archaeological Journal* and the *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society* the largest number of articles written by men and women were in the Historical/Documentary category and in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* men wrote mostly on subjects of an ecclesiastical nature and women wrote articles with historical/documentary content.

These results are possibly more an indication of

Table 2. Categories of articles on the basis of their content.

Prehistoric/Roman	All articles on excavation, artefacts or theory to deal with the prehistoric and Roman periods.
Historical/Documentary	All articles dealing with individual, family, building and town histories, records and archives.
Ecclesiastical	All articles describing excavation, artefacts, documents and histories relating to the church.
Overseas	All articles on excavations, artefacts, documents and histories from outside of Britain.
Other	Articles on a variety of eclectic studies, such as folklore, natural history and geography.

Table 3. The number and type of articles written by men and women in the *Collections* 1900–1950.

	Prehist/Rom		**Hist/Document**		**Ecclesiastical**		**Overseas**		**Other**		**Total**	**Total**
	Men	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**	**men**	**women**
1900–13	17	0	85	1	40	0	0	0	0	0	**142**	**1**
1914–18	5	0	16	0	7	0	0	0	1	0	**29**	**0**
1919–28	31	1	44	2	14	0	0	0	0	0	**89**	**3**
1929–32	17	0	21	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	**45**	**2**
1933–38	31	2	23	3	11	4	0	0	0	0	**65**	**9**
1939–45	21	4	28	2	4	1	0	0	0	0	**53**	**7**
1946–50	5	1	23	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	**37**	**1**
Total	**127**	**8**	**240**	**10**	**62**	**5**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**460**	**23**

Table 4. Articles written by men and women in the six journals, 1900–1950.

	Prehist/Rom		**Hist/Document**		**Ecclesiastical**		**Overseas**		**Other**		**Total**	**Total**
	Men	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**	**men**	**women**
Antiq J	293	25	73	3	67	3	76	1	13	0	**509**	**32**
A'logia	148	8	134	1	85	8	58	4	4	1	**429**	**22**
Arch J	135	16	181	18	180	17	37	5	21	0	**554**	**56**
JBAA	88	0	171	22	181	20	36	2	13	3	**489**	**47**
TSAS	21	4	305	43	56	3	0	0	5	1	**387**	**51**
SAC	127	8	240	10	62	5	0	0	0	0	**460**	**23**

the types of articles published by the journals. The Society of Antiquaries could be perceived as a society interested in publishing articles on Prehistoric/Roman subjects whereas the *Archaeological Journal* of the Royal Archaeological Institute might have attracted more Historical/Documentary papers because of its founding interest in the Middle Ages and later periods of history. Likewise the British Archaeological Association, with a high clerical membership, was probably more likely to publish papers of an ecclesiastical nature. Also by the period 1900–1950 the study of archaeology had developed into a discipline orientated more towards excavation and fieldwork. Articles in the Journals published by the Society of Antiquaries followed this trend, but it can be seen that the Royal Archaeological Institute and more particularly the British Archaeological Association maintained a keen interest in articles of an historical and ecclesiastical nature. This can also be seen in the *Collections* whose editors were more inclined to publish historical papers during this period.

A closer examination of the papers written by women in the Prehistoric/Roman category shows that many of the articles were either on Roman history using documentary sources or descriptions of prehistoric artefacts housed in collections. It can be suggested that the majority of these articles, as well as those in the other categories written by women, could be researched in libraries, private manorial/estate collections or church muniments. Studies such as these could be accommodated around family life and social commitments. Few directly involved excavation or fieldwork. However, between 1935 and 1939 three women contributed eight articles in this category to the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*. All involved excavation and fieldwork. These articles demonstrate that in the era between the Depression and the Second World War women associated with the Sussex Archaeological Society were experiencing success in the field and reporting their results in the *Collections*. Unfortunately, the Second World War appears to have slowed this flourish temporarily and it was not until after 1950 that women were once more able to contribute fieldwork reports in any numbers to the *Collections*.

However, despite this brief display of activity in the field in Sussex, the overall results appear to show that most women contributors concentrated on areas of study which required them to spend their time studying in libraries and private archives. As shown by the number of women contributors to all the journals, history and local history were popular areas of involvement for women during this time. This is possibly an indication of how women's study was constrained by social requirements that discouraged women from seeking lifestyles away from the traditional domestic roles of sister, wife and mother.

WOMEN WHO CONTRIBUTED TO THE *COLLECTIONS*

Prior to 1900 only one woman had contributed an article to the *Collections*. In 1880 Miss Florence Dobson wrote about St Mary's church at Barcombe. This article contained a detailed description of the church's exterior, interior and interesting snippets from the church register. It was illustrated by Miss Ethel Dobson. Neither women were members of the Society, but a probable relative, the Rt Hon J. G. Dobson was.[17]

Before this, in 1870, a member of the Society, Mrs Hunt of Shermanbury, had communicated some of her maternal great-grandmother's letters to the editor of the *Collections*, who decided to publish them. He wrote in the introduction that although the letters 'probably will not be deemed of sufficient historical or archaeological importance to excite the admiration of the sterner members of our society, they will, I feel assured, be read with much interest by the gentler and fairer portion of them'.[18]

Another early contribution to the journal by a woman was an engraving of a drawing by a Miss Slater of an ancient mural painting discovered at Lindfield church in 1848. This picture is accompanied by a descriptive text, probably written by the editor but not ascribed to him.[19]

Such was the number of contributions by women to the journal prior to 1900. This is possibly a reflection of the social mores of the time which did not encourage women to write and publish articles. However, by the 1920s women appear to have had more confidence and we see a greater number of their articles appearing in the *Collections*.

From 1900–1950, 105 women were identified as having contributed articles to the six journals surveyed. Of these women, 13 contributed to the *Collections*. As Table 5 shows, five women contributed two or more articles to the journal. These include Mrs Davidson-Houston, who wrote five articles on

inscriptions from monumental brasses throughout Sussex, Miss Mary S. Holgate, who used documentary sources to contribute three articles on historical topics, Miss Phoebe Keef, who penned three articles on prehistoric excavation and survey, Miss Leslie Scott, who presented two interim reports on the excavation of a Roman villa, and Miss Mollie White (Mrs Clark), who contributed two articles on prehistoric excavation and artefacts.

It can be suggested from the number of these articles that some of these women were confident in writing articles. Of the 12 women who published, nine wrote on historical topics and three on archaeological fieldwork. This is a good indication that many women conducting research within archaeological societies did so in areas of historical interest.

Of the 12 women who published, brief biographical details have been obtained on five. Three of these women not only contributed to the journal but were also involved in the running of the society. Their details will be outlined in the next section which examines the participation of women within the Society. A few biographical facts will be presented here on two field archaeologists Leslie Scott and Phoebe Keef.

Table 5. Women who wrote or contributed to articles published in the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*.

Name	No. of articles	*SAC* vols.
Miss Marion Cooper	1	61
Mrs Davidson-Houston	5	76, 77, 78, 79, 80
Mrs Esdaile	1	82
Miss Marian Frost	1	65
Miss Mary S. Holgate	3	68, 70, 71
Miss Phoebe Keef	3	81, 84, 89
Miss Eleanor Lloyd	1	54
Miss Alice F. Mutton	1	78
Miss P. A. Nicklin	1	76
Miss Leslie Scott	2	79, 80
Miss Eleanor Swift	1	78
Mrs Christine Toms	1	67
Miss Mollie White/Mrs Clark	2	76, 80

LESLIE SCOTT

Miss Leslie Scott contributed two articles to the *Collections*, but was never a member of the Society and did not live in Sussex.[20] When Littlehampton Archaeological and Natural History Society wished to excavate Angmering Roman villa, they contacted Mortimer Wheeler for his advice. He recommended one of his assistants Leslie Scott, a student from the University of London.[21] She had excavated with him at Verulamium and Maiden Castle.[22] In 1935 she worked with Eliot Curwen as a volunteer at Whitehawk camp, Brighton.[23] Also that year, she was sent by Mortimer Wheeler to France, to seek out Iron Age hillforts and museum collections which might show signs of having cultural connections with the British sites he had excavated.[24] In 1936 she joined him and Ralegh Radford on a trip to Normandy and Brittany where they conducted preliminary survey work.[25] By 1937 she was assisting him with preparations for the forthcoming excavations planned for Brittany.[26] In 1938 she supervised the excavations at Angmering and then supervised excavations at Kercaradec and Camp de Caesar in Brittany. It was at Camp de Caesar that she met Peter Murray-Threipland, a fellow archaeologist, whom she later married.[27] During the war she worked in air photography intelligence and from 1948 worked in Italy with the British School at Rome.[28]

She contributed two interim reports to the *Collections* on excavations at Angmering, but did not participate within the Society. She was a professional archaeologist who came to Sussex to excavate a site and then moved on.

PHOEBE KEEF

Phoebe Keef wrote three articles for the *Collections* (1940, 1943, 1948) and contributed to *Sussex Notes and Queries*.[29] In a report written in 1940, she mentions that from 1931–1935 she fieldwalked an area near Bedham Manor Farm, Petworth, where she collected stone tools. In 1937 she became a member of Sussex Archaeological Society and in 1938 was elected as a fellow to the Society of Antiquaries, Scotland. She contributed an article on excavation work at Chester Hillfort to the *Proceedings* of the Society and in the same year presented the Society with eight worked flints from Blackdown in Sussex.[30] From 1938 she is noted as being a volunteer at Angmering.[31] In 1941 she received time off from her wartime position at the Canadian hospital to assist Littlehampton Archaeological and Natural History Society excavate the villa remains at Angmering endangered by the threat of air raids.[32]

Her contributions to the journal were of a professional standard and like Leslie Scott, she demonstrated that women archaeologists were able to work in Sussex during this time. She died in 1978,

but unlike some other women members of the Society, received no obituary in the *Collections* or Society newsletter.

Although few details can be gained on the lives of these two women through the pages of the journal, Leslie Scott and Phoebe Keef are two examples of women archaeologists who were professionally trained for their vocation. Their archaeological experience had been gained alongside a number of other women who studied archaeology at universities during the 1930s. Although such women were fewer in numbers than men in the discipline, they did exist and as demonstrated by Scott and Keef, were able to contribute.

POSITIONS HELD BY WOMEN IN SUSSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

A number of women who held various positions within the Society have also been identified. These women have been divided into three groups. The first group consists of those women who were created vice-presidents of the Society. The second group contains those who held active positions within the Society's administrative framework and the third group is made up of those who held the position of local honorary secretary.

VICE-PRESIDENTS

The title of Vice-President was conferred on nine women during this period. The Countess Buxton, The Countess of Chichester, Lady Wolseley and Lady Chance were invited to become Vice-Presidents during the 1920s and 1930s. The positions of Vice-President were usually granted to those Society members who were titled and influential. These women were able to use their social positions and wealth to promote the Society. Other women invited to become Vice-Presidents were Mrs Thomas-Stanford, whose husband was a council member, former President and great benefactor to the Society; Mrs Henry Dudeney, a wealthy novelist, responsible for negotiating the purchase of Brack Mount for the Society; Miss Harvey-Smith who had been one of the first women to sit on the Society's Council, and Dr Hilda Johnstone, a distinguished academic. One other woman should be mentioned here. Although never a Vice-President, Lady Leconfield was appointed President of the Society in 1930. She served for one year and at the end of her term disappeared from the pages of the journal. Of these women, two have been selected to outline their contributions as Vice-Presidents to the Society: Lady Frances Wolseley and Dr Hilda Johnstone.

Table 6. Women who served as Vice-Presidents and President in the Sussex Archaeological Society 1900–1950.

NAME	POSITION
Group One	
The Countess Buxton	Vice-President
The Countess of Chichester	Vice-President
Lady Wolseley	Vice-President
Lady Chance	Vice-President
Mrs Thomas-Stanford	Vice-President
Mrs Henry Dudeney	Vice-President
Miss Harvey Smith	Vice-President
Dr Hilda Johnstone	Vice-President
Lady Leconfield	President

Lady Wolseley

Frances Garnet Wolseley was born in Dublin in 1872. Her father was Field Marshal Viscount Wolseley and until 1898, when he settled in Glynde, she and her mother spent many years following him from posting to posting. At Glynde she was able to indulge her love of gardening. She published a book on gardening for women in 1908 and successfully opened and operated a college at Glynde for lady gardeners. This property worked six acres of fruit, flower and vegetable gardens. In 1914 she was responsible for the foundation of a co-operative society called the Glynde District Federation of Growers. During the First World War she formed a group of women land-workers and worked closely with the Board of Agriculture.[33]

On the death of her father in 1913 she succeeded to the title. Her social position allowed her access to many of the great houses of Sussex, which she utilized by producing a series of articles that examined these and other historic buildings and gardens for the *Sussex County Magazine*. She also endowed a room at Worthing public library for a collection of Sussex paintings.[34]

She held a number of civil positions in Sussex, serving as a poor-law guardian in Glynde from 1908–9, as well as holding various positions with Sussex-based organizations. In 1924 she was appointed a Vice-President of the Sussex Archaeological Society.[35] She had been a member of the Society since 1916 and had demonstrated her interest in the history and antiquities of the county in her articles written for the *Sussex County Magazine*. As Vice-President she

was well-suited to the requirements of the position, her involvement in social and civil activities in the county enabled her to use her social position to promote the interests of the Society.

Dr Hilda Johnstone

Hilda Johnstone was born in Manchester in 1882. She attended university and received her BA in 1903. She went on to specialize in the history of the English Middle Ages and received an MA in 1907. She was reader in history at the University of London from 1913–1922 and became a professor of history at Royal Holloway College 1922–1942. She received a D.Litt. in 1940. In 1942 she retired as an Emeritus Professor and settled in Chichester. Here she took on a voluntary role as honorary archivist to the Bishop of Chichester.[36]

She joined Sussex Archaeological Society in 1943 and was elected to its council. She also became a council member for the Sussex Record Society. Ill health made it impossible for her to continue on the council after 1948, but she continued in her position as the honorary local secretary for Chichester. In 1950 she became too ill to continue this position and had to resign. In recognition of her distinguished career and her contribution to the Society she was elevated to the position of Vice-President. In this capacity she continued to promote the Society. She died in Littlehampton on June 25, 1961.[37]

These two women demonstrate how women appointed to be Vice-Presidents were able to contribute to the Society. They were able to use their titles and places in society to further the cause of archaeology in Sussex.

ADMINISTRATIVE POSTS

The second group of women were those who occupied active positions within the Society's framework. Miss Lucas worked in an administrative capacity as assistant secretary to the museum committee during the 1930s and 1940s and Miss Petronelle Crouch was assistant curator to the museum from 1947–1948. However, it was within council and executive positions that women were able to be most active in the Society. Eight women occupied eleven of these positions; two women, Miss Cooper and Miss Holgate, held more than one position. Miss Marion Cooper was a member of the Council from 1921 to 1929. She held the position of Society Honorary General Secretary for 17 years. She also had a position on the editorial committee and was a local honorary secretary for Cuckfield. Miss Mary S. Holgate was elected to council in 1924 and remained a member for 16 years. In 1929 she became the editor of the Society's *Sussex Notes and Queries* and held the position until her death in 1940. Other notable women who served on the Council between 1900–1950 were Dr Hilda Johnstone, already outlined for her work as a Vice-President, and Miss K. M. E. Murray.

Marion Cooper

Marion Cooper was the daughter of the Reverend Canon James Hugh Cooper, who became the Vicar of Cuckfield, Sussex in 1888. His interest in the antiquities and history of the local area led him to become a member of the Society in 1897 and he became Chairman of the Council in 1903. However, it was not until after his death in 1909 that Marion became a member of the Society.

In 1912 she was appointed Local Honorary Secretary for Cuckfield. In 1918 she contributed one article to the *Collections*, 'A perambulation of Cuckfield 1629'. Another short report entitled 'Finds in Cuckfield' appeared as a note in volume 63.[38] In 1921 she became the first woman in the Society to be elected to Council and in 1929 she was the first woman to be elected General Honorary Secretary of the Society,[39] a position she held for 17 years. In recognition of her years of service the Society nominated her for election as a fellow to the Society of Antiquaries and she was elected on March 8,1945 and admitted May 31, 1945.[40]

In 1946 she was forced to resign as Secretary

Table 7. Women who held active positions within the Sussex Archaeological Society 1900–1950.

NAME	POSITION
Group Two	
Miss Marion Cooper	Hon. Gen. Secretary. Council Member
Miss Mary S. Holgate	Editor, *Sussex N & Q*. Council Member
Miss Harvey-Smith	Council Member
Dr Hilda Johnstone	Council Member
The Hon. Mrs Whistler	Council Member
The Hon. Sylvia Fletcher Moulton	Council Member
Miss E.J. Courthorp	Council Member
Miss K. M. E. Murray	Council Member
Miss C. Lucas	Assistant Secretary to Museum Committee
Miss Petronelle Crouch	Assistant Curator

owing to ill health and the Society found it hard to find a successor; finally the demanding position had to be shared amongst two people.[41] She died 2nd September, 1951 and received an obituary written by F. B. Stevens which acknowledged her many contributions to the Society.[42]

Marion Cooper is a good example of how women could pursue their interest in local history and archaeology through the Society and also contribute to the discipline by filling influential positions such as council member and secretary to the Society.

Miss Mary S. Holgate

Mary S. Holgate moved to Sussex in 1900. Her father and brothers were barristers. The family lived at Ardingly where Mary studied and became an authority on local history. In 1905 she joined Sussex Archaeological Society, where she received encouragement from L. F. Salzman and C. H. Chalmers, both influential members. In 1924 she was elected to the council and in 1929 became the temporary editor of the Society's publication *Notes and Queries*, a position that became permanent and which she held until sickness in 1940 prevented her from continuing.[43] Over the years she contributed a number of articles on documentary sources and local records to the *Collections*.[44]

She was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries on February 9, 1933, and was noted as having exhibited some artefacts found at Ardingly, to the Society on January 13, 1935.[45] She was also a member of the Sussex Record Society from 1919 and served on its council from 1927 to 1940. She died May 5, 1940. Her obituary states that she was active within the community where she served on many boards and councils dealing with educational, ecclesiastical, nursing and local government matters.[46]

Mary Holgate was an educated woman who sought to further her interest in local history by joining the Society. Her contribution as editor of the *Sussex Notes and Queries* helped her to be involved with her studies on a regular basis.

The contributions of Marion Cooper and Mary S. Holgate to the Society were immense. However, because no permanent memorial exists to perpetuate their memory, their work remains less known today.

Elisabeth Murray

Miss K. M. E. Murray was born in Cambridge 1909. Her father was an Inspector of Schools and her grandfather the founding editor of the *Oxford Dictionary*. She was educated at Colchester County High School and attended Somerville College where she graduated in 1931. She spent time as a research scholar and gained a B.Litt. in 1933. She excavated in Samaria with the British School of Archaeology and then took a job as a tutor in history at Girton, where she served in various positions over ten years. In 1948 she took a position as principal at the Bishop Otter teacher-training college in Chichester and stayed until 1970. After retiring she became a member of Chichester District Council from 1973–87, and served as chairman of the planning committee.[47]

Her contributions to the archaeology of Sussex were extensive. She was elected to the council of the Sussex Archaeological Society in 1950, she served as chairman from 1964 until 1977 and was elected President from 1977–1980. She was a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. She served as chairman of Chichester Excavation Committee from 1964–77 and was deeply involved with the development of the archaeological site at Fishbourne. As a tribute to her work the Murray room was named after her. She died in February 1998.[48]

Along with Dr Hilda Johnstone these three women demonstrate how women were able to be actively involved with the running of the Society. No obvious barriers appear to have constrained them in their work for it. However, all four women were single and were,

Table 8. Women who served as local honorary secretaries for the Sussex Archaeological Society 1900–1950.

NAME	POSITION
Group Three	
Miss Marion Cooper	Local Honorary Secretary, Cuckfield
Mrs G. W. Eustace	Local Honorary Secretary, Arundel
Mrs Randall	Local Honorary Secretary, Midhurst
Miss Marian Frost	Local Honorary Secretary, Worthing
Miss Tudor	Local Honorary Secretary, Fernhurst
Mrs T. Helme	Local Honorary Secretary, Lindfield
Mrs Murry Phelps	Local Honorary Secretary, Mayfield
Mrs Odell	Local Honorary Secretary, Ticehurst
Miss Snewin	Local Honorary Secretary, Worthing
Miss G. M. White (Mrs Clark)	Local Honorary Secretary, Selsey
Mrs Chalmers	Local Honorary Secretary, Horsted Keynes
Mrs Garnett Janion	Local Honorary Secretary, Horsted Keynes
Miss E. Gerard	Local Honorary Secretary, Worthing
The Hon. Mrs Whistler	Local Honorary Secretary, Battle
Dr Hilda Johnstone	Local Honorary Secretary, Chichester

therefore, possibly more able to commit themselves to the tasks on hand than if they had had family commitments.

LOCAL HONORARY SECRETARIES

The third group of women consists of those who served as local honorary secretaries. These positions involved collecting the Society's subscriptions within their local area and reporting on activities which could affect the archaeology within the region. Fifteen women were identified as having held these positions over the 50-year period. The longest serving of the 15 included Mrs Randall of Midhurst who served from 1910–1936, Mrs Eustace of Arundel who served from 1908–1925, and Miss Marion Frost, secretary of Worthing Archaeological Society, from 1921–1936. The most notable of them was Miss Mollie White (Mrs Grahame Clark) who served as a local honorary secretary of Selsey, from 1933 to 1936.

Mollie White/Clark

Mollie White was educated at Girton College, Cambridge. She read Classics from 1928–1931 to gain a BA and completed a fourth year to obtain the Diploma in Archaeology and Anthropology. She joined the Sussex Archaeological Society in 1930 and in the following years assisted her father, W. S. White, in setting up a museum for Chichester in rooms above the fishmarket in North Street. This museum was later moved to the Friary and dispersed during the Second World War. In 1932 she became the local honorary secretary for Selsey and held the position until after her marriage in 1936.[49]

Her involvement in archaeology continued with her joining the Royal Archaeological Institute in 1932 and assisting Ian C. Hannah to excavate the walls at Chichester in 1933.[50] She contributed two articles on Sussex to the *Antiquaries Journal* in 1934 and in the following year wrote articles for both the *Antiquaries Journal* and the *Collections*.[51]

At the annual general meeting of the Sussex Archaeological Society in 1935 she read a paper on the Roman amphitheatre at Chichester, and illustrated it with lantern slides. A paper on this subject was then published in the *Antiquaries Journal*.[52] In 1936 she married fellow-archaeologist Grahame Clark. She contributed one further paper to the *Collections* in 1939 on Roman artefacts from the cemetery at Chichester.[53] Her work as an archaeologist was thorough and tribute has been paid to it by A. E. Wilson and F. G. Aldsworth.[54]

After she married, Mollie Clark moved to Cambridge where her husband's career lay. For his services to archaeology, Grahame Clark was knighted in 1992 and she received the title Lady Clark. Grahame Clark died in 1995, but is survived by Lady Mollie.

CONCLUSION

The women in these three groups demonstrate that women were able to occupy many positions within a county archaeological society between 1900–1950. Although the contributions of these women have been important, their work belongs within the realm of local history and local archaeology and as such has, like that of many men in this area, received less recognition. As discussed in Diaz-Andreu & Stig Sørensen, the history of archaeology is the result of a selective process that has omitted much of the social development of the discipline.[55]

The perception investigated by this research was that the historiography of British archaeology had failed to acknowledge or recognize the contributions of women to the discipline. This article has shown that there are women who can be identified and acknowledged. That they have never received attention may be due to our past perception of what history should be about and of the types of research carried out to support such ideas. Other contributing factors can be related to the small number of articles published by women in archaeological journals, the areas in which women tended to specialize and to society's past perception of what a woman's role was.

By documenting the presence of women in the Sussex Archaeological Society and acknowledging their roles, this article has contributed to a broader knowledge of our discipline's history.

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'The First Architect of the World' in Brighton

ROBERT ADAM, MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, AND MRS FITZHERBERT

by Chris Miele

This article considers the third Duke of Marlborough's house on the Steine in Brighton, and its remodelling by the architect Robert Adam in 1786–87 for William Gerard Hamilton (1729–96). This elegant neoclassical house, which has been known as Marlborough House since the 19th century, was easily the finest piece of architecture the fast-developing resort town had yet seen, with the exception, that is, of Henry Holland's exactly contemporary Marine Pavilion for the Prince of Wales. This article contextualizes Adam's design, setting it against the backdrop of Brighton's history and building culture. The author also chronicles the circumstances of the Hamilton commission, analyzes the design and layout, and then identifies what survives of the earlier house on the site (built 1765–69).

Adam's only other Brighton commission, an unbuilt scheme for Mrs Fitzherbert, is also discussed. The author maintains that the Fitzherbert design was worked up in spring 1787 and that it was intended for a long narrow plot immediately north of Marlborough House. The Adam drawings for the Fitzherbert commission also record an earlier building which was to be incorporated into the new design, a building which was itself of two phases: a modest cottage with a much grander, mid-18th-century addition. Thus quite unintentionally Adam left us with the best record so far discovered of how an ordinary Brighton dwelling was extended to provide accommodation for the increasing number of seasonal visitors.

These two commissions for adjacent sites passed through the Adam office in quick succession, and yet the architect gave them totally different stylistic expressions. This illustrates the range of the architect's talents in this last phase of his great career.

In 1786 the third Duke of Marlborough sold a small property on the west side of the Steine in Brighton to William Gerard Hamilton (1729–96), a former Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer. John Donowell's 1778 *Perspective View of the Steyne* (Plates 1 & 2) shows it to have been a substantial building: five bays wide, three storeys high, and having a small front garden facing the Steine.[1] Documents fix the date of construction at somewhere between 1765 and 1769, but these details and other circumstances relating to the Duke's first Brighton house will be discussed in due course.

For the moment we should consider that first Marlborough House (Plate 2). Though it had served a duke as a seasonal retreat for 15 years, it was solidly bourgeois rather than grand. In Bath, Epsom, or Tunbridge Wells, it would scarcely have attracted any notice. Perhaps this was a measure of the informal style of life which even someone of exalted rank could enjoy in Brighton, a place which had no tradition of status building. Donowell did his best to lend the Duke's house and its handful of smart neighbours a dignified appearance, yet he could not alter the fact that this backdrop to the town's most fashionable promenade was actually rather a motley assortment of inns, rooming houses, cottages, and barns. Of course there was only one Bath, that

Plate 1. John Donowell, *A Perspective View of the Steyne at Brighthelmstone*, 1778, pen, ink, watercolour, and wash. (Source: Brighton & Hove Council, Preston Manor.)

paragon of Roman regularity. Still, one could be forgiven for expecting something more of Brighton. By 1778 the place had been booming for close to 30 years.

Hamilton, for his part, could not have rated the third Duke's old residence too highly. Before 1786 was out the former chancellor of the Irish Exchequer had commissioned Robert Adam to rebuild it (Colour plate 1 & Plate 3). Adam's additions, which were finished in 1787 or possibly 1788, gave Brighton the most elegant and sophisticated piece of architecture it had yet seen. Only Henry Holland's 1787 design for the Prince's Marine Pavilion could match it. Indeed, in 1791 Hamilton's house — which would come to be known as Marlborough House in the 19th century — had a higher rateable value than any other property, including Richard Scrace's manor house to the south and Grove House, the Duke of Marlborough's later residence.[2] Hamilton's was a thoroughly superior residence, head and shoulders above anything the town had so far seen. This comes across in a letter which the retired chancellor wrote to his architect in the first weeks of 1787. After explaining how his petition to appropriate a small stretch of waste ground to the Steine had been opposed by neighbours, Hamilton remarked on their ingratitude. Surely they should have been thanking him. Had he not, after all, brought 'one of the first Architects in the world to ornament their Fishing Town'.[3] This was, as we shall see, typical of Hamilton, but it was also fair comment.

'THE RUINS OF A LARGE FISHING TOWN'

Brighton was in a sorry state at the opening of 18th century. One observer described the streets and houses as 'deserted'. According to another there had been no new building for years. Existing houses were said to be much in need of repair and some on the verge of collapse. John Whaley, writing in 1735, at the very moment when Brighthelmstone's fortunes were about to turn, summoned up the image of ghost town; 'the ruins of a large fishing town' was

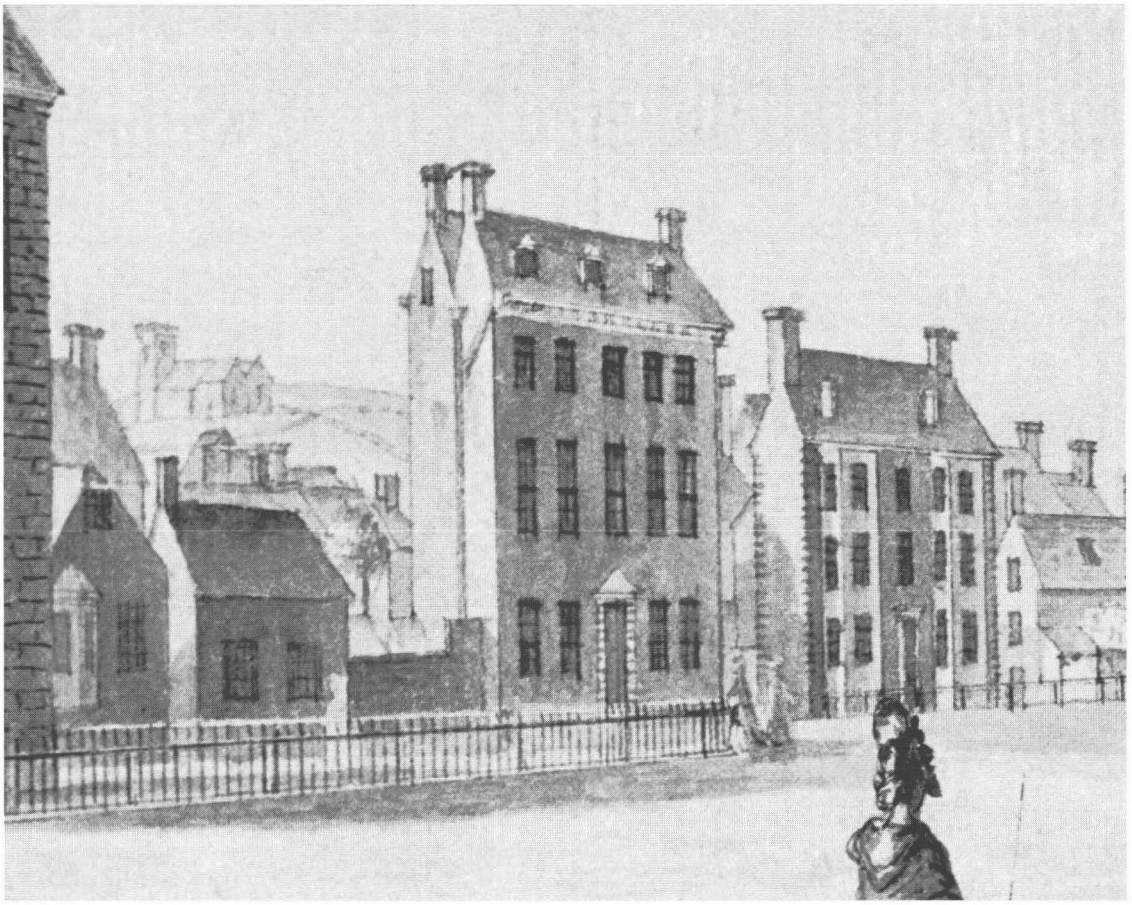


Plate 2. Detail from Donowell's *A Perspective View of the Steyne at Brighthelmstone*, showing the house, labelled 3, purchased by the third Duke of Marlborough in 1771, and roughly half of which is incorporated into the present-day Marlborough House. Thomas Philcox's house is to the right, or north.

how he put it. Things had not always been so bleak. The town's population had increased rapidly between 1570 and 1660, when, after Chichester, it was the largest town in Sussex, besting both Lewes and Hastings. Fuelling this growth was a thriving maritime economy, North-Sea fishing principally, and after that ship-owning and cargo carrying. Explaining its steep decline around 1700 is not easy. The town might have fallen victim to a Europe-wide decline in the fishing industry, but it seems just as likely that Brighton fortunes fell foul of the sea itself. The foreshore eroded, and wealth washed away apace, so that by the turn of the century the parish was barely able to support its poor.[4]

The gist of what Pevsner wrote about Brighton's building culture before Adam, Holland, and the Prince remains broadly true.[5] There is no evidence of any high-status timber-framed, brick or stone construction. Probate inventories from the first half of the 18th century give a good idea of the modest circumstances in which most inhabitants lived. The bulk of the housing stock had two inhabited floors and measured about 16 feet wide. There was one room on the ground floor. In some cases there is mention of a second smaller room to the rear opening into a yard. The average number of hearths in the 18th century was small, even when measured against Hearth Tax returns from a century earlier. Local trade was dominated by seafaring, and there were no places to buy luxury goods such as clocks, curtains, prints and books. Coopers, saddlers, or tanners, all trades one would find in wealthier

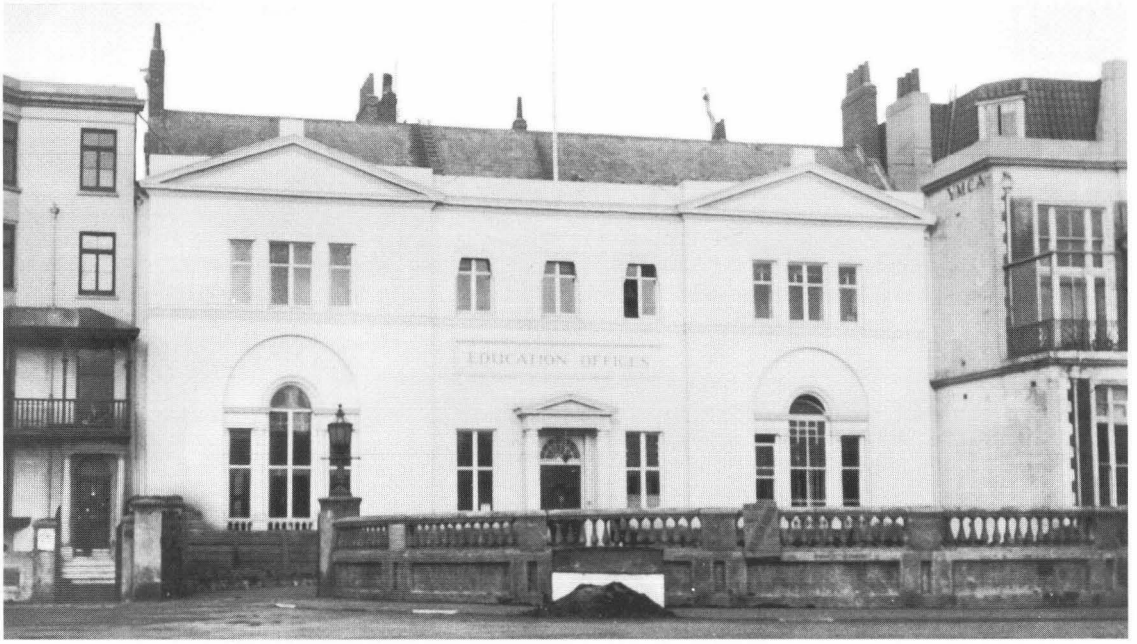


Plate 3. Steine view of Adam's Marlborough House in *c.* 1950. (Source: National Monuments Record. Crown Copyright.)

towns, were not much in evidence either.[6]

The collapse in the local economy at the end of the 17th century meant that by the time the fashionable set were beginning to make their way to Brighthelmstone for sea-bathing in the 1740s, the town was still compressed within its medieval boundaries, the rough square formed by the sea, East, West and North Streets. The contrast between locals and visitors from Lewes and later from London must have been striking. There was no local gentry with whom to mingle, nor even many professionals. Luxury goods and their consumers were carted down, and then crammed into ordinary cottages. It is extraordinary to think of Royalty ever resorting to the place.

By the end of late 18th century things had certainly changed. What is now known as 'Old Town' was then fast developing to service the new resort function. Butting up against an increasingly fashionable Brighton was farmland, much of it unenclosed and still retaining its older pattern of ownership. The latter, as is well known, influenced the layout of the speculatively built terraced housing north of North Street and east of the Steine after 1780. The Steine itself, an irregular piece of land opening towards the sea, was the town common or waste. The word is of Flemish origin and said to derive from the fact that the area along the seafront was 'skirted, or edged . . . by chalk rocks', the remnants of a badly eroded beach and cliff area.[7] Apart from the mending of nets and boat-building, the Steine was used for the sale and storage of 'coals, waggons . . . wheels, carts, and lumber of every description'.[8]

The change in the town's fortunes came through sea-bathing, which was promoted by the famed Dr Richard Russell (1687–1759), a physician from Lewes, who in 1750 published an account of the beneficial effects of sea water on glandular disorders, the fruit of more than 20 years of observations.[9] These benefits were said to be increased by the drinking of it, and the more the better.[10] John and Sue Farrant have shown that Brighton was not quite the overnight sensation that has traditionally been assumed.[11] People had been coming for the bathing, probably as early as the 1730s, and Russell was sending patients in the 1740s. In this decade the local economy began to stir. The records of land transactions show a marked increase in building activity. This fits the national picture as both Margate and Scarborough also date their development as sea resorts from this time. Brighton's

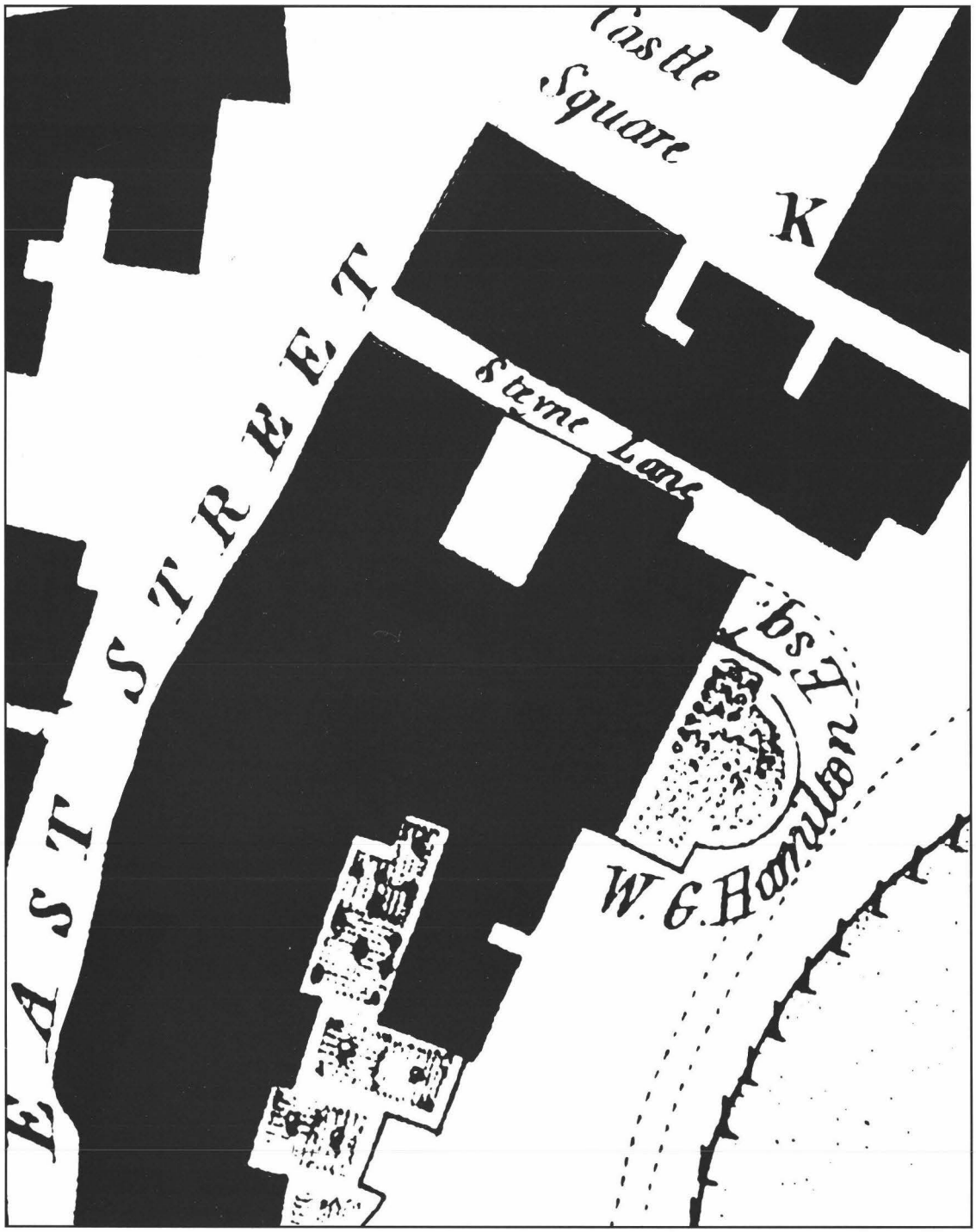


Plate 4. *The New Plan . . . of Brighton*, T. Budgen, 1788. (Source: British Library, K.42.16.)

boom of the fifties and sixties was, then, a consolidation of these earlier trends, augmented by the newly established pastimes of hunting and racing.[12]

Later 18th-century commentators saw a real improvement in the appearance of the town as local inhabitants began to exploit the commercial opportunities brought by seasonal visitors. In 1761 Dr Anthony Relhan, one of Russell's successors, observed that:

> The merit of the situation of this town has within these few years attracted a great resort of the principal gentry of this kingdom, engaging them in summer residence here. [. . .] The town improves daily, as the inhabitants, encouraged by the late great resort of company, seem disposed to expend the whole of what they acquire in the erecting of new buildings, or the making of old ones more convenient. And should the increase of these, in the next seven years, be equal to what it has in the last, it is probable there will be but few towns in England that will excel this in commodious buildings.[13]

There is more than a little exaggeration here. Relhan after all had an interest in persuading more people to come to Brighton for treatment. He himself noted that many of the new buildings were made of the rough flints that were near to hand rather than of smarter brick. He also admitted to seeing some irony in the fashion for designating as 'squares' what were essentially left-over spaces in the medieval town plan.

The structure of landownership and the nature of this early resort trade worked against comprehensive development. Most of the tenements in the Old Town were copyhold tenure divided among six manors. The court-books show that the parties to land transactions in the 1750s and 1760s were local people buying and selling plots contiguous to their residences in order to form larger building parcels. Often this meant renting out the resulting extra rooms in season.[14] During the 1740s mortgages were largely granted by Brighton residents, tradesmen in Lewes, and farmers in the nearby countryside. In the next decade the number of resident mortgagors increased, and Sussex farmers from further afield were drawn into Brighton property. Only two locals, Thomas Kent and Richard Tidy, seem to have speculated in land, though they were minor players relative to what was going on elsewhere in the country. There are no instances of building leases on the London model, and no one ventured to develop the strip fields bordering the town speculatively. But whereas the documentary record is rich in detail about land transaction, little is known about the sorts of houses being constructed or adapted, either in the form of building accounts or written descriptions.[15]

The tendency was for already small plots to be subdivided further, particularly along East Street (the backdrop for Marlborough House). By 1800 many of the dwellings here had become shops. A lower grade of housing and commercial premises, even more densely packed, was to be found in the centre, lining Middle Street as well as Black Lion Street, North Street, and East Cliff. Prestige building was pushed to the fringes, particularly the Steine. Without the guiding influence of an aggressive estate, a building speculator, or even a town commission (before 1773), the look of it all was patchy and irregular. And as plots decreased in size tenements got taller and narrower, giving the principal streets, and especially East Street, the focus for this activity, a mean, pinched, and hodgepodge look.[16] The heterogeneity of East Street today, though it was largely rebuilt after 1790, gives a sense of the sort of messy vitality that would have greeted the Duke of Gloucester on the occasion of the first Royal visit to the resort in 1765.

ARCHITECTURE COMES TO BRIGHTON, 1753 AND AFTER

There were some bright spots amidst this dark mass of building, first and foremost Dr Russell's own house of *c.* 1753. By 1760 there was a subscription library on the Steine. Run by a bookseller from Tunbridge Wells, Edward Baker, it was a single-storey, timber structure with an arched verandah. For years it was the only building on the east side of the Steine. In 1767 Woodgate's set up in competition on the south side of the Steine and not far from Dr Russell's house. It was a touch grander, having two storeys and a diminutive Doric colonnade.[17] In that year the Old Ship Inn received a suite of Adam-style Assembly Rooms designed by a London architect-surveyor, Robert Golden (*c.* 1738–1809).[18] Samuel Shergold added additional Assembly Rooms to the Castle Inn, which he had purchased in 1752. In 1766 John Crunden (*c.* 1741–1835), another Londoner, provided an impressive suite of rooms in a tall brick

extension to the Castle. The ballroom was said — and allowances must be made for Brighton hyperbole — to be one of the grandest in the country.[19] By this date there was in addition a regular packet service to Dieppe.[20] Discussions on the formation of a turnpike trust to improve connections with London had also got underway.[21]

Unquestionably the best of the new generation of houses were built along the southern half of the Steine with its unobstructed view of the sea and the downs (Plates 1 & 5). The Manor House is thought to have been the first to be rebuilt (1750–54). Richard Scrace, one of the joint lords of the manor of Brighton, lived there until 1792.[22] The house of Thomas Philcox also dates to the fifties. It stood immediately north of Marlborough House, and was replaced by Mrs Fitzherbert's Steine House, designed by the Prince of Wale's architect William Porden in 1803. Philcox's had a pair of full-height canted bays, features which would become a kind of Brighton signature in the early part of the next century (Plate 2). Thomas Willard's house further north was of the same vintage. To the south of Marlborough House was an astylar Palladian villa with the classic one-three-one bay rhythm. It is plausible that it was built just before Lambert's 1765 *Perspective View* (Plate 5) though the builder of this house has not yet been identified.

Dr Russell's was one of these early houses on the Steine. He purchased a site on the southernmost part of the Steine (now occupied by the Albion Hotel) in 1753 and shortly thereafter built a house for himself. The location was dramatic, closing the view at the bottom of the Steine and backing directly onto the sea. Eleanor Ley's 1788 view of this part of the Steine shows it to have been symmetrical about a pedimented projection.[23] The door had a classical surround, apparently rusticated, and on the eastern side was a canted bay. Interestingly, the plan seems to have been one room deep. This suggests that Russell may have adapted an older group of tenements, refurbishing rather than building anew as so many others were doing.[24] Or, equally, if Russell's house was all of one build, the unusual plan may have been adopted to afford each room a view of the sea. Russell is known to have boarded patients, and they might have appreciated having a view of the Channel. Houses facing the sea and intended for temporary accommodation are not unknown from this time. The Rev. Jeremiah Milles described

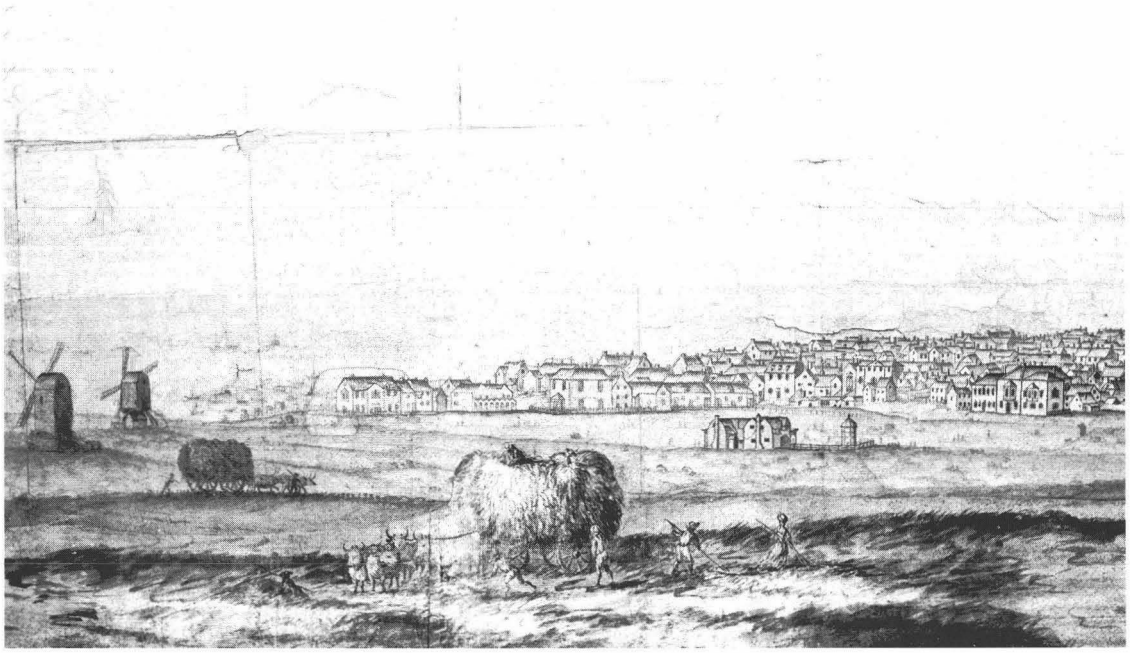


Plate 5. James Lambert, section of *A Perspective View of Brighthelmstone and the Sea Coast as far as the Isle of Wight*, 1765. (Source: Sussex Archaeological Society. Russell's house is furthest to the left.)

several at Eastbourne in 1743. They were

> commonly known by the name of sea houses, where gentlemen generally choose to bait, on account of the agreeableness of the situation and the good entertainment one meets with there.[25]

Lambert's *Perspective* (Plate 5) shows just how unprepossessing Brighton's 'grand' promenade was on the eve of the Duke of Gloucester's visit. In Donowell's *View* (Plate 1) things have improved somewhat, yet the low, vernacular dwellings of the Old Town are visible through the large gaps in the run of smart building. The new houses were suburban to the extent that they turned their back on the increasingly overcrowded precincts to the west, yet the prospect was irregular. Some progress to uniformity was made in 1788 when two terraces on the east side of the Steine were built. These are shown on Budgen's plan of the town published in that year (Plate 4).

THE FIRST MARLBOROUGH HOUSE

The first Marlborough House (Plate 2) was built by Samuel Shergold, the innkeeper of the Castle, very probably just after 1765. Before coming to Brighton Shergold had been a wine merchant in Lewes. In 1773 he was appointed to the Town Commission, and should be seen as something of a leading citizen.[26] He had certainly finished it by 1769, when its existence is noted in connection with the acquisition of a small piece of property near the Pool.[27] It seems likely that Shergold built the house to capitalize on the need for high-class accommodation.[28] Judging from Donowell's view it had a double pile plan with an 'M-shaped' roof and three dormers. There were two stacks in each end wall. The entrance probably opened into a stair bay which ran up the centre of the house at the rear. The tall first-floor windows indicate status rooms, perhaps even a single grand room. Further investigation of the standing fabric to the rear is needed to determine the original method of construction, but short stretches of exposed fabric in the basement and at the back of a first-floor cupboard suggest it was a mixture of brick and flint. The principal elevation would likely have been entirely of brick.

The property itself can be tracked through the court-books of the manor of Brighton.[29] In 1765 Thomas Fuller, a butcher, bought a quite extensive site in East Street, including a barn, butcher's shop, and slaughterhouse, from Richard Tidy who, as noted above, had been party to many transactions in the previous decade. Fuller immediately sold the site of the barn and some land to Shergold but retained the business premises. In 1771 George Spencer-Churchill, third Duke of Marlborough, bought the land, now the site of a 'capital messuage', along with a piece of land near the Pool from Shergold. In the same year the duke became the mortgagee of the butcher's premises, which he bought from its owner in 1774, thus effectively re-uniting Tidy's East Street holding.[30]

According to Bishop, the late Victorian chronicler of Brighton, the Duke of Marlborough caused something of a sensation, since his retinue, consisting of 40 people, was larger and grander than any which had been seen in the town previously.[31] He had been coming regularly since 1767, following in the footsteps of that earliest royal visitor, the Duke of Gloucester, younger brother of George III, who had first graced Brighton in 1765. In 1766 the Duke of York followed in his train, and, then, in 1771 came the Duke of Cumberland, who, ultimately, was responsible for attracting the Prince of Wales to the seaside resort.

Marlborough is reputed to have been a lavish entertainer:

> 'Tis incredible to think what a deal of money his Grace expends there, and the help he is to the poor. We are well assured that he buys half a bullock at a time, a whole calf, and his mutton by the carcase, so that, by the over-abundance of his tables the poor have joints given them hardly touch'd, which is prodigious relief to numbers who at this dear time cannot afford to purchase butcher's meat; a noble example and worthy of imitation.[32]

And when he was away from Brighton, the duke was said to have let the rooms of the house to visitors, up to 50 at any one time, again according the *Lewes Journal*, although it hardly seems possible that the house could have accommodated that many people under any circumstances.[33]

Sadly we know very little else about the house during the duke's tenure. There is nothing amongst the Marlborough Papers at the Blenheim Estate Office or in the British Library to shed any light on his time at Brighton. Later, after he had settled into Grove House, the duke did take an interest in local improvements. In 1792–3 he and the prince made

an arched sewer along the Steine in order to prevent its periodic flooding. At about this time they also paid for the Steine's levelling and turfing. In consideration of these works the lords of the manor allowed them to enclose a small part of the Steine adjoining their houses so long as they never built on or 'encumbered it with any thing that obstruct[s] the prospect'.[34] The spirit of improvement had been on the march since 1773, when a commission was formed to oversee lighting, cleansing, the removal of nuisances, the regulation of the market, and, importantly, the building and repair of the town groynes. These works were paid for by tax on coal, which was at that time still being landed on the beach opposite the Steine.[35]

HAMILTON REBUILDS THE DUKE'S HOUSE, 1786–1787

The Duke of Marlborough sold Shergold's house to William Gerard Hamilton (1729–1796) in 1786. The duke himself then purchased Grove House to the north of the modest cottage which Holland was about to transform into the prince's first marine pavilion.[36] It seems likely that Hamilton would have visited Brighton previously, but we know little about his personal circumstances, except that he never married.[37] He left government service in 1784 in exchange for a pension (£2000), so Adam's design should be seen as a villa built to serve his retirement. He had a house in Upper Brook Street (no. 27) in the years before his death. As a younger man he enjoyed a grace-and-favour residence at Hampton Court.[38] Hamilton struck all who knew him as capable and attractive. He was born in London and admitted as a student to Lincoln's Inn in 1744, intending to take up the profession of his father, who was said to have been the first Scot ever to plead at the English bar. When the esteemed elder Hamilton died in 1754 his son changed tack. In that year he entered Parliament as Member for Petersfield and in 1755 showed particular acumen by offering his services to Fox, whose alliance with Newcastle led to places being offered to the former's supporters, Hamilton among them. He was made a lord of Trade in 1756. By this point Walpole was admiring his 'voice, manner, and language', noting furthermore that he was a clear, persuasive speaker; Dr Johnson's opinion was also favourable. Great things seemed to lie in store when in 1761 Hamilton was made secretary to Lord Halifax, then newly appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland. Hamilton imagined a career across the water played out over decades.[39] In the short term he worked hard to obtain the sinecure of chancellor of the Exchequer of Ireland, which he had won by 1763. But this promising start was wrong-footed by Hamilton himself. In May 1764 he had lost his precious posting at the Exchequer, having been dismissed for showing contempt to the people of Ireland. He later returned to Ireland, but even in England he seems to have reserved the highest regard for himself, decrying members of the Commons as limited in their abilities almost to a man. He has come down through the literature tarred by the unfortunate nickname 'Single Speech', though whether this was actually used in his lifetime is hard to say.[40] In any case, Hamilton declined the post of secretary for war offered by Lord Shelburne in 1782 and two years later started to draw his Irish pension. When the end came twelve years later, he seems not even to have had this. His death on 16 July 1796 came just in time 'to save him from absolute poverty' according to the *History of Parliament*.[41] The point is worth making because Adam's drawings for the Marlborough House commission which survive in the Soane Museum suggest that the client was seeking to cut costs wherever possible.

Hamilton's Irish career may well explain how he came to Brighton. In his final years at the Irish Exchequer he met Thomas Pelham, Earl of Chichester (1756–1826), who was chief secretary to the lord lieutenant in 1783–1784, and whose family seat, Stanmer House, is just outside Brighton. The two corresponded on at least one occasion in 1783,[42] and a letter from Hamilton to John Hely-Hutchinson (1724–1794) refers to their acquaintance.[43] There is no firm evidence to suggest how he came into contact with Robert Adam. True, the architect's brother William and Hamilton had crossed paths in the Commons, but they were in different camps, at least in the mid-1780s, by which point Hamilton had given up Fox for Pitt. This was typical of Hamilton's later political career, which was marked by opportunism. By 1786 William's architect brother was so well established among the *beau monde* that Hamilton would certainly have come across his work, and so have needed no introduction.

The documentary evidence surrounding the commission is, it must be said, slight. The court-book entry for 1786 notes that Hamilton had taken a mortgage for £1900 at 5 per cent from one William

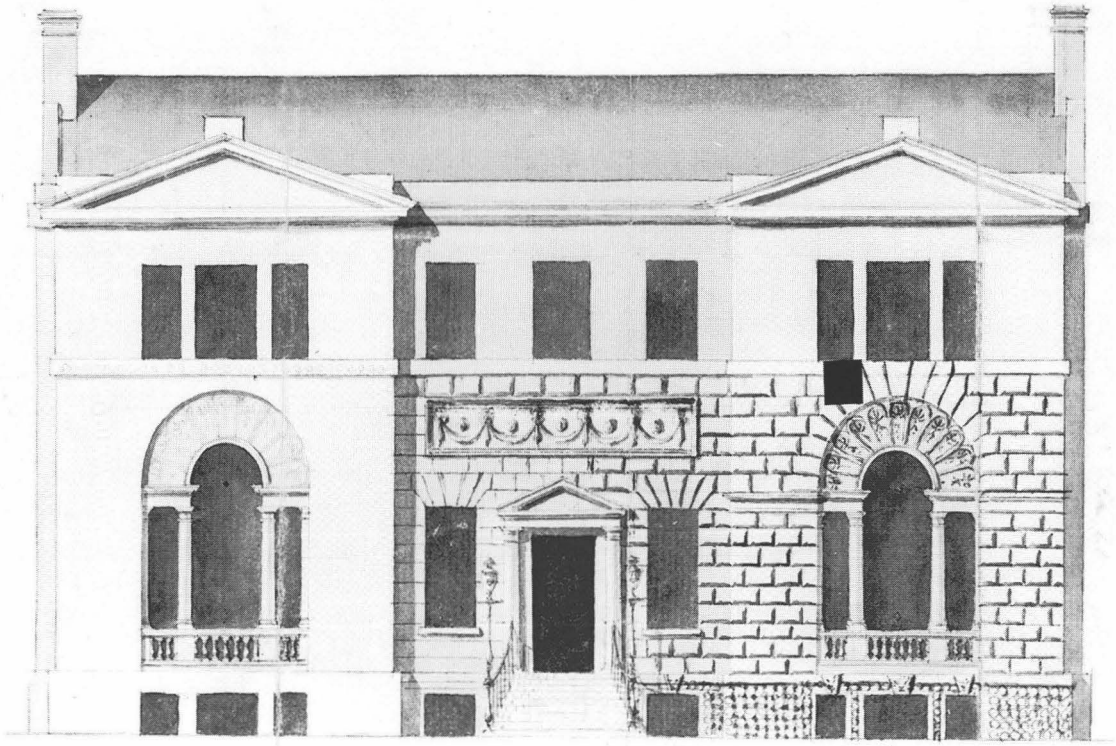


Plate 6. Robert Adam, elevation of Marlborough House, 1786, pen. (Source: Sir John Soane's Museum.)

Pitcairn, a physician at St Bartholomew's in London. On 31 December 1786 Hamilton wrote to Hely-Hutchinson from London, inviting him to stay with him at Brighton:

> . . . a post-chaise and a pair of horses will convey you from Pall-Mall to Brighton between nine in the morning and four in the afternoon . . . If you adopt the plan which I propose, and will give me early notice of it, I can make my escape from where I am now residing, under pretence of seeing the progress of a house which I am [*now* or *new* deleted] re-building at Brighthelmstone.[44]

This is not especially helpful, but it does suggest that the carcase of the house was at least under way, which is confirmed by Hamilton's letter to Adam. A week later Hamilton returned to London.[45] If all went well the better part of the work could have finished by late summer or autumn. In 1787 Hamilton received a grant of waste land in front of the mansion for what would become his garden. This is shown clearly on the excellent early 19th-century view of the house now hanging in the Pavilion. The dimensions of this grant were 84'6" north to south and 78'1" east to west. The appropriation excited some local opposition, but it had to be done, because Adam's solution to adapting the old house was to build out to the full length of the property. To gain just that little bit more room Hamilton also acquired a slip or small piece of land of two-and-a-half feet wide on the south side of the Duke of Marlborough's parcel.[46]

The relationship between Shergold's house of 1765 (Plate 2) and Adam's additions of 1786–7 (Plate

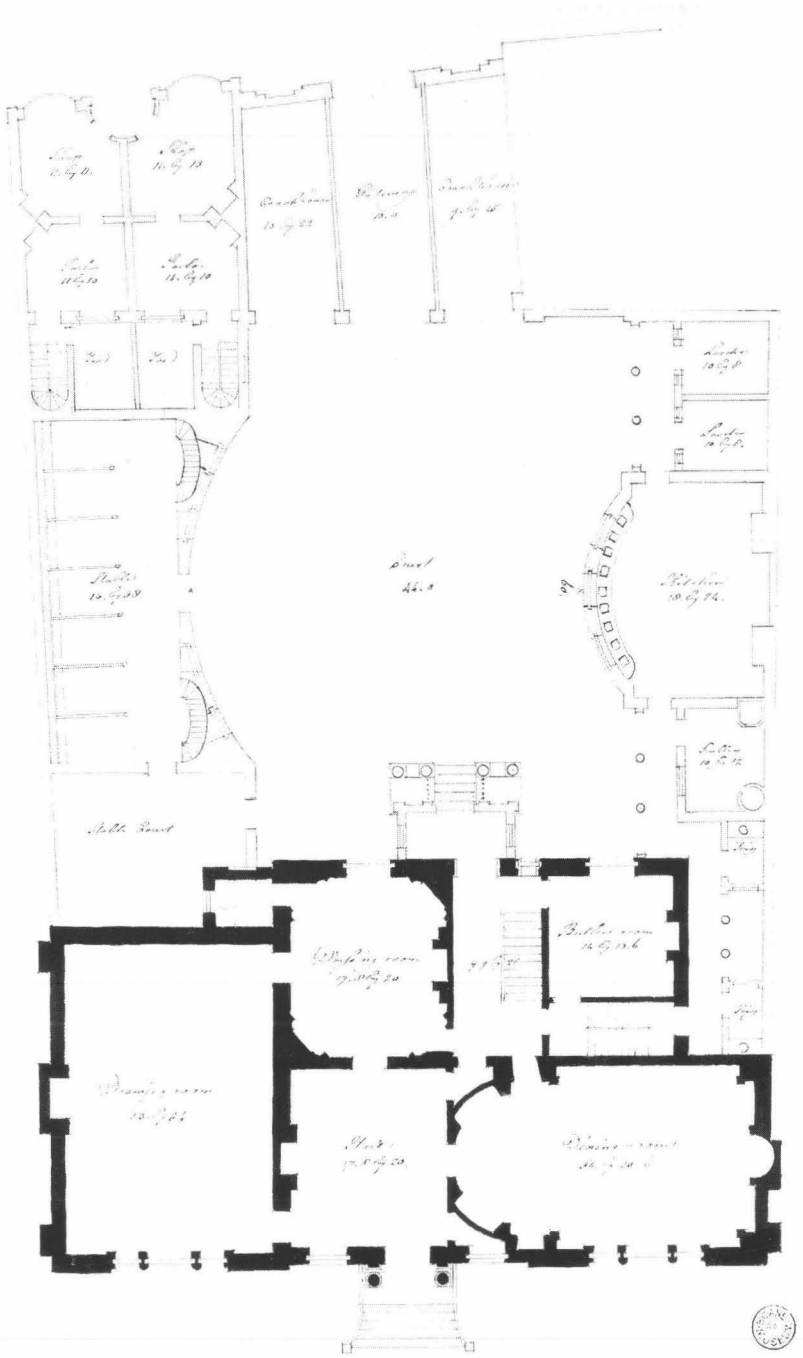


Plate 7. Robert Adam, ground plan of Marlborough House and proposals for the outbuildings and courtyard to the rear, or west, 1786, pen. (Source: Sir John Soane's Museum.)

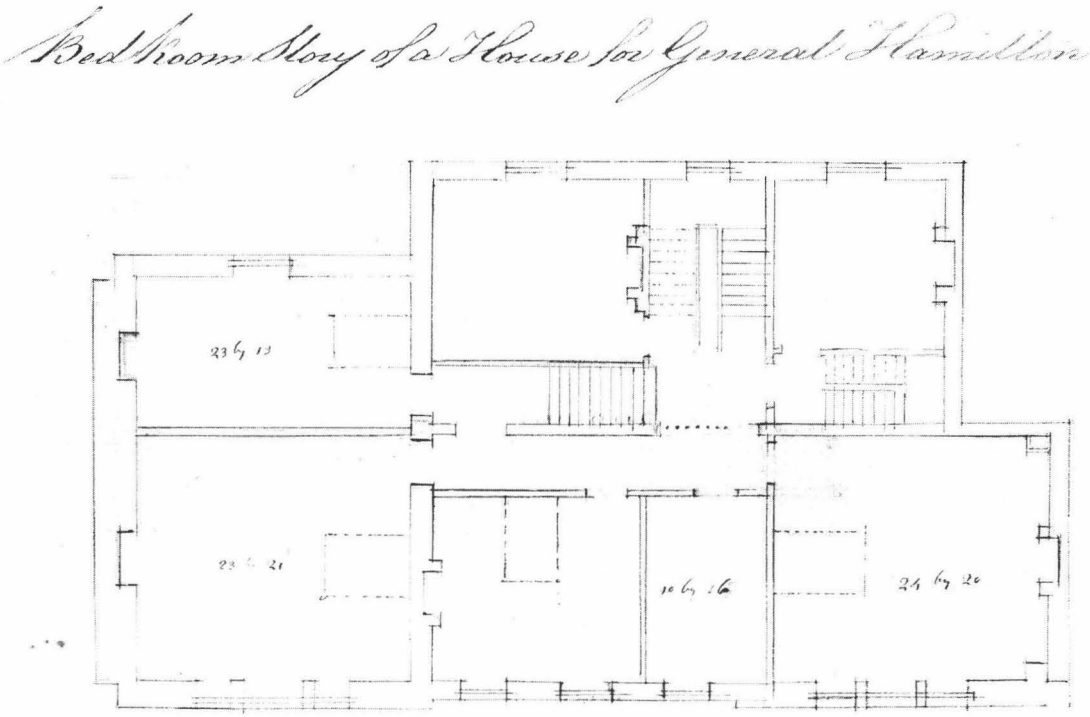
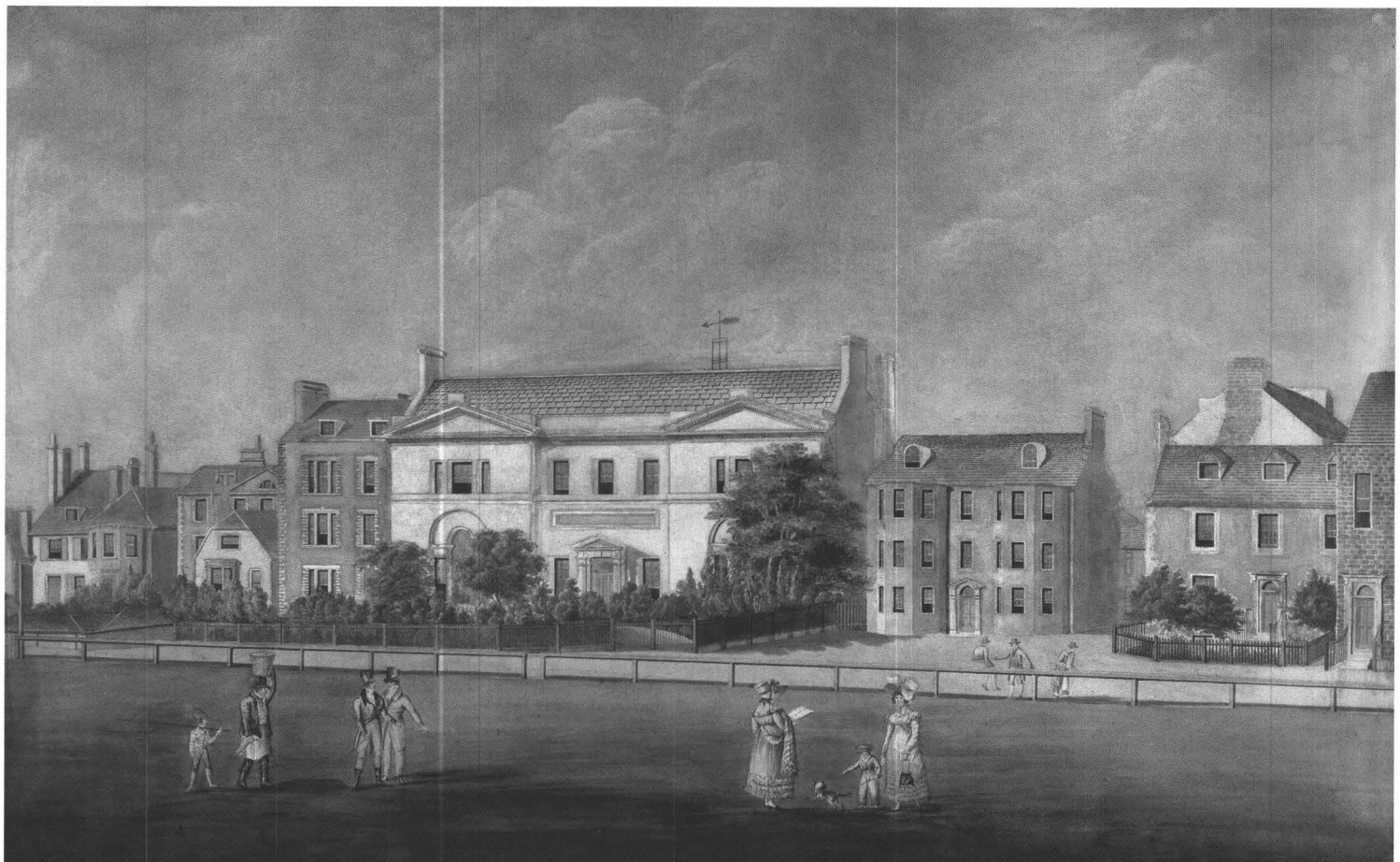


Plate 8. Robert Adam, first-floor plan of Marlborough House, 1786, pen. (Source: Sir John Soane's Museum. North is to the right.)

6) has never been worked out. Some sources describe the work as a re-fronting, others as a remodelling. Hamilton himself describes it as a rebuilding, but it was none of these. In effect Adam sliced off the eastern half of Shergold's double-pile house and at the same time took out the original main and servant stairs (Plates 7 & 8). The rear basement rooms of the earlier house were also retained.[47] The architect then fitted an L-plan suite consisting of dining room, hall, and drawing room around the core of the house and its south side, inserting a new stair into the old stair-bay and providing an enclosed serving stair beside the dining room, that is, perpendicular to the principal, open-well stair and running on a roughly north–south axis. He very likely added the closet-wing to the south of the rear entrance, and of course he gave the new structure an entirely new roof of Westmorland slate. His ground-floor rooms were much taller than the old ones, with a correspondingly taller suite of first-floor rooms. This explains the unusual level changes and complex hall and stair arrangement along the line of the join between the two builds (Plate 8).

Most of the rooms in the older portion were very likely used for the servants or as guest bed- or sitting rooms, but one of the first-phase rooms, the present study or, as Hamilton called it, the 'back parlour', was incorporated into Adam's scheme of decoration. The structure and overall dimensions date to the first phase of construction but the surface ornaments are all Adam. The design of the library ceiling (Plate 9) is unusual in his work since it features two pairs of broad, deep beams. The pair which runs east to



Colour plate 1. English School, *A View of Marlborough House on the Steine*, *c.* 1800, watercolour. (Source: Brighton & Hove Council, Brighton Art Gallery.)

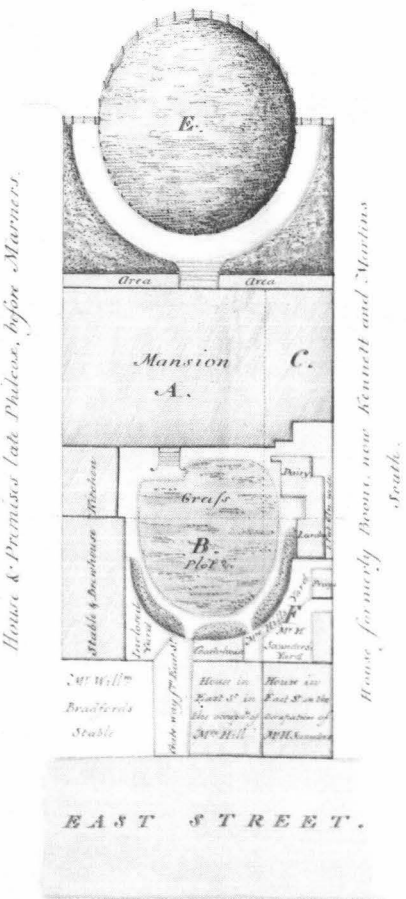
GROUND PLAN of the ESTATE belonging to the late LADY ANNE MURRAY and now sold by the Devisee, under her Will.

LADY E. M FINCH HATTON & THO^{S} HARRINGTON ESQ^{R}

East.

THE STEYNE

HIGH ROAD.



North.

House & Premises late Phillips, before Mariners.

House formerly Brent, now Kennett and Martins

South.

West

Explanation:-

The part marked A extending East to the Mine and to the dotted lines on the South & West sides of the Tenement described in the Court Rolls as a piece of Land wherein a Barn formerly stood & wherein the capital Mansion is marked.

The part marked C comprises the small piece of ground, and on which the late Mr G. Hamilton Esq^{r} erected what forms now the south wing of the Mansion.

The part marked B comprises the site of the Butcher's Shop, Stable, Slaughter House & piece of Ground before Mariners.

The slip of ground described as [illegible] 2.6 wide cannot be accurately traced to the precise extent, though part of it as marked in the Plan is still visible from the Ld walls

All the above is in that part of the Manor belonging to C.A. Tarleton Esq^{r}

The part marked F comprises the Tenement and Garden late Mariners & formerly Burns and in dotted the whole of the House and Premises Next in the occupation of Mr Hugh Saunders and part of the yard of the House in the occupation of Mrs Hill and part of the back court of the Mansion, running in a straight line with the north wall of Mr Saunders's House & the whole of the Building called the Larder as shown by the dotted line is in that part of the Manor of Brighton belonging to J. B. Kemp Esq^{r}

The part marked E including the Area is held of the undivided part of the Manor under the Grant.

Colour plate 2. A detailed plan of the property, showing the layout of buildings and delineating teneurial divisions. (Source: Brighton & Hove Council, deed bundle 1094.)

west, from the rear to spine walls, are structural timbers from the *c.* 1765 house — they are repeated in all of the rooms which survive from this phase of construction. The other pair of beams are ornamental, included to create a symmetrical composition. The intimate scale of this room contrasts with the remaining rooms in the circuit, the hall, dining parlour and drawing room. This is not the only instance of Adam modernizing an earlier room (the room at Audley End painted by Biagio Rebecca and featuring a scaled-down suite of Adam furniture is of higher quality and earlier, 1763–5), and there are other examples of the architect reusing an older house as the servant's quarters for a new one.[48] Nevertheless, reconciling the two phases of construction tested Adam's skills as a practical planner, and is a significant aspect of Marlborough House's character and interest.

But why go to all this trouble? It may have been a case of Hamilton wanting to save time. Retaining half of the earlier house would have been quicker, in part because there would be no need to disturb the East Street side of the property, an area which, as we have seen, was heavily built-up and had a complicated pattern of land tenure. It would also have kept the cost down. This second hypothesis is reinforced, if not quite proved, by the drawings for the project which survive in the Soane Museum. Three show that the architect was asked to prepare cheaper alternatives. This is most striking in the design for the main elevation (Plate 6) which shows different levels of finish, from grandiloquent (and expensive) on the north projecting bay to the relatively plain finish on the south, which was the one eventually built. The drawing for the dining room ceiling offers exuberant and restrained alternatives by means of a flap. The design for the overmantel mirror in the study is carefully costed according to the number of gilded ornaments. Hamilton chose the least expensive.[49] Cost-consciousness is apparent in several parts of the fabric as well. None of the skirting boards or dado rails are carved, and the enrichment to the ground floor shutters is shallow. Another tell-tale sign is the use of wood where otherwise one might expect stone, most notably in the study fireplace, the entrance porch, and the balustrading to the ground-floor Venetian windows. The decision to use artificial stone was also in part motivated by economy, since there was no local building stone of high quality. Surface render (see below) was also easier to keep looking smart.

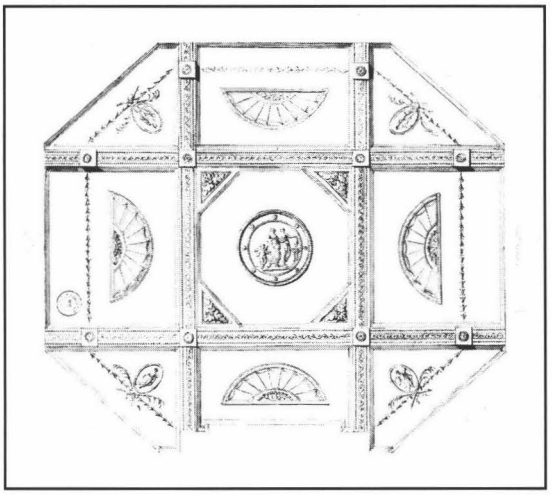


Plate 9. Robert Adam, design for the library ceiling, Marlborough House, 1786. (Source: Sir John Soane's Museum.)

Then there is the evidence of the 1787 letter from Hamilton to Adam. Although the client justified his suggestions on the grounds of 'convenience', the effect of his proposed changes would have been to cut the cost still further:

> But if a Door or two could be dispens'd with in the [Entrance] Hall I own I should be pleas'd. I am sensible that no door can be taken away without some Inconvenience. But Warmth and Comfort are the principal Objects, and Elegance though a desirable, is only a secondary one. I sometimes think that the Door from the Hall to the Back Parlour might be parted with. At others that the Recess part of the Dining Parlour instead of being Circular might be made strait, and that in that Case the Door in the Centre of the Dining Parlour might be shut up, and the entrance in to it be made rather at the side, exactly opposite to the Door through which you go out of the Hall in to the Drawing Room. I own I am not pleased with my own thoughts, and therefore beg you would think for me . . .

Adam's plans did not stop at the house. He was asked to consider the entrance from East Street as well as the services and stables, and produced a clever design for the site Hamilton had amassed (Plate 7).[50] The challenge here was not so much the lack of space — Adam had more than a little experience of crowded West End gardens. No, the problem in

Brighton was that the old house did not sit in the middle of the enlarged site, but uncomfortably off to one side. The fact that the main carriageway from East Street was out of line with the centre of the rear elevation did not help much either. There was no question but that the kitchen and stabling had to be separated by a courtyard; the fit was going to be very tight indeed, and in the end the architect had to set the kitchen ranges hard up against the older house, thus spoiling its symmetry. Then there was the matter of the new monumental porch — a *sine qua non* for someone of Hamilton's pretence. Of course it had to stand in the middle of the new courtyard, but this meant putting it out of line with the carriageway and, even worse, spanning the second and third bays of the three-bay house, that is, hugely off-centre. One can imagine the architect returning time and again to the problem, making small adjustments here and there (introducing a covered walkway nearest the house on the north side, thus breaking up the bulk of the kitchen ranges at the crucial point where it hit the house), but then suddenly realizing that a big gesture was the only solution. Why try to hide from the fact, why not embrace irregularity? So, the kitchen wing to the north got a shallow curving wall, a long segmental bay, which had the advantage of maximizing square footage in the main preparation area, and the stables to the south got an answering concavity, shallow and broad. This treatment would have diverted the eye from the unbalanced rear elevation, establishing a north–south axis, and thus in effect cancelling that fraught line of sight across the narrow rear courtyard. What is more, these curves, so close to one another, would also have articulated the area as a volume, rendering the question of competing axes, of symmetry *versus* asymmetry, null and void. Something along these lines can be found in the architect's earlier plans for the services at Lansdowne House in Berkeley Square (built 1762–68), and it is interesting to see the architect returning them here, 20 years later.

The Marlborough House plan, then, is a far cry from the ideal symmetries and formal game-playing of Adam's late villa plans, and for this reason it has not attracted much comment. But surely this is the very reason why the plan deserves to be more widely known. It shows the architect taking difficult decisions, compromising, thinking, tinkering, reconciling rigorous, abstract notions of the villa. of how it appears in the mind's eye, with the indisputable givens of the real world, of budgetary constraints and awkward sites, of a world where architecture is a luxury which can only just be afforded. Indeed, the different line weight and shading used to draw out the ancillary services indicate that the scheme was merely a suggestion. A plan accompanying the 1818 lease still in the possession of the local authority shows how it actually was then, and how it may have looked when Adam was called in; perhaps this ungainly assortment had even been there in the third Duke's day (Colour plate 2). The 1873 Ordnance Survey (Plate 15) shows this uneven collection of minor buildings and sheds with a few additions. The present balustrading to the forecourt was erected after this, probably in the 19th century; however, its present position is quite recent and was established as part of a traffic scheme.

Inside the house the quality of work is good and in places outstanding. This is particularly true of the plasterwork scheme for the hall and the dining parlour both of which can be attributed to the great master of the medium Joseph Rose, who by this point had left his native Sussex for London (his father had worked at Stanmer Park for the Pelhams). The triglyph and patera frieze adorning the Ionic entablature in the hall is to be found in Rose's 'Designs for Ornamental Friezes . . .', which is also at the Soane Museum, and so is the frieze to the Corinthian entablature in the dining room.[51] The design of the plaster ornament is not what one normally associates with Adam. There is a leanness to it which is consistent with the need to economize that marks this commission overall, but this is not to say that Adam was simply implementing cuts without thinking. The interior has integrity and coherence. Here again is proof of the architect's consummate skill and artistry, a thorough-going approach which is consistent with his late design practice as this has been analyzed by Alastair Rowan.[52] This is most apparent in the hall, where the positioning and scale of the openings and other features are perfectly adjusted to the amount of plain wall surface. The same judgment is manifest in the dining parlour and in the study, where, despite the small scale of the room and its low ceiling, the sensation is one of balance. The drawing room is almost bereft of relief ornament, and such as is there is rather unusual. The room cornice is of the Corinthian (or possibly Composite) order, which normally calls for a run of vegetation in the frieze

band, a palmyra motif perhaps or some acanthus scroll. But here Cupids astride dolphins alternate with a frozen fountain, each motif set clearly apart from the adjacent. This is the only specifically marine reference in the principal interiors. The richness in this room would have come from a splendid carpet of a verdigris hue, the drawing for which survives in the Soane Museum.[53] A 1788 description of the house (see below) confirms there was fine paper here not silk.

The Soane Museum also has the drawings for a dining room sideboard and wine cistern or cooler.[54] Adam's drawings for the pair of surviving, lozenge-shaped pier tables, which survive in the care of the local authority at the time of writing, have not yet been identified. Originally they were positioned opposite one another in the octagonal saloon, in the north-west and south-east corners, and are shown *in situ* in drawings published in 1931.[55]

A description of the house published in 1788 provides the *terminus ante quem* for the principal interiors:

> Upon the Steyne . . . is an elegant Mansion built upon the site of Marlboro' House by the Rt. Hon. W. G. Hamilton, Esq., M.P. This building consists of an elegant hall . . . 20 feet by 18. On the right side of the hall is a superb dining room, 34 feet by 20: on the left a handsome drawing room, 34 feet 6 inches, by 24 feet 6 inches. The hall and dining room are beautifully stuccoed, and painted. The drawing room is hung with an exceedingly elegant paper, and has a chimney piece on which is represented a Venus drawn by Cupids . . . The front is finished with Adam's artificial stone, and looks extremely handsome. The whole building is, indeed, justly admired for its elegance of architecture, as uniting simplicity with true grandeur.[56]

In 1892 Bishop added that:

> It was long after considered even 'in point of exterior beauty, the first house in Brighton'; the enclosed green plat and garden in front with trees at each side doubtless tending to add to its then elegant appearance.[57]

This 'green plat and garden' to the east side of the house is shown clearly in the anonymous watercolour of *c.* 1800 (Colour plate 1). The arrangement of plants was carefully considered, as if a segment of Reptonian landscape garden had been lifted out of a larger park.

The reference in the 1788 description to 'Adam's artificial stone' is tantalizing, since it can only mean that the architect was using Liardet's patent stone, an oil and sand mastic which Adam first used on the south front of Kenwood House in 1767 and of which the brothers Adam were exclusive licensee. By 1785 the recipe was not much used because it had failed spectacularly on several occasions, though by the date of the Marlborough House commission the brothers were willing to extend their licence to other architects, for a fee of course. The fault with Liardet's was less the formula than the method of its application. If the sand used was not fully dry, or if there were too many hydroscopic salts in it, the preparation failed.[58] It is possible that the present facing material is in fact Liardet's cement. Were this proved by microscopic analysis, it would make it a rare survival worthy of careful conservation.[59]

To contemporary observers Marlborough House stood out, its gleaming whiteness and carefully laid Westmorland slate roof setting it apart from a town where most buildings of any status were constructed of brick or flint, perhaps limewashed to reduce the textured appearance. And then there were the proportions of the east front. Since the 1750s land in Brighton was, it will be remembered, split into increasingly smaller lots, particularly in East Street. The houses tended to be high not broad, and the older streets had a pinched and mean quality. Hamilton's Marlborough House was by contrast a land-hungry design, conspicuously low slung, which made it even more distinctively different from the run of Brighton building. And it is this sense of foreignness which that anonymous watercolour in the Pavilion captures so beautifully (Colour plate 1). Once more Hamilton's letter of 16 January 1787 is revealing.

> I can't forebear saying how exceedingly I am pleased with the additions of the Bread[th] at each extremity of the House; it gives a Character and an expression which the great length of the House much wanted, and which it has got very advantageously . . . Among the many obligations I have confer'd on Brighthelmstone . . . [it is] a principal one that I had brought one of the first Architects in the world to ornament their Fishing Town.[60]

Marlborough House was a luxury item brought down specially from London, a city dandy intruding on rustic fête.[61] Its aloofness was not unlike that of

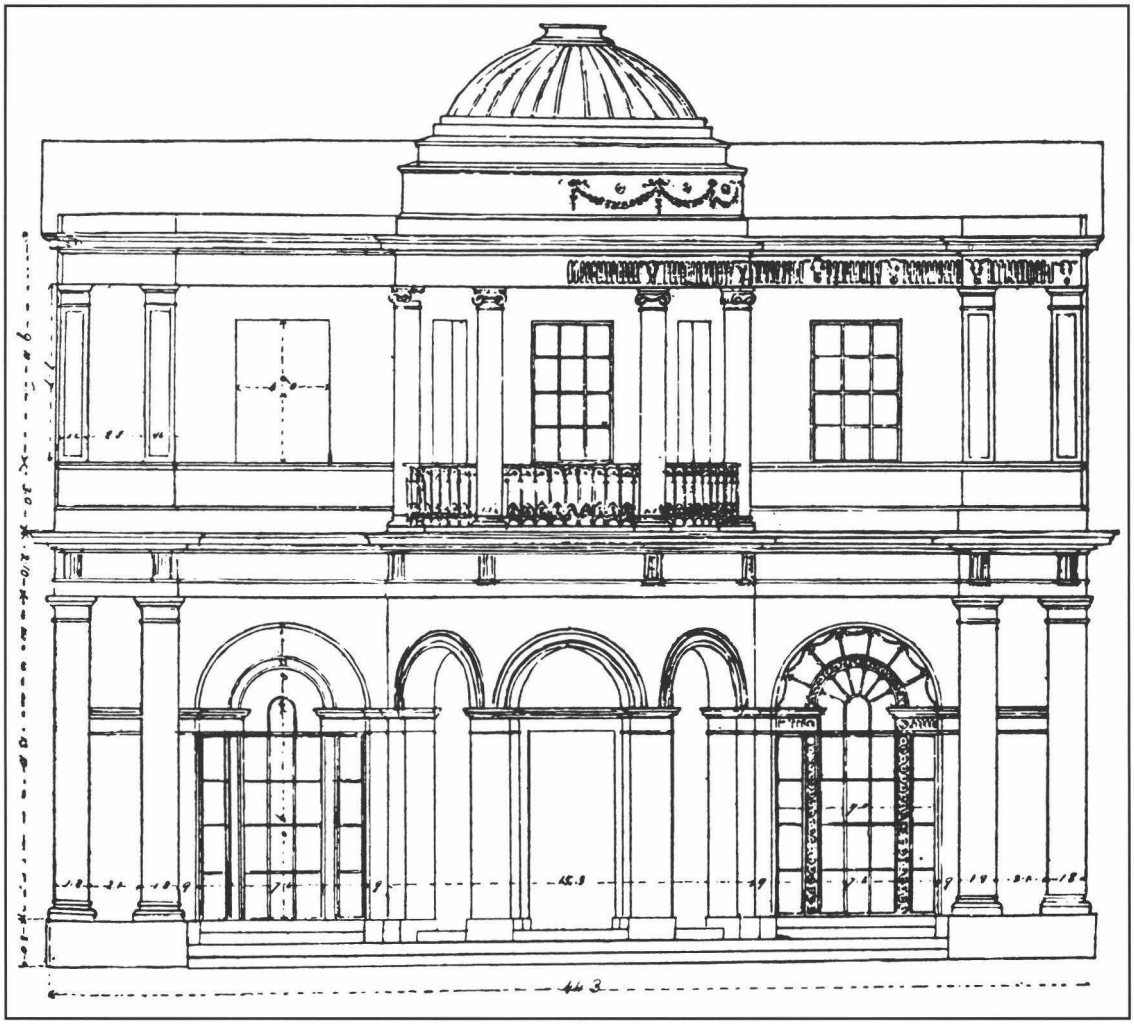


Plate 10. Robert Adam, design for the Steine elevation of a House for Mrs Fitzherbert, 1787, pen. (Source: Arthur Bolton, *The Architecture of Robert and James Adam* (1922).)

its owner. In 1788 Hamilton wrote:

> I conceive that my manner of living here will suit you [Hely-Hutchinson] admirably; it is something between society and solitude. I see many people, and associate with few — you will find company enough to raise, and not overwhelm your spirits.[62]

This image is reinforced by a letter written a few years earlier. 'My attachment to nobody', he wrote in 1781, 'lays me open to the society of everybody'. *The History of Parliament* observes, by way of conclusion, that 'Few men had such a wide social and political acquaintance and made so little of it'.[63]

ADAM'S DESIGNS FOR MRS FITZHERBERT'S HOUSE, 1787

Had things gone just a little bit differently, Marlborough House would have had an Adam sibling nearby, a house intended for the Prince's own Mrs Fitzherbert (Plate 10). Few people who have written on Brighton or Adam have given this unrealized scheme much consideration. Only Arthur Bolton, writing more than 70 years ago, took the time to analyze this remarkable design, and it is easy to see why. There is no archival material relating to the Fitzherbert commission, and neither set of

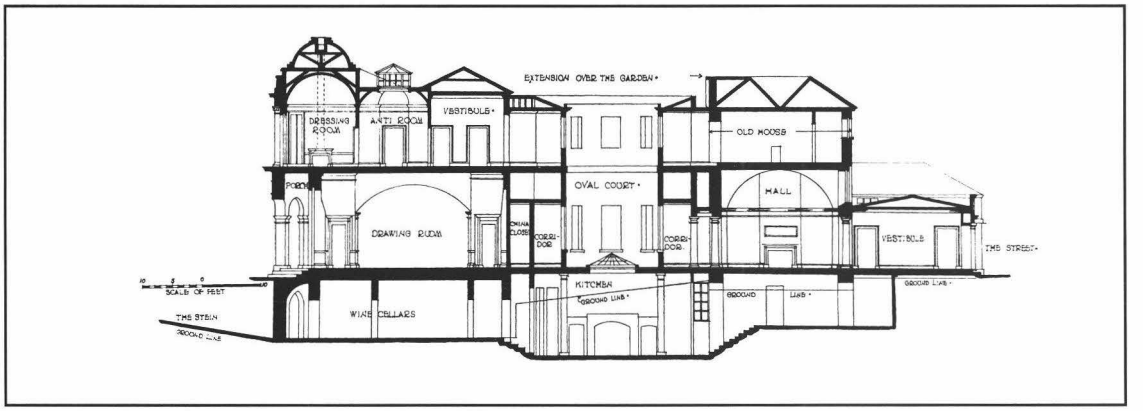


Plate 11. Robert Adam, cross-section for Mrs. Fitzherbert's House, 1787. (Source: Arthur Bolton, *The Architecture of Robert and James Adam* (1922).) The older house is to the right of the oval court.

drawings is dated. Not even the site has been identified. Perhaps the best place to start then is with Bolton's two-volume study of 1922, *The Architecture of Robert and James Adam (1758–1794)*.[64] Inscriptions identify two sets of drawings at the Soane Museum as belonging to the Fitzherbert commission.[65] What I take to be the first design Bolton interpreted as working drawings because of their style, level of finish and scale. This suite of six sheets consists of two elevations (one to the Steine and the other to East Street), three floor plans (basement, ground and first, Plates 12 & 13), and a marvellous longitudinal section made on the east–west axis (Plate 11). It is clear from these that Adam was once more adapting or adding to an earlier house which was itself a two-phase building, though it will be described in greater detail below. The second group of Fitzherbert drawings are executed in that dry and sober manner which Rowan believes was intended for a book of late house designs that the Adams never got around to publishing.[66] The ground- and first-floor plans of the second version are similar to those of the first, but the elevation has been radically revised.

The putative first design is remarkable by any standards, more adventurous in planning terms than Hamilton's house (Plate 6) and having a totally different stylistic character (Plate 10). Adam's additions to the Steine-side had two storeys and was divided into three roughly equal bays. The centre was treated as a projecting, semi-circular bay with a porch on the ground floor opening directly onto the Steine and providing access to the dining parlour on the south, or left, and the drawing room to the north. In order to bring light into the centre of the building — the site was long (132 feet) — there was to be an elliptical light court open to the sky; a continuous gallery on each floor opened into this court. On the first floor the semi-circular porch contained a circular dressing room entered from a lozenge-shaped anteroom, which in turn was accessible from either of the principal bed chambers. This was an intimate, deeply romantic arrangement, all the more so for the panoramic views that the little circular dressing room would have offered. Bolton observed that the wall thicknesses and method of drawing suggested that the entirety of Adam's new structure, excluding of course the chimney breasts, was to have been made from wood and might perhaps even have been intended for a mathematical tile facing, making it quick and easy to build. Holland is known to have used this form of construction for the same reason in his first Marine Pavilion for the Prince.[67]

The elevation is superb, light, open, graceful, elegant. The ground floor is treated as a continuous round-arched arcade with French windows opening almost level with the Steine. The springing course is continuous across the facade, running behind the doubled pilasters at the corners. This is a small touch, but it introduces a sense of depth and complexity. On the first floor the porch has an open ironwork balustrade and a sill band-cum-dado, as if an interior wall had been turned out. Here the order is reduced in scale and rests on the mock dado. The segmental bay is topped by a shallow, ribbed dome of modest size and strongly decorative in character. 'Confection' sums up this elevation best. The East Street, or rear, elevation by contrast is castle-like in

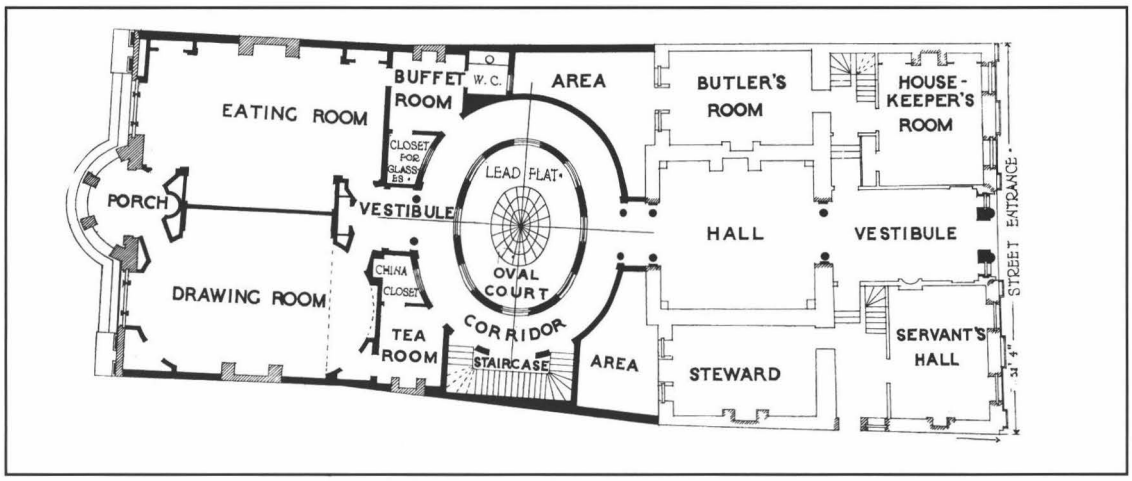


Plate 12. Robert Adam, ground-floor plan of Mrs Fitzherbert's house, 1787. (Source: Arthur Bolton, *The Architecture of Robert and James Adam* (1922).) The Adam addition is shown in dark outline.

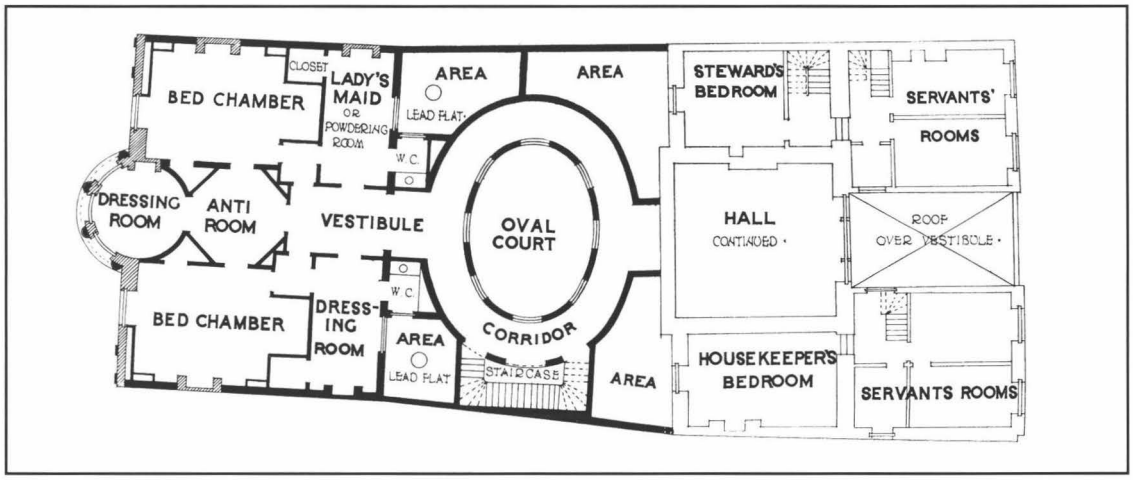


Plate 13. Robert Adam, first-floor plan of Mrs Fitzherbert's house, 1787. (Source: Arthur Bolton, *The Architecture of Robert and James Adam* (1922).)

its sternness. Perhaps this was all Adam could do here, since he had the unenviable job of trying to redesign the elevation of not one but two older and more modest buildings.

When could it have been done? Bolton surmised sometime in 1786, probably in the spring or summer, when the Prince of Wales and Mrs Fitzherbert came to Brighton.[68] This is unlikely because of the extraordinary events of that spring. The marriage took place on 15 December 1785 in Mrs Fitzherbert's Park Street drawing room, and though it was meant to remain secret the pair appeared together at engagements and rumours quickly spread, so much so that the Duchess of Cumberland was uncomfortable on meeting her. In the first months of the new year, the scale of the prince's debt crisis was also becoming known, more than a quarter of a million pounds, no small proportion of it having come, it was said, from keeping his Roman Catholic wife in state. In March 1786 he wrote Prince William: 'My finances are as low as possible, so bad that the least sum [from you] will be of use'. The king would not settle until he had an assurance that there had been no marriage.

He also demanded a detailed account of how the debts had been incurred. The prince refused, and there followed, between April and August 1786, an embarrassing exchange of letters. By December the king stopped the prince's income entirely.[69] It is inconceivable that he would have seriously entertained the idea of building and kitting out any new house, much less one so conspicuous as Adam's for Mrs Fitzherbert would have been.

The result of the regal dispute is well known. The prince closed down Carlton House and sought refuge in Brighton. He left for the coast on 11 July 1786, and Mrs Fitzherbert followed from her house in St James, arriving in Brighton on the 24th. It took this long, nearly two weeks (according to Wilkins writing in 1905), to find a house for her, as she refused to live openly with the prince until her marriage was acknowledged. Therefore, 'a pretty modest villa was found for her close to the Pavilion'. It had green shutters and was separated from the Pavilion by a 'thin strip of garden'. Wilkins added, in a footnote, that this house was near to what is now the North Gate of the Pavilion, that is, not the site later occupied by Mrs Fitzherbert's house to the north of Marlborough House.[70]

In May 1787 a deal was struck after the prince finally submitted satisfactory accounts, and although there was still the king's insistence that there would be no increase in the prince's allowance until he was married, the respite was enough to allow Holland to begin work in earnest on the Marine Pavilion.[71] The Fitzherbert commission, I believe, dates to spring 1787, when the prince's finances looked set to recover. Why it was abandoned is not certain. What we do know is that at about this time a house in Pall Mall, no. 105, was being remodelled for Mrs Fitzherbert. It had been rebuilt by James Paine only a few years earlier, in 1779, when the exterior was given a coating of Liardet's cement ornamented by the brothers Adam. She lived there between 1789 and 1796, and the house was demolished in 1838.[72] So, Mrs Fitzherbert did finally get to stay in a house touched by the Adam genius if not one actually built by him.

It is possible, however, to come to a firm view about the intended site by matching of the dimensions of the building — *c.* 134 feet by 42 feet at the widest point — with existing sites. The drawing for the rear elevation gives the location as 'East Street', which narrows the field considerably. There was in fact only one site that could have accommodated this building's footprint, namely, the plot which runs from the east front of Porden's surviving Steine House back to the properties in East Street, that is, immediately north of Marlborough House. What makes the identification certain is the oblique 'kick' in the Adam plan which appears clearly in the property line between Marlborough House and Steine House as this is recorded in the Ordnance Survey sheet of nearly a century later (Plate 15). As for the site itself, adjacent Marlborough House, this was the property of Thomas Philcox, whose will was proved on 25 March 1786.[73] It lists several lodging houses, but the one which appears on Donowell's view must be that which is described as 'a messuage near the Steine, and joining the house and premises of the Duke of Marlborough'. This was left to his sister Elizabeth Stedman, a widow of Brighton, and she was admitted to the property on 31 May 1786. There is a fitting postscript to all this, for in 1802–3, when Mrs Fitzherbert was casting about for a site in Brighton on which to build, she went back to the Philcox site for which, I believe, Adam had worked up designs more than 15 years previously. Steine House, the work of William Porden, occupies that site still, albeit much transformed.

Adam's worked-up designs for the Fitzherbert commission are of interest to local historians, because they record how Brighton's humble vernacular housing was adapted to meet the requirements of holiday-makers. Adam was planning to build onto a house which was itself of two phases of construction, and his working drawings give some idea of this structure. The clearest picture of what it was like is conveyed by the cross-section and two plans (Plates 11–13).[74] The earlier, two-phase house was roughly square in outline. The west half which Adam treated as a vestibule framed by servants' quarters seems to have been a modest cottage, built without a basement and having one principal storey with chambers in the roof area. East of this — and so backing onto Philcox's house — was a taller, two-storey structure with a two-span roof. This was altogether grander than the phase-one building. Most of this status range was taken up by a commodious hall, nearly a cube room. There were modest bedrooms on the upper floor. Reinforcing a reading of this earlier structure (labelled 'old house' on Adam's plan) is an annotation on one plan relating to floor levels.[75] In order to make one continuous level across the ground floor, from East Street through the light court and finishing in the

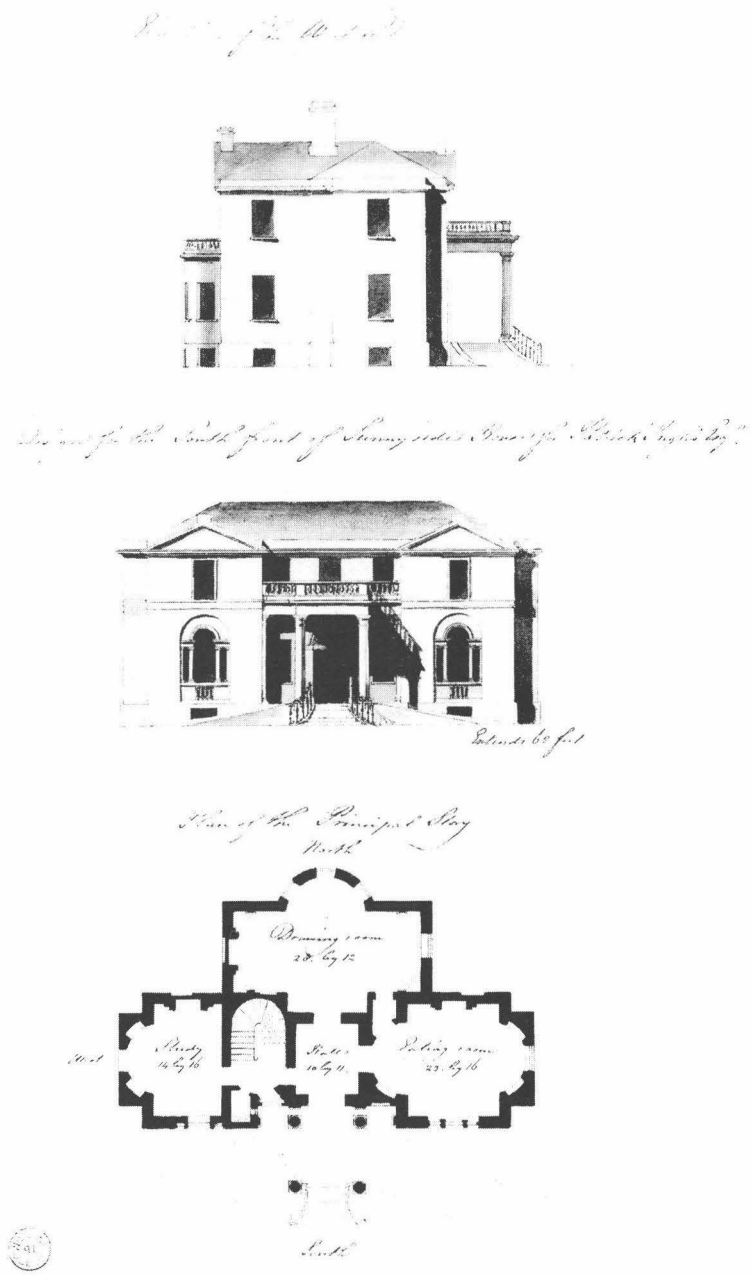


Plate 14. Robert Adam, elevation and ground-floor plan of Sunnyside for Sir Patrick Inglis, Edinburgh, 1790–91. (Source: Sir John Soane's Museum.)

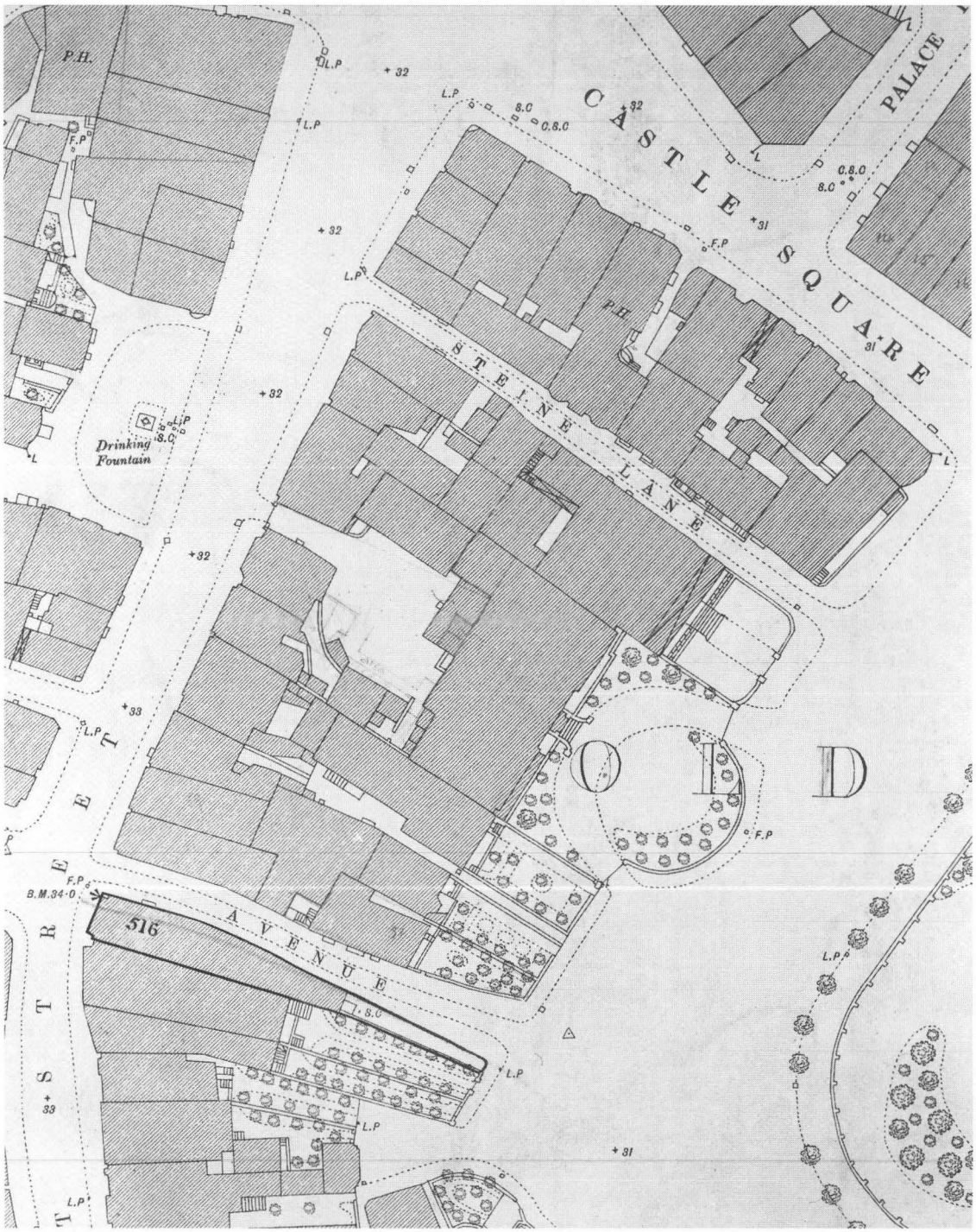


Plate 15. Ordnance Survey, 1873, 1:500 scale, showing Marlborough House — having a semicircular forecourt — with the site to the north, now occupied by Steine House, intended for Adam's Fitzherbert House.

Steine-side elevation, the 'cottage' range floor had to be raised one foot and the hall floor lowered three feet 10 inches.

But the really significant thing about Adam's Brighton episode is what it tells us about his work as a designer in this last phase of an illustrious career. For here he was designing a pair of villas on adjoining sites within months of each other, and giving each a completely different stylistic character (Plates 6 & 10). Hence his Brighton designs fit nicely with the case Dr Rowan has made out for seeing this period as one of intense creativity and experimentation.[76] Marlborough House is, however, perhaps more important than has previously been realized. There are strong points of comparison between the Steine-side elevation and Kirkdale House in Creetown (1787–8) for Samuel Hannay, Bt, which, like Marlborough House was conceived as a marine pavilion, in this case overlooking Wigtown Bay. But by far the nearest parallel is Adam's imaginative and justly celebrated design for Sunnyside, designed for Sir Patrick Inglis, Bt, on the outskirts of Edinburgh and dating to 1790–91 (Plate 14).[77] In the Hannay and Inglis plans one finds the standard circuit of four principal rooms, with dining parlour and drawing room flanking a roughly square entrance hall, behind which is a saloon of slightly more complex plan. The ground-floor plan of Marlborough House is an obvious variation on this type.

What has not previously attracted comment is the seminal position of the Steine elevation of Marlborough House (1786) in the genealogy of the final version of Sunnyside's principal front (1790–91).[78] Sunnyside went through endless revisions but in the end the architect, almost, one senses, in exasperation, broke with his earlier design paradigms and revisited the earlier elevation for Hamilton at Brighton. There are, of course, obvious differences. Marlborough House is longer and, furthermore, has a tripartite, flat-arched window above each of the Venetian windows on the ground floor. Another obvious difference is treatment of the entrance porches. At Sunnyside it is robust and bold; indeed the oversized proportions teeter on the brink of Mannerist distortion. But at the same time the sheer size of the porch reasserts the primacy of the centre and thus fixes the house in the Palladian tradition. In this sense the Marlborough House elevation is more radical, for by reducing the porch to a bare minimum Adam left a void where one might have expected a clear point of emphasis.[79] It may, once again, have been a question of cost, but this does not change the fact that what Adam provided has a sureness about it, a rightness that betrays the hand of a talented designer. And Hamilton, from the little we know of him, seems to have been concerned with appearances. He took care to secure extra land as an encroachment on the Steine, rail it off, and then lay it out as a Reptonian landscape in miniature. There can be no doubt that Hamilton went to Adam to get something with style, something different from anything Brighton had so far seen. It should then come as no surprise that the Prince of Wales, that avatar of style, chose to stay at Marlborough House not once but twice, and on the second occasion for three weeks after his marriage to Caroline of Brunswick in 1795.[80]

THE LATER HISTORY OF MARLBOROUGH HOUSE

Hamilton died in the following year, 1796, four years after his architect. The property was sold at auction on 10 September by Messrs Skinner and Dyke in three lots. The sale particulars mention stabling for six horses, suitable servants' chambers and numerous domestic offices. All the lots together fetched 4000 guineas but the name of the purchaser was not made public. It subsequently emerged that there was a mortgage of £7575 upon the house to David Pitcairn. That was settled by 1801, when Lady Anne Murray purchased the property. She was said to have run a popular and fashionable establishment in season. When she died in 1818, aged 90, the house passed to her niece, Lady Elizabeth Mary Finch Hatton, who sold it to Thomas Harrington, Esq., for £9500. The plan already referred to (Colour plate 2) was made at this time. Harrington lived in it, with occasional intervals, until his death in 1843, when his widow, Martha, purchased it (she did not inherit because of a trust arrangement) for £6900.

In 1849 she bequeathed it to her nephew, Charles George Taylor, a leading Sussex cricketer, who died suddenly in 1869. Taylor had let the property from 1850 to 1863 to one Captain Charles Thelluson, the grandson of Peter Thelluson, whose eccentric will has earned him a place in British legal history and resulted in the Thelluson Act. When the difficulties of the bequest (which gave Dickens the idea for *Bleak House*) were resolved, Charles commissioned Brodsworth Hall (completed in 1863) from an Italian architect. In January 1868 Mr Taylor

sold the Brighton property to Francis Henry Beidenbach, a perfumer in Bond Street, for £9500, and he and his family were the last private residents. In the second half of the 1870s the property was purchased by John Beal, a well-known stationer of East Street, who used the basement rooms for storage. Between 1876 and 1879 he entered into an agreement with the Brighton School Board, which let the ground and upper floors as offices. The School Board purchased the house outright on 29 September 1891 for £7000, which is how, ultimately, the property came into the ownership of the local authority.[81] The education offices of the Borough were located here until 1974, when the county assumed control of this function. From then until the early 1990s Marlborough House was home to the Tourism and Resort Services Department of Brighton Borough Council, housing, for a time, the town's main tourist information centre.[82] The creation of the new Brighton & Hove Council made it redundant. At the time of writing (May 1998) it sits empty.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to several people for commenting on an early draft of this article and for helping with the research. Stephen Astley at the Soane Museum was generous as ever. I have also to thank Henry Smith, John Farrant, David Beevers, and Andrew Barlow, but I owe the largest debt to Christopher Whittick at the East Sussex Record Office for working through the Donoughmore Papers at Trinity College, Dublin, as well as various documents at the ESRO. Any errors in this article are, however, entirely my own. This research grew from a research project carried out under the auspices of English Heritage.

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APPENDIX: TEXT OF LETTER FROM WILLIAM HAMILTON TO ROBERT ADAM, 16 JANUARY 1787

Private Collection:

Jany. 16–87. Brighton

Dear Sir

I trouble you today with a very short Letter, because I hope we shall meet very soon and very often, and discuss various matters frequently over a good Soupe. I have given directions that your Plans should in ev'ry respect be followed minutely, and that there might be no delay whatsoever. But if a Door or two could be dispensed with in the Hall I own I should be pleas'd. I am sensible that no door can be taken away without some Inconvenience. But warmth and Comfort are the principal Objects, and Elegance tho' a desirable, is only a secondary one. I sometimes think that the Door from the Hall to the Back Parlour might be parted with. At others that the Recess part of the Dining Room instead of being Circular might be made strait, and that in that Case the Door in the Centre of the Dining Parlour might be shut up, and the entrance in to it be made rather at the side, exactly opposite to the Door through which you go out of the Hall in to the Dining Room. I own I am not pleased with my own thoughts, and therefore I beg you would think for me. I can't forebear saying how exceedingly I am pleased with the additions of the Bread[th] at each extremity of the House; it gives a Character and an expression which the great length of the House much wanted, and which it has got very advantageously.

I have been detain'd here much longer than I intended by an opposition from some of the Inhabitants to my taking in more Ground towards the Steine, and on each side of my House. There was a very numerous meeting of them last Night. Two Questions were proposed, first, that my taking in 100 feet of Ground to which I had no Right, was an Encroachment. But this was determined in the Negative by a large Majority.

2ndly that my blocking up the Coach way to Philcox's [to the north — the future site of Mrs. Fitzherbert's Steine House] was a Nuisance. But Philcox was the only person in the Room of that opinion. What would Mr. Pitt give for such a Parliament! To this Ld Mansfield would probably answer, nothing, for that he already had such a one. Stiles [?] I was told was exceedingly Eloquent. Amongst the many obligations I have confer'd on Brighthelmstone He considered it a principal one that I had brought one of the first Architects in the world to ornament their Fishing Town.

Yrs most Sincerely

WGH

NOTES

[1] D. Beevers, 'A rare watercolour by John Donowell at Preston Manor', *The Royal Pavilion Libraries and Museums Review*, April 1997, 6–7.

[2] No other rate-books from this period survive. Brighton Central Reference Library, SB.352.1. There is a rate-book covering the period 1744–61: East Sussex Record Office (hereafter ESRO), AMS 5889.

[3] A transcription of this letter in a private collection is given in the Appendix to this article.

[4] J. & S. Farrant, *Brighton before Dr Russell*, University of Sussex Centre for Continuing Education Occasional Papers **5** (1976), 2–3, 8 *et passim*. *See also* J. & S. Farrant (eds), *Aspects of Brighton, 1650–1800*. University of Sussex Centre for Continuing Education Occasional Papers **8** (1978), 3–6 and 'Brighton, 1580–1820: from Tudor town to Regency resort', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* **118** (1980), 331–50.

[5] I. Nairn & N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Sussex* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965), 426.

[6] *Brighton before Dr Russell*, 16–19, 21–2.

[7] P. Dunvan, *Ancient and Modern: History of Lewes and Brighthelmstone* (Lewes: W. Lee, 1795), 526.

[8] J. Bruce, *History of Brighton and Stranger's Guide* (Brighton: J. Bruce, 1827), 25.

[9] T. Carder, *The Encyclopedia of Brighton* (Lewes: East Sussex County Libraries, 1990), no. 164.

[10] A. Dale, *The History and Architecture of Brighton* (Brighton: Bredon and Heginbothom, 1950), 18–19.

[11] J. & S. Farrant, *Aspects*, 7, 47–8. *See also* S. Farrant, *Georgian Brighton, 1740–1820*. University of Sussex Centre for Continuing Education Occasional Papers **13** (1980).

[12] *Aspects*, 8–9, 32–3, 47–8.

[13] *A Short History of Brighthelmstone . . .* (London: W. Johnston, 1761), 15.

[14] The following is taken from *Aspects*, 45–55, except where otherwise indicated.

[15] The only known building accounts for this period are for Dr Poole's House in East Street. ESRO, HOOK 23/1/13.

[16] *Aspects*, 8–9, 35–6, 44–53.

[17] Carder, no. 89.

[18] They are listed grade II*. Carder, no. 113.

[19] Born in Sussex, Crunden was by this date surveyor to the vestries of St Mary Paddington, St Pancras, and St Luke's Chelsea. For a description of the ballroom *see* J. A. Erredge, *History of Brighthelmstone . . .* (London: John Murray, 1862), 190. The Inn was demolished in 1823 and Crunden's rooms converted into a Royal Chapel. In 1850 it was moved to a new building in Montpelier Place. It survives as St Stephen's Chapel and is listed grade II*. Dunvan, 528, and Carder, no. 31.

[20] J. Farrant, 'Passenger travel between Sussex and France in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries', *Sussex History* **1(10)** (1980), 8–13.

[21] *Aspects*, 8, and S. Farrant, 'The development of coaching services from Brighton to London, *c.* 1750–1822', *Sussex Genealogist and Local Historian* **7** (1986), 85–92.

[22] Dale, 34.

[23] J. & J. Ford, *Images of Brighton. Gallery of Prints* (Richmond-upon-Thames: St Helena Press, 1981), nos 336, 337.

[24] J. G. Bishop, *'A Peep into the Past': Brighton in Olden Time* (Brighton: *The Brighton Herald*, 1892), 152–3.

[25] M. Hunter, 'The first seaside house?', *Georgian Group Journal* **8** (1998), 135–42.

[26] Carder, no. 183a.

[27] ESRO, SAS/BRI 58, p. 246. A notice in the *Sussex Weekly Advertiser and Lewes Journal* for 9 September 1771 mentions the house: 'We are well informed that his Grace the Duke of Marlborough has bought the large house at Brighthelmstone, built by Mr. Samuel Shergold about two years since'.

[28] Carder, no. 114k. On the scarcity of quality accommodation *see* ESRO, SAS/HA 310, 29 May 1763, 11 February, 9 April, and 23 July 1764.

[29] Manor of Brighton court-books: ESRO, SAS/BRI 52–60 (Sparrow moiety), ACC 4786 (Kemp moiety); the waste was held in common, and identical entries made in each set of books.

[30] ESRO, SAS/BRI 58, p. 170, 304–5 (site of mansion); ESRO SAS/BRI 58 pp. 349–50 (butcher's shop and slaughterhouse); ESRO, ACC 4786/4 pp. 111, 206–7, ACC 4786/5 p. 127 (cottage); for Shergold's activity in the land-market in the previous decade *see Aspects*, 35.

[31] Bishop, 161.

[32] *Lewes Journal* as quoted in D. Beevers, 'A brief history of Marlborough House', 1994.

[33] Beevers.

[34] Dunvan, 527, and Bruce, 25.

[35] Bruce, 14. Coal was still being sold on the Steine in the 1820s. R. Sicklemore, *History of Brighton and Its Environs* (Brighton, 5th ed., 1827), 32.

[36] J. Dinkel, *The Royal Pavilion at Brighton* (London: Philip Wilson, 1983), 19–23.

[37] For Hamilton *see* L. Namier & J. Brooke, *History of Parliament: the House of Commons, 1754–1790* (London: HMSO, 1964) **2**, 572–4, and the *DNB*. Boyle's *Court Guide* for 1792 and 1796 give 27 Upper Brook Street as his town address.

[38] In 1762 and 1763 he writes from the Privy Garden at Hampton Court, suggesting he had an apartment there, in September 1763 from an unspecified house in St James' Street, and in 1772 from another in Arlington Street. Trinity College, Dublin, Donoughmore Papers, C/17, C/112.

[39] Donoughmore Papers, C 1/7, 9 August 1762, and C 2/112, 5 August 1783.

[40] According to his obituary notice in *Gentleman's Magazine* **66** (1796) pt ii, 702–3: 'He was usually denominated Single-speech Hamilton; of which he was put in mind by Mr Bruce, when, on an insinuation of Mr Hamilton's, that it was highly improbable any man should make such fine drawings as Mr Bruce exhibited for his own, without ever having been known to excel in design, Mr Bruce said, "Pray, Sir, did you not once make a famous speech in the House of Commons?" "Yes, I did." "And pray, Sir, did you ever make another?" "No, I did not."

[41] R. G. Thorne, *History of Parliament: the House of Commons, 1790–1820* (London: HMSO, 1972) **4**, 138–9.

[42] British Library, Add. MS. 33,100, f. 346.

[43] Donoughmore Papers, C2/112.

[44] Donoughmore Papers, C 2/170.

[45] Donoughmore Papers, C 2/172, 22 January 1787.

[46] ESRO, ACC 4786/5, pp. 134–5; SAS/BRI 59, pp. 238–41.

[47] This was determined by a thorough site inspection conducted by the author in 1997.
[48] A. Rowan, 'Sunnyside and Rosebank — suburban villas by the Adam Brothers', *AA Files* **4** (1983), 31–9, at 31.
[49] Library, Sir John Soane's Museum (hereafter Soane), Adam 42 (39), 14 (89), and 23 (173) respectively.
[50] Soane, Adam 42 (40).
[51] Soane, Adam 53 (40, 41).
[52] Rowan, 1983, 33–8.
[53] Soane, Adam 17 (211).
[54] Soane, Adam 14, 6 (116, 118) and 7 (225) respectively.
[55] Supplement to *The Architects' Journal*, 4 February 1931.
[56] As quoted in Beevers, 'A Brief History'.
[57] Bishop, 161–2.
[58] *Ex inf.* Peter Hood, August 1997. Mr Hood is currently preparing a study of stuccos in Brighton and Hove for the Council.
[59] F. Kelsall, 'Liardet *versus* Adam', *Architectural History* **27** (1984), 118–26. For the surviving cement-faced house in Conduit Street, Westminster (Higgins's patent cement, licensed to James Wyatt), *see* A. Saint, WM 822, Historical Analysis and Research Team, English Heritage, former London Region Historian's files of the Greater London Council.
[60] Soane, Marlborough House clippings file.
[61] D. Stroud, *Henry Holland: His Life and Architecture* (London: Country Life, 1966), 87–9, and Dinkel, 19–23.
[62] Donoughmore Papers, C 2/181, 20 August 1787.
[63] As quoted in Namier and Brooke **2**, 574.
[64] First published by Country Life in London, it was reprinted in 1984.
[65] Soane, Adam 30/21–4, and 26–9; redrawn and republished by Bolton **2**, 181–91.
[66] A. Rowan, *Designs for Castles and Country Villas by Robert and James Adam* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1985), introduction.
[67] Bolton **2**, 181, 183–91.
[68] Bolton probably consulted W. H. Wilkins, *Mrs Fitzherbert and George IV*, 2 vols. (London & New York: Longmans, 1905), 1, 99, 161, 166–7, 169–74, 217, 229.
[69] A. Aspinall (ed.), *The Later Correspondence of George III*, 5 vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1962) **1**, nos 110, 113, 161, 181, 192, 289, 294, 300, 310, 340. *See also* A. Aspinall (ed.), *Correspondence of George, Prince of Wales, 1770-1812*, 5 vols. (London: John Murray, 1963) **1**, nos 222, 225, 228, 231.
[70] Wilkins **1**, 169. *See also* J. Richardson, *George IV: a Portrait* (London: Sedgwick & Jackson, 1966), 35–40, 47.
[71] Stroud, 68–9.
[72] According to Colvin this remodelling is mentioned in *The World* for 17 October and 30 November 1787. *See* H. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600–1840*, 3rd ed. (London & New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 504. The house is described in *The Survey of London* **29**, *The Parish of Saint James's Westminster* (London: London County Council and the Athlone Press, 1960), 349. The attribution of the exterior to the Adams comes from Paine's own *Plans, Elevations, and Sections of Noblemen and Gentlemen's Houses of 1783* **2**, 28.
[73] ESRO, W/A 65.197, and dated 1 July 1783.
[74] Soane, Adam, 30 (23, 25, 26).
[75] Soane, Adam 30 (26).
[76] Rowan, 1985, 12–17.
[77] Rowan, 1983, 31–9, and D. King, *The Complete Works of Robert and James Adam* (Edinburgh: The University Press, 1991), 106, 135–7.
[78] Rowan, 1983, 37.
[79] Adam's Woolton Hall (1774–80), Liverpool, shows some similarities with the principal elevation of Marlborough House as well.
[80] Carder, no. 114j.
[81] Bishop, 163–4.
[82] Carder, no. 114k.

Coal hunting at Bexhill 1805–1811:

HOW THE NEW SCIENCE OF STRATIGRAPHY WAS IGNORED

H. S. Torrens

This paper describes the lengthly attempts made to find coal at Bexhill, East Sussex, between 1805 and 1811 in hope of reviving the Wealden iron industry. The chief promoter of this Sussex Mining Company, William James (1771–1837), was convinced true coal was easily available in Sussex. The London-based mineral surveyor John Farey (1766–1826), on the other hand, from 1806 correctly urged that it was impossible to find true coal here, on the stratigraphic grounds taught him in the field from 1801 by William Smith (1769–1839). Farey knew that the Sussex adventurers had first, confused pieces of lignite for seams of coal and second, were hunting many thousands of feet above *the geological horizon at which Smith had demonstrated that the main deposits of English coal occurred. Farey supported his view by articles, some printed in agricultural journals, and a unique newspaper advertisement. His advice was ignored. The project failed, at a total cost of well over £30,000.*

INTRODUCTION

> The Income . . . would be immense . . . from the Value [these Coal Mines] will give to the Surface of the [Bexhill] Estate by the Establishment of an Harbour and of Furnaces, Foundries and other Manufactories which prevail in a Country abounding, as I conceive this does, with valuable Minerals. Then we may say to our political Enemy we also have a *Coast of Iron* (W. James, Report to the Duchess of Dorset, November 1805).

Until the 1760s, the Weald of Kent, Surrey and Sussex was the leading iron-making centre in Britain, based on locally mined iron ore and locally produced charcoal. Thereafter it lost out to competition from other areas, especially Scotland, which used coal and new technology. By 1800 Ashburnham was the sole surviving furnace here, and that closed in 1813.[1] It was natural, though, that local people should hope that the industry was not finally lost, but could be revived by finding in the Weald the fuel which had taken it elsewhere. Meanwhile coal had also been increasingly substituted for furze and underwood for domestic and industrial purposes, with imports to Sussex rising fourfold between 1780 and 1807.[2]

The first reports that 'coal' occurred in Sussex had been promoted in 1800 at Ashdown Park and Newick and 1801 at Heathfield and in St Leonards Forest,[3] but Bexhill became the first, and only, Sussex location at which serious exploration was to be made. The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars made their greatest impact on the Sussex coast following the breakdown of the Peace of Amiens, as Napoleon amassed his army of invasion at Boulogne in 1804. The Government put in hand a major programme of defence, building Martello towers backed by barracks. The towers around Bexhill were still being built in 1808.[4] Four brickfields had also been established, probably firing the bricks in large open clamps which used a by-product of coal, town-ash.[5] Bexhill was in the midst of this activity, with a barracks for 3000 men built in 1804 north-west of the village, with brickfields a couple of miles to east and west at Bulverhythe and Cooden,[6] and twelve Martello towers sited between Bulverhythe (number 43) and Rock House Bank (number 54).[7] The manor of Bexhill had long been possessed by the Sackville family, and from the estate of the infant Duke of Dorset land for the barracks was compulsorily purchased and the land for the brickfield at Cooden was requisitioned.[8]

The main driving-source behind the Bexhill coal-hunt, William James, later noted that it was on 30 May 1805 that he had first 'perused letter from Mr Neale about the existence of Coals' on the Dorset estate.[9] Certainly on 17 August 1805, Josias Routledge, a copyholder of Bexhill manor, wrote to

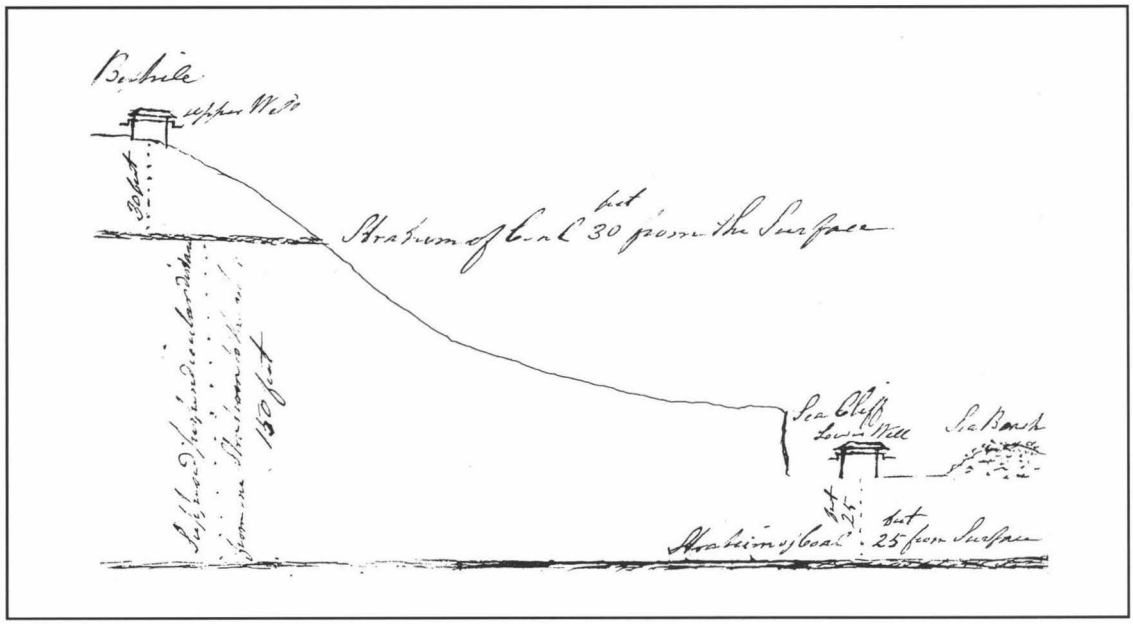


Fig. 1. Josias Routledge's sketch of the situations of coals at Bexhill, August 1805. That in the upper well was 30 feet below surface, that in the lower 25 feet, with the supposed perpendicular distance between them 150 feet (CKS U269 E173/2).

Thomas Neale or Neill, steward to the Duke's mother, the dowager Duchess of Dorset, with a sketch reproduced here as Figure 1, that:[10]

> The Coal . . . found here, has been discovered by Wells, . . . sunk for the accommodation of the Troops stationed here, and . . . at the Sea Side, by Wells that have been sunk for the use of the Martello Towers building by the Sea . . . The Stratum in which the Coal lies is nearly similar in both Wells . . . The thickest stratum of Coal that was found in the upper Well was about the thickness of your hand and the piece now sent the thickest of any in the lower one . . . There were several strata of Coal about a foot apart from each other above these, of less thicknesses all laying in the same strata.[11]

Routledge had clearly been the first to comment on the supposed coals found in these excavations. His second surviving letter to Neale asked, if five or six were to subscribe £50 or £100 each in searching for coal (Routledge not hesitating to be among them), would the Duchess of Dorset join them? If they then found coal, the first profits would naturally go to repay the expenses incurred. But would the Duchess allow these same parties to have exclusive rights to work any coal found thereafter?[12] It seems to have been John Forster, the solicitor who handled the settlement of the Duchess's Bexhill land transactions with the Government,[13] who involved the most important figure in the saga, William James, since Forster was then a partner with James in Staffordshire coal-working.[14]

WILLIAM JAMES (1771–1837)

James is best known, and achieved his place in the *DNB*, as a railway pioneer. But he was also a highly successful land-agent and surveyor of Wellsbourne, Warwickshire, and 14 Carey Street, London, and, until his bankruptcy in 1823, a major coal-owner of West Bromwich, Staffs.[15] In a sycophantic biography his daughter claimed that 'as a mineral surveyor his fame appears to have been universal' and that, 'as a geologist and mineralogist, Mr James can take rank with the first men this country has ever produced', from his many undertakings 'to demonstrate the existence of coal mines on the estates of [his] friends in those situations . . . contrary to the general opinion of all other miners', because of 'all the noblemen and gentlemen [who] placed great reliance upon his judgement in respect both to the value and management of mineral as well as landed property'.[16] More realistically, Robert Stephenson (1803–1859) who knew James well

through their railway projects, instead thought he was 'a ready, dashing writer, but no thinker at all on the practical part of the subject he had taken up . . . His fluency of conversation I never heard equalled, and so you would judge from his letters'.[17]

Some such letters survive of those he wrote to the geologist William Smith (1769–1839).[18] James had been one of the first people to receive copies, in 1799, of Smith's pioneering stratigraphic record of the 'Order of the Strata in the Vicinity of Bath'.[19] On 7 October 1800 James wrote to Smith 'there is not a doubt of your making a Fortune, if you will make proper exertions and not spend your time *Gratis* . . . No man has worked with more industry, or to less purpose than yourself. Beware of democratic principles'. His last known letter to Smith, dated 25 January 1805, noted further:

> you have been long acquainted with the similarity of our Views and Labors . . . rest assured that however great may have been your labors, and extensive your Observations you have yet very much to learn, and I can . . . only believe that you have as yet a Glimmering Knowledge of . . . the Arrangement of Strata. I assure you that I have with great Attention and in most parts of this kingdom, considered the subject of your Pursuit and Study, and I have made very little Way towards a general arrangement.

How little, Smith's pupil, John Farey, was very soon to demonstrate to him.

Commissioned by the Duchess of Dorset, James started his 'mineralogical View of the Estate at Bexhill and its Neighbourhood' on 22 October 1805 and reported on the 27th that:

> A Miner pretending to offer an Opinion in a New Country on viewing one Spot only, it is an airy Dream. With infinite Care and much Labour, I have completed my View, which extended over many Miles of Country, and the Result is, that I can deliberately state my thorough Conviction of the Existence of Strata of Coal in your Grace's Estate.[20]

His view had involved 'examining the range of Strata from Robertsbridge, Battle and to the east of Hastings', and:

> the crops of Rocks along the Beach at Bexhill and collecting specimens of secondary strata indicative of Coal, and in viewing and investigating the Lie and Disposition of the Strata along the Beach from Hastings to Bexhill. In traversing the Ravines and Brook Courses behind the Priory to Crowhurst Estate and thence to Bexhill. Attending Routledge about the researches made by him for Coal . . . and journeying along the Coast completing the Investigation of Specimens on the Beach as also examining for 9 miles to the extent of the Estate towards Pevensey. Examining the Interior of the Estate and the Ravines and Brook Courses and taking particulars of the Crop of the Rocks and Strata . . . and delivering my Sentiments on the existence of Coal and advising . . . how to form a Company to explore the Estate.

On 25 October James explored the wells already sunk and with Routledge traced the strata to Ashburnham and the ironstone working there and then to Battle. The next day was spent examining the country adjacent to Ashburnham, but he could 'not discover the Crop of any indicative Strata similar to the Ironstone found at Bexhill'.

On 10 November James sent his 16-page *Report on the Strata indicative of Coal at Bexhill in Sussex and its Neighbourhood* to Her Grace.[21] According to the Report, the 'Material Structure of this Island' was produced by 'three Great Causes'. First, 'the hand of the Creator at the Creation . . . in the Composition of those Saxa . . . considered by Miners *Primitive Rocks*, void of organic bodies as Granite, Schistus, Chalk [sic] &c'. Second, these were then disrupted 'at some subsequent period by *Volcanic Effects*, and the introduction of a new Genera of Saxa . . . and deposits of decomposed Primitive Strata'. Third, came 'the Creation of the Secondary Strata, formed of the minute parts of the decomposed primitive Rocks and an amalgamation of Animal, Vegetable and Marine Fossils . . ., such as Argillacious and Calcareous Gritstone, Greys, Penant Stone, secondary Schistus, Limestone and Chalk, Clays, Marls, Bines, Ironstone, Clunch, White Fluae, Peldron, Coal &c'. It was these last which James had 'researched'. He also discussed dip and the occurrence of faults or breaks which threw strata 'to Day', to appear on the surface. When this did not happen, as in Sussex, one was forced to 'discover the Existence of subterranean Minerals from the superficial Indications and God knows, at present our knowledge on that subject is so very limited that the wisest Man and most experienced Miner must confess *he is just beginning to learn*'.

James continued:

> Bexhill is situated in a District of Secondary

> Strata, which is terminated by the Chalk Hills . . . Coal being considered by Chemists and Miners to be an accumulation of Vegetable . . . Substances, . . . the strata indicative of Coal are those which contain Vegetable Fossils. The Strata next the surface at Bexhill, lying nearly horizontal . . ., [their] internal structure cannot be so accurately determined as tho' the Angle or Dip was greater, but those Strata, which I have traced . . . indicate most conclusively that Strata of Coal are deposited under this Estate.

These strata he identified in order downwards:

1 Argillaceous *Grit Stone* with an Ochery Appearance,
2 a *Steatite* called *White Fluae*
3 the *Cliff* or Argillaceous Schistus with Vegetable Impressions
4 *two* thin Bines of *Argillaceous Ironstone*
5 Argillaceous Strata in Rotchy Rock, called *Grey Fluae*
6 thin seams of inferior *Fire Clay*
7 *Batt* containing Vegetable Impressions
8 *Strong Clunch Rocks* with Lissums or Seams of Coal and Cannel . . . and Impressions of Vegetables
9 *Ironstone, Bines* & *Cliff*
10 seams of *Batt* with Vegetable Impressions.[22]

James also noted that 'on the beach and in the crop of the strata out at Sea, I found specimens of *Strong Clunch Rocks, Peldron* and a very valuable measure of Argillacious Ironstone, more than six inches thick . . . On the Land Side below the Camp at Bexhill is a strong Spring highly impregnated with Iron, unquestionable percolating thro . . . Ironstone Strata'. 'These several Appearances' James thought were:

> conclusive evidence of the Existence of Coal in this Estate, but whether that Coal is sufficiently thick to be recovered at a profit it is impossible for me to determine. At all events, I think the Indications are so strong, the situation so inviting, and this Mineral so valuable, that a fair prospect may be seen by Speculators to induce them to sink pits and prove the Country.

James had 'good reason to think that at about 60 yards on the Beach a Stratum of Coal will be met with below the Peldron rock, but where there is scarce any obliquity [dip] in the strata my Opinion on the subject is altogether hypothetical'.

James' *Report* also had sections on *Proof of Mines* and *Royalty and Prospect of Advantage*. In the first he suggests proving the area 'to the Depth of One Hundred Yards at the Least', and that 'there are three situations which ought to be tried: at the Beach [Site 1, half a mile SE of the village], on the Downs [Site 2, at the NE corner of Bexhill Down], and near the west Martello tower [on the Dorset estate, and later numbered 51 — Site 3]'.[23] James recommended that Routledge and his friends form a partnership to treat with the Duchess for a grant of mines for 21 years. As to any royalty, 'in this case where no Coal is recovered within 300 miles Coastways [i.e. where none occurs nearer than that] and where all the Risk and Expences are to be defrayed by the Speculators, the Royalty ought to be low as an inducement'. James concluded 'it is impossible to conceive in any Situation prospects more flattering than what present themselves on the supposition that a good Coal shall be found at Bexhill. At a Royalty of 1/10[th on] the selling price, the Income arising from this Source would be immense . . ., with other royalties on clays, ironstone etc . . . most considerable'. In his touching finale, James was 'so thoroughly convinced of the Existence of the Coal, that I am ready to take any Share in the Company to be formed for the proof and Working thereof'. All the similarities which James had used throughout this *Report* to base his opinion upon were merely 'superficial indications'. This was the crucial point in James's methodology. He completely failed to use any knowledge of stratigraphic ordering which Smith had certainly passed onto him from 1799.

James' bill for the view and report was £95. As he anticipated substantial increases in surface land values, James was also retained to undertake valuations of the Stoneland and Bexhill estates and for these he was paid £200 in the year ending 25 March 1807 and £300 in each of the following three years.[24] James was still acting as land-steward of the Bexhill estate in December 1810.

AN ACT OF PARLIAMENT

At the end of November James was in London consulting the Duchess of Dorset, her husband Lord Charles Whitworth, and their solicitor John Forster, on how to proceed after such an enthusiastic report.[25] They agreed that an Act of Parliament should be obtained to enable mining leases to be granted. James and Forster drafted the Bill, which was examined by a House of Lords Committee. On 24 April 1806, 'Mr William James, Land agent' duly appeared before it and reported:

> that to the best of his knowledge & belief there are under the said Manor & Lands valuable Mines, Veins, Layers & Strata of Freestone, Clay, Sand, Ironstone & other valuable Substances. That within the said Manor & Lands there are good situations for building Houses, Warehouses & Manufactories & for making Wharfs, Docks & Harbours. And that there are persons of respectability willing to treat for the working of the said Mines & for making the said Buildings [etc.] . . . And being examined, says, that he viewed the Lands about two months ago, & there was an idea there were Mines & that Coal & Ironstone might be found from the appearance of Lissums or Laminae of Shale in the Wells upon the Duke's Estate — that he has not examined beneath the Surface, that the Land has been viewed by no other person that he knows of — that he is not the least able to form any Estimate of the increases of the value of the Estate, but that they have had offers to treat for the payment of a given Royalty — offers for Leases of 40 or 50 years, & to pay them, a Royalty per Ton of a Tenth and Twelfth of the produce, & which he considers as very advantageous to the Estate.

Finally James certified the acreage of Bexhill manor was 1124, with an annual rent £430,[26] in a notably less enthusiastic report than the one he had earlier given to the Duchess. In the Commons the Bill was committed to John, 'Mad Jack', Fuller (*c.* 1756–1834)[27] and General Charles Lennox (1764–1819),[28] MPs for Sussex, for their consideration. On 19 May Fuller reported that they also found the allegations true, and the Bill was enacted unamended four days later. Significantly, the printed Act's reference to 'Valuable mines, Veins, Layers and Strata of Freestone, Clay, Sand, Ironstone, Minerals, and other valuable Substances' at Bexhill, now added Minerals to the list earlier given by James under oath.[29] He had clearly been less certain in his evidence before Parliament than in the euphoric *Report* prepared for the Duchess.

PARTNERS IN THE SUSSEX MINING COMPANY

Of the Sussex Mining Company, little is known. A report in 1809 noted that there were eleven partners but named only three. Nine can be identified and a tenth (Bill) suggested. It is always possible that more than one share was held by one of the partners.[30]

1. John Bagnall (1759–1829), iron and coal master of West Bromwich.[31]
2. Samuel Bill (*c.* 1773–1847), coal and timber-merchant of West Bromwich, James's coal exploration manager in Sussex, may also have been a partner. He was James's agent at Pelsall Colliery, Walsall from 1813,[32] but he went bankrupt in 1821,[33] and died in 1847.[34]
3. Arabella Diana, Duchess of Dorset (1769–1825), left on her first husband's death in 1799, 'an accumulation of wealth as had scarcely ever been vested among us, in a female, and a widow'.[35]
4. Samuel Fereday (1758–1839), banker, coal-owner and ironmaster of Sedgley and Bilston, Staffs. who also went bankrupt, in both 1817 *and* 1821[36] and fled to Boulogne, France, where he died.[37]
5. John Forster (1752–1834), of Lewisham and Lincoln's Inn, London, the Duchess of Dorset's and the company's solicitor.[38]
6. William James, company treasurer and chief instigator, bankrupted 1823.
7. 'Mr Payton or Peyton', named in the 1809 report.
8. Josias Routledge (fl. 1791–1822), from 1791 of Bexhill and London, who in 1805 prompted the Dorset estate to call in William James. His address in 1822 was in Dieppe, France, which must be the result of his near or actual bankruptcy.[39]
9. Nicholas Vansittart (1766–1851), MP, then Secretary to the Treasury 1806–7 and later Chancellor of the Exchequer 1812–23,[40] and partner with James in the Balls Hill and Golden Hill collieries, near West Bromwich, Staffs.[41]
10. The Duchess' second husband Lord Charles Whitworth (1752–1825).[42]

Another, with knowledge of the Midland coal fields, who was also involved was Matthew Boulton (1728–1809) steam engineer and entrepreneur,[43] perhaps in connection with the supply of steam engines. An undated 'extract of a letter from Messrs Boulton and Watts, Birmingham' reads:[44]

> Our Mr Boulton had not an opportunity of forming a conclusive opinion as to the existence of Coals at Bexhill but the cursory observations which he was enabled to make incline him strongly to think that there are Coal Measures at Bexhill, the stratification of the Grounds, both in the parts where the Trials have been made as well as in the adjoining Country, is very analogous to that of the

> principal Coal Districts and as far as any Inference can be drawn from this analogy, there are very good grounds for concluding that coal will be found at Bexhill.

EXPLORATION FOR COAL STARTS

The Company did not wait for the passage of their Act but had already started their trial borings. Their first, euphoric, press report appeared on 2 June 1806:

> A discovery was last week made near the sea coast, in this county, which will probably prove of great national importance: — A vein of exceedingly fine coal about four feet thick, and of considerable extent, was discovered and proved, on an estate the property of the Duke of DORSET, at Bexhill; and some hundreds of miners, with proper engines for raising the coals, we understand, are engaged for that purpose. By the above important discovery, the fine iron of the county may probably be again wrought with vast advantage to the public, as well as to individuals; divers manufactories may be successfully established, and the agricultural interests of the county, by the increased facility and reduced expence in burning lime, be materially assisted. Veines of coal have been discovered . . . in other parts of our county, where, had the research been pursued with as much spirit and perseverance as at Bexhill, the result would, probably, have been as successful.[45]

Further news followed on 23 June:

> the persons engaged in the coal works on the estate of the Duke of Dorset, at Bexhill . . ., have met with so much encouragement through the whole progress of their laudable pursuit, that they have determined on sinking a shaft for raising the coal immediately, and the whole county must feel an interest in the success of their operations. We expect shortly to hear of miners being employed in a similar research, not many miles from this town [Lewes].[46]

This first site, in the close by the sea shore as shown in Figure 1, was near the present Ashdown Road (NGR TQ 754077).[47] Only the first 27 feet of strata here had so far been sunk, and all the strata below, to a total depth of 164 feet, had instead been bored.[48] At this depth, the borers penetrated Bed 32, a 'Strong Coal, 3 feet six to eight inches thick'; the 'vein of coal' announced on 2 June 1806. Sinking shafts, large enough for two men to work in, was expensive, while boring, with thin iron rods which percussed and pulverized the strata, was much cheaper, but gave much less reliable data.[49]

The local paper also continued to announce how this trial was now stimulating others elsewhere in Sussex:

> we are glad to find that the success which attended the research for coal at Bexhill, has enabled others to similar pursuits, in situations, perhaps, equally promising. At Rotherfield several men are actively employed in boring; at Maresfield, we understand, some good specimens have been obtained . . . [while those] of good coal have been drawn on the estate of John Newnham Esq., at Maresfield: and the men employed, we understand, are got down to a stratum of considerable promise.[50]

Samuel Bill, Bexhill exploration manager for James, was certainly involved in boring at Rotherfield,[51] and in December 1807 he also was offering advice to George Shiffner of Coombe Place in Hamsey, on a design of tramway to bring chalk from the pit at Offham Hill, near Lewes, to a wharf on the River Ouse. This was an alternative to that which William Jessop had proposed. This project had been put forward in 1807 by the local civil engineer Cater Rand, who will reappear in this story.[52]

JOHN FAREY ARRIVES

During July and August 1806 the geologist and polymath, John Farey, was busy drawing up a stratigraphic cross 'section of the earth from London to Brighton' for Sir Joseph Banks (1743–1820), President of the Royal Society, and making regular visits to Sussex.[53] His section, over five feet long, gave details of all the strata that Farey had recognized in the Weald working downwards from a 'marker' stratum, the Chalk of the North and South Downs. During his Sussex fieldwork Farey stayed with his brother Ben, steward to the Earl of Chichester at Stanmer. On 12 September he made an excursion to the Bexhill workings. Farey described this visit in an anonymous letter to the *Agricultural Magazine*, which he acknowledged as his, although James seems also to have been involved. It reported that William James was:

> a miner of the first repute. These works have

> proceeded with a degree of spirit and enterprize, which has placed all the eastern parts of the county on the tip-toe of expectation as to the vast benefits they are to receive, not only in the supply of coal for domestic use, but as the means of again opening their dormant iron furnaces. So little doubt of success is entertained that extensive stabling have been built of brick, in the most substantial manner, and horses [*?recte* houses] for the superintendants and workmen in the intended mines, on a spot where formerly no buildings were standing. Two wells or shafts have been sunk, each about eighty feet deep, principally through sand or soft sand-stone rock, some of the layers of which are said to contain impressions of vegetables, like Feras [*recte* ferns], considered in most parts of England as a certain indication of coal veins being at no great distance. No other appearance of coal have yet, it seems, been met with in sinking the shafts, but the principal expectations are formed on the report of some experienced practical miners who bored in this place some months ago, and reported that their auger passed through a four feet vein of coals, at one hundred and sixty five feet deep. The water comes in so plentifully that the steam engine working in one of the pits, and a horse gin, with buckets in the other, to assist it, were barely able to keep down the water some days ago. A second steam-engine is about to be erected, . . . and no expence whatever will be spared, in exploring a treasure so valuable for this part of the county, as a four foot vein of coals, and doubtless the gaining of this, would secure other and thicker veins below it. We sincerely hope that no circumstance will occur to damp the ardour of the parties in this interesting search after an article of such general interest as fossil coal.[54]

From this it is clear that work had now been going on for some time at the second Bexhill sinking, at a site above the town on the edge of Bexhill Down (also shown in Fig. 1 — about NGR TQ 737 083),[55] whereas the first shaft was soon to be drowned out by sea water entering it.[56] That two expensive shafts, instead of exploratory borings, were now being sunk provides the best proof of how high hopes for the Sussex Mining Company had become. Farey had seemed enthusiastic in print. But to his friend (and correspondent of William James) William Smith on 29 September, he described, in much more guarded terms, his visit to these 'quixoit[ic] coal works' — implying that he already saw the Sussex scheme as impractical.[57] His letter continued

> I was surprized to find various slight *vegetable impressions* some like Fearns in a soft red grit rock in Hastings Cliff E of the Town, & plenty of detached pieces of *bituminous wood*: they shewd me the same fearny leaves from their Coal Shaft at Bexhill as a certain sign of Coals, but said I 'one swallow don't make a summer'. They begin to sink at highwater mark & will never get down to the pretended 4 foot vein of Coals which they *bored thro'* at 165 feet, as I expect, for at 80 feet they employ a Steam-Engine & a horse-gin bucketing nearly all the time, & all below them is sandy or grit rock I expect.[58]

Farey first discussed the significance of William Smith's work and how 'our newly acquired knowledge of the stratification . . . has rendered the expectation vain of digging coals in all these parts [south of London] notwithstanding the confident assertions in your magazine [which had reprinted the reports of the previous June] to the contrary by certain speculators in Sussex' in an article dated 16 February 1807 published in the *Monthly Magazine*.[59] Farey was now on record with his opinion that it was impossible to find any true coal at Bexhill.

Nevertheless, the local newspaper still reported in June 1807:

> The success which has attended the operations of the miners, in search of coal at Bexhill, in this county . . . has been quite equal to the expectations of those most immediately concerned in the laudable undertaking, and that a lamb was in consequence roasted whole for an entertainment given one day last week.[60]

The next report, a month later, ominously made reference to materials *other than* coal having now been found, since:

> The miners employed in search of coal, at Bexhill have lately met with a stratum of earth, which it has been discovered, contains a large portion of SALT of a very excellent quality . . . it is conceived, from specimens which have been produced, that it may be extracted, by a very simple process, to good advantage; but if not, a soil so highly impregnated with saline matter, must be found extremely valuable as a manure.[61]

Farey now felt forced to enter the debate in earnest. He published a new letter, 'On the finding of Coal' dated 9 August 1807, inspired by the report of additional 'Kenal Coal' being found between Heathfield and Waldron in Essex, in the *Agricultural Magazine*. Farey pointed out that these places were in fact in Sussex and noted 'the avidity with which some ignorant or interested persons circulate stories, respecting the finding of fossil *coal*, in situations where our present knowledge of the strata of the British island, utterly preclude the expectation'. He referred to his recent articles 'Coal' and 'Colliery' just being published in Abraham Rees's *New Cyclopaedia*,[62] and noted how this new, supposed coal discovery in Sussex, had yielded:

> several pieces of bituminated wood . . . a few months ago, lodged in greyish white clay. A box full of these supposed pieces of coal were sent up to London to the proprietor of the wood, John Fuller Esq. one of the Members [of Parliament for Sussex] . . . who did me the honour to consult me thereon. I can confidently state, both from the inspection of these specimens, and from a practical examination of this very neighbourhood, which I made during a mineralogical tour last summer that nothing can be more dissimilar, than these bituminated woods, and indeed all the other fossils of Sussex, are to the coal and accompanying strata of Newcastle, and every part of England where regular fossil coal is dug. I could point out perhaps fifty places at least, where a white or pipe-clay stratum might be found; and in which, in all probability, detached pieces of this bituminiated wood might, and, indeed, repeatedly for ages back, have been found in digging ditches, pits, wells &c in this stratum: as every curious person's cabinet will there testify: it is the more surprising, therefore, that the finding of such, should now be trumpeted forth as new and extraordinary discoveries. One of Mr Fuller's pieces of wood-coal, which he had the intention of presenting to the Mineralogical Cabinet of the Royal Institution, was about ten inches long, seven inches broad, and four inches thick; exhibiting the grain and fracture of a piece of wood, some parts of which appeared still in that state, while others of its lamina were so highly bituminized, as to seem like pitch. It appeared . . . to be a fragment of a very large tree, and to have been entirely surrounded by the clay, some of which was adhering to it.[63]

Farey's *Cyclopaedia* article 'Colliery' also referred to the Sussex trials. It noted that he had brought:

> specimens of a reddish soft sand-stone last summer from the foot of the cliff on the sea beach, about two miles east of Hastings in Sussex, from the vicinity of a cottage called the Grovers,[64] which contained so many detached pieces of bitumenized wood, that were an augre-hole to be bored into it, and supplied with water, &c. something like the appearance of penetrating a coal vein, might be had in the borings; and it is this stratum dipping under Bexhill, situate about $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the westward, which . . . has been there mistaken in the borings for a seam of coal, but which the improved boring apparatus of Mr Ryan,[65] . . . would have detected, and saved, perhaps, a most unparalleled waste of money in the measures now pursuing.[66]

Farey's August 1807 article drew a powerful response from the Lewes schoolmaster, engineer and surveyor, Cater Rand (1749–1825). Rand had been a school and writing master, scientific lecturer, accountant and bookseller until his bankruptcy in 1784.[67] Thereafter he became active as patentee, land-surveyor and civil engineer all round Lewes.[68] Rand, who, as 'C. Rand Lewis Esq. Sussex', had been a confusing subscriber to one of the first works to bring aspects of British stratification to public attention in 1778,[69] had pronounced favourably on both the 'coal' found in the earliest 1800 discovery at Newick,[70] and on that first found on Fuller's land between Heathfield and Waldron in December 1801,[71] but which was only drawn to public attention between July 1807 and February 1811.[72] He was probably involved with our Bexhill speculators from the early days. Rand had ordered the last edition (1792) of Whitehurst's book for the Lewes Library Society in August 1803, with other books on 'Subterraneous Surveying' and the 'Analysis of Minerals' in 1805, but none of the books he had ordered for this Society by 1807 gave any details of the new stratigraphic results which Smith and Farey had by then worked out.[73]

Writing as 'Sussexiensis', Rand had addressed the Editor of the *Agricultural Magazine*, but this reply to Farey appeared only in the *Sussex Weekly Advertiser*. He first accused Farey of 'lugging in what he does

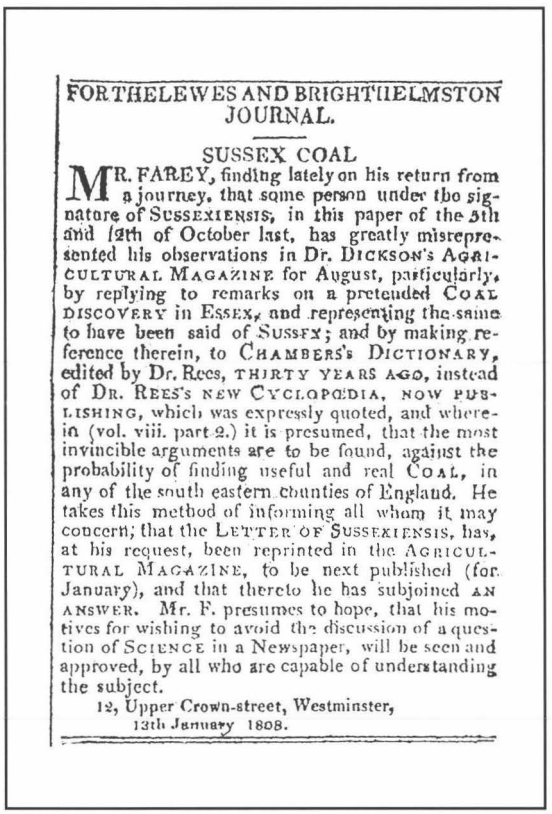
not seem to understand . . . in a most illiberal, invidious and ungentlemanly stile'. Rand thought the hunt for coal in Sussex, that 'truly useful and valuable article', was 'laudable'. He was astonished that Farey could declare that Sussex contains none. He thought it contained an 'abundance of good coal . . . if sought for judiciously under the direction of an able Engineer'. Rand, confusing Rees's earlier edition of Chambers' *Cyclopaedia*, which was 'at his elbow but with not a single word to be found relative to the subject', with Rees's *New Cyclopedia* (for which Farey was then busy writing), thought that 'a man who can deliberately . . . declare his knowledge of the whole fossilated strata of Sussex to an hitherto imperforated depth, and a surface of more than a THOUSAND SQUARE MILES from a hasty superficial survey of a solitary parish or two' must be a fool and a 'Sussex Pudding Head'. Rand's diatribe concluded that 'our best mineralogists' were in favour, since 'fine specimens of Coal have been drawn from Sussex' already, whatever the opinion of Farey, our 'Sussex mineralogical Tourist'. Rand thought 'the works now carrying on at Bexhill, with so much spirit in exploring a run of coal, has every flattering prospect of success from the appearance of the accompanying strata abounding in the usual vegetable impressions'. It is fascinating to see Rand's unfair criticism of Farey as a 'tourist' in 1807 mirrored by others, who instead criticized Farey's 'stage coach geology', in 1812 and 1813.[74] Rand gave final evidence of his total ignorance of Farey's new stratigraphic results by concluding that, since in the Newcastle coalfield they had had sometimes to reach twice the Sussex depth before good working seams were found, they should persevere at Bexhill.[75]

FAREY RENEWS HIS ATTACK

John Farey was absent from London from September to December 1807, and heard of Cater Rand's letter only on his return. He immediately set to work to reply, in a long letter which reprinted Rand's letter, made 47 detailed comments and summarized his reasoning against any true coal occurring in Sussex. It was a devastating reply and is a fascinating, as well as historic, document. The article is dated 4 January 1808 and appeared in the January 1808 issue of Dickson's *Agricultural Magazine*. In the hope of influencing local opinion, and redeeming his reputation among the original readers of Rand's letter, Farey also advertised in the newspaper which had printed it, under the date of 13 January 1808.

This announced that Rand had greatly misrepresented him, because there were 'the most invincible arguments . . . against the probability of finding useful and real COAL, in any of the south eastern counties of England'. Farey intended to reprint Rand's letter with his answers in a forthcoming publication in 'hopes that his motives for wishing to avoid the discussion of a question of SCIENCE in a newspaper will be seen and approved, by all who are capable of understanding the subject'.[76]

Farey's article expressed amazement that Rand should be unaware 'that a great and scientific Dictionary [Rees's *New Cyclopaedia*] has been some years publishing' [since 1802]. When the old *Dictionary* which Rand cited was published, in 1786–88, 'little was known of the *stratification* of the British Islands, that could apply satisfactorily to . . . the probability of finding Coal in the South-eastern Counties'. But this old *Dictionary* had carefully separated Bovey Coal from common Staffordshire



FOR THE LEWES AND BRIGHTHELMSTON JOURNAL.

SUSSEX COAL

MR. FAREY, finding lately on his return from a journey, that some person under the signature of SUSSEXIENSIS, in this paper of the 5th and 12th of October last, has greatly misrepresented his observations in Dr. DICKSON'S AGRICULTURAL MAGAZINE for August, particularly, by replying to remarks on a pretended COAL DISCOVERY in ESSEX, and representing the same to have been said of SUSSEX; and by making reference therein, to CHAMBERS'S DICTIONARY, edited by Dr. Rees, THIRTY YEARS AGO, instead of DR. REES'S NEW CYCLOPÆDIA, NOW PUBLISHING, which was expressly quoted, and wherein (vol. viii. part 2.) it is presumed, that the most invincible arguments are to be found, against the probability of finding useful and real COAL, in any of the south eastern counties of England. He takes this method of informing all whom it may concern; that the LETTER OF SUSSEXIENSIS, has, at his request, been reprinted in the AGRICULTURAL MAGAZINE, to be next published (for January), and that thereto he has subjoined AN ANSWER. Mr. F. presumes to hope, that his motives for wishing to avoid the discussion of a question of SCIENCE in a Newspaper, will be seen and approved, by all who are capable of understanding the subject.

12, Upper Crown-street, Westminster,
13th January 1808.

Fig. 2. John Farey's announcement of January 1808 regarding Sussex Coal.

or Pit Coal, the two sorts that Rand had 'so laboured to confound'. Their distinction, Farey said, was the principal issue. 'Regular Coal occured in *seams* or strata while the *Bituminated Wood* of the pipe clay stratum in Sussex and elsewhere is lodged in *casual and detached masses* only.' The '*stratification* of the country' confirmed 'that *the South-eastern Counties of England contain no Fossil Coal,* likely to be of use as a substitute to that supplied by the mines from Somersetshire to Durham or counties to the west'.[77]

Farey emphasized the 'importance of the facts, and principles of *stratification*, discovered by William Smith and others, which are contained in Vol. 8 part 2 and have no where else been published', that is, in his own 1807 articles in the *Cyclopaedia*. He had traversed Sussex for 'several hundred miles, for verifying the observations, and perfecting myself in the theory taught me by Mr Smith, and that from materials and specimens thus collected, I have prepared a *Section* of its principal Strata, which has now been some months in the hands of the President of the Royal Society'. Farey recorded that 'to Mr *Fuller*, also, I stated in my report (on his consulting me as I have mentioned) the principles, somewhat at length, on which I recommended him not to listen to the delusive prospects held out to him, as had in so many instances been done to proprietors, not in Sussex only, but in every other county, where no Fossil Coal was likely to be found'.[78] Farey ended:

> in all the numerous trials for Coals in the South-eastern Counties which have been related to me . . . scarcely one of them was deemed by the Coal-finder or the credulous populace, to be *conclusive* — either the [boring] rods broke, or were maliciously destroyed — the owner, a mean spirited person, grew tired, and would advance no more money — the miners were bribed by some rival Coal-owner — or, forsooth, some evil-minded person, by his words or writings, *checked* the Ardour of the undertakers.

Farey felt it was very important that assertions relating to the occurrence of *vegetable impressions* at Bexhill be confirmed, as:

> in all the country surrounding Bexhill, [Farey had] found no vegetable forms, wood perhaps excepted; it is true, that when visiting the intended Coal-shaft there, on the 12th of September, 1806, I was shewn, and took specimens, of what the Superintendent of the works with great confidence produced, as minute *vegetable impressions*, that were dug up at fifty feet below the surface, but on inspecting these afterwards, they were found to be only ramifications of a ferruginous substance . . . with no *form or characters of a vegetable*, or of any other organised remain.

Farey asked that, if any such have indeed been found, that they be forwarded to John Martin Cripps of Lewes for study. Cripps (1780–1853), Farey's local informant, was a knowledgeable mineralogist,[79] and another, local, man who had now sided against these Sussex Coal Adventurers.

Farey continued to advise against the Bexhill trial. In 1809 he noticed the 'error which has occasioned the useless expenditure of hundreds and sometimes of thousands of pounds, in numerous instances, as some in the vicinity of Boxhill [sic] in Sussex can testify, on recent experience'.[80]

FAREY'S ADVICE IS IGNORED

The Bexhill trials continued despite Farey's best efforts. At the meeting of the 'acting Partners of the Sussex Mining Co.' on 13 July 1809, Samuel Bill listed the strata recently bored at Cooden to a depth of 451 foot 5 inches.[81] These had now been bored through at a third site, the first which James had himself suggested, on the coast 'near the western Martello Tower' on the Dorset estate, later numbered 51.[82] The minutes of this meeting note how the Dorset estate had now been proved to the depth to which their Company had engaged and that one of the shareholders, John Forster, had now 'notified . . . Mr James his Determination not to incur individually any [further] expences in Boring'.[83] It was resolved that he and any other gentleman were at liberty to withdraw and that any that did would be 'indemnified from that date from all further Calls and Expences' and would receive a share of the value of the property of the Company from those partners who did continue the Works, at the end of 12 months, or sooner if the works were abandoned. Clearly there was now dissent amongst the ranks. It seems already to have been the public perception that the venture had failed: Mary Frewen writing from Northiam on 8 May 1809, to thank her brother for the cocoa nuts, wondered whether he was tempting her to have a hothouse, as 'if the Bexhill Colliery had success it might have been an additional inducement'.[84]

At a general meeting on 12 August 1809, the

value of the 'Stock' costed only up to July 1808, was estimated to be £11,399, leaving a balance against the Company of £5031 with a surplus of £6369. Stocks of timber, bricks and iron had all been included and the [steam] engines valued at nearly their original costs. The sinking of the shaft at the Down site (no. 2) and all the expenses of the establishment had also been estimated at cost price. The cost of coal for sinking and drawing water at the Down had been not less than £120 a week. Since that sinking 'most of the stock has been employed & consumed, the Engines have become deteriorated & th[at] work abandoned', but calls had now been made upon the Company to the amount of £700 per share, being £7700 on 11 shares. The total expenses at Bexhill to 8 July 1808 were noted as £30,754 . . . The August 1809 minutes concluded:

> the view of the present Measures [still] Boring through [at a new fourth, but unlocated, site] being very promising, and the Expences on that account only amounting to £22 per week. Resolved that the Borings be continued and the Miners employed till next General meeting. Resolved that the Treasurer do make such calls as he may think necessary for paying Debts & prosecuting the works. Resolved that in Case at the boring a stratum of Coal be bored into, the operation do instantly cease, and a Special Meeting be called of all the Partners to attend the perforation.

Hope clearly still sprang eternal! This August 1809 meeting resolved to adjourn until 16 October 1809.

The last heard in any actual search for coal here is a receipt from William James, dated 25 March 1810, on account of the Sussex Mining Company. It reads 'received of Her Grace the Duchess of Dorset as Guardian to the Duke of Dorset, the sum of Two Hundred and Seventy two pounds on account of the Sussex Mining Co. as per account for [two years advanced] Rent returned to them on account of the abandonment of Works'.[85] The Dorset estate at least had abandoned its involvement.

But if these partners had done so, James was not yet so ready to give up. This remarkable notice (which shows the care with which newspaper notices should be taken as historical sources) appeared in the *Monthly Magazine* in 1811:

> SUSSEX . . . The individuals who have engaged in the expensive mine works at Bexhill, will be amply rewarded for their enterprise, having sunk through a valuable mine of most excellent coal 10½ yards thick, on their estate, which mine is now at work. This will be of great public advantage, as the works are over the main fault, in a situation where, till now, the most experienced miners considered no mine of coal could exist; and it proves the extent of mine land to be greater by many hundred acres than it was before supposed to be.[86]

Notices referring to this same 'Sussex Coal Mine at Bexhill' appeared elsewhere.[87] The original source, the *Sussex Weekly Advertiser*, had instead additionally reported that it was 'some of those spirited individuals who [had] prosecuted the expensive mine works at Bexhill, and [who] afterwards proceeded into Staffordshire [i.e. James and his partners there, Bagnall, Fereday, Forster and Vansittart who] have been amply rewarded for their enterprize'.[88] They had there discovered new deposits of the famous 10 yard Coal, in the West Midlands, not in Sussex.[89] This was where many of the Sussex Mining Company's partners had come from, and whither they now returned.

But this same notice continued, to show how obtuse these speculators still remained in their Sussex aspirations, 'The above Company, we understand, intend to re-commence their works at Bexhill, in about a twelvemonth, by which time the Staffordshire mine, it is expected, will produce a very large income'. But, despite such terminal optimism, nothing more is heard of the Sussex Mining Company.

Farey made his last comment on the Bexhill trials in 1812, when he admitted 'his too confident and hasty expressions that no distinct small *vegetal impressions* like those of the Coal-measures were to be found in the British Series [of Strata] above the Lias and Red Marl'. He noted his call to produce to Cripps any such specimens from the 'disastrous scheme of sinking for Coals at Bexhill', had failed to produce a single response. Farey now thought these 'imperfect accounts of *Wood-Coal* or bituminated Wood in the Pipe Clay Stratum ([which is] below the Chalk and not above it as I now understand the clay of Purbeck [Dorset] to be)' were at a different and somewhat lower stratigraphical level [in Sussex]; but 'without much altering my opinion of the improbability of discovering even one *useful seam of Coal* at Bexhill, or any other part of Sussex'.[90] This shows the problems Farey still faced in correlating these Wealden strata, having been the first to

unravel their stratigraphic order in Sussex, and his ability to change his mind when new data became available.

James had 200 copies of a 'specification of estate at Bexhill', printed by Richard Taylor and Co. on 17 July 1812.[91] No copy of this survives but it must relate to the final sale of James's own estate at Bexhill, where he 'possessed a large house'.[92] The notice a month later of the sale of a freehold estate at Bexhill may relate to the same property, and to James' final departure from the town.[93]

POSTSCRIPT[94]

Local, as opposed to national, comment on these Sussex trials was very muted. In 1815 a Hastings *Guide* noted acidly, and rather inaccurately, that 'Bexhill . . . was once thought to have been fertile in Coals till some speculative gentlemen at a very considerable expense ascertained the contrary'.[95] W. D. Conybeare and William Phillips noted in 1822 how Smith's Ironsand Formation (the stratum to which these Wealden rocks were then assigned) 'much resembles, in some places, . . . the great coal formation. These circumstances have led to expensive but abortive attempts to prove [coal] from these beds near Bexhill, attended with so great an expense'.[96] Thomas Webster in 1826 pointed out that 'it was from the abundance of the iron, the beds of clay and shale with vegetable impressions and the fragments of charcoal in the sandstones, that the expectations had been formed of finding coal in this formation, before the difference between lignites and true coal was generally understood'.[97] This assessment highlights Farey's truly original contribution to the debate, as it was he who had first correctly concluded, by early 1807, that the complete *difference* between lignite and true coal, and their separate English stratigraphies, were indeed the crucial questions.[98]

William Fitton later tried to claim that it was he and his fellow workers at the Geological Society who had been the first to shed light on the stratigraphy of Sussex, from the 1820s onwards. He wrote in 1833 how

> the assemblage [at Bexhill] is very nearly the same in mineral composition with that of the coal measures. . . differing from it only in geological place and the character of its fossils. It is not surprising therefore at a time when the geological relations of the groups in England were less understood than at present, these carboniferous portions of the Wealden group should have excited hopes of discovering coal . . . the borings, which some years ago were conducted . . . at Bexhill, were much more excusable than has been supposed.[99]

This gentlemanly judgement ignores the ungentlemanly contribution of John Farey, who had argued on these very same, scientific, grounds for the abandonment of the Bexhill and other Sussex attempts, while they were in progress from early in 1807, well before the Society was founded in November 1807. The early members of the Geological Society were interested in disputing 'the nature of coal . . ., not where to find it',[100] so that when this later became a matter of interest to them, they happily rewrote history to advance their own, later, contributions. Rupke has rightly emphasized the lowly image of economic geology in this English school of geology at that time, when its 'economic aspect was . . . thought not to merit academic rank'.[101]

Such polarized history should make us re-examine the contributions made by such men as Farey and Smith to the advance of geology and ask how fairly such 'practical' geologists were treated by the 'gentlemen geologists' of the soon-to-be-formed Geological Society of London, and how their 'practical' achievements have fared at the hands of 'academic' historians. It was only in 1875 that William Topley (1841–1894) noted the remarkable role Farey had played in Sussex.[102]

The stratigraphic emphasis that Farey had originally so encouraged led eventually to the discovery of true Carboniferous Coal, lying unconformably beneath Mesozoic rocks, in Kent nearly a century later.[103] The first thoughts of this had come in 1855 when Robert Godwin-Austen (1808–1884) read a paper on the possible extension of such coal fields in the south-east of England. The 1871 exploratory boring near Battle by the Sub-Wealden Exploration Committee encouraged further efforts and a historically misinformed article, full of hindsight, about Wealden Coal, but which reported an industrial archaeology survival from the 1805 attempt.[104] The later cored boring by the South Eastern Railway Company near Dover, which discovered coal there in 1890, equally inspired another such 'historical' article on James's doomed, and without hindsight misguided, attempts to mine coal in Sussex.[105]

Acknowledgements

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NOTES

Abbreviations

CKS Centre for Kentish Studies, Maidstone
DNB Dictionary of National Biography
ESRO East Sussex Record Office, Lewes
GM Gentleman's Magazine
GSL Geological Society, London
SA Staffordshire Advertiser,
SAC Sussex Archaeological Collections
SWA Sussex Weekly Advertiser.

1 H. Cleere & D. Crossley, *The Iron Industry of the Weald* (Cardiff: Merton Priory Press, 1995), 208–11.
2 J. H. Farrant, 'The seaborne trade of Sussex, 1720–1845', *SAC* **114** (1976), 111.
3 These early Sussex coal 'expectations' will be fully discussed in a future paper.
4 *SWA*, 23 May 1808, 3.
5 M. Beswick, 'Bricks for the Martello towers in Sussex', *Sussex Industrial History* **17** (1987), 20–27.
6 A. Hudson, 'Gazetteer of barracks in Sussex during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars 1793–1815' (1986, typescript in Sussex Archaeological Society Library), 3. L. J. Bartley, *The Story of Bexhill* (Bexhill: Parsons, 1971), 120–21.
7 Numbering follows the coastal section published by W. H. Fitton, 'Observations on some of the strata between the Chalk and Oxford Oolite in the south-east of England', *Transactions of the Geological Society of London* (2) **4** (1836), 103–400, *see* pls. Xa–b.
8 CKS, U269 E173/2, J. Howarth to the Duchess regarding compulsory purchase, 10 & 29 August 1805.
9 CKS, U269 A364/3, Original Voucher no. 172.
10 C. J. Phillips, *History of the Sackville Family*, **2** (London: Cassell, 1929), 305–6. CKS, U269 E173/2, Routledge to Neale, 17 August 1805.
11 CKS, U269 E173/2, Routledge to Neale, 17 August 1805, his sketch (fig. 1) is also preserved.
12 CKS, U269 E173/2, Routledge to Neale, August [after 17th, 1805].
13 CKS, U269 E173/2, undated [1805].
14 E. M. S. P[aine], *The Two James's and the Two Stephensons* (Dawlish: David & Charles, 1961), 24.
15 *SA*, 19 July 1823, 2.
16 P[aine], 15, 23–4, 93, 98.
17 Robert Stephenson, in S. Smiles, *The Lives of the Engineers*, **3** (London: Murray, 1862), 190.
18 Oxford University Museum, Smith archives.
19 J. Farey, 'Mr Smith's geological claims stated', *Philosophical Magazine* **51** (1818), 173–80 (178).
20 CKS, U269 E173/2, 10 & 27 October 1805.
21 CKS, U269 E173/1, 10 November 1805.
22 Much of James's language here is highly arcane. The trade skills and private language then used by such coal seekers had already been reported in 1789 to be their 'grand arcana': J. Brand, *History and Antiquities of Newcastle on Tyne* **2** (London: White, 1789), 679. For some of this language *see* W. J. Arkell & S. I. Tomkeieff, *English Rock Terms* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953).
23 There have been such changes at all these sites since then that nothing of industrial archaeological significance is now to be seen at them.
24 CKS, U269 A364/3, Original Voucher 1806–7 no. 172. U269 A140, General Estate Accounts, vols 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7, 1806–1810.
25 CKS, U269 A364/3, vouchers nos 170 and 171.
26 House of Lords Record Office, Committee Book, **51** (24 April 1806), 120–22.
27 J. Lawrie, 'John Fuller Esquire of Rose-Hill', *Proceedings of the Royal Institution of Great Britain*, **44** (1971), 331–57. G. Hutchinson, *Fuller of Sussex: a Georgian Squire* (Hastings: private, 1993). R. G. Thorne, *The House of Commons 1790–1820*, **3** (London: Secker & Warburg, 1986), 845–8.
28 Thorne, **4**, 414–15.
29 46 Geo III liv.
30 CKS, U269 A364/3, voucher no. 171 notes that early in 1806 James met 'Fereday, Bagnall and other Miners in Staffordshire to get Members of the Company'. P[aine], 13, notes the involvement of 'the late Lord Whitworth, Duchess of Dorset, Mr Vansittart, and others'.
31 *SA*, 28 November 1829, 4.
32 P[aine], 95, 102.
33 *SA*, 22 September 1821, 2.
34 *SA*, 23 & 30 January 1847, 5.
35 V. Sackville-West, *Knole and the Sackvilles* (London: Lindsay Drummond, 1947), 192, 200, 208.
36 *SA*, 24 May 1817, 2 & 10 February 1821, 2.
37 R. P. Fereday, 'The Career of Richard Smith 1783–1868' (unpub. M.A. thesis, Univ. of Keele, 1966), 168–76.
38 *The Times*, 3 December 1834, 6.
39 ESRO, ADA 164–6 (kindly supplied — with so much else — by William Hedger, who also located the baptisms of three of Routledge's children at Bexhill 1791–95).

[40] Thorne, **5**, 437–41.
[41] Liverpool Record Office, 385 JAM 6/1.
[42] Phillips, **2**, 277–302.
[43] *DNB*.
[44] CKS, U269 E173/2.
[45] *SWA*, 2 June 1806, 3, and repeated in *Monthly Magazine*, **21(1)** (July 1806), 584–5.
[46] *SWA*, 23 June 1806, 3. *Bath Chronicle*, 26 June 1806, 3.
[47] ESRO, AMS 5819, plan of the Manor of Bexhill drawn up by James in 1808 shows this first site as 'the Engine'. A redrawn and modified extract of this map, also showing this first site, is in W. H. Mullens, *A Short History of Bexhill* (Bexhill: private, 1927), facing p. 19. CKS, U269 A140/6 1808–9, and A364/8 for payment of James' bill for . . . perambulation and Survey of Bexhill manor and fair plan thereof £341-6-6 and his voucher.
[48] Three versions of the measures sunk and bored through here survive: CKS E 173/2 (MSS watermark 1805); GSL, QP Misc 76 (MSS watermark 1804) donated 5 May 1809 by Dr John Macculloch, 1773–1835; and in Gideon Mantell, *The Fossils of the South Downs* (London: Relfe, 1822), 35–6. A modern re-interpretation appears in F. H. Edmunds, *Wells and Springs of Sussex* (London: Memoirs of the Geological Survey, 1928), 57.
[49] H. S. Torrens, 'Some thoughts on the complex and forgotten history of mineral exploration', *Journal of the Open University Geological Society* **17(2)** (1997), 1–12. The boring rods used at Bexhill were provided by the Birmingham engineer William Whitmore (1747–1819) and he or Boulton & Watt may also have provided the steam engines used, see P[aine], 12.
[50] *SWA*, 30 June & 7 July 1806, 3; reprinted in *Monthly Magazine* **22(2)** (August 1806), 94–5.
[51] CKS, U269 A364/6, Bill's bill for expenses in 1807, paid 18 June 1808.
[52] ESRO, SHR 1966. *Monthly Magazine* **27** (April 1809), 309. M. Robbins, 'The first Sussex railway', *Railway Magazine* **117** (July 1971), 355–7.
[53] H. S. Torrens, 'Patronage and problems: Banks and the earth sciences', in R. E. R. Banks *et al.* (eds), *Sir Joseph Banks: a Global Perspective* (London: Royal Botanic Gardens, 1994), 49–75.
[54] Anonymous, 'Sussex, September 20, 1806', *Agricultural Magazine* 2nd ser., **1** (September 1806), 211–12. Farey later acknowledged having written this, *Agricultural Magazine* 3rd ser., **2** (January 1808), 31.
[55] ESRO, AMS 5819 also shows this second site, as 'Engine Pit'. Another 'Plan of Bexhill' by J. Andrews of Epsom dated 1808 in Bexhill Museum marks this site as 'Coal pits'.
[56] Mantell, 35–6.
[57] *See* H. S. Torrens & T. D. Ford, 'John Farey (1766–1826): an unrecognised polymath', in J. Farey, *General View of the Agriculture and Minerals of Derbyshire* **1** (1811, reprinted Matlock: Peak District Mines Historical Society, 1989), 1–28.
[58] Oxford University Museum, Smith archives.
[59] J. Farey, 'On wells and springs', *Monthly Magazine* **23** (April 1807), 211–12.
[60] *SWA*, 29 June 1807, 3.
[61] *SWA*, 27 July 1807, 3.
[62] *The Cyclopaedia* (London: Longman etc.) **8**, part 16, articles 'Coal' and 'Colliery', published 10 August 1807.
[63] J. Farey, 'On the finding of coal', *Agricultural Magazine* 3rd ser., **1** (1807), 115–17.
[64] Shown as the Govers, east of Hastings, on the section by Thomas Webster, 'Observations on the strata at Hastings, in Sussex', *Transactions of the Geological Society of London* 2nd ser., **2(1)** (1826), 31–6, pl. 5.
[65] James Ryan patented his boring apparatus, to recover oriented cores from borings for the first time, in 1805. Farey's is one of the first published statements of its potential; *see* H. S. Torrens, 'James Ryan (*c.* 1770–1847) and the problems of introducing Irish "new technology" to British mines in the early nineteenth century', in P. J. Bowler & N. Whyte (eds), *Science and Society in Ireland: the Social Context of Science and Technology in Ireland, 1800–1950* (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, 1997), 67–83.
[66] 'Colliery', *The Cyclopaedia* **8**, part 16.
[67] *GM*, **54(2)** (1784), 559.
[68] J. H. Farrant, 'Civil engineering in Sussex around 1800, and the career of Cater Rand', *Sussex Industrial History* **6** (1974), 2–14.
[69] John Whitehurst, *An Inquiry into the Original State and Formation of the Earth* (London: Bent, 1778).
[70] MSS Coal 1:29 (dated 1800) in Sutro library, San Francisco, California. *SWA*, 30 June 1806, 3. Mantell, 34.
[71] *Brighton Guardian*, 30 June 1830, 4. P. Lucas, *Heathfield Memorials* (London: Humphreys, 1910), 91–4.
[72] *SWA*, 13 July 1807, p. 3. *MM* **31** (February 1811), 92.
[73] ESRO, Lewes Library Society Minute Book, R/L11/1/4 (kindly supplied me by John Farrant).
[74] Torrens & Ford.
[75] *SWA*, 5 & 12 October 1807, 4.
[76] *SWA*, 18 January 1808, 3.
[77] J. Farey, 'On the finding of coal in the south-eastern counties of England', *Agricultural Magazine* (Dickson's) 3rd ser., **2** (Jan. 1808), 22–31, dated 4 January.
[78] Farey's report to Fuller seems not to have survived.
[79] *DNB*.
[80] J. Farey, 'On the supposed universal distribution of fossil coal . . .', *Nicholson's Journal of Natural Philosophy* **22** (1809), 68–70.
[81] CKS, U269 E173/2 (watermark 1808).
[82] At Tower 51 on the coastal section published by W. H. Fitton, 'Observations on some of the strata between the chalk and Oxford oolite in the South-East of England', *Transactions of the Geological Society of London* 2nd ser., **4** (1836), 103–400, see pls. Xa–b. For the geology here *see* R. D. Lake, 'The stratigraphy of the Cooden borehole, near Bexhill, Sussex', *Institute of Geological Sciences Report 75/12* (London, 1975).
[83] CKS, U269 E173/2, minutes dated 13 July to 12 August 1809.
[84] ESRO, FRE 2225 (a reference kindly sent me by Philip Bye).
[85] CKS, U269 A364/9, voucher 213.
[86] *Monthly Magazine* **31** (May 1811), 392.
[87] *The Tradesman, or Commercial Magazine* **6** (1 June 1811), 502.
[88] *SWA*, 4 March 1811, 3.
[89] *Victoria County History, Staffordshire* **17** (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 40. James's work, in this known coalfield, had earlier drawn the remarkable comment that 'entrepreneurs like William James of West Bromwich . . . were men as isolated as they were outstanding': *Victoria County History, Staffordshire* **2** (London: Oxford University

Press, 1967), 101.

[90] J. Farey, 'Geological observations . . .', *Philosophical Magazine* **39** (1812), 93–106 (100).

[91] St Bride Printing History Library, London, R. Taylor & Co., 1812 Ledger p. 164.

[92] P[aine], 97.

[93] *SWA*, 24 August 1812 (from William Hedger).

[94] The fallout of these trials at the London Geological Society, founded in November 1807, is discussed in a paper in press in *Annals of Science*.

[95] An Inhabitant, *The Hastings Guide*, 4th edn (London, 1815), 50.

[96] W. D. Conybeare & W. Phillips, *Outlines of the Geology of England and Wales* (London: Phillips, 1822), 137.

[97] Webster, 31.

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Short articles

Early Bronze Age and later activity at Maltings Farm, Burgess Hill

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INTRODUCTION

Between 20 March and 6 April 1996 the Mid Sussex Field Archaeological Team carried out an archaeological watching brief during the development of land at Maltings Farm, Burgess Hill (TQ299184) at the request of the West Sussex County Archaeologist.

The site is located on Weald Clay on the south-western edge of Burgess Hill (Fig. 1). The ground falls away to the north and east, and levels out at the southern end before falling away into the valley of the River Adur. A small stream also runs along its west side.

Below the topsoil was a layer of undisturbed brown-red/brown clay (Context 2) which overlay a subsoil of sticky yellow clay with blue patches and occasional sandstone and ironstone. In the south-western corner of the site, near the stream, the subsoil was overlain by a layer of yellow-brown crumbly humic clay (Context 28).

The exposed ground surface was inspected during topsoil stripping, and artefacts were mostly found in the red/brown clay below. Where this clay was entirely removed during the topsoil stripping the recovery of artefacts was patchy, and it was not always possible to determine their stratigraphic relationship. The spoilheaps and drainage trenches were also inspected for finds and features. A metal detector was used to recover metallic artefacts from the topsoil and exposed ground surface.

THE FEATURES (Fig. 2)

The features found are illustrated in Figure 2 and are described below.

Feature 4: Of shallow oval shape, a possible hearth, 200 × 300 mm, and 70 mm deep; lined with burnt/fired red clay, and contained a charcoal-rich soil.

Feature 6: Roughly circular, 350 mm in diameter and approximately 100 mm deep. Contained a brown clay fill with charcoal and daub flecks. Removed before a complete record could be made.

Feature 7: Small oval feature with a sloping bottom 450 × 250 mm, and 120 mm deep. Contained a red-brown sandy clay fill with pieces of burnt clay/daub which yielded three sherds of prehistoric pottery.

Feature 8: Larger circular feature 590 mm in diameter and 125 mm deep. Filled with a red-brown sandy clay with charcoal and many pieces of burnt clay/daub. Large piece of charcoal in the bottom.

Feature 12: Small circular feature 165 mm in diameter and 50 mm deep. Contained a red-brown clay fill with charcoal flecks and burnt clay/daub pieces.

Feature 14: Roughly triangular shallow feature 320 × 270 mm and 60 mm deep, with a shallow sloped south side. Contained a red-brown clay fill with charcoal and burnt clay/daub pieces. A single flint chip was found.

Feature 16: Roughly circular feature approximately 200 mm in diameter and 50 mm deep. Contained a red-brown sticky clay fill with charcoal and burnt clay/daub. Removal by machine prevented the drawing of a plan and section.

Feature 18: Circular feature with sloping west side. 270 mm in diameter and 130 mm deep. Contained a red-brown clay fill with frequent charcoal and occasional burnt clay/daub pieces.

Features 20 & 21: Two circular features. Both approximately 230 mm in diameter; similar fill to Feature 18. Not excavated or sectioned.

Feature 22: Roughly circular feature 500 mm in diameter and 60 mm deep; primary fill of dark yellow hard sticky clay with rare charcoal flecks and a secondary fill of red-brown sticky clay with frequent charcoal and occasional burnt clay/daub fragments.

Feature 25: A shallow U-shaped gulley 120 mm deep running north–south, only traced for a short length and not planned. Width varied between 480 and 550 mm; steep edge on the east side, a gentler slope on the west side. Primary fill of yellow hard sticky clay, main fill of a grey-black soft sticky humic soil with rare small flecks of chalk and burnt clay.

Feature 29: A roughly circular shallow pit 650 mm in diameter and 70 mm deep. Contained dark yellow-brown soft sticky clay with large quantity of charcoal and burnt clay/daub pieces.

Two earthwork features were also noted:

Feature 31: A bank running east–west across the northern part of the site, 0.75 m high at its highest point with a gradual slope to the north. Lower at the eastern end, it eventually peters out. At the top of the bank it levels out onto a flat area across the central part of the site. Not sectioned; may be a natural feature.

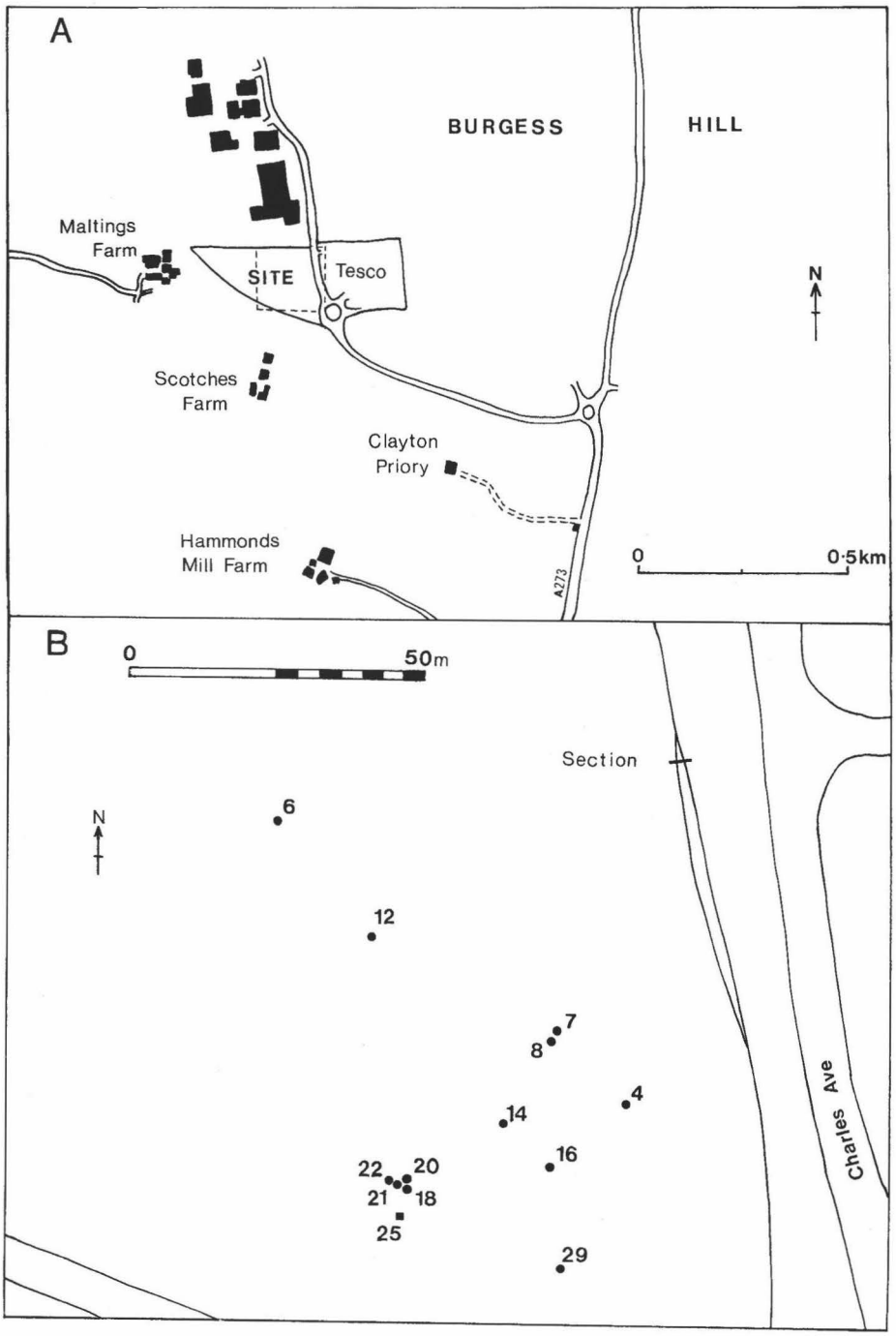


Fig. 1. Maltings Farm, Burgess Hill. Location of: A) the site; B) the features & section.

Boundary: The contractors' entrance sectioned the eastern field boundary (Fig. 2) which comprises a bank, some 3 metres wide, of compact light yellow-brown clay dumped on top of the original topsoil. A U-shaped ditch on its eastern side is filled with a dark-grey/black soft humic soil. Context 36 is probably the root area of a small tree. It was noted that the trees and bushes grow either side of the bank rather than on top of it.

THE FINDS

Prehistoric flintwork, together with medieval and later pottery, was recovered from the topsoil and Contexts 2 and 28.

A. POTTERY (see fabric description and Table 1 on microfiche)
51 sherds of pottery and clay pipe were found. Most significant were three sherds in a friable, thin-walled, grog-tempered fabric possibly of the Early Bronze Age, and five sherds in coarse flint-, sand-, or grog-tempered Saxon fabrics. Of the others, 27 are medieval, 14 post-medieval and there are two fragments of 19th-century clay pipe.

B. FLINTWORK (Table 2 on microfiche)
135 pieces of prehistoric flintwork were found across the whole site, most of it hard hammer-struck debitage, comprising flakes, blades and various fragments. These, together with eight flake cores (e.g. Fig. 3:7), are typical of the later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age. A small number of soft hammer-struck flakes, blades and bladelets are likely to be Mesolithic in date. A single large, and very fresh, hard hammer-struck axe-thinning flake found undisturbed in Context 2, could be either Neolithic or Mesolithic in date.

Some 10 per cent of the flintwork are implements, nearly all of Late Neolithic or Early Bronze Age date (Table 2). A single microlith (Fig. 3:5) is Mesolithic. This assemblage is very similar in composition to that found at the adjacent Edwards High Vacuum site (Sawyer in prep.).

C. BURNT CLAY/DAUB (Table 3 on microfiche)
752.5 g of burnt clay or daub was recovered both from the topsoil stripping, and from a number of excavated features.

D. ANIMAL BONE by Patricia Stevens
Three fragments from the topsoil were from cattle, and all exhibited signs of butchery. A further fragment may be from either deer or small cattle.

A single piece of worked antler was found (Fig. 3:8). This is probably from a red deer, and has been worked to form part of a handle or comb plate. There are four holes, one in each corner of the plate; three of which still have copper-alloy rivets in place. This could be part of a Saxon comb plate.

E. CHARCOAL by Joy Ede (Table 4 on microfiche)
Samples of charcoal were hand-picked during the excavation or wet-sieved from soil samples. Mainly oak charcoal was found. Difficulty was experienced in identifying several samples because they were not from trunks or branches. The hardness and vitrified appearance of much of the charcoal is probably due to the way in which it was carbonized. It is possible that the charcoal found resulted from the root areas of trees burnt *in situ* during land clearance.

CARBON 14 DATING

Two samples of charcoal were submitted to RCD for Carbon 14 dating. The first sample (*Quercus* sp.) from Feature 8 (RCD-2992) produced a date of 3730±60 BP. This date was calibrated using the calibration programme of Stuiver & Reimer (1986), and produced the following results:

68% confidence interval (1ó) is 2200 to 1990 cal BC

95% confidence interval (2ó) is 2290 to 1940 cal BC

The second sample was from Feature 29, and was also *Quercus* sp. This sample (RCD-3088) produced a date of 860±60 BP which calibrated to the following:

68% confidence interval (1ó) is 1055 to 1255 cal AD

95% confidence interval (2ó) is 1040 to 1280 cal AD

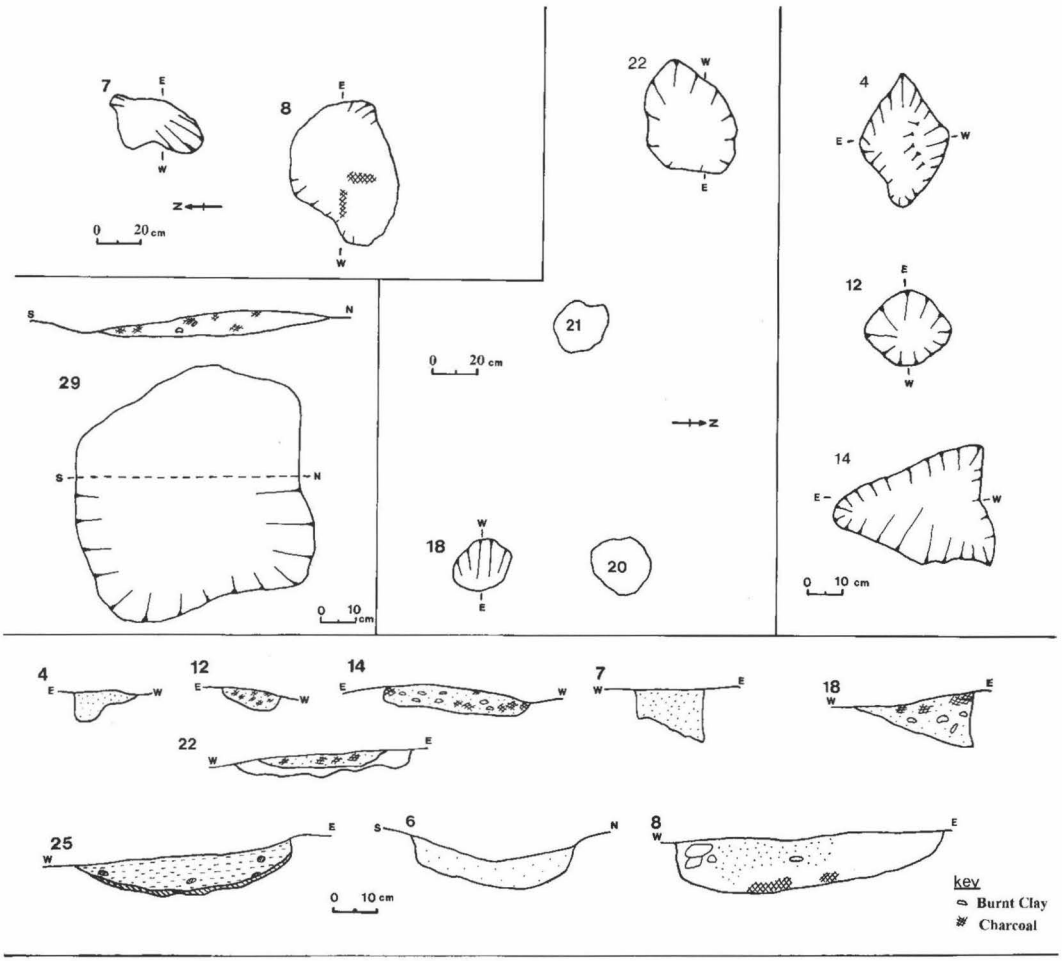
CONCLUSIONS

The work at Maltings Farm revealed that there has been activity in this area from prehistoric times.

The small quantity of Mesolithic flintwork is consistent with the occasional activity of these hunter-gatherer communities. Evidence for more extensive Mesolithic activity found on the Lower Greensand ridge at Hassocks to the south of the site (Butler 1989) probably indicates that the centre of Mesolithic activity was in that area.

Until recently, there has been little evidence for later Neolithic or Early Bronze Age activity in the Weald. The excavations at Friars Oak, Hassocks, some two kilometres south of Maltings Farm in 1994, showed Early Bronze Age activity there (Butler in prep.). Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age flintwork found further north at Ardingly and Worth, demonstrates that activity in the Weald was more intensive than previously thought. The later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age Carbon 14 date produced by the charcoal from Context 8, the three sherds of early Bronze Age pottery found in Feature 7 and the flintwork of this period, indicate that this area was also being exploited during the Early Bronze Age. It is possible that most of the features found at Maltings Farm are also of this date, as most contained a similar red-brown sandy fill with quantities of burnt clay/daub and charcoal. These features, which are all shallow and irregular in shape, although generally rounded, represent tree root hollows left after land clearance. The nature of the charcoal remains from these contexts suggest that the tree roots were burnt *in situ*, resulting in the firing of the clay soil surrounding the roots and thus producing the daub-like burnt clay found. This therefore suggests that during the later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age limited clearance of the forest cover was being undertaken.

While there is surprisingly little evidence for any Roman activity at Maltings Farm, the five sherds of pottery and the comb plate indicate a possible Saxon settlement nearby. The recent work at Friars Oak showed that there had been a Middle Saxon settlement located there (Butler 1994), and this, together with the Saxon origin for many of the local place-names (Warne 1985), suggests that there are likely to



Section through east boundary

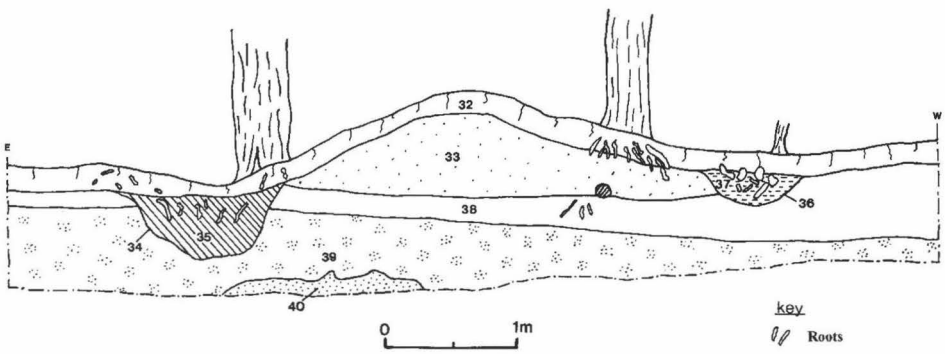


Fig. 2. Maltings Farm, Burgess Hill. Plans and sections of features.

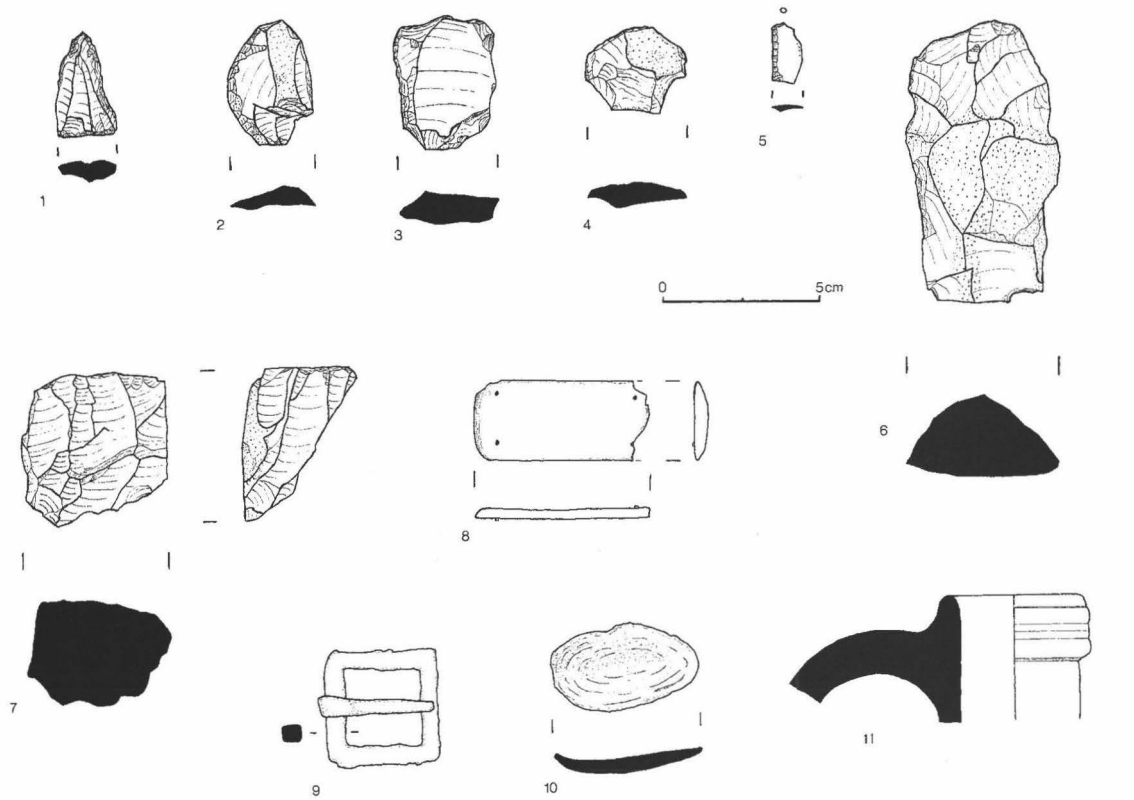


Fig. 3. Maltings Farm, Burgess Hill. The finds:
1. Misc. retouched piece
2. Cutting flake
3. End scraper
4. End scraper
5. Microlith
6. End scraper
7. Flake core
8. Antler comb handle
9. Iron buckle
10. Spoon
11. Stoneware jug neck and handle

be other Saxon settlements in the area. Feature 29, possibly also a tree root hollow, produced a late Saxon/early medieval Carbon 14 date indicating that some land clearance was also taking place during this period.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Lawrence Gaston and Michael Fairbrother who assisted with the watching brief. John Mills, Assistant County Archaeologist for West Sussex, provided assistance and initial liaison with the developers. The watching brief could not have been carried out without the co-operation of the contractors, John Mowlem Construction plc and the developers' agent, Mr Horner of RGP Architects. The developers, St George's Securities Ltd, funded one of the Carbon 14 dates, and the other was funded by a grant from West Sussex County Council. The site archive and finds have been deposited at the Museum of Sussex Archaeology, Lewes, under accession number 1996-12.

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Archaeological finds from Bursteye Farm, Ardingly, West Sussex

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During September 1995, part of a large medieval pottery vessel, together with other pieces of pottery, was discovered eroding out of a bank at Bursteye Farm, between Ardingly and Lindfield, West Sussex. Heavy rain which had followed the very dry summer caused the clay overlying the sandstone bedrock to move down-slope. As a result, an artificial bank had been created towards the top of the slope. It was from this bank that the pottery was discovered, exactly located on the north-facing slope, north of Bursteye Farm at TQ34872775. The find spot lies close to a hollow way which runs from the farm into Hoad Lane, and some 20 metres from a spring. An inspection of the bank after further erosion in December 1995 did not reveal any further pottery or archaeological features.

Half of the rim circumference, together with body and base sherds of the vessel (Fig. 1) was recovered. It had been fired red-brown with a reduced grey core, and parts of the surface were blackened. The fabric contained frequent small to medium-sized sand, and small black iron-oxide, inclusions, together with rare small to medium flint inclusions. The sherds were conjoining and unabraded, suggesting that the vessel had been deliberately buried. It appears to be part of a large early medieval storage jar.

The other pottery sherds found close to the above vessel were:

1. Three sherds in a fabric similar to the storage jar, but with more frequent sand inclusions. Early medieval.
2. One sherd in a sandy fabric with frequent angular flint inclusions. Dark brown with a black core. Possibly Saxo-Norman.
3. One sherd in a smooth orange-brown sandy fabric with rare small sand inclusions. Green glaze on one surface. Late medieval.

Found on the edge of a quarry (TQ345276) at Bursteye Farm in 1968 was a barbed-and-tanged arrowhead (Fig. 2). This had presumably been washed into the quarry from the adjoining field.

Both the pottery and arrowhead are of interest since very few archaeological finds have come from this area. Bursteye Farm can be traced back as far as 1266 (Taylor 1939, 36) and the vessel could be consistent with this date. Prehistoric flintwork has been found to the north-west of Bursteye Farm near Ardingly College, but this has generally been Mesolithic in date (Marsh 1992), whereas the barbed-and-tanged arrowhead would suggest exploitation during the early Bronze Age.

Acknowledgements
I would like to thank Ann Knowles of Bursteye Farm for drawing my attention to these finds and allowing them to be published.

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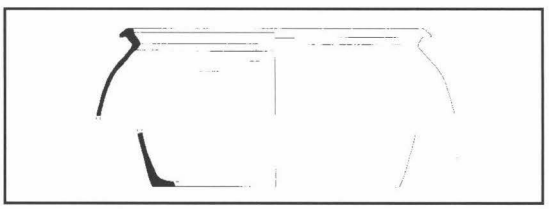

Fig. 2. The barbed-and-tanged arrowhead from Bursteye Farm, Ardingly. 1:1.

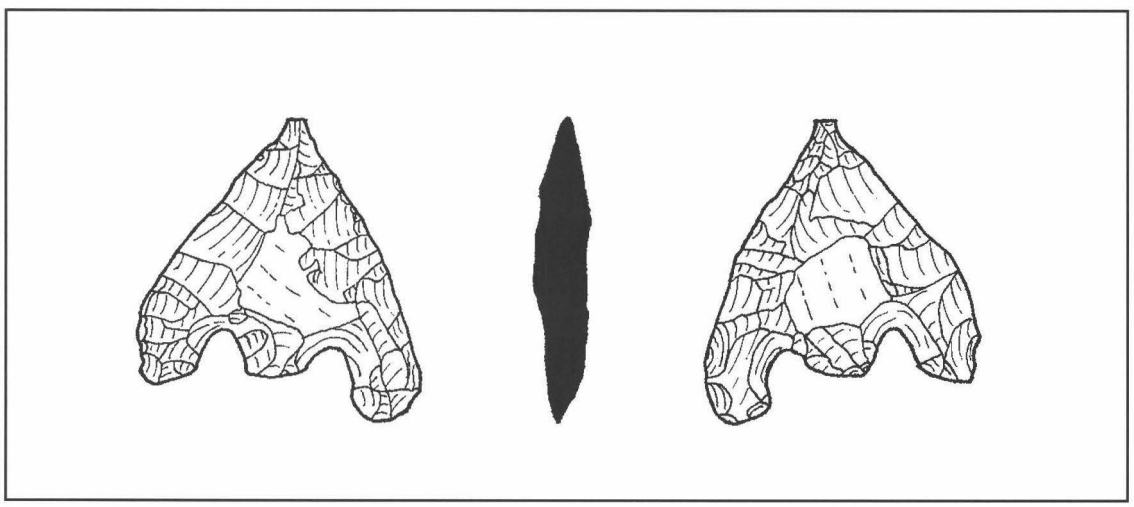

Fig. 1. The early medieval storage jar from Bursteye Farm, Ardingly. 1:4.

The investigation of a post-medieval pond-bay at Burgh Wood, near Etchingham, East Sussex

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INTRODUCTION

In the Autumn of 1995, the Field Archaeology Unit (University College, London) was commissioned by Southern Water Services to carry out an archaeological watching brief during the construction of a new water transfer link between Bewl Water and Darwell Reservoir in East Sussex (Fig. 1A). A preliminary desk-top assessment of documentary sources identified only one known archaeological site in the engineers' path. This was Burgh Wood Forge, an iron-working site of probable 16th- to 17th-century date, surviving as a series of upstanding earthworks (Fig. 1C). They included a fine stretch of earthen dam, known locally as a pond-bay. Unfortunately, it was not possible for the scheme to avoid the site, so it was decided to route the proposed pipe-trench through the centre of the bay, under archaeological supervision. Although perhaps regrettable for the overall integrity of the monument, it did provide an opportunity to check the results against those of Owen Bedwin's excavation of a similar bay at Maynard's Gate (Bedwin 1978). Only four other examples of this important element of Wealden archaeology have been examined under modern archaeological conditions (Ardingly, Chingley, Maynard's Gate and Panningridge), so Burgh Wood's potential as a source of further primary information was immediately obvious.

THE SITE (Fig. 1C)

Burgh Wood Forge lies in the narrow, flat-bottomed valley of the River Limden, 0.95 miles (1.5 km) north-north-east of Etchingham parish church (TQ 718 277), overlooked to the west and east by fairly steep wooded slopes. The surviving earthworks form an inverted L-shape, on the western bank of the river, with the horizontal arm represented by the bay. This comprises a large earthen bank 100 m long and between 2 and 2.5 m high, and was thrown across the valley floor in order to create a reservoir of water upstream. At either end of the bay were two narrow gaps, now used by cattle, but possibly the sites of former working areas, an arrangement known from other examples. It is not known whether the bay extended any further east, owing to the close proximity of the river. To the west of the bay was a deep, oval, tree-filled hollow, probably the location of a wheel-pit housing a water-wheel. This position could well have caused problems of leakage and a concomitant weakening of the bay structure. This might explain the gap at the western end of the bay (Cleere & Crossley 1995, 232). To its south, forming the vertical arm of the 'L', was a long shallow

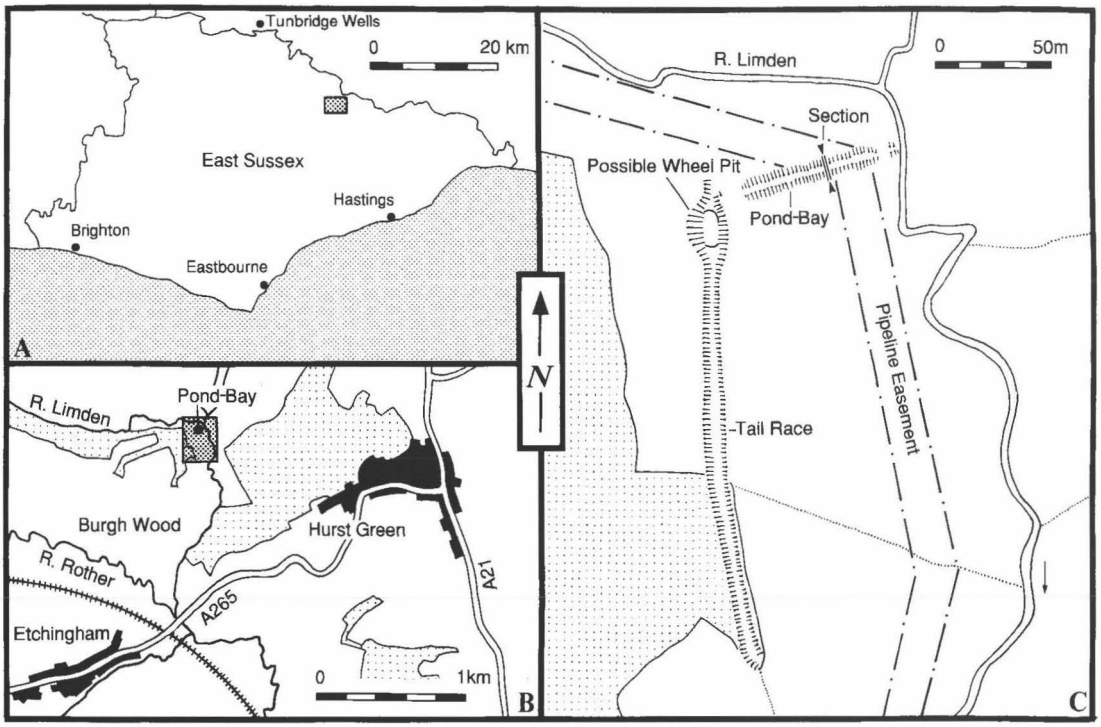

Fig. 1. Location map of site.

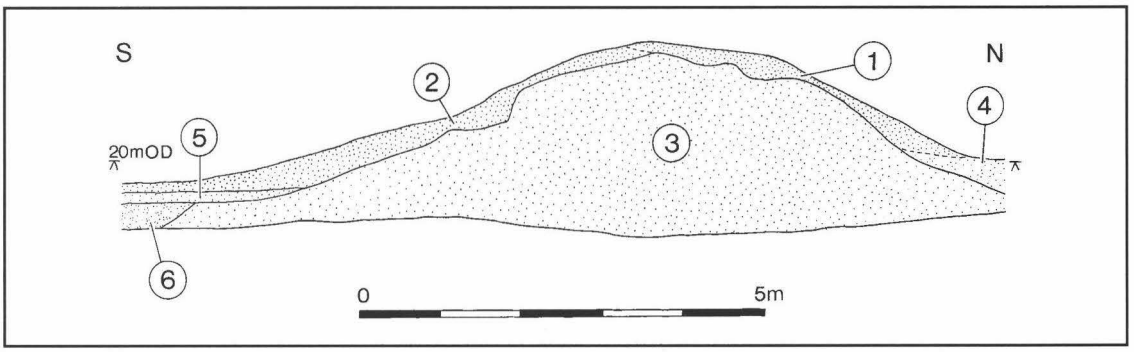

Fig. 2. East-facing section through pond bay.

gully, most probably the remnants of the tail-race, channelling the 'used' water back into the river further downstream. A group of slight earthworks at the southern end of the channel have been suggested as the site of a possible mill (Cleere & Crossley 1995, 320).

These features are all that remains of what was once a bustling scene of industrial activity. There are references to the forge in the early 16th century, with John Fowle (or Fowell) listed as owner in an Inquisition Post Mortem of 1542 (Dalton 1997, 43).The site is known to modern researchers (Cleere & Crossley 1995), although it was not mentioned by Straker, whose reference to 'Etchingham forge' (Straker 1931, 298) clearly relates to a different site (he mentions a levelled bay near to some cottages). Although the site is very small in scale, it must be seen in conjunction with dozens of similar sites scattered all across the Weald. This concentration of sites, under the control of a multiplicity of owners, together constituted a major industrial concern. The forges produced large quantities of iron for the domestic agricultural and industrial markets.

THE EXCAVATION (Fig. 2)

Owing to the possibility that the gaps at either end of the bay may be archaeologically significant, it was felt that the safest option was to cut a section right through the centre of the bay. This was done using a tracked 360° slew digger, supplied by the contractors. This excavation method quickly produced results.

The bay was constructed of a slightly dirty, mottled orange-yellow silty-clay (Context 3). This deposit appeared to be homogenous in nature, with no obvious layering visible. It was very similar to the underlying natural subsoil, the only real difference being its texture, which was more friable. It is likely that the bay was built of redeposited natural, probably quarried from the adjacent wheel-pit and tail-race. No trace of a remanent turf-line was visible between Context 3 and the subsoil, suggesting the possibility that the turf was stripped prior to construction. The resulting clay-on-clay interface would have formed a perfect waterproof seal. This practice was recorded at Maynard's Gate (Cleere & Crossley 1995, 225).

Two topsoil deposits formed an outer skin for the bay. Context 2 was a light brown silty clay. Context 1 was essentially similar, but heavily contaminated by slag. This deposit was present on the upstream/pond side of the bay, and mirrors a parallel situation observed at Maynard's Gate. It would appear that at both sites, the by-products of the industrial process were thrown onto and over the bay. This may periodically have had the effect of covering the upstream side of the bay in a thick layer of slag, which preserved the integrity of the structure and prevented water penetration and erosion. Perhaps of more immediate concern to the workers, it was a convenient place to get rid of the waste material. In addition, a layer of slag and cinder in a black soil matrix (Context 6) was observed stretching back from the bay on the working side for a distance of 6 m. This deposit was 200 mm thick and was sealed by a thin layer of clean orange-yellow clay (Context 5). A layer of clean mid-brown silty clay on the pond side of the bay (Context 4) was interpreted as a silting layer associated with the former pond.

CONCLUSION

The main purpose of this fieldwork was to route an unavoidable pipeline through the site with the least amount of damage. This was achieved, and the resulting section provided an opportunity to inspect the pond bay's internal make-up. The aim was, ironically, not to find extensive archaeological deposits, although it is hoped that important structural evidence may survive outside of the pipeline easement. It was interesting to note the presence of slag on the pond side of the bay, particularly as it formed a link between this site and the much more extensive excavations at Maynard's Gate, and it makes a contribution to what could be termed the archaeology of industrial waste-disposal. It also revealed the construction method to be that of simple dumping, again paralleled at Maynard's Gate and also at Ardingly and Chingley.

Unfortunately, no dating evidence of any kind was recovered during the field-work, so the date of the bay still remains conjectural. Enough was found, nevertheless, to suggest that Burgh Wood would repay further study, both archaeological and historical.

Acknowledgements
The Field Archaeology Unit was grateful for the valuable assistance provided by Chris Jones, Resident Engineer for RKL, during this project. Thanks are also due to David Martin (Senior Historic Buildings Officer, FAU), Dr Andrew Woodcock (County Archaeologist, East Sussex County Council) and Gwen Jones,

who all provided extra information, and to Rob Goller for drawing the illustrations.

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Richer of Laigle and the Rape of Pevensey

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In 'Lords, castellans, constables and dowagers: the Rape of Pevensey, from the 11th to the 13th century', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* **135** (1997), the history of the Rape of Pevensey was considered. The paper established that before 1120 King Henry I had granted property in the rape to the Norman lord, Richer of Laigle. Richer had lost those lands during the reign of King Stephen (1135–54), probably because he had supported King Stephen's rival, the empress Matilda. It is clear from the terms of the settlement between King Stephen and Matilda's son, the future Henry II (1154–89), that Richer did not recover his property when Henry finally succeeded to the English throne, because Richer's lands in Sussex were used to provide a suitable patrimony for Stephen's surviving son, William. Relying on the evidence of the pipe roll of 1160/1, which records under new debts arising in Sussex that Richer was pardoned 5 marks, it was concluded that Henry had withheld the lands from Richer 'until the spring of 1161. At that particular time the allegiance of Richer of Laigle would have been worth purchasing, for his Norman interests lay in the vulnerable border zone between the lands of the French and English kings.'

In the absence of other evidence that was a plausible speculation, but I have subsequently been able to date the recovery with some precision. A writ of King Henry II preserved in the cartulary or record book of the cathedral of Chichester instructs Richer and his men not to interfere with the royal chapel at Pevensey.[1] This writ is undated, but was witnessed at Salisbury by the chamberlain, Warin fitz Gerold. Since Warin is known to have died in 1158 and Henry crossed to Normandy in August of that year, the writ must have been issued before that time. Richer was therefore in possession of his Sussex property well before he was persuaded later in the same year to return the castle of Bonsmoulins (Orne, ct. Moulins-la-Marche) in southern Normandy to the king.[2] The implication is that the king restored Richer's Sussex lands to him almost immediately after King Stephen's son, William, was obliged to give them up in 1157. The king was careful, however, to retain the castle at Pevensey in his own hand as the expenditure on repairs at the castle, recorded in the pipe rolls of the 1160s, makes clear.

NOTES

1 W. D. Peckham (ed.), *The Chartulary of the High Church of Chichester* (Sussex Record Society **46**, 1942/3), no. 122.

2 For the death of Warin fitz Gerold, *see* L. Delisle & E. Berger (eds), *Recueil des Actes de Henri II Roi d'Angleterre et Duc de Normandie concernant les provinces françaises et les affaires de France* (Paris, 1906–27), introductory volume, 469. Henry's crossing to Normandy and the Bonsmoulins exchange, Robert of Torigni, *Chronique*, ed. L. Delisle. (Rouen, 1872–3) **1**, 311, 315.

Stone heads from East and West Sussex

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As if by coincidence, five stone heads came to my attention during 1997.

1. A CHALK HEAD FROM EASTBOURNE, EAST SUSSEX

Lawrence Stevens reported that a chalk head (Fig. 1) had been found on the site of a demolished building at Gorse Close in Old Town, Eastbourne. The deceased owner of the former building was known to have been 'a collector' so the head may not have had any original connection with the building. It was loaned by the finder, Mr Roberts, for temporary exhibition at the Towner Art Gallery in 1997, but its present whereabouts are unknown, as he had not responded to attempts to contact him to elicit further details.

Note: to judge from photographs sent courtesy of Lawrence Stevens, the shape of the head and particularly the elongated nose lead me to suspect that the head may be of Celtic origin.[1] The eyes, however, do not appear to be protuberant. The grooves carved into the sides and back may have been made to provide a key for mortar.

2. THREE STONE HEADS AT MIDHURST, WEST SUSSEX

Two of these heads, one approximately 125 mm square, the other 250 mm high and 150 mm across the forehead, are set into the cellar wall under Wheeler's Bookshop, Red Lion Street, Midhurst (Fig. 2). The building, of medieval origin, lies about 20 metres to the north of the Spread Eagle Hotel, and may have been part of an inn known as the Red Lion in 1641, as the White Hart in 1711 and later again as the Red Lion; it closed *c.* 1909.[2]

The smaller head, which has a flat top, looks as though it could have been part of a medieval corbel table. It is the head

Fig. 1. Chalk head from Gorse Close, Old Town, Eastbourne, E. Sussex.

Fig. 2. Stone heads in cellar wall under Wheeler's Bookshop, Midhurst, W. Sussex.

Fig. 3. Stone head from the Old Farmhouse, Pevensey, E. Sussex.

of a male with bobbed hair and is delicately carved. The taller head, more crudely carved and with a typically long nose and staring eyes, is of Celtic origin. The two heads face the relieving arch to the large stone hearth and were possibly embedded in the cellar wall as a doubly effective ritual protective device either when the house was built, or during a rebuilding or when the large chimney was inserted.

Note: The bookshop is opposite the church of St Mary Magdalene and St Denis which was rebuilt in the 15th century and a chapel to Easebourne until the 19th century. The site of the former fortified manor house that stood on St Anne's Hill is a short way to the east of the church.[3]

The former chapel of St Anne's manor house is a possible source for the medieval head and the nunnery at Easebourne (after the Reformation) is perhaps another. Agents of the Bishop of Durham are said to have pulled down two chapels in Midhurst (worth £5 each) between 1264 and 1311 — these may also have contained stone carvings. The Celtic head could well have been on its present site in a much earlier building, with the medieval head being added later. In 1514 a Free Chapel was leased by the Prior of the Knights Hospitallers in Midhurst, though the site of the building, supposedly near the Spread Eagle, is uncertain.[4]

However, in the 1641 probate inventory of Richard Bishop, an innholder of Midhurst, a chapel is included as part of his premises, listed between the beer cellar and the wine cellar; a chapel is also mentioned in connection with the Red Lion/ White Hart in 1708 and 1711. One certainly existed at the north end of the inn site until 1810, when a brewhouse was built in its place. Just whom this chapel served is unknown, but it could be another contender for the source of one or other of the stone heads.[5]

At a Wealden Buildings Study Group meeting on 19 October 1997, member Peter Gray showed a slide of a Gothic doorway at the Old Chantry (dated 1392), Bredgar, Kent. There was a small stone head *in situ* at one capital, but the other had gone. Its re-use in a protective role after the dissolution of the Chantries in 1547 should be considered.

The third Midhurst head is built into the parapet of a bridge (NGR SU 889214) which spans the stream which runs from South Pond into the river Rother. The east-facing parapet exhibits a long, narrow, very worn stone head, fixed below the coping stones.

Note: It is possible that this head is also of Celtic origin and the question of provenance is raised again. The nearby 'castle' mound is a strong contender, but I would welcome comments on all three heads from those who know more about the origins of Midhurst.

3. A PROTECTIVE STONE HEAD AT PEVENSEY, EAST SUSSEX

Several years ago, during extensive renovations to the Old Farmhouse, High Street, Pevensey, owner Jennifer Turner discovered what she described as a 'builder's gargoyle'. It is a human head, crudely carved from a piece of sandstone, and has high-set ears, sunken eyes and a flattened nose above a small mouth (Fig. 3). It measures approximately 100 mm across the widest part of the forehead and 130 mm from the top of the head to the bottom of the chin.

Found on the south side of the chimney stack 'plastered over and mortared into the wall', the head was hidden 'behind

an old cupboard', looking south at what may have been the original entrance to the building. A pale colour *in situ*, when taken from the wall and placed in the hearth it 'dried out' and darker tones on eyes, mouth and ears appeared.[6]

Note: The finder's description of 'a builder's gargoyle' could hold some credence. The head does not look Celtic, nor medieval. The Old Farmhouse dates from the 17th century and the chimney was erected with the house. The builder may well have included the head as a ritual device, facing entrants to the home, while also protecting the chimney and hearth. Its concealment behind a cupboard may have dated from the build, with its placement unknown to the owner of the house.

Concealed protective objects in association with hearths and chimney stacks are well known, though this is the first stone head in association with a chimney in Sussex that I have seen.[7] I would be interested to hear members' views and to know of other representations in stone that have been discovered in association with chimney stacks in the county and elsewhere.

Mrs Turner had anticipated taking the head with her to a new house in Surrey, but after some discussion and encouragement thought she might leave it at the Old Farmhouse for the new owners 'if they want it'. I am unaware of its fate.

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to Lawrence Stevens for drawing the Eastbourne head to my attention, to Mrs Turner for her interest and cooperation, also to Emma Olivari, Museum Officer, the Towner Art Gallery, Eastbourne, for information. Dave and Alma Wheeler of Wheeler's Bookshop, Midhurst, kindly allowed access to their cellar, and Mrs Frances Johnson-Davis of Midhurst alerted me to the existence of the stone head on the bridge. Dr Annabelle Hughes, President of the Wealden Buildings Study Group, gave advice on dating for the Old Farmhouse, Pevensey.

NOTES

1 *See* A. Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain, Studies in Iconography and Tradition* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967) for numerous illustrations of Celtic heads; E. W. Holden & C. F. Tebbutt, 'A Sussex Celtic head re-discovered', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* **121** (1983), 202.

2 West Sussex Record Office, Cowdray MSs 2588–2600; Add. MS 14650.

3 L. F. Salzman (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Sussex* **4** (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953), 74.

4 Salzman, 74–5.

5 West Sussex Record Office, EP1/29/138/036; Cowdray MSs 4347, 4564–65; Add. MS 14650.

6 Luke Barber (pers. comm.) of the Field Archaeology Unit was unaware of the head's existence when excavating next to the Old Farmhouse in 1994.

7 I passed details of a stone knight's head from a pre-Reformation church, incorporated in a 16th-century chimney stack at Oxford, to Ralph Merrifield (retired Deputy Director of the Museum of London) in 1993. He replied 13.6.1993: 'I know of various heads incorporated in buildings in the north of England . . . (in the 17th century) probably used instead of medieval ones because these were no longer obtainable. There are however various examples of pre-Reformation architectural ornaments being used protectively in buildings, as if the old church had a power the Reformed one lacked.' *See* also R. Merrifield, *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd, 1987); J. Swan, 'Shoes concealed in buildings', supplement, *Northampton Museums and Art Gallery Journal* **6**, 8–21; T. Easton, 'Spiritual middens': 'scribed and painted symbols', *Vernacular Architecture of the World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

The persecution of William Penn and his wife

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Tim McCann ended his note on William Penn in *Sussex Archaeological Collections* **134** with the words: 'in view of his [Penn's] previous experiences of being summoned for popish recusancy, and the fact that he had sailed for America on 30 August 1681, it seems safe to assume that the proceedings against William Penn in March 1681/2 were not taken any further'.[1] An inventory of confiscated weapons in the Wiston archives shows that Penn's family was still being harassed more than a year later, during his absence in Pennsylvania.[2]

The discovery of the Rye House Plot on June 1683 gave Captain Edward Goring of Steyning the excuse to search the houses of certain persons in Sussex.[3] Goring was a captain in the militia and possibly related to Sir Henry Goring of Highden, the latter mentioned by McCann as a Commissioner for Sussex recusants, together with John Alfold of Offington. Between 29 June and 3 July 1683 Captain Goring seized arms from eleven people at six locations.

Sir John Fagge of Wiston, thought to be a Quaker and friend of Penn, had ten muskets and three musket barrels taken, together with a fine suit of armour, ten swords, four blunderbusses, other weapons and 20 pounds of gunpowder. From Mr Robert Fagge of Albourne (Sir John's son) two pairs of pistols, three muskets, two other guns, three rapiers, one javelin and another pistol were removed. Nine others — John Jefferies, John Dungate, William Russell, Thomas Burgess and Giles Gratwicke of Shoreham, Joseph Lee of Thakeham, Mrs Penn and Thomas Woolven[4] of Warminghurst and Mr Robert Shepherd of Henfield — had minor pieces of weaponry confiscated.[5] In 1672 'John Jeffrey's house in New Shoreham was licensed for Presbyterian worship' and two surnames above — Russell and Woolven — occur in the Quaker returns for the period, which indicates that Quakers and other dissenters were being targeted.[6]

Mrs Penn of Warminghurst had 'Two Fowling peaces' taken away. This mean treatment of Gulielma while her husband William was in Pennsylvania reflects the continuing persecution of the Quaker family. Two guns for shooting at waterfowl hardly represented a threat to the monarchy.

Three and a half years later (more than a year after the Monmouth rebellion), an endorsement dated 10 January 1687 was added to the Wiston document. Addressed to the recusant Commissioners, Sir Henry Goring and Sir William Morley, the Earl of Dorset commanded that the arms listed as belonging to Sir John Fagge and his son Robert should be restored to them. The Morley and Fagge families were related by marriage, but there is no evidence to prove that this had any influence on Dorset's action.[7]

In 1677 William Penn had complained bitterly to Dorset that Sir Henry Goring and John Alfold, Commissioners for recusants in Sussex, were persecuting him and his wife, accusing them, as Quakers, of popish recusancy.[8] Ten years later in 1687, a form of persecution was still continuing: Dorset's endorsement made no similar request for the return of Mrs Penn's two duck guns, confiscated in 1683.

NOTES

1 T. J. McCann, '"Soe farr from thee as east and west": William Penn's prosecution as a Popish Recusant in 1682', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter *SAC*) **134** (1996), 236. I draw attention to a presumed typographical error here as Penn sailed in August 1682; *see* R. S. Dunn, *'William Penn's odyssey', Public Duty & Private Conscience in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 312, 315.

2 West Sussex Record Office (hereafter WSRO), Wiston MS. 5427 (3).

3 *See* J. R. Jones, *Country and Court, England 1658–1714* (London: Edward Arnold, 1978), 54: 'In 1683 under tory officers it [the militia] was used to search the houses of conspicuous whigs for arms after the discovery of the Rye House Plot'. C. Brent, 'The neutering of the fellowship and the emergence of a Tory party in Lewes (1663–1688)', *SAC* **121** (1983), 103, notes that after the discovery of the Rye House Plot, 'seven muskets and two swords were taken from various inhabitants of east Sussex in July 1683'.

4 It may be of interest to note that an Edward Woolven and his wife Jane were caretakers of the 'Blue Idol' near Coolham (founded as the Thakeham Meeting House by Penn and others in 1691) from 1869 to 1923. Edward's parents had lived in the house before him. *See* W. F. Sweatman, W. A. Wharton, E. W. H. Durrant *et al.* unknown, *Thakeham Meeting House and the Blue Idol Guest House* (revised edn 1981), 7–8.

5 WSRO, Wiston MS 5427 (3); Wiston MSs 5427 (1) and (2) show two more officers seizing insignificant items of weaponry from five other parishes in west Sussex.

6 T. P. Hudson (ed.), *A History of the County of Sussex* **6** (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 171; East Sussex Record Office, SOF 1/1 f115, 1684.

7 C. Brent, 'Lewes dissenters outside the law, 1663–86', *SAC* **123** (1985), 199, writes of a William Morley in 1679 as being 'the covertly Presbyterian son of the notorious Herbert', but I do not know whether this is the same man.

8 T. J. McCann, '"Soe farr from thee . . .', 236.

The emergence of modern stoolball in mid-Victorian Sussex

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In her seminal work *The Traditional Games of England, Scotland and Ireland* (1894 and 1898) Lady Alice Bertha Gomme proposed that present-day stoolball derived from the game of the same name frequently mentioned in 16th- to early-19th-century sources and that an identical game was recorded, chiefly in Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Somerset, as stoball, stopball and stowball. This basic thesis has been repeated a number of times, most recently in John Lowerson's paper, 'Stoolball: Conflicting Values in the Revival of a Traditional Sussex Game', in volume **133** of *Sussex Archaeological Collections*.[1] However, is this historical model supported by any real evidence?

One obvious problem is that purely on etymological grounds stoolball must be considered as being, to quote the *Oxford English Dictionary* 'quite distinct from stow-ball'.[2] The latter was a bat-and-ball game, a variant of cricket, whereas according to all surviving accounts stoolball was characterized by the use of the hand (not a bat) in striking a ball as it was delivered or 'trundled' at a stool.[3] Indeed, stoolball was already distinguished from cricket, played with bats, by the mid-17th century when it and 'crickets' were listed among the sports pursued in Maidstone on the Sabbath.[4] Thus, so far as we can tell, genuine stoolball had little in common with stoball and had even less to do with the modern game which emerged in mid-Victorian Sussex where the ball needed to be aimed at a board raised shoulder high on a post defended by a striker with a round-bladed bat.

Another problem is that although its historians claim stoolball was a 'traditional' Sussex game there actually appears to be no contemporary record of stoolball being played in 19th-century Sussex before this quite different game began to be documented in the 1860s.[5] Admittedly, by the late 1860s the modern so-called stoolball was said to have been a customary feature of village life across the county. A visitor to Horsham in 1867, for example, wrote that 'this game, so often mentioned in old writers (sic), is still played in almost every village in Sussex, and is for ladies and girls exactly what cricket is to men'.[6] However, the Revd W. D. Parish, while treating contemporary stoolball as an old-established and widely followed game, in his *Sussex Dialect* (1875) disclosed that it was once known as 'bittle-battle'. His explanation of the term (from bittle — a wooden milk bowl, and battle — a battledore or round bat) as denoting a game in which the bowl was employed as a bat to hit the ball is no more convincing than the other idea he cites: that milkmaids used stools as bats. What it really seems to imply is a bittle or a board of similar circular shape set up as a target to be defended by the battle. It should for instance be remembered that although boards were usually square or rectangular,[7] some were round,[8] while those depicted in an 1861 photograph of female players at Chailey (our earliest record) are octagonal, possibly representing an intermediate stage of development from round (bittle-shaped?) to square.[9]

Despite numerous allusions to 'battledore and shuttlecock', I have never seen a work on sports history or on folk customs

which describes a pre-Victorian game involving a battledore and ball. Nevertheless they did exist: an entry in the diary of John Baker relates how at Horsham on Whit Monday 1773, he came across 'men and maids at (what they call) Tennis, a foolish play with a ball and a battledore'.[10] The singular wording, 'a battledore', implies one bat shared between the players, presumably used by each in turn. So while that game did not resemble proper tennis, it could have been an early form of bittle battle. The important point is that what we have here is an 18th-century ball game played with a battledore which the participants themselves did not associate with stoolball.

Still more significant are two press reports, one in *The Morning Chronicle* of 7 July 1775 of women from two Kentish parishes near Sittingbourne contesting 'an excellent game at Battle-board', and another in *The Maidstone Journal* of 23 August 1831 of 'a match of battleboard' played by ladies on Farningham cricket ground, about halfway between Dartford and Sevenoaks. The first account treats it as the female equivalent of men's cricket matches. It may therefore be inferred that battleboard was something akin to cricket in its general mode of play, but with boards in place of wickets and battledores, held one-handed, instead of cricket bats. In other words it looks as though 'battleboard' and 'bittle battle' were simply Kent and Sussex terms for the same game played by teams of women and girls since at least the 1770s, often in a context which linked it to cricket — and that 'battleboard' was the pastime referred to in 1867 when it was stated that as well as being 'a very common game played all over Sussex' stoolball (sic) 'was often played in West Kent'.[11]

Presumably, battleboard/bittle battle was renamed 'stoolball' after being taken up as a suitable alternative to cricket for middle-class girls and ladies. But given our current state of knowledge, it would perhaps be unwise to speculate as to when, where and why such a development took place until serious research has been undertaken into pre-1865 newspapers and other possible source materials.

NOTES

1 J. Lowerson, 'Stoolball: conflicting values in the revival of a traditional Sussex game', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* **133** (1995), 263–74.

2 *O. E. D.* **16**, 771.

3 *See* J. Strutt, *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England* (1801), 103; P. Roberts, *Cambrian Popular Antiquities* (1815), 123; A. B. Gomme, *The Traditional Games of England, Scotland and Ireland* (London: David Nutt, 1894 & 1898) **2**, 220. For the relationship between stoball, etc., and cricket, see my paper, 'Stob-ball as a 17th-century form of cricket', *Sports History* **1** (1982), 19–21.

4 G. Swinnock, *Life and Death of Mr Tho. Wilson, Minister of Maidstone* (1672) 18, 40. It relates to the period *c.* 1635–40.

5 Gomme, *The Traditional Games*, provides no examples. The history of stoolball by M. S. Russell-Goggs published in *Sussex County Magazine* (hereafter *SCM*) **2**, 318–26, in 1928 contains no reference to the game in the county earlier than 1861. The only specific record cited by Lowerson, *Stoolball, Conflicting Values*, relates to stoolball being played alongside cricket on one occasion at Brighton in 1788.

6 *Notes and Queries* 3rd series, **11** (1867), 457–8.

7 *Notes and Queries* 3rd series, **11**, gives the dimensions as 12 inches by 18 inches.

8 Cf. *The Encyclopedia of Sport* (1897–8) **2**, 412: the targets 'are round boards . . . fastened to posts'.

9 Reproduced in *SCM* **2** (1928), 321.

10 Quoted in R. Bowen, 'John Baker's diary', *The Cricket Quarterly* **3(4)** (1965), 235–45.

11 *Notes and Queries* 3rd. series, **12** (1867), 73.

Ringmer chapels

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Roger Homan's thoughtful article on the organization of Huntingtonian and Calvinistic Baptist causes in Sussex in the 18th and 19th centuries refers in its appendix to a Rehoboth independent chapel in Ringmer opened in 1834 and closed in 1949.[1] This entry wrongly combines details of two distinct Ringmer chapels. Both chapel buildings still survive, now converted to private residential use.

The chapel first built about 1834 is on the south side of Lewes Road, Ringmer, at Ringmer Green. This was described 'as a Chapel lately erected in Ringmer intended forthwith to be used as a place of religious worship by an Assembly or Congregation of Protestants' when first registered in the court of the Deanery of South Malling on 28th May 1835.[2] The registrants were the pastor and four leading members of Lewes Tabernacle and the chapel was built on land one of these men, James Berry (1796–1877), had purchased that year from his father.[3] James Berry was a South Malling builder but his father was a native of Ringmer. In the chapel's early days the Berry family worshipped there regularly and taught in the Sunday School.[4] James Berry retained ownership of the chapel and land until, along with other property, it had to be sold to meet his debts in 1856.[5] This chapel is described as Independent in the 1851 Religious Census of Sussex and in Post Office & Harrod's directories of 1855–1867, and in 1866 ownership was transferred into the hands of trustees in the Calvinist faith. It played a major role in Victorian village life, with congregations at times rivalling those of the parish church. In Post Office and Kelly's directories of 1878–1909 it is described as a Congregational Chapel, and it remained in this denomination until it merged into the United Reformed Church. The chapel was completely rebuilt in brick in 1914 by local builder Richard Wicks.[6] It closed on 31 March 1995 and has now been converted into a private house with little exterior alteration in its appearance.

The Rehoboth Chapel, North Road, Ringmer, was a quite separate institution, though also facing Ringmer Green. Inspection of the terrace of late Victorian cottages now 5–8 North Road shows that the north-eastern 'cottage' (8 North Road) has modern inserted windows lacking the elaborate brick headers seen in the other cottages. Numbers 5 and 6 North Road share a common double stack serving 7 North Road between numbers 7 and 8. 8 North Road had a separate chimney at the rear. I was told by an occasional member of the congregation that 8 North Road was originally a purpose-

Fig. 1. 1907 Sunday-school outing gathered outside the 19th-century Ringmer Congregational chapel (rebuilt in 1914).

Fig. 2. 5–8 North Road. The cottages at the left end of the terrace, now with a flat-roofed extension, was formerly the Strict Baptist Chapel.

built chapel, open to the roof and with a 'chapel window' that had to be removed and replaced by modern windows when the building was converted into a cottage and an intermediate floor inserted.

The cottages at 5–8 North Road are not present on the 1875 OS map but are in place by the 1899 edition. On the 1910 and 1931 OS maps this cottage is identified as 'Baptist Chapel', though it is not so marked in 1899. Only the Congregational chapel is mentioned in Kelly's directories of 1887–1899, but the 1909 directory refers in addition to a Calvinistic chapel. This is reported to have operated from 1880 to 1949, and to have been simply a preaching place without a resident minister, dependent on supplies throughout its history.[7] Long-term local residents described it

as a Strict Baptist chapel and reported that the congregation was always small, and that the preacher for many years up to its closure was Ebenezer Duffield, a Lewes postman, who cycled out to Ringmer on Sundays wearing a long black coat and a black bowler hat.

NOTES

[1] R. Homan, 'Mission and fission', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* **135** (1997), 279.

[2] West Sussex Record Office, Ep.5/17/40.

[3] East Sussex Record Office (hereafter ESRO), ADA 37; Title deeds of *Downholme*, Lewes Road Ringmer, in the owners' hands.

[4] Mary Ann Berry, Diary 1847–8, privately held. She was James Berry's eldest daughter.

[5] Ringmer tithe award, *c.* 1840, ESRO, TD/E 137 & ESRO, AMS 3440–1: ESRO HIL 6/66/1–18.

[6] A Ringmer Congregational Chapel building appeal notice and a printed list of subscribers are preserved in the privately held records of Lewes United Reformed Church.

[7] Ralph F. Chambers, *Strict Baptist Chapel of England* **2** (Sussex, *c.* 1960), 128. Two local residents who knew the Strict Baptist chapel in operation (Mr Cyril Tasker and the late Mrs Dorothy Williams) thought the 1949 closure date about right, though neither could confirm it exactly.

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Notes: Alphabetization is word-by-word. A reference preceded by M indicates a page of microfiche. A page reference in italics indicates an illustration. A page reference containing n indicates a note: e.g. 131n45 refers to note 45 on page 131.

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