

Binding on return 15/6/65 .

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Ph.D.

1960.

(Historical Geography.)

Vol. 2.



IV

THE WEALDEN LANDSCAPE IN THE EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY

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.¹ In 1349 all save ten of the tenants of Paddington manor in Abinger were dead² and the capital messuage of Tandridge, not far away,³ 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.⁴) Further east, the Black Death caused a severe,⁵ 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.I Glascock) and is now in Warlingham parish.

2. PRO.C 135/101/3.

3. PRO.C 135/113/4.

4. VCH.Sy.4. 1912. 418.

5. T.A.M. Bishop.1938.38.

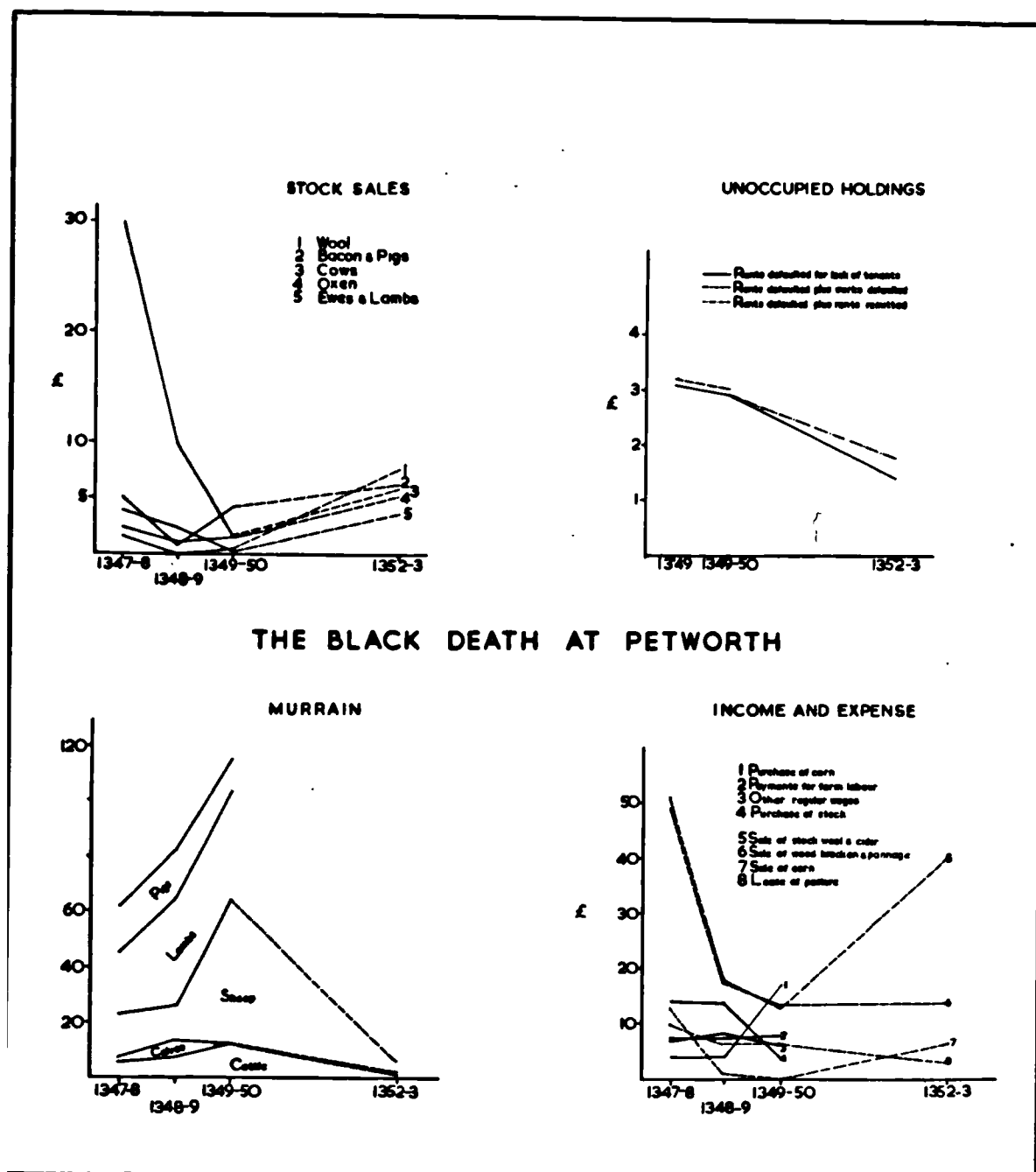


Fig. 27.

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 $\frac{2}{3}$ of the population of Alceston manor died in 1349, including 8 tenants in the Wealden part of the manor at Hellingly;¹ in 1350 9 tenant holdings at Laughton had been vacated and re-leased whilst 13 still lay in the hands of the lord.² 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.³ 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 found⁴ and in Streat manor, 1366, there were still small holdings without tenants.⁵ By this time the second attack had come in 1360-1 and it was this which closed the Tudeley ironworks in Kent;⁶ in 1373-4, after the third attack in Wiston 1369, there were more customary holdings without tenants than there had been after the first attack in 1349.⁷

The effects of the first onset of plague on the actual processes of husbandry were mirrored in the surviving accounts of Petworth manor, (Fig 27) where as many as 300 people appear to have died.⁸ The total receipts of the manor fell from £215 in 1347-8 to £158 in 1352-3; in 1352 though more barley was grown than 5 years before, the grain total was

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1. W. Bugden. 1930. 124-5, from Gage MSS, Barbican House. Lewes.
 2. BM. Add. Ch 32138.
 3. BM. Add. Ch 32656-7.
 4. Reg. Chichester C f 67; the difficulties may have been exaggerated as the Priory was requesting the advowson of Midlavant church in recompense.
 5. W. Bugden. 1942. 34-5.
 6. M.S. Guiseppi. 1913. 148-51.
 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 23 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 been¹ 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 lands²—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 herdsman and destroyed much of the arable⁴ produce.

^b
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 products⁶ 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 and were in the lord's hands. Their later leasing is portrayed in Fig. 26.²⁷

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 figure¹ 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 to² 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, ewes 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 of 70 acres in Bolney 1352, wood was 14% of the whole,¹ on a small farm of 20 acres in Cowden 1327 wood was only 8%² but on a 338 acre unit in Wisborough Green 1372 it exceeded two-thirds.³ Generally a wood was⁴ within one ownership, but a few were subdivided; much woodland lay inside parks, where the largest continuous blocks of woodland were to be found.⁵ In 1329 Etchingham Park had 400 acres of timber and copse and a

1. FM. Add. MS 5683 f 46v; date from ^f 48.

2. AC. 1883. 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 doolya' - S.P. Vivian (ed.) 1953. 147.

5. PRO. C 135/14/1.

nearby park in Udimore contained 200 acres of oakwood.¹ Specially conserved woods were not confined to parks; Petworth manor 1349-50 owned, besides the parks, a wood at Celheok and manorial expenses in 1352-3² 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 Solvik³ 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.⁴ 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 -⁵ 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,⁶ representing an annual cutting of underwood worth at least £45.

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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 - KAO.U 120/M 5.
 4. W. Hudson. 1910. 157: early C 14.
 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.) 1958: 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 they¹ were carried from Horsham to London; 1337 two large oaks were cut² 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 Wisberough Green) and Shipley were cut in 1313 to provide shingles for the King's Great Hall in Westminster;³ oaks from Tonbridge Forest were sent in 1323⁴ 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 the⁵ king's mills at Dover in 1294-5.

Royal castles consumed very substantial quantities of wood. In 1321 32 'weldicheshord' (Wealden boards) were bought at Havant for⁶ Porchester Castle and between 1307 and 1327 169 oaks and some charcoal⁷ from Ashburnham had been used at Dover castle. In 1326 Pevensey Castle bought 60 cartloads of firewood at Iwood in Warbleton and 77 oaks from⁸ Ashburnham for repairs. This followed many earlier demands - 60 oaks⁹ from Ashburnham before 1329, 100 oaks in Ashdown 1317 -¹⁰ and the

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1. SAC. 1865. 117, from PRO. C 62/115.
 2. C. Cl. R. 1337-9. 15.
 3. C. Cl.R. 1307/813. 507-8.
 4. C. Cl.R. 1323-7.9.
 5. M.H. Mills ed. 1924. xxix.
 6. PRO. E 101/479/17, cit. L.F. Salzman. 1952. 244.
 7. Payment made 1329-C. Cl.R. 1327-30. 449.
 8. PRO. E 101/588/11, from R.A. Pelham. 1933b. 129-31.
 9. C.Cl.R. 1327-30. 450.
 10. C.Cl. R. 1313-18. 518.

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extensive repairs of 1300-3. 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 boards² 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 1301-2.³

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;⁴ 6 oaks from Charlwood were granted c. 1332 to help build a mill;⁵ in 1278 4 oaks from the parsonage wood were needed to repair Burwash church.⁶ During the fourteenth century timber spires were erected

1. PRO.E 101/479/16, cit. L.F. Salzmänn. 1906. 14-15.

2. ib./15, cit L.F. Salzmänn. 1906. 9-13.

3. I have omitted wood from royal lands where no purchase price is given; in /contd

at Playden and Beckley, and a timber bell-turret at Wartling.¹

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/-/-)² and 4 from Seaford (£84). From 1329 until 1371 customs accounts are missing but other evidence shows the continuance both of coastal traffic (1358 wood was shipped to repair Boston bridge)³ 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 Sloghdam 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 now.

4. R. Furley ⁱin. 1874. 241; reprint ^{ed} of ib. 133 (1275).

5. J.B. Sheppard (ed.) i. 1887. 456.

6. Cal.Inq. Misc.i. 1916. 341.

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,¹ Maytham in Rolvenden 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 timber² fellings in the 1290's, was described in 1320 as devastated;³ in 1338 10 acres of underwood in Shipley were recorded as destroyed by the⁴ previous lord and the Prior of Shulbrede was told in 1345 not to consume his woodlands, around Linchmere in the western Weald, so⁵ 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 timber⁶ accounts. This did not end their problems for in 1335 one of the Priory manors, Eastry, appointed a woodreeve over its Wealden woods⁷ to stop illegal depredations there.

1. C.P.R. 1354-8. 579.

2. M. Clough. 1956. 149; peak sale 1290 - PRO. SC 6/1023/29.

3. C.P.R. 1317-21.522.

4. L.B. Larking (ed.) 1855. 175.

5. Cant. Reg. Winchelsey f.76v.

6. BM. Cotton MS. Galba E iv. f 73v; 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 Rolvenden, 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 ^{large}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.¹ 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.² 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.³

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.⁴ The tenants of each virgate in the 5 Wealden divisions of Southmalling manor (the 'berghs' of Wadhurst, 'Grenherst', Mayfield, Framfield and Uckfield) were obliged in 1286 to carry 3 cartloads of wood to Southmalling, a total of 183½ cartloads.⁵

1. VCH. Sy. 3. 1911.144

2. VCH. Sy. 4. 1912. 415.

3. Bishopstone custumal 1253-62, W.D. Peckham (ed.) 1925. 96-98; Ferring custumal pre 1379, prob. late C 13, ib. 72-6; Amberley (undated) ib. 54. Amberley also drew wood from Leuestrode and Mennesse (poss. Minnes 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.R. 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 custumal is 1272-1301.

Another archiepiscopal manor in Sussex, Tarring, had a Wealden outlier at Marlpost in Horsham, ¹ whence 61 cartloads of wood were taken to Tarring each year. The Wealden tenants at Marlpost owed 42 days cutting the ¹ firewood to be carted, a labour commuted by 1285.

The Wealden woods (p.321) 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 ² 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, shews 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, Mersham & Ruckinge—³ 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 denms of Great Chart, and must have been a

1. B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (ed.) 1958. 35-6, 50, 62, 69, 77, 119.

1. ib. 29.

2. 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 Michelm on 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 'drovedenns' than any of his predecessors. (¹Fig 37)shews the denns 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 denn 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 denns. 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; ³in 1310 the Archbishop of Canterbury complained of several timber losses - 24 oaks on the denn of 'Hesinden', 40 oaks and beeches in the denn of Bettenham (an outlier of Westgate manor in Canterbury), ⁴100 oaks in High Halden, 211 oaks and beeches from 3 denns of the manor of Aldington and 250 oaks from the denns of ⁵Haytherst and

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1. Stephen de Birchington. Historia de Archiepiscopis Cantuariensibus. 4/ 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 drovedennes' was granted-PRO. KB 27/293 m 55. In 1370 the prior's right to cut in drovedenn at Cranbrook was questioned, but allowed - KB 27/437 m 20v, 36.
 3. PRO. JI. 1/382 m 51v. The Wealden parishes were Cranbrook, Frittenden, Boughton Malherbe, High Halden, Smarden, Bethersden; the others Sturrey & Chislet.
 4. According to R. Furley. ii. 1874. 704.
 5. i.e. 133 Oaks and beeches from Kensham and Freezingham in Rolvenden (both in the 1539 list of Aldington denns-KAO.U. 86/M 2); 78 oaks and beeches from 'Hesinden' - probably Hesinden in Kent.

Tilden in Marden (the former a denn of Gillingham, the latter another¹ denn of Aldington.)² Most of these claims were proved. The customary connection of denns as timber suppliers to manors in North Kent was breaking down and by the middle of the century some landlорds made the separation legal; rather than lose all the timber on the denns by illegal depredation, they granted it to the local tenants in exchange for a fixed annual rent. In 1356 Aldington manor made such an arrangement²³ with its denn of Devenden, and others followed.

(iii) Parkland.

Much of the Wealden land surface in the early fourteenth century was forest, chace, 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,^{3/4} subject to special and repressive forest laws; in this sense there were

Aldington, in 1703 list-KAO.U. 89/M 12 p107-8.

1. KAO. U 398/M 1A f 91; KAO U 86/M2.
2. AC. 1864-5. 247-9. Compare Pipesden in Hawkhurst and Walkhurst in Benenden, two of the denns of Eastry, where by the early C 14 the tenants took half the timber, and the monks of Christ Church, the landlорds, the other half-EM.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 ¹ Sussex pointed out, but there were several large areas commonly called 'forest'.

The largest of these was the 'forest and chace 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 these areas commonly called in the early fourteenth century ³ 'the forest and chace of St. Leonards', the 'forest and chace of Worth' or 'the forest of Dallington'; this last was also known as the 'forest of Brightling' or 'Burwash forest'. ⁵ In the Kentish Weald the 'forest and chace of Tonbridge' was thus called whether in royal hands or not ⁶ and 'Waterdown Forest' was its southern extension across the border in ⁷ Sussex.

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1. Parliamentary writs i. 91a, cit. G.J. Turner. 1901.lxxviii.
 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 1372(C.P.J. 1370-4. 183), reverting to Crown 1399 when he became king (E. Somerville.i. 1953.x). Ashdown is thus named 1100-30 (C. Johnson & H.A. Crenne. 1956. no 1670), in 1263 it is referred to both as the royal forest of A. (C.Cl.R 1261-4. 256) and the forest of Peter of Savoy of A (ib.259); in 1315 as a chace (BM. Harl.MS. 2077.f 375).
 3. 1214 Forest-Cal.Lit.Claus. 1204-24. 142; free chace called forest 1295-CPR. 1292-1301. 164. From c.1075 to C 16, save short period under John, it was in the hands of subjects-W.H. Legge. 1907. 306-10 (may a royal possession in Saxon times-ib. 306).
 4. Refs. 1250-1 (PRO.E 372/85 m5), 1249-52 (Cal.Inq.Misc.i.1916.55); in royal hands for a short period 1315-17(BM.Add. MS 5684 f 175), maybe royal possession under Conqueror-W.H. Legge. 1907.310.
 5. 1086 held by a subject (18b); referred to as Dallington F. 1343 (Cal. Inq. Misc. ii. 1916. 462), Burwash forest 1225 (VCH.Sx. 2.1907.324) 1280-PRO.C 145/38/10; Brightling Forest c.1176 (W. Dugdale. Mon. v.

By 1350 most of the so-called 'forests' were thus called in taken 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 beasts¹ of the chace 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,² being so extensive, suffered much encroachment. There were other chaces

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- 1825.668), Chace of Dallington 1334 (CIPM.7. 426). The grant by R. Yssouden in 'foresta mea de Worth' (HMC, Penshurst MSS. i. 1925. 54) refers not to Worth Forest (as given PN.Sx. i.3), but Worth in Brightling, i.e. Dallington (VCH.Sx. 2. 1907. 324). W.H. Legge 1907.3 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); chace 1323 (C.C./L.R. 1318-23. 637). In royal hands 1325.
 7. The first reference to Waterdown Forest is 1439-PN.Sx. ii. 376. Legge (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 chace of R. 1331 (C.P.R. 1334-8. 141). In 1086 there was a park here (16a)-Legge says the land was royal before the Conquest, granted to Odo and confiscated on his rebellion.
 1. G.J. Turner. 1901. xix; Manwood distinguished buck, doe, fox, martin and roe as beasts of the chace, but this has no legal basis.
 2. 1275 encroachment in Ashdown-L.F. Salzman. 1942-3.38; and in Tonbridge forest-R. Furley. 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
 wont 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, landlорds claimed
 rights to hunt not only over the demesne, but also over the land of their
⁶ ⁷
 bond or even free tenants. In 1275 the Earl of Surrey exacted hunting

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1. Acc. PN, Sx. 299; W.H. Legge. 1907. 311 - in or near South Malling.
 2. L.F. Salzman. 1942-3. 43; on 1287 there was a "forester" of Cleres-PRO. J 1 1/924 m 57.
 3. Common pasture rights shew much of the wood was unenclosed in 1285- B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (eds.) 1958. 32, 36, 48, 66. The Archbishop had two foresters in the manor, one for the north part, other for Breyle Park (102).
 4. G.T. Turner. 1901. cxfi.
 5. PRO JI 1/921 m 16 (one Breadbridge is in Slinfield, another in Horsham).
 6. 2 men were in court 1402 for hunting on their bondland at Totyngworthe in Hawksborough Hundred (BM. Add. Ch 31541); in 1389 the owner of Witley park claimed free warren over lands of bond tenants (PRO. KB 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.243).

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. ¹ That same year the Queen appropriated free warren over all lands in Willington Hundred and in 1278 it was claimed ² that the Queen alone had free warren in the whole Rape of Pevensey. ³

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, ⁴ 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 ⁵ (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 ⁶ 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 over 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 Barony of Pevensey, granted to Peter of Savoy, included these parishes wholly or partly in the Weald - Arlington, Wilmington, Felkington, Willington, 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 chaces had been invaded includes 50 in Pevensey and Hastings Rapes-C.P.R. 1350-4. 287-8.

⁴
5 ¹/₄, *See Appendixes V-VI under Ashdown in Chiddingfold, Birchington & Hinstonscombe.*
e.g. coney warren at Petworth within Little Park 1348-50, enclosed by hedge and ditch-L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1955. 24, 35, 48.

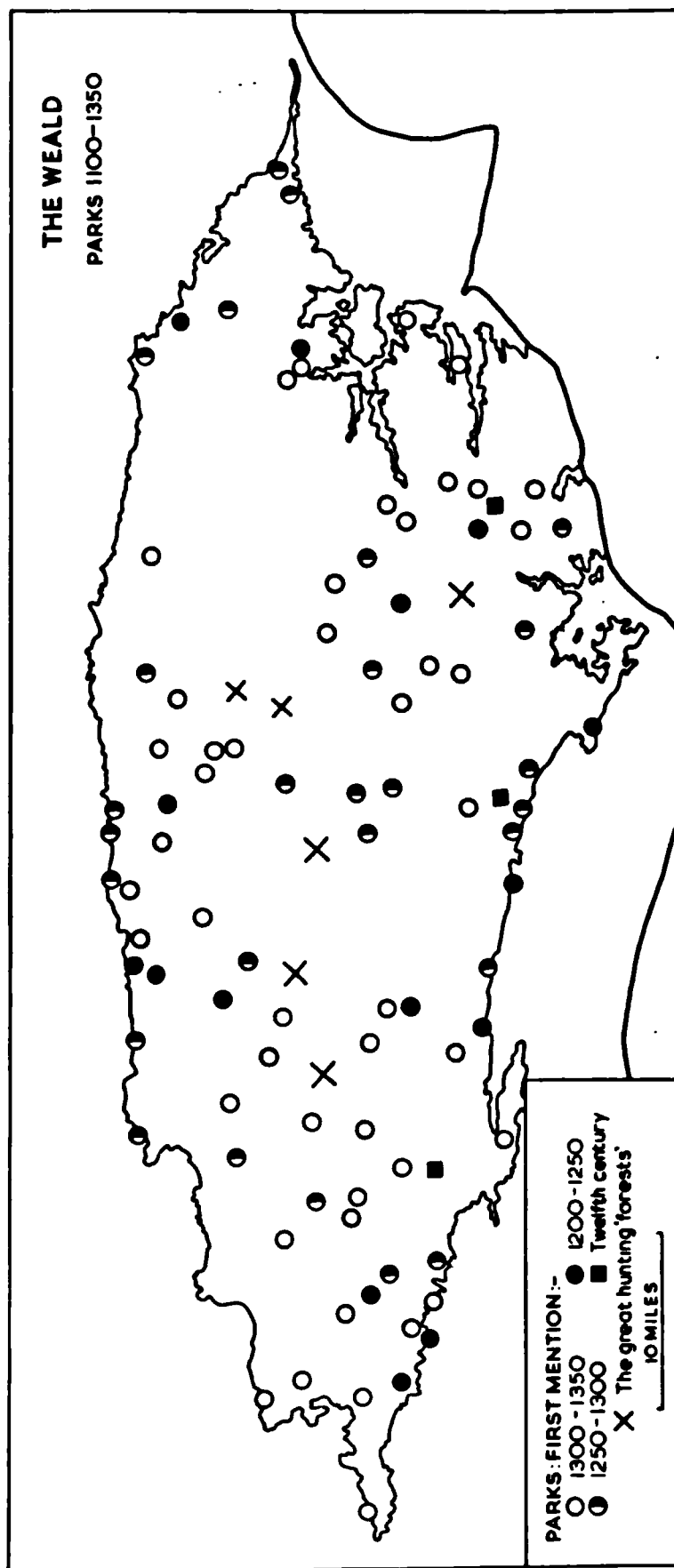


Fig. 28. Data from Appendix V.

neighbouring landowners were given rights to hunt over part of it.¹

By 1300 the creation of chaces had ended but parkland was still increasing. At least 46 parks are documented for this date and by 1350 there were 68.² (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 chace and park within St. Leonard's Forest³ and a newly enclosed park at Worth in 1326.⁴ 4½ acres were added to Ringmer Park 1279-92, land in Mayfield at Frankham⁵ in Heathfield and at Pashley in Ticehurst was imparked between 1291 and 1341⁶ and 74 acres were added to Mayfield Park in 1354.⁷ 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

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- 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 Wealde woods of Archbishop's manor of Southmalling 1285-B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (ed.) 1958. 119.
1. Grant of Dallington rights 1265 (C.C.R. 1257-1300.54), 1301 (C.C.R. 1300-26. 23) for adjacent landlords, W. de Echingham 1295 (C.C.R. 1257-1300. 460), Iterus Bechard 1278 (ib.206), Alan de Boxhull 1314 (C.C.R. 1300-26. 271) E. de Passeleye 1317 (ib.333).
 2. Based on Appendix 5; in 1250 only 20 are known.
 3. C.P.R. 1340-3. 551.
 4. CIPM. 6. 437.
 5. D. Douie. 1952. 93.
 6. G. Vaderzee (ed.). 1807. 376, 356, 350; also Shelley in Crawley-380
 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 given¹ 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,² four for land in Ticehurst,⁴ five for Chiddingstone⁵ 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 Mersham Cumbden Lamberhurst and Goudhurst, were allowed on presentation of a royal charter.⁶

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.⁷

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1. PRO.C. 135/40/8; CIPM. 7. 427; C 135/95/13; C 135/104/23; C 134/97/7; C 131/3.
 2. C.C.R. 1300-26. 283; ib. 1327-41. 90, 99.
 3. C.C.R. 1257-1300. 460, 474; ib. 1300-26. 271, 333.
 4. C.C.R. 1257-1300.46; ib. 1300-26. 108; ib. 1327-41.454 (repeat ib. 1341-1417.11); ib. 1327-1341. 467. Also for Somerden in C 1202-Mine Library, Deed H 127.
 5. For demesnes in Wartling C.C.R. 1257-1300. 279; ib.1300-26. 23; ib. 1327-41. 99; Old Court ib. 1257-1300.345, repeat ib. 1300-26. 392; Rockland ib. 1327-41, repeat ib. 99; Mersham ib. 1300-26. 392.
 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 Southmallington manor contributed to repairing the boundaries of Broyle Park in 1285.¹ 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';² customary tenants in Rotherfield owed upkeep of its southern margin (there known as Rotherfield chace) in that parish.³ Tenants of Highley⁴ (in Balcombe and Worth) repaired part of the enclosure of Worth Forest⁵ 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.⁶

The most important sporting beasts in the parks were deer. They were kept in large numbers - 1000 in Udimore Park 1329 - and the upkeep⁷ 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.⁸ beyond feeding of the deer and upkeep of the fences. On the other hand

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1. B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (eds.) 1958.90.
 2. C.Cl.R. 1318-23. 637; W.V. Dumbreck. 1958. 143.
 3. For at least 55 perches, 1332-77 customal-C. Pullein. 1928. 66.
 4. According to recitation 1559-60: BM. Add. MS. 5683 f 184.
 5. PRO. SC 6/1027/21.
 6. Ashdown by observation 1959-60, Michelham-G.M. Cooper. 1853. 153; also surviving earthwork of medieval hunting lookout in Ashdown-I.D. Margary. 1930b. 72-6. For medieval park boundaries elsewhere, cf. O.G.S. Crawford. 1953. 190-6.
 7. PRO.C 135/14/1. A detailed C 14 account of a deer-hunt occurs in the Parlement of the Three Ages. ed. M.Y. Offord. 1960.
 8. PRO.C. 134/97/6.



(a) Ferreting in a rabbit warren. BM. Royal M 2 B vii. f I55v.



(b) Deer hunting. ib. f I53.

Fig. 29. Early C 14 illustrations of hunting activities.

deer provided a valuable food supply, and large warrens supplied both meat and skins. (Fig 29),- the Conynghere in Petworth Great Park supplied many rabbits annually (183¹ were taken 1347-8). Dogs hunted the larger animals, hawks the smaller prey and the bird population of some parks included not only hawks but pheasants and partridges.² Such delicacies were largely confined to parks and, whilst the eastern coastlands of the Weald had access to coastal fisheries, most of the fishponds of the inner Weald were within park pales - at Aldington 1275, Petworth 1349,³ West Peckham 12-93⁴ 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 (available for less than two months p.a.) at 1/6/8;⁵ 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 Rotherfield chace was worth 7/13/4⁶ in 1307;

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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 BOLL* 32 E 1); sparrowhawks in Ashdown 1287-PRO.JI 1/9 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 chace of Earl of Surrey in Cuckfield, Ditchling, Clayton and Hurstpierpoint-C.P.R. 1377-81.4 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 the¹ 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~~² if it was not reserved for the lord's mares and foals. In 1305 a number of horses in Wedgwick Park were disturbed by intruders and Southpark in Boughton Malherbe was worth nothing³ in 1339 beyond feeding for horses.

Some park pasture was good - Knepp park in 1326 included meadows -⁴ but much was poor. In the same year Worth Park was described as 'pasture⁵ and moor', and the 400 acres of Etchingham Park in 1329 were wood and

3. R. Furley.ii. 1874. 7, 139; L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1955.31; PRO C 133/65/4.

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.

1. H. Johnstone (ed.) 1931.1,2,31,40 (1304-5). C.Cl.R 1302-7. 245.

2. L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1955. 53-5, 32-3, 46.

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

4. PRO.C 134/97/6.

5. CIPM. 6. 437.

¹ heath; Burwash park had an annual sale of bracken, and Petworth Park ² sold 16/- worth in 1347-81, ³ 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 ²³² ~~323~~ ¹ acres recently imparked in Werth. 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 ⁵ 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 ⁶ they thought it would improve the poor pasture. Several monastic houses ⁷ 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.

3.L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1955. 3; no buyers 1349-50 (46), 1352-3 (65). Also cut for the lord's fold 1349-50 (49).

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 Hofkday-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 Burwash² 1280 but¹
 Udimore Park in 1329 enclosed 200 acres of oak; the woods of St. Angustin²
 Abbey in Tenterden 1350 included Polledepark' and Hertispark'. Sales³
 of parkland timber were regular - 100 beech from Ashdown 1285, £4 per⁴
 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, charcoal⁵
 in Maresfield Park 1363.

Small areas with the parks were tilled. An unspecified acreage of⁶
 arable in Burwash manor lay inside the park. Between 1297 and 1350 about
 50 acres in Westerham Park were assarted and intermittently cropped; by
 1350 both East and West Parkfield had been integrated into a rigid⁷
 sequence of rotational tillage. In the chace of the Earl of Surrey at⁸
 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 other⁹
 land 'newly assarted' in the Great Park.

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1. PRO.C 135/14/1.
 2. BM. Faust. A.i.f. 43v; f 168 list repeated and Hertispark' changed to Matthewes Park.
 3. PRO.E. 101/136/18. Grant 1350 of ten waggonloads of beech faggots p.s. from Ashdown-C.P.R. 1350-4.6; 1309 enquiry into depredations in Ashdown-C.Cl.R. 1309-13. 106.
 4. PRO C 145/38/10; 1280 (there Burwash forest).
 5. L.F. Salzman(ed.) 1955. 65; C.P.R. 1361-4. 413.
 6. PRO.C. 145/38/10.
 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 (ib.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 parkland¹ 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) Commonlands.

Commons were frequently mentioned in documents on the early fourteenth century Weald - Heyworth Common in Wivelsfield 1296,² the 'commun³ de Horeapeltre' in Heathfield 1337, Staplefield Common in Cuckfield⁴ 1315. The largest continuous area subject to common grazing was Ashdown Forest; in 1341 the grazing rights there of parishioners in Withyham were⁵ 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.

4. J.H. Cooper. 1896. 189. Common in East Grinstead 1291-2, L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1932. 87.

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. Vanderzee (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 in¹ 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 in² Laughton manor excluded sheep and the rights of Wealden tenants of Slindon and Tarring manor excluded goats.³ Often common grazing was⁴ 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 Buttinghill⁵ 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 (at⁶ Clearhedge Wood and elsewhere) and Breyknoll in Ashdown Forest. It was not easy to prevent abuses in Ashdown Forest; disputes over smaller

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1. A. Fitzherbert. Grand Abridgement of the Common Law. 1516. III. f xiv II f 13 of 1565 edition. Common in Hersmonden and Lamberhurst mentioned 1313-14 (W.C. Belland 1913. 213).
 2. M. Clough. 1956. 250.
 3. B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (ed.) 1958. 29, 5.
 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.
 5. L.F. Salzman. 1942-3. 52; cf roadside grazing in Rudgwick & Wisborough Green 1357-1946-235. (W.D. Peckham (ed.) 1946. 235).
 6. Cal. Inq. Misc.i. 1916. 469; Abbot of Bayham's right to graze 20 swine mentioned 1305, ib. 532.

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 Forest¹ 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 Coeden² 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.³ 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.⁴ 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 Broyle in Ringmer, on the southern boundary of the Weald.⁵

The third major group of common grazings were the downlands attached 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'⁶ and Wiston manor had considerable downs grazed by

1. BM. Add.M.5.5684 f 218v.

2. VCH.Sx. 9. 119. 117. 119.

3. BM. Cott. MS. Nero E vi f 142; Hamsey had a 'heath' for common grazing 1275 - L.F. Salzman. 1942-3.52.

4. B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (eds.) 1958. 47,65,74,83; compared the enclosed wood at Marlpost in Horsham where common grazing was not allowed. *ibid.* 29.

5. Tenants of Wellingham and southern 'berghs' of Southmalling: *ib.* 91,9102,106, 111,115, 117. Free tenants had the right, customary tenants paid a rent of hens. 6. PRO.C 134,76/3.

¹
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 shewed a certain bias towards animal husbandry and enclosed pasture covered substantial acreages of the Wealden land surface. In some manors, as Southstoke (1272-1307),² more land was in pasture than in any other single land use; in others more land was described as cultivated than as permanent pasture,³ lands in Speldhurst and Leigh 1329,³ and in Boughton Malherbe 1340.⁵ 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 money equivalents) and the use of tilled land as pasture after harvest and wheat fallow. At Wiston in 1357 there was 170 acres of arable, 175 of pasture⁶ and a sheep pasture for 50 sheep of unspecified acreage. Judging from

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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.1953.4 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-PRO. C 135/60/2; 1341 same figures save 24 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 pasture. (P.S. Godman. 18 H. 140).

an account of Claverham in Arlington 1368 pasture was grazed all the year¹ animals were not confined to stalls in winter.

Some of the several pasture was wooded; in 1308 a wood of 18 acres² in Shipley was worth 2d an acre as pasture. The 85 acre wood pasture at Holwik in Wiston was valued more highly⁶ (6d. an acre in 1357) than the 60 acres of pasture outside the park and the 20 acres at Westonde; there was also, however, in Wiston a wood of 2 acres at Sevyeres which could not³ be grazed because of the multitude of trees. 190 acres of wood in Bivell⁴ 1273-4 were used as grazing.

Other several pasture was poor and scrubby. 100 acres at Socknersl⁵ in Brightling was described in 1293 as 'heath and pasture'; at Rotherfield in 1207³ there were 163 acres of rough grazing valued at⁶ only 2d. per acre. 20 acres of bush in Hurstmonceaux 1360 were worth 2d per acre as pasture for sheep and other beasts but another 28 acres⁷ of bush had no value and 100 acres of heath in Slaughman manor 1339 were⁸ rated at only 1/4d an acre. The extent of Buckhurst in Withyham 1273

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1. W. Bugden, 1950, 25 - there is reference to the leasing of winter pasture.
 2. BM. Cotton MS. Nero E vi f 153; 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 Fryth and Buttecreft 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 was 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.² The pastures of the Weald thus included much poor land as well as good pasture and this variation occurred within small areas; lands of Wiston manor in West Chiltington in the early fourteenth century included 23½ acres of pasture worth 5d per acre, 15 acres of poor pasture worth 1½d an acre, stubble pasture worth 13/4 and 31 acres of woodland pasture at 1d an acre, besides pannage worth 15/-.³

(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 1/6⁴ and in at least one recorded instance, at 2/-.⁶ 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.⁷

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1. PRO. C 133/8/7.
 2. VCH. Sy. 4. 1912. 417.
 3. W. Hudson. 1910. 157.
 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 -BM. Add. MS 568 f 5 42; Southstoke in this parish, Wisborough Green, Rudgwick and Fittleworth -ib.f 119v; Lee in Fittleworth-BM. 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) 14 acres produced 13 cartloads

There were some inferior meadows - those at Bibleham in Mayfield¹ in 1310 were dry and sandy and meadow at East Sutton 1340 was valued only² 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, so³ that meadow land might be benefited. Warelands in Cowden, mentioned⁴ 1320, was a wet meadow and a grant of 2 acres of meadow at Duddlesfold 'Hacche' (in 1312) included right to bring a water course anywhere through⁵ the land. At Bolney c1352 the meadows were divided into many parcels and tenants had right to aftermath in the demesne meadow only if they⁶ 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:

Thorold 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.

1. Cal.Inq. Misc. ii. 1916. 462.
2. KAO. U. 120/M 4. ar
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.¹ In Etchingham and Salehurst 'brookland', which was pasture or fresh marsh, was valued only at 1/- per acre, whilst meadow was valued at 2/6.²

Many estates had only a small proportion of their area in meadow, some - as 150 acres in Speldhurst and Leigh 1329³ - included none; Wiston in 1357 included only 7 acres in a total of 352.⁴ Some few were better endowed - Etchingham and Salehurst had 38½ acres in 1330, (plus 64½ and at brookland) and Willingdon in 1296 had the unusually high figure of 282½.⁵ 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.⁶ 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.⁷ 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 Barnehorne 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. Redwood 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 - Knelle in Beckley 1295 had 250 acres upland arable, 100 arable of broke -PRO. C 133/71/5.

3.C.P.R. 1327-30. 369.

4.PRO.C. 135/137/46.

strictly differentiated the better marsh pastures from the poorer land above ('terra susanna') but the marshlands 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'¹.

(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.² The Nonarum Inquisitiones in 1341 shew 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 (1361) and 80 (1363). In 1414 there is a reference to land near Hawkhurst Moor - BM. 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 Ruckinge in 1283-C 133/39/3; the Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem ii. 292, 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 Hooe 1341 for arable (p.346).
1. PRO. SC 11/660, cit. VCH, Sx. ii. 1907. 169. 1388-9 meadow lay under saltwater in Sedlescombe: HMC. Penshurst. i. 1925. 163.
2. L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1955. 8, 17-19, 20⁹-31, 41-3, 49, 55-7, 70, 78-93.

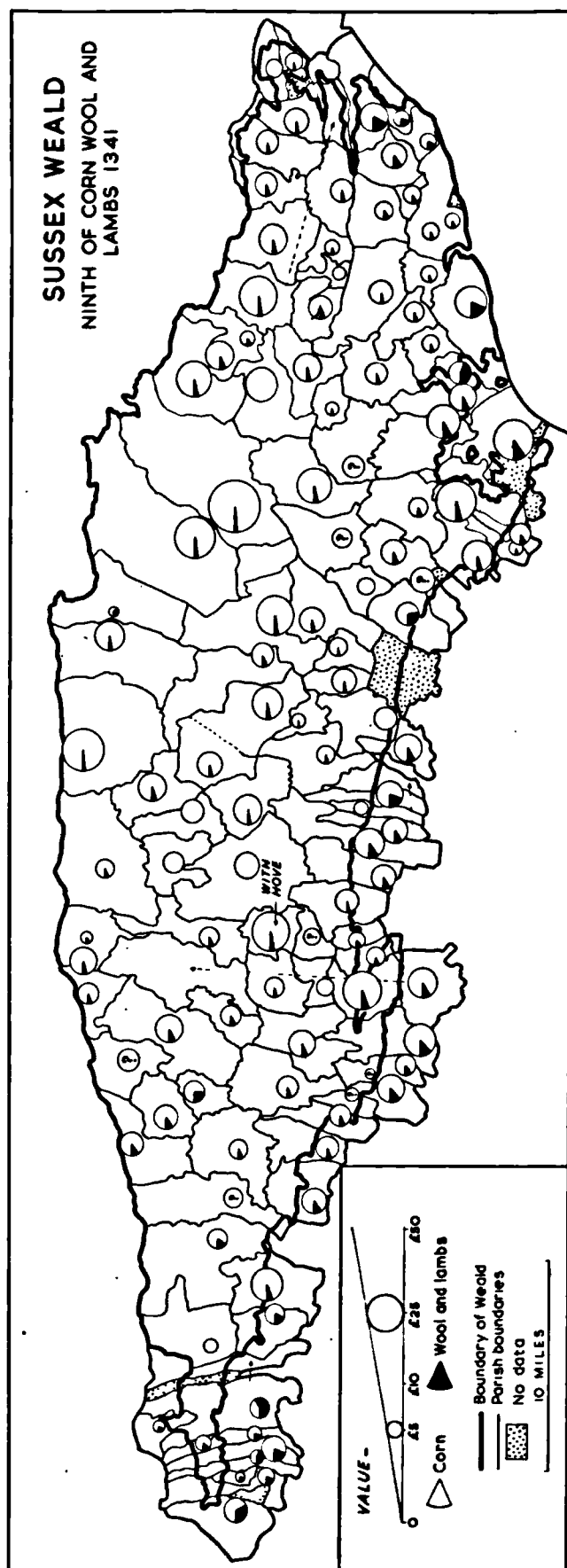


Fig. 30. The parish total includes the lay ninth and (where specified) the tenth of ecclesiastical land (see Appendix 2).

settlements where lambs and wool had any proportional significance¹ lay on the downland and marshland borders of the area. (see Fig 30)

This distribution is confirmed by other documents. Along the downland border, the lord's sheep pasture in Wiston 1357 could support 500² sheep; pasture for 136 wethers was leased out in Streat 1366; Claverham³ 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,⁴ besides 252 oxen, 100 cows, 10 bulls, 10 horses and 130 goats.⁵ 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 Southmallin return); in Pevensey Levels⁶ 1341 there were 1500 at Manxey in Pevensey and Northeye in Bexhill. Within the Weald sheep were much less important, there were exceptions -⁷ in 1348 Chiddingfold had 184 sheep, 38 cattle and 34 swine- but in August 1308 the large manor of Shipley, with lands in Shipley Woodmancote and⁸ 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.

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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. PRO.C 135/137/46.
 3. W. Bugden. 1942. 12-13.
 4. W. Bugden. 1950. 25; cf only 55 cows.
 5. SAC. 1865.248; the reliability of this document is not unquestioned
 6. Figures calculated by A.M.M. Melville. 1931. 38-41; the Southmallin rates agree well with figures for the wool-clip over the same time period.
 7. Cal.Inq. Misc. ii.1916. 517. 8. HM.Add. MS 6165 f.183.

The list of wool-producing monastic houses drawn up by Pegalotti¹ 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 Rother² and in the Winchelsea marshes. The list also mentioned the two houses at Bayham in Frant and at Dureford, 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.³ The export fluctuated from year to year, from only 6 sacks, 44 cloves and 322 woolfells 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.)⁴ In 1288-9 two-thirds of the total from the Wealden ports came from Pevensey, near both Downs and Pevensey Levels,⁵ 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 1272-1307,⁶ 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),

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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 Grikes in the Winchelsea marshes, 1417-18, ib. 166. The sale of 1294 is 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 see East Sussex production, in 1364-5(A.M.M. Melville. 1932.39). By 1402 the

Lee (in Kirdford) and ~~X~~Pallingham (in Kirdford and Wisborough Green)¹ and mentioned cattle and horses only: Sheep only appeared at South-stoke and Woolbeding,² 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. Three manors along the northern border of the Kentish Weald . Great and Little Chart and East Peckham had no sheep in 1332;³ 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 than⁴ from sheep or sheep products, though cattle were fewer in number. By⁵ 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.

4. R.A. Pelham. 1929. 93-118; 1933. 131-9; 1935.205-6.
5. R.A. Pelham. 1935. 205-6.
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. 135; the totals differ somewhat from those of 1397 for the same manors. *ib.* 38.
1. *BM. Add. MS 5685 f 59; 5686 f 50; 5687 f 177; 5687 f 235v; 5688 f 54* Cuckfield manor 1397 also had no sheep (L.F. Salzman. 1953. 39).
2. *BM. Add. MS 5688 f 119v; 5679 f 140v.* 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 them on its extensive marsh pastures.
4. L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1955. 2-3, 15-18, 69-73.
5. Oxen at Wiston C 14 (P.S. Godman. 1911. 141); teams of 10 oxen at Laughton 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 1327¹ but in the manor of Laughton dairying expanded after 1325². 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 Chiddingfold (25/-)³ 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 1297⁴, and in 1292 there had been 2784 swine, besides 100 cattle.⁵ 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.⁶ 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-feed.⁷ According to the pannage tithes

1. E.A.L. Smith. 1943. 165.

2. M. Clough. 1956. 69.

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.

5. PRO.SC 6/1027/22, cit. W.H. Legge. 1907. 314,

6. 1357-8, Bodl.Kent Ch.8. Petition was made 1361-2 for renewal of the privilege (ib.). In 1325 the Priory was allowed 120 hogs in the forest. C.Cl.R. 1323-7. 427.

7. C. Pullein. 1928.66; in this manor land owing rent of one swine was called a 'swyne' or 'suen', C. Pullein. 1927. 118-20, and 1928, 79-80.

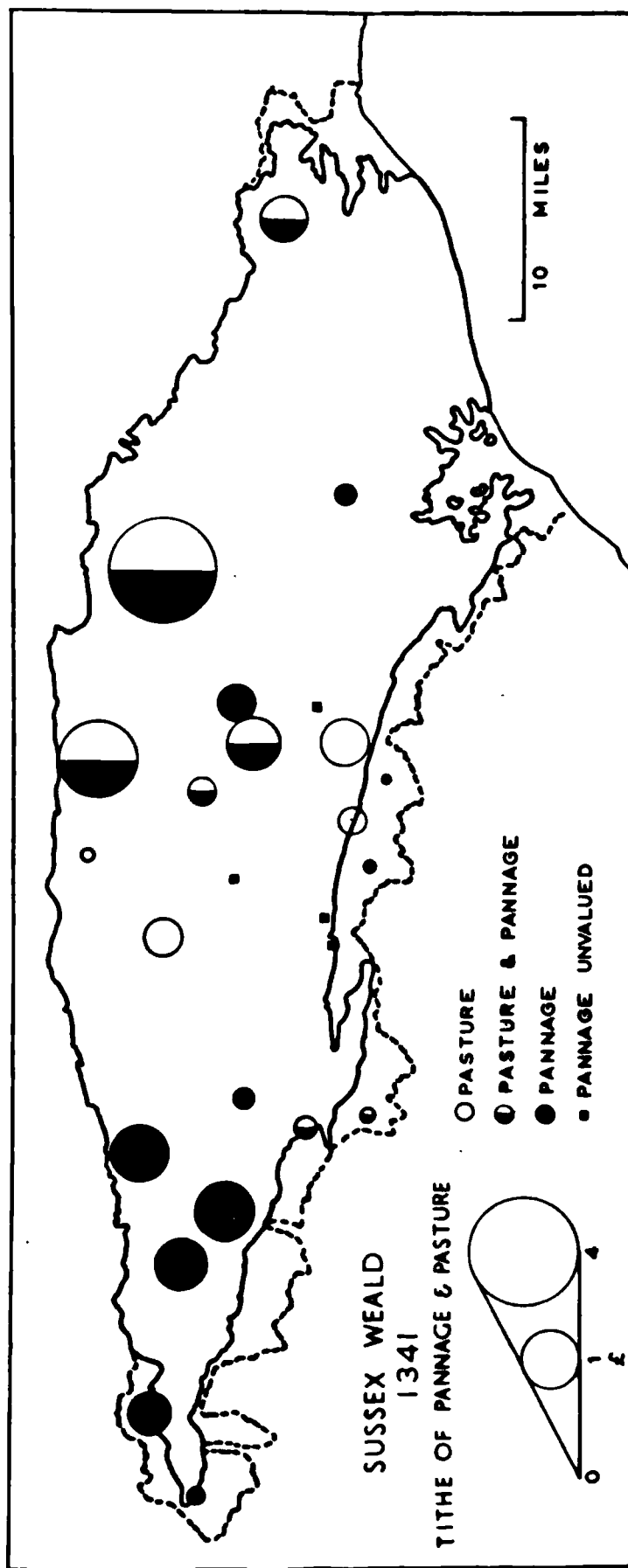


Fig. 31.

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 Rotherfield 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 Rotherfield, 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 beasts¹ paid as rent or heriot, to the manorial centre in South malling. 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 southern² margin of the Weald. In Wiston fourteenth century heriets shew that³ 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,⁴ as well as meat.

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1. B.C. Redwood and A.E. 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.
 3. W. Hudson. 1911. 175-6.
 4. The author of the Senechausie, late C 13, said if pigs were fed on grain alone, there would be a 50% loss - E. Lamond (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. Petwerth 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 leased out the pannage of Dallington Forest to the tenants; payment for the swineherd during the pannage season at Streat 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 ninth, 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

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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-4 q.6 bz. large oats were used 1348 for fattening pigs (25-6).
 2. P.S. Godman. 1911. 140-4.
 3. 2 pigs sold p.a. 1288-9 but none in stock inventories before 1337-Clough. 1956. 69, 107.
 4. W. Bugden. 1942. 37. Only 12 swine.
 5. R.A. Pelham. 1933b. 129-31, from PRO.E 101/588/11.
 6. Calculated by E.M. Yates 1953b.88.

tithes unfortunately do not survive from 1341 but some scattered valuations remain - in 1291 there was pannage in the park at Boughton¹ 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 the² crop of acorns and beechmast was poor. Pannage within 'le Strode' park in³ Wiston 1357 was valued at 10/- quande acciderit (when it fell). Secondly⁴ 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 of⁵ 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 extending⁶ 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, BM. Egerton MS 1967 f 229 (this was formerly part of Southmalling and the same division occurs in Southmalling 1330-B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (eds) 1958. 140); Ringmer cl550-BM. Add. MS 5681 f 101v. In Rotherfield 1332-77 full mast, scarce mast and no mast were distinguished, C. Pullein. 1928. 66.

3. PRO.C 135/137/46.

4. Pannage season commonly given as Michelmas to Martinmas (29 September to 12 November). W. Nelson. Manwood's Treatise of the Forest Laws. 1717. 230, gives it as 14 September to 8 November.

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', 15¹ days wither side of Midsummer Day. Tenants of Rotherfield had rights in² the lord's chace 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 Chiltonington, 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. New E 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.² 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;³ 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.⁴ The park grazings in Petworth 1349 were used by the lord's colts and mares from the March, perhaps the Welsh border.⁵ Thus although Wealden animal husbandry had no marked specialization it shewed those signs of contact with other regions which were also found in other sectors of the regional economy.

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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 (ed.) 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 Iryngnam and returned a colt (10 miles) and 19 pigs from Boys in the Chilterns (10 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 murrain e.g. many calves died at Laughton 1287 (PRO.SC 6/1023/39. m4) at Wiston 90 sheep died out of 732 1370-1 (P.S. Godman 1911.141-4), and see also pp. 296-7.
 5. The suggested interpretation of this difficult phrase by L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1955. 32-3.

(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

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1. R.A. Pelham. 1932. Map 5.
 2. R.A. Pelham. 1936. 237-8, from PRO.E. 101/566/3.
 3. T.A.M. Bishop. 1938. 42-3.
 4. R.A. Pelham. 1937. 209.
 5. BM. Add. MS 6165.f.360.
 6. L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1955. 12-68: small oats were 3/4 of the sown arable acreage.
 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 164½, ib. 60-1.)

and at Stretham in Henfield;¹ along the northern margin wheat was more important than oats at Great and Little Chart in 1332 and almost as important at East Peckham.² (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;³ 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,⁴ 25 at Stretham in Henfield⁵ and 5-15 at Petworth.⁶ These marginal manors also grew some rye but only at Petworth was it significant;⁷ maslin, mized rye and wheat, was sown on 13 acres at Shipley 1308.

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1. R.A. Pelham. 1937. 208; figures for 1388.
 2. FM. 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); FM. Cott MS Galba E iv f 76-8(1332).
 5. 26 in 1388-R.A. Pelham. 1937. 208.
 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.).

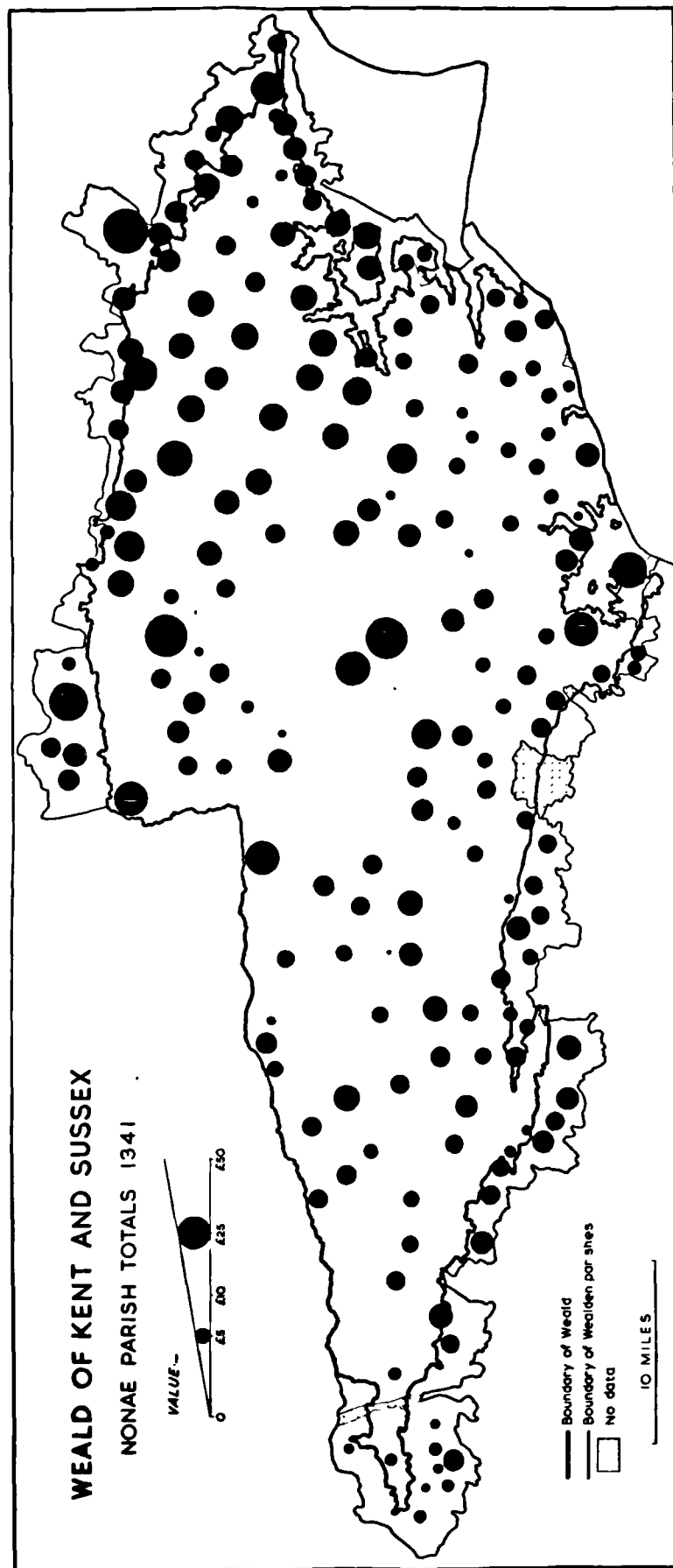


FIG. 37.

Such were the grain crops grown in the Weald and the Nonae returns for the Sussex Weald shew the distribution of grain-production as a whole¹ (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%.³ 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.⁵

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

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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, 1 if anything, and certainly the Kentish Weald has a more fertile superficial deposits than the Weald of Sussex.
 2. T.A.M.Bishop.1938. 43-4.
 3. BM.Cotton MS. Galba E iv. f 76-8.

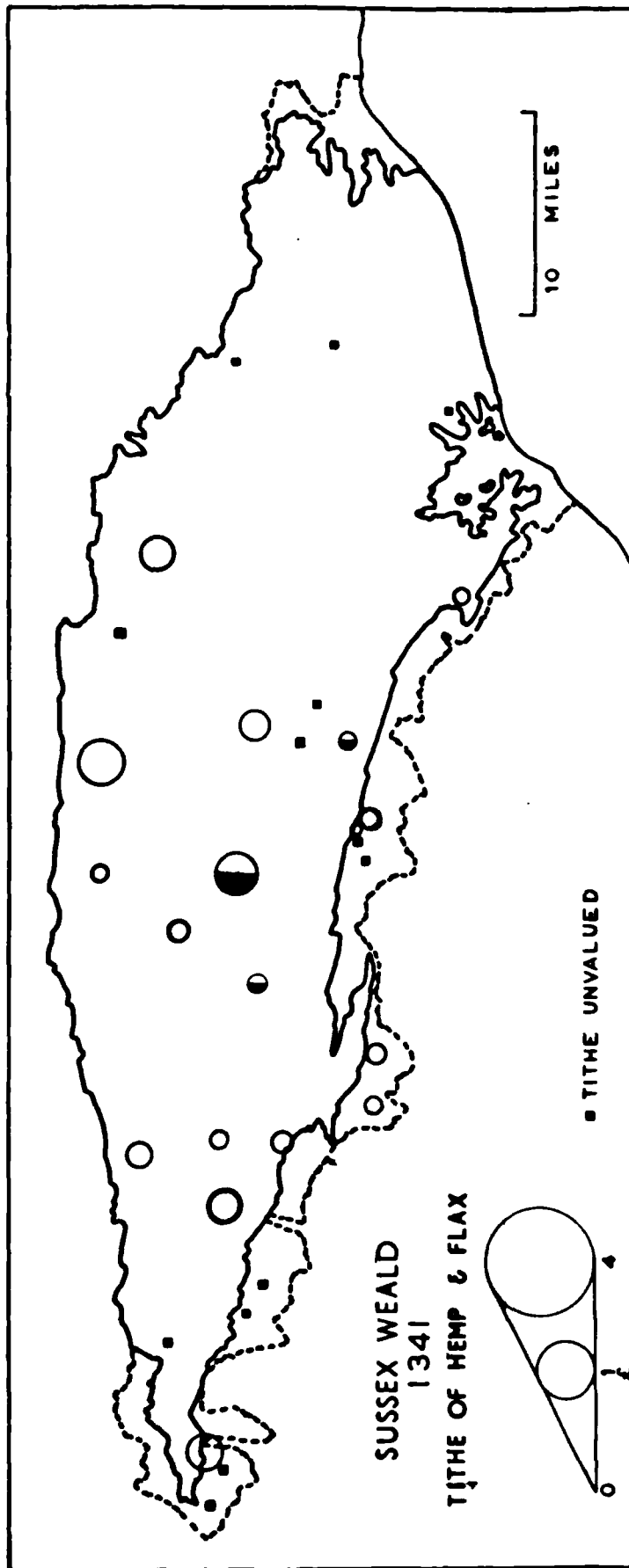


Fig. 33.

specified flax in several instances (Fig 33)¹. Most of the largest values lay in the western Weald, not only in rural parishes as Iping (10/-), ^WBisborough 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 Hothfield in 1338 80 acres² 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.⁴ 30-50 acres of the Wiston demesne was fallowed yearly.⁵

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

4. W. Bugden. 1942.61.

5. ~~W. Hudson. 1911. 175.~~

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. 1911. 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. 1369 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.¹ Both at Stretham in Henfield, on the Lower Greensand margin, and at Bexhill on the Tunbridge Wells Sands only half the arable was sown according to surveys² in 1388; here also a form of biennial rotation was functioning.³ At Westerham the fields, which stretched across several geological formations 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,⁴ 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.

2. R.E. Pelham. 1937. 197-8, 208-9.

3. E. Sewill and R. Lane. 1951.3, 8-9, assume that the evidence for biennial rotation in Charlwood 1211 betokens a two-(open) field system. This is not so; Stretham in Henfield 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, had 15 small fields according to a terrier of 1369-85 (ib. 133).

4. T.A. Bishop. 1938.39; cf. Brugfield in Petworth, sown with three grains each year 1347-50 (L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1955. 12 ff) and Le Brome in East Sutton sown with three grains 1416-17. KAO. U 120/M5.

years tillage lands were often allowed a long rest.¹ 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.²

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 valuations³ - the arable of Shipley 1308 was rated no higher than 4d, and much at 3d.⁴ 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;⁶ in Rotherfield 1332-77 26 acres of an area of 67 were barren and⁷

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1. T.A.M. Bishop. 1938. 40-1.
 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).¹

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.² 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;³ carrying manure was a customary service owed by tenants in Rotherfield 1332-77⁴ and Laughton 1292.⁵ 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,⁶ 431 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.⁷ By 1300 marling also had become common. Early fourteenth century accounts of Westerham⁸ and Laughton⁹ referred regularly to marling.

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1. PRO. C 132/35/14.
 2. Some grain shipped into Winchelsea each year 1323-8: R.A. Pelham.19: 93-118.
 3. P.S. Godman. 1911. 140; 23 customary tenants each owed to cart $\frac{1}{2}$ wad to le Sevyacre, an area of 43 acres.
 4. C. Pullein. 1928. 65.
 5. A.E. Wilson. 1959.110.
 6. L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1955. 7,24,35,49,67-8.
 7. VCH.Sy. 4. 1912. 416.
 8. T.A.M. Bishop. 1938.39; here however it was probably the application of calcareous Gault Clay to sandier soils on the Lower Greensand rather than treatment of the Wealden lands.
 9. M. Clough 1956. 43.

6 acres of pasture in Rotherfield at Henlegh included marlpits 1332-77;¹
 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.² A marlpit in Brenchley Hundred (Brenchley Lamberhurst and
 Horsmonden)³ 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 Ruckinge - should marl
 as much land as possible in summer,⁴ 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;⁵ at Hammerden in Ticehurst the difference was
 6d to 3d.⁶ 1272-1307: marled arable at Etchingham-cum-Salehurst was
 worth 8d an acre in 1330, the unmarled arable only 4d.⁷ 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 at⁸

1. C. Pulleinh. 1928. 70.

2. L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1932. 80.

3. R. Furley. ii. 1874.241.

4. BM. Cott. MS Galba E iv f 74.

5. PRO.C 133/8/7.

6. BM. Add. MS 5679 f 234 (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. HMC. Penshurst MSS i. 1925. 146.

Woolbeding and le Niwode had recently been acquired by the Priory of
¹ Easebourne. Customary works at Wiston c 1290-1327 still included carting
 thorns, broom and bracken; if this was partly for fuel, it also signified
² that clearing was a regular part of the manorial economy. The early
 fourteenth century witnessed an expansion of over 100 acres in the area
³ 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 untilled in 1341-300 acr
 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
⁴ 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 Wadhurs
 The fragmentary returns for the Kentish Weald mentioned 20/- worth of lan
 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
⁶ were mentioned in 1341.

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1. C.P.R. 1338-40. 176.
 2. W. Hudson. 1911. 172.
 3. T.A.M. Bishop. 1938. 39-40. Area used for tillage rose 1300-50 c.500
 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 'frisce'
 which is used elsewhere for fallow (Westerham 1300-50, T.A.M. Bishop
 1938. 39; Newark on Trent 1225-33, M.W. Barley. 1956. xlvii; West
 Chiltonington 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 Hooe and Ninfield not only had marshes been inundated but upland arable lay untilld 'because of the poverty of the parishioners' and the total¹ valuation of both parishes had fallen.

In other parishes the existence of untilld land - recorded in² other fourteenth century documents also - was not always indicative of declining prosperity. At Itchingfield where over 350 acres lay uncultivated in 1341 the valuation was higher than in 1291, and this was true also of Rudgwick, where over 300 acres were untilld, and four parishes (Brede, Icklesham, Pett and Fairlight) which had lost land to

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6. Most of 'Gateberghesmersh', 40/- in Salehurst and Udimore, 13/- in Brede; in Wartling 200 acres of marsh and brook submerged; in Hooe 400 acres of marsh inundated; in Ninfield, most of Morhale field (16/8) submerged; in Pett submerged marsh valued at 26/8; in Icklesham most of 'Rynggersmersh' 49/8; in Fairlight 'Merschamsmars' 13/4; in Guestling 'Sneppesmersh' 42/8; -G, Vanderzee (ed.) 1807.35 393. Such attacks were regular in this half century - in 1291 mars of 'Wytflet' 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 Hooe one-third of the 'terra susanna' was uncultivated 20/- ; in Ninfield 130 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 valuation¹ 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.² In at least 5 instances land had been lost by imparking; in Burwash supplementary documentation shews that while some land reverted to waste,³ other was newly enclosed. Moreover Burwash was one of three manors which declined in value after 1280 ✓ not from general economic reasons⁴ 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. Clough. 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.

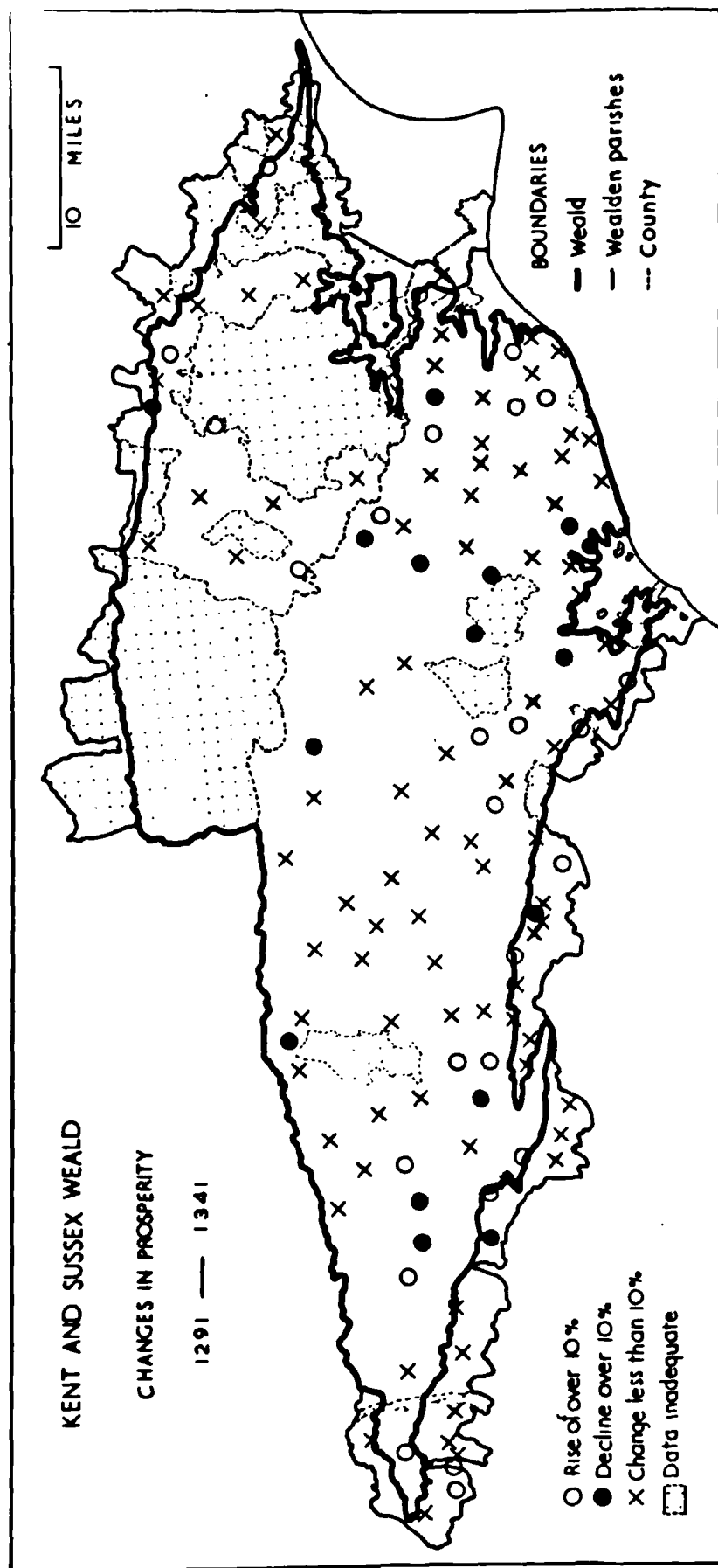


Fig. 34. For the method of compilation see Appendix II.

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 ⁴²/₃₁ changed their assessment by more than 10% in this period - 16 less prosperous in 1341, ²⁶/₁₅ 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, 2¹/₂ 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 ¹ trees. Direct references to other orchards occur ² 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 ³ produce was sold locally. Customary tenants at Wiston, according to early fourteenth century regulations, were required to gather apples and ⁴ make cider when necessary; in 1358 12 casks were filled. Cider making w

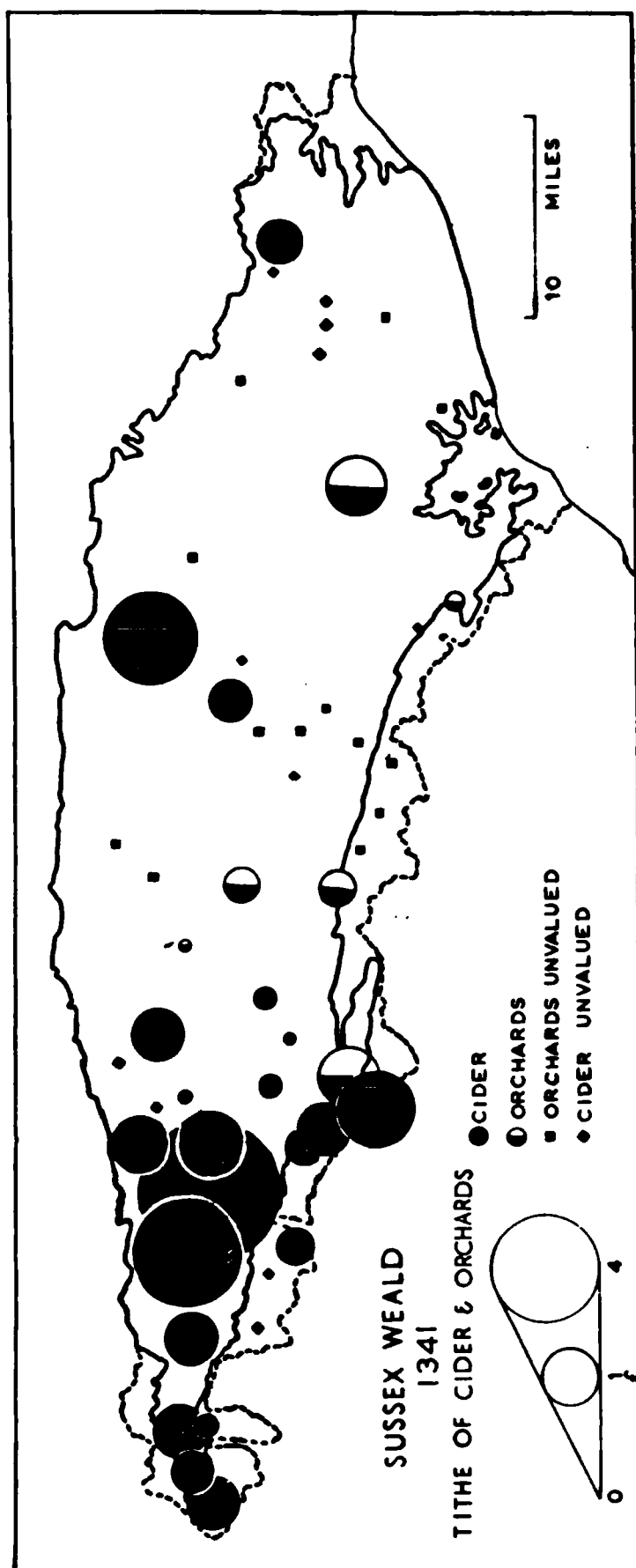


Fig. 35. The tithe at Fletching and Rotherfield is cider and orchards combined.

mentioned in ²accounts of Footlands grange in Sedlescombe¹ and also at Penshurst.

The total production in the Weald was very considerable - in 1352³ the Clerk of the Fleet was ordered to get 100 tuns in Kent and Sussex. In 1341⁴ 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/-, Buxted 46/8, Maresfield 13/ but the only amount specified in the eastern Sussex Weald was relatively low. The eastern area could not supply its needs; large quantities⁶ were imported from Normandy into Winchelsea c. 1270³ and in 1327-8 fruit⁷ was imported into Winchelsea.

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1. L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1955. 6, 46.
 2. e.g. reference to tithe of orchards in Lamberhurst in an inspeximus charter of 1285-KA0. A/G 47 (62).
 3. L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1955. 30, 43, 45, 57.
 4. W. Hudson. 1910. 151; 1357 12 cawks brought, 1358 all full and sold - ib. 1911. 153. The 'immani' of Sundridge owed duty to pick and store the demesne apple crop, acc. to rental of 1258 (commuted by 1421) - H.W. Knecker. 1932. 193, 203-4.
 1. e.g. 1377-8, HMC. Penshurst MSS. i. 1925. 162-3.
 2. 1345-6; ib. 233, mentioning both apples and pears.
 3. C.P.R. 1350-4. 125.
 4. ~~X~~ Only in 19 cases was the value specified.
 5. G. Vanderzee (ed.) 1807, 350-403.
 6. 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 Weald (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 . 273..

Cider as yet suffered no competition from beer, only from ale-
cervisia-¹ which was produced in large quantities but could not be
 stored. Its quality varied² 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)³ 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 1347-8 included paling around the vines⁴ and the kitchen garden
 at Wiston had vines in 1378.⁵ Both these sites lay in sheltered position
 below the downland scarp. There were many vines on the abbey lands⁶
 in Battle, Christ Church had vineyards at Brookland on the edge of
 Romney Marsh;⁷ as in medieval France,⁸ the distribution of vineyards
 reflected the distribution of monastic houses as much as that of

7. R.A. Pelham. 1929. 110.

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 ½d-1/4d. a gallon.

2. VCH,Sx. ii. 1907. 260.

3. BM.Add. MS. 6159 f 39^v

4. L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1955. 10.

5. W. Hudson. 1911. 161.

6. W. Lambarde. 1730. 350; a C 12 description of land in the Levy of Battle mentioned a former vineyard near Santlac-M.A. Lower (ed.) 185. 23.

7. D. Sutcliffe. 1934. 149.

8. R. Dion. 1943. 5-69.

regional climatic conditions. Conditions, however, were marginal and yields uncertain - in 1345-6 the return of the vineyards at Penshurst¹ 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 Maresfield² and tenants of Marley manor in Battle had to carry wine from Winchelsea to Battle Abbey.³

^{viii}
(vii) 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 ^ehvilgebote, timber for repairing enclosures, was one of the commonest customary rights found in the Sussex Weald.⁴ 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.⁵

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

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1. HMC. 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).
 4. Kentish examples exist also - on land leased in Lamberhurst 1522-G.M Cooper. 1857. 163; land leased in Headcorn 1379-BM. Cotton MS. Faust. A i. f 82v. Tenants of Marley manor in Battle, 1272-1307, owed serv of fencing (gavel merke) S.R. Scargill-Bird.(ed.) 1887, 4-12, and th service was owed at Wiston early C 14-W. Hudson. 1910. 172.
 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—Stonyesgrof in Kirdford or Wisborough Green 1352,¹ 'the grove iuxta Westfield' in Bolney 1379², and a pasture in Rotherfield, 1332-77,³ included groves and marlpits. 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 Chilmington one land block, in the early fourteenth century, included 18 fields of 15 acres or less and only 6 larger (up to 40 acres);⁴ in East Sutton 1340, 9 fields out of 13 were smaller than 15 acres.⁵

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 borghs of Southmallington manor 1285 was divided into virgates but the summary descriptions provided demonstrate that these units were used for assessing services, not measuring land,

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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 mediaeval usage grove meant both the cleared area and its surrounding (cf. the C 12 and C 13 Chilterns—E.C. Vollans. 1959.219 20).
 2. BM. Add. MS 5683 f 48.
 3. C. Pullein. 1928. 70. Several fields in the demns of Wye were called groves in c 1431-2 (PRO.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 33892 f 74); in early C 14 West Chilmington 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 33889 f 67v. The culturae of Rotherfield, 1332-77, often exceeded 20 acres, but were probably more than

and suggest that peasant holdings in the virgate divisions were compact units. Elsewhere in England, furlong terminology has a link with openfield closer than the virgate, and furlongs were mentioned in Clayton² C 1312 and at Wiston, early C 14, where Hudson suggested that they³ signified a form of openfield 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,⁴ Great Chart,⁵ Sundridge⁶ and Wonham,⁷ along the northern margins of the Weald, and Sutton by Petworth⁸ 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, they⁹ have no connection with openfield. The only clear examples of Wealden

single fields—C. Pullein. 1928. 69. Average field six at Darigewick in Wisborough Green 1372 6½ acres (W.D. Peckham (ed.) 1925. 130) 12 acres Bexhill 1369-85 (ib.133), Stretham in Henfield 20 acres 1373-4 (ib. 124).

5. KAO. U. 120/M 4.

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 Brede C 15—J E. Ray. 1946. 18) but this is not openfield.

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

3. W. Hudson. 1911. 169, 175. (In Kent, H.L. Gray. 1915.279. took furlongs as indicating openfield of sorts).

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 2½ acres in several parts of Eastfield (R.F. Jessup. 1956.cii-iii).

6. Enclosed by 1553-4 acc. H.L. Gray 1915.273, citing PRO.LR 2/258 f 15 164.

7. Reference 1689—FCH.Sy.3.1911.166. 8. E.M. Yates.1954.209-227.

9. C. Pullein. 1 28.73.

openfield come from Surrey on lands, in both instances, attached to
¹
 manors further north where forms of openfield were common.

On the other hand, it is certain that some Wealden enclosures were subdivided. By 1256-65 there were three separate fields in Bilsington
²
 all called Ealdemed; these were probably separate enclosures, but in the same area were other land blocks, where divides of ownership were
³
 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
⁴
 Stonifield in Edenbridge, 2½ acres in a field called Cothlands in Hart-
⁵
 field- 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
⁶
 reference was made to 'a field lying in Tilfeld', in or near Bilsington; a small area at Northfield in Goudhurst was limited 1337 by hedges and
⁷
 ditches, meets and bounds. The meets and bounds probably marked the internal division within the field, the hedge and ditch the outer boundary

1. In Horley, an ancient possession of Chertsey Abbey, and Burstew, 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.Sy. 3. 1911. 146, 176; 4. 1912.409).
2. BM. Add. MS 37018 f 17v.
3. H.L. Gray 1915. 294-5.
4. R.F. Jessup. 1956. cii-ciii, gives this example (1227) and two others from the Weald of Kent, Yalding (1218) and Great Chart (1262-39). The last is the only one with any detail and (viz.above) probably refers to openfield on the Lower Greensand).
5. ESRO. Add. MS 278 (1320). Compare the reference, 1306, to 5 reds in field called Slode in East Hoathly-CUL. Ms Ee 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 and¹ may have contained several fields.

Such subdivision does not at all imply a system of openfield^{or} 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 of² temurial conditions, the effect of partible inheritance and early³ developed leasing on a pattern of enclosed fields. The pattern of⁴ 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^{4 5} survey covers the Wealden lands in Southmallling manor in 1285. Leaving^{5 6} 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

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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 sometimes not this.
 7. J.R. Twisden & C.H.D. Ward. 1939. 31; area of just over $\frac{1}{2}$ acre.
 1. C. Pullein. 1928. 69; there were five crofts in the cultura of Twent 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. Pull frontispiece).
 2. Pointed out for analagous conditions in Yorkshire and Derbyshire by T.A.M. Bishop. Ec. H.R. 1946. 145-7.
 3. Tenant leasing mentioned in Southmallling 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 Southmallling 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 c 21

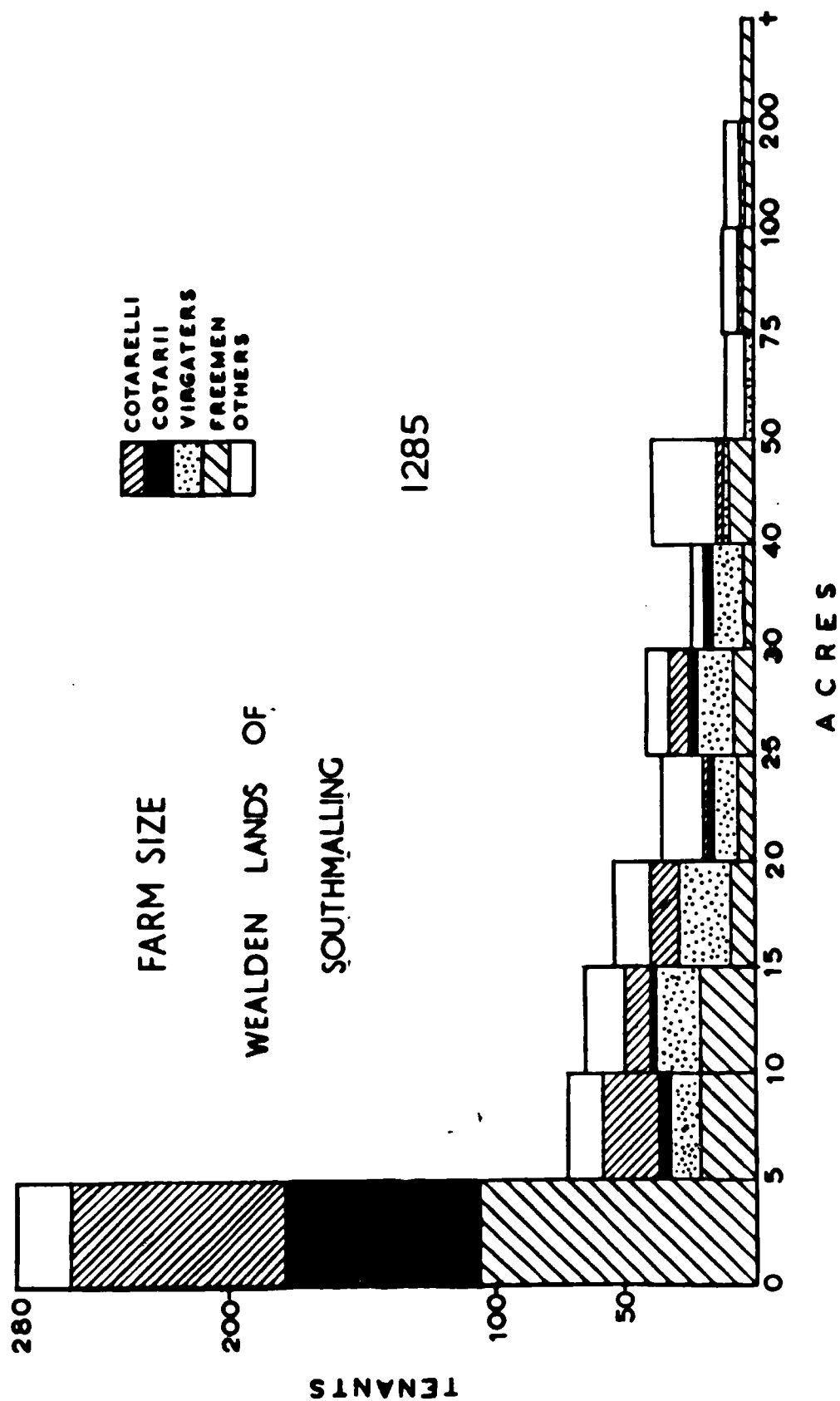


Fig.36. Data from B.C.Redwood and A.E.Wilson(eds.)1958.30-84.

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 Southmallings 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 - joint¹ working did occur- but some instances of subdivision are clearly documented.² 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).

56 Customary and freehold farms had no major difference in size. At Southmallings (Wealden parts) 1285, virgate holdings larger on average than freehold, but freehold shewed most variation in size. In Laughton maiors customarii had holdings averaging 30 acres, freeholds only 16 in 1300 (M. Clough. 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 demised formerly held with his brother (BM. Add. MS 33917 f 38v, 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 (KA0. U 24/M 4) and the Kenewoldes 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. Fau A i.f. 287v).
2. Staplehurst 1473 (H.S. Cowper. 1914.7); Cranbrook and Goudhurst 1524 (BM. Add. MS 33892 f 151 r-v), Hawkhurst 1448 (ESRO. 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).

1

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,
 2
 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.359).

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
 3
 in Bexhill and others elsewhere; Bayham Abbey had granges nearby in

-
1. In Penshurst 1437 $4\frac{1}{2}$ 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. Klocker. 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.

1
Lamberhurst, and at Otham in Hailsham. 2 Robertsbridge Abbey in Salehurst
had the largest Wealden network, with granges at Worth and Ferne (in
Waldron), 3 5 in Romney Marsh and 1 in South Sussex at Sutton. Nor was
this/^{SY}stem confined to ecclesiastical land; in 1296 Eridge in Frant was
described as a grange of the lay manor of Rotherfield. 4

(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). 5 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; 6 a single manor might have up to 44 denns,

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1. Grant, n.d., cited W.D. Cooper. 1857.154.
 2. Originally a separate house, but merged into Bayham 1208-11: H.M. Colvin. 1951. 116-8.
 3. Derne mentioned c 1240 (HMC. Penshurst MSS. i. 1925.94); others mentioned in inspeximus of c. 1230 (ib.84) save Wodegrove in Snargate 1364 (ib.147). Besides Wodegrove the marshland granges were Grikes near Winchelsea, Fochre near Pett, Chocke 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. 133/77/3.
 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 before of Eastry (EM. Add. MS 6159 f 27v) and Great Chart (ib.f 39v-40),

According to surveys of 1571-2 (PRO. SC II/20/22) and 1608 (PRO. LR 2/196 f 250-5) the manor of Aldington had 44 denns. This map marks those recorded in the detailed survey of 1703 (KAO. U 89/M 12 pp100-161) which gives two groups-12 denns all named (pp100-25) and 32 (pp125-161), of which only 28 are actually named. However a note on p.107-8 refers incidentally to two other denns (Mousden and Westness als Great Hernden) which are (as Mousden and West Cross) both called denns of Aldington by R. Furley. 11 1874. 724. This list thus gives 42 denns in addition the lists of 1539 (KAO. U 86/M 2) 1555-6 (KAO. U 89/M 1 m2) and 1285 (Cant. MS E 24 f 54) mention some of the denns including two not in the 1703 list - Filden in Hawkhurst (1285, 1539, 1555-6) and Kuntbourne in High Halden (1539, 1555-6). These have been added, making the map 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 Bidenden and Sandhurst, Coombdene in Sandhurst, Twisden in andhurst, Polackborne and Rookey in Woodchurch-which Furley lists as denns of Aldington (11. 1874. 720, 727) but which do not appear in 1703. If he is right, there might appear to be more than 44; on the other hand some of 1703, mapped here as separate units, may have been divisions of origin 1 units, -East and West Hernden in Sandhurst, Hernden and West Cross (alias Great Hernden) in Tenterden.

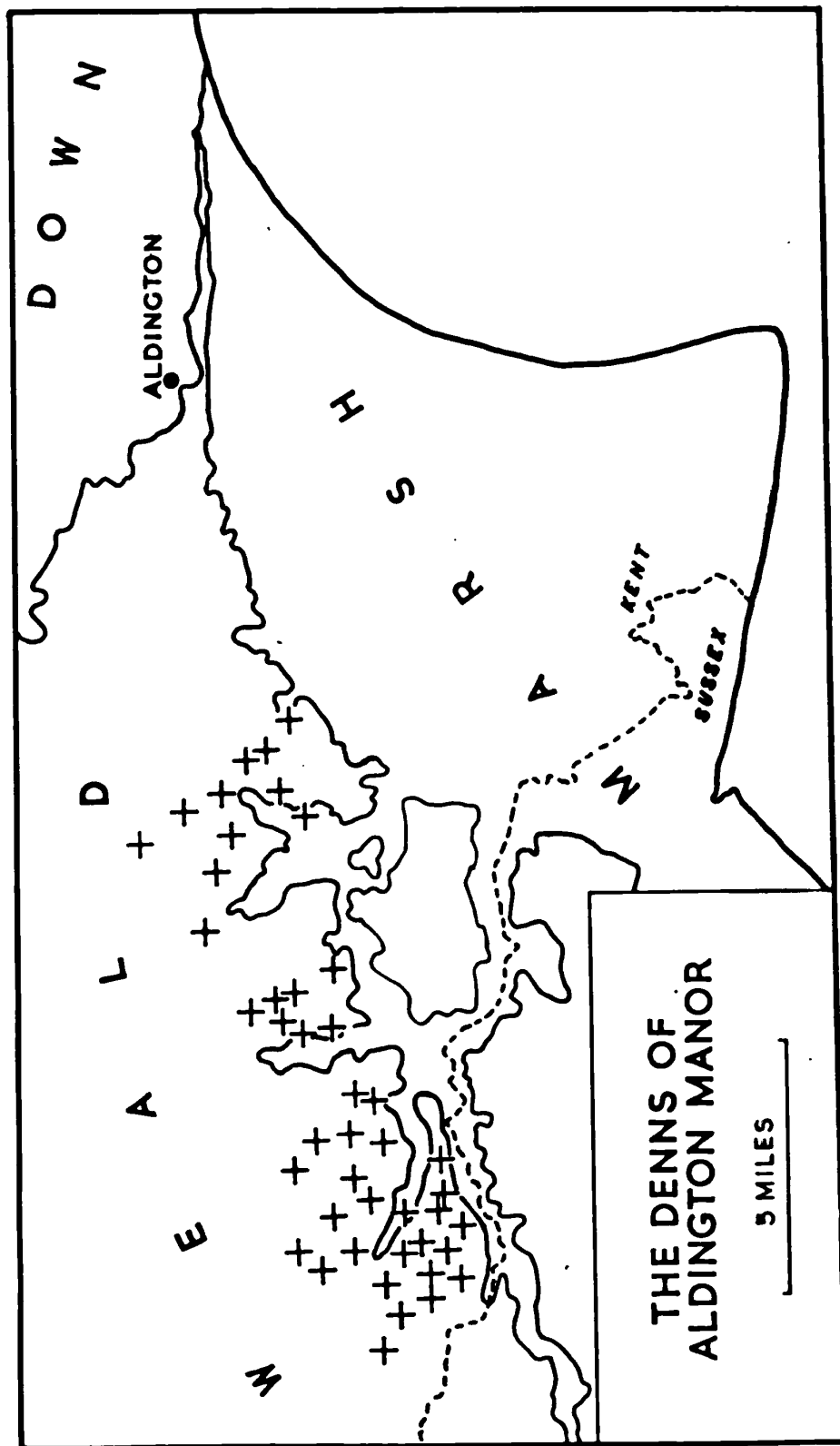


Fig. 37.

the number possessed by Aldington (Fig 37).¹ 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;² the seven Wealden denns of Newington manor had to cart and carry six cartloads of 'gavelwode';³ 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;⁴ Boar's Isle in Tenterden, a denn of Northbourne, owed a rent of timber and its carriage in 1360.⁵ The arrangements of Northbourne were especially complex, as another document shews -tenants

both manors of Christ Church Canterbury; Heruerthing was a denn of Kennington, a manor of St. Augustine's in Canterbury, in the late C 1 (EM. Cotton MS. Faust. A i.f. 141v: Herueringe) and late C 14 (ib. f 148-9, Heruerthingg) but also recorded as a denn of Great Chart, early C 14 (EM.Add. MS 6159 f 39v-40: Heren'tyng) and C 15 (ib.f. 151-159: Heu'thing).

1. The fullest list is of 1703: KAO. U 89/M 12.pl100-163 (see note under Fig 37).
2. This was commuted by 1447-KAO.U 398/M 1A f 91/.
3. Dateless custumal 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 p36d).
4. Mostly commuted by early C 14-EM.Add. MS 6159 f 41v-42; the duties of Great Chart in C 15 were 52 averagia, & carriage of 12½ summae and 3½ 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.¹

By the early fourteenth century, these heavy services were declining. The demns 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 customs of the Archbishop's manors in Kent, that the surnames of tenants in the demns² 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. Driving 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.³ Several tenants in the manors of Amberley, Ferring and Bishopstone owed to drive swine and oxen from the outlying⁴ 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, 5, 62, 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 Pubherst wood in Wisborough Green to Amberley); 98 (Bishopstone, 125 62; driving distrains from Heathfield to Bishopstone); 76-8 (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.304 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

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1. B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (eds.) 1958.18.
 2. S.R. Scargill-Bird (ed.) 1887. 122-36 (1272-1307).
 3. B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (eds.) 1958. 36-7, 50, 62, 69,77: 1285.
 4. 1332-77: C. Pullein. 1928. 66-70.
 5. L.F. Salzman. 1942-3.37.
 6. A.E. Wilson. 1959. 106, from PRO.SC 11/675. 1296.
 7. W.D. Peckham (ed.) 1925. 54, 75-6.
 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.²

These carriage services reflected specialisation, within large ownership units, on stock raising or grain¹ 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)³; at Southmalling, when the Archbishop was not in residence, pack services by horse of up to 30 miles were regularly demanded.⁴ 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 oxen⁵ 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(avermann

1. c 1370-VCH.Sy.4. 1912.415.

2. By oxcart, 1338: EM.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 Penshur (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 1 horse from Mayfield to Croydon, Otford, Charing, Burstow, Winchelsea Maidstone or Cranbrook. This was 'utauer' service; if the prelate or his steward were at Mayfield, more frequent local services were exacted 'inauer' service-B.C. Redwood and A.E.Wilson (eds.) 1958.36-7, 50, 62, 69 77.

5. Villeins of Amberley owed carriage to Henfield, 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 Chiltern¹ about 70 miles, whilst the oxen on Petworth manor, 1347-8, had suffered² 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.
2. L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1955. 14; cancelled note about carriage to London, p 5. Tenants in Rotherfield owed pack service up to 24 miles (C. Pullein. 1928, 66: 1332-77) and Willingdon up to 15 miles (PRO. SC 11/675: 1296) when necessary.

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 farms 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 settlement¹ 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 cartulary (BM.Add. MS 37018) refers to the vill of Bilsington c 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).

¹
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 rarely 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 clay-lands; 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 openfield and triennial rotation, only became economically workable in

1. These problems have been elucidated by R. Dion, 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
¹
 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
²
 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.

1. H. Mortensen. 1944. 209-15; 1946-7. 54: G. Duby. 1954. 361-6.

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. 71-93; 1957. 74 suggests Capons late C13 - early C14, Homewood early-mid C14, Tickerage early C 14. Dating is mostly by mouldings which can lead to errors.

4. J.T. Smith. 1955. 93, regards certain features of a hallhouse at Warde

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,¹ 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 1350.²

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.

5.

6. R.T. Mason. 1957. 84,
7. R. Musson. 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.
8. R.T. Mason. 1941. 65-72.
1. As suggested R. Turnor. 1952.5.
2. VCH, Sx, 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 houses¹ elsewhere in England probably held good for the Weald also. The dwellings 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.² 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

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1. As at Wharram Percy in the C 14 and C 15-J.G. Hurst. Med.Arch.1957. 166. ¹
 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.¹
 The consumption of 2400 laths in repairing several barns in Petworth 134²
 8 shews how much wood this filling-in needed and repairs at Pevensey in
 1301 trace the practise of whitewashing daubed walls back at least to
 that date.³ The plaster which was put on the wattled framework was often⁴
 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 3½ sesters of slaked lime had been
 purchased to repair stonework, and 9 had been bought for the same use
 in the previous year,⁵ 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.⁶

Sand was the other component of mortar for stonework - ~~and Wealden works,~~⁷
 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 names

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1. R.T. Mason 1957. 81.
 2. L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1955. 10; also 600 for partitions in a new residence.
 3. L.F. Salzman. 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. Guisepe 1913. 145, from PRO.E 101/485/11 m4.
 4. e.g. Wilmington in East Grinstead-R.T. Mason. 1940. 15-18.
 5. L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1955. 9, 23, 34.
 6. PRO.E 101/479/16; ib/15, cited L.F. Salzman. 1906. 10-12.
 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.² 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.²

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;³ 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;⁴ the most resistant material came from near East Grinstead, also in the Ashdown Sand and was utilised for early fourteenth century work in Hartfield church nearby.⁵ 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 factors of quality.⁶ The eastern edge of the Hastings Beds outcrop approached the

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1. Sandpit Shaw in Battle was Sandpette in C 14 (PN. Sx.ii.500), in the Hastings Beds.
 2. W. Hudson. 1911. 152.
 3. F.W. Jessup. 1958. 108; this material is also used in Horsham church. work of c.1140, c.1237, 1307 and later alterations (P.M. Johnston. 1906. 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 distance 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.

sea and water transport enlarged the market area - in 1367 195 tons of Fairlight Stone were shipped to Rochester Castle, a journey almost wholly¹ by water.

Quarrying within the Hastings Beds outcrop was not so extensive² 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 for³ C 14 work in Wilmington Priory and Old Place, Pulborough;⁴ stone was dug⁵ at Nutbourne in Pulborough 1357 for carriage to Wiston. Upper Greensand stone from Eastbourne was used a little for windows in Hurstmonceux⁶ church and on a large scale 1289-90 at Pevensey Castle.⁷ Along the northern margin of the Weald, firestone (Upper Greensand) was used both⁸ in building construction and also for fireplaces. Flint was used in several C 14 churches along the southern boundary of the Weald, near the⁹ sources-Hamsey, Westmeston, Clayton and Plumpton.

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1. PBO. 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 (iron-stone from the Folkestone Beds).
 4. W.D. Peckham. 1929. 119-133.
 5. W. Hudson. 1911. 152.
 6. J.E. Ray 1916. 21 ff.
 7. 1290 525 blocks, 1289 2100-L.F. Salzmänn. 1906. 9-13.
 8. see Fig. 38.
 9. VCH.Sx. 7. 1940. 85, 111, 117, 142.

The import of Caen stone from Normandy was considerable if irregular. 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).¹ 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.² No brickwork of this period survives but bricks were imported into Winchelsea as early as 1323.³

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 Willington,⁴ whilst Petworth according to references in 1347-8 and 1352-3 made do with stubble.⁵ Petworth manor also paid out in 1347-8 for 13,000 tiles needed for residences and barns,⁶ and the Wiston account of 1358 recorded the buying of ridge tiles.⁷ 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 1308.⁸ Horsham stone was in

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1. R.A. Pelham. 1929. 107-10; not all the material imported through Winchelsea was necessarily used in the Weald.
 2. J.E. Ray. 1916. 21 ff.
 3. L.F. Salzmänn. 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.
 5. L.F. Salzmänn. 1906. 9-13.
 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 roofing¹ 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 Weald² Clay, which was dug for flooring, pillars, steps and occasionally for outside walling.³ 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.⁴ As yet, however, its use was confined to large mansions.

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

8. W. Hudson. 1911. 153-4.
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.
3. Used in Canterbury Cathedral late C 14 (E.M. Hewitt. 1932.392, C.E. Woodruff and W. Danks. 1912. 175-6); C 15 wider use, in churches at Tenterden, Headcorn, Smarden and Biddenden-W. Topley. 1875. 368.
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.

(xi) Industrial activity.

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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 - I only 252. Fuel and ore both lay nearby and this was probably true of all Wealden bloomeries then; when either gave out, the bloomery (which had no large installation) closed and moved.³

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.⁴ Much Wealden iron was sold thus - Boxley grange purchased 7 blooms in 1332-4 - but some demands, especially by the government 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.⁷ In 1275 406 iron wedges or pins

1. H.R. Schubert. 1957. 108; others have doubtless existed without trace/.

2. M.S. Guiseppi. 1913. 145-164, from PRO. SC 6/890/22 - 891/18.

4. e.g. Smith of Worth c 1285-HMC. Penshurst MSS. i. 1925. 123; smithy in Framfield 1285-B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (eds.) 1958. 68.

5. PRO.SC6/886/6.

6. L.F. Salzmänn. VCH.Sx. 2.1907. 242.

7. L.F. Salzmänn. VCH.Sx. 2.1907. 242.

were bought in the Weald and ¹343 more in 1278; arrows were in demand, iron-tipped, in 1342 and 1359. ²Forges, 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 nails and ⁷3000 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. ⁴Nor 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, ⁵it was sold alongside the cheaper Wealden iron at Dover 1339 ⁶and the two lots of iron exported from Winchelsea 1327-8 were probably re-exported Spanish ⁷rather than local produce.

Wealden glass manufacture was already concentrated by 1300 in the western Low Weald. In 1332 a glass dealer called John de Alemanyne is mentioned; in 1343 a Frenchman named Schurterre settled in the area, acquired Alemanyne's furnace at Fromes in Chiddingfold and established ⁸other furnaces. Traces of fourteenth century glass manufacture have been

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1. H.R. Schubert. 1957. 108, from PRO.E. 101/467/7 (nos 3,7).
 2. PRO.E 372/187; CPR. 1358-61. 222.
 3. E.M. Hewitt. 1932. 386, from PRO.E 358/15/m24, 31.
 4. Mumimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis. ed. H.T. Riley.ii. part I. 1860.
 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.
 - ⁶PRO.E 101/462/15, cit. L.F. Subman. 1952.287.
 - ⁷6. R.A. Pelham. 1929. 110; in 1327-8 £8 worth of iron imported, and 6/1 in 1324-5.
 - ⁸7. S.E. Winbolt. 1933.8.

found at 6 sites in Chiddingfold,² and 4 in Kirdford (Fig 26), only one of which yielded thirteenth century glass; the years after 1300 must have¹² 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 Oxford²³ 1359-60.³⁴

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, to⁴⁵ settle in England. There were cloth workers in the Weald already (p.)⁴¹⁵ 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 teazles⁵⁶ 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

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- 1 6. 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 1. L.F. Salzmann. 1913.128, citing PRO.E 101/471/6; more was sent 1335-4
 - 3 2. S.E. Winbolt. 1933.9.
 - 4 3. In 1331 came the offer to Kempe-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 4. HMC. Penshurst MSS. i. 1925.233; 1307-8 Winchelsea imported woad from Picardy (R.A.Pelham. 19306. 141).
b.

and Frant, and ¹4 in the poor parish of Withyham, some of these probably industrial mills, and by 1355 the English export of coarse woollen¹ cloths, the Kentish product, was more valuable than that of either worsted or felted fabrics.² Woollen cloth was the chief textile manufacture of the Weald but there was also a small-scale production of goods worked up from³ 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.⁴ 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,⁵ 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

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1. G. Vanderzee (ed.) 1807. 378.
 2. R. Furley. ii. 1874. 347.
 3. For flax and hemp cultivation, see p 340; 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. Sx

evaporation was concentrated along the coast in the east and in a few ¹ 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 ² 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 (^{Fig.} map 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

/181/69).

5. Hastings, mostly C 13-G.C. Dunning. 1949b.8-9; Rye mostly C 14, including tiles as well as domestic ware-L.A. Vidler. 1932.83-101, 33.47-64, 1936. 107-118 (the C 15 pottery at Bodiam castle was made nearby-J.N.L. Myres. 1935.224-30); Ashford C 13-L.R.A. Grove and A. Warhurst. 1952. 183; Ringmer found W. Martin. 1902. 128-38, and dated late C 14 and C 15 by L.F. Salzmann. 193. 116; Brede C 14 and C 15, and potter 1404-PRO.SC 2/206/59; Horsham C 13-L.F. Salzmann. VCH.Sx. ii. 1907. 251; Limpsfield potter 1314-L.F. Salzmann. 1913. Lindfield 2 potters 1379-PRO.E. 179/189/41; Westerham-C 13, G.C. Dunning. 1949b. 8-9.
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 (PN.Sx. ii.254). I cannot identify the salt pan at Tarcurteys granted to Dureford Abbey by 1290-BM.Cotton MS. Vesp.E xxiii f 29.
2. C.Cl.R. 1349-54. 197; however salt was exported from Winchelsea st. in 1398-9, when 6/10/- of salt imported and over 11/-/- exported (R.A. Pelham. 1930. 197).

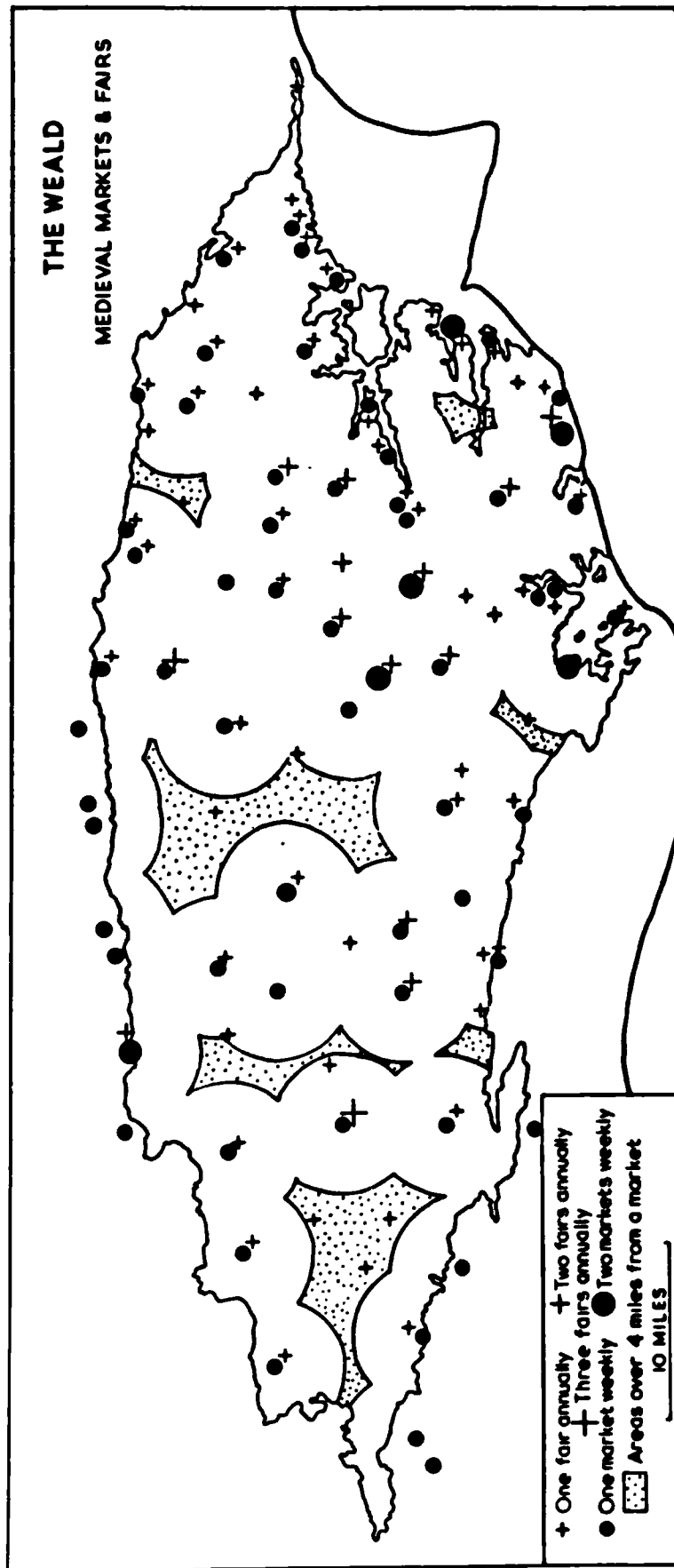


Fig. 39. Data for Wealden markets and fairs in Appendix IV; non-Wealden markets are marked if they served areas in the Weald more than 4 miles from a Wealden market.

seven day fair at Pevensey was ⁶ 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, Bletchingly fair in 1310, and West Grinstead market and fair in 1280.¹

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 ² (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;³ in 1348 complaint was made of an obstruction in the R. Rother which prevented vessels going up the river to Salehurst market.⁴ The Black Death caused a serious short-term dislocation and

1. For details of these grants, see Appendix §.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. 1922, 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 markets.

3. PRO.SC 8/10/487.

4. *Rot.Parl*.ii. 1783.211.

substantially reduced the profits of Petworth market for at least 4¹ 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.² The only Wealden settlement in Sussex which had separate taxation as a borough was East Grinstead (Steyning lay just south of the border)³ 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 13⁴ 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 freedoms⁵ 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 coast wise 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 boeths 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.) 1807.350 ff.

3.PRO.E 178/189/19.

4.B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (ed.) 1958.76-7.

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.¹ Winchelsea² had a spacious harbour and had an established shipbuilding industry, an activity found also at Rye;³ Hastings and Hythe were, however, limited by⁴ 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);⁵ a repeat attack had destroyed all shipping in Hythe and Romney⁶ 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 much⁷ consumed - but this was small compared with the destruction of Old Winchelsea by wave attack, which was completed in 1287.⁸ 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 -⁹ in 1342 94 tenements were still uninhabited - and a large number of great cellars were built below the merchants' houses to store the heavy imports¹⁰ of the wine trade.

1. HMC. xiii. 215.

2. C.P.R. 1324-7.26.

3. VCH,Sx. ii. 1907.234; R.A. Pelham, in H.C. Darby(ed.) 1936.302.

4. R.A. Pelham 1930b.133.

5. VCH,Sx 9. 1937.10,40 and H. Knighton. Chronicon (ed.J.R.Lumby) ii.189.

6. C.C/L.R. 1341-3. 263.

7. M.W. Beresford and J.K. St. Joseph. 1958. 221; Gervase Cant.Historical Works (ed.W. Stubbs) ii.1880.293, recorded it under 1288. W.McL. Homa 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.

8. PRO.SC 6/1032/6.

9. VCH,Sx.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.¹ 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.³ Besides the public roads from village to village, there were very many private access ways owned by individuals,⁴ leading to isolated fields and farm-houses; 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.⁵ 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

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1. One segment near Barcombe Mills was still used as a right of way 1374 W.D. Peckham. 1937. 218-9.
 2. I.D. Margary. 1930c.1-4.
 3. PRO.JI 1/912 m 37, cit. VCH.SS.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 Whitsun and 13 October, and right of footway along it all the year. S.P. Vivian. 195
- /contd

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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,² 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.³ In 1319 300 quarters of grain were carried from Mayfield to the river port at Lewes, 22 miles according to the account;⁴ pontoons 25 miles from Cuckfield to Shoreham in 1346,⁵ and shortly after 20 pontoons 15 miles from Penhurst to Winchelsea.⁶ 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 Eslyndenn in Biddenden owned an access land and 6 plots of land c.1431-2, PRO. E 315/56 f 186.

5. 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), Baldslow Hundred (Crowhurst, Hollington, Ore, Westfield) 1456-BM. Add. Ch. 31592.
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.
6. ib. 171, from E 101/588/22.

Pevensey castle in the same year were carried from villages up to 20 miles away.¹ 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 hurdles and faggots.² Generally, however, it would seem that heavy goods³ 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.⁴ 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

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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 = $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, used above, is not always accurate.
 2. R.A. Pelham. 1931. 173-4.
 3. M.M. Postan 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. Lynam. 1944. 10, puts the date at c.1335. The 4 versions of the map are BM. Cotton MS. Claud. D vi. f 8; Julius D vii f 50v-53; Royal MS 14 C vii f 5v; CCCCambr. 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 ¹ 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 ² grounds between the residences at Mayfield and Cranbrook.

Parts of the Weald were accessible by rivers – the Mole, and Medway in the north and the Arun, Adur, Ouse and Cuckmere in the south. The evidence of the transport of levied goods shews 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.

2. B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson.(eds.) 1958. 31.

(xiv) 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 chace 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.

V

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EARLY MEDIEVAL CHANGES

- (i) Timber and parkland. Was im Neuen charakteristisch ist, ist das Alte und was wir suchen ist die Entwicklung. A. Meitzen. 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 Marden¹ hundred burnt for charcoal; these cuttings were recorded (as others in Shipbourne 1271)² 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.³ 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.⁴ (Yet in the same year, Canterbury Cathedral carpenters, only 15 miles from the Weald, used timber boards brought from Ireland;⁵ this was probably special timber for an unusual purpose).

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An inquisition of 1243 recorded heavy fellings and wood sales from

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1. Newenden Hundred, much destruction; Rolvenden H., oaks beeches etc., worth 40/-; Somerden H., wood and fishponds £10; 40/- wood at Sibersnoth in Orlestone; R. Furley. ii. 1874. 133, 127, 139.
 2. I.J. Churchill et al (ed.) 1956. 391.
 3. FM. Cott. MS. Faust. A.i.f. 142; copy in CCC. Camb. MS 301.p.216.
 4. C. Lib.R. 1251-60. 162.
 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 Majora (ed. H.R. Luard). v. 1880. 221.

the Earl of Surrey's lands. From those in the Sussex Weald (Worth Forest Cleres chace, 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 1235¹ supplied 20 trees for the refectory of an Abbey in Dover; ten years earlier 5 beams for a tumbril had been transported from Tonbridge to² Dover, and wood from St. Leonard's Forest and Knepp Park for other works³ in the same port in 1214. In 1211 the annual wood sale from Charlwood

6. Fellings of 1241-3, recorded 1243-PRO.C 145/1/16; the sales were allowed by Peter of Savoy, who was custodian of the Earl's lands after his death.

1. C.Cl.R. 1234-37. 48.

2. Rot.Lit. Claus. 1224-7. 42.

3. Rot.Lit. Claus. 1202-24. 142, 207, 210.

manor was valued at 18/-¹ and revenue from Battle Abbey timber 1210-11 was as much as 7/5/2.² 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 Lewes³ (whence it was being shipped for repairs to Dover castle); the same year a large war machine (mangonell)⁴ probably of wood, was carried from Ashdown Forest to Perchester Castle and timbers from St. Leonard's Forest were transported to works at Dorking, Southwark⁵ and Kingston.

Internal demands within the Weald were not small. From the Forest of Worth in Brightling (i.e. Dallington chace) Robertsbridge Abbey took⁶ 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.⁷ The well-wooded outliers of many manors owed carriage services, especially used for carrying timber from the Weald to the manorial centre. The 7 denms of Newington - next-Sittingbourne⁸ provided 6 carts of gavelwode per annum; brushwood was cut at Shellwood⁹ 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.

2.D.M. Stenton (ed.) 1953. 275; account dated 1210-12, but probably ended Mich.12 11 (ib.xxvii).

3.Rot.Lit[Pat]. 1201-26. 74.

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 boat.

5.Account Roll of the Bishop of Winchester, 1208-9 m 9, cit.W.H. Legge.190306.

6.HMC. Penshurst MSS. i. 1925. 54-actually 5 cartloads, 5 quadrigas (4 wheeled carts) and 4 herchias(?). Confirmation 1200-5, ib.59.

7. b.40.

8.E. Hasted. ii. 1782. 551; undated custumal.

9.1223-F.W. Maitland (ed.) 1887.no 1661; also PRO.KB 26/83 m 25d(1223), 26/94 m 8(1226); the Wealden tenants carried it to Tadworth in

Hailsham and transported to Alciston on the almost treeless Downs.¹ By 1210-11 the carriage services on Hollingbourne manor were already commuted but earlier they had doubtless been used for timber transport;² the heyday of this traffic was passing.³

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 Amesbury⁴ and on the king's palace at Winchester; similarly, in 1180-1, Knepp Park⁵ 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 and Clarendon.⁶ 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 preemption of logs in Lewes 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

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1. Bodl.Sx.Ch.6, cit.L.F. Salzman. 1901.176.
 2. PRO.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. Salzman (ed.). 1932.119.
 4. J.H. Round. 1930.102; ib (ed.) 1911. 104.
 5. J.H. Round (ed.) 1909. 142.
 6. L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1932. 8.

timber castles. Such were erected at Sedgwick (where stone building¹ was allowed to replace timber in 1258);² at a site near Budgwick; at Chennels' Brook north of Horsham;³ at Bletchingly and Thundersfield, an early C 12 construction.⁴ At Abinger the timber work was entirely renewed in the mid-C 12, but first erection had been made C1080-1120;⁵ the earliest post-Conquest wooden castle in the Weald was the first castle of Hastings, built in 1066.⁶

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 Rotherfield were described as impaled hunting ground with a regular supplementary income from pannage, pasture and timber sales;⁷ Lower Bilsington Park was recorded as 94½ acres in 1256-62.⁸

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1. C.P.R. 1258-66.1; known by 1154 (R.A. Brown. 1959. 249-80).
 2. S.E. Winbolt. SNQ. 1928-127; Sx AC. 1930. 496.
 3. Late C 11, abandoned by 1150: H. Brown. 1936. 251-3; also earthwork 1400 yards north of West Wolves Farm in Ashington may be timber predecessor of Warminghurst Castle-S.E. Winbolt. SAC. 1925. 241-2.
 4. Only mentioned in the Mappa Mundi of Gervase of Canterbury. ed. W. Stubbs. ii. 1880. 414ff, dated c1200; no other refs (R.A. Brown. 195 op.cit.).
 5. In Horley; E. Hart and S.E. Winbolt. 1937. 147-8.
 6. B. Hope-Taylor. 1950. 15-43.
 7. F.H. Baring. 1915. 124.
 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 1231¹ 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 1215-17.² 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.⁴ (Fig 28).

The large game found in these parks was noted from time to time. Deer for royal consumption were taken from Ashdown 1263.⁵ 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 greyhounds⁶ 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 stag⁷ 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 (1248)⁸ and Ashford (1243). The lord of Pevensey Rape had right of warren over a colossal area defined in 1252, the whole of

1. Burwash C.Cl.R. 1242-7. 532; Hever HMC. Penshurst MSS. i. 1925. 96; Pallingham C. Cl. R. 1231-4. 189; Peverse L.F. Salzmänn. 1901.199; Cuckfield F.W. Maitland. 1888. 120-1.

2. W.D. Peckham (ed.) 1946. 299.

3. cit. C.P.R. 1354-8. 18.

4. EM. Add. Ch. 7260; HMC. Penshurst MSS. i. 1925. 59; I.J. Churchill (ed.) 1956. 18.

5. C. Cl.R. 1261-4. 256, 259.

6. Rot.Litt.Claus. 1202-24. 142, 158, 123.

7. A.H. Davis. 1924. 113.

the Rape south of a line between Pevensey and Lewes, mostly outside the Weald.¹ When rights were many and some so extensive, disputes commonly arose; in 1241 the warren of one landowner in Petworth and Tillington was invaded² and in 1237, after long dispute, William de Say gave up all rights he had claimed to chase 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.³ In 1226 rights to chase in the warren of Tandridge changed hands;⁴ other rights of free warren had been granted in Hurstmonceux (early C 13)⁵ 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.⁶ 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.⁷ There was no royal forest in the Weald, although the term 'forest' was loosely applied to Worth in Brightling,⁸ Tonbridge⁹ and the Weald as a whole. Worth forest in

8.C.C.R. 1226-57. 326; Laughton and Witley ib.294; Ashford C.P.R. 1232-47 398; also Trotton 1237-C.C.R. 1226-57. 231.

1.C.P.R. 1247-58. 161; C.C.R. 1226-57. 410.

2.L.F. Salzmänn. 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 Pierpoint was made to admit he had no right to hunt in the Earl's warren at Hurstpierpoint-L.F. Salzmänn. 1903. no 353.

4.VCH. Sy.4. 1912.324.

5.Confirmed 1275 in Plac.Quo Warr. 757,750.

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 1100-30,¹ may have been part of Pevensey Forest, mentioned in 1066-86² 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 (Plesseiz) 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.⁵ 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;⁶ the Archbishop of Canterbury had hunting rights over all his lands, including large Wealden tracts;⁷ 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 cxvi, 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 p304-9; Waldron chace was also called a forest in c 1245 (HMC. Penshurst MSS. i. 1925.99), Broyle 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 (Rot. Litt. Claus. 1224-7.80). All Surrey was royal forest temp. Henry II, 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 1155-62.¹ (The Prior of Christ Church was granted free warren in all his manors sometime between 1155 and 1189.²

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. Bugden. SAC. 1928. 31, later confirmation specifies the area as in Waldron, East Hoathly, Hellingly and Laughton-W. Dugdale. Mon. vi. 1830. 1091. Grant of land in Pevensey Forest for pre 1205-PRO. Anc. Deed D 3640 (H.M. Colvin. 1957. 114)
3. L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1923. 7; Rot. Lit. Claus. 1202-24. 134.
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 not 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. 37, and spurious notification of it 1075-87, is H.W.C. Davis (ed.) 1913. no 263.
6. E. Turner. SAC. 1856. 42.
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, 10450); it is written copy, late C 13, of dubious authenticity (F.E. Hart 1952. 178) and almost identical with grant of William I (ib. pl5).
1. W.D. Peckham (ed.) 1946. 29; Henfield 1155, Bexhill 1162. A confirmation of 1180-4 (ib) said hunting rights of bishop went back to William I and Henry I.
2. J.B. Sheppard. HMC. v. 437, HMC. viii. 318; free warren in Mersham, 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 1159 (L. Landon (ed.) 1939. 95).

Colonisation in the Weald was individual and independant; 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 assarts, 16 acres in Wadhurst 'borgh', an unspecified area in Grenherst and $74\frac{1}{2}$ 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)¹; the cottages, scattered without any grouping, contrasted with the semi-nucleated hamlets of the virgates. Assarting was reflected not only in the field pattern, but in the settlement pattern as well.

Assarting is known from many complementary surveys. In 1285 there were $75\frac{1}{4}$ acres of assart in the Wealden lands of Slindon, 16 in the Horsham lands of Tarring manor;² the early fourteenth century survey of Buckinge and Little Chart, on the margin of the Kentish Weald and of Charlwood in the Surrey Weald mentioned several rents 'de novo', recent assarts;³ assarts at the same time in Wiston numbered 19, one 'an assart of burnt wood'.⁴

Some of the assarts existant 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 erection and rents, ib. 53-7, 80-1.

2. ibid. 9, 27-8.

3. BM. Add. MS. 6159. f 38, 40v, 47v.

4. Early C 14 custumal - W. Hudson. 1910. 158-62.

from 1207-45 and 62 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres in Uckfield were 'old assart'.¹ Between 1222 and 1308 the Templars were granted 3 acres of assart in a wood at Ryfield² and a tenant of Farnham in 1261 possessed a small farm of 'nova terra' in the Weald.³ Of 229 acres in Horsham which changed hands 1254, 56 acres were assarts and, since the clearers were named, clearly of recent formation;⁴ in 1242 the manor of Laughton changed hands and with it the 'wood of Ingeleie.. that he may assart, enclose & dispose of it'.⁵ As early as c 1230 land at Epselea in Itchingfield distinguished 30 acres and 3 crofts of assarted land from the original arable,⁶ and in 1220 tithe of assart at Ricleshurst in Thakeham was disputed.⁷

Clearing was widespread on the swine pastures (denns) of the Kentish Weald during the thirteenth century. Probably in the late C 13 a small family clearing was made at Boy Court in Ulcombe, one of the denns of Lenham;⁸ and a list of this manor's denns made during the century included other instances - Esdenne was clearly a family clearing held by the 'heredes de Esdenne'.⁹ Several decades earlier, there were 13 tenants

1. B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (eds.) 1958. 31,66,74.

2. BM. Cott. MS. Nero E vi. f 150, cit. W.H. Blaauw. 1957. 250.

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.

4. L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1923.6.

5. C.C.R. 1226-57. 274.

6. P.S. Godman. 1896. 98.

7. L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1923. 37 - also of assarts in Cokeswode parish.

8. Not in C 13 list of rents from Lenham denns (BM. Cott. MS. Faust.A i.1 154-65.) but in C 14 list as nova terra held by heirs of Roger de Boycote (f 152v), and in another C 14 list called 'Newelande' (f 153).

9. ib.f. 161v.

at Wychelyndenne in Tonbridge, holding the small farms (all specified¹ were below 10 acres) typical of early medieval assarting. In 1227 34² acres in a parcel of 79 in Bethersden were 'nova terra' and before, in 1200, 41½³ acres were described as 'in assarto meo' de Hadyndenne.

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 Lewes⁴ 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 10⁵ 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 23½⁶ loads of barley and 56 quarters of wheat - and rents included 13 ploughshares. The seasonal round at Otham in Hailsham (as mentioned in⁷ 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 dennis was often small-Marden 1290 had only 5 'capable inhabitants', PRO.SC 2/181/75-6.

2. And 10½ were assarts- A.M. Woodcock (ed.) 1956. 139-40.

3. Between Edenbridge and ^Hever, in a detached part of Brasted-G. Ward. 1931b. 253-7.

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. 899½ 82.

Marling the arable land had begun by the thirteenth century.

Marlpits at Glepfield, Goudhurst, Yalding and Pembury were mentioned¹ 1254-5, at Brenchley, Horsmonden ~~1240-1~~² and in Barnfield half-hundred (probably at Delmonden in Hawkhurst) in 1240-1. These pits lay in the Kentish Weald but the practise of marling had at least equal antiquity³ in Sussex, mentioned in the Weald at Mountfield c1240 and on the Lower Chalk and Upper Greensand, in the extreme northwest of Sussex, by 1200.⁴

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 first orchards,⁵ vineyards.⁶ Evidence of the antecedent assarting of the twelfth and late eleventh centuries is, however, limited almost wholly to monastic references. In the late C 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.⁷ A third assart, on the road north from Dureford, was also mentioned at the same period.⁸

§. Bodl.Sx.Ch.6, cit. L.F. Salzmänn. 1901.176; similarly in services of Nettlestead detailed in 1224-F.W. Maitland (ed.) 1887, no 960 and Sundridge c 1258 (H.W. Knocker. 1932. 194-8) both including Wealden lands.

1. R. Furley. ii. 1874. 30-64, from PRO. J1 1/361 mm³ 3041. Glepfield might be Clatfields in Edenbridge.

2. R. Furley. ii. 1874 41,51, citing PRO.J1 1/359.m.1K,5.

3. HMC. Penshurst MSS. i. 1925. 91.

4. Reference to a marlpit near Pumfeld in Harting 1270 (EM. 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)¹ and clearing went back beyond this - an assart in Burwash is mentioned not long² 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 c.1100 which

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5. Apples in Nettlestead 1224-F.W. Maitland (ed.) 1887. no 960; Battle Abbey revenue of 23/5 from cider, wool and thatch 1210-11 (D.M. Stenton (ed.) 1953. xfvii, 275).
 6. Wine sold against assize in Battle 1210 (C.F. Slade.(ed.) 1951.85) and 120 6 (D.M. Stenton (ed.) 1942.63) but, ^{perhaps} imported; vineyard at Chert Sutton 1086 (8).
 7. BM. Cott. MS. Vesp.E xxiii. f 40v.
 8. ib. f 14.
-
1. H.W.C. Davis 1903. 632-4; J. Hunter (ed.) 1844. 12,61,67.
 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 farmland area but also a substantial increase in grain production (see Appendix ⁷X).

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 supplementation by new clearing. In 1276 the King disgavell¹ the lands of John of Cobham on the grounds that excessive subdivision from gavelkind reduced farms below subsistence size. Joint-working² did sometimes occur but so also did subdivision - an instance at Edenbridge in 1231 was recorded³ - and, in either case, if the population was increasing the food production per head would drop unless the cultivated area was increased by new

1. C.C.R. 1257-1300. 198. Archbishop of Canterbury given right 1202 to disgavell lands (copies in Bodl.Tanner MS 223 f 35v, cit. J.E.A. Jolliffe. 1933. 66, and Lambeth MS 1212 f 48, cit D. Donie. 1952.74) but only with assent of the chapter (N. Neilson. 1925. 489). Not used after 1272 (C.I. Elton. 1867. 368) and only once under Edmund (1234-45 ex. inf. F.R.H. Du Boulay, M.A.

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
¹
 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
²
 West Grinstead 1269, common pasture at Bexhill 1254-62 and at Heathfield
³
 c1236. ⁴ Robertsbridge received common grazings rights in Waldron 'forest'
⁵
 (i.e. chace) c 1245, after receiving in 1225 confirmation of common
⁶
 pasture in Dallington chace. As in later centuries, some common grazings
⁷
 were in woodland though the majority were on open sandy heath. The
 common area was already subject to encroachment - an early C 13 grant
 gave Dureford Abbey (in Rogate) some land nearby, common which the monks
⁸
 had appropriated. Documents emphasised the difference between common
⁹
 and several pasture (forinsecam,) and specified whether such enclosed
¹⁰ ¹¹
 grazings were wood, grass pasture or heath.

1. H.E. Hallam. 1957-8. 340-61.

2. BM. Cott. MS. Vesp.E xxiii. f 27v.

3. W.D. Peckham (ed.) 1946. 357.

4. ib.361.

5. HMC. Penshurst MSS. i. 1925. 99.

6. ib. 82; here called Worth and Brightling Forest. Pasture extended from 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. 1953. 152. Salzman 1953. 101.

Meadowland soon became intensely split up - Fuggelsbroc near Iden¹ was subdivided by c 1200 - and individual ownership lots were as small² as one acre. Marshland grazings were integral components in several Wealden estates; Battle and Robertsbridge Abbeyes were disputing over³ Grykes marsh in Broomhill 1244. Battle Abbey had marshes in Bexhill,⁴ mentioned 1248, whilst Grykes was one of the five granges in Romney⁵ marsh which Robertsbridge possessed as early as 1219. Thirteenth century data shews that the Robertsbridge marshlands provided arable⁶ 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 woods⁷ for 60 cattle and pannage for 100 swine in the founder's woods; Robertsbridge Abbey's grazing rights in Dallington chace, confirmed 1225, were⁸ for cattle and horses. In 1220 the Bishop of Chichester supplied 31 catt

10. e.g. Eckington 1199, L.F. Salzmann (ed.) 1903. no 34; C112 cont C 13 reference to wood pasture, probably in Ulcombe or Kingsnorth - Emmanuel College, Camb. MS I. i. 11, f 181v.

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.) 1953. 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.) 1953. 51, grant in Bordesbroc to Robertsbridge c 1205 mentions access via meadow in two other ownerships-HMC. Penshurst MSS. i. 1925. 51. ~~12 refs. to two parcels, totalling 16 acres - HMC. Penshurst MSS. i. 1925.52.~~

3. HM. Egerton Ch. 375; dispute reoccured 1279 - ^{xv.} Abbey Plac. 1189-1327.19 An earlier agreement of the two landowners about the marsh of Swane-
mere is L.F. Salzmann (ed.). 1903. no 187, 1203.

and 50 sheep to Bexhill manor and 45 cattle to Henfield;¹ 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.²

(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.396). Assarting 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. ~~HMC, 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 cart-loads 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 swine ib. 54).

1. W.D. Peckham (ed.) 1946. 61.

2. Washing and shearing sheep at Otham in Hailsham, near Pevensey levels, mentioned c1200 (Bedl.Sx.Ch.6, cit. L.F. Salzmann. 1901.176).

A rental of Wychelyndenne in Tonbridge, 1253, made no mention of
¹ swine and the links between parent estate and Wealden swine pastures
 were, in some cases, severed before this. In 1234 friction arose between
² Bramley manor and its Wealden tenants at Dunsfold, as it had in 1223
³ between Ewell and its tenants at Shellwood in Leigh. Yet whilst some
 denns had early become independant units (a land grant of 1194 trans-
 ferred 2 denns and land on 3 others, without reference to any parent
⁴ estate) the rents paid by tenants on many denns in the thirteenth
 century implied the former role of these areas as swine pastures for
⁵ non-Wealden manors.

The commonest indication was the payment of 'lefsilver' or 'danger
 rents. Lefsilver (or lyefyeld, leftyeld, leueshale) was paid by 3 denns
⁶ of Kennington and by the denns of Boughton Aluph; a custumal of Teynham
⁷ defined it as payment for right to plough between the autumm 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-KB 26/94 m 8.

4.HMC. Penshurst MSS. i. 1925. 44. In 1071-82 Odo exchanged 4 denns for
 25 acres he enclosed in his park at Wickhambreux-Lessenham, Acton in
 Wittersham, Blaecota 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 (Heronden in
 Tenterden, and Warehorne) in a survey of 1285-1331 (BM.Cott.MS. Galba
 E.iv.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).

6.C 14 account - BM. Cott. Faust. A.i.f.142, and C.C.C. Camb.MS 301.p.2

7.1286-PRO.C 133/45/1.

¹
 pannage season. Rents of dongerium were paid, by c 1300, by all the
 denns of Ickham (2), Mersham (5), Godmersham (5), Westwell (10), East
 Farliegh (5), Little Chart (4) and Hellingbourne (5),² by 3 of the 9 denns
 of Brook and 8 of the 10 denns of Great Chart;³ only at Great Chart, on
 4 denns, did tenant pannage rents appear (For general pattern of denns,
 see Fig 40).

⁴ ⁵
 Some manors, including Boughton Malherbe and Aldington, recorded
 payments on their denns 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.⁶ In the late thirteenth century the landlord owned
 large timber in 5 denns of Kennington and received 'dangerium de tenentib
 pro aliis arboribus' and a later rental of the same denns clearly
 distinguishes danger and lesyeld.⁷ Nine denns of Lenham owed 'dongerium
 quercus et fagget' abbatis'.⁸

1. W. Sommer. 1660. 27; it was paid whether pannage fell or not.

2. BM. Add. MS 6159. f 30, 37v, 36^v, 39, 42, 40v, 43v.

3. ib. f 30, 39v -40. No danger or pannage rents were paid by the Eastry
 denns, f 27v.

4. Mid-C 14 accounts mentioned both, but said they had not been recently
 levied, R. Furley. ii. 1874. 704.

5. In 1285 pannage rents were recorded for some denns of Aldington,
 Lyminge and Great Chart; also danger rents and for some Aldington denms
 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 Du 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 14 account describing the same 5 denns as 'sine dangerio'¹). Tenants in the Kentish Weald had a right to underwood² 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 danger³ directly with tree felling, but rather - as at Aldington, Marden and Slepindenn in Marden⁴ - with the failure of the pannage harvest⁵. 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 custumal. This is clear not only from the statement in Boughton Aluph, 1286, that danger was paid for the pannage season (29 September - 12 November)⁶ but because accounts of the lands of Slindon in the Sussex Weald 1285⁷ and of the denns of Charing in the Kentish Weald in 1230,⁸

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1. ib. f. 168, early C 14 hand, cf f 141v late C 13 and f 148-9 late C 14; for dating, I am indebted to P.D.A. Harvey, Department of MSS, British Museum.
 2. As stated in the 1333 lawsuit - PRO. KB 27/293 m 55.
 3. In 1512 survey - R. Furley. ii. 1874. 426-7.
 4. ib. 502: 1575.
 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 time on the denn to the local tenants and recorded payment of danger, but danger was clearly paid before the agreement was made. Similar agreements 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 Neilson.

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 denns paid a rent called *summerhussilver*, 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 serv¹ was generally commuted; summerhouse rents were paid by Sandhurst, a denn² of Ickham, by some of the denns of Milton manor in Marden and by the³ Wealden lands of Newington-next-Sittingbourne. It was also owed by

6. PRO. C 133/45/1.

7. B.C. Redwood & A.E. Wilson (eds.). 1958. 5,10.

8. W. Somner. 1693. 114. Somner & R. F^{ur}ley (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.

2. Still recorded 1575-R. Furley. ii. 1874. 503.

3. Undated custumal, cited ib. ii. 1874. 6.

tenants at Shellwood in Leigh, the Wealden outlier of Ewell manor in Surrey.¹

Many dennis were specifically called drovedennis, the pastures from which the manorial swine were driven to the parent manor - Boughton² Malherbe had drovedennis and the Milton drovedennis were in Marden- and it has been suggested that the rent called gatepenny was paid at specific points on these droveways.³ Some customals still contained specific references to this droving - one of customals - those of Maidstone, Boughton-under-Blean and Charing,- still⁴ 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 Priors made agreement about the herbage and pannage of woodlar in Ticehurst;⁵ in 1229 Michelham Priory was granted pannage for 100 swine in several Wealden woods in Sussex,⁶ and in 1226 Tandridge Priory transferred rights to mast 30 hogs, given to it earlier.⁷ 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 dennis in Marden were drovedennis).
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 Forest to Chester - F.S. Brown. 1910. 3-4.
5. E. Turner. 1861.174.
6. L.F. Salzman. 1901. 99.
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 $16\frac{1}{4}/6\frac{1}{2}$, much more than¹ for herbage (18/5). Many of the grants to ecclesiastical houses gave free pannage, exempt from rent; Bayham Abbey 1199-1208 was given free pannage² for 25 swine in the south of Tonbridge Forest and before 1205 the canons³ 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 dennis in Hawkhurst, attached to his manor of Wye. Between 1189 and 1199 600 swine were driven from Tonbridge to the port of Shoreham,⁵ probably to be salted as meat for the Crusades. The estate of the Templars at Temple Ewell in North Kent had four tenants whose major⁶ 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 12,⁷ pannage tithes in the western Weald, in c 1200-4 the Priory of St. Gregory in Canterbury was⁸ granted pannage for 20 swine in the 'woods of Malling', the unenclosed

1. D.M. Stenton (ed.) 1953. xxvii, 275.
2. W. Dugdale. *Mon.* vi 1830. 913, dated H.M. Colvin. 1951. 112; dated 11673 by E. Hasted. ii. 1782.323.
3. PRO. Ancient Deed. D 3640; still used 1305 (C.Cl.R 1302-7. 303, and PRO. SC 8/94/4656, cit. H.M. Colvin. 1951. 114).
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.
6. C. Cotton. 1930. 38 and B.A. Lees. 1935. 100, citing PRO. E 164/16 f By 1308 a survey does not mention any such tenants nor any Wealden land PRO. E 164/18 m 1.
7. BM. Cott. MS. Vesp.E xxiii. f 14, agreement late C 12 about pannage tithe in Harting (which then included Wealden 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 Southmalling had been given right to keep 24 pigs there, having in 1139-6¹ been allowed to keep the same number in the 'forest of Broyle' in Ringmer and Framfield.² 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 1169.³ Battle town had two full-time swineherds according to a C 12 survey⁴ and the Abbey had been granted extensive pannage rights on its foundation in the late C 11.⁵ In 1189 confirmation was given to Grestein Abbey that it had herbage and pannage in Pevensey Forest, a privilege granted as early as 1066-86.⁶

Evidence of lay herds of swine at this time is almost non-existent, save for mention of pannage tithes (as in the denns of Lewisham and Greenwich manors 111 4-6),⁷ 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;⁸ indeed such herds may have provided, in total, most of the swine in the Weald during the twelfth and eleventh centuries.

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8. CUL. MS Ll. 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.
 1. Lambeth MS 1212 p 107, cit. A. Saltman. 1956. 403. Called the Archbishop's forest in 1285-B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (eds.) 1958. 32, 36, 48, etc.
 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.
 4. M.A. Lower (ed.) 1851. 16-18.
 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 Bocfalde and Betlesparroc for every 3 the king had; E. Turner. 1866.

(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 rods¹ from the Weald 1275 and in 1254 no less than 30,000 horseshoes and 60,000² 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 superiod³ 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 1227⁴ and the rent of iron⁵

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

6. Richer de Equila. 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. Chart.~~ There exist also a spurious grant of the manors 1081 to St. Peter's Ghent, in which the denms are said to be 'for the repair of the houses belonging to the Abbey' (H.W.C. Davis (ed.). 1913, no 141, also J.H. Round. 1899. 502), and the earlier forged version, dated 1044-KCD. 771.
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 (BM. 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.
3. L.F. Salzmänn. 1913. 409.
4. ib. SAC. 1915. 178-9, citing PRO. J1 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.¹ 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 (22⁶2²).

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 have begun in 1226, when Laurence Vitrearius (the glass maker) obtained 20 acres at Pickhurst near Chiddingfold.³ Traces of thirteenth century production have been found at four furnace sites in Chiddingfold and one in Hambledon.⁴

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 dennis of this manor in an early C 14 survey-BM. 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.Ss. 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 1262¹ 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)² had broken the assize of cloth but, as with the iron industry,³ 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 Otham in Hailsham c1200, at Guldenesalt kote in Pevensey Levels 1198-9, Wartling and Udimore 1095-1140, and at Pevensey c1100.⁴ It was an activity already established by 1086 and mentioned at least once previously (salt pans at Pevensey in 1054-5).⁵

1. BM. Add. MS 5679 f 234; B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (ed.) 1958. 75; W.V. Dumbreck. 1958. 143; PRO. JI 1/872 m 26, cit. VCH.Sy. 4. 1912. 425; A.W.G. Lowther. AC. 1952. 200.

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 near 'the fulling place' but the original form is probably from a personal name - PNSy.320.

4. Bodl.Sx Ch.6, cit. L.F. Salzman. 1901. 177; L.F. Salzman. 1916. 178-8; W.D. Peckham (ed.) 1946. 299-301; L.F. Salzman (ed.) 1932. 73.

5. J.H. Round. SAC. 1899. 76-7.

(v) 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 1226¹ - 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 Wychelyndenne² 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. King John, several times between 1199 and 1211, was able to cross Sussex at 35-50 miles a day.³ The major roads followed the Roman causeways⁴ along parts of Stane Street and the Lewes-Pevenuey 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; 1 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-^{40.}37. & C.P.R. 1247-58.161, is most the Lewes-Pevenuey road (I.D. Margary. 1939 29).

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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

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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 problem of using toponymic surnames see C. Higounet. 1953. 1 ff; R.W. Egery. 1952. 43-50, 1954. 47; R.S. Lopez. 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.¹

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, ⁶Questling 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 1196-7 Wapsbourne in Chailey had a market and the grant to Crawley had come in 1202, and as early as 1196-7 Wapsbourne in Chailey had a market.~~²

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

1. E. Ekwall. 1956. xliii-lxix.

2. For the references to these grants, see Appendix 5A.

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)¹ was built as an expression - an ep^gemeral one - of early medieval economic expansion. The chapel of Northeye was endowed in 1226² 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)³ 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.⁴⁵

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 market⁶ 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,⁷ Winchelsea was the chief port o

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- (C. C. Dukes (ed.) 1910. 426-8).
- 2X. Reg. Beade f 177, 23; 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. Ray. 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 p266 and L.F. Salzman. VCH. SX 9. 1937. 36); erosion (KME Murray. 1935.44). 240-3.
4. K.M.E. Murray. 1935. 43-4; 240-3.
5. A. Ballard. 1912. 36; ^{C.C.R. 1300-26. 220-1.} ~~cf. also 1188 Pope Bull 34 Henry II. 1925. 188~~
6. W. Dugdale. Mon. iii. 1821. 245; confirmed 1114-22, C. Johnson and H.A. Cronne (eds.) 1956. no 1348.

Sussex, especially known for its wine trade, besides shipbuilding and
 much fishing² whilst Rye was growing as a trading and fishing port but³
 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,⁴ 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);⁵ it was a major port of passage to the Continent and c 1155
 those freedoms from toll which encouraged its trade had been confirmed.⁶
 Rye also expanded in the twelfth century and a charter of c 1150
 encouraged its trade by releasing it from several feudal dues;⁷ 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.⁸

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- 7 VCH. Sx. 9. 1937.9-10. cf silting mentioned at Hythe 1230-C.Cl.R. 1227-31.321.
 1. References^(1232-47, 427) 1212 (Rot.Litt.Claus. 1202-24. 120)1223 (ib.559), 1244 (P.R. 1254 (W.D. Cooper.SAC. 1871.26). Tax on merchants in British ports, 1202-4, was 10/13/5½ for Rye, 62/2/4½ at Winchelsea (highest in Sx), D.M. Stenton (ed.). 1940. 218.
 2. Colossal royal demands 1250-1, C. Cl.R.1247-51. 385, 392, 430; also 1248, 1254; 1225 ship in harbour loaded with pickled herrings - Rot.L. Claus. 1224-7. 13.
 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.
 4. As mentioned 1199-Rot.Chart. 1199-1216. 62.
 5. VCH.Sx.9. 1937.9; erosion had probably begun by 1066.
 6. Repeated C.C.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.19165-9.
 8. G.C. Dunn ms. 1958. 02-17.

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, 101¹ at Pevensey, 64 at Rye and 24 (an incomplete entry) at Hastings. The novus burgus² 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 sam

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1. Also 15 bordars at Hastings, 103 villeins and 3 cottars at Rye. Hastings account itself is absent (either because King had unsuspect rights in it or because blank space at beginning of Sussex account w. left for it—J.H. Round. 1930. 97-105); 4 burgesses are recorded under Rameslie and 20 under Bollington.
 2. As suggested W.J. Andrew. 1931. 165-9, J.E. Ray. SNQ. 1927.161-2, and L.A. Vidler. *ib.* 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.

VI

THE WEALDEN LANDSCAPE IN 1086

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

P. Vinogradoff. Growth of the Manor. 1905. 1

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 1086.¹ 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 Angle-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 witnessed² 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 H.C. Darby, in H.C. Darby and E.M.J. Campbell (eds.), 1960 (forthcoming). Map references in this chapter are to maps in this work.

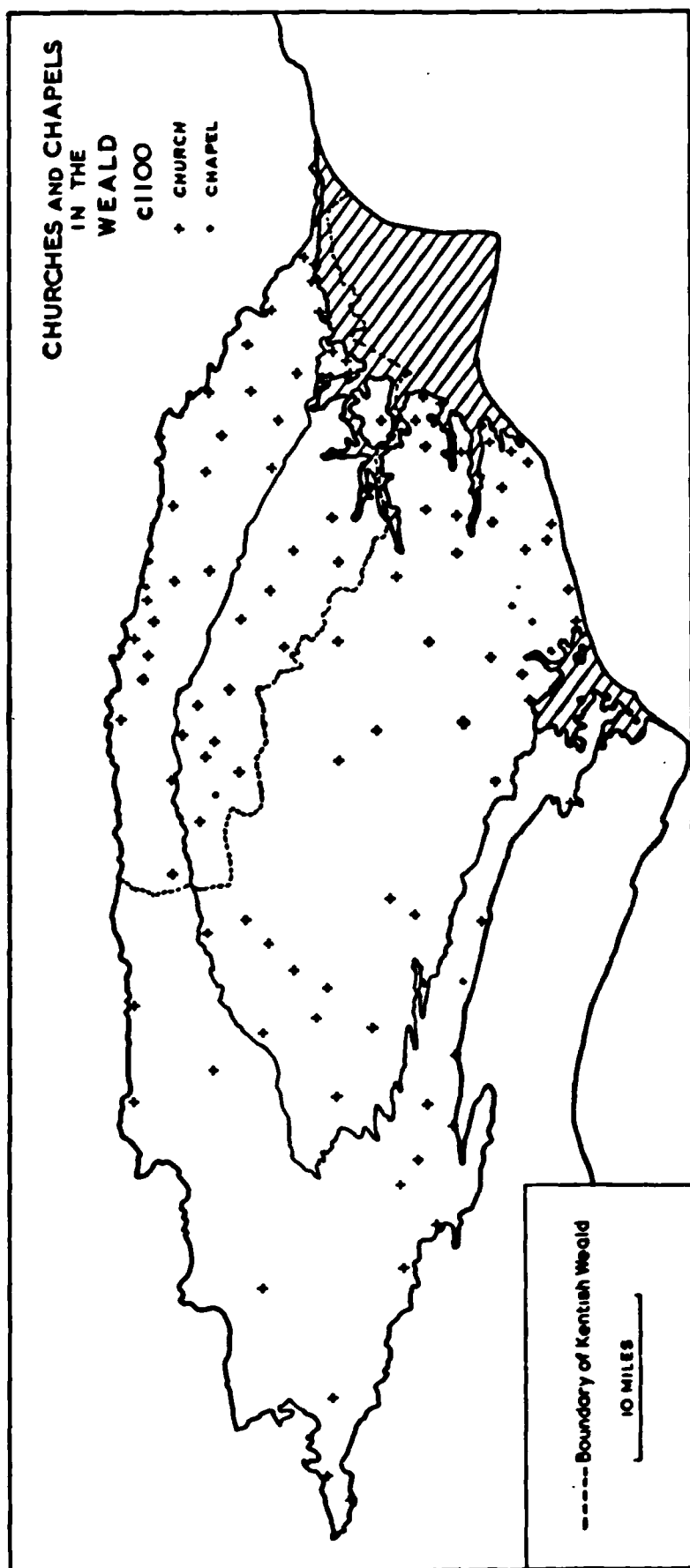


Fig.4I • Data from Appendix VII.

¹
Excerpta and the Domesday Monachorum, which happen to have survived (Fig. ²
 Other gaps in the map of settlement were caused by unspecified entries
³
 or by single names, as Pecheham (4b, 7b) which may have covered two
 settlements but, allowing for all such emissions, large areas of the
 Weald must have been almost unpeopled in 1086. This is confirmed by the
⁴
 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
⁵
 (map 111), both with less than 15 inhabitants. Some of the larger villages
 situated on the Downs to the north probably utilised a land area stretch-
⁶
 ing 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.

in Domesday.

2. G. Ward. 1933. 60-89. Some places known as settled from Anglo-Saxon charters, as Hersham and Lindfield, are absent from Domesday.
1. The Excerpta, 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. e.g. 6 holdings in the marsh of Romney (13); two unspecified settlements in Foxearle Hundred, Sussex (18, 19b).
3. East and West Peckham were distinct in the Textus Roffensis, dated 1140-50. F. 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.
6. W. Topley. 1873-4. 30-54.

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 Low 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 oakwoods 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 reflected¹ 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 130-4, 152).

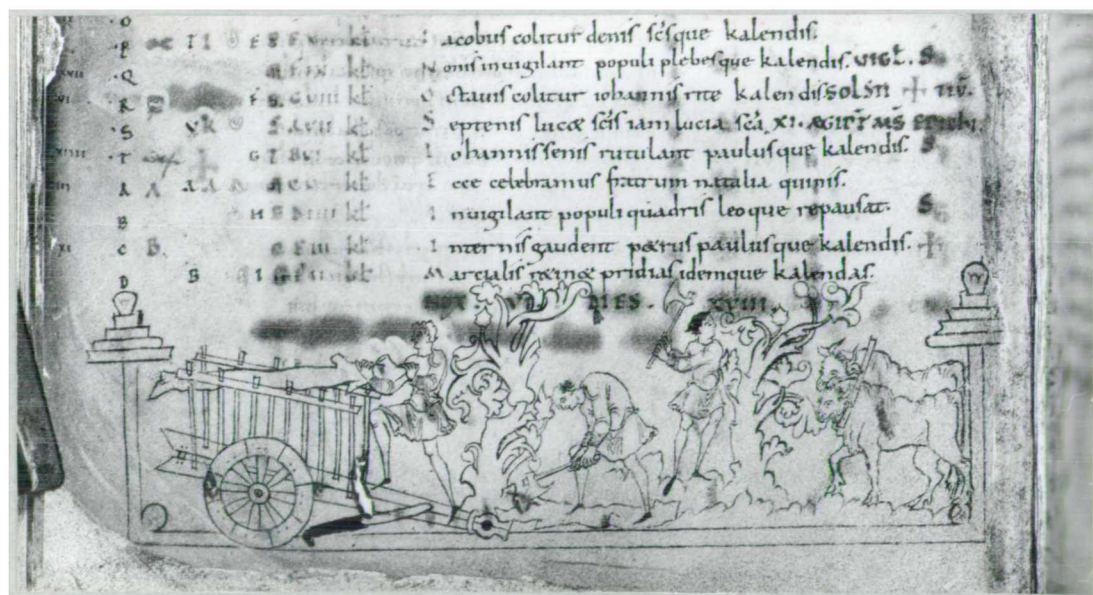
Some of the settlements of North East Sussex were but recent foundations in 1086. Only six localities were named in the three northern hundreds of the Rape of Hastings (Hawksborough, Henhurst and Sheyswell) but many unlocated holdings in these hundreds were entered in the accounts of manors south of 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 encouragement¹ 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 1086²; they were small units - 1 villein was recorded at Birchgrove (now in Horsted Keynes, 22b), and 1 at Worth (34b)³ and many of the Domesday names survive only in single farmsteads. Some of these small ventures failed, including Felesmere in East Grinstead Hundred (22b) and Medelei 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.

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1. L.F. Salzman, 1931. 20-29, esp.23. Some holdings in the adjacent hundred of Hailesaltede in Hastings Rape are entered under distant manors in the Rape of Pevensey, e.g. 3 holdings of Hedtene (20), probably South Heighton, north and east of Newhaven.
 2. e.g. the unnamed 5/8 of a ploughteam in Bexhill Hundred (18a).
 3. Tevegata (14) is Evegate manor farm in Smeeth; the largest total of ploughteams in the Weald, 51, was at Wilesham, now Filsham farm in Hellington (17b, 18a).



(a) swine pannage: eptemb r.

BM.Cott.MS Julius vi.f 7.



(b) wood cutting: June.

ib.f 5^v.

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 v(pt.i)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^b and 149) had a similar concentration of timber possessions in the villages of the scarpland edge, and the Weald must also have contained¹ 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 woodland 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 Wretham in Kent (3).² 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.³ 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.⁴

In the Kentish Domesday there are 22 references to denms, giving a total of 52 denms and three half-denms;⁵ (there was also one in Surrey, appurtenant to Ewell (30b).⁶ Some of the denms 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 denms held by the Count of Eu of Leeds manor in Kent are stated by the

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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 H.C. Darby, 1950-1.21-43. ~~allowing 1½ acres of woodland per head of swine, which would give Wretham 750 acres.~~
 2. The figure of 1500 at Steughton in Sussex (24) is a clerical error for J.H. Round. VCH, Sx.i. 426.m.
 3. See 1285 survey in B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (eds.) 1958.30-84.
 4. E.M. Yates. 1953a. 155.
 - 6½. A denn of wood, translated by H.E. Malden. VCH, Sx.i. 1902. 297, as a coppice of wood, following O. Manning and W. Bray. 1804.453, & ultimately Spelman.

Excerpts (p.2) to have been in Sussex, and have been identified as Elleda (18b), Esleda (19) and Esleda (18b) of the Sussex folios.¹ The denns 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 denns which existed in 1086; no denns are ascribed to the Canterbury estates which had many before and after.

The locations of most of the denns are unspecified; they were probably scattered in groups, as were those in the Anglo-Saxon charters. There is one instance of their concentration, in the Lowy of Tunbridge; in the account of Ridley (6), Richard of Tenbridge is said to hold a denn 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.² (map 138).

The denns 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 denns (Orpington,4). The second category consisted of those with populations

56. This calculation included the 4 denns of Leeds, stated by the Excerpts 2, to lie in Sussex, and counting the total of Newington (14b) as 7, i.e. 4 plus 3 separated since TRE. N. Neilson. 1928.8, takes the entry for Milton (2b) - 'he holds half a denn which TRE a certain villein held, and Alned Cild took two parts away from a certain villein by force' - as meaning Milton had three denns. The interpretation in H.C. Darby and E.M.J. Campbell (eds.) 1960, of half a denn, seems preferable.

1. G. Ward. 1933b. 238.

2. E.M.J. Campbell. op.cit.

and teams - Peckham (7b) had three denns with 4 villeins and Tinton (11) owned half a denn with 1 villein, 3 bordars and two fisheries. By 1086, although some denns remained swine pastures, permanent settlement and cultivation had commenced in others.¹ However, the description of a denn in Belice (Birchelt, 9b) as a denn 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.² Some denns 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 $\frac{1}{2}$ a iugum of land, 2 villeins and half a ploughteam; 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 folios do not mention any.³ 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

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1. The denn of Ewell in Surrey seems to have reached this stage - 'una dena silve et una crefta' (30b).
 2. P. Vinogradoff. 1908. 292.
 3. The suggestion in G. Maitland. 1956.7. that Halfeldene (22b), meant half-field den, is incorrect; the actual reading is Halseeldene (Hazelden 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,¹ 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 had² detached parcels in the hundred of Grinstead, and a number of manors in³ 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 were⁴ acquired between 1011 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 ploughteams⁵ per settlement than those on the Weald Clay). There is no indication that

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1. This can be overemphasised; the Danes in 893 voyaged upstream to Appledore without difficulty, and Domesday records more 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, Ditchling, Bevendean, Allington, Warningord and Weotton had detached holdings in Grinstead Hundred. DB.i.22b, & J.E.A. Jelliffe. 1933. 82.
 3. DB. 19; Map 122.
 4. L.F. Salzman. 1931. 23. 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 (G.N. Garmonsway(ed.) 1914) and the expansion probably followed this.

many of them had once been swine pastures.

(iii) Arable and pasture.

There were few references to ploughteams in the Weald of Kent (map 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 $2\frac{1}{2}$ 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 Hooe $41\frac{1}{2}$ ploughteams (17b and 18), Bexhill 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 saltpans 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 unspecified¹ outlier of Sterrington 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 114 and 152), and only 8 in Sussex (130). The Sussex pasture figures are all small, save for one payment of 15/4 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.(4). Much of this was on the borders of Romney marsh, whilst the 38 acres of Wartling (18) and 71 acres of Hooe (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.

(ib) 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 Rotherfield (16), another at Chart Sutton (8-parcus silvaticum bestidrum), and folio 18 mentions a park at Wilting in ^H Mellington. The foresta in Dallington was not a royal forest (it was held by the Count of Eu) but strictly a chase, and Dallington chase it was later called (p.300).

Domesday recorded industrial activity as well as agricultural. There were a few mills in the Weald, including some fractions $3\frac{1}{2}$ at Barcombe (27b) one mill and a small mill at Chiddingly (22b). Eel renders 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 $13\frac{1}{2}$ ¹ 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), $8\frac{1}{3}$ at Eastbridge (13), 7 at Langport (4b) and 100 at Rye (174); the 2 pans of Mersham (3b), the 1 of Folkestone (9b), and the $\frac{1}{8}$ ¹ of Great Chart (5) were probably located in Romney marsh also. The second concentration was around the Pevensey Levels, a total of 84 saltpans, the greatest contributors being Eastbourne 16 pans, (20b) and Hooe, 34 pans (17b,18); the 16 saltpans of Laughton (21,23) ² probably lay in Laughton Levels nearby ^{or} along the Ouse and Rother. Domesday includes only one reference to ironworking, the ferrari ³ 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)¹. 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 Weald² 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 TRE 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 local³ rather than a regional deficiency.

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

2. The course of the Conqueror's movements is traced in F.H. Baring 1898. 17-25.

3. 'eo quod terra vastata est a pecunia.' The explanation above is that favoured by E.M.J. Campbell. op.cit. 1960. L.B. Latking. 1869. 146. takes it to mean the arable had been destroyed by cattle, which is unlikely; E. Hasted. ii. 1782, 302, interprets it as land destitute by a certain amount 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 opinion
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, fishing¹ and salt evaporation; inland the eastern High Weald shewed 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 denn of² Haeselerse (in northwest Ticehurst); once a denn, it was now an open

1. The earliest evidence of the importance of the ports is their appearance as centres of coinage-Hastings 929^b (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. BM.Stowe charter 38; for identification see G. Ward.1936a.119-29.

pasture and there was a smithy there also.¹ 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-ersc means a² ploughed or stubble field.

At Hadlew, in the Kentish Weald, permanent settlement had begun³ by c 975, & there are earlier references to tillage elsewhere in the Weald. A charter of 968⁴ records the sale of the denn of Hyryngdaenn (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 the⁵ King and his nobles. The boundaries of the denn were given, including several meadows, and a clearing (sia rode). A charter of 956, describing⁶ the pastures belonging to an estate in Annington, lists two whose names end in -wic; these two, and perhaps others also, had changed by this⁷ date from swine pastures to cattle farms. The swine pastures of⁸ Washington in 946 included Yffeles leah (Yffel's clearing), scacalwic

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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 'siluule nemus', 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 1885-93. 1212 (this work hereafter referred to as BCS.
 5. This is pointed out by G. Ward. 1937a.236.
 6. ⁶ Ja den 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 -wic is generally translated merely as farm; in Essex and parts of Kent it often meant a dairy farm (VCH, Essex, i. 1903. 369; G. Ward. 1940a. 24-8) but elsewhere the termination is coupled with goats (Gotwick in Rusper. PN. Sx. i. 233) and other animals.

(shackle farm) and two more - wics (haeslwic and gatawic); these were probably single farmsteads (as haeslwic, Hazelwick Farm in Worth¹, is to this day.) One of the denns of Malling in 946 (witherincg falad) has 'gafol' written after it in the charter; this is unique in Angle-Saxon lists of denns, but it probably means that this swine pasture now owed the ancient money rent called gafol,² such a payment implies that the permanent settlement of witherincg falad had begun, beginning before 946 but after 811, when another charter listed it without this postscript. The denns of Durrington in 934 included the clearing of Haecca's people (haeccinga hleah).³

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 Mersham⁴ and in 814 there was a ploughland next to the woodland called Caert (Sutton Valence) with fields and pastures nearby, and meadows giving 12 loads of hay per annum; Sutton⁵

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.

4. A.J. Robertson. 1956. 17.

5. ~~BCS 506; KPN 214.~~

5 BCS 343; G. Ward. 1942a. 1-7. (H.S. Cowper. 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 Bexhill (inland) and the gafolland of the outland of Hastings, scattered in several small groups - at Barneherne 3 hides, Worsham 1, Ibba's Wood 1, Crewhurst 8, Ridge 1, Gyllingas 2, Foxham and 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 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 Henfield 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 (Citangaleaghe, Chiddingfold 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.

3. J.E.A. Jolliffe. 1933. 17.

4. BCS 206.

5. BCS 197. The translation of baere leage follows PN.Sx. i.272; E.E. Barlow 1947. 89, G. Maitland. 1950.4-11, translate it as the clearing with the barley, and M.S. Helgate. 1929. 183 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 philologically sound (A.H. Smith. 1956.i.16) but swine-pasture clearing the 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 *swaepling*, and mean land cleared by burning, and Tollhurst originally referred to an enclosure within a wood. The swineherds probably began to till temporary plots in the dennis almost as soon as the first swine were driven to them, and parts of the drevedennis 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 Aethelbert (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

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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. Telligden in 858 (BCS 496); derivation from KPN 202.
 4. Snattingden in BCS 316, 804. The interpretation above is that of R.E. Zachrisson. 1924; J.K. Wallenberg disagrees in KPN. 96-7.
 5. J.K. Wallenberg. KPN. 98; compare the differing interpretation in H. Middendorf. 1902, 137. (the name, *Tuhlafahirst*, comes in BCS 316, 804)
 6. R. Furley. ii. 1874. 332, 693.
 7. F.L. Attenborough. 1922. 4-17, cap 29.
 8. BCS 197 (765-71).

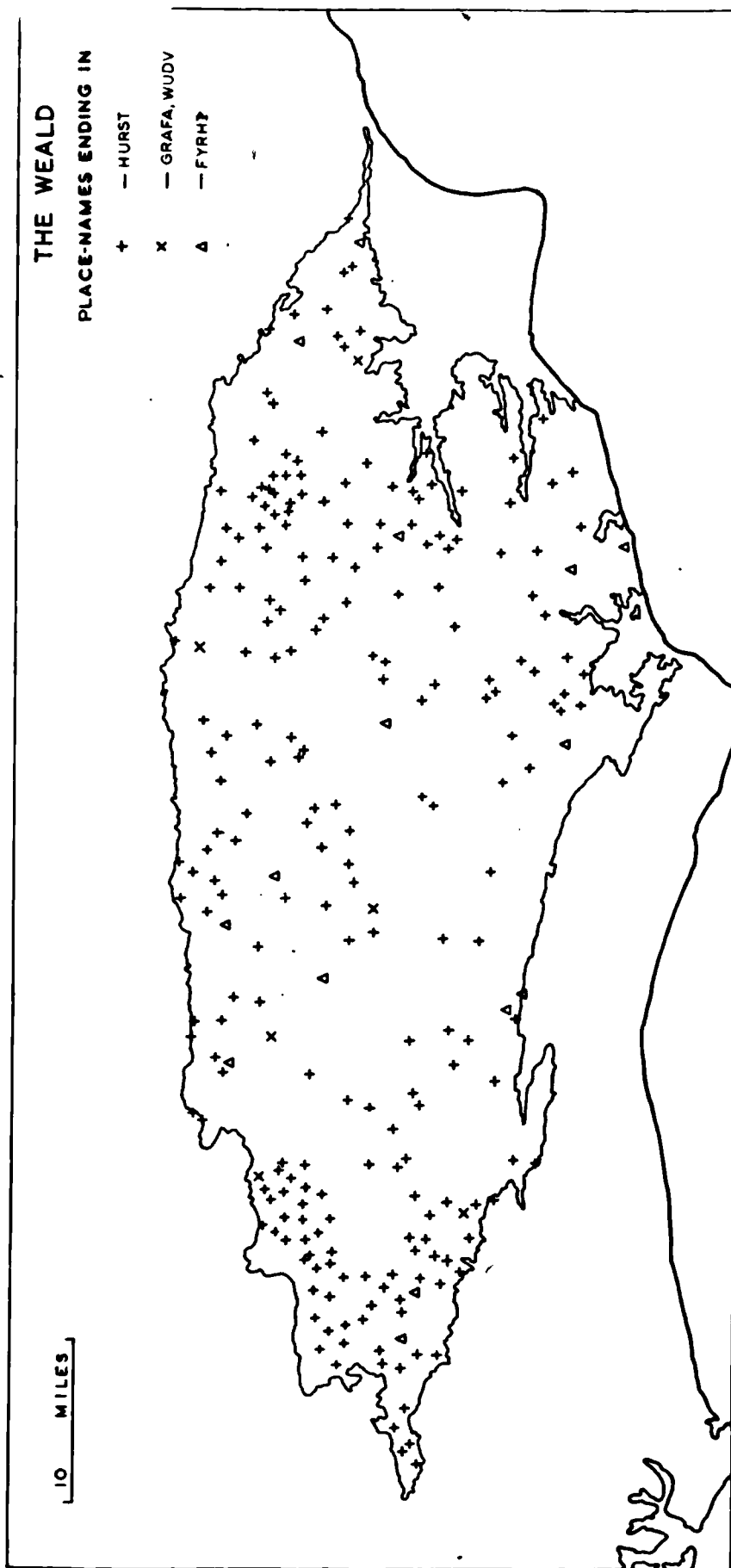


Fig. 43. Data (as Figs. 44-6, 56) from PN. Sy., PN. Sx., KPN and FNK.

of the Angle-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 saltpe at Lympne were granted 20 wains of wood for fuel, and this doubtless came¹ from the adjacent sectors of the Weald.

As cultivation extended, the first permanent dwellings were erected, leefecildes cot² of 765-71 being the earliest documentary reference; as the denns 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 supplements the scanty data in land charters. The wooded nature of the terrain was still manifest; wood names (-hyrst, -grafa, -wudu) which span these³ centuries, appeared throughout the Weald with an especial concentration in the western claylands, the most inland district of the region and the⁴ 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 Dark 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 Chyteresland in 1522-PN.Sy.323. Also the ending -hurst appears to have been used for new place names as late as the C 13 - *ibid.* xxi.

4. It was also distant from the earliest centres of Saxon settlement in Sussex.

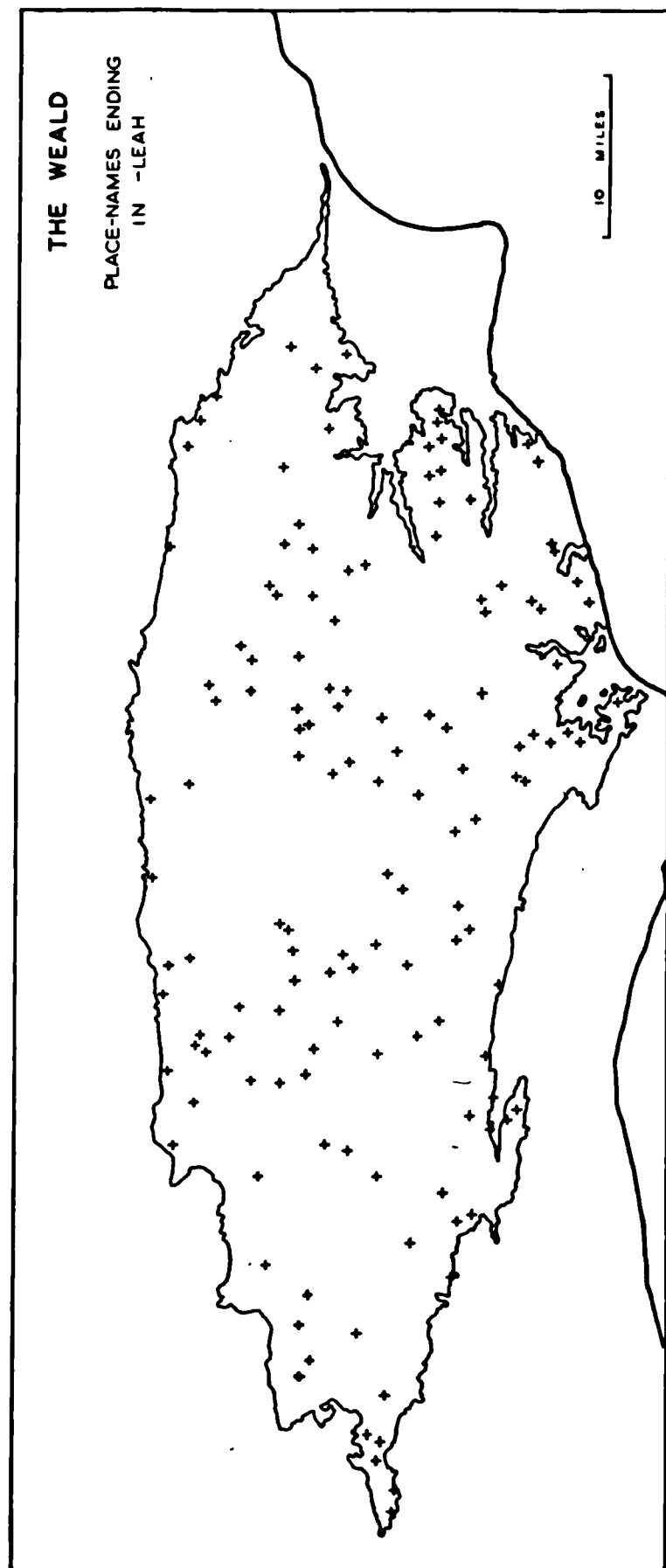


Fig. 44.

were found than in some more wooded parts (Fig 42³).

Other suffixes, dating from the later centuries of the Dark Ages, reflected the husbandry which the settlers in the woodland then practised. Suffixes in -leah¹ denoted, in some cases, man-made clearings for cultivation (Fig.44), whilst -fald (a fold)² and -wic (a farm, often a dairy farm) emphasised the pastoral aspect. This latter was dominant; -fald³ and -wic names were much commoner than -leah³ 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 -fald almost wholly confined to that area of the western Weald where names denoting woodland were very frequent (Fig 45).

(The concentration of -fald 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 -fald concentrated in 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.⁵ Several unusual elements were used in Kent and also in

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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. -fald 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, group of them, later a building for dairy cattle or some other pastoral use; it does not appear with the earliest names and its use

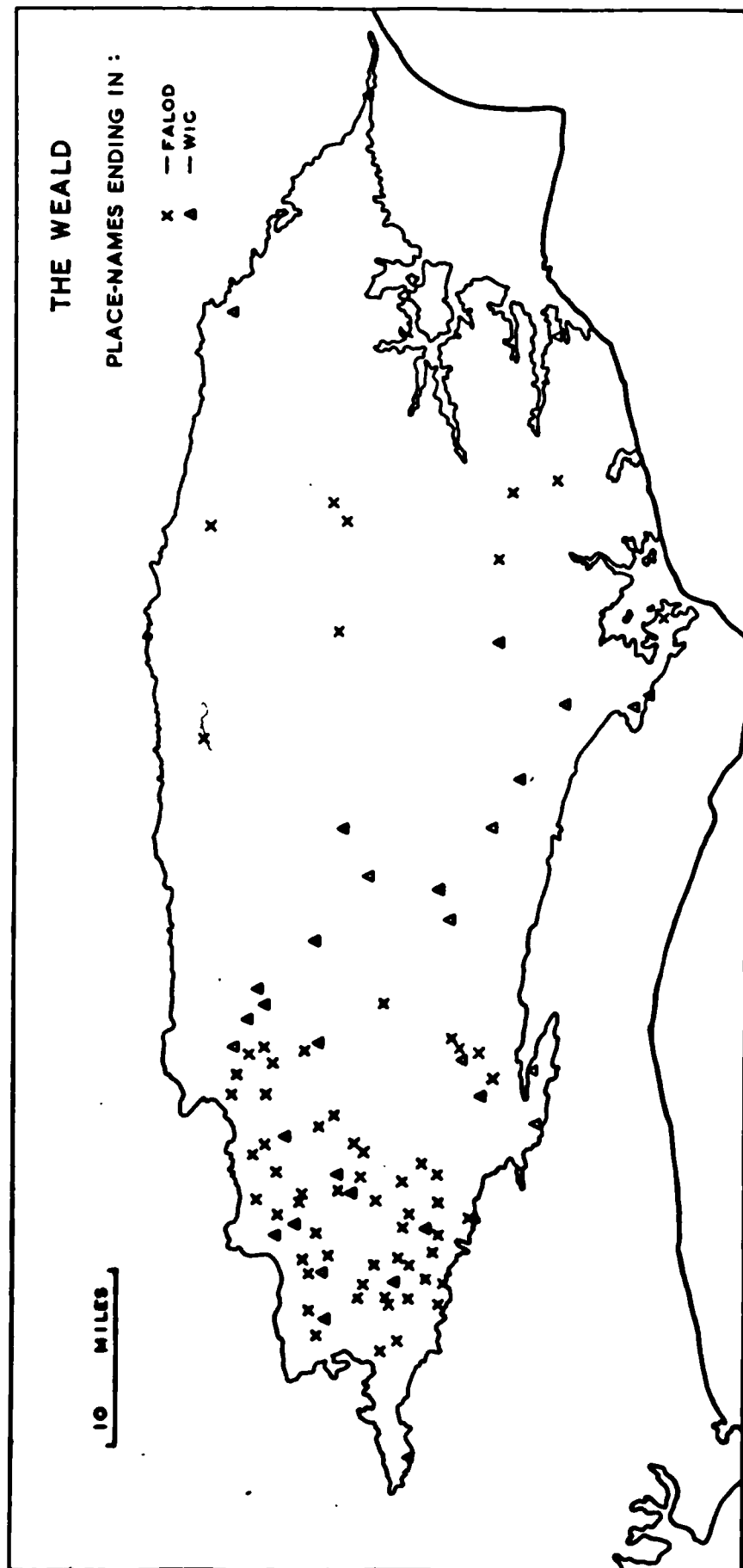


Fig. 45.

East Sussex -spic, ha^γ, geselle and storf (but Mawer and Stenton do not regard this as necessarily implying any original connection of the settlements in East Sussex and Kent.¹)

These endings, - falod, - wic, - 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, - tun², - ingtun³, other combinations of - ing⁴, and the later - ing names themselves⁵ 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).

continued a little after the Conquest - ib.ii. 257-60.

3. The picture would not be altered substantially if other clearing names of later origin, ending in - haeg, - haga, - ried, - hyrding, and - feld, were added.
4. See map at end of A.H. Smith. ii. 1956; PN.Sy.xx-xxii; PN.Sx.xxi-xxiii; PNK.iv-vii.
5. P.N. Sussex, ii. 550-3; A. Mawer. 1933. 194; A. Mawer. 1928. 15ff; A. Nicklin and E.G. Godfrey-Faussett. 1935.219; xviii-xxiii.
1. P.N. Sx.i. xv- they regard them as ancient words which were never used in later settlement in any area.
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 - ha fell into disuse; it then came to mean a larger unit than previously; 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. Anscom 1918.76-83, that - intun names were Alemannic, which included the Jutes, and that such suffixes in Sussex indicated Jutish penetration into Sussex, has no philologic basis; originally there were - ingtun

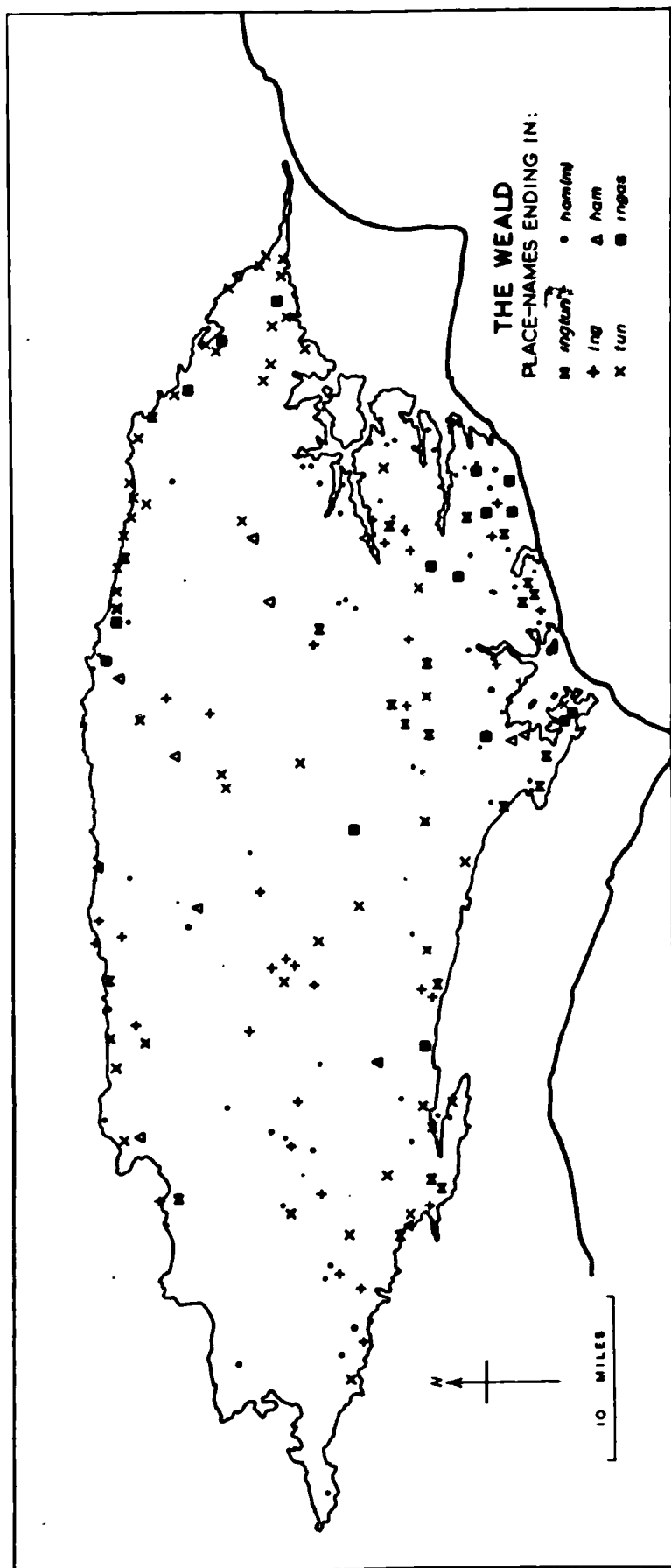


Fig. 46.

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 - ham¹ names being well within the boundary and only one (Fletching) of the earliest -ingas² names. The distribution of these early names suggests that the permanent agricultural colonisation of the Weald preceded inwards from its margins, but not only from the more open and quite fertile scarpfoot terrains to north and south (where Romano-British and pre-historic 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 Dadelindenne in Cranbrook (-ingdenn, PNE 320); Cuttingly Weed in Worth (-ingleah, PN.Sx. ii. 281); Etchingwood in Buxted (-ingworth, ib.390), Dallinridge in Forest Row (-inghyrcg 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; PN.Sx.118). I am unsure whether the pre-Saxon -ing of Dr. G. Ward (1930. 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. 1936.368, noted that the -ham names in the Weald followed the valleys, the later -tun shewed the expansion from the valleys.
2. P.H. Blair. 1956. 22; F.M. Stenton. 1924. ⁵11ff; A.H. Smith. 1956. 29 9.

movement from the East Coast.¹ 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.² Some of the most archaic place name stems in Sussex are to be found in this its eastern borderland.³

(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)⁴ 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^{the} most important economic activity in the area, throughout the Dark Ages, was swine grazing.

Domesday mentions several groups of dennis 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, pascua porcorum, 'ad percos alendas',⁵ or 'pastum et pascua porcorum et armentum seu capronum suis locis'.⁶ The only mention of cattle is indirectly in names with Old English roots; Hriðden (Little Ridden)⁷ means 'cattle denn'. In 1086 cultivation in the Weald was already

1. Seen also in -ingham names; P.A. Nicklin and E.G. Godfrey-Faussett. 19216.

2. A. Mawer. 1933. 194.

3. e.g. Cleeve Axe in Guestling—PN.Sx.i.xv.

4. Generally for the charters W. de Gray Birch.i-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. Legison. 1943.174, as forgeries, are only late and mutilated.

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 England¹ as a whole.

The charters demonstrate the wide scatter of swine pastures, but² 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 H.E. 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; Rotherfield means the open pasture of the cattle (PN.Sx. ii. 377) and occurs BCS 252, 788 (a fabricated grant but probably based on a true one - H.H. Round. SAC. 1898.48-51).
- J
1. BCS-558.
 2. BCS-343.

Sanderstead, Westerham, Lingfield and adjacent parts of Surrey 2000 swine¹ 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 dennis² (Chart Sutton 11 in 814, Durrington 18 in 934³) must have owned swine numbered in four figures.⁴ Two grants of 785 and 791 mention pasture for one drove of swine at Daeningdenne and for 50 swine 'be innan snade', but⁵ these places were in the forest of Blean; the only mention of droves in the Weald appears in a grant of 747 giving pasture for 12 droves of swine⁶ 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.⁷ 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 beast⁸ 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 'be innan snade' refers to Snedland, which other early forms do not support (e.g. BCS 1132).R. Furley. i. 1871.76, suggests Smeeth, based on a misreading of the charter as Smede (an error going back to W. Semner. 1640. 212).

6.BCS 175.

7.R. Trew-Smith. 1957. 53-4.

8.A.H. Smith. 1956.i. 129.

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,¹ with open heaths on the driest and most exposed slopes. The statement² 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 feeds most richly. The heavy claylands were not only the best suppliers of pannage, they also lay nearest the extra-Wealden estates which wanted feed for their swine while the poorer sandy soils were conveniently restricted to the more distant upland core of the Weald.

Not all the dennis 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 of⁴ Hyryngdaenn in 968 contained meadows (Tentwarabrecas and Hyryngbrecas);⁵ it thus included the meadow of the men of Thanet (Tentwara) 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.
 3. See earlier, p.439.
 4. BCS 1212; brecas 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 topographic /contd

their swine pasture. Whilst the primary attraction and value of the den¹ 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 denns were not in the Weald at all/² (Fig 40); others were on its margin - Ritherden lay below the Lower Greensand scarp in Sevenoaks Weald³ and Southerenden 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 denns, - the Chart woodlands. A belt of open woodland stretched along the Lower Greensand from East Kent as far westwards as Guildford, although not⁴ continuously. Parts of these woods were appendant to distant manors - the manor of Kingsnorth in Ulcombe and Boughton Malherbe was described in later centuries as a detached borough of Faverham Hundred, and a chart

alternative in KPN 298); it may well have been no longer used by the men of Thanet in 968.

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.461.
2. e.g. the swine pastures of East Dean, Sussex, in 689 were near Singleton. E.E. Barker. 1947. 47-9.
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.

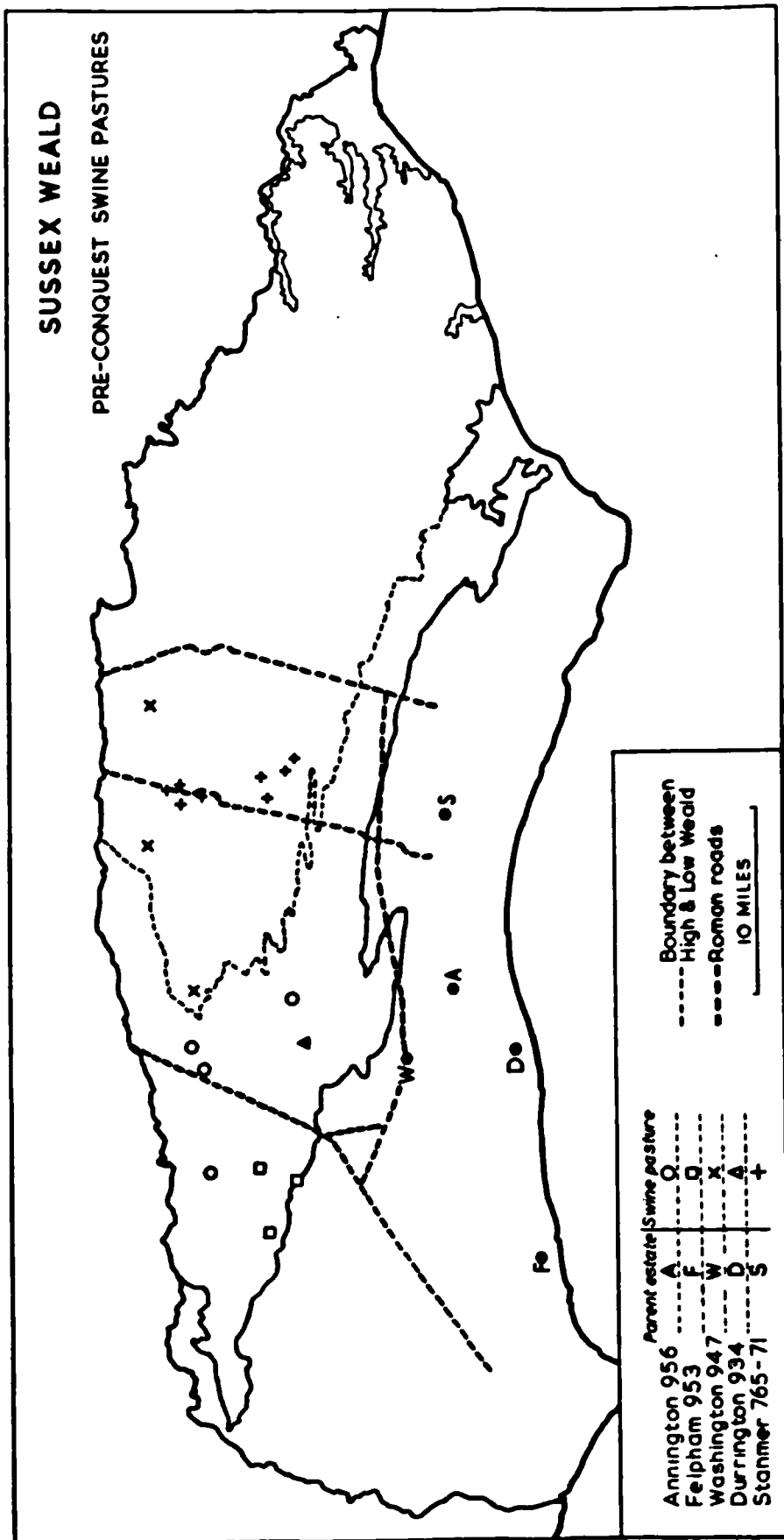
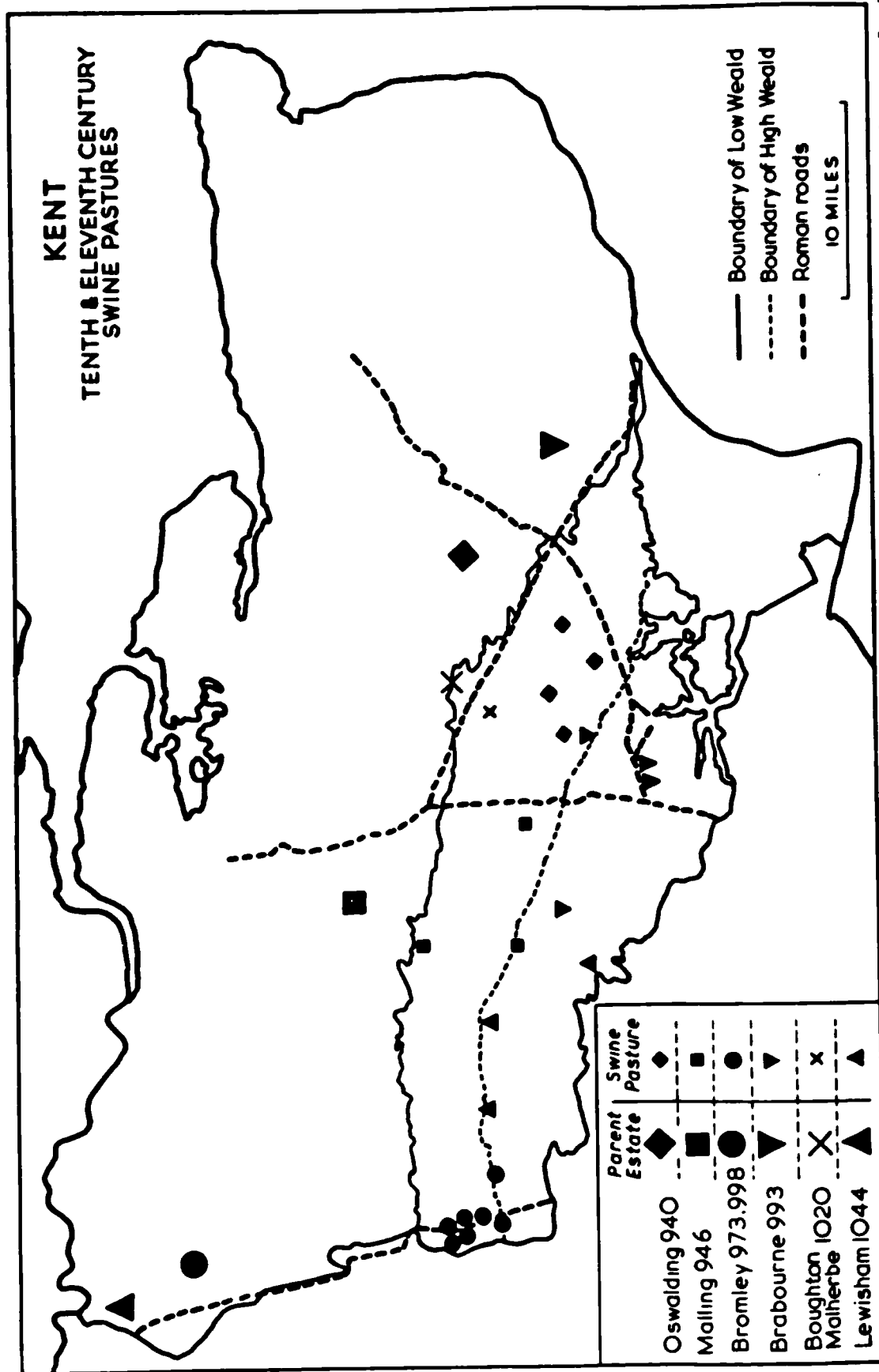


Fig. 47. Many of the charter names remain unidentified; 2 of the 5 denns of Annington, 3 of the 11 denns of Washington, 6 of the 14 denns of Stanmer and 17 of the 18 denns of Durrington. Based on BCS 107, 702, 834, 898, 961.

¹ 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 Lympe² belonged to Aldington and much of Herton was in the manor of Brabeurne. 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 dennis elsewhere³ in the Weald, as recorded in a grant of 843.

In 1086 dennis were only recorded under parent estates in Kent, but this restriction was recent in origin; in Sussex there had been a⁴ 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). In⁵ Surrey Beddington had three Wealden woods in c964 and Sutton manor had⁶ swine in the Weald at Thundersfield in Horley; one of the Beddington

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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.
 2. G. Ward. 1935a. 151-2.
 3. BCS 442.
 4. S.H. King, in H.C. Darby and E.M.J. Campbell (eds.) 1960.
 5. BCS 1155. One of them, Tenhric, may be Tandridge; another, Lace, is Great or Little Leake Farm in Horley - PN. Sy. 293. The third was Cylesdun.
 6. BCS 1195: 967.



Based on BCS 75², 779, 1295; KCD 700, 771, 1315; F. Edwards (ed.) Liber de Hyda. 1866. 242-52. Fræcincg hyrst, sceorfestede, witheringc falod, holanspic (denns of Malling); saenget hyrc (Bromley); straddene (Brabourne); seffehapa, winoindene (Lewisham) are unidentified swine pastures.

Fig. 48.

woods was called a denn in 947¹ and the swine pastures of Cheam had been mentioned as early as 727.² Wealden swine pastures, in the Dark Ages, were not restricted to Kent.

The number of denns attached to an estate, and their distance from it, was as ^{varied} in Angle-Saxon times as during the Middle Ages. The mention of single denns is unusual, unless they have developed in independent farming units; the commonest groups were of three or of five denns, but whilst only three estates had less than three denns, thirteen had over five. (Figs 47-50). The grants recording groups of three to five denns 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 denns of Durrington mentioned in 934.³ Some groups decreased in size as the centuries progressed - two of the denns of Little Chart mentioned in 843 were erased from the charter soon afterwards as erroneous entries (Lidingden and Hwitan),⁴ and only four remained attached to the manor of Little Chart in the early fourteenth century.⁵

Swine pastures were often many miles away from the home farm, but they were generally grouped together;⁶ the denns of Bromley in 862 lay in a distant woodland (in anutwalda), but were all in or near Edenbridge.

1. Pedan hyrcg and aet lace, denns of Merstham-BCS 820.

2. For 675, BCS 39-a fabricated grant. Cegeham (Cheam) had swine pastures in panewald, repeat in BCS 1195.

3. BCS 702.

4. G. Ward. 1945a. 1-7.

5. BM.Add. MS. 6159 f 40v.

6. Wallenberg often uses this as a principle in place name decisions: KP! 144-5, 171-5.

7. BCS 506.

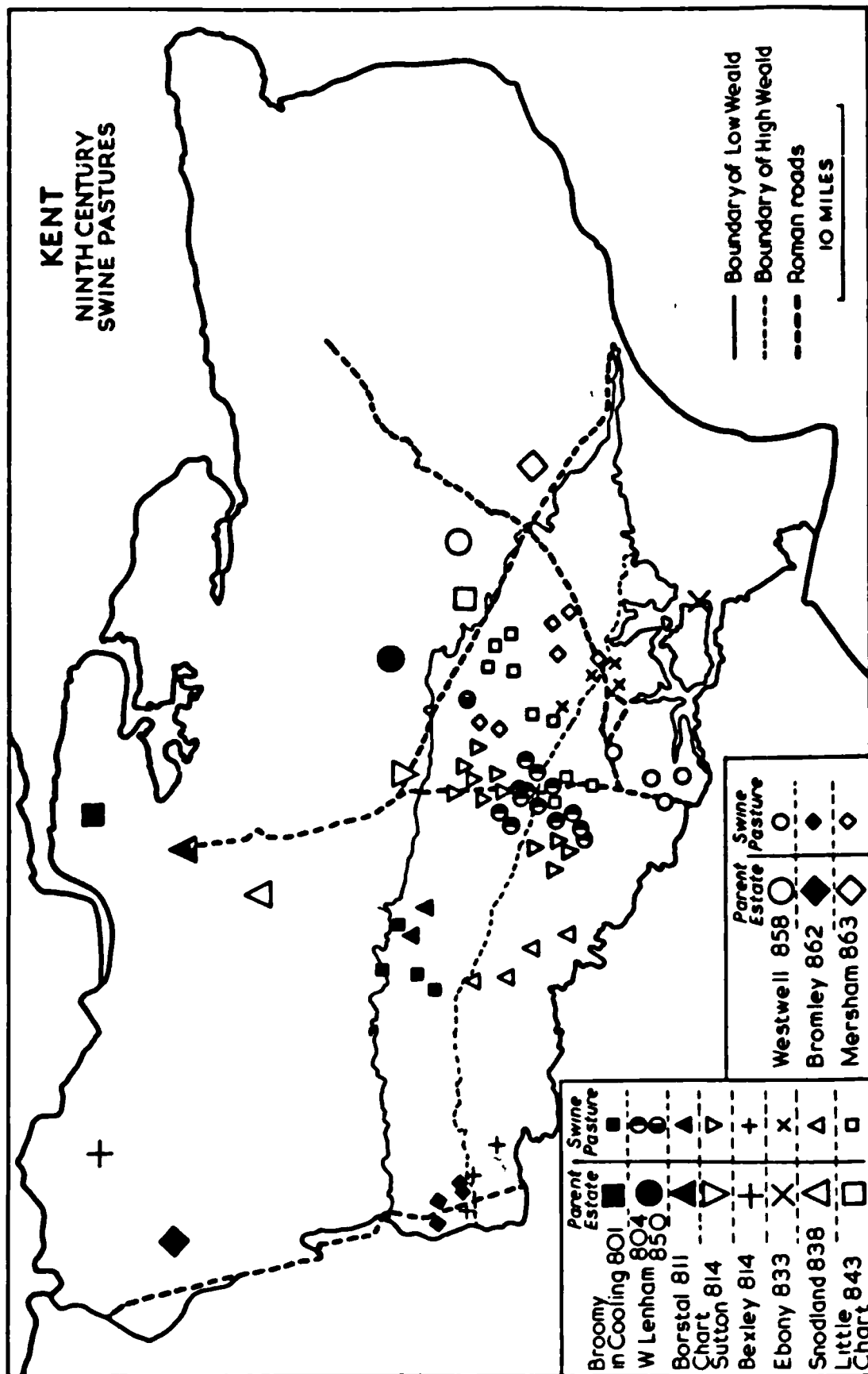


Fig. 49. Based on BCS 303, 316, 329, 343, 346, 347, 408, 418, 442, 459, 496, 506, 507. Sceofesstede (denn of Borstal), burnes stedesdenn and hunbealdinchole (Bexley), besehamburne (Ebony), monekenesnod (Little Chart), orriccsed n (Westwell) and saenget hryg (Bromley) are unidentified swine pastures.

and the denns of Felpham in 953 were concentrated in the most westerly
¹
segment of the Weald. According to the boundaries given in later
documents, at least three of the denns 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)
²
and the other around (18 miles). The proximity of denns and the process
³
of internal subdivision which sometimes occurred explain why one name often
covered a group of swine pastures - mapel der hest ⁴ ðrie and Friðesleas
⁵
lill, in the list of denns 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 denns 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 denns were divided, or shared, between two
estates; Sandhurst was a denn both of Ickham in 785 and of Westwell in
⁶
858. Hliossole, a denn of Appledore in 833, was probably the same
locality as Hlifgesella, a denn of Little Chart in 843. ⁷ More complex

1.BCS 898.

2.G. Maitland. 1950.4.

3.This appears in such Domesday entries as Dartford (2b)- 8 small dens and
3 large, and Ewell (11) - $\frac{1}{2}$ a denn.

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 denn from one estate to the other,

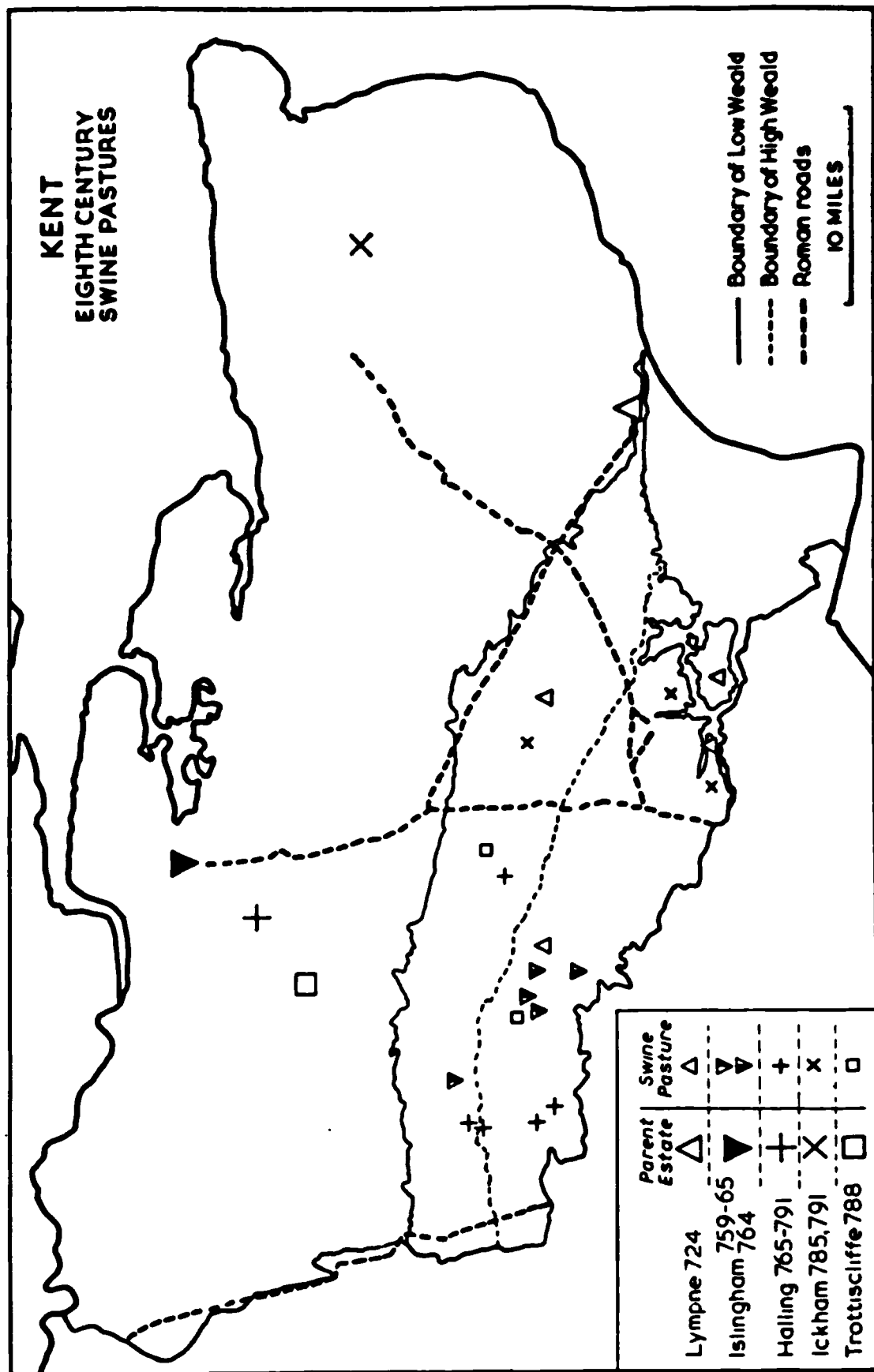


Fig. 50. Based on BCS 141, 194, 195, 247, 253, 260, 263. Limenwearawalde and weowerawalde (Lympne), Uuealdseuwestra (Islingham 759-65), holanspic (Islingham 764, Trottisciffe 788) are unidentified swine pastures.

are the four charters which refer to land in Bromley and its attendant¹ swine pastures; two of the charters refer to a lay estate,² and the other two to an ecclesiastical.³ These two estates each have their denns - 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 denns at Clatfields, the ecclesiastical estate but one. Both estates owned some denns 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 Alher in 850 had some common denns, and others which were not shared.³ 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 657¹ (987).
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 denns were attached solely to one estate whilst others (perhaps larger, more central) were to¹ be shared.

The most difficult group of charters are a series of grants to the² 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 denns, however, appear in several³ charters - Holanspic (unidentified, but perhaps in Twyford Hundred) in no less than four between 747 and 946, two others in three separate⁴ grants, and four other denns twice. Were the estates thus laid out before the Bishop received them, the regular reappearance of the bishops' denns 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 denns 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 denns to the Bishop of Rochester; in the latter, 764, the King of Mercia gave another estate in Islingham with three different denns 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 Trettscliffe; BCS 339 (811), TR f 136, a grant by the King of Mercia of an estate in Berstall; BCS 669 (946), TR f 143, a grant by King Edmund of an estate in Mallin.
3. KPN 39.⁷⁷⁾

4. Holanspic in BCS 175, 195, 253, 779; Paetlanhyrge and Lindhyrge in 175, 195, and 779; Otanhyrst, Fraecinghyrst, Sceorfstede and Witheringfald in 339 and 779.

Bishop sure 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 denns 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 ¹-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 denbera'. ²In 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 ³(811, in Eastry) and in Dinuualingden ⁴(probably in Tenterden, 791), or the personal name Wilfri ⁵in Wilfredincgden, 830, and in Wilfrethingland, ⁶923, 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. 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 denu, a valley; a forged charter fell into this, translating the OE for denns in the Weald as 'cum vallibus in Andreda' (KCD 771: 1044). G. Ward. 1931b. 65-8 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. EHD. i. 488.

3. BCS 332.

4. BCS 263.

5. BCS 396. This place has not been identified.

6. BCS 637. J.E.A. Jolliffe. 1933. 29, suggests this linkage, but S.

Karlstrom 1927. 119, derives this name from the personal name Wulfri

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 garunga leah,² Goringlee in Shipley. The denns of Meopham listed in charter of 939 remain unidentified, but Furley states that the denns of Meopham were located in the district of Tonbridge; in Hildenborough near Tonbridge, their memory may be retained in the two local names of Meopham Park and Meophambank.³ In some cases these philological connections go back to the period before the charters were drawn up; Palinga schittas and Boganora, two of the denns of Felpham in 953,⁴ may have been attached earlier to Poling and Bognor, both located near Felpham in South Sussex. Other charters suggest, on similar grounds, that the several denns 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),⁵ given in the boundaries of the land at Bexley. This same charter gives the boundaries of ⁶ever, another of the denns, and a third called Plumwearding pearocca; was perhaps the swine pasture belonging to Plumstead, near Bexley.

1.PN. Sx.i. 205.

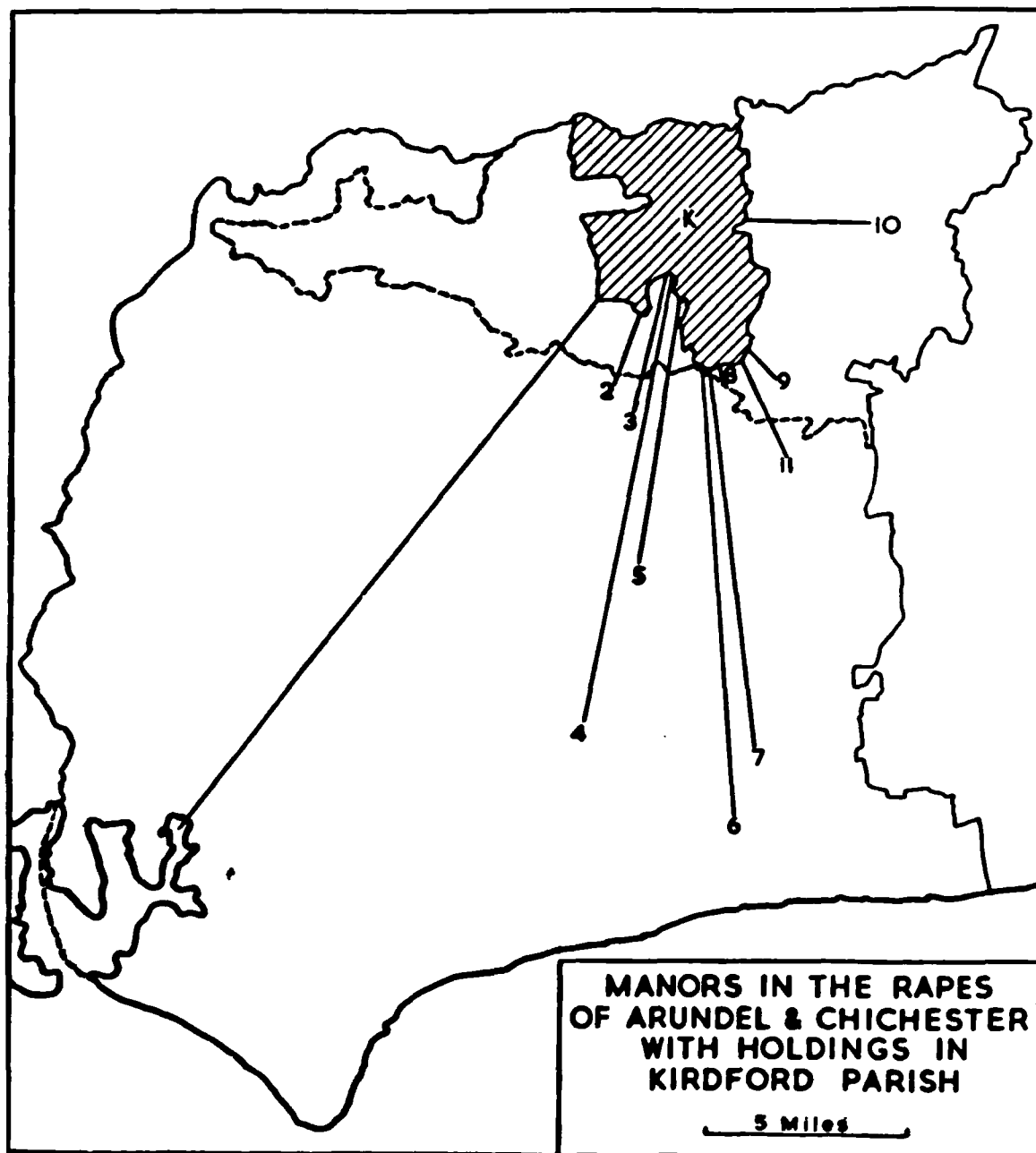
2.BCS 702.

3.BCS 741.

4.KPN 241-5.

5.BCS 898.

6.BCS 346, 814,



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. 88. 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.¹ 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. Manorial documents give other examples; at least eleven manors held land in the 12,500 acres which now form Kirdford parish (Fig 51). Pallingham and Slindon owned the largest areas, but the rest belonged to estates as far away as Bosham;² some at least of these detached possessions had once been swine pastures, for in 935 Idehurst in Kirdford was a swine pasture of Felpham.³

Several medieval documents refer to droveways⁴ 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.⁵ The small permanent agricultural colonies in the eastern High Weald also kept swine without droving them.⁶

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1. S.W. Woeldridge and F. Goldring. 1953. 209. The link with Steep agrees with the other evidence which suggests the Wealden woods formerly extended into Hampshire-PN, Sx. i. 1.
 2. G.H. Kenyon. 1950. 32-6.
 3. Hidhirst, BCS 898. This is the identification of E. E. Barker. 1949.7 there is a less likely alternative in Goanah Row, Petworth-PN, Sx. i. 10
 4. see p.40. In Limpsfield, on the northern border of the Weald, is a Drever's wood-PN, Sx. 326; part of a road in Shoreham, north of Seven-oaks, was a droveway 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 pannage¹ and a grant of 747 gave pasture for twelve droves of swine at three places in the forest of the men of Rochester-Caestruuarou² 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 year³ may carry this implication.

The actual routes of the pre-Conquest dreweys 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 Brabeurne and its dennis in 993 both lay near a Roman road (Fig 48) and in most cases the estates and dennis listed in ninth century charters could have been connected by the Roman roads (Fig 49); the

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5. Medieval rents distinguish gavelswine (paid for swine pasture all the year) from pannage rents - B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (eds.) 1958. 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 dennis of Dallington (hlos dionu) 934-BCS 702, and perhaps in name of Lessenh in Newenden (KPN.34, 359; this unlikely according to A. Mawer et al. PN.Sy. 240).
 1. Temple Ewell 1185 (C. Cotton. 1930.38); Maidstone, Boughton-under-Blean, Charing 1285-Cant.MS E 24 f 29, 43v, 53v, ex inf.F.R.H. Du Boulay.
 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 dennis had separate pannage in the dennis. Reference kindly supplied by F.R.H. Du Boulay), Southmalling 1285 (B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (eds.) 1958. 36, for Wealden berghs), 1305-6 (ib. 135). Hays, temporary wooden enclosures, were erected in woods in West Chilmington during the pannage season, early C 14 - W Hudson. 1910. 157.

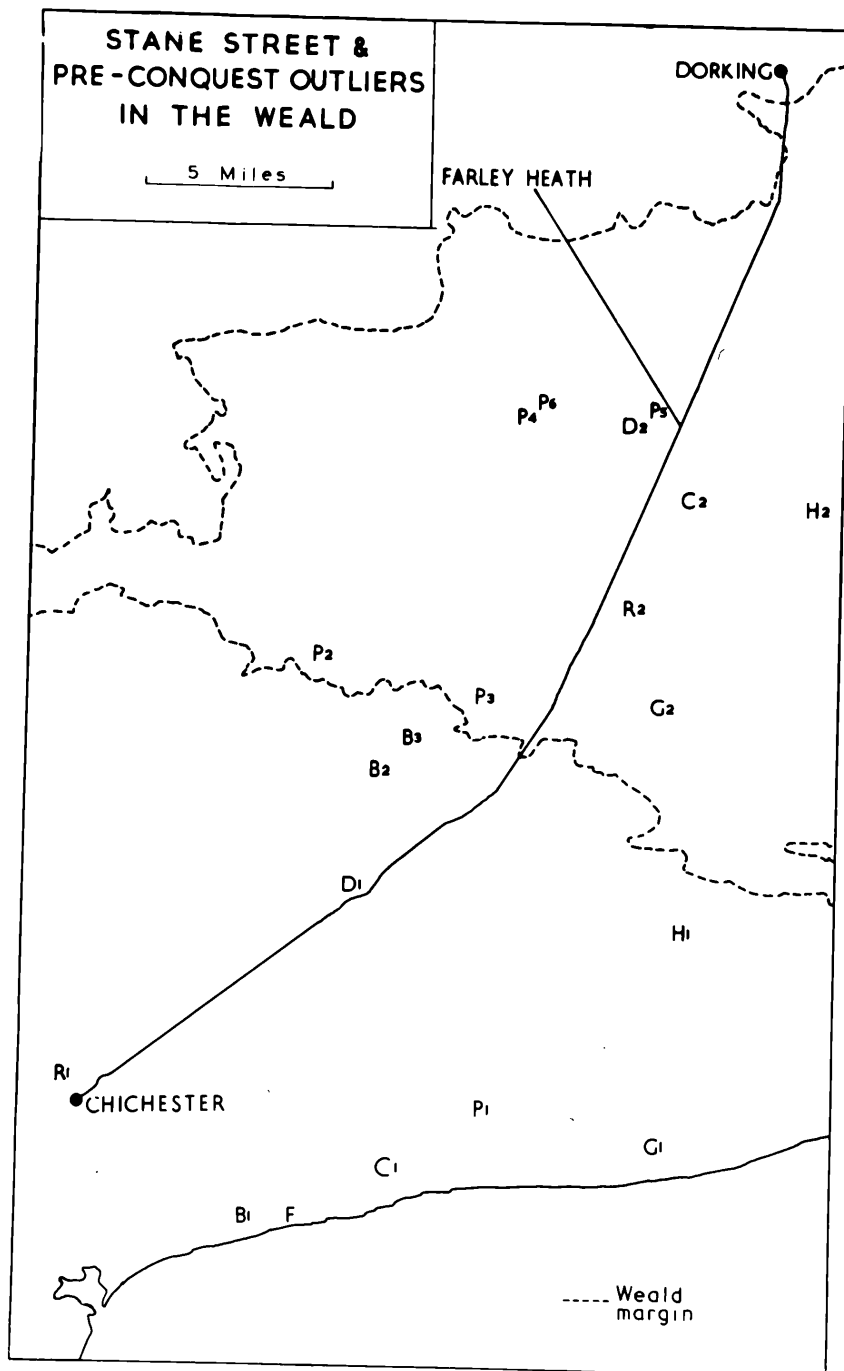


Fig. 5.

after G.J. Copley. 1950. 101-3.

- B 1 Bognor.
- B 2 Bignor Farm in Fittleworth.
- B 3 Little Bognor in Fittleworth.
- C 1 Climping.
- C 2 Clemsfold in Slinfold.
- D 1 Bignor.
- D 2 Bignor Farm in Rudgwick.
- F Felpham.
- H 1 Horninga dene in Washington.
- H 2 Horsham.

- P 1 Poling.
- P 2 Palinga schittas, Limbo Farm in Petworth.
- P 3 Pallingham Farm in Wisborough Green.
- P 4 Pallinghurst Farm in Cranleigh.
- P 5 Pallingfold in Rudgwick.
- P 6 Pollingfold Farm in Ewhurst.
- R 1 Graylingwell near Chichester.
- R 2 Grainingsfold in Billingshurst.

The connection on philologic grounds of B 1-3 is suggested in P.N.Sy. 102; of C 1-2, *ibid.* 159; of D 1-2, *ibid.* 156; of R 1-2, *ibid.* 148. The connection of P 1-5 is suggested *ibid.* 118, 134, and PN.Sy. 231. Copley also includes P 6, but a different root is given PN.Sy. 240. Palinga schittas was a swine pasture of Felpham near Poling 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 834).

instance of the Bromley lands, recorded in 862 is especially clear.¹
 The eighth century grants do not reveal so striking a correlation (Fig.5)²
 but this is primarily because place-name identifications are increasingly
 difficult with the elder charters; in the Sussex Weald both Stanmer and
 its denms, 765-71, lay near the Roman road from London to Portslade.³

Copley has noted that many of the swine pastures suggested by
 place-names similarities and some explicitly mentioned in charters lie
 near the course taken by Stane Street;⁴ 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,⁵ and
 Stane Street is the sole evident connection between these places.⁶

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1. G. Ward. Arch.Cant. 1953. 172-3; route 14 of I.D. Margary. 1955. 30
 2. Thus on Fig 18,⁵⁰ one of the denms 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.
 3. BCS 197; G. Maitland. 1949. 143-9.
 4. G.J. Copley. 1950. 98-104.
 5. G.J. Copley. 1950. 98, citing E.T. Leeds. A corpus of Great Square-headed Brooches. 1949. 486.
 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 C 10, 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.¹ 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.² The names of some of these woodlands have survived - Limenwearawalde,³ the wood of the men of Lympne, Weowera wealde,⁴ the wood of the men of Wye, Caestersaeta walda,⁵ the wood of the men of Rochester, and burh ware uualde,⁶ the wood of the men of Canterbury. A grant of 863 gives rights 'in silba regis...hubi alteri homines silbam cedunt, hoc est in regis communione'.⁷ The royal woodlands were located along the northerh margins of the Weald⁸ and were smaller than the large common woods of some of the lathes; Cyningesnade

been found at Bolney-A.W.G. Lewther. 1948. 73-5.

1. R. Furley.i. 1871. 147.
2. 1933. 54; this was first noticed by W. Somner. 1693. 109, who suggested Limenwearawalde, Weowera wealde and burh ware uualde were woodlands where the lathes since called Shipway, Scray and St. Sugustine had common pannage rights. This was agreed by J.E.A. Jelliffe. 1929. 612.
- 3 2. BCS 141 (724) and 248 (786).
- 4 3. BCS 141 (724).
- 5 4. BCS 303 (801) and 175 (747).
- 6 5. BCS 248 (786).
- 7 6. BCS 507.
- 8 7. J.E.A. Jelliffe. 1933. 51.
- 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 theedice snad nominamus'; on the other hand, KPM 19 takes snad to mean a clearing or meek of land, and gives the locati as Kingsnorth in Pluckley. Since Cyningesnade is on the bank

9x

to fefersham, Kingsnorth in Ulcombe, was the royal wood attached to
¹
 Faversham in 850.

The names of the woodlands attached to each lathe have not generally survived but it is noticeable that often the denns 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 denns of Islingham in 759-65 were 'in commune saltu, hec est Uældseunes-²tra', literally the western forest, a term probably applied to the west of the Weald of Kent. In 801 a charter mentions 'iii denberis in commune saltu id est en Caesterseta walda'; a grant of two denns in Tenterden in 833 runs 'communienem in silvis, scilicet in Estereogheringdenne et Hyringdenne ³teggedere ligende'. The denns of Borstal in 811 were 'in commune saltu', but by 946, when they reappear in another list of denns, this description is omitted. ⁴ (The latest mention of common pasture in charters granting swine grazings occurs in a Sussex example of 9539, ⁵ and it is restricted to one of three denns - 'in comuni silva pascuale 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 ⁶ were large woodland blocks, as those named above, grazed communally.

of an estate in Lenham, Jelliffe's identification is preferable; moreover, later documents shew that Kingsnorth in Ulcombe was an outlier of Faversham-G. Ward. 1942. 1-7.

1. BCS 459.

2. BCS 194.

3. BCS 303,408. 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 continued until then.

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. Dens attached to single estates appear in non-Wealden Sussex by 680,¹ in Wealden Sussex by 765,² and in Wealden Kent by 724.³ A charter of 747 reports that the swine of the Bishop of Rochester were being hindered from grazing in Caestruuarounalith and that the King had granted, as compensation⁴ 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 grazings as such but pannage in them for 12 herds of swine, and the three places are described as 'in publicis locis'.

The evidence seems to suggest that in Kent a period of communal swine grazing was followed by the attachment of Wealden dens 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 953,⁵ whilst mention of individually-owned swine pastures goes back to 765.⁶ 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.BES 175.

5.BCS 988.896.

6.BCS 197.

¹
 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,
²
 as Domesday shows. No Sussex charter uses any name of a regional wood-
 land; the areas which Jolliffe suggests were once common woodlands in east
³
 rape are not mentioned in documents before the Conquest. Common grazing
 in these woodlands or heaths appears from medieval documents to have been
⁴
 confined almost wholly to the villages on their immediate periphery and,
 unlike the Kentish dennis, there is no trace of danger and lefsilver rents
 indicating former swine grazing.

Place names shew that some land was held or used communally in
 the Sussex Weald before the Conquest. Boship Farm in Hellingly and
⁵
 Bowership in Burwash included the OE root geburscipe, meaning a community
 of peasants, and such groups held the lands, like Minnis Rock in Hastings
⁶
 and Menesse wood in Rudgwick, which included the element gemaennes, com-
 tenancy of property. In some cases the term was applied to swine pasture

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1. 1933. 82,94. The error in Arundel Rape is due to the incorrect identification on p.82 of Bigenora with Bignor in Arundel Park; it is Little Bogner in Fittleworth, farther north-E.E. Barker. 1949.72.
 2. see p.426. Therefore it can hardly be regarded as the woodland of Hastings Rape, as J.E.A. Jolliffe. 1933. 82.
 3. As follows-Hastings Rape; Dallington; Pevensey; Ashdown; Lewes; Wexham; 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 Hoggemanysse¹. It has been suggested that Lurgashall meant² originally a grass land divided up by lot, but this is disputed; owner-ship by lot is certainly referred to in the name of Lovel 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 Angle-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 Saxon⁴ earth-work lies just within the south Wealden border at Shermanbury. When exactly the Dark Age settlement of the Weald began is uncertain but⁵ it had occurred, as place-names shew, before the end of Saxon paganism⁶ and a cemetery of the mid-late C 6 at Lyminge lay only just north of the Wealden limits.

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1. PN.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-gaersshale. PN. Sx. i. 111 and J.K. Wallenberg. 1929. 287. suggested derivation from a personal name Lūtegar, but the occurrence of other similar names in distant counties makes this unlikely. E. Ekwall. 1947, s.l. thought it might mean 'a little grassland in a neck 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 lūtegar means a spear trap, and Lurgashall means the spear trap in a neck of land.
 3. PN.Sx. ii. 297.
 4. E.C. Curwen. 1944b. 49-51.
 5. PN.Sy 295; PN.Sx. 401, 454.
 6. A. Warhurst. 1955. 1-40.

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. ⁴⁷⁻⁵⁰ and Figs. ¹ 46-9). 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, p460) shews 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 ² and they were mentioned much earlier as a separate group in ³ 771. The name occurs in ⁴ Hastings, Hastingsford in Pevensey and ⁴ Hastingsleah 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 (p431,44).

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1. J.E.A. Jelliffe. 1933. 87 ff; also E.M. Yates. 1954. 209-227, 1960. 46, 51
 2. G.N. Garmonsway (ed.) 1953. 141.
 3. Simeon of Durham (ed. T. Arnold). ii. 1885. 44.
 4. A. Mawer. 1929. 15-19.
 5. BCS 837-P.H. Reaney. 1959. 67-8.

The ultimate origins of the invaders who came to Sussex, Surrey and Kent, is by no means certain. The Saxons, coming from a district¹ between the Elbe and Weser (though some lived as far west as Frisia),² 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,⁴ 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 the⁵ largest in number but some recent research had emphasised the Jutish⁶ element and clearly, by the time the group arrived, mixture was very great. Mixture probably characterised the gens *Hastingerum*; the scanty archaeological data of this area shews no individuality and later customs shewed similarities both with Kent and Sussex. Like the 'Jutes' of Kent, one name covered a population of mixed origins.

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1. R.H. Hodgkin. i. 1935. 10; A.E. Wilson. 1941.58.
 2. W.G. Collingwood and J.N.L. Myres. 1936. 367; G.J. Copley. 1954.24-41.
 3. The tripartite division of the invaders into Angles, Saxons and Jutes comes in Bede. i.15; Simeon of Durham c 1080-1130 (ed. T. Arnold. 1885.367), John of Wallingford 1220-58 (ed. R. Vaughan. 1958.2). See G. Ward. 1948. 77-97, for Hengest.
 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, PNK 352).
 5. E.T. Leeds. 1913. 12608; 1936. 43-59; C.F.C. Hawkes. 1956. 91-111; J.E.A. Jolliffe. 1933. 98-120; A. Warhurst. 1955. 40; objections in R.H. Hodgkin. i. 1935. 370. The account in T.C. Lethbridge. 1948. 127-8 is confused.
 6. This stress is found in A. Plettke. 1921.60; it has revived under new 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 characterised the area in later centuries;¹ and eighth century charters from this part of Germany do mention common woods and the woodland attached to estates.² Nowhere, however, do they specify^{by} 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.³

Others believe that the pattern of parent estate and Wealden swine pasture existed before the Angle-Saxon invasions;⁴ 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, not

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1. J.E.A. Jelliffe. 1933. 108-115 who also points out that the iugum was a common land measurement in the middle Rhineland (but see p. 480 on the complexities of the iugum).
 2. ib. 115, quoting Lex Ripuaria. t 76, and J.M. Pardessus (ed.) ii. 184 cccclxi (704), Add. xxxvii (716). I have found no trace of swine pastures analagous 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.
 3. BCS 144; dating and place-names from E. E. Barker. 1947. 67-9.
 4. e.g. G. Ward. 1936-8. 112, based on the suggestion that certain names (including Hlossanham and Brentigesleag, in the Weald 724-BCS 141) are pre-Saxon, but most place-name scholars place -ham and -leah as Dark Age, OE, elements -A.H. Smith. i. 1956. 22n.

the marginal agricultural settlements. It may well be that in that natural contrast, rather than in any inheritance of agricultural organisation,¹ 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.²

(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.⁴³ Only later did they penetrate 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)⁵⁴ by considerable massacres of the local population.⁶⁵ Even at Anderida, however, the Roman walls remained almost intact and, throughout the Weal

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1. R.V. Lennard. 1933. 215, points out that Jolliffe neglects the topographic factors.
 2. Outside Kent, Surrey and Sussex, OE -denn names are virtually confined to Essex (A.H. 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. 14. 1199) which refers to rents of 'deciman pasnagii tam den' quam porcorum' (but here I suspect den' is abbreviation for pence rather than for denns).

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 legacy¹ 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 mansiones, posting² stations.

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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.
 4. The 'Jutish' cemetery at Lyminge, on the eastern edge of the Weald, is of mid-to late C 6, one of the earliest near the Weald; A. Warhurst. 1955.1-40. A coin of Constantine I (308-27) was found in the cemetery. ib.8.
 5. G.N. Garmonsway (ed.) 1953.15. It seems to have lain waste until the Norman Conquest-L.F. Salzman. 1906. 1.
 6. Further inland the transition seems to have been quieter- the gap between Roman and Saxon burials in the cemetery at Hassecks is only part of the 5th century -J.E. Couchman. 1925.57.
 1. These routes are described in detail in I.D. Margary. 1948; see also reviews in A.C. 1949. 158-61, and Sy.A.C. 1949. 157-8. One of Furley's few substantial errors is on this subject - he postulated (i.1871.15)

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-Pevensy 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 ¹ 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 Pevensy, the complex pattern ² 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 rag was brought from the Lower Greensand as far into the area as Edenbridge.

London-Wadhurst-Eastbourne road.

2. The Wealden station was at Alford; as usual, it was surrounded by a group of small huts, canabae: S.E. Winbolt, 1923, 81-104; 1924, 157.
1. There was another route along the Lower Greensand outcrop from Maidstone to Lympne which connected these two—I.D. Margary, 1947, 22-
2. I.D. Margary, 1948, 210-11; L.F. Salzman, 1926, 33-4 conjectured a London-Pevensy road but there is no trace of it on the ground. ex. inf. I. D. Margary.

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 bleomerics, incorporated no less than 35,000 tons (500,000 cu.ft)¹. The thickness of the road metalling varied from a few inches to several feet and the roads were cambered; side² 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.³ 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 alignments⁴ 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.,⁵ and Stane Street was constructed soon after the Roman occupation began. By 60-70 A.D. it⁶ existed and perhaps in the previous decade; pottery at the Wealden

1. E. Straker and I.D. Margary. 1938. 58.

2. I.D. Margary. 1943a. 157 ff, and 1939a. 53 ff.

3. I.D. Margary. 1948. 187.

4. *ibid.* 185-7, 208-9, 253.

5. *ibid.* 125.

6. *ibid.* 46, for a list of dating material found along the road.

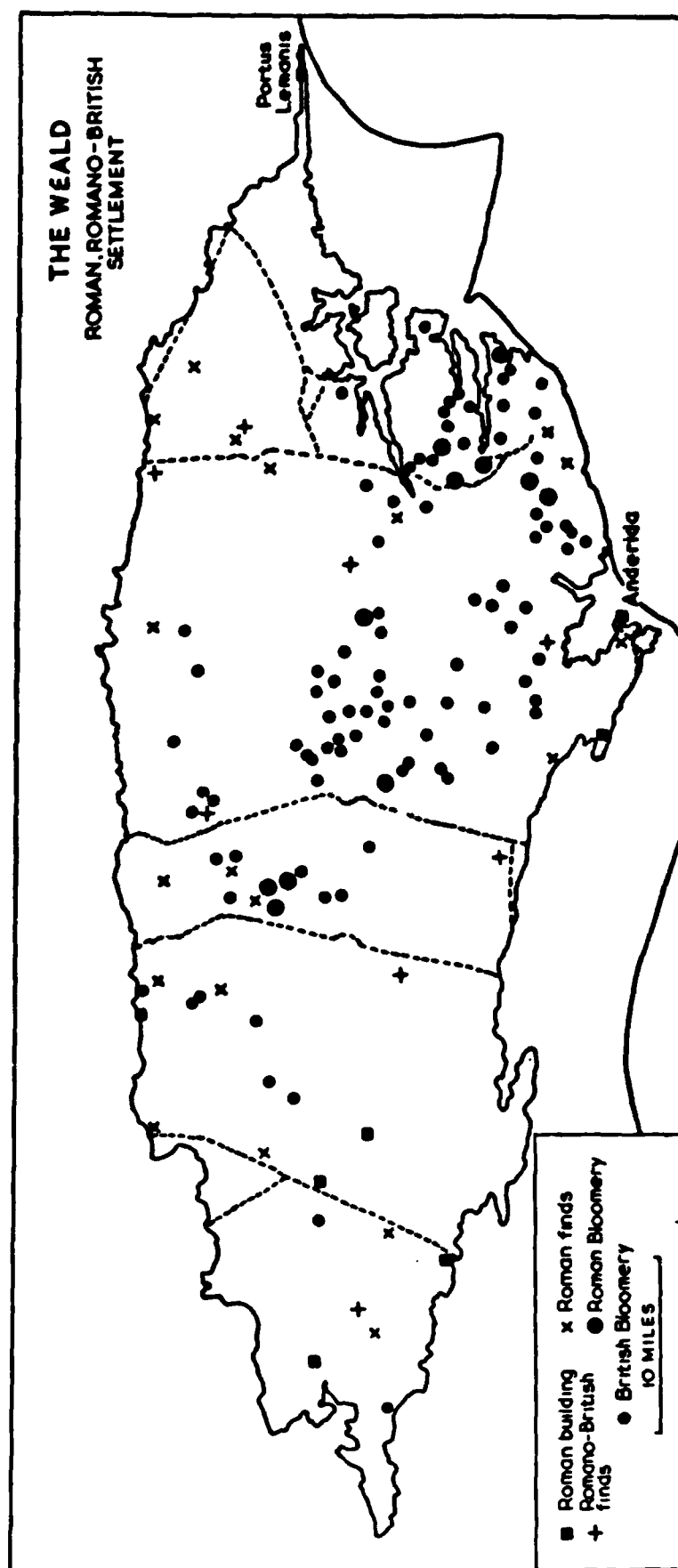


Fig. 53. Bloemeries from E. Straker and I. D. Margary. 1928, supplemented by E. Straker and R. T. Mason. 1939. 153-4, A. W. Fletcher. 1956. 173, SN2. 1957. 73. Other data from S. E. Ashbolt. VCH. Ex. 3. 1935. 1-70, and E. C. Curwen. 1954; F. J. Haverfield, M. V. Taylor and R. E. M. Wheeler. "CH. Kent. 3. 1922. 1-176; D. C. Whimster. 1931. also J. M. Raines. 1946a. 35-3; G. H. Venyon. 1950. 34-6. 1. D. Margary. 1943, and 1947. 236-7; C. N. Acherson. 1949. 161-3; C. C. R. Pile. 1955. 11; S. P. Vivian (ed.) 1953. 36; SN2. 1944. 84, 1954. 67-9.

posting station of Alfoldean ranged from 100 A.D. back to 40 A.D.¹

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 106² bloomeries, mostly along the outcrops of Wadhurst Clay in the High Weald;³ 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 Grinstead⁵ 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.⁴ 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 and⁵ Hastings.

No traces of buildings have been found near the Roman bloomeries;⁶ working was seasonal and concentrated in the drier months. The life of a bloomery varied; some soon exhausted the easily-available ore of the

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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.¹ Pottery at Ridge Hill in East Grinstead is as late as the end of the 3rd C;² 2nd C. material was found here, and at two other sites in East Grinstead.³ Dating material at Bynes Farm in Crowhurst covered only a short period from the early 2nd C. back to the late 1st century,⁴ whilst that at Crowhurst Park near Battle ranged from the late 2nd C, to native working before the Roman invasion.⁵ 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'.⁶ 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.⁷

SNQ. 1944. 84. Coins in the Hastings district range 141-395 but J.M. Baines. 1946a. 35-8, thinks the Roman association was temporary only

6. E. Straker. 1931. 10.
1. The Footlands bloomery in Sedlescombe has yielded pottery up to 400 AD (E. Straker. 1931. 327) but this is exceptional.
2. I.D. Margary. 1933. 177-8.
3. Standen and Walesbeeche - E. Straker and R.T. Mason. 1939. 153-4.
4. B.H. Lucas. 1950. 17-19.
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.
6. E. Straker and I.D. Margary. 1938. 58-9; C.N. Bromhead. 1956.9.
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. Homan. 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 Pertus 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 ¹ Pertus Lemanis in the Antonine Itinerary (2nd - 3rd century); local material evidence suggests the fort was built by the end of the second ² century.

Further south was ³ Ævensey Castle, Anderida; built c.280, it figured as Anderelionuba in the Ravenna Cosmography and as Anderedum in ⁴ Ptolemy. Coins found here ranged from Gratian (375-83) to Gallienus (259-68), and the major occupation of the fort clearly occurred during ⁵ the last centuries of the Roman rule. Many have sought to locate Anderida or Andredesceaster, as the Angle-Saxon chronicle names it,

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1. R.F. Jessup. 1930. 167-8; for the Ravenna cosmography (whose British section shows no sign of post-Roman alteration), I.A. Richmond and O.G.S. Crawford. 1949. 1-3.
 2. An altar used in the foundation of the main gate was dated c 133 (R. 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 Romney (based on the inaccurate distances in the Antonine Itinerary) has no real support -1693.38.
 3. I.D. Margary. 1948. 187.
 4. I.A. Richmond and O.G.S. Crawford. 1948.18-23;Ptolemy. Geogr.ii. 7-11
 5. L.F. Salzmänn. 1909.88.

elsewhere than at Pevensey since the account of its sack in 491 by Henry¹ 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.² None of these had any serious claim and the only alternative which gained any serious support was Newenden,³ 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 Saxonicum 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 edge⁴ of the Wealden forest.

The Romans drew the building materials for their forts, villas and mansiones 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;⁵ this last material was also used in the Eastbourne Roman villa, where it was supplemented by

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1. A C 12 account - T. Arnold (ed.) 1879. 44-5.
 2. T.W. Hersfield. i. 1835. 49-53; Tabor. Phil. Trans. 1717 549,783; H. R. Tatham. 1890. 139-50. ~~3 1695-ed, 211,~~
 3. ^{1695 ed 211.}
 4. Supporters of Camden included J. Philipott. 1659. 243, and T. Elliott 1877. 152-65, who incorrectly alleged that ceaster did not necessarily 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. i. 1871. 53, without any positive evidence for the latter. The leading students have always accepted Pevensey-A. Hussey. 1847. 203-17; J. Harris, 1879. 237-8; C.R. Smith. 1858; W. Somner. 1693. 105.
 5. C. Peers. 1933. 1-15. ~~5. T. Sutton. 1952-1-12.~~

Caen stone imported across the Channel.¹ 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.² Kentish Rag from the Hythe Beds north of the Weald was used at Portus Lemanis,³ and marble dug from the Purbeck Beds within the High Weald was used in Roman work at Angmering and Canterbury.⁴ 'Sussex marble', Paludina limestone from the Weald Clay,⁵ was used in the Roman posting station at Alfeldean 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.⁶ 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 Alfeldean.⁷

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

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1. T. Sutton. 1952.1-12.
 2. W. Topley. 1875.370, VCH, Sy. 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; calcareous 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. Winbelt. 1923.93. 6. P.J. Martin. 1859. 136.
 7. C. Peers. 1933.1-15; P.J. Martin. 1859.136; I.D. Margary. 1948.61.

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; Wiggonholt, Boreough Hill and Lickfold, all in Pulborough; Wiston; Danny in Hurstpierpoint; Clayton; Arlington and Eastbourne. On the northern margin villas were built at Abinger, Reigate, Redhill, Bletching Titsey, Godstone, Brishing near Maidstone, Little Chart and Lyminge. 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 Chiddingfold but, as Fig.53, demonstrates, industry was much more important than agriculture in the Romano British Weald.

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1. Built before 100 A.D. - S.E. Winbolt. VCH,Sx. iii. 1935. 20-3.
 2. Pottery as early as 50-80 A.D.-S.E. Winbolt. 1938. 13-14.
 3. Coin found here of Claudius, 41-54 A.D. - I.D. Margary. 1948. 46.
 4. Here a lead cistern of 4th C. found - E.C. Curwen. 1943b. 155-7.
 5. W. Figg. 1849.313-5.
 6. R.W. Blencowe. 1862. 176-81.
 7. R.W. Blencowe. 1862. 176-81.
 8. Villa of corridor type at Chilver Bridge - SNQ. 1954. 68.
 9. Finds included Samian pot and a coin of 238-44 A.D.-T. Sutton. 1952.5.
 - 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 340 (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. Eames. 1957. 130-46.
 12. A. Warhurst. 1955.39.
 - 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 contemporane-¹ously 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,² 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 division³ 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 Saxon⁴ 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-

1. Especially near Rochester - M.D. Nightingale. 1952. 150-9; tentatively near Gillingham and Rainham - G. Ward 1935 b.383.

2. I.D. Margary. 1940c. 31-41.

3. C.E. Stevens, in M.D. Nightingale. 1952. 150-3.

4. I.D. Margary. 1948. 207.

of a iugum has been inherited from the Romans. Without doubt the Romans used a land unit called the iugerum, and in planned agricultural layouts¹ the common unit was 2 iugera (a iugum was 100 iugera);¹ also, the most convincing example of centuriation in Britain has been found in North Kent.² Gray traced the rectangular units he found in medieval Kentish estates to some such Roman division²³ but later research has demonstrated that, in at least one instance, the medieval iuga he considered were³⁴ 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 parts⁴⁵ 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 back⁵⁶ 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 far⁶⁷ outside the former boundaries of the Roman Empire.

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1. A iugerum was an area of 2 actus (120 Roman feet = 116. 15 English feet) by 1 actus; a iugum was about 25 hectares. C.E. Stevens. 1952. 150-1; F. Lot. 1926. 309.
 2. H.L. Gray. 1915. 298, 415.
 3. H.E. Muhlfield.(ed.) 1933. xxiii.
 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 Weald and of its surrounding terrains. ¹ 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

Iron Age population (ib. 329, following A. Meitzen. 1895.i.276-321, ii.122).

6. e.g. on the NW edge of the Harz mountains in 1224-J.K. Rippel.1958.¹

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.

2. I.D. Margary. 1948. 259.

route could be seen clearly, the surface was well¹drained and the surrounding vegetation open woodland or heath. The longest trackway, from Uckfield to Rye, crossed only two, minor, streams in a course of 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 Weald³ and small amounts of cinder were recovered from the Iron-Age camps at Saxonbury, Dry Hill in Lingfield, Castle Hill in Tonbridge, and Camp Hill in Ashdown.⁴ Iron working was probably carried on at the fortified camp of Saxonbury (in Frant) and perhaps at Pipers' Copse (in Kirdford).⁵ 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,⁶ north of the Thames. Most of the produce must have been destined for extra-Wealden markets. A secondary industrial activity

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1. E. Straker. 1937. 171-3; the eastern end corrected in W. McL. Homan. 1937bX.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. Margary. 1936.29, VCH, Sx. iii. 1935. 31, SNQ. 1947. 148.
 4. E. Straker. 1931. 26-7, 224.
 5. The evidence at Pipers' Copse is insufficient to prove it was an iron-work site (S.E. Winbelt. 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.
 6. A.W.G. Lowther. Sy.A.C. 1949. 158.

within the Weald was pottery manufacture; the kilns at Horsted Keynes¹ 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, one² 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 Toll³ and several camps - Saxonbury in Frant, Castle Hill in Tonbridge,⁴ High Rocks near Tunbridge Wells⁵ - lay along the trackway which led from the very large earthwork at Oldbury in Ightham⁶ (north of the Weald) south to Cross-in-Hand. Pipers' Copse in Kirdford was an isolated example in the western Weald and Dry Hill (Mark Camp) in Lingfield⁷ lay further east by the Titsey-Westmeston trackway. Apart

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1. Dating from 1st century A.D. - S. Frere, 1942. 137.
 2. One yielded pot of La Tène II-III, the other La Tène III to Roman: I.D. 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 revers' camp.
 4. S.E. Winbelt. Times. 30.8. 1929.
 5. J.H. Money. 1940. 33-4, 1941. 104-9.
 6. S.E. Winbelt. 1936. 245-9. Pot of La Tène III-Roman found.
 7. D.C. Whimster. 1931: gazeteer. I.D. Margary. 1946b. 62-4.

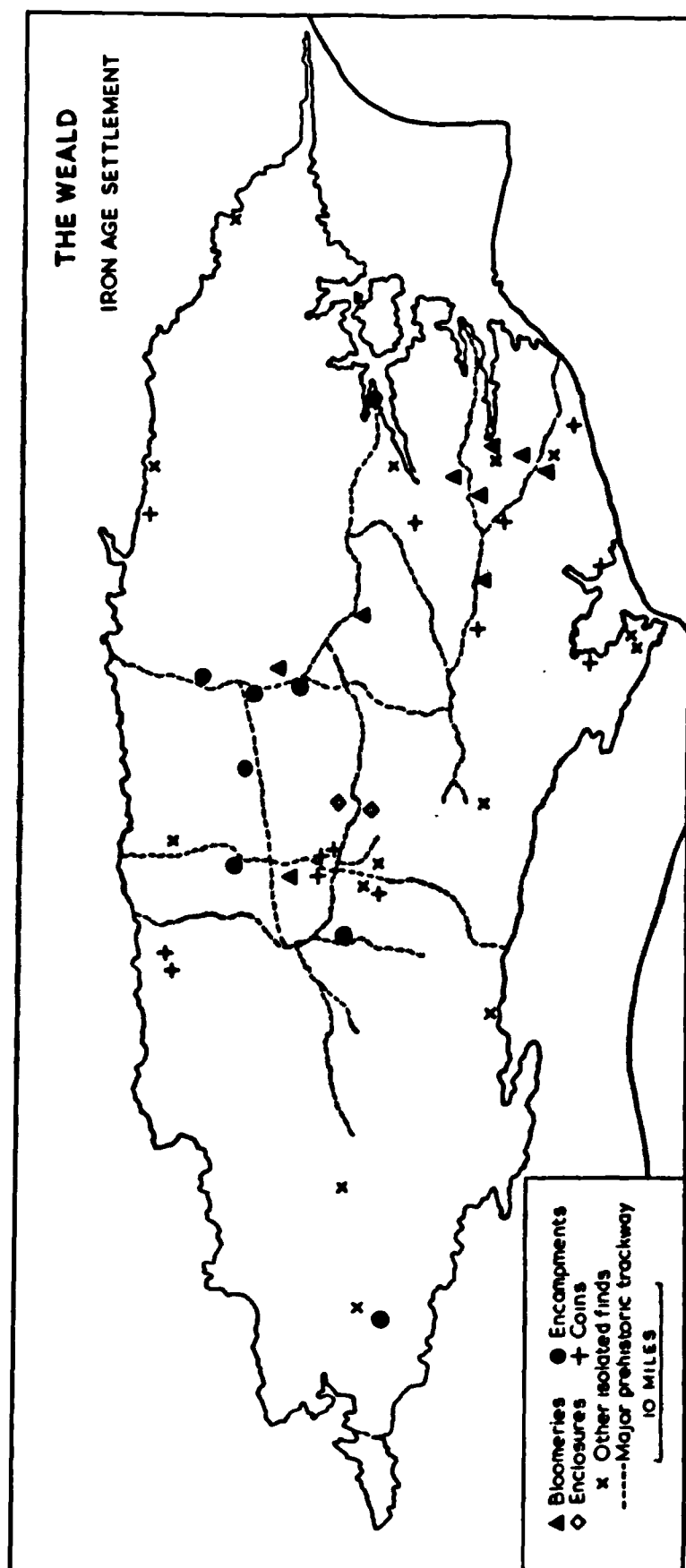


Fig. 54. Trackways from I. D. Mearns. 1948. 253-66, E. Straker. 1937. 171-2, W. McL. Homan. 1927b. 198-201. Other data from R. F. Jessup. 1920, D. C. Thimister. 1921, and E. C. Curwen. 1954, supplemented by E. and E. C. Curwen. 1925. 177-80; S. S. Freere. 1942. 122-38 and 1944. 52-67; G. H. Kenyon. 1950. 22-6; I. D. Margary. 1930. 71-6, SN3. 1936. 29, 1946. 62-4; J. H. Money. 1941. 101-9; N. E. S. Norris. 1956. 1-12; H. J. Hirstler. N2. 1940. 25; A. E. Wilson and G. P. Burstow. 1948. 77-111; E. Wilson. 1955. 59-77; S. E. Winbolt. 1932. 62-4, 1936. 245-9; AC. 1953. 223.

from ironworking at Saxonbury and perhaps at Pipers' Copse, the chief function of these forts was military rather than economic; the camp at High Recks may have been thrown up at the time of the Roman invasions under ^C ¹ ~~G~~laudius. (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, ² 50 AD - 50 BC. To this period belong most of the ironworkings, the pottery manufacture at Freshfield in Horsham ^u ³ 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 ⁴ 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

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1. J.H. Money. 1941. 108; since then Neolithic pot also found. AC 1955.xlv. The date of Philpot's Camp in West Hoathly is uncertain -E. and E.C. Curwen. 1925. 177-80.
 2. The period sometimes called La Tène III-S. Spokes. SNQ. 1933. 150-4.
 3. E.C. Curwen. 1954. 264-5.
 4. This was the larger group in the Weald; imported Belgic pot was found in this area - Gallo-Belgic pot, c.50 AD at Hurstmonceux (SNQ. 1954.68), and 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.)

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Seine and Lower Rhine.

The existing native population which these two groups encountered² c.50 BC was small, mostly concerned in ironworking; c.100 BC the La Tène (Marnian) population of the South Downs had begun to expand³ northwards into the Weald after iron. This spread extended right across⁴ 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 north⁵ 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.500⁶ 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 have⁷ 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, shews a fusion of southeastern B with earlier 'Wealden culture' elements.

2.E.C. Curwen. 1954 235: before the end of the second century B.C.-S. Frere. 1942 147. K. Kenyon (Annual Rept. Institute of Archaeology. 1952. 50-8) suggests that La Tène did not come to Sussex until after 100 BC, but such late datings are not favoured generally (cf. C.F.C. Hawkes. Ant 1959. 181-2).

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.

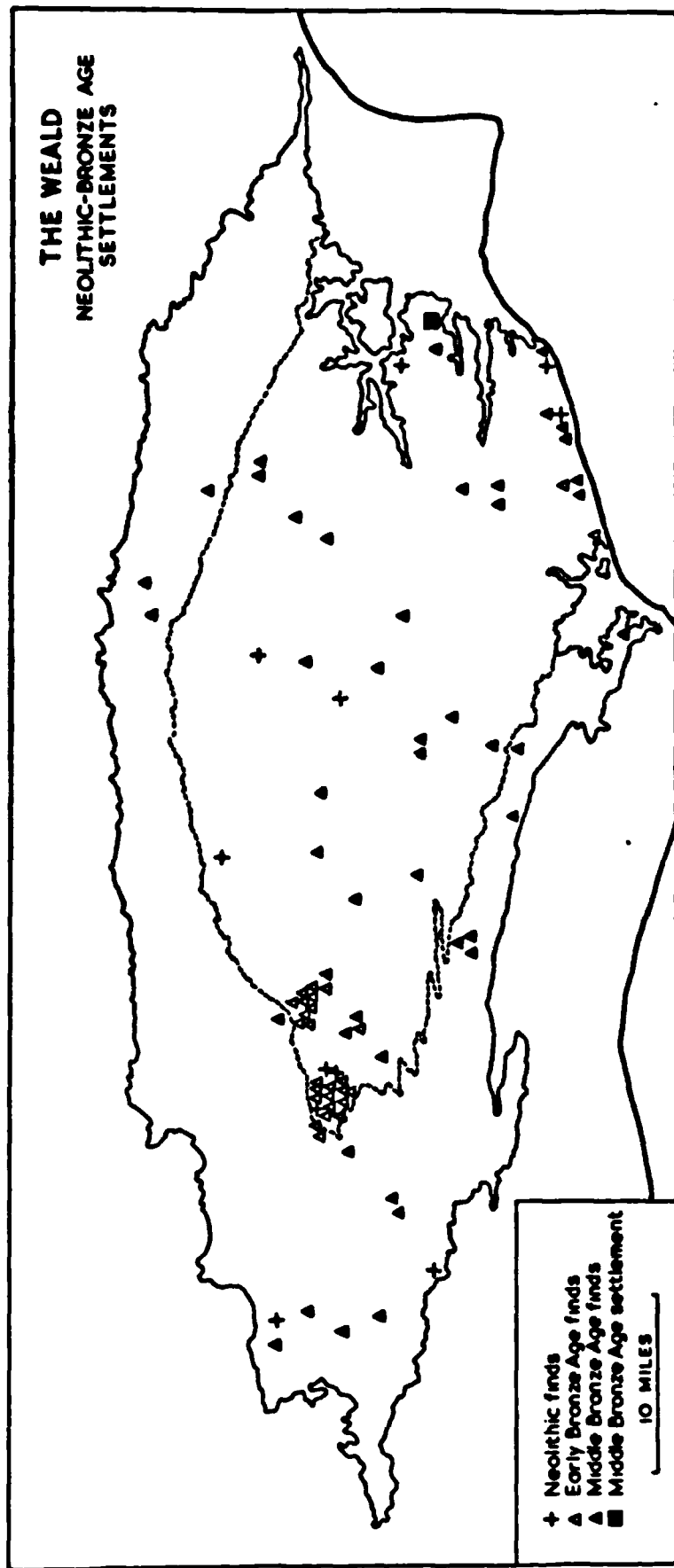


Fig. 55. The symbols signify groups of finds in many cases (over 700 Neolithic and early Bronze flint arrowheads have been found in St. Leonard's Forest). Based on R. F. Jessup. 1930, D. C. Whimster. 1921 and E. C. Curwen. 1954, supplemented by W. R. Butterfield. 1934. 51-2; F. W. M. Hodges. 1953. 37-9; P. A. M. Kee. 1940. 215-35; G. H. Kenyon. 1950. 32-6; J. W. Moore. 1956. 173; C. C. R. Pile. 1955. 10; C. Fullein. 1923. 10; J. E. Ray. SAC. 1924. 262, SAC. 1925. 240; S. E. Winbolt. 1938b. 93; AC. 1955. xlv1.

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,¹ but cultivation was going on in the east; a few sickle flints have been found, one at Beckley.² The single known settlement site, at Playden,³ was adjoined by a small enclosure which was, perhaps, a fold for forest-fed pigs;⁴ 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,⁵ where coarse soils supported only an open tree cover or heath, the best

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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.
 7. Near Hastings -J.E. Ray.SAC.1930: 264; Bedisham in Slinford S.E. Winbolt. SAC 1930, 1b; W. Boyd Dawkins. 1868.185, dealt with Bathurst near Battle and other examples.
 1. Animals were red deer, roe deer, and perhaps wild boar 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.H. Kenyon. 1950b. 32-6, has suggested a routeway in the western Weald from the position of several finds of this period.
 2. E.C. Curwen. Ant.J. 1938. 278-9.
 3. H.J. Cheney, S. Piggett and E.C. Curwen. 1935. 152-64, attributed it to Neolithic and Early Bronze but corrected to Middle and Late Bronze by C.F.C. Hawkes. Ant.J. 1935, 467-71.
 4. Suggested by H.J. Cheney. op.cit.; disputed R. Trew-Smith.1957. 52.
 5. See E. Curwen. 1940. 69-70. No finds of this period are recorded in the gazetteers of R.F. Jessup. 1930 and D.C. Whimster. 1931.

conditions for hunting. (see Fig 55).¹

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 no² 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 diococcum,³ 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.⁴

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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 -SNQ. 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.

VIII

THE WEALDEN URLANDSCHAFT

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 early¹ in the seventeenth century, it earlier included both the large wild bear² and the wolf.

Most of the Weald was clothed with woodland.³ Damp and very thick⁴ oakwoods dominated by Quercus robur occupied the heavier clays; on lighter and more acid soils in the Low Weald, Quercus robur was still

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1. The OE element meaning wild bear appears in the unidentified Wealden place name gealtborgsteal, 791 (BCS 261) and in Evershed in Ockley, PN, Sy. 276.
 2. Wulfpytt occurs in 765-71 (BCS 197), also Woolpit in Ewhurst, first recorded 1314. PN, Sy. 242.
 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;¹ the tree layer besides oak included birch, alder, wych elm, aspen and grey poplar and, especially in the east, hornbeam.² Ash and maple were less tolerant of soil variations, but appeared on some of the claylands within the High Weald.³ 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,

for human interference). Only c500 AD did the wetter sub-Atlantic period set in—G. Manley. 1952. 228-9. Cf H. Dörries. 1929. 218-221, and the comment of R. Gradmann. ib. 222.

4. According to Dr. F. Rose, the Minns 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.

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.
3. Charcoal from Roman ironworkings included birch, oak, hazel, maple, ash, plum, and alder (E. Straker. 1931. 110; E. Straker and B.H. Lucas. 1938. 224-32).

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,¹ and some elm and ash.² On other parts of the Ashdown and Tunbridge Wells sands, sessile oakwood occurred, with birch as co-dominant and some Scots pine.³ 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 heath⁴ but, more probably, it was open woodland - stunted trees separated by expanses of heather, bracken, rhododendron and poor 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

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1. S.W. Wooldridge & F. Goldring 1953. 137.
 2. F. Rose. 1946. 35-7.
 3. Ibid. 32. Pine is not mentioned in early records, and the indigenous pine was amongst the first trees to be cleared by early agriculturalists.
 4. H.A. Wilcox. 1930. 123, maps and ^{HK2}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. 317/Sx/26.

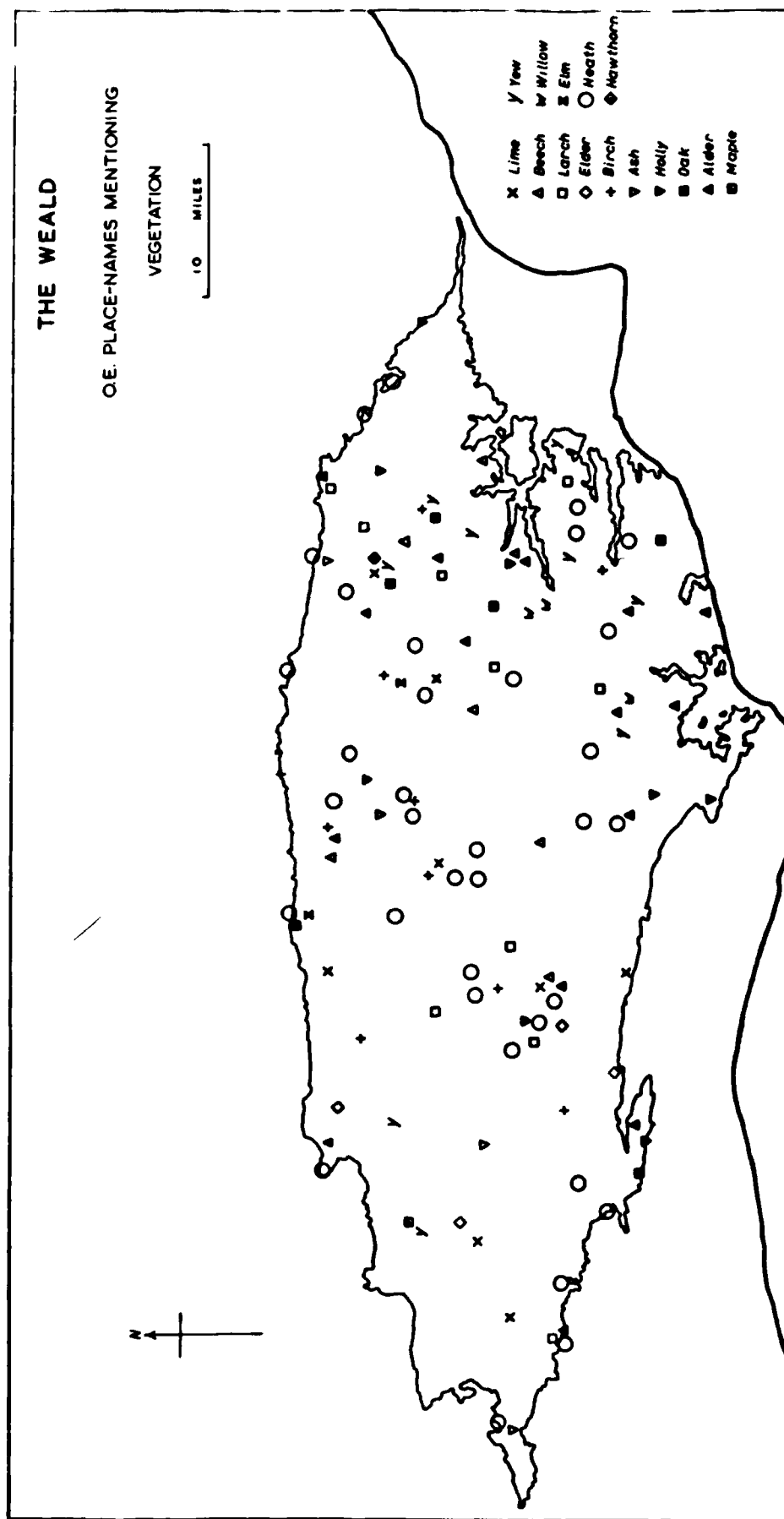


Fig. 56.

patches of wet Molinia heath on some lower slopes around the Forest Ridge where surface drainage was slow and soil drainage impeded by¹ 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 oakweed, from one location to another. The Wealde² flora was very numerous,³ 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 bringing⁴ 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.

2. F. Rose. 1955. 13. The floras are found in C.F. Salmon (ed. W.H. Pear 1931, A.H. Weelley-Dod (ed.) 1938, F.J. Hanbury and E.S. Marshall, 18 and F. Rose, papers 1946 onwards. The paper by A.B. Rendle. 1927, 1-deals almost wholly with prehistoric floras.

3. F. Rose. 1952. 18-23.

4. F. Rose. 1955. 13.

after the unusual plant more often than after the usual.¹ 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, -wudu, whilst the unusual were specifically named. Heath names haef or ceart, do not give the whole area of heathland nor do they give any indication of the size of the heaths.)

(3) 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 post-glacial date and affected small areas only in the southern borderlands of the Weald.² A post-glacial rise in sea-level invaded the Ouse valley and penetrated up Glynde Reach 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.³ 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-1943.53-6.

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

3. H.J.O. White. 1926. 77.

conditions in the Weald produced a number of micromorphological forms. Landslips occurred on the edges of the Lower Greensand scarplands and some¹ of the fallen material spread out over the adjacent Weald Clay. The outliers to the south of the Lower Greensand scarp between Redhill and² 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.³

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 was⁴ probably a product of solifluction⁵ 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; brickearth 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 Guestling⁶ 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 demonstrates 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.H. Edmunds. 1933. 12. The suggestion that Tilburstow Hill was a landslipped mass was made by L.D. Stamp. PGA. 1921.30.

3. A.A. Fitch. 1930.59.

4. H.G. Dines and F.H. Edmunds. 1933. 157.

5. H.J.O. White. 1926.64.

A planation level found in various parts of the Weald at c.200'¹ may also be of Pleistocene age. This surface, the Ambersham terrace (it was cut in the Lower Greensand at Ambersham) was found in the upper course of the Mole, where it gradually rose to 340'¹; it appeared at 240' in the upper Ouse and Cuckmere basins.² It occurred also in the Weald Clay around Plaistow and on the eastern parts of the Hastings Sand outcrop around the Isle of Oxney.³ In the Mole valley there was a terrace in the Horley district, at 180-190', associated with a nearby knickpoint 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 older than this and has been correlated with the Winter Hill terrace of the Thames, the latest stage before the incursion of Chalky Boulder Clay ice.⁵

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.

1. J.F.N. Green. 1936. lviii-lxxviii.

2. J.F. Kirkaldy and A.J. Bull. 1940. 115-50.

3. S.W. Wooldridge and D.L. Linton. 1955. 145.

4. In A.J. Bull et al. 1934. 54-8. The other terraces and knickpoints of the Mole are all outside the Weald.

5. S.W. Wooldridge and D.L. Linton. 1955. 151.

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 (Ashour) terrace, rising from 180' in Penshurst Park to 260' near High Rocks & a Low (Ensfield) terrade, 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.¹ Perhaps the Middle (Ashour) terrace in the upper Medway can be correlated with the 200' surface elsewhere in the Weald.

Such were the most important relicts 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 Tead Rock, High Rocks, Eridge Rock, and Waterloo Rocks (on Tunbridge Wells Common), patterns of jointing seem to have determined

1. E.C.F. Bird, 1956, 28-30. Similar sequences appear in other Wealden rivers (S.W. Wooldridge and J.F. Kirkaldy, 1936, 1-16) but their exact correlation with the Medway terraces remains uncertain.

weathering into a block form. ¹ Abbett 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 else-
² where and such conditions prevailed here during the two ice advances. On the other hand, honeycomb cavities may be a product of chemical weathering soft 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 Horsaenden and the Medway near Tonbridge at 280-300' but it could not be traced on the Weald
³ Clay outcrop. In the Ouse near Cuckfield the bench was 240-260', whilst
⁴ 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

1. G. Abbett. PGA. 1909. 207, and W. Topley. 1875. 248-9.

2. H.B. Milner. 1923. 48-9.

3. It may appear in the plateau gravel, c.3000', near Newdigate; S.W. Wool-
 dridge & D.L. Linton. 1955. 144.

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 undulating¹ 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 Paludina² 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 planated³ at 600-650' in Ashdown Forest, sloping towards the upper Ouse and, finally, there were traces of a high³ level surface at c.800'. Davis⁴ noticed this, although it only remained at Crewborough Beacon (792') and nearby; even here there has been some⁴ downward erosion. This 800' surface was the Mio-Pliocene peneplain, the⁵ product of the mid-Tertiary erosion cycle.

1.E.C.F.Bird. 1958. 38-43, and 1956. 26-31.

2.S.W. Wooldridge and D.L. Linton. 1955. 144.

3.W.M. Davis. 1895. 127-46.

4.Hence it does not appear on the map of existing relicts of the 800' surface in S.W. Wooldridge and D.L. Linton. 1955. 59.

5. *ibid.* 149. H. Dewey. 1929. 51-9 suggested the present figuration of the Weald was immediately post-Pliocene in formation, but erosion of the Miocene level probably began before the end of the Pliocene.

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 radical changes in the drainage pattern. Davis suggested that the harmony of drainage and structure in the Weald¹ 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 surface² peneplained at 800'.

As other erosion levels have been recognized 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 showed 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

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1. For instance, the Groenbridge 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.
 2. W.M. Davis, 1895. 127-48.

after its retreat a new drainage system reappeared,¹ 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 of² Sussex. The largest streams were not always the most effective in erosion - Glynde Reach 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 upper³ 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 the⁴ 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

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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.
 2. S.W. Wooldridge and D.L. Linton. 1955. 81.
 3. *ibid.* 77.
 4. *ibid.* 89-91.

¹
Weald. 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.² This discordance but exemplified the persistence in the Weald of stream courses established long before and 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.³ 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. 1928.4, 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 subsequents 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.

2.S.W. Wooldridge and D.L. Linton. 1955. 77.

3. *ibid.* 13.

Virtutis est non incepisse sed perfectisse: finis coronat opus.

Scribbled by John Rowe on the last folio of his manuscript collection of Sussex customs. 1634.

Appendix I

1

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, Surriac et Middelsexiae Comitatus.. which was reproduced in his Atlas of England and
2
and Wales in 1579; it was on a scale of c.5 miles to the inch.

The next eldest map to cover the Kentish Weald was the anonymous 'The Shyre of Kent, divided into the five lathes thereof'. Lambarde mentions
3
in his Perambulation of Kent - the MS of which dates from 1570 - a 'Card
4
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.
1A
 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
5
 the Medway. It is signed R. Glever and was probably drawn in 1571. The copy of 'the Shyre of Kent' in the RGS library was compiled, Box suggested
5
 c.1570, from the data assembled by Saxton for the map of Kent he later
4
 published. This is unlikely - Saxton worked fast and it is not probable

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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.
 2. Reprinted with introduction by E. Lynam. 1936 and 1939. Plate 1.
 3. New KAO. U 47/48; reference in the 1576 edition is p.177.
 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 1720-30.
 5. G.M. Livett. 1937. 248ff; B.T. Westmarland takes the Glever map as c.1576.

that he had sufficient data for Kent in 1570 and yet did not publish until 1575. The RGS map does print the name Medway as Lambard noted,¹ 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,² 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 in³ 1595. He also presented to the Queen in 1595 a 'chrographicall 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 than⁵ this, is not now known.

The lack of Norden's original map of Kent is conveniently made up⁶ by P. Symonson's map, published in 1596; its scale, 2 customary miles to

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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., but B.T. Westmarland 1955. 209-10 points out that it was more than a copy - it marked more towns and was the first map to mark the Lathes.
 2. By J. Colbrand: Maps OB.Lib. 17,AL.
 3. The Surrey copy in the HM (Maps.C 2.cc7) is commented on by R.A. Skelt in HM,Quart. 1951-2. 61-2. The Sussex map is reproduced in E. Heawood (ed.). Reproductions of English County Maps in the Collections of the RGS. 1932.
 4. HM,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'¹. A small scale map of Kent, Surrey and Sussex by Peter Keer survives from 1599,² 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 1610,³ 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.1648.

As a group, the early county maps covering the Weald are valuable primarily for the data on markets, fairs and communications which they contain;⁴ 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.⁵ One road book, of c. 1571,⁶ covers the Ey road, but it adds no incidental data on the Wealden scene of value.

1. R.A. Skelton. 1957. 1.

2. BM. Harl.MS. 3813. f 32.

3. BM. Maps. C 7. c5/43 (Sussex), 44 (Surrey).

4. e.g. the 1533 map of Franconia and others discussed in H. Jäger.1956. 53-70, and 1957. 246-66.

5. Most of the drawings are 1760-1860:C.E. Wright. 1957. 78-87.

6. R. Grafton. A little treatise conteyning many proper tables and rules 1571.

Appendix 2

(a) Problems in analysing the *Inquisitiones Nonarum* 1341.

The *Inquisitiones Nonarum* for the Wealden counties were compiled¹ 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 parishes¹ 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.² (Fig 32). 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

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1. For precise dates see G. Vandersee (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 of those living in the forests and wastes who did not live by gain or service.
 2. For Sussex PRO.E. 179/189/17, transcribed in G. Vandersee (ed.) 1807. 350-403 with a few minor errors - tenements of the Prior of Hastings at Haathfield should be 6 marks not $\frac{1}{2}$ mark (356); the 40 acres inundated at Hooe valued at $44\frac{1}{4}$ not $43\frac{1}{4}$ (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 vills which were ¹ not parishes had separate returns; on the other hand, the Cinque ports were omitted. ² The return for Westham and ^C'Gudeham' (^{not} Cuder 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 Yalding (m 9), Charing and Egerton (m 71), Chart Sutt (m 90), Hawkhurst (m 77), Kingsnorth (m 60), Little Chart (m 14), Mersham (m 78), Newenden (m 82), Pluckley (m 17), Sevington (m 48), Staplehurst (m 95), East Sutton and Sutton Valence (m 15), Wittersham (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; Buncton 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. Vanderzee (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. mss 2-4.

refers mostly to land in the vill 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 those 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.¹ 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; on addition to the ninth they give a total sometimes equal, often different, from that of 1291. Since¹ 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 shews 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 Icklesham, 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 of⁴ 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 R. Graham. EHR. 1927, 421-4. W.E. Lunt. Valuation of Norwidh. 1926. 144-5, points out some exceptions, 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 version¹ of the 1291 tax mentions a vicarage only, whilst other versions² 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 they³ are being compared with.

Tithes are rather problematic - great tithes normally went to the rector⁴ and small tithes to the vicar. In some parishes, as Rogate, however a small tithe (in this case 20/- of cider) is cited to help make up the 1341 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.

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1. From PRO.C. 164/14.
 2. e.g. Henfield, Sussex - W.D. Peckham (ed.) 1946. 315-7.
 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, Se Record Series cxiv. 1949. v. A case of 1296 in Hailsham, however, includes both wood and hay, especially when produced in small crafts hand or foot tools, as small tithes (L.F. Salzmänn, 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%.¹ This is not all, but it is better than discarding the need to draw conclusions under a cloak of caution.

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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, 1933a, 60-89), the Norwich Taxation of 1254 (the only relevant sections are in BM. Add. MS 6159 f 73^v-77; an account of the tax appears in W.E. Lunt, 1926, 1-166), the Monachorum Inquisitiones (see p. 504-5, for details of the MSS), and the Taxatio Ecclesiastica of 1291. This last exists in the edition of W. Caley, 1802, 1-8, 134-142; it has been checked with the original, PL C 164/14, with original rolls for the deaneries of Malling and Shoreham, E 179/68/23, Sutton, Charing and Lymene, 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 73^v-77, Galba E iv f 8^v-12, and Chichester Liber E (ed. W.D. Peckham, 1946, 308-20).

KENT

Aldington. DM (i.e. Domesday Monachorum, c 1100).
 Appledore. 1086(5).
 Ashford. DM.
 Ashurst. c1115(G. Ward, 1932.45).
 Benenden. DM.
 Bethersden. DM.
 Bidborough. c1115(G. Ward, 1932.44), separated from Leigh 1218(C.H. Fielding, 1910.32).
 Biddenden. DM.
 Bilsington. DM.
 Bonnington. DM.
 Boughton Malherbe. DM.
 Boughton Monchelsea. 1086 two(4,8).
 Brasted. 1086(4).
 Breckley. 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, AC, 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.
 Lympne. 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(45 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.11.1874.32-3).
 Smarden. DM.
 Smeeth. possibly the chapel of Lympne 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.
 Tenterden. possibly Saxon(G.Ward.1937.242),c 1240,PRO E 164/27.
 Tonbridge. c1100(L.F.Salzman(ed.)1932.155).
 Ulcombe. DM.
 Warehorne. DM.
 Westerham. c1115(G.Ward.1932.47).
 Wittersham. DM.
 Woodchurch DM.
 Yalding. 1086 two(14).

The c1115 list which mentions many Kentish churches, appears in the Textus Roffensis; G.Ward.1932.54-8, 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 c1240 (G.Ward.1937.242, correcting his dating of c1200 in 1933.84) but it also was probably based on an earlier list (G.Ward.1932.54).

SURREY

Abinger. 1282-1304 (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 xv. f 176).
 Bramley. possibly among the three churches of Odo's fee 1086 (VCH.Sy.3.1911.86).
 Burstow. 1121 (J.H.Round (ed.) 1888.14).
 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.4.1912.187-9).
 Chiddingfold. c1180 (VCH.Sy.3.1911.15).
 Cranleigh. part c1170 (VCH.Sy.3.1911.92).
 Crowthurst. part early C 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 C 12 (VCH.Sy.3.1911.101), 1206 (PRO.KB 26/42 m 17).
 Godstone. part C 12 (VCH.Sy.4.1912.288).
 Hambledon. 1291.
 Horley. 1190 (PRO.E 164/25 f 16v).
 Horne. part mid C 13 (VCH.Sy.4.1912.295), chapel of Bletchingly since 1705 (Private Act 3 and 4 Anne c28).
 Leigh 1202 (VCH.Sy.3.1911.212).
 Limpsfield. 1086(34).
 Lingfield. late C 10 (BM.Cott.MS Vesp.D ix f 32).
 Newdigate. C 12 (BM.Cott.MS.Nero C 111.f 188).
 Nutfield. 1086(34).
 Ockley. 1291.
 Oxted. 1086(34).
 Reigate. 1164-99 (W.Dugdale.Mon.vi.1830.172).
 Tandridge. 1086(34b) at Tillington.
 Witley. 1086(36).
 Womersley. part c1050 (VCH.Sy.3.1911.126).
 Wootton. part c1050 (VCH.Sy.3.1911.159).

SUSSEX

Albourne. 1291.
 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.
 Balcombe. 1091-8 (L.F.Salzman (ed.) 1932.17).
 Barcombe. 1086(27b).

Battle. built 1107-24(M.A.Lower(ed.)1851.61-2).
 Bexhill. 1086 two(18);one probably Northeye in Bexhill(VCH,Sx.9.
 1937.123).
 Beckley. part c1100(VCH,Sx.9.1937.147),ref.C 12(Cal.Ancient Deed
 iii.532).
 Billingshurst. 1291.
 Bolney. part early C 12(W.H.Godfrey.SNQ.1947.103).
 Bodiam. 1291.
 Brede. possibly one of the five churches of Rameslie 1086(17);pa
 late C 12(W.H.Godfrey.SNQ.1947.123-4).
 Brightling. 1086(18b).
 Burwash. part early C 12(W.H.Godfrey.SNQ.1947.167);ref.pre 1170(
 BM.Harl.Ch.86 G 42).
 Buxted. 1254.
 Catsfield. chapel 1086(18),church 1291.
 Chailey. 1269(PRO.C 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).
 Clayton. 1086(27).
 Cowfold. 1291.
 Crawley. part C 14(VCH,Sx.7.1940.146-7);1542 a rectory,though st
 ll technically a chapel to Slaugham(E.H.W.Dunkin(ed.)1914.239
 certainly a separate parish in 1612(I.C.Hannah.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).
 Fernhurst. parts C 12(VCH,Sx.4.1953.56),chapel of Easebourne unt
 after 1542(ib.)
 Fittleworth. 1291(1341).
 Fletching. part may be Saxon(H.Poole.1948.51).
 Folkington. 1291.
 Frant. chapel c1174(J.Thorpe.1769.45),still so 1291.
 Framfield. 1223(BM.Add.MS 5706 f 89).
 East Grinstead. 1091-1108(L.F.Salzman(ed.)1932.75).
 West Grinstead. part c1100(W.H.Godfrey.SNQ.1953.77-80).
 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).
 Hellingly. 1291.
 Henfield. 770(BCS 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.1949.31).
 Hooe. chapel 1086(18), parish 1291.
 Horsham. part C 12(SNQ.1937.214).
 Horsted Keynes. chapel 1121(BM.Cott.MS.Vitell.E x f27), church
 c1170(L.F.Salzman(ed.)1932.108).
 Hurstmonceaux. 1086(18).
 Hurstpierpoint. 1086(27).
 Icklesham. part pre 1125(G.M.Livett.SAC.1905.38-64).
 Iden. possibly one of the five of Rameslie 1086(H.Poole.1948.73)
 earliest part C 12(VCH.Sx.9.1937.155).
 Iffield. 1247(Reg. Sherborne f 72).
 Iping. 1086 church scot paid; church 1170(E.M.Yates.1953a.169).
 Isfield. 1291.
 Itchingfield. part C 12(W.H.Godfrey.SNQ.1955.120-1), 1222(L.F.
 Salzman(ed.)1903.no 172).
 Keymer. 1086(27), but chapel of Clayton 1291(W.D.Peckham(ed.)1946
 315-8) and later.
 Kirdford. parts C 12(W.D.Peckham.SNQ.1949.129).
 Laughton. 1291.
 Limch. 1086(23); this church lay in south of the parish, now in
 Bepton. The present church is the chapel of ease at Woodman's
 Green, existing by 1610 and perhaps by 1521(VCH.Sx.4.1953.66).
 Linchmere. part C 12(VCH.Sx.4.1953.69).
 Lindfield. 1254.
 Little Horsted. 1291.
 Lodsworth. chapel of Hasebourne 1291(W.D.Peckham(ed.)1946.313-4)
 and still so 1535.
 Lower Beeding. possibly the second church of Beeding 1086(28), 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), 1291
 a church.
 Mayfield. ~~1086-88(1088)~~, 1254.
 Mountfield. part early C 12(VCH.Sx.9.1937.236).
 Newick. c1095(L.F.Salzman(ed.)1932.21).
 Ninfield. 1086(18).
 Northiam. part C 12(W.H.Godfrey.SNQ.1933.138-45).
 Nuthurst. 1291.
 Ore. part C 12(VCH.Sx.9.1937.87-8).
 Peasmarsh. 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).
 Pevensey. 1291.
 Playden. 1086(20).
 Plumpton. 1086(27).
 Pulborough. 1086 two(24b).
 Ringmer. 1254.
 Ripe. 1291; church at Eckington in Ripe c1100(L.F.Salzman(ed.)193
 73).

Rogate. 1189-90(J.H.Round(ed.)1899.240).
 Rotherfield. 788(BCS 252),a fabricated grant,but later mention of
 the church in 1093-1100(J.H.Round.SAC.1898.49-51).
 Rudgwick. 1291.
 Rusper. 1291.
 Rye. possibly one of the five churches of Rameslie 1086(17);1291
 Salehurst. 1086(19).
 Sedlescombe. chapel 1086(20),church 1225(SAC.1857.233).
 Shermanbury. 1086(28b).
 Shipley. c1080(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.Salzmann.VCH,Sx.2
 1907.76).
 Tillington. part C 12(W.D.Peckham.SNQ.19496.53).
 Trotton. 1086(23).
 Twineham. 1291.
 Uckfield. 1291 a chapel of Buxted and still 1559(SAC.1860.257).
 Udmore. 1086(19).
 Wadhurst. part C 12(W.H.Godfrey.SNQ.1949.178-9).
 Waldron. 1121(BM.Cott.MS.Vitell.E x f 27).
 Warbleton. 1086(25).
 Wartling priest 1086(18);1291.
 Warnham. 1291.
 Washington. 1291.
 Westfield. c1100(BM.Add.Ch. 20161).
 Westham. part C 12(SNQ.1928.114).
 Westmeston. part C 12(VCH,Sx.7.1940.117).
 Whatlington. 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.2
 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.Homan.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(28).
 Wivelsfield. 1095(L.F.Salzman(ed.)1932.22);chapel to Ditchling
 1291,separated 1438-45(H.J.Rush.1870.50-6).
 Woodmancote. 1086(28b).
 Woolbeding. 1086(29b).
 Worth. not in 1086 but Saxon work(H.Poole.1948.43).

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. AC. 1945. 86). There are a few Wealden instances of parishes which disappeared by 1600 and also of other units incorrectly termed parishes. Shelley, southwest of Crawley was a separate parish 1291 but by 1510 was a chapel attached to Crawley (BM. Add. MS 39345 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 was omitted as too poor and by 1535 was a chapel to Iping (J. Hunter (ed.) Valor Ecc. 1. 1840. 324). One of the churches of Bexhill 1086 was probably Northeye (VCH. Sx. 9. 1937. 123; J. E. Ray. 1910. 689) but by 1262 this was a chapel of Bexhill (C. Deedes (ed.) ii. 1910. 426-7). For several centuries Otham in Hailsham was regarded as a separate parish unit (L. F. Salzman. 1901. 189-90). The 1341 return for Wadhurst mistakenly refers to Frankham in Wadhurst as a parish, and Burgham in Etchingham - never a parish had a separate return in 1341. Pivington 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.

- Appeledore. F August 1 allowed 1279(Trin.Coll.Camb.MS O.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(KAO.U 120/M 5) and to F 1581-5(KAO.U 575/T 1). Marked as market town by Symonson 1596; F August 1 'long since', Lambarde 1596(1826.51); F June 11, Kilburne 1659(1659.23).
- Ashford. G of M on Saturdays and F August 28-30 1243(C.P.R.128-47.398); ref. to M and F 1275(R.Furley.ii.1874.136); 1466 G of 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. Lambarde 1596(1826.53).
- Bethersden. F July 20, acc. R. Kilburne 1659(24).
- Biddenden. F October 28 acc. to W. Lambarde. 1596(1826.54) and R. Kilburne 1659(27).
- Brenchley. ref. to M 1263-4(PRO.C 132/247/27/5), 1296(C 133/77/3).
- Bilsington. F June 24, acc. to R. Kilburne. 1659(28).
- 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(1826.54) and R. Kilburne 1659(37).
- Great Chart. F March 25 allowed 1279(Trin.Coll.Camb.MS O.9/26 f 88); G of M Wednesdays 1447(C.C.R.1427-1516.80). F on March 25 acc. to Harrison 1577(ed. Furnivall. ii. 1877.102), Lambarde 1596(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 July 22 acc. to Kilburne 1659(62).
- Cranbrook. G of M Saturdays 1290(C.C.R.1257-1300.343). Market town acc. to Symonson; acc. Lambarde. 1596(1826.53-4) M Saturdays F May 29 and June 24(as Harrison. 1577.103), but Kilburne. 1659(65) gives F May 29 and September 1.
- Edenbridge. ref. to market 1231(F.W. Maitland(ed.) 1887. no 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. xxiv) 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).
- Goudhurst. G of M Wednesdays and F August 15 1380(C.C.R.1341-1417.262); acc. Kilburne 1659(112) M Wednesdays, F August 15 and F July 22 at Combwell.
- Hadlow. F Whitmonday(R. Kilburne. 1659.117).
- Hawkhurst. G of M Tuesdays and F August 9-11 1312(C.C.R.1300-4

- 189);ref. to fair 1460(T.Thorpe.1835.115),and F on February 1 in 1531(A.Evans.1941.438).Acc. to R.Kilburne.1659.135,M and F February 14 long discontinued and F August 9-11 only kept on August 10-11.
- Headcorn. G of M thursdays and F June 28-30 1251(C.C.R.1226-5362);acc. to Lambarde 1596(1826.54)fair on June 28,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 Aseension to 3 days after 1257(C.C.R.1226-57.463).
- Hythe. G of F November 19-21 1261(C.C.R.1257-1300.36);market town of Symonson;Harrison.1577(106)mentions F November 20, Lambarde 1596(1826.53-4)M saturdays and F November 17,Kilburne.1659(143)M saturdays,F June 29 and November 20.
- Lamberhurst. G of M wednesdays and F 23-24 June 1314(C.C.R.13-26.274);F March 25 acc. to R.Kilburne.1659(161).
- 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(C.P.R.1381-5.532).
- Orlestone. G of M thursdays and F May 2-4(C.C.R.1257-1300.67)
- Pluckley. F December 5,acc. Lambarde 1596(1826.55)and W. Harri on.1577(11.106);December 6 acc. to Kilburne 1659(218).
- Ruckinge. F allowed 1279(Trin.Coll.Camb.MS O.9/26 f 88);F Jul 22 acc. to W.Lambarde 1596(1826.55).
- Sandhurst. F December 7,acc. to Harri on 1577(11.106),Decembe 6 acc.to Kilburne 1659(237).
- Seal. G of M fridays and F September 15-17(C.C.R.1226-57.186) G of M mondays and F June 28-July 1 1285(C.C.R.1257-1300.284).
- Sevenoaks. ref.to M 1313(H.W.Knocker.1926.58);refs.1492 and 1570 to M on saturdaysib.51-68);market town of Symonson 1596;M saturdays and F June 29 and December 6 acc. to Kilburne 1659(244).
- Shipbourne. G of M mondays 1285(and F 31 August-September 2) -C.C.R.1257-1300.319;F September 1,acc. to R.Kilburne.1659(247).
- Smarden. G of M mondays and F September 28-October 2 1332(C.C.R.1327-41.260);inspeximus of this charter 1576(KAO.P 339). In Symonson's list of market towns but massed by him with parish,not market town,symbol;M fridays and F September 29 acc. to R.Kilburne.1659(250).
- 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(1826.55)but ne mention of this in Kilburne.
- Speldhurst. G of M thursdays and F 5-7 May at Groombridge(C.C. 1257-1300.329);;F May 6,acc. to R.Kilburne 1659(254).
- Stone-in-Oxney. F aseension 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).
- Ulcombe. Ref.1254-5 to market erected by warrant unknown(PRO.

JJ.1/361 m 43); 1292-3 a M fridays and F November 1-3 were allowed (E. Hasted. ii. 1782.422).
 Tenterden. 1289 several shops recently erected (R. Furley. ii. 184.241); F April 26 acc. to Harrison 1577 (ii. 102) and Lambard 1596 (1826.55, but the wrong saint's day here); market and F 1600 (M. Weinbaum. 1943.65); M fridays and F April 25 acc. R. Kilburne (271).
 Tonbridge. G of F vigil-morrow of Holy Trinity 1318 (C.C.R. 13026.395); toll of market mentioned 1296 (PRO.C 133/77/3). Ref. 1570-1 to M and F August 28-30, October 17-19, Ash Wednesday morrow. Market town of Symonson and M fridays and F Ash Wed, June 24, October 18 acc. to Lambard 1596 (1826.53, 55) and Kilburne 1659 (276).
 Warehorne. G of M tuesdays and F 20-22 September 1267 (C.C.R. 1257-1300.85), renewed 1280 (ib. 233). Acc. to Kilburne 1659 (282) F May 3 and September 21.
 Westerham. 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.
 Wittersham. F May 1 acc. to R. Kilburne 1659 (291).
 Yalding. G of M wednesdays and F June 28-30 (C.C.R. 1300-26.395) a market town on Saxton's map of 1575 but not on Symonson Norden; F easter tuesday acc. to Kilburne 1659 (300).

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 (ii. 106).
 Burstow. G of M tuesdays and F 28-30 September 1247 (C.C.R. 12257.326).
 Charlwood. ref. to F July 25, 1592 (Pat. 34 Eliz. pt iv, m 21) cit 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. 1226-5350) at Marden, north of the Weald.
 Ockley. G of M tuesdays and F July 19-20 (C.C.R. 1300-26.27) 1300 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. 737); G 1312 of M tuesdays (C.C.R. 1300-26.194). Market town as mapped by Norden 1594.
 Tandridge. F in C 17 (VCH. Sy. 4.1912.322).

SUSSEX

(The list earlier compiled by F.E.Sawyer.1888.180-92, 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 1 (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 e 5), and M in Battle changed to thursdays 1566 (8 Eliz.e 14). 1114-2 C of F 3-5 July (C.Johnson and H.A.Cronne (eds.) 1956. no 1348 refs to Battle F 1527 (A.Evans.1941.438) and 1643-9 (T.B.Lennard.1905.109); F in Battle on Whitmonday and November 22, acc 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.
- Bodiam. G of M Saturdays and F 25-6 July 1383 (C.C.R.1341-1417.281).
- Burwash. G of M Fridays and F 30 April-2 May (C.Cl.R.1251-3.82 G of M 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.ii.462).
- Chiddingly. ref. to F on Dicker 1634 (BM.Add.MS 33147 f 15).
- Crawley. ref. to M 1202 (Pise 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.1225.449); 1312 altered to M Mondays and F vigil-morrow of Holy Trinity (C.C.R.1300-26.194); both fairs 1465 (rental, Norfolk MSS), and ref. to M 1622-5 (W.H.Godfrey (ed.) 1928.22-31).
- Dallington. G of F July 19-21 1337 (C.C.R.1327-41.431), and G 1391 (C.P.R.1388-92.403).
- Ditchling. G of M Tuesdays and F July 19-21 1312 (C.C.R.1300-26.194); market town on Norden's map 1595.
- Framfield. G of F July 6-7 1314 (C.C.R.1300-26.274).
- East Grinstead. 1247 change of market from ? (gap in MS) to Mondays and F July 24-26 (C.C.R.1226-57.324); 1285 the king's M changed from Sundays to Saturdays (C.Cl.R.1279-88.311); named as market town by Norden 1595, and ref. to M 1660 (F.Hull Guide to Kent Archives Office.1958.154).
- West Grinstead. G of M Mondays and F April 22-24 (C.C.R.1257-1300.221) in 1280.
- Guestling. G of F August 9-11 (C.P.R.1247-58.345) in 1254.
- Hailsham. G of M Wednesdays 1252 (C.C.R.1226-57.400); 1278 Abbot of Bayham won right to have fair at Otham (L.F.Salzmann.1901.187); ref. to market place (PRO.Cal.Ancient Deeds.i.472) 1410 e1549 announcement that Weds. and Friday M would revive after recent fire in town (PRO.DL 42/96 f 28v); 1595 named 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. acc.to VCH,Sx.9.1937.14,M on wednesdays and saturday 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-Weds.after Ascension(C.C.R.1427-1516.106;not 1460 as in P.S.Godman.1903.181-94) F on June 24,July 27 and November 19 acc. to Harrison 1577 (ii.103-6);mapped as market town by Norden 1595.
- Hurstpierpoint. G of F August 10 1312(C.C.R.1300-26.194).
- Linchmere. G of F September 22-3 in 1199-1216;changed 1228 to July 6-7(C.Cl.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).
- Northeye. 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.1944.5.68)and 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 Northeye supra);mapped as market town by Norden 1595.
- Playden. F on August 24 mentioned 1664(VCH,Sx.9.1937.160-1).
- Ringmer. G of M tuesdays and F vigil-morrow of Ascension 1283 C.C.R.1257-1300.268).
- Rogate. G of F August 23-5 1268(C.C.R.1257-1300.88),C 1326(C.C.R.1300-26.493);ref.to fair 1590(VCH,Sx.4.1953.25).
- Rotherfield. G of M wednesdays 1318(C.C.R.1300-26.395),ref.to M 1589(C.Pullein.1928.89).
- Rudwick. claim to F vigil-morrow of Holy Trinity 1279(Place,Quarry.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.S.8/10/437);140 ref. to existing M wednesdays and fridays ,and friday M th changed to saturday(C.C.R.1341-1417.427).F August 24 acc.to Harrison 1577(ii.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.1224-7.14b)but cancelled shortly after (ib.16);1253 G of M mondays and F September 14-16 at Robertsbridge(C.P.R.1461-7.407-8);ref.to M 1348(Rob.Parl.ii.1783 211)and 1545(BM.Add.MS 5679 f 106);ref.to F September 14-16 1530(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),acc.to ref.1608(BM.Add.MS 5705 f 134v);ref. 1441(PRO.E 101/145. cit.W.H.Legge.1907.308).

- Ticehurst. 1542 funds left to institute a fair and 1600 license given for two (Pat. 42 Eliz. pt. 13, cit. VCH. Sx. 9. 1937. 252).
- Uckfield. 1285 ref. to M Mondays 'it is not known if by license or not' (B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (eds.) 1958. 95); G of F May 3 1378 (C.C.R. 1341-1417. 257).
- Wadhurst. G of M (day unspecified) and F June 29 1253 (C.C.R. 1226-57. 432); 1285 ref. to M Saturdays and F June 29 and August 1 (B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson (eds.) 1958. 47).
- Warbelton. G of F at Bucksteep June 23-25 1337 (C.C.R. 1327-1341. 431).
- Wartling. G of M Thursdays and F August 23-30 at Rockland 1226 (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).
- Westmeston. G of F November 11 1312 (C.C.R. 1300-26. 194).
- Winchelsea. ref. to M 1200 (Pipe Roll 2 John ed. D.M. Stenton. 190. 248) and 1215 (Rot. Lit. Claus. 1202-24. 237); 1283 when town transferred to Iham new market place laid out (C.P.R. 1282-92. 81. mapped as market town by Norden 1595 but by 1652, to judge from Evelyn's description (Diary (ed. 1818). 1. 259) 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. 78, 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 1535, 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.i.1812.227); in 1541-2 234 acres enclosed into it(R.Furley.ii.1874.426); on Symonson 1596, but not Speed 1610 and disparked acc.to W.Lambarde 1596(1826.51).

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

Anstye in Cuckfield. Speed 1610, 1611.

Appledore. wood called Olddepark 1399(Cal.IPM.iii.1821.262).

Ashford. New Park 1564(A.W.Hughes Clarke.1929.64), 1596(W.Lambarde 1826.51).

Ashore in Leigh. 1353(J.Thorpe.1769.466), 1596(W.Lambarde.1826.51 and throughout the C 17(E.Hasted.iii.1797.245).

Ashurst. 1357(W.Hudson.1911.153).

Ashurst in Chiddingfold. Free warren grant 1303(C.C.R.1300-26.35 park 1375(C.P.R.1377-81.104), 1439(C.P.R.1436-41.337).

Barecombe. disparked 1594(PN.Sx.ii.314).

Battle. park of Plessiez C 12(M.A.Lower(ed.)1851.23), later called Plashet or Little Park(PN.Sx.ii.500, T.Thorpe.1835.91; E.Turner 1865.32-3, erroneously suggests that Plashet was the Great Park 100 acres 1538(Pat.30 H VIII, pt.iii, 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 281 acres of it leased 1651(ib.158).

Baynards in Ewhurst. 1313 a park in Ewhurst(C.P.R.1313-17.15); 14 licence to impark 800 acres in Ewhurst, Cranleigh and Rudgwick (C.C.R.1427-1516.98), which became Baynards; 1657(J.Evelyn. Memoirs.ed.W.Bray.i.1818.296).

Bedbury in Goudhurst. Saxton 1575, Speed 1610.

Bentley in Cuckfield. 1312(C.P.R.1307-13.531); 1439 226 acres(W.H. Godfrey(ed.)1928.191); 1497-8 farmed(PRO.SC 6/H VII/1494); 1565 half demised(W.H.Godfrey(ed.)1928.17); ref.to half park 1613 (HMC.vii.670). Early C 17 map 476 acres(J.Cooper.1898.92). Not on the county maps.

Bethersden. name Wadundennespark late C 13(BM.Cott.MS.Faust.A i.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 6^v).
- 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 Hellingly. Saxton 1575, but not Speed 1610
- Bivelham in Mayfield. 1273-4(BM.Add. MS 5679 f 62), 1308(C.P.R.130 13.26,31), 1472(M.Clough.1956.45-6).
- Blackham in Withyham. a field name 1597-8(E.Straker(ed.)1933 .36
- Bletchingly. 1233(C.Cl.R.1231-4.204) 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.1871 .216).
- Boars Isle in Tenterden. 1244(BM.Cott.MS.Faust.A.1.f 292^v).
- Bockingfold in Yalding. 1326(Cal.Inq.Misc.11.220); according to Hasted(111.1790.33) in Marden, which is unlikely.
- Bodiam. According to M.A.Lower(1857.275) Roger de Bodiam had a park t. 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.1436-41.458), c1495(S.P.Vivian(ed.)1953.156), disparked by 1611(T.Thorpe.181 149).
- Bolebrooke in Withyham. 1597-8(E.Straker(ed.)1933.32).
- Boughton Malherbe, Southpark 1292(PRO.C 133/61/22); 1552 with Hon sparke(E.Hasted.11.1782.428); one(probably Southpark) Speed 1610
- Brambletye in East Grinstead. 1610 Speed(on Surrey, not Sussex sheet).
- Brasted. 1252-3(PRO.JI 1/361 m 37); 1452-3 but probably disparked soon after(E.Hasted.1.1778.375), gone by 1596(W.Lambard.1826. 51).
- Broadbridge in Slinfold. New Park 1275(Rot.Hund.11.1818.203); also 1278-9(PRO.JI 1/921 m 16).
- Broomham in Catsfield. a new park. 1272-1307(S.R.Seargill-Bird(ed 1887.14).
- Broxham in Edenbridge. 1305(R.Furley.11.1874.243).
- Broyle in Ringmer and Framfield. 1138-60(SAC.1875.72), 1565 acres was c1600(as recorded 1602 in BM.Add.MS 5681 f 443^v), 1649 as 2046 acres(PRO.LR 2/299 f 216-29).
- Buckholt in Bexhill. 1252-3(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 licence was given to impark 2000 acres in Bexhill(C.C.R.1427-1516.92), but was probably never implemented.
- Buckhurst in Withyham. 1272-3(L.F.Salzman.1942-3.40); 1597-8 1150 acres(E.Straker(ed.)1933.8); 1650 ref. to 44 and half acres recently enclosed from Ashdown(PRO.E 317/Sx/26).
- Burstow. 1200-5(BM.Add.Ch.7620); disparked 1590 acc.to Pat.32 Eli pt xvii.m 37, but on Speed 1610 and mentioned 1649(VCH.Sy.3.19 179)-part may have remained imparked.
- Burwash. 1247(C.Cl.R.1242-7.532); 1334 100 acres(PROC 135/40/8);

1341 mention was made of 2 tenements in Burwash and 2 in Etehing
 am (valued at 28/- p.a.) recently imparked-G. Vanderzee (ed.) 1807.37
 partly cultivated 1507 (VCH, Sx.9.1937.197), perhaps still exists in
 1597 (S.P. Vivian (ed.) 1953.202).

Cage in Tonbridge. c1495 (R. Furley. 11.1874.431), and 1560-1 (ib.);
 disparked by 1596 (W. Lambard. 1826.51).

Chart Sutton. 1086 (8).

Chesworth. 1549 (H. Ellis. 1861.118 ff); disparked 1587 (PRO. E 134/30
 Eliz/Hilary 6), and disparked area given 1608 as 233 acres (BM.
 Add. MS 5685 f 68^v-9, from PRO. LR 2/196 f 7-13).

Cranbrook. land called Urchyngpark C 15-BM. Add. MS 33902 f 2^v.

Cranleigh. High Park 1485, New Park 1521 (PN. Sy.234).

Crowhurst. 1310 (Cal. Inq. Misc. 11.463); 1444 (BM. Add. MS 31583).

Cuckfield. 1218 (F.W. Maitland (ed.) 1.1888.120-1), 1439 229 acres (W.
 Godfrey (ed.) 1928.191), 1497-8 in farm (PRO. SC 6/H VII/1474), Spe
 1610 and early C 17 192 acres (J.P. Cooper. 1898.92), 1615 'the
 parke or inclosed ground' (W.H. Godfrey (ed.) 1928.18)

Danny or Great Park of Hurstpierpoint. early C 13 licence to inc
 lose (cited C.P.R. 1354-8.18); 1343 licence to inclose another 1
 furlongs of wood and demesne (confirmed ibid.); 1570 100 acres
 recently impleaded (SAC. xxv.166); ref. 1652 (BM. Add. MS 5683 f 122).

Dedisham in Slinfold. 1321 two parks here, Hertpark and Suthpark
 (L.F. Salzman. 1955.48, from BM. Harl. MS 173); 1541 reference to
 one park calling it Rudgwick (BM. Add. MS 5687 f 121); 1623 to
 Lodge Park in the south end of Dedisham Park-WSRO. Add. MS 1438

Deffindone (unid.) park 1269-90 (BM. Cott. MS. Vesp. E xxiii f 27^v).

Ditchling. T. Hutchinson. 1861.241, says there was a park here 1086
 (incorrect) and that a 300 acre area was given in a gift of
 1180-1204 (ib. 243); this I cannot trace, but John granted free
 warren here (as confirmed 1279-Pi&?Quo Warr. 750) and park ment
 ioned 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.) 1928.4
 absent from Speed 1610 and described 1632 as 'long disparked'
 BM. Add. MS 5683 f 114).

Dorking. 1283 (VCH. Sy.3.1911.146).

Drungwick in Wisborough Green. licence to impark 2000 acres 1447
 (C.C.R. 1427-1516.94), probably never implemented.

Dunhurst in Wisborough Green. 1283 (C.P.R. 1281-92.81), 1356 (C.P.R.
 1354-8.335).

Elfold (Temple Elfold) in Capel. created between 1601 and 1646-9
 when it was 100 acres; by 1664 partly in tillage (VCH. Sy.4.1912
 430).

Eridge in Frant. 1588 (C. Pullein. 1928.90); mapped in Waterdown
 Forest by Symonson 1596; also on Saxton 1575 and Speed 1610.

Eteingham. Free warren grant of 1253 (C.C.R. 1226-57.416) probably
 led to imparking (VCH. Sx.9.1937.213); park over 400 acres in
 1330 (PRO. C 131/3), part cultivated 1597 (S.P. Vivian (ed.) 1953.20)

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 11^v).
- Gatesham. 1353 in Slinfold,including 60 acres called Plattere(W.D.Peckham(ed.)1925.67).
- Glassenbury. licence 1488 to impark 1600 acres in Granbrook,Goudhurst and Ticehurst(C.P.R.1427-1516.268);Speed 1610.
- Greenhurst in Buxted. 1285 a park in Grenherst borgh(probably Greenhurst)of Southmalling manor-B.C.Redwood and A.E.Wilson (eds.)1958.61.
- West Grinstead. Park here 1606(BM.Add.MS 5685 f 128^v),Old and New Parks in 1617(ib.);not on the county maps.
- Groombridge in Speldhurst. Symonson 1596,Speed 1610.
- Hailey in Westmeston. 1442-50(PRO.C 1/15/128);1556 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).
- Hamsell in Frant. placename 1625(C.Pullein.1928.361).
- Hamsey. 1233(F.W.Maitland(ed.)1887.no 806).
- Heathfield. 1291-1341 land worth 20/- in tithes p.a. 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 600 acres(BM.Add.MS 5681 f 127^v),and ref.1644(BM.Add.MS 33084 f 6).
- Hedgecourt in Horne. 1366(C.Cl.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),1623(ib.).Speed 1610.
- Henden. 1544 300 acres(BM.Add.MS 33889 no 707-709^v),1552 said to include lands in Sundridge,Brasted and Chiddington(BM.Add.MS 33917 f232);dissparked by 1596(W.Lambarde.1826.51).
- Henfield.1373-4(W.D.Peckham(ed.)1925.123);1647(H.de Candole.1947.103).
- Herst. mapped northeast of Granbrook by Symonson 1596(perhaps a park at Hemsted,north of Benenden,marked by Saxton 1575,but no other early maps).
- Hertissark'. a wood in Tenterden 1350(BM.Cott.MS.Faust.A 1,f 43¹ called in a later copy Matthewes Park.
- Hever. c1240(HMC,Penshurst MSS.1.1925.96);dissparked by 1596(W.Lambarde.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 shews;Speed 1611.
- Horne. 200 acres 1334(PRO.C 135/38/17);Speed 1610.
- Hornham. 1542-3 ref.to manor of Hawksbourne alias Old Parke in Rusper and Hornham(BM.Add.MS 5685 f 138);the New Park mentioned in C.P.R. 1553.102 was in Beeding,as the Calendar shews not not,as suggested by W.D.Cooper and M.A.Lower.1866.146,in Horsham.
- Little Horsted. c1295(L.F.Salzman(ed.)1932.112);Speed 1610.

Hungershall Park. In 1260(C.P.R.1258-1266.)licence given to impark the wood of Hangre within the forest of Pembury;the Calendar indexes this as Hanger wood in Pamber,Hants.,but it might be Hungershall,called Hungares on Symonson 1596. Speed 1610.

Hunton. imparked 1603-25 around Burstun in Hunton(E.Hasted.ii.1782.301).

Hurstmonceux. 1264(M.A.Lower(ed.)1851.201);enlarged 1413(PRO.C 1/445/9)and by 600 acres 1441(C.C.R.1427-1516.14);1643-9(T.B.Lennard.1905.111).

Hurstpierpoint. Little Park 1552(BM.Add.MS 5683 f 173^v)1570 one and one half miles circumference(E.Turner.SAC.1873.165);1648- (E.H.W.Dunkin(ed.)i.1914.235-6).

Iden. 1298(C.P.R.1292-1301.341);1318(C.C.R.1300-1326.392).

Iwood in Newdigate. 1476(Cal.IP.M. 1307(PN.Sy.86)e1604(E.Straker. 1931.451-4)1636(PN.Sy.86).

Iwood in Warbleton. 100 acres C 16(VCH.Sx.9.1937.197).

Kingsnorth. 1475 'le Park Gate'(A.Hussey.1938.53).

Knepp,in Shipley. e1145(L.F.Salzman(ed.)1923.7),Speed 1610, 1659 'lately disparked'(BM.Add.MS 5685 f 163^v).

Ladyspark in Penshurst. 1444-5(HMC.Penshurst.i.1925.235).

Lagham in Godstone. 1316(PRO.C 134/52/10);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.Ch.30460),enclosed 1529-31;also known as the New Park in the Vert(PN.Sx.ii.403)and Hallam Park;still existing 1634(J.C.K.Cornwall.1953.176)and later.

Limpfield. Norden 1594 and Speed 1610 mark a park here,just east of Crowhurst;1616 licence to impark 400 acres(VCH.Sy.4.1912.300).

Littleworth in Cowfold. 1484-5(Cal.IP.M.iv.422).

Loddenden in Staplehurst. 1367-8(PRO.SC 2/181/69).This was the park of W.Osbarn;in 1371 ref.is made to the parks of J.Foghel and T.Robert,both in Loddenden(SC 2/181/71).

Lurgashall. 1335(C.P.R.1334-8.135);1557 disparked(BM.Harl.MS 600 f 45).

Maresfield. 1283(C.P.R.1281-92.65,96);Speed 1610,1625(BM.Add.MS 5682 f 21).

Mayfield. 1308(C.P.R.1307-13.26,31);enlarged by 74 acres 1354(C.P.R.1354-8.40);Speed 1610.(There were also lands in Mayfield 1598 called Hawksden Parke-BM.Add.MS 5679 f 48).

Medhorne in Petworth. 1423-4(Cal.IP.M.iv.1828.81),1569-70 160 acres (BM.Add.MS 5688 f 53),grant of free warren 1616-17(BM.Add.MS 5688.f 53).

Mersham. 1608(R.Furley.ii.1874.523);perhaps the park at Scott's Hall in Smeeth on Symonson 1596 and Speed 1610.

Michelham in Arlington. 1229(C.P.R.1225-32.248,where under its original name,park of Perverse);1536 disparked(PRO.Exch.QR.M11 833/39,cit.L.F.Salzman.1901.244).

Mildmay in East Peckham. 1634(E.Hasted.ii.1782.279).

Netherfield. 1200-5(HMC.Penshurst MSS.i.1925.59).

- Newham in Buxted. 1273(PRO.C 133/8/7);according to E.Straker(c. 1933.16,disparked by 1597-8,but mapped by Speed 1610.
- Northfrith in Tonbridge. 1296(PRO.C 133/77/3);Speed 1610. There is 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 parcels,which can be correlated with the 1541 Penshurst statement that Northfrith had three walks,including one called Old Park and another Little Park(ib.237).
- Northpark in Leigh.1356(PNK 86);1552 300 acres(C.P.R.1550-3.358- Lee Park als Northpark in Leigh);Speed 1610.This park is referred to,c. 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.1826.51);a 1621 map marks Upper Park(25 acres),Lower Park(22)and Warren(18)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 1630 was 423(G.Ward.1931b.42-4).
- East Peckham. licence after 1625 to enclose around Roydon Hall(1 Hasted.1.1778.275);1645(AC.1861.161-70).
- Pembury. licence to add 50 acres to existing park 1396(C.C.R.134-1417.368);cf.Hungershall.
- 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 'late parcel of Penshurst Park'(C.P.R.1550-3.359).~~Ladyspark~~ Ladyspark,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 Ladyspark 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 Ladyspark or a further separate park,perhaps traceable back to the Penshurst Park mentioned 1308(C.P.R.1307-13.55)and 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-shews)appears 1193-1245(Hon.H.A.Wyndham.1954.55).Great Park 1335(C.P.R.1334-8.135). 105 acres added to Little Park 1499(Hon.H.A.Wyndham.loc.cit),another 200 acres 1592(G.R.Bateman.1956-7.437);see also text,p.72-5.Great and Little Parks mapped 1610(figs.9,10);1614-35 Great Park was disparked(text,p.72).
- Plasht in Ringmer. 1288(PN.Sx.11.356),Speed 1610.

- Pirefeld in Pluckley. 1200(I.J.Churchill et al.(ed.)1956.18).
- Plashey. a Sussex park in the Duchy of Lancaster 1315(BM.Harl.MS 2077.f 375);perhaps the park at Pashley in Ticehurst, into whi land worth 20/- p.a.in tithes was enclosed 1291-1341(g.Vander zee(ed.)1807.350).
- Plottsbridge Park in Framfield and Little Horsted. 1542-3(BM.Add MS.5682 f 119).
- Polledespark. a wood in Tenterden 1350(BM.Cott.MS.Faust.A.i f 43 Postern in Tonbridge. c1495(R.Furley.ii.1874.431);1521 3 miles circumference(L.and P.H VIII.1519-23.508);by 1596 dispark ed (W.Lambarde.1826.51).
- Pulborough. 1252(C.P.R.1247-58.134).
- Redleaf, in Penshurst. 1466-73(HMC.Penshurst MSS.i.1925.235-6);15 survey stated that this park and Ashore were separated only b 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(VCH?Sy.3.1911.232).
- Ringmer. 1279-92(D.Douie.1952.93);1618(ESRB.Add.MS 138).
- Ripton. Great and Little Ripton park in Ashford and Westwell inclosed after 1625,with circumference of 7 miles;1655 dispar ed(R.Furley.ii.1874.554).
- River in Tillington and Lurgashall. 1481 7 miles circumference(L F.Salzman.1941.193-6,from PRO.CP 40/876 m 400);Speed 1610(als 1577-HMY.vii.630).This may be the park in which River(Treve) 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 chace and thus perhaps the ancestor of Eridge Park.
- Saperton in Heathfield. 200 acres 1378-9(Gal.IPM.iii.1821.17).
- Sedgwick in Horsham,Nuthurst and Broadwater. 1305(A.Ponsonby.192 75),400 acres 1326(PRO.C 134/97/7);disparked by 1587(PRO.E 13 30 Eliz/Hilary 6).
- Shelley in Crawley. 1291-1341 3 tenements and 1 earuate taken into this park(G.Vanderzee(ed.)1807.380);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 f. Cartwright.1832. p. 368);1438 1700 acres(G.H.Kenyon.1951.123-4);Speed 1610,but al disparked by 1648.It was then still c1700 acres;the Deer park of c400 acres was also cultivated from c1600(G.H.Kenyon.fb.12
- Stoke Park in Shipley. 200 acres 1326(PRO.C 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 chace 1329-30(PRO.SC 6/890/22); marked as enclosed on map t.H VIII(PRO.MPI 68);1623-1710(KAO. U 38/T 1).Symonson maps it with an enclosure,Speed without; W.Lambarde 1596(1826.51)calls it a forest.Since a house calle 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. 1824 51).
- Starborough (or Prinkham) in Lingfield. 1373 (O. Manning and W. Bra. 11.1809.340). 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).
- Strudgate in Ardingly. 1571 lease (PCC 45 Holney); 1630, when its lands said to extend into West Hoathly, Worth and Balcombe also, it was lately disparked (IPM.6 Chas.1.pt 1.80).
- East Sutton. 1416-17 (KAO.U 120/M 5); a park in late C 16, which Hasted suggested (ii.1782.408,418) was imparked after 1544, but may go back to that of 1416; disparked by 1596 (W. Lambard. 1824 51).
- Swayne in Frant. This name applied (Swayne park) to lands in Frant between Kent Ditch and Waterdown Forest 1573 (BM.Add.MS.5681 f 292v); PN.Sx gives no ref. to this name under Frant.
- Tandridge. 100 acres 1351 (CIPM.ix.443); 'le Ould Park' 1522, probably disparked (PN.Sy.336).
- Treve. see River.
- Trotton. 1335 (C.P.R.1334-8.198).
- Turzes in Etchingham and Burwash. Licence to impark 1000 acres 1447 (C.C.R.1427-1516.94), probably never implemented.
- Twineham. 1339 (PRO.C 135/60/6).
- 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.Cl.R.1242-7.288); 1580 ref. to Old Park of Vachery and Little Park, part of the Old Park (E. Straker 1941.41); Speed 1610.
- Verdley in Fernhurst. 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).
- Warningore Park in Chailey. 83 acres, now disparked 1661 (BM.Add. MS. 5684 f 155).
- Westerham. 1297-1350 (T.A.M. Bishop. 1938.41).
- Whitley Forest. in Sevenoaks Weald, temp. Eliz. (E. Hasted. ii.1778. 355).
- Wigsell in Salehurst. grant of free warren 1295 (C.C.R.1226-57. 416); park by 1307 (S.P. Vivian (ed.) 1953.132); gone by 1597.
- Wiltling in Hollington. 1086 (18b: VCH.Sx.i.1905.398); possibly the ancestor of Crowhurst Park.
- Wiston. park just north of the church marked by Speed 1610 (maybe one of the earlier chure recorded parks in the parish, Solwyk or Strode).
- Witley. 1314 (C.P.R.1313-17.135); 1547 6 miles circumference (PRO. LR 2/190 f 134); 1656 (Feet of Fines, Sy. Mich. 1656, pt.1).
- Worth. one park 1279 (Plac. Quo Warr. 750); by 1326 another park of 232 acres 'newly enclosed' (CIPM.vi.437). These two were the Great and Little Parks of Worth. The Little is marked by Speed 1610 and noted 1615 (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 Crabbett 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 1200. The Abbot of Robertsbridge had free warren over all his lands in 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 of Pevensey (including the following parishes wholly or partly within the Weald - Arlington, Wilmington, Folkington, Hailsham, Westham and Pevensey) - ib. 1942-3. 40 (actually granted to him in 1252 C.C.R. 1226-57. 410); the Queen had appropriated warren in the hundreds of Willington and Flexborough (L.F. Salzman. 1942-3. 42, 46). The lord of Ashford in 1275 claimed warren over Chart hundred in Kent (R. Furley. 11. 1874. 136).

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 (HMC. v. 437, vii. 318); the Bishop of Rochester in all his 1159 (L. 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. 29). 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. p 11102-7 Battle Abbey was confirmed in its free warren over the Lowy of Battle and Rape of Hastings (C. Johnson and H.A. Cronne (ed.) 1956 no 859); the Conqueror's grant is mentioned in M.A. Lower (ed.) 1851. 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).

Aldington. G 1340 (C.C.R. 1327-41. 467).

- Appledore. G 1264, C 1316(C.C.R.1300-26.314); complaint 1275 that the Prior of Christ Church hunted excessively (R.Furley.ii.1874.126); G 1364(C.C.R.1341-1417.188).
- Arlington. G 1318 at Arlington and Claverham in Arlington(C.C.R.1300-26.392).
- Ashburnham. G 1328(C.C.R.1327-41.89).
- Ashford. G 1243(C.P.R.1232-47.398); 1279 a warren in Ashford by right unknown(R.Furley.ii.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(ib.33).
- Beckley. G at Knelle 1255(C.C.R.1226-57.442).
- Betchworth. G 1302(C.C.R.1300-26.23); references to it 1312(C.P.R.1307-13.531) and 1324(C.P.R.1321-4.448).
- Bethersden. at Etchden 1307(C.C.R.1300-26.108)G; G 1617(KAO.U 48/T 46).
- Bexhill. G 1162(W.D. Peckham(ed.)1946.29); G 1227(C.C.R.1226-57.442); G 1231(ib.135); G 1307(C.C.R.1300-26.101).
- Billingshurst. G 1305 in Wiggonholt manor, which included land of Billingshurst(C.C.R.1300-26.61; BM.Add.MS 5688 f 177).
- Bilsington. G 1617(KAO.U 48/T46).
- Boughton Monchelsea. G 1317(C.C.R.1300-26.340).
- Bramley. G 1304(C.C.R.1300-26.48).
- Brede. G 1252(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), (Matfield in Brenchley 1329(ib.99). G 1617(KAO.U 48/T 46).
- Brightling. G 1277(C.C.R.1257-1300.206); 1295 for Brightling and Socknersh in Brightling G(ib.461); 1314(C.C.R.1300-26.271)G; G 1317(ib.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(ib.339).
- Burwash. G 1265 for Brooksmarle in Burwash(C.C.R.1257-1300.84). Ref. to free warren 1288(PRO.JI 1/924 m 45). G 1295(C.C.R.1257-1300.461); G 1307(C.C.R.1300-26.108).
- Capel. G for Tudeley 1617(KAO.U 48/T 46).
- Chailey. 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, C 1316(C.C.R.1300-26.314); ref. to free warren in Great or Little Chart 1313-14(W.C. Bolland.1913.174); G 1364(C.C.R.1341-1417.188); G 1617(KAO.U 48/T 46).
- Little Chart. G 1264, C 1316(C.C.R.1300-26.314); G 1364(C.C.R.1341-1417.188).
- Chiddingfold. 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 1263(C.C.R.1257-1300.46); G 1307(C.C.R.1300-26.108); G 1338(C.C.R.1327-1341.454).

- West Chiltington. G 1285(C.C.R.1257-1300.319), G 1344(C.C.R.1341.31). 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.P.R.1327-41.467); dispute ov free warren in Cowden 1587-8(E.Hasted.i.1778.401).
- Cranbrook. G 1328(C.C.R.1327-41.90) and 1329(ib.99); G 1488(C.C.1427-1516.268).
- Crawley. G in Shelley 1328(C.C.R.1327-1341.76).
- Crowhurst. G 1316(C.C.R.1300-26.315).
- Cuckfield. Ref. to free warren 1336(C.P.R.1334-8-294); free cha 1379(PRO.CP 40/477 m 243) and 1483-4(BM.Add.MS 5683 f 92).
- Dallington. G 1265(C.C.R.1257-1300.54; this confirmed a grant o 1244, whose MS is defective but probably included Dallington C.C.R.1226-57.279). 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(Plac. Quo Warr.750). Ref. to free chase 1379(PRO.CP 40/477 m 243).
- Dorking. Claim to free warren 1279(Plac. Quo Warr.737,745), ref. to free warren 1312(C.P.R.1307-12.531), 1388-90(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.Furle 11.1874.126); G 1264, C 1316(C.C.R.1300-26.314); G 1364(C.C.R.1341-1417.188).
- Edenbridge. G 1263(C.C.R.1257-1300.46), G 1290(C.C.R.1257-1300.350), G 1298(ib.471) C 1340(C.C.R.1327-41.467).
- Etehringham. G 1253(C.C.R.1226-57.416) C 1295(C.C.R.1257-1300.46 G 1328 for Kitehringham(C.C.R.1327-1341.90).
- Ewhurst. G 1253(C.C.R.1226-57.416); G for Oekham 1295(C.C.R.1251300.461); G 1314(C.C.R.1300-26.271).
- Fairlight. G 1254(C.P.R.1247-58.336); G at Marsham 1290(C.C.R.1257-1300.345); G 1317(C.C.R.1300-26.333).
- Fletching. G 1253(C.C.R.1226-57.419).
- Frant. G 1329(C.C.R.1327-41.90), repeated 1329(ib.99).
- Godstone. G 1202(Minet Library, Deed H 127), G 1251(C.C.R.1226-5350), G 1302(C.C.R.1300-26.23), G for Lagham and Marden 1356(C.C.R.1341-1417.148).
- East Grinstead. G 1340(C.C.R.1327-41.467).
- West Grinstead. G 1281(C.C.R.1257-1300.255).
- Hadlow. G 1617(KAO.U 48/T 46).
- Hailsham. G for Otham 1328(C.C.R.1327-1341.90), repeat(includin Hailsham 1329(ib.99). G for Magham 1369(C.C.R.1341-1417.216).
- Hamsey. rights of free warren here received from Earl of Surre 1237-L.F.Salzman(ed.)1903.341).
- Hartfield. G in Parrock 1256(C.C.R.1226-57.416), challenged 127(L.F.Salzman.1942-3.40); G 1317(C.C.R.1300-26.333); G in Cote ford 1329(C.C.R.1327-1341.99); G 1340(ib.467).
- Heathfield. G at Saperton 1247(C.C.R.1226-57.326); Bishop of Ch chester had free warren in Heathfield 1288(PRO.JI 1/924 m 45); G 1329(C.C.R.1327-1341.99); G 1524(BM.Add.MS 5681 f 163

Hellingly. G at Pikehay 1292(C.C.R.1257-1300.421); G 1329(C.C.R.1327-41.99); G 1524(BM.Add.MS 5681 f 163).
 Henfield. G 1155(HMC.Var.Coll.1.182), C 1180-4(W.D.Peckham(ed. 1946.29); G 1227(C.C.R.1226-57.31) C 1231(ib.135).
 Hever. G 1263(C.C.R.1257-1300.46); G 1331(C.C.R.1327-41.199); (1340(ib.467).
 High Halden. G 1617(KAO.U 48/T 46).
 East Hoathly. G 1524(BM.Add.MS 5681 f 163).
 West Hoathly. ref. to free warren in Middleton manor 1580(BM. 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.Sx.9.1937.82).
 Horley. G 1202 at Harrowsley(Minet Library, Deed H 127); G 1335(C.C.R.1327-41.339).
 Horne. G 1301(C.C.R.1300-26.23; incorrectly indexed as in Godstone); G 1328(C.C.R.1327-41.84).
 Horsham. G 1281(C.C.R.1257-1300.255).
 Hothfield. rabbit warren named Coneghereford 1292(PNK.413); G 1315(C.C.R.1300-26.283).
 Hunton. G 1257(C.C.R.1226-57.463).
 Hurstmonceux. G early C 13, confirmed 1279(Plac.Quo Warr.757).
 Hurstpierpoint. 1239 the Earl of Surrey reemphasised his right here(L.F.Salzmann(ed.)1903.no 353); ref. to free chase 1379(PRO.Cp 40/477 m 243).
 Icklesham. G 1252(C.C.R.1226-57.412), C 1295(C.C.R.1257-1300.46).
 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).
 Ivychurch. 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.1257-1300.180); G at Langhurst 1617(BM. Add.MS 5687 f 235).
 Lamberhurst. G 1257(C.C.R.1226-57.463) C 1627-8(E.Hast ed.11.178 376); ref. to free warren 1313-14(W.C.Bolland.174 1913.174)a claim dismissed, 184, a claim upheld); G 1328(C.C.R.1327-41.90) C 1329(ib.99).
 Laughton. G 1246(C.C.R.1226-57.294) repeat 1247(ib.315); G 1524(BM.Add.MS 5681 f 163).
 Leigh, Kent. G 1340(C.C.R.1327-41.467).
 Leigh, Surrey. G 1252 for Shellwood(C.C.R.1226-57.391); G 1328(C.C.R.1327-41.84).
 Lingfield. G 1340(C.C.R.1327-41.467).
 Lymington. perhaps the Limesal, in Kent or Sussex, where rights of free warren were granted 1257(C.C.R.1226-57.463).
 Marden. G 1315(C.C.R.1300-26.283).
 Mayfield. G 1317(C.C.R.1300-27.333).
 Mersham. G 1052(W.Dugdale.Mon.1.1817.97; 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, C 1316 (C.C.R. 1300-26. 314); complaint of illegal claims 1275 (R. Furley. ii. 1874. 136); 1313-14 a claim to free warren in Mersham questioned and upheld (W. C. Bolland 1913. 184); G 1364 (C.C.R. 1341-1417. 188).
- Mountfield. G 1295 (C.C.R. 1257-1300. 460); G 1317 (C.C.R. 1300-26. 333).
- 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. 1313-17 236).
- Northiam. G at Dixter 1479 (C.P.R. 1476-85. 162).
- Oekley. G 1302 (C.C.R. 1300-26. 27).
- Orlestone. G 1267 (C.C.R. 1257-1300. 67).
- Oxted. Claim to free warren upheld 1279 (Plac. Quo Warr. 744).
- Peasmarsh. ref. 1330 (C.P.R. 1327-1330. 556).
- East Peckham. G 1264, C 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 1311 (C.C.R. 1300-26. 160); ref. 1313-14 (W. C. Bolland. 1913. 174-6).
- Pembury. G 1328 (C.C.R. 1327-41. 90), repeat 1329 (ib. 99).
- Penshurst. G 1263 (C.C.R. 1257-1300. 46); G 1338 (C.C.R. 1327-41. 443 G 1340 (ib. 467)).
- Petworth. Ref. 1241 (L. F. Salzman (ed.) 1903. no 371); G in Medhorn 1616-17 (BM. Add. MS 5688 f 53).
- Pluckley. G 1617 (KAO. U 48/T 46).
- Pulborough. G 1247 (C.C.R. 1226-57. 326); claim 1279 (Plac. Quo Warr. 757-9); G at Nutbourne 1344 (C.C.R. 1341-1417. 31).
- Reigate. G 1271 (C.C.R. 1257-1300. 169); 1279 lord claimed warren over the land of free tenants as well as demesne (Plac. Quo Warr. 737, 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 1263 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).
- Rotherfield. Warren appropriated here 1275 (L. F. Salzman. 1942-3. 35); G for Rumsden 1295 (C.C.R. 1257-1300. 461).
- Ruckinge. G 1267 (C.C.R. 1257-1300. 67); G 1264, C 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 lands in this parish (C.C.R. 1300-26. 61).
- Salehurst. G 1253 (C.C.R. 1226-57. 416), C 1295 (C.C.R. 1257-1300. 46 G for Robertsbridge 1253 (C.P.R. 1461-7. 407-8); G for Bugsell

- 1314(C.C.R.1300-26.271).G in Robertsbridge 1545(BM.Add.MS 5680 f 106).
- Sedlescombe. G 1295(C.C.R.1257-1300.461);G 1314(C.C.R.1300-26.271).
- Shipbourne. G 1285(C.C.R.1257-1300.319).
- Slaugham. Rights to free warren here proved 1279(Plac. Quo Warr 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).
- Smeeth. G 1317(C.C.R.1300-26.333).
- Staplehurst. G at Staplehurst 1301(C.C.R.1300-26.21).
- Steyning. G 1252(C.C.R.1226-57.391).
- Streat. ref. to free warren in Middleton manor 1580(BM.Add.MS 5684 f 17).
- Tandridge. G 1202(Minet Library, Deed H 127);ref.1226(VCH. Sy. 4. 1912.324);G at Tillingdon 1290(C.C.R.1257-1300.350);G 1368(C.C.R.1341-1417.211).
- Terwick. G 1271(C.C.R.1257-1300.169).
- Ticehurst. G 1253 for Boarzell(C.C.R.1226-57.416);G 1295 for Ticehurst and Boarzell(C.C.R.1257-1300.460);G 1298 for Pashley(ib.474);G 1314(C.C.R.1300-26.271);G 1317(ib.333);G 1488(C.C.R.1427-1516.268).
- Tillingdon. Ref.1241(L.F.Balzmann(ed.)1903.no 371);G 1302(C.C. 1300-26.23);G 1344 for River(C.C.R.1341-1417.31).
- 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 1237(C.C.R.1226-57.231);for Dureford Abbey landse 1252(ib.391);1275 warren had been newly appropriated by warrant unknown(L.F.Salzman.1944-5.65).
- Udimore. G 1253(C.C.R.1226-57.416)G 1295(C.C.R.1257-1300.461);G 1314(C.C.R.1300-26.271);G 1479(C.P.R.1476-85.162).
- Ulcombe. 1254-4 warren claimed by right unknown(PRO.JI 1/ 361 m 43, cit R.Furley.ii.1874.54).
- Vachery(in Cranleigh)ref. 1279(Plac. Quo Warr.742).
- Waldron. G 1252(C.C.R.1226-57.412);G 1318(C.C.R.1300-27.392);G 1524(BM.Add.MS 5681 f 163).
- Warbleton. G at Bueksteep 1265(C.C.R.1257-1300.54);G at Bueksteep 1301(C.C.R.1300-26.23)and G 1519-20(BM.Add.MS 5680 f 16);G 1368(C.C.R.1341-1417.211).
- Warehorne. G 1267(C.C.R.1257-1300.85)repeat 1280(ib.233).
- Warnham. G at Durfold 1295(C.C.R.1257-1300.461;not in Dunsfold Surrey,as the Index to the Calendar;the charter specifies that it is in Sussex).
- Wartling. G 1265(C.C.R.1257-1300.279);G 1290 for Oldcourt(C.C. 1257-1300.345)and 1318(C.C.R.1300-26.392);G 1318 for Mersha in Wartling(ib.);G for Rockland 1328(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 5680 f 162);G 1329(C.C.R.1327-41.99).
- Washington. G 1281(C.C.R.1257-1300.255).
- Westham. G in Hedgeland 1307(C.C.R.1300-26.108).
- Westmedon. rights confirmed 1582(BM.Add.MS 5684 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 Drungwick(C.
 C.R.1300-26.101).
 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).
 Woodehureh. G 1617(KAO.U 48/T 46).
 Wivelsfield. ref.to free warren here in Middleton manor 1580(BM
 Add.MS 5684 f 17).
 Worth. claim to free warren 1279(Plac. Quo Warr.750).
 Yalding. G 1290(C.C.R.1257-1300.350);G for Bockingfold 1315(C.
 C.R.1300-26.283);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.Vanderzee(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 Hempstead 1202(L.F.Salzmann(ed.)1903.no 77) again 1219(ib. no 156);mill 1260(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 132/35/11).
 Balcombe. tithe of mills specified 1341.
 Barcombe. 3and half watermills 1086(27b);tithe of mills specified 1341.
 Battle. C 12 one mill near Loxbeech,one lower down the valley, one at Peppering(M.A.Lower(ed.)1851.22);mill at Peppering(a watermill)mentioned 1275-1325(E.Swift.1937.37 ff).
 Beckley. tithe of mills specified 1341.
 Betchworth. mill 1287-8(VCH.Sy.3.1911.168);mill at Womham 1328 (C.P.R.1327-30.326).
 Bexhill. mill C 12(M.A.Lower(ed.)1851.58,116);Barnehorne had windmill 1307(S.R.Scargill-Bird(ed.)1887.17-19),1325 and 1334(T.Thorpe.1835.65,70).
 Bletchingly. watermill at Chivington 1086(34b);1262 watermill and windmill(PRO.C 132/27/5).
 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 13 f 2^v;L.Sherwood.AC.1951.26 dates this a 1138).
 Brede. mill 1296(W.Hudson(ed.)1909.15-16).
 Brenshley. watermill 1307(CIPM.iv.314-5).

- Brightling. mill at Winhamford 1241(HMC.Penshurst MSS.1.1925.97);mill c1270(ib.114).
- Burwash. mill 1285(B.C.Redwood and A.E.Wilson(eds.)1958.33);mill at Bereherst 1312(T.Thorpe.1835.60-1);watermill 1343(Cal.Inq.Misc.ii.462);mill at Woodknolle 1347(VCH.Sx.9.1937.197).
- Buxted. 2 mills at Grenherst,probably Greenhurst in Buxted 128(B.C.Redwood and A.E.Wilson(eds.)1958.61).
- Catsfield. watermill 1086(18).
- Chailey. mill at Wapsbourne 1197(L.F.Salzman(ed.)1903.no 8).
- Charlwood. Trule 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 four mills 1341.
- Cowfold. tithe of mills specified 1341.
- Cranbrook. mill 1258(I.J.Churchill et al(ed.)1956.294).
- Crowhurst,Sy. mill 1241(VCH.Sy.4.1912.278).
- Crowhurst,Sx. 1343(Cal.Inq.Misc.ii.462).
- Cuckfield. tithe of mills specified 1341.
- Ditchling. watermill 1086(26).
- Dorking. watermill at Milton(36)and Westcott(36b)1086;mill 123(F.W.Maitland(ed.)1887.no 545),1329-30(VCH.Sy.4.1912.416-7).
- Edenbridge. two mills 1268(I.J.Churchill et al(eds.)1956.351).
- Eteingham. two watermills 1330(PRO. C 131/3).
- Fletching. watermill at Sheffield 1086(22b);Fletching mill 120(Curia Regis Rolls 1201-3.117);mill called Clapmella 1206(L.F.Salzman(ed.)1903.no 110);tithe of 2 mills 1341.
- Framfield. mill 1285(B.C.Redwood and A.E.Wilson(eds.)1958.66)a at Plottsbridge(ib.74).
- Frant. mill at Eridge 1296(PRO.C 133/77/3),watermill at Eridge c 1290(C.Pullein.1928.322);there was probably a mill at Bartley in Frant 1296 also(ib.57).
- East Grinstead. watermill at Bramletye 1086(22b);mill 1230(L.Salzman(ed.)1903.no 215);1262 two decayed watermills,but o now set up at Lavertye(PRO.JI 16912 n 17d,cit.L.F.Salzman. SAC.1915.178-9);tithe of mills specified 1341.
- West Grinstead. mill, and mill at Holneys 1269-90(BM.Cott.MS.Ve E xxiii f 27-27v).
- Godstone. watermill 1086(34);mill 1274(VCH.Sy.4.1912.288);1349 mill out of repair because of Black Death(PRO.C 135/104%23).
- Hadlow. two watermills 1086(7b);watermill 1307(CIPM.iv.314-5).
- Hailsham. mill in an Inspeximus of 1316,not in the earlier charter of 1189(W.Dugdale.Mon.vi.1090-1).

Hamsey. tithe of mills specified 1341.
 Hartfield. watermill 1086(2b).
 Hastings. mill c1190(HMC.Penshurst MSS.i.1925.42).
 Hawkhurst. Slipmill mentioned 1292(PNK 341).
 Heathfield. watermill 1253-62(W.D.Peeckham(ed.)1925.96);
 Hellingly. watermill late C 12(L.F.Salzmann.1901.181)and 1329
 (PRO.C 135/16/19).
 Henfield. Wantley mill 1086(28b)and Stretham mill 1086(16b);
 West mill mentioned c1226(H.de Candole.1947.29).
 Hildenborough. rent 1295-6 of querngaveles(millstone rent)-PRC
 C 133/77/3.
 Hollington. mill at Filsham early C 12(BM.Campbell Ch.xxv.6).
 Hooe. watermill 1086(18);mill 1277(PRO.Ancient Deed B 1681).
~~Horley. Sidlow mill 1180-1202(BM.Add.Ch.24635).~~
 Horsham. mill 1231(Reg.Sherborne f 71,cit.A.Way.1852.252-3);
 mill at Broadbridge 1284(PRO.C 133/41/9);mill at Sedgwick s
 watermill at Chesworth 1326(PRO.C 134/97/7).
 Horsted Keynes. watermill 1086(22b).
 Horley. Sidlow mill 1180-1202(BM.Add.Ch.24635),1279(PN.Sy.295)
 Horley watermill early C 13(BM.Add.Ch.24587),refs.1308-17(
 BM.Lansdowne 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 Horsted. 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 c1230(HMC.Penshurst MSS.i.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/G 47(62)).
 Laughton. mill 1288(PRO.SC 6/1023/29 m 5)and 1292(SC 11/877,c1
 A.E.Wilson.1959 98 ff).
 Langney. watermill c1160(L.F.Salzman(ed.)1932.162).
 Leigh,Kent. mill at Ensfield 1353(J.Thorpe.1769.464).
 Leigh,Surrey. mill at Shellwood in Middle Ages(VCH.Sy.4.1912.
 415).
 Limpsfield. watermill 1086(34).
 Maresfield. tithe of mills specified 1341.
 Mayfield. watermill 1086(22b).Old mill and Cogging Mill 1315(P
 Sx.11.384-5);mill at Bivelham 1343(Cal.Inq.Misc.11.462).
 Mersham. two watermills 1086(3b).
 Newick. tithe of two mills 1341.
 Nettlestead. 2 watermills 1086(8b);mill 1297(PRO.C 133/79/13).
 Northchapel. watermill at Colhook 1347-50(L.F.Salzman(ed.)1955
 1,48)and Redlands mill 1347-8(ib.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
 38/14)and 3 in 1291(PRO.C 133/61/24).

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 1337-8(BM.Add.MS 33882 f 19).
 Pembury. mill at Pembury and one at Elvinden in Pembury ref. to in a gift of shortly after 2208-11(BM.Cott.MS Otho A ii, 41v;H.M.Colvin.1951.117);mill at Elvinden 1212(I.J.Churchill et al(eds.)1956.51).
 Penshurst. mill pre 1239(E.Hasted.i.1778.426),1282-3(ib.427).
 Petworth. one watermill 1086(23b);Coultershaw mill 1241(L.F. Salzman(ed.)1903.no 397)and 1291(J.Caley.1802.139);Hartlingbourne watermill 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 Nutbourne in Pulborough(1337-PRO.C 135/50/23).
 Reigate. 2 watermills 1086(30);mill 1146-75(L.F.Salzman.SAC.194.28).
 Rogate. Haben and Dureford mills 1189-96(BM.Cott.MS.Vesp.E xxii f 8)Dureford again pre 1255(ib.f 15);these perhaps two of the name mills of Harting in 1086(Rogate was then still part of Harting);C 13 ref. to mill tithes of Wenham manor(ib.f 99).
 Rotherfield. 2 watermills 1262(PRO.C 132/27/5)and 1307(C 133/129/13);1336 ref. to Redgate,Towngate and Hamsell mills(PRO.C 145/130/23);1341 tithe of 13 mills in Rotherfield and Frant.
 Ruckinge. mill 1287(CUL.MS Ee.v.31 f 28).
 Rudgwick. tithe of mills specified 1341.
 Rye. 1260 mill in Leasam manor in Rye foreign(L.A.Vidler.1954.125 ff).
 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.Thorpe.1835.44).
 Shipley. mill at Knepp 1326(PRO.C 134/97/6);1330 mill in Shipley (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 c1250(Bodl.Sx Ch.169);mill of Slinfold c1270-80(ib.Ch 179);watermill at Dedisham 1321(BM.Harl.M 173,et.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.
 Sutton Valence. watermill 1086(8).
 Tandridge. watermill 1086(34b);windmill 1189-99(R.Bennett and Elton.ii.1899.235).
 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(23).
 Twineham. 1325 windmill(PRO.C 134/ / /).

Uckfield. mill 1243(L.F.Salzmann(ed.)1903.no 415);mill 1285(B.
 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).
 Warehorne. windmill 1289(PRO.C 133/54/2).
 Washington. tithe of mills specified 1341.
 Wateringbury. mill 1330(AC.1893.161).
 Westerham. watermill 1086(14).
 Westham. 1252 mill at Mill Hill(C.C.R.1226-57.410;for location
 SNQ.1934.125).
 Westmeston. tithe of mills specified 1341.
 Winchelsea. 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).i.1863.67);windmill
 1358(C.P.R.1358-61.28).
 Wisborough Green. mill at Dunhurst and mill in Wise Pallings
 manor 1327(Cal.Inq.Misc.ii.no 922);tithe of mill specified
 1341.
 Wiston. watermill at Buneton 1086(29);mill and windmill in ea:
 C 14(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 Boekingfold 1326(Cal.
 Inq.Misc.ii.220).

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(i) Chancery records.

- C 1 :early Chancery proceedings.
- C 3 :Chancery proceedings, series ii.
- C 47 :Chancery miscellanea.
- C 62 :Liberate rolls.
- C 66 :Patent Rolls.
- C 131 :Inquisitions on debts.
- C 132-5:Inquisitions post mortem Henry 111-Edward 111.
- C 142 :Inquisitions¹ 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.
- JI 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.

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- SC 6 :minister's accounts.
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- SC 11 :extents and surveys.

(vii) Maps MP.

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executarum. ed.J.Caley and J.Bayley.1806-28.
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Abbrev. Plae. Abbrevatio Placitorum. ed.W.Illingworth.1811.
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C.C.R. Calendar of Charter Rolls.
C.Cl.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.
CIPM. Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem.
Cal.Inq.Misc. Calendar of Inquisitions miscellaneous.
Cal.Ancient Deeds. Calendar of Ancient Deeds.
L.and P.H VIII. Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.
A.P.C. Acts of the Privy Council.
Cal.SPD. 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.
Harl.Ch;Harl.MS. Harleian 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.
Trim.Coll.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. Rawl. 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.
Bibl. Nat. MS. Fr. Bibliothèque nationale, manuscrits français.
Arch. Nat. K. Archives nationales, fonds K.

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(b) Published works.

Abbreviations used:

- KPN. J. K. Wallenberg. Kentish Place Names. 1931.
PNK. 1b. Place Names of Kent. 1934.
PN.Sx.1-11. A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton and J. E. B. Gover (eds.)
Place Names of Sussex, 1929-30.
PN.Sy. J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton (eds.) Place Names of Surrey. 1934.
VCH. Victoria County History.
Kent.1-111. ed. W. Page. 1908-32.
Surrey.1-iv. ed. H. E. Malden. 1902-12.
Sussex.1-111,iv,vii,ix. ed. W. Page and L. F. Salzman. 1905-1953.
AC. Archaeologia Cantiana.
Antiq.J. Antiquaries Journal.
Arch.J. Archaeological Journal.
Ec.H.R. Economic history review.

E.H.R. English historical review.
G?M. Geological magazine.
HMC. Historical Manuscripts Commission reports.
PGA. Proceedings of the geologists' association.
RS. Rolls Series publications.
SAC. Sussex Archaeological Collections.
SNQ. Sussex notes and queries.
SRS. Sussex Record Society.
SyAC. Surrey archaeological collections.

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