

◆ Graffham and Woolavington potters, tile-makers and brickmakers, c. 1590–1740

by Danae Tankard

The medieval and early modern pottery industry of the Graffham area has been discussed in articles published in Sussex Archaeological Collections by Anthony Streeten (1980) and by Fred Aldsworth and Alec Down (1990). These focused primarily on the archaeology of the industry, although Aldsworth also surveyed some of the documentary sources. Brick and tile-making in the Graffham area has received less attention. A more extensive examination of documentary sources, including property deeds, manorial records, wills and probate inventories, provides new information about the potters, brick and tile-makers and enables the archaeological evidence to be placed in a stronger historic context.

INTRODUCTION

The Graffham area has a long history of pottery manufacture. It has been suggested that the large quantity of Romano-British pottery sherds identified in 1972 (SU92961836) might indicate a Romano-British kiln site. An inquisition of 1283 relating to Midhurst mentions a rent of 36s. 8d. called ‘pottersgavel’ and the 1341 *Inquisitiones Nonarum* (Inquisitions of the Ninths) record that the rector of Graffham received 12d. a year ‘from the men who make clay pots’.¹ In contrast, there is little evidence for brick and tile-making in the Graffham area before the late sixteenth century. As Aldsworth and Down pointed out, the Graffham area was well suited to pottery, brick and tile manufacture, because all the natural ingredients required — clay, sand, wood and water — were readily available. Many of the production sites that Aldsworth and Down identified lie on or close to the junction of bands of Gault Clay and Folkestone Sands which is marked at Graffham by an outcrop of Red Ochre.²

Since the publication of Fred Aldsworth and Alec Down’s article in 1990 the pottery, brick and tile-making industries of the Graffham area have received little attention. Moreover, whilst the extant pottery and some of the production sites are well-recorded, only minimal documentary research has been undertaken which means that we still know very little about the organization of the industries and the men who worked in

them. This article attempts to redress the relative neglect of the Graffham industries and to place the archaeology in a stronger historic context. It is based on an extensive examination of three main groups of documentary sources held at the West Sussex Record Office: manorial records, property deeds and wills and probate inventories. The period covered by the article is dictated by the source material. There is little documentary evidence for these industries before 1590 or after 1740 and the bulk of the material is from the seventeenth century. In this article, ‘the Graffham area’ means the manor and parish of Graffham and the adjoining portion of the manor and parish of Woolavington.

A total of 29 potters, brick and tile-makers (13 potters, 16 brick and tile-makers), active between c. 1590 and c. 1740, have been positively identified from the records. A further six men and one woman can tentatively be identified as either potters or brick and tile-makers during the same period. These figures are likely to underestimate significantly the actual number of men and women engaged directly or indirectly in the production of pottery, brick and tile.

THE MANORS OF WOOLAVINGTON AND GRAFFHAM

The manors of Woolavington, Wonworth in Graffham (hereafter referred to as Graffham) and East Dean were in the possession of the Earls of

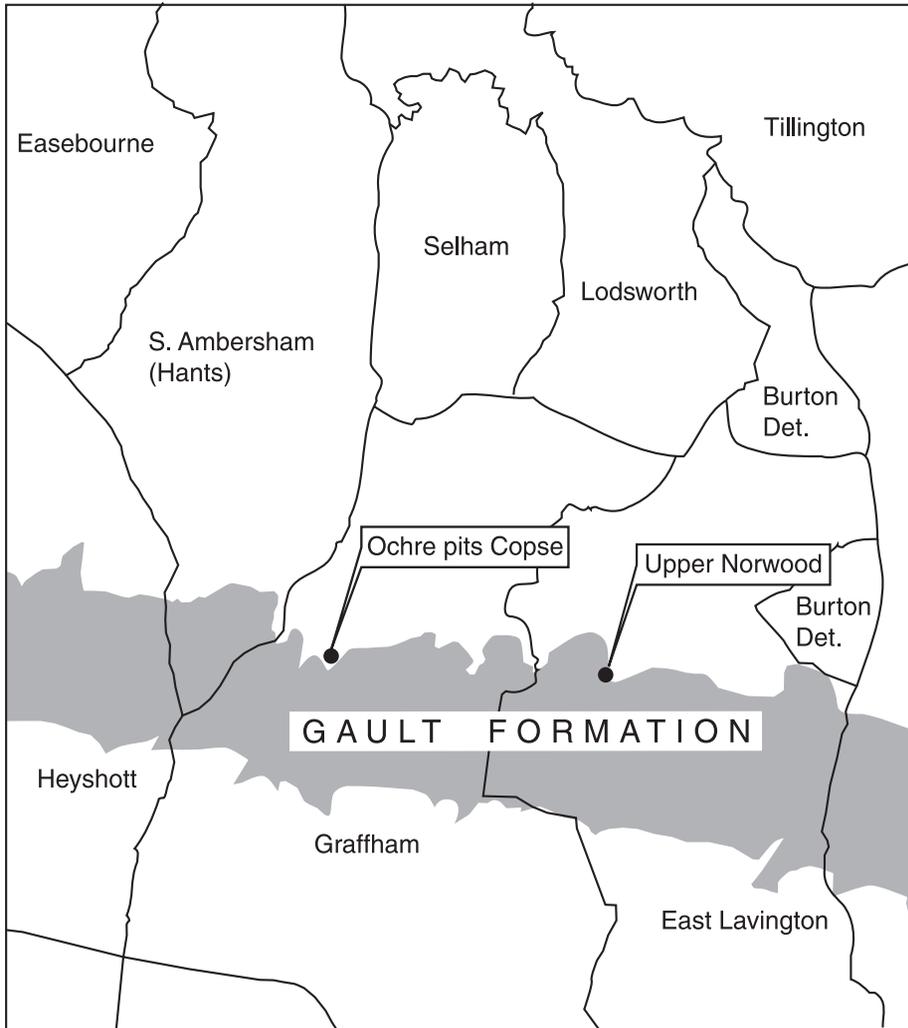


Fig. 1. Map of the Graffham area, showing Gault formation and production sites.

Arundel from the late fourteenth century. In 1574 Henry, Earl of Arundel, John, Lord Lumley and his wife, Jane, converted the majority of copyholds to leaseholds for a period of 10,000 years. In 1578 they sold the manors to Giles and Francis Garton for £4000. Giles Garton, a citizen and ironmonger of London, died in 1592 and the manors descended to his son Peter Garton, who died in 1606, and then successively to his three sons, Sir Thomas Garton (d. 1618), Robert Garton (d. 1633) and Henry Garton (d. 1641). The manors then descended to Henry Garton's son, William (d. 1675), to his nephew, Robert Orme (d. 1711) and to Orme's son,

Garton Orme (d. 1758).³ Court books covering all three manors begin in 1497 and run in an almost unbroken series until 1729. These record land transfers and the regulation of manorial custom.⁴

The manor and parish of Woolavington were split into two parts, with one part lying to the east of Graffham (East Lavington) and the other part lying to the south of Midhurst (West Lavington). There is a map of 1597 showing the manors of East Dean, Graffham and 'Old Lavington' (i.e. East Lavington), which shows areas of common land, manorial demesne and the holdings of manorial tenants.⁵

COMMON LAND

Common land refers to the unenclosed parcels of land within the manor, such as wastes, heaths, highways and verges. It was owned by the lord of the manor but the tenants had rights of pasturage for their animals and rights to some of its natural products. Tenants' use of communal resources was governed by manorial custom and regulated through the manorial courts. Courts further qualified customary entitlements through the issuing of ordinances or by-laws which restricted the use of the commons to certain times of the year, or the amount of material that could be taken at any one time. There were two main areas of common land within Graffham: Graffham Common (sometimes called Graffham Heath or Heath Common) which in 1597 comprised 248 acres of land, and Graffham Marsh, which adjoined the Common to the south. On the manor of Woolavington, Old Lavington Common (now Lavington Common) comprised 257 acres in 1597 and in the detached portion there was another area of common land of about 140 acres.⁶ The lower part of Graffham Common and Graffham Marsh lay on the band of Gault Clay. The upper part of Graffham Common and Old Lavington Common lay above the band of Gault Clay, on the Folkestone Sands. Both manors had additional common land on the Downs, where tenants could graze their sheep. On the manor of Graffham tenants had the right to chalk, turf, heath and all underwoods and bushes, provided they were for their own use. On the manor of Woolavington, tenants had the right to herbage (grazing) on the common heath, turf, bushes and underwoods.⁷ Graffham tenants faced fines for putting their geese on Graffham Marsh, allowing unringed pigs onto the commons or letting their sheep graze on common land at certain times of the year.⁸ In 1605 the tenants and lord of Graffham, by mutual agreement, enclosed 130 acres of waste land, with each person receiving an unspecified amount of land; in 1619 — again by mutual consent — all the remaining common land in Graffham Common and Graffham Marsh was enclosed, the lord and tenants receiving an acreage in proportion to the amount of land they already held.⁹

On the manor of Graffham the right to dig clay was regulated by the manorial court. In 1605 the court stipulated that 'no potter or brickmaker shall dig clay upon the common or highways

unless they do suit at the lord's mill'. The penalty was a 5s. fine.¹⁰ Subsequent presentments in the manorial court show that tenants were allowed to dig clay on the waste, provided they had a licence from the lord, filled the 'clay pits' up again after use and did not dig within 40 feet of the road.¹¹ In areas where clay deposits lay just under the surface potters frequently dug pits in the road because the constant traffic and the weather produced clay of a very good consistency.¹² The presentments recorded in the court book are intermittent, often separated by a number of years, suggesting that in practice the digging of clay was not closely regulated or that enrolment was spasmodic. When they do occur they are sometimes lumped together, with several men being presented at the same time. In 1670 Richard Madgewick, John Burcher, Richard Wisdom senior and junior (all potters) and John Philp (a brick and tile-maker) were all presented and fined for 'great' digging on the lord's waste called 'West Bushes' without the licence of the lord. The court then issued an ordinance that 'if any potter or potters at any time afterwards dig clay on the lord's waste called West Bushes without the lord's licence they will be fined 5s. for a first offence and for every subsequent offence 10s., to be paid within six days of the offence'.¹³ The fact that the common land of Woolavington lay above the band of Gault Clay probably explains the presence of only one presentment for digging clay in the Woolavington court book: in September 1619 Thomas Ossiver was presented for digging clay 'upon the commons of the lord ... without a licence' and was fined 12d.¹⁴

THE MANUFACTURING PROCESS

The probate inventories show quite clearly that the men described either as 'tilemakers' (or occasionally 'tilers') and 'brickmakers' were manufacturing both bricks and tiles. For example, the 1693 probate inventory of Richard Philp senior of Graffham, 'tiler', records that at his death his stock included '600 bricks, a 1000 of tiles', valued at 14s., 'green (i.e. unfired) tile 14000' valued at £1 1s. and 'green brick 2000' valued at 3s.¹⁵ Brick and tile-makers do not seem to have made pots and potters do not seem to have made bricks and tiles. Pottery, brick and tile-making are usually described as seasonal activities, with manufacture taking place in the dryer, warmer, summer months, and clay dug over winter so that it could be weathered by the

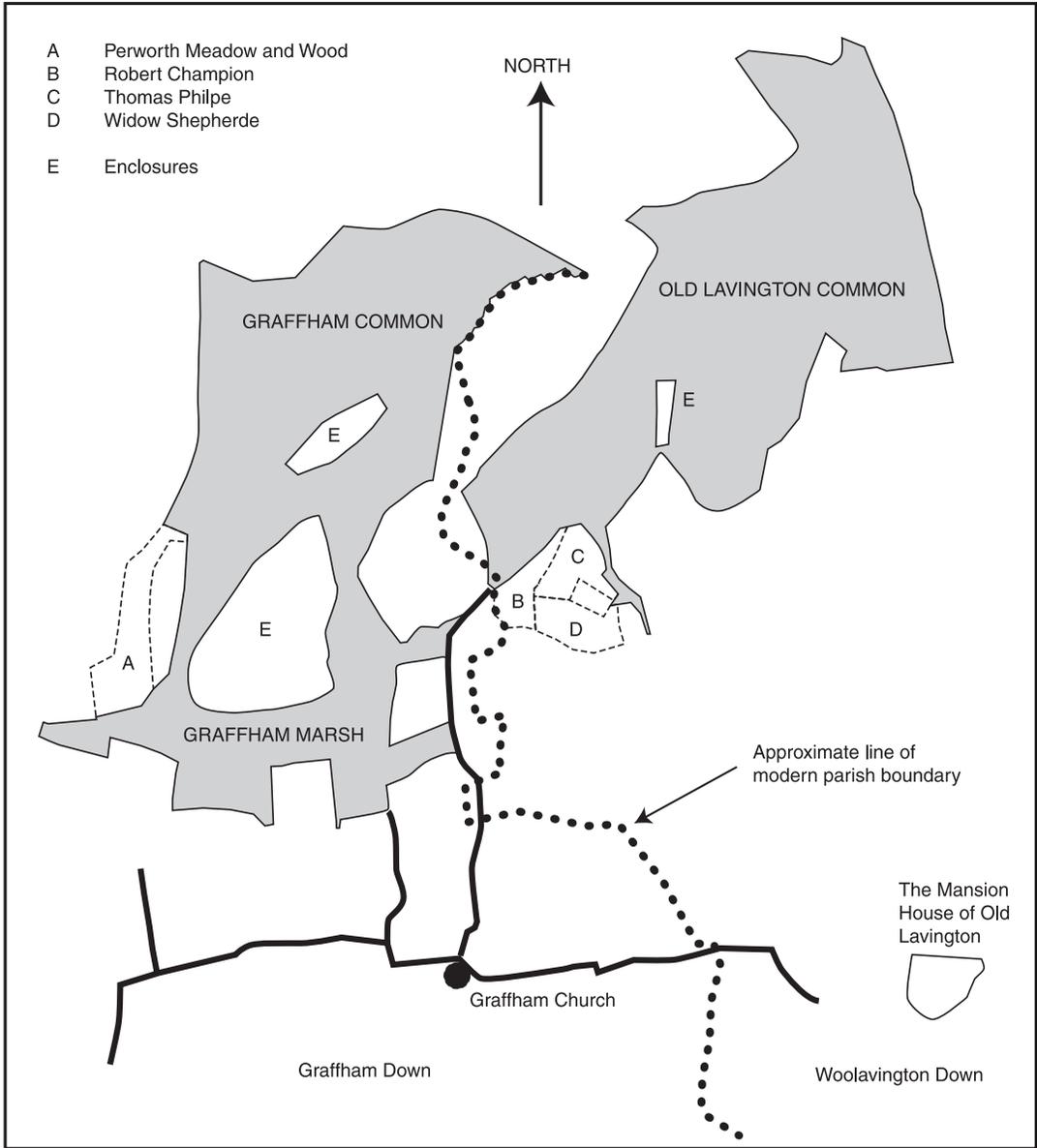


Fig. 2. Map of Graffham area c. 1597 showing areas of common land.

elements, making it easier to handle in the spring. Presentments in the Graffham manorial court suggest that in practice many potters, brick and tile-makers dug clay throughout the year, but there is insufficient evidence to say whether production took place throughout the year too.

After being dug, pot clay was shovelled into pits and soaked down with water before being mixed

and refined to remove stones and other foreign matter. It was then stacked in the potter's yard until required.¹⁶ 'Throwing' vessels on a potter's wheel was the most common method of forming pottery. No potters' wheels have survived from this period, although Randle Holme provides an illustration of a potter working at a wheel in his *Academy of Armoury* published in 1682.¹⁷ The thrown pots were

placed on long ware-boards which were fitted onto racks so that the pots could dry and stiffen slightly before the addition of handles or any applied clay decoration. Platters and shallow dishes and plates were press-moulded — the clay was pushed into a mould to shape it. The advantage of this method was that once the mould had been made, any number of identical pressings could be produced.¹⁸ Most of the Graffham and Woolavington potters' inventories do not record potters' equipment. Three that do are those of John Burcher, dated 1675, Elizabeth Browning, dated 1693 and John Madgewick, dated 1706. Burcher's inventory records 'the whisker and trendle and boards' valued at 15s.; Browning's 'workhouse' included 'boards, whisker, cupboards and ladders' valued at £1 and Madgewick's 'potting house' included 'two whiskers with potting boards and other old lumber' valued at 4s.¹⁹ The meaning of 'whiskers' is unclear: it suggests something used for a whisking or mixing action, but, given the context, is unlikely to have been an item as insignificant as a whisk; it may be describing a sort of pug mill used to mix the clay. Burcher's 'trendle' is almost certainly a potter's wheel.

Once the pots had dried they were sometimes decorated using a contrasting light-coloured slip. White slip was made from watered-down white clay, which could be imported in small quantities. Pots could be dipped into the slip or they could be slip-trailed, where the slip was applied like cake icing.²⁰ This may have been the use intended for the 'white earth' valued at 4s. which the potter, William Munnery, had in his possession at the time of his death in 1669.²¹ A coating of glaze was necessary on items that were to hold water or food and to make them easier to clean. Lead ore, ground into a fine powder, was used for glazing throughout the seventeenth century and was applied to the damp clay surface with the fingers, or combined with the slip and poured or brushed onto the pot.²² A number of the potters' inventories mention lead. When he died in 1645 John Sprinkes owed £3 8s. 'for lead'; Robert Joy, who died in 1662, had 'burned pots and lead' valued at 5s.; William Munnery had 'lead and colouring' valued at £1 10s. and John Madgewick who died in 1706 had 'two pegs of lead' valued at £1.²³ Graffham ware typically has a green or brown glaze when applied directly to the red fabric, or a green or yellow glaze when applied over white fabric.²⁴

A variety of stamps and marks were also used for decorative effect and to identify the work of individual potters. These are discussed in more detail below. The majority of pots were given only one firing, with glazed and unglazed ware being fired together. Pots were 'burnt' to a temperature of around 1100°C. It took about 24 hours to fire the kiln to the right temperature and a further ten hours to cool it down. Controlling the temperature and atmosphere inside the kiln was difficult and the large number of wasters found at kiln sites suggests that there was a considerable loss at each firing.²⁵

A significant amount of pottery found at production sites in the Graffham area has been described as 'white ware', since the fabric is creamy coloured rather than red. Such white ware, when found during excavations in Chichester carried out in the 1970s, had previously been ascribed to kilns in Surrey (Surrey white wares) and to kilns in the Fareham district of Hampshire, which have never been located.²⁶ Graffham white ware must have been made from imported clay, since the local clay fires to a reddish buff. William Munnery's 'white earth' may therefore have been used for the pots themselves, rather than for the slip. The source of the white clay is unknown; possibly the area around Fareham or Rowlands Castle in Hampshire where white clay occurred. For the potters manufacturing white ware their profits must have outweighed the costs and difficulty of importing it. These wares are likely to have represented the 'luxury' end of the local pottery market, a point that will be revisited later on.

The process of tile-making and brickmaking was similar. Bricks and tiles were shaped in a 'form' on a sanded board or table. The 'form' is likely to have been a wooden mould without a top or a bottom. It was moistened and covered with sand to prevent the clay sticking. The form was either placed straight onto a stock table or on a pallet or moulding board which would also be sanded. Clay was then thrown into the 'form' and forced into the corners and then the excess would be cut off with a wire or a knife. The bricks and tiles were then dried in a covered, open-sided shed. Floor and roof tiles were lead glazed, the glaze applied to unfired tiles.²⁷ The inventory of Richard Philp, a tiler who died in 1693, included pallets and boards, a wheelbarrow and prongs (a type of pitchfork for digging the clay), a 'coll rack' (meaning unclear) and moulding

boards.²⁸ Firing of dried tiles or bricks took place in kilns over a period of several days. The kilns would be heated to up to c. 1200°C and cooled down again in order to expel the remaining moisture from the bricks or tiles.²⁹

The normal fuel for both pottery and brick and tile-kiln firing was wood. Some fuel may have been collected by the potter or brick and tile-maker, although given the large quantities required, it is likely that much of the fuel was bought from a supplier.³⁰ Many brick and tile-makers' inventories record significant quantities of wood. Richard Champion's inventory of 1630 included 'wood cut and uncut' valued at £6 10s., as well as 'one hundred and a half of board' valued at 10s.; Roger Philp's inventory of 1686 included '2 cord and a half of wood' valued at 15s. and Richard Philp's inventory of 1693 included '3 cord of wood' valued at 12s.³¹

As well as a kiln, potters, brick and tile-makers required a workshop and a covered area to dry their products after firing and to store fuel. There are few references to these buildings in documentary sources. John Madgewick's inventory records that he had a 'potting house' and in 1717 the property he had held was described as 'a messuage or tenement, a cottage and a garden, a warehouse and pot kiln'.³² Elizabeth Browning had a 'workhouse', where her 'boards, whisker, cupboards and ladders' were kept.³³ The Philps had a workhouse, with a 'brick kiln and tile place', but whether the latter is referring to an open yard or to some kind of covered building is unclear.³⁴ A lease from 1637 relating to a property in Duncton provides the dimensions for a brick and tile drying-shed. When Henry Garton, lord of the manor of Woolavington, leased this property to Richard Loycke he undertook to repair the existing buildings and to build 'a hovel healed (i.e. roofed) with tile of 7 yards in length and 3 yards in breadth for the covering of tile'. That this was to be used for drying brick and tile is confirmed by the wording of the remainder of lease which specified, amongst other things, that after digging clay 'for to make brick and tile' Loycke was to level the ground and to leave it 'in as good mould as now the same is'.³⁵

KILN SITES

The fieldwork carried out by Fred Aldsworth in 1977 identified a number of sites which were or

seemed to be associated with the production of pottery or brick and tile. The most significant of these were the kiln discovered at Upper Norwood (SU93711795) and the collection of pottery wasters found on Lavington Common (SU94661838) and at Ochre Pits Copse (SU92131806). The first two sites are in Woolavington; the third is in Graffham. Much of the white ware referred to above was found in the vicinity of Ochre Pits Copse and Upper Norwood (*see* Fig. 1).³⁶

The kiln that was excavated at Upper Norwood in 1977 was a brick-built, single-flue updraught kiln with a firing chamber of about 1.6 metres long and 1.15 metres wide. The material associated with the kiln included pottery wasters, tiles and glazed bricks, of a seventeenth- and eighteenth-century date, suggesting that the kiln was used for all three manufacturing processes. As Aldsworth pointed out, the 1597 Graffham map shows that land in the vicinity of the kiln was held by Thomas and John Philp and John and Robert Champion, both surnames associated with brick and tile-making ('B' and 'C' on Fig. 2).³⁷ An adjoining piece of land was held by John Baker who is described as a brickmaker in a number of deeds and subsequently by his daughter, Constance Sheppard or Shepherde ('D' on Fig. 2).³⁸ However, it is difficult to match up the map of 1597 with a modern Ordnance Survey map and so it is not possible to say on whose land the kiln actually lay. Brick and tile-makers do not seem to have made pottery and it is more likely that the presence of pottery wasters at the site relate to a subsequent occupation of the land by a potter. The Woolavington potters who can be identified — Christopher Denham, the Joys and John Sprinkes — all held land in the Norwood area and in 1626 Christopher Denham bought the lease of a piece of land in Norwood previously held by John Baker.³⁹

Brick and tile manufacture in the Norwood area probably ceased after c. 1635 when the Champions and the Philps moved their interests to Graffham. It is possible to trace the descent of the brick and tile-kiln operated by the Philp family over a century from 1640 to 1742. In 1640 William Philp, a brickmaker, left his 'tile kill' together with his dwelling house, orchard and one acre of land 'set, lying and being in Graffham', to his youngest son, John Philp.⁴⁰ By 1686 the land and kiln were being held by Roger Philp, described in his inventory as a tiler. He left his nephew, Richard Philp (son of

his dead brother, Richard Philp), 'my house which I now live in lying in Graffham ... with all the buildings and outhouses (excepting one house under the pear tree), together with the orchard, garden and backside ...'.⁴¹ Roger Philp's inventory makes no reference to a tile-kiln, but records that he had a workhouse containing 'a parcel of raw tiles and bricks and the tools there' (£1), and a 'parcel of lease land value £105'.⁴² When Richard Philp senior died in 1693 his inventory included his stock of brick and tile but made no reference to a tile-kiln.⁴³ He was survived by his sons, Nicholas and Richard Philp. The land and kiln evidently descended to his younger son, Richard, because on Richard's death in 1726 his inventory recorded 'two leasehold tenements containing two houses, one barn, two backsides with a brick-kiln and tile place', valued at £75.⁴⁴ The land and kiln then passed to his brother, Nicholas, who died in 1731 and then to Nicholas's son in law, Richard Blackman, a wealthy yeoman.⁴⁵ At the time of Blackman's death in 1742 the land and kiln were being leased to William West, a brickmaker, and John Ayling.⁴⁶ The location of this kiln has not so far been identified.⁴⁷

Ochre Pits Copse adjoins a house called Perrott Wood. On the other side of the road is Perrott Farm. This area can be identified on the 1597 map as 'Perworth Meadow' and 'Perworth Wood' ('A' on Fig. 2).⁴⁸ In 1977 Fred Aldsworth noted a large number of wasters together with charcoal, burnt earth and hard-fired brick spreading for a distance of about 100 metres downstream from Perrott Wood, suggesting that kilns had been located close to the stream.⁴⁹ In 1670 Richard Wisdom senior, a potter, was presented in the manorial court for building a 'pott kill' on the lord's waste without his licence in 'Parret Lane', almost certainly in the vicinity of Perrott Wood and Farm. He was ordered to pull it down or pay a fine of 2s. 6d.⁵⁰ A deed of 1669 describes a property called 'Butbrooke', demised by John Heberden to Richard Heberden, but then in the occupation of Richard Wisdom, senior.⁵¹ Other deeds describing this property show that it was adjacent to 'Perworth Mead' (i.e. Perrott Mead).⁵² As Fred Aldsworth described, Ochre Pits Copse, located at the junction of the bands of Folkestone Sands and Gault Clay, is situated on an outcrop of clay about two or three metres thick, which contains large quantities of red ochre.⁵³ This may have made the Perrott Wood area particularly attractive to potters. Other potters who can

tentatively be linked to this part of Graffham are Richard Wisdom junior, John Burcher, Richard and John Madgewick and Francis Coleman.⁵⁴

How many pot, brick and tile-kilns were operating in Woolavington and Graffham at any one time is unclear. The Philp kiln is relatively easy to trace through a succession of wills and inventories; other kilns are not. Aside from the illegal 'pott kill' referred to above, the only reference to a kiln of any sort in the Woolavington and Graffham court books is from a court held in 1717 when Elizabeth Slade, John Madgewick's daughter, transferred the property she had inherited from him, which included a warehouse and pot-kiln, to her husband Ralph Slade.⁵⁵ Deeds describing the land held by some of the potters, brick and tile-makers of Graffham show that at least some of their land was on enclosed pieces of waste, locating it either on Graffham Common or Graffham Marsh.⁵⁶ It will be recalled that in 1605 and 1619 the lord and tenants had agreed to divide and enclose both these areas of common land between them.

THE POTTERS, BRICK AND TILE-MAKERS

The potters, brick and tile-makers of Woolavington and Graffham have been identified either from occupational descriptions in deeds, wills and probate inventories or from presentments for digging clay in the manorial courts. Table 1 lists all known potters, brick and tile-makers, with the date of the documentary reference or the date of death (d), and the documentary reference. The names of those identified only from presentments are in italics.

It is generally assumed that potters, brick and tile-makers were amongst the poorer craftsmen within their communities who were obliged, owing to the seasonal nature of their work, to supplement their income from small-scale agriculture. However, analysis of probate inventory evidence shows that their social and economic status varied considerably. In some respects, inventories provide only a crude measure of wealth; they represent a snapshot of an individual's 'moveable' wealth at the time of death — household goods, the contents of agricultural and industrial buildings, livestock and crops in the fields; they exclude anything unmoveable and they do not record real estate

Table 1. Potters, brick and tile-makers.

	Name	Occupation	Parish	Approx. date	Reference
1	Robert Phillip	brickmaker	Woolavington	d. 1591	Lav 656
2	John Baker	brickmaker	Woolavington	1598–1603	Lav 280, 282, 707, 709, 710
3	Thomas Baker	brickmaker	Woolavington	1602	Lav 657
4	John Philp	brickmaker	Woolavington	1602	Lav 657
5	Robert Champion	brickmaker	Woolavington	d. 1617	Epl/29/215/003
6	<i>John Champion</i>	<i>brick & tile-maker</i>	<i>Graffham</i>	<i>1618</i>	<i>Lav 2</i>
7	<i>John Joy senior</i>	<i>potter</i>	<i>Graffham</i>	<i>1618</i>	<i>Lav 2</i>
8	Robert Champion	tile-maker	Graffham	1609–1633	Lav 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667
9	Richard Champion	brickmaker	Graffham	d. 1630	Epl/29/93/014 STC 1/18 f.16
10	Joseph Joy	potter	Woolavington	d. 1632	Epl/29/215/011
11	Roger Philp	brickmaker	Graffham	d. 1634	Epl/29/93/019 STC 1/18 f.249
12	Richard Philp	brickmaker	Graffham	d. 1634	Epl/29/93/020 STC 1/18 f.307
13	Henry Ewen	potter	Graffham	d. 1637	Epl/29/93/022
14	William Philp	brickmaker	Graffham	d. 1640	Epl/29/93/025 M Dean 24
15	Christopher Denham	potter	Woolavington	d. 1640	Epl/29/215/028 Lav 714
16	John Sprinkes	potter	Woolavington	d. 1645	Epl/29/215/020
17	<i>John Leere</i>	<i>potter or brick & tile-maker</i>	<i>Graffham</i>	<i>1650</i>	<i>Lav 3</i>
18	<i>John Joy</i>	<i>potter</i>	<i>Woolavington</i>	<i>1657</i>	<i>ESRO QO/EW/3, fo.41r</i>
19	<i>Edward Ward</i>	<i>potter or brick & tile-maker</i>	<i>Graffham</i>	<i>1650</i>	<i>Lav 3</i>
20	John Philp senior	tile-maker	Graffham	1661, 1668	Lav 353, 354, 367, 412
21	Robert Joy	potter	Woolavington	d. 1662	Epl/29/215/025
22	Thomas Ewen	potter	Graffham	1647, d. 1667	Epl/29/93/036 STC 1/23 f.369 Mittford 325, 326, 327, 328
23	John Champion	tiler	Graffham	d. 1667	Epl/29/93/037 STC III/1 f.36
24	William Munnery	potter	Graffham	d. 1669	Epl/29/93/041 STC III/1 f.75
25	Richard Wisdom (senior)	potter	Graffham	d. 1670	Lav 527-30 Epl/29/93/042 STC III/1 f.123
26	Richard Wisdom (junior)	potter	Graffham	1670	Lav 3
27	<i>Richard Madgewick</i>	<i>potter</i>	<i>Graffham</i>	<i>1670</i>	<i>Lav 3</i>
28	Francis Coleman	potter	Graffham	1672, 1677	Lav 527-30
29	John Burcher	potter	Graffham	d. 1675	Epl/29/93/049 STC 1/26 f.24
30	Roger Philp	tiler	Graffham	d. 1686	Epl/29/93/052 STC 1/28 f.34
31	Richard Philp (senior)	tile-maker	Graffham	d.1693	Epl/29/93/057
32	<i>Elizabeth Browning</i>	<i>potter</i>	<i>Graffham</i>	<i>d.1693</i>	<i>Epl/29/93/059</i> <i>Lav 4</i>
33	John Madgewick	potter	Graffham	d. 1706	Epl/29/93/066 STC III/M f.59
34	Richard Wisdom	potter	Graffham	1728	Lav 4
35	William Robinson	brickmaker	Graffham	1728	Lav 4
36	William West	brickmaker	Graffham	1728	Lav 4

Table 2. Wealth assessments from probate inventories.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Name	Date	Par.	Occ.	Total	Debt due to deceased	Debt due by deceased	Agriculture	Craft	Money	Lease
Robert Champion	1617	W	B	£19 16s. 6d.			£9 4s. 8d.			£3
Richard Champion	1630	G	B	£51 17s. 8d.		£14	£3 18s. 8d.	£8	£24	£10
Joseph Joy	1632	W	P	£19 18s. 8d.			£7 13s. 4d.			
Roger Philp	1634	G	B	£75 12s. 8d.			£25 2s. 0d.	?£3	£26	
Richard Philp	1634	G	B	£14 3s. 4d.		£12 0s. 6d.	£5 16s. 8d.			£3
Henry Ewen	1637	G	P	£43 0s. 8d.			£2 16s. 8d.			£30
William Philp	1640	G	B	£27 7s. 2d.	£10 (bond)		£1 9s. 10d.	£8 19s. 10d.		
Christopher Denham	1640	W	P	£95 4s. 4d.	£12 (desperate) £15		£10 13s. 4d.	13s. 4d.		£55
John Sprinkes	1645	W	P	£20 6s. 0d.		£19 6s. 11d.	£12 5s. 0d.			£2
Robert Joy	1662	W	P	£126 18s. 6d.			£70 5s. 6d.	5s. 0d.		
Thomas Ewen	1667	G	P	£99 1s. 0d.	£86 (bond & desperate)			£2		
John Champion	1667	G	T	£26 2s. 6d.	£20 (bond)					
William Munnery	1668	G	P	£55 15s. 6d.	£16 10s. 0d. (bond) £1		£16 19s. 0d.	£3 4s. 0d.		
Richard Wisdom	1670	G	P	£21 10s. 0d.	£5		£2			£10
John Burcher	1675	G	P	£38 19s. 0d.		£33 15s. 0d.	£30 13s. 0d.	15s. 0d.		
Roger Philp	1686	G	T	£187 0s. 10d.	£35 (bond) £1 (dangerous)		£6 12s. 0d.	£2	£19 10s. 0d.	£105
Richard Philp	1693	G	T	£86 16s. 7½d.	£3 17s. 1½d.		£56 13s. 0d.	£2 15s. 0d.		
John Madgewick	1706	G	P	£8 16s. 0d.			+£3 6s. 0d.	£1 4s. 0d.		

(lands and buildings), although they do record the value of leases, which the law regarded as chattels. They generally exclude debts owed by the deceased but include debts owed to the deceased. Goods might be omitted because they were perceived to be valueless, or near valueless, or because they had already been bequeathed in the deceased's will. Used with caution, however, their value outweighs their limitations. The extant inventories for the Graffham and Woolavington potters, brick and tile-makers are analysed below. Rather than merely comparing the total value of the moveable estate, moveable wealth has been broken down to show outstanding debt, the value of agricultural goods (tools, equipment, livestock and crops), the value of industrial goods (tools, equipment, materials, products), cash (excluding amount recorded under 'his wearing apparel and money in his purse') and the value of leasehold property. The remaining value comprises the deceased's household goods.

Many of these men held a mixture of small parcels of land, some leasehold, some copyhold, or occasionally freehold, typically of between one

and five acres, but it is only the value of leasehold property that is included in the inventories. For example, John Sprinkes held one acre of leasehold land called 'The Range' (probably somewhere in the Norwood area), which he had inherited from his father. This was valued at £2 in his inventory. However, he also held four acres of copyhold land in Norwood, which descended to his son, Robert Sprinkes, on his death.⁵⁷ Tenants also leased property to each other outside the manorial court which means that the person named in the court book as 'tenant' was not always the same as the 'occupier'.

Like most rural craft and tradesmen, the majority of the Graffham and Woolavington potters, brick and tile-makers were involved with some form of agricultural activity. For the most part the inventories suggest that this was on a small scale — subsistence rather than market farming — which is consistent with what we know about their landholding from manorial records and property deeds. As a point of comparison, the 1589 'Act against the erecting and maintaining of cottages'

had stipulated that no cottage should be built without four acres of land, evidently representing the minimum amount of land thought necessary to support a family.⁵⁸ A few men were farming on a larger scale. The 1693 probate inventory of Richard Philp, a Graffham tiler, records that at his death he had agricultural goods valued at £56 13s., including '13 acres of oats' (£4 11s.), '4 acres of rye' (18s.), '7 acres of wheat' (£2 16s.), '3 acres of barley' (£1 10s.), '1 acre and a half of horse bean' (6s.) and '5 acres of buckwheat' (15s.) (totalling 32.5 acres). His livestock comprised eleven cows and heifers, six 'horse beast' and four pigs.⁵⁹

The inventories record a considerable amount of debt, mostly owing to the deceased. The person or persons with whom the debt had been contracted is rarely recorded. Debt owed to the deceased is usually added into the total value of the estate; debt owed by the deceased is listed separately at the bottom of the inventory. The 'net' value of the estate would be the figure in column 5 less the figure in column 7. However, merely deducting outstanding debt from the value of the estate would give a misleading impression of the deceased's wealth. As Craig Muldrew has described, in the absence of adequate supplies of currency, a complex culture of credit existed, allowing individuals to lend and to borrow on a secure — and frequently long-term — basis. Wherever possible, reciprocal debts between interested parties were 'reckoned' and cancelled against each other, with only the balance paid in cash. Debts became problematic only if they were 'desperate' — that is, if there was no hope of repayment. In column 6 debt has been disaggregated (where possible) into secure debt (usually described as 'upon bond') or 'desperate' or 'dangerous' debt.⁶⁰ Cash was needed to pay rent, tithes and taxes. Since credit was based on interpersonal trust, cash was also necessary when people travelled to areas where they did not know anyone or at markets where the buyers and sellers did not see each other frequently.⁶¹

The values of industrial goods are remarkably low, typically smaller than the values of agricultural goods. Only three out of the ten potters' inventories record any pots at all. Christopher Denham's inventory listed 'pots and other lumber' (13s. 4d.); Robert Joy's inventory, 'pots and lead' (5s.) and William Munnery's, 'all the earthenware pots' (£1 10s.).⁶² It is hard to draw any firm conclusions for the omission of industrial goods. Failure to record

manufactured products may be because they were perceived to be near-valueless; alternatively, it may suggest that stock turnover was rapid, possibly bought in bulk by a middle man, with little kept in store in the workhouse. Where no industrial goods are recorded it could be because the deceased was an employee and had no kiln or workshop of his own but other explanations are possible: the land on which the workshop was situated was jointly owned; it had been separately disposed of, either in a will or through the manorial court; or the assessors simply failed to record its contents. Overall, however, the probate inventories give little idea of the scale of the industry and few clues to its organization.

Aside from agriculture, there is little evidence of economic diversity. On the whole, potters made pots and brick and tile-makers made brick and tiles. However, there is a bond dated 25 April 1602 in which John Felpe (i.e. Philp) and Thomas Baker, both Woolavington brickmakers, agreed to deliver 'one load of whole broad glass of the best to glass windows withal' to the dwelling house of Thomas Bennett of Arundel, draper, for which he was to pay them £12. Whether they were manufacturing the glass themselves or merely acting as middlemen is unclear.⁶³ The Folkestone Sands would have provided the raw material for glass manufacture — sand — but there is no evidence for glass-making in this area in the medieval or early modern periods.

The Statute of Artificers of 1563 had made it illegal for anyone to practise a craft without having first served an apprenticeship of seven years. In Graffham and Woolavington there is little evidence of formal apprenticeship, however; these were, predominantly, family industries, with the son taking over the business on the father's death. Nevertheless, some formal apprenticeship evidently did take place. In his will of 1633 Roger Philp, a brickmaker, stipulated that his son, Roger, 'shall have the keeping of my apprentice boy during the term'.⁶⁴ The development of poor-law legislation from the late sixteenth century may have increased the amount of formal apprenticeship occurring in rural areas as it empowered parish officers to bind out orphans and pauper children as apprentices, either to a trade or craft or as farm workers.⁶⁵ In 1657 a complaint was heard at the Quarter Sessions sitting in Petworth made by John Joy the younger of Woolavington that Francis Coleman, the son

of William Coleman of Littlehampton, 'being placed an apprentice with the said John Joy by the overseers of the poor of Littlehampton' had been 'enticed away by the said William Coleman out of the said John Joy's service and is still there detained'. He was ordered to return to Joy to serve out the rest of his term, which he evidently did, because, as we have seen, he was working as a potter in the Graffham area in the 1670s.⁶⁶

Something must be said about the only identified female potter, Elizabeth Browning. Her inventory describes her as a widow, but who her husband had been unclear. A Thomas Browning died in 1691, but he was a husbandman and his inventory records that administration was granted to his daughter, Mary Browning.⁶⁷ Elizabeth Browning's inventory, as we have seen, listed a workhouse containing 'boards, whisker, cupboards and ladders' valued at £1. She also had 'mead ware in the house and at market' valued at £2 and 'a pot cupboard' valued at 10s.⁶⁸ In addition to this, she had been presented with Richard Madgewick in the Graffham manorial court on 11 November 1687 for digging clay pits on the common.⁶⁹ These references show that she was actively involved with the manufacture and marketing of pots, even if they do not prove that she was actually making the pots herself.

POTTERS' STAMPS AND MARKS

Potters used a variety of stamps and marks both for decorative effect and to identify their work. Some of those found on Graffham ware were illustrated by Aldsworth and Down, who tentatively linked 'M', 'W' and 'FC' to Graffham potters.

The research undertaken for this article has revealed that the majority of Woolavington and Graffham potters, like the brick and tile-makers, were illiterate and 'signed' their names with a variety of symbols, which might bear no relation to their initials. For example, Richard Wisdom senior, whom Aldsworth and Down suggested might be the potter responsible for the 'W' stamps in fact signed his name with a circle with a dot in the centre of it, although he may have used a different mark on his pottery. It is significant that pottery bearing this mark was found in the vicinity of Perrotts Wood, where we now know that Richard Wisdom had a kiln. Other contenders for 'W' or 'M' marks on pottery found in the Perrotts Wood

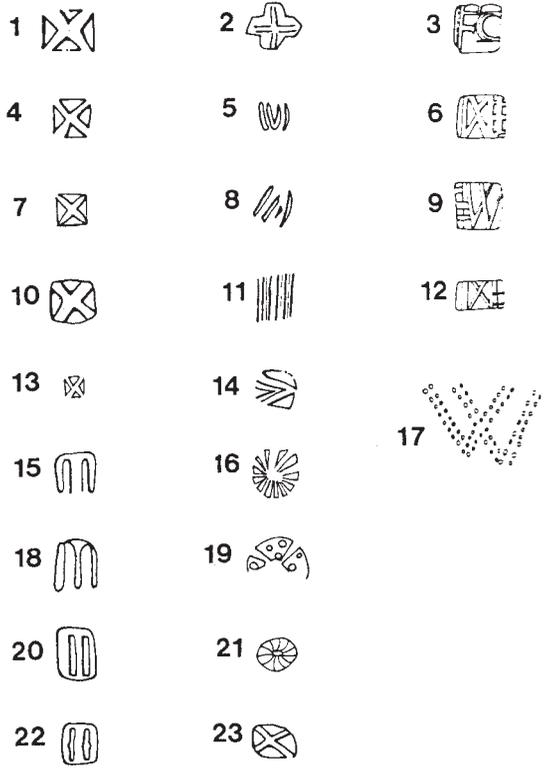


Fig. 3. Potters' marks illustrated by Aldsworth and Down 1990.

area are Richard or John Madgewick, or William Munnery; however, no signature or mark for any of these men has so far been discovered. It is reasonable to assume that Munnery was literate since his inventory included a 'house bible' and two small books, valued at 5s.⁷⁰ The 'FC' that Aldsworth and Down were unable to identify may have been Francis Coleman, who, as we have seen, was working as a potter in Graffham in the 1670s. It is not clear from the 1990 article where the pottery bearing this stamp was found.

PRODUCTS AND THEIR MARKETS

Pottery is the most common of the medieval and early modern artefacts to feature in the archaeological record and its analysis can provide detailed information about the type of ware that was produced and its distribution. In contrast, documentary references to the pottery itself, as opposed to the men who produced it, are

limited. Probate inventories, which have been used extensively to analyse early modern material culture, seldom make specific reference to pottery because its value was usually too low for it to be worth the appraisers' while to record. It is probable that many inventories silently record pottery, however, either concealed within a group of objects or as utilitarian domestic utensils, particularly those associated with dairying. Out of 131 inventories surviving for the parishes of Woolavington and Graffham only seven (two from Woolavington, five from Graffham) specifically mention 'earthenware'. These references are discussed in more detail below.

In their 1990 article Aldsworth and Down classified and illustrated the pottery found in the Graffham area by type and function.⁷¹ A detailed account of the domestic uses of early modern pottery is beyond the scope of this article. But in short, and borrowing the classifications used by Darron Dean, the pottery can be divided into four groups according to its primary use:

- (i) preparation and storage (e.g. pans, chafing-dishes, pipkins, skillets, storage jars);
- (ii) serving and drinking vessels (e.g. drinking jugs, cups and mugs, costrels);
- (iii) food consumption (e.g. dishes, bowls, porringers);
- (iv) hygiene and lighting (candlesticks, chamber pots)⁷².

Dean has shown that during the seventeenth century pottery was ubiquitous at every social level and formed an increasingly important part of domestic material culture. Like other household objects, pottery could be both utilitarian and a means of social display.⁷³ Changes in the way that food was cooked and eaten meant that over the course of the seventeenth century the number of pieces of tableware increased, with some items declining in numbers (such as platters and porringers) and other (for example, plates), increasing.⁷⁴

Streeten's fabric analysis of Graffham-type pottery showed that during the late medieval period it had a relatively wide distribution, as far east as Bramber and as far west as Winchester. He suggested that the Graffham industry took over the markets previously served by the medieval kilns at Binstead and Chichester and by c. 1500 was supplying a new range of wares to a large part of western Sussex and the Hampshire border.⁷⁵ However, its main markets

are likely to have been more local: the Graffham area itself, Midhurst, Chichester and Petworth. Potters could sell from their door direct to consumers or to middlemen, or they could take their wares to market. It will be recalled that Elizabeth Browning's 1693 inventory recorded 'mead ware in the house and at market' valued at £2.⁷⁶

It is notable that where pottery is recorded in the Graffham and Woolavington inventories it is usually described as 'white'. At her death in 1648 Alice Boylson had '3 white earthen dishes'; the 1720 inventory of Richard Philp included 'white earthenware'; in the same year Ann Munfield's inventory listed 'some white earth plates' and Henry Ewen's 1726 inventory described 'some white earth wear'.⁷⁷ These references suggest that white ware represented the more expensive end of the pottery market which would explain why Graffham potters were willing to go to the trouble of importing white clay.

Inevitably, given the difficulties of transporting large quantities of brick and tile, the market for these products is likely to have been more restricted. It is probably no coincidence that the documentary evidence for brick and tile-making begins in the late sixteenth century. Over the course of the sixteenth century the demand for brick and tile increased as traditional open hearths were replaced by brick-built chimney stacks and brick and tile began to replace wattle and daub and thatch as building materials. Floor and hearth-tiles were also more widely used. The 1640 inventory of William Philp recorded the sum of 25s. for 'bricks and tiles which Henry Garton esq. had', 30s. for '2000 of tiles which John Hardham had' and 7s. 6d. for 'tiles to amend Selham church'. Henry Garton was lord of the manors of Woolavington, Graffham and East Dean. John Hardham was a wealthy yeoman from Tillington, six miles north of Graffham, who held property in a number of parishes including Rogate, Kirdford and Lodsworth.⁷⁸ The parish of Selham is immediately north of Graffham. Philp's is the only inventory to record such specific information about his customers and no written agreements relating to the supply of Graffham brick and tile have been discovered.

CONCLUSION

The period covered by this article has been dictated largely by the source material. There is

ample evidence for the pottery, brick and tile-making industries until c. 1740; thereafter there is very little. The court books end in 1729. Probate inventories become less common after c. 1720 and for Graffham end altogether in 1752, although there is one late Woolavington inventory from 1772. At present it is unclear whether the lack of evidence for the period after 1742 is a consequence of the limitations of the documentary sources or a sign of industries in decline.

Brick and tile-making, as we have seen, was dominated by the Philp family and it is probable that by the middle of the seventeenth century there was the only permanent brick and tile-kiln operating in the Graffham area. However, they appear to have abandoned their involvement with brick and tile-making by the end of the seventeenth century. When Richard Philp senior died in 1693 his brick and tile-kiln was taken over by his sons, Richard and Nicholas. Both of these men are described in their inventories as husbandmen and neither records any stock of brick or tile so it is possible that they were leasing the kiln to someone else. As we have seen, Richard Blackman inherited the kiln after Nicholas' death and at the time of his own death in 1742 it was being leased to William West and John Ayling. The history of the kiln after this date is unclear. No brick and tile works are recorded on the Graffham Tithe Map of 1841 although by 1880 when the first edition OS map was produced there were brick and tile works, with a kiln and clay mill, where the Graffham village recreation ground now lies (SU 93151765).⁷⁹ This is

unlikely to have been the site of the Philp kiln.

Whilst the evidence is too sparse to draw any definite conclusions, it is possible that by the eighteenth century Graffham potters making traditional wares from local clay were finding it difficult to compete in an increasingly sophisticated pottery market, with large production-centres such as those in north Devon and Staffordshire capable of responding rapidly to changing consumer demand, and national, rather than local, distribution networks operated by specialist pottery dealers. New tastes in tableware, most notably for blue and white china, would have made traditional pottery with its dull glazes seem both utilitarian and old-fashioned.⁸⁰ The production of white ware in the Graffham area may have been an attempt to retain an existing market, or to develop a new one. As Fred Aldsworth has described, pottery continued to be manufactured in the Graffham area in the nineteenth century. The Woolavington Tithe Map of 1838 describes a plot of land now known as 'The Potteries' (SU 94091874) as 'pottery, buildings and yard', which was owned and occupied by John Ewen, who may have been a descendant of the seventeenth-century Graffham Ewens, and the Todman family were also manufacturing pottery in the vicinity of 'The Potteries'.⁸¹

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NOTES

- ¹ F. G. Aldsworth & A. Down, 'The production of late and post-medieval pottery in the Graffham area of West Sussex', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter SAC) **128** (1990), 117, 123; L. F. Salzman (ed.), *Victoria History of the County of Sussex*, (hereafter *VCH*) vol. **4** (London, 1953), 58.
- ² Aldsworth & Down, 'Pottery in the Graffham area', 117, BGS 1:50,000 series, sheets 317/332.
- ³ Salzman (ed.), *VCH Sussex*, vol. **4**, 59; E. E. Barker, 'Some Woolavington and Wonworth leases', SAC **94** (1956), 43–69.
- ⁴ West Sussex Record Office (hereafter WSRO) Lavington Ms., 1 (court book, 1489–1597), Lavington Ms., 2 (court book, 1597–1620), Lavington Ms., 3 (court book, 1642–1687), Lavington Ms., 4 (court book, 1687–1729).
- ⁵ WSRO Add Ms., 2546.
- ⁶ WSRO Add Ms., 2546; Cowdray Ms., 1689.
- ⁷ WSRO Lavington Ms., 4 (unpaginated: but *see* courts held for Woolavington on 23 September 1723 and 2 May 1728 and for Graffham on 24 September 1723 and 3 May 1728).
- ⁸ WSRO Lavington Ms., 2, fos 47r., 53v., 78v.
- ⁹ WSRO Lavington Ms., 2, fo. 47v., 102v.
- ¹⁰ WSRO Lavington Ms., 2, fo. 47r.
- ¹¹ WSRO Lavington Ms., 2, fo. 93v.; Lavington Ms., 3 (unpaginated: *see* courts held on 14 September 1642, 3 November 1650, 25 April 1670 and 5 June 1672); Lavington Ms., 4 (unpaginated: *see* courts held on 11 November 1687, 19 March 1693, 15 September 1701 and 3 May 1728).
- ¹² P. Brears, *The English Country Pottery: its History and Techniques* (Newton Abbot, 1971), 84.

- ¹³ Lavington Ms., 3 (unpaginated: 25 April 1670).
- ¹⁴ Lavington Ms., 2, fo. 99r.
- ¹⁵ WSRO Epl/29/93/057.
- ¹⁶ J. Mainwaring Baines, *Sussex Pottery* (Brighton, 1980), 28; D. Dean, *The Design, Production and Consumption of English Lead-glazed Earthenware in the Seventeenth Century*, unpublished PhD thesis (Royal College of Art, 1997), 14.
- ¹⁷ Dean, 'Design, production and consumption', 19.
- ¹⁸ Brears, *The English Country Pottery*, 109–10.
- ¹⁹ WSRO Epl/29/93/049; Epl/29/93/059; Epl/29/93/066.
- ²⁰ Brears, *The English Country Pottery*, 116.
- ²¹ WSRO Epl/29/93/041.
- ²² Dean, 'Design, production and consumption', 16; Mainwaring Baines, *Sussex Pottery*, 33.
- ²³ WSRO Epl/29/215/020; Epl/29/215/025; Epl/29/93/041; Epl/29/93/066.
- ²⁴ A. D. F. Streeten, 'Potters, kilns and markets in medieval Sussex: a preliminary study', *SAC* **118** (1980), 110.
- ²⁵ Mainwaring Baines, *Sussex Pottery*, 35; Dean, 'Design, production and consumption', 29.
- ²⁶ Aldsworth & Down, 'Pottery in the Graffham area', 124.
- ²⁷ Drury, 'Brick and tile in medieval England', 136; J. Chery, 'Pottery and tile' in J. Blair & N. Ramsey (eds), *English Medieval Industries* (London, 1991), 190–91.
- ²⁸ WSRO Epl/29/93/057.
- ²⁹ Drury, 'Brick and tile', 138.
- ³⁰ Dean, 'Design, production and consumption', 17–18.
- ³¹ WSRO Epl/29/93/014; Epl/29/93/052; Epl/29/93/057.
- ³² WSRO Epl/29/93/066; Lavington Ms., 4 (unpaginated: 25 July 1717).
- ³³ WSRO Epl/29/93/059.
- ³⁴ See below, pp. 180–81.
- ³⁵ WSRO Lavington Ms., 248. The lease also specified that Loycke was to supply Garton with brick and tile 'at 11s the 1000' for the 'reparation and building of the premises' and to buy from Garton annually '20 cord of wood at 8s the cord'.
- ³⁶ Aldsworth & Down, 'Pottery in the Graffham area', 117–24.
- ³⁷ Aldsworth & Down, 'Pottery in the Graffham area', 117–22.
- ³⁸ WSRO Lavington Mss., 279, 282, 707, 709, 710.
- ³⁹ WSRO Lavington Ms., 714.
- ⁴⁰ WSRO M Dean 24. Philp's inventory lists 'pears and apples upon the trees' valued at 3s. 4d (WSRO Epl/29/93/025).
- ⁴¹ WSRO STC I/28, f.34.
- ⁴² WSRO Epl/29/93/052.
- ⁴³ WSRO Epl/29/93/057.
- ⁴⁴ WSRO Epl/29/93/074.
- ⁴⁵ WSRO Epl/29/93/078.
- ⁴⁶ WSRO Epl/29/93/080. West was presented with William Robinson, both described as brickmakers, and Richard Wisdom, a potter, in the Graffham manorial court on 3 May 1728 for digging clay on the lord's common (Lavington Ms., 4).
- ⁴⁷ Blackman's inventory describes 'one leasehold messuage, one barn, one gateroom, one brick-kiln and one garden and orchard with the appurtenances known by the name of Poes also situated, lying and being in the parish of Graffham' but no other references to land known by this, or a similar, name have been identified. Some of Blackman's land was in the Perrott Wood area and it is possible the kiln was located somewhere around here.
- ⁴⁸ WSRO Add. Ms., 2546.
- ⁴⁹ Aldsworth & Down, 'Pottery in the Graffham area', 122–3.
- ⁵⁰ WSRO Lavington Ms., 3.
- ⁵¹ WSRO Lavington Ms., 540.
- ⁵² WSRO Lavington Ms., 560.
- ⁵³ Aldsworth & Down, 'Pottery in the Graffham area', 122.
- ⁵⁴ No specific locations for the land held by any of these men have so far been identified. Francis Coleman held a house and garden from 1672 to 1677 previously held by Richard Wisdom junior (Lavington Mss., 527–30). In 1675 he was appointed guardian to John Burcher's under-age son (Lavington Ms., 3). The suggestion that the Madgewicks held land around Perrotts Wood is based solely on the fact that Richard Madgewick was presented with the Wisdoms and John Burcher for digging clay on 'West Bush' in 1670 (see above).
- ⁵⁵ WSRO Lavington Ms., 4 (unpaginated: 25 July 1717).
- ⁵⁶ See for example Mitford Mss., 325, 326 relating to one acre of land held by Thomas Ewen, potter, formerly part of the 'waste and heathland' of Graffham (1647).
- ⁵⁷ WSRO Lavington Ms., 3 (unpaginated: courts held 15 September 1642, 16 August 1675).
- ⁵⁸ *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. **4** (London, 1819).
- ⁵⁹ WSRO Epl/29/93/057.
- ⁶⁰ WSRO Epl/29/215/017.
- ⁶¹ C. Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1998).
- ⁶² WSRO Epl/29/215/017; Epl/29/215/011; Epl/29/93/041.
- ⁶³ WSRO Ms., Lavington 657.
- ⁶⁴ WSRO STC I/18, fo. 249.
- ⁶⁵ P. Slack, *The English Poor Law, 1531–1782*, 10–11, 31–2, 52–4.
- ⁶⁶ ESRO QO/EW/3, fo. 41r (available on microfilm at WSRO).
- ⁶⁷ WSRO Epl/29/93/055.
- ⁶⁸ WSRO Epl/29/93/059. The meaning of 'mead' ware is unclear.
- ⁶⁹ WSRO Lavington Ms., 4 (unpaginated).
- ⁷⁰ WSRO Epl/29/93/041.
- ⁷¹ Aldsworth & Down, 'Pottery of the Graffham area', 124–39.
- ⁷² Dean, 'Design, production and consumption', 89.
- ⁷³ Dean, 'Design, production and consumption', 173–4; 261.
- ⁷⁴ M. Overton, J. Whittle, D. Dean & A. Hann, *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600–1750* (Abingdon, 2004), 105–8.
- ⁷⁵ Streeten, 'Potteries, kilns and markets', 110.
- ⁷⁶ See above, p. 185.
- ⁷⁷ WSRO Epl/29/215/024; Epl/29/93/069; Epl/29/93/070; Epl/29/93/073.
- ⁷⁸ WSRO Add. Mss., 31339–31340; SAS-K/837; SAS-B/301, 468; Mitford Mss., 230–252.
- ⁷⁹ WSRO TD/W62.
- ⁸⁰ Overton, Whittle *et al.*, *Production and Consumption*, 102–3; L. Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour & Material Culture in Britain 1660–1760* (London, 1996), 157–9.
- ⁸¹ WSRO TD/W151; Aldsworth & Down, 'Pottery of the Graffham area', 123–4.