

SEDGWICK CASTLE.

By S. E. WINBOLT, M.A.

FROM the Domesday Survey (1086) we know that Robert Sauvage held of William de Braose, the lord of Bramber, the manors of Broadwater, Durrington, Worthing, Lancing, Buncton and Ashington; and from other sources that early in the thirteenth century the Sauvage family held Sedgwick lands and other land near Horsham. But, though it is not improbable, there is, I believe, no documentary evidence for the assumption made by the Rev. E. Turner (*S.A.C.*, vol. VIII., pp. 31 *sq.*) that these northern estates were held by the Sauvages between 1066 and 1200. In spite of the absence of direct evidence, however, it may well be that these forest lands were in their possession as hunting ground during the close of the eleventh and the whole of the twelfth centuries. The connection between their manors of the coast plain and Downs and the forest ridge was natural, if not as easy as it is to-day. The high ground at Sedgwick commanded, even when more densely wooded, a view of the whole countryside to Ashington, Buncton and the Downs; and we may safely assume that there was communication by three routes¹ roughly corresponding to the modern roads which converge near Knepp, *viz.* (i) Lancing, Coombes, Bramber, Steyning, Partridge Green and Jolesfield; (ii) Steyning, Buncton, and Hole Street; (iii) Worthing, Broadwater, Washington, Ashington and Dial Post. From a little north of Knepp the road to Sedgwick and Cheesworth runs due north through Copsale (Cobbs' Hill), leaving the Horsham road to the west; or an alternative route was *via* West Grinstead and Nuthurst.

¹ It would be a very interesting and useful archaeological study to establish these routes for c. 1100 from the abundant remains of old roads and tracks through the Weald. *Sed iam satis ad rem.*

These were the sort of routes by which the Braoses and the Sauvages came and went from their southern manors to their forest colonies; and between 1066 and c. 1300 it seems likely that communications were better than they were again till c. 1750. The four and a half centuries between 1300 and 1750 were *par excellence* the period of road deterioration.



The RAPE OF BRAMBER,
 Showing Modern Roads, and
 Extension to Sedgwick and Horsham.

There is no record of the date when Sedgwick Castle was built. It does not *ipso facto* follow that because Sedgwick lands were held—if they were held—by the Sauvages as hunting ground, therefore there was a castle. Cheesworth may have served. In the absence of recorded date one has to fall back on probabilities. It seems likely that some of the walls of which foundations have now been excavated were erected between

1066 and 1200, though the despoilers of stone have unfortunately left little from which architectural inferences can be drawn. But we find a Sauvage resident at Sedgwick in 1205, in a fine² which shows that John de Keinin conveyed the advowson of Itchingfield to Sauvage for 40/- sterling and a rent of 1/- per annum out of his lands of Sedgwick. This is the earliest known mention of a direct connection between Sedgwick and the Sauvages. It is possible that Sedgwick was one of the numerous castles erected during the anarchical reign of Stephen (1135–1154), a period rife with private warfare and all the other horrors of the worst forms of continental feudalism, a period in which there were “as many tyrants as lords of castles.”

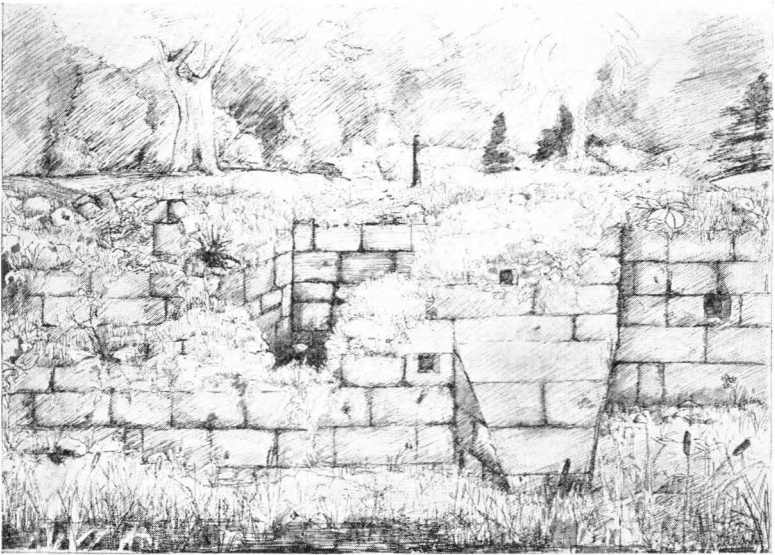
At any rate it is safe to infer a residence in c. 1200. Half a century later the restiveness of the barons culminated in the rising of Simon de Montfort and the struggle at Lewes. Between 1242 and 1249 Sedgwick was held by Robert Sauvage, Sheriff for Surrey and Sussex, who at the latter date³ consigned the property by covenant to John Maunsell, “the Treasurer of York,” a man of great influence at the time; and on Nov. 4, 1258, Henry III. allowed him to strengthen⁴ his house of Sedgewicke with fosses and a wall of stone and lime, and to crenellate it. This probably means that the earlier buildings were now circled by the two remarkable concentric moats and a strong curtain wall, and further protected by a keep, of which are extant the remains of an irregular hexagonal tower. The design of this western keep tower—an irregular hexagon giving two obtuse angles on the exterior face—suggests that it was built in the thirteenth century, and therefore almost certainly by Maunsell. The substitution of shapes providing fewer salient angles to the attack was an improvement on the earlier rectangular towers. Another similar permission to fortify is dated March,

² Sussex Record Society, *Feet of Fines*, vol. I.

³ *The Family of Maunsell*, by Col. C. A. Maunsell, London, 1917, and S.R.S. vol. II., *Feet of Fines of the County of Sussex*, p. 121, Fine No. 450.

⁴ *S.A.C.*, vol. VIII., p. 105, *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1258 and 1262.

1262, but it is impossible to say how much was done under either warrant. The Rev. E. Turner's suggestion that Sedgwick was built as a place of refuge in case Bramber should be attacked by sea, seems far-fetched: it is much more probable that the previous hunting box was fortified so that Maunsell, or even the king, should have yet one more strong and out-of-the-way place to retire to during the struggle with the barons.



REMAINS OF KEEP TOWER.—*From a Drawing by R.E.W.*

A short summary of the career of Maunsell (born ? c. 1210, d. 1265) will not perhaps, be irrelevant here, as he is certainly the most remarkable man connected with the long history of Sedgwick Castle. A doughty warrior, intermittently keeper of the seal and secretary, and continuously the trusted counsellor of Henry III., in various capacities he served his king in the long years of his unpopularity as loyally as Wolsey—to whose career that of Maunsell has an interesting analogy—served Henry VIII. He was brought up at court, and in his earlier years distinguished himself by

his courage and physical prowess in fighting for the Emperor Frederick II. against the north Italian cities, particularly Milan, and with Henry III. in France, where he received a severe wound by a stone hurled from the wall of the besieged monastery of Vérines. He may have inherited fighting blood from an ancestor, Robert Maunsell the Crusader, who flourished in the middle of the twelfth century. To the fortification of Sedgwick, then, he brought an expert knowledge of the value of moats and walls and towers for both attack and defence. From time to time he had the custody of the great seal, though without the title of Chancellor of the Exchequer (then a new office), went on numerous embassies to Scotland and France, and was arbitrator in many important disputes. Among the many benefices he managed to amass—and this pluralism, along with his staunch fidelity to the king, was the chief indictment against him—was the rectorship of Ferring in Sussex, which involved him in a dispute with the Abbey of Tewkesbury about the tithes of Kingston (Chingestone) Manor. The quarrel was settled by the arbitration of the Bishop of Chichester. The titles by which he was chiefly known in ecclesiastical circles were those of Treasurer of York and Provost of Beverley Minster. His constant travelling and diplomatic negotiations with European courts were a remarkable display of energy. In 1258, the year when he began his Sedgwick fortifications, Henry III had to assent to the "Provisions of Oxford," Maunsell was named one of the royal representatives on the Committee of twenty-four, and also a member of the Council of fifteen. In 1260, during the vacancy of the see of Durham, its temporalities were entrusted to him, and in the cathedral city he entertained the king and queen of Scotland. Next year, owing to his advice to the king to withdraw from the "Provisions," the King was compelled to dismiss him from his council; and on the first day of 1262 he was accused of having stirred up strife between King and nobles. In the spring of 1263, when open war broke out, Maunsell was one of the chief

targets for the indignation of the barons; and after sheltering for some weeks in the Tower, he crossed over to Boulogne at the end of June, hotly pursued by Henry of Almaine. For two months (July 18 to Sept. 18) Sedgwick was by a patent of July 18, 1263 put into the custody of Peter de Montfort on behalf of the barons. Apparently he never returned to England, where his lands were alienated, though he had made over Sedgwick to "John Maunsell the younger," who can hardly have been any other than his son: for in spite of his holy orders the Treasurer was married.⁵ At any rate an exception was made of Sedgwick; for the king restored it to Maunsell's trustees in Feb., 1264, at the same time remitting the sums in which his counsellor was indebted to him. At his death Sedgwick presumably reverted to Robert Sauvage in accordance with the terms of the covenant of 1249. After the battle of Lewes he had tried to raise a force for the invasion of England; but he died probably in France in Jan., 1265. He had been immensely wealthy, and no doubt was able to spend lavishly on his works at Sedgwick. But, if we allow only one year for the erection of these defences, he could have resided there for parts of only three years, during one of which he was for some months at Durham. So far as is known, Sedgwick Castle never underwent a siege.

The connection of Sedgwick with the south was still maintained for another three centuries. In the time of Maunsell it still belonged to the distant parish⁶ of Broadwater; and in 1268, now again in the hands of the Sauvages, along with Broadwater it was held by Hawisa Sauvage. Four years later the Sauvage connection came to an end when, at the beginning of Edward I.'s reign, a de Braose got it by exchange for

⁵ This is apparently a moot point which need not here be discussed. But in *Curia Regis*, 182 m. 14 d., H. III., it is stated that Maunsell died abroad without heir.

For further details of John Maunsell, see the *Family of Maunsell*, by Col. C. A. Maunsell and Commander E. P. Statham, R.N., London: Kegan Paul, 1917, particularly vol. I., chap. 5, pp. 136-188.

⁶ In the same way Shelley Park (now part of Holmbush) belonged to the parish of Beeding.

some southern lands, and the manor was merged in the barony. In 1281 he obtained from the King a charter of free warren over the district, a privilege which no doubt, as usual, bore hardly on inferior inhabitants. His son inherited Sedgwick in due course. In the long reign of Edward III.—the period of Crécy and Poitiers and the Black Death—we hear nothing of Sedgwick except that in 1334 it paid the King's Tax of £2 1s. 0d. On the death of Thomas Lord Braose at the age of 42 in 1395 the direct family connection with Sedgwick ends. He was buried in Horsham church, where his monument may still be seen (see *History and Antiquities of Horsham*, by Dorothea Hurst, p. 59). Sedgwick then passed to Sir Wm. Heron and others. Towards the end of Henry IV.'s reign, in 1411, for the subsidy levy⁷ Sedgwick Manor is estimated as worth £5 yearly. The Howards,⁸ Dukes of Norfolk, held possession between 1498 and 1572, but when in these parts lived mainly at Cheesworth. For many decades we have only the illuminating fact from an inventory (1549) that Sedgwick has 10 porkers and 100 deer, Wm. Barwyke being keeper. The Tudor hall and accompanying buildings of which there are remains on the east part of the site were almost certainly erected by one of the Howards, probably soon after 1498. At the date of the attainder of Thos., fourth Duke of Norfolk, in 1545, the castle was still probably in good order, and it was granted two years later to the Lord Admiral Seymour. At his attainder in 1549, the Norfolk estates in Sussex again fell into the hands of the Crown. However, in the first year of Mary (1553) the old Duke of Norfolk was restored to his lands, only to die in the following year. His grandson succeeded; but, becoming later implicated in the intrigues on behalf of Mary Queen of Scots, was arraigned for high treason and executed in 1572. Whereon the estates once more became forfeited to the Crown, and in 1576 Sedgwick was leased to Sir T. Fynes.

⁷ *S.A.C.*, vol. X., p. 140.

⁸ John Howard was created Duke of Norfolk in 1398.

It was probably during the next decade that the castle, like Cheesworth, began to be neglected and to fall into a bad state⁹ of disrepair; so that Sir John Caryll, to whom, in 1602, Queen Elizabeth leased¹⁰ Sedgwick for 60 years, deserted it and built a residence called Sedgwick Lodge on the higher site of the present house, no doubt using the stone of the old castle for the purpose. When the park (then of 624 acres) was dispaled about 1608, serious dilapidation set in, and four years later Sir J. Caryll (who died in 1613) demolished a great part of it and sold much of the materials. Even had this not happened, Sir Wm. Waller after the taking of Arundel Castle in 1643 would have dismantled it with other royalist mansions in Sussex. In 1650, when a survey is made of the lands of Sedgwick, no word is said of the old castle, but Sedgwick Lodge is first mentioned as distinct from it: "a dwelling house commonly called Sedgwicke Lodge." After the expiration of the 60 years' lease¹¹ in 1662 the lands were granted by Charles II. in trust for his mother Queen Henrietta Maria, who made them over to different persons in leases of 21 years. Sedgwick Farm is in existence¹² in 1667. In fact, Sir J. Caryll and his successors had reorganised the estate; but about a century after the building of Sedgwick Lodge, Sir John Bennet, who bought the estate from the Crown in 1705, is said¹³ to have built Nuthurst Lodge,* "a small new-built house." What he did was probably to add to Sir J. Caryll's structure. A little later he sold the place to the Duke of Richmond, from whom it passed in 1750 to Joseph Tudor. At about this period an old map, painted in water-colour on vellum, shows the park divided into many fields and several farms, the old

⁹ The beginning of the end was probably a fire. Digging has revealed many signs of burning, in particular burnt stones and wood ashes along the wall foundations.

¹⁰ Letters Patent, 1602.

¹¹ The year in which Charles II. married the Portuguese princess Catharine of Braganza.

¹² And probably earlier as a fireback in the house is dated 1657.

¹³ Sussex Collections, Additional MS., Brit. Mus.: 5686, p. 75.

* See Note, p. 110.

castle site being used as grazing land. It was then, in all probability, that some at least of the six embankments across the moats were made for the convenience if not of the sheep, at any rate of the cattle and shepherds and herdsmen. In the first half of the nineteenth century the Rev. E. Turner reports from first-hand knowledge that hundreds of loads of stone were carted away from the castle ruins, chiefly for the purpose of making good the roads; a party to this proceeding was Mr. J. T. Nelthorpe, the then owner. When Mr. Henderson bought the estate in 1862 and began to occupy it in 1865, this vandalism at the old castle was happily stopped; and the house has since been improved by alterations and additions and uniquely beautiful gardens contrived by Mrs. Henderson. Being anxious to discover what the castle site might disclose, Mrs. Henderson suggested excavation which was put in hand in Oct., 1923.

In summary: Sedgwick lands belonged to the Sauvage family, and a residence or castle may have been built by them during the late eleventh or twelfth century; but no definite connection is recorded before 1205. The Sauvages and de Braoses held it till the end of the fourteenth, and the Howards, Dukes of Norfolk, during the greater part of the sixteenth century. The old castle then began to decay and was largely demolished in 1612. To replace it, a house was built about 1600 by Sir J. Caryll, added to by Sir John Bennet in 1705, and further improved by the present owner at various times since 1862.

II.—EXCAVATIONS, 1923-4.

CARTWRIGHT (*Rape of Bramber*, p. 361) wrote in 1830 of Sedgwick Castle: "The foundation walls are only in some places perfect, but traceable everywhere." This was nearly a century ago, and in 1923 it was literally true that they were traceable nowhere: the results of spadework would certainly have surprised Cartwright. The Rev. Edward Turner also wrote in 1855: "The internal arrangement of some portion of the castle might by the application of a little pains be satisfactorily traced, notwithstanding the masses of rubbish between the partition walls." In Oct., 1923, Turner's estimate seemed as over-sanguine as that of his predecessor a generation before.

REMAINS FOUND.

After a fortnight's clearing of undergrowth, what we found was an interior court measuring 167ft. E.-W., and 155 N.-S. This court is roughly circular, but the E. and W. sides are flattish, especially the W. which had about 30ft. of straight wall on either side of the keep tower. There were fragmentary remains of a high curtain wall which originally stood all round this enclosure bordering on the inner moat, and probably higher on the E. where the ground between the fosses and outside the E. fosse rises. Above ground there remains only a stretch at the S.W. The ground of the court is level N.-S., but rises some four feet W.-E. The remains on the E. side were: on the south, a stretch of wall (E.-W.) 35ft. long and 5½ft. high; another (E.-W.) of 19ft. long and 5½ft. high, a little north; and about 12ft. north of the W. end of this a wall N.-S., including a gap of 4ft. 5ins. for a doorway, of 38ft. 6ins. To this were abutments 2ft. 4ins. deep at the S. and N. ends, the southern with a length of 15ft. 5ins., the northern, projecting W. just beyond the doorway of 2ft. 4ins.;

and a third projecting 2ft. 4ins. north of the W. end of the north wall. These latter on examination of the footings proved to be buttresses. At the N. end a wall turned E. for 13ft 5in. The remains of the moulded jamb posts of the doorway showed that this had once been a handsome feature. On the inner (E.) side of the 15ft. abutment (evidently a fire-place breast) a few feet up are remains of two or three courses of red-tile herring-bone pattern (13ft. long) which ornamented the back of the big raised fire-place. The 19ft. wall to the south was almost certainly the South wall of the hall, which was about 50ft. long (N.-S.). The walls which probably ran back E. to the line of the earlier curtain wall were originally about 30ft. long; so that the hall was 50ft. x 30. It probably had four bays: the S. bay with mullioned window, the next containing the fire-place, the third another window, and the N. bay the entrance. The southern (E.-W.) wall was probably a part of the great chamber. The site of the kitchen which was to be expected N. of the hall was not in evidence, and has not since been certainly located, though a square hollow N.W. of the hall, bounded on the W. by the site of a wall 2ft. wide and 24ft. long, was probably occupied by the kitchen. Immediately N. of it were found oyster shells, broken jugs, and burnt stones.

On the W. side are remains of a keep tower rising from about 12-20ft. It is of irregular hexagon shape, with its E. wall 20ft. long (N.-S.); at right angles to this are two short walls running W; the W. front making three short sides with two obtuse angles. To the S. interior side of the tower is attached a square shaft, about 4ft. square, the purpose of which was doubtful, as it seemed too small to have enclosed a staircase. Was it, then, well-shaft or latrine? Almost certainly the latter. At right angles to the tower runs a 26ft. stretch of wall, with a width of 5½ft. at the existing top, but on the moat side it is battered outward. Another stretch then runs S.E. for 24ft., over 14 of which belong to a bold abutment on the moat side, corresponding to a very solid wall abutting

inward. The purpose of this very thick wall is not certain as all the superstructure has disappeared; but it is likely that a small turret stood there, pierced at the bottom for the parapet walk. Another run of wall of about 20ft. then turns S.E. by E. North of the tower there are only a few feet of the wall *in situ*. All the rest of the curtain wall has vanished. What remains of keep and wall shows excellent masonry.

The only other feature in the courtyard was a round depression N.W. of the centre, suggestive of a well. All else the depredators of stone through long ages had dismantled with great thoroughness.

THE MOATS.

The moat defences are still remarkable, consisting of two deep and wide concentric fosses—a rare arrangement. The main entrance was probably by narrow wooden bridges at the south, though no abutments for them have been found. At this point the outer moat is 30ft. across, but its width is not uniform. Going N. you cross an inter-fosse space or glacis of some 60ft. Then comes the inner moat of about 45ft in breadth, but varying in different parts. The outer moat is connected on the N.W. with an upper, and on the S.W. with a lower lake, so that on the W. side the lakes take the place of the outer moat. The upper lake is connected on the E. with a small paved pond which discharges into it; and this in turn with a circular shallow well called the Nun's or St. Mary's (or St. Marn's) well, supposed to have medicinal properties. For the date of construction¹⁴ of the two lakes and the pond and of the enclosing of the Nun's well spring there is no evidence. Mr. A. H. Allcroft is inclined to the opinion that some, if not all of these, are seventeenth century work. In this case they would be a pleasance laid out by Sir J. Caryll or one of his successors, or even by Sir John Bennet. On the other hand, even if the Sauvages found only a swampy sedgy ground there with a stream

¹⁴ Nothing has been found to suggest the use of these lakes as hammer ponds for the iron industry.

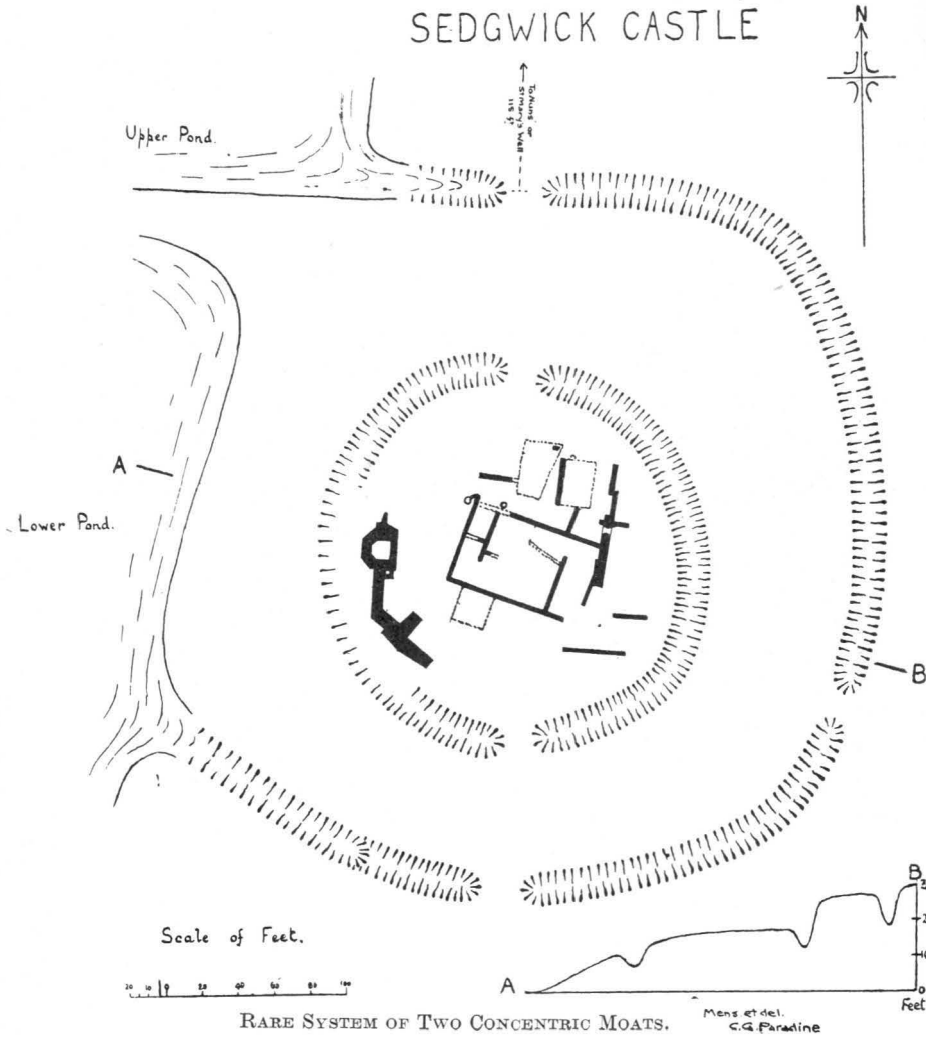
running through it, their Norman *penchant* for fish-stews would probably have suggested the formation of lakes by embanking. However, Maunsell's moat system (perhaps an improvement of an earlier and more rudimentary one), which will now be considered, is not affected by the solution of this problem. It could have drained equally well into stream or lakes.

DRY OR WET MOATS?

Whether these moats were dry or wet is not self-evident, though the existence of the lakes or stream offered facilities for disposing of the water in the moats.

If they were wet, there could have been no difficulty in filling them from the park level on the E. But the slope of the land up from W. to E. (30ft. vertical in 440 horizontal—an angle of nearly 4 degrees) considerably complicates a system of water moats. The upper lake is 6ft. above the lower. The present bottom of the W. inner moat is 7ft. above the water¹⁵ level of the lower lake, and 1ft. above that of the upper lake. The present bottom of the E. inner moat is 12ft. above the lower lake and 6ft. above the upper. The present bottom of the outer moat on the E. side is 18ft. above the lower, and 12ft. above the upper lake. Even were we to assume an originally greater depth of 5ft. to both moats all round (we actually found the bottom at only 4ft. lower on the E. side), it is obvious that the upper lake could not have supplied *without pumping* any part of these moats except a short stretch of the W. inner moat, even if there could be found—and this has not been done—a culvert or conduit connecting upper lake and inner moat. If these moats, then, were wet, the water was supplied from the park level on the E. Water thus supplied could be held up in the outer moat by three barrages such as now exist, one on the N., another at a little S. of E., and a third a little W. of S. Here the water would have stood in two blocks; W. of N. the rest of the outer moat was flooded by the

¹⁵ This level was taken after phenomenal rains, when the pond was at its highest possible.



upper lake, while W. of S. the outer moat was dry till its junction with the lower. These two blocks of water in the outer must have been made to supply the inner moat by culverts through the inter-fosse space; in which case 5ft. of water in the E. inner moat would have given 10ft. on the W. side opposite the keep tower.

If these were wet moats, this seems the best solution. But the three barrages would have been means of crossing the outer moat, and therefore sources of weakness to the defence. If they were dry, there was no need for barrages; and these may be regarded as later additions for convenience of crossing. Both moats sloping down from E. to W. would easily carry



THE INNER FOSSE (NORTH).

off rain water into the lower pond, the outer direct, the inner by a culvert under the glacis opposite the keep tower. Occasional flushing of the moats, generally in Norman times receptacles for sewage, could easily be secured. On the whole I cannot resist the conclusion that the Sedgwick moats were, like the majority of Norman moats, dry; and Mr. A. H. Allcroft concurs in this opinion. A possible exception is the stretch opposite the keep tower.

These moats and walls were not, so far as is known, actually called upon to resist any assailants, but their

meaning is intensified if we picture to ourselves for a moment the methods of medieval assault. At the beginning of an engagement showers of missiles were discharged: arrows from the long bow, stones hurled by hand and by catapult and ballista, and fire torches. Under cover of these an attempt was made to fill up the exterior moat with fascines. If this was successful,



THE NUN'S WELL, OUTSIDE THE MOAT TO THE NORTH.

there followed the deadly work of advancing over the 20 yds. of open glacis under hot fire from the defenders. Movable penthouses and wooden towers took part in this; and then the second moat had to be filled as the first, sufficiently at any rate to allow the foundations of the curtain wall and towers to be undermined with the ram and by sappers working under shelter of the penthouses. Simultaneously scaling ladders were brought to bear. Altogether an attack in force would have tested all the energies of a garrison where there were some 200 yds. of circuit to defend.

Cartwright (*op. cit.*, p. 361) is unfortunate in saying that the moats were "formerly supplied with water from two ponds with which they were connected." Had he given any thought to the matter, he would have found that this was impossible. He is equally unfortunate when he states that the castle was supplied with water from the existing Nun's Well, which is some yards outside the outer moat!

Such were the interesting features I found surviving.

WORK ON THE MOATS.

As a sample the eastern fosses were cleared and stripped for a width of 6ft., in a straight line between inner court and park, back to the original clay in which they were cut, both sides and bottom. About a foot of soil was taken off the sides, and four feet from the bottom. It is obvious that both slopes of both moats were originally faced with stone. The following measurements were taken, beginning at the inner (or court) lip of the inner fosse:—

Inner fosse. Inner slope, 11ft. 6ins.; bottom, 8ft. 6ins. wide; outside slope, 26ft.; depth from court level, 10ft.; depth from lip of inter-fosse space, 18ft.; width at court level, 20ft.

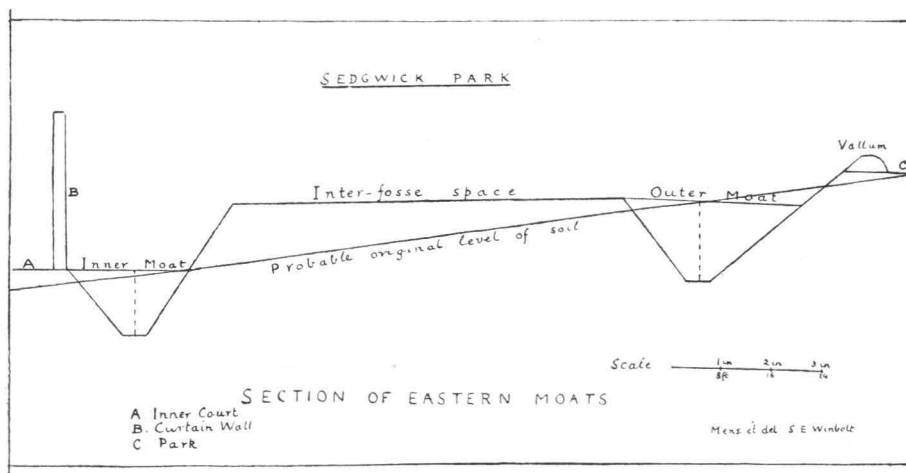
Inter-fosse space. 63 ft., with a rise of 2ft.

Outer fosse. Inner slope, 16ft. 6ins.; bottom, 4ft.; outside slope, 31ft; depth from inter-fosse space level, 11ft. 6ins.; depth from top of outer vallum, 16ft. 6ins; width at inter-fosse space level, 33ft.

The inner moat, of average depth and width, is difficult by reason of the steep eastern bank. Approached from the exterior it looks formidable, with the space from lip to lip horizontally of 26½ft. Allowing for a clean take-off and a clean landing, even with a drop of 8ft., no jumper (not even an O'Connor of Dublin, who in 1901 cleared practically 25ft.) could risk a shot at such a moat, especially when encumbered by accoutrements. This being so, the steepness of the outer slope would have been discouraging, especially

after an advance in the open over 63ft., commanded well enough from a curtain wall even of 25ft., which would rise from 15 to 17ft. above the inter-fosses space. The outer moat is not so deep from the outer lip, but its width would be a strong deterrent.

What became of the soil dug out of the moats? The weak outer vallum would account for a very small percentage of it. I think that it was nearly all used on the inter-fosse space so as to give it the 8ft. above

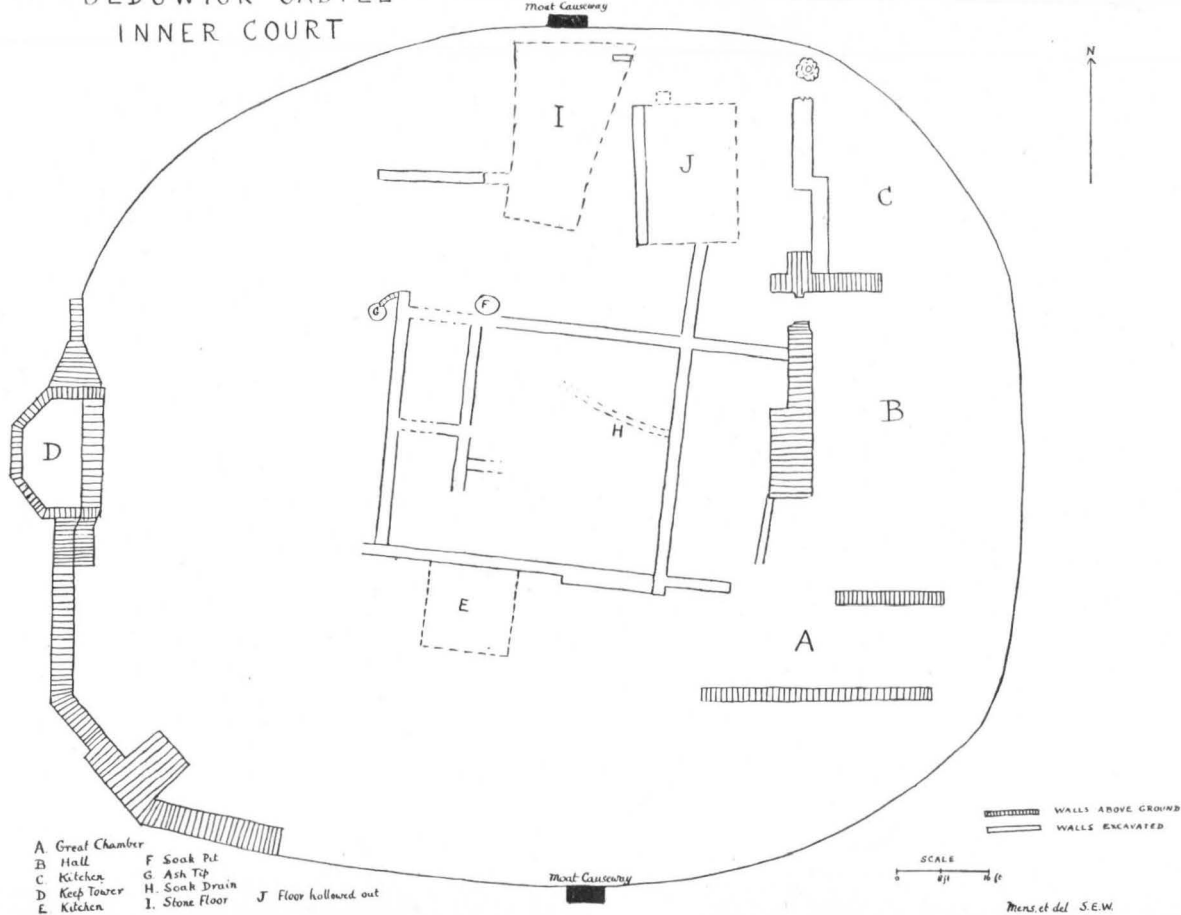


SECTION OF EASTERN MOATS.

the inner court. On the gentle natural incline it was dumped with depth gradually decreasing towards the outer moat, the inner lip of which was probably raised artificially by about 4ft. The soil does not appear to have been employed on the level of the court, the western side of which was rather dug out for the keep buildings than filled in.

WORK ON THE COURT.

The first trenches in the inner court were disappointing. On the E. side we began with the S. wall, and found its foundations set on natural ragstone (locally called "shravey"); but its construction E. or W. could not be found. The very foundation stones had been



PLAN OF BUILDINGS OF INNER COURT, SHOWING THREE BUILDING PERIODS.

taken up. The same had been done with the curtain wall on the E. There were no remains underground of a partition wall E. to W. across the centre of the hall. The whole was proved to have been one big apartment.

After a few vain attempts we came on a solid wall, running N.-S. just below the surface some 10ft. W. of the hall doorway, but not quite parallel to the hall frontage. This anomaly eventually proved to be the first inkling of a system of buildings with a different orientation from that of the hall block. A few feet (4ft. 8ins.) S. of the entrance to the hall was found a wall running westward at an angle of 2 degrees, 52ft. in length, and then apparently interrupted by a soak pit (or sump), of which indication had been given by the circular depression mentioned above. [This was investigated to the bottom at 12ft., water level. There were no signs of lining, and there was not enough rubbish to justify the idea that it had ever served as a tip]. The width of this wall at the point of contact with the hall was 2ft. 10ins, broadening to 3ft. and then 4ft. in the first 17½ft., at which point the 16ft. stretch of wall mentioned above met it at right angles from the N., and after a short break of 10ft. continued S. for another 34ft. At about its centre point it was drained by a soak drain, consisting of stone slabs laid over ballast a foot deep. Running W. and curving round slightly in the direction of the soak pit, it came to an end as a stone-covered drain after 17ft. At the S. end of the 60ft. wall were signs of burning—sandstone burnt red, ballast, and wood ashes along the foundations. At right angles to this south end a wall 68ft. 9ins. long ran E.-W., 4ft. wide for 18ft. at the E. end and 2ft. 1in. for the remainder. From the S. end of the existing W. frontage of the hall, at an angle of 2 degrees and evidently forming part of the system now revealed, was a stretch of 12ft. of N.-S. wall, not quite joining up with the long (68 ft.) wall. W. of the drained wall, and in the southern part of the enclosure under a mass of tumbled stones, had been a floor laid on lin. of cement, which itself rested on 3-5ins. of dark grey soil used for levelling.

Closing the rectangle on the W. was then found a 44ft. stretch of wall, exactly corresponding in length and parallel to that on the E.

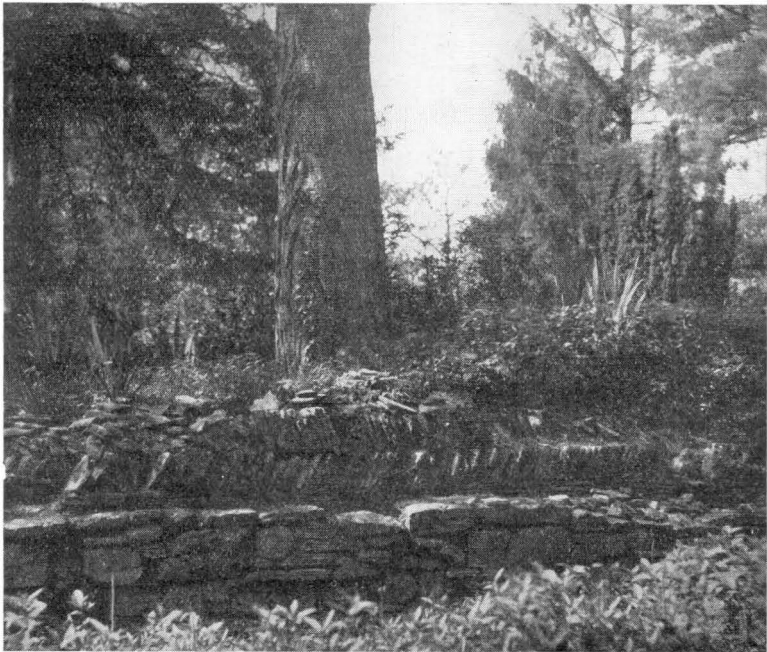
This new orientation raised a problem, and evidently denoted at least two periods of building; but the problem was solved when fragments of the stones lying



THE DOORWAY OF TUDOR HALL AND EXCAVATED WALL OF OLDER SYSTEM.

about hidden on the ivy-covered hall walls, and the walls themselves were examined. In the first place foundations showed the north wall of the hall had been supported at its west end by two strong buttresses, and the south wall of the great chamber had had an angle buttress. Also, the door jambs were deeply moulded and splayed at the bottom. Four moulded stones which had evidently formed a flattish segmental arch over the doorway were found close by, their length over the curve being 6ft., and the chord of the arc 5ft. 8ins. The distance between the uprights is 5ft. The width of

the four stones was 1ft. 5ins. and their thickness $4\frac{3}{4}$ ins. The type of the buttresses, the moulding of the posts, and this flat arch indicate a Tudor building. Even the herringbone tiling, which had been regarded as a Norman feature, proved no obstacle. Through the *Times*, various correspondents, including Mr. Philip Johnston, F.S.A. and Mr. G. Engleheart, F.S.A., put



TUDOR HERRING-BONE FIREBACK OF RED TILES.

me in possession of facts on this point. Though herringbone tiling in ordinary walls died out soon after the middle of the twelfth century, in fire-backs it continued in use down to the seventeenth, being then gradually displaced partly by cast-iron fire-backs, and partly by herringbone brick, when brick ousted stone construction. I need quote only four examples of herringbone-tiled fire-backs to prove the continuity:

Boxgrove (Sussex) Guest House (c. 1200), the *George Inn*, Salisbury (14th cent.), *Ryman's*, Apuldram—a restoration (c. 1400), and Baverstock Manor, Dinton, Salisbury (c. 1450–1500). The last tallies closely enough with the probable date of the Sedgwick hall (c. 1500). The Sedgwick tiles are 13in. \times 7 \times $\frac{5}{8}$. About an inch in from one of the long sides three or four holes were punctured when the clay was damp, not so as to perforate the tile, but pushing the other side out into a knob. This is simply a keying device for taking the mortar and holding the next tile tight. The holed edge was set uppermost in the course. The Roman keying device was a shallow but elaborate pattern pressed on the tile with a wooden block, but the hole method was apparently quite as effective, if not more so. An examination of a few loose tiles showed that the join was so strong that in the process of separation the hole side with its mortar had pulled off much of the level surface of the next tile.

In fact it seems that these tiles were not old roofing material re-used, but made for the special purpose of fire-backs. Of this tiling two courses only are now left, with a length of thirteen feet. They rest on a course of two tiles laid flat on one inch of mortar. The fireplace abutment is raised 1ft. above floor level.

How does this Tudor building, then, fit into the history of the castle? The Howards had possession from 1498 to 1572, i.e., during by far the greatest part of the Tudor period; and it is difficult to avoid the inference that one of the Howards, probably the first who held Sedgwick, erected a hall, great chamber and kitchen in the contemporary style, clearing away the original (Sauvage) Norman buildings from its frontage. The walls were destroyed to a foot below the level and covered in. The space in front of the hall was probably turfed over, and west of this was made a paved courtyard. The hall was built on a space that had been left vacant nearest the E. curtain wall. How much of the curtain wall and keep was then allowed to remain is not known. There was now (in the early years of the 16th

cent.) no need for defences. But it is likely that the keep tower and adjacent parts of the curtain wall were allowed to stand and continued in use: a partial ruin would not have been permitted to stare the new hall in the face.

Some sort of apartment was to the N.W. of the hall. Digging here revealed a trench 24ft. long and 2ft. 1in. wide (the ordinary wall width on this site) out of which all the stone had been taken, the space being then filled in with black top soil. This wall was on a continued parallel with the hall frontage. The corresponding wall was probably to the E., though none of the three other walls could be located. I conjecture a room of 24ft. \times 16-18ft. At this point digging was given up for the winter, and resumed on March 24, 1924, for another fortnight, when more walls came to light. Inside the Sauvage quadrangle wall footings were found, indicating an apartment N.W. bounded by a wall N.-S. of 18ft., and another E.-W. of 13ft.: and a second apartment S.W. of 26ft. 4ins. \times 13ft. South of the 13ft. partition wall by 3ft., another wall ran eastward for a few feet, but not enough was left to show its purposes. South of the S. wall and roughly opposite this new N.-S. wall, a stone-paved floor 15ft. square and 1½ft. down was cleared. Its edges had been broken away and its limiting walls had been taken up, but its original use as a kitchen was quite obvious. On the surface were the usual kitchen remains—mutton, beef, venison and rabbit bones, boars' tusks, mussel and oyster shells, and fragments of jugs, and cooking pots, etc. East of the floor lay an 8 inch thickness of wood ashes (containing bones and pottery), on a level higher than the floor, but 10ins. down from the present surface. But this stone floor had been imposed on a previous one. An earlier kitchen had been burnt down. It had had a clay floor, over which was an inch layer of cement. On top of this the conflagration had deposited 6-8ins. of ashes and burnt debris. Without troubling to clear this away, the builders had laid rubble on top, and then set the stone floor as we found it.

Outside the N.W. corner of the quadrangle we unearthed a short curved wall of 9ft. leading to two stones inclined down to the mouth of a wood-ash pit, with pottery and food remains.

In the extreme north of the site near the causeway over the inner moat, at a depth of 2 ft. we found a solid floor of big stone slabs. The length of it N.-S. was 27ft 6in., and width at N. end 20ft. and in the centre 14ft. In the N.E. corner was a piece of wall 3ft. 8ins. \times 1ft. 8ins. A kind of gully ran down the middle of the length, the big stones being tilted inwards. Suspecting a cavity of some sort underneath, I had the centre of the floor raised and excavated three feet below it down to the natural rock. There was no vault, but the section solved the mystery of the depression. At a depth of 8ins. under the floor was a band, 7ins. in depth, of grey greasy drain soil containing here and there burnt material. This soak drain ran down not towards the moat a few feet to the north, but curved round south towards the sump just outside (N.) of the quadrangle. When the floor was laid (probably in Maunsell's time), this drain was not suspected, and the stone paving gradually subsided in the loose soil beneath. The subsequent covering of the floor (after 1498) by a weight of two feet of heavy soil had completed the process. This floor was almost certainly that of the northern gate-house and guardroom. In a gap between two stones was a big post hole. The axis of the floor being at right angles to the Sauvage square, it was probably a part of Maunsell's scheme of fortification. The Mowbrays demolished the gate and covered up the floor. From the S.W. of this floor and within a few feet of it, but a slightly higher level, a wall led off W. for a distance of 18½ft., oriented according to the Tudor system of buildings. What room it bounded cannot be determined.

The last wall uncovered was a N.-S. one extending N. from the north wall of the hall, for a length of 28ft., with a short double right-angle turn near the centre. This was apparently a part of the Tudor buildings, and

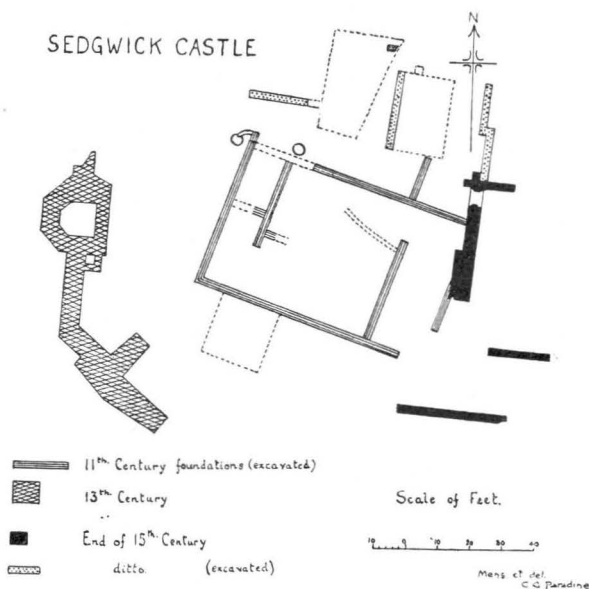
probably the W. wall of the kitchen and offices which I had made several attempts to locate. The east wall could not be found: it may have been the curtain wall.

PROBABLE HISTORY OF THE SITE.

The history of the site may now be reconstructed as follows:—The first stage is one of not improbable conjecture. The name "Sedgwick" denotes, according to the alternative interpretations of "wick," either a village or a homestead by the sedge. The Saxons, if not the Romans¹⁶ before them—and the fact that no Roman remains have yet been found here is not decisive against this possibility—would have chosen this valley bottom with its stream. Their Norman successors built there, first, because a settlement already existed; second, because on a pronounced slope the drainage of the clay soil was comparatively easy; and third, because a N.-S. road or track existed, as to-day, a few yards west of the stream, a track linking up Bramber and the Braose lands of the south with Knepp, Cheesworth and Horsham to the north. (This track is not proven, but highly probable). For defensive purposes there would have been no real advantage in the higher site of the present house, in spite of its splendid view south. The Sauvage founder selected the convenient plateau near the bottom of the slope, and enclosed a rectangular area of roughly 47½ft. × 44ft. A glance at the plan will show clearly what buildings belonged to this system. But interpretation is very difficult. The space inside this quadrangle was probably occupied in part by rudimentary buildings constructed mainly of wood: the floor found in the S.E. corner was for such a building. The western side was partitioned off into two rooms. Outside the south wall towards its western end were kitchens of two dates occupying the same site. As to the meaning of the double wall at the E. end of the south wall I am at a

¹⁶ The iron of St. Leonard's Forest was worked by the Romans. Where did the workers and their foremen live? Probably on the lower slopes to the south where there was water, on sites like that of Sedgwick.

loss. Nor can I assign a use for the long room, approximately 44ft. \times 18ft., outside the quadrangle to the east. The stretch of wall outside to the N.E. is also a mystery. The gate-house floor, with small guard-room to the N.E., apparently belongs to the quadrangle system as an addition. I should be grateful if any reader of this article finds himself able to synthesise these facts more successfully than I can. A single



WALLS OF THREE PERIODS OF BUILDING.

shallow fosse, roughly circular, protected the whole. This served well enough for a hunting box between c. 1066 and 1258. This is the second stage. The third began when Maunsell turned the place into a fortalice, deepening and broadening the existing fosse, and adding an outer one and an exterior vallum. He built a curtain wall, crenellated and turreted it, and added a gate-house and keep with a tower of the newest pattern; but retained the original quadrangle. The fourth stage began when Henry VII. was secure on his throne and nobles no longer made war against King or

neighbour. The Mowbrays erected Tudor buildings soon after 1498, demolishing the gate-house and most of the curtain wall, removing the drawbridges which were replaced by banks across the moats, and taking down the Sauvage quadrangle to the wall footings. The Tudor buildings were a great hall, great chamber, kitchen and other offices. There followed for the owners a chequered time, two of them suffering attainder; towards the end of the sixteenth century the place was neglected, and, a fire giving it the *coup de grace*, Sir J. Caryll set about its demolition, and the park was dispaled.

Such is the probable history of Sedgwick Castle during some seven centuries; and the narrative, such as it is, is due to a compound of a few scattered mentions in documents, the evidence of a few worked stones, and inferences drawn from the results of excavation.

THE "FINDS."

A great quantity of oyster shells was found in many parts of the site, but especially outside (S.) of the Sauvage enclosure. Animal remains were also represented by bones of oxen, sheep, and deer antlers: and the metals by two big rounded lumps of lead, a lead spindle-whorl, a thread of thin copper with eyelets at intervals of about $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (perhaps holes for buckle spikes on a belt) —O—O—O—, and a piece of thin copper plate which had covered the base and sides of a round vessel. Not a single coin was found.

The pottery was various. A brown-black rim of a cooking pot of the twelfth century: many pieces of a loose-textured black ware, with much grit mixed in the clay, and lined with dull red glaze: pieces of green-glazed and reddish-brown-glazed ware, some with bands of creamy ornament, some pitted with lines of small holes arranged *in quincuncem* on a brownish-green glaze surface. Most of the pottery was of a grey clay, green-glazed outside, with slips of various colours inside—light brick red, pinky light buff, creamy white, etc. Two vessels, of light brick red outside, had the

green glaze inside, one being a food vessel, a flattish dish with broad rim doubly grooved on top; the other a very big jar scored with bold triangular lines. Another green-glazed bowl had an ornament of close horizontal lines, not combed. Many fragments of "frilled" base of green-glazed ware, with pink interior, had the familiar oblique finger impressions; these probably belonged to tall slender jugs, like one shown in Devizes Museum, 12½ ins. high and of the fourteenth century.

The Sedgwick shards belong mostly to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, chiefly fourteenth, being mostly portions of single-handled jugs. The coarse red cooking pot with paradoxical convex base is much in evidence. Devizes Museum provides 28 examples of another Sedgwick find—a carpal or wrist bone, brown and polished like a well-coloured meerschaum pipe, cut flat on one side. These were regarded by Thurnam as draughtsmen, and thought to be Saxon. As this was found more than two feet down just above undisturbed clay it *may* date to the Saxon occupation of the site. I found a similar one in the Roman site at Folkestone (Ap. 1924).

I have to thank Mr. A. Hadrian Allcroft and Mr. W. D. Peckham for opinions, and my colleagues, Messrs. C. Blamire Brown and C. G. Paradine, for help in surveying and making plans.

N.B.—The name "Nuthurst Lodge" was in use only between 1797 and 1879. This is a case of an unfortunate tendency lightly to re-name ancient places. Miss Elizabeth Nelthrope, according to her will made in 1797, died possessed of "a mansion house called Sedgwick Park." Her heir, Mr. James Tudor Nelthorpe, for reasons unknown at some subsequent date changed the name to "Nuthurst Lodge," and this obtained till 1879, when Mr. Henderson reverted to the original title. It is certain that with the exception of this parenthesis, the place has always been called Sedgwick Park. This is instanced by the deed leasing to John Bennett, Esq., "the Parke and disparted Parke called Sedgwicke Parke."