

# Excavations at Stanmer: new insights into the development of the manorial holding and country house

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*During the summer of 2011, Archaeology South-East (UCL Institute of Archaeology) carried out a complex phase of excavation at Stanmer House, Stanmer, East Sussex. The fieldwork, commissioned by ABIR architects, took place in advance of construction of a new rear wing to the building. This occupied the footprint of the earlier northern wing of Stanmer House which had been demolished in the 1960s. The excavations revealed archaeological evidence largely supporting the known historical development of the building. Remains included an Elizabethan or Jacobean manor house, a country residence built in the reign of Queen Anne and details of the Palladian rebuild designed and overseen by the architect Nicholas Dubois.*

## INTRODUCTION

Whether it is discussion of the earliest charters relating to the settlement, the history of the house and development of the park or the improvement of the wider manorial holding, Stanmer has, over the years, occupied many pages of the *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (Barker 1947; Farrant 1979; Warne 1989; Berry 2005). These works have successfully charted the chronological development of this country seat but, until now, the wealth of historical inquiry has not been reflected in the comparative archaeological evidence. The excavation of the fabric of the house and the former service wing allows a tangible link to the builders, workers and everyday activities that would have been vital to the creation and maintenance of a home of this size (Figs 1 and 2).

### FROM SOUTH SAXON ESTATE TO MEDIEVAL MANOR

The settlement of Stanmer, meaning ‘stony pool’ (Mawer and Stenton 1930, 312), developed as part of a large estate formed of parcels of land granted by *Ealdwulf*, last king of the South Saxons, to his thegn *Hunlaf* sometime between AD 760 and 771 (The Electronic Sawyer, S 50). Evidence of its early inhabitants has been revealed during excavations at Rocky Clump where a small, early–mid Saxon cemetery has been located in close proximity to the parish boundary (Gilkes 1997).

As well as Stanmer itself, this estate also incorporated extensive Wealden holdings in the areas of Lindfield and Wivelsfield (Haselgrove

1978, 214; Rushton 1999, 137–9). By the time of the Domesday Survey (AD 1086) Stanmer had been subsumed by St. Michael’s, South Malling, and the large estate had fragmented into parishes (ASE 2001).

Local tradition records the presence of a Saxon monastery within Stanmer, perhaps located beneath the present house. No firm evidence exists for this and it may stem from a misreading of the Saxon charter issued by *Ealdwulf* to *Hunlaf*:

Therefore I, *Ealdwulf*, king, (have been) asked by my thegn *Hunlaf* to be so good as to grant him a little land for the building of a monastery [sic.]; and in answer to his pleas I freely and eternally give and grant him...the same land which he indicated. And this land is dispersed. There are 16 hides in...Stanmer, Lindfield, and Burleigh...I, *Aldwulf*[sic.], king, have signed...this grant for the building of a monastery and the increase of those there serving God and St. Michael.’ (The Electronic Sawyer, S 50; Barker 1947, 85–90)

The charter seems to refer to Stanmer as one of three plots of land given to support the building of a *monasterium*. Given the later tenurial history of the estate, and the reference in the charter to St. Michael, the most likely location of this monastery was South Malling, near Lewes. Stanmer may merely have contributed funds towards the monastery’s upkeep (ASE 2001).

Confusingly, the Latin term *monasterium* can be translated as both monastery and minster and Rushton has interpreted the charter differently to

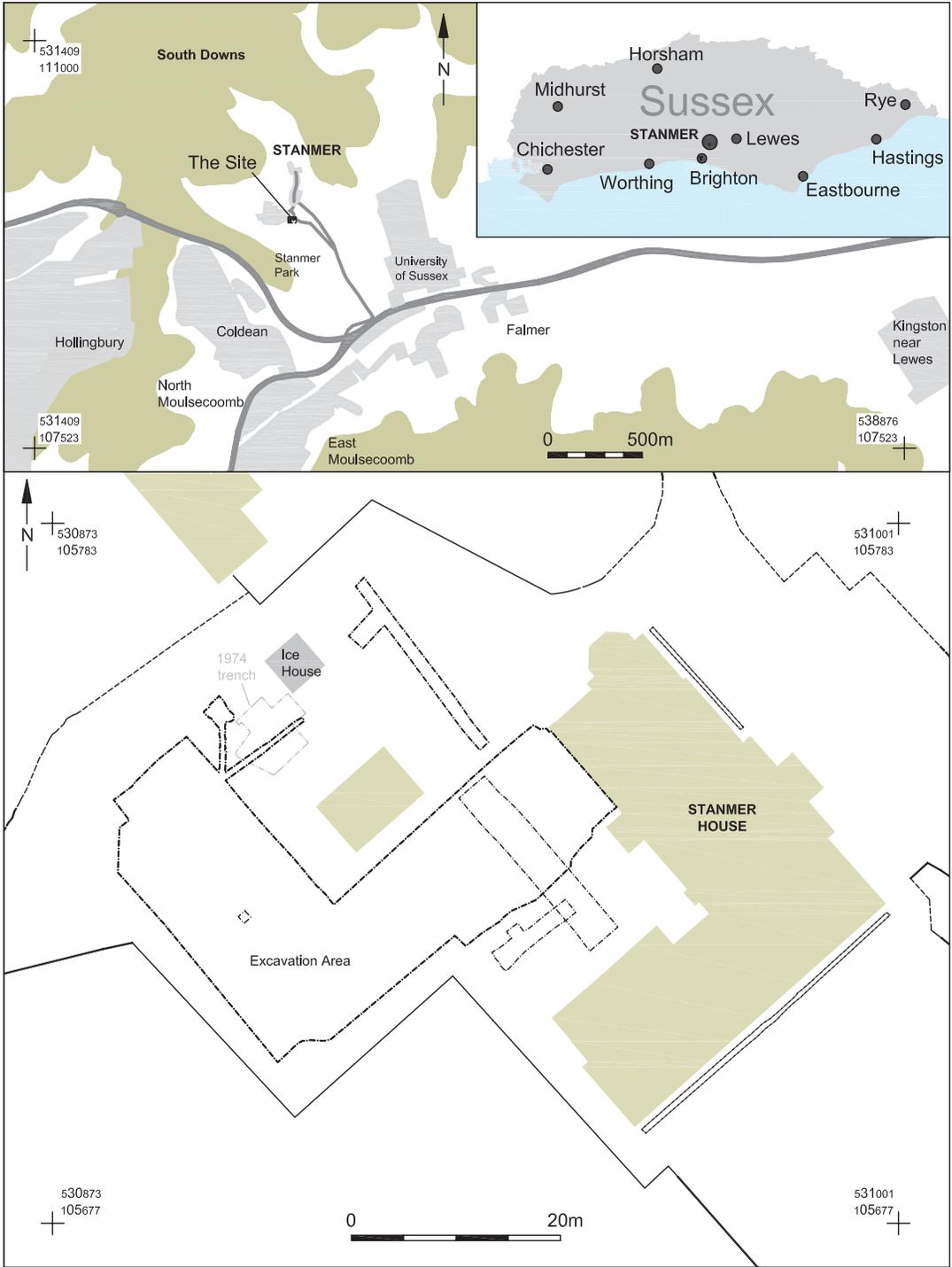


Fig. 1. Site location.



Fig. 2. Photograph of Stanmer House before 1914 showing part of the service wing prior to its demolition. Courtesy of Pat and Sue Berry.

infer the creation of the latter at Stanmer (Rushton 1999, 137). Although minsters were superficially similar to monastic sites, in that they supported a religious community, they tended to be much smaller in size and were not recognisably 'monastic' in the general sense (Hase 1994). The exact nature of the mid-late Saxon settlement is therefore unclear. A more likely interpretation may be that Stanmer largely encompassed an ecclesiastical livestock concern which utilised the downland pastoral resource as well as a reliable water supply, indicated by the 'mere' place-name (Margetts forthcoming).

Though the presence of an Anglo-Saxon church has not been confirmed, a medieval example is known to have existed from its first recording in 1232 (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 492). This occupied the site of the present church, which was rebuilt in 1838 (Salzman 1940, 239; Berry 2011, 210).

The main focus of the medieval settlement lay to the north, in the area west of the village street. The location is still visible as a series of low earthworks, comprising house platforms, and the indentation of an east-west road (Warne 1989, 189). The location of the medieval manor house remains unknown. It could have been situated on the same site as the later post-medieval building; however, the only evidence of medieval activity revealed by the excavations comprised two abraded body sherds found beneath mid-16th century deposits.

From the later medieval period until the 17th century the exploitation of the manorial holding revolved around three great open fields, West Laine, Middle Laine and Chisseldene Laine, as well as extensive ox pastures and sheep down (Warne 1989, 192, 204). These were lands accessible to, and managed by, the village, which in 1608 comprised about 27 dwellings occupied by both freeholders and copyholders (TNA SC12/31/25; Warne 1989, 192). The villagers' lands lay to the north of the settlement, whereas the manor house and demesne lands (freehold land belonging to the owner of the manor), amounting to approximately 400 acres, lay to the south (Warne 1989, 192).

#### **PERIOD 1: A LATE ELIZABETHAN OR JACOBEAN HOUSE**

Medieval Stanmer remained under the ownership of the canons of South Malling until the Dissolution of the Monasteries. It was surrendered to the Crown in March 1545 (ESRO SAS/A 13). Just four months later, in July, Henry VIII granted South Malling and its lands to the adventurous courtier Sir Thomas Palmer (ESRO SAS/A 13). At this time Stanmer was valued at just over £110 and Palmer paid 1,000 marks 'unto the king's majesty's own hands' (TNA E318/17/835).

Palmer took little real interest in the estate which he saw as a source of profit. In his three-year tenure he effectively engaged in a process of asset stripping, eventually culminating in the separation

of Stanmer from its Wealden holdings through the practice of subinfeudation (Goodfield and Robinson 2007, 13). This was a form of carving out new tenures, commonly applied to parts of manors as land values rose and more of the forested Weald was turned over to cultivation.

The manor of Stanmer then passed back into the hands of the Crown, but not before Palmer, who would later be beheaded for his role in the uprising supporting Lady Jane Grey, managed to lease the estate. This was for a term of 80 years to the Michelborne family of Westmeston in 1547 (ESRO SAS/A 17; Warne 1989, 189).

During the later 16th century overall ownership of the manor passed to and fro between the Crown and speculators and, although it was leased by the Michelbornes, it is unlikely that they lived in the house, preferring their Wealden residence at Broadhurst (Salzman 1940, 239; Warne 1989, 197). The Prior family, who farmed the demesne land and acted as stewards of Stanmer, were most likely resident at this time (Warne 1989, 196, 198).

#### PERIOD 2: PETER GOTT'S HOUSE IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE

The estate and lordship of Stanmer once again changed hands in 1700 when it was purchased by successful iron merchant Peter Gott (Receiver General of Sussex; Farrant 1979, 195). Gott resided at Stanmer for 12 years, before the pressures of spiralling debt eventually played a role in his suicide (Salzman 1940, 239). Encountered archaeological remains, as well as documentary evidence, indicates that a substantial phase of construction was undertaken before Gott's death.

By the time Stanmer was sold by Peter Gott's son, Samuel, the house was valued at the substantial sum of £7,500 (ESRO SAS/A399). The inventory of Gott's indoor goods which accompanied the sale indicates that by this time the house had at least 22 flues, potentially doubling the size of the Michelborne dwelling (ESRO ACC 4600/103, ff. 1–14; Goodfield and Robinson 2007, 19). The inventory also shows that the house, and presumably its attendant outbuildings, included something in the region of 28 rooms (see Table 1). This reflects Stanmer's late-17th-century development into a gentleman's country house, one where (as is so often the case) the service rooms were more extensive than those occupied by the family.

Table 1. Rooms listed in inventory of sale (ESRO ACC4600/103)

Mr Sanders Room	The Lumber Room
Coachman's Room	Footman's Room
The Nursery	The Wardrobe and Passage
Mr Hugsons Room	Mr Thomas Gotts Room
The Great Staircase and Hall	The Dining Room
The Closet	The Butlers Room
The Old Kitchen	The Cellars and Larder
The Washhouse	The Dairy
The Ploughman's Room	The Bakehouse
The Waterhouse and Yard	Maids Room and Stairs Head
Mrs Bettys Room	The Kitchen and Bakehouse
The China Room	The Brewhouse
The Best Bedchamber	The Laundry
The Little Parlour	The Coach House

#### PERIOD 3: THE PALLADIAN REBUILD

In 1712 Stanmer House and its contents were sold by Samuel Gott to Henry Pelham (Berry 2005, 239). In 1721 Pelham's son, also called Henry, inherited the estate. He died just four years later but had already commissioned French architect Nicholas Dubois to oversee the building of a new house and the refurbishment of the service wing.

A few years previously (1715) Dubois, a Master Mason in the Office of Works, had translated the Venetian architect Andrea Palladio's most important book into English, thus making a major contribution towards the adoption of the Palladian style in Britain. Stanmer House is one of the few examples of his work for a private patron and, although the results are rather austere, he certainly created a building reflective of its time (Farrant 1979, 195; Goodfield and Robinson 2005, 34).

After Henry Pelham's death, Dubois continued work on the new villa and gardens for the new heir Thomas, or 'Turk', Pelham (Berry, 2005). Additions completed under this new patron included the installation of a horse gin above the parish well and continued work on the outbuildings (Farrant 1979, 198).

It was a deliberate policy of both Henry Pelham and Thomas Pelham to make the alterations to Stanmer as economically as possible. Effort was made to recycle building materials such as wood and stone salvaged from demolished houses owned by the family (for example Kenwards in Lindfield; Farrant 1979, 197). The choice of building materials

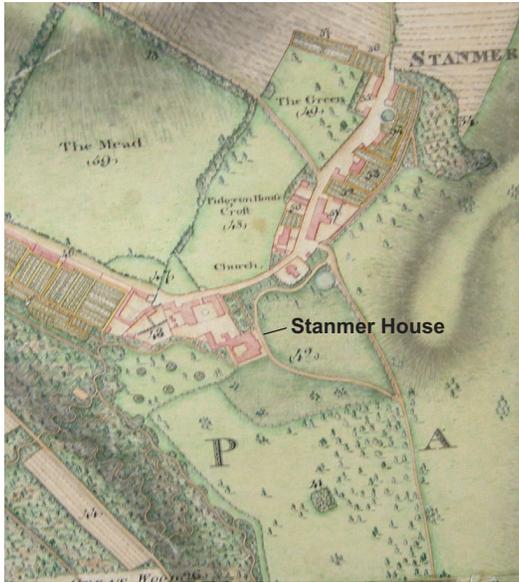


Fig. 3. Extract from a plan of Stanmer Estate, William Figg, 1799–1800 (ESRO ACC 3714/4).

had to be approved by the Pelhams and it was agreed that most of the work was to be in brick (*ibid.*).

Over 1¼ million units were required for internal work to the house and more than seven brickyards were commissioned during the rebuild (ESRO ACC 4600/7; Beswick 1993, 32). Although most of the bricks were produced in Brighton, from clays in the vicinity of Western Road, Wealden brickyards were also enlisted to make up a shortfall (Farrant 1979, 197; Beswick 1993, 32).

While the majority of the available funds were spent on the building's new façade and main rooms, existing buildings of the service wing were merely refurbished and extended (Goodfield and Robinson 2007, 29). This was a common way of modernising a country house. The money was put into the part seen by visitors, the rest being merely updated.

The creation of the Palladian phase of Stanmer is a record of the various resources available in Sussex. Clay for bricks came from the coast and the Weald, sandstone for facings from the Greensand areas. Lime was burnt on site using chalk from downland quarries and sand and flint was carted from Brighton Beach. While local timber was rejected, wood suitable for scaffolding was sourced from the family's Wealden holdings (ESRO ACC 4600/7; Farrant 1979, 197).

#### PERIOD 4: LATE GEORGIAN AND VICTORIAN MODIFICATIONS

Following the major phase of rebuild undertaken by Dubois the estate passed through the Pelham family, with many of the successive generations adding to, or altering, the house and land. Perhaps the most notable additions occurred during the time of Thomas Pelham II (later first earl of Chichester) who redesigned the grounds of the estate in the naturalistic manner popular in the mid-18th century (Fig. 3).

He is reported to have extended the walled gardens, built new stables in 1778 and constructed an ice house (Berry 2005, 246). The latter was recorded by R. G. Martin (1984, 20):

It is a small square brick chamber with a brick barrel vault. Access is through a vertical brick shaft 2.7 metres deep although there are indications of another entrance, now bricked up. This could have led towards the, now demolished, service wing of the house. There are remains of a lead lining to the walls of the chamber also a high-level duct leading southwards. It is probable that this Ice House was originally constructed for some other purpose, possibly in connection with the water supply system that was very extensive, otherwise there is no reasonable explanation for the depth of the structure below ground and of the other features mentioned above.

This ice house was re-exposed during the 2011 archaeological investigations and has now been consolidated. A second ice house on the estate is also documented, as are records of estate workers recalling the use of the ice both in the house and in Brighton, where it was sold (*ibid.*).

#### THE INVESTIGATIONS

Several archaeological studies were undertaken in relation to Stanmer House prior to the main excavation carried out by Archaeology South-East in 2011 (Figs 4–7). The Brighton and Hove Archaeological Society (BHAS) undertook a series of investigations during the early 1970s but, unfortunately, most of the records pertaining to them have been lost. However, a note by W. Gorton in the 1972 BHAS annual report does survive (Gorton 1972). Kindly located by Maria Gardiner, this recounts the excavation of masonry remains



Fig. 4. Plan of the house from 1949 showing what survives today and the 2011 excavation area.

including an 18th-century boundary wall, a 17th-century 'brick structure' and a water chute. The features identified almost certainly relate to remains depicted in a copy of a BHAS excavation plan and photograph obtained by ASE in 2004 (Fig. 8).

Subsequent investigations have included a Desk-Based Assessment, an archaeological evaluation, an assessment of upstanding remains and visible foundations, watching briefs and a phase of excavation (ASE 2001; 2002; 2004; 2005; 2006; 2008; 2012). Where relevant, the results of the previous phases of work have been integrated with the main excavations presented here.

The earlier fieldwork, particularly the historic building recording undertaken by David Martin (ASE 2002) has, along with a survey of the house drawn up in 1949 (Fig. 4), been invaluable in understanding the spatial organisation of the northern wing prior to its demolition.

#### **PERIOD 1: MID-16TH CENTURY-LATE 17TH CENTURY**

##### **Phase 1: A lobby-entry house (mid-late 16th century?)**

The earliest building phase encountered at the site comprised what was, by the later standards of Stanmer, a modest house. Around 13m in length and 7m wide, this was largely constructed of loosely coursed flint nodules, with occasional sandstone and brick inclusions (Fig. 9, G2). Recovered fragments of Horsham Stone are likely to represent the original roofing material.

The north-eastern half had clearly been truncated in places by later construction activity; however, a flint-and-mortar chimney stack largely survived (Fig. 9, G6). This may be an indication of the building's original extent, as it is thought to occupy a central location. The easterly of the two fireplaces forming the base of this structure incorporated a smaller, right-angled projection with an internal rendered face, probably relating to the base of a built-in cupboard.



Fig. 5. Site plan showing the stages of the archaeological investigation.

This early structural evidence has been interpreted as relating to a substantially built 'lobby-entry' house, a type that was common in the South-East during the later 16th and 17th centuries (Quiney 1984). Such houses marked a move away from the entrance arrangements of earlier buildings with the introduction of an enclosed lobby immediately inside the front door. Rather than entering straight into the main room of the house, visitors were now barred by doorways. This gave increased privacy and draft exclusion to the home.

Nationally, the post-medieval adoption of the lobby-entry plan represents an abandonment of earlier hierarchical arrangements of medieval halls. It was clearly a choice that favoured the heating qualities of a central chimney-stack (*ibid.*, 458, 462).

Although the remains of the Period 1 building were heavily truncated, it is possible to suggest

a farmhouse of larger than average size. The two reconstructed bays measured a total of 13.06m in length with a width of 7.10m. The stone walls were 0.70m thick and the presence of twin fireplaces indicates a heated parlour; a mark of status at this date. It is probable that opposing doors existed in the central portions of both long walls, separated by the central stack.

#### **Phase 2: Addition of a cross-wing (late 16th–mid 17th century)**

Sir Richard Michelborne (later sheriff of Sussex) is thought to have become resident at Stanmer in 1618 upon the death of Nicholas Prior (Warne 1989, 199). The Michelborne family were great agricultural improvers and they proceeded to buy up and enclose copyhold land located in the village's common fields. The Michelbornes continued with

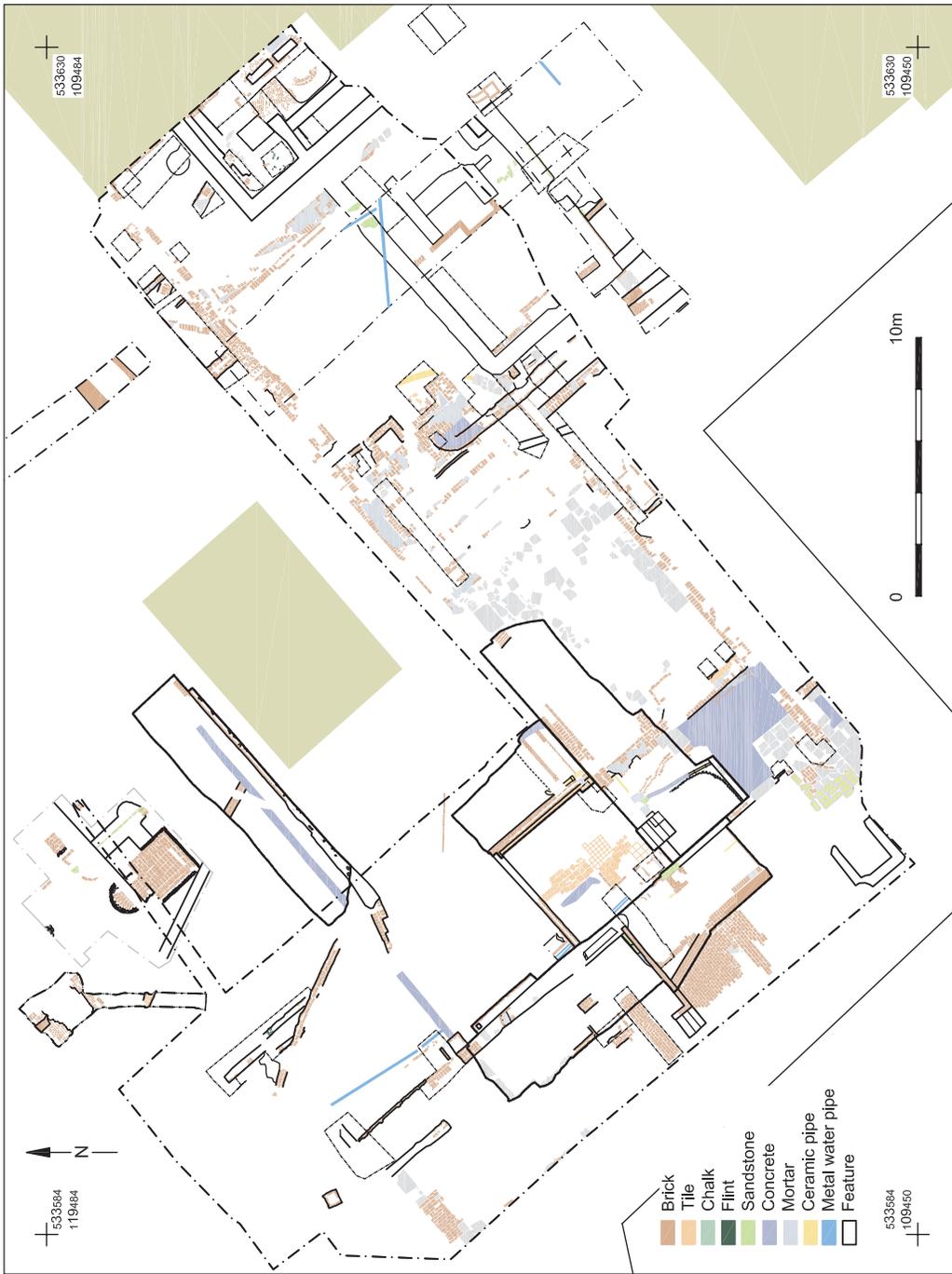


Fig. 6. Site plan and excavated features.



Fig. 7. The 2011 excavations in progress, looking west from the roof of the main house.

this practice until there were almost no independent farmers left. The landscape was then reorganised, which Warne compares to an early prototype of the present estate farm (1989, 200). Additions to the earlier lobby-entry house appear to be associated with this time (Fig. 10).

During the historic building survey it was clear that some earlier walls survived at cellar level. These were at variance with the 1720s barrel-vaulted examples of the Palladian build and located beneath the later service staircase and the main staircase hall (see Figs 4 and 10, G3, and Fig. 11, Section 1; ASE 2002, 3).

Taken with the lobby-entry building, which continued in existence, this indicates an L-shaped ground plan and the addition of a cellared cross-wing. There was no physical relationship between these two structural elements, due to later truncation, and it remains possible that the lobby-entry building and cross-wing were constructed at

the same time. This contemporaneity is possibly corroborated by the similarities in the flint-and-mortar wall construction noted for both building elements.

A substantial fireplace with twin flues was encountered to the west of the cross-wing walls (Fig. 10, G4). This was observed during the 2011 excavation adjoining the cellar levels below Stanmer House. Constructed of roughly coursed flint nodules, this fireplace included occasional bricks, internal partitions and quoins. Fragments of door pintles, a bracket for tying-in an iron bar to masonry and a smaller, L-shaped bracket for securing a fireback to the wall were recovered (see ASE 2012). Served by the north-western flue was a substantial oven built of 16th to 17th century brick with a partially flattened dome (Fig. 10, G5).

The oven, cross-wing cellar and associated fireplace almost certainly relate to a basement kitchen entered via a staircase where an 'old

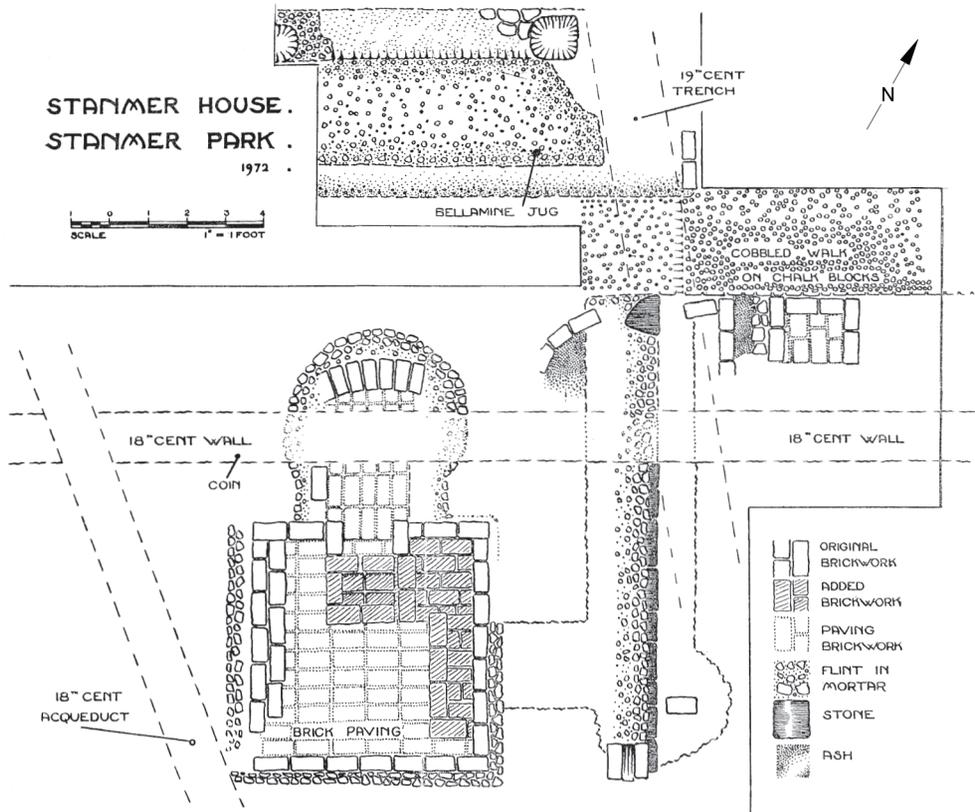


Fig. 8. Plan and photograph from the BHAS excavations in the 1970s.

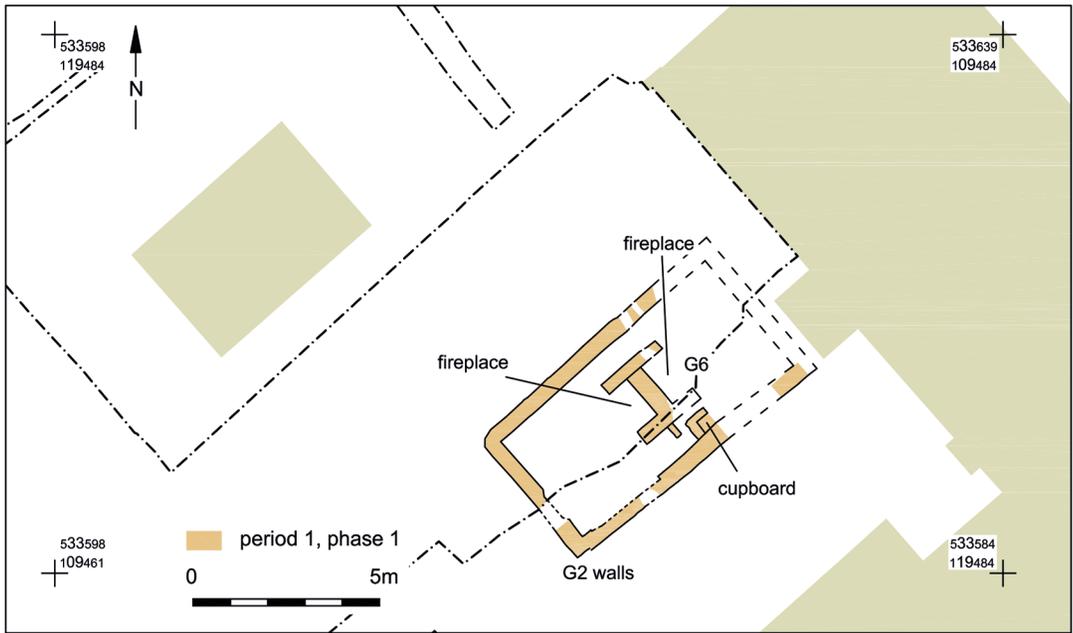


Fig. 9. Site plan, Period 1, Phase 1.

opening' existed, noted in 2002 (ASE 2002). Such service elements were a product of their time, for the early 17th century saw compact houses being designed with subterranean kitchens rather than the detached examples more typical of the late medieval period (Steane and Ayres 2013, 150). Their adoption arose partly for hierarchical reasons (the relegation of servants and cooking below ground) and partly because greater reliance could be placed on the non-combustibility of well-built chimneys (*ibid.*).

As well as the cross-wing, a short length of partially exposed and heavily truncated wall may indicate a further room on the northern side of the earlier lobby-entry building (Fig. 10, G9). Though difficult to interpret, these limited remains may possibly represent the last vestiges of a heavily disturbed outshot wall. On the opposite side, a short length of Greensand ashlar (Fig 10, G96) may represent the addition of a smaller room, perhaps a later entrance hall between the lobby-entry and the new cross-wing. Alternatively, this could comprise the surviving service bay of the Period 1, Phase 1 lobby-entry house.

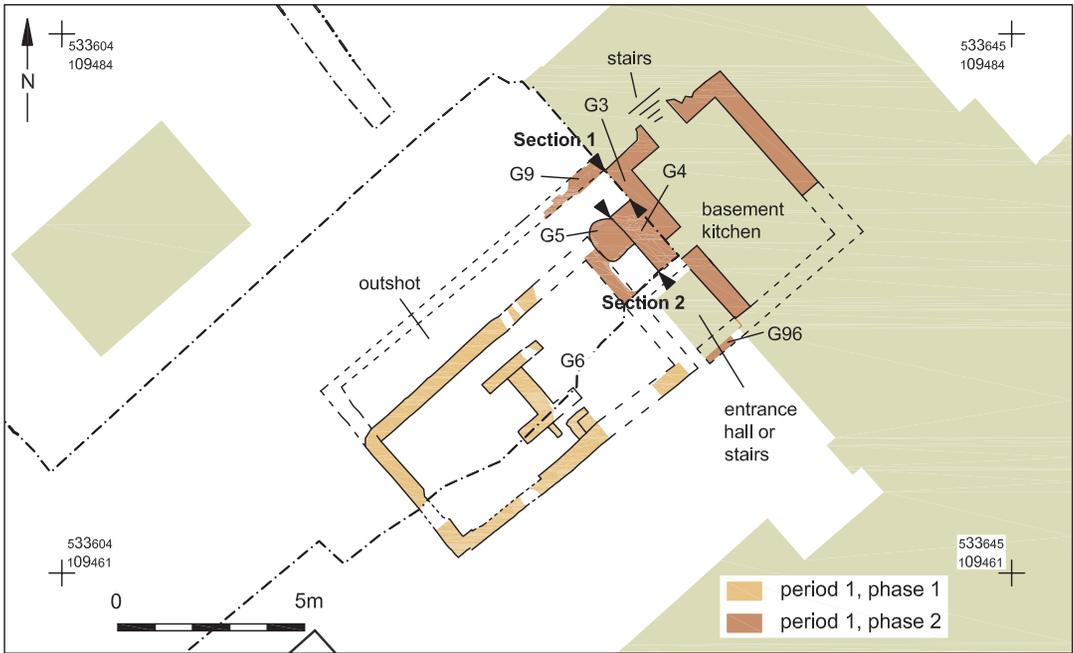
### Phase 3: Evidence of an early brewhouse (mid-late 17th century)

A partially surviving wall of flint and mortar, located to the south-west and separate from the structures described above, represented an external building (Fig. 12, G7). The wall was of a similar construction to the Period 1 house and had clearly been reused during the later 18th century as part of a 'brewhouse range'.

The outer (eastern) side of the wall had roughly coursed flint nodules, knapped to create a moderately neat face. It is likely, because of the later beer-making function of the range as well as the proximity of a brick structure of apparent 17th-century date, that the building comprised the earliest brewhouse.

The brick structure was found by BHAS and was located a little way (15m) to the north-east of G7. It has been interpreted as a possible malting oven and may have been associated with the earliest phase of a brewhouse described above (*see* Figs 8 and 10). The presence of a brewhouse would not be uncommon for larger houses of this date, as beer was an important drink for workers on the estate.

As well as the construction of outbuildings, alterations to the house itself also appear to have



G3 facing east



G4, 5 and 23 facing east



G5 oven (left) partially overlain by later oven GR23

Fig. 10. Photographs and site plan, Period 1, Phase 2.

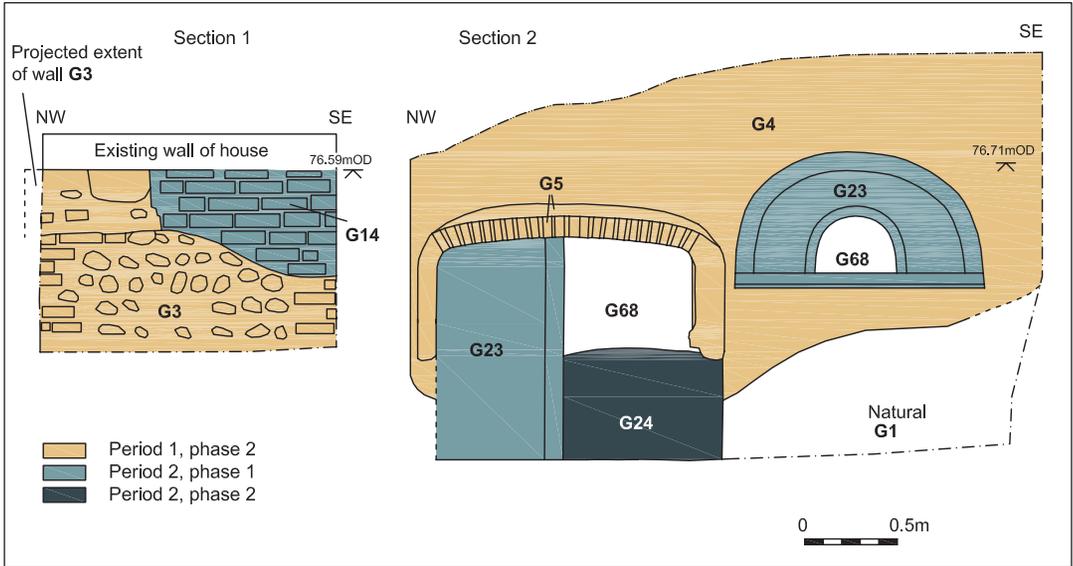


Fig. 11. Elevations, Periods 1 and 2.

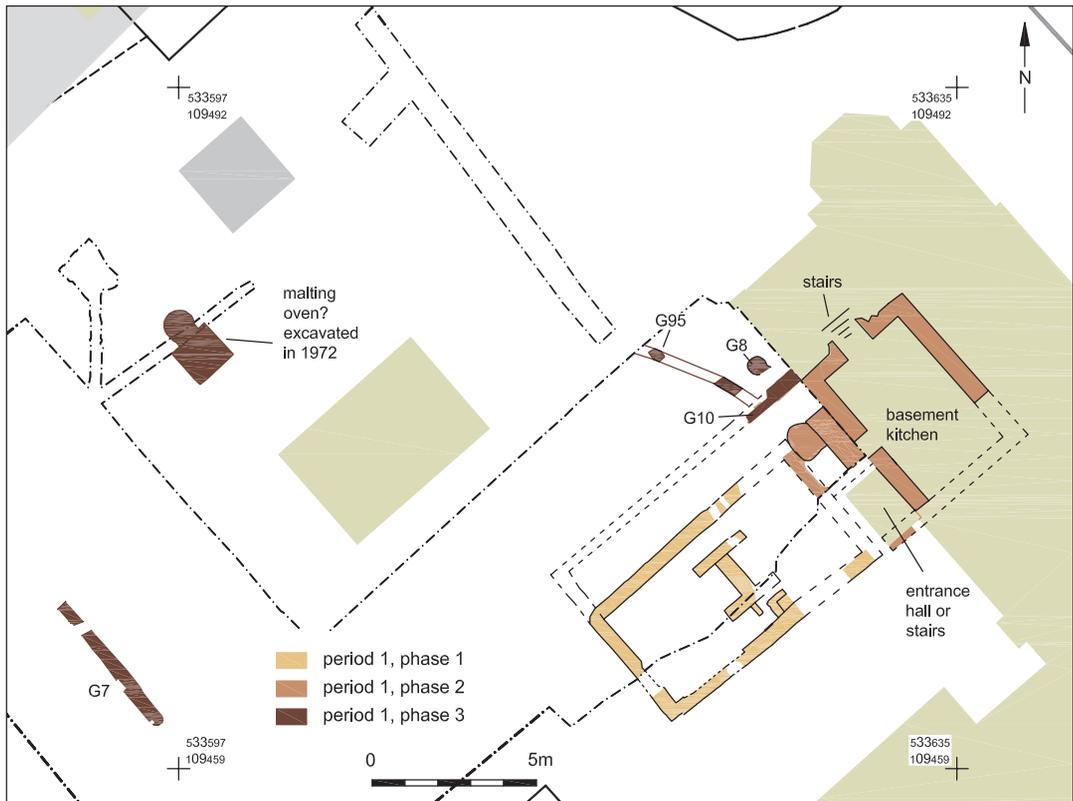
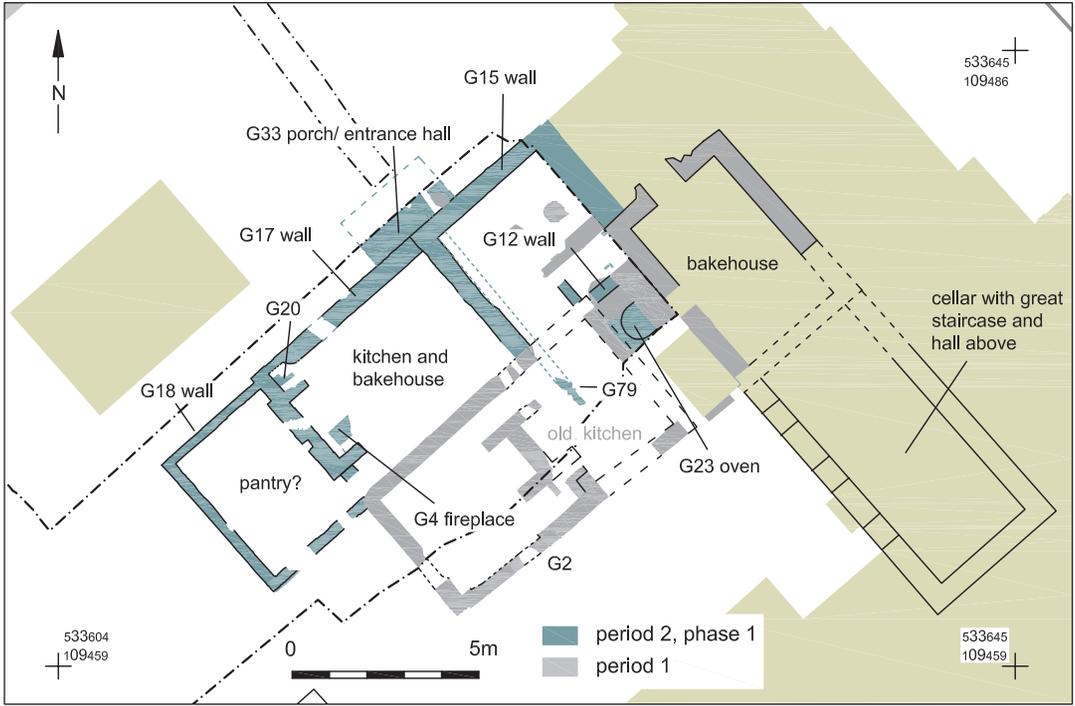


Fig. 12. Site plan, Period 1, Phase 3.



G23 Oven facing north east



G23 Oven facing north east



Area of 'old kitchen' from above

Fig. 13. Site plan and photographs, Period 2, Phase 1.

been undertaken at this time. They included the rebuilding and re-flooring of the suggested outshot (Fig. 12, G10), as well as the construction of a brick culvert, or drain, with a reused Horsham Stone lid (Fig. 12, G95). Silting inside the drain contained pottery of 17th-century date and the feature was likely intended to channel water from a downpipe away from the rear of the building. A nearby pit (Fig. 12, G8), filled with 17th- and intrusive 18th-century material, occupied an external yard or open area.

What is clear from the plans and historical evidence is that by the turn of the 18th century, and the end of the Michelbornes' tenure, Stanmer still comprised a relatively modest manor house when compared to later Georgian phases of build (*see below*). The excavated remains are complemented in this regard by contemporary documentary evidence, specifically the 1665 hearth tax returns. These record that Ann Michelborne, widow of William, was then liable for 13 hearths. At this time the total probably included some of the village dwellings as well as Stanmer House itself (TNA E179/258/16; Warne 1989, 202).

## PERIOD 2: LATE 17TH-EARLY 18TH CENTURY

### Phase 1: The house that Gott built

During post-excavation analysis it was found that Gott's phase of construction can be detected through the sequence of wall phasing (Fig. 13). A significant extension was found to post-date the 17th century house and predate the construction of much of the kitchen range (1721–1725).

The remains incorporated the earlier, Jacobean structure; to the south-west and north-east side of a larger, 'sunken' or half-cellar room. As well as incorporating a substantial fireplace, this room was equipped with a doorway in the north-western wall. This led to an adjoining entry space, porch or hall (Fig. 13, G33).

The sunken room has been interpreted as a kitchen and bakehouse, detailed in the 1712 inventory of sale (ESRO ACC 4600/103). This was distinguished from 'the old kitchen' and included a large range, equated here with the substantial fireplace. This new service room was furnished with all the equipment needed in a large 18th-century kitchen. In addition to the range the room included a:

fender shovel tongs and poker and a large iron back and cinder grate 2 large cranes 5 hooks

and Polt irons a wind up jack lines weights and multiplying wheel 2 large racks 9 spitts and 9 skewers a pair of large stillyards and one pair small [stillyards] a large cleaver chopper and shreading knife 2 gridirons and two beef forks 2 iron dripping pans and 2 candlesticks [iron] 3 iron potts 7 bell mettle skillets great and small 6 round sauce pans 3 flat [sauce pans] 3 coffee and chocolate potts a copper teakettle and a basting ladle one old copper pail 2 brass petty pans 2 large brass skillets one infusing pott a large copper preserving pann and cover 2 copper fishpanns and cover one large fishkettle cover and plate 2 brass potts and covers a large brass kettle 4 pair of brass standing candle sticks and 6 hand [candlesticks] two brass ladles a scummer and slice and two drudge boxes two frying pans and two copper potts 50 pewter dishes 70 margarine and pye plates 158 plates a cullender a gallon pott a quart and a pint pott a salt and a ring 2 brass warming pans a large hand bell a salt box 2 dressers with shelves a tin fire screen a table and coal bin 2 pailles a plate rack 3 tin covers 3 stooles an iron mortar pestle and block a standing chaffing dish 2 splitt racks a marble mortar and wooden pestle 7 bolting cloaths two oven lids two iron peals one fork a hussey a trivet a pair of potthangers a large iron back a pair of bellows some tinne earthern and wooden ware (ESRO ACC 4600/103, f. 9).

At the date of its sale the room and its contents were valued at £42 5s (*ibid.*).

The chambers at either end of this new kitchen are somewhat harder to interpret. The thinner walls and lack of any obvious fireplace in the south-western room may indicate a storage-related function. Internal plaster may have helped to keep any contents cool and dry and it may relate to a pantry.

A functional association for the north-eastern room is even harder to define. However, it is thought to be service-related, due to its position within the building and the presence of a contemporary brick drain (Fig. 13, G79). This crossed the room from the earlier part of the manor house before exiting the property in the area of the new kitchen's entrance.

To the east of the new service range, excavations revealed modification of the earlier basement

kitchen beneath Stanmer House. The sequence of construction showed the partitioning and blocking of the fireplace and the construction of a new oven (Fig. 13, G4, G23).

A poorly built wall (Fig. 13, G12) was also inserted. This linked the earlier walls of the lobby-entry house (Fig. 13, G2) to the basement kitchen. These modifications are thought to represent conversion of the old basement kitchen to a basement bakehouse. Such a room is mentioned within the inventory of 1712 as distinct from the kitchen and bakehouse described above (ESRO ACC 4600/103, f. 10).

Although a ‘beam and scales a ½ hundred weight and ½ a hundred of lead 2 tables two tubs a breadbreak a dough trough a corn screen a barrel of pitch and some old iron’ (*ibid.*) are listed within this room, no record of an open fireplace exists. All cooking activity must have been associated with the ovens.

The lobby-entry building of the earlier manor house had been incorporated into the new structure and continued in use during this phase. The two rooms separated by a central stack almost certainly performed other service-related functions. By this time these rooms may have comprised offices or accommodation for particular servants. One of the rooms could have also consisted of ‘the old kitchen’ mentioned in accounts.

As well as the rooms detailed above, the cellars and larder have been equated with the potentially pre-1720s cellar identified during survey (ASE 2002). Here Peter Gott kept:

Twenty Four Hogsheads with 600 gallons of Beer ten Stiltons 3 brass Cocks and 6 Grosse of Glasse Bottles 2 pailles 5 powdering Tubbs 4 Keylers 2 Chopping blocks 2 Dressers 3 Clothblankets a Bottling Mill 5 flower Tubbs with covers 4 stands 2 troughs an iron plate for oatcakes a Pewter Worm and a Tubb (*ibid.*).

The cellar lay beneath a room which would later incorporate the main staircase hall of the Palladian rebuild (*see* Fig 4) and provides a likely location for the great staircase and hall of 1712 (ESRO ACC 4600/103; Fig. 14).

#### **Phase 2: Early 18th-century alterations**

Apart from a substantial arched culvert (Fig. 14, G22; observed within an evaluation trench) (ASE 2004) and narrowing of the new kitchen’s fireplace

(G29), little evidence of 18th century alterations to Gott’s house has survived. Although the inventory indicates that it was a well-furnished country house, it does not tell us about the exact scale of the building.

What the inventory does suggest, however, is that it was much more substantial than the service elements discussed above. Most of the residential wing was lost when the Pelham family redeveloped the house; for the remaining rooms to be accounted for, regardless of multiple storeys, a larger footprint would have been required.

A conjectured footprint is shown on Fig. 14; it relies on the supposition of symmetrical aesthetics and the similarity of footprint between the new service wing and the south-eastern wing of the extant house, as shown on the 1949 plan (*see* Fig. 4).

This wing could have been largely demolished and rebuilt during the 1720s as part of the works by Nicholas Dubois which would have obscured its true origins in the earliest years of the 18th century. However, this is at best a tentative interpretation.

A brewhouse is also recorded in the inventory of sale (ESRO ACC 4600/103, f. 10) and it is suggested that this building persisted in the location of the earlier brewery structures (*see* Fig. 12, G7) as a detached range of utilitarian function.

It was known in the first half of the last century that the Palladian kitchen wing adjoined a somewhat older building in which was once the brewhouse (Salzman 1940, 238) and it is probable that this building’s early date was suggested to Salzman by its flint-and-mortar façade. This ‘brewhouse range’ occupied a rather larger footprint in later times and the structure provides a likely location for the wash house, laundry and dairy also mentioned in the inventory (ESRO ACC 4600/103).

#### **PERIOD 3: EARLY 18TH -EARLY 19TH CENTURY**

##### **The Palladian build (early-late 18th century) and modification to the kitchen (early 19th century)**

This third major phase of development was largely represented by the remains of a substantial L-shaped range which incorporated the fabric of earlier buildings to the rear of the house (Fig. 15). Constructed of brick, the walls created a new façade on an alignment with, but slightly proud of, earlier remains.

As well as the new extension there was some evidence for modification of the existing part of the service wing, this comprised insertion of new

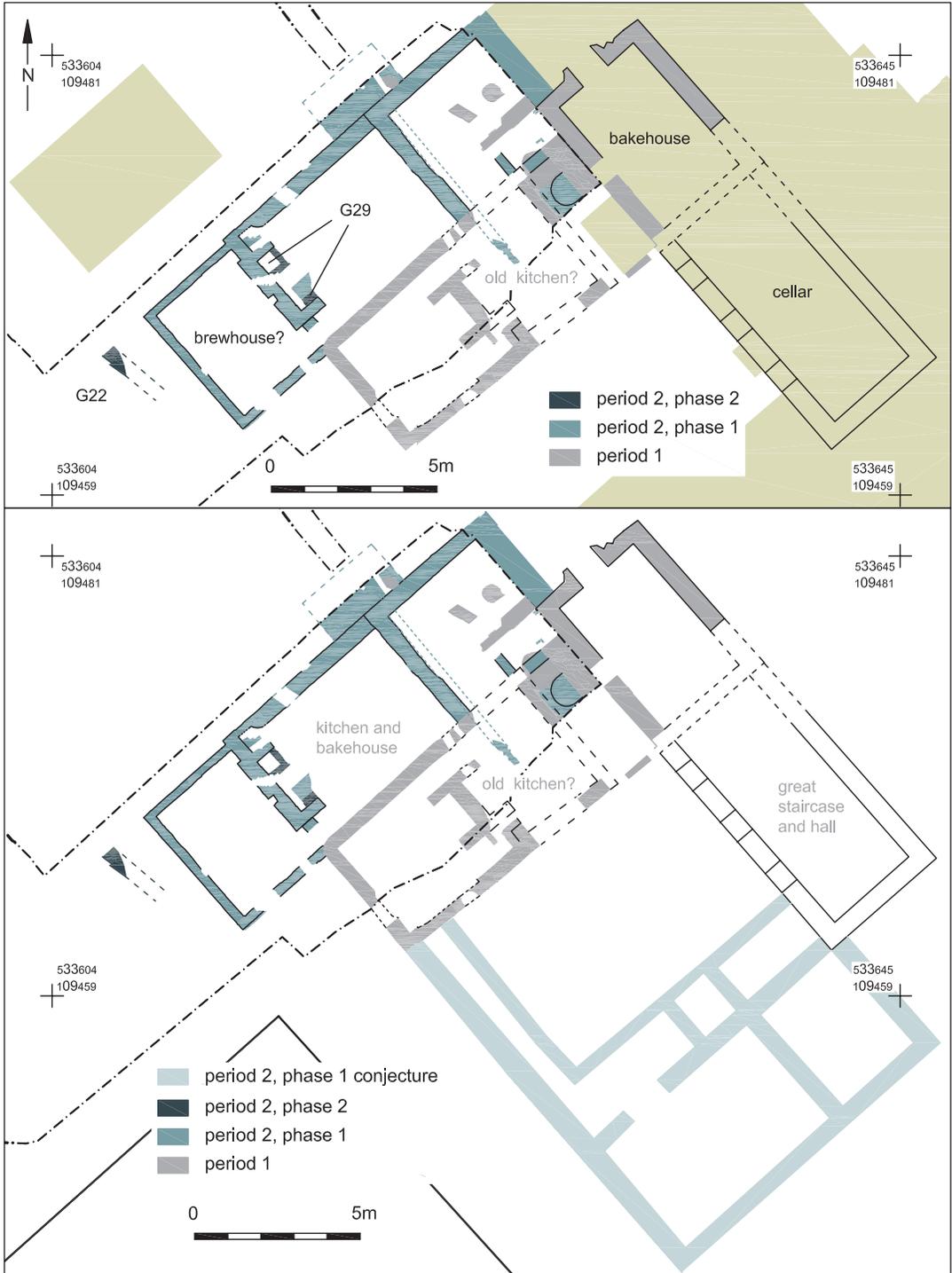


Fig. 14. Site plan, Period 2, Phase 2 and the conjectured footprint of Peter Gott's house.



internal walls (Fig. 15, G27), which split rooms and formed corridors.

The presence of sleeper walls (Fig. 15, G28) within the purported pantry and the horizontal truncation of earlier walls (see Fig. 13, G18) to form sleeper supports, is thought to indicate the introduction of suspended wooden floors which helped to keep rooms dry and at an even temperature.

Further sleeper walls (Fig. 15, G80 and G49) were built within new rooms created by the insertion of internal walls (Fig. 15, G25), as well as in the south-western half of the oldest part of the building. This may have comprised a still room for the storage of preserves and the preparation of tea and coffee which, from accounts, clearly opened onto the middle court, was defined by flint walls in which a doorway had been inserted and had a 'necessary room' or privy located to the rear (ESRO ACC 4600/7).

The largest new room within the 18th century addition to the service wing functioned as the kitchen. A small, subterranean, brick structure, built against its southern wall, relates to a coal hole, dug through and built by bricklayer and rough mason James Dawe (*ibid.* f. 29).

An internal wall and fireplace was encountered, but records show that the room was also served by a broiler and stove (*ibid.* f. 33). The original floor was represented by remnants of a paved Purbeck limestone surface (Fig. 15, G87), known from the Nicholas Dubois accounts to have been laid by Arthur Morris and his men (*ibid.* f. 25). This evidence also reflects the record of the 1949 plan which shows a stone floor in the kitchen at this time. The plan also confirms that a range existed in front of the fireplace, likely accounting for the brick tracery found in this area during excavations.

A smaller additional room, also defined by walls (Fig. 15, G35), was located to the south-west of the new kitchen. An arch for an associated culvert, later blocked up (G38), was built within and thought to be largely contemporary with the northern wall. The culvert was clearly related to a series of small, internal, brick-lined drains (G37), located next to a curved, flint-and-mortar foundation (G36).

This structure was originally thought to be a laundry vat. However, the laundry is likely to have been nearer the brewhouse, located further to the north-west. The most probable interpretation for

this room is that it served as a scullery associated with the new kitchen.

Work pertaining to this room, recorded in the Dubois accounts, included the removal of its roof, the fitting and cleaning of a sink stone, making an arch to prevent a new settlement and the laying of stonework associated with the sink and a cesspool (*ibid.* f. 25, 29, 48). It is possible, therefore, that the curving foundation may relate to a sink area or a structure to hold multiple coppers.

The previous kitchen also displayed some evidence of internal modification dating to the Dubois rebuild. This may be associated with a change in function to that of a servant's hall, mentioned in accounts (*ibid.*). A doorway within the entrance northern wall was bricked up and a culvert was inserted (Fig. 15, G21) and the whole internal area of the central semi-sunken room was then backfilled, to the level of the neighbouring two chambers. The fireplace was also infilled to this level and a single-brick skin built over the area occupied by the old hearth (G34).

It is thought that, due to similarities in brickwork and the lack of a load-bearing wall at the rear of the scullery, that the remodelling of the brewhouse range had the effect of joining what was once a detached structure to the rest of the building. This range was terraced into the hill slope and occupied two successive steps in height.

Interestingly, the new outer walls were constructed of flint and mortar, in contrast to the adjacent 'kitchen' range, which is constructed of brick. This use of vernacular building materials may relate to cost reduction for the overall build as well as a continuation of the preceding style, suggested by the reuse of earlier walls (Fig. 12, G7). It may also reflect the character of this building, constituting a more utilitarian wing located to the rear of the property.

Lead water pipes appeared to respect the external walls of the brewhouse and head towards the southern part of the range (Fig. 15, G40). These may be examples recorded in the accounts as being laid by Thomas Taylor, a plumber and glazier from Lewes (*ibid.* f. 59, 60). Further elements of the drainage and water management system were encountered around the property. These were represented by substantial brick-built culverts, G44 and G88, as well as brick-vaulted cesspit G48.

The full alignments of these and other drainage structures were not ascertained due to

the limitations of the excavation area, precluding wide-ranging discussion of this important facet of the English country house. Nevertheless, it is thought that culvert G88 was associated with the parish well, while G44 may have been linked to the arch and drains found within the scullery.

Further exterior elements comprised a rectangular structure built in 18th–19th-century brick (G89) and backfilled with modern material. This may represent a further part of the water management system or it could equally relate to an outbuilding. A substantial south-west to north-east orientated wall was also encountered (G45). Constructed of neatly faced, coursed flint nodules and occasional brick, this probable garden wall was situated close to the footings of a small outbuilding, G46, likely the remains of a shed.

#### PERIOD 4: EARLY–LATE 19TH CENTURY

##### Phase 1: The colonnade (early–mid 19th century)

The house clearly underwent some alterations in the early 19th century, associated with a pre-existing corridor or service passage linking the northern and southern wings of the house (Fig. 16, G43). The southernmost wall of this corridor was noted to be of more substantial dimensions than its counterpart, perhaps indicating a greater load-bearing function (ASE 2005, 6).

This suggestion is borne out by records of an attractive colonnade, built to Joseph Kay's designs in 1820 (Goodfield and Robinson, 2007, 34). This fine architectural addition most likely represents modification of an existing service passage shown linking the two wings of the house on William Figg's map of 1799 (ESRO ACC 3714/4; Fig. 3). This covered walkway would have allowed discreet and prompt access between the kitchen and the dining room within the southern wing.

##### Phase 2: Addition of the library (mid–late 19th century)

The right-hand bay of the main house frontage was built in the 1860s to accommodate a library and cellars (ASE 2002, 3). Other modifications to the house occurred around this time and were represented in excavations by a single alignment of bricks, thought to correspond to the location of an internal partition within the run of a service corridor (Fig. 17, G84). This corridor or 'wash up' as it is described on the 1949 plan (Fig. 4) is depicted on the OS 3rd edition 25-inch plan of 1897 (not

shown) and is thought to have been a 19th-century addition (ASE 2002, 2).

Also attributed to this phase was a substantial drain, constructed of 19th-century ceramic pipe and mortar with stone and slate capping (G76). The drain appears to have cut through 18th century backfill, as well as part of the old kitchen's fireplace. It is thought to represent a significant phase of water management redesign within the building, linked to new Victorian ideas of sanitation and drainage.

## THE FINDS

### THE POTTERY by Luke Barber

#### Introduction

The various stages of work produced 319 sherds of pottery, weighing 6,032g, from 48 individually numbered contexts. The 2011 excavation unsurprisingly produced the largest component: 235 sherds, weighing 4,715g, from 34 different contexts. The assemblage has been fully quantified for the archive (number, weight and estimated number of vessels by fabric) and a detailed assessment report produced (Barber 2012).

The assemblage spans several different periods, with the earliest sherd being of later prehistoric date and the latest sherds dating from the late 19th to mid-20th centuries. The majority of the assemblage, including all the largest sherds, belongs to the early 17th to early 18th centuries. A breakdown of the pottery by period is given in Table 2.

Most of the contexts producing pottery can be considered stratified to a degree, although few are truly closed, and stratigraphic analysis has shown there to be a high degree of residuality and intrusiveness in the assemblage. This situation has not helped to refine phasing, a problem compounded by the high proportion of featureless

Table 2. Post-Roman pottery assemblage by sub-period.

Period	No	Wt	Number of fabrics
<b>Prehistoric</b> (probably LBA/Iron Age)	10	37g	Local – 2
<b>Medieval</b> (C12–13th)	2	19g	Local – 2
<b>Early Post-medieval</b> (late C16th–mid 18th)	226	4,690g	Local – 5 Regional – 7 Imported – 3
<b>Late Post-medieval</b> (mid C18th–19th)	81	1286g	Local – 1 Regional – 6
<b>Totals</b>	<b>319</b>	<b>6,032g</b>	

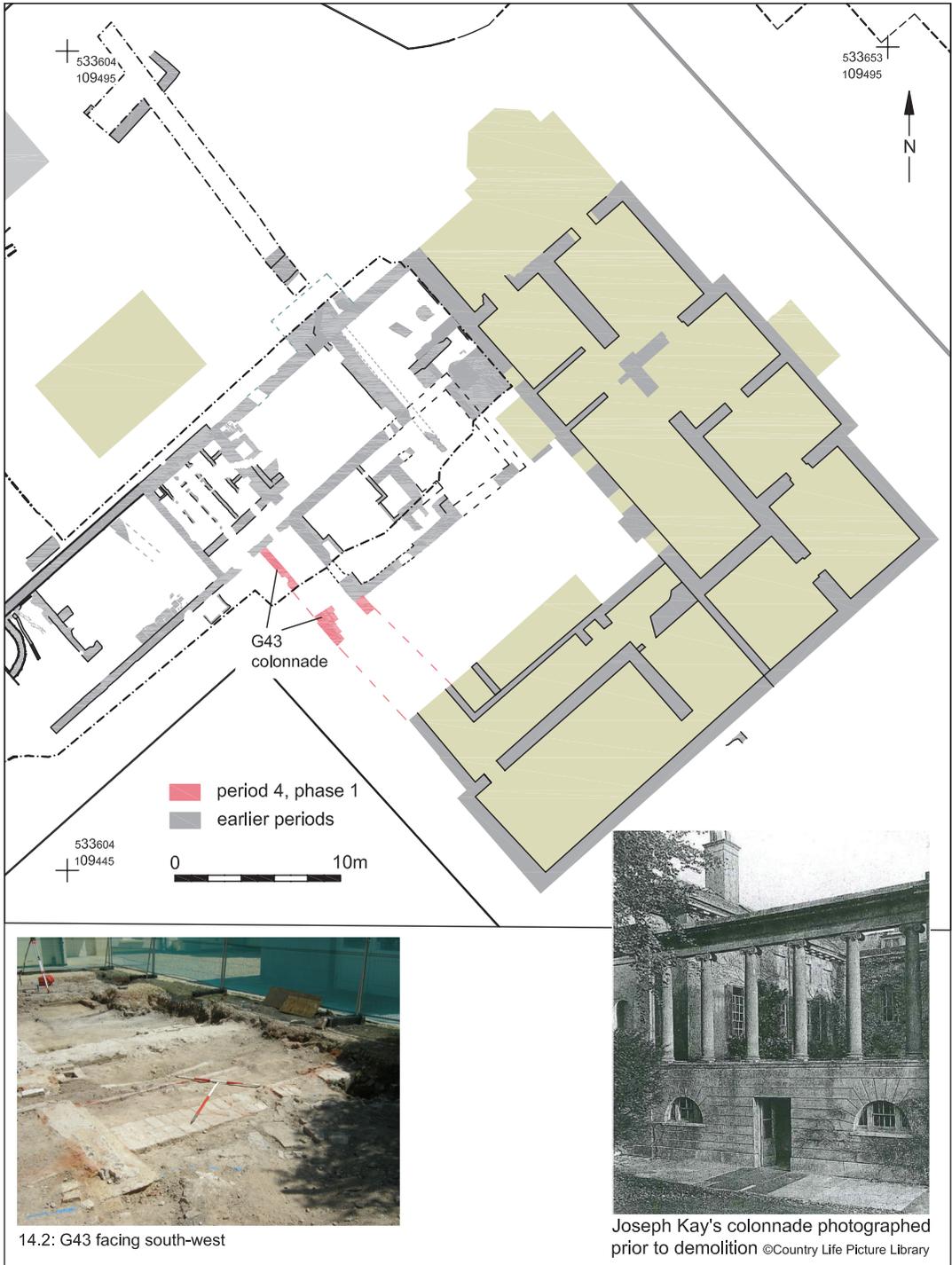


Fig. 16. Plan and photographs, Period 4, Phase 1.

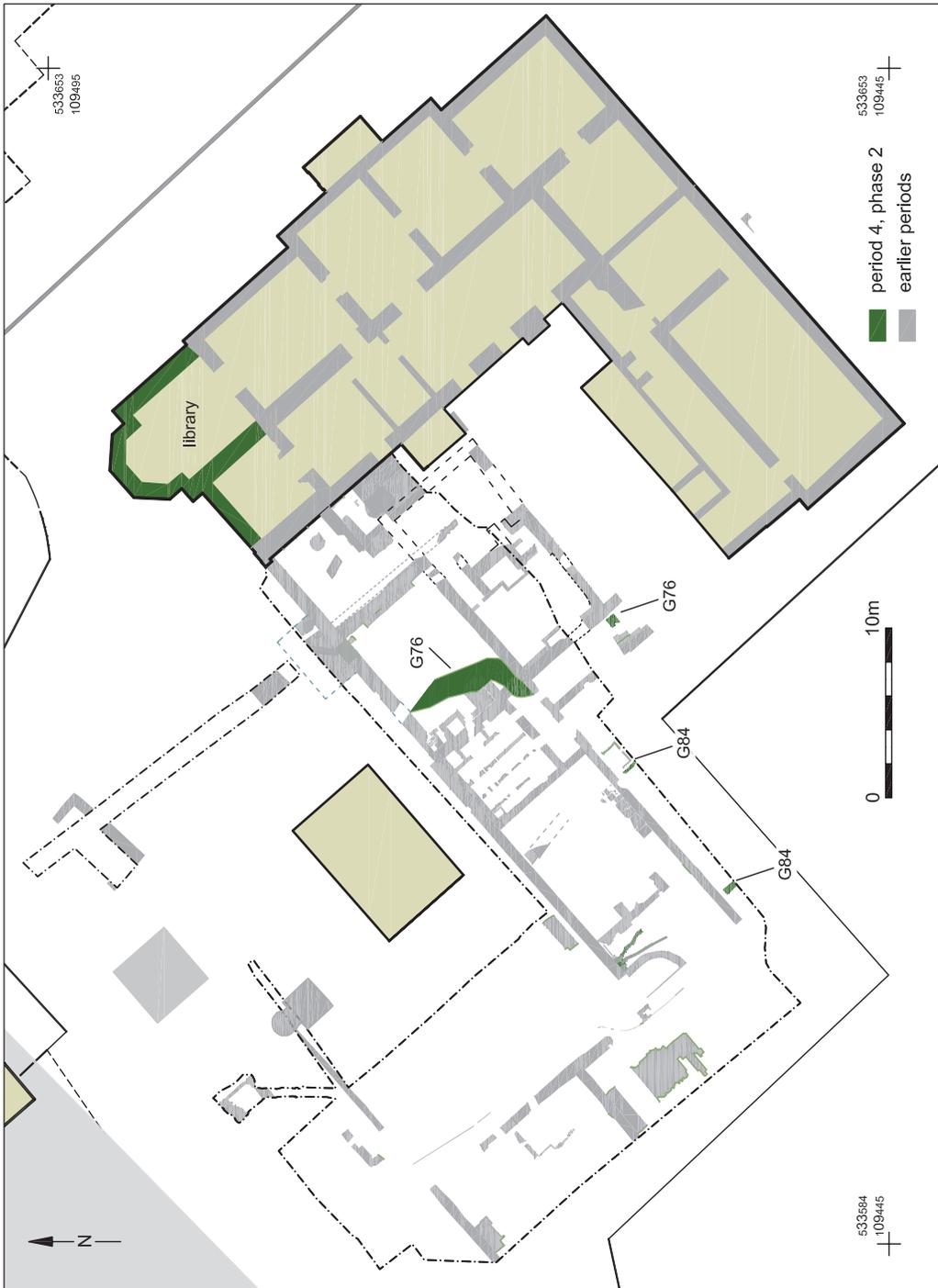


Fig. 17. Site plan, Period 4, Phase 2.

body sherds in long-lived earthenware fabrics and low numbers of sherds in each deposit: the largest context groups each consist of only 41 sherds (SER11 backfill [418], G11, Period 2.1 and SHH04, backfill [12], dated to the 19th century).

Due to the size and nature of the assemblage it has been considered most appropriate to give an overview of the pottery by period, rather than by dated context spot dates or phase grouping. As such, all sherds of a period, whether residual/intrusive or not, will be considered if they are of specific interest. A full list of the assemblage by individual context is housed with the archive.

### The Assemblages

#### *Prehistoric (Later Bronze Age to Iron Age)*

Ten small, abraded body sherds in two flint-tempered fabrics were recovered during the evaluation work. They suggest a background scatter from activities such as manuring during the Later Bronze Age to Iron Age and are not unexpected finds.

#### *Medieval (12th to 13th century)*

Two residual, abraded, oxidised body sherds of this period were recovered. Trample layer [473] (G80) produced a multi-coloured, flint-gritted cooking pot sherd of 12th-century date. The other sherd

is more ambiguous of date, residual in layer [139] (G49), and consists of a heavily abraded, medium sand-tempered sherd of probable 13th-century date.

#### *Early post-medieval (early/mid-16th to mid-18th century)*

The early post-medieval assemblage appears to be of early 17th- to early 18th-century date. There are no definite sherds of the second half of the 16th century, although a number of the local earthenwares cannot be ruled out as being this early. There are certainly few sherds post-dating around 1725.

As such, the assemblage appears to span Periods 1.2 to 2 rather than relating to the Period 3 Palladian rebuild. Waste from the latter is more likely to be apparent in the late post-medieval pottery assemblage (*see below*). A range of local, regional and imported fabrics are present in the assemblage of this date (*see Table 3*).

Locally produced earthenwares are present in one of five fabric variants (including the black-glazed type) and are well represented at the site. Most vessels are oxidised, although a few reduced examples are present. Many of these could be of later 16th-century date but there are none that need to pre-date 1600.

Table 3. Summary of early post-medieval pottery assemblage.

Fabric code	Expansion	No/weight	Forms
GRE 1	Glazed red earthenware (moderate quartz)	25/504g	Pipkin ×1, jar ×1, bowl ×1, uncertain form ×13
GRE 2	Glazed red earthenware (moderate fine quartz)	13/307g	Pipkin ×1, bowl ×1, jugs ×2, uncertain form ×5
GRE 3	Glazed red earthenware (sparse quartz and fe ox)	2/10g	Uncertain form ×2
GRE 4	Glazed red earthenware (abundant coarse quartz)	9/396g	Bowl ×1, uncertain form ×5
BLACK	Fine, well-fired, reduced earthenware with black glaze	5/45g	Uncertain form ×4
GRAF 1	Graffham type (moderate black speckles)	6/502g	Bowls ×2, dish ×1, uncertain form ×2
GRAF 2	Graffham type (sparse black speckles)	20/462g	Pipkins ×2, bowls ×4, dish ×1, colander ×1, uncertain form ×6
BORDG	Border ware (green-glazed)	7/37g	Pipkin ×1, jug ×1
COARSE WW	Verwood-type sandy whiteware	1/29g	Bowl ×1
LONS	London stoneware	10/304g	Jug ×1, tankard ×1, uncertain form ×1
TGW	Tin-glazed ware	53/817g	Bowl ×1, chargers ×2, plates ×4, jug ×1, drug jars ×2, ointment pot ×1, porringer ×1, chamber pot ×1, uncertain form ×3
SWSG	Staffordshire-type, white salt-glazed stoneware	1/5g	Uncertain form ×1
MART II	Martincamp II flask (earthenware)	4/14g	Flask ×1
FREC	Frechen stoneware	69/1257g	Jugs ×2, bottles ×16, uncertain form ×2
WEST	Westerwald stoneware	1/1g	Uncertain form ×1

A typical range of forms associated with food/drink storage and preparation is represented (Fig. 18, 1 and 2). These local coarse wares are substantially supplemented by off-white earthenwares, including a few typical sherds of Border ware (Pearce 1992). However, the majority of the current whitewares consist of examples with black/brown (more rarely red) iron oxide speckling (fabrics GRAF 1 and 2 in Table 3) or abundant medium sand with sparse iron oxides (COARSE WW).

The speckled wares have been noted before in Arundel, Shoreham and Lewes (Barber 2011 and 2012), although the exact source is at present uncertain. The sherds do not closely match kiln samples of whitewares from the Graffham industry (West Sussex) or the description of the few whitewares produced from the Crane Street kiln in Chichester (Aldsworth and Down 1990; Down 1981).

The sherds perhaps have close parallels to the Verwood industry (Hampshire/Dorset); however, the range of fabric variation within the generic Surrey/Hampshire/Sussex whiteware industry may be larger than currently known. A range of bowls, dishes and pipkins is present (Fig. 18, 3–5) and there is a tripod colander from contexts [375] and [407], (G11) and (G25), Periods 2.1 and 3.1 respectively. Surprisingly, there are only seven sherds (37g) of typical green-glazed Border ware.

Regional wares from London include a significant assemblage of tin-glazed earthenware (Table 3). The vast majority appear to be of 17th-century type, with just a few sherds that may be of the early 18th century.

A wide range of forms is present, including storage, consumption and sanitary types. Most vessels are plain white, although some are decorated with blue or blue/purple designs. The London stoneware mainly appears to be of the early 18th century and includes at least one cylindrical tankard and jug with rilled neck (fill of oven [441], G24, Period 2.2). This form can be exactly matched at Fulham (Green 1999, 151, no. 304) where it is dated to around 1700–1710.

Only a single Staffordshire white, salt-glaze stoneware sherd was recovered from the site (from the 2004 work). This type post-dates 1725 and definitely relates to the Period 3 house.

Imported pottery is totally dominated by German Frechen bottles and jugs of 17th-century date (30.5% of the early post-medieval assemblage

by sherd count). These include at least two facemasks of the earlier 17th century and several fragmentary remains of applied medallions (Fig. 18, 6–8).

The largest group of these was recovered from backfill [418] (G11, Period 2.1), where at least five different vessels are represented (28/583g). There is a single Westerwald stoneware sherd from [471] and fragments from a French Martincamp earthenware flask of the first half of the 17th century (backfills [418] and [420], both G11 of Period 2.1).

Although these imports form a notable proportion of the assemblage, they are of types that were found at all levels of society and cannot be taken as a sign of high status. The absence of any irrefutable high-status pieces may be due to the small assemblage size and its source. It should be remembered that the vast majority of the current assemblage would have been derived from food/drink preparation in the service range and thus may not reflect the finewares in use within the main house.

#### *Late post-medieval (mid/late 18th to 20th century)*

Surprisingly little pottery of this period was recovered. This is most notable for the second half of the 18th century, when refuse was obviously being deposited elsewhere. There is a total absence of creamware, with the earliest pieces from this period consisting of 47 sherds of pearlware (803g), most of which is undoubtedly of the first half of the 19th century.

There is a range of English porcelain, transfer-printed wares, yellow ware and English stoneware. The latter includes a few Bristol-glazed, shouldered preserve jars which probably belong to the early 20th century (e.g. fill of demolition cut [177], G67). There is a notable absence of glazed red earthenware vessels, the only coarse earthenwares being represented by several sherds of unglazed, earthenware flowerpot.

### **THE CERAMIC BUILDING MATERIAL by Sue Pringle with Sarah Porteus**

#### **Introduction**

A total of 370 fragments of ceramic building material and mortar with a combined weight of 256.359 kg was recovered from phased deposits during the excavation. The assemblage was entirely post-medieval in date, with the majority of material taken from structural contexts of Stanmer House;

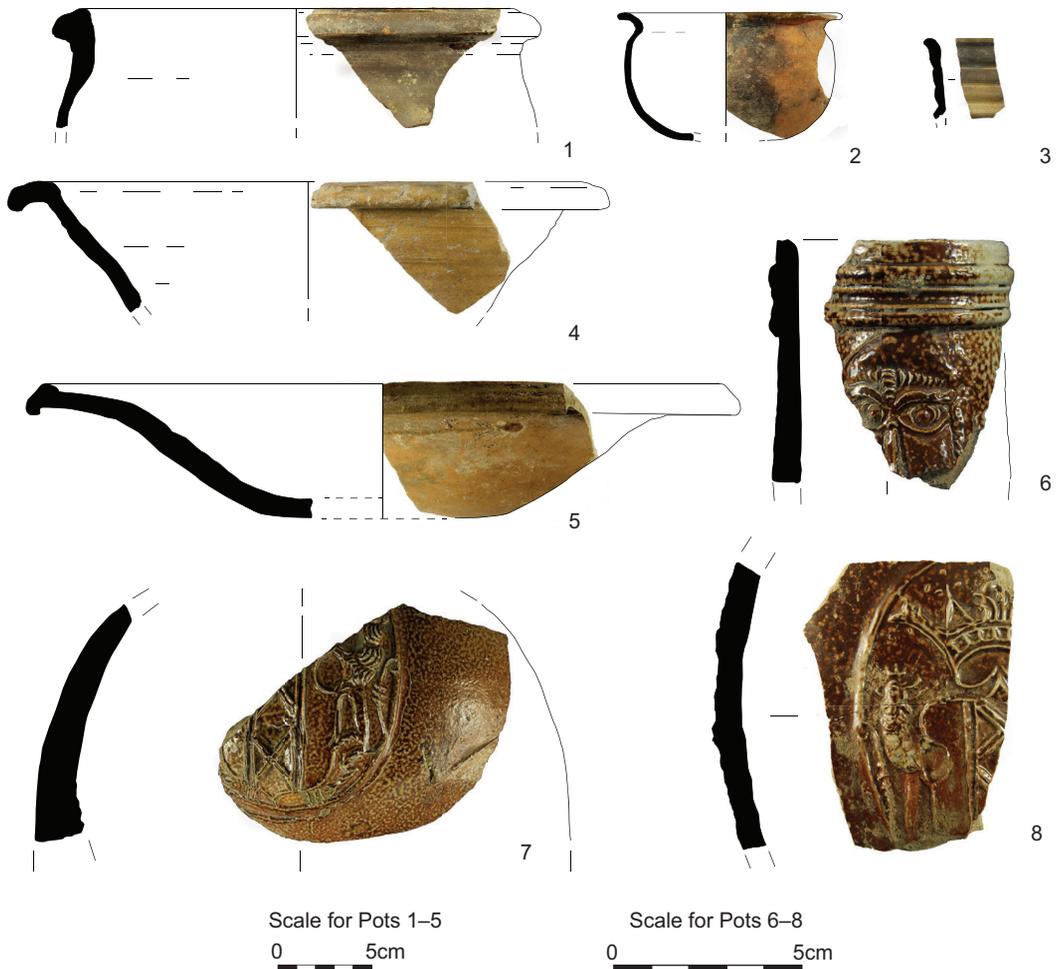


Fig. 18. Selected post-medieval pottery. **1.** Heavy jar with beaded club rim. Brick-red with dark grey inner margin and exterior surface. Black internal glaze. GRE 1. Fill [479] of oven [441] (G24, Period 2.2). **2.** Pipkin with tapering, everted rim. Dull orange with internal mid-grey margin. Internal dull green glaze. Exterior sooted. GRE 1. Fill [479] of oven [441] (G24, Period 2.2). **3.** Bowl with simple out-turned rim and exterior horizontal grooving. Buff/light grey with iron-flecked, pale green internal glaze. GRAF 1. Backfill [418] (G11, Period 2.1). **4.** Bowl with curved rim. Buff/light grey with iron-flecked pale yellow/green internal glaze. GRAF 2. Fill of pit [433] (G74, unphased). **5.** Large dish with hooked club rim. Light grey with buff exterior surface and iron-flecked, dull green internal glaze. External sooting under rim. GRAF 1. Backfill [420] (G11, Period 2.1). **6.** Frechen stoneware partial facemask from Bartmann bottle. FREC. Backfill [418] (G11, Period 2.1). **7.** Frechen stoneware medallion from Bartmann bottle depicting coat of arms of Amsterdam. FREC. Backfill [418] (G11, Period 2.1). **8.** Frechen stoneware medallion from Bartmann bottle depicting coat of arms of Amsterdam. FREC. Backfill [418] (G11, Period 2.1).

it included bricks, ceramic pipes, peg tiles, mortar, render and floor tiles. The material is quantified by category in Table 4.

#### Methodology

Fabric samples and items of interest were retained for the archive; the remainder of the material (approximately 95%) was discarded. Mortar samples

were examined, and a provisional mortar type series drawn up. Detailed descriptions of the brick, tile and mortar fabrics are available in the archive.

#### Bricks

The eight brick fabrics identified fell into three broad groups: sandy fabrics with fine silt and siltstone inclusions (fabrics 1, 2, 3 and 4), sandy

Table 4. Summary of ceramic building material quantification by type (phased deposits only).

Form	Count	Weight (kg)
Brick	291	220.214
Post-medieval roof tile	52	6.644
Mortar and wall render	21	20.593
Floor and hearth tile	4	8.066
Ceramic pipe	2	0.842
<b>Total</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>256.359</b>

fabrics with iron-rich inclusions (fabrics 5 and 6) and smooth, orange fabrics with coarse, blocky, siltstone inclusions (fabrics 7 and 8).

As all the bricks appear to have been made from locally available clays, the fabrics, in some instances, were not clearly differentiated and two borderline fabrics were recorded as 1/6 and 5/6. Also noted was the presence of 'soft' or under-fired versions of fabrics 4, 5/6 and 6, which appeared to have been used mainly for sleeper walls. Because of the use of local materials in all phases, the dating of the Stanmer House bricks is tentative.

*Period 1: mid-16th–late 17th centuries.*

Brick samples from Period 1 structural features were in one of two fabrics; a mottled, chunky siltstone fabric with moderate, black, iron-rich inclusions and sparse, white, calcareous inclusions (fabric 1) and an orange-brown, moderately coarse sandy fabric with sparse, black, iron-rich inclusions (fabric 6). A variant of fabric 6 with sparse siltstone inclusions, first seen in walls of Period 1.2, was designated fabric 1/6.

Throughout this period the size range of bricks in fabric 1 was 210–220 × 95–105 × 46–48 mm (found in G2, G4, G10). In Period 1.2, bricks in fabric 1/6 were introduced in G4 and G5; the range of dimensions was similar but slightly larger than fabric 1, 210–225 × 96–110 × 46–50 mm (four samples). In Period 1.3, bricks in fabric 1.6 were possibly slightly larger again, in the range 230 × 110–115 × 47–55 mm (four samples from G10 and G95, only one of which was complete), but this phase saw the introduction of distinctly larger bricks in fabric 6 for modifications in the service wing, size range 230–240 × 96–120 × 52–60 mm, in walls [392], [410], [411], and floor [431] in G10. All the brick samples were unfroged; several from G4 and G5 were heat-affected and warped.

*Period 2: late 17th–early 18th century*

In the rebuilt service wing, external walls G15, G17 and G18 contained bricks in fabrics 1 and 6, but this period saw the first appearance of bricks with a fine sandy matrix, with sparse, fine, black, iron-rich and white chalk inclusions (fabric 5). Some differences in fabrics between various parts of the rebuilt service wing were noted; the bricks from walls G15 and G16 were in a soft version of fabric 5/6, bricks from wall G17 were in fabric 1 and the samples from south-western wall G18 were in a soft version of fabric 6. Also in soft fabric 5/6 were some remnants of a brick floor in the kitchen and bakehouse (G20).

In this period, all the bricks sampled were approximately similar in length and breadth, within the range 210–230 × 105–115 mm, but the bricks in fabric 1 from wall G17 were thinner, in the range 53–55 mm thick, than those in external walls G15, internal cross wall G16 (fabric 5/6) and external wall G17 (fabric 6), which were 60–65 mm thick.

Exceptionally, bricks sampled from the new oven structure G23 were in orange sandy fabrics with siltstone inclusions (fabrics 2 and 3) and were 50 to 52mm thick. A large brick from the floor of the oven was also recovered, measuring 230mm square by 55mm thick in a pale fabric similar to B6.

*Period 3: early 18th–early 19th century*

A greater variety of bricks was found associated with the Palladian rebuild of the early 18th century; brick fabrics 4, 7 and 8 were first noted at this time, while earlier types persisted, some almost certainly reused.

Bricks in new fabrics included a soft version of fabric 4, an orange-red, sandy fabric with moderate fine, elongated voids and sparse, coarse, orange siltstone and iron-rich inclusions, which occurred in samples taken from sleeper walls in G28 and a brick floor remnant in the brewhouse range.

The first, and only, appearance of a brick in a pale orange fabric with blocky orange and cream siltstone (fabric 7) came from the walls of the brewhouse range, G39. This period also marks the first occurrence of bricks in an orange fabric with blocky, angular, siltstone inclusions (fabric 8), although all were fragmentary, from fills, and could not be directly related to any of the structures. The most complete example of a brick in this fabric, from an unphased twentieth century sleeper wall, was froged and stamped SUSSEX BRICK & ESTATES CO LTD.

Fabric 1 bricks of similar dimensions to those used in Period 2 were still being incorporated into structures of this period. Similarly, although abraded fragments of brick in fabric 5 were occurring in fills around the site, they were still being used, or more probably reused, in walls within the service wing, the brewhouse range, garden walls G45 and possible shed G46.

Bricks in fabric 6 were also still being used, or reused, in ancillary structures such as culvert G21 and possible outbuilding G89, and in Period 3 sleeper walls in the service wing (G49). Bricks in fabric 2, seen in Period 2 oven G23 in the service wing, were still associated with the service wing; these may not have been reused as they were 10mm thicker on average than those used in the oven.

Bricks in fabric 3, used in the same oven, appeared in several locations in a range of sizes. Bricks up to 60mm thick (possibly reused) were utilised in the remodelled service wing fireplace G34, in brick floor G50 and in the masonry culvert G21, as well as in one of the brick floors in the brewhouse range and in garden walls G45.

Slightly larger and thicker bricks, with sharp arrises, were used in rebuilt walls G35 in the service wing and in the masonry of culvert G88. They also occurred in sleeper walls (G80) with shallow frogs, which probably indicates a late eighteenth to early nineteenth century date.

#### Period 4: 19th century

All the brick samples from this period came from garden walls G59 and all appeared to be reused material in fabrics 1, 4 and 6. The bricks in fabrics 4 and 6 were worn on the bed face and were likely to have been previously used, or reused, in brick floors; they are thought to be 17th or 18th century in date.

#### Roof tiles

No complete roof tiles were noted, but 51 fragments of peg tile came from phased deposits, most of them associated with Periods 2 and 3. The fabrics were varied but of clays similar to those used for the bricks, the most common being a brownish-orange fabric with sparse, medium-sized quartz and coarse silt inclusions (fabric T2) and a pale orange fabric with sparse, medium-sized quartz and iron-rich inclusions (fabric T3).

Five fragments of tile in a chunky, orange, silty fabric with sparse, black, iron-rich inclusions (fabric T1) and three vitrified tiles were also present. The material was fragmentary; only one peg tile, in fabric T3, had its complete width of 160mm. All the nail holes recorded were square. A fragment of 19th-century ridge tile with a decorative crest was noted (fabric T2), intrusive in Period 1.3 deposits (G10).

The relative lack of roofing tile within the assemblage suggested that the roof may have been systematically removed and the tiles perhaps reused or sold on. There was little indication of any period

Table 5. Brick features and dimensions, by building and group.

Date range	Key features	Fabrics	Group	Dimensions (mm)
C16th–17th	Warped, unfrogged, uneven, rounded arrises	1,1/6, 6	2, 4, 5, 10, 95	210–240 × 95–120 × 46–50
C16th–18th	Unfrogged, warped, rounded arrises	5/6	10	220 × 105 × 48
C16th–18th	Indented margins, soft, under-fired, unfrogged	6	20	? × ? × 62
C17th–18th	Unfrogged, rounded arrises	1, 2, 5/6 soft, 6	11, 21, 23, 25	230 × 105–110 × 46–50
C17th–18th	Unfrogged, rounded arrises, warped	1, 1/6, 5/6 soft, 6, 7	10, 17, 21, 34, 39, 41, 59	210–220 × 100–115 × 52–62
C17th–18th	Unfrogged, rounded arrises, under-fired, warped	1, 1/6, 2, 3, 4 soft, 5/6 soft, 6, 6 soft	10, 11, 18, 20, 35, 41, 45, 50	210–245 × 105–120 × 56–66
C17th–19th	Unfrogged, slightly rounded arrises	1, 4	20, 28	230 × 115 × 60–64
C18th–19th	Unfrogged, fairly sharp arrises	1, 2, 3, 4 soft, 5/6	10, 15, 16, 20, 23, 26, 29, 35, 41, 79, 88, 89	220–230 × 100–140 × 6–65
Mid C18th–19th	Shallow frog, fairly sharp arrises	1, 3	49, 80	225–230 × 110 × 62–65
C19th–20th	Unfrogged, hard-fired with sharp arrises	1, 3, 6	35, 48	? × 105 × 63

of decay or dereliction during any of the phases which might have resulted in collapsed roofing.

#### Floor and hearth tiles

The Period 2 modification of G5 oven contained a hearth tile in an orange fabric with moderate fine quartz (fabric P1), with dimensions of 235 × 27 mm (G24 [179]). Also from Period 2, a small fragment of floor tile in a similar fabric, but with poorly sorted quartz (fabric FT1), was recovered from fireplace context [147]. Its thickness of 30mm and its knife-cut bevelled edge were consistent with the square floor tiles used in the early post-medieval period (G26).

#### Ceramic pipes

Two fragments of ceramic drainpipe came from Period 4.2, drain D10. The pipes, the walls of which were 13mm thick, were in fabric P1 (G76).

#### Mortars and wall renders

Mortar samples were taken from each feature in an attempt to group them based upon the similarity of the mortar mix. Basic descriptions of the mortars were made, and samples retained for comparison, both of which are available in the site archive. The yellow mortar mixes, types M1 and M4, appeared to have used a different base sand and less lime than the whiter mixes of M2, M3 and M4 and were most likely from separate build phases.

The harder mortars tended to be later than the loose mortars. Although most mortars occurred throughout the site, type M3, a white lime-rich fabric with moderate quartz, was associated with the earliest walls and foundations in Period 1.

In Period 2, type M2, similar to M3 but with less quartz and the presence of sparse charcoal inclusions, was particularly associated with oven G23. In the same period, mortar M1, pale yellow in colour with abundant medium orange/rose quartz and sparse, black, iron-rich inclusions, appeared to be concentrated in the walls of the service wing and brick drain G79. Coarse white mortar M7, containing angular flint inclusions, was noted only from Period 2 wall [367] G15.

In Period 3, the service wing walls (G35) were associated with mortar types M1, M2, M3 and M4, while wall [264] in the brewhouse wing incorporated hard, white, fine sandy type M5.

#### Discussion

The origin of brick for Stanmer House is discussed in *Brickmaking in Sussex: A History and Gazetteer* (Beswick 1993). No fewer than seven brickyards were used in the construction of a single phase:

The house was to be faced with stone but over 1¼ million bricks were required for internal work. The nearest supply of brick earth was in Brighton and to begin with an attempt was made to clamp-burn bricks on a site near the coast. When this proved unsatisfactory, production was switched to coal-fired kilns, which yielded bricks of the right quality but insufficient in quantity. As a result, seven different Wealden brickyards – three in Ringmer and one each in Isfield, Barcombe, Chailey and Clayton – were contacted in order to make up the shortfall of about 200,000 bricks (*ibid.*, 32).

The number of different makers, yards and firing methods probably accounted for the variety of bricks within a single construction phase. Additionally, later phases were likely to have reused brick, where possible, to reduce costs of new building work. Initially, attempts appear to have been made to fire the bricks on site in a clamp, which required clay to be brought in.

In 1722 Thomas Scutt made an agreement with the builders of Stanmer House whereby he was:

‘allowed 9d per thousand of all the bricks that should be made at Brighthelmston... for the Earth the Bricks were to be made of & £5 per annum besides the use of a Barn to keep in materials & a guinea & half per annum for the use of the ground to make and burn the Bricks upon’ (*ibid.*, 45).

In addition, Scutt was paid for the carriage of bricks and timber and for digging and carrying loads of clay to the site at Stanmer. The same number of suppliers were also involved for the roofing tile. ‘In all there were seven suppliers of tiles, the largest quantities coming from John Pullman of Chailey South Common and James Parker of St John’s common in Clayton’ (*ibid.*)

Clamp firing could be unreliable and might account for a number of the less well-fired bricks from the site. Improved technology, with the introduction of coal-fired kilns, improved the quality of firing and bricks were then transported to site, though this was still a costly business.

Prices for the transport of ceramic building materials were around six shillings per thousand for tiles and 12 shillings for bricks. James Parker, supplying tiles over winter, upped his charges to 25 shillings per thousand, a reflection of the difficulty of transporting over Sussex roads in winter (*ibid.*, 32).

Further research into the dating of building episodes at Stanmer House is problematic. No makers' names were stamped onto the brick at that time; however, the range of forms and fabrics supports the documentary evidence for a number of brickyards having been used during the construction. As the building was always intended to be clad in stone, the bricks were not required to be exceptionally weatherproof, which may explain the high number of poorly-fired examples recovered during the excavation.

The construction of Stanmer House in the 17th to 19th century took place using local unfrosted bricks of different sizes and quality. This sort of irregularity was common throughout the 17th and 18th century construction phases, probably due to variability in firing methods during the period.

The bricks were predominantly made of local clays and two fabrics, types 1 and 6, dominated the 16th and early 17th century structural phases. A broader range of fabrics was seen in later phases, when bricks were sourced from at least seven local brickyards.

Few ceramic building material fragments were recovered that would usually be associated with high-status houses, such as decorated floor and wall tiles or shaped bricks. This is in keeping with the function of the extension range as a kitchen and domestic area not intended to be viewed by the gentry.

#### **THE GEOLOGICAL MATERIAL by Luke Barber**

The various stages of archaeological work at the site recovered 168 pieces of stone, weighing just over 324kg, from 45 individually numbered contexts. The whole assemblage has been fully listed by stone type on pro forma for the archive.

The current report summarises the salient points of the assemblage. Some 14 different stone types were recovered, most of which are associated with the fabric of the building. Only this material is considered in the current report.

Although most types appear in 17th- to early 18th-century contexts, a notable number are from

undated or late post-medieval demolition deposits. This is particularly the case with the large ashlar blocks and architectural fragments. As such, the onset of use of some stone types is not always known, although the style of the architectural pieces is consistent with the Period 1/2 house and it is likely this was the source of much of the material; the Period 3 works being predominantly of brick and reused materials help to reinforce this suggestion.

Some 17 pieces of dull orange, fine Wealden sandstone are present in the assemblage and these appear to have been used in construction either as ashlar pieces (probably for quoins) or as architectural details (just over 266.5kg). Few complete dimensions are present, but ashlar blocks of 325 × 360+ × 125mm, 220 × 150 × 220mm and 300 × 150 × 160mm are present. The first of these was recovered from Period 2, Phase 1 wall [393] (G11), while the second was from drain [399] (G79) also of Period 2.1.

Wall [393] also contained a reused Wealden sandstone window mullion, with ovolo moulding, complete with glazing grooves. This is likely to be of the later 16th to 17th centuries and certainly derives from the Period 1 house. The mullion measured 190mm front to back by 140mm wide.

There were nine window mullions of this exact type and with the same dimensions in the assemblage, as well as a window reveal with the same moulding. All of these are unstratified or reused in later work, most notably in Period 3. For example, wall [369] (G25) incorporates four such mullions (one with a window bar socket), along with a door rebate and plinth in the same Wealden sandstone. The same wall also incorporates a chamfered block of Caen stone weighing 11.5kg. This piece shows two types of adhering mortar and it is even possible the piece originally derived from the church, although whether it was initially incorporated into the Period 1 house is uncertain.

The same wall also incorporated a Sarsen boulder (11.5kg). It is quite clear that available building materials were pressed back into service during the early 18th century, despite most of the building work of this period being of brick.

Seven pieces (6818g) of Purbeck limestone and one of Portland stone (286g) (drain [155] G66, wall [247] G84, drain [293] G37, drain [347] G57 and drain [155] G66 respectively) were also recovered, although they were not associated with any closely datable artefacts.

Although Purbeck limestone was certainly used for flooring and drain lintels in the Period 3 building, several pieces have been reused. For example, the Purbeck limestone fragment from [247] has mortar adhering to its polished/worn face and presumably represents a reused step tread incorporated into the wall. Whether this reuse relates to Period 3 onward, or includes material from Period 2, is uncertain. By far the most complete piece consists of a 45mm thick neatly squared floor slab measuring 305 × 200mm+ (drain [347]).

The largest part of the assemblage (numerically) consists of roofing material. Forty-two pieces from Horsham Stone roofing slabs were recovered (about 23.5kg). These typically range between 14 and 30mm thick and have two variations – grey and, less commonly, a ferruginous brown type.

The earliest dated slab was recovered from backfill [376] of Period 1, Phase 3 and can therefore be assumed to represent the original roof covering to at least part of the building. This also represents the only example with surviving complete dimensions: 275 × 124 × 25mm with a 9mm diameter peg hole. Horsham slab fragments subsequently appear in all subsequent periods/phases. A number of pieces from these later deposits have thick mortar adhering to both sides, hinting at reuse in walling, but they were also utilised for drain covers.

Later roofing appears to be represented by slate. Three types are present. By far the most common is Welsh slate of probable later 18th- to 19th-century date. Some 26 fragments (991g) were recovered from Period 3 contexts onward; however, many pieces are likely to be intrusive – even during the early Period 3 contexts.

The other slate types are much scarcer and consist of a green-grey granular type, possibly from Honiston in the Lake District (6/902g: the earliest pieces from Period 3 refuse layer [139]; G49) and a fine West Country-type of uncertain source (3/197g). The earliest of the latter type was recovered from pit [478] (G86), associated with 17th- to early 18th-century finds.

## CONCLUSIONS

The archaeological investigations at Stanmer House have contributed greatly to our understanding of the development of this downland country seat. The findings complement historical and documentary research and create a tangible link

with the named builders, architects and owners of the various phases of the manor's evolution.

Stanmer represents one of only a handful of country houses to have received investigation on this scale within the South-East. As such, the results are a significant contribution to the research into this element of the region's historic landscape.

As a home of the county's elite the house has, during its history, been at the forefront of architectural fashion. It has also been the residence of noted industrialists as well as those lower down the social scale who were concerned with farming the manorial landscape rather than display and style. It has thus included elements, both old and new, of local and regional vernacular, as well as fashionable, nationally accepted trends.

In the 16th century tenurial history it is clear that the Dissolution of the Monasteries provided an impetus for the creation of a secular manor whose various owners would, over time, express their social and economic identities through the medium of architecture.

It is unlikely that the church would have acted as a similarly dynamic force and the building works can be viewed as an example of the post-medieval patronage of artistic networks from Sussex and beyond.

The extent of these networks was occasionally a source of tension. While Dubois can be considered an architect of national repute, he occasionally failed to work harmoniously with local contractors and those brought in from London. Perhaps the most fraught relationship was with Lewes builder Arthur Morris. Dubois claimed he was 'intolerably saucy and unruly', while Morris labelled the architect the 'French son of a bitch' (Goodfield and Robinson 2007, 33).

The creation of a country residence acted as a magnet for craftsmen from far and wide but also drew on material resources from an extensive geographical area. The various stages of building reflect the different resources available to a Sussex estate. Materials encountered in both excavated remains and documentary accounts were sourced from the coastal plain, Greensand Ridge and Weald, as well as from areas outside of the county and even overseas.

The various building materials possessed inherent social connotations to be 'read' by an intended viewer depending on the material's position within the fabric of the building itself.

While beach and downland flint was used in the fabric of the Jacobean façade, it was relegated to lower status areas by the reign of Queen Anne. Sandstone, on the other hand, was used in prominent architectural details throughout the life of the house and would be used for architectural display from at least the early 17th century until the Palladian rebuild and after. Bricks were the mainstay of early 18th century construction and seem to have occupied a hierarchy somewhere between that of the other masonry elements.

Stanmer House was obviously part of a wider historic landscape in which it comprised the central element of an estate. In its earliest, recognisable form it was a rather modest, flint, lobby-entry house with sandstone architectural features. Its unpretentious origins may match the size of the Stanmer estate (only 1,250 acres; Warne 1989, 207) during the later medieval and earliest post-medieval periods and may be symptomatic of an age when wealth was built largely upon land ownership.

A loose parallel for the earliest phase of Stanmer House may be found in the 16th-century Sutton Cottages at nearby Iford in the Ouse Valley. This lobby-entry building once comprised the manor house and was later converted into three separate residences.

The medieval and early post-medieval focus on the land may be reflected in the orientation of the earliest building. Excavation has shown that the Elizabethan or Jacobean house faced the hedged fields of the demesne (see Warne 1989, Fig. 2) rather than other parts of the manor, including the village.

However, the overriding concern of later owners seems to have been status and display rather than claims to the land. During the short tenure of Peter Gott, the building's entire frontage shifted

90 degrees in order to present a statement to those entering Stanmer from the Falmer Road. This may indicate that a designed landscape was already in existence by the early 18th century.

Excavation has also shown that it was not the Pelham family who were responsible for the most dramatic changes to Stanmer House. In fact, it was the short tenure of Peter Gott, the descendant of Dutch immigrants employed in the Wealden iron industry, that caused the most significant break with the past.

As an early industrialist, Gott epitomises the social striving of the newly emerging upper middle class. It was he who introduced new architectural fashions to the house and completed a comprehensive remodelling of what had gone before.

In Gott's work, which may have effectively bankrupted him and contributed to his suicide, we find evidence that country house design owed something to industrial fortunes rather than the 'old money' of the landed elite.

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