

Wealden Iron

Second Series
No.29 2009

Bulletin of the
Wealden Iron
Research Group

ISSN 0266-4402

WEALDEN IRON RESEARCH GROUP

Bulletin No. 29 Second series

2009

Contents

Field Notes	compiled by J. S. Hodgkinson	3
Recent Fieldwork at Smarden, Kent	Neil Aldridge	7
Bloomery Slag from Newark Priory, Ripley, Surrey	Judie English	11
The Legas–Remnant Letters		
Introduction	J. S. Hodgkinson	14
Letters		37
Index		69



Honorary Editor

David Crossley, 5 Canterbury Crescent, Sheffield, S10 3RW

Honorary Secretary

David Brown, 2 West Street Farm Cottages, Maynards Green,
Heathfield, Sussex, TN21 0DG

© Wealden Iron Research Group, 2009

Field Notes

compiled by J. S. Hodgkinson

A bloomery in Sedlescombe, East Sussex

Jonathan Prus

A bloomery furnace is eroding into a stream in Wimbletott's Wood, at TQ 7653 2133. The location is to the east of a small stream and to the west of an adjacent forest road. There is slag and slagged furnace wall on the surface, and slag can be found in the stream bed for at least 300 metres downstream. There is abundant siderite in the stream bed and possible lumps of sphaerosiderite.

Upstream, on the same bank, at TQ 7662 2127, there is an ore preparation site with roasted ore in the dark red-brown soil. The loose soil contains material that is attracted to a magnet. There seems to be no roasted ore (or slag) upstream from this point. The site is on the Wadhurst clay at its boundary with the Ashdown Sand. The stream cuts down to consolidated sandstone.

Shorewell bloomery, Hadlow Down, East Sussex – revised location

This bloomery is marked on large-scale Ordnance Survey maps and recorded as Monument no. 409043.¹ The WIRG Buxted Group noted its existence, stating that it was reputedly Roman, but was unable to find evidence to support the assertion.² On a recent visit the site was re-discovered and its correct location found to be TQ 5306 2649. It covers an area 15m long by 5m wide along the east side of a small ghyll in woodland about 480m NNW of Huggetts Furnace Farm. Tap slag was noted. Located on Ashdown Sand, faulting has caused an outcrop of Wadhurst Clay downhill from the site and there is an extensive opencast working about 320m to the SW at TQ 5285 2626.

Along the southern edge of the same outcrop of Wadhurst Clay, a small group of saucer-shaped minepits and larger opencast workings,

centred on TQ 5289 2610, may have supplied iron ore to Huggetts Furnace, the site of which lies about 580m ESE.

Two bloomery sites in Buxted, East Sussex

At the first site two concentrations of bloomery slag, probably part of the same site, have been found on the east bank of a stream centred on TQ 5182 2444, near Nashes Farm. Separated by a track, the concentration further from the stream may have been the base of a building. The ground close to the stream is unstable and part of the site may have washed into the stream.

At the second site a concentration of bloomery slag covering a roughly circular area of 80m² has been discovered at TQ 5015 2420, in the field formerly called 'Jenny's Mead Hop Garden', adjacent to the southern edge of Mine Pit Wood. The slag area is bisected by a small stream, which may owe its location to the disturbance caused by the cutting for the railway line immediately to the south east. A whetstone, apparently made of a type of schist, was found in the slag.

Both sites lie on Lower Tunbridge Wells Sand.

A bloomery site in Warbleton, East Sussex

Slag has been noted in the stream bed and a surface scatter with some tap slag detected on the stream's west bank, centred on TQ 6366 1689 in Bacon Hollow Wood. The slag-strewn bank side extends for about 15m and is up to 5m wide. The site lies on Wadhurst Clay, immediately upstream of a faulted boundary with the Tunbridge Wells Sand.

Chantler's Farm medieval bloomery site, Hartfield

This site was revisited in October 2008 and its location, hitherto recorded as a six-figure grid reference,³ refined as TQ 4704 3869. Slag was found on the west side of the stream, just south of the bridge carrying the public footpath.

Roman iron-working slag at Wittersham, Kent

Excavations by the Hastings Area Archaeological Research Group have revealed a small amount of bloomery slag in association with

a quantity of pottery, including East Sussex ware and a possible fragment of Samian ware at Wittersham Manor (formerly Bates Farm), Wittersham, on the Isle of Oxney. Thirteen Roman coins dated to between the 1st and mid-3rd centuries have been found in the vicinity of the excavation. Also found was a copper alloy terret ring, part of a horse harness, from the same period.⁴

Two bloomery sites in Benenden, Kent

David Brown

WIRG was asked to look for any ironworking which may have taken place in the vicinity of an old trackway running through Strawberry Wood where the Kent High Weald Partnership were undertaking the repair of a sandstone culvert. A local historian, Dr Ernie Pollard, had found a Furnace Field at TQ 821310, about 1km south of Strawberry Wood, and Brian Herbert and Reg Houghton had visited this field some years previously but had found nothing iron-related. Hawkhurst Furnace (TQ 7740 3130), which is first referred to in 1644 and may still have been in operation in 1717, is about 4km west of the wood. Little Haven Field bloomery lies to the south (TQ 8084 3137). The Hastings to Rochester Roman road (Margary Route 13)⁵ runs through Benenden about 1 km from the wood. The area of the woods lies on the junction between the Ashdown Beds and Wadhurst Clay. The two streams cut into the Wadhurst Clay from the north exposing the Ashdown Beds over the southern half of the woods. At a major fault to the south there has been an uplift of the strata, but this does not extend into the area examined. Two pieces of slag had previously been found in the stream running through Strawberry Wood.

The northern extremity of the wood was examined, and despite evidence of some disturbance to the sides of the stream, no slag could be located and no further pieces were found in the stream. It was therefore assumed that the slag found may have washed out of the collapsed culvert where it may have been used as footings for the trackway. An archaeological examination of the trackway was due to take place in the months following the foray. It will be interesting to see if slag is found. A small wooded area with two water-filled pits (TQ 8180

3221) in the field east of Strawberry Wood was examined, and it was concluded that clay and/or ore extraction could have taken place there. New Barn Shaw was examined from the north (going downstream). It contained a quarry in the Wadhurst Clay and considerable quantities of iron ore were found in the stream below it. The first bloomery site was at the top of a steep bank east of the stream (TQ 8168 3185) and continued for about 15m along the field margin. The slag found at this site was bloomery furnace slag. A second bloomery site occurred on a platform about 2m above the level of the stream on the east side at TQ 8164 3179. Here some tap slag was found among the furnace slag and pieces of reddened material which could have been roasted ore. The slag heap covered an area of about 10m by 15m.

Notes and References

1. http://pastscape.english-heritage.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=409043; accessed 23.09.2008.
2. WIRG, *Wealden Iron*, 1st Series III (1972), 11.
3. Pettitt, J., Archibald, P. & Tebbutt, C. F.. (1970) 'Two dated bloomery sites in the Weald', *Sussex Notes and Queries*. **17**, 5, 167-168
4. Burgess, S, (Summer 2007), 'A Roman site at Wittersham', *HAARG Journal*, 1-3.
5. Margary, I. D., 1973, *Roman Roads in Britain* (London, John Baker).

Recent Fieldwork at Smarden, Kent

Neil Aldridge

Three ironworking sites were investigated during the autumn of 2008 by members of Smarden Local History Society. Two of the sites had been briefly surveyed in the past and a new site near Cousins Farm was brought to our attention by the landowner who wished to understand its possible significance.

1. New House Farm, Mill Lane, Smarden, TQ 8829 4302

This site is listed by Cleere and Crossley (1995, 379) as a bloomery site. There is a concentration of bloomery slag and furnace lining in an arable field NE of New House Cottage. A separate spread of slag occurs farther east in an adjoining field on the same farm at TQ 8833 4302.

After the harvest in August 2008 the farmer machine-stripped some 0.3m of topsoil in the centre of the slag concentration. Within an area 5m x 5m a compacted layer of slag and clay furnace lining extended across the trench to a depth of 12cm. There were no identifiable individual smelting hearths within this area. No pottery or other dating evidence was recovered.

2. Cousins Farm, TQ 8796 4458

The farmer had been aware for many years of an area in an arable field where he regularly ploughed up slag and pieces of furnace structure. A small excavation in September 2008 produced two smelting hearths located at either end of a possibly contemporary gully, some 0.44m in depth, and filled with much iron working waste, including wood-marked slag.

Bloomery 1 consisted of a base of a bloomery identical to an Iron Age example excavated by the writer at Jubilee Corner, Ulcombe, in 1994 and published in 2005 (Aldridge, 2005). The hearth was 0.60m long, 0.40m wide and with an 18cm fill of slag and charcoal.

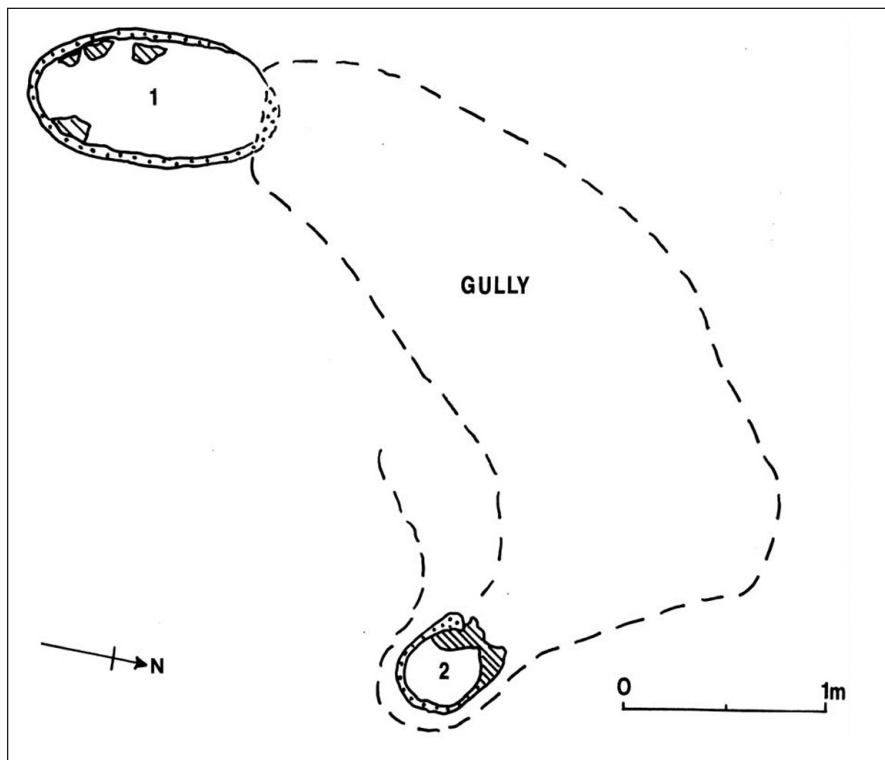


Figure 1: Bloomeries at Cousins Farm, Smarden, Kent

The intact shaft of a probable second bloomery, Bloomery 2, was much better preserved as it appeared to have been constructed within the same gully which may possibly have formed part of the smelting arrangements, possibly a slag tapping hollow. The second furnace seemed to have not been utilised as there was very little slag within it, only charcoal and clay furnace waste. The interior of the shaft was 29cm in length, 0.40m internal diameter, and the sides of the shaft 8cm thick at the top. Samples of charcoal were taken from both hearths for dating although a prehistoric date would seem most likely. No pottery was found here.

A radiocarbon date of $2090 \pm 25\text{BP}$ has been derived from a charcoal sample from the shaft of Bloomery 2. This gives a calibrated date

of 180BC-40BC at 95% probability. This compares with dates from nearby iron-working sites at Monk's Hill, Smarden (2045 ± 30BP; 170BC-30AD), and Omenden, Smarden (1935 ± 35; 40BC-140AD).¹

3. Romden, TQ 8985 4220

This ironworking site was first recognised as probably Roman in 1912 and investigated and reported on by the writer in 1995 (Aldridge, 1995). A number of sherds of Roman pottery were found. It is an extensive Roman iron smelting site and the opportunity was taken to

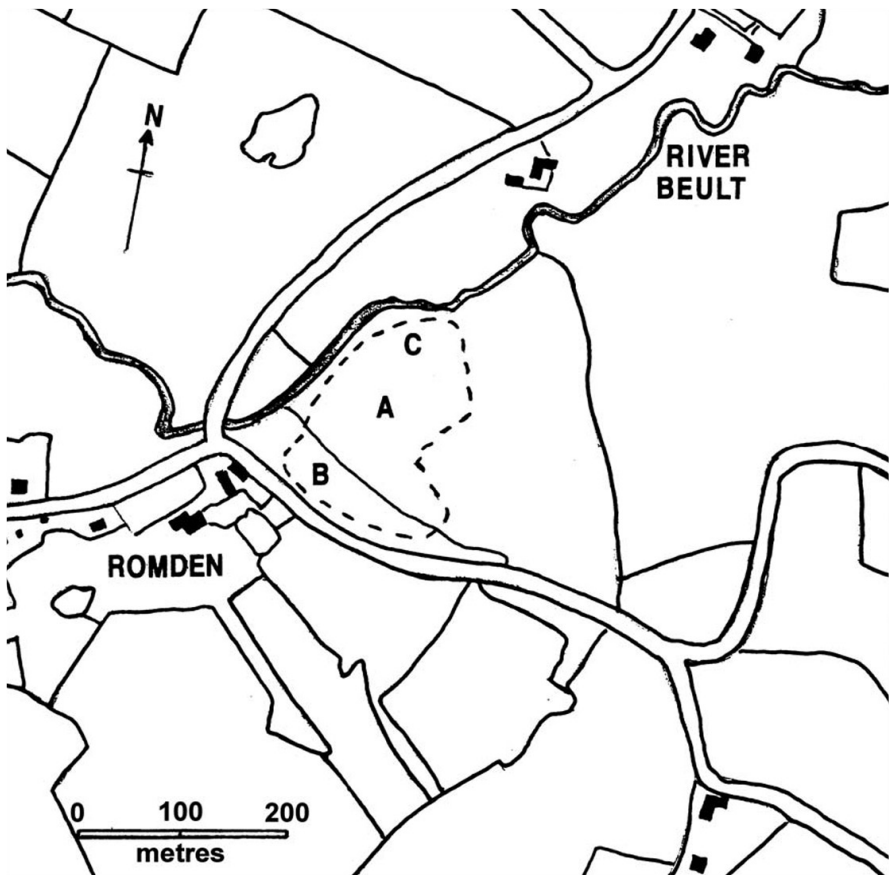


Figure 2: Romden bloomery site, Smarden, Kent

carry out further fieldwork in October 2008.

A group field-walked two stubble fields after the harvest and recovered a further 51 sherds of Roman pottery. The sherds were small and abraded. However, they did include some Samian and other wares more closely datable than the bulk of the sherds which were largely East Sussex ware. The date of the pottery would be late 1st-2nd century AD.

This fieldwork has enabled the main centre of the pottery spread to be located. The majority of the pottery was found close to the centre of the dark soil area east of a ditch although a few sherds were found nearer to the road. The industrial waste material, consisting of bloomery slag, furnace lining and roasted ore extends out for some 200m from the present road across two fields known from the tithe map as 'The Orchard' and 'Blackpits'. The extent of the spread from E to W is some 150m.

The occurrence of roasted ore appears to be evidence for other iron working processes taking place on this site alongside smelting. The Romden site lies south of, and adjacent to, a tributary of the River Beult.

Bibliography

Aldridge, N., 2005, 'A Belgic Cremation Cemetery and Iron Bloomery Furnace at Jubilee Corner, Ulcombe,' *Archaeologia Cantiana*, **125**, 173.

Cleere, H. F. & Crossley, D. W., 1995, *The Iron Industry of the Weald* (Cardiff, Merton Priory Press).

1. Network Archaeology, Report on the archaeological evaluations and watching brief on the Hadlow to High Halden Gas Pipeline, April to September 2001 (unpublished).

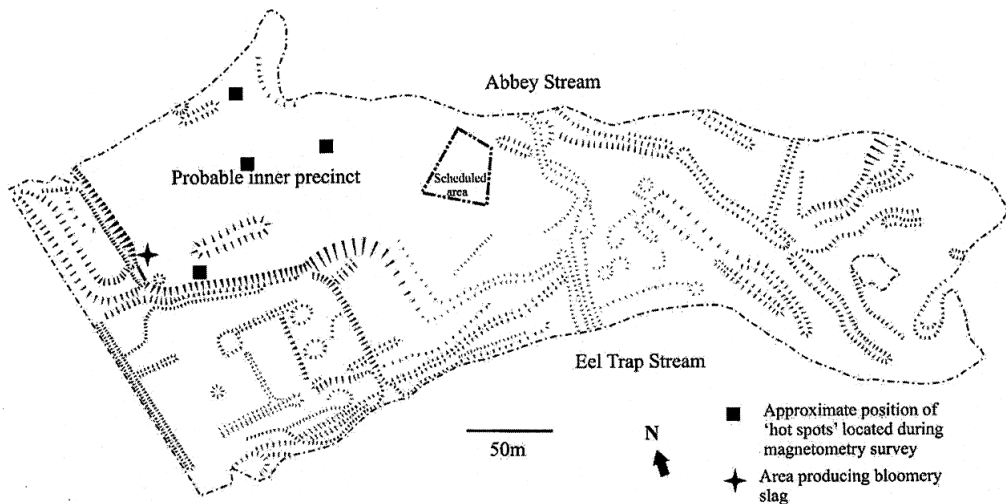
Bloomery Slag from Newark Priory, Ripley, Surrey

Judie English

Newark Priory was an Augustinian house founded, or probably more accurately, refounded in 1191/2. The site is now a pasture field with small portions of the claustral buildings and of the gatehouse still remaining above ground. Documentary research has found no evidence of post-Dissolution use of the land other than for farming. The site is effectively an island bounded by natural and artificial water-courses; some of the latter may be medieval in origin but canalisation and the digging of channels for water meadows and mill races complicate the picture. Archaeological interventions at the site have been limited to an excavation of the claustral buildings together with limited investigation of the water supply to the main occupation area (Pearce, 1932).

Recent fieldwork on the site has comprised an analytical survey (Hicks & English, 2008) which identified a series of earthworks thought to identify an inner precinct bounded by water-filled ditches and an outer precinct with fishponds, leats and a series of small sub-rectangular enclosures which may have been gardens or small paddocks.

During this survey it was noted that bloomery slag was being eroded out of the inner side of the ditch separating the putative inner from the outer precinct, and close to the remains of the gatehouse. In view of this finding, and the relative lack in information about the use of monastic precincts, a magnetometry survey of the putative inner precinct has been undertaken (Hicks et al, 2008). The area which had been producing bloomery slag appeared generally ‘noisy’ but without any anomalies of sufficient strength to indicate the presence of a furnace; however four other major anomalies were found within the inner precinct. Without further investigation it is not possible to determine the source of these anomalies but industrial processes including tile making and metalworking seem likely candidates. As



*Results of an analytical earthwork survey and magnetometry survey
at Newark Priory, Ripley, Surrey*

well as the bloomery slag, fused inlaid tiles have also been found in the vicinity and Newark had access to white-firing Reading Beds clay.

The involvement of monastic houses in industry is well known but it seems unlikely that any furnaces would have been active within the inner precinct during the life of the priory; more likely they relate to either the construction or demolition phases or, possibly, a period of reconstruction.

An intriguing parallel may exist at Croxden, a Cistercian house near Alton in Staffordshire. There, work undertaken by English Heritage has located iron slag in a field beside the inner gatehouse, and also at a location south of the south range, but still within the precinct, in a field with the suggestive name Smithies Croft (Graham Brown, pers. comm.).

Bibliography

Hicks, J. & English, J., 2008, *Earthworks at Newark Priory, Ripley, Surrey: an archaeological survey*, report by Surrey Archaeological Society to English Heritage.

Hicks, J., Golicz, R. & English, J., 2008, *Further fieldwork at Newark Priory, Ripley, Surrey: standing building survey of the 'gatehouse' area and magnetometry survey of the suggested inner precinct*, report by Surrey Archaeological Society to English Heritage.

Pearce, C. M. H., 1932, 'An account of the buildings of Newark Priory,' *Surrey Archaeol. Coll.*, **40**, 1-39.

The Legas–Remnant Letters

The correspondence of John Legas, Samuel Remnant and others, relating to the production and sale of ordnance and shot, 1745-1749

J. S. Hodgkinson

Introduction

The correspondence forms part of a collection of papers, in the Guildhall Library, London, which relate to the trust set up under the will of William Harrison, a London merchant, ironmonger¹ and iron founder. Harrison died on 3 January 1744/5 and, by his will, he placed his estate in trust for his two sons, Andrews and John.² The trustees were his business partner, John Legas, a Sussex-based iron founder, and Samuel Remnant, a London merchant. As will be seen, much of the partners' business was with the Board of Ordnance, so it is unfortunate that for the whole of the period from 1721 to 1748 inclusive, in which all but eight letters of the correspondence were written, the Minutes of the Surveyor General of the Ordnance, which would have provided a great deal of complementary information for the period, have not survived.

The period covered by the letters was a time of considerable activity for the gun foundries of the Weald. The declaration of hostilities against Spain in 1739, following the incident of 'Jenkin's Ear', and the subsequent war over the disputed Austrian Succession, which lasted from 1740 until 1748, was fought on many fronts. Although initially confined to continental Europe, the increase in naval operations against the Spanish, and particularly the French, together with the continued competition for trading interests in America, the Caribbean, India and elsewhere, ensured a vigorous market for ordnance.

The letters complement those written by the Fuller family during the same period (Crossley & Saville, 1991), and many of the themes, as well as the individuals, that figure in those letters also feature in the present correspondence. Because of their purpose the Legas-Remnant letters inevitably provide a narrower perspective than those of the Fullers

whose interests included their estates in Sussex and Jamaica and their political activities.

John Legas

The majority of the letters in this collection were written by John Legas. He was born in Cleobury Mortimer, Shropshire, in 1690, where his father, Sebastian, worked at William Hall's forge.³ Shortly after John Legas's birth, the terms of a lease whereby Sebastian Legas acquired some property near Milson, Shropshire, referred to his employment at Downe Furnace.⁴ His grandfather may have been the John Legas who was potfounder at Hampton Loade, Grange and Coven furnaces in the west Midlands in the 1660s (Poyner 2000: 54). In his twenties John Legas, junior, was manager of Blackpool Forge, Pembrokeshire, for the Forest of Dean ironworking partnership headed by the Foley family.⁵ He left that position in 1717 and, moving to the South East, became clerk at the Gloucester Furnace at Lamberhurst, taking up residence in Wadhurst, Sussex, where he was established by the time of his marriage in 1721.⁶ On 17th August 1725 he formed a business partnership with Thomas Hussey, William Harrison, Maximilian Gott, and William Jukes. The exact nature and term of this partnership are not known.⁷ In the same year, Legas and Hussey took a lease of the Gloucester Furnace at Lamberhurst (Melling, 1961: 95), in 1727 the tenancy of Hawksden Forge, and in 1735 Legas joined Hussey in operating Bivelham Forge, Mayfield, Glazier's Forge, Brightling, and Waldron Furnace, which the latter had held since 1725.⁸ On Hussey's death in 1735, Legas, who was appointed one of his executors, took sole control of their works. In addition, by 1726, Legas had taken a lease of Chingley Forge, Goudhurst (Crossley, 1975: 5). At Michaelmas 1741, Legas formed a new partnership, in this instance for sixteen years, with William Harrison, each contributing a moiety of £5000.⁹ The agreement was formalised on 20 November 1743, and under its terms four furnaces, at Brede, Lamberhurst, Beckley and Waldron, four forges, at Hawksden, Bivelham, Westfield and Brightling, and the boring house at Horsmonden that, between them, Legas and Harrison leased or rented in Sussex and Kent were brought under combined control.

In 1721 Legas married Judith Buttenshaw, née Sanders, a widow sixteen years his senior, from Wrotham, Kent.¹⁰ In Wadhurst, Legas owned and occupied several properties, eventually building Hill House. Judith Legas died in 1747, her body being interred in Wadhurst Church, beneath an iron plate inlaid with her initials in brass. John Legas died on 22nd May 1752, his name being inscribed, below that of his wife, on a marble plaque, and noting that “by his Industry & Diligence in the Iron Works of this County [he] Acquired a Handsome Fortune with great Credit & Reputation... And left behind him the Valuable Character of a Good Man”.

John Legas was the central figure in gunfounding in the Weald in the first half of the eighteenth century. As executor, successively, to the estates of Maximilian Gott, Thomas Hussey, William Gott, and William Harrison, he was able exercise a continuity of influence that was unequalled.

Samuel Remnant

The recipient of all but three of the letters was Samuel Remnant, who was clearly a man of considerable wealth. A freeman of the Glovers' Company, he was Master-smith to the Board of Ordnance at Woolwich, with his own foundry between Bell Watergate and Surgeon Street, from where he supplied ironwork, including round shot, to the Board. He had succeeded to the business of Stephen Peters, who had also been Master-smith, on the latter's death.

Remnant also contracted with the Board to supply ordnance, which he almost certainly purchased from Wealden founders, including William Harrison and John Legas. In fact his warrants in the period 1st Jan 1740–31st Dec 1744, before the death of Harrison, nearly equalled Harrison's; Remnant contracted to supply over 1,100 tons of ordnance to the Board, while in the same period Harrison contracted for over 1200 tons and Legas less than 650 tons. Remnant's last warrants for ordnance were issued in 1749.¹¹

Of equal importance in connection with this correspondence was his role as agent for several gunfounders in the Weald. His long-standing association with the Fuller family, for whom he was agent

for over twenty years, is well documented (Crossley and Saville, 1991: xxi-xxii). He also acted as agent for William Bowen, who worked Barden and Cowden furnaces. The role of agent involved negotiating with the Board of Ordnance for orders and payment, keeping his clients updated on the movement of guns and shot at Woolwich, and disposing of refused products. An important role, which arose from Remnant's simultaneous agency for several gunfounders, was that of coordinator. By knowing what each founder was making, what was outstanding from their warrants, and when it was required, Remnant was able to assist in arranging the sub-contracting of parts of orders to enable founders to complete their warrants and secure payment more quickly. In this way Samuel Remnant was in a position to influence the partial integration of at least three gunfounding concerns, and the output of at least eight furnaces, although it is clear that he lacked some awareness of the difficulties that managing a furnace campaign entailed (16). That Samuel Remnant was a wealthy man is attested by the frequent occasions when he was called upon by John Legas to act as 'sheet anchor' to the executors, and provide short term liquidity (11, 14, 20, 22, 46).

Remnant also derived his wealth in other areas. His will refers to his shares in two East India ships, the *East Court* and the *Prince Henry*, and also to property at Bisham, in Berkshire, as well as at Woolwich. However, not all of Remnant's money had come from legitimate sources. In 1749 the notice of the Board of Ordnance had been drawn to a number of irregularities arising from the sale of stores to Remnant. After a thorough investigation it was concluded that a number of disaffected employees had colluded with him in defrauding the Board of over £10,000. Samuel Remnant died in April 1752 and it was left to his executors to eventually discharge the debt (Hogg, 1963: 396-400). It may be that the suspicion cast on Remnant, by the report made to the Board in October 1750, precipitated John Fuller's decision to dispense with his services as agent at that time (Crossley and Saville, 1991: xxii).

Only a few months younger than Legas, Remnant was also born in 1690, in London.¹² In 1715 he married Mary Legg, by whom he had at least three children: Stephen, John and Sarah. Stephen Remnant joined

with his father in a partnership at Woolwich, although by Samuel's death in 1752 it had been dissolved. Left the Woolwich property in Samuel's will, Stephen carried on the business.

William Harrison

Probably born near Duffield, in Derbyshire, William Harrison was already active in the iron trade in 1708 when he is noted as occupying a wharf at Battle Bridge, Southwark, and of being custodian of 50 guns that had belonged to Robert Baker, of Rotherfield, Sussex. Baker's ironfounding business had failed when he was declared bankrupt in 1705.¹³ The failure of the first assignees of the bankruptcy to settle with Baker's creditors resulted in the Court of Chancery setting aside the first commission and appointing new assignees. The delay in sorting out Baker's estate caused problems because some of the guns he had cast had been awaiting disposal in Southwark at the time of the bankruptcy. The guns had been stored at a Thames-side wharf belonging to a Thomas Helmes at Battle Bridge. In the meantime Helmes had died and his wharf, together with the guns, had been taken over by Harrison. The assignees agreed to sell the guns to Stephen Peters, but Helmes' executor, Henry Herring, claimed that Baker had arranged to sell the guns to him. In 1709 Harrison and Peters had to obtain a covenant from the assignees indemnifying them against Herring's claim.¹⁴

Thames-side wharfs were the principal trading locations for a wide range of commodities that necessitated water-borne transport. Situated at the end of Mill Lane, two hundred yards downstream from London Bridge, the gun wharf would have been accessible to seagoing vessels, unlike those of contemporaries such as the Jukes brothers or William Bowen whose yards further up the river could only be reached by craft small enough to negotiate London Bridge at high tide. Nearly thirty years later, in 1736, Harrison took a fourteen-year lease of Stone Wharf, a stone's throw to the east, at the end of Morgan's Lane.

In 1711, William Harrison was almost certainly the Mr Harrison who purchased 170 tons of pig iron and 35 loads of charcoal 'brayes' from Thomas Hussey at Ashburnham Furnace (King, 1996: 287-

8). The purchase of pig iron can be explained in that it was the raw material of urban foundries, but the 'brayes' are harder to explain. They are small pieces of charcoal used in forging and also used in the calcining of iron ore. Harrison's purchase of both commodities could suggest that he was operating a forge, but there is no evidence of one at that time.

By 1715, Harrison had formed a partnership with a Messrs. Ludgate and Whistler, as ironmongers. In December of that year, they were summoned before the Board of Ordnance in connection with Richard Jones, a supplier of ordnance, because they were standing surety for Jones in his contracts with the Board (Brown, 1999: 41). It is clear that Harrison was well acquainted with the business in which Jones was engaged, and was able to reassure the Board that Jones's supplier, Samuel Gott, could be relied upon. The following year, however, Jones failed to meet his contracts and Harrison took them over.¹⁵

In February 1719 Harrison was appointed Clerk Extra under the Clerk of the Ordnance. At the same time he was made storekeeper at Greenwich and assistant storekeeper at Portsmouth.¹⁶ By the following August, the Board of Ordnance had contracted him to supply 24-pounder iron guns, which were much in demand at the time.¹⁷ In the next year Harrison gained contracts for other sizes of guns.¹⁸ All were to be cast out of iron melted down from old guns, which suggests that Harrison may have taken over Richard Jones's foundry at the Falcon Inn, Southwark. During the same period, Harrison had already started to do business with other suppliers of ordnance, such as the Fuller family and the Jukes brothers.¹⁹ In 1721, he took over Brede Furnace, in Sussex, from Maximilian Western.²⁰

In 1734, Harrison entered into a joint lease of Robertsbridge Furnace, Sussex, with William and George Jukes (Whittick, 1992, 54-5, 52, 53), although they had been associated with founding at the furnace since at least 1730, possibly in connection with the partnership that existed between Harrison, Jukes, Hussey, Gott and Legas at that time.²¹ The Jukes brothers were also ironmongers, with a yard in All Hallows Lane, off Thames Street, London, where they carried on a trade in pig and bar iron (Hodgkinson, 1993: 105-6).

The partnership in Sussex may not have been wound up when, in 1740, Harrison also formed a partnership, in ironmongery, with John Banister, Josias Wordsworth and Crowley Hallett, at the Harrow and Anchor, Thames Street, London.²² Entered into for a term of seven years, the partnership had wide-ranging interests: a wharf at Deptford and works in north-east England, at Dunston, Co. Durham, and Bebside, Northumberland. John Banister had been manager of the substantial iron manufacturers, Crowley & Co., from 1730-40, effectively running the company during the minority of Ambrose Crowley, the heir to the business (Flinn, 1962, 77-80). Crowley Hallett, an ironmonger, was cousin to Ambrose Crowley (Flinn, 1962, 57). Josias Wordsworth was a merchant, whose business included the importation of Swedish iron (Evans 2002, 646). The Crowleys' main manufacturing base was in north-east England, and the northern connections of Banister and Hallett, who were the active partners, may have been significant in determining the partnership's area of interest. At Bebside, on the south side of the river Blyth, opposite Bedlington, there were a slitting mill and nailers' workshops, as well as warehouses and other buildings, which had been set up by William Thomlinson (Evans, 1992: 183). It seems likely that Harrison, Banister, Wordsworth and Hallett may have purchased all or part of this enterprise with a view to becoming involved in the manufacture and sale of nails. The partnership's purchase, in 1741, of nails from William Spencer at Wortley Forge, Yorkshire, shipping them from Hull to London, reinforces this view (Hopkinson, 1961: 151). The works at Dunston, near Gateshead, which included slitting mills and steel furnaces, may be the same as the Teams works, which had also belonged to the Thomlinsons until 1735.²³ In the 1770s, a manufactory at Skinnerburn, Newcastle, which earlier had also been owned by the Thomlinsons, was occupied by Andrews and John Harrison, and may have been a legacy of their father's earlier activities as well (Evans, 1992: 182, 186).

Harrison's partnership with John Legas, from 1741, was integral to his other interests, enabling him to do business with both the Office of Ordnance and with the private market.

Also in 1741, Harrison purchased the freehold of the manors of

Birchden and Orznash, in Rotherfield, Sussex. This purchase included Hamsell Furnace where, more than 30 years earlier, the guns of which he had taken custody at Battle Bridge wharf had been cast (Pullein, 1927: 280). Since then the works had probably lain idle, until 1738 when Harrison rebuilt the furnace.²⁴ Part of the manor, including Hamsell Furnace House, had been leased to George Baker by his sister, Elizabeth Bicknell, so Harrison's purchase, of necessity, involved her family as well.²⁵ In his will, Harrison left Hamsell Furnace and the woodland of the manor to his younger son, John.

William Harrison married Hannah Andrews in 1721 and they lived, for a while, at Widmore, in the parish of Bromley, Kent, where their two sons were born: Andrews on 14 December 1726, and John on 15 January 1729. His sons therefore came of age, under the terms of their father's will, in December 1747 and in January 1750 respectively. Two other children, William and Susan, probably died in childhood. William Harrison, by then of Old Broad Street in the City of London, died on 3 January 1745 and in his will expressed a wish to be buried in the Andrews family vault in the non-conformist burial ground at Bunhill Fields. Although not mentioned specifically in his will, William Harrison appears to have retained property in Bromley, for both of his sons continued to live there.²⁶

Other key individuals

Other individuals who figure in the correspondence include Samuel Smersall, Richard Tapsell, Thomas Hussey, Robert Bagshaw, the Gott family, the Jukes brothers, and Andrews and John Harrison.

Sam Smersall, who was the recipient of one of the letters (**1**) and the author of four (**2, 3, 8, 12**), acted as John Legas's agent, assisting him in the management of the partnership's ironworks. Smersall managed Brede, Conster and Waldron furnaces, and the forges at Westfield and Brightling, while Legas was responsible for the Gloucester Furnace at Lamberhurst and its boring mill at Horsmonden, Hawksden and Bivelham forges, and the warehouses at Tonbridge and Maidstone. Each accounted separately for the works under their control, with the balance from Smersall's ledger being incorporated into Legas's.²⁷

Smersall lived in Battle, but had been born in Hastings in 1707. He had been employed as clerk by Thomas Hussey,²⁸ which experience would have prepared him well for when he began to work for Legas. Smersall married Damaris Coney in Burwash in 1735.

The author of four of the letters (7, 42, 44, 45), Richard Tapsell, was the nephew of John Legas's wife, Judith, and, according to Samuel Bush, the vicar of Wadhurst, Tapsell and his sister, Letitia, came to live with the Legases – Letitia from childhood, and Richard in about 1740.²⁹ Bush's opinion of Tapsell, which was coloured by the animosity felt by Bush towards Legas, was that he was given opportunities above his station, having started as Legas's servant, waiting at his table, and being employed as clerk to the ironworks at Lamberhurst, to becoming equal to Legas's nephews and niece and subsequently trustee of Legas's estate. Shortly before Legas died, Tapsell married Anne, daughter of Legas's brother, Paul, and Legas nominated Tapsell as his successor in the partnership with William Harrison's sons and Robert Bagshaw.³⁰ He was declared bankrupt in 1765 (Hodgkinson, 1996: 163-4), and died in 1777.

Thomas Hussey was born in 1680 at Bayton, Worcestershire, the neighbouring parish to Legas's home parish of Cleobury Mortimer. His father, Edward, was ironmaster at Tilsop Furnace, which was probably associated with Cleobury Forge, so it is probable that the Hussey and Legas families were already acquainted before both he and John Legas moved to Sussex. He first appears in connection with ironworking in the Weald in 1709 when he was named as clerk at Ashburnham Furnace at the time of its lease by the Foley family's Forest ironworking partnership (King, 1995: 257). Hussey became agent for the partnership, supervising work at Westfield Forge as well, until the partnership withdrew from their operation of the works in about 1717. In the same year, Hussey took on Waldron Furnace, together with Bivelham and Brightling forges, from the Pelham family (King, 1995: 260).³¹ In 1722, Hussey was operating Conster Furnace, at Beckley, with the owner, Samuel Gott. His collaboration with Legas and others is detailed above. Hussey died at Burwash in December 1735. Thomas Hussey's estate, of which John Legas was co-executor

with Hussey's sister-in-law, Philadelphia Homesby, née Lake, charged Legas and others to be trustees of the income from his stock in the partnership's ironworks, which was to be put towards the education of his children. The trustees' responsibility was not concluded until 1747, when the youngest of them, John, achieved his majority.

The Gott family had been involved in the iron industry in the Weald since the second half of the seventeenth century and through their acquisition of Horsmonden, Lamberhurst and Beckley furnaces, and of Westfield forge, they had been both owners and lessors of works. In the 1720s, Samuel Gott operated Beckley and Westfield with Thomas Hussey, but after his death in 1724 his brothers, Maximilian and William, who successively inherited the works, subsumed their operation under a partnership with Harrison, Legas and Jukes as well. The works remained in possession of the family, though, eventually passing into the hands of Elizabeth, Mary and Sarah Gott, their three spinster sisters.

Robert Bagshaw was William Harrison's clerk at Stone Wharf, Southwark. In his will, Harrison recommended to his sons that Bagshaw should become a partner with them and Legas. This advice was heeded, and it is likely that, following Legas's death, he became the most effective partner. In 1765, he was the principal creditor in the bankruptcy of Richard Tapsell. Bagshaw also appears to have carried on a mercantile business on his own behalf.

William and George Jukes may have been scions of an ironworking family from the west Midlands. They were ironmongers, based in Thames Street, London, with a wide sphere of interests (Hodgkinson, 1993: 105-6). In 1734, they took a joint lease of Robertsbridge Furnace with William Harrison, renewing it for seven years in 1740. On their own, they leased Robertsbridge Forge from 1737 until 1747, adding the furnace for a further seven years, although William Jukes died in 1749. He, like Harrison, lived in Bromley, Kent, and was one of the partnership that included Harrison, Hussey, Legas and Samuel Gott.

Andrews Harrison, the author of one of the letters (29), remained in the iron business, in partnership with his brother, initially continuing the partnership with Tapsell. They withdrew from gun founding

after the end of the Seven Years' War. They were later involved in an anchor smithing business, as well as having interests on Tyneside. They also lived in Bromley, where Andrews died, in his 90th year, in 1816, his brother having deceased some three years previously.³² Close ties existed between the Harrison and Jukes families, with the bachelor Harrison brothers leaving generous bequests to some of the descendants of William Jukes.³³

Land Tax

From the letters it is clear that John Legas, and possibly Samuel Smersall, held positions within the administration of the Land Tax in Sussex, probably as Deputy Receivers for the rapes of Pevensey and Hastings respectively. The Land Tax had been introduced in 1692 and was based on a valuation of land, including houses, as well as certain types of personal property. This latter included the stock of ironworks. The rate that was taxed on these assessments varied, but during the periods of both the Harrison-Legas partnership and the estate administration that followed, the rate stood at 4 shillings in the pound, compared to 2 shillings in the preceding period and 3 shillings in the early 1750s, reflecting the government's need for revenue during the conflicts with Spain and France (Ward, 1953: 101). Local collectors were appointed by commissioners, and John Legas was collector for the parish of Wadhurst. The more senior role of Deputy Receiver gave him access to substantial sums of money for short periods at certain times of the year, before this had to be paid to the Receiver-General for the county. From one of the letters (26) it is apparent that he used this regular windfall to ease a problem that beset all gunfounders – that of cash flow. Making immediate use of the money paid to Legas by the individual collectors, or having it banked in London by Robert Bagshaw, the partnership was able to benefit in two ways: by having funds available to cover the incidental expenses incurred at their ironworks, and by the use of a substantial short-term injection of funds, and the interest thereon, to pay for shipping and land tax, as well as proof fees and other charges at Woolwich. Debentures paid by the Board of Ordnance for completed warrants could, in due course, be used to pay the Receiver General for the county. The same

motives may have prompted an earlier ironmaster, Peter Gott, to get elected as Receiver for Sussex (Ward, 1953: 53). The advantage that this, and similar arrangements, conferred was seen at all levels in the tax gathering hierarchy as the principal incentive for accepting office (Davey, 1991: xvi).

It seems likely that Legas and Smersall acted in a similar capacity for the collection of excise duties (letters **20**, **21**, **27**, **34** and **39**).

The Chancery Case

Letter **47** draws brief attention to an aspect of the trust which must have consumed a considerable amount of time and expense. In March 1740, Harrison had entered into a partnership, for seven years, in an ironmongery business with John Banister, Josias Wordsworth and Crowley Hallett. Each subscribed £6,000 towards the joint stock and each was to be entitled to the return of his investment, together with a quarter of the accrued stock and profits at death or when the partnership's term ended, whichever came sooner. Harrison was already engaged in the gun trade, possibly still in partnership with William Gott, Legas and William Jukes. This was excepted in the terms of the partnership, where all the parties agreed not to carry on any ironmongery business outside the partnership, and Harrison agreed only to sell his guns (except those made of brass) to the Board of Ordnance or through the partnership. In the event of a partner dying during the term of the partnership, detailed rules were laid down for the payment of what was due. Day-to-day handling of the ironmongery business was left to Banister, assisted by Hallett, for which they were entitled to an extra ten per cent of the profits. Business was carried on at Thames Street, at Deptford, and around Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

A year after the start of the partnership, Harrison had sent some guns to the partners' wharf at Deptford, but Remnant and Legas claimed they had been turned away by Banister, with the consent, it was claimed, of the other partners. Harrison, therefore, was left with a considerable quantity of guns to dispose of himself, which he continued to do until war with France broke out, and Banister agreed to accept further guns. Harrison and some of the other partners, from time to

time, purchased guns from the partnership and sold them on.

In February 1743, Banister died and Harrison applied to Wordsworth and Anne Smith, Banister's executor, who was a co-defendant in the action, for settlement of the account owed to him by Banister and the other partners. Eventually an amount was agreed, but not paid before Harrison himself had died. Legas and Remnant, as Harrison's executors sought to recover the money, which amounted to more than £6,000, but the other partners refused to pay and instead, placed the matter before arbitrators under the terms of the original partnership agreement. However, the arbitrators declined to make an award.

Legas and Remnant, as plaintiffs, sued for the drawing up of a proper account of the partnership's dealings and for payment of the money owed to Harrison. The Court of Chancery duly made an order that the plaintiffs should be allowed to inspect the books. Upon doing so, Legas and Remnant alleged that Wordsworth, Banister and Hallett, and particularly the first, had been carrying on separate ironmongery businesses, particularly in bar iron, outside the terms of the original partnership agreement. They therefore submitted a supplemental plea that accounts should be drawn up of this underhand dealing, and that the profits should be included in the partnership accounts. To complicate matters, before the defendants could answer the charges, Josias Wordsworth died and Legas and Remnant had to submit further pleas against Mary Wordsworth, his executor.

The defendants maintained that accounts of the partnership had been properly drawn up and agreed to by Harrison, but that Banister had only refused guns from Harrison which were unfit for sale. Further, they claimed that Harrison had sold guns privately in spite of this, and had continued to do so after the start of the war with France, when the high prices to be gained then were lost to the partnership accordingly. The defendants also claimed that one of the principal reasons for including Harrison in the partnership was to benefit from the sale of the guns he was producing. They also stated that Harrison had set up a smith's shop at Battle Bridge, Southwark, and that he worked up a considerable quantity of wrought iron despite the existence of the partnership's own smiths at Deptford. Wordsworth, Hallett and

Smith countered that they should be allowed to inspect an account of the guns Harrison had made during the period of the partnership, and that they should be paid what was found to be owing to them by Harrison; the upshot of this forms the substance of letter 47. On the supplemental cause, the defendants claimed that they had not carried on any business outside the partnership, but Wordsworth stated that he had for many years, before the term of the partnership, been engaged as a merchant in the import and export of iron for himself and on commission for others, and that this did not constitute a breach of the articles of partnership. He maintained that it was understood by all the partners that it was not the business of the partnership to deal in bar or unwrought iron, except to work it up at their own mills and forges.

Wordsworth, Hallett and Smith put forward a counter plea that Harrison had sold guns on his own account, with his furnace at Hamsell, which was outside of the partnership he had with Legas, and that he had set up a smith's shop at Southwark to work up wrought iron wares. Legas and Remnant held to their position that Banister had rejected Harrison's guns and that the other partners had acquiesced in Harrison being allowed to carry on a private trade in guns because they were not wanted by the partnership, but one of the Masters in Chancery appointed to report on the claim decided that Remnant and Legas had failed to provide sufficient evidence to back up their assertions. They also maintained that the smith's shop was purely for the manufacture of tools for the marking of guns.

The supplemental cause, that Wordsworth and others had carried on a private trade in ironmongery, was dismissed. Final settlement of the case does not appear to have been made until 1761, when Wordsworth's executrix and widow, Mary, paid a final sum of £250 to Andrews and John Harrison.³⁴

By instigating the Chancery plea, Remnant and Legas had, to some extent, called into question the probity of the members of the partnership, an action which may have been justified. In a letter to Banister dated 16 September 1742, Wordsworth drew Banister's attention to the forthcoming sale of the freehold of the estate which included the Great Darvell Iron Works, in Sussex. Both had considered

purchasing the estate in association with one, Nichols, but had decided not to proceed.³⁵ However, Wordsworth was considering a solo purchase and sought Banister's assistance in finding out further details of the estate without William Harrison and John Legas finding out.³⁶ Crowley & Co. had held, and may still have been in possession of, the lease of the works, and Banister, as a former manager of Crowley's, would have been in a good position to acquire the necessary information (Flinn, 1962: 101).

The iron industry in the Weald

The importation of Swedish iron had caused a considerable contraction in the markets for Wealden cast iron and bar iron in the second half of the seventeenth century. London ironmongers, in particular, were attracted by the lower price and higher quality of the imported iron, and, unable to compete, few Wealden forges could be profitably sustained. A number of blast furnaces, however, were able to continue in use because of the upsurge in the demand for cast-iron ordnance. A succession of wars, against the Dutch, the French and the Spanish, with the consequent increase in the strength of the Navy, together with an expansion of England's commercial interests in the Americas, India, Africa and the Far East, led to an increase in the requirement for naval armaments, both for the government and mercantile fleets. Long-established skills in the exacting art of gunfounding, the region's nearness to London, which was the main market for such products, and the existence of furnaces already adapted to such purposes, gave the Weald the edge in contracting with the Board of Ordnance and the East India Company. Demand was seldom steady and only a relatively small number of furnaces were able to maintain production. However, the considerable profits to be gained from gunfounding during wartime encouraged the periodic and short-term revival of other furnaces.

In 1742, the year after William Harrison and John Legas entered their partnership, William Bowen, who was based at Southborough, near Tunbridge Wells, purchased the freehold of Woolcombs Farm, Cowden, and with it Cowden Furnace, to add to the works he was already operating at Barden, near Tonbridge, and at Southwark. John

Fuller noted that Samuel Remnant also acted as Bowen's agent at Woolwich, and the relationship between the two seems to have been closer than purely business for Remnant made Bowen a beneficiary of his will, and Bowen subsequently made Remnant's son, Stephen, a trustee of his will. Other suppliers of ordnance to the government were John Fuller, who operated Heathfield Furnace and whose family had been supplying the Board of Ordnance since before the beginning of the century, William and George Jukes, at Robertsbridge, with whom Harrison held a joint lease, and the Rev. Philip Sone and his son, at Sowley Furnace, near Lymington, Hampshire. The last of these works, which in the 17th century had principally supplied ironwork for the shipbuilding trade, and which used ore imported from north Lancashire, benefited from the patronage of its landlord, the 2nd Duke of Montagu, who was Master General of the Ordnance (1740-49). Also active were the Crowley brothers, John and Ambrose, who had begun casting at Ashburnham and Darwell furnaces from the late 1730s, and William Gott, whose furnace at Beckley was operated, in his absence (he was a merchant in Leghorn, Italy), by Legas and Harrison. In the western Weald, John Butler, may have been casting guns at either or both of Northpark furnace, near Fernhurst, and Burningfold Furnace, Dunsfold.

Despite the decline in the number of forges in the Weald, most ironmasters maintained a forge for working up the surplus iron from a furnace. Gun heads, the extraneous iron from the cast gun, as well as cast iron sows produced at the commencement of campaigns or when a hiatus in gun production required iron to be cast to keep the furnace in blast, would be refined in the forge. Although gunfounding was the principal trade of the Wealden blast furnaces, and despite the supremacy of imported Swedish iron, a subsidiary trade was also carried on in ironwares such as garden rollers, mill cases, iron pipes and cylinders, and firebacks. William Harrison's partnership with Banister, Wordsworth and Hallett enabled a small number of Wealden founders, which included William Bowen as well as Legas and Sam Smersall, to find a market in London and elsewhere for such castings.³⁷ A local market in bar iron for blacksmiths either direct from forges or

through ironmongers in the main towns such as Lewes or Guildford, also existed (Hodgkinson, 2008: 88). The forges operated by Legas and Harrison fitted into this general pattern, with those at Brightling and Westfield taking the surplus iron from the furnaces at Beckley and Brede, and the Mayfield forges at Bivelham and Hawksden functioning in a similar way for Lamberhurst Furnace (and possibly Hamsell). Waldron Furnace, which was primarily devoted to the production of round shot, would have generated little or no surplus.

Gun founding

By its very nature, ironfounding in a blast furnace was a demanding business. The furnace, once blown in, in about October, had to be sustained in blast for as long as possible. The exact length of time, known as the campaign, depended on the supply of water and the durability of the hearth. With the advantage of a water supply from the diverted flow from the River Teise, the furnace at Lamberhurst was kept in blast for more than three years between 1741 and 1744 – an unusually long time – and the succeeding blast, which started less than three months after, lasted more than a year and a half. These campaigns were exceptional, but very advantageous when continuous production enabled a founder to respond more promptly to orders. In the preceding decade campaigns at Heathfield Furnace had averaged only five months (Saville, 1982: 39). For a furnace to be blown out prematurely meant the costly reconstruction of the hearth and of the inner lining of the stack. In most instances in the Weald these were annual expenses. Ironfounding in the region usually fitted in with the agricultural year, with casting starting after the harvest.

Gunfounding placed further demands on the ironmaster or his founder, for not only did the furnace have to be tapped regularly, and a constant supply of ore and charcoal maintained – requirements at every furnace – but also gun moulds had to be made, to a variety of sizes, and be ready for casting when needed. The casting branch of the iron trade inevitably required a greater discipline in production than the mere output of sows for forging, but with gunfounding the discipline imposed by the need to keep to a rigorous timetable of mould construction, as well as exacting tolerances in the quality of metal and

the accuracy of the bore, meant that a gun foundry would have been a pressurised working environment. Each gun mould had to be made individually, a process taking several days, and could not be re-used. To eliminate the danger of breakout or explosion, it was essential that moulds were dry, and given that casting took place mainly in the wetter months of the year, the need to maintain production could lead to corners being cut. For this degree of production, gun foundries required a substantial workforce; John Fuller made reference to some fifty employees who were ready to work at his furnace (Crossley & Saville, 1991: 254). As many of them would have been at least semi-skilled moulders, not normally resident in the neighbourhood of the furnace, accommodation would have had to have been provided for them, giving rise to 'shanty towns' close to furnaces. Highly skilled and reliable founders, fillers and moulders were essential to the efficiency and profitability of a furnace, especially as the losses incurred by guns that had failed the rigorous proof demanded by the Board of Ordnance, were difficult to recoup, and nigh on impossible if the guns concerned were too large to be sold to the less-demanding merchant shipping market.

A further problem that beset all gun founders, but particularly those who were contracted with the Board of Ordnance, was the irregularity of the trade. The nature of the gun trade with the government was such that contracts were seldom agreed to suit the convenience of a casting programme, and whereas founders proffered their services when they were ready to start a campaign, orders were usually placed when there was a demand, which did not always coincide either with the campaign or when transport conditions were suitable for delivery. To obviate this problem, gunfounders sought to develop markets in the civilian trade of merchant shipping, and William Harrison's partnership with Banister, Wordsworth and Hallett should be seen as a means of securing such a market. Harrison's partners, however, appear to have been unprepared for the volume of ordnance that he was going to put their way.

Raw Materials

The securing of reliable supplies of ore and charcoal was essential to the peace of mind of any ironmaster. Wood cutting took place in the

winter, ready for the succeeding campaign. The clerk at Robertsbridge in the 1730s recommended having all the coppice cut by the beginning of February, and moved out of the woods before the spring to avoid damage to the new growth (Hodgkinson, 1995: 11). Cattell (1973: 143-4) has shown how the woodland in the vicinity of Hawksden Forge was cut in rotation during the years 1741-6 and 1747-53 with no revisiting within the period except in the case of Hawksden Park Wood, the much greater acreage of which could sustain limited coppicing in successive years. The letters (9, 10, 25, 40) make limited reference to woodland; those that do being largely concerned with the securing of rights to cut and coal wood. The letters make no mention of iron ore.

Transport

References to transport in the letters are predominantly concerned with the waterborne carriage of guns to Woolwich. This was accomplished in two main ways: in barges along the Medway Navigation from Tonbridge or Branbridge to Maidstone or Millhall, and from thence by coastal cargo vessels called hoys into the Thames; and in coastal cargo vessels from the Sussex ports of Newhaven and Rye.

The improvement of the river Medway, while proposed during the reign of Charles II, was not undertaken until an Act of 1739 created a limited company. Recognising the importance of the waterway to the movement of guns from the inland furnaces of the Weald, both William Harrison and Samuel Remnant were among the original shareholders of the company. Others with shares, who were involved in the iron industry, included William Bowen, and Harrison's partner, Josias Wordsworth.³⁸ In due course, Harrison's sons and Remnant's son, Stephen, became shareholders, remaining as such well into the 1780s. Detailed records of individual freight movements along the river have not survived for the period of the letters, but entries in the general ledger record annual payments by Harrison until 1749 (although presumably, from 1745, under an account paid by Remnant and Legas), as well as separately by Legas. Freight carriage on the Medway Navigation from Branbridge cost 3s. a ton to Maidstone and 3s. 3d. to Millhall, rising to 5s. 9d. from Tonbridge to Maidstone, and

6s. to Millhall.³⁹ These had to be added to overland charges from the works, which attracted a surcharge in winter (2). The main Medway shipping contractor was named Edmonds, whose hoys carried guns from Maidstone to Woolwich, and whose family had apparently been involved in the business for several generations (Parsons, 1882: 32).

Coastwise carriage of ordnance from Rye to Woolwich was handled by James Lamb and Chiswell Slade. Lamb was probably the most successful and influential merchant and ship owner operating out of that port in the period (Monod, 2003: 154-5). In wartime, particular dangers attended the coastal trade, with lone vessels threatened by French privateers and ship owners reluctant to risk sailing without protection. From time to time the navy stationed ships off the channel ports, and their absence, for whatever reason, gave rise to concern such as in the loss of the *Saltash* (23). While the navy were understandably unwilling to divert their patrol vessels to accompany single hoys, the Admiralty could be persuaded to provide a guard ship for a convoy of cargo vessels. As providers of the materials of war, gunfounders were in a strong position to appeal for such provision on behalf of ship owners.

Editorial Note

The letters have been transcribed verbatim, with the original spelling and punctuation preserved. Dates of, and in the text of, the letters have been given in Old Style with the first three months in dual format. Initial salutations have been omitted except where they differ from the singular. Concluding remarks have been omitted except where they form part of a more substantive final sentence.

Acknowledgements

I am particularly grateful to Pam Combes, Anne Dalton, Chris Evans, Peter King and Christopher Whittick for help and advice during the research for the above. I also owe a debt of gratitude to the staffs of the Bromley Local Studies Library, Medway Area Local Studies Centre, Strood, the Guildhall Library in the City of London, the National Archives, Kew, University of Sussex library, the East Sussex Record Office, Lewes, and the British Library.

Bibliography

- Blackman, H., 1926, 'Gun founding at Heathfield in the XVIII. Century', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, **64**, 25-54.
- Brown, R. R., 1999, 'Notes from the Board of Ordnance papers', *Wealden Iron*, 2nd series **19** (1999), 34-46.
- Brown, R. R., 2004, "Harrison family (*per.* 1715-c.1790)", in H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (eds.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford).
- Cattell, C. S., 1973, *The Historical Geography of the Wealden Iron Industry* (unpub. MA diss., University of London)
- Cleere, H. F., and Crossley, D. W., 1995 (2nd ed.), *The Iron Industry of the Weald* (Cardiff, Merton Priory Press).
- Crossley, D. W., 1975, *The Bewl Valley Ironworks* (London, Royal Archaeological Institute Monograph).
- Crossley, D. W., & Saville, R. V., 1991, *The Fuller Letters* (Lewes, Sussex Record Society **76**).
- Davey, R., (ed.), 1991, *East Sussex Land Tax 1785* (Lewes, Sussex Record Society **77**).
- Dodson, J. G., 1863, 'On some old Acts of Parliament concerning roads in, or connected with, the county of Sussex', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, **15**, 138-47.
- Evans, C., 1992, 'Manufacturing iron in the northeast during the eighteenth century: the case of Bedlington,' *Northern History*, **28**, 178-196.
- Evans, C., Jackson, O. & Rydén, G., 2002, 'Baltic iron and the British iron industry in the eighteenth century', *Economic History Review*, **15**, 4, 642-65.
- Flinn, M. W., 1962, *Men of Iron; The Crowleys in the Early Iron Industry* (Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd).
- Hodgkinson, J. S., 1993, *The iron industry in the Weald in the period of the Seven Years' War 1750-1770* (unpublished MA diss., CNA/University of Brighton); www.wealdeniron.org.uk/thesis..
- Hodgkinson, J. S., 1995, 'Notes on early-18th century memoranda on the making of iron', *Wealden Iron*, 2nd series **15** (1995), 9-18.
- Hodgkinson, J. S., 1996, 'The decline of the ordnance trade in the Weald: the Seven Years' War and its aftermath', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, **134**, 155-67.
- Hodgkinson, J. S., 2008, *The Wealden Iron Industry* (Stroud, The History Press).
- Hodgkinson, J. S. and Dalton, A., 1999, 'Swedenborg's description of English iron-making,' *Wealden Iron*, 2nd series **19** (1999), 47-63.
- Hogg, O. F. G., 1963, *The Royal Arsenal, Vol. 1* (London, Oxford University Press).
- Hopkinson, G. G., 1961, 'The charcoal iron industry in the Sheffield region 1500-1775', *Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society*, **8**, 122-51.
- King, P. W., 1995, 'Ashburnham Furnace in the early 18th century', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, **133**, 255-62.
- Lyon, D., 1993, *The Sailing Navy List* (London, Conway Maritime Press).
- Melling, E., (ed.), 1961, *Kentish Sources: III. Aspects of Agriculture and Industry*

(Maidstone, Kent County Council).

Monod, P. K., 2003, *The Murder of Mr Grebell* (New Haven, Yale).

Parsons, J., 1882, 'The Sussex Ironworks,' *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, **32**, 19-32.

Poyner, D., 2000, 'Hampton Loade Furnace', *Alveley Historical Society Transactions*, **6**, 53-68.

Pullein, C., 1927, *Rotherfield* (Tunbridge Wells).

Saville, R. V., 1982, 'Income and production at Heathfield ironworks, 1693-1788', *Wealden Iron*, 2nd series **2** (1982), 36-63.

Sperling, J. G., 1962, *The South Sea Company* (Boston, Kress)

Swedenborg, E., 1734, *De Ferro* (Leipzig & Dresden).

Ward, W. R., 1953, *The English Land Tax in the Eighteenth Century* (London, Oxford University Press).

Whittick, C. H. C., 1992, 'Wealden Iron in California', *Wealden Iron*, 2nd series **12** (1992), 29-62.

Notes and References

1. Guildhall Library, London (hereafter GL), Ms. 6482.
2. The National Archives (hereafter TNA), PROB 11 737 f. 15.
3. Legas was baptised on 10 April 1690, the son of Sebastian and Ann Legas (IGI); Staffordshire Record Office, D 1788/P59/B2.
4. Shropshire Record Office, 1037/21/135.
5. Hereford Record Office, E12/VI/DFf/13, f. 12.
6. East Sussex Record Office, Lewes (hereafter ESRO), 'The matter of the dispute of the Rev Bush, Vicar of Wadhurst, with the inhabitants over their payment of tithes and his of Land Tax', from a partially abridged copy of the narrative of Samuel Bush, Vicar of Wadhurst, 1743-83; PAR 498/7/10.
7. TNA, PROB 11/675.
8. ESRO, GLY1234; SAS/FB112
9. Sotheby's sale catalogue 6 June 1966; the present whereabouts of the document are not known to the author, but details of its provisions are recited in Harrison's will (*see note 2 above*).
10. John Legas of Woodhurst [sic], Sussex, and Judith Buttenshaw of Wrotham, Kent, married at St. Benet Fink, London, 22 August 1721; *Sussex Notes and Queries*, **1** (1926), 221.
11. TNA, WO 51/176 p.202; 180 p.78.
12. Samuel Remnant was baptised on 12 October 1690, at St Michael's church, Cornhill (IGI).
13. ESRO, AMS 6086/70.
14. ESRO, KIR 15/2.
15. TNA, WO 47/30 f. 85.
16. TNA, WO 47/32, p.56.
17. TNA, WO 47/32, p.347
18. TNA, WO 47/33, pp.132, 226, 256, 312 & 317.

19. ESRO, SAS RF 15/27.
20. ESRO, ELT Brede.
21. ESRO, Accounts of Robertsbridge Ironworks 1726-33, Microfilm XA3/13.
22. TNA, C 33/394 f.543.
23. C. Evans, *pers com*.
24. TNA, C 33/394 f.546v.
25. ESRO, KIR 16/2.
26. West Sussex Record Office, Holmes Campbell & Co/28.
27. Legas's ledger for the period 1741-5 is GL, Ms. 3736/1, while Smersall's is GL, Ms. 3736/5.
28. TNA, PROB 11/675. Smersall received a small legacy in Hussey's will.
29. ESRO, PAR 498/7/10.
30. TNA, WO 47/39 p.137.
31. ESRO, ELT Brightling.
32. Bromley Local Studies Library, Registers of St Peter & St Paul's, Bromley; TNA, PROB 11/1550.
33. TNA, PROB 11/1605; 1505.
34. British Library (hereafter, BL), Oriental & India Office collection (hereafter OIOC), Verelst papers, Ms Eur F218/113/79.
35. Nichols was probably James or John Nic(h)oll, of Court Lodge, Mountfield, who was the owner of Darwell furnace, and who may have been the Mr Nichols referred to in a letter from Stephen Fuller of March 1735, which also mentioned Banister (Blackman 1926, 39). A Mr Nicoll appears in the Fuller letters on several occasions (Crossley & Saville 1991).
36. BL, OIOC, Ms Eur F218/113/28.
37. BL, OIOC, Ms Eur F218/113/30, 31.
38. Medway Archives and Local Studies Centre, Strood (hereafter MALSC), Medway Navigation general series ledger 1740-57, S/MN/FL/1.
39. MALSC, Medway Navigation freight account ledger 1759-92, S/MN/ FLf/1a.

The Letters

1. Samuel Remnant to Samuel Smersall, Battle

Woolwich 2 March 1744[/5]

I am much surprised that you have not sent me An Accot. of what Shott you have made at Waldron, after so many times of my requesting it,¹ I therefore once more repeat it, & desire you would lett me know what Shott are now made & when I may Expect them, there is abundance of the last Blast refused, & I think your Moulds are very much out of Order, Your Answer will very much oblige...

1. Waldron Furnace had been leased by the Pelham family to Legas and Hussey in about 1731. For most of the 17th century the Pelhams had worked it in conjunction with Bivelham Forge (Mayfield) and Glazier's Forge (Brightling). Legas and Hussey continued this arrangement. John Fuller considered the wood, charcoal and ore at Waldron to be dearer than at any other furnace (Crossley and Saville 1991: 256)

2. Samuel Smersall to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich

Battle 8 March 1744[/5]

Shot cast to 5 March 1744[/5]

1917 1 pounders

2075 2 pounders

3610 3 pounders these for the Merchant Service & all I shall make

3620 4 pounders

3722 6 pounders

16969 18 pounders

328 24 pounders for the Government

650 32 pounders

As above you have the Account of the shot.¹ I can't send any away till May except it is done by winter Carriage & which will be 6s. p. tun extraordinary, as to the moulds I take all the care I possible can and make new moulds every year, this year I have made 508 pair and I have given the workmen the same instructions that I had from London in 1727.

1. The quantities amount to 23 tons 19 cwt 2 qrs 5 lbs for the merchant service, and 149 tons 3 cwt 0 qrs 18 lb for the government.

3. Samuel Smersall to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich
Battle 24 March 1744[5]

163	32 pounders
360	24 pounders
1884	18 pounders
214	6 pounders
414	4 pounders
334	3 pounders

As above you have the shot Cast since my last, and on the 21 Inst. I order'd the workmen on the shot you mentioned in your last.¹

1. The shot cast here amount to 23 tons 1 cwt 2 qrs 22 lbs, which with the quantity listed in the previous letter comes to 196 tons 4 cwt 1 qr 17 lbs.

4. John Legas to Robert Bagshaw, The Gun Wharf, Morgan Lane, Southwark¹
Wadhurst 20 April 1745

At my return from Hamsel² I met with a Lre from the Office of Ordnance intimating there was an Immediate want of the following Guns vizt.

35	18 pounders	9 ft.
46	9 pounders	8 ft.
30	6 pounders	7½ ft.
60	6 pounders	6 ft.
42	3 pounders	4½ ft.

of which natures all Mr. Harrison's, Mr. Remnant's & my own wil be made before the end of this Month except the 9 Prs of 8 ft, which we are preparing to goe upon at Lt.³ which wil be forwarded from thence as soon as made, the rest already made at our other works shall be sent away with all possible dispatch to Rye where there is now a Considerable no but cannot think it safe to send them from thence without a Convoy which I hope wil be granted when apply'd for, be pleased to wait upon

Mr. Bush & let him know what I have wrote to you upon this Subject & that I shall be in Town next weeke when I shall be more Capable of giving a better accot. of these matters.⁴

[P.S.] The post waits or have more to say.

1. William Harrison had leased the Gun Wharf, off Morgans Lane in Southwark, for 14 years, on 29 September 1736. It was also known as Stone Wharf or Battle Bridge; Guildhall Library, Ms. 6482A.
2. Hamsell Furnace, Rotherfield, had been purchased by William Harrison, as part of the manor of Birchden and Orznash, from the Baker family. An air furnace had been built at Hamsell in 1745; Guildhall Lib., Ms. 6483. In his will, William Harrison left Hamsell to his son, John; PRO PROB 11 737.
3. Lamberhurst; the Gloucester Furnace had been built in 1695, and was owned by the Gott family during the period of the trust. Its reputation, according to Swedenborg (Hodgkinson & Dalton 1999, 55) as the highest and most famous furnace in the region suggests a greater than normal capacity and output.
4. Charles Bush, Minuting Clerk to the Clerk of the Ordnance. From 1748 he was Chief Clerk and Deputy to the Clerk of the Ordnance (Crossley and Saville 1991: 206). Bush was a beneficiary of Samuel Remnant's will; PRO, PROB 11 794. A James Bush was clerk to the Lieutenant General of the Ordnance in the same period.

5. **John Legas to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich**
Wadhurst 29 June 1745

Soon after I return'd to this place from London I sent to Mr Smersall to meet me at Rye as last Tuesday in order to engage the shipping there to take in such a Quantity of guns as wd. have given us room to expect Success upon an applycation for a Convoe, but was prevented by receiving a Lre from him the day before that there were two Vessels come into that port that wd take about 40 t each & sail directly Since that have had a Lre from Slade¹ one of the proprietors of the vessels there that he had loaded the folowing guns & should sail abt. Tuesday next & that he was under no great apprehensions of danger in going to London at present, there being 2 small Ships of Warr & 2 Tenders Cruising off Hasting & that place, so that whilst they remain upon that station, & the people keep the Hoys of that place going as usual, I conclude the Guns going by them & those coming from Maidstone wil keep the Officers fully employ'd in proveing the Guns as fast as they come up from all

places provided the roads wil admit of their being Carried by Land which wil not be long If the weather continues bad, these are my thoughts upon this Subject at present wch. you may communicate to Mr Jukes as you thinke propper

I have recd. the powr of attorney by way of Medhurst & shall bring it with me to the next proof or will send it sooner If wanted as you shall direct

Guns on Board Slade's Hoy at Rye 27 June 1745

2	32 pounders	9½ ft.	
6	24 pounders	9 ft.	Mr Lamb I presume has about
7	18 pounders	9 ft.	the same Quantity on board
5	9 pounders	7 ft.	him ²

I believe you'll find some 6 ft. 6 pounders in the last Ft. now at Woolwich to enable us to make up the Warrt. that has but one of these guns wanting to compleat it

1. Chiswell Slade (d. 1787), merchant of Rye; did business with the Fullers (Crossley and Saville 1991: 101)
2. James Lamb (d. 1756), Rye merchant and ship owner, Collector of Customs at Rye and Shoreham from 1714; the Lamb family also did business with the Fullers (Crossley and Saville 1991: 68)

6. **John Legas to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich** Wadhurst 31 July 1745

I have your favour of the 26th Instant & in answer to what you write about the rect. of Mr Gotts money.¹ I am to Inform you that Mr Harrison, by the direction of Mr Gotts 3 sisters,² was Impowered by me & Mr Webb to receive the same, which power I apprehened ceases at the death of Mr Harrison & must be renew'd by us to you unless we as Exrs. to Mr Harrison, are permitted to receive the same, I should be glad to know their centiments thereon by first that I may apply to Mr Webb to joyne with me in a fresh power to you If it is Insisted on

The last account of Shott I had from Branbridges was that abt 24 ton was sent to Maidstone & wd be forwarded from thence by the first vessel which I hope before this is sailed,³ the rest goes now away apace from the Furnace & hope wil soon be

at Branbridges the roads being tolerable good in most places,
I shall use my best endeavours to give the greatest dispatch
thereto ...

1. William (c.1688-1741), son of Peter Gott and his wife, Martha (née Western). William Gott was a merchant at Leghorn, in the Duchy of Tuscany, where he died. In succession to his brothers, Samuel and Maximilian, he owned the freehold to four of the ironworks leased by Legas and his partners: Gloucester Furnace at Lamberhurst, Horsmonden Boring Mill, Conster Furnace at Beckley, and Westfield Forge. Legas was executor of Gott's English estate with Philip Carteret Webb; PRO PROB 11/710. Webb, a solicitor, was later MP for Haslemere; Surrey History Centre, Woking, LM/741/1-45.
2. Mary (d. 1768), Elizabeth (c.1679-1754) and Sarah Gott (d. 1772).
3. Branbridges, East Peckham, Kent; upstream limit of the Medway Navigation of 1740. In addition to Legas, the Fullers and William Bowen used Branbridges as a break-of-bulk point on the journey to Woolwich.

7. **Richard Tapsell to Samuel Remnant**, Woolwich
Wadhurst 21 August 1745

Mr Legas had your favour of the 16th Instant, and set out very betimes this morning for Mrs. Gott's at Eggarton¹ so order'd me to acquaint you that the reason of his not answering yours before, was that he expected Mr. Smersall over every day with an Accot. of the Shott made last blast, that he might have given you an Accot. thereof, but as he did not come have order'd him to send you an Accot of the same, which I presume you will receive this Post, Mr Edmonds was here one day last week & promise to deliver 50 t of shott at Woolwich this Week wch I hope he'll not fail in doing²

The Founder of Waldron Furnace was here last Monday and informs us that they have no 42 Pr. Shott Gage so if you would have any of that sort made, be pleased to order one down [P.S.] Mr Legas hopes you'll excuse his not Writeing himself, but he will Write to you as soon as he returns

8. Samuel Smersall to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich
Battle 26 August 1745

Shot made for Mr Remnant 1744

No

1722	32 pounders
4849	24 pounders
25142	18 pounders
1196	12 pounders
6353	9 pounders
3296	6 pounders
4892	4 pounders
4753	3 pounders ¹

As above you have the Account of the shot made for you in the last Blast at Waldron, and I should be glad to know very soon what sorts are to be made in the next Blast, that I may have time to get some new moulds made

1. This amounts to 334 tons 9 cwt.

9. John Legas to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich
Wadhurst 4 September 1745

Going up in the Boat with Mr H. Fuller from Woolwich & afterwards Suping with him & his Brother John, at his Brother the sugar baker gave me a good opportunity of Speaking to them abt. Sr John Lades woods that lye for Brede & Beckly which I always had in Sr Johns life time and one year after from Justice Fuller¹ but upon Mr Jukes's takeing his refused Guns he declared we should have them alternately and the next year Mr Jukes had the wood, so that it is now our turne to have the next felling according to the justices proposal which upon my mentioning they seemed to have no objection to

I cannot say what wood there is fellable upon that Estate nor what scheme Mr Jukes may have for securing them for Robertsbridge but conclude he wil not lose them for want of application, which occasions you this trouble to desire (If

they fall in your way before they returne into the Country)
you'll back my request in haveing these woods agreeable to
the justices proposal which I apprehend they will readily grant
findeing Mr Jukes has not been punctual to them abt. the price
of the last he had, the post staying for my letter hastens me to
conclude ...

1. Sons of John 'Justice' Fuller (1680-1745); Henry Fuller (1713-64), John Fuller (1706-55), who had just succeeded his father as owner of Heathfield Furnace, and Thomas Fuller (1715-80), sugar baker of Paul's Wharf, off Thames Street. Henry Fuller had been appointed by the Court of Chancery to be receiver of the rents and profits of the estate of Sir John Lade (Crossley and Saville 1991: xii-xiii).

10. John Legas to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich
Wadhurst 25 September 1745

I directed Mr Smersall to meet me at Waldron last week &
from the strictest acct. we could then take of the Charge
of making last years Shott I finde we shall lose money by it
& must consequently do the same another blast without an
advance price which I hope you'll not thinke unreasonable
in me to demand when you consider the wood Bot. for next
blowing stands us in 12d. per Cord more than the last which is
equal to 10s. per Tun upon the iron

If you submit to such an advance I shall do all in my power to
assist you in promoteing his Majesties Service in that Branch
Mr Smersall was saying you had wrote to know If 50 t of the
new Shott could be Carryed to Branbridges as soon as made,
which I thinke quite Impracticable but believe that Quantity
may be Carryed to Lewes with a proper encouragemt. to the
Carryers. If you'll run the hazard of the sea from thence

I have been Informed from Maidstone that 30 t of last years
Shott had been landed at Woolwich & that 20 more was loaded
at Maidstone on Friday last, that a vessel was hired the next
day to carry 40 t more & that the remainder wd. be taken in by
the vessel now in London or in their return home

I presume you have he'rd of my going to Town from Chiselhurst
the day after the Proof when I was in hopes of seeing you, but

was disappointed, at Chaing I saw Mr Allen who hinted to me that we might expect some 42 Prs in our next orders from the Office, If so, I am perswaded the Contractors wil meet with great difficulties in makeing the same for want of Tackling etc there being nothing in the Country large enough for Such Guns therefore the sooner the thing is known the better as we are now preparing for blowing at all our Winter Furnaces

If you can Informe your self of the Natures of such Guns as wil be demanded in the next General ordr. and favour me therewith by first it may be of great use to us in our Setting out upon the Ensueing Blasts ...

11. John Legas to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich
Wadhurst 12 October 1745

I am just return'd from the Recr. of the Land Tax at Marsfield, which was pd. in Yesterday, when we draw'd for £1600 upon Mr Bagshaw to answer the immediate call at the Works under my directions, Mr. Smersall wil want abt £1500 to discharge what is wanting in his Qr. but I have ordered him to draw from £800 only at Battel on monday & to put of people as wel as he can for the rest til things are a little better settled

I have got 15 ds for the paymt. of the above Sum & presume Mr. Smersall wil have the same for what he takes at Battle so that it wil be full a fortnight before it becomes payable, In the mean time I hope your advice & assistance wil not be wanting to Mr. Bagshaw to enable him to give due honr. to the above Bills ...

12. Samuel Smersall to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich
Battle 22 October 1745

Waldron Furnace will be in Blast and ready for Casting of shot in 14 days time and if Thear nothing from you shall proceed on 32, 24 and 12 Pr shot but more Especially on the 12 Prs, but should be glad to know how you would have the Numbers

proportion'd

N.B. I am fearful I can't get you 50 ts. by winter Carriage but if wanted will do my best endeavours,

13. John Legas to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich
Wadhurst 3 November 1745

I had your favour of the 23rd Instant & by this returne you my thanks for the same tho it was a messenger of bad news in respect to Waldron Shott, which gives me no small concerne as wel upon yours as my own acctot.

Mr Smersall went to that Furnace on Friday with Instructions for setting them out right in the present blast & hope by the methods proposed to prevent the like misfortunes for the future, he came here last night & informs me that most of the moulds proposed to be made use of this blowing have been proved & those that appear'd bad have been thrown by notwithstanding this, shall have them re-examin'd again by other persons before they get fully into Work & hope to give you a good acctot thereof at our next meeting which I conclude will be soon in Woolwich Warren where I presume may be Guns sufficient for another proof¹ In expectation of a Speedy call ...

1. Woolwich Warren was the area of Crown land which included the Royal Brass Foundry, as well as the proving grounds of the Board of Ordnance.

14. John Legas to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich
Wadhurst 27 December 1745

By a calculation rec'd from Mr Bagshaw of the money that might be drawd for by the Land Tax to answer our calls at this Season of the Year, I finde I cannot depend upon much more than $\frac{1}{3}$ of what I shall want, Including the money rec'd by you from the Office, & £300 towds. Mr Jukes's old Debt wch. I have prevailld upon him to pay when drawd for this gives me no Small concern & obliges me to aske your assistance at this juncture with what you can spare me, which I flatter my Self you'll do as knowing my situation with Mr. Harrison's family & how their money is lock'd up, If you can permit me to draw

for £1000 at this time it will be of Infinite Service & oblige me hereafter always to acknowledge it a great favour done
[P.S.] my Compliments of the Season waits upon You and Yours I have been confinde with my cold ever since I came home & I fear it is not yet at the worst

15. **John Legas to Samuel Remnant**, The George and Vulture, Cornhill, London
Wadhurst 31 December 1745

I think I have heard you say Mrs Remnant loved a Hare, it is not often I have such a thing upon a Carrier's day, but now it so happens that I have opportunity of accommodateing you with one, which I have directed to the George and Vulture & hope it will be there in time for you to give it a place in the Coach for Woolwich or elsewhere as best suites, If it comes in time & proves acceptable to Mrs Remnant and your Self it will be a satisfaction to my Self & Spouse who joynes in the compliments of the season to you and Yours ...

16. **John Legas to Samuel Remnant**, Woolwich
Wadhurst 17 January 1745[6]

By your Lre to Mr Bagshaw abt makeing out the Warrts. for the Guns last orderd, I observe you take into their Warrt. the 32 Prs. & 24 Prs. of both natures, which wil be attended with great Inconveniencies in the makeing of them, therefore if they are not made out, desire you'll post pone the same til I come next to Town

I propose making the 32 Prs. & the longest 24 Prs. at Brede which with the Guns already made there, wil take up all the stock we have laid in at that Worke for this Blast, so that unless we make the 24 Prs. of 9 foot at Lamberhurst (wch. I fear cannot be done) that Warrt. cannot be compleated before the year 1747^l this I presume sufficient at present to convince you of the necessity of haveing 4 Warrts. for the Whole, which may be divided at our next meeting ...

1. Brede Furnace had been occupied by William Harrison from 1721. It was one of the furnaces in the Weald capable of casting 'great' guns; i.e. 18 pounders and above, suggesting a larger hearth capacity and a deeper gun vault than normal.

17. John Legas to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich

Wadhurst 8 March 1745/6

I had your favour of the 3d. Instant & am sorry to hear the last Frt of Shott proves so bad, I was at Waldron Furnace my self on Wednesday last where I found things as well as I could expect the Shott are very sound & good and hope wil meet with the same approbation at Woolwich as in the Country, for my own part I thinke them as good as can be made in unturnd moulds

There is about 190 t of Shott made to this time which may be made up 300 t If the spring does not prove a dry one but when they can be moved from thence I cannot pretend to say that entirely depending upon the roads which were never worse than at present

I am very much pres'd to make an end of Mrs Gotts purchase from Mr Penn, agreed for by Mr. Harrison & who had money left in his hands to pay for the same two years ago, as it is not in my power to make good this agreement til the money is recd from the Office Should be glad to know by first when the same wil be pd. your compliance herein will very much oblige ...

18. John Legas to Samuel Remnant

Wadhurst 24 March 1745[/6]

In pursuance of my promise leave this to Informe you that I have settled all things with Mr Penn to paying the Purchase money, which is to be done on Thursday next provided the money comes in time to Mr Bagshaw on Wednesday to give notice thereof to the parties to attend the next day

as to the other demands & the money wanting to make up what wil be left of the Office money sufficient to pay the same I hope Mr. Bagshaw will raise it in time without calling upon you, & without selling the Tally's til the discount is better known, but if he should be disappointed therein I hope you'll assist him

with what he wants

he has promised me to do what he can to make it up & hope you will give him the same advice as he has received from Yor. most humble St. ...

19. John Legas to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich

Wadhurst 4 April 1746

Mr Wolley (a near Relation of mine) being Chose by the Court of Directrs. of the S S Company to be their Cashier in the room of Mr Rowland Rogers¹ has requested me to be one of his securities for £2000 to which I have consented, but being a stranger to the Directrs. of the said Comp, who I presume may want some satisfaction concerning the Circumstances of those persons proposed for his security, gives you the trouble of this to desire you'll assist him therein as to myself If it lies in your way with any of the Directrs. you may be acquainted with, you may be sure I am not fond of these Engagemts. or of haveing my name goe to market upon these occasions but thinke myself very safe in this & shall acknowledge your assistance to him as done to Yor. most humble St. ...

[P.S.] I was surprized to finde none of our Guns in the last Proof, or in the Warren, having been Informed by S. Smersall that some of our 6 Prs had been on Board at Rye near a month agoe, I fear Mr W... J...s has been too sharp for us by sending so many of his Guns in ye Proof²

at my returne from London I saw Mr Edmonds who told me the remainder of the Shott & some Lambst. Guns then at Maidstone should be at Woolwich this weeke I should be glad to have it confirmed to me by a Line upon the Landing thereof ...

1. Treasurer of the South Sea Company, at South Sea House, Bishopsgate.
2. Presumably William Jukes, lessee, with his brother George, of Robertsbridge Furnace.

20. John Legas to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich

Wadhurst 19 April 1746

I recd of the Excise at this place £500 the 11th inst & Mr

Smersall received at Battle the 15th, £500 more by ditto, both which were drawn on Mr Bagshaw & made payable 28 days after date as usual.

I believe I shall be in town before they become due but thought proper by this to acquaint you therewith & to ask your assistance in the discharge thereof. I cannot say what we shall want from you for the purpose, but be assured I shall demand no more than what is absolutely wanting for making up the value of these bills, of which you shall be advised as soon as I can see or hear from Mr Bagshaw.

By accounts from Rye etc., I have reason to think we may have now at Woolwich thirty nine of our guns of several natures. If there were any left last proof & Mr Jukes has kept sending from Roberts-bridge since that, there may soon be another proof of which I should be glad to have your thoughts when it suits you to favour me therewith.

21. John Legas to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich
Wadhurst 28 May 1746

At my return from Waldron Furnace on Saturday last I had your favour about the 24 pounder shot which I have ordered the carriers upon, & to carry no other sort till they are at the water side which will soon be, having four carriers upon that sort only.

We blowed out at that work this day sevensnight, & have made about 300 ton of shot there this blast, & hope you have had the particulars thereof from Mr Smersall last post, who had directions from me to send to you the same.

I expect the same from him by this post, which will enable me to give you a more exact account of these matters than now I can, & hope for an opportunity of doing it personally at a proof of guns at Woolwich on Saturday next. In the meantime am, dear sir, your most humble servant ...

22. John Legas to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich

Wadhurst 13 June 1746

Since my returne from Woolwich have been advised that Mr Smersall had drawn for £350 by the Land Tax payable the 23d Instant and that Rd. Tapsell had recd £600 on my accot. by Do. wch must be pd the 26th Instant, which with 2 bills by the Excise impd and other sums Including Mr Penns Mortgage of £2700 (which should be pd about Midsomr.) makes up abt £4500 for this month

Mr Bagshaw Informs me he can pay nothing towds the above Sum, & meeting with a very uncertane accot. from Mr Short of the sum or time of paymt. by the Office of Ordnance drives me to my Sheet ancor, which I hope wil always afford me releef & Comfort, in you as my Sheet ancor I must depend & hope it wil not be Inconvenient for You to pay Mr Bagshaw £1000 on your own accot to enable him to discharge some of these Calls that come first in Course of paymt. ...

23. John Legas to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich

Battle 8 July 1746

I deferd writing to you til now on accot. of the notice recd from Mr Bush of Yesterdays Proof at Woolwich where I proposed being and had got on my boots on Sunday to goe as far as 7 oaks that night but it raining very hard that afternoon prevented me setting out for Woolwich & brot me to a resolution of attending this market which gives me an Opportunity of acquainting you that I have seen Mr. Edmonds here who Informs me he has deliverd abt. 35 t of Shott at Woolwich & shall load abt. 22 t more this weeke which makes up more ye Quantity of 24 Prs. made last blast at Waldron, this dispatch I hope wil give Satisfaction to you & our Superiors

I wish I could give the same dispatch to those sent to Lewes but this I dispair off being Informed since the loss of the Saltash that Coast is very much visited by Privateers which must retard the delivery of all things from thence til a Convoy can be had,

or a Man of Warr stationd in these pts.¹

we shall labour under the same difficulty's at Rye where we now have abt. 300 t of Government Guns & more coming daily from our Works in this part of the Country which wil oblige us to apply for Convoy as soon as we can get vessels to carry them away Mr Smersall is going there today in order to fix these things and give me an accot. thereof at his returne of which you shall be advised by Yor most humble St ...

[P.S.] I hear you are now got through our last Blast of Waldron Shott must therefore desire an accot of the Charges attending that affair and what you propose doing with the refused

1. The *Saltash* was an 8-gun sloop; built in 1742 at Rotherhithe, it capsized off Beachy Head on 24 April 1746 (Lyon 1993: 54).

24. **John Legas to Samuel Remnant**, Woolwich Wadhurst 20 August 1746

After I had wrote to the Board abt. the 24 Prs of 9 ft. recd a Lre from Mr Bagshaw Informing me that 7 of those that came up in the last vessel from Rye & reported to Mr Hartwell to be 9 ft. proveing to be 9½ ft. am at a loss what to say now upon that Subject,¹ I have directed Mr Smersall to forward with all expedition those left at Rye and to have them marked to prevent any more blunders of that kinde have likewise sent a person on purpose to Branbridges to forward all of that nature to Maidstone by first & have wrote to Mr Edmonds to send them from thence to Woolwich with the utmost dispatch which I hope wil be done accordingly, but there is so little dependence upon these people have thot. propper to decline sending my Lre to you for the Board til some or all of these guns are delivered or til we have an opportunity of seeing each other at next proof by which I may be able to give a more certaine accot. of these things ...

[P.S.] I have had some thots. of begining to Blow soon at Brede to make some of these Guns If we can get them carried & can depend upon the water to blow which wil put a stop to the drawing of the Pond as proposed but of this more in my next or

at your next meeting with Yours. etc. ...

1. Robert Hartwell, principal modeller, and proof officer, at the Board of Ordnance.

25. John Legas to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich
Wadhurst 29 October 1746

At my return from London I found such an Increase of Water in the ponds & other places by the last Raine that I am under no apprehensions of wanting water at Waldron Shall therefore give orders for Blowing there as we can get ready, I have not seen or heard anything lately from Mr Smersall abt. the Quantity of coals laid in there but by the last calculation I made of the wood Bought for that Worke last year I have reason to think we may make 200 t of Shott there this Blast and desire your orders for that Quantity by first that we may prepare for the same in time

after I parted with you in Town Mr Bagshaw Informed me you made a proposition to him for our makeing the Guns in your last Warrts. of 27 May 1746 at 20s. per Tun advance upon the 12 6 Prs & upwards which I directed him to acquaint you I accepted & shall not faile you in the delivery thereof next Sum. tho. in our present Situation I may lose money by it
I shall wait for your orders for Shott with Impatience ...

26. John Legas to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich
Wadhurst 16 December 1746

The Bearer Rd. Tapsel having £500 to pay in Town for Mr Husseys Family & upwards of £200 to the Recevr. General of the Land for Sussex being money pd. to me by the Collrs in the County which being of great use & Service to us at this Season of the Year (when money is so much wanted), have directed him to repay the same in which I must beg your assistance chargeing the same to Mr Bagshaw by the Bearer

I shall not stop the Bearer to add more at present being in haste but refer you to him for your Information of our proceedings in the Country ...

[P.S.] I understand Mr Bagshaw has been drawn hard upon by Mr Smersall etc which occasions you this trouble

27. John Legas to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich
Wadhurst 11 April 1746¹

I have only time to request the favour of you to enable Mr Bagshaw to pay the following bills by the Excise when due which will very much oblige ...

10 April 1747	One bill on Mr Bagshaw pay. to the Excise 28 days after date	£700 0s. 0d
14 April 1747	Do. Do. Do.	£300 0s. 0d
		£1000 0s. 0d

1. This would seem to be an error; 1747 being intended.

28. John Legas to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich
Wadhurst 3 January 1747[8]

Arrears of guns on warrants to the following persons
26 December 1747

Nature	Length	H	L	R ¹	Total	Places where made and when finished
Prs.	Ft.					
32	9½	6	1	6	13	6 June 1748 at Brede
24	9½	19	16	16	51	12 March 1747[8] at Gloucester
18	9	43	34	34	111	16 April 1748 at Gloucester and Brede
12	9	16	15	16	47	18 June 1748 at Gloucester
	8½	6	3	6	15	Made at Brede
9	9	6	6	6	18	23 April 1748 at Brede
	8	15	14	15	44	9 August 1748 at Gloucester
	7½	19	18	19	56	31 March 1748 at Waldron
	7	9	6	6	21	26 August 1748 at Gloucester
6	7½	3	2	3	8	Made at Gloucester
	7	6	6	6	18	Made at Waldron
	6½	3	0	0	3	Made at Gloucester
	6	16	15	16	47	11 January 1748[9] at Waldron
3	4½	4	3	3	10	30 August 1748 at Gloucester

I am favoured wth yours of the 30th & 31st ulto. for which I

returne your thanks, & have sent you, as above some materials for a Fresh scheme to lay before the Board which by your assistance in bringing into Form will I hope convince them of our sincere desire & endeavour to serve them to the utmost of our powers & Induce them to encourage us to perchevere therein, by granting us Warrts. to answer our stock provided for another year which I apprehend wil produce abt. 800 t of Guns that may be deliverd at Woolwich by Michas. 1749, without wch. I shall be at a loss to know how to proceed at Gloucester Furnace which I propose keeping in Blast til Michas next or longer, & you may see that our old Warrts. wil be all compleated by the latter end of Augt. next

I hope the above hints & remarks thereon wil be sufficient for your further proceadings so shall add nothing further at present but my Compliments for the season & good wishes for Mrs Remnant ...

N.B. I cannot tell what they have made at Brede or Waldron therefore do not at present send you the particulars of what is made at all places but you may have it in my next If wanted we are now on 24 Prs of 9½ ft. at Lamberhurst where 17 are made & 12 gone

1. H – Harrison, L – Legas, R – Remnant

29. Andrews Harrison to Samuel Remnant

7 January 1747[/8]

I waited on Mr Bush with the Letter, which he approves of & desires to have it as soon as possible. Shall see Mr Legas this Week & will lose no time in forwarding it

I likewise delivered your Warrt. to Mr Backhouse ... ¹

1. William Backhouse, a clerk under the Principal Storekeeper at the Board of Ordnance.

30. John Legas to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich

Wadhurst 12 February 1747[/8]

I have recd. Mr Bushes kinde Lre of the 29th ulto. for which I must beg you'll make my Compliments

By an accot. from Maidstone of the 3d. Instant (If Mr Edmonds do not againe deceive me) all the Guns at his Wharf wd be at Woolwich the begining of this Weeke wch I apprehend wil make up a No Sufficient for a proof which wil shew the Gentln we have not been Idle in their Service There is 40 18 Prs. made at Brede but how or when we can get any to Woolwich I cannot say the Navigation from Brede Bridge to Rye being at present stopt I have orderd S. Smersall to go to Rye tomorrow to know when Slades Vessel was expected from London & to engage Mr Slade to carry the Guns wanting next Trip & if he could not get them down by water to get them down by land if possible, we have made 35 24 Prs. at Lambst. & they are all gone from the Furnace but 3 the rest I hope will be in the next proof the greatest part being gone to Maidstone

I should have sent you by this post a state of our stock at the makeing up of our last accot. as proposed, but have been prevented by Company til the post waits for my Lre, so must conclude in great hast but much truth ...

[P.S.] I hear Mr Jukes has orderd them to go upon 32 Prs. at Robertsbridge directly by which I conclude his Warrts. are not recall'd

31. John Legas to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich

Wadhurst 13 February 1747[/8]

[Table 1. see over]

I have as above sent to you the State of my Accot. to be allow'd to the Exrs of Mr Willm. Harrison, which being Examined and agreed to by Mr. Harrison and Mr. Bagshaw, I think they wd. not be improper witnesses to our signing the same, which I would have done in the most propper manner, for our Justification & to prevent any further trouble therein, I presume we shall soon have proof of Guns at Woolwich which I shall Endeavour to be at and will spare a few days to have the matter done in Town when you are at libertie to attend in the meantime my good wishes & best service attends Mrs. Remnant & self ...

1744	Dr.
Mr John Legas to the Sussex partnership	
To the Dead Stock left at the Works Xmas 1744	16294 17 8
To Cash due from the accountants	
to balance his General Account to do.	10630 0 0
	<hr/>
	26924 17 9
Mr Harrison's Exors to Mr Legas Dr.	
To Mr Harrison's proportion of the dead	
Stock Xmas 1744 as above	8147 8 10
To the Ballance of an Accot. Currant	
settled Xmas 1744 in favour of Mr Legas	27552 9 10
	<hr/>
	35699 18 8

Table 1

32. **John Legas to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich**

Wadhurst 24 February 1747[/8]

The badness of the Weather I conceive Sufficient without any other apology to excuse my attendance on the Proof which I proposed being at on several accots. particularly that of fixing a time for our meeting in Town to Settle my accots. as proposed in my last, but as that cannot now be done personally at Woolwich I thot propper to acquaint you that I intend being in town on monday night or soon enough on Tuesday morning to give you the meeting at your comeing to town to fix a time for the purposes aforesd. when & where it wil best suite you to give us your attendance, you'll see or hear of me at the Pennsylvania¹ to give your directions therein ...

1. The Pennsylvania Coffee House, Birchin Lane, off Cornhill, London.

Contra	Cr.	£	s	d		
To Mr Legas's proportion of the Dead Stock at Xmas 1744		8147	8	10		
To Ditto's proportion of Cash due from the accountant to ballance Xmas 1744		5315	0	0½	13462	8 10½
To Ballance due to Mr Harrison's Exors. being their proportion of Stock in the sd. partnership Xmas 1744					<u>13462</u>	<u>8 10½</u>
						<u>26924 17 9</u>
Contra	Cr.					
To the Ballance of the above Accot. being Mr Harrison's Exors proportion of Stock in the Sussex Partnership Xmas 1744		13462	8	10½		
Mr Legas's proportion of Cash due from the Office of Ordnance Xmas 1744	19934	6	9			
A moiety of which is		9967	3	4½	23429	12 3
To Ballance due to Mr Legas clear of the partnership at Xmas 1744					<u>12270</u>	<u>6 5</u>
						<u>35699 18 8</u>

33. John Legas to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich
Wadhurst 18 March 1747/[8]

I have been advised that 17 more of the 24 Prs of 9½ ft. & 9 of the 9 ft. 18 Prs. are now gone from Tonbridg to Maidstone which I hope wil soon be att Woolwich haveing wrote to Mr Edmonds to forward them from thence by first

I have also been Informed they were loading Guns at Rye last Monday 7 night in a vessel belonging to Mr Lamb who had directions to take in 11 of the Brede 18 Prs 1 32 Pr. & the rest 12 Prs. 8½ ft to make up 30 t which he had promised to carry this voyage, we have likewise sent a few of the Waldron Guns to Lewes with orders to send them away as soon as they could conveniently but fear they will not be up in time for the next proof

I thot. proper to communicate these things to you that you may be prepared to give an accot thereof as occasion shall require

34. John Legas to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich

Wadhurst 27 April 1748

The Excise not being pd here til after I set out for Woolwich, could not be informed what money Rd. Tapsell had drawn for, therefore could not advise you there of whilst in Town, which occasions you the trouble of this to acquaint you that we have drawn upon Mr Bagshaw for £2300 or something more which I desire you will accommodate him with to enable him to answer the same

I understand there are 20 6 Prs from Waldron on board a Lewes hoye, & abt. the same No loading at Rye aboard Lambs hoye, wch with what are daily going from Lamberhurst wil goe a great way towds another Proof, we are now upon 32 Prs at Lamberhurst wch. prove very good shall therefore keep them on upon those Guns there on accot. of their going away as they are made to clear up our Warrts for those Natures

I shall want all the money I can get together soon but cannot justly know where it wil be most wanted either Town or Country til I see the parties concerned ...

[P.S.] I should be glad of a Lre as soon as the Waldron Guns are up

35. John Legas to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich¹

Wadhurst 1 July 1748

After I had parted with you in London I recd. directions for paying the £1000 I mentiond to you in town, to have engaged to pay Mr John Marten & Co. at the Grasshopper in Lambert Street for the use of John Bridger Esqr. on or before Midsomr day which I now understand was to make up a larger sum for a particular purpose, which makes me fear it's not being pd in time may be of bad consequence to the sd Mr Bridger, must therefore desire the favour of you to direct the paymt. of it as soon as you conveniently can after the rect. of the money from the Office, I was in hope the money would not have been wanted til I came next to Town and altered the method of

receiveng & paying the Partnership money (if Mr Bagshaw should refuse to do it),

as I cannot be in Town so soon as I intended shall write to Mr Bagshaw to negotiate this affair as usual to prevent further disappoyntmt. to the Gentn. and save the reputation of Yor most humble St ...

This letter is not part of Ms. 6482, but has been interleaved with Ms. 6483.

John Martin, the banker, of the Grasshopper, Lombard Street.

1. This may be John Bridger (1703-84), of Coombe, Hamsey, Sussex; Bridger was engaged as a merchant in overseas trade; *see* ESRO, Schiffner Archives.

36. John Legas to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich

Wadhurst 6 August 1748

I have sufferd greatly with the Rhumetizen since last Proof, & am stil confinde with it, & am fearfull I shall not be able to be at Woolwich on Tuesday next which gives me concern as it deprives me of the pleasure of knowing when I may expect Mr Bush & you at Wadhurst, which occasions you this to desire you'll so far let me into your scheme (where fix'd) as to know when I send a person to conduct you to Wadhurst from Brightling, I am inform'd the Roads are now very good but conclude a person that knows the way may be of some satisfaction to you as wel as Yor humble St ...

[P.S.] A line by first will be very acceptable & if Messrs Harrison are not at the Proof should be glad of an abstract of it ...

37. John Legas to Samuel Remnant [?Tonbridge]

Wadhurst 11 August 1748

Gentlemen, with pleasure I recd yours but with ye utmost concern to thinke I am obliged to informe you that the Honourable Mr Pelham has Engaged me to meet him at Lewes tomorrow on special affairs,¹ I thinke my self obliged to attend him according to his appointment, but shall return as soon as possible, & hope your affairs will permitt you to give me the pleasure you intend me some day before you Return, I shall

send over for your Answer tomorrow & hope I shall not be disappointed, who am in great haste but much truth, dear sirs,

...

[P.S.] My service waits on Mr and Mrs Bowen.²

1. Presumably Henry Pelham (1696-1754), MP for Sussex, and first minister of the kingdom.
2. William Bowen, gunfounder, of Holden, Southborough, had furnaces at Barden and Cowden, in Kent, and a foundry at Marigold Stairs, Upper Ground, Southwark. Samuel Remnant acted as agent for Bowen, and their personal friendship extended to Remnant making Bowen a bequest in his will, and Bowen doing the same for Remnant's son, Stephen; PRO, PROB 11 794 f. 104; 973 f. 469 (Hodgkinson 1993: 96-7).

38. Robert Bagshaw to Samuel Remnant

Gun Wharf 16 September 1748

I have sent you by the bearer the undermentioned round shot viz.

No.			[in red at the side]	
32 pounders	370		32	370
24 pounders	41	@ 9/6		400
18 pounders	12			770
	No.		24	41
32 pounders	400			720
24 pounders	720	@ 10/-		770
18 pounders	860		18	12
				860
				872

Though I gave yr People strict orders to keep them separate they are mix'd all together. I hope you will find them all good

...

39. John Legas to Samuel Remnant

Wadhurst 14 October 1748

1748

16 September	One bill to the Excise 28 dys. after date		£66 0s. 0d.
	One Do. to Slade 10 dys. Do.		£50 0s. 0d.
20 September	One Do. to the Excise 28 dys. Do.		£75 0s. 0d.
			<u>£191 0s. 0d.</u>
7 October	One Do. to W.Mitford Esq., 15 dys. after date ¹	£1200 0s. 0d.	
10 October	One Do. to Do. 12 dys. after date	<u>£1400 0s. 0d.</u>	
			<u>£2600 0s.0d.</u>
			<u>£2791 0s. 0d.</u>
7 October	One Do. to Do. 15 dys. after date on Hamsell furnace account	<u>£800 0s. 0d.</u>	

[the above in Richard Tapsell's hand]

Above is an accot. of the Bills drawn by me & unpaid at the time of Mr Bagshaws demanding £1000 of you for discharging what Bills were then due on my accot. which amount to no more yn £191 as above by which you may perceive he could have foundation for such an assertion, You have likewise an accot. of what money we have taken up of the Land Tax & how drawd for, I shall want to draw for more but of this more when I see you, which I hope to have it in my power to do the beginning of next week but must desire you'll send me by next post an accot. of what money you have pd. Mr Bagshaw since the 30th Decr. 1747 on your own & my accot. which will greatly oblige ...

[the following on a separate sheet in another hand]

Accot of cash rend of the Office of Ordnance since the 31 Decr 1747 on Account of Mr John Legas, Andrew [sic] Harrison etc. & paid to Mr R. Bagshaw

1747/8

2 March	Paid	£1850 3s. 0d.	for 3 Debr. received of the Office 4 February
11 May	Paid	£2469 0s. 0d.	for 1d. received of the Office 12 May
15 June	Paid	£2709 0s. 0d.	for 6d. received of the Office 12 and 26 May
27 July	Paid	£1722 10s. 0d.	for 2d. received of the Office 12 July
13 October	Paid	£3268 6s. 6d.	for 2d. received of the Office 12 October
		<hr/>	
	Paid	£12,019 0s. 6d	

11 January	£1500
3 March	£2450
17 June	£332

1. William Mitford, timber merchant, of Petworth; Receiver General of the Land Tax for Sussex.

40. John Legas to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich
Wadhurst 12 November 1748

Being Informed the remainder of our Brede Guns are all at Woolwich, & by what we have sent away from Lamberhurst & what have been dd by others etc. I conclude there may be sufficient for a proof in the W — n If our L Guns are forwarded as they ought to be, but this I fear is not the case, therefore must desire the favour of you to send me a particular of what are now in the Warren that I may know where they lye & who to call upon to forward the same in order to Clear our Warrts. not compleated & makeing good our promise by Lre to the Board which when done I hope will be no disadvantage to us when we apply for fresh orders

I was Informed yesterday by a Gentleman of Credit that a person Employed by Mr Fuller to buy wood for him had been with him to purchase a small wood he had to sell & told him

his Man had a great occasion for wood & wd give a good price for it having just made a large Contract for Guns, I am not very forward in believing these reports but must conclude there must be some foundation for such a speech & should be glad to come at the truth there of which I am perswaded you cannot be stranger to therefore I should be glad to hear from you what there is in it, your compliance herein will greatly oblige ...

41. John Legas to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich

Wadhurst 25 January 1748[/9]

Your saying Mr Bagshaw had not given you a paper sent him with my accounts made up to Michas 1746 I thot proper to give you the trouble of the Enclosed (wch is a Copy thereof) requesting your perusal of the same that If any mistake should appear it may be rectified before it is settled for good, being very desirous of haveing every thing adjusted with Mr Harrison's Family conformable to our articles of partnership.

My accots with Mr Husseys Family wil very soon be settled & then I shall be call'd upon to assigne over to that Family the securities made to me & Mrs Homesby,¹ of which Mr Harrison's Mortgage is a pt. wch. not being compleat without your signing a deed of Trust² to be provided for that purpose, must desire you'll be so good as to speake to Mr Warner to get it done that I may be discharged from that Trust, your compliance herein will greatly oblige ...

[in red]

		£	
1747	7 May	500	
	17 June	1000	
	23 June	500	
	2 September	500	
[1747/8]	20 January	1500	
	3 March	2450	
1748	17 June	332	
	20 October	1000	
		<hr/> 7782	you say 7882
	26 October	4000	
	3 December	100	

1. Philadelphia Homesby, of Goudhurst, Kent; co-executor, with John Legas, of the will of Thomas Hussey, of whom she was also sister-in-law.
2. Vere Warner, of Chelsea, Middlesex, solicitor to William Harrison's executors.

Money rec'd & paid by Mr Bagshaw
from the 3d. Jan 1744[5] to 31 Mar. 1747

		£	s.	d.
To cash Dr.				
Rec'd of Mr Remnant what he rec'd of the Office for Messrs Harrison and Legas		18885	17	0
	odd pence		4	7
Rec'd of do. on his own Accot.			11901	16 9
			30787	18 4
To cash rec'd of Mr Legas and Smersall			555	5 0
			31343	3 4
Deduct				
To cash paid Mr Legas		15029	16	10½
To do. paid Mr Smersall		15312	8	¾
			30342	5 2¼
So rec'd more than paid in the above time			1000	18 1¾
To Merchant Guns etc. do. in the above time by Mr Legas's Accot		3311	4	0½
To do. by S Smersalls Accot		2126	9	5
			5437	13 5½
Mr Bagshaw from 31 Mar 1747 to 24 Oct 1748 Dr.			6438	11 7¼
To cash rec'd of Mr Remnant on Accot of Messrs Harrison and Legas		18518	9	6
To do. of do. on his own Accot.			7882	0 0
	Is Cr.	26400	9	6
By cash paid to S. Smersall		4429	4	7
Rec'd of do.		100	0	0
		4329	4	7
By do. paid to Mr Legas	17615 18 10			
By do. rec'd of do.	779 5 0	16836	13	10
		21165	18	5
Bills drawn and unpd. 24 Oct 1748		3237	0	0
			24402	18 5
Due from Mr Bagshaw for money rec'd more than paid besides Goods do. 29 September 1746			1997	11 1
Mr Legas to the Sussex partnership JL		6899	9	2¾
	SS	9161	19	8¾
To the Dead Stock etc. left at the works at Michaelmas 1746			16061	8 11½
To cash due from the accountant to balance his General Account at Michaelmas 1746			21598	7 ¾
			37659	16 2¼

29 September 1746

Mr Legas to the Sussex	JL	6899	9	2¼
partnership	SS	9161	19	8¾

To the Dead Stock etc left at the				
Workes at Michas 1746		16061	8	11½
To Cash due from the Accomptant to				
Ballance his General Accots at				
Michas 1746		<u>21598</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>3¼</u>
		<u>37659</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>2¾</u>

Mr Harrison's Exors to Mr Legas Dr.

To Mr Harrison's Exors' Proportion				
of Dead Stock as above at Michas 1746		8030	14	5¾
To the Ballance of a Accot Curr. settled				
to Lady day 1747 in favour of Mr Legas		32035	9	6¼
		<u>40066</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>

Contra

By Mr Legas's proportion of stock				
in the said partnership at Michas 1746		18829	18	1½
By Mr Harrison's Exors. do. to				
Ballance this Accot		18829	18	1¼

Cr.

<u>37659</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>2¾</u>
--------------	-----------	-----------

Contra

By the Ballance of the above Accot				
being Mr Harrison's Exors Proportion				
of Stock in the Sussex partnership at				
Michas 1746		18829	18	1¼
By Mr Legas's proportion of cash due				
from the Office of Ordnance etc at				
Lady day 1747 being (£20461 8s 3d a				
moiety of which is)		<u>10230</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>1½</u>
		<u>29060</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>2¾</u>

Cr.

<u>11005</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>9¼</u>
<u>40066</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>

By Ballance due to Mr Legas clear of
the Sussex partnership at Michas 1746

42. Richard Tapsell to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich
Wadhurst 4 February 1748[9]

Mr Legas recd your favour of the 28th Ulto. and found Mr Bagshaws Accot. agreeable to your last Letter, we haveing charged the last £100 pd by you, in the Accot. sent and did not mention the time it was paid to, which makes in the whole paid him on your own Accot. from the 31st Mar 1747 to the 25th Dec 1748, £7882 0s. 0d. Exclusive of the £4000 paid the 26 Octr. 1748 Mr Legas is good deal indisposed otherwise would have Wrote himself but desires his complimts. ...

43. John Legas to Samuel Remnant, Woolwich
London 3 March 1748[9]

I was in hopes I should have seen you before you set out for Woolwich but was deprived of that pleasure though I endeavored at it, I went afterwards to the Tower where findeing the time for a proof not yet fix'd & uncertain when it wd. has brot me to a resolution to set outfor Sussex tomorrow

Mr Bagshaw told me that at Chainge there is abt. 100 Guns at Woolwich If so, I conclude one of the Maidstone Hoys has been up & brot some of our Guns which I hope will be brot upon the proof, which gives you the trouble of this to request it of you, the trouble of which I hope you will excuse ...

[P.S.] I see Mr Allen at Chainge and told him what pas'd betwene Mr Fuller and us yesterday, which he seemed pleased with

44. Richard Tapsell to John Whithead¹ at Samuel Remnant's,
Woolwich
Wadhurst 6 May 1749

If I had the Accot. of the ½ Pounds. I have mislaid it therefore should be obliged to you for the same from Michas. 1746 to this time, the 3 3 Poundrs. were laid down in the Warren last Wednesday

1. Possibly one of Samuel Remnant's clerks. In his will, Remnant made a bequest to an Owen Whitehead, also one of his clerks, and perhaps a relation.

45. **Richard Tapsell to Samuel Remnant**, Bread Street Hill, London
Wadhurst 10 June 1749

Mr Legas returning from London a good deal Indisposed, ordered me to Write to you to desire you will send him an Accot of what money you have paid Mr Bagshaw since the 15th Decr last, upon your own Accot., & what upon Accot. of the money recd from the Office on Accot. of Harrison and Legas, Mr Legas desires his Complimts ...

46. **John Legas to Samuel Remnant**, Bread Street Hill, London
Wadhurst 5 July 1749

I have had an unexpected demand for £300 since Rd Tapsell came from home wch. I must desire you'll please to pay to him upon his delivering you a Rect. for the same ...

47. **John Legas to Samuel Remnant**, Bread Street Hill, London
Wadhurst 16 August 1749

Your favour of the 10th Instant comeing here when I was from home could not acknowledge the rect. of it sooner & as the post is just going out have only time to Inform you that I shall be in Town next Weeke when I shall give you a rect. for the 2 debentrs mentiond in yors. & receive the Bal my self At my return likewise I recd. a Lre from Mr Heaton advising that Mr. Wally and Mr. Hays¹ were appoynted by Messrs Wadsworth & Hallet to Inspect our Partnership Books² & desired a time might be fix'd for their comeing down for that purpose wch. Mr Warner assured me wd not be Insisted on but I finde he is not a true profit in all things, I cannot conclude tho in fear of loseing the post without Intreating you to stop all money in your hands arising from Governmt. Guns til ye accots. are made up or til you see Yor most humble St ...

[on a separate sheet, in a different hand]

As Each Executr is accountable for his own action I cannot but think that Mr Legas's rect. to Remnant must be good altho' the

money is paid out of the Trust Estate, whereby the action is Mr Legas and Consequently he is accountable.

1. Probably Charles Hay, who had been appointed in 1744 by Harrison, Wordsworth, Banister and Hallett to draw up accounts of the co-partnership.
2. Josias Wordsworth and Crowley Hallett, together with John Banister, London merchants, had been partners of William Harrison. Remnant and Legas brought a claim in the Court of Chancery against Wordsworth and Hallett, and Ann Smith, one of Banister's executors, for £6000 which had been Harrison's capital share in the partnership, together with a further £6230 14s. 3d. for goods sold: Guildhall Library Ms. 6482A. John Banister (b. 1699) had been manager of the substantial iron manufacturers, Crowley & Co., from 1730-40, effectively running the company during the minority of Ambrose Crowley, the heir to the business (Flinn 1962, 77-80). Banister had purchased guns from the Fullers before the Crowleys had begun casting them at Ashburnham (Crossley & Saville 1991: 85, 95). Crowley Hallett (b. 1713) was cousin to Ambrose Crowley (Flinn 1962, 57), and had been apprenticed to Alexander Master, ironmonger of West Smithfield, in 1729; Drapers Company Archives.

**48. John Legas to Samuel Remnant, Bread Street Hill, London
Wadhurst 25 October 1749**

I rec'd last post a Lre from Mr Bush by order of the Board requiring fresh proposals for supplying the Office wth Iron Ordnance upon more reasonable & moderate termes than before otherwise they wd advertize without giveing further notice to the present contractrs. by which it appears to me they intend a sort of preference to the persons at present Employ'd & wch I thinke concerns us to write in giveing in our fresh proposals, I shall be ready to joyne you in any method that shall be propper in order thereto & shall be in Town next Saturday to attend you on the sd acct ...

Index to *Wealden Iron* 2nd Series Vol 29 (2009)

Compiled by J. S. Hodgkinson

Compiler's Note

Wealden locations are listed by parish; other locations are listed by ancient county. Names of shipping vessels and publications are in italics.

- air furnace, 39
Aldridge, N., 7
Allen, Mr, 44, 66
Alton (Staffordshire)
 Croxden Abbey, 13
Andrews, Hannah, 20
Ashburnham (East Sussex)
 Ashburnham Furnace, 18, 22, 28, 68
Ashdown Beds, 3, 5
Aylsford (Kent)
 Millhall, 31
- Backhouse, William, 54
Bagshaw, Robert, 21, 22-3, 24, 44, 45,
 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 58,
 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67
 letters to, 38
 letters from, 60
Baker family, 39
Baker, George, 20
Baker, Robert, 18
Banister, John, 19, 20, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28,
 30, 68
Barden Furnace, *see* Bidborough
Battle (East Sussex), 48
Bebside (Northumberland), 19, 20
Beckley (East Sussex)
 Beckley (Conster) Furnace, 15, 21, 22,
 28, 29, 41
- Benenden (Kent), 5
 bloomeries, 5, 6
 Little Haven Field bloomery, 5
 New Barn Shaw, 6
 Strawberry Wood, 5
Beult, river, 10
Bicknell, Elizabeth, née Baker, 20
Bidborough (Kent)
 Barden Furnace, 16, 28, 60
Birchden, manor of, 20, 39
Bivelham Forge, *see* Mayfield
Blackpool Forge (Pembrokeshire), 15
bloomeries, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
 Iron Age, 7, 8
 Roman, 4, 8, 9
Bowen, William, 16, 18, 27-8, 31, 41, 60
brayes, 18
Brede (East Sussex)
 Brede Bridge, 55
 Brede Furnace, 15, 19, 21, 29, 46, 51,
 53, 54, 55, 57, 62
Brenchley (Kent)
 Horsmonden boring mill, 15, 21
Bridger, John, 58, 59
Brightling (East Sussex)
 Glazier's Forge, 15, 21, 22, 29, 37
Bromley (Kent), 21, 23
 Widmore, 20
Brown, D. M., 5

- Bunhill Fields burial ground, 21
 Burningfold Furnace, *see* Dunsfold
 Bush, Charles, 39, 50, 54, 59, 68
 Bush, James, 39
 Bush, Revd. Samuel, 21
 Butler, John, 28
 Buttenshaw, Judith, 15
 Buxted (East Sussex)
 bloomeries, 4
 Mine Pit Wood, 4
 Nashes Farm, 4
- Chancery, Court of, 18, 24-6, 68
 charcoal, 30
 Chingley Forge, *see* Goudhurst
 Cleobury Mortimer (Shropshire), 15
 Coney, Damaris, 21
 Conster Furnace, *see* Beckley
 copper artefacts, 5
 coppicing, 31
 Cowden (Kent)
 Cowden Furnace, 16, 28, 60
 Crowley & Co., 19, 27, 68
 Crowley, Ambrose, 19, 28, 68
 Crowley, John, 28
- Darwell Furnace, *see* Mountfield
 Deptford (Middlesex), 19, 25, 26
 Dunsfold (Surrey)
 Burningfold Furnace, 28
 Dunston (Durham), 19, 20
- East Court*, 17
 East India Company, 27
 East Peckham (Kent)
 Branbridge, 31, 41, 43, 51
 Edmonds, Mr, 31, 41, 48, 50, 51, 54, 57
 English, J., 11
 excise, 24, 48, 49, 52-3, 58, 61
- Fernhurst Furnace, *see* Linchmere
 Foley family, 15, 22
 Forest Ironworking partnership, 22
 forges, 28, 29
- Fuller family, 14, 19, 41, 68
 Fuller, Henry, 42, 43
 Fuller, John ‘Justice’ (1680-1745), 42, 43
 Fuller, John (1706-55), 17, 28, 30, 37, 42, 43, 62, 66
 Fuller, Thomas, 42, 43
- Glazier’s Forge, *see* Brightling
 Gloucester Furnace, *see* Lamberhurst
 Glovers’ Company, 16
 Godmersham (Kent)
 Eggarton, 41
 Gott, Elizabeth, 22, 41
 Gott family, 39
 Gott, Martha, née Western, 41
 Gott, Mary, 22, 41
 Gott, Maximilian, 15, 16, 19, 22, 41
 Gott, Mrs (widow of William Gott), 41, 47
 Gott, Peter, 24, 41
 Gott, Samuel, 19, 22, 41
 Gott, Sarah, 22, 41
 Gott, William, 16, 22, 24, 28, 41
 Goudhurst (Kent)
 Chingley Forge, 15
 guns, *see* ordnance
 gun founding, 29-30
 gun heads, 28
- Hadlow Down (East Sussex)
 bloomeries, 3
 Huggetts Furnace, 3
 Huggett’s Furnace Farm, 3
 Shorewell, 3
 Hall, William, 15
 Hallett, Crowley, 19, 20, 24, 25, 26, 28, 30, 67, 68
 Hamsell Furnace, *see* Rotherfield
 Harrison, Andrews, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 31, 55, 59, 62
 letters from, 54
 Harrison family, 45, 63
 Harrison, Hannah, née Andrews, 20

- Harrison, John, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 31, 39, 59
- Harrison, William, 14, 15, 16, 17-21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 39, 41, 46, 55, 56-7, 64, 65, 67, 68
 death, 21
 marriage, 20
 partnerships, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 30
- Hartfield (East Sussex)
 Chantler's Farm, 4
- Hartwell, Robert, 51
- Hastings (East Sussex), 40
- Hastings Area Archaeological Research Group, 4
- Hastings rape, 23
- Hawkhurst (Kent)
 Hawkhurst Furnace, 5
- Hawksden Forge, *see* Mayfield
- Hay, Charles, 67, 68
- Heathfield (East Sussex)
 Heathfield Furnace, 28, 29
- Heaton, Mr, 67
- Helmes, Thomas, 18
- Herring, Henry, 18
- Hodgkinson, J. S., 3, 14
- Homesby, Philadelphia, 22, 63, 64
- Horsmonden boring mill, 15, 21, 41
- Hussey, Edward, 22
- Hussey family, 52, 63
- Hussey, Thomas, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22-3, 37
- iron
 bar, 27
 cast, 27, 28
 shot, *see* shot, round
 Swedish, 27, 28
- iron ore, 3, 30
 roasted, 3, 10
- iron slag, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11
 tap slag, 3, 6
- ironmongers, 18, 19, 24, 27
 in Guildford, 29
 in Lewes, 29
- iron wares, 28
- Jones, Richard, 18-19
- Jukes brothers, 18, 19
- Jukes, George, 19, 23, 28
- Jukes, William, 15, 19, 22, 23, 24, 28, 40, 42-3, 45, 48, 49, 55
- Lade, Sir John, 42, 43
- Lamb, James, 32, 40, 57, 58
- Lamberhurst (Kent)
 Gloucester (Lamberhurst) Furnace, 15, 21, 29, 39, 41, 46, 48, 53, 54, 55, 58, 62
- land tax, 23-4, 44, 45, 49, 52
- Legas, Anne marriage to Richard Tapsell, 21
- Legas, John (fl.1660), 15
- Legas, John (1690-1752), 14, 15-16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 37, 56-7, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68
 death, 16
 letters from, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 56, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 66, 67, 68
 marriage, 15
 partnerships, 15, 22, 23, 24
- Legas, Judith, formerly Buttenshaw, née Sanders, 15, 16, 21
- Legas, Paul, 21
- Legas, Sebastian, 15
- Legg, Mary, 17
- Lewes (East Sussex), 43, 57, 58
- Linchmere (West Sussex)
 Fernhurst (North Park) Furnace, 28
- London, Tower of, 66
- Ludgate & Whistler, Messrs, 18
- Lymington (Hampshire)
 Sowley Furnace, 28
- Maidstone (Kent), 40, 48, 54
 river transport to, 31, 41, 43, 51, 57
 warehouse, 21
- Marten, John & Co., 58, 59

- Master, Alexander, 68
 Mayfield (East Sussex)
 Bivelham Forge, 15, 22, 29, 37
 Hawksden Forge, 15, 29, 31
 Hawksden Park Wood, 31
 Medhurst, Mr, 40
 Medway Navigation, 31
 Mitford, William, 61, 62
 Montagu, John, 2nd duke of, 28
 Mountfield (East Sussex)
 Darwell Furnace, 27, 28

 Newcastle (Northumberland)
 Skinnerburn, 20
 Newhaven (East Sussex), 31
 Nichols, Mr, 27
 North Park Furnace, *see* Linchmere

 ordnance, iron, 24, 25, 48, 49, 62, 63, 66, 68
 42-pounders, 44
 32-pounders, 40, 46, 53, 55, 58
 24-pounders, 19, 40, 46, 51, 53, 54, 57
 18-pounders, 38, 40, 53, 55, 57
 12-pounders, 57
 9-pounders, 38, 39, 40, 53
 6-pounders, 38, 52, 53, 58
 3-pounders, 38, 53, 66
 ½-pounders, 66
 proof, 49, 50, 55, 56, 59, 62
 Ordnance, Board (or Office) of, 14, 16, 17, 18, 24, 27, 28, 30, 39, 45, 50, 51, 53, 61, 62, 67, 68
 Greenwich storekeeper, 19
 Portsmouth storekeeper, 19
 Orznash, manor of, 20, 39
 Oxney, Isle of, 5

 Pelham family, 22, 37
 Pelham, Henry, 59, 60
 Penn, Mr, 47, 49
 Pennsylvania Coffee House, 56
 Peters, Stephen, 18
 Pevensey (East Sussex), 31

 Pevensey rape, 23
 pottery East Sussex ware, 5, 10
 Samian ware, 5, 10
Prince Henry, 17
 Prus, J. L., 3

 radiocarbon dating, 8
 Reading Beds, 11
 Remnant, John, 17
 Remnant, Mary, née Legg, 17, 46
 Remnant, Samuel, 14, 16-17, 25, 26, 28, 31, 39, 42, 60, 64, 68
 death, 17
 letters to, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 66, 67, 68
 letters from, 37
 property at Bisham, 17
 ships owned by, 17
 Remnant, Sarah, 17
 Remnant, Stephen, 17, 28, 31, 60
 Ripley (Surrey)
 bloomery slag, 11
 Newark Priory, 11-13
 Robertsbridge Furnace and Forge, *see* Salehurst
 Rogers, Rowland, 48
 Roman
 bloomeries, 5
 coins, 5
 pottery, 5, 10
 roads, 5
 terret ring, 5
 Rotherfield (East Sussex), 20
 Hamsell Furnace, 20, 26, 29, 38, 39, 61
 Rye (East Sussex), 39, 49, 50, 51, 55, 57, 58

 Salehurst (East Sussex)
 Robertsbridge Forge, 23, 28, 43
 Robertsbridge Furnace, 19, 23, 28, 43, 49, 55

Saltash, 32, 50, 51

Sanders, Judith, 15
 Sedlescombe (East Sussex)
 bloomeries, 3
 Wimbletott's Wood, 3
 Short, Mr, 50
 shot, round, 29, 37, 41, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48,
 49, 50, 52, 60
 for government, 38
 for merchants, 38
 gauge, 42
 moulds, 38
 Slade, Chiswell, 32, 40, 55, 61
 Smarden (Kent)
 bloomeries, 7-9
 Cousins Farm, 7-8
 Monk's Hill bloomery, 8
 New House Farm, 7
 Omenden bloomery, 8
 Romden bloomery, 9-10
 Smarden Local History Society, 7
 Smersall, Samuel, 21, 23, 24, 28, 39, 41,
 43, 44, 45, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 55, 64
 letters to, 37
 letters from, 37, 38, 42, 44,
 Smith, Anne, 25, 26, 68
 Sone, Revd. Philip, 28
 South Sea Company, 48
 Southwark (Surrey), 28
 Battle Bridge, 18, 26, 39
 Falcon foundry, 19
 Marigold Stairs, 60
 Stone Wharf, 18, 39
 Spencer, William, 20
 Swedish iron, 27, 28

 Tapsell, Letitia, 21
 Tapsell, Richard, 21, 22, 49, 52, 58, 67
 letters from, 41, 66, 67
 Teise, river, 29
 Thomlinson family, 20
 Thomlinson, William, 20
 Tonbridge (Kent)
 river transport from, 31, 57
 warehouse, 21

 transport
 convoy, 39, 50
 land, 37, 40, 43, 45, 49
 protection for, 40, 50
 water, 31-2, 55, 58, 66
 Tunbridge Wells Sand, 4

 Ulcombe (Kent)
 Jubilee Corner bloomery, 7
 Wadhurst Clay, 3, 4, 5, 6
 Wadhurst (East Sussex), 15
 Hill House, 15
 Waldron (East Sussex)
 Waldron Furnace, 15, 21, 22, 29, 37,
 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 49, 50, 51-2, 53,
 54, 57, 58
 Wally, Mr, 67
 Warbleton (East Sussex)
 Bacon Hollow Wood, 4
 bloomeries, 4
 Warner, Vere, 63, 64, 67
 Webb, Philip Carteret, 41
 Western, Maximilian, 19
 Westfield (East Sussex)
 Westfield Forge, 15, 21, 22, 29, 41
 Whistler, Messrs Ludgate &, 18
 Whithead, John
 letters to, 66
 Whitehead, Owen, 67
 Wittersham (Kent)
 Bates Farm, 4
 bloomery slag, 4
 Wittersham Manor, 4
 Wolley, Mr, 48
 wood, 42, 43, 52
 Woolwich (Kent), 16, 32, 41,
 43, 48, 49, 50, 51, 54, 55, 57, 59, 62, 66
 Warren, 45, 62
 Wordsworth, Josias, 19, 20, 24, 26, 27,
 28, 30, 31, 67, 68
 Wordsworth, Mary, 25, 26
 Wortley Forge (Yorkshire), 20