GULLEY (J.L.M.)
Ph.D. 1960.
(Historical Geography)
Vol. 2.
Life is the art of drawing sufficient conclusions from insufficient data.  
Samuel Butler.

(i) The Black Death: the arrest of early medieval expansion.

A relatively low density of population and a dispersed habitat did not significantly reduce the disruptive effect of the plague on economic life in the Weald. The marginal settlements and manors, nearest to large population centres in the surrounding regions, were especially attacked. At Lagham and Marden in Godstone the population was almost wiped out; in 1349 no one ground at the water-mill, 200 acres of sheep pasture in Marden and 200 acres of arable in Lagham could not be farmed, both courts had no revenue from lack of suitors and the rent of free tenants in Lagham had fallen to 4/- from 30/- in the previous year. In 1349 all save ten of the tenants of Paddington manor in Abinger were dead and the capital messuage of Tandridge, not far away, was broken down in 1351. (By contrast, Dorking manor had as many servile tenants shortly after 1349 as before and the number of rent-paying free tenants had increased.) Further east, the Black Death caused a severe, if temporary, disruption at Westerham.

1. PRO. C 135/104/20. Lagham was in the south of the parish on the Weald Clay, Marden in the north on the Lower Chalk. Marden settlement site (deserted apparently since 1349) lies near Marden Castle (ex. inf. R.J Glasscock) and is now in Warlingham parish.
2. PRO. C 135/101/3.
3. PRO. C 135/113/4.
4. VCH. Sy., 1912, 418.
5. T.A.M. Bishop, 1938, 38.
Fig. 27. Data from L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1955. In the graph of unoccupied holdings, the account of 1349 is for the second half of the accounting year 1348-9.
These manors lay along the northern margin of the Weald, the nearest to London. Along the southern margin 2/3 of the population of Alciston manor died in 1349, including 8 tenants in the Wealden part of the manor at Hellingly; in 1350 9 tenant holdings at Laughton had been vacated and re-leased whilst 13 still lay in the hands of the lord. In March 1349 12 deaths were recorded at Wartling and in October over 60; 25 of these left no heirs and 10 others left only minors. The effects of the drop in population were long felt in many cases; Shulbrede Priory complained in 1358 that its lands lay waste since its labourers had been killed by plague and replacements could not be found and in Streathmanor, 1366, there were still small holdings without tenants. By this time the second attack had come in 1360-1 and it was this which closed the Tudeley ironworks in Kent; in 1373-4, after the third attack in Wistons 1369, there were more customary holdings without tenants than they had been after the first attack in 1349.

The effects of the first onset of plague on the actual processes of husbandry were mirrored in the surviving accounts of Petworth manor, where as many as 300 people appear to have died. The total receipts of the manor fell from £215 in 1347-8 to £158 in 1352-3; in 1351 though more barley was grown than 5 years before, the grain total was

2. BM. Add. Ch 32138.
4. Reg. Chichester C f 67; the difficulties may have been exaggerated as the Priory was requesting the advowson of Midlavant church in recompasse.
5. W. Bugden. 1942. 34-5.
7. W. Hudson. 1911. 180-2; in 1356-7 and year after there were 9 customary holdings still not paying rent; in 1373-4 15 out of the 25 total were in the lord's hands.
8. Calculation of loss from defaulted tenements plus heriots of others.
substantially lower. Totals of the major crops and of all grain had been yet lower in the intervening plague years. Three years after the major outbreak of plague in 1349 the decline in production had not been by any means recovered; there were signs of recovery—grain sales were increasing again by 1353, the value of defaulted rents was dropping as surviving tenants began to lease unused lands—but crop totals were still substantially lower and labour costs higher than before the plague. If little land was left unutilized by 1353 much land formerly tilled was leased as grazing—the intensity of land-use had fallen; at Chalvington further east the plague left an extreme labour shortage during which animals strayed for lack of herdsmen and destroyed much of the arable produce. By 1352 animal husbandry had not recovered either. In that year the stock of Petworth comprised 153 cattle, 24 calves, 446 sheep, 238 lambs and 81 swine; in 1347–8 there had been 220 cattle, 24 calves, 666 sheep, 366 lambs and 273 swine. The sale of stock and their products fell also. Plague hit tillage directly by reducing agricultural labour and the market for food; its effects on stock were more indirect.

Giving 100 men as dying, plus at least 200 wives and dependants. The accounts are 1347–50 & 1352–3.

1. The trends of the crops differed; rye declined over the period; barley remained stable 1347–50, sharp rise by 1352–3, but judging from earlier accounts much barley was purchased and this rise may be deceptive; large oats, an unimportant grain, declined to almost nil; small oats, the chief grain, fell over 50% 1347–53. Wheat and grey peas came almost wholly from the subsidiary Downland manors to the south. L.F. Salzman(ed.) 1955. 12–4.

2. The first reference to the pestilence comes in mid–1349: L.F. Salzman(ed.) 1955. 31–3. In 1349–50 18 tenant holdings and 9 cottage holdings defaulted on their rents and dues & were in the lord’s hands. Their later leases is portrayed in Fig. 26.77.
Yet the dislocation of the plague years led to widespread neglect of the
stock at Petworth; only thus can the large toll of murrain during the
plague years be explained. In 1347-8 61 animals died of murrain, in the
next two years when the plague raged 81 and 125; by 1352-3 the figure
was down again. These figures come from the demesne stock and the
smaller peasant flocks must have been affected similarly; also the many
heriots demanded from heirs in these years, whilst they contributed to
the demesne stock, further reduced the resources of the tenant farmers.

Such were the substantial and long lasting effects of the Black
Death on one Wealden manor. Economic stagnation in later medieval
Europe generally, or in the Weald particularly, cannot be attributed

3. The costs of machinery-ploughs and carts—also increased; ib 5-12,
47-51, 67-8.

4. ib. xxxiii, cit. Sussex Arch. Trust, Barbican House Lewes Ch.251.

5. Sale 1347-8 was 42/13/3; 1349-50 8/3/3; 1352-3 29/17/8. Over these
years there were major changes in the importance of items sold; in
1347-8 cows, swine and bacon in that order were chief, in 1352-3 wool,
pigs and cows. By the later year the chief sales were mobile goods
which could travel further to find a market—wool which could be carried
and swine which could be driven long distances with less harm than
could cattle or sheep.

1. 1352-3 figures only exist for sheep and cattle—12 died; cf. 64 for
these two groups 1349-50.

2. 5 heriots 1347-8, 17 in first half of 1348-9, 41 second half; none
1349-50.
solely to the Black Death but the effects of the plague were
symptomatic of what followed. The later medieval years were years of
a stagnant or declining population and the plague outbursts were the
first and most violent incidents in this development; during the years
immediately after 1349 and characteristics of the later medieval period
as a whole became clear for the first time - decline in the cultivated
area, decline in production for market, decline in demesne farming and
the spread of leasing. If the first symptoms that early medieval
expansion had ended did appear before 1349 it was the Black Death and
its trail which clearly marked the end of the period which had preceded.

(ii) Timber and its utilisation.

In the early fourteenth century most estates and farms included
woodland but its proportion to the total area varied; on one farm unit
1
of 70 acres in Bolney 1352, wood was 14% of the whole, on a small farm
2
of 20 acres in Cowden 1327 wood was only 8% but on a 338 acre unit in
3
Wisborough Green 1372 it exceeded two-thirds. Generally a wood was
4
within one ownership, but a few were subdivided; much woodland lay
inside parks, where the largest continuous blocks of woodland were to be
found. In 1329 Etchingham Park had 400 acres of timber and copse and a

1. BM. Add. MS 5683 f 46v; date from £ 48.
2. AC. 1885. 310.
3. W.D. Peckham (ed.) 1925. 130; this includes meadow but not other
pasture.
4. In 1469 grant was made of part of the Great Wood in Salehurst 'as hit
is markyd wt doolys' - S.P. Vivian (ed.) 1953. 147.
5. PRO. C 135/14/1.
nearby park in Udimore contained 200 acres of oakwood. Specially
conserved woods were not confined to parks; Petworth manor 1349-50 owned,
besides the parks, a wood at Celhouch and manorial expenses in 1352-3
included improving the hedge around Petfordyngwode.

Although many Wealden woodlands were used as common pastures in
the early fourteenth century, others were reserved and enclosed, so that
their timber could be regularly exploited. Woods were already regarded
as a continuing resource — an 85 acre wood in Wiston called Solwik
1357 was poor in quality but provided loppings every ten years; and 2
acres of Haselwood in West Chiltington (a wood of 26 acres) could be
cut annually for a steady supply of faggots. Planting seems to have
begun; a survey of the Wealden 'berghs' of South Malling manor in 1285
listed their coppices — the largest figure was 184 acres in Wadhurst —
and this included tenant land only. Small timber as well as large
brought in substantial revenue; in 1341 the underwood tithe in Yalding
and Bremchley was 4/13/4 in each, representing an annual cutting of under-
wood worth at least £45.

1. PRO.C 135/14/1.
2. L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1955. 49, 67-8. 1352-3 sale of 101/1 wood from
Little Park (ib.65) but no general sale of park timber 1347-53.
3. PRO.C 135/137/16. Wood in East Sutton 1416-7 could be cut every
sixth year — KASU 120/M 5.
5. Besides Wadhurst there were 22 acres in Mayfield, 35 in 'Grenherst',
37 in Framfield, 5 in Uckfield; B.C. Redwood & A.E. Wilson (eds.) 1955
30, 37-9, 47-52, 60-3, 66-72, 76-8.
6. PRO. E 179/123/18 m 9.
Demand for Wealden timber in the early fourteenth century came from many quarters and the needs of the State consumed much. In 1339 the Sheriff of Sussex purchased 6000 arrows of good dry wood and they were carried from Horsham to London; 1337 two large oaks were cut in Worth Forest as beams for a 'great engine' in the Tower of London; 5 oaks from Witley Park and 5 more from lands at Loxwood (in Wisborough Green) and Shipley were cut in 1313 to provide shingles for the King's Great Hall in Westminster; oaks from Tonbridge Forest were sent in 1323 for other works at Westminster Palace and timber from Iden Park in Surrey was carried by road to Rye and thence by sea to repair the king's mills at Dover in 1294-5.

Royal castles consumed very substantial quantities of wood. In 1321 32 'weldichesborde' (Wealden boards) were bought at Havant for Porchester Castle and between 1307 and 1327 169 oaks and some charcoal from Ashburnham had been used at Dover castle. In 1326 Pevensey Castle bought 60 cartloads of firewood at Iwood in Warbleton and 77 oaks from Ashburnham for repairs. This followed many earlier demands — 60 oaks from Ashburnham before 1329, 100 oaks in Ashdown 1317 — and the

1. SAC. 1865. 117, from PRO. C 62/115.
2. C. Cl. R. 1332-9. 15.
In these three years Maresfield Park supplied timber for the hall beams and 7000 lathes; ridge rafters, beams and posts came from Cowden; oak for the gate and 38 rafters from Chiddingly. Chithurst supplied one beam for the gate of the outer wall and Ashdown Forest provided 2000 lathes, 150 props, and 400 beech boards for panelling. Only a decade before, between 1288 and 1290, 50 scaffold poles and 50 hurdles had been brought from Waldron, 18 cartloads of rough timber and 3 new beams from Broyle Park in Ringmer, whilst Clearhedge Wood in Waldron supplied 12 loads of beech beams for scaffolding, 50 loads of scaffolding poles and 40 hurdles, besides 56 cartloads of firewood for limeburning in Willingdon.

Good timber had a restricted distribution, even in the Weald, and when specific species were needed, timber often had to be transported many miles. Transport costs often became a large proportion of the total costs, as Pevensey accounts shew. Transport was 36% of the total cost in carrying firewood from Iwood (21 miles) in 1326; 62% for wood brought from Maresfield 1300–1, 23% of wood from Cowden 1301–2, 25% from Ashdown 1301–2.

Local timber needs within the Weald were varied but they have left less documentation than state purchases. Ironworking had begun and illegal conversion of wood to charcoal was noted in 1279 within Marden Hundred; 6 oaks from Charlwood were granted c. 1332 to help build a mill; in 1278 4 oaks from the parsonage wood were needed to repair Burwash church. During the fourteenth century timber spires were erected...

3. I have omitted wood from royal lands where no purchase price is given; is
at Playden and Beckley, and a timber bell-turret at Wartling.

Wealden wood was already being exported by the time of the first surviving customs account, for 1307-8; it listed 102 shipments from Sussex ports (almost all from Winchelsea) including 31 of timber, 10 of bark. Although continuous accounts are lacking, wood seems to have dominated the export trade of Winchelsea and much of it was probably carried by barge down the Rother and Brede from the inner Weald. Account for 1323-9 illustrate the considerable fluctuations from year to year, produced by bad weather and political friction; in 1328-9 there were 57 shipments of wood from Winchelsea (worth over £270), 2 from Pevensey (28/-/-) and 4 from Seaford (£84). From 1329 until 1371 customs account are missing but other evidence shows the continuance both of coastal traffic (1358 wood was shipped to repair Boston bridge) and export. Merchants from France, Flanders, Zeeland and 'Eastland' attended the regular Wealden wood sales but, after it was alleged that this was a cover for illegal wool exports, wood sales were restricted to Slaghdam in Winchelsea. The Wealden settlements complained that this deprived the

these instances, transport costs were almost all. cf. M.M. Postan, *Camb.Econ.Hist.Europe.* ii. 1952. 155, who claims that transport costs in the Middle Ages were not a higher percentage of total costs than no out 4. B. Furley in 1874. 241; reprint of ib. 133 (1275).
5. J.B. Sheppard (ed.) i. 1887. 456.
1. VCH.Sx. 9. 1937. 162, 147, 140.
2. R.A. Pelham. 1928. 170-175.
3. C.P.R. 1358-61. 119.
of most of their livelihood, which was unlikely, and that since the Weald produced little wool (which was true), the accusation was exaggerated. In 1357, therefore, the right to sell timber to foreign merchants was restored to Bodiam, Newenden, Reading in Tenterden, Maytham in Bolvenden and other Wealden settlements.

When timber was in demand for such a variety of uses, heavy fellings were inevitable and concern arose about wastage, a precedent of the sixteenth century agitation. Laughton manor, after heavy timber fellings in the 1290’s, was described in 1320 as devastated; in 1338 10 acres of underwood in Shipley were recorded as destroyed by the previous lord and the Prior of Shulbrede was told in 1345 not to consume his woodlands, around Linchmere in the western Weald, so excessively as in previous years. In 1304 an ordinance restricted felling on the Christ Church Priory manors in Kent to fuel, repairs to mills and other essential needs; each manor was to keep timber accounts. This did not end their problems for in 1335 one of the Priory manors, Eastry, appointed a woodreeve over its Wealden woods to stop illegal depredations there.

1. C.P.R. 1354-8. 579.
4. L.B. Larking (ed.) 1855. 175.
6. B.M. Cotton MS. Galba E iv. f 75v; the same year the Priory estimated it could sell £20 of wood p.a.—ibid. f 177v, cit. R.A.L. Smith. 1943. 219.
7. The woods were in Bolvenden, Cranbrook, Tenterden, Benenden and Walkhurst in Benenden—J.B. Sheppard (ed.) ii. 1888. 112.
Also, besides commercial timber selling, much wood cutting and transport in the Weald was still carried on within the older framework of customary regulation. The carriage of timber from Homewood, south of Dorking, to Kingston can be traced back from the 1562 complaint at least to 1329; the tenants of Dorking manor in Dorking, Iwood and Holmwood had a customary obligation to carry each year 870 billets of firewood to Kingston. Sussex Wealden tenants at Heathfield cut, clave and carried timber to the manorial centre at Bishopstone and wood was cut at Pubherst in Wisborough green for the needs of the south Sussex manors of Ferring and Amberley. Carting works within Laughton manor (1292) carried 60 loads of timber annually from Wealden woods at Waldon, 20 from Hawkhurst in East Hoathly and 123 from the Broyle in Laughton to the manorial headquarters on the southern margin of the Weald.

Tenants of villein land in Marley manor in Battle owed heavy carriage services; they had to carry annually 210 cartloads of wood to Battle Abbey from its woods. The tenants of each virgate in the Wealden divisions of Southmalling manor (the 'berghs' of Wadhurst, 'Grenherst', Mayfield, Framfield and Uckfield) were obliged in 1285 to carry 3 cartloads of wood to Southmalling, a total of 183½ cartloads.

1. VCH. Sy. 3. 1911.144
2. VCH, Sy. 4. 1912, 415.
3. Bishopstone customal 1253-62, W.D. Peckham (ed.) 1925, 96-98; Ferring customal pre 1379, prob. late C 13, ib. 72-6; Amberley (undated) ib. 54.
Amberley also drew wood from Leuestrode and Mennesse (poss. Minses Wood in Kirdford).
4. PRO. SC 11/877, cit. A.E. Wilson. 1959. 116. Money equivalents are given but the services were probably not commuted.
5. S.B. Scargill-Bird (ed.) 1887. 4-12. 90 cartloads drawn by 4 oxen were due between 29 September and Hocktide (second Tuesday after Easter), 120 drawn by 2 oxen in the rest of the year. The customal is 1272-130.
Another archiepiscopal manor in Sussex, Tarring, had a Wealden outlier at Marlpost in Horsham, whence 61 cartloads of wood were taken to Tarring each year. The Wealden tenants at Marlpost owed 42 days cutting the firewood to be carted, a labour commuted by 1285.

The Wealden woods (p.32) of Southmalling were not enclosed and were used for common pasture also; much may have been relict natural woodland. At Marlpost, by contrast, some of the wood was enclosed and the southern parts of Southmalling also drew timber from an enclosed area, in this case from Broyle Park in Ringmer.

In Kent, as in Surrey and Sussex, many manors outside the Weald had woodlands within the area; the Kentish pattern, however, shows some differences. Manors there often had several small outliers of limited extent, near one another but far from the parent manor; within these restricted areas there were by 1300 three competing land-uses, tillage, pasturage (especially of swine) and wood. The timber was valuable and cut frequently; in 1334 the bailiffs of several manors of Christ Church, Canterbury–Great Chart, Little Chart, Welles, Agney, Marsesham & Buckinge-assembled at Great Chart with transport to carry timbers to Godmersham Court. The wood was drawn from the Wealden outliers of these manors, especially no doubt the 10 denus of Great Chart, and must have been a

2. ib. 29.
3. ib. 94, 109; repeated for 1305–6, ib. 132. On some other manors, as at Marlpost, the works were already commuted. Timber works due at Michelmore Pallingham manor were commuted by 1302–PRO.C 133/104/21. On Wiston manor each villein tenant owed to cart 2 wain loads of wood from Knepp Park, St. Leonard's Forest or elsewhere to Wiston p.a. but by early C 1 this was commuted—W. Hudson. 1910.174.
3. J.B. Sheppard (ed.) ii. 1888.56.
considerable amount if it needed the transport facilities of six
manors. The Archbishop of Canterbury had substantial woods in the
Kentish Weald, attached to several manors, and Archbishop Islip (1349–
55) is reputed to have cut more wood on these Wealden 'drovedenens' than
any of his predecessors. (Fig 37) shews the denes of one Archiepiscopal
manor).

By this time, however, disputes between the distant landlord
and the local tenants over such timber had become common. When the
Prior of Christ Church cut wood on a den in Benenden in 1333 his rights
were disputed; they were allowed in court but this did not stop
illicit fellings by the residents in the denes. Such cuttings had
already become extensive. In 1312–3 tenants on lands of St. Augustine's
Abbey were accused of cutting down £1000 worth of wood in 8 parishes,
6 of them Wealden; in 1310 the Archbishop of Canterbury complained of
several timber losses – 24 oaks on the den of 'Besinden', 40 oaks and
beeches in the den of Bettenham (an outlier of Westgate manor in
Canterbury), 100 oaks in High Halden, 211 oaks and beeches from 3 denes
of the manor of Aldington and 250 oaks from the denes of Haytherst and

1. Stephen de Birchington. Historia de Archiepiscopis Cantuariensiibus, 41
in H. Wharton (ed.) i. 1690.
2. Dispute arose because the Prior entered an enclosure to get the timber
but his claim to 'omnes grossas quercus fraxinos et fagos crescentes
in drovedenens' was granted—PRO. KB 27/293 m 55. In 1370 the prior's
right to cut in 'droveden' at Cranbrook was questioned, but allowed —
KB 27/437 m 20v, 36.
3. PRO. Jl. 1/382 m 51v. The Wealden parishes were Cranbrook, Frittenden,
Boughton Malherbe, High Halden, Smarden, Bathersden; the others
Sturrey & Chislet.
5. i.e. 133 oaks and beeches from Kensing and Freesingham in Bolvenden
(both in the 1539 list of Aldington denes—KAO. U. 86/M 2); 78 oaks and
beeches from 'Wardens' probably Wardens in Bacton, and 250 oaks
from 'Botvenden' (both in the 1539 list of Aldington denes—KAO. U. 86/M 2).
Tilden in Marden (the former a denn of Gillingham, the latter another denn of Aldington.) Most of these claims were proved. The customary connection of dennis as timber suppliers to manors in North Kent was breaking down and by the middle of the century some landlords made the separation legal; rather than lose all the timber on the dennis by illegal depredation, they granted it to the local tenants in exchange for a fixed annual rent. In 1356 Aldington manor made such an arrangement with its denn of Devenden, and others followed.

(iii) Parkland.

Much of the Wealden land surface in the early fourteenth century was forest, chase, park or warren; the largest single units were the 'forests'. In strict definition, a forest was a royal hunting preserve for certain animals, especially red and fallow deer and the wild boar, subject to special and repressive forest laws; in this sense there were

---

1. RAO. 398/M 1A f 91; KAO 11 802.
2. AC. 1864-5. 247-9. Compare Pipesden in Hawkhurst and Walkhurst in Benenden, two of the dennis of Eastry, where by the early C 14 the tenants took half the timber, and the monks of Christ Church, the landlords, the other half—BM.Add. MS 6159 f 28v.
3. G.T. Turner. 1901. ix-xiv. In 1339 it was decided that roe deer were beasts of warren, not of the forest. Manwood incorrectly included hare and wolf in beasts of the forest.
no forests in the Weald in 1300, as a writ of that date for Kent and Sussex pointed out, but there were several large areas commonly called 'forest'.

The largest of these was the 'forest and chase of Ashdown', and both terms were applied to it throughout its varied changes of ownership; actually in 1300 (and until 1372) it was in royal hands. No equivalent long periods of royal possession between the Conquest and 1350 are recorded for those areas commonly called in the early fourteenth century 'the forest and chase of St. Leonards', the 'forest and chase of Worth' or 'the forest of Dallington'; this last was also known as the 'forest of Brightling' or 'Burwash forest'. In the Kentish Weald the 'forest and chase of Tonbridge' was thus called whether in royal hands or not and 'Waterdown Forest' was its southern extension across the border in Sussex.

1. Parliamentary writs i. 91a, cit. G.J. Turner. 1901.lxxxviii.
2. Ashdown Forest was part of the larger Forest of Pevensey granted by the Conqueror to Richard of Mortain. His successor, William of Mortain rebelled and the land reverted to the Crown to be granted in part to Gilbert de Aquila and possession then went with Pevensey Castle until it reverted to the Crown again 1268-9 (E. Turner. 1862 40-1); then royal property until granted to John of Gaunt 1572(C.P. 1370-4. 183), reverting to Crown 1399 when he became king (Sonerville.1. 1953.x). Ashdown is thus named 1100-50 (C. Johnson & H.A. Cronne. 1956. no 1670), in 1263 it is referred to both as the royal forest of A. (C.C.1.R 1261-4. 256) and the forest of Peter of Savoy of A (ib.259); in 1315 as a chase (EM. Harl.MS. 2077.f 375).
3. 1214 Forest—Cal.Lit.Claus. 1204-24, 142; free chase called forest 1295-CPR. 1292-1301. 164. From c.1075 to C 16, save short period un John, it was in the hands of subjects—W.H. Legge. 1907. 306-10 (may a royal possession in Saxon times—ib. 306).
5. 1086 held by a subject (18b); referred to as Dallington F. 1343 (Ca Inq. Misc. ii. 1916. 462), Burwash forest 1225 (VCH.Sx. 2.1907.324) 1280-PRO.C 143/58/10; Brightling Forest c.1176 (W. Dugdale. Mon. v.
By 1350 most of the so-called 'forests' were thus called in token of some past time when they were royal hunting grounds; they were also described as 'chaces'. This vaguer term could mean an area where forest beasts were preserved but not subject to forest law, or former royal forest now held by a subject, and was therefore applicable to most of the Wealden 'forests'; there was no legal distinction between beasts of the chase and those of the forest. In the landscape the chaces were broad areas of open hunting ground, confined to those higher parts of the High Weald where heath and open woodland covered large stretches of near barren soil; they were larger and less wooded than most parks and, being so extensive, suffered much encroachment. There were other chaces

1825.668), Chace of Dallington 1334 (CIPM.7. 426). The grant by R. Ysouden in 'foresta mea de Worth' (HMC. Penshurst MSS. i. 1925. 54) refers not to Worth Forest (as given FN.Sm. i. i.), but Worth in Brightling, i.e. Dallington (VCH.Sm.2. 1907. 324). W.H. Legge 1907. alleges that much of Dallington was owned by Edward the Confessor.

6. Forest of T.1177 (A.H. Davis. 1924. 113), 1329 (C.P.R. 1327-30. 357); chase 1323 (C.C.L.R. 1318-23. 637). In royal hands 1325.

7. The first reference to Waterdown Forest is 1439-PN.Sm. ii. 376. Le; (1907.323) equated it with the Forest of Rotherfield 1262 (PRO.C. 132/27/5), 1329 (C.P.R. 1327-30. 357); king's free chase of R. 133(1334-8. 141). In 1086 there was a park here (16a)-Legge says the land was royal before the Conquest, granted to Ode and confiscated on his rebellion.

1. G.J. Turner. 1901. mix; Manwood distinguished buck, doe, fox, mart; and roe as beasts of the chase, but this has no legal basis.

2. 1275 encroachment in Ashdown-L.F. Salzman.1942-3.38; and in Tonbridge forest-R. Purley. ii. 1874. 128.
besides the five 'forests' - the Earl of Surrey had one at Cleres, 1
probably near East Chiltington, whose boundaries he was illegally 2
extending into Lindfield in 1275 and the large areas of unenclosed land in the Wealden woods of South Malling manor, where the Archbishop was 3
went to hunt, must have approximated to a chase.

A park was an area enclosed by a ditch and paling, usually but not necessarily a hunting preserve; in later medieval times, royal licence was generally necessary before imparking but this does not seem 4
to have been common before 1350, save for imparking near royal forests. Parks thus situated might encroach on royal hunting rights and a park at Breadbridge, near Ashdown, was allowed to remain in 1278-9 only after 5
its owner disclaimed hunting rights there.

Rights to free warren gave the holder exclusive hunting of certain small animals over a particular area, normally his demesne; pheasants pigeons and partridges were among the fowls of warren, wolf, wildcat, hare and rabbits among the beasts. In some cases, landlords claimed rights to hunt not only over the demesne, but also over the land of their bond or even free tenants. In 1275 the Earl of Surrey exacted hunting

1. Acc. FN.Sx. 299; W.H. Legge. 1907. 311 - in or near South Malling.
2. L.F. Salzman. 1942-5.43; on 1287 there was a "forester" of Cleres-FRO. J 1 1/924 m 57.
3. Common pasture rights shew much of the wood was unenclosed in 1285- B.C. Bedwood and A.E. Wilson (eds.) 1958. 32, 36, 48,66. The Archbishop had two foresters in the manor, one for the north part, ether for Broyle Park (102).
5. PRO J1 1/921 m 16 (one Breadbridge is in Slinfold, another in Horsham).
6. 2 men were in court 1402 for hunting on their bondland at Tottingworth in Hawksberough Hundred (EM. Add. Ch 31541); in 1389 the owner of Witley park claimed free warren over lands of bond tenants (FRO.XB 27/511 m 17) although the original grant of 1247 (C.C.R. 1226-57. 315) was for demesne only. Few bond tenants, in any case, had the property qualification laid down for hunting small game in 1389 (p.24).
rights over nearly all his barony of Lewes, including the land of others, and the animals multiplying in his warrens destroyed the crops of the local farmers. That same year the Queen appropriated free warren over all lands in Willingden Hundred and in 1278 it was claimed that the Queen alone had free warren in the whole Rape of Pevensey.

Such were the legal distinctions of forest, chase, park and warren. In actuality the differences were less rigid; many parks seem to have developed out of grants of free warren, although the game concerned was different. Free warren grants were for hunting over agricultural lands but many lords preferred to ensure success with less effort by enclosing warrens within their parks (they were then also readily available as supplementary sources of meat): hunting rights were granted to specific individuals but they were often leased (as for small game in Ashdown in 1297), and whilst Dallington chase was the property of one lord several

---

7. Lord of Beigate claimed this 1279 - Plac. Quo Warr. 737. 745; tenants of Southmalling Lindfield (Wivelsfield) were not to kill any game or warren in the lordship-1389-90: BM. Add. MS 5683 f 222. The Burgesses of Pevensey, in contrast, could hunt hares and rabbits even the unenclosed ground of their franchise, 1356-L.B. Larking. 1850. 214.

1. L.F. Salzman, 1942-3. 52; the tenants dared not enclose for fear of Earl.

2. L.F. Salzman, 1942-3. 42; also Flexborough Hundred-ib.46.

3. In 1252 the boundaries of the free warren appurtenant to the Baron's Pevensey, granted to Peter of Savoy, included these parishes wholly or partly in the Weald - Arlington, Wilmington, Folkington, Willingdon, Hailsham, Westham and Pevensey. In 1275 it was alleged hunted over other lands as well as his demesne (L.F. Salzman, 1942-3 40, 42), but the Queen's claim seems to negative his legal rights in 1252. A list of parishes 1352 where the Queen's parks and chases had been invaded includes 50 in Pevensey and Hastings Rapes-C.P.R. 1350-4. 287-8.

4. e.g. coney warren at Petworth within Little Park 1348-50, enclosed by hedge and ditch-L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1955. 24, 35, 48.

41.
Fig. 73. Data from 'prendix V.'
neighbouring landowners were given rights to hunt over part of it.

By 1300 the creation of chases had ended but parkland was still increasing. At least 46 parks are documented for this date and by 1350 there were 68. (Fig 28). Whilst it is impossible to date the creation of many parks since royal licence was not compulsory yet a few details survive – in 1342 there was a 'newly made' free chase and park within St. Leonard's Forest, and a newly enclosed park at Worth in 1326. 4½ acres were added to Ringmer Park 1279-92, land in Mayfield at Frankhaw in Heathfield and at Pashley in Ticehurst was imparked between 1291 and 1341 and 74 acres were added to Mayfield Park in 1354. Parks varied in size – the rounded figures of Inquisitiones Post Mortem give 100 acres for Burwash 1334, Crowhurst only 60 1334, Southpark in Penshurst 219 1341.

6 5. 1297 subject allowed to hunt fox, hare, cat and badger in A.C.P.R. 1292-1301, 290; a tenant claimed right to hunt small game in Weald: woods of Archbishop's manor of Southmalling 1285-B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (ed.) 1958. 110.
2. Based on Appendix 5; in 1250 only 20 are known.
3. C.P.R. 1340-5. 551.
4. CIPM. 6. 437.
7. C.P.R. 1354-8. 40.
Lagham 300 in 1349, Sedgwick 400 in 1326 and Etchingham over 400 in 1330; if the average was only 200 acres, there must have been over 210 square miles of parkland in the Weald by 1350.

Grants of free warren were given between 1300 and 1350 for land in over 80 Wealden parishes, besides the large corpus of existing rights granted earlier (Appendix 6). By 1350 at least three separate charters had been given for free warren in Brenchley, four for land in Ticehurst, five for Chiddingstone and six for Wartling. Disputes sometimes arose over such rights. In 1313-4 one defendant failed to justify his claim to free warren in Lamberhurst, another justified his claims in Wateringbury, Chart and Peckham and the claims of the Abbot of Leeds, in Wateringbury Wersham Cumbden Lamberhurst and Goudhurst, were allowed on presentation of a royal charter.

Parks and enclosed warrens were bordered by ditches, banks and palings. Some large landowners laid obligations on their manors to contribute to the paling of their largest parks; Slaugham, Hamsey and Pangdene all owed assistance in repairing the pale of Cuckfield Park.

1. PRO.C. 135/40/8; CLPM. 7. 427; C 135/95/13; C 135/104/23; C 134/97/7; C 131/3.
6. W.C. Bolland. 1913. 174, 184; which Chart and which Peckham is uncertain. There is no trace in C.C.R. 1257-1300 of the charter of 1286-7 which the Prior of Leeds claimed.
7. 1339-PRO.C 135/60/6, Slaugham and Pangdene; 1322-C 134/70/4, Hamsey
Tenants of the southern parts of Southmalling manor contributed to repairing the boundaries of Broyle Park in 1285. The larger chaces were often enclosed along at least part of their margin. The paling of Tunbridge chace was mentioned 1323, in 1279 its 'pales and hedges'; customary tenants in Rotherfield owed upkeep of its southern margin (there known as Rotherfield chace) in that parish. Tenants of Highley (in Balcombe and Worth) repaired part of the enclosure of Worth Forest and in 1292 logs were felled for pales around Ashdown Forest. The earthen bank, on which was the pale, still survives around Ashdown and around Michelham park.

The most important sporting beasts in the parks were deer. They were kept in large numbers – 1000 in Udimore Park 1329 – and the upkeep of such large herds, especially the employment of parkers and the provision of costly supplementary food in winter, was expensive. In 1326 the 1000 acres of Knepp park were valued at no more than 10/- p.a. beyond feeding of the deer and upkeep of the fences. On the other hand

3. For at least 55 perches, 1332-77 customal – C. Pullein. 1928. 66.
8. PRO.C. 134/97/6.
(a) Ferreting in a abbit warr n. BM. oyal M 2 B vii. f I55v.

(b) r hunting. ib. f I53.

Fig. 29. Early C I4 illustrations of hunting a tivities.
deer provided a valuable food supply, and large warrens supplied both
meat and skins. (Fig 29), the Conynghere in Petworth Great Park
1 supplied many rabbits annually (183 were taken 1347-8). Dogs hunted th
larger animals, hawks the smaller prey and the bird population of some
2 parks included not only hawks but pheasants and partridges. Such
delicacies were largely confined to parks and, whilst the eastern
costlands of the Weald had access to coastal fisheries, most of the
fishponds of the inner Weald were within park pales — at Aldington 1275,
3 Petworth 1349, West Peckham 12-93 and Cuckfield 1297.

Already, by the early fourteenth century, parkland was used for
agriculture as well as for recreation. Cattle and horses grazed
throughout the year in many parks and swine fed on the autumn pannage.
Grass pastures in parks had no special qualities but the pannage was
amongst the best in the Weald, because parks contained most of the
remaining continuous tracts of dense woodland. In 1280 the herbage
of Burwash (Dallington) forest was valued at 5/6/8 and the pannage
5 (available for less than two months p.a.) at 1/6/8; in 1273 Buckhurst
manor had pannage and pasture in Buckhurst and Newnham Parks and also
pannage in Ashdown. The total value was not very high, less than 10/-
whilst the better herbage and pannage of Botherfield chace was worth
6 7/13/4 in 1307;

1. L.F. Salzman, (ed.) 1955. 19; in 1388-90 the warrener of Dorking
supplied to the lord’s house in London 48 rabbits and sold another
480-P.S. Godman. 1921. 138.
2. King’s huntsman using dogs in Ashdown 1303—W.D. Cooper.1965. 120-1
(from Liberate Roll 32 E 1); sparrowhawks in Ashdown 1287—PRO, 11/9
m 10; herons and hawks in Penshurst Park 1471-3, HMC. Penshurst, i, 1925.237; pheasants at Petworth 1347-8—L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1955. 20,
the warren; pheasants and partridges in free chase of Earl of Surrey
in Cuckfield, Ditchling, Clayton and Hurstpierpoint—C.P.R. 1377-81; in
1377.
In the first decade of the century the prince of Wales kept his stud at Ditchling Park and in 1305 obtained an additional grant for the pasture of his horses there. The lord of Petworth in 1349-50 kept 9 colts in the Great Park, besides the 24 deer, and pasture in the park was only leased for cattle pasture if it was not reserved for the lord's mares and foals. In 1305 a number of horses in Hedgwick Park were disturbed by intruders and Southpark in Boughton Malherbe was worth nothing in 1339 beyond feeding for horses.

Some park pasture was good — Knepp park in 1326 included meadows — but much was poor. In the same year Worth Park was described as 'pasture and moor', and the 400 acres of Etchingham Park in 1329 were wood and

---


4. C.P.R. 1292-1301,317. In some rivers, as the Medway at Yalding, there were eel fisheries—CIPM. 4. 314-5.

5. PRO.C. 145/38/10; pannage of North and South Parks in Bletchingly 1296 worth 60/-, PRO.C. 133/77/3.

6. PRO.C. 133/8/7; C 133/129/13.


3. PRO.JI 1/934 m 7; C 135/160/2 (repeated 1341-135/65/11).

4. PRO.C 13b/97/6.

5. CIPM. 6. 437.
heath; Burwash park had an annual sale of bracken, and Petworth Park sold 16/- worth in 1347–81. The largest extents of heath were in the large chases of the High Weald.

Pasture within parks was not always the preserve of the landowner. Pannage in Crowhurst Park was not valued in 1334 because all the local tenants could pasture their swine there and complaint was made in 1326 that common rights were lost over 323½ acres recently imparked in Worth. Common pasture rights covered several of the 'forests', notably Dallington and Ashdown. In 1334 the Abbot of Robertsbridge, Prior of Hastings and Prebend of Brightling had pasture for unlimited numbers of animals in Dallington; in 1273 there were no less than 208 tenants living around Ashdown who could pasture within it all the stock and swine they could winter. Pasture was allowed all the year save for swine in fence month (9 June–9 July), and for cattle in the pannage season; the tenants paid a swine rent but they had liberty to burn the heather if they thought it would improve the poor pasture. Several monastic houses had limited grazing rights in specific parts of the forest.

Parkland timber was valued for more than its autumn pannage. There

1. PRO, C 135/14/1; S.P. Vivian (ed.) 1953. 112-3, suggests this area included both Etchingham Park and Bexhurst Park in Salehurst.
2. PRO.C. 145/38/10, sale of bracken 1/- p.a.
4. CIPM. 7. 426; CIPM.6. 437.
5. CIPM.7. 426.
6. PRO.SC 11/15/46.
7. ib. Prior of Michelham 60 cows and 1 bull all the year; Prior of Wilmington 36 oxen Hoskday-1 August; Rector of Maresfield 16 cows and 1 bull, vicar 15 cows and 1 bull.
were only 20 acres of wood in the small park at Burwash 1280 but

1

2

Udimore Park in 1329 enclosed 200 acres of oak; the woods of St. Augustin

2

Abbey in Tenterden 1350 included Polledespark\textsuperscript{1} and Hertispark\textsuperscript{2}. Sales

3

of parkland timber were regular — 100 beech from Ashdown 1285, £4 per

4

annum from Dallington chace without wasting it; much wood from parks was

used for major state works (p.301) and other trees were felled for local

needs — shingles and palings in Petworth Little Park 1352-3, charcoal

5

in Maresfield Park 1363.

Small areas with the parks were tilled. An unspecified acreage of

6

arable in Burwash manor lay inside the park. Between 1297 and 1350 about

50 acres in Westerham Park were asserted and intermittently cropped; by

1350 both East and West Parkfield had been integrated into a rigid

7\textsuperscript{a}

sequence of rotational tillage. In the chace of the Earl of Surrey at

8\textsuperscript{b}

Cleres, the prevalence of deer was a hindrance to cultivation and 1347–

8

21 days labour was expended in removing rabbit burrows before peas

could be sown in Petworth Park; in that same year oats were sown on other

8\textsuperscript{c}

land 'newly asserted' in the Great Park.

1. PRO.C 135/14/1.
2. EM. Faust, A.i.f. 43v; f 168 list repeated and Hertispark\textsuperscript{3} changed to

Matthewes Park.
3. PRO.E. 101/136/18. Grant 1350 of ten waggonloads of beech faggots p.;

from Ashdown—C.P.R. 1350-4.6; 1309 enquiry into depredations in

4. PRO C 145/38/10; 1280 (there Burwash forest).
5. L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1955. 65; C.P.R. 1361-4. 413.
7. T.A.M. Bishop. 1938. 41.
8. 1363; PRO.C. 135/177/18.
9. L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1955. 6, 13; oats in Great Park 1349 (1b.35).
Already by the early fourteenth century parkland in the Weald exhibited that variety of utilisation which appears so markedly in later centuries. Cattle, sheep and swine grazed the parkland as well as beasts of the chase and good horses; parkland timber was a source of income as well as the natural abode of wild life; some acres were even sown to crops and at Southfrith a bloomery worked within the parkland 1 pale. Yet these supplementary activities were less important than the; later became; tillage and ironworking were exceptional. In most instances park land was still used primarily for recreation rather than for profit.

(iv) Pasturelands.

Pasture land in the early fourteenth century Weald included all three components found three centuries later - common grazings, enclosed grazings, and marsh pastures.

(a) Commons.

Commons were frequently mentioned in documents on the early fourteenth century Weald - Heyworth Common in Wivelsfield 1296, the 'common 3 de Horeapeltre' in Heathfield 1337, Staplefield Common in Cuckfield 4 1315. The largest continuous area subject to common grazing was Ashdow Forest; in 1341 the grazing rights there of parishioners in Withyham wer 5 valued at 17/-, those of Maresfield 20/- and those of Hartfield at 40-.

---

1. M.S. Guiseppi. 1913. 145-64.
2. F.W.T. Attree. 1887. 29.
3. SAC. 1873. 142-3; for the location D. McLeod. SAC. 1925. 233-4.
5. At Maresfield 20/- is given as equal to 20 pasture animals and 24 pig which being a tithe, gives totals of 200 animals and 240 swine (G. Vandersee (ed.) 1807. 377.)
Ashdown lay in the Sussex Weald and there were commons in the Surrey and Kent Wealds also, although it was pleaded in 1322 that no man in Kent could common in gavelkind lands.

Pasturing on the commons was subject to a variety of regulations. Sometimes numbers were limited — the Abbot of Bayham's right to swine grazing in Ashdown was restricted to 20 swine; common grazing rights in Laughton manor excluded sheep and the rights of Wealden tenants of Slindon and Tarring manor excluded goats. Often common grazing was forbidden during the pannage season.

Disputes commonly arose when common rights over a large area were used by several groups of farmers. Several complaints were made in 1275, including one about common grazing on road verges in Buttinghill hundred; in 1294 the Abbot of Grestein and the Prior of Michelham claimed that the lord of Laughton manor prevented them using their rights to common pasture in woods at the Broyle in Laughton, Hawkhurst Common in East Hoathly, the Dicker in Chiddingly, land in Waldron (at Clearhedge Wood and elsewhere) and Broomknell in Ashdown Forest. It was not easy to prevent abuses in Ashdown Forest; disputes over smaller

4. As on Broyle and Laughton (M. Clough. 1956. 250) and see next page. Common grazing on the demesne in Laughton was stopped during the time of sowing, 29 September to 25 March.
commons were solved more rapidly. In 1278-9 the rights of two men, with holdings in Slaugham, to common over 100 acres in St. Leonard's Forest was confirmed against their opposers and in 1304, after argument, it was conceded that bondmen of the Abbot of Battle holding lands in Bexhill should have common throughout the year on his lands at Cooden in Bexhill.

Common grazings assumed several forms in the landscape. Most were probably heathlands but many were woodlands, used as common grazing for cattle throughout the year and swine during the pannage season. The pasture value of 100 acres of great wood in Wisborough Green could not be estimated in 1308 because it was common pasture. Tenants in the Wealden divisions of Southmalling manor in 1285 had right to common all the year save the pannage season in the 'lord's forest', woodlands of the Archbishop which were probably not enclosed. The Archbishop's tenants on manors south of the Weald did not have common in the 'forest' but many did have rights to common in the large park of the Archbishop at Breyle in Ringmer, on the southern boundary of the Weald.

The third major group of common grazings were the downlands attach to some manors which lay across the northern and southern borders of the Weald. Aldington manor, on the northern margin, had in 1322 40 acres of pasture 'super monte' and Wiston manor had considerable downs grazed by

1. BM. Add.,W061 5684 f 218v.
2. VCH.Sx. 9. 119, 137.149.
3. BM. Cott. MS. Nero E vi f 142; Ramsey had a 'heath' for common grazi 1275 - L.F. Salzman, 1942-3.52.
4. E.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson-(eds.) 1958, 47, 65, 74, 85; compared the enclosed wood at Marlpost in Horsham where common grazing was not allowed. ibid. 29.
5. Tenants of Wellingham and southern 'borge' of Southmalling: ib.91,9 102, 106, 111, 115, 117. Free tenants had the right, customary tenants paid a rent of mens. 6. PRO.C 134, 76/5.
both lord and tenants. Many were not recorded in the documents of the time but their existence was mirrored in the higher wool and lamb totals recorded in the taxes of 1341 for parishes lying on the borders of the Weald. (Fig 30).

(b) Enclosed pastures.

The mixed farming of the Weald showed a certain bias towards animal husbandry and enclosed pasture covered substantial acreages of the Wealden land surface. In some manors, as Southstoke (1272–1307), more land was in pasture than in any other single land use; in others more land was described as cultivated than as permanent pasture; in Speldhurst and Leigh 1329, and in Boughton Malherbe 1340. On many manors, however, the areas of arable and pasture given in the Inquisition post mortem did not differ greatly and the pasture area was normally an underestimate, not only because the escheators regularly underestimated, but also because the accounts omitted common pasture (save for some none; equivalents) and the use of tilled land as pasture after harvest and when fallow. At Wiston in 1357 there was 170 acres of arable, 175 of pasture and a sheep pasture for 50 sheep of unspecified acreage. Judging from

1. W. Hudson. 1911, 177.
2. This manor was not wholly in the Weald, it lay in Southstoke, Wisborough Green, Rudgwick and Fittleworth. A survey gives its lands as 70 acres arable, 40 meadow, 200 pasture (BM. Add. MS 5688 f 119v) Another survey in the same series gives Woolbeding 200 acres pasture 200 arable. Burrell dates them t. Edward 1, but L.F. Salzman. 1953, suggests c 1405 is more likely.
3. 100 acres arable, 40 poor grazing—C.P.R. 1327-30. 369.
4. 1340 200 acres arable, 20 pasture, 12 meadow—PB. C 135/60/2; 1341 same figures save 2 pasture—C 135/65/11.
5. R.H. Hilton. AHR. 1955. 3-19; also figures were clearly rounded off.
6. This is derived from the accounts and gives a smaller pasture area than the inquisition of the same year—C 135/137/46 – since 43 acres called pasture there were tilled according to the accounts. In the Wealden segment of the manor at West Chiltington there were 300 acres arable and 215 several pastures. (P.S. Bedmen. 114. 140).
an account of Claverham in Arlington 1368 pasture was grazed all the year
animals were not confined to stalls in winter.

Some of the several pasture was wooded; in 1308 a wood of 18 acres
in Shipley was worth 2d an acre as pasture. The 85 acre wood pasture at
Wolwik in Wiston was valued more highly (6d. an acre in 1357) than the
60 acres of pasture outside the park and the 20 acres at Westende; there
was also, however, in Wiston a wood of 2 acres at Sevyeres which could not
be grazed because of the multitude of trees. 190 acres of wood in Bivell
1273–4 were used as grazing.

Other several pasture was poor and scrubby. 100 acres at Sockners
in Brightling was described in 1293 as 'heath and pasture'; at
Rotherfield in 1207 there were 163 acres of rough grazing valued at
only 2d. per acre. 20 acres of bush in Hurstmonceux 1360 were worth
2d per acre as pasture for sheep and other beasts but another 28 acres
of bush had no value and 100 acres of heath in Slaugham manor 1359 were
rated at only 1/4d an acre. The extent of Buckhurst in Withyham 1273

1. W. Bugden. 1950. 25 - there is reference to the leasing of winter
pasture.
2. BM. Cotton MS. Nero E vi f 155; cf 1d an acre for 40 acres of wood
pasture in Ashurst 1268-PRO. C 132/35/11.
3. PRO. C 135/137/46. There was also another wood of unspecified area
whose pasture was worth 1/6 and 8 acres of pasture at Le Pryth and
Butterscot worth 4d. per acre.
4. BM. Add. MS 5679 f 62.
5. PRO. C 133/68/7.
6. PRO. C 133/129/13; cf. in 1296 there were 110 acres of heather and
fern at Eridge worth 1d. an acre - C 133/77/3.
7. PRO. C 135/151/14; 8 acres of bush was worth nothing as the copse wa
cut down before 1360.
8. PRO. C. 135/60/6.
distinguished 5 acres of pasture worth 6d an acre from 50 acres of heath and broom worth only 1d., and pasture at Asshecombe in Dorking could not be let in 1329-30 because of the thick growth of brushwood upon it.

The pastures of the Weald thus included much poor land as well as good pasture and this variation secured within small areas; lands of Wiston manor in West Chiltington in the early fourteenth century included 23\frac{1}{2} acres of pasture worth 5d per acre, 15 acres of poor pasture worth 1\frac{1}{4}d an acre, stubble pasture worth 1\frac{3}{4} and 31 acres of woodland pasture at 1d an acre, besides pannage worth 15/-.

(c) Meadowland and marsh pastures.

Meadow was highly valued. Whilst valuations of the early fourteenth century assessed pasture at rates from 1d to 6d an acre, meadow was commonly valued at 1/- or at 1/6 and in at least one recorded instance, at 2/-. These high values reflected the limited area of valley land available as meadow and the primary importance, before the introduction of cultivated grasses, of land which produced at least one large cut of grass per annum and grazing also; 1 acre of meadow commonly produced one cartload of hay.

1. PRO. C 133/8/7.
2. VCH.Sv.4. 1912. 417.
4. Slaugham 1339–PRO. C 135/60/6; Aldington C 134/76/3, 1323.
5. As in several surveys transcribed by Burrell from the 'Fitzalan MS'—Overfold manor in Billingshurst and Wisborough Green—EM, Add. MS 56f 42; Southstoke in this parish, Wisborough Green, Budgwick and Fittleworth—ib.f 119v; Lee in Fittleworth—EM, Add. MS 5687 f 235v; Harsfold manor in Billingshurst, Wisborough Green—ib.f 177. Burrell dates them 1272–1307 but probably c 1405—L.F. Salzman.1953.40.
6. Meadow in West Chiltington early C 14 was 1/8 and 2/- per acre.W. Hudson. 1910. 156-7.
7. A later document refers to pasture after cutting—postpastur'—of a meadow in Tillington; PRO,CP40/876m 400, cit.L.F. Salzman.1941.196.
8. In East Sutton 1416–17 (KAO.U 120/M 5) 1\frac{1}{4} acres produced 13 cartloads
There were some inferior meadows - those at Bibleham in Mayfield in 1310 were dry and sandy and meadow at East Sutton 1340 was valued only at 3d and 4d per acre; often the margin of meadow and pasture was difficult to define. The best meadows, by contrast, were those which received regular watering and already by the early fourteenth century attempts were made to control the spring rise of rivers artificially, so that meadow land might be benefited. Warelands in Cowden, mentioned 1320, was a wet meadow and a grant of 2 acres of meadow at Duddlesfield 'Hacche' (in 1312) included right to bring a water course anywhere through the land. At Bolney c1352 the meadows were divided into many parcels and tenants had right to aftermath in the demesne meadow only if they maintained the ditches and banks within it. Watering encouraged a rapid growth of grass but if water movement was not controlled this

ref. 8 continued:

Thoresd Rogers (cit. A. Evans, 1941,409) reckoned that in the late Middle Ages an acre produced 2 tons of hay and 1 ton equalled one cartload.

2. KA0. U. 120/M 4. 
3. I have not used the term watermeadow for these lands, since this is best reserved to elaborate systems of sluices and runs found for instance in early nineteenth century Hampshire; the medieval Wealden practice was largely limited to digging ditches to keep drainage effective.
4. C. Ch. R. 1300-27. 433; it had sluices in 1853-SAC. 1853. 135.
5. SAC. 1928. 112.
6. BM. Add. MS 5683 f 46v.
advantage was jeopardised; in 1360 10 acres of meadow in Hurstmonceux were valued at only 1/- per acre since they were often flooded and could only be mown in dry periods. In Etchingham and Salehurst 'brookland', pasture or fresh marsh, was valued only at 1/- per acre, whilst meadow was valued at 2/6.

Many estates had only a small proportion of their area in meadow, some - as 150 acres in Speldhurst and Leigh 1329 - included none; Wisten in 1357 included only 7 acres in a total of 352. Some few were better endowed - Etchingham and Salehurst had 382½ acres in 1330, (plus 64½ and at brookland) and Willingdon in 1296 had the unusually high figure of 282¾. Much of this acreage was not however valley meadow but marsh pasture in Pevensey Levels and many Wealden manors supplemented their limited local meadow by detached holdings of marsh grazings. By 1300 Robertsbridge Priory owned, in addition to its Wealden lands, 5 granges in the Romney marshes and Battle Abbey had marshland pastures also (see p.404). The pasture was mostly silt marsh but there was some peaty land too, of lesser value; in 1353 accounts of pasturage in the moor at Iclesham were rendered. Documents dealing with the marshland border

1.PRO. C 135/151/14.
2.PRO.C 131/File 3. A Hussey. 1938.66, translates terra broci, in a will 1474-5, as water meadow; brook was commonly distinguished from meadow, also from salt marsh ('maratimes') at Barnshorne in Bexhill 1307,S.R. Scargill-Bird (ed.) 1887.17.18. But it was not confined to the coastal margin of the Weald - 1 brook in Uckfield was mentioned 1285 (B.C. Bedwood and A.E. Wilson (eds.) 1958.75) where it was distinguished from meadow, a distinction probably between regularly and occasionally inundated valley land. Brook may even have been used for any land liable to inundation - Knells in Beckley 1295 had 250 acres upland arable, 100 arable of broke -PRO. C 133/71/5.
4.PRO.C. 135/137/46.
strictly differentiated the better marsh pastures from the poorer land above ('terra susanna') but the marshalands had their own limitations; in 1291 74 acres of marsh in Iden were valued at 2/6 per acre and 16 acres of brook at 1/6 'dum salvari possunt a submersione maris'.

(v) Animal Husbandry

At Petworth 1347-53 sheep were more numerous than cattle; the importance of sheep in this marginal Wealden manor was largely a result of its possessing subsidiary downland manors further south since the Downlands were, in the fourteenth century, one of the major wool-producing areas of England. The Nonarum Inquisitiones in 1341 show that Petworth was not exceptional; within the Sussex Weald crop production was far more important than rearing lambs or producing wool and the only

5. PRO. Sc 11/675.
6. T. Thorpe. 1835.76; cf. 79 (1561) and 80 (1362). In 1414 there is a reference to land near Hawkhurst Moor - EM. Harl. Ch. 79 A 22.
7. N. Neilson (ed.) 1928. 148-218. Reference is made 1282 to 72 acres of terra susanna in Kenardington—PRO. C 133/35/6, and to 62 acres in Orlestone and 3 in Buckinge in 1283—C 133/39/3; the Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem ii. 202, translates it as 'wornout land' but it probably merely meant sandy heath pasture, inferior to marsh land. At Warehorne it was clearly used for pasture 1289 (73 acres marsh, 24 terra susanna, 100 cultivated land, 100 wood—PRO. C. 133/54/2), but at Hoce 1341 for arable (p.34/6).
settlements where lambs and wool had any proportional significance
lay on the downland and marshland borders of the area. (see p.30)

This distribution is confirmed by other documents. Along the down
land border, the lord's sheep pasture in Wiston 1357 could support 500
sheep; pasture for 136 wethers was leased out in Street 1366; Claverham
in Arlington had nearly 700 sheep in 1368; and in 1272 the Bishop of
Winchester's stock at Wisborough Green numbered no less than 3150 sheep,
besides 252 oxen, 100 cows, 10 bulls, 10 horses and 130 goats. Claverham
included marsh pastures as well as downland and this was true also of
Laughton manor which must have had over 2000 sheep in 1341 (calculating
from the values given in the Southmalling return); in Pevensey Levels
1341 there were 1500 at Mansey in Pevensey and Northeye in Bexhill.

Within the Weald sheep were much less important, there were exceptions —
in 1348 Chiddingly had 184 sheep, 38 cattle and 34 swine— but in August
1308 the large manor of Shipley, with lands in Shipley Woodmancote and
Dorking had only 49 old ewes and 95 hoggets and in 1341 no tax of wool
and lambs was recorded in the parishes of Balcombe, Barcombe, Burwash,
Cuckfield and Shermanbury.

1. Only two parishes wholly within the Weald paid more than 30% of the
tripartite tax in wool and lambs — Itchingfield and Withyham, both
small totals.
2. TNA PRO C 135/137/46.
4. W. Bugden. 1950. 25; cf only 55 cows.
5. SAC. 1865.248; the reliability of this document is not unquestionable
6. Figures calculated by A.M.M. Melville. 1931. 38-41; the Southmalling
rates agree well with figures for the wool-clip over the same time
period.
The list of wool-producing monastic houses drawn up by Pegalotti c.1290 did not include Battle Abbey, which possessed considerable marsh pastures, but did mention Robertsbridge Priory, where an Italian merchant bought wool in 1294; this house had pasture at Ewhurst by the Rother and in the Winchelsea marshes. The list also mentioned the two houses at Bayham in Frant and at Duresford, the latter possessed of some downland pasture. Some wool was exported through the Wealden ports - the hinterland of Rye and Winchelsea covered the productive marshlands and the eastern end of the Downs. The export fluctuated from year to year, from only 6 sacks, 44 cloves and 322 woollfells in 1286-7 and to an average of 200 sacks per annum 1297-1304 (between 1307 and 1326 the average export for all Sussex was 300 sacks and 9000 woolfells p.a.) In 1288-9 two-thirds of the total from the Wealden ports came from Pevensey, near both Downs and Pevensey Levels, but 1297-1304 Winchelsea, exporting the produce of Romney Marsh, was chief.

The 1341 returns omitted cattle, which were more important than sheep in Wealden farming. A number of manorial inventories, dated by Burrell as 1272-1307, gave both the land and stock of several manors in the Sussex Weald - Climsfold (in Slinfold), Pinkhurst (in Slinfold, Shipley and Billingshurst), Hasfold (Wisborough Green and Billingshurst).

1. W. Cunningham. 1922. i. Appendix D, 628-41; the list is incomplete—N. Denholm-Young. 1937. 53-5.
2. A charter of c. 1220 refers to sheep of Robertsbridge at Ewhurst (HMC. Penshurst MSS. i. 1925. 81), and references to monastery shepherds at Grike in the Winchelsea marshes, 1417-18, ib. 166. The sale of 1294 i PRO.E 101/126/7, cit. A.M.M. Melville. 1931.97; Robertsbridge was a Cistercian house, and the economy of these houses emphasised wool production—R.A. Donkin. 1958.2-8.
3. Where much wool was produced for sale; in 1353 Chichester was elected Sussex staple, but another was allowed at Lewes, after petition, to be East Sussex production, in 1364-5 (A.M.M. Melville. 1932.39). By 1402
Lee (in Kirdford) and Bullyingham (in Kirdford and Wisborough Green) -
and mentioned cattle and horses only: Sheep only appeared at South-
2
stoke and Woolbeding, marginal Wealden manors which spread onto the
Downs.

These stock figures may have been assessments of stock capacity
rather than actual totals, but the impression they give is confirmed
elsewhere.

Great and Little Chart and East Peckham had no sheep in 1332; even
manors on the southern downland margin of the Weald, as Petworth 1347-
53, drew more revenue from the sale of cattle and cattle products than
from sheep or sheep products, though cattle were fewer in number. By

1350 both oxen and horses were used as plough animals and dairying had

was lost and its revival was petitioned-Rot. Parl. iii. 1783. 497.

6. They were transcribed by him from a 'Fitzalan MS', not now known.
L.F. Salzman. 1953. 40, suggests that actually they were compiled c.: 5; the totals differ somewhat from those of 1397 for the same manor.
1. BM. Add. MS 5685 f 59; 5686 f 50; 5687 f 177; 5687 f 235v; 5688 f 51
Cuckfield manor 1397 also had no sheep (L.F. Salzman. 1953. 39).
2. BM. Add. MS 5688 f 119v; 5679 f 190v. Similarly sheep were numerous
on the marginal manors of Keymer and Ditchling 1397 (L.F. Salzman. 1953. 38).
3. R.A.L. Smith. 1943. 152, from BM. Cott. MS. Galba E iv. f 177; the
absence of sheep is understandable since the Priory concentrated their
extensive marsh pastures.
5. Oxen at Wiston C 14 (P.S. Godman. 1911. 141); teams of 10 oxen at
Langton 1338 (BM. Add. Ch. 30989), horses at Shipley 1308 (BM. Add.
MS 6165 f 183) and Petworth 1347-8 (L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1955. 14).
become a specialist activity on some Wealden farms—on the manors of Christ Church, Canterbury, dairying reached its peak before the animal pestilence of 1327 but in the manor of Laughton dairying expanded after 1325. In the 1341 returns for the Sussex Weald substantial tithes of calves and milk were recorded at Framfield (10/-) and Wisborough Green (13/4); tithe of the dairy at Beckley was 13/4. Cheese tithes were recorded at Arlington (6/8) and Chiddingly (25/-) but cheese was made from ewes' milk as well as from cows' milk at Wiston.

Swine totals in the early fourteenth century were considerable. Ashdown Forest, which in 1650 was a cattle pasture, was the feeding ground of 2690 swine in 1297, and in 1292 there had been 2784 swine, besides 100 cattle. Individual rights to graze swine were large—the Prior of Tonbridge was allowed to pasture 60 swine in Tonbridge Forest without payment—and there were large tenant herds also. The customary tenants of Rotherfield, 1332–77, owed to pay each Martinmas (the end of the pannage season) 200 hogs or their value; the total grazed must have been well over 1000 and 8 tenants were quit of nearly all their services to work as full-time swineherds. In the winter, when feeding was difficult, they were supplied with every tenth quarter of corn taken in toll at the lord's mill, as pig-food. According to the pannage tithes

3. P. S. Godman. 1911. 141–2; at each herdwick (cheese making) 200 ewes were needed and tenants must have supplied at least 250 of the 400 used.
4. E. Straker. 1940. 122, from PRO E 372/143.
6. 1357–8, Bodl. Kent Ch. 8. Petition was made 1361–2 for renewal of the privilege (ib.). In 1325 the Friery was allowed 120 hogs in the forest C.C 1.B. 1323–7. 427.
7. C. Pallein. 1928. 66; in this manor land owing rent of one swine was called a 'swyne' or 'sues', C. Pallein. 1927. 118–20, and 1928, 79–80.
recorded in 1341 the chief concentration of swine pannage in the Sussex Weald was not around Ashdown (nor in Waterdown Forest nearby which supplied much of the Motherfield pannage) but in the western Low Weald where the heavy clays supported a much denser cover of mast-bearing trees than could the almost barren sands of Ashdown (Fig 31).

Most of the swine were, as at Esherfield, in tenant herds. In 1281 tenants in the Wealden parts of Southmalling manor had grazing rights and pannage in the extensive common woods; each virgater paid his third best pig or a 6d rent of gavelswine and the total of swine given in such payments at the annual pannage court (parrock) in Mayfield—was sufficient to employ 8 ‘drofmanni’ in driving them, with other beasts paid as rent or heriot, to the manorial centre in Southmalling. The southern divisions of the manor kept less swine and their pannage rights were confined to the area within Broyle Park in Ringmer, on the southern margin of the Weald. In Wiston fourteenth century heriots show that the pig was the poor man’s beast and swine were valuable to the small farmer; they were hardy, ate almost anything, scavenged for their own food and supplied a variety of domestic needs—oil, grease and hides, as well as meat.

1. B.C. Redwood and A.B. Wilson (eds.) 1958, 36. For drofmen (ib.35, 78-9, and for the landlord’s Wealden swine herds, ib. 3,21-22.)
2. ib. 94,99, 102, 106, 111, 115, 117.
4. The author of the Senchausie, late C 13, said if pigs were fed on grain alone, there would be a 50% loss – E. Lemond (ed.) 1890. 115.
On the other hand, there was no great market demand for swine; compared with cattle and sheep, prices were low and breeding for a specific need, comparable to wool, did not exist. Petworth manor had large numbers of demesne swine, varying from 201 in 1349 to 81 in 1352, but it was exceptional; demesne herds were generally small. Swine were unimportant in demesne husbandry at Wiston. Laughton manor kept few and leased out the pannage of Dallington Forest to the tenants; payment for the swine herd during the pannage season at Strete 1366 was erased from the account as the herd was too small, and when Pevensey Castle bought 42 hogs for victuals in 1326 they had to be bought from 5 different sources, none supplying more than 18.

Pannage rights give supplementary evidence on the extent of swine grazing in the Weald. According to an equation given in the Elsted return of the 1341 ninths, pannage tithes recorded in various other returns of that year can be converted into swine totals; there were at least 200 swine in Kirdford. These calculations give, if anything, underestimates; the pannage tithes recorded around Ashdown by no means equal the large totals of swine recorded there in the 1290's and major decline between 1290 and 1341 is unlikely. Records of the pannage

1. L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1955. 2,17. Figures are for the beginning of the accounting years. Corrections must be made to figures given in the account rolls since they give totals which apply to different times of the years, for each group (pigs, piglets, sucking pigs). The lord's herd was considerable (it used all the stubble 1347-50-pp3: 46) and well fed—q.6 bs. large oats were used 1348 for fattening pigs (25-6).
3. 2 pigs sold p.a. 1288-9 but none in stock inventories before 1337—Clough. 1956. 69, 107.
tithes unfortunately do not survive from 1341 but some scattered valuations remain - in 1291 there was pannage in the park at Boughton Malherbe, and 20/- of pannage outside it.

Direct correlation of pannage and swine totals is not, however, possible. Pannage in any woodland varied from year to year and often rents for pannage differentiated 'free mast' years from others when the crop of acorns and beechmast was poor. Pannage within 'le Strode' park in Wiston 1357 was valued at 10/- quando acciderit (when it fell). Secondly the pannage season was only six weeks in length and the size of swine-herds depended not only on pannage resources but also on the available pasture for the rest of the year. In some cases, woods used for pannage were grazed by other animals for the rest of the year; in 1324 a wood of c.60 acres in Brede was valued at 3/4 for pannage and pasture. Initially the swine had exploited the woodland pastures without competition but the grubbing restricted regeneration both of trees and of shrubs; with less undergrowth and more sunlight, the herb layer flourished and the extending areas of grass under the open woodland became utilisable as cattle pasture.

7. See Fig 31 for the parishes around Ashdown.

1. PRO C 133/61/22.

2. e.g. Framfield 1622, Ew. Egerton MS 1967 f 229 (this was formerly part of Southmalling and the same division occurs in Southmalling 1350-B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (eds) 1958, 140); Ringmer c1550-EM. Add. MS 5681 f 101v. In Botherfield 1332-77 full mast, scarce mast and no mast were distinguished, C. Pullein, 1928, 66.

3. PRO C 135/137/46.

Sometimes rights to swine grazing covered the whole year; in Ashdown the free tenants of the manors of Maresfield and Duddleswell could graze their swine in Ashdown Forest all the year save 'fence month', 15 days either side of Midsummer Day. Tenants of Rotherfield had rights in the lord's chase under the same conditions. Nevertheless, restrictions remained. Variation in the pannage harvest from year to year, the steady decline of pannage as wood was felled and its regeneration restricted, the increasing competition for pasture from other animals whose products were more valuable—these factors combined to prevent swine raising from being a major commercial enterprise in the Weald during the early fourteenth century. As in later centuries, swine were kept in small herds rather than large, by small farmers rather than on the demesne, for domestic needs rather than for market.

5. BM, Add. MS 6164/f 171; 5 acres in West Chiltington, early C 14 was worth 4d as pasture and 2/- as pannage (W. Hudson, 1910,157); 18 acres of wood in Shipley, 1308, worth 3/- as pasture, 4/- as pannage—BM. Nev. vi f 153; Slaugham 1339 had 300 acres of wood worth 6/8 for pannage and pasture—C 135/60/6.

6. A complaint of 1635 about fellings of wood in Leigh, Surrey, alleged that previously the woods were swine pasture, now cattle pasture; in 1632, after fellings at Harting Combe in Rogate it was claimed that the open pasture was more beneficial than the pannage which preceded (O. Manning and W. Bray, ii, 1809, 180; BM, Add. MS 28539, cit. E.M. Yates, 1955,85). Between 1300 and 1600 Ashdown changed from primarily a swine pasture to primarily cattle.

1. Recorded 1650—PRO. E 317/Sx/26; cattle were allowed all year save .6 weeks of the pannage season, 1610—BM. Add. MS 5705 f 137.

2. C. Pullein, 1928, 66.
Cattle, sheep and swine were the most important elements in Wealden animal husbandry; a few manors kept goats and the stock picture was completed by the ubiquitous hens and chickens and less frequent geese. By the early fourteenth century there were no seasonal migration of large herds into and out of the Weald, save a limited movement of stock to the eastern marsh pastures in summer; but individual manors in the Weald brought in some stock from outside as well as selling their animals for sale in London, and elsewhere without the Weald. In 1358 some stock came to Wiston from a Chiltern manor which belonged to the same lord; another of his manors, at Whiteford in Devon, had supplied 20 animals to Wiston in the previous year. Their variety suggests they were introduced for breeding purposes. The park grazings in Petworth in 1349 were used by the lord's colts and mares from the March, perhaps the Welsh border. Thus although Wealden animal husbandry had no market specialization it showed these signs of contact with other regions which were also found in other sectors of the regional economy.

1. The last mention of goats at Laughton is 1300—M. Clough, 1956.69.
2. In 1341 specific tithes of geese were mentioned in the returns for Wisborough Green and Arlington in the Sussex Weald (G. Vandersee, e. 1807. 356–7).
3. W. Hudson, 1911. 154. In 1370–1 (P.S. Godman, 1911. 141–4) Findon sent 1 cow, 155 hoggets, 2 sows to Wiston and received 60 lambs and 24 little pigs from it (7 miles); Wiston also received 1 horse from Iryngham and returned a colt (10 miles) and 19 pigs from Boys in the Chilterns (48 miles). Wiston also sent 2 bovetti to Heene (10 miles) 2 to West Chiltington (11 miles) and 1 to Washington (4 miles).
4. ib. 152–3. Some of these movements may have been promoted by heavy attacks of myrrain e.g. many calves died at Laughton 1287 (PBO. SC 6/1023/9. m4) at Wiston 90 sheep died out of 732 1370–1 (P.S. Godman 1911.141–4), and see also pp. 294–7.
(vi) Arable Farming.

Oats was the chief grain in the Weald. A levy in Sussex, 1342, to supply grain for an overseas expedition drew wheat primarily from the South Downs, oats mostly from Wealden lands; an earlier demand in Kent, 1297, revealed an identical contrast of Downs and Weald. The accounts of individual manors - Westerham on the northern border 1297-1350, Bexhill 1388, Shipley 1308, Petworth 1347-53 - confirm that oats was the major grain cultivated; indeed, since oats was the chief grain crop of most of medieval England, its predominance in the Weald was nothing extraordinary.

Generally wheat was second to oats and was sown in quantity on the claylands; in some western Hundreds of the Kentish Weald (mostly within the Weald Clay), as much wheat as oats was levied in 1297. This district also had substantial areas of fertile superficial deposits but elsewhere in the Weald wheat cultivation was hindered by the lightness of some sandy soils, and, more important, by the tendency to acidity found in most Wealden soils, of which oats was more tolerant. Along the southern margin of the Weald, wheat cultivation was considerable at Strea.

5. R.M. Add. MS 6165.f.360.
7. R.A. Pelham. 1936. 237-8; Westerham in this area averaged wheat 36.7 of the sown area, oats 40%, 1297-1350.
8. W. Nugden. 1942. 61; inference from customary obligations (covering 125 acres, & the sown demesne 1366 only 164.2, ib. 60-1.)
and at Stretham in Benfield; along the northern margin wheat was more important than oats at Great and Little Chart in 1332 and almost as important at East Peckham. (In contrast, Petworth, which also lay on the southern margin, grew no wheat 1347-53, but it drew supplies from its Downland sub-manors.)

Several other grains were sown somewhat. Barley prefers light, dry soils and its cultivation in the Weald was also discouraged by the very considerable production of barley on the nearby downlands. Some marginal manors included light soils on the Lower Greensand outcrop and, as Dorking, cultivated some barley; the Christ Church manors on the northern margin did not grow more than 10 acres each but at least 20 acres were sown per annum at Streat, 25 at Stretham in Benfield and 5-15 at Petworth. These marginal manors also grew some rye but only at Petworth was it significant; maslin, mized rye and wheat, was sown on 13 acres at Shipley 1308.

1. B.A. Pelham. 1937. 208; figures for 1388.
2. EM. Cott. MS Galba E iv. f 76-8.
3. In accounts of 1329-30: VCH. Sy. 4 1912. 423.
4. W. Bugden. 1942. 59-60 (1366); EM. Cott MS Galba E iv f 76-8(1332).
6. L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1955. 12-68. 1347-50 large purchases of barley from outside as well as local sowings. The local conditions were not ideal in 1350 barley yielded less than was sown.
7. ib. acreage sown varied 45 acres 1347 to 30 1352. Compare Westerham where rye was 5.8% of the sown area 1297-1350; 3 acres only at East Peckham 1332; 4 acres at Bexhill 1388; small amounts at Wiston 1354- (P.S. Godman. 1911. 134: rye rare in later sowings.)
Such were the grain crops grown in the Weald and the Nomae returns for the Sussex Weald show the distribution of grain-production as a whole (Fig 30); unfortunately this detail is not given in the Kent returns. If any concentrations of grain output were noticeable, they lay on the lower slopes of the High Weald, sheltered, well-drained and less difficult to till than the claylands - a concentration both on the eastern seaward side of the High Weald and around Horsham in the west. Totals were lower in the western claylands and on the most barren sands around Ashdown.

Arable cultivation included more than grains alone; by 1300 the sowing of legumes was increasing. Peas, beans and vetches were used as forage for horses and cattle and the first two supplied pottage for human consumption; also, these nitrogenous plants improved the soil for the grain crops which followed them in rotation. In Westerham legumes increased from 0.6% of the sown area 1297-1302 to 10% 1345-50; at Great Chart legumes were 28% of the sown area 1332, Little Chart 18%, East Peckham 21%. At least 20 acres of beans, peas and vetches was grown at Streat but at Petworth grey peas was the only legume grown 1347-53 and its importance was slight.

Flax also was grown in many Wealden parishes. In 1346 Wiston accounts mentioned flax and the tithes recorded in 1341 for Sussex

1. The Kentish figures give only the total of the lay ninth of corn, w and lambs. Since however the Kentish totals (see Fig.32) are somewhat higher, on average, than the Sussex it may well be that grain production in the Kentish Weald was more intensive; there is no reason to believe sheep were more important in the Kentish Weald, if anything, and certainly the Kentish Weald was more fertile superficial deposits than the Weald of Sussex.
2. T.A.M.Bishop, 1938. 43-4.
specified flax in several instances (Fig 33). Most of the largest values lay in the western Weald, not only in rural parishes as Iping (10/-), Bisborough Green (6/8) and Rudgwick (5/-) but near the towns where craftworkers used the material - East Grinstead (13/4) and Cuckfield (13, combined with the pannage tithe). Further east in the High Weald there was a second concentration near Rotherfield (13/4) and Ifield (8/-).

The cultivation of these varied crops within the Weald was not haphazard but rotational systems are difficult to substantiate. It is clear that cropland was often rested. At Rothfield in 1338 80 acres out of 200 were left fallow; cropland in Westerham was rested regularly in 1360 350 acres of arable in Hurstmonceux lay in marshland and two parts could be sown annually. There was another 199 acres of arable, 2/3 of which could be sown annually and the rest used as pasture. 30–50 acres of the Wiston demesne was fallowed yearly.

At Petworth the pattern of sowing is known in detail, yet it still

---

1. Many parishes did not specify its value; the only figure given in the Kent returns is Newenden 2/-, PRO.E 179/123/18 m 82; W. Hudson. BJ 175.
2. PRO.C 135/56/1.
3. T.A.M. Bishop. 1938. 39–41. 'Inhoking', sowing part of the fallow with spring grain, was quite common here.
4. PRO.C. 135/151/14. The meaning of 'two parts' is unclear, though the term appears elsewhere, e.g. 1569 300 acres at Northeye in Bexhill, of which two parts could be sown – PRO.C 135/208/8.
5. P.S. Godman. 1910. 134–40; at Crochurst in Horsham 1285 a holding was 22 acres wheat, 50 oats and 23 fallow – L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1923.57.
remains impossible to define what rotation was followed because so many field units were involved; rotations may well have been flexible. However, the very continuity of agriculture demanded some method, and whilst no fixed pattern can be discerned in the fourteenth accounts of Wiston demesne, part appears to have followed a biennial rotation. Both at Stretham in Benfield, on the Lower Greensand margin, and at Bexhill on the Tunbridge Wells Sands only half the arable was sown according to surveys in 1388; here also a form of biennial rotation was functioning. At Westerham the fields, which stretched across several geological formation were divided into two major groups. The core of good soils, the infield, was cultivated each year according to a three-course rotation; since there were more than three fields, the rotation was not perfectly followed throughout and, as at Petworth and commonly in the Weald, several crops were sown in one field. The second group, the outfield, consisted of many units cultivated according to no one rotation; they were often cropped for several years continuously under alternate spring and winter grains, or under winter grain and fallow. Over the whole area there was a balance of winter and spring grain and after several

1. P.S. Godman. 1911. 134-140.
3. E. Sewill and R. Lane. 1951. 8-9, assume that the evidence for biennial rotation in Charlwood 1211 betokens a two-(open) field syst This is not so; Stretham in Benfield had biennial rotation 1388 (and a terrier of 1330-1 gives two large fields (East and Westfield), each half fallow, and three smaller fields—W.D. Peckham (ed.) 1925. 131) but the terrier of 1373-4 shews there were many small fields, and makes no mention of East and Westfield—ib. 124. Bexhill, which also followed biennial rotation 1388, bad 15 small fields according to a terrier of 1369-85 (ib. 133).
4. T.A. Bishop. 1938. 59; cf. Brugfeld in Petworth, sown with three grains each year 1347-50 (L.F. Salaman (ed.) 1955. 12 ff) and Le Brome in East Sutton sown with three grains 1416-17. KAL. 1 2 3 0/45.
years tillage lands were often allowed a long rest. A similar system seems to have prevailed on Laughton manor which included stiff but productive clay soils and more barren Tunbridge Wells Sand. The demesne included 13 fields but only 1/3 of the area was sown at any time; at least one field was cultivated regularly, many only irregularly.

One restriction on the adoption of simple rotations was the rapid variation of Wealden soils within short distances, often within individual farms; this variation reflected differences of lithology, problems of drainage and the frequent occurrence of patches of superficial deposits. Valuations of manorial lands regularly recorded the differing quality of their arable lands. Some arable at Aldington in 1341 was valued at 1/6d and other tilled land at Mersham at 1/4 an acre; these were high valuations - the arable of Shipley 1308 was rated no higher than 4d, and much at 3d. Whilst marsh arable in Hurstmonceux was worth 9d an acre, two-thirds of another 199 acres was worth only 4d when sown. 106 acres in Slaugham were worth only 1d in 1339 because the land was heathy; in Rotherfield 1332-77 26 acres of an area of 67 were barren and

2. M. Clough. 1956. 56-9 (1339-50 the proportion of the arable tilled varied 20% to 42%). Traces of a similar system at Wiston, where some fields tilled irregularly, but one part manured heavily and tilled each year (P.S. Godman. 1911. 140).
3. PRO.E 179/123/18 m 37. All valuations given here were unusually high (meadow 5/-) no doubt to excuse a low assessment for the tax of one-ninth.
4. BM. Cott MS Nero E vi f 153.
5. PRO. C 135/151/14;
6. PRO. C 135/60/6.
7. C. Pullein. 1928. 69.
60 acres in Shadoxhurst 1267-8 were very rough (durissima).

Most Wealden soils produced indifferent arable crops and some grain was imported into the ports of the eastern Weald, especially for the need of the urban populations. Within the Weald, heavy manuring was practised to improve crop yields. One part of Wiston manor where wheat cultivation concentrated was heavily manured from the resources of the yards and fields; carrying manure was a customary service owed by tenants in Rotherfield 1332-77 and Laughton 1292. In Petworth manor 1347-53 bracken was cut and put in the sheepfolds; there it became mixed with the sheep droppings and this compost was applied to the demesne in large quantities, 431 cartloads in 1348-9.

Animal dung was supplemented by mineral manures. Customary tenants of Dorking manor in 1329-30 owed services (then commuted) not only to spread manure in the autumn but also to provide two loads of lime at Whitsuntide. By 1300 marling also had become common. Early fourteenth century accounts of Westerham and Laughton referred regularly to marling.
6 acres of pasture in Rotherfield at Henleigh included marlpits 1332-77; and land at le Strode in East Grinstead was leased in 1273 on condition that the tenant should marl all the acreage not already marled within five years. A marlpit in Brenchley Hundred (Brenchley Lamberhurst and Horsmonden) was recorded in 1279.

An early fourteenth century regulation laid down that all manors of Christ Church Canterbury — including the Wealden manors of Great and Little Chart, East Peckham, Appledore, Ebony and Buckinge — should marl as much land as possible in summer, and marling appears to have been effective in some areas. 80 acres of marled arable at Buckhurst in Withyham were valued in 1273 at 6d an acre, whilst 100 acres lying unmarled were worth only 2d; at Hammerden in Ticehurst the difference was 6d to 3d. 1272-1307: marled arable at Etchingham-cum-Salehurst was worth 8d an acre in 1330, the unmarled arable only 4d. These lands all lay in the High Weald, where the application of Wadhurst Clay to sandy soils would have improved soil texture.

'Improvement' in the early fourteenth century was accompanied by continuing assarting. In 1357 there were 10 acres of new assart at Possingworth in Waldron and in 1339 it was noticed that three assarts at

1. C. Pulleih. 1928. 70.
4. BM. Cott. MS Galba E iv f 74.
5. PRO.C 133/8/7.
6. BM. Add. MS 5679 f 274 (this, as the account of 220 acres marled at 8d an acre, 40 not marled at 4d an acre, at Bivelham in Mayfield 1273-4, is later transcript).
7. PRO.C 131/File 3; 180 marled, 171 not.
8. BHC. Penshurst MSS i. 1925. 146.
Woolbeding and le Niwode had recently been acquired by the Priory of Easebourne. Customary works at Wiston c 1290-1327 still included carting thorns, broom and bracken; if this was partly for fuel, it also signified that clearing was a regular part of the manorial economy. The early fourteenth century witnessed an expansion of over 100 acres in the area cultivated at Westerham grange.

Whilst the impetus of early medieval colonisation was still felt, some land was already tumbling back to waste. The Nonae returns listed various land areas in the Sussex Weald which lay untiller in 1341-300 acres of arable in Streat; 200 acres, 2 carucates and 4 holdings at Shelley in Crawley; 350 acres and land worth 46/4 in Itchingfield; 650 acres in Hellingly; 500 acres and other lands valued at 78/8 in Ticehurst; 100 acres and other lands, worth in total £9 in Heathfield; 2 holdings in Etchingham worth 16/-; 3 tenements and 2 carucates in Burwash, 40/8; 3 carucates in Mayfield, 30/- and 10/- worth of land at Frankham in Wadhurst. The fragmentary returns for the Kentish Weald mentioned 20/- worth of land in East Sutton and an unspecified area in Kingsnorth which were untilled. Along the eastern margin of the Weald several recent losses to the sea were mentioned in 1341.

1. C.P.R. 1338-40. 176.
2. W. Hudson. 1911. 172.
3. T.A.M. Bishop. 1938. 99-40. Area used for tillage rose 1300-50 c.50% over 700, but in second quarter of century area tilled each year c.2 cf.300 in the first quarter.
4. G. Vanderzee (ed.) 1807. 350-393. The term in the returns is Ifrisci; which is used elsewhere for fallow (Westerham 1390-50, T.A.M. Bishop 1938. 39; Newark on Trent 1225-33, M.W. Barley. 1956. xlvi; West Chiltington early fourteenth century – W. Hudson. 1910. 156) The use of this term does not mean that there was no change; the proportion the tilled land under fallow had increased.
5. PRO. E. 179/123/18 mm15,60.
These losses of land had occurred since 1291; they were mentioned in 1341 to explain why the ninth charged that year was not equal to the ecclesiastical tenth of 1291. Since these two taxes had the same common denominator they indicate the changes in parish prosperity over this half-century (for the process of calculating this, and its complications, see appendix 2). In some instances—Hellingly, Ticehurst, Heathfield and Burwash—parishes which included uncultivated land had declined in their tax-paying power during the previous half century. At Hoce and Ninfield not only had marshes been inundated but upland arable lay untitled 'because of the poverty of the parishioners' and the total valuation of both parishes had fallen.

In other parishes the existence of untitled land—recorded in other fourteenth century documents also—was not always indicative of declining prosperity. At Itchingfield where over 350 acres lay untitled in 1341 the valuation was higher than in 1291, and this was true also of Rudgwick, where over 300 acres were untitled, and four parishes (Brede, Icklesham, Pett and Fairlight) which had lost land to

---

6. Most of 'Gateberghamesh', 40/- in Salehurst and Udimore, 13/- in Brede; in Wartling 200 acres of marsh and brook submerged; in Hoce 400 acres of marsh inundated; in Ninfield, most of Morbale field (16/8) submerged; in Pett submerged marsh valued at 26/8; in Icklesham most of 'Rynggesermesh' 49/8; in Fairlight 'Merschammarsh' 13/4; in Guestling 'Sneppemarsh' 42/8; -6, Vanderzee (ed.) 1807, 35 393. Such attacks were regular in this half century—in 1291 marsh of 'Wytfilet' and 'Keyner' in Iham were submerged and the marshlands joined by the Iden ferry were flooded—PRO, SC 11/660; in 1331 the chapel by Hastings castle was almost wholly destroyed by sea attack C.P.R. 1330-4. 71.

1. In Hoce one-third of the 'terra susanna' was untitled 20/-; in Ninfield 150 acres (22/10) and lands of the Abbot of Bayham.

2. E.g. 1337 two assarts on poor soils belonging to Easebourne Priory...
the sea. There was no significant change in prosperity 1291–1341 at Etchingham and Mayfield, which had lands untilled, nor at Salehurst, Udimore, Wartling and Guestling, where land lay submerged. On the other side, parishes like Pulborough had declined in their valuation although their returns made no mention of land going out of cultivation.

In the two parishes where land untilled was specifically attributed to poverty, the valuation had declined; but land went out of cultivation for other reasons, many less directly connected with general prosperity—hence the variable relation between untilled land and general prosperity.

In at least 5 instances land had been lost by imparking; in Burwash supplementary documentation shows that while some land reverted to waste, other was newly enclosed. Moreover Burwash was one of three manors which declined in value after 1280 not from general economic reasons but because of local circumstances produced by absentee landlordism.

had reverted to heath: in Woolbeding manor. Cal., Inq. Misc. ii. 1916 375. 1293–1323 tilled acreage increased in Laughton, but 1292 there was reversion after excessive expansion in the 1280's — M. Cleugh, 1956. 92, 133.

1. This return very short and maybe incomplete; I have excluded differences in assessment due to technical reasons, which are treated in Appendix 2.

2. 1 carucate and 3 tenements at Shelley in Crawley (25/-); land into park of Pashley in Ticehurst (20/-); Heathfield (2/-/-); 12/- in Burwash and 16/- in Etchingham both taken into one park.

3. see p.265.

4. In 1310, manor buildings at Burwash destroyed and gardens yielded only fruit and nettles — Cal., Inq. Misc. 88, 1916. 462. In 1320 it was complained that Laughton manor, under the same ownership, was 'wasted'. C.P.R. 1317–21. 522.
Fig. 34. For the method of compilation see Appendix II.
It is thus hardly possible to regard the scattered instances of 'terra frisca' in the 1341 returns as the first signs of a general decline; the period between 1291 and 1341, the early fourteenth century, was one of general stability in the condition of Wealden agriculture. Of 131 parishes in the Wealds of Kent and Sussex for which detailed assessments in 1341 survive only \( \frac{42}{31} \) changed their assessment by more than 10% in this period – 16 less prosperous in 1341, 15 more (Fig. 34). Total rise and fall were equal: in a few parishes there had been great expansion since 1291, in a few others demonstrable decline but neither of these changes was general; the period of 1291-1341, for Wealden agriculture, had not been a period of change but of stability.

(vii) Orchards and vineyards,

Already by the mid-fourteenth century orchards seem to have been widespread in the Weald. They were tended with care; at Petworth, where both apples and pears were grown, 2\( \frac{1}{4} \) gallons of tar were brought in 1347-8 to protect the demense orchards from rabbits, by coating the tree-trunks. Tenants in this manor as well as the lord, had apple trees. Direct references to other orchards occur but a better index of their number is the frequent mention of cider production. Petworth made cider from apples grown locally and those supplied by its tributary manors on the Downs further south, or from apples purchased; much of the produce was sold locally. Customary tenants at Wiston, according to early fourteenth century regulations, were required to gather apples and make cider when necessary; in 1358 12 casks were filled. Cider making w
Fig. 35. The tithe at Fletching and Rotherfield is cider and orchards combined.
mentioned in accounts of Footlands grange in Sedlescombe and also at Penshurst.

The total production in the Weald was very considerable — in 1352 the Clerk of the Fleet was ordered to get 100 tuns in Kent and Sussex. In 1341 cider tithes were recorded in 30 parishes partly or wholly in the Sussex Weald; they were scattered throughout the area (Fig 35) but production concentrated in the western clay Weald, where very high rates were recorded for Wisborough Green (7/6/8), Kirdford (4/-/-), Washington (2/-/-), and Billingshurst (1/10/-). There was a secondary concentration in the High Weald near Ashdown (Withyham 60/-, Busted 46/8, Maresfield 13/6) but the only amount specified in the eastern Sussex Weald was relatively low. The eastern area could not supply its needs; large quantities were imported from Normandy into Winchelsea c. 1270 and in 1327-8 fruit was imported into Winchelsea.

2. e.g. reference to tithe of orchards in Lamberhurst in an inscription charter of 1285-KA0. A/G 47 (62).
5. e.g. 1377-8, HMC. Penshurst MSS. i. 1925. 162-3.
6. 1345-6; ib. 233, mentioning both apples and pears.
7. C.P.R. 1350-4. 125.
8. Only in 19 cases was the value specified.
10. PRO.SC 6/1031/19-21 (1266-72), cit. L.F. Salzman, VCH. Sx. 2. 1907. 263. Contact with Normandy may have encouraged cider production in the Weal (R.J. Forbes. 139, in C. Singer et al. 1956, says cider spread from Normandy to England in the C 13) but cider sales occur in the income Battle Abbey by 1211 (D.M. Stenton (ed.) 1953. xxvi. 275.)
Cider as yet suffered no competition from beer, only from ale-
cervisia-—which was produced in large quantities but could not be
stored. Its quality varied but it sold widely; the King in 1299 was
able to buy 82 gallons from one brewer in Uckfield, not a large
settlement, and ale rent (gavelsest) was one of the major receipts of
Great Chart manor in the early fourteenth century.

There were still some vineyards in the Weald. Payments at
Petworth 1347–9 included paling around the vines and the kitchen garden
at Wiston had vines in 1378. Both these sites lay in sheltered position
below the downland scarp. There were many vines on the abbey lands
in Battle, Christ Church had vineyards at Brookland on the edge of
Romney Marsh; as in medieval France, the distribution of vineyards
reflected the distribution of monastic houses as much as that of

---

1. Ale was also often more expensive—Wiston 1381 ale 1½d. a gallon,
cider 1d; W. Hudson, 1911, 162. However Thorold Rogers (ii, 1866, 380,
gives the price of cider c. 1290 as ¼d–1/4d. a gallon.
2. VCH, Sx. ii, 1907, 260.
3. BM, Add. MS. 6159 f 39v.
5. W. Hudson, 1911, 161.
6. W. Lambard, 1730, 350; a C 12 description of land in the Lowy of
Battle mentioned a former vineyard near Säntlac–W.A. Lower (ed.) 185,
23.
8. D. Sutcliffe, 1934, 149.
regional climatic conditions. Conditions, however, were marginal and yields uncertain — in 1345–6 the return of the vineyards at Penshurst was nil 'as the vines did not flower this year'. Most of the wine consumed in the Weald was no doubt imported and regularly so; services on Laughton manor detailed, in 1338, the carriage of two measures of wine annually from Seaford to Laughton or Maresfield and tenants of Marley manor in Battle had to carry wine from Winchelsea to Battle Abbey.

Field Patterns and Farm units.

Cultivated land and improved pasture was usually enclosed in the Weald. Hedges, often accompanied by ditches, were the commonest form of enclosure; upkeep of enclosures was a general obligation on tenants and lessees and hedgesbote, timber for repairing enclosures, was one of the commonest customary rights found in the Sussex Weald. In 1308 a survey of the large manor of Shipley recorded the unusual circumstance that underwood on the manor was insufficient to meet the needs of fencing.

Many parcels of cultivated land were bounded by more than a narrow

1. BMC Penshurst MSS. i, 1925, 233.
2. BM. Add. MS 33189 f 72.
3. S.R. Scargill-Bird (ed.) 1887, 4–12 (1272–1307); tenants of Denge-marsh owed to carry ale or wine from Winchelsea or Romney to Battle, ib. 51 (1272–1307).
5. BM. Cotton MS. Nero E vi. f 153.
fence. The shaws mapped in later centuries can be traced in the frequent mention of groves, plots of arable and sometimes of pasture surrounded by broad margins of trees and scrub—Stoneysgrove in Kirdford or Wisborough Green 1352, 'the grove iuxta Westfeld' in Bolney 1379, and a pasture in Botherfield, 1332-77, included groves and marl pits. The size of such fields surrounded by waste was usually small and this was true of Wealden fields in general; most enclosures contained less than 15 acres of land. In West Chiltington one land block, in the early fourteenth century, included 18 fields of 15 acres or less and only 6 larger (up to 40 acres); in East Sutton 1340, 9 fields out of 13 were smaller than 15 acres.

Whether subdivision occurred within enclosures is an important but difficult problem. It is clear that the terminology of virgates did not imply openfield division in the Weald, if it did elsewhere; customary land in the Wealden borshs of Southmalling manor 1285 was divided into virgates but the summary descriptions provided demonstrate that these units were used for assessing services, not measuring land.

1. W.D. Peckham (ed.) 1946, 196. It is true that in later times, the term grove was applied to the small wooded borders themselves, but in common medieval usage grove meant both the cleared area and its surrounding (cf. the C 12 and C 13 Chilterns—E.C. Vollans, 1959). 219
2. BM. Add. MS 5683 f 48.
3. C. Pullein, 1928. 70. Several fields in the dennes of Wye were calle groves in c 1431-2 (PR.O.E 315/56 f 184-7); a wood in Goudhurst of 2 acres was called Upfylpottysgrave, next to Upfylpotes field 1404-5 (BM. Add. MS 53892 f 74); in early C 14 West Chiltington groves were wood and poor pasture—W. Hudson, 1910. 156.
4. W. Hudson, 1910. 156; commonest sizes 2½-5, 10-15 acres. Similarly Chiddingstone 1393—BM. Add. MS 53889 f 67v. The culturae of Botherfield, 1332-77, often exceeded 20 acres, but were probably more the
and suggest that peasant holdings in the virgate divisions were compact units. Elsewhere in England, furlong terminology has a link with open-field closer than the virgate, and furlongs were mentioned in Clayton C 1312 and at Wiston, early C 14, where Hudson suggested that they signified a form of open-field division. Both these parishes, however, lay only partly on the Weald Clay and if there was openfield, it probably lay on the Greensand or Chalk; openfield was known on the Greensand, at this time, in Westerham, Great Chart, Sundridge and Wonham, along the northern margins of the Weald, and Sutton by Petworth along the southern margin. The difficulty of draining heavy clay soils (widely distributed in the High Weald as well as predominant in the Low Weald) hindered the appearance of large field units within the Weald and when furlongs are mentioned within the area, at Rotherfield 1332–77, they have no connection with openfield. The only clear examples of Wealden

1. The cultivated land of each hamlet, held in customary tenure, was commonly assessed at one virgate—B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (eds.) 1958, 32 ff. By later times holdings in the virgates much divided (e. Mayfield c. 1550—R.G. Fitzgerald-Uniacke. 1914. 138, or Bred. C 15—J E. Hay. 1946. 18) but this is not openfield.

2. P.S. Godman. 1896. 103. (location possibly in adjacent E. Chiltingto on Washington).


4. T.A.M. Bishop. 40–2; here traces of triennial rotation were clear.

5. 1262–3 ref. to 7 acres in various parts of Westfield and 2¼ acres in several parts of Eastfield (B.P. Jessup. 1956, ci–iii).


8. C. Pullein. 1 28. 73.
on the other hand, it is certain that some Wealden enclosures were subdivided. By 1256-65 there were three separate fields in Bilsington all called Ealdemed; these were probably separate enclosures, but in the same area were other land blocks, where divides of ownership were not always enclosed. Frequently medieval grants referred to small acreages within a field.

In some cases the wording is too brief — 5 acres in the field called Stonifeld in Edenbridge, 2½ acres in a field called Cothlands in Hartfield — to furnish adequate evidence for subdivision of ownership within enclosures, although the smallness of the area involved often conduces to this opinion. Other grants give more suggestive detail. In c. 1250 reference was made to 'a field lying in Tilfeld', in or near Bilsington; a small area at Northfeld in Goudhurst was limited 1337 by hedges and ditches, meets and bounds. The meets and bounds probably marked the internal division within the field, the hedge and ditch the outer bounds.

1. In Horley, an ancient possession of Chertsey Abbey, and Burstow, part of the manor of Wimbledon; the latter was enclosed 1855. There is a trace of openfield on Wealden lands of Dorking and Godalming manors (VCH.Sv. 3. 1911. 146, 176; 4. 1912.409).

2. BM. Add. MS 37018 f 17v.


4. R.F. Jessup. 1956. cii-ciii, gives this example (1227) and two others from the Weald of Kent, Yalding (1218) and Great Chart (1262-3). The last is the only one with any detail and (as above) probably refers to openfield on the Lower Greensand.

5. ESRO, Add. MS 278 (1320). Compare the reference, 1306, to 5 rods in field called Sled in East Hoathly—CUL. Ms Be v 31 f 107, and the man who ploughed from his land into that of his neighbour, suggesting there was no enclosure, in Salehurst 1392. S.P. Vivian (ed.) 1953.45.
of the larger unit. The 'culturae' of Rotherfield, 1332-77, were
certainly subdivided by ownership, but they were also large areas and
may have contained several fields.

Such subdivision does not at all imply a system of openfield
agriculture. Openfield agriculture comprised not only a certain field
layout, but also fixed rotational schemes and a corpus of communal
obligations. The subdivision of Wealden fields was a product merely of
temurial conditions, the effect of partible inheritance and early
developed leasing on a pattern of enclosed fields. The pattern of
Wealden field and ownership boundaries changed continuously.

Adequate data on the size of holdings in the early fourteenth
century and just previously is very limited. The single most comprehensi-
survey covers the Wealden lands in Southmalling manor in 1285. Leaving
aside differences of tenure holdings of 5 acres and less were by far the
largest group, holdings below 10 acres more than half and holdings of

6. BM. Add. MS 37018 f 29; this may have lain within Romney Marsh, an
area not discussed here, where without any doubt land was divided into
small units divided by no more than a ditch in many cases, and some-
times not this.


1. C. Pullein, 1928. 69; there were five crofts in the cultura of Twenty
acres. In the Chilterns c 1133 there were divisions within culturae-
E,C. Vollans, 1959. 204. There is no evidence of large unenclosed
units, or subdivided fields, on the 1597 map of Rotherfield (C. Pulle
frontispiece).

2. Pointed out for analagous conditions in Yorkshire and Derbyshire by

3. Tenant leasing mentioned in Southmalling 1330 (B.C. Redwood and A.E.
Wilson (eds.) 1958. 130), in Wartling 1306 (BM. Add. Ch.32613) and
Rotherfield 1332-77 (C. Pullein. 1928. 68). For subletting in South-
malling 1285, see B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (eds.) 1958. 57, 73, 83.

4. B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (eds.) 1958. 30-84. I have hesitated to
compile figures for smaller units, parts of manors, since larger
FARM SIZE
WEALDEN LANDS OF
SOUTHMALLING

1285

ACRES

TENANTS

COTARELLI
COTARII
VIRGATERS
FREEMEN
OTHERS

Fig. 26. Data from B. C. Redwood and A. E. Wilson (eds.) 1959. 30-34.
20 acres and below more than 70% of the total. There was a substantial number of middle sized holdings - as many 40-50 acres (38) as 20-25 (36) and out of a total of 631 holdings, 38 were over 50 acres. (Fig. 36). If Southmalling were typical, most of the Wealden tenant farms were small farms, sufficient to derive subsistence from often indifferent soils, but little more. The degree of inequality in farm size seems to have been less than in later centuries.

Farm units and ownership units were by no means always compact. Lands inherited by heirs in gavelkind were not always subdivided - joint working did occur - but some instances of subdivision are clearly documented. Leasing also had developed and, whilst some farmers leased land

surveys demonstrate that many tenants, large and small, held lands in more than one manor and analysis of one small unit would underestimate the size of holdings. At Drungwick in Wisborough Green 1353, holdings were somewhat larger, 8 1-15 acres, 5 15-50, 2 50-100, 13 over 100 (W.D. Peckham (ed.) 1925. 67-70).

Customary and freehold farms had no major difference in size. At Southmalling (Wealden parts) 1285, virgate holdings larger on average than freehold, but freehold showed most variation in size. In Laughton major customarii had holdings averaging 50 acres, freeholds only 16 in 1300 (M. Cleugh. 1956. 250-60). The major distinction was between these farms, viewed as one group, and the large number of cottage holdings, mostly below 10 acres.

1. e.g. demise of 9 acres in Little Chart which demise formerly held with his brother (EM. Add. MS 33917 f 58v, 1447); Staplehurst 1533 (H.S. Cowper 1914.11); in 1260-85 the Archbishop of Canterbury purchased 15 acres in Lyminge held by 5 brothers (Lambeth MS 1212 p 97, ex. inf. F.R.H. Du Boulay. There were larger units holding land jointly; the heirs of one man plus two others had a holding in Egerton 1477 (KAO. U 24/M 4) and the Kenwellges in Kenardington C 15 (N. Neilson (ed.) 1928. 182), and 1282 (PRO.C. 133/35/6 may be the heirs of Kenwold, a tenant in 1212 (BM. Cott. MS. Faw A i.f. 287v).

2. Staplehurst 1473 (H.S. Cowper, 1914.7); Cranbrook and Goudhurst 1524 (EM. Add. MS 33892 f 151 r-v), Hawkhurst 1448 (ESBO. Add. MS 103), Penshurst 1405 (Lambeth Court Roll 808 ml, ex inf. F.R.H. Du Boulay, who has assembled much data on the process of subdivision and early growth of leasing on the archiepiscopal manors in Kent).
to compact their holdings, others leased extra, separate, land parcels. Wealden farms had not the scattering of land found in commonly openfield villages but many consisted of two or three separate blocks of land.

Larger-ownership units in the Weald also consisted, in many instances, of several distinct components. Much land in the Weald, especially in its Kentish portion, formed outliers of large estates located on the Downlands outside. By the early fourteenth century, many outliers had become separate entities and other manors which had not originated as outliers, had appeared in the Weald but, even so, many of these were attached to manors far away by ties of common-ownership which in turn bred economic connections (see p.353).

The pattern of a larger central manor with smaller outlying units was found within the Weald also, especially amongst monastic land; the monks organized the scattered lands they were granted into a pattern of granges linked to a centre of marketing, consumption and accounting. Battle Abbey had a grange of the almonry in Battle, a grange at Barnehorn in Bexhill and others elsewhere; Bayham Abbey had granges nearby in

1. In Penshurst 1437 4½ acres of land in Great Wellefeld were granted to a man whose land already lay all around it—BM. Add. MS 33917 f 229 a further 4 acres were transferred 1438—ib. f 230v.
2. e.g. Sundridge manor had Wealden lands but by 1406 they were separate—H.W. Knockert. 1932. 199.
3. These two mentioned in Battle accounts of 1343-4; E. Swift. 1937. 60-2. The role of granges as sub-farms of large monastic estates was emphasised by T.A.M. Bishop. 1936. 195-214 for Yorkshire; there (ib. 195-6) they were primarily arable farms but Bishop notes that the term was applied to any outlying monastic farm.
Lamberhurst, and at Otham in Hailsham. Robertsbridge Abbey in Salehurst had the largest Wealden network, with granges at Worth and Ferne (in Waldron), 5 in Romney Marsh and 1 in South Sussex at Sutton. Nor was this stem confined to ecclesiastical land; in 1296 Eridge in Frant was described as a grange of the lay manor of Rotherfield.

(ix) Transport services.

Many farms and estates in the Weald formed part of large ownership complexes in which each agricultural unit tended to specialize, and the individual farms were connected, in many cases, by heavy services of long-distance transport, either by pack horse (averagia) or by cart (carriagia). This system appeared most clearly in Kent, where many manors in the north of the county possessed outlying holdings in the Weald called denns. An individual denn was often small in area, sometimes divided between two manors; a single manor might have up to 44 denns,

3. Denn mentioned c 1240 (Penshurst MSS. 1, 1925, 94); others mentioned in inspeximus of c. 1250 (ib. 84) save Wodegrove in Snargate 1364 (ib. 147). Besides Wodegrove the marshland granges were Grikes near Winchelsea, Fochre near Pett, Choke in Oxney, Snargate and Broomhill. The Robertsbridge lands thus closely resemble the tripartite pattern of large Kentish estates (agricultural core, Wealden woodland, marshland pastures) found in Wye manor, and the estates of the Archbishop and Christ Church, Canterbury, as emphasised by J.E.A. Jolliffe. 1933. 6–7.
4. PRO.C. 135/77/3.
5. This distinction is made in C 13 services of land in Langney. L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1932. 169.
6. Walkherst in Benenden was a denn in the early fourteenth century but of Eastry (BM. Add. MS 6159 f 27v) and Great Chart (ib.I 39v–40),
According to surveys of I571-2(FEO.SG II/20/22) and I608(FEO.LR 2/I96 f 250-5) the manor of Aldington had 44 denes. This map marks those recorded in the detailed survey of I703(KAO.U 89/M 12 pp100-161) which gives two groups I2 denes all named(ppII0-25) and 32(ppI25-I61), of which only 28 are actually named. However not on p.I07-8 refers incidentally to two other denes(Mousden and Westness alias Great Hernden) which are(Mousden and West Cross) both called denes of Aldington by R.Furley.11 I874-724. This list thus gives 42 denes in addition the lists of I539(KAO.U 86/M 2)I555-6(KAO.U 89/M 1 m2) and I285(Cant.MS E 24 f 54) mention some of the denes including two not in the I703 list - Tilden in Hawkhurst(I285,I539,1555-6) and Runthorne in high Helden(I539,1555-6). These have been added, making the total 44. The problem is complicated however by (i) many unidentified variants in the earlier lists (ii) the following places - Risedene in Sandhurst, Alderden in Biddenden and Sandhurst, Coombden in Sandhurst, Twidden in Sandhurst, Pollockborne and Rockey in Woodchurch which Furley lists as denes of Aldington(ii.I874-720,727) but which do not appear in I703. If he is right, there might appear to be more than 44; on the other hand some of I703, mapped here as separate units, may have been divisions of original units. *East and West Hernden in Sandhurst, Hernden and West Cross (alias Great Hernden) in Tenterden.
the number possessed by Aldington (Fig 37). The denns, in the early
fourteenth century, supplied timber to the parent estate and, to a
lesser extent, agricultural produce.

Haythurst in Marden, one of the denns of Gillingham, owed to
supply three carts at Michelmas; the seven Wealden denns of Newington
manor had to cart and carry six cartloads of 'gavelwode'; annual
renders in East Farleigh manor, which had five denns, included three
carts, cartwheels, local carriage of hay and wood, and over 200 general
carrying services; Boar's Isle in Tenterden, a denn of Northbourne,
owed a rent of timber and its carriage in 1360. The arrangements of
Northbourne were especially complex, as another document shows -tenants

both manors of Christ Church Canterbury; Heruerthing was a denn of
Kenington, a manor of St. Augustine's in Canterbury, in the late C 13
(BM. Cotton MS. Faust. A i.f. 14lv: Herueringe) and late C 14 (ib.
f 148-9, Heruerthingg) but also recorded as a denn of Great Chart,
early C 14 (BM.Add. MS 6159 f 39v-40: Hereu'tving) and C 15 (ib.f. 15v.
159: Heu'thing).

1. The fullest list is of 1703: KA0. U 89/M 12.p100-163 (see note under
Fig 37).

2. This was commuted by 1447-KA0.U 398/M 1A f 91v;

3. Dateless customal cited R. Furley, ii. 1874.6. As the denns became
valued for their timber rather than as swine pastures so the carriage
services became more important than the earlier services of droving
(see p143).

4. Mostly commuted by early C 14-BM.Add. MS 6159 f 41v-42; the duties of
Great Chart in C 15 were 52 averagia, & carriage of 12½ summae and 31
bushels-ib.f 157v-159.

5. Faust.A i.f 43v.
had to carry wood from the Wealden lands of the manor by boat around the coast to 'Greistonehende' and thence by cart to Northbourne.

By the early fourteenth century, these heavy services were declining. The dennis were becoming separate agricultural units, and their increasing independence of the parent estate was reflected not only in disputes over timber ownership (see p.307) but also in the frequent commutation of transport services. It is noticeable, in the 1285 customals of the Archbishop's manors in Kent, that the surnames of tenants in the dennis and of the tenants in the parent estate are very largely different.

Heavy transport duties were not confined to Kentish manors with Wealden outliers; in the Surrey and Sussex Wealds they commonly appeared as an essential part of agricultural and industrial activity. Drawing large stock or carrying small stock was widespread. A group of porters (bermanni) in Southmalling drove animals from Southmalling as far as Lewes Bridge, Uckfield and Framfield; 8 drofmanni were employed in driving swine and other beasts paid as rent or heriot from the Wealden parts of the manor to Southmalling. Several tenants in the manors of Amberley, Ferring and Bishopstone owed to drive swine and oxen from the outlying manorial lands to the centre.

1. N. Neilson (ed.) 1928, 27, citing Faust.A.i.f.44v; C 13.
2. ex. inf. F.R.H. Du Boulay. By the C 14 distant manors of Christ Church Canterbury sold corn locally and sent the money to the priory to cut carriage services. R.A.L. Smith. 1943. 119.
3. B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (eds.) 1958, 112-4, 562, 78-9. (1285). Some of the bermanni (which include two women and a widow) must have done the service by proxy.
4. W.D. Peckham (ed.) 1925, 54 (Amberley, undated; driving swine from Pupheast wood in Wisborough Green to Amberley); 98 (Bishopstone, 12562; driving distraint from Heathfield to Bishopstone); 78-8 (Ferring pre 1379, prob late C 13; driving swine and hens to Ferring from Ashfold).
Other agricultural produce needed carriage also. Tenants of
virgates in Lavant carried wool to Southmalling and right across the
Weald to Croydon and London; grain was carried regularly from Wye manor
and from Barnehorne in Bexhill to Battle Abbey and from the Wealden
outliers of Southmalling in to the central granaries. Food was carried
from Rotherfield to provision the castle in Tonbridge and dispute arose
in 1275 about carriage services owed to the castle at Pevensey.

As in the Kentish Weald timber carriage was important, from
Clearhedge wood in Waldron to Willingdon, from Wisborough Green to
Amberley and Ferring. (see p.30+ for other instances). Tenants of Marley
in Battle carried 210 loads of timber annually from the Abbey woods to
the monastery, wine from Winchelsea, salt from Winchelsea or Hastings and
2000 herrings from these two ports and Bulverhythe. Salt was in great
demand and each year two tenants went from Godalming in Surrey 'to the
sea' for salt, a journey which must have exceeded 40 miles each way and

8. S.R. Scargill-Bird (ed.) 1887, 4-12 (1272-1308).
1 traversed the Weald en route. Wine was brought regularly from Seaford, to Laughton or Maresfield (14,20 miles respectively) as a customary service.

These carriage services reflected specialisation, within large ownership units, on stock raising or grain, or the demand for products, wine and fish, which were not locally available. The ecclesiastical manors had additional transport arrangements also. When the Archbishop was residing at Aldington or Otford manors, carriage services to and from the other archiepiscopal manors were needed (though by 1285 some were commuted); at Southmalling, when the Archbishop was not in residence, pack services by horse of up to 30 miles were regularly demanded. Tenants on the Bishop of Chichester's estates owed similar duties of pack-service, dependant on the Bishop's movements and also to drive the oxen fatted for the larder to the various residences in turn.

The services owed, especially for carrying letters and small goods like birds, included journeys right across the Weald to London but this was not confined to the ecclesiastical manors. The packhorse men (svermann

1. e 1370-VCH.Sw.4. 1912.415.
2. By oxcart, 1338: M.add. MS 33189 f 72.
3. At Otford 1285, if the Archbishop was in residence, 4 carrying service were owed to Lambeth, Croydon, Bexley, Northfleet, Wrotham and Fenshur (Cant. MS E 24 f 58v, cit. D. Douie. 1952.87). At Aldington some of the works had been commuted in 1207-28 and 1245-70: ib.f.54.
4. Each virgate owed one carrying service in winter, and one in summer with horse from Mayfield to Croyden, Otford, Charing, Burstow, Winchelsea Maidstone or Cranbrook. This was 'usser' service; if the prelate or his steward were at Mayfield, more frequent local services were exacted 'inner' service-B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (eds.) 1958.36-7, 50, 62, 69, 77.
5. Villeins of Amberley owed carriage to Benfield, Petworth, Dorking and London with oxen, pigs, letters and birds (W.D. Peckham ed.) 1925.43,
of Wiston, on the southern margin of the Weald, regularly carried goods to London, about 50 miles and to the lord's manor of Boys in the Chiltern about 70 miles, whilst the oxen on Petworth manor, 1347-8, had suffered from excessive heavy transport duties, as far as London.

Transport services were thus of several kinds, some from outlying manorial lands to the centre, some from inland to the coast, some needed by the seasonal round of the agricultural estate, others demanded by landlords who lived well and had many possessions. There was a major difference between the heavy transport of agricultural produce and packhorse transport of letters and delicacies but both were an integral part of Wealden economic life in the early fourteenth century. By 1300, many transport services had been commuted but by no means all and the economic activities of the area at this time (and especially its economic connections with the surrounding regions) cannot be understood 54). For the other manors of the bishop, cf pp. 54, 77, 96, 111, 114.

1. W. Hudson 1910. 178, 1911. 156-8; wool was carried to London, salt fish brought back.

without the connections that transport services provided.

(x) Rural Settlement

(a) Settlement pattern.

A settlement pattern cannot be accurately described without maps but such written data as survives suggests that Wealden rural settlement in the early fourteenth century consisted mostly of hamlets and isolated farm much as portrayed on the maps of three centuries later. If anything, much as portrayed on the maps of three centuries later. If anything, the pattern was more pronounced at this earlier period, since the nucleated trading and industrial centres were smaller. Documents included in their general phraseology not only the 'villae', 'maneria' and 'tenementa' of all counties but, when describing Wealden lands, 'hamletta' also; hamlet settlement was one characteristic of the area.

In the Weald there was a physical disposition towards dispersion which was especially pertinent on the claylands, which included much of the High Weald as well as the Low. These claylands in the Weald had been settled by secondary colonisation from earlier occupied, better-drained and more easily tilled terrains around and this secondary expansion had often produced a pattern of dispersed settlement. Many have explained this dispersion by the plenitude of surface water on the claylands, removing the need to cluster habitations around wells but this explanation has been

---

1. PRO. Ancient Deed AS 244, transcribed SAC 1915. 183-4: 1346, describing the Earl of Surrey's lands in Surrey and Sussex. Customary lands in the Wealden borghs of Southmalling manor were grouped 1285 in many small units, most still identifiable with Wealden hamlets (B.C. Redwood and E. Wilson (eds.) 1958.37,51-2,62-3,69-72,77-8). The Bilsington cartular (BM.Add. MS 77018) refers to the vill of Bilsington e 1256-65 (f 17v), hamlet of Oldmeston 1253 (f 31) and individual dwellings early C 15 (f 43v, 76).
demonstrated inadequate, not least because the extraction of water from clay is difficult and surface pools are often brackish (see p. 28-9).

Dispersion was encouraged by other physical factors. Difficulties of tillage made it advisable for the farmer to live near his fields so that he could fully utilize those short periods when the land was neither cracked nor boggy, and the difficulty of transport over miry clay gave similar encouragement. These difficulties were allied with deficiencies of soil — tendencies to acidity and impeded drainage — and their combined restrictions barely allowed food production sufficient, or sufficiently regular to support the greater populations of nucleated settlements, unless grain was carried uneconomic distances. Besides the restrictions on time of ploughing, later stagnations of water frequently choked the germinating plants whilst, on the other hand, rapid growth of grass on the damp clay reduced the need for collective organisation of grazing, one of the characteristics of the nucleated, openfield village.

Such were the physical factors influencing dispersion in the claylands; on the more sandy outcrops soils, in general, were less fertile than those on the clays and this poverty prevented population from reaching the density needed for a settlement pattern of nucleated village. It has been established that nucleated settlement, associated with open-field and triennial rotation, only became economically workable in

1. These problems have been elucidated by E. Dien, 1946, 6-80, in dealing with the Paris Basin; see also E.J. Courthope and B.E.R. Formoy, 1931, xviii.
medieval Europe in areas of fertile soil where population was, for the period, dense. During the Middle Ages it is almost certain that the density of agricultural population in the Weald was substantially lower than in southern England as a whole, or than in the openfield districts of the Midlands. The Wealden density increased somewhat but the limitations were considerable - the sands very poor in plant food, the clays difficult to till and irregular in yield.

It has often been claimed that the hamlet settlement of the Weald and nearby areas reflected an individualistic agriculture, where manorial rights and common obligations were relatively unimportant. Common institutions did exist, however - common land was widely distributed in the Weald - and the individualistic nature of Wealden tenure was not the primary cause of dispersed and hamlet settlement in the area; rather it was a reflection of tardy colonisation, of physical restraints on settlement sites and production of food. Only if the population had become large enough to support a system of nucleated villages and open-field, would tenurial tradition have become significant in restraining this tendency.

2. e.g. J.E.A. Jolliffe. 1933. 1-10, et alia; Jolliffe must be credited with emphasising the distinctive characteristics of the settlement pattern of these areas.
(b) House-types

Few houses of the early fourteenth century survive in the Weald (Fig 25) but they contain many features known more fully in the hall-houses of the fifteenth century. The standard three-bay hall house became the general form of hall-house only in the fifteenth century and earlier forms exhibited more variety; besides three-bay forms, both smaller and larger (up to five bays), were built. Aisled construction occurred in some instances and the house with aisle posts within the hall space may have been an early form, before the advent of trusses reaching from wall to wall removed the necessity for aisles. If so, the change occurred by 1350, for houses of this period were built with trusses right across the hall, the aisles and true aisled construction being relegated to the end and partition trusses.

Besides aisled construction, other structural variants appeared; the truss support at Tickerage in West Hoathly, early fourteenth century, is intermediary between the later hall building with trusses, tie-beam and kingpost, and an earlier form which may have been a cruck construction. However, there is no other evidence for cruck-building in the Weald, and Tickerage in other respects is a typical Wealden house; the design may have been a local expedient favoured by a site with unusually stable foundations.

1. e.g. 48 High Street, East Grinstead -c.1325-50.
2. 5 bays at Homewood House in Bolney, R.T. Mason. 1940. 15-18.
3. At Homewood House and also at Tickerage in West Hoathly and Capons in Cowfold-R.T. Mason. 1941. 70-2; 1957. 71-95; 1957. 74 suggests Capons late C13 - early Cl4, Homewood early-mid Cl4, Tickerage early Cl4. Dating is mostly by mouldings which can lead to errors.
4. J.T. Smith. 1955. 93, regards certain features of a hallhouse at Ward's
Old Soar at Plaxtol, on the northern margin of the Weald, was built c 1300 as a small manor house, and incorporated a plan rarely seen in later Wealden houses. The chief rooms were on the first floor, possibly for reasons of defence, and were approached by an outside stone staircase. This was an archaic feature, and at the same period some houses were incorporating items which became common only several centuries later; Great Maresfield in Guestling had a chimney stack of uncoursed ashlar by 1400, and it may have been there in 1350.

Throughout the Middle Ages, however, the hall-house was the dwelling of the substantial farmer or industrialist and the bulk of the population lived in cottages. In the absence of surviving examples, their details near Otham in Kent, just north of the Weald, as evidence that the 'Wealden house' was derived from an aisled hall. Homewood has 1 aisle, Capons (earlier) 2.

6. R.T. Mason. 1957. 84.
7. R. Wasson. 1955. 157-170, hypothesised that a C 13 building on the Downs near Eastbourne south of the Weald had a cruck construction, but proof is lacking.
1. As suggested R. Turnor. 1952.5.
2. VCH, Sr. 9. 1937. 179.
are unknown, but the very absence suggests that they were not built, as were the larger dwellings, for permanence and the pattern of regular rebuilding every 30 years disclosed by excavation of peasant houses elsewhere in England probably held good for the Weald also. The dwelling were doubtless single-storied, built of local materials—stone occasionally, timber with wattle-and-daub in most cases; wattle-and-daub, the cheapest and most impermanent walling material, occupied most of the wall-space in the peasant houses. Windows were mere holes, perhaps shuttered over or covered with skins; internal division in the houses was minimal and in many the animals and human occupants probably slept under one roof. In many villages there were also, besides the peasant houses, the even smaller and more primitive huts of cottagers, who had encroached on small parcels of the waste.

(c) Building materials.

In general the building materials drawn upon in the fourteenth century differed little from those used in later centuries. Timber framed construction was commonest and the commonest infilling was wattle-and-daub. The nature of this infilling can be discovered from surviving houses. Wattles were not always woven before insertion in the wall; commonly small stakes were inserted between the beams and the lathes were woven, basket-fashion, around the stakes, the ends being inserted into grooves or holes in the end beams. Fastening might be assisted by nails


2. R.L.S. Bruce-Mitford. 1956. 167–96, describes this situation in a Dark-Age peasant house in Cornwall and medieval or later examples are known from Devon, Oxfordshire and Wales—E.M. Jope and R.I. Threlfall. 1958. 122–3.
but sometimes the laths were tied to the stakes by knotted osier withies.

The consumption of 2400 laths in repairing several barns in Petworth 1341
8 shows how much wood this filling-in needed and repairs at Pevensey in
1301 trace the practice of whitewashing daubed walls back at least to
that date. The plaster which was put on the wattled framework was often
strengthened with straw.

Lime was needed both for cementing stonework and for the plaster
applied to wattle frameworks and it was in considerable demand. In 1349
a limepit was temporarily set up at Pacchescombe in Petworth manor to
meet the manorial needs; in 1348-9 3 1/2 sesters of slaked lime had been
purchased to repair stonework, and 9 had been bought for the same use
in the previous year. Pevensey Castle repairs in 1303 used 6 quarters of
lime bought at Eastbourne, made (as the Petworth lime) from Southdown
chalk; in 1289 larger works had needed 360 horseloads of chalk to be
burnt at Willingdon, and 310 seams had been carried thence to Pevensey.

Sand was the other component of mortar for stonework—sand-and-Wealden-works,
dug from the Hastings Beds, the sand beds in the Weald Clay or the
surrounding Lower Greensand; there were many small pits, few of whose mas

1. R.T. Mason 1957. 81.
2. L.F. Salzmann (ed.) 1955. 10; also 600 for partitions in a new
residence.
3. L.F. Salzmann. 1906. 14-15 from PRO, E 101/479/16. The next year the
outside walls of the chapel were plastered over with mud. The
buildings at Tudeley forge in 1350 were of wood and daub—M.S. Guiseppi
1913. 145, from PRO, E 101/485/11 m4.
4. e.g. Wilmington in East Grinstead-R.T. Mason. 1940. 15-18.
7. The third element was 'lombe', any clayey substance, dug at Pevensey
1288 under the walls of the castle (ibid). This clayey material was
used much more in the daub infilling of house walls, than in cement 1
have survived. The sand dug in these formations was not always suitable
Pevensey works near the coast used sea sand in 1290 and Wiston, at least
10 miles from the sea, was buying sea sand in 1357 although the manor
lands stretched over all the Lower Greensand.

In the early fourteenth century several of the sandstone seams of
the Hastings Beds were being worked for building stone. The Tunbridge
Wells Sand supplied sand from nearby Tunbridge Wells for the building of
Penshurst Place c. 1341; a variable yellow sandstone from the Ashdown
Sand in East Sussex was used for fourteenth century work in churches at
Salehurst, Bodiam, Burwash, Brightling, Ticehurst and Etchingham; the mos
resistant material came from near East Grinstead, also in the Ashdown
Sand and was utilised for early fourteenth century work in Hartfield chu
nearby. The brown and grey freestones of this last source were the only
stone from the Hastings Beds which could be carved and it did not suffer
the rapid decay found in most of the other sandstones; but this did not
give it a larger sphere of utilisation — in this period proximity to
stone, (low transport costs) mattered more than the less well—known fact of
quality. The eastern edge of the Hastings Beds outcrop approached the

1. Sandpit Shaw in Battle was Sandpette in C 14 (PN. Sx.ii.500), in the
Hastings Beds.
2. W. Hudson. 1911. 152.
3. P.W. Jessup. 1956. 108; this material is also used in Horsham church
work of c1140, c 1237, 1307 and later alterations (P.M. Johnston. 19
336; S.E. Winbolt. 1940. 35—40).
4. VCH. Sx. 9. 1937. 198—264, and P.M. Johnston. op.cit.
5. P.M. Johnston. ibid; A.D. Hall and E.J. Russell. 1911. 158.
6. Carriage of Greensand from Eastbourne to Pevensey in 1290, a distan
c of only about 6 miles, gave 2/5 of the total cost; blocks of Caen
stone costing 3/- at the quay in Pevensey cost 2/- more to carry to
the castle, less than a mile away—L.F. Salzmann. 1906. 1—30.
Fig. 38. The outcrops of the materials are bounded by pecked lines and marked by an enlarged version of the symbol used for buildings in the Weald constructed therefrom (e.g. a square for flint); parts of such outcrops known to have been quarried before 1500 are shaded and the more distant sources appear in the inset map. Flint came from clay with flint deposits on the Downs; chalk mostly from the Upper Chalk outcrop; Kentish Rag and Fulbrokgh stone from the Hythe Beds; Bargate stone from a division of the Sandgate Beds; Firestone and Eastbourne stone from the Upper Greensand. Calcareous tufa was precipitated at springs in the Hythe Beds near East Malling; Quarz stone is Bembridge 1st (Oligocene), Purbeck stone from the Upper Purbeck 1st (Jurassic), Caen stone from the Lower Bathonian 1st (Jurassic). Blue slate probably came from Devon or Cornwall (E.M. Jope and G.C. Dunning, 1954, 209).
sea and water transport enlarged the market area – in 1367 195 tons of
Fairlight Stone were shipped to Rochester Castle, a journey almost wholly
by water.

Quarrying within the Hastings Beds outcrop was not so extensive
c.1350 as it later became and the variety of imported building stone was
considerable (Fig 38), Pulborough Stone from the Hythe Beds was used for
C 14 work in Wilmington Priory and Old Place, Pulborough; stone was dug
at Nutbourne in Pulborough 1357 for carriage to Wiston. Upper Greensand
stone from Eastbourne was used a little for windows in Hurstmonceux
church and on a large scale 1289–90 at Pevensey Castle. Along the
northern margin of the Weald, firestone (Upper Greensand) was used both
in building construction and also for fireplaces. Flint was used in
several C 14 churches along the southern boundary of the Weald, near the

1. PRO, Ec191/502 m 3; the material probably came from the Ashdown sand
but there are small sandstone seams in the Fairlight Clays – W. Topley
1875. 45–51.
2. One indication of growing use is that Icklesham church used Hastings
Beds material late C 13 – early C 14 work, after using Hythe Beds
material for earlier work – G. M. Livett. 1905. 38–64.
3. W. H. Godfrey. 1028. 1–27. In old farmhouses joints between Hythe Beds
blocks are often filled with thin slabs of gingerbread stone (ironstone from the Folkestone Beds).
5. W. Hudson. 1911, 152.
8. see Fig. 38.
9. VCH. Sx. 7. 1940. 85, 111, 117, 142.
The import of Caen stone from Normandy was considerable in irregular periods. In 1323 Winchelsea imports included one shipment of Caen stone worth 5/8/9 and one of bricks (1/0/0); 1324-4 there were 3 shipments of Caen stone (7/0/0) and 1327-8 2 more shipments (5/0/0). Unfortunately the customs data is largely lost, but other evidence supplements it-C 14 use of the material in Hurstmonceux church and the purchase 1288-9 of 95 blocks of Caen stone for works at Pevensey Castle. No brickwork of this period survives but bricks were imported into Winchelsea as early as 1323.

Little need be said of the roofing materials, the same as in the later centuries; Pevensey made thatch in 1289-90 from reeds cut in coastal salts at Willingdon, whilst Petworth according to references in 1347-8 and 1352-3 made do with stubble. Petworth manor also paid out in 1347-8 for 13,000 tiles needed for residences and barns, and the Wiston account of 1358 recorded the buying of ridge tiles. Shingles may have been used more commonly in this period than in later times when wood was less plentiful and more profitably applied to other uses. Between 1347 and 1350 Petworth bought 5600 shingles but this was trifling compared with the 25,000 shingles at Shipley in 1308.

1. R.A. Pelham. 1929. 107-10; not all the material imported through Winchelsea was necessarily used in the Weald.
2. J.E. Bay. 1916. 21 ff.
3. L.F. Salzmann. 1906. 9-13. The Caen stone in the C 17 stables at Hamsey Place Farm (VCH. Sx. 7. 1940. 83-4) may have come from the hall built there 1321.
4. 1323 one shipment, 1326-7 two; R.A. Pelham. 1929. 93-118.
6. L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1955. 6-7, 68. Straw was used at West Chiltington early C 14-W. Hudson. 1910. 158.
7. L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1955. 10. In 1301 the hall at Pevensey had gaps
considerable demand already as a roofing material (see Fig 20). In 1357 Wiston manor bought a house in Horsham, removed its stone roofing and carted it to Wiston, at least 12 miles away.

Two materials used in the refinements of building were being produced locally or used locally in the Weald by the early fourteenth century. One was Sussex marble, Paludina limestone, from the Weald. Clay, which was dug for flooring, pillars, steps and occasionally for outside walling. The other was glass; glass manufacture in the western Weald was one century old by 1347-8, when window glass was bought for the lord's chamber in Petworth. As yet, however, its use was confined to large mansions.

in the tiles which were thatched—PRO.E 101/479/16.

9. L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1955. 9, 23, 48. However shingles, unlike tiles, were not used for barns here.
10. BM, Add. MS 6165 f 183.
1. W. Hudson. 1911. 152; in Charlwood 1401 accusation of stealing Horsham stone from a barn was made (E. Sewill and R. Lane. 1951. 21).
2. Alternatively known as Bethersden marble, Laughton stone, Petworth marble and winklestone.
4. L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1955. 9; at Penshurst 1470 windows even in the hall were still covered only by a net—L.F. Salzman. 1952. 174.
There were at least 8 bloomeries working in the Weald during the early fourteenth century; their short life and irregular production are reflected in the accounts of the Tudeley works in Tonbridge. Accounts begin in 1330; the works were rebuilt 1343 but were lying unused in 1346. By 1350 they were again at work, although costs of production had risen because of plague but the second onset of plague closed the works finally before 1363. Output varied greatly from year to year; 1330-4 about 200 blooms were produced annually, 1335 600, but in 1350-1 only 252. Fuel and ore both lay nearby and this was probably true of all Wealden bloomers then; when either gave out, the bloomery (which had no large installation) closed and moved.

The works at Tudeley produced wrought iron; a little was worked up on the spot to tyre rods or horseshoes, but the bulk was sold as blooms to local smiths. Much Wealden iron was sold thus - Boxley grange purchased 7 blooms in 1332-4 - but some demands, especially by the govern were for simple finished goods. In 1327 a works at Roffey in Horsham supplied 1000 horseshoes, exported via Shoreham for the Scottish war and in 1320 the Sherriff of Surrey and Sussex had supplied horseshoes and nails for an earlier stage of the same conflict. In 1275 406 iron wedges or p.
were bought in the Weald and 343 more in 1278; arrows were in demand, iron-tipped, in 1342 and 1359. Forges, as the one in Tonbridge Castle, which existed to supply local needs, were drawn on in such an emergency; in 1323 this forge converted 26 blooms into 423 iron bars and sent them to Porchester Castle and in 1325 it made up 7000 iron 'clenches', suitable for shipbuilding, for the same destination.

The products of Wealden smiths were not always acceptable — in 1300 it was complained that the iron tyres supplied by Wealden smiths to London for cartwheels were too small for use. Nor was Wealden iron sufficient for the needs of southern England; Spanish iron was imported for fine work at Leeds Castle, just north of the Weald, it was sold alongside the cheaper Wealden iron at Dover 1339 and the two lots of iron exported from Winchelsea 1327-8 were probably re-exported Spanish rather than local produce.

Wealden glass manufacture was already concentrated by 1300 in the western Low Weald. In 1332 a glass dealer called John de Alemayne is mentioned; in 1343 a Frenchman named Schurterre settled in the area, acquired Alemayne's furnace at Frames in Chiddingfold and established other furnaces. Traces of fourteenth century glass manufacture have been

2. PRO.E 372/187; CPR. 1358-61. 222.
5. 1370-5 Leeds Castle used Spanish iron and some cheaper iron of unspecified origin, probably Wealden—PRO.E. 101/466/19-20, cit,E.M. Hewitt. 1932. 385.
7. S.E. Winbolt. 1933.8.
found at 6 sites in Chiddingfold, and 4 in Kirdford (Fig 26), only one
of which yielded thirteenth century glass; the years after 1300 must have
witnessed considerable expansion. Window glass was the chief product
and supplied more than a local market; glass was sent for use in St.
Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, in 1352 and to Merton College Oxford
1359–60.

Textile manufacture became important in the Weald during the early
fourteenth century not as a product of long previous growth but by royal
act; in 1331 Edward III invited a Flemish clothworker, John Kempe, to
settle in England. There were cloth workers in the Weald already (p. )
but the immigrants who settled in the area around Cranbrook encouraged
the expansion of fulling and introduced broadcloth weaving in a variety
of colours. Fullers earth was available on the northern margins of the
Weald and inferior substitutes within the area (see p.206); other
materials also were produced locally - both madder, a dye, and teazles
appeared in the Penshurst accounts of 1345–6. The Flemish influx soon
left its mark; by 1341 there were no less than 13 mills in Rotherfield

1 In Winbolt's list these are sites numbered 5,7–8,10,15–16 (in
Chiddingfold), 22–3, 31–2 in Kirdford; 22–3 both seem to have begun
late in the fourteenth century, whilst at 6 and 12 in Chiddingfold
there was a gap in production during this century.

2 L.F. Salzmann. 1913,128, citing PRO.E 101/471/6; more was sent 1335–6

3 S.E. Winbolt. 1933,9.

4 In 1331 came the offer to Kempe-M.McKisack,1959,366–7, from Rymer.
Foedera, ii, 823, 849; in 1336 came the general offer—this is the date
given by Camden and R. Furley, ii. 1874, 323.

5 BMC. Penshurst MSS. i. 1925,233; 1307–8 Winchelsea imported woad from
Picardy (R.A.Pelham. 19506, 141).
and Frant, and 4 in the poor parish of Withyham, some of these probably industrial mills, and by 1355 the English export of coarse woolen cloths, the Kentish product, was more valuable than that of either worsted or felted fabrics. Woolen cloth was the chief textile manufacture of the Weald but there was also a small-scale production of goods worked up from locally-grown hemp and flax.

There were other minor industries in the early fourteenth century Weald. Cattle were the most important stock in Wealden animal husbandry and tanning leather for a variety of local products was a widespread occupation, mentioned at Cuckfield, Barcombe, Uckfield, New Winchelsea, Marley near Battle, Ditchling, Crawley and many other places. The process was simple and the product not valuable; tanning was a common village trade, an important means of employment rather than an industry (like iron) producing valuable goods for a wide market. Leather was used for clothes, saddles and many other domestic needs; another widespread local industry supplying domestic necessities was pottery manufacture. Production has been located at Hastings (7 kilns), Rye (4) Ashford, Ringmer, Brede, Horsham, Limpsfield, Lindfield and Westerham; tiles produced at Rye were used at Appledore, 7 miles away, but in general pottery was produced locally.

Potteries and tanneries were scattered throughout the Weald but sal

2. B. Furley. ii. 1874. 347.
3. For flax and hemp cultivation, see p340; services at Wiston in the early fourteenth century included working flax—W. Hudson. 1910-151.
4. 2 tanners in Cuckfield 1379 (PRO. E179/189/41); Crawley 1379 (ib); Barcombe 1296 (VCH. Sx.ii. 1907.259); Uckfield 1300 (PRO.JI. 1/934 m; New Winchelsea 1292 (VCH.Sx.ii. 1907.259); Marley early C 16—A. Evans. 1941.396); Ditchling 1379 (PRO.E 179/189/41); Staplehurst 1367 (PRO.E
Evaporation was concentrated along the coast in the east and in a few large river valleys. Some salt was exported from the marshlands, where the largest amounts were prepared, but the heavy storms of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century flooded much marshland and drastically reduced salt production. By 1350 salt was being imported into Winchelsea from the Bay of Bourgneuf, in western France.

(xii) Towns and markets.

By 1350 many settlements in the Weald had right to hold a weekly market and a few larger settlements, including Reigate and Rye, held two weekly markets. Fairs, coming only once or twice a year, were held in most market centres and in several other villages also (\textit{Rep. 39}). Ockley fair lasted two days only, Hurstpierpoint but one; most fairs lasted three days, but Bulverhythe had a four day fair, Hunton five days. The


1. Some salt was clearly produced inland—there were 2 salt-pits at Lashenden in Biddenden in 1252-I.J. Churchill. (ed.) 1956. 243, and medieval saltworking, c 1327, may have occurred in Ardingly (\textit{FV.Sx.} ii. 254). I cannot identify the salt pan at Tarcurteys granted to Dureford Abbey by 1290-B.M. Cotton MS. Vesp.E xxii. f 29.

2. C.C1.R. 1349-54. 197; however salt was exported from Winchelsea et in 1398-9, when 6/10/- of salt imported and over 11/-/- exported (R.A. Pelham. 1930. 197).
Fig. 39. Data for Wealden markets and fairs in Appendix IV; non-Wealden markets are mapped if they served areas in the Weald more than 4 miles from a Wealden market.
seven day fair at Pevensey was confirmed in 1313 and Lindfield had two
nine day fairs granted in 1343. Many other of the market and fair
rights had been granted in the seventy years previous to 1350, including
Wartling fair and market 1337, Rotherfield market 1318, Heathfield market
and fair 1315, a second fair in Cuckfield 1312, a second market and second
fair in Burwash 1310, Betchingley fair in 1310, and West Grinstead market
and fair in 1280.

Commerce and trade had become, by the early fourteenth century, an
integral part of the Wealden economic structure and its importance, as
these many grants shew, was increasing. The trade of the markets dealt
both with those Wealden products destined for exterior markets - iron,
glass and timber - and the traffic of more localised commerce. Nearly
all of the Weald were within 4 miles of a market (Fig 39) and concern
soon arose when the prosperity of a market was threatened. In 1305 Rye
petitioned to change its fair from 8 September to 15 August because on
the existing date most of the inhabitants were fishing in the North Sea
and trade thus suffered; in 1348 complaint was made of an obstruction
in the R. Rother which prevented vessels going up the river to Salehurst
market. The Black Death caused a serious short-term dislocation and

1. For details of these grants, see Appendix 5.4.
2. Bracton (De Legibus. iii. 1880. 585) said 20 miles was about a day's
journey and that markets should serve areas of about 7 miles radius,
since market days had three parts-go, work, return. R.E. Dickinson. 19;
22, estimated most medieval markets in East Anglia were only 8 miles
apart. H. Thorpe. 1950-1.34, emphasised that Litchfield served an area
of 15 miles radius, and H.B. Rodgers. 1956.55, that Preston served a
similar area, but these were regional centres rather than local mark-
3. PRO.SC 8/10/487.
4. Rot.Parl.ii. 1783.211.
substantially reduced the profits of Petworth market for at least 4 years.

Many markets and fairs were held in settlements which were little more than agricultural villages, the larger nucleations in a region of semi-dispersed settlement. A few of the centres had begun to develop towards towns; the 1341 tax, which listed merchants, recorded in the Sussex Weald 8 at Battle, 5 at Salehurst and Udimore, and 3 at Petworth, all market centres. The only Wealden settlement in Sussex which had separate taxation as a borough was East Grinstead (Steyning lay just south of the border) yet three quarters of its tax of one ninth was composed of corn. When the northern parts of Southmalling manor were surveyed in 1285, Uckfield appeared as an embryo nucleation, the only settlements with a separate tenurial group of 'burgenses' (12 owning 13 houses); it also had 11 shops.

The most truly urban, non-agricultural, centres of the Weald were its eastern ports. Hastings, Rye and Winchelsea were Cinque ports and possessed valuable freedoms from toll and custom which attracted foreign traders; many of the houses in the ports had quays attached. The trade of the ports was varied, primarily with France, the Low Countries and coastwise around England, but vessels did go as far as Spain; fishing

1. L.F. Salzman, (ed.) 1955. 1,31,62. By 1352-3 profits were still lower, but plots and booths were being leased again - there was revigal. Receipts of the fair remained fairly stable - it was less of a commercial venture than a market (ib.3,22,46).
2. Also one in Kirdford, one in Rogate - G. Vanderzee (ed.) 1807.115ff.
3. PRO.E 178/189/19.
5. A mid C 14 lease of a Rye tenement included a quay with it - G.M. Cooper. 1856. 154.
vessels went annually to Yarmouth and, sometimes, Scarborough. Winchelsea had a spacious harbour and had an established shipbuilding industry, an activity found also at Rye; Hastings and Hythe were, however, limited by poor harbours and restricted hinterlands.

These ports had been subject to serious disturbances unknown to the smaller market centres inland. In 1339 French raiders burnt the town and fishing boats of Hastings and attacked Rye (burning 52 houses and a mill); a repeat attack had destroyed all shipping in Hythe and Romney by 1341. Sea attack slowly eroded the eastern side of Rye— an exaggerated plea of 1348 said the town was surrounded by the sea on all sides and much consumed— but this was small compared with the destruction of Old Winchelsea by wave attack, which was completed in 1287. A new town, laid out on a rectangular grid, was commenced on a hill at Iham nearby in 1281, taking an area of over 150 acres; it was planned ambitiously— in 1342 94 tenements were still uninhabited— and a large number of great cellars were built below the merchants' houses to store the heavy imports of the wine trade.

1. HMC. xiii. 215.
4. R.A. Pelham 1930b. 133.
7. M.W. Beresford and J.K. St. Joseph. 1958. 221; Gervase Cant. Historica Works (ed. W. Stubbs) ii. 1880. 293, recorded it under 1288. W.McL. Roma 1949. 22, alleges that this flood refers to the marshes of Winchelsea not the town but, even so, the town appears to have been destroyed at the same time.
9. VCH. 9. 1937. 64; especially from Bordeaux—ib. 70.
(xiii) Communications

There is no evidence that, in the early fourteenth century, the Roman roads across the Weald were still used, save for short and discontinuous segments. Another network had grown up, less well constructed and often less direct; the medieval packhorse holloways across Ashdown Forest were much more sinuous than the earlier Roman road. The pack and cart animals, and the stock travelling to and from market grazed by the roadside and their wanderings, plus the growth of ruts in the unmetalled roads, were partly responsible for the sinuosity of the medieval roads; wide verges were common. In 1272 there was an encroachment on the king's highway in Battle but the monks justified it since the land was only waste and the highway was still 10 perches wide. Besides the public roads from village to village, there were very many private access ways owned by individuals, leading to isolated fields and farmhouses; the complete network of roads and paths was very dense.

Local courts frequently dealt with complaints about bad roads, most commonly local obstructions by pits, unscoured ditches, fallen trees. There were a few continuous stretches of bad road - in 1325 it was decided that the road between Sundridge and Brasted was dangerous all the year round, should be closed and that another road via

1. One segment near Barcombe Mills was still used as a right of way 1374 W.D. Peckham. 1937. 218-9.
3. PBO. JI 1/912 m 37, cit. VCH. E.9.1937. 101; one encroachment in Lamberhurst, 1240-1, was large enough to build a house on—R. Furley. ii. 1874.51.
4. A will of 1469 gave certain lands in Salehurst plus a carrying way 16 wide to carry corn, wood and hay from the land between Whitsum and 13 October, and right of footway along it all the year. S.P. Vivian. 195/contd
Chiddingstone should be enlarged to replace it.

The Wealden roads in general were not dangerous; the common long-distance carriage services and the continual export of heavy goods, especially iron and timber from the area, demonstrate that the roads could and did sustain the regular transport of heavy materials. This is confirmed by the records of goods levied from the Weald for expeditions, and mostly carried by cart and waggon. In 1319 300 quarters of grain were carried from Mayfield to the river port at Lewes, 22 miles according to the account; pontoons 25 miles from Cuckfield to Shoreham in 1346, and shortly after 20 pontoons 15 miles from Penshurst to Winchelsea. In 1326 hogs and flitches were brought 30 miles from Robertsbridge and Ticehurst to provision Dover Castle and hogs for

146-7; a tenant of Ealynden in Biddenden owned an access land and 6 plots of land c.1431-2, PRO. E 313/56 f 186.

e.g. Loddenden in Staplehurst in 1360's - PRO. Sc 2/181/69-71; Hambledon 1340-VCH,Sy. 3. 1911. 44; various places in the Kentish Weald 1275 -R. Furley. ii. 1874. 111, 126, 131, 137-9.

1. PRO. C 143/175/7, cit. G. Ward. 1931b. 20.
2. For instance in 1356 wool from Alciston, only 8 miles from coastal port at Seaford, sent wool in 1356 across the Weald by cart for export via the Medway: A.M.M. Melville. 1931. 102.
3. The 8-ox waggon for transport is mentioned at Alciston-East Grinstead 1356 (A.M.M. Melville. 1931. 102), Baldeslow Hundred (Crowhurst, Hollington, Ore, Westfield) 1456-BM. Add. Ch. 3192.
4. R.A. Pelham. 1931. 169, from PRO.E 101/588/7. In this instance carriage across the Weald was more expensive than across the Down land, per mile, as Pelham notes.
5. ib. 171, from E 101/588/17.
Pevensey castle in the same year were carried from villages up to 20 miles away. Sometimes such heavy traffic ran into difficulties; when in 1326 175 oaks were carried 6 miles from Crowhurst to Bulverhythe, 248 waggons were needed and expenses included bridging over ditches with 2 hurdles and faggots. Generally, however, it would seem that heavy goods could be moved over Wealden roads without prohibitive cost or slowness - if royal levies could pay more in costs, they demanded rapid production of the levied goods. The volume of heavy traffic was not yet large enough to cause the roads to deteriorate as they did later.

Travellers could move rapidly along the Wealden roads too. The only Wealden route marked on the Gough map was part of the Chichester to Canterbury road which ran along the eastern coast of the Weald. The selection of this road is not surprising; it linked two major centres and, at this time, the eastern end of the Weald was the most densely settled, and most urbanised part of the district. This was not the only good road; others are implied by the rapid journeys of Edward I in 1299. On June 19 he travelled about 18 miles across the Kentish Weald; the next

1. ib. 172, from E 101/588/11. This document which gives the distance from Hailsham to Dover as 8 leagues shews that the correlation 1 medieval league = 1¼ miles, used above, is not always accurate.
3. M.M. Pastan claims (1954.xxxvi) that in medieval England generally, transport costs were not a higher proportion of total costs than they are today.
4. R.A. Pelham. 1931. 178-84 (dating the map c. 1340); 1933d. 34-9. E. Lynnah. 1944. 10, puts the date at c.1335. The 4 versions of the map are E. Cotton MS. Claud. D vi. f 8; Julius D vii f 50v-53; Royal MS 14 C vii f 3v; CCCamb. MS 16(B) f vb; for problems of compilation see R. Vaughan. 1958. 235-44. The suggestion that part of this route along the Wealden coast is Roman (L.F. Salzman. 1926. 33-4, followed by Pelham. 1931) has no supporting field data - ex. inf. I.D. Margary.
day nearly 20 miles, the day after at least 28, and on the 22nd at least
40 across into the Sussex Weald and back to Canterbury. The direction
was not, however, always easy to find in an area of sparse and scattered
population; the King used 17 guides that same year when travelling
through the Weald from Dover to Chichester and back to Canterbury, and
in 1285 several tenants of the Archbishop in Southmalling manor had an
obligation to act as guides through the unenclosed wooded hunting
grounds between the residences at Mayfield and Cranbrook.

Parts of the Weald were accessible by rivers – the Mèlé, and
Medway in the north and the Arun, Adur, Ouse and Cuckmere in the south.
The evidence of the transport of levied goods shows that river transport
was not always preferred to road and it seems that, in the early
fourteenth century, river transport was only important in the east,
carrying goods to and from the ports of Rye, Romney, Winchelsea and,
to a lesser extent, Pevensey.

1. R. Furley. ii. 1874. 255.
Conclusion.

Many enduring features of the Wealden scene were well established by 1350. The framework of parishes and the pattern of semi-dispersed settlement; the mixed husbandry concentrating on cattle and swine, oats and wheat; the intermixed mosaic of arable and pasture diversified by orchards, by fishponds, by many parks and woods which, although mostly natural, already included some plantations; the coexistence of agriculture and industry; the continuing and varied contacts with the surrounding regions - all these characteristics of Wealden life and landscape had appeared and had acquired already a stability which was to last at least another three centuries.

Yet though the early fourteenth century was not a period of great change in itself the landscape by 1350 included the embryos of coming change - iron and glass working had begun, the Flemish cloth-workers had arrived, the plan of the hall-house was almost fully evolved, and the function of the Weald as the great timber resource of southern England was already foreshadowed. Other things were archaic - the heyday of the great hunting 'forests', of the unenclosed chase was over, the droves of swine travelling from Wealden pannage to home estates on the Downs were but rarely seen and the temporary invasion of the vineyard had run more than half its course. Change was never absent and if the scene of 1350 incorporated already so many features found in 1650, this reflected the fundamental and rapid changes which had, in the previous years, transformed the essentially different Weald of 1086.
EARLY MEDIEVAL CHANGES

(i) Timber and parkland. Was im Neuen charakteristisch ist, ist das Alte und was wir suchen ist die Entwicklung. A. Weitzen. 1903.

Considerable demand for Wealden timber can be traced back at least to the thirteenth century. The Hundred Rolls of 1275 recorded much recent felling in the Kentish Weald, including 32 beeches in Marden hundred burnt for charcoal; these cuttings were recorded (as others in Shipbourne 1271) because they were illegal and their number suggests that there was a ready market for timber. This is confirmed from other evidence; the Wealden woods of Kennington manor, according to a late thirteenth century survey, could supply annually, besides trees, 15,000 faggots for sale as fuel. The Sheriff of Sussex was ordered in 1254 to provide 60 quarters of charcoal and 100 cartloads of wood, most of which came doubtless from Wealden parishes. (Yet in the same year, Canterbury Cathedral carpenters, only 15 miles from the Weald, used timber boards brought from Ireland; this was probably special timber for an unusual purpose).

An inquisition of 1243 recorded heavy fellings and wood sales from:

1. Newenden Hundred, much destruction; Rolvenden H., oaks beeches etc., worth 40/-; Somerden H., wood and fishponds £10; 40/- wood at Sibersneth in Orlestone; R. Furley. ii. 1874. 133, 127, 139.
5. J.H. Harvey, AC. 1945. 35, from Cant.MS Reg.H f 177; however Archbishop Boniface, 1245-70, is said to have cut much wood on his Sussex manor; (which included large Wealden woodlands-Matthew Paris, Chronica Major (ed.H.R.Luard). v. 1880.221.
the Earl of Surrey's lands. From those in the Sussex Weald (Worth Forest Cleres chase, Sundres wood, Cuckfield Park and la Beche) over 120 oaks were sold and more than 70 beeches; the oak came from all the woods, beeches mostly from Sundres and Worth Forest (i.e. sandier lands in the High Weald). Worth Forest also provided unspecified amounts of ash, birch, alder and lime. In the Surrey Weald over 100 oaks were felled at Holmwood and Reigate (probably from land on the Weald Clay) and 400 beeches at Hascombe (probably on the Lower Greensand). The utilization of the timber was, in some instances, recorded - beams and staves from Worth and Cuckfield went for mill construction at Maresfield, 4 oaks and 24 beeches from Cleres and Sundres were burnt for ash (ad cineres, for charcoal?); 51 oaks from Holmwood were made into roofing shingles and the beeches felled at Holmwood and Hascombe were for fuel, part at least being transported to Kingston. The variety of markets seeking Wealden timber-building, fuel, industry- had already appeared.

Varied sales can be traced earlier. Royal woods at Marden in 1235 supplied 20 trees for the refectory of an Abbey in Dover; ten years earlier 5 beams for a tumbril had been transported from Tonbridge to Dover, and wood from St. Leonard's Forest and Knepp Park for other works in the same port in 1214. In 1211 the annual wood sale from Charlwood

---

1. C.C1.11. 1234-37. 48.

---

6. Fellings of 1241-3, recorded 1243-PBO.6 145/1/16; the sales were allowed by Peter of Savoy, who was custodian of the Earl's lands after his death.
Manor was valued at 18/- and revenue from Battle Abbey timber 1210-11 was as much as 7/3/2. Royal demands were probably the single largest consumer of Wealden timber and in 1207 John had requested help in carrying timber from the Weald to Lewes (whence it was being shipped for repairs to Dover castle); the same year a large war machine (mangonell) probably of wood, was carried from Ashdown Forest to Porchester Castle and timbers from St. Leonard's Forest were transported to works at Dorking, Southwark and Kingston.

Internal demands within the Weald were not small. From the Forest of Worth in Brightling (i.e. Dallington chace) Robertsbridge Abbey took by a grant of c 1200 15 cartloads of dead wood annually; an earlier grant to the Abbey, c 1180, reserved to the grantor right to take 100 loads of wood thence per annum. The well-wooded outliers of many manors owed carriage services, especially used for carrying timber from the Weald to the manorial centre. The 7 duns of Newington - next-Sittingbourne provided 6 carts of gavelwode per annum; brushwood was cut at Shellwood in Leigh and carried to Ewell; wood and brushwood were cut at Otham in

1. E. Sewill and R. Lane. 1951,8, from PRO. E 142/46.
4. It was used for throwing stones, and stones were carried with it from Ashdown (A.M. Kirkus (ed.) 1946. 37); probably by road to Lewes, thence by boat.
6. HMC. Penshurst MSS. i. 1925. 54—actually 5 cartloads, 5 quadrigas (4 wheeled carts) and 4 hercias (?). Confirmation 1200-5, ib. 59.
7. i. 40.
8. E. Hasted. ii. 1782. 551; undated customary.
9. 1223-F.W. Maitland (ed.) 1887.no 1661; also PRO. KB 26/83 m 25d(1223), 25d. 94 m. 8(1226); the Wealden tenants carried it on...
Hailsham and transported to Alciston on the almost treeless Downs. By
1210-11 the carriage services on Hollingbourne manor were already
2 commuted but earlier they had doubtless been used for timber transport;
3 the heyday of this traffic was passing.

Timber transport in the twelfth century had not, however, been
confined to such customary traffic. Timber was taken in 1182-3 from
Wealden sources via Lewes and Southampton for work on a nunnery in Amesbury
4 and on the king's palace at Winchester; similarly, in 1180-1, Knepp Park
had supplied timber which was carried by road to Bramber bridge, by water
thence to Southampton and again by road to building works at Freemantle
5 and Clarendon. There were doubtless other woods nearer at hand but
Knepp, besides being well-wooded, was also a royal possession. As early
as c 1089 the monks of Lewes were granted preemptio of logs in Lewes
6 market, three days a week. Lewes, on the southern margin of the Weald
and with a small river port, was already established as a centre for the
marketing of Wealden timber.

During the twelfth and late eleventh century Wealden timber was
also applied to a use which had no later equivalent - the building of

2. FB0.E 142/46, cit I.J. Churchill. 1914. 20; the charter of John to
Archbishop Hubert allowing him to change tenures from gavelkind to
primogeniture in Kent emphasised that customary dues, including
averagia, would remain—Bodl.Tanner MS 223 f 35v, and Lambeth MS 1212
f 48 no.xv, cit D. Douie. 1952.74. -
3. In 1086 the Wealden men of Milton manor paid 1/- for 'ineward et av
(2b); lands in Ripe by 1103-6 supplied 200 beechboards and 40 cart-
loads of logs p.a., plus averagia and other services—L.F. Salzmann
(ed.). 1932.119.
timber castles. Such were erected at Sedgwick (where stone building was allowed to replace timber in 1258); at a site near Budgwick; at Chennells’ Brook north of Horsham; at Bletchingly and Thundersfield, an early C 12 construction. At Abinger the timber work was entirely renewed in the mid-C 12, but first erection had been made C1080-1120; the earliest post-Conquest wooden castle in the Weald was the first castle of Hastings, built in 1066.

Of the 46 parks known to have existed in the Weald by 1300, at least 26 had been mentioned by 1250 and, despite increasingly incomplete documentation, parkland can be traced throughout the thirteenth century as a significant land use. In 1262 the two parks of Bletchingly and Waterdown Forest in Motherfield were described as impaled hunting ground with a regular supplementary income from pannage, pasture and timber sales; Lower Bilsington Park was recorded as 94½ acres in 1256-62.

2. S.E. Winbolt. S.M. 1928-127; Se AC. 1930.96.
3. Late C 11, abandoned by 1150: H. Brown. 1936. 251-3; also earthwork 1600 yards north of West Wolves Farm in Ashington may be timber predecessor of Warminghurst Castle—S.E. Winbolt. SAC. 1925.241-2.
5. In Horley; E. Hart and S.E. Winbolt. 1937. 147-8.
8. PRO.C 132/27/5.
9. BM.Add. MS 37018. f 14-17.
Burwash Park was mentioned in 1247, Hever Park c. 1240, Pallingham in 1231, Peverse (later Michelham) Park 1229, and Cuckfield Park in 1218; pannage and timber rights in a park in Tillington (probably River Park) were granted as early as 1215–17. Early in the thirteenth century licence was given to inclose wood at Daneghithe (later Danny Park), whilst Burstow (mentioned 1200–5), Netherfield (1200–5) and Pirefeld in Pluckley (1200) Parks already existed. (Fig 2B).

The large game found in these parks was noted from time to time. Deer for royal consumption were taken from Ashdown 1263. Wild boars and sows from Knepp Park were sent to Portsmouth for food supplies in 1214; hunting deer at Knepp in 1213 employed 144 dogs and 5 greyhounds and in the previous year deer had been killed for meat and salted. As early as 1177 St. Augustine’s Abbey in Canterbury were granted a stag yearly from Tonbridge Forest.

Enthusiastic hunting of small game can also be traced back into the thirteenth century. Grants of free warren for lands at Pulborough, Burstow and Saperton in Heathfield 1247 were preceded by others for Laughton and Witley (1240) and Ashford (1243). The lord of Pevensey Rape had right of warren over a colossal area defined in 1252, the whole of

7. A.H. Davis. 1924. 113.
the Rape south of a line between Pevensey and Lewes, mostly outside the 1
Weald. When rights were many and some so extensive, disputes commonly 2
arose; in 1241 the warren of one landowner in Petworth and Tillington was
invaded and in 1237, after long dispute, William de Say gave up all
rights he had claimed to chace in the Earl of Surrey's chase of Cleres and
also promised not to restrict the earl's hunting by enclosing his woodland
in Hamsey. In 1226 rights to chace in the warren of Tandridge changed
hands; other rights of free warren had been granted in Hurstmonceux (early C 13) and at Ditchling (1216). The earliest grant of the century,
in 1202 for lands in Tandridge, Godstone, Somerden, Harrowsley in Horley
and some non-Wealden lands, specified the small game as wolf, hare,
wildcat, pigeons and pheasant. The coney, the most typical component
of later warrens, had not yet appeared.

The kings of the twelfth and late eleventh centuries valued hunting very highly and few grants of hunting rights over Wealden lands
remain from this earlier period. There was no royal forest in the
Weald, although the term 'forest' was loosely applied to Worth in
Brightling, Tonbridge and the Weald as a whole. Worth forest in
8,9

8.C.C.R. 126-57. 326; Laughton and Witley ib. 294; Ashford C.P.R. 1232-47 398; also Trotton 1237-C.C.R. 1226-57. 231.
2.L.F. Salzmann. 1903. no 371.
3.ib. no 341. William de Say received rights of warren and fishery in Hamsey in exchange. In the lawsuit of 1233 (F.W. Maitland, ed. 1887, no 806) Say claimed the land in Hamsey was his park and had been enclosed over 100 years but the Earl claimed rights of common etc. in it. The Earl exacted his hunting rights elsewhere also—in 1239 Simon de Pierpoin was made to admit he had no right to hunt in the Earl's warren at Hurstpierpoint—L.F. Salzmann. 1903. no 353.
4.VCH. Syd. 1912. 324.
Brightling (the area later known as Dallington chace) probably goes back to the 'forest' held by a subject in Dallington in 1086 (18b) and Rotherfield forest (first mentioned 1262) back to the park in that parish in the same survey (16). Ashdown, first named thus 1100-30, may have been part of Pevensey Forest, mentioned in 1066-86 but not after 1205.

The word park was very rarely used in these early decades but Knapp Park was thus named c 1145 (though still inaccurately called 'forest' in 1213; and the Little Park of Battle (Plesseis) was imparked by the 12th century.

Battle Abbey was confirmed, 1102-7, in its hunting rights over the Lowry of Battle and the Rape of Hastings, rights which went back to a grant by the Conqueror. Battle Abbey lay in the Weald but during the twelfth century, some landowners outside the area had hunting rights in the more wooded and less settled Wealden lands. The Barons of Pevensey, on the coastal margin, had hunting seats near Ashdown at Hartfield and Maresfield; the Archbishop of Canterbury had hunting rights over all his lands, including large Wealden tracts; the Bishop of Chichester was

6. Minet Library, Camberwell; Deed H 127.
7. This cannot be attributed solely to less documentation. G. J. Turner. 1901 crvi, suggests licence to impark was needed from Angevin kings only when the land was near royal forest, but this is difficult to decide (H. A. Cronne. 1949, 15-16).
8. See the footnote documentation on p445; Waldron chace was also called a forest in c 1245 (HMC. Penshurst MSS. i. 1925.99). Breyle Park a forest 1139-62 (SAC. 1875. 72).
9. A spurious grant of 1081 by William I speaks of 'my forest' of Andre J.H. Round, 1899, 502; H.W.C. Davis. 1913, no 141. In 1207-8 knights of Hastings Rape paid to be quit of summons to forest pleas. (R.A. Brown ed) 1957, 48, A.M. Kirkus (ed.) 1946, 41) though the only royal forest in Sussex early C 13 was at the opposite end of the county near Chichester (Botaittius. 1224-7, 80). All Surrey was royal forest temp. Henry 11, but the Wealden part was disafforested 1190 (D.M. Stenton (e 1925, 155).
1. C. Johnson and H.A. Cronne (eds.) 1956, no 1670.
granted warren in Henfield and Bexhill 1155-62. (The Prior of Christ Church was granted free warren in all his manors sometime between 1155 and 1189).

In the early medieval Weald enclosed parks were few but hunting through unenclosed woodlands and over sandy heaths was widespread; the Weald served as a hunting ground not only for the small local population but also for magnates whose main estates lay on the downlands to north and south.

(2) Colonisation and arable farming.

The early medieval period was the great age of Wealden assarting.

2. Grant 1066-86, dated W. Budden, SAC. 1928. 31, later confirmation specifies the area as in Waldron, East Hoathly, Hellingly and Laughton- W. Dugdale, Mon. vii. 1830. 1091. Grant of land in Pevensey Forest for pre 1205-PRO. Anc. Deed D 3640 (H. M. Colvin. 1957. 114)


4. M.A. Lower (ed.) 1851. 23-4. Lower. 1857. 275, says Roger de Bodiam had a park 1155-89, according to a list of knight's fees, but this is no in the Black or Red Books of the Exchequer.

5. C. Johnson and H.A. Cronne (eds.) 1956. no 859; Conqueror's grant mentioned M.A. Lower (ed.) 1851. 57, and spurious notification of it 1075-87, is H.W.C. Davis (ed.) 1913. no 263.


7. Lambeth MS 1212 p 332, is grant of Edward Confessor forbidding hunting in the Archbishop's wood without his command or licence (1042-4, 104 50); it is written copy, late C 13, of dubious authenticity (F.E. Harm 1952. 178) and almost identical with grant of William I (ib. p15).


2. J.B. Sheppard, HMC. v. 437, HMC. viii. 318; free warren in Mershaw, one of the Christ Church manors, was granted 1052- W. Dugdale, Mon. i. 1817 97. The Bishop of Rochester, who had little Wealden land, received free warren in all his lands c 1139 (L. Landon (ed.) 1939. 95).
Colonisation in the Weald was individual and independent; it was also widespread. A survey of the Wealden lands of Southmalling 1285 describes the virgates, the original core of cultivated land, as grouped in many small units (often still identifiable as Wealden hamlets) and in the uncultivated areas between these hamlets were the asserts, 16 acres in Wadhurst 'borgh', an unspecified area in Grenherst and 74½ acres in Uckfield, with their scattered cottages. In this manor, erection of a cottage was the token that encroachment was permanent (and thus that regular rents should be charged); the cottages, scattered without any grouping, contrasted with the semi-nucleated hamlets of the virgates. Asserting was reflected not only in the field pattern, but in the settlement pattern as well.

Asserting is known from many complementary surveys. In 1285 there were 75 1/4 acres of assert in the Wealden lands of Slindon, 16 in the Horsham lands of Tarring manor; the early fourteenth century survey of Ruckinge and Little Chart, on the margin of the Kentish Weald and of Charlwood in the Surrey Weald mentioned several rents 'de novo', recent asserts; asserts at the same time in Wiston numbered 19, one 'an assert of burnt wood'.

Some of the asserts existent by 1300 were recent; several in 'Grenherst' were recognized only in 1273-9, but others in Wadhurst dated

1. B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (eds.) 1958, 31, 37, 51-2, 62-6, 69-72, 74-8. There were 16 units, assessed as one virgate in Wadhurst 'borgh' 11 Mayfield, 8 Grenherst, 18 Framfield, 9 Uckfield; on cottage erecti and rents, ib. 53-7, 80-1.
2. ibid. 9, 27-8.
3. BM. Add. MS. 6159. f 38, 40v, 47v.
from 1207-45 and 62½ acres in Uckfield were 'old assart'. Between 1222 and 1308 the Templars were granted 3 acres of assart in a wood at Rield and a tenant of Farnham in 1261 possessed a small farm of 'nova tera' in the Weald. Of 229 acres in Horsham which changed hands 1254, 56 acres were assarts and, since the clearers were named, clearly of recent formation; in 1242 the manor of Laughton changed hands and with it the 'wood of Ingeleie', that he may assart, enclose & dispose of it. As early as c 1230 land at Epselea in Itchingfield distinguished 30 acres and 3 crofts of asserted land from the original arable, and in 1220 tithe of assart at Ricleshurst in Thakeham was disputed.

Clearing was widespread on the swine pastures (denns) of the Kentish Weald during the thirteenth century. Probably in the late C 13, small family clearing was made at Boy Court in Ulcombe, one of the denns of Lenham; and a list of this manor's denns made during the century included other instances - Eadenne was clearly a family clearing held by the 'heredes de Esdenne'. Several decades earlier, there were 13 tenants:

---

3. PRO.C 132/25/17. The inquisition does not say the 'nova terra' was in the Weald but this is suggested by H.E. Malden. VCH. Sy. 3. 1911. 415.
5. C.C.R. 1226-57. 274.
8. Not in C 13 list of rents from Lenham denns (BM. Cott. MS. Faust. A i. f 154-65.) but in C 14 list as nova terra held by heirs of Roger de Boycote (f 152v), and in another C 14 list called 'Newelands' (f 153).
at Wychelyndenne in Tonbridge, holding the small farms (all specified were below 10 acres) typical of early medieval assarting. In 1227 \( \frac{3}{4} \) acres in a parcel of 79 in Bethersden were 'nova terra' and before, in 1200, 41\( \frac{1}{2} \) acres were described as 'in assarto meo' de Hadynndenne.

The cultivated area in the Weald was not large nor its yields high - when the king's army passed through the area before the Battle of Lewes 1264 the chronicler referred to lack of food and poor pasture— but expansion was going on during the thirteenth century and already, by the beginnings of that century, the cultivated area was subject to regular, rotational tillage. In 1223 40 acres in Sutton had been tilled in 10 years of the last 14 and the arable lands of Christ Church in Charlwood, 1211, were 28 acres half sown with barley and 32 acres half sown with wheat. Wheat yields were probably higher - the issues of the grange were 23\( \frac{3}{4} \) loads of barley and 56 quarters of wheat - and rents included 13 ploughshares. The seasonal round at Otham in Hailsham (as mentioned in the tenants' services c 1200) included all the variety of an established agricultural system - ploughing and harrowing, carrying manure, mowing and storing hay, carting hay and corn from the nearby marshlands in Pevensey Levels.

1. BM. Add. Ch. 45962; population on the denu was often small - Marden 1290 had only 5 'capable inhabitants', PRO.SC 2/181/75-6.
2. And 10\( \frac{1}{2} \) were asserts - A.M. Woodcock (ed,) 1956. 139-40.
4. H.R. Luard (ed.) iv. 1869. 148; this referred to Surrey Kent & Sussex as whole counties.
5. F.W. Maitland (ed.) 1887. no 1581; probably Sutton Valence.
6. PRO.C 142/46, cit. E. Sewill and R. Lane. 1951. 809\( \frac{1}{2} \) 74.
Marling the arable land had begun by the thirteenth century. Marlpits at Gleapfeld, Goudhurst, Yalding and Pembury were mentioned 1 1254-5, at Brenchley, Horsmonden 1246-1 and in Barnfield half-hundred 2 (probably at Delmonden in Hawkhurst) in 1240-1. These pits lay in the Kentish Weald but the practise of marling had at least equal antiquity 3 in Sussex, mentioned in the Weald at Mountfield c1240 and on the Lower 4 Chalk and Upper Greensand, in the extreme northwest of Sussex, by 1200. By 1200, then, permanent agriculture in the Weald was established; the pasture lands and herds were complemented by cropland, tilled with ordered rotation and sometimes 'improved' with marl, and also by the 5 vineyards. 6 First orchards, & Evidence of the antecedent assarting of the twelfth and late eleventh centuries is, however, limited almost wholly to monastic references. In the late 12, probably 1180-1204, Dureford Abbey made an encroachment on the common pasture at Wyhus; the monks were allowed to keep it by the landowner, who also granted them another nearby. A third assart, on the road north from Dureford, was also mentioned at the same period.

---

2. R Furley. ii. 1874. 30-64, from PRO. Jl 1/361 mm 3041. Gleapfeld might be Clatfields in Edenbridge.
3. HMC, Penshurst MSS. i. 1925. 91.
4. Reference to a marlpit near Punfeld in Harting 1270 (E.M. Cott. MS. Vesp.E. xxiii. f 71), and marlpit of La Linche 1237 (ib. f 33 r-v); a grant of 'quarry or marlpit' near Dureford to help in building Abbey, 1189-96, repeating c1160 (ib.9v). Dr. E.M. Yates informs me that the Dureford pits, where identifiable, lie on the Lower Chalk/Upper Greensand junction. In c1094-8 there was a marlpit near Southover, on the chalk.L.F. Salzman (ed.). 1932. 14.
It is evident that colonisation did continue apace between the Conquest and 1200, not only from these fragmentary monastic references, but from other indirect evidence. It is known that the Wealden counties suffered little disturbance during the anarchy of Stephen’s reign (1135–54) and clearing went back beyond this – an assart in Burwash is mentioned not long after the Conquest. The parish pattern, which by 1291 had assumed the form which persisted without major change until at least 1800, had expanded fast since 1086 and the increase of churches must have reflected an increase in population and land clearance. (It is true that the 1086 account of churches is incomplete but in the Kentish Weald, where the supplementary Domesday Monachorum furnishes a list of churches c1100 which


8. ib. f 14.


2. Granted by Count of Eu; mentioned in PRO. JI 1/912 m 16, date from VCH.Sx. 2. 1907. 189.
is virtually complete, several churches were built and parishes laid out between c1100 and 1291; see Appendix 3). A second indirect evidence of early medieval colonisation in the Weald is the increase of mills between 1086 and 1300, even allowing again for the incomplete account of 1086; this mill-building reflected not only an increase in the farm-land area but also a substantial increase in grain production (see Appendix $\chi$).

The primary incentive to colonisation in the early medieval Weald was, beyond doubt, population increase, although direct data on population is virtually nil. It is also possible that partible inheritance may have given added impetus in the Kentish Weald (an area where also soils were generally more fertile than the Sussex Weald).

Where a parental holding was divided between several sons, the individual portion was often too small to support a family and needed supplementatie by new clearing. In 1276 the King disgavelled the lands of John of Cobham on the grounds that excessive subdivision from gavelkind reduced 1 2 farms below subsistence size. Joint-working did sometimes occur but as 3 also did subdivision – an instance at Edenbridge in 1231 was recorded – and, in either case, if the population was increasing the food production per head would drop unless the cultivated area was increased by new


2. 2 men were jointly working a holding in Nettlestead-F.W. Maitland(ed.) 1887. no 960: 1224.

3. Ibid. no 666.
clearing. Nor was this phenomenon confined to Kent; partible inheritance seems to have encouraged marshland reclamation in early medieval Lincolnshire.

(iii) Pasturelands and animal husbandry.

(a) General.

Thirteenth century data provides antecedents to many aspects of Wealden pasture farming known in more detail from later centuries. Common grazings were already defined - common pasture in a woodland at West Grinstead 1269, common pasture at Bexhill 1254-62 and at Heathfield c1236. Robertsbridge received common grazings rights in Waldron 'forest' (i.e. chace) c1245, after receiving in 1225 confirmation of common pasture in Dallington chace. As in later centuries, some common grazings were in woodland though the majority were on open sandy heath. The common area was already subject to encroachment - an early C13 grant gave Dureford Abbey (in Rogate) some land nearby, common which the monks had appropriated. Documents emphasised the difference between common and several pasture (forinsecam,) and specified whether such enclosed grazings were wood, grass pasture or heath.

2. BM. Cott. MS. Vesp.E xxiii. f 27v.
4. ib.361.
5. BMC. Penshurst MSS. i. 1925. 99.
6. ib. 82; here called Worth and Brightling Forest. Pasture extended fro Worth in Brightling to Netherfield in Battle.
7. Rights to common pasture at Heruerthing, a wood in High Halden, mentioned 1244-BM. Cott. MS. Faust. A i. f.292v.
8. BM. Cott. MS. Vesp.E xxiii f 70.
9. BM. Harl.Ch.80 I 34. cit. S.P.Vivian ed. 1957. 142. Salaburg a a.m.
Meadowland soon became intensely split up – Fuggelsbroc near Iden was subdivided by c 1200 – and individual ownership lots were as small as one acre. Marshland grazings were integral components in several Wealden estates; Battle and Robertsbridge Abbeys were disputing over Grykes marsh in Broomhill 1244. Battle Abbey had marshes in Bexhill, mentioned 1248, whilst Grykes was one of the five granges in Romney marsh which Robertsbridge possessed as early as 1219. Thirteenth century data shews that the Robertsbridge marshlands provided arable land and peat fuel, besides good pasture.

Cattle and swine appear to have been the chief beasts in the thirteenth century Weald. In 1229 Michelham Priory was given pasture on the Dicker in Chiddingly, Broyle of Laughton and other Sussex woods for 60 cattle and pannage for 100 swine in the founder's woods; Robertsbridge Abbey's grazing rights in Dallington chace, confirmed 1225, were for cattle and horses. In 1220 the Bishop of Chichester supplied 31 catt

10. e.g. Eckington in Ripe 1199, L.F. Salzmann (ed.) 1903, no 34; C 13. reference to wood pasture, probably in Ulcombe or Kingsnorth – Emmanuel College, Camb. MS I. i. 11, f 11v.

11. At or near Eckington 1199–L.F. Salzmann (ed.) 1903, no 34; at Bushy Field in Hailsham pre 1176. G.M. Cooper. 1850, 40; in Fletching 1206 – L.F. Salzmann (ed.) 1903, no 110.

1. References to at least 2 parcels in it. – HMC. Penshurst MSS. i.1925.52

2. C 13 grant of one acre at Besynkeham, S.P. Vivian (ed.) 1955, 51; a grant of meadow in Bordesbroc c 1205 mentioned access via parcels in two other ownerships – HMC. Penshurst MSS. i. 1925. 51. Vivian (ed.) 1955. 51, grant in Bordesbroc to Robertsbridge c 1205 mentions access via meadow in two other ownerships – HMC. Penshurst MSS. i. 1925. 51. 19 refs. to two parcels, totalling 16 acres – HMC. Penshurst MSS. i. 1925.52.

3. W. Egerton Ch. 375; dispute reoccurred 1279 – Abbey Plac. 1189–1327.19 An earlier agreement of the two landowners about the marsh of Swanemere is L.F. Salzmann (ed.). 1903. no 187, 1203.
405

and 50 sheep to Bexhill manor and 45 cattle to Henfield; Bexhill lay on the eastern coastal margin and, as in later centuries, it was only on the marshland and downland borders of the Weald that sheep attained any importance.

(b) swine and swine pastures.

If cattle were more important than sheep in the early medieval Weald, this period did not differ those which followed but, whilst this aspect of animal husbandry can be traced with remarkable stability back through the centuries, it is clear that the importance of swine varied markedly. By the end of the thirteenth century many of the Wealden swine pastures had become divided into farm units and land was being reclaimed for tillage (p.336). Asserting increased the cultivated area at the expense of woodland swine grazings and, as population increased, permanent agriculture became increasingly more important than the less intensive land use of seasonal swine grazing.

4. ib. no. 499. BMC—Penshurst MSS.
5. HMC, Penshurst MSS. i. 1925. 84 (Document 1230, inspeximus of one of 1219) granges at Grikes in Romney, Fochre in Pett, Chocke in Oxney, Broomhill and Shargate.
6. C.S. Perceval. 1880. 449; Otham abbey was granted, pre 1205, 60 cartloads of peat p.a. from moor of Pevensey, whilst supply lasted—H.M. Colvin. 1951. 114.
7. C.P.R. 1225-32. 248.
8. HMC, Penshurst MSS. i. 1925. 82 (but grant c 1200 for cattle and swi; ib. 54).
2. Washing and shearing sheep at Otham in Hailsham, near Pevensey levels, mentioned c1200 (Bodl.Sx.Ch.6, cit. L.F. Salzmann. 1901.176).
A rental of Wychelyndenne in Tonbridge, 1253, made no mention of swine and the links between parent estate and Wealden swine pastures were, in some cases, severed before this. In 1234 friction arose between Bramley manor and its Wealden tenants at Dunsfold, as it had in 1223 between Ewell and its tenants at Shellwood in Leigh. Yet whilst some denns had early become independent units (a land grant of 1194 transferred 2 denns and land on 3 others, without reference to any parent estate) the rents paid by tenants on many denns in the thirteenth century implied the former role of these areas as swine pastures for non-Wealden manors.

The commonest indication was the payment of 'lefsilver' or 'danger rents. Lefsilver (or lyefyeld, leftyeld, leueshale) was paid by 3 denns of Kennington and by the denns of Boughton Aluph; a custumal of Teynham defined it as payment for right to plough between the autumn equinox (20's of September) and Martinmas (12 November), that is during the

1. BM. Add. Ch. 45962.
2. C. Cl. B. 1231-4. 555.
3. F. W. Maitland (ed.) 1887, no 1661; also PRO KB 26/83 m 26d. The dispute rearose 1226-9 KB 26/94 m 8.
4. BMC. Penshurst MSS. i. 1925, 44. In 1071-82 Odo exchanged 4 denns for 25 acres he enclosed in his park at Wickhambreux-Lessenden, Acton in Wittersham, Blaectota and Adalardindenn (BM. Cott. Ch. xvi. 31); I have been unable to trace a parent manor for any of the four.
5. Appledore on the eastern margin of the Weald had 2 denns (Herenden in Tenterden, and Warehorne) in a survey of 1285-1331 (BM. Cott. MS. Galba E.i.v.f. 167v) and also part of Plurenden (R. Furley, ii. 1874. 727). The only manor wholly within the Weald with denns was Lambin (in High Halden and Bolvenden) and that only on a undocumented statement by Hasted (R. Furley, ii. 1874. 719).
7. 1286-PRO, C 133/45/1.
The details of the number of manors and the location of swine pastures in the Lowy of Tunbridge are given in R. Furley, 1.1874.725, corrected W.V. Dumbreck, 1958. Boundary of the Lowy from W.V. Dumbreck, 1958.146.
pannage season. Rents of dongerium were paid, by c. 1300, by all the
den of Icham (2), Merham (5), Goodmerham (5), Westwell (10), Est
Farleigh (5), Little Chart (4) and Hollingbourne (5), by 3 of the 9 den of
Brook and 8 of the 10 den of Great Chart; only at Great Chart, on
4 dennes, did tenant pannage rents appear (For general pattern of den, see Fig 40).

Some manors, including Boughton Malherbe and Aldington, recorded
payments on their dennes of both lefsilver and danger and it has therefore
been suggested that lefsilver was paid for liberty to disturb the autumn
pannage by ploughing, danger for liberty to limit the pannage supply
by felling timber. In the late thirteenth century the landlord owned
large timber in 5 dennes of Kennington and received 'dangerium de tenent
pro aliis arboribus' and a later rental of the same dennes clearly
distinguishes danger and leyseld. Nine dennes of Lenham owed 'dongerium
quercus et faggot' abbatis'.

1. W. Sommer. 1660, 27; it was paid whether pannage fell or not.
2. BM. Add. MS 6159. f 30, 37v, 56v, 39, 42, 40v, 43v.
3. ib. f 38v, 39v-40. No danger or pannage rents were paid by the Eastry
den, f 27v.
4. Mid-C 14 accounts mentioned both, but said they had not been recently
levied, R. Furley. ii. 1874. 70a.
5. In 1285 pannage rents were recorded for some dennes of Aldington,
Lyminge and Great Chart; also danger rents and for some Aldington dem
Lefsilver-Cant. MS E 24, f 47, 58v, 64v, cit. D. Douie. 1952. 89.
6. N. Neilson (ed.) 1928. 16-20, and D. Douie. 1952. 79. The instances
cited by Da Cange. Glossarium, ii. 1842. 740-1, use dongerium for licen
to fell wood but, since they refer to royal forests on the Continent,
are hardly comparable.
7. BM. Cott. MS. Faust. A. i f 141v (late C 13); f 142 (C 14).
8. ib. f 153, and C.C.C. Camb. MS 301 p 217; C 14.
This distinction of the two rents was not, however, general throughout the Kentish Weald. (Indeed, the Kennington lists are confused, one C ¾ account describing the same 5 denns as 'sine 1 dangerio'). Tenants in the Kentish Weald had a right to underwood and small timber on the denns by custom, without any regular payment for the privilege and outside the St. Augustine's Abbey estates (which included both Lenham and Kennington) documents never connect danger directly with tree felling, but rather - as at Aldington, Marden and Sleipindenn in Marden - with the failure of the pannage harvest. It is most unlikely that no timber was cut on denns which paid lefsilver but not pannage and, conversely, that no denns cultivated winter grains save the minority paying lefsilver; whereas in a few fourteenth century instances, danger is defined as a rent for cutting timber, its original meaning was no different from lefsilver, as defined in the Teynham customal. This is clear not only from the statement in Broughton Aluph, 1286, that danger was paid for the pannage season (29 September - 12 November) but because accounts of the lands of Slindon in the Sussex Weald 1285 and of the denns of Charing in the Kentish Weald in 1230,

1. ib. f. 168, early C ¾ hand, cf f 141v late C 13 and f 148-9 late C ¾; for dating, I am indebted to P.D.A. Harvey, Department of MSS, British Museum.
2. As stated in the 1353 lawsuit - PRO. KB 27/293 m 55.
5. Cant. Reg. B 3.f 219v, cit. N. Neilson. 1928.20; Neilson suggested that confirmed her definition of danger since the agreement made over tim on the denn to the local tenants and recorded payment of danger, but danger was clearly paid before the agreement was made. Similar agree ts for Gomersden 1374 and Devenden 1356 distinguish danger from the payment for felling timber (AC. 1864-5. 247-9). Copies of two other agreements (1374, 1382) in BM. Add. MS 33917. f 25-6, support Neilso...
specify that it was paid for ploughing and sowing between those dates.

These two rents, then, reflected the advance of cultivation at the expense of pannage and since oats, the chief Wealden grain, was sown in spring, their payment implied an established agriculture sowing both spring and winter grains. Some dennes paid a rent called sumerhussilver, clearer token of their former economy; the summerhouse was erected for the lord and his servant when they came, in late summer, to inspect the pannage (and probably to hunt also). By the thirteenth century this serv was generally commuted; summerhouse rents were paid by Sandhurst, a denn 1 of Ickham, by some of the dennes of Milton manor in Marden and by the Wealden lands of Newington-next-Sittingbourne. It was also owed by

6. PRO. C 133/45/1.
8. W. Somner. 1693. 114. Somner & R. Furley (ii.1874, 2,5-7) regard lefsilver & pannage as the same in original meaning.

1. N. Neilson. 1928. 15, citing Lambeth MS 1212 f 335; a charter of 1066–82 which already gave a money alternative.
tenants at Shellwood in Leigh, the Wealden outlier of Ewell manor in 1
Surrey.

Many dennes were specifically called drovedenns, the pastures from 2
which the manorial swine were driven to the parent manor - Boughton.
Malherbe had drovedenns and the Milton drovedenns were in Marden- and it
has been suggested that the rent called gatepenny was paid at specific 3
points on these droveways. Some custumals still contained specific
references to this droving - one of custumals - those of Maidstone,
Boughton-under-Blean and Charing, - still referred in 1284-5 to droving
swine to the woodlands where mast was.

Whether swine were still driven as late as 1285 is uncertain; it
is in the early thirteenth century that specific references to swine
pasture in the Weald last appear frequently. In 1240 Combwell and
Hastings Priories made agreement about the herbage and pannage of woodla:
5
in Ticehurst; in 1229 Michelham Priory was granted pannage for 100
swine in several Wealden woods in Sussex, and in 1226 Tandridge Priory
transferred rights to mast 30 hogs, given to it earlier. Battle Abbey

1. F.W. Maitland (ed.) 1887. no 1661; also PRO. KB 26/94.m 8.
2. R. Furley. ii. 1874. 704,502 (only 3 out of 28 dennes in Marden were
drovedenns).
3. N. Neilson. 1928.16, citing PRO. SC 2/181/75-6, payments for Milton
1290-2 (but W. Sommer. 1693. 113, believed gatepenny was rent for
right of tenants to have gates for ingress to their own land via the
lord's).
4. Cant.MS E 24 f 29, 43v, 53v; ex. infl F.R.H. Du Boulay. In 1301 there
is still mention of swine being driven from pannage in Delamere
7. Given to the grantor of land to the Abbey 1226; the right was given to
the Priory, late C 12, by Odo de Dammartin the elder-VCH.Sy.4.1912.32.
receipts for pannage in 1210-11 were as high as $16\frac{4}{6}1$, much more than 1 for herbage ($18/5$). Many of the grants to ecclesiastical houses gave free pannage, exempt from rent; Bayham Abbey 1199-1208 was given free pannage for 25 swine in the south of Tonbridge Forest and before 1205 the canons of Otham were given free pannage for 20 swine in Pevensey Forest.

In the previous century, evidence for widespread swine grazing in the Weald increases, although the competition between swine pannage and cultivation goes back also at least to c 1180, when the Abbot of Battle allowed enclosure on 12 duns in Hawkhurst, attached to his manor of Wye. Between 1189 and 1199 600 swine were driven from Tonbridge to the port of Shoreham, probably to be salted as meat for the Crusades. The estate of the Templars at Temple Ewell in North Kent had four tenants whose major employment was driving hogs to and from the Weald.

Many grants of free pannage had been made to religious houses before 1200. Dureford Abbey was granted, in the late C 12, pannage tithes in the western Weald, in c 1200-4 the Priory of St. Gregory in Canterbury was granted pannage for 20 swine in the 'woods of Malling', the unenclosed

4. C.E. Woodruff. 1922. 221-2; R. Furley. i. 1871. 384, says it was temp. John (1199-1216) but Odo was Abbot, 1174-1200. Woodruff's date is better.
5. R. Furley. ii. 1874. 7.
7. EM. Cott. MS. Vesp. E xxiii. f 14, agreement late C 12 about pannage tithe in Harting (which then included Waalden lands); f 8 (1189-96) and f 74, agreement about pannage of swine of Abbey (1242).
woods in the Wealden parts of Southmalling manor; in 1150-4 the canons of 1 Southmalling had been given right to keep 24 pigs there, having in 1139-4 been allowed to keep the same number in the 'forest of Broyle' in Ringmer and Framfield. Reading Abbey had grants of pannage for 50 swine in part of the western clay Weald, confirmed in 1189 and probably granted between 1147 and 1169. Battle town had two full-time swineherds according to a 4 C 12 survey and the Abbey had been granted extensive pannage rights on its foundation in the late C 11. In 1189 confirmation was given to Grestein Abbey that it had herbage and pannage in Fevensey Forest, a privilege granted as early as 1166-86.

Evidence of lay herds of swine at this time is almost non-existent, save for mention of pannage tithes (as in the demesne of Lewisham and Greenwich manors 111 4-6), but the existence of many small tenant herds is implied in those tenant swine rents traceable from C 14 custumals back at least to 1086; indeed such herds may have provided, in total, most of the swine in the Weald during the twelfth and eleventh centuries.

8. CUL. MS Li. ii. 15. f 7r-v, (trans.,A.M. Woodcock, 1956.7), copy in BM, Harl. MS. 7048, f 176v. The last reference to a pannigeri on the estates of this house is 1227-A.M. Woodcock (ed.) 1956. 173.


2. SAC. 1875. 72.

3. The location of the pannage is not exactly specified but in a later charter these rights were exchanged for land in Fernhurst; since all other Sussex land grants to the Abbey were in Fernhurst, or Lurgasha the pannage was probably there also. Original grant, confirmation of 1189, and exchange shortly after, all in BM. Harl. MS 1708 f 108-110 place-names and dating in SNQ. 1931. 215-7.


5. Grant of the manor of Appeldram, in south Sussex, to Battle 1107-23 (W. Dugdale Mon. iii. 1921,247) said Abbey could have 1 pig in woods of Boffalde and Betlesparroc for every 3 the king had; E. Turner.
(iv) Industry.

Iron was being smelted in the Weald for many decades before 1300. Various state demands were made on the local production – 406 iron rods from the Weald 1275 and in 1254 no less than 30,000 horseshoes and 60,000 nails. There must also have been a substantial output of unworked iron blooms – production was stimulated by nearness to London and the local availability of raw materials – but the Weald could not supply the local needs for good-quality iron; in 1266 Spanish iron was being imported into Winchelsea. Rarely did early documents specify the place of ironworking; evidence is confined to the ironmines noted in East Grinstead 1262, the 2 smiths of Lamberhurst in 1227 and the rent of iron

39-40 suggests this grant was originally made in late C 11.

6. Richer de Aquila, d 1176 granted pannage here (W. Dugdale. Mon. vi.1830. 1091); the confirmation of 1189 (ib.1090) refers back to grant by Robert Count of Mortain d. 1100, probably given 1066-86 (W. Bugden. SAC. 1928.31).

7. C. Johnson and H.A. Cronne (eds.) 1956.no 1148 {Rot. S. Yorks. There exist also a spurious grant of the manors 1081 to St. Peter's Ghent, in which the demes are said to be 'for the repair of the houses belonging to the Abbey' (H.W.C. Davis (ed.). 1915, no 141, also J.H. Round. 1899. 502), and the earlier forged version, dated 1044-77.

8. The 1086 survey recorded rates of swine rent at Pagham (16b), Ferring (16b), Elsted (17) and Bishopstone (16b); similarities in the rates can be found with Wealden rates at Ashdown 1273 (PRO. SC 11/15/46), Shellwood in Leigh 1233 (F.W. Maitland (ed.) 1887. 1661), north of Southmalling manor 1285 (B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (eds., 1958.36) and Great Chart early C 14 (£M. Add. MS 6159 f 39v-40). Wealden outliers of Bishopstone are recorded 1253-62 (W.D. Peckham (ed.) 1925.96-8) and Ferring, pre 1379 and prob. late C 13 (ib.75-8)

1. PRO. E. 101/467/7.
2. C.Lib.R. 1251-60. 162.
4. ib. SAC. 1915. 178-9, citing PRO. JI 1/912 m 17d. Iron goods were bought in Dorking market 1277-8, Merton College Roll 4798, cit. H.M.
in Hollingbourne manor, 1210–11, which included Wealden lands. Iron-
working before the thirteenth century is uncertain, but the iron mines of
East Grinstead may have been the same as the ferraria in that parish in
1086 (22%).

The Surrey-Sussex glass industry began in the thirteenth century.
Ovenhusfeld (near Chaleshurst in Chiddingfold) was mentioned in 1280;
by then bracken glass had been made in the parish for several decades.
Glass for Westminster Abbey was produced in 1240 and glassworking may hav
begun in 1226, when Laurence Vitrearius (the glass maker) obtained 20
acres at Pickhurst near Chiddingfold. Traces of thirteenth century
production have been found at four furnace sites in Chiddingfold and one
in Hambledon.

Briggs (ed.) 1933. 12; and nodules of Wealden clay ironstone found
in late C 13 occupation layer in Canterbury-S.S. Frere, 1954.139.
5. C.C.R. 1226–57. 50.

1. PRO. E 142/46, cit. I.J. Churchill, 1914. 169; there were 5 Wealden
denns of this manor in an early C 14 survey—M. Add. MS 6159 f 43v.
2. 1266 inhabitants of Lewes allowed to toll each cart entering the
town with iron goods, but this does not signify local production;
the murage grant included all taxable goods, including tin and lead
not found in Sussex. L.F. Salzmann. VCH. Sk. 2. 1907. 241.
3. S.E. Winbolt. 1933. 7.
4. ibid; sites no 2,6,10, 12 (two) in this list.
Clothworking was already a widespread village occupation in the Weald before the invitation of 1331 to the Flemish clothworkers; fulling mills are mentioned at Hammerden in Ticehurst (1272-1307), Uckfield 1285, Hamptons in West Peckham 1275, Abinger in the mid-13th century, and 1262 on the northern margin of the Weald in Sundridge. Fulling mills implied production in quantity, which had clearly begun by the middle of the century; as early as 1227 30 merchants and clothiers of Kent (not all Wealden) had broken the assize of cloth but, as with the iron industry, specific evidence of production in the twelfth century is yet lacking.

One industrial activity can be traced back from 1300 to 1086, the evaporation of salt from pans along the eastern coastland of the Weald. Never so important as other Wealden manufactures later became, this coastal industry was mentioned at Oatham in Hailsham c1200, at Guldenesalt kote in Pevensey Levels 1198–9, Wartling and Udimore 1095–1140, and at Pevensey c1100. It was an activity already established by 1086 and mentioned at least once previously (saltpans at Pevensey in 1054-5).

---

2. E.M. Hewitt. 1932. 403, citing PRO. JI 1/358 m 19.
3. It has been suggested that the early place name forms of Godstone mean 'the fulling place' but the original form is probably from a personal name - FNSy. 320.
Transport and urban centres.

The early medieval Weald was, though less densely settled than the surrounding regions, by no means an isolated area; much traffic passed through it. Traffic between Chichester and London — including the carriage of fish mentioned c 1226 — passed through the western Weald, following parts of the Roman route along Stane Street, and overland traffic to London from the ports between Chichester and Hythe had to cross the Weald. Monastic houses within the region often carried on a regular transport to and from the metropolis; tenants of Wychelyndenne in Tonbridge, according to an account of 1253, provided stabling and food for the monks of Bayham (in Frant) and their horses on route between the Abbey and London.

Travellers could move through the area quickly, if need be; the roads had not yet begun to deteriorate from excessive heavy traffic. Kind John, several times between 1199 and 1211, was able to cross Sussex at 35-50 miles a day. The major roads followed the Roman causeways along parts of Stane Street and the Lewes-Pevensey road but most of the Roman network was already in desuetude; the medieval roads followed either the prehistoric routes along the ridges of the High Weald or other

1. W.W. Shirley (ed.). i. 1862. 298.
2. BM. Add. Ch. 45962.
3. In 1211 John travelled in one day from Lambeth to Knepp (45) miles; in two days from Seaford (Shoreham acc. H.E. Malden. 1926, 7-10, corrected to Seaford by L.F. Salzman, SNQ.1926.33). 1217 the Earl of Pembroke was in Seaford March 4, Guildford (50 miles away) on March 5 Matthew Paris thought the speed of John's travels incredible—Chronica Majora. (ed. H.R. Luard. ii, 1874. 478).
4. The 'old road' mentioned C.C.R. 1226-37, & C.P.R. 1247-58, 161, is most the Lewes-Pevensey road (I.D. Margary. 1939 29).
courses of post-Roman origin.

There was access to the Weald by river traffic also. Boats were yet small, and access could be had not only to the eastern coastal ports but also to the river ports at Steyning and Lewes which still carried on, in the thirteenth and twelfth centuries, a significant river traffic. It is noticeable that most of the imported building stone brought into the Weald between 1086 and 1300 (see Fig. 38) was carried by water and used in building (commonly churches) near navigable water; this is especially noticeable for the Quarr Abbey stone (from the Isle of Wight) and the Caen stone which had, of necessity, to travel at least part of the journey by water. The Wealden margins were not only the areas nearest the sea and lower courses of the rivers, they were also the areas of densest occupation and, therefore, of most building activity.

There was movement of population as well as goods in the early medieval Weald. There were the short migrations of internal colonisation: tenants of Lower Bilsington 1256-65 had toponymic surnames derived from places up to 10 miles away, many long-settled parishes outside the Weald for the growth of population in the early medieval Weald was helped by

1. The road of the monks of Battle over Ashdown 1100-30 may have been the Roman road (London-Lewes), or one of the medieval hollow trackways (cf. p. and Fig. 23); C. Johnson and H. A. Cronne (eds.) 1956. no 1670.
2. See T. Medland. SAC. 1852. 124.
3. Tenants of 1256-65 came from Saltwood, Brabourne, Wye, Hothfield etc. (N. Neilson ed.) 1928. 90-98; the movement may have been sometime earlier - surnames became hereditary c1200 (on this and other problems of using toponymic surnames see C. Higounet. 1953. 1 ff; B. W. Egery. 1952. 43-50, 1954. 47; R. S. Lopes. 1954. 6-16). Names in the C 15 survey of the manor include toponymic surnames from Boxley, Cranbrook Canterbury and Sutton Valence, enshrining former movements (ib. p. 148-190).
in-migration as well as by local increases; on the other hand, emigration from the area was little and Sussex supplied fewer immigrants to London 1086-1365 than far-off Durham or Northumberland.

Circulation and trade within the Weald were intimately linked with the growth of markets and the network of these distributive centres was already established by the mid-thirteenth century. Around the margins of the area weekly markets were held in Bletchingly (existing 1262), Hunton (granted 1257), Ashford (granted 1243), Seal (granted 1233) and Westerham (granted 1227); a market, held by warrant unknown, was mentioned in Ulcombe 1254-5 and the market day at Linchmere was changed 1228, not long after the initial grant (1199-1216). Markets were not, however, confined to the Wealden border, there were many within it of equally early foundation. Market rights had been granted in Mayfield 1261, Cuckfield 1255, Guestling 1254, Wadhurst 1253, Burwash and Hailsham 1252, and Headcorn 1251; Burstow received the grant of a market in 1247 and that same year a market in East Grinstead was mentioned as already functioning. Fourteen years before, Horsham had been granted a market and at Edenbridge an existing one was recorded; as early as 1296-7 Wapbourne-in-Chalée had a market and the grant to Crawley had come in 1202, and as early as 1196-7 Wapbourne-in-Chalée had a market.

Such an expansion in marketing centres is yet another evidence of the rapid growth of settlement in the early medieval Weald; there is

2. For the references to these grants, see Appendix 6.4.
little evidence about the actual expression of this expansion on the ground. At least one new town, however, seems to have been founded at Northeye near Pevensey. Whereas New Winchelsea was built after sea attacks destroyed the old town, Northeye (which may have been destroyed by the sea) was built as an expression – an ephemeral one – of early medieval economic expansion. The chapel of Northeye was endowed in 1226 and the thirteenth century witnessed most of the active life of the settlement, which does not seem to appear after 1300 as a trading centre or port (though it was included in thirteenth century lists of the members of Hastings) and which began trading after the grant to the Barons of Pevensey, 1207, of a Sunday market in their new town to be built between Pevensey and Langney.

The town of Northeye lay along the eastern coastland of the Weald and in this part the evidences of trade and urban life before 1300 appeared most rapidly and most clearly. At Battle the grant of a market went back to 1070–87 and the trading activities of the nearby ports were equally old. In the early thirteenth century the fortunes of the ports varied – Hastings was suffering erosion, Winchelsea was the chief port.

---

2X. Reg. Beade f 177, 25; however there may have been a chapel here before one of the two churches of Bexhill (18) in 1086, as suggested VCH, Sx 9, 1937, 123, and J.E. Bay. 1910.68.

12. K.M.E. Murray. 1935. 44.

3. It may have been wiped out by the Black Death, which was very severe in Pevensey Rape (see p244 and L.F. Salzman. VCH. Sx. 9, 1937. 36); erosion (K.M.E. Murray. 1935. 44). 249–50.


5. A. Ballard. 1912. 36; cf. also 1188 Pipe Roll 34 Henry II. 1925. 188

Sussex, especially known for its wine trade, besides shipbuilding and much fishing whilst Rye was growing as a trading and fishing port but the fortunes of the Wealden ports and their commercial outlook had been affected by the loss of Normandy in 1204. Already by 1200 Hastings was feeling the loss of trade to the better harbours of Winchelsea and Rye, but previously it had been an important port. During the twelfth century, the new settlement at Hastings in the Bourne valley, near the Castle, had expanded (the sea had eroded the old town in the Priory valley); it was a major port of passage to the Continent and c 1155 those freedoms from toll which encouraged its trade had been confirmed. Rye also expanded in the twelfth century and a charter of c 1150 encouraged its trade by releasing it from several feudal dues; Hythe gained a part in the Channel trade because of its good links by road with London and twelfth century pottery at Pevensey confirms that this port had a part in the wine trade with south-west France.

3. Rye made naval base for King's galleys 1243 (C.CL.R. 1242-7, 45); supplied fish to royal household 1255-C.CL.R. 1254-6.169.
5. VCH. Sx, 9. 1937-9; erosion had probably begun by 1066.
6. Repeated C.CL.R. 1300-26, 219-221; in 1154-5 Hastings was the only Sussex port paying lastage, an export duty - H.H. Round. 1930. 97 f.
7. VCH. Sx, 9. 1937. 49; Rye made coins as early as 1141-W.J. Andrew. 19.
8. G.C. 1058. 01-17.
Several of the ports had been commercial centres when the early medieval period began; in 1086 there were at least 231 burgesses at Hythe (the total population must have exceeded 1000), 156 at Romney, 101 at Pevensey, 64 at Rye and 24 (an incomplete entry) at Hastings. The novus burrus of 1086 was probably Rye. Before the end of the eleventh century, the eastern Weald has already assumed its role as the most commercial and most urbanised part of the Weald, a characteristic which persisted until at least 1650.

(vi) Conclusion.

The early medieval centuries witnessed fundamental changes in the Wealden geographic scene. In 1350 there was little temporary settlement in the Weald, permanent settlement and mixed farming were general, industry was established; none of these statements apply to the Weald of 1086, without qualification. In 1086 swine were still the most numerous beasts in the Weald, not cattle as later; swine pasturage, all the year or only for the pannage season, was at least as important as tillage; the 'summerhouses' erected for supervising the pannage and for hunting were widely found. Cloth and glass working can be traced back no further than 1200, and the continuance of the iron industry back to 1086 is uncertain; orchards have left no trace before 1200 and cider manufacture may have come from Normandy not long before; most of the Wealden markets were creations of the thirteenth century and in that same

1. Also 15 bordars at Hastings, 103 villeins and 3 cottars at Rye.
   Hastings account itself is absent (either because King had unsuspct
   rights in it or because blank space at beginning of Sussex account w
   left for it—J.R. Round, 1930. 97-105); 4 burgesses are recorded unde
   Hameslie and 20 under Bollington.

2. As suggested W.J. Andrew, 1931. 165-9, J.E. Ray, SNQ. 1927.161-2, an
   L.A. Vidler. 1b. 182; incorrectly as Hastings by M. Burrows, 1903, 2
   and F.H. Baring. 1915. 122.
century many parks, small and enclosed, superseded the larger open hunting grounds of a few earlier magnates.

In the context of the national economy the most valuable resource of the Weald in 1350 was its timber; in 1086 it had been its hunting and pannage. In 1350 when permanent settlement was well established the major internal contrast was between High and Low Weald; in 1086, when the Weald was still a 'colonial area', the most striking difference was between the east, the first settled area where permanent agriculture had begun and the remote west, the area of thin and largely seasonal occupation. Much of 1650 existed in 1350, but little in 1086 — the Wealden scene then reflected not the patterns of permanent occupation which were to follow but the history of the colonisation which had preceded.
THE WEALDEN LANDSCAPE IN 1086

'The arts of social calculus which are so necessary to exponents of Domesday and other fiscal documents.'


No other medieval document has the detail and the coverage of Domesday Book; it is most unfortunate, then, that the Weald should be so inadequately treated in the Inquest of 1086. The Domesday account has difficulties and deficiencies in all parts of England but its data on the Weald, taken in isolation, is positively misleading. Compared with North Kent and South Sussex, the Weald appears in Domesday as an area of small population and little cultivated land, which was just; as an area with little open grazing land, which was unlikely; and as an area of little woodland, which is controverted by all the other Anglo-Saxon and medieval data.

(1) Settlement.

The Domesday record over-emphasises the fewness of the Wealden settlements since many were included in the accounts of Non-wealden manors. Many were small hamlets but large settlements also were omitted from the Great Domesday, including some with churches; their existence is witnessed in two other compilations from the original Domesday returns, the

---

1 This section derives most of its data from the chapters on Kent, Surrey and Sussex, by E.M.J. Campbell, C.W. Lloyd, and S.H. King respectively, and the concluding chapter by E.C. Darby, in E.C. Darby and E.M.J. Campbell (eds.), 1960 (forthcoming). Map references in this chapter are to maps in this work.
Fig 41. Data from Appendix VII.
Excerpts and the Domesday Monachorum, which happen to have survived (Fig. 1). Other gaps in the map of settlement were caused by unspecified entries or by single names, as Pechesham (4b, 7b) which may have covered two settlements but, allowing for all such omissions, large areas of the Weald must have been almost unpeopled in 1086. This is confirmed by the absence of many parish and vill names which appear in the Taxatio Ecclesiastica (1291) or in the Lay Subsidies (1327, 1332, 1334).

The small portion of the Weald in Surrey was as sparsely occupied as the Weald of Kent - there were but two settlements on the Weald Clay (map III), both with less than 15 inhabitants. Some of the larger villages situated on the Downs to the north probably utilised a land area stretching south into the Weald (as later parish boundaries suggest,) but the Wealden segment of such scarpland village territories, where it existed, was of minor importance in the village economy.

1. The Excerpts, primarily concerned with the lands of the Priory of Saint Augustine, exists in a thirteenth century copy of a copy of 1100-54; A. Ballard. 1920. The Domesday Monachorum concerns primarily the lands of Christ Church, Canterbury. D.C. Douglas 1944.

2. G. Ward. 1933. 60-89. Some places known as settled from Anglo-Saxon charters, as Horsham and Lindfield, are absent from Domesday.

3. East and West Peckham were distinct in the Textus Roffensis, dated by P. Liebermann, 1893. 103. as 1140-50.

4. E.g., The Seven Hundreds of Wealden Kent; the parish of Wadhurst in Sussex.

5. This, and all subsequent population figures (unless otherwise specified) are the Domesday total.

The scarpland villages of Sussex, as those of Surrey, were larger than the hamlets wholly within the Weald. (map 127). In 1086 Sussex had a line of 35 villages situated near the crest of the chalk scarp, most of them with over 20 inhabitants; the Wealden clay vale included but 16 settlements (excluding the 5 on its seaward margin in Pevensey Levels), most with under 5 inhabitants, whilst the High Weald had 89 settlements with generally less than 10 inhabitants.

The larger number of settlements in Sussex in the High Weald, compared with the Lew Weald, was partly a consequence of its much more extensive outcrop. It reflected also the light, if poor, soils of the Ashdown and Tunbridge Wells Sands, (most of the surface outcrop of the High Weald) which were easier to cultivate than the Weald Clay, and whose natural vegetation was an open woodland, more easily cleared than the damp oakweeds of the clay soils. The settlements in the Sussex Weald in 1086 tended to concentrate in the east; here the intractable clays were narrowest, here nearby marshland pastures could supplement the produce of the sandy creplands, and here were salt-pans as an additional source of income. The concentration of settlement in the east of the Sussex Weald also reflected the direction from which outside colonists had penetrated the region. The Sussex Weald, west of East Grinstead, was virtually unoccupied in 1086, whether on light or on heavy soils (map 127 this was the most remote part of the county, unsettled in previous epochs far from the sea, the larger navigable rivers and the decaying Roman roads.

1. However the Domesday record includes little marsh grazing (maps 130-152).
Some of the settlements of North East Sussex were but recent foundations in 1086. Only six localities were named in the three northern hundreds of the Rape of Hastings (Hawkesborough, Henhurst and Shoyswell) but many unlocated holdings in these hundreds were entered in the accounts of manors south of the Weald, in the adjacent Rape of Pevensey. These manors, located in a long-settled area between Eastbourne Laughton and Firle, had probably been given woodland possessions in the north of the Rape of Hastings, before 1066, as an official encouragement to colonise (map 122). Recent settlements elsewhere in the Weald was implied by the vague entries of holdings too young to have acquired specific place-names by 1086; they were small units — 1 villein was recorded at Birchgrove (now in Horsted Keynes, 22b), and 1 at Worth (34b) and many of the Domesday names survive only in single farmsteads. Some of these small ventures failed, including Felemere in East Grinstead Hundred (22b) and Medeley in Bexhill hundred (18) and their sites have been lost. The Domesday entries for Wealden Kent demonstrate that the settlements of this area likewise were small but give no evidence of recent colonisation to parallel the Sussex entries.

1. L.F. Salzman, 1931, 20–29, esp. 23. Some holdings in the adjacent hundred of Halesalde in Hastings Rape are entered under distant manors in the Rape of Pevensey, e.g. 3 holdings of Hadstone (20), probably South Heighton, north and east of Newhaven.
2. E.g. the unnamed 5/6 of a ploughteam in Bexhill Hundred (18a).
3. Tevengate (14) is Evergate manor farm in Smoeth; the largest total of ploughteams in the Weald, 51, was at Wilesham, now Filsham farm in Hollington (17b, 18a).
Fig. 42. Early C II illustrations of two important activities in the Weald during the early Middle Ages (dated from F. Wormald, 1952.68). The September picture resembles that of similar date in BM. Cott. MS Titus B 7(pt. 1)f 7.
(ii) Woodland and swine grazing

The Domesday account gives no idea of the amount of woodland in the Weald. Many of the settlements on the hills overlooking the Weald were recorded with substantial woodland possessions; in Kent and Surrey some of these woods may have been located on clay-with-flint patches on the Downs, but most were in the Weald. Large figures for woodland appear in Surrey (map 112) chiefly in the east of the county, where the Weald clay outcrop is wider, and nearer the chalklands; Sussex and Kent (maps 127 and 149) had a similar concentration of timber possessions in the villages of the scarpland edge, and the Weald must also have contained the woodland recorded for settlements on the edge of Romney Marsh. The settlements on the Hastings Beds in Sussex owned little woodland; the sandy soils of the Tunbridge Wells and Ashdown sands never supported a thick tree cover.

Nearly all the woodland in Kent, Surrey and Sussex (maps 112, 128, 149) was measured in terms of swine rents, which suggests that pannage was a major, if not the chief, value of the woods to the inhabitants in 1086. (Fig 42) This form of measurement may also suggest that there was still an extensive tree cover on the Low Weald in 1086, for woodland cannot be measured by length and breadth when, apart from restricted clearings around settlements, it remains a continuous mass. The swine

1. The small amount of woodland recorded at Langport (4b) in Romney marsh may have lain on the sandy ridge of the Ripe, which had woods in earlier centuries. G. Ward. 1931a. 29-38.
figures given were detailed and therefore probably accurate; they varied from 1 at Hurstmonceux (18) to 324 at Malling in Sussex (16) and 500 at Wrotham in Kent (3). These three settlements all lay on the Wealden margin; the territory appurtenant to Malling stretched northeast across the Weald to the borders of Kent, and it remained throughout the Middle Ages one of the largest manors in Sussex. The entries gave fewer mast
swine in East Sussex than in the West— the east had more settlement, less clayland and less detailed entries. Swine pannage was not confined to the Weald Clay, although this was the most desirable area; in North West Sussex, the pannage for 100 swine at Harting was probably on the Hythe Beds.

In the Kentish Domesday there are 22 references to deans, giving a total of 52 deans and three half-deans; ( there was also one in Surrey, appurtenant to Ewell (30b). Some of the deans belonging to Kentish manors were located in Sussex— Bilsington (10b) possessed three left out of the allotment of the Count of Eu, who possessed no lands in Kent; the 4 deans held by the Count of Eu of Leeds manor in Kent are stated by the

1. The evaluation of swine renders it difficult; the ration of swine renders from pasture varied within Surrey and Sussex from 1:7 to 1:10, and this may have differed from the renders of woodland swine; On this problem, see R.C. Darby, 1950-1.21-43, allowing 10 acres of woodland per
head of swine, which would give Wrotham 750 acres.

2. The figure of 1500 at Stoughton in Sussex (24) is a clerical error for J.H. Round. VCH, 1st. 426. n.


5. A dean of wood, translated by H.E. Malden. VCH, 1st. 1902, 297, as a coppice of wood, following O. Manning and W. Bray. 1804, 455, 
ultimately Spelman.
Excerpts (p.2) to have been in Sussex, and have been identified as 1 Elde (18b), Eleda (19) and Eleda (18b) of the Sussex folios. The deans were outlying swine grazings and are thus clearly distinguished in the entries from woodland swine grazings near the villages or grass pastures. Domesday does not record all the deans which existed in 1086; no deans are ascribed to the Canterbury estates which had many before and after.

The locations of most of the deans are unspecified; they were probably scattered in groups, as were those in the Angle-Saxon charters. There is one instance of their concentration, in the Lowy of Tunbridge; in the account of Ridley (6), Richard of Tonbridge is said to hold a dean of wood and this, with other references, suggests the Lowy consisted of the Wealden parcels of various manors in North Kent, which had been detached from their parent manors to form a compact territory around Richard's castle. (map 138).

The deans of Kent were divided into two groups. The first contained no reference to population or ploughteams; some paid money rents, others were 'dennae de silva' with swine renders of up to 50 swine from 5 deans (Orpington, 4). The second category consisted of those with populations

56. This calculation included the 4 deans of Leeds, stated by the Excerpt 2, to lie in Sussex, and counting the total of Newington (14b) as 7, i.e. 4 plus 3 separated since TRS. N. Neilson, 1928, 8, takes the entry for Milton (2b) - 'he holds half a dean which TRE a certain villein held, and Alned Cild took two parts away from a certain villein by force' - as meaning Milton had three deans. The interpretation in H.C. Darby and E.M.J. Campbell (eds.) 1960, of half a dean, seems preferable.

1. G. Ward. 1933b. 238.
2. E.M.J. Campbell. op. cit.
and teams - Peckham (7b) had three dens with 4 villeins and Tinton (11) owned half a den with 1 villein, 3 bordars and two fisheries. By 1086, although some dens remained swine pastures, permanent settlement and 1 cultivation had commenced in others. However, the description of a den in Belice (Birchelt, 9b) as a den of half a iugum does not mean that it consisted of this area of ploughland, but that its pasture was proportional to the half iugum owned by its tenants elsewhere. Some dens which had changed over to cultivation had severed their links with parent manors and were independent farming settlements. They were still very small - Tiffenden (13b) had ¾ a iugum of land, 2 villeins and half a pleughteam; Benenden was larger and had three teams (11), whilst Newenden had been established long enough to have grown into a centre of exchange, rendering 39/7 from its market.(4).

Kent in 1086 still contained outlying swine pastures in the Weald, many miles from their home manors; Surrey had but one, and the Sussex 3 folios do not mention any. This difference is in part a reflection of natural differences; the Weald of Kent was covered more uniformly with thick woodland than the Sussex Weald, for the outcrops of the Hastings Beds in South Kent consist as much of Wadhurst Clay as of more sandy

---

1. The den of Ewell in Surrey seems to have reached this stage - 'una densa salve et una erehta' (30b).
2. P. Vinogradoff. 1908. 292.
3. The suggestion in GH Maitland, 1956.7. that Halfeldene (22b), meant half-field den, is incorrect; the actual reading is Halseelden (Haselden in E. Grinstead.)
materials, in contrast to the large areas of sandy soil in the High Weald of Sussex. The difference also reflects the process of colonisation of the Weald; the Kentish Weald was settled primarily from the north, since Romney marsh hindered penetration from the east, and primarily as outlying swine pastures of manors in North Kent, where population density was high.

In Sussex, though parts of the Weald Clay outcrop may have been first occupied as outlying swine pastures, many of the settlements of the High Weald were probably established by colonists moving inland from the coast around Hastings. Some estates in south Sussex did own lands in the High Weald; in 1066 a group of manors in the south of Lewes Rape had detached parcels in the hundred of Grinstead, and a number of manors in the Rape of Pevensey owned lands in the north of the Rape of Hastings but in the latter case, it is clear that these Wealden outliers were acquired between C1011 and 1066 and the folios of Domesday describe the settlements of the High Weald in Sussex, whether attached to large manors further south or not, as small groups of cultivators (with more pleughtmen per settlement than those on the Weald Clay). There is no indication that

1. This can be overemphasised; the Danes in 893 voyaged upstream to Appledore without difficulty, and Domesday records mere settlements at the borders of Romney Marsh than within the Kentish Weald. 'Romney marsh' is used here in its widest sense - the marshes between Hythe and Pett.
2. Falmer, Hamsey, Barcombe, Birchling, Bevendean, Allington, Warringford and Wootton had detached holdings in Grinstead Hundred. DB. i. 22b, & J.E.A. Jolliffe. 1933. 82.
3. DB. 19; Map 122.
4. L.F. Salzman. 1931. 27. The youth of the colonisation is reflected in that many of the holdings had not yet acquired names; in 1011 Sussex Kent and Hastings were ravaged by the Danes (E.N. Garmonsway(ed.) 19-141) and the expansion probably followed this.
many of them had once been swine pastures.

(iii) Arable and pasture.

There were few references to ploughedens in the Weald of Kent (map 147). Cultivation was established in a few places — at Newenden 25 villeins and 4 bordars had 5 teams (4). In many places the demesne area was small, in some it did not exist; at Chillenden (11b) 2 villeins had 2½ ploughs, but there was no demesne. (The same occurs in Sussex — the tenants of Cortesley (18), 25 villeins and 2 cottars, owned all the 9 ploughs.) Several settlements on the margins of Romney marsh possessed more teams than the rest of the Kentish Weald combined; the drier parts of the marshes had fertile silty soils and needed no deforestation before tillage. The crops produced in the Marsh and its margin supported a denser population than existed in the rest of the Weald of Kent (map 147). Aldington, on the marshland margin, was the only large estate in southern Kent; it had 190 villeins, 50 bordars, 13 serfs and 70 ploughteams; 170 acres of meadow and wood rendering 60 swine; 3 mills and 3 fisheries (4). This balance of crop production and animal husbandry reflected its situation across Greensand-Weald-Marsh border, where a dry settlement site was in easy reach of a variety of soil types.

Most of the settlements of the Sussex Weald possessed less than 5 ploughteams (Table 2), especially those located on the claylands. The sandier areas exhibited a greater range, and several large totals occurred in the 41½ ploughteams (17b and 18), Boxhill 37 (18), Rameslie near Rye.

5. See the many ploughteams in the High Weald on map 125.
46 (17) and Filsham farm in Hollington 51 (17b & 18). These settlements lay in the earliest settled portion of North Sussex, the eastern coast of the High Weald; many were on the margin of dry land and marsh, where agricultural potentialities were varied and where salt pans often furnished an additional element in the economy (map 132). In this part of Wealden Sussex also most meadow is recorded (map 129). The small segment of the Weald in Surrey had in 1086 as little evidence of cultivation as Wealden Kent (map 108); the Wealden arable was concentrated in Sussex, and in Sussex it was most rapidly expanding. The one specific mention of colonisation within the Weald in Domesday refers to Sussex — an unspecified outlier of Sterringten in the Weald.

None of the soils of the Weald are particularly fertile, yet Domesday makes much more mention of cropland in the Weald than of pasture. There is no reference to pasture in the Wealds of Kent and Surrey (maps 11A and 152), and only 8 in Sussex (130). The Sussex pasture figures are all small, save for one payment of 15½ at Pevensey (20b), which probably referred to marsh grazings. Most of the other Sussex entries are measured in swine rents, and are an index of those open swine grazings which must have been very extensive by 1086, for swine not only prevented the regeneration of woods they rooted in, they also needed grazings for the three-quarters of the year when pannage was not available.

The Domesday entries describe the well-watered Weald not only as a

1. DB. i. 29.
district of little pasture, but also one with little meadow (maps 113, 129, 151); there was much more meadow in the few wide valleys crossing the drier chalklands to south and north. This is not another instance of Wealden land-use being entered in the account of the parent manors; the Wealden watercourses were overgrown with alder woodlands and, whilst the Wealden population remained small, there was no strong incentive to clear them. Within broad natural limits, the size of settlement governed the amount of meadow found in the vicinity; thus Aldington, the exceptionally large Wealden estate, possessed 170 acres. Much of this was on the borders of Romney marsh, whilst the 38 acres of Wartling (18) and 71 acres of Hoce (17b, 18, 22) were probably found in Pevensey Levels nearby. Small amounts of meadow appear inland in North Sussex along the Ouse and Medway which, in contrast to the blank area of south Kent, further confirms that permanent settlement had gone farther by 1086 in the Sussex Weald than the Kentish.

Other elements of the Wealden economy.

The oakwoods of the Weald were too thick for hunting and the more suitable open woodland heath of the Hastings Beds, could only be reached after crossing the claylands; this was one reason why no part of the Weald was proclaimed royal forest by the Norman kings. Smaller areas served their subjects as parks; there was one at Betherfield (16), another at Chart Sutton (8-parcus silvaticum bestidrun), and folio 18 mentions a park at Wiltin in Hellington. The foresta in Dallington was not a royal forest (it was held by the Count of Eu) but strictly a chace, and Dallington chace it was later called (p.306).
Domesday recorded industrial activity as well as agricultural. There were a few mills in the Weald, including some fractions 3½ at Barcombe (27b) one mill and a small mill at Chiddingly (22b). Eel readers were common, varying from low figures up to the 450 paid by a mill in Hartfield; presumably the eels lived in the mill pond. Some of the mills were linked to fisheries; the few fisheries of Wealden Sussex were recorded inland (map 131), whilst those of Wealden Kent concentrated on the margin of Romney marsh (map 153) – here were 13½ besides one at Langport (4b) within it. The coastal border of the Weald was not only the site of the Wealden fisheries; here also were the salt-pans (maps 132, 154). There were two concentrations, the greater around Romney Marsh – 11 at Bilsington (10b), 8 1/3 at Eastbridge (13), 7 at Langport (4b) and 100 at Rye (17b); the 2 pans of Mersham (3b), the 1 of Felkestone (9b), and the 9 of Great Chart (5) were probably located in Romney marsh also. The second concentration was around the Pevensey Levels, a total of 84 salt-pans, the greatest contributors being Eastbourne 16 pans, (20b) and Hoe, 34 pans (17b,18); the 16 salt-pans of Laughton (21,23) probably lay in Laughton Levels nearby or along the Ouse and Eather. Domesday includes only one reference to ironworking, the ferrari in East Grinstead, literally an iron mine but probably signifying an ironworks, without which small pits would hardly have been recorded.

1. It must be remembered that the fisheries were recorded under the estate which owned them, not necessarily the place where the fishery was local.
2. M.A. Lower, 1862. 211.
3. E. Straker, 1931. 31-2.
(v) Post-Conquest devastation.

The environs of Hastings were devastated by William before his victory and c1070 many settlements in this district were still totally waste, or worth less than 25% of their value in 1066 (maps 162-3). The devastation was, however, selective - some settlements were affected little - and the larger settlements appear to have been singled out for this demonstration of power; wasting included cutting of timber for dwellings and castles for the leading invaders but, as the entries show, it was primarily a ravaging of cropland.

Since ravaging was both easier and more effective when the settlements were large and near together, the rest of the largely unsettled Weald shows little trace of the wasting which accompanied the passage of the Conqueror; also the Conqueror had no need to pass through the Weald to reach his other objectives. The settlements near Hastings had mostly recovered by 1086, and the only other serious case of wasting appears in an anomalous entry for Yalding in Kent (14). Of 16 teams at Yalding, only 7½ were at work, whilst the TBE value of 30 pounds had fallen by 1086 to 2 pounds; the difficult phrase given in explanation of this seems to suggest that decline was caused by lack of animals to draw the ploughs, a local rather than a regional deficiency.

1. Sedlescombe remained waste; at least 16 places fell to nil, including Boxhill (18), Crowhurst (18b), Filsham (18b), Guestling (19b), Salehurst (19).

2. The course of the Conqueror's movements is traced in F.H. Baring, 1893.

3. 'ce quod terra vastata est a pecunia.' The explanation above is that favoured by E.M.J. Campbell, op.cit. 1960. L.B.atham, 1869, 146, takes it to mean the arable had been destroyed by cattle, which is unlikely; E. Hasted, ii, 1732, 302, interprets it as land destitute by a certain sum of money, i.e. a statement rather than an explanation.
VII

PRE-CONQUEST COLONISATION AND SETTLEMENT IN THE WEALD.

Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinions in good men is but knowledge in the making.

J. Milton, Areopagitica. 1644.

(i) Angle-Saxon.

(a) The spread of cultivation and permanent settlement.

Since Domesday recorded so much Wealden land under estates elsewhere the extent of cultivated land in the Weald in 1086 remains unknown. The numerous churches already existing testify better than any other Domesday data that permanent settlement and tillage were already widely established (Fig 41). The density of occupation was greatest along the east coast, where agriculture had for some time been supplemented by trading, fishing and salt evaporation; inland the eastern High Weald showed the greatest density of agricultural settlement and the western Clay Weald the least.

Many of the small settlements recorded in the High Weald as having a few ploughlands in 1086 had probably been colonies of cultivators from the beginning and others, lands once swine-pastures, were used also for tillage by the eleventh century. A charter of 1018 granted the demn of Haeselersc (in northwest Ticehurst); once a demn, it was now an open

1. The earliest evidence of the importance of the ports is their appearance as centres of coinage—Hastings 929 (the list of Athelstan—VCH, Sx. 9. 1937, 8) Winchelsea perhaps 959-78 (J. B. Caldecott, 1942-3, 1; but evidence uncorroborated—VCH, Sx. 9. 1937, 62). Winchelsea was mentioned in a pre 1017 charter—C.H. Haskins, 1918, 343-5; Hastings & Pevensey as ports in 790—Arch, Nat. K7, no. 10.

2. EM. Stowe charter 38; for identification see G. Ward, 1936a, 119-29.
pasture and there was a smithy there also. Since it was granted as a separate holding not as the pasture of a distant manor, it is very likely that cultivation had also commenced there; the termination -erae means a ploughed or stubble field.

At Hadlow, in the Kentish Weald, permanent settlement had begun by c. 975, & there are earlier references to tillage elsewhere in the Weald. A charter of 968 records the sale of the deme of Byringdaenn (Herenden in Tenterden); it was sold at a price which was more than a swine pasture would have realised, and the charter was witnessed by the King and his nobles. The boundaries of the deme were given, including several meadows, and a clearing (sia rode). A charter of 956, describing the pastures belonging to an estate in ANNINGTON, lists two whose names end in -wie; these two, and perhaps others also, had changed by this date from swine pastures to cattle farms. The swine pastures of Washington in 946 included Yffeles leah (Yffel's clearing), scactalwic

1. In 689 there was an iron mine at Lyminge just north of the Weald; BCS 73.
2. A.H. Smith. 1956. 157; the gift was of 'siluale memus', a little woodland pasture, but the boundaries suggest the area was more open than wooded.
3. Mentioned then as owing assistance in the upkeep of Rochester bridge which implies that there was a permanent settlement. BCS 1322.
4. W. de G. Birch 1885-95. 1212 (this work hereafter referred to as BCS.
5a. This is pointed out by G. Ward. 1937. 236.
6. A dea stowa. BCS 961. Such a phrase does not necessarily mean that these were not swine pastures. A charter of 947 (BCS 834) speaks of the pastures of Washington, whilst one of 963 (BCS 1125) calls them it swine pastures.
7. The suffix -wie is generally translated merely as farm; in Essex and parts of Kent it often meant a dairy farm (YCH. Essex, i. 1905. 369; G. Ward. 1940. 24-8) but elsewhere the termination is coupled with goats (Gotwick in Hesper. FN. 5x. i. 233) and other animals.
(shackle farm) and two more - wics (haeslwic and gatanwic); these were probably single farmsteads (as haeslwic, Hazelwick Farm in Worth), as to this day. One of the denes of Malling in 946 (withering falad) has 'gafol' written after it in the charter; this is unique in Angle-Saxon lists of denes, but it probably means that this swine pasture now owed the ancient money rent called gafol. Such a payment implies that the permanence of settlement of withering falad had begun, beginning before 946 but after 811, when another charter listed it without this postscript. The denes of Durrington in 934 included the clearing of Haeca's people (haecinga hleah).

These tenth century references are not the earliest mention of Wealden agriculture; others take the story back further. In c858 there were five ploughlands at Mersham and in 814 there was a ploughland next to the woodland called Caert (Sutton Valence) with fields and pastures nearby, and meadows giving 12 leads of hay per annum; Sutton

6. BCS 834.
1. BCS 779; L.F. Salzman (personal communication) suggested that this might be an abbreviation for gafelswine.
2. BCS 339.
3. BCS 702.
5. BCS 506; NFN 214.
5 BCS 343; G. Ward. 1942a. 1-7. (H.S. Chewper. 1915. 203-6) incorrectly identifies it with Chart Sutton). It is possible that the ploughland lay north of Sutton Valence and therefore not in the Weald.
Valence, as Mersham, is on the northern border of the Weald in Kent. A charter of 772 suggests that the small farming settlements of the eastern High Weald, conspicuous in 1086, were already appearing; it granted 8 hides of farmland in Boxhill (inland) and the gafolland of the outland of Hastings, scattered in several small groups — at Barnehorne 3 hides, Worsham 1, Ibba's Wood 1, Crowhurst 8, Ridge 1, Gyllingas 2, Foxham and 2 Black Brooks 1 and Icklesham 3. The inland was the original arable core of early settlement, belonging to the local lord and leased in tenant farms; the outland was land later colonised by the waste, held by 3 independant peasant farmers. The several groups of outland hides suggest many small separate farming units; a pattern of settlement in hamlets, which clearly characterised the Weald in later centuries, may have appeared by the eighth century. In 770 15 hides in Menfield were granted to the church there and there was probably other cultivated land in the parish, whilst the swine pastures of Stammer, recorded 765-71, included the clearing of Citta's group (Citangaleasche, Chiddingly Wood in West Heathly) and the swine pasture clearing (baere leage, now Philpots in Lindfield).

2. BCS 208 (spurious, VCH.Sx. 9, 1938, 79, but probably based on an actual grant) E. Barker, 1947, 9203.
4. BCS 206.
5. BCS 197. The translation of baere leage follows PN.Sx. 1, 272; E. Barker, 1947, 89, G. Maitland, 1950, 4-11, translate it as the clearing with the barley, and M. S. Holgate, 1929, 185 ff, says the name barley land attached to the area until the C 19. This however does not prove that barley land was its original meaning; both suggestions are philological sound (A. H. Smith, 1956, 1, 16) but swine-pasture clearing is more credible.
Clearing and occupation had thus given permanent names to small settlements in the Weald as early as the eighth century, the effect of regular swine grazing on seeds and roots was to reduce regeneration, but some clearing specifically for cultivation had occurred also. Various place names witness to conscious clearance - Ninfield means the field taken in from the adjacent wood or waste; Tilden may include OE tilian, to till or plough; Swattenden may be derived from OE swaeling, and mean land cleared by burning, and Tellhurst originally referred to an enclosure within a wood. The swineherds probably began to till temporary plots in the denae almost as soon as the first swine were driven to them, and parts of the drevedenae were by custom set apart for the herdsmen; the cultivated lands would have been enclosed, in the Weald not least to keep out wild animals. The earliest Kentish laws, those of Æthelbert (602-3) exacted a fine from any freeman who made his way into a fenced enclosure, and the boundaries in an eighth century Wealden grant go north to Wivelsfield, and thence eastwards to the boundary hedge. Some

1. The connection between forest clearance and decline in swine numbers (compared with other domestic animals) occurs in earlier periods also, e.g. in comparing Neolithic and Romano-British agriculture on the chalklands of South England - J. G. D. Clark. 1952. 117. Where large forests remained, as in Hungary, large scale swine pasturage in them continued to the early C 19 - G. Kiss. 1942. 449-54.

2. P.N.Sx. i.xxii. First form Nerewelle 1086.

3. Teligden in 858 (BCS 496); derivation from KPN 202.


5. J.K. Wallenberg. KPN. 98; compare the differing interpretation in H. Middendorf. 1902,137. (the name, Tuhlfahirst, comes in BCS 316, 804.

6. R. Purley. ii. 1874. 332,693.

7. F.L. Attenborough. 1922. 4-17, cap 29.

8. BCS 197 (765-71).
of the Anglo-Saxon clearing in the Weald may have been a by-product of
the search for timber; most grants of timber rights in this period
concern the forest of Blean which was more accessible to the main
population concentrations in North Kent than the Weald, but in 833 saltp
at Lynpne were granted 20 wains of wood for fuel, and this doubtless came
1 from the adjacent sectors of the Weald.

As cultivation extended, the first permanent dwellings were
erected, *leofecildes cot* of 765-71 being the earliest documentary
2 reference; as the deans were scattered over the Weald to exploit its
pannage to the full, so the initial settlements were single farmsteads or
small hamlets separated by considerable distances.

The growth of agricultural settlement in the Weald during the Dark
Ages was reflected in place-names and their incidental evidence supplemen-
ted by the scanty data in land charters. The wooded nature of the terrain was
still manifest; wood names (*-hyrst, -maga, -wude*) which span these
3 centuries, appeared throughout the Weald with an especial concentra-
in the western claylands, the most inland district of the region and the
4 largest single area of heavy soils. The density of wood names in the
Weald as a whole does not reflect the density of woodland here in the Da-
Ages; there are many more near Ashdown, where only open woodland heaths

---

1. BCS 111.
2. BCS 197.
3. Many names now ending in *-hurst* did not so originally. Chithurst Farm
in Horne was Chytersland in 1522-FN,Sy,325. Also the ending-**hurst**
appears to have been used for new place names as late as the C 15 —*
ibid. xxi.
4. It was also distant from the earliest centres of Saxon settlement in
Sussex.
were found than in some mere wooded parts (Fig 42).

Other suffixes, dating from the later centuries of the Dark Ages, reflected the husbandry which the settlers in the woodland then practised. Suffixes in -leah denoted, in some cases, man-made clearings for cultivation (Fig 44), whilst -fæled (a fold) and -wic (a farm, often a dairy farm) emphasised the pastoral aspect. This latter was dominant; -fæled and -wic names were much commoner than names in the Weald as a whole, and their regional pattern varied remarkably; -leah appeared most common on the lighter soils of the High Weald, -wic was found throughout the Weald but mainly in the west, and -fæled almost wholly confined to that area of the western Weald where names denoting woodland were very frequent (Fig 45).

The concentration of -falod in western Sussex and south Surrey reflected not only the pastoral bias of the area but, in its restriction, the influence of local dialect. Kent, Surrey and Sussex were each governed by different dialects in the Old English period, and many place-name endings reflect this. -fæled was confined to Surrey and Sussex, -ceart was confined to Surrey and Kent, -hamtun was almost confined to West Sussex, -ham was much commoner, -wic and -worth much rarer in Hastings Rape than in the rest of Sussex, -leah was commoner in Surrey and Sussex than in Kent. Several unusual elements were used in Kent and also in

1. The element -leah refers to natural glades in woodland as much as clearing, and it was used from the earliest settlement (there are some combinations with -ingas) until the Norman Conquest. A.H.Smith 1956 ii. 18-19.

2. -fæled means a small inclosure with animals, ib.i.164. (PN.Sx.ii.551 suggests it may have been used in West Sussex as synonymous with -feld, but this is without proof). -wic originally meant a building of group of them, later a building for dairy cattle or some other pastoral use; it does not appear with the earliest names, and its wa.
East Sussex -spic, hal, geselle and storf (but Mawer and Stenton do not regard this as necessarily implying any original connection of the settle in East Sussex and Kent.

These endings, -faled, -vie, -hyrst, -leah, which were used in the later centuries before the Conquest, give more detail on the landscape and economy of the Weald than is contained in earlier names. Several other endings were commonly used in the earlier colonisation of the eighth and ninth centuries, -tun, -ingtun, other combinations of -ing, and the later -ing names themselves but, while they indicated colonisation, they gave no information on its form. Names of this period are only sparsely found in the Weald, mainly on the lighter soils of the Hastings Beds, where also the tree cover was less dense than on the claylands (Fig 46).

2. -tun generally meant a smaller unit than -ham in the time of Bede; it was used in the OE period and until after the Conquest, but it was most commonly used in the period of secondary colonisation when -he fell into disuse; it then came to mean a larger unit than previous A.H. Smith. 1956. ii. 190-2.
3. -ingtun also was mainly used in the period of colonisation up to the ninth century (A.H. Smith. 1956. i. 81, 298.) The idea of A. Anscoc 1918. 76-83, that -ingtun names were Alemannic, which included the Jutes, and that such suffixes in Sussex indicated Jutish penetration into Sussex, has no philological basis; originally there were -ingtun
Few though these names were, they were yet a considerable expansion on the earliest permanent settlements in the Weald, whose names ended in -ham or -ingas. These suffixes, used only in the seventh and sixth centuries, concentrated on the margins of the area, only 6 -ham names being well within the boundary and only one (Fletching) of the 2 earliest -ingas names. The distribution of these early names suggests that the permanent agricultural colonisation of the Weald proceeded inwards from its margins, but not only from the more open and quite fertile scarpfoot terrains to north and south (where Romano-British and prehistoric settlement had been considerable); there was also a westward

not intun, and this suffix has no such racial connection (A.H. Smith, 1956. 290-3).

4. Including Dudelindenne in Cranbrook (-ingdenn, P.N.K. 320); Cuttingly Wood in Worth (-ingleah, P.N.Sx. ii. 281); Etchingwood in Buxted (-ingworth, ib.390), Dallinridge in Forest Row (-ingbyreg ib.328).

5. The use of -ing names began early, but continued longer than -ingas; also ing used later as a connecting particle (A.H. Smith. 1956. b.75; P.N.Sx.118). I am unsure whether the pre-Saxon -ing of Dr. G. Ward (1950, 153-4 ) is a proved actuality.

1. -ham names are earlier than -tun (A.H. Smith, 1956. 226. E. Ekwall. 1936,13); J.N. L. Myres, 1956.368, noted that the -ham names in the Weald followed the valleys, the later -tun shewed the expansion from the valleys.

movement from the East Coast. Some of the migrants from the continent landed here and one of the concentrations of -ingas names lay around the point where one group - the Haestingas - had landed. Some of the most archaic place name stems in Sussex are to be found in this its eastern borderland.

(b) Swine pastures.

The rise and fall of swineherding is the unwritten saga of the economic history of the Dark Ages but, from the scanty documentation (and that often forged) it is probably unwriteable. There was arable cultivation in the Weald at an early date - the area was clearly not an untrodden wilderness, but beyond doubt most important economic activity in the area, throughout the Dark Ages, was swine grazing.

Domesday mentions several groups of demes but generally does not specify their location. Earlier charters often give this detail, and most references to places in the Weald before the Conquest refer to swine pastures - denbaera, pasca porcorum, 'ad perces alendas', or 'pastum et pasca porcorum et armentum seu capronum suis locis'. The only mention of cattle is indirectly in names with Old English roots; Hriden (Little Ridden) means 'cattle deme'. In 1086 cultivation in the Weald was alread

1. Seen also in -ingahom names; P.A. Nicklin and E.G. Godfrey-Faussett. 19216.
2. A. Mavor. 1933. 194.
3. e.g. Cleeve Axe in Guestling-PN.Sx.i.xv.
4. Generally for the charters W. de Gray Birch.1-iii.1885-93, is reliable though occasionally a date is incorrect (BCS 144, dated internally to 775, dated by Birch to 725, is either 689 or 704 - E.E. Barker,1947.69). In problems of forgery J.M. Kemble, 1839-48, introduced excessive caution; e.g. the three charters of Ethelbert in 605, described by Kemble and W. Legisbon, 1943,174, as forgeries, are only late and mutilat
widespread and the Domesday statistics, misleading though they are for
the Weald, confirm the impression, given ex silentio by the Angle-Saxon
documents, that the great age of Wealden swine herding came before the
Conquest. The large number of denns located on Fig 40 indicates how
extensive was the penetration of the Weald in search of pannage, (whilst
remembering that names with Old English roots have no documentary mention
before the Conquest). The data is sufficient to claim that swine were a
more important element in Angle-Saxon husbandry than either sheep or
cattle; this is manifestly true for the Weald, and probably so for England
I
as a whole.

The charters demonstrate the wide scatter of swine pastures, but
they give little indication of the size of the swine herds. The one
detailed reference is c 880, when Ealdorman Alfred died and left in

COPIES (G. Ward. 1957. 147-52; see also G.J. Turner. xliii, in G.J.
Turner and E.H. Salter (eds.) 1915). Also most forgeries were based
on real grants and forgery of place names served no purpose— the
value of the charter lists of swine pastures is largely unimpaired.

5. BCS 247. 785.

6. BCS 370. 822.

7. BCS 343, 814 and KPN 131; Betherfield means the open pasture of the
cattle (PN. St. ii. 377) and occurs BCS 252, 788 (a fabricated grant
but probably based on a true one— H.H. Round. SAC. 1898.48-51).

8. BCS 558.

9. BCS 343.
Sanderstead, Westerham, Lingfield and adjacent parts of Surrey 2000 swine
1 on his land and bequeathed 400 more swine to other kinsmen. To judge
from substantial figures recorded in other regions, this figure was
probably not atypical for the Weald; any estate with more than ten dennes
2 (Chart Sutton 11 in 814, Durrington 18 in 934) must have owned swine
3 numbered in four figures. Two grants of 785 and 791 mention pasture for
4 one drove of swine at Daeningdenne and for 50 swine 'be innan snade', but
5 these places were in the forest of Blean; the only mention of droves in
6 the Weald appears in a grant of 747 giving pasture for 12 droves of swine
7 at three places in the Weald.

The domesticated swine of the Anglo-Saxon period differed little
from the wild beast (Sus scrofa palustris), which was long-haired, long-
legged, razor-backed, and grew to maturity only slowly; it survived in
parts of England until the sixteenth century. The Wealden domestic
swine must have been rounded up for shelter, slaughter and other purposes;
but some probably mixed with the wild swine which were in the Weald at
the time of its first post-Roman penetration (OE denn meant a wild beast'
8 lair as well as a swine pasture).

1. BCS 558.
2. BCS 343.
3. BCS 702.
4. BCS 247, 263.
5. Wallenberg suggests Daeningdenne is Thornden in Dunkirk, KPN 279 (Dr. G
Ward doubts this, personal communication). N. Neilson. 1928.4, suggest
'te innan snade' refers to Snedland, which other early forms do not
support (e.g. BCS 1132). B. Furley, i. 1871.76, suggests Smeeth, based
on a misreading of the charter as Smede (an error going back to W.
Sennor, 1640. 212).
6. BCS 175.
The primary attraction of the Weald for swine pasturage lay in its pannage resources. The Wealden vegetation was not, however, uniform; the Low Weald was covered chiefly by damp oakwood, as was much of the High Weald in Kent, its sandy soils divided up by large outcrops of the Wadhurst clay. In Sussex the High Weald was to a larger extent a region of sandy soils; its commonest natural vegetation was birch and dry oak, with open heaths on the driest and most exposed slopes. The statement in the Angle-Saxon Chronicle, sub 893, that the Wealden forest was 30 miles wide and 120 miles long, stretching inland from Lympne, embraced the dry open woodlands of the sandy soils as well as the denser oakwoods. Pannage consisted primarily of acorns and beech mast, and the dense oakwoods of the Low Weald provided these foods most richly. The heavy claylands were not only the best suppliers of pannage, they also lay nearest the extra-Wealden estates which wanted food for their swine while the poorer sandy soils were conveniently restricted to the more distant upland core of the Weald.

Not all the demes were wooded; some of them were named as clearings and they must have received these names within a very short time of their first use as Angle-Saxon swine pastures. In Tenterden, the boundaries of Hvingdaena in 968 contained meadows (Tentwarabrecas and Hvingbreca); it thus included the meadow of the men of Thanet (Tentware) as well as

---

1. A.F.A. Mutton. 1937.185. The element meaning 'heath' occurs in several place names in the central Weald e.g. the Heathlys (see Fig 56).
2. G.N. Garmonsway. (ed.) 1953.84. Parts of the New Forest were still called Andred in 1086-PN.Sx.i.1.
4. BCS 1212; breca normally means a stream, but in the Kent and Sussex dialect it can mean a meadow—A.H.Smith.i. 1956.51.
5. It is normally accepted that this name refers to the men of Thanet (J. Wallenberg.1929.36, though he suggests an unlikely toponymic /contd
their swine pasture. Whilst the primary attraction and value of the dem was the autumn supply of acorns and beech mast, the swine, if they remained in the Weald all the year (as the wild swine did) needed grass pastures also.

Some demns were not in the Weald at all (Fig 40); others were on its margin – Ritherden lay below the Lower Greensand scarp in Sevenoaks Weald and Southerden was just over the border in Boughton Malherbe.

Along the northern margin of the Weald in Kent was another group of pasture and woodland possessions, quite distinct from the demns, – the Chart woodlands. A belt of open woodland stretched along the Lower Greensand from East Kent as far westwards as Guildford, although not continuously. Parts of these woods were appendant to distant manors – the manor of Kingnorth in Ulcombe and Boughton Malherbe was described in later centuries as a detached borough of Faversham Hundred, and a chart

1. Dr. G. Ward has suggested to me that there were three types of land in the Dark-Age Weald – arable; woodland, often enclosed and opened to the swine only during pannage; open, unenclosed pasture, the 'leah'. For further discussion of this problem, see p. 298.

2. e.g. the swine pastures of East Dean, Sussex, in 689 were near Singleton. E.E. Barker. 1924. 47.

3. G. Ward. 1931b. 65-8, where it is located at Riverhill. Dr. Ward has corrected this (1959) to near Hale Farm in Sevenoaks Weald.

4. Part of it was described in 762 (BCS 191) as 'regione quae vocatur Cert', whilst the term chart is still used in Kent and Surrey for 'a rough common, overgrown with gorse, broom and bracken'. A. Mavor 1924. 14.
Many of the charter names remain unidentified; 2 of the 5 dens of Anninton, 3 of the 11 dens of Washington, 6 of the 14 dens of Stanmer and 17 of the 18 dens of Durrington.

Based on BCS 197, 702, 194, 939, 961.
of 850 describes part of this woodland belt, forming the southern border of an estate in Lenham as the King's wood, appendant to Faversham. The existence of manorial outliers in the Chart region is recorded even in Domesday, when Stanford was still attached to Lyminge, part of Lympne belonged to Aldington and much of Horton was in the manor of Brabourne. The open woodlands of the Chart gave small timber resources and open grazings, but they had not the timber cover to provide pannage; thus Little Chart, one of the estates in this region, had its dens elsewhere in the Weald, as recorded in a grant of 843.

In 1086 dens were only recorded under parent estates in Kent, but this restriction was recent in origin; in Sussex there had been a consolidation of estates between 1066 and 1086 which may have separated some swine pastures from their parent manors, but 5 pre-Conquest charters mentioned five groups of swine pastures in the Sussex Weald which belonged to estates on the Downs, the earliest being 765-71 (Fig 47). In Surrey Beddington had three Wealden woods in c964 and Sutton manor had swine in the Weald at Thundersfield in Hurley; one of the Beddington

1. BCS 459. Part of this woodland near Sutton Valence is still called the King's Wood; the connection with Faversham is worked out in G. Ward, 1942 1-7 who concludes that the places in Kent called Sutton were dependent members of manors.
3. BCS 442.
5. BCS 1155. One of them, Tenhric, may be Tandridge; another, Lace, is Great or Little Leake Farm in Horley – FN, Sr. 293. The third was Cylisdam.
6. BCS 1195: 967.
Based on BCS 75, 777, I295; FCD 700, 777, I315; *Edwards (ed.) Liber de Hyda I866, 242-5. Freecinghvrst, royrepestede, withering, fulod, holanspic (dams of Malling); seonset hyro (Bromley); streddene (Brabourne); sefehrse, wintindene (Lewisham) are unidentified swine pastures.

Fig. 48.
woods was called a denn in 947 and the swine pastures of Cheam had been 
mentioned as early as 727. Wealden swine pastures, in the Dark Ages, 
were not restricted to Kent.

The number of denny attached to an estate, and their distance from it, was as in Angle-Saxon times as during the Middle Ages. The mention of single dennes is unusual, unless they have developed in independent farming units; the commonest groups were of three or of five denny, but whilst only three estates had less than three denny, thirteen had ever five. (Figs 47-50). The grants recording groups of three to five denny span all the centuries from c 700 to c1000, whilst the larger groups mostly appear in charters of the eighth and ninth centuries. The two largest groups occur in Sussex, not Kent, the greater being the 18 denny of Durrington mentioned in 934. Some groups decreased in size as the centuries progressed - two of the denny of Little Chart mentioned in 843 were erased from the charter soon afterwards as erroneous entries (Lidingden and Hwiton), and only four remained attached to the manor of Little Chart in the early fourteenth century.

Swine pastures were often many miles away from the home farm, but they were generally grouped together; the denny of Bromley in 862 lay in a distant woodland (in anuwalda), but were all in or near Edenbridge.

---

1. Pedan hvecg and net lacce, denny of Merstham-BCS 820.
2. For 675, BCS 39—a fabricated grant. Ceghem (Cheam) had swine pasture: in heneval, repeat in BCS 1195.
3. BCS 702.
5. BM.Add. MS. 6159 f 40v.
6. Wallenberg often uses this as a principle in place name decisions: KPi 144-5, 171-5.
7. BCS 506.
Fig. 49. Based on BCS 303, 316, 329, 343, 346, 347, 408, 418, 422, 459, 496, 506, 507. See fosstede (denn of Borstal), burnes stede denn and hunbealdinhola (Bexley), bosehamburne (Ebony), monekenesnod (Little Chart), orrice d n (Westwell) and saenget hryg (Bromley) are unidentified swine pastures.
and the deans of Felpham in 953 were concentrated in the most westerly segment of the Weald. According to the boundaries given in later documents, at least three of the deans of Little Chart directly adjoined one another. The swine pastures of Stanmer in 765 consisted of two groups, one around Lindfield (a direct distance of 12 miles from Stanmer) and the other around (18 miles). The proximity of deans and the process of internal subdivision which sometimes occurred explain why one name often covered a group of swine pastures - mapel der hest Yrie and Friçeslea
1
1,111, in the list of deans of Lenham in 850. The practical reasons for such concentration are simple - the swine of one manor would move as one body and, if some of the deans were much more distant than others, the swine moving to the further pastures would only obtain a much shorter pannage season; moreover, the return drive homewards would be difficult to co-ordinate.

In some instances deans were divided, or shared, between two estates; Sandhurst was a dean both of Ickhan in 785 and of Westwell in 858. Hliossole, a dean of Appledore in 833, was probably the same locality as Hiligesella, a dean of Little Chart in 843. More complex

1. BCS 898.
3. This appears in such Domesday entries as Dartford (2b) - 8 small dens at 3 large, and Ewell (11) - 12 a dean.
4. BCS 459.
5. In order to save labour, and fit in with the rest of the agricultural calendar with as little displacement as possible.
6. BCS 247 and 496.
7. BCS 408 and 442. The identity is agreed by KPN 171-2 and G. Ward, 1945 6. In the previous example, the charters are sufficiently separated in time to make the transfer of the dean from one estate to the other,
Fig. 50. Based on BGS T41, I94, I95, 17, 253, 260, 263. Limenwearaswale and waewaraswale (Lymne), Unealdseuwestra (Islingham 759-65), holanspic (Islingham 764, Trottiscliffe 788) are unidentified swine pastures.
are the four charters which refer to land in Bromley and its attendant
swine pastures; two of the charters refer to a lay estate, and the other
two to an ecclesiastical. These two estates each have their denna - the
former five, the latter seven, but both groups included Billanora (near
Lyndhurst in Edenbridge), Brexham and Clatfields in Edenbridge; the lay
estate had two denna at Clatfields, the ecclesiastical estate but one.
Both estates owned some denna in severalty, whilst sharing pannage rights
in others. Another pair of grants in the ninth century reveal a state
of affairs similar to that at Bromley; an estate in West Lenham given to
the abbot of St. Augustines in 804, and the estate in Lenham granted to
Prince Alber in 850 had some common denna, and others which were not
shared. As at Bromley, the home estates which were sharing the swine
possible (though unconvincing, since many estates kept the same denn
for over six centuries); in this present example, such an explanation
is very unlikely.

1. BCS 506 (862) and KCD 657 (947).
2. BCS 1295 (973) and KCD 700 (998).
3. BCS 316 (804) and 459 (850).
pastures were adjacent to each other. All the Bromley and Lenham grants were given away by the then ruling kings; it is therefore a possible conjecture (and no more) that there was originally only one royal estate at Lenham and one at Bromley, but that the rulers divided each into two smaller estates to reduce the loss occasioned by their warm-hearted liberality; in this process of division, certain demes were attached solely to one estate whilst others (perhaps larger, more central) were to be shared.

The most difficult group of charters are a series of grants to the Bishops of Rochester. They are worded as if separate, and thus independent, gifts and the chief blocks of land concerned were in different localities. Certain demes, however, appear in several charters - Helanspic (unidentified, but perhaps in Twyford Hundred) in no less than four between 747 and 946, two others in three separate grants, and four other demes twice. Were the estates thus laid out before the Bishop received them, the regular reappearance of the bishop's demes attached to lay estates could only be explained by very rapid losses of land by the bishop to the laity; it is more likely that the lists of demes were added after the grant was made, either to give the

1. Contrast this with the two charters, BCS 194-5. In the former, 759-65, the King of Kent gave an estate in Islingham with four demes to the Bishop of Rochester; in the latter, 764, the King of Mercia gave another estate in Islingham with three different demes to the same bishop.

2. BCS 175 (747), Textus Roffensis f123, a grant by the King of Kent: BCS 195 (764), TR f 123, a grant by Offa of an estate in Islingham: BCS 253 (788), TR f 131, a grant by Offa of an estate in Tretiscliffe: BCS 339 (811), TR f 136, a grant by the King of Mercia of an estate in Borstal: BCS 669 (946), TR f 143, a grant by King Edmund of an estate in Mallin.

3. KPN 39,77

4. Helanspic in BCS 175,195, 253, 779; Paetlanhyrge and Lindbyrge in 175, 195, and 779; Otanhyrge, Francesbyrhe, Seeerfistede and Witheringfeld.
Bishop surer possession by attaching them to a royal charter, or as an indication that the bishop altered the linkages between estates and swine pastures as new gifts made more economic arrangements possible. This last seems most likely - the dennes attached in 811 to Borstal near Rochester were by 946 linked to the much nearer estate at Malling.

By no means all Dark-Age Kentish estates with swine pastures were recorded in the surviving Angle-Saxon charters. Some other swine pastures are revealed by surviving -denn place names (Fig.40) but, whilst most were originally swine pastures, it is often not known to which parent estate any one belonged. The antiquity of the suffix is demonstrated by an exchange of c 858, which writes of 'swine pastures which we call in our language denberal'. In some cases the link is given by the appearance of the same root in the -denn name and in the name of its parent settlement; the personal name Dunwealh in Dunwalinglor (811, in Eastry) and in Dinumalingden (probably in Tenterden, 791), or the personal name Wilfri in Wilfretingden, 830, and in Wilfrethingland, 923, west of Canterbury. Lower Beeding in the Weald of Sussex was first occupied by the Angle-Saxons as the swine pasture of Upper Beeding; the

1. O.E. den is translated often merely as pasture by Wallenberg; by A.H. Smith, i, 1956, 120 as 'woodland pasture, especially for swine' and by F.E. Sawyer, 1884, 38 incorrectly as sheep pasture. It must not be confused with OE denn, a valley; a forged charter fell into this, translating the OE for denns in the Weald as 'cum vallibus in Andreda'(KCD 771: 104). 6. Ward, 1931b, 65-6 suggests denn originally meant a valley in West Kent and became applied to Wealden clearings because they were lower than the chalklands; this is to confuse two different suffixes (as appears also in M.A. Lower, i, 1870.5).
2. KCD 1, 488.
3. BCS 332.
4. BCS 263.
5. BCS 396. This place has not been identified.
6. BCS 637. J.R.A. Jolliffe, 1933, 29, suggests this linkage, but S. Karlstrom 1927, 119, derives this name from the personal name Wilfri

---

1. 0.E. denn is translated often merely as pasture by Wallenberg; by A.H. Smith, i, 1956, 120 as 'woodland pasture, especially for swine' and by F.E. Sawyer, 1884, 38 incorrectly as sheep pasture. It must not be confused with OE denn, a valley; a forged charter fell into this, translating the OE for denns in the Weald as 'cum vallibus in Andreda'(KCD 771: 104). 6. Ward, 1931b, 65-6 suggests denn originally meant a valley in West Kent and became applied to Wealden clearings because they were lower than the chalklands; this is to confuse two different suffixes (as appears also in M.A. Lower, i, 1870.5).
2. KCD 1, 488.
3. BCS 332.
4. BCS 263.
5. BCS 396. This place has not been identified.
6. BCS 637. J.R.A. Jolliffe, 1933, 29, suggests this linkage, but S. Karlstrom 1927, 119, derives this name from the personal name Wilfri

---

1. 0.E. denn is translated often merely as pasture by Wallenberg; by A.H. Smith, i, 1956, 120 as 'woodland pasture, especially for swine' and by F.E. Sawyer, 1884, 38 incorrectly as sheep pasture. It must not be confused with OE denn, a valley; a forged charter fell into this, translating the OE for denns in the Weald as 'cum vallibus in Andreda'(KCD 771: 104). 6. Ward, 1931b, 65-6 suggests denn originally meant a valley in West Kent and became applied to Wealden clearings because they were lower than the chalklands; this is to confuse two different suffixes (as appears also in M.A. Lower, i, 1870.5).
2. KCD 1, 488.
3. BCS 332.
4. BCS 263.
5. BCS 396. This place has not been identified.
6. BCS 637. J.R.A. Jolliffe, 1933, 29, suggests this linkage, but S. Karlstrom 1927, 119, derives this name from the personal name Wilfri
close link continued into the Middle Ages, when the lay subsidies include
the totals of both in one entry. 1

The occurrence of such place-names similarities in the charters
disarms the doubt that these supposed swine pastures are linked only in
the imagination; in 934 one of the swine pastures of Durrington (which
adjoins Goring) was garungu leah, Geringlee in Shipley. The deans of
Mephram listed in charter of 939 remain unidentified, but Furley states
that the deans of Mephram were located in the district of Tonbridge;
in Hildenborough near Tonbridge, their memory may be retained in the two
local names of Mephram Park and Mephambank. In some cases these
philological connections go back to the period before the charters were
drawn up; Palinga schittas and Boganora, two of the deans of Felpham in
953, may have been attached earlier to Peling and Bognor, both located
near Felpham in South Sussex. Other charters suggest, on similar
grounds, that the several deans possessed by large estates were each
attached to parts of the estate area — burnes stedesdenn, a denn of
Bexley, may have been the denn of burnes steda (Bursted), given in the
boundaries of the land at Bexley. This same charter gives the boundaries
of emer, another of the deans, and a third called Plumwearding perseccan;
was perhaps the swine pasture belonging to Plumstead, near Bexley.

1.PN. 8x.1. 205.
2.BCS 702.
3.BCS 741.
4.KPN 241-5.
5.BCS 898.
6.BCS 346, 814,
MANORS IN THE RAPES OF ARUNDEL & CHICHESTER WITH HOLDINGS IN KIRDFORD PARISH

1 Bosham; 2 Petworth; 3 Byworth; 4 Slindon; 5 Bignor; 6 Lyminster; 7 Warningcamp; 8 Bedham; 9 Pallingham; 10 Bassett's Fee. These are listed by G.H. Kenyon. 1955. According to BM Add. MS 5688 f 70, Pulborough, 11, also held land in Kirdford.

Fig. 5I.
Some Wealden outliers can be traced in the parish boundaries of the early nineteenth century, many of which are of great antiquity. The present parish of Fernhurst was formerly composed of parts of the parish of Linchmere, Heyshott, and Woolavington in Sussex, and of Steep in Hampshire. Woolavington and Heyshott are situated at the foot of the Downs, 7-8 miles to the south, whilst Steep is 9 miles to the west. Memorials documents give other examples; at least eleven manors held land in the 12,500 acres which now form Kirdford parish (Fig 51). Fallingham and Slindon owned the largest areas, but the rest belonged to estates as far away as Bosham; some at least of these detached possessions had once been swine pastures, for in 935 Idehurst in Kirdford was a swine pasture of Felpham.

Several medieval documents refer to droveways but the extent of droving is problematic. On the one hand, it seems incredible that swine should be driven ten miles or more to woodlands in the Weald in mid-September and back again only six weeks later, such long travel could only negate the benefits of good pannage feeding - and it seems some swine may have stayed in the Weald all the year round. The small permanent agricultural colonies in the eastern High Weald also kept swine without droving them.

1. S.W. Wooldridge and F. Goldring, 1953. 209. The link with Steep agrees with the other evidence which suggests the Wealden woods formerly extended into Hampshire-PN, Sy. 1.1.
3. Midhurst, BCS 898. This is the identification of E. E. Barker, 1949; there is a less likely alternative in Gemah Rev, Petworth-PN,Sy.1.1.
4. see p.40. In Limpsfield, on the northern border of the Weald, is a Drover's wood-PN,Sy. 326; part of a road in Shereham, north of Sevenoaks, was a drove way used by the stock of the Archbishop.G.Ward,1931 157.
On the other hand, various medieval references mention not only
driving swine to the parent estate when meat was needed but also driving
swine to pannage and a grant of 747 gave pasture for twelve droves of
swine at three places in the forest of the men of Rochester—Caestrunarow
alth. Summerhouses do not necessarily imply that swine were only in the
Weald during the pannage season—they were built for the lord, not the
swineherds—but the common obligation to fence the woodlands used for
pannage or mast each year may carry this implication.

The actual routes of the pre-Conquest droveways are not known. Some
of the Roman roads in Kent may have been followed—they had directness
and continuity and the surface was not yet wholly decayed. The home
estate of Brabourne and its demesne in 993 both lay near a Roman road
(Fig 48) and in most cases the estates and demesne listed in ninth century
charters could have been connected by the Roman roads (Fig 49); the

5. Medieval rents distinguish gavelswine (paid for swine pasture all the
xxiv; also Domesday distinguishes swine rents for grass pasture,
from those for wood pasture.

6. Boundaries of Barnehorne included a swine enclosure (swinhamme) 772
BCS 208; element hlese (pigsty) occurs in name of one demesne of
Dallington (hlese diew) 934—BCS 702, and perhaps in name of Lessenh
in Newenden (KPM.34, 359; this unlikely according to A. Mavor et al.
FN.Sy. 240).

1. Temple Ewell 1185 (C. Cotton, 1930.38); Maidstone, Boughton—under—Eldon, Charing 1285—Cant. MS E 24 f 29, 43 v, 53 v, ex inf.F.R.H. Du
Beulay.

2. BCS 175.

3. Wealden tenants of Teynham 1285 (Cant. MS E 24 f 40), Charing (ib. f
53 r—v; here the woodland enclosed was outside the Weald in Charing
whilst the tenants of the 7 demesn had separate pannage in the demes
Reference kindly supplied by F.R.H. Du Beulay), Southwelling 1285
(B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (eds.) 1958. 36, for Wealden berghe),
1305—6 (ib. 135). Hays, temporary wooded enclosures, were erected
weeds in West Chiltington during the pannage season, early C 14— W
The connection on philological grounds of B 1-3 is suggested in P.B.Sy.102;of C 1-2,ibid.159;of D 1-2,ibid.156;of E 1-2,ibid.148. The connection of F 1-5 is suggested ibid.118,134;and P.B.Sy.231. Copley also includes F 6, but a different root is given P.B.Sy.230. Fallinga schittas was a swine pasture of Felpham near Polding in 953 (BCS 898) and Little Bognor, B 3, was another; Horninga dene is mentioned 963 (BCS 1125) and Horsham was a swine pasture of Washington in 947 (BCS 854).
instance of the Bromley lands, recorded in 862 is especially clear. The eighth century grants do not reveal so striking a correlation (Fig. 51) but this is primarily because place-name identifications are increasingly difficult with the older charters; in the Sussex Weald both Stammer and its denu, 705-71, lay near the Roman road from London to Portslade.

Copley has noted that many of the swine pastures suggested by place-name similarities and some explicitly mentioned in charters lie near the course taken by Stane Street; besides those attached to Poling and Felpham, others belonging to Climping and Washington stretch along both sides of the Roman road and are rarely found more than two miles from it. Place names which may have a connection with Poling continue across the Sussex border into Surrey, and appear even along the branch of Stane Street going towards Farley Heath (Fig.52). The whole of Stane Street may not have been in continuous use during the Dark Ages — certain parts were abandoned or by-passed — but it probably provided a trade link as well as a droveway to swine pastures; certain distinctive types of brooches have been found only on Guildown, Mitcham and Alfriston, and Stane Street is the sole evident connection between these places.

2. Thus on Fig 16, one of the densus of Halling, and one of those of Ickham is mapped far away from the others; this is unlikely, but no better identification is yet available.
6. G.B. Brown. 1955. 479-486, is more sceptical. There can be no doubt that, if parts of the Roman roads in the Weald were used in the Dark Ages, most of the network was deserted for new routes; part of a timbered road surface, dated by dendro-chronology to the late C10, 1
Most charters of the ninth century describe swine pastures as appurtenant to single holdings or estates situated elsewhere in Kent; earlier grants demonstrate that in previous centuries Wealden pannage was used in common. Jelliffe describes this as the only instance of communal ownership found amongst the Jutish settlers - each *villa regis* had an attached woodland and each lathe a Wealden segment where its inhabitants could pasture their swine in common. The names of some of these woodlands have survived - *Limenwearawalde*, the wood of the men of Lympne, *Weowera wealde*, the wood of the men of Wye, *Caestersaeta valde*, the wood of the men of Rochester, and *burh ware uualde*, the wood of the men of Canterbury. A grant of 863 gives rights *'in silba regis...hobi alteri homines silbam cedunt, hoc est in regis communiere.'* The royal woodlands were located along the northern margins of the Weald and were smaller than the large common woods of some of the lathes; Cyningesnade

---

461

been found at Bolney—A. W. G. Lowther, 1948. 73-5.

1. E. Purley, i. 1871. 147.

2. 1933, 54; this was first noticed by W. Sommer, 1693, 109, who suggested *Limenwearawalde, Weowera wealde* and *burh ware uualde* were woodlands where the lathes since called Shipway, Scray and St. Augustine had common pannage rights. This was agreed by J.E.A. Jelliffe. 1929, 612.

3 2. BCS 141 (72a) and 248 (786).

4 3. BCS 141 (72a).

5 4. BCS 303 (801) and 175 (747).

6 5. BCS 248 (786).

7 6. BCS 507.


9 8. Jelliffe, ibid. 58, gives this identification, and takes the term *'snad'* to imply woodland, by analogy with BCS 442 *'unus singularis silva...quem nos theodice snad nominamus*; on the other hand, KPH 19 takes *snad* to mean a clearing or moak of land, and gives the locati as Ringenorth in Fluckley. Since Cyningesnade...
The names of the woodlands attached to each lathe have not generally survived but it is noticeable that often the denes of an estate were located in the Wealden segment of the same lathe. The later charters which refer to these swine pastures as by then attached to individual estates, yet mention that they lie 'in commune saltu'; the denes of Islingham in 759–65 were 'in commune saltu, hoc est Uneldsenuestra', literally the western forest, a term probably applied to the west of the Weald of Kent. In 801 a charter mentions 'iiiij denberis in commune saltu id est on Caesterseta walda'; a grant of two denes in Tenterden in 833 runs 'communiones in silvis, scilicet in Esterecohegerringdenne et Hyringdenne teggerede ligende'. The denes of Borstal in 811 were 'in commune saltu', but by 946, when they reappear in another list of denes, this description is omitted. (The latest mention of common pasture in charters granting swine grazings occurs in a Sussex example of 9539, and it is restricted to one of three denes —'in communi silva pasuale quod dicitur Palinga Schittas') The age and function of the lathes is still obscure; the wealden segment of a lathe may not have been a common swine pasture for the whole territorial unit — only large swine herds needed to move long distances to find pannage — but it seems that there were large woodland blocks, as those named above, grazed communally. of an estate in Lenham, Jelliffe's identification is preferable; moreover, later documents show that Kingsnorth in Ulcombe was an outlier of Faversham—G. Ward, 1942. 1–7. 1. BCS 439. 2. BCS 194. 3. BCS 305,408. 4. BCS 339,779. 5. BCS 898. 6. The common grazing had probably ended by the date of some of the charters cited above but it had occurred.
The individual ownership of swine pastures succeeded communal rights to pannage at an early era, and from the late seventh century (if not earlier) communal and several swine pastures existed together in the Weald until, by the tenth century, the former had virtually disappeared. Deans attached to single estates appear in non-Wealden Sussex by 680, in Wealden Sussex by 765, and in Wealden Kent by 724. A charter of 747 reports that the swine of the Bishop of Rochester were being hindered from grazing in Caestruam orualith and that the King had granted, as compensatio pannage at three selected points in the Weald. However, at this time the distinction between common and several was not very clear, for the grant is not of the grasings as such but pannage in them for 12 herds of swine, and the three places are described as 'in publicis lecis'.

The evidence seems to suggest that in Kent a period of communal swine grazing was followed by the attachment of Wealden deans to individual estates; in Sussex this may not apply. Common lands and rights appear much more frequently in medieval sources for Wealden Sussex than for Wealden Kent, but the only mention of common grazing connected with swine pastures in pre-Conquest Sussex occurs in 953, whilst mention of individually-owned swine pastures goes back to 765. Jelliffe is not successful in attempting to define an area in the north of each Sussex rape which was originally its common woodland - the woods of Arundel Rape are put too far

1. BCS 50; this was clearly a sheep pasture. E. E. Barker. 1947. 51.
2. BCS 197.
3. BCS 141.
4. BCS 175.
5. BCS 986. 996.
6. BCS 197.
south on the Downs and the woodland core of Hastings rape was colonized from another division, from manors in the south of Rape of Pevensey, as Domesday shows. No Sussex charter uses any name of a regional woodland; the areas which Jolliffe suggests were once common woodlands in east rape are not mentioned in documents before the Conquest. Common grazing in these woodlands or heaths appears from medieval documents to have been confined almost wholly to the villages on their immediate periphery and, unlike the Kentish demesnes, there is no trace of danger and lefsilver rents indicating former swine grazing.

Place names show that some land was held or used communally in the Sussex Weald before the Conquest. Boship Farm in Heally and Bowership in Burwash included the OE root geburscoie, meaning a community of peasants, and such groups held the lands, like Minais Beck in Hastings and Menesse wood in Rudgwick, which included the element gemennes, communal tenure of property. In some cases the term was applied to swine pasture.

---

1. 1933. 82,94. The error in Arundel Rape is due to the incorrect identification on p.82 of Bigenera with Bignor in Arundel Park; it is Little Bognor in Fittleworthe, farther north-E.E. Barker. 1949.72.
2. see p.120. Therefore it can hardly be regarded as the woodland of Hastings Rape, as J.E.A. Jolliffe. 1933. 82.
3. As fellows-Hastings Rape; Dallington; Pevensey; Ashdown; Lewes; West Bramber; St. Leonards; Arundel; Arundel Park; Chichester; Charlton.
4. See earlier, p.317 et seq.
5. PN.Sx, ii. 439.
6. PN.Sx, ii. 536; W.D. Peckham (ed.) 1925b. 44, 53.
as one called Hoggemanyse. It has been suggested that Lurgashall meant originally a grass land divided up by let, but this is disputed; ownership by let is certainly referred to in the name of Level Barn in Chailey. It is therefore clear that the Dark-Age colonists of the Sussex Weald held and utilised some land in common, but there is no certain trace of the large common woodlands known at this period in Kent.

(c) The beginnings of Dark-Age settlement.

The earliest Anglo-Saxon reference to Wealden lands comes in a charter of 724 and the earliest place-name suffixes in the Weald, the -ingas, probably date from the eighth century or before; one early Saxon earth-work lies just within the south Wealden border at Shermansbury. When exactly the Dark Age settlement of the Weald began is uncertain but it had occurred, as place-names show, before the end of Saxon paganism and a cemetery of the mid-late C 6 at Lyminge lay only just north of the Wealden limits.

1. FN.Sx. ii. 560-1; unfortunately still unidentified.
2. This meaning was suggested as possible by A. Mawer, 1929.87, from OE hyltegaers. The early forms do not support this any more than they do the suggestion of 'the little allotment for grazing' by R.E. Zachrisson, 1927.99, from OE lytel-gaershale, FN. Sx. i. 111 and J.K. Wallenberg, 1929. 287, suggested derivation from a personal name Lütgar, but the occurrence of other similar names in distant counties makes this unlikely. E. Ekvall, 1947, s.l. thought it might mean 'a little grassland in a nook of land', OE lyt-gaers-halh, but the most acceptable solution (by E. Tengstrand, 1940. 222, supported by A.H. Smith, 1956b.70) is that Lütgar means a spear trap, and Lurgashall means the spear trap in a nook of land.
3. FN.Sx.ii. 297.
5. FN.Sy 295; FN.Sx. 401, 454.
The internal colonisation of the Weald came from the south, north and east. From south and north came the penetration, primarily for swine pasturage and timber, which the later Sussex and Kentish charters record (p. 47 and Figs. 56-9). It has been suggested that this movement southwards from Kent spread right across the Weald into north Sussex and eastern Surrey but this hypothesis rests on a variety of indirect data: field systems, settlement patterns, customs of tenure - which are known in detail only at later dates; it must therefore remain uncertain (suffice it to say that the various indices of this spread do not all extend an equal distance into Surrey or Sussex from Kent) whilst the more direct evidence of swine pastures (and of the place names along Stane Street, p. 470) shows there was some penetration from South Sussex, as well as North Kent, into the Weald.

There was a third direction of initial settlement, from the east.

In 1011 the Haestingas were distinguished from the peoples of Kent, Surrey and Sussex and they were mentioned much earlier as a separate group in 771. The name occurs in Hastings, Hastingferd in Pevensey and Hastingleah near Wye; the group extended from what is now northeast Sussex into southeast Kent and they probably had some affinities with the Sussex settlers, since they were called south Saxons in a Kentish charter of 616. They doubtless initiated that spread of agricultural colonisation, from the coast into the High Weald, which is apparent from later documents (p. 43).
The ultimate origins of the invaders who came to Sussex, Surrey and Kent, is by no means certain. The Saxons, coming from a district between the Elbe and Weser (though some lived as far west as Frisia), 1 were the colonists of Sussex and of parts of West Kent. Most of the colonists of Kent were of different origin; loosely called 'Jutes', 3 they clearly included migrants from Jutland, from Frisia and Franks from a triangular area in the middle Rhineland cornered on Coblenz, Trier and Düsseldorf. Many have suggested that the Frankish element was the largest in number but some recent research had emphasised the Jutish element and clearly, by the time the group arrived, mixture was very great. Mixture probably characterised the gens Hastingorum; the scanty archaeologic data of this area shows no individuality and later customs showed similarities both with Kent and Sussex. Like the 'Jutes' of Kent, one name covered a population of mixed origins.

4. The evidence of material remains suggests this (E.T. Leeds. 1913. 1; N. Aberg. 1926. 28-32; J.N.L. Myres. 1948.453-72) but there is no confirmation yet from language or place-names (A.H. Smith.1956b.72, PNE 352).
6. This stress is found in A. Plettke. 1921.60; it has revived under interpretations by E.T. Leeds. 1946. 22-37, 1953. 208-10, 1957.5-26. Since it is based almost wholly on artistic affiliations, it may not accurately reflect the numbers of migrants involved. For a more cautious new interpretation, see S. Chadwick. 1958b. 40-60.
It has been suggested that the fifth-century settlers from the Middle Rhineland introduced to Kent the economic structure of parent estate and woodland swine pasture which so characterized the area in later centuries; and eighth-century charters from this part of Germany do mention common woods and the woodland attached to estates. Nowhere, however, do they specify word or by philology, that the woodlands were valued primarily as swine pastures and there are other difficulties in the hypothesis also; swine pastures are mentioned in the Sussex Weald 765-71, almost as early as in the Kentish (724) and their first appearance is outside the Weald, attached in 689 to land in East Dean - not in the area of Frankish settlement in Kent, but in the heart of the kingdom of South Sussex.

Others believe that the pattern of parent estate and Wealden swine pasture existed before the Anglo-Saxon invasions; this also is beyond proof, but in suggesting that the system was an indigenous reaction to local circumstance it is probably true. It is manifest that Wealden swine pasturing was encouraged by the existence of a belt of settled land around a core area largely covered with woodland in 500 AD, and that woodland not only very extensive but thickest on the outer claylands, ne.

1. J.E.A. Jelliffe, 1933, 108-115 who also points out that the ingum was a common land measurement in the middle Rhineland (but see p.480 on the complexities of the ingum).

2. ib. 115, quoting Lex Ripuriae, t 76, and J.M. Pardessus (ed.) ii. 184 eccelxi (704), Add. xxxvii (716). I have found no trace of swine pastures analogous to denne in this area and Dr. H. Jäger of the Institut für historische Landesforschung in Göttingen tells me he has found no trace either.


4. e.g. G. Ward. 1936-8. 112, based on the suggestion that certain names (including Blessham and Brentigalea, in the Weald, 724-BGS 144) are ancient; but most place-names contain place -ham and -leah as Dark Age, OE, elements -A.H. Smith, i. 1950. Br.
the marginal agricultural settlements. It may well be that in that
natural contrast, rather than in any inheritance of agricultural
organisation, lies the origin of Wealden swine-herding, a suggestion
encouraged both by the absence of identical arrangements elsewhere in
England and by the virtually complete restriction to the Wealden
counties of place-names ending in -denn.

(ii) Roman and prehistoric occupation in the Weald.

(a) Roman. Time, which antiquates antiquities and
hath an art to make dust of all things,
hath yet spared these minor monuments.
Sir Thomas Browne, Religio Medici. 1643.

The impact of the continental invaders of the fifth century A.D.
on the existing pattern of economy and settlement in south-east England
was not uniform. In Kent the settlers did not come immediately to the
Wealden areas; they entered north Kent and appear to have settled, after
the initial conflicts, alongside the surviving Romano-British population.
Only later did they penetrated southwards into the Weald. The Sussex
Weald by contrast was settled in part directly from its eastern coast,
a process accompanied (as the sacking of Anderida in 491 testified) by
considerable massacres of the local population. Even at Anderida,
however, the Roman walls remained almost intact and, throughout the Weal

1. R.V. Lennard, 1933. 215, points out that Jolliffe neglects the topo-
graphic factors.
2. Outside Kent, Surrey and Sussex, OE -denn names are virtually confine
to Essex (A.R. Smith, i. 1956, 129-30). Mention of denns outside the
three counties is limited to the 1/3 of a denn in Windsor 1086 (56),
translated F.W. Ragg. VCH. Berks. i. 1906. 327 as a coppice (cf. p. 428
and the unidentified grant of land in Berkshire 1179 (J.H. Round. 1899
378, repeated Rot.Chart. 1199-1216/1. 1199) which refers to rents of
'decimam passagii tam den' quam porcorum' (but here I suspect den' is
abbreviation for pence rather than for dennis).
the invaders incorporated and used the inheritance—of settlements, of industry, of roads—which had been established during the earlier centuries of Roman occupation.

The Romans built the first roads, three in number, to cross the Weald from north to south & this was their single most important legacy to their successors. The London–Lewes and the London–Brighton routes connected the rich grain-producing areas of the South Downs with London and thereby with the rest of Britain; they also served as outlets for the produce of the many small ironworks which lay near the routes. Further west the most important of the three, Stane Street, ran from the tribal capital of Roman Sussex, Regnum (Chichester), to London. It also carried grain from the South Downs to London but most of the ironworking lay further east; much of the traffic on Stane Street was made up of officials and travellers. This was the only trans-Wealden route which was served at regular intervals by ***mansio***es, posting stations.

---

1. These routes are described in detail in I.D. Margary. 1948; see also reviews in A.A. 1949, 158–61, and Sy.,A. 1949, 157–8. One of Purley's few substantial errors is on this subject—he postulated (1.1871.15)

2. The 'Jutish' cemetery at Lyminge, on the eastern edge of the Weald, is of mid–late C 6, one of the earliest near the Weald; A. Warhurst. 1955, 1–40. A coin of Constantine 1 (308–27) was found in the cemetery ib.8.

3. J.N.L. Myres. 1956. 36–7, points out the finding at several places in north-east Kent of C 4 Roman pot decorated with Saxon motifs and suggests that federate Saxons had been settled in the area by the Romans before they left after 400 AD. A 'Hengest period' domestic site dating from soon after the mid C 5, has been found in the centre of Canterbury. S. Chadwick. 1958. 52–7.


5. Further inland the transition seems to have been quieter—the gap between Roman and Saxon burials in the cemetery at Hassocks is only part of the 5th century—J.E. Couchman. 1925. 57.
The Romans also constructed some shorter stretches of road in the eastern Weald. One route from Newhaven to the Dicker gave access from the coast to a block of Wealden farmland, and the Glynde–Pevensey way led out to the Roman fort at Anderida. Further north, the eastern Kentish Weald and its ironworks were linked with the major Roman roads in Kent, radiating from Canterbury, by the Rochester–Hastings and Canterbury–Hemsted routes. Such minor routes had no military significance and their alignments were much more irregular than those of the three major trans-Wealden roads; this also reflected the irregular hilly terrain of the eastern Weald and, around Pevensey, the complex pattern of dryland and marsh.

Roman roads were built for permanence, using the best materials available nearby. In the Weald local sandstones and pebbles from river gravels were the only local materials and they were supplemented by flint and chert brought from the Downlands to north and south. Kentish raiace was brought from the Lower Greensand as far into the area as Edenbridge.

---

1. There was another route along the Lower Greensand outcrop from Maidstone to Lympne which connected these two—I.D. Margary, 1947, 22-24.
2. I.D. Margery, 1948, 210-11; L.F. Salzman, 1926, 33-4 conjectured a Lendon–Pevensey road but there is no trace of it on the ground, ex. inf. I. D. Margary.

---

2. The Wealden station was at Alfoldian; as usual, it was surrounded by a group of small huts, canabae: S.E. Winbolt, 1923, 81-104; 1924, 1 57.
Natural materials were supplemented by cinder; Stane Street used little, the London-Brighton way rather more, and the London-Lewes way, which passed near many existing and former bleomeries, incorporated no less than 35,000 tons (500,000 cu.ft) . The thickness of the road metalling varied from a few inches to several feet and the roads were cambered; side ditches were dug alongside the main ones, especially when crossing high ground.

All these roads existed by the end of the third century. A.D. Some minor routes may not have been built long before; the fort at Pevensey was constructed c.280 and the road from Glynde to Pevensey may have been built after this erection. The other minor roads in the eastern Weald were built to connect this area with the more densely settled Downlands nearby; their building would have followed the extension of Wealden settlement during the Roman occupation and their irregular alignments suggest late Roman construction. By contrast, the three major routes were not built to serve the Wealden economy and were laid out earlier; the London-Brighton way as yet lacks dating material, the London-Lewes way must have been built soon after 100 A.D., and Stane Street was constructed soon after the Roman occupation began. By 60–70 A.D. it existed and perhaps in the previous decade; pottery at the Wealden

4. ibid. 185–7, 208–9, 253.
5. ibid. 125.
6. ibid. 46, for a list of dating material found along the road.
postage station of Alfeldan ranged from 100 A.D. back to 40 A.D.

Much of the Roman road construction within the Weald incorporated slag, and much of the traffic on these roads was iron travelling from the small bloomeries to London or the coast. There were at least 106 2 bloomeries, mostly along the outcrops of Wadhurst Clay in the High Weald; there were three concentrations, the largest in the coastal area north of Hastings, a second group between Chiddingly and Maresfield and a third scatter in western Sussex from East Grinstead southwards (Fig 53). The produce of the easternmost bloomeries was dispatched by road and also by water down the Rother and Brede, tidal stretches then extended far inland. From the river mouths, the iron was transported around the coasts of southern Britain and perhaps across the channel also. Along the eastern coast of the Weald were small harbours at Anderida and Portus Lemanis, and traces of Roman occupation have also been found at Westham and Hastings.

No traces of buildings have been found near the Roman bloomeries; working was seasonal and concentrated in the drier months. The life of a bloomery varied; some soon exhausted the easily-available ore of the

1. ibid. 46, 61. The latest materials c.350 A.D.—S.E. Winbolt. 1923,81-10
2. Based on the map in E. Straker and I.D. Margary. 1938, plus the sites recorded in E. Straker and R.T. Mason. 1939. 153-4; A.W. Fletcher. 1956 173; SNQ. 1957 278. This gives a total of 11 Roman bloomeries and 95 native bloomeries. It must be noted that Straker mapped as native bloomeries all those which were not known to be medieval; the number which is dated with certainty as Roman or prehistoric is only 25 (H.R. Schubert. 1957.35-7).
3. This seems to have been the only Wealden source of iron they used — E. Straker. 1931. 27, 104.
4. Imported goods occur in the eastern Weald — Gallo-Belgic ware dated just after the Roman conquest at Hurstmonceux (SNQ. 1954.68) and of slightly earlier date at Westham—C.E. C-H. Burton. 1940. 111-2.
5. The minor Roman road which led to Pevensey served not only Anderida but also probably a small harbour settlement in Westham — I.D. Margary.
locality and moved on, whilst others continued production for more than a century. Somewhere, bloomeries were working in the Weald throughout most of the Roman occupation. Pottery at Ridge Hill in East Grinstead is as late as the end of the 3rd C; 2nd C. material was found here, and at two other sites in East Grinstead. Dating material at Bynes Farm in Cowhurst covered only a short period from the early 2 and C. back to the late 1st century, whilst that at Crowhurst Park near Battle ranged from the late 2nd C, to native working before the Roman invasion. This was one of many bloomeries which the Romans did not create but took over from the earlier native producers and worked by 'slave labour'. Many of the native bloomeries in the Weald have no dating materials but the most probably flourished during the Roman occupation, when communications had been improved and the market enlarged by domestic and military demands.

2. I.D. Margary. 1933. 177-8.
3. The Poetlands bloomery in Sedlescombe has yielded pottery up to 400 AD (E. Straker. 1931. 327) but this is exceptional.
5. E. Straker and B.H. Lucas. 1938. 224-32; the authors point out that this bloomery lay near a small haven on the R. Asten at Bulverhythe.
7. Romano-British pottery was found with Roman at the sites in Bynes Farm (B.H. Lucas 1950.17-19) and Crowhurst Park (C.M. Pigott. 1937. 231-2); Romano-British pot also found at Icklesham (W. McL. Romain. 1937. 247-8), and Burnt Oak in Rotherfield-SNQ. 1957,278.
The Romans do not seem to have improved substantially the primitive smelting techniques, which left a cinder containing up to 50% iron oxide.

On the eastern coastal margin of the Weald the Romans established two strong forts; built mainly for defence, they may have served as minor trading centres also. At the north-eastern extremity of the Weald, on the tripartite junction of marsh, down and weald, the fort at Portus Lemanis (now called Stutfall Castle) was erected. It figures as Lemanis in the Ravenna Cosmography (late 7th century), Lemavie in the Peutinger tables (probably copied from a compilation of the late 4th century) and Pertus Lemanis in the Antonine Itinerary (2nd - 3rd century); local material evidence suggests the fort was built by the end of the second century.

Further south was Pevensey Castle, Anderida; built c.280, it figured as Anderelionuba in the Ravenna Cosmography and as Anderedum in Ptolemy. Coins found here ranged from Gratian (375-83) to Gallienus (259-68), and the major occupation of the fort clearly occurred during the last centuries of the Roman rule. Many have sought to locate Anderida or Andredesceaster, as the Angle-Saxon chronicle names it,


2. An altar used in the foundation of the main gate was dated c 133 (B. F. Jessup. 1930. 194). Only one coin found by C.R. Smith, 1850.260, and 1852. 32, was earlier than the mid C 3, and Ptolemy (Geogr. ii.3-4 referred to Lemanis as the new port. W. Somner's suggestion that Lemanis was at Romsey (based on the inaccurate distances in the Antonine Itinerary) has no real support -1693.38.


4. I.A. Richmond and O.G.S. Crawford. 1948.18-23;Ptolemy. Geogr. ii. 7-11

elsewhere than at Pevensey since the account of its sack in 491 by Henry
of Huntingdon described it as lying on the eastern edge of the Wealden
forest and Pevensey is separated from the claylands by several miles of
marshland. Gibbon placed Anderida at Hastings, Hayley at Newhaven,
Baxter at Chichester, Tabor near Eastbourne, Verrall at Seaford and
Tatham in Penhurst. None of these had any serious claim and the only
alternative which gained any serious support was Newenden, suggested by
Camden, being both near the sea and bordering the Wealden forest. The
comparative claims of Newenden to be Anderida were, however, wholly
negative; no Roman remains have at any time been found there. All
other castra of the Litus Saxonnicum were walled fortresses; Anderida
was no doubt walled also, and Pevensey had both the walls and the Roman
remains. In a regional context, Pevensey did lie on the eastern edge
of the Wealden forest.

The Romans drew the building materials for their forts, villas and
mansions from a variety of sources. Work at Pevensey castle included
flint and chalk from the South Downs, local Wealden sandstone (ironstone)
and sandstone from the upper Greensand at Eastbourne; this last material
was also used in the Eastbourne Roman villa, where it was supplemented by

2. T.W. Horsfield. i, 1835. 49-55; Tabor. Phil. Trans. 1717 549, 783; H.
R. Tatham. 1890. 139-50. B 1695 ed. 211.
3. Supporters of Camden included J. Phillipott. 1659. 243, and T. Elliot;
1877. 152-65, who incorrectly alleged that caester did not necessaril
mean a walled fortress or town. Some postulated a Roman station at
Pevensey & a British one, also called Anderida, at Newenden-C. Sandys
1851. 136, R. Furley. Phil. Trans. 1871. 57, without any positive evidence for ti
latter. The leading students have always accepted Pevensey-A Hussey,
1847. 203-17; J. Harris, 1847. 237-38; C.R. Smith. 1858; W. Somm.
1693. 105.
Caen stone imported across the Channel. Several villas along the southern edge of the western Weald had foundations of Pulborough stone from nearby (Lower Greensand) and this material was used also in the nearby Wealden villa at Chiddingfold. Kentish Rag from the Hythe Beds north of the Weald was used at Portus Lemanis, and marble dug from the Purbeck Beds within the High Weald was used in Roman work at Angmering and Canterbury. 'Sussex marble', *Paludina* limestone from the Weald Clay, was used in the Roman posting station at Alfoldian in Slinfold; the material was available nearby and this is the only known example of its use in Roman times. The villa at Bignor, just south of the Weald, used not only local Pulborough stone but also Portland stone and tiles made of Kimmeridge clay from Dorset. There was brickmaking during the Roman occupation somewhere in or near the Sussex Weald; bricks were used in 3rd century work at Pevensey, and 1st century work at Bignor and Alfoldian.

Much of the Greensand terrains around the Wealden margin was open weed, heath or cultivated land by the first century A.D. and the Romans found here established permanent settlements, connected by trackways.

2. W. Topley, 1875.370, *VCH*, 4. 1912. 360. There is a slight possibility that the Chiddingfold material is derived from a sandstone stratum in the Weald Clay.
3. M. Judge 1919. 43-5; *calcareae tufa from the Lower Greensand in Kent was also used by the Romans* - J. Archibald, 1934. 15, G.M. Livett, A 1904. 333-4.
4. G.C. Dunning, 1949.15. The statements here are not wholly clear, since although the subject is Purbeck marble, Dunning speaks of 'Sussex marble', a term normally applied to *Paludina* limestone in the Weald Clay. It is clear, however, from the geological description, that the Purbeck Beds and their products are referred to in the article.
5. S.E. Winbolt, 1923.93.
which ran from east to west along the outcrop. They erected a number of villas in this zone, encouraged both by sheltered sites below the scarp and the availability of moderate and good cropland nearby. Along the southern margin of the Weald were villas at Bignor; Duncton; Wiggenholt, Borough Hill and Lickfold, all in Pulborough; Wiston; Danny in Hurstpierpoint; Clayten; Arlington and Eastbourne. On the northern margin villas were built at Abinger, Reigate, Redhill, Blatchingley Titsey, Gedstone, Brishing near Maidstone, Little Chart and Lympne. The lands attached to these villas were often extensive and may, in some cases, have included land in the Weald but no data exists to describe their utilisation of any Wealden lands they did possess. There was one villa within the Weald, on a sandstone stratum in the Weald Clay at Chiddingfeld but, as Fig. 53, demonstrates, industry was much more important than agriculture in the Romano British Weald.

1. Built before 100 A.D. - S.E. Winbolt. VCH. Sx. iii. 1935. 20-3.
5. W. Figg. 1849. 313-5.
8. Villa of corridor type at Chilver Bridge - SNQ. 1954. 68.
10. VCH. Sy. 4. 1912. 343-367. The only dating material is a 2nd C. coin at Abinger; coin of Carausius (287-93) at Redhill; Titsey, from 166 to 140 (D.C. Whimster. 1931. 152, 221-34.)
11. There was probably a villa near the bath-house found here; material in the bath house varied 1st to 4th C. - J. Kames. 1957. 150-46.
13. VCH. Sy. 4. 1912. 360. Samian pot and a coin of Constantine, 308-37, were found.
Whether the villas and other Roman agricultural units introduced new field patterns into the Weald is uncertain. Traces of a rectangular layout of fields, comparable to the centuriation practised contemporaneously in Italy, have been found north of the Weald and one small area, near Ripe, just within the southern boundary of the region. The land at Ripe is moderately fertile; it thus comes within the terms of reference of centuriation, which was confined to cropland. The grid at Ripe is markedly rectangular, distinct from its surroundings; documents witness to at least a medieval antiquity for the pattern of streets and field boundaries; Roman pottery has been found locally, a minor Roman road ran nearby and the field units fit Roman, not English, measures. The grid, however, is one of rectangles rather than squares; Stevens has therefore suggested that the Ripe lands did not belong to an agricultural colony (the true context of centuriation), nor indeed was there any agricultural colony nearby; it was probably a division of public lands in the provinces. Land at Ripe might well be chosen for such a division since it was near to the Roman road leading to the Saxon shore fort at Anderida.

It has been claimed that, even if the landscape of Kent and Sussex does not preserve any trace of Roman field systems, the Kentish land uni

---

2. I.D. Margary. 1948c. 31-41.
of a iugum has been inherited from the Romans. Without doubt the Romans used a land unit called the iugerm, and in planned agricultural layouts the common unit was 2 iugera (a iugum was 100 iugera); also, the most convincing example of centuriation in Britain has been found in North Kent. Gray traced the rectangular units he found in medieval Kentish estates to some such Roman division but later research has demonstrated that, in at least one instance, the medieval iuga he considered were neither rectangular nor compact; they were fragmented units. The original Roman documents demonstrate that the term 'iugum' was used as a theoretical unit, invented at the end of the third century by Roman administrators, to assess rapidly the contribution of taxes from parts of a large land area; its analogies lie in the medieval hundred rather than medieval field patterns. The term iugum in Kent may indeed go back to the edicts of Diocletian, but no land unit can be thus traced back. The inheritance of the name was probably confused and complicated, for by the early thirteenth century land units called iugera were found far outside the former boundaries of the Roman Empire.

1. A iugurum was an area of 2 actus (120 Roman feet = 116.15 English feet) by 1 actus; a iugum was about 25 hectares. C.H. Stevens. 1952 150-1; F. Lot. 1926. 309.
4. F. Lot. 1926. 307-8. Lot demonstrates that there was some continuity between Roman iugum and Carolingian manse, but in broad areal proportions under cultivation, not as an inheritance of field systems. ib. 307-26.
5. G. Ward, 1930. 147-56, thinks the iuga were not merely units of assessment but existed on the ground; he suggests the yoke in Kent got its name from the edicts of Diocletian and its character, as a field division, from yet earlier times. G. Slater. 1932. 324, suggests the Kentish yoke had a Roman origin and that gavelkind went back to the.
(b) **Prehistoric Settlement.**

Concerning the most antient and the very first inhabitants of this island, divers opinions have been stated; and a great many who knew little of the matter, have yet espoused it very warmly. W. Camden. *Britannia*, 1607.

If there is some slight evidence for Romano-Saxon continuity in Kent (see p.469), it remains difficult to define precisely what Roman legacies the later invaders inherited, because the Romans, in their turn, had absorbed several elements of the existing Iron-Age economy, of the 1 Weald and of its surrounding terrains. Two of the prehistoric trackways in the Weald ran north-south along courses similar to those chosen later 2 by the Romans for the London-Brighton and London-Lewes roads; most of the other trackways were doubtless used during the Roman occupation for connections to the major roads. These prehistoric ways ran along the ridgetops of the High Weald from east to west; on such high ground, the

---

1. Iron Age population (ib. 329, following A. Meitzen. 1895,1.276-321, ii.122).

2. e.g. on the NW edge of the Harz mountains in 1224-J.K. Rippel, 1958.

1. It is impossible here to discuss the important and very speculative problem whether Iron Age institutions, agrarian or otherwise continued into Roman and post-Roman Kent. J.N.L. Myres, *Arch.J* 1933 156-60, suggested such continuity occurred, but C.F.C. Hawkes, 1956. 108, would explain any 'Celtic' affinities found in Dark-Age Kent as the consequence of the 'celtic stratum' in the Frankish invaders.

route could be seen clearly, the surface was well-drained and the
surrounding vegetation open woodland or heath. The longest trackway,
from Uckfield to Rye, crossed only two, minor, streams in a course of
1 28 miles.

Some of the traffic on the trackways carried iron and iron ore; 2
ironworking in the Weald was not a Roman introduction. Pre-Roman
pottery, associated with slag, has been found at 9 bloomery sites in
the Weald and small amounts of cinder were recovered from the Iron-Age
camps at Saxenbury, Dry Hill in Lingfield, Castle Hill in Tonbridge,
and Camp Hill in Ashdown. Iron working was probably carried on at the
fortified camp of Saxonbury (in Frant) and perhaps at Pipers' Copse
(in Kirdford). Bloomeries concentrated in the east of the Weald and a
smaller group existed near Ashdown; the first may have exported most of
their produce by sea, whilst the second group lay near the trackways
leading to Belgic settlements in Surrey and the large centres, especially
Verulamium, north of the Thames. Most of the produce must have been
destined for extra-Wealden markets. A secondary industrial activity

1. E. Straker, 1937. 171-3; the eastern and corrected in W. McL. Roman.
1937b, 198-201.
2. The vast amounts of slag used on the London-Lewes road must have been
derived in large part from pre-Roman workings, since the road was built
within the first century of Roman occupation.
3. See Fig. 54. Based on E. Straker, 1931; C.M. Piggott, 1937. 231-2; I.D.
5. The evidence at Pipers' Copse is insufficient to prove it was an iron-
work site (S.E. Winbolt. 1936. 246-7; J.R. Beydon, 1958. 162); on the
other hand it lay on a stream and was not a promontory fort as most
other earthworks of similar shape in or near the Weald.
within the Weald was pottery manufacture; the kilns at Horsted Keynes supplied places as distant as Walton-on-the-Hill in Surrey (20 miles).

From the distribution of pottery and coins of the period, it seems likely that Iron Age agriculture in the Weald concentrated on the lighter soils of the Central ridges; here also were the trackways, and the iron-works population which needed food. The sandy soils in the High Weald were easily cleared, much more so with the adjoining claylands, and the soil could be tilled with primitive implements. The only known surviving evidences of Iron Age agriculture in the area are two enclosures, one probably for cattle, within Ashdown Forest.

The most substantial works of the Iron Age population of the Weald were a number of camp earthworks. The Newenden ridgeway began by a large site at Castle Toll and several camps—Saxonbury in Frant, Castle Hill in Tonbridge, High Rocks near Tunbridge Wells—lay along the trackway which led from the very large earthwork at Oldbury in Ightham (north of the Weald) south to Cress-in-Hand. Pipers' Copse in Kirdford was an isolated example in the western Weald and Dry Hill (Mark Camp) in Lingfield lay further east by the Titsey-Westmeon trackway. Apart

1. Dating from 1st century A.D. — S. Frere, 1942, 137.
2. One yielded pot of La Tène 11-111, the other La Tène 111 to Roman; I. Margary, 1930, 71-6. East of King's Standing, one of these two, are very faint lynchets, ex.inf. I.D. Margary.
3. Probably of this period — I.D. Margary, 1948, 263; VCH Kent, i. 442, suggests without supporting data that it was a Danish rever's camp.
4. S.E. Winbelt. Times, 30,8, 1929.
from ironworking at Saxonbury and perhaps at Pipers' Copse, the chief function of these forts was military rather than economic; the camp at High Becks may have been thrown up at the time of the Roman invasions under Claudius. (Fig.54).

These several evidences of Iron Age occupation dispel any impression that the Weald, prior to the Roman invasion, was an unsettled wilderness; they do not, on the other hand, indicate more than a small and scattered population. This population was largest in the century immediately preceding the Roman invasion, 50 AD – 50 BC. To this period belong most of the ironworkings, the pottery manufacture at Freshfield in Horssted Keynes, and many of the earthworks. This increased settlement and industrial activity was a consequence of the spread of two population groups during the century – a La Tène group, 'southeastern B', who advanced from south east Sussex gradually northwards into Kent, and the Belgic settlers of South Sussex who made some small inroads into the western Weald. These two groups both settled in Sussex c. 50 BC and rapidly established control over the native peoples; the 'south-eastern B' probably came from Brittany and the Belgae from the lands between the

4. This was the larger group in the Weald; imported Belgic pot was found in this area – Gallo-Belgic pot, c. 50 AD at Hurstmaenceux (SNQ. 1954. 63), imported E. Belgic pot at Crewhurst Park in Battle (CM. Piggott, 1937. 231–2). This last shows some affinity with Kent at this time (A.E. Wilson, 1955. 70.)
Seine and Lower Rhine.

The existing native population which these two groups encountered c. 50 BC was small, mostly concerned in ironworking; c. 100 BC the La Tène (Marnian) population of the South Downs had begun to expand northwards into the Weald after iron. This spread extended right across the Weald to Ightham and during this expansion a local culture, now called 'Wealden', was developed. The chief settlements of this period and group were not, however, within the Weald sensu stricto, but to north and south of it; they were connected to each other and to the ironworks by the various Wealden trackways. This was the period when Iron Age culture first entered the Weald; there are no traces of occupation during the first Iron Age period (Hallstatt), from c. 250 back to c. 500 B.C.

This is not to imply that during the Early Iron Age the Weald was without human occupant, but its scanty populace lived by the Bronze Age techniques introduced into the area many centuries earlier. This conclusion is not, however, indisputable since a few bloomeries have included, in their slag, flint implements; and such ironworking probably began soon after, if not before, iron goods appeared in the more densely

1. E.C. Curwen. 1954. 256–60. The pottery at Horsted Keynes, 1 at C. AD, shows a fusion of southeastern B with earlier 'Wealden culture' elements
3. There may have been a small movement south from the Thames into the western extremity of the Weald—J. R. Boydon. 1958. 161.
4. There is no trace of a corresponding movement south from the North Downs after iron.
5. viz. maps in S. Frere 1944. 52–67.
Fig. 55. The symbols signify groups of finds in many cases (over 700 Neolithic and early Bronze flint arrowheads have been found in St. Leonard's Forest). Based on R.W. Jessup, 1920; D.C. Whimster, 1931; and E.C. Curwen, 1954, supplemented by W.R. Butterfield, 1924, 51-2; W.M. Hodges, 1953, 37-9; P.A.M. Kee, 1940, 215-25; G.H. Kenyon, 1950, 31-6; J.W. Moore, 1956, 173; C.G.F. Pile, 1955, 10; C. Fuller, 1923, 10; J.E. Ray, SAC 1924, 262, SAC 1925, 240; S.E. Winbright, 1935, 9; C. 1925, 85.
settled downlands. Dated finds of the Late and Middle Bronze Age (c.500-1500 BC) have been found scattered throughout the Weald, most (but not all) on the drier soils. Hunting seems to have been the chief economic activity, but cultivation was going on in the east; a few sickle flints have been found, one at Beckley. The single known settlement site, at Playden, was adjoined by a small enclosure which was, perhaps, a fold for forest-fed pigs; if so, this is the earliest evidence of animal husbandry within the Weald. (Fig. 55).

There is much less evidence for occupation within the Weald in the preceding centuries of the early Bronze Age (1500-1800 BC), and none suggests permanent settlement. Apart from a few scattered finds in the western Weald, nearly all are confined to St. Leonard's Forest, where coarse soils supported only an open tree cover or heath, the best

6. E.C. Curwen. 1954. 231; this may also have been a period of heavier rainfall than that after, making cultivation on the Downs easier and tillage of most Wealden soils more difficult.


1. Animals were red deer, roe deer, and perhaps wild bear and wild ox—E.C. Curwen 1954. 134-5. The flint-working site at Frant (S.E. Winbolt 1938b. 93) probably supplied hunters and they may have brought the flint from the Downs. There was thus considerable circulation in the area and G.E. Kenyon. 1950b. 32-6, has suggested a routeway in the western Weald from the position of several finds of this period.


5. See E. Curwen. 1940. 69-70. No finds of this period are recorded in the gazetteers of B.F. Jessup. 1930 and D.C. Whimster. 1931.
conditions for hunting. (see Fig 55).

Neolithic arrowheads also have been found along the Forest Ridge with a strong concentration in St. Leonard's Forest. There are isolated finds on the margin of Lower Greensand and Weald Clay but there is no evidence that Neolithic groups settled in the Low Weald. Hunting, as in many later centuries, was the major activity but, the Neolithic colonists had brought some knowledge of agriculture with them; emmer, *Triticum dicoccum*, was found with Neolithic finds near Fairlight. This lies in the eastern High Weald and tillage was largely confined to the High Weald until the Middle Ages. So long did this pattern last; and another related pattern, still visible in the Dark-Age penetration of the Weald, was found in the first colonisation of the Weald by agriculturists in the Neolithic period - the High Weald was mostly occupied from the east coast westwards whilst the claylands of the Low Weald were settled, more tardily, by colonists from the earlier settled areas to north and south.

1. It should be remembered that this map reflects the intensity of research, much greater in Sussex, as well as the distribution of finds.

2. The site at Mockbeggars near Pulborough (Neolithic and Mesolithic) although on the Weald Clay outcrop is actually on Hythe Bed material which has slipped down the scarp onto clay below—P.A.M. Keef.1940. 215-35.

3. J.W. Moore, 1956. 173. A perforated stone hoe, of uncertain age, has been found at Ringmer —NG. 1944. 76-8.

4. I have omitted pre-agricultural settlement since it did not alter substantially the natural landscape. In normal connotation the Urlandschaft is not the natural landscape before human occupation, but before human occupation has produced any radical changes — E. Fische 1938. 737-58; O. Schlüter.1. 1952. 10-11.
To banish all hypotheses, whilst so many points of Natural History remain disputable and undecided, would be to obstruct one (and no inconsiderable one of the avenues of Knowledge.

W. Borlase, *Natural History of Cornwall*, 1758

(1) Vegetation

The Weald has never been a uniform area and its variety, in the eyes of the first agricultural settlers who reached it, was expressed most directly in the diverse flora which covered its surface and the fauna which lived within its borders. Of the fauna little is known, but besides the insects and small animals which were still common early in the seventeenth century, it earlier included both the large wild bear and the wolf.

Most of the Weald was clothed with woodland. Damp and very thick oakwoods dominated by *Quercus robur* occupied the heavier clays; on lighter and more acid soils in the Low Weald, *Quercus robur* was still

---

1. The OE element meaning wild bear appears in the unidentified Wealden place name *gealthorseteal*, 791 (BCS 261) and in Evershed in Ockley, *FN, Sy.* 276.


3. The following account of vegetation is static, and does not reflect post-glacial variations in vegetation consequent on climatic change. It represents the vegetation of the *Urlandschaft*, i.e. on the eve of its first agricultural colonisation, since these settlers were the first to alter the natural landscape. This was during the Sub-Boreal, when the climate was dryer in winter and warmer in summer than now, but almost equally rainy; the climate was much as now, & I have thus used observations on the present vegetation as relevant (with due allowance.../contd.)
dominant but Q. sessiflora increased. On small patches of lime-rich soil (on outcrops of Paludina limestone) ash became important among the smaller trees. The damp oakwoods, the commonest vegetation of the Low Weald, were clearly layered; the tree layer besides oak included birch, alder, wych elm, aspen and grey poplar and, especially in the east, hornbeam. Ash and maple were less tolerant of soil variations, but appeared on some of the claylands within the High Weald. There was frequently a layer of smaller trees including yew, crab-apple, holly and mountain ash; willows and alders were found on wetter patches. Hazel hawthorn and blackthorn were the general dominants of the shrub layer.

1. The following data is derived from S.W. Wooldridge and F. Goldring. 1953. 133-6.
2. Hornbeam is common on the Tunbridge Wells Sand - F. Rose. 1946. 35.
4. According to Dr. F. Rose, the Minnis Woods near Petworth resemble very closely the primeval oakwoods of the Weald Clay and may themselves be virtually undisturbed. H.A. Wilcox, writing of the early Bronze Age, says 'probably in no other part of the country was there another belt of forest so thick and impenetrable as that which bounded the Weald'. 1930. 126.

locally variegated by elder and privet, and an occasional concentration of ivy or honeysuckle. The field layer exhibited great variety, including societies of lesser celandine and wood anemone, bluebell on sandier soils, sallows sedges and stinging nettles on wet ground. Bracken was excluded by shade but occurred with brambles in any open stretches.

Clays covered much of the High Weald, as well as the lowlands around, and damp oakwoods covered more of the Wealden surface than any other plant community. There were others, however. Any deep soils on the sandy strata supported flourishing beechwoods, with a considerable admixture of oak, and some elm and ash. On other parts of the Ashdown and Tunbridge Wells sands, seaside oakwood occurred, with birch as co-dominant and some Scots pine. On the most barren soils of the High Weald, as around Ashdown, tree growth was stunted by lack of plant food in the soil, by a deep water-table and by exposure, but it did occur; vegetation here may have been treeless heath but, more probably, it was open woodland—stunted trees separated by expanses of heather, bracken, rhododendron and peat grass. There were similar areas smaller than Ashdown elsewhere in the High Weald, where Calluna was the most prominent plant and Ulex minor also was important; there were small

1. S.W. Wooldridge & F. Goldring 1953. 137.
3. Ibid. 32. Pine is not mentioned in early records, and the indigenous pine was amongst the first trees to be cleared by early agriculturists.
4. H.A. Wilcox. 1930. 123, maps and summits of the High Weald as without woodland early in the Bronze Age. Since then, H. Godwin (1944.6) has shown that the even more infertile Breckland had woodland until it was cleared by Neolithic farmers. Alders and beech were mentioned in Ashdown 1650—PRO. E. 517/Sx/26.
patches of wet Molinia heath on some lower slopes around the Forest Ridge where surface drainage was slow and soil drainage impeded by hardpan.

Within the Weald there were thus several major types of woodland, and the individual plant units varied, within any major woodland formation – e.g. damp oakwood, from one location to another. The Wealde flora was very numerous, it included several 'atlantic' rarities, but few species were well distributed throughout the Weald. The natural requirements of quite common plants were sufficient to produce marked localisation in this, a region where most physical and organic hindrance to full plant growth were present somewhere. To take but one example, the very common woodland species Glechoma hederacea could not survive the low base status of autochthonous Weald Clay soils and appeared in woods of the Low Weald only on alluvium, or alongside streams bringing mineral matter from other formations.

(Fig 56) gives the earliest documentary data on Wealden vegetation the place-names given by the post-Roman settlers. They give a small picture of the variety of the tree flora they encountered, but they are insufficient to describe the distribution of species in the Angle-Saxon period, not only from their fewness but also since placenames were named

1. F. Rose, 1946. 33.
after the unusual plant more often than after the usual. Birch is the
tree named most often in the place names, oak appearing only thrice. It
would appear that the common oak and beechwoods were given wood names,—
hyrst, — wudn, whilst the unusual were specifically named. Heath names
have, or ceart, do not give the whole area of heathland nor do they give
any indication of the size of the heaths.)

(2) The Land.

The mantle of vegetation covered a land surface which, at the time
of its first prehistoric settlement, already incorporated the erosional
effects of anterior ages. The most recent changes were of immediately pos
glacial date and affected small areas only in the southern borderlands of
the Weald. A post-glacial rise in sea-level invaded the Ouse valley and
penetrated up Glynde Beach to Laughton Levels where, in the flat terrain,
much sediment was deposited in a shallow lake. Fall in sea-level, an
uneven process, and latter human reclamation have combined to produce the
present aspect of the area as a flat, artificially drained, expanse of wet
pasture. Elsewhere, throughout the Weald, the post-glacial period
witnessed the steady deposition of alluvium in many valleys, large and
small.

The Pleistocene ice sheets never reached as far south as the Weald,
but during their two advances into south east England, periglacial

1. As G. Chabot found in a study of French placenames mentioning the vine-
1943.55-6.

2. Romney Marsh and Pevensey Levels are not included in the Weald.

conditions in the Weald produced a number of micromorphological forms. Landslips occurred on the edges of the Lower Greensand scarplands and some of the fallen material spread out over the adjacent Weald Clay. The outliers to the south of the Lower Greensand scarp between Redhill and Godstone were similar landslips, and the scarp must have retreated quite rapidly during this period. In the High Weald, the Lower Tunbridge Wells Sand slipped over the greasy Wadhurst Clay.

The plateau gravels at Newdigate (connected with the 250–350' bench) may date from the same period. They were remains of a large sheet of rubbly material derived from the Lower Greensand; since the deposit displays no grading or bedding it was probably a product of solifluction which also affected the gravels at Piltdown in the Upper Ouse. Brick-earth at Abinger Common, just north of the Weald, was probably a wind-blown deposit; brick-earth in other valleys in the Weald of South Surrey, where it was composed of resorted Weald Clay mixed with sand, was alluvial in origin. The disturbing action of freeze–thaw (cryoturbation) produced many contorted soils in much of the High Weald, best preserved in clays or loams – at Battle on Wadhurst Clay, and at Friars' Hill near Guestling, on a clay stratum in the Ashdown Sand.

1. There was slipping on the dip-slope also. S.W. Wooldridge. 1950. 165–190.
2. As the detailed mapping of Bower Hill and Tilburstow Hill demonstrate. F. Gossling. 1935. 360–90, and F. Gossling and A.J. Bull. 1948. 131–40. This mapping dispelled the idea that the outliers were products of strike faulting dispelled the idea that the outliers were products of strike faulting as suggested by H.G. Dines and F.E. Edmonds. 1933. 12. The suggestion that Tilburstow Hill was a landslipped mass was made by L.D. Stamp. 1921. 30.
5. H.J.O. White. 1926. 64.
A planation level found in various parts of the Weald at c.200' may also be of Pleistocene age. This surface, the Ambersham terrace (it was out in the Lower Greensand at Ambersham) was found in the upper course of
1 the Mole, where it gradually rose to 340'; it appeared at 240' in the
2 upper Ouse and Cuckmere basins. It occurred also on the Weald Clay
around Plaistow and on the eastern parts of the Hastings Sand outcrop
3 around the Isle of Oxney. In the Mole valley there was a terrace
in the Horley district, at 180-190', associated with a nearby knickpoint
4 in the river bed at Meath Green. Above the terrace lay isolated hills
at about 200'. By mathematical extrapolation of the river profile Green
has correlated the 180'-190' terrace with the Boyn Hill terrace of the
Thames, which was more recent than the Chalky Boulder Clay drift,
deposited during the second glaciation of southeast England. The 200'
platform must be elder than this and has been correlated with the Winter
Hill terrace of the Thames, the latest stage before the incursion of
5 Chalky Boulder Clay ice.

6. H.U.O. White. 1928. 76. Some of these disturbances are more recent,
since White states that some (locations unspecified) contain Neolithic
and Bronze Age finds.
4. In A.J. Bull et al. 1934. 54-8. The other terraces and knickpoints of
the Mole are all outside the Weald.
It is difficult to establish where the 200' stage appears in the terrace sequence of the Medway valley. Bird has found here a High (Stonewall Park) terrace, rising from 315' south of Penshurst to 400' near the source; a Middle (Asbourn) terrace, rising from 180' in Penshurst Park to 260' near High Rocks & a Low (Enfield) terrace, 115-125' near Leigh but only a few feet above the valley floor near the source. These terraces were not cut in the Weald Clay segment of the Medway course and it is difficult to correlate these stages of the upper valley with the more numerous divisions found in the Lower Basin. Tentatively, the High Terrace can be identified in the Lodge Hill terrace (240') near Rochester, the Middle Terrace with the 'third' terrace of the Lower Medway (100-150') and the Low terrace with the 40-50', 'second' terrace, of the Lower Medway. Perhaps the Middle (Asbourn) terrace in the upper Medway can be correlated with the 200' surface elsewhere in the Weald.

Such were the most important relics of the Pleistocene period inscribed on the face of the Weald. The massive weathered sand cliffs developed on the Sand Rock (Lower Tunbridge Wells Sand) have never been fully explained, but their weathering may have been, at least partly, a consequence of the varied climatic conditions of the Pleistocene. In the cliffs at Toad Rock, High Rocks, Bridge Rock, and Waterloo Rocks (on Tunbridge Wells Common), patterns of jointing seem to have determined

weathering into a block form. Abbott ascribed the honeycombed appearance of the cliffs to wind action on damp spots, patches of the sand being permeated with sand at certain seasons. This mechanism is not wholly clear, although wind erosion under periglacial conditions is known elsewhere and such conditions prevailed here during the two ice advances. On the other hand, honeycomb cavities may be a product of chemical weathering of loose sand weathering out of the more indurated and ferruginous material as limonitisation progressed.

The Weald contained elder, and more impressive, plantations than the at c.200'. A valley bench at 250–350' was clearly visible in the major valleys, although it narrowed and disappeared in the narrow and incised upper courses. Its height was 300–350' in upper courses and gradually descended downstream. It emerged on the Tiese near Horamonden and the Medway near Tonbridge at 280–300' but it could not be traced on the Weald Clay outcrop. In the Ouse near Cuckfield the bench was 240–260', whilst the bench in the Lower Rother passed into the 200–250' surface widely developed south of Tenterden. The 250–350' level was certainly erosional, truncating geological structures; there was little on its surface, save small patches of gravel and of a sandy material related to loess. Being

4. Related to a 240' surface in this area by J.F. Kirkaldy and A.J. Bull. op.cit.
a valley-side bench generally, this feature must have been cut after
the stream pattern had become established.

The land surface rose from this bench to a gently undulating
1
surface between 400 and 500'. It formed ridge-crest plateaux on minor
watersheds in the Upper Medway Basin and a slightly higher dissected
bench on the northern slopes of Ashdown Forest, whose highest points rose
sharply above it. The same surface appeared again in the Rother basin,
and on the margins of the Cuckmere and upper Ouse basins. It cut into
all three major divisions of the Hastings Beds, although it was better
preserved on the sands, and in the Low Weald it appeared on a Paludina
2
limestone ridge running from near Horsham to Horley. This undulating
surface did not have the clear margins of a marine platform, and its
complex penetration of summit areas confirms the opinion that it was a
product of subaerial denudation.

There was a small area planted at 600-650' in Ashdown Forest,
sloping towards the upper Ouse and, finally, there were traces of a high-
3
level surface at 800'. Davis noticed this, although it only remained
at Crowborough Beacon (792') and nearby; even here there has been some
4
downward erosion. This 800' surface was the Mio-Fliocene peneplain, the
5
product of the mid-Tertiary erosion cycle.

4.Hence it does not appear on the map of existing relics of the 800'
5.Ibid. 149. H. Dewey. 1929. 51-9 suggested the present figuration of th
Weald was immediately post-Fliocene in formation, but erosion of the Mio
Fliocene level probably began before the end of the Fliocene.
The slopes and flats of the Wealden land surface were not all shaped at one time, and the drainage pattern likewise included elements of various ages. By the period when the 250-350' valley bench was cut, many of the Wealden streams were established in their courses, for the erosion level was cut in the valley sides. Many of these valleys may have been old already, since rejuvenation of the 400-500' peneplain (which caused the cutting of the valley-side bench) was not followed by any radi changes in the drainage pattern. Davis suggested that the harmony of drainage and structure in the Weald indicated that the area was now passing through its second erosion cycle, and that its drainage pattern was inherited from the first-cycle system developed on the land surface peneplained at 800'.

As other erosion levels have been recognised in the Weald, Davis' second cycle has needed some elaboration. Some drainage elements were younger than the 800' stage. Small streams on the southern margin of the Weald shewed considerable independence of structure; some crossed the Cuckfield axis and other crossings were witnessed by windgaps. The Ouse headwaters contained many sub-parallel headwater streams. These two signs of immature drainage suggest that the southern part of the Weald was submerged by the Pliocene (early Pleistocene) sea, and that

1. For instance, the Groombridge stream following a strike fault; part of the Ouse course follows a synclinal inlier of Weald Clay; several major watersheds, as that between the Rother and Cuckmere, follow anticlinal lines.
after its retreat a new drainage system reappeared, in some places at least on a thin cover of new deposits. This submergence probably affected all the Low Weald of Sussex, as far west as Petworth, save for a few upstanding masses. When the waters retreated, new streams flowed directly across the plain and of them the Adur, Ouse and Cuckmere have since become chief. Since this pattern had not been established long, little expansion of the larger river basins had occurred — no trace of diverted headwaters or streams could be found in the drainage of the Low Weald of Sussex. The largest streams were not always the most effective in erosion — Glynde Beach and Hurst Haven enlarged their valleys considerably more than did the Cuckmere.

A few drainage alterations, during the course of the second cycle, had occurred in the High Weald; consequent on river capture, the upper Tiese crossed an anticline near Goudhurst. In the northern Weald, the Eden and Beult tributaries gradually engrossed an increasing area of the Weald clay outcrop, at the expense of the basins of the Wandle and the Darent.

Other parts of the drainage pattern were older and could be traced back to the original consequents established on the Alpine folds of the

---

1. S.W. Wooldridge and D.L. Linton. 1955. 78-9. During this time, Wooldridge (1949, 7.) is uncertain whether the Weald was one island or (perhaps more likely) an archipelago of smaller islands.
3. ibid. 77.
4. ibid. 89-91.
The oldest waterpartings followed anticlinal crests and valleys followed the downwarps. Some discordances were ancient; the upper Medway crossed the Penshurst field, but entrenched meanders witnessed to the antiquity of this river course, which probably commenced on an overlying, uniform cover of Weald Clay. This discordance but exemplified the persistence in the Weald of stream courses established long before an throughout the High Weald, and Low Weald to the north, many stream segments had remained unchanged since their early Miocene inception.

The complex pattern of folding in the Weald had been produced in the Alpine earth movements, of Oligocene (and, perhaps, early Miocene) date. From this time the Weald, raised in parts to over 3000', had been subject without interruption to the action of subaerial erosion, although the agents of attack varied with changing climates; the weathered and wasted remnants of these folded terrains, reaching no higher than 800', constituted the oldest elements in the Urlandschaft of the Weald.

1. H.J.O. White, 1928, tries to distinguish subsequent and consequent in part of the eastern Weald, and describes the course of the Asten, along the strike of the Wadhurst clay, as subsequent. The number and proximity of folds in the original surface, however, must have produced a longitudinal drainage pattern and makes true subseuents difficult to find — Davis' scheme of consequent, subsequent etc. was outlined on an initial flat surface, whilst the Wealden was folded. White also suggests that, because of the complex structure, few streams eroding directly downward in the Weald would continue to be accordant to structure and that where streams now show such accordance, they are more probably resequent than consequent.


3. ibid. 13.

Virtutis est non incepisse sed perfectionem, finis coronat opus.
Scribbled by John Rowe on the last folio of his manuscript collection of Sussex customs, 1634.
Early county maps including parts of the Weald.

The earliest map of this sort was produced by Christopher Saxton in 1575 and covered all the Weald—Cantii, Southsexiae, Suriae et Middelsexiae Comitat., which was reproduced in his Atlas of England and Wales in 1579; it was on a scale of c. 5 miles to the inch.

The next oldest map to cover the Kentish Weald was the anonymous 'Shyre of Kent, divided into the five lathes thereof'. Lambarde mentioned in his Perambulation of Kent — the MS of which dates from 1570 — a 'Card of this Shyre' and E.G. Box wished to equate this with the anonymous map, especially since a similar undated map had been inserted in the MS. However the Carde of Lambarde has probably been lost; he wrote that this map had the name Medway written alongside the river below Maidstone, a most unusual occurrence, but the map in the Perambulation does not name the Medway. It is signed R. Glover and was probably drawn in 1571. The copy of 'the Shyre of Kent' in the BL library was compiled, Box suggested, c. 1570, from the data assembled by Saxton for the map of Kent he later published. This is unlikely — Saxton worked fast and it is not probable

---

1. This note is confined to dating the maps and noting their derivations one from another. A detailed study of their cartographic accuracy and artistry is contained in B.T. Westmarland, 1955. 51-234.
4. E.G. Box, 1926. 89-95. He also suggested, 1927, 141-8, that the second and third editions of the Shyre dated from c. 1586 and 1720-50.
5. G.M. Livett. 1937. 248ff; B.T. Westmarland takes the Glover map as c. 1576.
that he had sufficient data for Kent in 1570 and yet did not publish until 1575. The BO map does print the name Medway as Lambarde noted, but detailed examination of it suggests that it was compiled, with additions, from Saxton's map shortly after 1575. Saxton's map suffered various later editions at his own and others' hands.

Apart from a small outline map of Sussex, divided into its rapes, which appeared in c.1588 the next county maps were those of Norden. His county map of Surrey was published in 1594 and that of Sussex in 1595. He also presented to the Queen in 1595 a 'chrono-graphicall discription of the severall shires and islands of Middlesex, Essex, Surrey, Sussex.....' but it unfortunately lacks now the maps of Surrey and Sussex. Norden's map of Surrey was copied in the 1607 edition of W. Camden's Britannia but the original, although mentioned later than this, is not now known.

The lack of Norden's original map of Kent is conveniently made up by P. Symonson's map, published in 1596; its scale, 2 customary miles to

---

1. G.M. Livett. 1937. 248-56, 265, suggested that the Shyre was a straight copy of Saxton's map in c. 1577, and E. Lynam supported this, op.cit. 1939, i.e., but B.T. Westmarland 1955. 209-10 points out that it was more than a copy - it marked mere towns and was the first map to make the Lathes.
2. By J. Colbrand: Maps OR.Lib. 17, AL.
3. The Surrey copy in the BM (Maps.C 2, cc7) is commented on by R.A. Skelt in BM.Quart. 1951-2, 61-2. The Sussex map is reproduced in E. Heawood (ed.). Reproductions of English County Maps in the Collections of the BGS, 1932.
4. BM.Add. MS. 31853.
5. In the introductory pages of the 1695 edition of the Britannia (unnumbered)
6. H. Hannen. 1914, 85-92, says one copy of the map has 1576, nearly effaced, on it but this is not the date of the map.
the inch, was larger than that of any preceding county map, and it included many features omitted by Saxton. It has justly been described as 'the most accomplished specimen of English county cartography before the eighteenth century'. A small scale map of Kent, Surrey and Sussex by Peter Huyf survives from 1599, but the next series of county maps was found in J. Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, published as an atlas in 1611. Preliminary copies of the maps for Surrey and Sussex, drawn in 1610, survive also. The maps of all the Wealden counties were based very largely on Norden. This was true of maps of these three counties published in the three decades following, which add nothing significant to the features mapped by Norden; the two most important successors were Speed's *Atlas of England and Wales*, 1627, and J. Blaeu's maps in his *Theatrum orbis terrarum sive atlas novis*. 6

As a group, the early county maps covering the Weald are valuable primarily for the data on markets, fairs and communications which they contain; had county maps begun in England as soon as in parts of Germany the cartographic evidence would have been yet more valuable. The many existing topographic drawings throw great light on the Wealden scene in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but they did not commence early enough for our present purpose. One road book, of c. 1571, covers the Ry road, but it adds no incidental data on the Wealden scene of value.

2. BM. Harl. MS. 3013, f 32.
3. BM. Maps. C 7. e5/43 (Sussex), 44 (Surrey).
4. e.g. the 1533 map of Franconia and others discussed in H. Jäger, 1950, 53-70, and 1957, 246-66.
5. Most of the drawings are 1760-1860: C.E. Wright, 1957, 78-87.
Appendix 2

(a) Problems in analysing the Inquisitiones Nonarum 1341.

The Inquisitiones Nonarum for the Wealden counties were compiled in 1342, after Parliament granted the King a money tax of one-ninth of the value of corn, wool and lambs; the enquiry took figures for the previous year. The surviving manuscripts for the three counties concerned, omitting separate urban returns, assume two forms, the individual returns for parishes (surviving for nearly all Sussex and 102 parishes in Kent) and the summary assessment of the tax, which covers both the Sussex and Kentish Wealds in full. No returns survive for Surrey. The summary assessment merely lists the money value of the ninth, in one undivided figure for each parish. Parish returns give other incidental details and, in Sussex, frequently give separate values for the three components of the tax. Since the ninth was assessed after tithe had been taken, it was one-ninth of nine-tenths of the lay agricultural production and thus the same as the tithe of these three items. As a guide, therefore, the jurors who drew up the parish returns assumed that the ninth in 1341 would equate with the ecclesiastical tax of one tenth in 1291, if allowance was made for other tithes in the earlier figure; if any other differences remained, the 1341 return should have

1. For precise dates see G. Vanderzee (ed.) 1307. Introduction, and W.E. Lunt. 1926. 144. The grant, 14 Edward III c.20, was one-ninth of corn wool and lambs; one-ninth of goods and chattels of the population in cities and boroughs; one-fifteenth of merchants outside boroughs, or those living in the forests and wastes who did not live by gain or at

2. For Sussex PRO.E. 179/189/17, transcribed in G. Vanderzee (ed.) 1807. 350-403 with a few minor errors - tenements of the Prior of Hastings: Haathfield should be 6 marks not 5 mark (356); the 40 acres inundated: Hoce valued at 44/4 not 43/4 (371); corn ninth of Ashburnham and
elaborated on them.

There were differences frequently because the clerical income taxed in 1291 included not only all tithes but also the revenues of ecclesiastical land—glebe and monastic farms—oblations, rents and private income. Other discrepancies were due to land going out of cultivation and, in East Sussex and Kent, the large landholdings of freemen of the Cinque Ports which were not subject to the tax.

The form of the parish returns was standardised, but exceptions occurred. The tax was assessed by parishes but some villas which were not parishes had separate returns; on the other hand, the Cinque Ports were omitted. The return for Westham and 'Sudeham' (Codex in Westham)

Penhurst 109/- not 110/- (372); arable, rents and sheep pasture of the vicar in Ditchling 4/16/-, not 3/16/- (382); glebe of Hartfield 40 acres, not 20 (378); corn ninth of W. Chiltington 7/- not 7/8/- . The return for the towns in Sussex is E 179/189/19; the only rural parishes missing in the Sussex Weald are Ringmer (probably included in South Malling) & Westham, both marginal. The Wealden Kentish parishes covered are Aldington and West Hythe (E 179/123/18 37), Bethersden (m 18), Bilsington (m 70), Boughton Malherbe (m 74), Brenchley and Yardley (m 9), Charing and Egerton (m 71), Chart Sutton (m 90), Hawkhurst (m 77), Kingsnorth (m 60), Little Chart (m 14), Merham (m 78), Newenden (m 82), Pluckley (m 17), Sevington (m 48), Staplehurst (m 95), East Sutton and Sutton Valence (m 15), Wittersh (m 79), Woodchurch (m 94). 11-13, 27, 34-5, 49, 65 are unreadable.

3. Some instances exist of alteration; the parish return of Kingsnorth Kent given the ninth as £7, and a later hand has added £ 1 (E 179/123/18 m 60); the summary, which must have been drawn up later give it as £8 (E 179/123/17 m 4).

1. Burgham in Etchingham; Bunten in Wiston. The entry for Catsfield mentions the Abbot of Battle's parish of Bremham, in actuality not a parish.

2. The lands of the freemen were not specified, only their names—G. Vandermee (ed.) 1807, 394-403, and another list of persons not in this printed roll who claimed to belong to Dover or Winchelsea—PRO. E. 179/123/ 18. Add. mms 2-4.
refers mostly to land in the village of Bosham further southwest and no data directly relating to Westham alone can be extracted. Ringmer was a parish in 1291 but no separate record for 1341 exists — it may have been included in the total of Southmalling; the return for Waldron survives, but although giving the reasons why the ninth did not reach the 1291 tax, it omitted to record the value of the ninth at all. Walberton and Warbelton were both recorded as Walberton and only unprinted details (the name of the deanery given on the back of the original return) allows the two to be distinguished. Some double entries refer to adjoining parishes Ewhurst and Bodiam — other pairs, as Hove and Bolney, were separated by considerable distances. Within a parish tax was doubtless assessed from farmers rather than fields and farms often transgressed parish boundaries; the Burwash entry also records that a park had enclosed two tenements in this parish and 2 others in Etchingham (not recorded in the entry of that parish). The account of Guesling defines its relevant area not as the parish but as land in the hand of parishioners and other geldable land in the parish.

It might be suggested that the ninth of corn, sheep and lambs being one-tenth of the total production, these values could be combined with the specific tithes mentioned in the excuses, also one-tenth, to complete the agricultural picture for these parishes where the tithe values were given in detail. In many cases this is impossible because a single sum was given for all tithes, or even for tithes and other non-agricultural revenue combined. In cases where detailed figures were given, it is manifest that the money values were a poor guide to the importance of most
aspects of the farming pattern; for instance, cider gave more than half the total value of tithes in Wisborough Green.

On Fig 30 the circles are proportional to the total land value recorded in the parish, i.e., the lay ninth plus the total value of ecclesiastical land specified in the excuses; this latter was valued at one-tenth in 1291 (whence the valuation was generally taken) and thus has the same common denominator. Mixed entries of ecclesiastical revenue are not included. In most cases, only the lay ninth is divided in Sussex into its three component parts and their separate values given; this division is not made for the valuation of other land in the excuses (exceptions are the Prior of Michelham's lands in Arlington, and the land of freemen of the Cinque Ports in Hailsham). It is assumed that the proportions of corn, wool and lambs on the ecclesiastical or Cinque port lands in any parish were not significantly different from those on the lay lands and the circles are thus divided according to the proportions of the lay ninth. In most cases, ecclesiastical land was a minority and any variations there would in any case have had little influence on the total proportions.

(b) Calculation of decline and growth 1291–1341.

Such calculations are based primarily on a comparison of the totals in the Taxatio Ecclesiastica of 1291 and the Nonarum Inquisitiones of 1341. Various excuses were recorded in the 1341 returns to explain why the ninth

---

1. It is true that the cited values for glebe were rental values rather than an evaluation of agricultural production but generally the proportion of land in glebe was small and thus relatively unimportant
of that year was below the tenth of 1291; en addition to the ninth they
give a total sometimes equal, often different, from that of 1291. Since
the excuses were based on conditions in 1291, if the total of 1341 is
higher than the 1291 figure the income of corn, wool and lambs should
have risen - prosperity had increased; if the 1341 total was lower, the
converse had occurred. Such a conclusion appears valid if the excuses of
1341 refer solely to those ecclesiastical revenues included in the 1291
tax. In some parishes, however, other data complicates the issue. A
few entries refer to land gone out of cultivation and often (but not
always), the parish total has fallen. In other cases, the structure of
the excuses shows that the difference of the 1341 and 1291 figures is
consequent on a change in the terms of reference, e.g. at Brede the rise
of £1 is almost wholly the 18/4 tithes of land outside the parish in
Guestling and Ickleshag, which belonged to the cleric of Brede; 2/16/8
of the 3/3/4 rise in the Crowhurst total derives from tithes in 4 other
parishes. It might be suggested that evidence does not specify that
these external tithes were acquired after 1291 but the similarity of
their value to the financial difference in the two counts makes this
likely. In other cases land outside a parish was clearly included in
both the 1291 and 1341 returns; if the lands of the Chancellor of
Chichester were removed from the Chiddingly parish return of 1341 its
total would fall to less than half of the 1291 payment.

1. As pointed out for the tithe values by B. Graham, EHR, 1927, 421-4.
   W.E. Lunt, Valuation of Norwich. 1926. 144-5, points out some excep-
   tions, but such were infrequent.
Individual difficulties affect some parishes - the Mayfield entry in 1341 states that the ninth was low because some of the corn had been sold before the ninth was assessed. More commonly the Record Commission version of the 1291 tax mentions a vicarage only, whilst other versions give the rectory figure, with which the 1341 figure was usually supposed to agree. Only occasionally do the 1341 accounts specify which figure in 1291 they are being compared with.

Tithes are rather problematic - great tithes normally went to the rector and small tithes to the vicar. In some parishes, as Reigate, however, a small tithe (in this case 20/- of cider) is cited to help make up the 1291 figure to the 1291 tax for the rectory only; the 1341 total, in consequence, is much higher than the rectory tax of 1291 but approximately equal to the 1291 tax of rector and vicar combined. Similar complications are repeated at Washington and Billingshurst in Sussex, Yalding and Brenchley in Kent. At Ticehurst the 1341 total is much lower than 1291 and the loss of land to cultivation is cited; much of the deficiency however is consequent on the omission of any tithe figures.

1. From PRO.C, 164/14.
3. e.g. Headcorn, Kent - PRO. E 179/123/18 m.5.
4. Great tithes are hay, corn and wood; small tithes are all others - J. Purvis (ed.) Select sixteenth-century causes in tithe. Yorks.Arch.Sc Record Series cxiv. 1949. v. A case of 1296 in Hailsham, however, includes both wood and hay, especially when produced in small crofts by hand or feet tools, as small tithes (L.F. Salzmann, 1901. 100-2, from Cant. Reg. Winchelsey f 190); local usage clearly varied.
With these difficulties in mind, Fig 34 has been constructed; it expresses only those changes which are more than 10%. This is not all, but it is better than discarding the need to draw conclusions under a cloak of caution.

1. Of course, in this calculation the value put on land gone out of cultivation has been omitted from the excuses; this alone has been omitted, because it is the only one of the 1341 excuses which directly relates to changes in prosperity 1291 to 1341.
APPENDIX III. The Construction of churches: earliest mention.

This list includes all parishes wholly or partly within the Weald in 1600; it omits those created later. The chief sources used are the Exchequer Domesday, the Domesday Monachorum (edited by D.C. Douglas, 1944; interpreted also by G. Ward, 1933, 60-89), the Norwich Taxation of 1254 (the only relevant sections are in BM Add. MS 615; f 73v-77; an account of the tax appears in W. E. Lutat, 1926, 1-166), and the Nonarum Inquisitiones (see p. 504-5, for details of the MSS), and the Taxatio Ecclesiastica of 1291. This last exists in the edition of JW. Caley, 1892, 1-8, 154-142; it has been checked with the original, PI C 164/14, with original rolls for the deaneries of Malling and Shoreham, E 179/68/23, Sutton, Charing and Lyminge, E 179/68/49, a transcript temp Edward 1 for Chichester diocese, ib./54, and for Kent, ib./51. These omit some poorer churches, which can be found in BM Add. MS 6159 f 73v-77, Galba B iv f 8v-12, and Chichester Liber B (ed. W. D. Peckham, 1946, 308-20).

KENT

Aldington. DM (i.e. Domesday Monachorum, c 1100).
Appleford. 1086(5).
Ashford. DM.
Ashurst. c1115 (G. Ward, 1932, 45).
Benedem. DM.
Bethersden. DM.
Biddenden. DM.
Bilsington. DM.
Bonnington. DM.
Boughton Malherbe. DM.
Boughton Monchelsea. 1086 two (4, 8).
Brasted. 1086(4).
Brenchley. c1115 (G. Ward, 1932, 45).
Capel. 1086(7b), at Tudeley.
Chart Sutton. DM.
Chevening. c1115 (G. Ward, 1932, 47).
Chiddingstone. c1115 (G. Ward, 1932, 49).
Cowden. c1115 (G. Ward, 1932, 45).
Cranbrook. 1254.
Edenbridge. c1115 (G. Ward, 1932, 51); parts of the building c 11 (J. O. Scott, MC, 1895, 95-102), a chapel of Westerham until 1860 (H. W. Knocker, 1926, 66).
Egerton. 1291 a chapel, still so 1640 (E. Hasted, iii, 1790, 222).
Frittenden. c1240, PRO E 164/27.
Goudhurst. DM.
Great Chart. DM.
Hadlow. 1086(7b).
Hawkhurst. DM.
Headcorn. DM.
Hever. c1115 (G. Ward, 1932, 49).
High Halden. DM.
Horsmonden. c1115(G.Ward.1932.45).
Hothfield. DM.
Hunton. possibly one of the two churches in Yalding 1086(14:G.Wa
1932.44); in c 1115 Bensted in Hunton was a chapel of Yalding.
Kenardington. DM.
Kingsnorth. DM.
Lamberhurst. c1115(G.Ward.1932.45).
Leigh. c1115(G.Ward.1932.44).
Little Chart. 1254.
Linton. c1115(G.Ward.1932.45); chapel to East Farleigh 1291.
Lyminge. priests 1086(4), parts of the church c1200(G.M.Livett.193:
221-40).
Marden. DM.
Mersham. 1086(3b).
Nettlestead. 1086(8b).
Newenden. DM.
East Peckham. 1086(4b).
West Peckham. c1115(45).
Orlestone. 1086 two(13b).
Pembury. c1115(G.Ward.1932.45).
Penshurst. c1115(G.Ward.1932.46); rector 1291 but still a chapel:
1434-78(J.Thorpe.1769.136).
Pluckley. DM.
Rolvenden. 1254.
Ruckinge. 1254.
Sandhurst. 1254.
Sevenoaks. c1115(G.Ward.1932.53).
Sevenoaks Weald, possibly the Wodlond in Shoreham Deanery 1291.
Sevington. 1086(13).
Shadoxhurst. 1254.
Shipbourne. 1291 chapel to Tonbridge(R.Furley.ii.1874.32-3).
Starden. DM.
Smeeth. possibly the chapel of Lyminge 1291.
Speldhurst. c1115(G.Ward.1932.45).
Staplehurst. 1254.
Stone. c1240, PRO E 164/27.
Sundridge. 1086(3).
East Sutton. DM.
Sutton Valence. DM, two in 1086(8); but 1254,1291 a chapel of East
Sutton.
Teerdenham. possibly Saxon(G.Ward.1937.242), c 1240, PRO E 164/27.
Tonbridge. c1100(L.F.Salzman(ed.)1932.155).
Ulcombe. DM.
Warehoume. DM.
Westerham. c1115(G.Ward.1932.47).
Wittersham. DM.
Woodchurch DM.
Yalding. 1086 two(14).
The cl115 list which mentions many Kentish churches, appears in the Textus Roffensis; G. Ward.1932.54-6, gives reasons for believing that it was drawn up by 1089 and that many of the churches included were of Saxon origin. The list in the White Book of St. Augustines, PRO E 164/27, was drawn up by 1089 (G. Ward. 1932. 54), correcting his dating of c. 1200 in 1933. 84 but it also was probably based on an earlier list (G. Ward. 1932.54).

SURREY

Abinger. 1232-1304 (BM. Egerton MS 2031 f. 1).
Alfold. part of the church c1100 (VCH. Sy. 3.1911.79).
Betchworth. 1086(35b).
Bletchingly. 1152 (BM. Cott. MS. Vesp. F. 176).
Bramley. possibly among the three churches of Odo's fee 1086 (VCH. Sy. 5.1911.106).
Capel. chapel 1095 (L. F. Salzman (ed.) 1932.22); separated from Dorking 1334-7 (VCH. Sy. 3.1911.140).
Charlwood. oldest part c1100 (VCH. Sy. 4.1912.137-9).
Chiddingfold. c1180 (VCH. Sy. 3.1911.15).
Cranleigh. part c1170 (VCH. Sy. 3.1911.92).
Crowthurst. part early 12 (VCH. Sy. 4.1912.279).
Dorking. c1095 (L. F. Salzman (ed.) 1932.22).
Dunsfold. built c1270-90 (VCH. Sy. 3.1911.95).
Ewhurst. part 12 (VCH. Sy. 3.1911.101); 1206 (PRO. KB 26/42 m. 17).
Godstone. part c12 (VCH. Sy. 4.1912.285).
Hambledon. 1291.
Horley. 1190 (PRO. E 164/25 f. 16v).
Horsley. part mid 13 (VCH. Sy. 4.1912.295); chapel of Bletchingly since 1705 (Private Act 3 and 4 Anne c. 23).
Leigh 1202 (VCH. Sy. 3.1911.212).
Limpsfield. 1086 (34).
Lingfield. late 10 (BM. Cott. MS. Vesp. D. ix f. 32).
Newdigate. c12 (BM. Cott. MS. Nero C. iii. f. 188).
Nutfield. 1086 (34).
Ockley. 1291.
Oxted. 1086 (34).
Tandridge. 1086 (34b) at Tillington.
Witley. 1086 (36).
Wonersh. part c1050 (VCH. Sy. 3.1911.126).
Wootton. part c1050 (VCH. Sy. 3.1911.159).

SUSSEX

Albourne. 1231.
Ardingly. 1113 (PRO. Ancient Deed. A 461).
Arlington. part Saxon (H. Poole. 1948. 43); not 1086 but 1291.
Ashburnham. 1086 (18).
Ashington. 1235 (L. F. Salzman (ed.) 1923. 10).
Ashurst. 1291, chapel to Steyning.
Barcombe. 1086 (27b).
Bexhill. 1086 two (18); one probably Northeye in Bexhill (VCH Sx. 9. 1957.123).
Billingshurst. 1291.
Bodiam. 1291.
Brede, possibly one of the five churches of Rameslie 1086 (17); late C 12 (W.H. Godfrey, SNQ 1947.123-4).
Brightling. 1086 (18b).
Buxted. 1254.
Catsfield. Chapel 1086 (18), church 1291.
Chailley. 1269 (PRO G 132/37/4).
Chalvington. 1291.
East Chiltington. Part early C 12 (VCH Sx. 7.1940.100), chapel to Westmeston until 1909.
West Chiltington. 1086 (24b).
Chithurst. Building c1080 (P.M. Johnston, SAC 1912.97-107), 1086 (23).
Chiddingly. c1100 (L.F. Salzman, ed.) 1932.73.
Clyton. 1086 (27).
Cowfold. 1291.
Crawley. Part C 14 (VCH Sx. 7.1940.146-7); 1542 a rectory, though still technically a chapel to Slaugham (E.H. W. Dunkin, ed.) 1914.239 certain a separate parish in 1612 (I.C. Harman, 1912.2).
Crowhurst. Pre 1180 (L.F. Salzman, VCH Sx. 2.1907.76).
Cuckfield. 1091-8 (L.F. Salzman, ed.) 1932.15.
Dallington. 1237 (Reg. Sherborne f 70v).
Ditchling. 1086 (26).
Etchingam. 1121 (BM, Cott. MS, Vitell. E x f 27).
Ewhurst. Parts late C 12 (VCH Sx. 9.1937.267).
Fairlight. 1086 (19b).
Perchfield parts C 12 (VCH Sx. 4.1955.56), chapel of Easebourne until after 1542 (ib.)
Fittleworth. 1291 (1341).
Fletchingley. Part may be Saxon (H. Poole, 1948.51).
Folkingham. 1291.
Frant. Chapel c1174 (J. Thorpe, 1769.45), still so 1291.
Framfield. 1223 (BM, Add. MS 5705 f 89).
East Grinstead. 1091-1108 (L.F. Salzman, ed.) 1932.75.
West Grinstead. Part c1100 (W.H. Godfrey, SNQ 1955.77-80).
Guestling. Part C 11 (VCH Sx. 9.1937.182); possibly one of the 5 churches of Rameslie 1086 (17).
Hamsey. 1086 (27b).
Hartfield. 1291.
Hastings. Probably two of the five in Rameslie 1086 (17); 1291 7.
Hailsham. 1229 (C.P.R. 1225-32.248).
Heathfield. Probably founded c1190 (L.F. Salzman, 1901.103-4).
Heeling. 1291.
Hefield. 770 (BGS 206), 1086 (16b).
East Hoathly. 1291.
West Hoathly. 1091-8 (L.F. Salzman, ed.) 1932.17.
Hollington. 1086 no mention (though H. Poole 1948, 56, refers to it; but a chapel by 1090 (F. W. B. Bullock 1949, 51).
Hooe. chapel 1086(18), parish 1291.
Horsham. part C 12 (SNQ. 1937, 214).
Hurstmonceux. 1086(18).
Hurstpeterpoint. 1086(27).
Icklesham. part pre 1125 (G. M. Livett. SAC. 1905, 38-64).
Icklesham. possibly one of the five of Rameslie 1086 (H. Poole. 1948, 73) and still so c. 1535.
Ifield. 1247 (Reg. Sherborne f 72).
Iping. 1086 church scot paid; church 1170 (E. M. Yates. 1953, a, 169).
Itchen. 1291.
Itchingfield. part C 12 (W. D. Peckham (ed.) 1946, 315-9) and later.
Kirtling. 1086(25); this church lay in south of the parish, now in Beston. The present church is the chapel of ease at Woodman's Greep, existing by 1610 and perhaps by 1521 (VCH. Sx. 4, 1953, 66).
Little Hurst. 1291.
Little Horsted. 1291.
Lodsworth. church of Easebourne 1291 (W. D. Peckham (ed.) 1946, 313-4) and still so 1535.
Lower Beeding. possibly the second church of Beeding 1086 (23), as suggested in G. Ward. SNQ. 1934, 126 (but not VCH. Sx. 1, 1905, 443); not in 1291.
Lurgashall. part late C 11 (W. H. Godfrey. SNQ. 1936, 86-7).
Maresfield. chapel possibly built by 1176 (E. Turner. 1857, 41), church 1291.
Mayfield. c1095 (MS. 39373, f 83).
Mountfield. part early C 12 (VCH. Sx. 9, 1937, 236).
Newick. c1095 (L. F. Salzman (ed.) 1932, 21).
Nithurst. 1291.
Ox. part C 12 (VCH. Sx. 9, 1937, 87-8).
Pembroke. part c1100 (G. M. Livett. SAC. 1904, 35; VCH. Sx. 9, 1937, 158).
Pett. 1086 possibly one of the five in Rameslie (17); 1274 (BM. Add. MS. 39373, f 83).
Petworth 1086(16b).
Penhurst. chapel 1237 (VCH. Sx. 9, 1937, 238); rector by 1399 (C. Deedes (ed.) 11, 1910, 250).
Pevensley. 1291.
Pladsham. 1086(20).
Plumpton. 1086(27).
Pulborough. 1086 two (24b).
Ringmer. 1294.
Ripe. 1291; church at Eckington in Ripe c1100 (L. F. Salzman (ed.) 1937).
Rogate. 1189-90 (J.H. Round ed.) 1899, 240.
Rotherfield. 786 (BCS 252), a fabricated grant, but later mention (the church in 1093-1100 (J.H. Round SAC. 1898, 49-51).
Rudgwick. 1291.
Rusper. 1291.
Eye, possibly one of the five churches of Rameslie 1086 (17); 1291.
Salehurst. 1086 (19).
Sedlescombe. chapel 1086 (20), church 1225 (SAC. 1857, 233).
Shermantrey. 1086 (28b).
Shipley. c. 1080 (L.F. Salzman ed.) 1923, 1.
Slaugham. part early C 12 (VCH, Sx. 7, 1940, 184-5).
Slinfold. 1291.
Stedham. 1086 (25).
Steyning. 1047 (P.M. Johnston, 1915, 150); 1086 two (17).
Streat. two chapels 1086 (27).
Terwick. part early C 12 (VCH, Sx. 4, 1953, 29).
Thakeham. 1086 (29).
Ticehurst. 1086 at Hazelhurst (19); pre 1180 (L.F. Salzman, VCH, Sx. f. 1907, 76).
Tillington. part C 12 (W.D. Peckham, SNQ, 1940, 53).
Trotton. 1086 (23).
Tunbridge. 1291.
Uckfield. 1291 a chapel of Buxted and still 1559 (SAC. 1860, 257).
Udmore. 1086 (19).
Waldron. 1121 (BM, Cott. MS. Vittell. E x f 27).
Warbleton. 1086 (25).
Warling priest 1086 (13); 1291.
Warpnham. 1291.
Washington. 1291.
Westfield. c. 1100 (BM, Add. Ch. 20161).
Westham. part C 12 (SNQ, 1928, 114).
Westmeston. part C 12 (VCH, Sx. 7, 1940, 117).
Whaltington. late C 12 a chapel (BM, Add. MS 6348 f 312); 1291 church.
Wilmington. part late C 11 (SAC. 1851, 60; G.M. Cooper); 1209 (VCH, Sx. f. 1907, 8.)
Winchelsea. possibly one of the five in Rameslie 1086 (17); another of the five may have been in Iham, the small town replaced by New Winchelsea after 1283 (W. McL., Homam. SAC. 1949, 26). Two in New Winchelsea, 1291.
Wisborough Green. part early C 12 (W.H. Godfrey, SNQ, 1940, 75-6).
Withyham. 1291.
Wiston. 1086 (23).
Wivelsfield. 1095 (L.F. Salzman ed., 1932, 22); chapel to Ditchling 1291, separated 1438-45 (H.J. Rush, 1870, 50-5).
Woodmancote. 1086 (28b).
Woolbeding. 1086 (29b).
Worth, not in 1086 but Saxon work (H. Poole, 1948, 45).

There is considerable evidence that certain parish units exist by 1086. (D.H. Gifford, 1952, 2-14, 33-67; E.M. Yates, 1953a, 36, 110-12-
especially the correlation of the Ambersham charter of 963 (BCS 1114) with the parish boundary but this has not gone unquestioned (D.C. Douglas, 1944, criticised by G. Ward, 1945, 86). There are a few Wealden instances of parishes which disappeared by 1600 and also of other units incorrectly termed parishes. Shelley, south of Crawley was a separate parish in 1291 but by 1510 was a chapel attached to Crawley (BM Add. MS 39545 f 179) and in 1428 is a ref. the parish of Shelley with Crawley (Feudal Aids, v. 165). Chithurst was a church in 1086, but in 1291 it was a chapel. Shelley, south of Crawley was a separate parish in 1291 but by 1510 was a chapel attached to Crawley (BMI Add. MS 39545 f 179). The 1341 return for Wadhurst mistakenly refers to Praxham in Wadhurst as a parish, and Bungay in Etchingham—never a parish—had a separate return in 1341. Pavington in Pluckley is given a church 1291 and a parish return 1341; so also is Buncton in Wiston generally regarded as a chapel to Ashington (BM Add. MS 5685 f 42).
APPENDIX IV. Grants of markets and fairs.

G = grant; M = market; F = fair.

KENT.

Appledore. F August 1 allowed 1279(Trin.Coll.Camb.MS 0.9/26 f 88); G of M on saturdays and F June 11 1358(C.C.R.1341-1417 157); ref. to M 1416-7(KA0.U 120/M 5) and to F 1581-5(KA0.U 575/T 1). Marked as market town by Symonson 1596; F August 1 'long since', Lambarde 1596(1826,51); F June 11, Kilburne 165 (1659,23).

Ashford. G of M on saturdays and F August 28-30 1243(C.P.R.12: -47,393); ref. to M and F 1275(R.Furley.11.1374,1356); 1466 G; F May 5-8(C.C.R.1427-1516,207); marked as market town by Symonson 1596; M saturdays, F August 29 and May 6 acc. to Kilburne 1659(1659,15), but F July 27 acc. to Lambarde 1596(1826,53).


Biddenden. F October 23 acc. to W. Lambarde 1596(1826,54) and R. Kilburne 1659(27).

Brenchley. ref. to M 1263-4(PRO.0 132/041,0027/5,1296(C 133/77/:

Brasted. ref. to M 1296(PRO.C 133/77/3) and 1307(CIPM.iv,314-5; F thursday in Rogation week acc. to W. Lambarde 1596(1826,5) and R. Kilburne 1659(37).

Great Chart. F March 25 allowed 1279(Trin.Coll.Camb.5 0.9/26 88); G of M wednesdays 1447(C.C.R.1427-1516,80), F on March 1 acc. to Harrison 1577(ed., Furnival 11.1377,102), Lambarde 1659(1826,54) and Kilburne 1659(49).

Chevening. F tuesday in Whit week(R. Kilburne 1659,54).

Cowden. ref. to F 1261(I.J.Churchill. et al(eds.)1956.317); F June 22 acc. to Kilburne 1659(62).


Edenbridge. ref. to market 1231(F.W. Maitland(ed.)1887, mo 666) and 1233(I.J.Churchill et al(eds.)1956,250); these documents also refer to a payment of streetgavel which Maitland regarded as a tax for street repairs but R.F. Jessup(Introd. to I.J. Churchill et al(eds.)1956.254) suggests was paid for liberty to trade in the street. However the document of 1231 mentions both payments for the right to sell and separately, streetgavel, so Maitland seems to be right. F April 25, acc. to R. Kilburne 1659(91).


Hadlow. F Whitmonday(R. Kilburne 1659,117).

Hawkhurst. G of M tuesdays and F August 9-11 1312(C.C.R.1300-
Headcorn. G of M thursdays and F June 23-30 1251(C.C.R.1226-536);acc. to Lambarde 1596(1226.54)fair on June 23, acc. to R.Kilburne.1659(139)on June 29.

Horsmonden. F July 15 acc. to R.Kilburne 1659(147).

Hunton. G of M tuesdays and F vigil of Ascension to 3 days after 1257(C.C.R.1226-57.463).

Hythe. G of M November 19-21 1261(C.C.R.1257-1300.36);market town of Symonson;Harrison.1577(106)mentions F November 20, Lambarde 1596(1226.53-4)6 saturdays and F November 17, Kilburne.1659(143)6 saturdays,F June 29 and November 20.


Marden. F September 29 acc. to R.Kilburne.1659(182).

Newenden. M 1086(4);1279 M Thursday(Plac. Quo Warr.324);ref. to fair 1385(P.R.1331-5.532).

Orlestone. G of M thursdays and F May 2-4(C.C.R.1257-1300.67)

Pluckley. F December 5, acc. Lambarde 1596(1226.55)and W.Harrison.1577(11.106);December 6 acc. to Kilburne 1659(218).

Ruckinge. F allowed 1279(Trin.Coll.Camb.MS 0.9/26 f 88);F July 22 acc. to W.Lambarde 1596(1226.55).

Sandhurst. F December 7, acc. to Harrio 1577(11.106),December 6 acc.to Kilburne 1659(237).


Sevenoaks. ref. to M 1313(H.W.Knocker.1926.58);refs.1492 and 1570 to M on Saturdays(1b.51-68);market town of Symonson 1596;M saturdays and F November 17 and December 6 acc. to Kilburne 1659(244).

Shipbourne. G of M mondays 1285(and F 31 August-September 2)

Smarden. G of M mondays and F September 28-October 2 1322(C.C.R.1327-41.260);inspeximus of this charter 1576(KAO.P 339).

In Symonson's list of market towns but marked by him with parish,not market town,symbol;M fridays and F September 29 acc. to R.Kilburne.1659(247).

Smeeth. G of M 1337 on tuesdays(C.C.R.1327-41.423);ref. to market and fair 1530-1(KAO.U 71/M 51);F acc. to Lambarde 1596(1226.55)but no mention of this in Kilburne.

Smeckhurst. G of M fridays and F 5-7 May at Groombridge(C.C.1257-1300.323);F May 6, acc. to R.Kilburne 1659(254).

Stone-in-Oxney. F Ascension day, acc. to Kilburne 1659(262).

Sutton Valence. G of F 19-21 November mentioned 1222(Rot.Lit.Claus.1202-24.506);mark t town according to Symonson;F on May 19, September 1, November 20, acc. to Kilburne 1659(267).

Ulecombe. Ref. 1254-5 to market erected by warrant unknown(PRO.
JI.1/361 m 43);1292-3 a M fridays and F November 1-3 were allowed & E.Hasted, ii.1782, 422).

Tenterden. 1279 several shops recently erected (R. Furley, ii. 741); F April 26 acc. to Harrison 1577 (11,105) and Lambard 1596 (1326, 55, but the wrong saint's day here); market and F 1600 (M. Weinbaum, 1943, 65); M fridays and F April 25 acc. to R. Kilburne (271).


Westernham. G of M wednesdays 1227 (C. C. R. 1226-57, 52); G M mondays and F 7-9 September 1351 (C. C. R. 1341-1417, 124); Acc. to Kilburne 1659 (284) M wednesdays and F September 8.


Charlwood. ref. to F July 25, 1592 (Pat. 34 Eliz. pt iv, m 21) sit VCH. Sy. 3, 1911, 184).

Chiddingfold. G of M tuesdays and F September 7-9 1300 (C. C. R. 1257-1300, 483).

Cramleigh. G of M thursdays and F July 31-August 2 1272 (C. C. R. 1257-1300, 183).

Dorking. ref. to M 1275 (C. P. R. 1272-81, 173); ref. to market and fair 1279 (Plac. Quo Warr. 745); market town of Norden 1594.

Godstone. G of M fridays and F December 5-7 1250 (C. C. R. 1226-5 350) at Marden north of the Weald.

Ockley. G of M tuesdays and F July 19-20 (C. C. R. 1300-26, 150) ref. to market place 1449 (Cal. Ancient Deeds, i. 77).

SURREY.

Bletchingly. ref. to shops and stalls 1263-4 (PRO. C 132/27/5); G of F October 31-November 2 1283 (C. C. R. 1257-1300, 268); F November 2 acc. to W. Harrison 1577 (11, 106).


Chalwood. ref. to F July 25, 1592 (Pat. 34 Eliz. pt iv, m 21) sit VCH. Sy. 3, 1911, 184).

Chiddingfold. G of M tuesdays and F September 7-9 1300 (C. C. R. 1257-1300, 483).

Cramleigh. G of M thursdays and F July 31-August 2 1272 (C. C. R. 1257-1300, 183).

Dorking. ref. to M 1275 (C. P. R. 1272-81, 173); ref. to market and fair 1279 (Plac. Quo Warr. 745); market town of Norden 1594.

Godstone. G of M fridays and F December 5-7 1250 (C. C. R. 1226-5 350) at Marden, north of the Weald.

Ockley. G of M tuesdays and F July 19-20 (C. C. R. 1300-26, 27) 150 ref. to market place 1449 (Cal. Ancient Deeds, i. 77).

Reigate. ref. to M 1276 (Cal. Inq. Misc. i. 315-6); 1279 right prov to M saturdays and F tuesday in Pentecost week, August 9-10 September 13-14 (Plac. Quo Warr. 757); 1312 of M tuesdays (C. C. R. 1300-26, 194); market town as mapped by Norden 1594.

Tandridge. F in G 17 (VCH. Sy. 4, 1912, 322).
SUSSEX

(The list earlier compiled by F.E. Sawyer, 1888, 1890-92, is not wholly accurate).

Ardingly. ref. to F June 29 in 1465, when receipts were nil (VC: Sx. 7, 1940, 129, from Norfolk MSS).

Battle. Grant of Sunday M by William I (M.A. Lower, ed., 1851, 37) and copy of 1070-87 in W. Dugdale, Mon., 111, 1821, 245. M on Sundays, save the 4 in harvest, prohibited 1448 (27 H VI, 5), and M in Battle changed to Thursdays 1566 (8 Eliz., 14). 1114-2 C of P 3-5 July (C. Johnson and H. A. Cronne, eds., 1956, no. 1348 ref. to Battle F 1527 (A. Evans, 1941, 438) and 1643-9 (T. B. Lennard, 1905, 109); F in Battle on Whitmonday and November 22, see to VCH. Sx. 9, 1937, 102.

Billingshurst. claim to F 1279 at Newbridge (Plac. Quo Warr. 758). This document calls it a 3 day F, but then says it is only the vigil and day of St. Simon and Jude, 27-28 October, it probably extended to the 29th.


Burwash. G of M Fridays and F 30 April-2 May (C.C.R. 1351-3, 32 G of A Wednesdays and F 23-6 August (C.C.R. 1300-26, 137, where the fair granted earlier is given as 30 April-3 May); ref. F 1343 (Cal. Inq. Misc., 11, 462).

Chiddingly. ref. to F on Dicker 1634 (B.M. Add. MS 33147 f 15).

Crawley. ref. to M 1202 (Pipe Roll 4 John ed. D. M. Stenton, 1937, 1 where given as Cranleia and indexed as Cranleigh in Surrey but since it lies in the Sussex account, it is more likely to be Crawley). Claim to F August 27-8 (Plac. Quo Warr. 755) in 12 when M said to be on Fridays.

Cuckfield. G of M Tuesdays and F September 7-9 1255 (C.C.R. 127, 449); 1312 altered to M Mondays and F Vigil-morrow of Holy Trinity (C.C.R. 1350-26, 194); both fairs 1465 (Rental, Norfolk MSS), and ref. to M 1622-5 (W. H. Godfrey, ed., 1938, 22-31).


Ditchling. G of M Tuesdays and F July 19-21 1312 (C.C.R. 1300-2, 194); market town on Norden’s map 1595.

East Grinstead. G of M July 24-26 (C.C.R. 1226-57, 324); 1285 the king’s M changed from Sundays to Saturdays (C.C.R. 1279-88, 311); mas. as market town by Norden 1595, and ref. to M 1660 (F. Hull Guide to Kent Archives Office, 1958, 154).

Guestling. G of M August 9-11 (C.P.R. 1247-58, 345) in 1254.

Hailsham. G of A Wednesdays 1252 (C.C.R. 1226-57, 400); 1278 Abb of Bayham won right to have fair at Oatham (L. F. Salzman, 190, 187); ref. to market place (PRO. Cal. Ancient Deeds, 1, 472) 1410. c1549 announcement that Weds. and Friday M would revive after recent fire in town (PRO. DL 42/96 f 28v); 1595 mas. by Norden as a market town.
Heathfield. G of M thursdays and F June 15-17 1315(C.C.R.1300 26,306);early C 15 ref. to M thursdays and F April 3 and June 16(W.D.Peckham,SNQ,1926,78,from Chichester Lib,C f 7)

Hastings. see to VCH,Sx.9,1937,14,M on wednesdays and saturdays and F Whit tuesday,July 26-27 and November 23,G of M mondays and F March 24-7 at Bulverhythe 1310(C.C.R.1300-26,137).

Hastings mapped as a market town by Norden 1595.

Horsham. G of F July 2-4 1233(C.C.R.1226-57,186);1449 G of M mondays and F November 15-17 and Mon-Wed after Assumption(C.C.R.1427-1516,106);not 1460 as in P.S.Godman,1903,131-94,F on June 24,July 27 and November 19 see. to Harrison 1577 (11.103-6);mapped as market town by Norden 1595.


Linchmere. G of F September 22-3 in 1199-1216;changed 1228 to July 6-7(C.C.R.1227-31,41).

Lindfield. G of M thursdays and F May 1-9 and July 25-August 1343(C.C.R.1341-1417,24).

Mayfield. G of M thursdays and F May 18-20 1261(C.C.R.1257-1338);G of M tuesdays and F May 18-20 1314(C.C.R.1300-26,274)

G of M wednesdays and F October 30-November 2 and May 18-2 (C.C.R.1341-1417,346).

Northwey. G of M sundays for new town being built between Pevensey and Langney 1207(C.C.R.1300-26,220-1;repeat).

Petworth. F on November 20 mentioned 1275(L.F.Salzman,1944,75;Tind 1347-53(L.F.Salzman(ed.)1955,3,46);M mentioned 1347-53(ib,1,62);mapped as market town by Norden 1595.

Pevensey. (see Northwey supra);mapped as market town by Norden 1595.

Playden. F on August 24 mentioned 1664(VCH,Sx.9,1937,160-1).


Rogate. G of F August 23-5 1268(C.C.R.1257-1300,38);G 1326(C.C.R.1300-26,493);ref. to fair 1590(VCH,Sx.4,1953,25).


Rudgwick. elBim to F vigil-morrow of Holy Trinity 1279(Piae,Q Warr.758).

Rye. G of F September 7-9 1290(C.C.R.1257-1300,342)and 1305 petition to change it to August 14-16(PRO,56 8510/437);114 ref. to existing M wednesdays and fridays ,and friday M th changed to saturday(C.C.R.1341-1417,427).F August 24 see. to Harrison 1577(11.105)and mapped as market town by Norden 1595.

Salehurst. G of M fridays and F August 14-16 at Robertsbridge 1224-5(Rot,Lit,Claus,1284-7,14b)but cancelled shortly after (ib,16);1223 G of M mondays and F September 14-16 at Robertsbridge(C.P.R.1461-7,407-8);ref. to M 1348(Rot,Pari,11,1783 211)and 1545(BM,Add,MS 5679 f 106);ref. to F September 14-1 e1530(G,M,Cooper,1856,155);mapped as market town by Norden 1595.

Shipley. Bouges in S may be the Booth's Lands in St.Leonard's Forest where yearly F on St.Leonard's Day(November 6),see. to ref.1608(BM,Add,MS 5705 f 134v);ref. 1441(PRO,510645 eit.W.H.Legge,1907,308).
Ticehurst. 1542 funds left to institute a fair and 1600 licences given for two (Pat.42 Eliz.pt.15, cit. VCH_Sx.9, 1937.252).
Uckfield. 1285 ref. to M mondays 'it is not known if by licence or not' (B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (eds.) 1958.95); G of F Ma 3 1378 (C.C.R.1341-1417.257).
Wadhurst. G of M (day unspecified) and F June 29 1253 (C.C.R.1225-37.57,432); 1285 ref. to M Saturdays and F June 29 and August: (B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (eds.) 1958.47).
Wartling. G of M Thursdays and F August 23-30 at Rockland 1225 (Rot.Lit.Claus.1224-7.121); in 1325 this right, hitherto unused, was confirmed (C.C.R.1300-26.479); G of M Tuesdays and F July 21-23 (C.C.R.1327-41.341).
Winehelsea. ref. to M 1200 (Pipe Roll 2 John ed. D.M. Stenton.1924 and 1215 (Rot.Lit.Claus.1202-24.237); 1283 when town transferred to them a new market place laid out (C.P.R.1282-92.319), mapped as market town by Norden 1595 but by 1652, to judge from Evelyn's description (Diary ed. 1813). 1.269, trading had ceased.
Wisborough Green. G of F July 31-August 2 1227 (C.C.R.1226-57.34); early C 14 ref. to fair on these days (W.D. Peckham SNQ. 1926.73, from Chichester Liber C f 7).
Withyham. ref. to F September 29 (E. Straker (ed.) 1933.29) 1597-8.
APPENDIX V. Parks.

This list gives the earliest and latest references to each park which I have found, and also any figures of acreage. The county maps used are Saxton for Kent, Surrey and Sussex 1555, Norden for Surrey 1594, Norden for Sussex 1595, Symonson for Kent 1596, and Norden's maps of all three counties supplemented by Speed 1610. (For details of these, see Appendix 1).

Abinger. disparked 1464 (PN. Sy. 263).

Albourne. Speed 1610.

Aldington. 1275 (Rot. Hund. 1. 1812. 227); in 1541-2 234 acres enclosed into it (R. Furley. 11. 1574. 426); on Symonson 1596, but more Speed 1610 and disparked in 1596 (1226. 51).

Alfold. 1297 (PRO. C. 133/80/6), 1559 (PN. Sy. 225).

Anstey in Cuckfield. Speed 1610, 1511.

Appledore. wood called Oldepark 1399 (Cal. II. PM. 111. 1821. 262).

Ashford. New Park 1564 (A. W. Hughes Clarke, 1929. 64), 1596 (W. Lambard 1826. 51).

Ashore in Leigh. 1355 (J. Thorpe. 1769. 466), 1596 (W. Lambard 1826. 51) and throughout the century (E. Hasted. iii. 1797. 245).

Ashurst. 1357 (W. Hudson. 1911. 155).


Barcombe, disparked 1594 (PN. Sy. 11. 314).

Battle, park of Plessies 12 (M. A. Lower (ed.) 1851. 23), later called Plashet or Little Park (PN. Sy. 11. 500, T. Thorpe. 1835. 91; E. Turner 1866. 52-5, erroneously suggests that Plashet was the Great Park 100 acres 1538 (Pat. 50 H VIII. st. ii. m. 11), 1659 110 acres of it leased (T. Thorpe. 1835. 161) and another 83 acres later in the same year (ib.).

New Park in Battle 1331 (T. Thorpe. 1835. 68), perhaps the Great Park of 300 acres 1538; 1644 lately disparked (T. Thorpe. 1835. 15) and 231 acres of it leased 1651 (ib. 158).

Baynards in Ewhurst. 1113 a park in Ewhurst (C. R. 1313-17. 15); 14 licence to impark 800 acres in Ewhurst, Crawleigh and Rudgwick (C. R. 1427-1516. 98), which became Baynards; 1657 (J. Evelyn. Memoirs, ed. W. Bray. i. 1812. 296).

Bedgbury in Goudhurst. Saxton 1575, Speed 1610.

Bentley in Cuckfield. 1312 (C. R. 1307-13. 531); 1439 226 acres (W. H. Godfrey (ed.) 1926. 191); 1497-8 farmed (PRO. Sc 6/H VII/1494); 1565 half demised (W. H. Godfrey (ed.) 1928. 17); ref. to half park 1615 (HMG. vii. 670). Early C 17 map 476 acres (J. Cooper. 1898. 92). Not on the county maps.

Bethersden, name Wedundenesspark late C 13 (BM. Cott. MS. Faust. A 1 f. 142).

Bewbush. 1477-8 (L. F. Salzman (ed.) 1923. 95); 1549 767 acres (H. Ellis. 1861. 118 ff); 1609 disparked (BM. Harl. MS. 703 f. 140) but on Speed 1610.
Bexhurst in Salehurst, 1330 (PRO.C 131/3), by 1451 disparked (S.P. Vivian (ed.) 1953, 113).

Billeshurst in Lingfield, 1544 (BM. Egerton MS 1967 f 6v).

Bilsington, 1256-62 park of 94 acres in Lower Bilsington (BM. Add. MS. 37018 f 14-17); not mentioned in the C 15 terrier in the MS. Bishop's Wood, north of Heallingly. Saxton 1575, but not Speed 1610.

Bivelham in Mayfield, 1273-4 (BM. Add. MS. 5679 f 62), 1303 (C.P.R. 15 13, 26, 31), 1472 (M. Clough, 1956, 45-5).

Blechham in Withyham, a field name 1597-8 (E. Straker (ed.) 1933), 3.

Bletchingly, 1233 (C.P.R. 131-4, 204) two, later known as the North or Little and South or Great Parks; both Speed 1610, and 1680.

North given as 1135 acres, South as 1681 acres, both long disparked (Sy. AC. 137 f 216).

Boars Isle in Tenterden, 1244 (BM. Cott. MS. Faust. A. i f 292). 

Bockingfold in Yalding, 1326 (Cal. Inq. Misc. 11, 220); according to Hasted 11790 (33), in Marden, which is unlikely.

Bodiam. According to M. A. Lower 1357-275) Roger de Bodiam had a park, Henry 11, citing a list of knights' fees, but neither the lists in the Red Book of the Exchequer, nor those in the Black Book mention it. Bodiam park appears 1440 (C.P.R. 1436-41, 456), 1495 (S. P. Vivian (ed.) 1953, 156), disparked by 1611 (T. Thorpe, 13149).

Bolebrookes in Withyham, 1567-70 (E. Straker (ed.) 1933, 32).

Booughton Malherbe, Southpark 1292 (PRO.C 135/61/22); 1552 with Bons or park (E. Hasted, 11, 1782, 428); one (probably Southpark) Speed 1610.

Brambletye in East Grinstead, 1610 Speed (on Surrey, not Sussex sheet).

Basted 1252-5 (PRO.JI 1/561 m 37); 1452-3 but probably disparked soon after (E. Hasted, 11, 1778, 375); gone by 1596 (W. Lombards, 1826, 51).

Broadbridge in Slinfold. New Park 1275 (Rot. Hund. 11, 1818, 203); all 1273-9 (PRO.JI 1/921 m 16).


Broxham in Edernbridge, 1305 (R. Furley, 11, 1874, 243).

Broyle in Ringmer and Framfield, 1158-60 (SAG. 11757, 72); 1565 acres was £1500 (as recorded 1602 in BM. Add. MS. 1561 f 443); 1649 as 2046 acres (PRO.LR 2/299 f 216-29).

Buckholt in Bexhill, 1252-5 (W. D. Peckham (ed.) 1946, 240), 1569-70 it was one and a half miles in circumference and included 20 acres in Crowhurst (BM. Add. MS. 5679 f 82); 1447 license was given for the park 2000 acres in Bexhill (C.C.R. 1427-1516, 92), but was probably never implemented.

Buckhurst in Withyham, 1327-32 (L. F. Salzaam, 1942-3, 40); 1597-9 115 acres (E. Straker (ed.) 1933, 8); 1650 ref. to 44 and half acres recently enclosed from Ashdown (PRO.E 517/Sx/26).

Burstow, 1200-5 (BM. Add. Ch. 7620); disparked 1590 acres to Pat, 32 Elliot, 37, but on Speed 1610 and mentioned 1649 (V.C.H. Sy. 3, 1179) part may have remained imparked.

Burwash, 1247 (C.C.R. 1242-7, 532); 1334 100 acres (PRO.C 135/40/3);
1341 mention was made of 2 tenements in Burwash and 2 in Etchingham valued at £3/- p.a. recently marked-G.Vanderzee(ed.)1978.57
partly cultivated 1507(VCH.Sx.9,1937,197), perhaps still exist in 1597(S.P.Vivian(ed.)1963,202).
Cage in Tonbridge. c1395(R.Furley,11,1874,431), and 1560-1(ib.);
dispatched by 1596(W.Lambard,1825,51).
Chart Sutton. 1036(s).
Chesworth. 1510(H.Ellis,1361,118 ff); disposed 1587(PRO.R 134/30
Eliz/Hilary 6), and disposed area given 1608 as 233 acres(BM.
Add,MS 5685 f 66-9, from PRO,LR 2/196 f 7-15).
Cranbrook, land called Urchyngepark C 15-BM,Add,MS 33902 f 2v.
Cranleigh. High Park 1485, New Park 1521(PN.Sx.234).
Crowhurst. 1310(Gal,Imq,West,11,463); 1444(BM,Add,MS 3183).
Cuckfield. 1218(F.L.Maitland(ed.),1888,20-1), 1329-1497 229 acres(W.
Godfrey(ed.)1928,191), 1510 and early C 17 192 acres(J.P.Cooper,1898,32), 1615 the 'parkes or inclosed ground' (W.H.Godfrey(ed.)1928,18).
Danny or Great Park of Hurstpierpoint, early C 15 license to inclose(cited C.P.R.1354-8,13); 1343 license to inclose another 1
furlongs of wood and demesne (confirmed ibid.), 1570 100 acres recently imprinted(SAC.xxv,166); ref.1652(BM,Add,MS 5683 f 122).
Dedisham in Slinfold. 1321 two parks here, Herptark and Suthpark
(L.F.Salzman,1955,48, from BM,Rarl,MS 173); 1541 reference to
one park calling it Rugswick(BA,Add,MS 5687 f 121); 1623 to
Lodge Park in the south end of Dedisham Park—WSRO,Add,MS 1433.
Deffindone (und.) park 1180-90(BM,Cott,MS,Vespex xxiii f 27v).
Ditchling. T.Hutchinson,1861,241; says there was a park here 1096
(incorrect) and that a 300 acre area was given in a gift of
1160-1204(1b.243); this I cannot trace, but John granted free
warren here (as confirmed 1279—Parr. Quo Warr. 750) and park mentioned 1274(C.P.R.1272-81,69), 1439 300 acres(W.H.Godfrey(ed.)
1928,191); Saxton 1575 but 1597 demised(W.H.Godfrey(ed.)1928,14)
absent from Speed 1610 and described 1632 as 'long disposed'.
BM,Add,MS 5683 f 114).
Dorking. 1283(VCH,Sy.3,1911,146).
Drungwick in Wisborough Green, licence to impark 2000 acres 1445
(C.C.R.1427-1516,94), probably never implemented.
Dunhurst in Wisborough Green. 1285(C.P.R.1281-92,81), 1356(C.P.R.
1354-8,335).
Elfold (Temple Elfold in Cape) created between 1601 and 1646-9
when it was 100 acres; by 1664 partly in tillage(VCH,Sy.4,191f
430).
Eridge in Frant. 1588(C.Pullela,1928,90); mapped in Waterdown
Forest by Symons 1596; also on Saxton 1575 and Speed 1610.
Etchingham, Free warren grant of 1253(C.C.R.1226-57,416) probably
led to imparking(VCH,Sx.9,1357,215); park over 400 acres in
1330(PRO.C 131/3), partly cultivated 1597(S.P.Vivian(ed.)1953).
Fairlight. 'terra vocata le Park', undated references probably of
the C 15-BM,Add,MS 5680 f 123,125.
Fittleworth. 1335(C.P.R.1334-8,135).
Footlands in Sedlescombe. 1340(E.Turner,1861,135, citing College
Arms Deed L 17).
Fragbarrow and Shortfrith in Ditchling. 500 acres in north of the parish 1439 (W.H. Godfrey ed.) 1928, 191; by end of the C 15 it was broken up into farms (BM. Add. MS 5683 f 113-4).

Frankham in Wadhurst. Land worth 10/- in tithes enclosed in this park 1291-1341 (G. Vanderzee ed.) 1807, 376; 1597 (BM. Add. MS 5682 f 11v).

Gatesham. 1553 in Slimfold, including 60 acres called Plattere (W. D. Peckham ed.) 1925, 67.

Glassenbury, licence 1483 to impark 1600 acres in Cranbrook, Goudhurst and Ticehurst (C.P.R. 1427-1516, 263); Speed 1610.


West Grinstead. Park here 1606 (BM. Add. MS 5685 f 123v), Old and New Parks in 1617 (ib.) not on the county maps.

Groombridge in Speldhurst. Symonsan 1596, Speed 1610.

Hailey in Westmeston. 1442-50 (PRO. C 1/15/123); 1555 reference to it as disparked (BM. Add. MS 5684 f 17) but perhaps not wholly so since it is also referred to as enclosed 1634 (BM. Add. Ch. 2965)

Hamshill in Frant. Place-name 1625 (C. Pullein, 1928, 361).

Hamsey. 1235 (F. W. Maitland ed.) 1887, no 306.

Heathfield. 1291-1341 land worth 20/- in tithes was enclosed in a park in Heathfield (G. Vanderzee ed.) 1807, 356; licence 1447 to enclose 2000 acres in Heathfield and Bishopstone (C.C.R. 1427-1516, 94); probably never implemented; 1610 licence to impark 500 acres (BM. Add. MS 5681 f 127v), and ref. 1644 (BM. Add. MS 33034 f 17).

Hedgecourt in Horne. 1366 (C. C. R. 1364-8, 271); the parish is not specified in the Calendar but the park is identified with Hedgecourt in VCH. SY. 4, 1912, 294; 1407-8 (ib.), Speed 1610.

Hellingly. 1548 (BM. Add. MS. 5681 f 343), 1628 (ib.), Speed 1610.

Hendes. 1544 500 acres (BM. Add. MS 33889 no 707-709v), 1552 said to include lands in Sundridge, Brasted and Chiddingstone (BM. Add.), 33917 f 232; disparked by 1596 (W. Lambard. 1826, 51).


Hertf. mapped northeast of Cranbrook by Symonson 1596 (perhaps a park at Hemsted, north of Benenden, marked by Saxton 1575, but with no other early maps).

Hertissark', a wood in Tenterden 1550 (BM. Cott. MS. Faust. A 1, f 231) called in a later copy Matthewes Park.

Hever. c.1240 (HMC, Penshurst MSS. i. 1928, 96); disparked by 1596 (W. Lambard. 1826, 51).

High Halden, referred to as Rolvenden park in Halden manor 1540 (E. Hasted. iii. 1790, 86) and it lay in the south of High Halden near Rolvenden as Symonson 1596 shows; Speed 1611.

Horne. 200 acres 1534 (PRO. C 135/38/17); Speed 1610.

Horkharn. 1542-3 ref. to manor of Hawksbourne alias Old Parke in Rusper and Horham (BM. Add. MS 5685 f 133); the New Park mention in C. P. R. 1553, 102 was in Beeding as the Calendar shows not, as suggested by W. D. Cooper and M. A. Lower 1866, 146, in Horham.

Little Horsted. c.1295 (L. F. Salzman ed.) 1932, 112; Speed 1610.
Hungershall Park. In 1260 (C.P.R.,1259-1266) licence given to impound the woodland of Hanger within the Forest of Pembury; the Calendar indexes this as Hanger wood in Pamber, Hants, but it might be Hungerhall, called Hungares on Symons's 1596, Speed 1610. Hunton, imparked 1603-25 around Burston in Hunton (E. Hasted, ii, 1782, 301).

Hurstmonceux. 1264 (M. A. Lower, ed., 1851, 201); enlarged 1415 (PRO, C. 4/445/9) and by 600 acres 1441 (C.R., 1427-1516, 14); 1645-9 (T. B. Lennard, 1905, 111).

Hurstpierpoint. Little Park 1552 (BM, Add. MS 5663 f 173); 1570 one and one half miles circumference (E. Turner, SAC, 1875, 165); 1649 (E. H. W. Dunkin, ed., i, 1914, 235-6).

Iden. 1295 (C.P.R., 1292-1301, 341); 1318 (C.R., 1300-1326, 392).

Iwood in Newdigate. 1476 (Gal. IPM, 1307 (PN, Sy., 86); 1504 (E. Straker, 1931, 451-4); 1636 (PN, Sy., 86).

Iwood in Warbleton. 100 acres c. 16 (VCH, Sx., 1937, 197).

Kingsnorth. 1475 'le Park Gate' (A. Hussey, 1938, 53).

Knapp in Shipley. 1145 (L. P. Salzman, ed., 1933, 7); Speed 1610, 1655; 'lately disparked' (BM, Add. MS 5665 f 163).

Lady's Park in Penshurst. 1444-5 (HMC, Penshurst, i, 1925, 235).

Lagham in Godstone. 1282 (PRO, C. 134/2/10); 300 acres 1349 (PRO, C. 135/104/23).

Laughton. Hunting lodge in C 13 (M. Clough, 1956, 172), and Little Park from this time; on Speed 1610, licence to enclose Great Park 1524 (BM, Add. MS, 30460), enclosed 1529-31; also known as the New Park in the Vert (PN, Sy., ii, 403) and Hallam Park; still existing 1634 (J. C. K. Cornwall, 1953, 176) and later.

Limpsfield. Norden 1594 and Speed 1610 mark a park here, just east of Crowhurst; 1516 licence to impark 400 acres (VCH, Sy., 4, 1912, 300).

Littleworth in Cowfold. 1484-5 (Gal. IPM, iv, 422).

Loddenden in Staplehurst. 1357-8 (PRO, SC, 2/181/69). This was the park of W. Osbarn; in 1371 ref. is made to the parks of J. Foghe and T. Robert, both in Loddenden (SC, 2/181/71).

Lurgashall. 1335 (C.P.R., 1334-8, 135); 1557 disparked (BM, Harl. MS 604 f 45).

Maresfield. 1283 (C.P.R., 1281-92, 65, 96); Speed 1610, 1625 (BM, Add. MS 5662 f 21).

Mayfield. 1308 (C.P.R., 1307-13, 26, 31); enlarged by 74 acres 1354 (C.R., 1354-8, 40); Speed 1610. (There were also lands in Mayfield 1598 called Hawsden Parke—BM, Add. MS, 5679 f 48).

Medhorne in Petworth. 1423-4 (Cal. IPM, iv, 1928, 81); 1569-70 160 acres (BM, Add. MS 5663 f 55), grant of free warren 1616-17 (BM, Add. MS 5662 f 53).

Mersham. 1608 (E. Furley, ii, 1874, 525); perhaps the park at Scott's Hall in Smeeth on Symons's 1596 and Speed 1610.

Michelmham in Arlington. 1229 (C.P.R., 1225-32, 248), where under its original name, park of Pevers; 1556 disparked (PRO, Exch. GR, Mi. 833/39, cit. L. F. Salzman, 1901, 241).

Mildmay in East Peckham. 1634 (E. Hasted, ii, 1782, 279).

Netherfield. 1200-5 (HMC, Penshurst MSS, i, 1925, 59).
Newnham in Buxted. 1273 (PRO C 133/8/7); according to E. Straker (e. 1933.16, disparked by 1597-8, but mapped by Speed 1610.

Northfrith in Tonbridge. 1396 (PRO C 133/77/3); Speed 1610. There are only one Northfrith recorded in PNK and I therefore conclude that this was the Northfrith Park mentioned in the Penshurst estate 1573-4 (HMC Penshurst MSS 1, 1925.257); this is confirmed by Lambarde's statement (1826.51) that Northfrith was three parks, which can be correlated with the 1541 Penshurst statement that Northfrith had three walks, including one called Old Park, another Little Park (ib. 237).

Northpark in Leigh. 1556 (PNK 86); 1552 300 acres (C.P.R. 1550-3.358). Lee Park as Northpark in Leigh; Speed 1610. This park is referred to e. 1380 and 1465-7 as in Penshurst (HMC Penshurst MSS 1, 1925.233-5) but, though near Penshurst village and in the Penshurst estate, it was in Leigh.

Ockley. 1278-9 (Plac. Quo Warr. 744). Oxenhoath in West Peckham, two disparked by 1596 (W. Lambarde, 1596.51); a 1621 map marks Upper Park (25 acres), Lower Park (22) and Warren (13) as fields at Oxenhoath (KAO.U 31/P 3).

Oxted. 1278-9 (Plac. Quo Warr. 744); Speed 1610.

Pallingham in Wisborough Green. 1233 (C.CL.R 1231-4.189), 1331 (PRO C 135/24).

Panthurst in Sevenoaks, disparked by 1596 (W. Lambarde, 1596.51); disparked acreage 1650 was 423 (G. Ward, 1931b.42-4).

East Peckham, licence after 1625 to enclose around Roydon Hall (Hasted 1.1778.275); 1645 (AC 1861.161-70).

Pembury, licence to add 50 acres to existing park 1396 (C.R. 1396-1417.368); cf. Hungerford Hall.

Penshurst. Whether there was a Penshurst Park besides the several named parks in the parish and estate is a difficult problem. 1353 Ashore Park (actually in Leigh) is called the Park of Penshurst (J. Thorpe 1769.466); in 1552 Ashore was the park of Penshurst Park' (C.P.R. 1550-3.359). Keymer, Ladypark, Redleaf and Southpark were all apparently in Penshurst parish but Lambarde 1596 (1826.51) mentions both Southpark and Penshurst Park so these two must have been different; I find no mention of Redleaf after 1521, or Ladypark after 1445, and Lambarde also mentions as separate Ashore and Northfrith (which last is apparently called Penshurst Park in 1541 - HMC Penshurst MSS 1, 1925.237). The Penshurst Park of 1596 must therefore be either Redleaf or Ladypark or a further separate park, perhaps traceable back to the Penshurst Park mentioned 1308 (C.P.R. 1307-13.55) as possibly the 250 acre Northlands Park of 1552 (ib. 1550-3.358-9) which was clearly separate from Northpark in Leigh.

Petworth, Great Park 1347 (L.F. Salzman ed. 1953.4); Little Park 132-3 (ib. 65); the Coney Park (in the Little Park, as the 1610 map Fig. 9 shows) appears 1193-1245 (Hon. H.A. Wyndham 1545.55), Great Park 1355 (C.P.R. 1354-8.135), 105 acres added to Little Park 1499 (Hon. H.A. Wyndham loc. cit.), another 200 acres 1592 (G.R. Bateman 1956-7.457); see also text, p. 72-5. Great and Little Parks were both Great Park was disparked (text, p. 72).

Plashet in Ringmer. 1288 (PN 11.356); Speed 1610.
Plashey, a Sussex park in the Duchy of Lancaster 1315(BM,Harl,MS 2077,f 375);perhaps the park at Pashley in Ticehurst, into which land worth 20/- p.a.in tithes was enclosed 1291-1341(g.Vanderzee(ed.)1807,350).
Plottsbridge Park in Framfield and Little Horsted, 1542-3(BM,Add MS 5682 f 119).
Polledessark, a wood in Tenterden 1350(BM,Cott,MS,Faust,A.1 f 43
Postern Pa Tonbridge, 1495(R.Furley,ii,1874,431);1521 3 miles circumference(L and P,H VIII,1519-23,508);by 1596 disparked (W.Lambarde,1826,51).
Pulborough, 1252(C.P.R.1247-58,134),
Redleaf in Penshurst, 1466-73(HMC.Penshurst MSS,1,1925,235-6);15 survey stated that this park and Ashore were separated only by a river and the circumference of both was 5 miles(R.Furley,ii 1874,428-9;not in the Calendar L and P,H VIII,1519-23,508).
Reigate,1279(PN,Sy,307),1622 201 acres(YCH,Sy,3,1911,232).
Ringmer, 1279-92(D.Douie.1952,93);1618(REB,Add,MS 135).
Ripton, Great and Little Ripton park in Ashford and Westwell inclosed after 1625,with circumference of 7 miles;1655 disparked(R.Furley,ii,1874,554).
River in Tillingham and Lurgashall, 1481 7 miles circumference(L F,Salzman,1941,195-6,from PRO,CP 40/376 m 400);Speed 1610(since 1577-HNAY VII,650).This may be the park in which River(Trevet) chapel was given grazing rights 1215-17(W.D.Peckham(ed)1946,299).
Rotherfield, park 1086(16),1262(PRO,C 132/27/5);a park enclosed within Rotherfield chase and thus perhaps the ancestor of Bridge Park.
Saperton in Heathfield, 200 acres 1378-9(381,IPM,iii,1821,17).
Sedgwick in Horsham,Nuthurst and Broadwater, 1305(A.Pomsonby,1927),400 acres 1326(PRO,C 154/97/7);disparked by 1587(PRO,E 12 30 Eliz/ Hilary 6).
Shelley in Crawley, 1291-1341 3 tenements and 1 carucate taken into this park(G.Vanderzee(ed.)1807,350);647 acres 1587-8(BM,Add,MS 5686 f 67),1609 called disparked(BM,Harl,MS 703 f 140) but on Speed 1610.
Shermanbury, 1377(P.S.Godman,1921,134,140);Speed 1610.
Shillinglee in Kirdford, 1432(J.Dallaway and J.Cartwright,1832, p. 368);1438 1700 acres(G.H.Kenyon,1951,125-4);Speed 1610, but still disparked by 1648.It was then still 1700 acres;the Deer park of 400 acres was also cultivated from 1600(G.H.Kenyon,ib,1f
Stoke Park in Shipley, 200 acres 1226(PRO,O 134/97/7).
Sissinghurst in Cranbrook, created early C 16(E.Hasted,iii,1790,49);Speed 1610.
Slaugham, 1339(PRO,C 135/60/6);1629(M.H.Cooper,1920,45).
Solwyk in Wiston, 1357,1370(W.Hudson,1911,153,157).
Southfrith in Tonbridge, called chase 1329-30(PRO,SC 6/90/22);marked as enclosed on map t,H VII(PRO,MP 168);1623-1710(KAO, U 58/T 1);Symons on map it with an enclosure,Speed without; W.Lambarde 1596(1826,51) calls it a forest.Since a house called Somerhill was built here in the early C 17, the park sometimes was called Somerhill also(1660-E.Hasted,ii,1782,340).
Southpark, 1349 219 acres (PRO.C 135/95/13); 1596 (W.Lambard 1825).

Starborough (or Prinkham) in Lingfield, 1373 (O. Manning and W. Bra 111809,540; Speed 1610).

Stoneland in Withyham, 1597-8 520 acres (E.Straker ed. 1933,8); 1668 (C.N. Sutton 1902, 15-16).

Strode in Wiston, 1357 (P.S. Godman 1911,131).

Strodge in Ardingly, 1571 6.3 acres (C.C. R. 1313, 17); Speed 1610.

Streyling in Withyham, 1597-8 520 acres (E.Straker ed. 1933,8); 1668 (C.N. Sutton 1902, 15-16).

Strudgate in Ardingly, 1571 lease (PRO. 135/95/13); 1630 when it lands said to extend into West Hoathly, Worth and Balesome also, it was lately disimparked (IPM. 1 Chas. 1, pt 1, 80).

Stapleford in Withyham, 1597-8 520 acres (E.Straker ed. 1933,8); 1668 (C.N. Sutton 1902, 15-16).

Streaty in West Hoathly, 1597-8 520 acres (E.Straker ed. 1933,8); 1668 (C.N. Sutton 1902, 15-16).

Tandridge, 100 acres 1351 (CIPM. 1, 443); "le Old Park" 1522, probably disimparked (PN.Sx. 336).

Trotton, 1335 (C.P.R. 1334, 3, 193).

Turbens in Easborough and Burwash. License to impark 1000 acres 1447 (C.C.R. 1427, 1516, 94); probably never implemented.

Twineham, 1359 (PRO. C 155, 60/6).

Udimore, 1329 park called le Fryth of more than 200 acres (PRO. C 135/14/1, 1479 licence given to impark land at Dixter in Northiam and Udimore (C.P.R. 1476, 85, 162).

Vachery in Cranleigh, 1245 (C.C.R. 1242-7, 7, 236); 1580 ref. to Old Park of Vachery and Little Park, part of the Old Park (E.Straker 1941, 41); Speed 1610.

Verdley in Wadhurst, 1541 200 acres (W.S. Ellis 1885, 210; A.M. Tudor 1934, 22); Speed 1610.

Wakehurst in Ardingly. Saxton 1575; 1630 (IPM. 6 Chas. 6 Chas. 1, pt 1, no 80).

Warmingore Park in Chailey. 83 acres, now disimparked 1661 (BM. Add. MS. 5684 f 155).

Westerham, 1297-1350 (T.A.M. Bishop 1938, 41).


Wigfield in Salehurst, grant of free warren 1295 (C. R. 1226-57, 416); park by 1307 (G.P. Vivian ed. 1953, 132); gone by 1597.

Wilting in Hollington, 1036 (13b: VCH. Sx. 1, 1905, 398); possibly the ancestor of Crowhurst Park.

Wiston, park just north of the church marked by Speed 1610 (may be one of the earlier churches recorded parks in the parish, Solvy or Strede).

Witley, 1314 (C.P.R. 1313-17, 135); 1547 6 miles circumference (PRO. LR 2/190 f 134); 1656 (Feet of Fines, Sy. Mish, 1656, pt. 1).

Worth, one park 1279 (Plac. Quo Warr. 750); by 1326 another park of 232 acres "newly enclosed" (CIPM. 1, 437). These two were the Great and Little Parks of Worth. The Little is marked by Speed 1610 and noted 1656 (BM. Add. MS. 5684 f 167); the Great appears 1470 (BM. Add. MS. 5683 f 7v) and is probably the impaled area...
marked as Tilgate on Speed's map in 1610. The name Tilgate only appeared in the C 16 (W.H. Legge, 1907, 312). The Little Park of Worth, which lay further north, is I think the same as the park of Crabett described as lying on the northern margin of Worth Forest (VCH, Sx. 11, 1907, 310-12).

APPENDIX VI, Rights to free warren.

This list gives, on a parish basis, the dates and sources of grants of free warren (marked thus G), confirmations (C), where they can be separated—*and* later references to warrens. Enclosed warrens within parks are omitted, and the rights to free warren given to a landlord generally covered only his demesne lands; thus the inclusion of any parish is no guarantee that a large part of its surface was affected by free warren rights.

Besides rights in specific parishes, some broader privileges existed also, many recorded in the Hundred Roll inquiries of 12.

The Abbot of Robertsbridge had free warren over all his lands: Staple hundred (L.F. Salzman, 1944-5, 75), the Earl of Surrey warren over the Rape of Lewes (ib, 1942-3, 43), John de Bretagne over all his lands in Hastings Rape (ib, 1944-5, 75), Peter of Savoy all the Rape of Pevensey south of a line from Glynde bridge to the Low; (including the following parishes wholly or partly of Pevensey—within the Weald: Arlington, Wilmington, Folkington, Hailsham, Weald and Pevensey) ib, 1942-3, 40 (actually granted to him in 1252 C.C.R, 1226-57, 57, 410); the Queen had appropriated warren in the hundreds of Willingdon and Flexborough (L.F. Salzman, 1942-3, 42, 46).

The Lord of Ashford in 1275 claimed warren over Chart hundred in Kent (R. Furley, I, 1874, 156).

There were some earlier grants to the large landowners. The Prior of Christ Church Canterbury was given free warren in all his manors 1155-89 (HN, v, 437, viii, 318); the Bishop of Rochester in all his c1159 (Landon, ed.) 1939, 95; free warren rights of the Bishop of Chichester went back to William I and Henry I, according to a later document (W.D. Peckham, ed.) 1946, 69. The Archbishop of Canterbury had free warren over his lands according to a document of 1042-50 (Lambeth MS 1212 p 332; this is of dubious authenticity and almost identical with a grant of William I, ib, 1). 1102-7 Battle Abbey was confirmed in its free warren over the Lowy of Battle and Rape of Hastings (C. Johnson and H. A. Cronne, ed.) 1955, no 859; the Conqueror's grant is mentioned in M. A. Lower (ed.) 1861, 37, and there is a spurious notification of 1075-87 (H.W.C. Davis, ed.) 1913, no 263.

Agney. G 1264, C 1316 (C.C.R, 1300-26, 314); G 1364 (C.C.R, 1341-1417, 188).

Appledore. G 1264. C 1316 (C.C.R.1300-26.314); complaint 1275 that the Prior of Christ Church hunted excessively (R.Furlong, 11. 1874. 126); G 1364 (C.C.R.1341-1417.188).


Ashford. G 1245 (C.P.R.1232-47.398); 1279 a warren in Ashford by right unknown (R.Furlong, 11. 1874, 242).

Balcombe. claim to free warren here 1279 (Plac. Quo Warr. 750).

Battle. Battle Abbey confirmed in rights over the Lowy 1102-7 (C.Johnson and H.A.Cronne (eds.) 1956. no. 859). G 1295 for town C.C.R.1257-1300,461; G 1314 (C.C.R.1300-26,271); G 1317(1b. 33).


Betchworth. G 1302 (C.C.R.1300-26.23); references to it 1312 (C.P.R. 1307-13,531) and 1324 (C.P.R.1321-4,443).

Betherden. at Etchenden 1307 (C.C.R.1300-26.108); G 1617(KAO.48/T46).

Bexhill. G 1162 (W.D.Peckham (ed.) 1946. 29); G 1227 (C.C.R.1226-57); G 1231 (1b. 155); G 1307 (C.C.R.1300-26,101).

Billingshurst. G 1305 in Wiggonholt manor, which included land in Billingshurst (C.C.R.1300-26,61; BM. Add. MS 5688 f 177).

Bilsington. G 1617 (KAO.U 48/T46).


Bramley. G 1304 (C.C.R.1300-26,48).

Brede. G 1292 (C.C.R.1226-57,391); G 1295 (C.C.R.1257-1300,461); G 1314 (C.C.R.1300-26,271).

Brenchley. G 1315 (C.C.R.1300-26,283); G 1328 (C.C.R.1327-41,90); Watfield in Brenchley 1329(1b. 99); G 1617(KAO.U 48/T 46).

Brightling. G 1277 (C.C.R.1257-1300,209); 1295 for Brightling and Sockernah in Brightling (G(1b. 461); 1314 (C.C.R.1300-26,271); G 1317 (1b. 333).

Brookland. G 1617 (KAO. U 48/T 46).

Burstow. G 1247 (C.C.R.1226-57,326); G 1316 (C.C.R.1300-26,315); G 1328 (C.C.R.1327-41,84); G 1335 (1b. 339).

Burwash. G 1265 for Brookmarle in Burwash (C.C.R.1257-1300,34). Ref. to free warren 1288 (PRO.JI 1/924 m 45); G 1295 (C.C.R.121300,461); G 1307 (C.C.R.1300-26,108).

Capel. G for Tudeley 1617(KAO U 48/T 46).

Chalmer. ref. to rights in Middleton manor here 1580 (BM. Add. MS 5684 f 17).

Chalvington. G 1524 (BM. Add. MS 5681 f 163).

Charlwood. 1264 G, C 1316 (C.C.R.1300-26,314); G 1364 (C.C.R.1341-1417.188).

Great Chart. G 1264, G 1316 (C.C.R.1300-26,314); ref. to free warren in Great or Little Chart 1313-14 (W.C.Bolland. 1615. 174); G 133 (C.C.R.1341-1417,189); G 1617(KAO.U 48/T 46).

Little Chart. G 1264, G 1316 (C.C.R.1300-26,314); G 1364 (C.C.R.1341-1417,189).

Chiddingly. G 1318 (C.C.R.1300-26,392); G 1524 (BM. Add. MS 5681 f 163).

Chiddingstone. G 1202 for Somerden (Minet Library, Deed H 127); G 1265 (C.C.R.1257-1300,46); G 1307 (C.C.R.1300-26,108); G 1336 (C.C.R. 1341, 454).
West Chiltington. G 1285(C.C.R,1257-1300,319),G 1344(C.C.R,1341-1417,31).Wiggonholt manor was granted free warren 1305(C.C. 1300-26,61)and included land in West Chiltington.

Clayton. ref. to free chase 1379(PRO,CP 40/477 m 243).

Cowden. G in Leighton manor 1340(C.C.R,1257-1417,318); dispute of free warren in Cowden 1587(E,Hasted,i.1778,401).

Cranbrook. G 1328(C.C.R,1257-1417,90)and 1329(1b.99);G 1483(C.C. 1427-1516,268).


Cuckfield. Ref. to free warren 1336(C.C.R,1334-8,294); free chase 1379(PRO,CP 40/477 m 243)and 1433-4(BM,Add,MS 5883 f 92).

Dallington. G 1265(C.C.R,1257-1300,54);this confirmed a grant of 1244, whose MS is defective but probably included Dallington C.C.R,1226-27,279).G 1301(C.C.R,1300-26,23),C 1519-20(BM,Ad MS 5680 f 162).

Ditchling. G 1216 and free chase established by 1279(ECae,Quo Warr,750).Ref. to free chase 1379(PRO,CP 40/477 m 243).

Dorking. Claim to free warren 1279(ECae,Quo Warr,757,745),ref. to free warren 1312(C.C.R,1257-1300,531),1387-90(P.S.Godman, 1921,138;VCH,Sy.4,1912,424).The warren farmed in the early 15-VCH,Sy.3,1911,146.

Ebony. rights to free warren were in 1275 being abused(R,Furley, ii.1374,125);G 1264, G 1316(C.C.R,1300-26,314);G 1364(C.C.R, 1341-1417,188).


Failsworth. G 1254(C.C.R,1247-58,335);G at Marsham 1290(C.C.R, 1257-1300,345);G 1317(C.C.R,1300-26,335).


Fairfield. G 1228(C.C.R,1257-41,90),repeated 1239(1b.99).


Hadlow. G 1617(KAO,48/T 46).


Hamsey. rights of free warren here received from Earl of Sur 1237-L.F.Salzmann(ed.)1903,341).


Heathfield. G at Saperton 1247(C.C.R,1226-57,325);Bishop of Chchester had free warren in Heathfield 1288(PRO,J1 1/924 m 45);G 1329(C.C.R,1327-1341,99);G 1524(BM,Add,MS 5881 f 163.
Hellingly. G at Pikehay 1292(C.C.R.1257-1300,421);G 1329(C.C.R.1327-41,99);G 1524(B.M.Add.MS 5681 f 163).


Hever. G 1253(C.C.R.1257-1300,46);G 1331(C.C.R.1327-41,199); G 1540(ib,467).

High Halden. G 1617(KAO.U 48/T 46).

East Hoathly. G 1524(B.M.Add.MS 5681 f 163).

West Hoathly. ref. to free warren in Middleton manor 1580(B.M.Add.MS 5684 f 17).

Hollington. G 1271(C.C.R.1257-1300,169);transfer of existing rights at Wilting 1373(C.C.R.1369-74,593);ref. to free warren 1636(VCH.8X,9,1937,82).

Horley. G 1202 at Harrowley(Minit Library,Deed H 127);G 1355(C.C.R.1227-41,39).

Horne. G 1301(C.C.R.1300-26,23;incorrectly indexed as in Godstone);G 1328(C.C.R.1327-41,84).


Hothfield. rabbit warren named Coneghereford 1292(PNK.415);G 1315(C.C.R.1300-26,233).


Hurstpierpoint. 1289 the Earl of Surrey reemphasised his right here(L.P.Salzmann (ed.)1903,no 355);ref. to free chase 1379(PRO.Cp 40/477 m 243).


Iden. G 1271(C.C.R.1257-1300,169);G at Leigh 1298(ib,474);G 1318(C.C.R.1300-26,392).

Ifield. G 1328(C.C.R.1327-41,76),G 1331(ib,199,where Ifield is said to be in Kent).

Ivyehurch. G 1617(KAO.U 48/T 46).

Keymer. Rights proved 1279(plac.Quo Warr.750-1).

Kingsnorth. G 1617(KAO.U 48/T 46).

Kirdford. G 1272(C.C.R.1257-1300,130);G at Langhurst 1617(B.M. Add.MS 5687 f 235).

Lamberhurst. G 1257(C.C.R.1226-57,463),C 1527-32(Th,Ham ed.11,178 376);ref. to free warren 1313-14(W.C.Bolland,144 1913,174,claim dismissed,184,claim upheld);G 1328(C.C.R.1327-41,90);G 1329(ib,99).

Laughton. G 1246(C.C.R.1226-57,294)repeat 1247(ib,315);G 1524(B.M.Add.MS 5681 f 163).

Leigh,Kent. G 1340(C.C.R.1327-41,467).


Lingfield. G 1340(C.C.R.1327-41,467).

Lynes. perhaps the Limesal,in Kent or Sussex,where rights of free warren were granted 1257(C.C.R.1226-57,463).


Mersham. G 1052(W.Dugdale,Mon.i,1817,97;from the wording of th
free warren may have been granted 1052 not only to Mersham but to all the manors of Christ Church Canterbury. E. Hasted vii. 1798. 595, says free warren in Mersham was granted by Ethelred (d. 1016) and confirmed 1061; he quotes from W. Somner, 1693.110, but no document given there refers to free warren. cannot find in Dugdale or elsewhere a grant in 1061 of free warren at Mersham. G 1264. G 1316(C.C.R.1300-26.314); example of illegal claims 1275 (R. Furley. ii. 1874. 156); 1313-14 a claim to free warren in Mersham questioned and upheld (W. C. Bolland 1913. 184); G 1354(C.C.R.1341-1417. 188).


Netherfield. G 1271(C.C.R.1257-1300.169).

Nettlestead. G 1617(KAO. U 48/T 46).

Newdigate. G 1292(C.C.R.1257-1300.428); ref. 1314(C.P.R.1315-19. 256).


Orlestone. G 1287(C.C.R.1257-1300.67).

Oxted. Claim to free warren upheld 1279 (Plae. Quo Warr. 744).

Peasmarsh. ref. 1330(C.P.R.1327-1330.56).

East Peckham. G 1264. G 1316(C.C.R.1300-26.314); G 1364(C.C.R.1341-1417.188); G 1617(KAO. U 48/T 46).

G in Peckham (East of West) 1290(C.C.R.1257-1300.350); G 1511(C.C.R.1300-26.160); ref. 1313-14(W. C. Bolland. 1913. 174-6).


Penshurst. G 1263(C.C.R.1257-1300.46); G 1338(C.C.R.1227-41.443).

Petworth. Ref. 1241(L. F. Salzman(ed.) 1903. no 371); G in Medhurst 1616-17(BM. Add. MS 5683 f 53).

Pluckley. G 1617(KAO. U 48/T 46).

Pulborough. G 1247(C.C.R.1226-57.326); claim 1279 (Plae. Quo Warr 757-9); G at Nutbourne 1344(C.C.R.1341-1417.31).

Reigate. G 1271(C.C.R.1257-1300.159); 1279 lord claimed warren over the land of free tenants as well as demesne (Plae. Quo Warr. 757, 745); G at Redstone 1292(C.C.R.1257-1300.428); ref. free warren in Reigate 1312(C.P.R.1307-13.531) and 1496(O. Manning and W. Bray. i. 1304. 278).

Ripe. G 1524(BM. Add. MS 5681 f 163).

Rogate. G 1265 for Bohunt(C.C.R.1257-1300.45); G 1271(ib.169); G 1271 for lands in Chithurst, C 1326(C.C.R.1300-26.493).


Ruekinge. G 1267(C.C.R.1257-1300.67); G 1264. G 1316(C.C.R.1300-26.314); G 1364(C.C.R.1341-1417.188); ref. 1542(E. Hasted. iii. 1790. 460).

Rudgwick. G 1305 for Wiggonholt manor, which included land in this parish(C.C.R.1300-26.61).

Salehurst. G 1255(C.C.R.1226-57.416); G 1295(C.C.R.1257-1300.46.G for Robertsbridge 1253(C.P.R.1451-7.407-8); G for Bugsell
1314 (C.C.R. 1300-26, 271). G in Robertsbridge 1545 (BM, Add, MS 5580 f 106).

Sedlescombe. G 1295 (C.C.R. 1257-1500, 461); G 1314 (C.C.R. 1300-26, 271).


Slaugham. Rights to free warren here proved 1279 (Place, Quo War; 750-1); G 1328 (C.C.R. 1327-41, 76).

Slinfold. G 1305 in Wiggonholt manor, which included land in this parish (C.C.R. 1300-26, 61).

Smeeh. G 1317 (C.C.R. 1300-26, 533).

Staplehurst. G at Maplehurst 1301 (C.C.R. 1300-26, 21).


Streat. ref. to free warren in Middleton manor 1520 (BM, Add, MS 5584 f 17).

Tandridge. G 1202 (Minet Library, Deed H 127); ref. 1226 (VCH, S. 1912, 324); G at Tillingdon 1290 (C.C.R. 1257-1300, 350); G 1363 (C.C.R. 1341-1417, 31).

Terwick. G 1271 (C.C.R. 1257-1300, 169).

Ticehurst. G 1253 for Boarzell (C.C.R. 1226-57, 231); G 1295 for Ticehurst and Boarzell (C.C.R. 1257-1300, 460); G 1293 for Pashley (ib. 474); G 1314 (C.C.R. 1300-26, 271); G 1317 (ib. 333); G 1488 (C.C.R. 1427-1516, 268).

Tillington. Ref. 1241 (L. P. Salzman, ed.) 1903, no 371; G 1302 (C.C.R. 1300-26, 28); G 1544 for River (C.C.R. 1541-1417, 31).

Tonbridge. G 1263 (C.C.R. 1257-1300, 46); claim to free warren in the Lowy 1333-4 (E. Hasted, v. 1798, 176); G 1617 (KAO, U 48/T 46).

Trotton. G 1287 (C.C.R. 1257-1300, 221); for Dureford Abbey land 1252 (ib. 591); 1275 Warren had been newly appropriated by warrant unknown (L. P. Salzman, 1944-5, 65).

Udimore. G 1255 (C.C.R. 1226-57, 416); G 1295 (C.C.R. 1257-1300, 461);

Ulcombe. 1254-4 warren claimed by right unknown (PRO, JI 1/1 1561 m 45, v. R. Furley, 11, 1874, 54).

Vachery (in Croyleigh) ref. 1279 (Place, Quo War: 742).

Wadhurst. G 1252 (C.C.R. 1226-57, 412); G 1318 (C.C.R. 1300-26, 392); G 1524 (BM, Add, MS 5581 f 163).

Warbleton. G at Bucksteep 1265 (C.C.R. 1257-1500, 54); G at Bucksteepe 1301 (C.C.R. 1300-26, 25) and G 1519-20 (BM, Add, MS 5580 f 16); G 1363 (C.C.R. 1341-1417, 211).

Warehorne. G 1267 (C.C.R. 1257-1300, 38) repeat 1280 (ib. 233).

Warkham. G at Durdulf 1295 (C.C.R. 1257-1300, 461); not in Dunsfold, as the Index to the Calendar; the charter specifies that it is in Sussex).

Wartling. G 1255 (C.C.R. 1257-1300, 279); G 1290 for Oldcourt (C.C.R. 1257-1300, 345) and 1318 (C.C.R. 1300-26, 392); G 1518 for Mersham in Wartling (ib.); G for Rockland 1288 (C.C.R. 1327-41, 90); repeat in 1329 (ib. 99); G 1301 (C.C.R. 1300-26, 23); conf. 1519-20, (BM, Add, MS 5580 f 162); G 1329 (C.C.R. 1327-41, 99).


Westmead. Rights confirmed 1522 (BM, Add, MS 5584 f 161).

Wilmington. G 1314 (C.C.R. 1300-26, 271); ref. to warren 1394 (PRO, E 159/170).
Wisborough Green, G 1307 for Wisborough Green and Drungwiek (C. C.R. 1300–1306, 101).

Wiston, G 1285 (C. C.R. 1257–1300, 319).

Witley, G 1247 (C. C.R. 1226–57, 294) repeat 1247 (ib, 315); dispute over free warren 1389 (PRO. KB 27/511 m 17).

Woodchurch, G 1617 (KAO. U 48/T 46).

Wivelsfield, ref. to free warren here in Middleton manor 1580 (B. Add. MS 5684 f 17).

Worth, claim to free warren 1279 (Plae. Quo Warr. 650).

Yalding, G 1290 (C. C.R. 1257–1300, 350); G 1617 (KAO. U 48/T 46).

APPENDIX VII. MILLS.

This list gives all the mills mentioned for Wealden parishes in 1086 and as many references between 1086 and 1350 as I have been able to find; it is certainly incomplete but gives a minimum impression of the expansion of mills in the Weald during the Early Middle Ages. The 1341 references to mill tithe in the Sussex Weald (frequently mentioned below) exist in PRO. E 179/189/17, transcribed with a few minor errors in G. Vandersée (ed.) 1807, 350–395.

Abinger, water mill at Paddington 1086 (36) and 1305 (PRO. C 133/11 23).

Aldington, 3 watermills 1086 (4).

Arlington, mill at Hemstead 1202 (L. F. Salzmann (ed.) 1903, mo 77) again 1219 (ib, no 156); mill 1250 (L. F. Salzmann, 1901, 215, from PRO. JI 1/912) and 3 mills gave tithe 1341.

Ashford, 2 watermills 1086 (13); mill in Ashford or Great Chart 1317 (J. Greenstreet, 1880, 317).

Ashurst, mill 1268 (PRO. C 122/35/11).

Balcombe, tithe of mills specified 1341.

Barncombe, 5 and half watermills 1086 (27b); tithe of mills specified 1341.

Battle, C 12 one mill near Loxbeech, one lower down the valley, one at Pepering (A. A. Lower (ed.) 1851, 22); mill at Pepering (a watermill) mentioned 1275–1325 (E. Swift, 1937, 37 ff).

Beckley, tithe of mills specified 1341.

Bethestworth, mill 1237–8 (VCH. Sy. 3, 1911, 168); mill at Womham 1323 (C. P. R. 1327–30, 326).


Blechingley, watermill at Chivington 1086 (34b); 1262 watermill and windmill (PRO. C 122/27/5).

Boughton Malherbe, mill 1340 (PRO. C 135/60/2).

Brasted, 2 watermills 1086 (4); mill 1150–61 (A. A. Saltman, 1956, 37 from KAO. U 120/Q 15 f 2); L. Sherwood, 1951, 26 dates this as 1138.

Brede, mill 1296 (W. Hudson (ed.) 1909, 15–16).

Brewheshley, watermill 1307 (CIPM. IV. 314–5).
Brightling, mill at Winhamford 1241 (HMC, Penshurst MSS, 1, 1925, 97); mill e 1270 (ib, 114).
Burwash, mill 1235 (B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (eds.) 1959, 33); mill at Bereherst 1312 (T. Thorpe, 1835, 60-1); watermill 1343 (Cal. I, Misc, 11, 462); mill at Woodknoyle 1347 (VCH, Sx, 9, 1937, 197).
Catsfield, watermill 1086 (18).
Challock, mill at Wapsbourne 1197 (L. F. Salzmann (ed.) 1903, no 8).
Charwood, True mill (now Rowley, watermill, 1150-1250 (E. Sewill and R. Lane, 1951, 17).
Great Chart, mill 762 (BCS 191-G. J. Turner and H. E. Salter (eds.) 1915, xxvi) identified by R. Furley (1, 1871, 74) as in Great Chart 2 watermills 1086 (5); mill of Wertyng early C 14 (BM, Add, MS 6159, f 39v).
Little Chart, 2 watermills 1086 (5).
Chevening, mill 1316 (J. Greenstreet, 1880, 313).
East Chiltington, half mill 1086 (27).
West Chiltington, windmill early C 14 (W. Hudson, 1910, 157), by 13 ruinous (P. S. Godman, 1911, 132).
Chithurst, watermill 1086 (23).
Clayton, tithe of mills 1341.
Cowfold, tithe of mills specified 1341.
Cranbrook, mill 1286 (I. J. Churchill et al. (eds.) 1956, 294).
Crownhurst (Sy.), mill 1241 (VCH, Sx, 4, 1912, 273).
Crownhurst (Sx), 1346 (Cal. Inq, Misc, 11, 462).
Cuckfield, tithe of mills specified 1541.
Ditchling, watermill 1086 (26).
Dorking, watermill at Milton (36) and Westcott (36b) 1086; mill 123 (F. W. Maitland (ed.) 1837, no 546), 1329-30 (VCH, Sx, 4, 1912, 416-7).
Edenbridge, two mills 1268 (I. J. Churchill et al. (eds.) 1956, 351).
Evingham, two watermills 1350 (PRO, C 131/3).
Fletching, watermill at Sheffield 1086 (22b); Fletching mill 120 (Curia Regis Rolls 1201-3, 3, 117); mill called Clapmella 1206 (L. F. Salzmann (ed.) 1903, no 110); tithe of 2 mills 1341.
Framfield, mill 1285 (B.C. Redwood and A. E. Wilson (eds.) 1958, 66) at Plottsbridge (ib, 74).
Frant, mill at Eridge 1296 (PRO, C 133/77/3), watermill at Eridge e 1290 (C. Fullea, 1928, 322); there was probably a mill at Bartley in Frant 1296 also (ib, 57).
East Grinstead, watermill at Brambletys 1086 (22b); mill 1230 (L. Salzmann (ed.) 1903, no 215); 1282 two decayed watermills, but now set up at Lavertye (PRO, JI 16912 m 17d, cit. L. F. Salzmann, SAC, 1915, 178-9); tithe of mills specified 1341.
West Grinstead, mill, and mill at Holmea 1269-90 (BM, Cott, MS, V, E xxiii f 27-27v).
Godstone, watermill 1086 (34); mill 1274 (VCH, Sx, 4, 1912, 288); 1349 mill out of repair because of Black Death (PRO, C 135/104525).
Hadhley, two watermills 1086 (7b); watermill 1307 (CIPM, iv, 514-5).
Hailsham, mill in an Inspeximus of 1316, not in the earlier charters of 1189 (W. Dugdale, Mon, vi, 1090-1).
Hamsey. tithe of mills specified 1341.
Hartfield. watermill 1086(2b).
Hastings. mill e1190(HMC.Penshurst MSS.1.1925.42).
Hawkhurst. Slipmill mentioned 1292(PNK 341).
Heathfield. watermill 1535-62(W.D.Feekham(ed.)1925,96).
Hellingly. watermill late C 12(L.F.Salzman.1901.131)and 1529
(PRO.C 135/16/19).
Hegfield. Wantley mill 1086(28b)and Stretham mill 1086(16b);
West mill mentioned E1226(H.de Candole.1947,29).
Hildenborough. rent 1295-6 of querngaveles(millstone rent)-PRC C 135/77/3.
Hollington. mill at Filsham early C 12(BM.Campbell Ch.xxv,6).
Hooe. watermill 1086(18);mill 1277(PRO.Ancient Deed B 1631).
Horley. Sidlow mill 1130-1000(BM.Add.Ch.24635).
Horsham. mill 1231 (Reg.Sherborne f 71.cit.A.Way.1852,252-5);
mill at Broadbridge 1284(PRO.C 133/41/9);mill at Sedgwick &
watermill at Chesworth 1325(PRO.C 134/97/7).
Hossted Keynes. watermill 1086(22b).
Horley. Sidlow mill 1130-1208(BM.Add.Ch.24635),1279(FN.Sy.295)
Horley watermill early C 15(BM.Add.Ch.24537),refs.1305-17(
BM.Landowne MS 435 f 47v-48v,and PRO.E 165/25 f 358v-359);
a watermill in another manor 1263(VCH.Sy.3,1911,203),
Little Hossted. watermill 1086(22)and one at Worth farm(22); 1341 tithe of mills specified.
Hothfield. watermill 1240-1(PRO.JI 1/359 m 5).
Hurstpierpoint. 3 1086(27);tithe of mills specified 1341.
Ifield. tithe of mills specified 1341.
Iping. watermill 1086(29);tithe of mills specified 1341.
Itchingfield. mill at Madebrug e1230(HMC.Penshurst MSS.1.1925.
24).
Keymer. two watermills 1086(27).
Kirdford. windmill in Barnham manor 1337(PRO.C 135/49/25).
Lamberhurst. ref.to mill tithe 1285(KAO.A/6 47(62)).
Laughton. mill 1283(PRO.SC 6/1025/29 m 5)and 1292(SC 11/877,cit
A.E.Wilson.1959 95 ff).
Langhey. watermill e1160(L.F.Salzman(ed.)1932,162).
Leigh,Kent. mill at Enfield 1353(J.Thorpe.1769,464).
Leigh,Surrey. mill at Shellwood in Middle Ages(VCH.Sy.4,1912.
415).
Limpfield. watermill 1086(34).
Maresfield. tithe of mills specified 1341.
Mayfield. watermill 1086(22b),old mill and Cogges Mill 1315(F
SX.11.584-5);mill at Bivelham 1343(CAL.Iaq.Misc.11.462).
Mersham. two watermills 1086(5b).
Newick. tithe of two mills 1341.
Nettlestead. 2 watermills 1086(8b);mill 1297(PRO.C 133/79/13).
Northchapel. watermill at Colhock 1347-50(L.F.Salzman(ed.)1955
1,48)and Redlands mill 1347-9(1b.1).
Nutfield. watermill 1086(34);mill at Hathersham 1189-99(BM.Add
Ch.24606.cit.VCH.Sy.3,1911.225).
Oxted. 2 watermills(34)1086;4 mills mentioned 1269-70(PRO.C 13
33/14)and 1 in 1291(PRO.C 135/61/24).
East Peckham, watermill 1086(4b). Oxenhoath 1259 and 1275(W. V. Dumbreck, 1958, 143); watermill in East Peckham 1324(Cal.Inq. Misc. 11, 208); mill at Standen 1337-9 (BM. Add. MS 33882 f. 19).

Pembury. mill at Pembury and one at Elvinden in Pembury ref. to in a gift of shortly after 1208-11 (BM. Cott. MS Otho A ii, 41v; H. M. Colvin, 1951, 117); mill at Elvinden in 1212(I. J. Chur.) ill et al. (eds.) 1956, 51).

Penshurst. mill pre 1239(E. Hasted, i. 1778, 426), 1282-3 (ib. 427).

Petworth. one watermill 1086(23b); Coulershaw mill 1241(L. F. Salzman (ed.) 1903, no. 397) and 1291(J. Caley, 1802, 139); Hambourne mill 1347-50(L. F. Salzman (ed.) 1955, 1, 48).

Pluckley. mill at Pevington 1086(10b).

Plumpton. two watermills 1086(27); tithe of two mills 1341.

Pulborough. 2 watermills 1086(24b); 4 watermills at Nutbourn; Pulborough (1337-PRO. C 135/50/23).

Reigate. 2 watermills 1086(30); mill 1147-50(L. F. Salzman, SAC. 1, 428).

Rogate. Haben and Dureford mills 1189-96(BM. Cott. MS. Vesp. E xx: f. 8) Dureford again pre 1255(ib. f. 15); these perhaps two of the same mills of Harting in 1086(Rogate was then still par. of Harting); G 13 ref. to mill tithes of Wenhaston manor(ib. f. 99).

Rotherfield. 2 watermills 1262(PRO. C 132/276) and 1207(C 135/ 129/13); 1336 ref. to Redgate, Towngate and Hamshill mills (PR C 145/130/23); 1341 tithe of 13 mills in Rotherfield and Frant.

Ruckinge. mill 1287(CUL. MS Be. v. 31 f 36).

Rudgwick. tithe of mills specified 1341.


Salehurst. mill built at Robertsbridge(1287-HMC. Penshurst, MSS. 1925, 124); 2 watermills at Redlands 1305, 1324(ib. 129, 138).

Sedlescombe. watermill 1239-41(T. Thorne, 1835, 44).

Shipley. mill at Knepp 1326(PRO. C 134/97/6); 1330 mill in Ship (or possibly Billingshurst)-P. S. Godman, 1896, 108); 1341 tithe of mills specified.

Slaugham. mill 1339(PRO. C 135/60/6).

Slinfold. mill at La Hyde e 1250(Bodl. Sx Ch. 169); mill of Slinfold e 1270-80(ib. Ch. 179); watermill at Dedisham 1321(BM. Harl. 173, cit. L. F. Salzman, 1955, 48).

Speldhurst. watermill 1254-5(PRO. JI 1/361 m. 40).

Stedham. 3 1086(23), watermills.

Steyning. 4 watermills 1086(17); tithe of mills specified 1341.

Stutton Valence. watermill 1086(8).

Tandridge. watermill 1086(34b); windmill 1189-99(R. Bennett and Elton ii. 1899, 225).

Thakeham. watermill 1086(29); tithe of mill specified 1341.

Ticehurst. mill at Pashley(L. J. Hodson and J. A. Odell, 1925, 72).

Tillington. watermill 1086(23b).

Tonbridge. watermill in the Lowy 1086(4); mill 1296(PRO. C 133/7/ 3); Bourne mill 1348(PNK 182).

Trotton. watermill 1086(25).

Twineham. 1328 windmill(PRO. C 134/-).
Uckfield, mill 1243 (L. F. Salzmann (ed.) 1903, no 415); mill 1285 (B. C. Redwood and A. E. Wilson (eds.) 1958, 75).
Udimore, mill 1294 (PRO. C 133/68/7); 1329 (C 135/14/1).
Ulcombe, watermill 1086 (4); mill 1317 (J. Greenstreet, 1880, 315).
Wadhurst, 1285 mill, and mills at Bartley and Buckhurst (B. C. Redwood and A. E. Wilson (eds.) 1958, 31-2, 37).
Warbleton, watermill 1317 (PRO. C 134/54/17) and 1332 (C 135/33/6).
Washmore, windmill 1289 (PRO. C 133/54/2).
Washington, tithe of mills specified 1341.
Wateringbury, mill 1330 (AC. 1895, 161).
Westham, watermill 1086 (14).
Westminster, tithe of mills specified 1341.
Westminster, tithe of mills specified 1341.
Witchell, watermill in town and windmill just outside it 1297 (L. F. Salzmann (ed.) 1903, no 167; several windmills in the town). 1297 (Thomas of Walsingham (ed. H. T. Riley), 1. 1863, 67; windmill 1358 (C. P. R. 1358-61, 23).
Wisborough Green, mill at Dunhurst and mill in Wisbech Palling. manor 1327 (Cal. Inq. Misc. ii, no 922); tithe of mill specified 1341.
Wiston, watermill at Buncton 1086 (29); mill and windmill in ea: 1086 (W. Hudson, 1910, 143, 180-1; P. S. Godman, 1911, 132).
Withyham, tithe of 4 mills 1341.
Woolbeding, tithe of mills specified 1341.
Worth, tithe of mills specified 1341.
Yalding, 2 watermills 1086 (14); mill in Boeckingfold 1326 (Cal. Inq. Misc. ii, 220).
BIBLIOGRAPHY.

(a) Manuscript material.

Public Record Office, London: the following classes—

(i) Chancery records.
   - C 1: early Chancery proceedings.
   - C 3: Chancery proceedings, series ii.
   - C 47: Chancery miscellaneous.
   - C 62: Liberate rolls.
   - C 131: Inquisitions on debts.
   - C 132-5: Inquisitions post mortem, Henry III–Edward III.
   - C 142: Inquisitions post mortem, series ii.
   - C 143: Inquisitions ad quod damnum.
   - C 145: Inquisitions miscellaneous.

(ii) Duchy of Lancaster records.
   - DL 3: depositions.
   - DL 28: accounts various.
   - DL 29: minister's accounts.
   - DL 37: Chancery rolls.
   - DL 42: miscellaneous books.

(iii) Exchequer records.
   - E 32: forest proceedings.
   - E 36: miscellaneous books (Treasury of Receipt).
   - E 101: accounts various.
   - E 122: customs accounts.
   - E 134: depositions.
   - E 142: ancient extents.
   - E 159: memoranda rolls (King's remembrancer).
   - E 164: miscellaneous books (King's remembrancer).
   - E 179: lay subsidies.
   - E 190: port books.
   - E 315: miscellaneous books (Augmentations Office).
   - E 317: parliamentary surveys.
   - E 358: enrolled accounts, miscellaneous.
   - E 369: miscellaneous books (Lord treasurer's remembrancer).
   - E 372: Pipe Rolls.

(iv) Land Revenue Office records.
   - LR 2: miscellaneous books.

(v) Legal records.
   - CP 25: feet of fines.
   - CP 40: De Banco rolls.
   - JT 1: assize rolls.
   - KB 27: Coram Rege rolls.
   - Req. 2: proceedings of Court of Requests.
   - St.Ch. 2, 8: Star Chamber Proceedings.

(vi) Special Collections.
   - SC 2: court rolls.
   - SC 6: minister's accounts.
   - SC 8: ancient petitions.
   - SC 11: extents and surveys.
Also the following editions of materials now in the Public Record Office—

- Cal.IPM.1-iv. Calendarium inquisitionum post mortem sive
- Plac.Quo Warr. Placita de Quo Warranto. ed.W.Illingworth and
  J.Caley.1818.
  T.D.Hardy.1833,1844.
  1835.

- C.C.R. Calendar of Charter Rolls.
- C.C.L.R. Calendar of Close Rolls.
- C.Fine R. Calendar of Fine Rolls.
- C.Lib.R. Calendar of Liberate Rolls.
- C.P.R. Calendar of Patent Rolls.
- C.IPM. Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem.
- L.and P,H VIII. Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.
- Cal.SFD. Calendar of State Papers Domestic.

British Museum, London.

- Add.Ch: Add. MS. Additional charters and manuscripts.
- Campbell charters.
- Cott.Ch: Cott. MS. Cotton charters and manuscripts.
- Egerton Ch: Egerton MS. Egerton charters and manuscripts.
- Hargrave manuscripts.
- Landsdowne manuscripts.
- Royal manuscripts.
- Sloane manuscripts.

Somerset House, London.

- PCC: wills.

Canterbury.
- Dean and Chapter MSS.

Cambridge.
- CCC.Camb. MS: Corpus Christi College MSS.
- Emmanuel College MSS.
- Tripcoll.Camb. MS. Trinity College MSS.
- CUL. MS. University Library MSS.
Chichester.
Dean and Chapter MSS.

ESRO. East Sussex Record Office, Lewes.
Additional MSS.
Ashburnham MSS.

Hove Public Library.
Dunn MSS.

KAO. Kent Archives Office, Maidstone.
MSS (numbered by donation, not type).

Lambeth Palace.
MSS.

Lewes, Barbican House.
Several groups of MSS, including Straker and Gage MSS.

Oxford.
Bodl. Ch. Bodleian charters.
Bodl. Rawlin. MS. Bodleian, Rawlinson MSS.
Bodl. Tanner MS. Bodleian, Tanner MSS.
Merton College, account rolls.

WSRO. West Sussex Record Office, Chichester.
Additional MSS.
Chichester MSS.

Paris.
Arch. Nat. K. Archives nationales, fonds K.

These classes of document have all been cited in the text, as having been consulted in the original or as cited by other authorities.

(b) Published works.

Abbreviations used:
KPN. J. K. Wallenberg, Kentish Place Names. 1931.
PNK. ib. Place Names of Kent. 1934.
PN. Sy. J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton (eds.) Place Names of Surrey. 1934.
VCH. Victoria County History.
Kent, i-111. ed. W. Page. 1908-12.

AC. Archaeologia Cantiana.
Arch. J. Archaeological Journal.
Ec. H. R. Economic history review.
Anonymous. 1863a, Charters of Cumbwell Priory. AC 190-222.
1863b, Pedes Finium. AC 259-90.
1863c, Inquisitions post mortem v. AC 291-304.
1864-5, Pedes Finium. AC 225-34.
1922, Sussex deeds in private hands. SAC 66-80.
1925, Sussex deeds in private hands. SAC 113-122.
1925, Sussex deeds in private hands. SAC 111-122.
1925, Sussex deeds in private hands. SAC 113-168.


C. N. Asheron, Roman pottery from Ticehurst. SNQ 1949. 161-3.


1946, Notes on Wealden fossil soil beds. PGA 303-14.
1948, Petrology of a wealden sandstone at Clock House, Capel, Surrey. GM 225-41.
1954, Geology and geography of the London North Sea islands in Wealden times. GM 499-508.

J. L. André. 1904, Two farmhouses at Warnham. SAC 105-9.

A. Ancombe, The Sussex place-names in Domeyday book which end in 'intum'. 1918, SAC 76-83.

J. Archibald. 1934, Kentish architecture as influenced by geology. T. Arnold (ed.) 1879, Henry of Huntingdon; Historia Anglorum. RS.
1886, Symeonis Monachi Opera ii. RS.

F. W. T. Attree. 1837, History of the parish of Wivelsfield. SAC 1-60
1912, Notices of post mortem inquisitions in Sussex 1435-1649. SRS.

E. Austen. 1925, The old house at Broad Oak, Brede, SAC 136-47.
1946, Brede.

N. B. Bagenal and B. F. Furneaux. Fruit-growing areas on the Hasting Beds in Kent. 1949, Min. of Agric. and Fish., Bulletin 141

1946a, Hastings and the Romans. SNQ 35-8.
1952, The ships of the Cinque ports in 1586/7. SNQ 241
A. Ballard. 1912. The early municipal charters of the Sussex boroughs. SAC. 1912. 35-40.
1948. 1b. SAC. 112-163.
1949. 1b. SAC. 51-113.
W. de Gray Birch. 1885-93. Cartularium Saxonicum. i-iii.
1938. The rotation of crops at Westerham. E. H. R. 30-44.
1855. Visit of King Edward II to Battle and other parts of Sussex in 1324. SAC. 41-53.
1854a. On the ornamental brickwork of a tower at Laughton, built 1534. SAC. 64-72.
1854b. Sussex monasteries at the time of their suppression. SAC. 217-228.
1856. Dureford Abbey, its fortunes and misfortunes. SAC. 41-96.
R. W. Blencowe. Extracts from parish registers and other parochial documents of East Sussex. SAC. 1851. 243-90.
W. Blith, The English Improver, 1649.
W. C. Bolland (ed.), 1913. Eyre of Kent, 6 and 7 Edward III, 1313-14. SeA.

E. G. Box, 1926. Lambard's 'Card of this Shyre', AC, 89-95.
1927, Lambard's 'Card of this Shyre', third issue with roads added. AC, 141-8.
1951, Notes on some early west Kent roads in early maps and road books. 85-98. AC.
J. Boys, General view of the agriculture of Kent. 1813.
W. P. Breach, Farnfold of Steyning. SAC, 1918. 84-112.
C. G. O. Bridgeman, 1914. The deviation of the Sussex manors former belonging to the Earls of Warrenne. SAC, 54-91.
1915. The Sussex manors of the Earl of Warrenne, 1313-96.
1923. Cuckfield Park enclosure. SAC, 197.
M. S. Briggs, 1953. The English farmhouse.
1959. A list of castles 1154-1216. EHR, 199-249.
J. C. Browne, Sutton Valence and East Sutton. 1898.
W. Bugden, 1925. The manor of Horselunges. SAC, 19-53.
1928. Wilmington Priory, historical notes. SAC, 29-52.
1944-5. Wits and virgates of land. SNQ, 97-9, 121-4.
T.C.Burr.1766, The history of Tunbridge Wells.
1942-3, The Peenfold bequest, coins and tokens. *SAC*. 1
M.Campbell.1942, The English yeoman under Elizabeth and the earl Stuarts.
Gervase Cant, Historical works (ed. W.Stubbs). 1. 1379, 11, 1380, RS.
(ed.) 1922, East Kent records. *Kent Records*. VII.
(with R.Griffin, F.W.Hardyman, eds.) 1956, Calendar of Kent feet of fines to the end of Henry III's reign. *Kent Records*. XX.
J.G.D.Clark, 1952, Prehistorie Europe, the economic basis.
A.W.Hughes Clarke (ed.) 1929, Kentish Wills.
1955, Domestic architecture and town planning. 37-97, 1
A.L.Poole (ed.) Medieval England, I.
1853, Some account of Michelham Priory in Arlington. *SAC*. 83-123.
1898, The manor of Cuckfield from the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries. *SAC*. 79-94.
W.D. Cooper. 1851. Extracts from the account books of the Everead and Frewen families in the seventeenth century. SAC. 22-30.

1856. The families of Braose of Chesworth and Hoo. SAC. 97-131.

1856b. Notes of Winchelsea in and after the fifteenth century. SAC. 201-34.


1861. Protestant refugees in Sussex. SAC. 130-208.


1864. The social condition of Sussex in 1631-2. SAC. 20-44.

1865. Produce of and supplies from Sussex. SAC. 115-122.

1866. Participation of Sussex in Cad's rising. SAC. 17-36.


1867. Royalist compositions in Sussex during the Commonwealth. SAC. 91-120.


1954. On the custom of borough English as existing in the county of Sussex. SAC. 164-89.


1924. Ancient carving from Piltdown. SAC. 203-10.

1925. A Roman cemetery at Hassocks. SAC. 34-61.

H.S. Cowper. 1911. Some timber-framed buildings in the Kentish Weald. AC. 169-205.

1914. Loddenden.


1915b. Two Headcorn cloth halls. AC. 121-30.


W.D. Crake. 1912. A notice of Maresfield forge in 1608. SAC. 278-83.


1938. Archaeology in the field.


W. Cunningham. 1922. Growth of English industry and commerce (5th ed).

E. Curwen. 1940. Flint daggers of the early Bronze age from Sussex. SAC 69-70.

E. C. Curwen. 1925. Two Wealden promontory forts. SAC 177-80.


1944b. The burh of Shermanbury. SAC 49-51.

1954. The archaeology of Sussex.

J. Dale. 1853. Extracts from churchwardens' accounts and other matters belonging to the parish of Bolney. SAC 244-52.


J. Dallaway and E. Cartwright. History of the western division of Sussex i. 1815-11 (pt. 1) 1832.


H. W. Davis. 1903. The anarchy of Stephen's reign. EHR. 630-46.

(ed.) 1913. Regesta Regum Anglo-Normanorum i. 1914. The chronicle of Battle Abbey. EHR. 426-34.

S. G. Davis. 1940. The domestic water supply of the Wealden district.


C. Deedes (ed.) The episcopal register of Bishop Rede. 1. 1908, 11. 19: 386, 388.

M. C. Delany. 1921. The historical geography of the Wealden iron industry.


H. Dewey. 1929. The demesne of the Weald, Southeastern Naturalis; and antiquity. 51-9.


H. G. Dines and F. H. Edmunds. 1933. The geology of the country around Reigate and Dorking.


D.C. Douglas, 1944. The Domensay Monachorum of Christ Church, Canterbury.


(Ed.) 1914. Sussex manors recorded in feet of fines, 1509-1833. SRS.

J. Eames, 1957. A Roman bathhouse at Little Chart. AC. 130-146.


T. Elliott, 1877. Remarks on the probable site of the British city and Roman station of Anderida. SAC. 152-65.

H. Ellis, 1861. Inventory of goods etc. in the manor of Chesworth, Sedgwick and other parks... SAC. 118-131.

W. S. Ellis, 1859. Descent of the manor of Hurstspoint. SAC. 50-88.

1885. Parks and forests of Sussex. 1885.


C. I. Elton, 1867. Tenures of Kent.

1942. Battle Abbey at the dissolution. (2) Expense. ibid. 53-102.

J. Evelyn. 1664. Sylva, to which is annexed Pomona.

G. Ewing. 1926. Cowden.


W. Figg. On the remains of a Roman building discovered at Wiston 1848. SAC. 1849. 315-5.


1954. Canterbury excavations, summer 1946. The Rose Lane sites. AC. 139.


1933. Field examination of the natural drainage of soils. ibid. 219-226.


J. C. M. Given. 1946. Fifty years of Wealden geology. Southeastern naturalist and antiquary. 38-42.


(ed.) 1928. The book of John Rowe. SRS.


1937. Legh manor, Cuckfield. SAC. 161-78.

1940. Axial towers in Sussex churches. SAC. 97-120.

P.C. Godman, 1896, Itchingfield, SAC, 79-130.
1903, Borough of Horsham market deed, SAC, 131-94.
1911, On a series of rolls of the manor of Wiston, SAC, 130-145.
1921, The manor of Cowfold, SAC, 133-136.
H. L. Gray, 1915, English field systems.
W. A. Greenhill, 1802, Registers of Hastings parishes, SAC, 191-206.
M. S. Guisewel, 1902, The manor of Ewood and the ironworks there in 1575, SyAC, 28-40.
1903, Rake in Witley, SyAC, 11-60.
1912, The accounts of the ironworks at Sheffield and Worth in Sussex, Arch. J., 1912, 276-311.
1913, Some fourteenth century accounts of ironworks at Tudeley, Kent, Archaeologia, 145-64.
A. D. Hall and E. J. Russell, 1911, A report on the agriculture and soils of Kent, Surrey and Sussex.
F. J. Hanbury and E. S. Marshall, 1899, The flora of Kent.
I. C. Hannah, 1912, Crawley, SAC, 1-18.
and W. D. Peckham, 1928, Bramley's, SAC, 105-112.
1928b, Stonehouse Barn, Forest Row, SAC, 136-9.
1930, Medieval timber houses at West Hoathly and Forest Row, SAC, 107-133.
1931, Medieval houses in Southwater, SAC, 243-52.
1931b, Easteot's Farm, East Grinstead, SNQ, 144-5.
1935b, Chiddingstone farm, SNQ, 243-4.
1935c, West Hoathly church, SAC, 201-12.
1933, Colin Godman's farmhouse, SNQ, 131-3.
1959, Medieval houses at Lindfield, SAC, 165-9.
1941, Highbrooke house, SNQ, 161-2.
I.C. Hannah. 1942-3. Old houses on the Brookhouse estate. SAC. 15-34
C. Hardwick (ed.). 1858. Thomas of Elham: Historia monasterii sancti
Augustini Cantuariensis. RS.
W. Hardy (ed.). 1845. The charters of the Duchy of Lancaster.
E. Harrison. 1936. The court rolls and other records of the manor
Ightham. AC. 169-218.
W. Harrison. 1577. Description of England (ed. x. J. Furnivall. ii. 1877
E. Hart and S. E. Wimbolt. 1937. Thundersfield Castle, Horley. SyAC. 14
8.
E. Hasted. A history and topographical survey of the county of Ken
1st. Ed. i-v. 1773-1798; 2nd. Ed. i-xl. 1797-1801.
F. Haverfield. 1916. Roman remains from Ticehurst. SAC. 195.
were studies presented to E. T. Leeds.
C. Higounet. 1955. Mouvements de population dans le Midi de la Fra
e du XIe au XVe siècles après les noms de personne et de lieu. Annales: Économies, sociétés, civilisations. 1-2
R. H. E. Hill. 1909. MSS relating to Goudhurst and neighbourhood. AC.
10-21.
H. R. Hoare. 1849. Historical and architectural notices of Mayfield
palace. SAC. 221-46.
H. W. M. Hodges. 1958. A perforated axe-hammer from Cockhaise Farm,
Lindfield. SNQ. 37-9.
L. J. Hodson. Salchurst. 1914.
1920. Udimore.
M. S. Holgate. 1926. The surroundings of Philpots camp. SAC. 222-4.
1927. The manors of the archbishops in Sussex. SAC.
1929. The canon's manor of Southmalling. SAC. 183-95.
1937b. The eastern edge of the ridgeway between Rye
and Uckfield. SNQ. 198-201.
W. G. Hoskins. 1941-2. The Leicestershire farmer in the sixteenth
and Present. 44-59.
1956. The English provincial town in the early six-
1957a. The Midland peasant.
1957b. Farmhouses and cottages. Listener. 20. 6. 1957. 99;
1957c. The interior of the house. Listener. 27. 6. 1957.
1035-6.
W. Hudson. 1909. The three earliest subsidies for the county of Sussex. *SRS*.
1911. ib. ii. Miscellaneous notes. *SAC* 146-182.
F. Hull. 1957. Kent from the Dissolution to the Civil War. Unpublished MS.
J. Hunter (ed.). Great roll of the pipe 2-4 Henry II. 1844.
1853. An inquiry after the site of Anderida or Andredseaster. *SAC* 90-106.
1936. Ashford wills.
R. F. Jessup. 1930. The archaeology of Kent.
1953. The meeting of Rother and Arun. *SNQ* 272-5.
S. Karlström. 1927. Old English compound names in -ing.
1939, A Sussex yeoman family as glasmakers, SNQ. 171-3
1951, Pellingham manor, SNQ. 121-6.
1952, Wealden iron, SNQ. 234-41.
1950b, Cynebrythys ford, SNQ. 32-6.
1955, Kirdford Inventories, 1611 to 1776, SAC. 73-156.
R. Kilburne. 1657. A brief survey of the county of Kent, corrected and enlarged as 1659, A topographical or survey of the county of Kent.
1948, A traverse across the Weald, PAGA.
H. Knighton. Chronicon (ed. J. R. Lumby) i. 1889, ii. 1395. RS.
H. W. Knocker. 1915. The valley of Holmesdale. i. AC. 155-77.
1926. Sevenoaks: the manor, church and market, AC. 51-68.
1928, The evolution of the Holmesdale, i. AC. 159-64.
W. Lambarde. 1576, 1596. Perambulation of Kent.
1730, Dictionarium Anglice topographieum et historiae.
E. Lamiard (ed.) 1890, Walter of Henley’s husbandry.
L. Landon (ed.) Chartae Antiquae rolls 1-10, 1939, Pipe Roll Society.
1862 (ed.) Proceedings in the county of Kent, ib. lxxx.
1869. The Domesday book of Kent.
1936. Anglo-Saxon art and archaeology.
1957, Notes on Jutish art in Kent, Medieval Archaeology, 5-26.
R.V.Lennard.1933,The character of the Anglo-Saxon conquests:a
T.B.Lennard.1906,Excerpts from the household account book of
Hurstmoneaux castle,1643-1649,SAC,104-137.
T.G.Lethbridge,Merlin's Island,1943.
W.Lewis.1943,England and the continent in the eight century.
J.Ley.1861,Waldron.SAC,80-103.
W.J.Lightfoot.1863,Notes from the records of Hawkhurst church.
AC,55-66.
D.L.Linton.1930,Notes on the development of the western part of
the Wey drainage system,PFA,160-74.
G.J.Livett.1902,The architectural history of High Halden church
Kent.AC,295-315.
1905,Three east Sussex churches,iii,Tecklesham,SAC,58-
64.
1914,West Hythe church and sites of churches former
existing at Hythe,AC,251-62.
1914b,The architectural history of St.Leonard's Hyth
AC,273-303.
1937,Early Kent maps,sixteenth century,AC,247-77.
E.Lloyd.1911,Leeds of Wappingthorne.SAC,37-54.
N.Lloyd.1928,A history of English brickwork.
1949, A history of the English house(2nd.ed.).
R.S.Lopez.1954,Concerning surnames and places of origin,Medieval
and Humanitas,6-15.
1956,Evolution of land transport in the Middle Ages.
Past and present,17-29.
F.Lot.1926,Le lugumile manse et les exploitations agricoles de:
France moderne,Mélanges d'histoire offert à H.Pirenne
M.A.Lower.1849, Historical and archaeological notices of the iron
works of the county of Sussex,SAC,169-221.
1850,Supplementary notices of the ironworks of the
county of Sussex,SAC,240-6.
1853,On Pevensey castle and the recent excavations th
e,SAC,265-82.
1862,Parochial history of Chiddingly,SAC,207-52.
1867,On some old parochial documents relating to Lind
field,SAC,36-52.
1869,Parochial notices of Horsted Parva,SAC,191-201.
1870,Compendious history of Sussex,1.
1898, Historical and archaeological memoir of the iron
works of the southeast of England,Trans.Inst.of Mining
Engineers,729-54.
A.W.G.Lowther.1948,Some evidence as to the date of the old timb
ered road surface at Bolney,SNQ,73-5.


E.Lynn, 1944. English maps and mapmakers.


S.J.Magee, 1938. The Doomsday of crown lands.


1950, Lindfield in pre-Saxon times. SNQ. 4-11.

H.E.Malden, 1900. A history of Surrey.

1926. Old roads from the Sussex Weald. SNQ. 7-10.


1930c. Roman roads in Ashdown Forest. SAC. 1-4.

1950, Objects found at the Roman ironworks, Ridge Hill. East Grinstead. SNQ. 177-8.


1939b. Roman roads from Pevensey. SAC. 29-62.

1940. The parliamentary surveys of Ashdown Forest-topographical details. SAC. 136-9.

1940b. Packhorse routes across Ashdown Forest. SNQ. 34-40.

1940c. Roman centuriation at Ripe. SAC. 31-41.


1948. Roman roads in the Weald.


1955. Roman roads in Britain. 1.


O.Manning and W. Bray. The history and antiquities of the county of Surrey. i 1804, ii. 1809, iii. 1814.


C.T.Martin (ed.) Registrum epistolarum Johannis Peckham. i. 1882, ii. 1884, iii. 1886. ES.

P.J.Martin, 1859. Some recollections of a part of the 'Stane Streat' causeway in its passing through West Sussex. SAC. 127-1
Tunbridge Wells, SAC, 104-9.
H. Mortensen, 1944. Zur deutschen Wüstungsforshung, Göttinger gelehre
1946-7. Fragen der nordwestdeut einer Siedlungs- und
Flurforshung im lichte der Ostforshung, Nachr. d. Ak
W. Müller-Wille, 1944. Langatipperflur und Drubbel, Deutsches Archi
für Landes- und Volksforshung, 9-44.
1953. Agrarbauernfische Landschaftstypen im Nordwest
Deutschland, Deutsche Geographentag Essen, 179-86.
P. D. Mundy (ed.), 1913. Star Chamber proceedings relating to Sussex.
SBS.
R. Musson, 1954. A thirteenth century dwelling at Bramble bottom,
Eastbourne, SAC, 157-170.
J. N. L. Myres, 1937. The present state of the archaeological eviden-
1955. Medieval pottery at Bodiam castle, Sussex, SAC,
224-92.
1948. Some English parallels to the Anglo-Saxon pott-
ery of Holland and Belgium in the migration period.
L'Antiquité classique, 453-72.
1951. The Adventus Saxonicum, 221-41, in W. F. Grimes (ed.)
Aspects of archaeology in Britain and beyond.
A. F. A. Mutton, 1937. The process and pattern of the Saxon settle-
ment of west Sussex, SAC, 184-94.
N. Neilson, 1925. Custom and common law in Kent, Harvard Law Review,
482-98.
1928 (ed.) The cartulary and terrier of Bilsington Pri-
ory, Kent.
P. A. Nicklin and E. G. Godfrey-Faussett, 1935. On the distribution of:
place-names in Sussex, SAC, 215-221.
M. D. Nightingale, 1952. A Roman land settlement near Rochester, AC,
150-9.
Text Society, xlvii.
B. B. Orridge and W. D. Cooper, 1869. Jack Cade in Kent and Sussex.
W. B. Otter, 1849. Churchwardens' accounts of the parish of Cowfold,
SAC, 316-25.
W. Page, 1887. Letters of denization and acts of naturalisation for:
and ETM, Keate, 1912. Roman-British Surrey, 343-78, in VCH.
Surrey, iv.
J. M. Pardessus (ed.), L. G. Oudart Feudrix de Brequigny: Diplomata, chas:
ae, epistolae, lexes ailleque instrumenta ad res Gallo-Fran-
ceas spectatilia, 1, 1843, ii, 1849.
G. Payne, 1895. Researches and discoveries in Kent. AC. 111.
1909. Ashford church. AC. lxxviii-lxxxviii.
W. D. Peekham, 1925. Thirteen customs of the Sussex manors of the Bishop of Chichester. SRS.
1929. Old Place, Pulborough. SAC. 119-135.
1930. Old Place, Pulborough. II. SAC. 205-15.
1929. The foreign trade of Sussex. 1300-50. SAC. 93-118.
1930. Some further aspects of Sussex trade during the fourteenth century. SAC. 171-204.
1933. The exportation of wool from Sussex in the late thirteenth century. SAC. 131-9.
1933e. The distribution of wool merchants in Sussex in 1296. SNQ. 161-3.
1937b. The urban population of Sussex 1340. SAC. 211-22.
W. A. Raper. 1883. On the silver pennies of Edward the Confessor found at Seddlescombe. SAC, 1-19.
1916. The parish church of All Saints, Hurstmonceux. SAC, 2: 64.
1946. Life of a Sussex manor in the Middle Ages. Southeaster naturalist and antiquary, 1-23.
1947. Sussex and Normandy in Norman times. ibid, 10-15.
1935. Transcripts of Sussex wills. 1. SRS.
W. A. Scott Robertson. 1880. The destroyed churches of New Romney. AC, 237-49.
1880b. The Cinque port liberty of Romney. AC, 251-50.
1952. Atlantic species in the flora of the Weald. ibid, 18-19.
1905 (ed.) An abstract of Feet of Fines relating to the County of Sussex. SRS.
1906. Documents relating to Pevensey castle. SAC, 1-5.
1910. The innings of Pevensey Levels. SAC, 32-60.
1915. English industries in the Middle Ages.
1915. Some Sussex Domesday tenants. SAC, 162-79.
1924. Some Sussex Domesday tenants, i. SAC, 20-53.
1926. Old roads from the Sussex coast. SNQ, 33-4.
1932 (ed.) The cartulary of the Priory of St. Pancras & Lewes, i. SRS.
1934 (ed.) ibid, ii. SRS.
1940. The yardland or virgate. SNQ, 106-8.
1941. The Hundred Roll for Sussex, i. SAC, 20-34.
1941b. The manor of River. SNQ, 195-6.
1942-3. The Hundred Roll for Sussex, ii. SAC, 35-54.
1944-5. The Hundred Roll for Sussex, iii. SAC, 60-82.
1955 (ed.) Ministers' accounts of the manor of Petworth. SRS.
C. Sandys. 1851. Consuetudines Kanciae.
F. E. Sawyer. 1883. Sussex taverns and tavern keepers. SAC. 272-3.
1887. Extracts from the Sussex assize roll. 1279. SAC. 89-102.
W. D. Scull. 1911. Old Buckhurst. SAC. 52-76.
J. B. Sheppard (ed.) Literae cantuarienses i-iii. 1877-9. RS.
E. P. Shirley. 1866. Some account of English deer parks.
W. W. Shirley. 1868. Royal and historical letters illustrative of the reign of Henry III. i. RS.
1852. Report on excavations made upon the site of the Roman castrum at Pevensey.
1660. A treatise of gavelkind.
1693. A treatise of the Roman ports and forts in Kent.
L. D. Stamp. 1943. Kent (Land Utilisation survey).

W. Stevenson, 1813. *General view of the agriculture of Surrey.*


1931. *Wealden iron.*


1934. *A Wealden iron bloomery.* AC. 207.


Surrey County Branch of the Institute of Chartered Surveyors: 19.

The story of Surrey in maps.

C. N. Sutton, 1902. *Historical notes of Withyham, Hartfield and Ashdown forest.*


J. Taylor, 1636, The honourable and memorable foundations, erections, raisings and ruins of divers cities, towns, castles and other pieces of antiquity, within ten shires and counties of this kingdom, ... also a relation of wine taverns. 1637, The Carriers cosmographic.

S. Taylor, 1665, The history of Rachelkind.

E. Tengstrand, 1940, A contribution to the study of genitival composition in Old English place-names.

C. Thomas-Stanford, 1914, A rental of the manor of Preston in the reign of Edward VI. Brighton and Hove Arch. 29-35.

J. Thorpe, 1769, Registrum Roffense.


T. Thorpe, 1835, Catalogue of the muniments of Battle Abbey.


1873-4, On the relation of the parish boundaries of South-East England to great physical features. J. Anthrop. Inst. 30-54.

1875, Geology of the Weald.


C. F. Trower, 1869, Burwash. SAC. 103-37.


A. M. Tudor, 1934, Kemshead.


1852, Ashdown Forest. SAC. 35-64.

1852b, Maresfield. SAC. 133-70.

1855, Battle Abbey. SAC. 1-56.

1857, The lost towns of Northeye and Hydnye. SAC. 1-35.

1857b, Otehall. SAC. 61-70.


G. E. Salter (eds.), The Register of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, 1. 1915, 11. 1924.

W. H. Turner, 1878, Calendar of charters and rolls in the Bodleian Library.


R. Vaughan, 1958, lost approved and long experienced waterworks containing the manner of inter and summer drowning of meadow and pasture.
E.Vansables, 1850. The castle of Hurstmonceux and its lords, SAC. 12
202.

L.A. Vidler, 1932. Floor tiles and kilns near the site of St. Barth-

1933. Medieval pottery and kilns found at Rye, Sussex, SAC. 47-64.

1934. New history of Rye.

1936. Medieval pottery, tiles and kilns found at Rye, SAC. 107-118.


J.M. Vineent, 1930. The Battle Abbey records in the Huntington

S.P. Vivian (ed.) 1953. The manor of Etchingham-cum-Salehurst, SRS.


E.C. Vollani, 1959. The evolution of farmlands in the Central Chil-


T.Walsingham (ed. H.T. Riley). Historia Anglicana, i. 1863, RS.


1931b. Sevenoaks Essays.


1933. The list of Saxon churches in the Domesday Monachorum and the White Book of Saint Augustine, AC. 60-89.

1933b. Some eleventh century references to Sussex, SNG. 238-40.

1934. The lathe of Aylesford in 975, AC. 7-26.

1935. A Roman colony near Brenchley, Norfolk archaeol. 373-85.

1935b. The Westenhanger charter of 1035, AC. 144-52.

1936. The Haeselerse charter of 1018, SAC. 219-29.

1936-8. The manor of Lewisham and its Wealden 'dens', Tran
Greenwich and Lewisham Antiquarian society, 112-7.

1937. Saxon records of Tenterden, AC. 229-46.

1942. The Suttons, AC. 1-7.

1945. The lost demes of Little Chart, AC. 1-7.


1957. Forged Anglo-Saxon charters, AC. 147-52.

A. Way, 1852. Notices of the Benedictine Priory of St. Mary Magdale
Rusper, SAC. 244-61.


B.T. Westmarland, 1955. The map of Kent 1575-1807. S.A.A., Londen; unpub-
lished.

R. Weston, 1645, 1650. A discours of husbandrie used in Brabant and
Flanders.

E. Tharton (ed.) 1690. Anglia Sacra, i.

D.C. Whimster, 1951. Archaeology of Sussex.

W. Whitaker, 1908. The water supply of Kent, Memoirs, Geol. Survey.

1911. The water supply of Sussex from underground sources, ibid.
1928. The geology of the country near Hastings and Dungeness. ibid.
1933. The woodlands and marshlands of England.
S. P. Wilde, 1851. Fleeting parish and church. SAC. 231-42.
T. S. Willian, 1938. The English coasting trade, 1600-1750.
E. Willett, On a recent find of worked flints in Tilgate forest. SAC. 1912, 123-5.
E. H. Willett, 1879. The ancient British coins of Sussex. i, SAC. 77-180. The ancient British coins of Sussex. ii, SAC. i-3
A. E. Wilson, 1941. The end of Roman Sussex and the early Saxon settlements. SAC. 36-58.
1959. Farming in Sussex in the Middle Ages. SAC. 98-118.
S. E. Winbolt. 1923. Alfolden Roman station. i. SAC. 81-104.
1925. Sedgwick Castle. SAC. 83-110.
1932. Two Slimfold finds. SNG. 63-4.
1933. Wealden glass.
1935. Roman Sussex. i-70, in VCH. Sussex. i11.
1938. More Roman finds at Wiggonholt, Pulborough. SNG. 13-14.
1938b. Bronze Age finds from Frant. SNG. 93.
1940. History of the parish church of St. Mary the Virgin, Horsham.
1922. An inventory of the parish registers and other records in the diocese of Canterbury.
1926. A seventeenth century survey of the estates of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury in East Kent. AC. 29-44.
1929. Notes on some early documents relating to the manor, church and priory of Bilsington. AC. 19-35.
1929b. Notes from a fourteenth century act book of
the Consistory court of Canterbury. Arch. 53-54.
1950. Some features in the structure and geomorphology of the county around Fernhurst. PGA. 165-90.
1955. The iron furnace and forge in Rogate. SNQ. 82-5.
Rev. A. Young, 1812. General view of the agriculture of Sussex.

ADDENDA.
R. Hurley. History of the Weald of Kent. 1. 1871. II (2 parts) 1874.