

APPENDIX I

WEALDEN IRONMASTERS AND THEIR SITES 1750 - 1770

ASHBURNHAM & CROWLEY FAMILIES

Guns were cast at Ashburnham, with two boring mills; one at Ashburnham Forge. In the late 1730s and 40s the Crowleys had two furnaces in blast in the Weald, at Ashburnham and Darwell.¹ Contrary to the view expressed by Flinn (1962: 101), they retained an interest in the smelting branch of the iron industry, for they were supplying the Board of Ordnance with guns from Ashburnham in the early 1750s and again in the late 50s and 60s.² Confident of ordnance markets, one of the boring mills was rebuilt in 1766. The lack of a forge necessitated importing wire, bar iron etc. for use at the furnace, presumably from the Crowley's warehouse at Greenwich, or purchasing it from the Fullers' forge at Burwash. Correspondingly, gunheads were carried to Hastings, presumably for export to the Crowleys' other works where they would be melted down. They also purchased condemned and refused guns from the Fullers.³ In 1756, John, 2nd Earl of Ashburnham, married Elizabeth, daughter of Theodosia Crowley, and for a while, the ironworks continued under Crowley management (the Ashburnham family gained possession of half the Crowley estate after Theodosia's death in 1788). During the late 1750s, Roger Hanmer, agent for Theodosia and another of her daughters, of the same name, shipped guns for merchantmen and privateers out of Hastings and Maidstone.⁴ William Summers, a furnaceman at Ashburnham in the 1750s, was later imprisoned as an insolvent debtor at Horsham.⁵ Domestic ironwork and

CROWLEY & CO. 1750-70
Guns for the Board of Ordnance

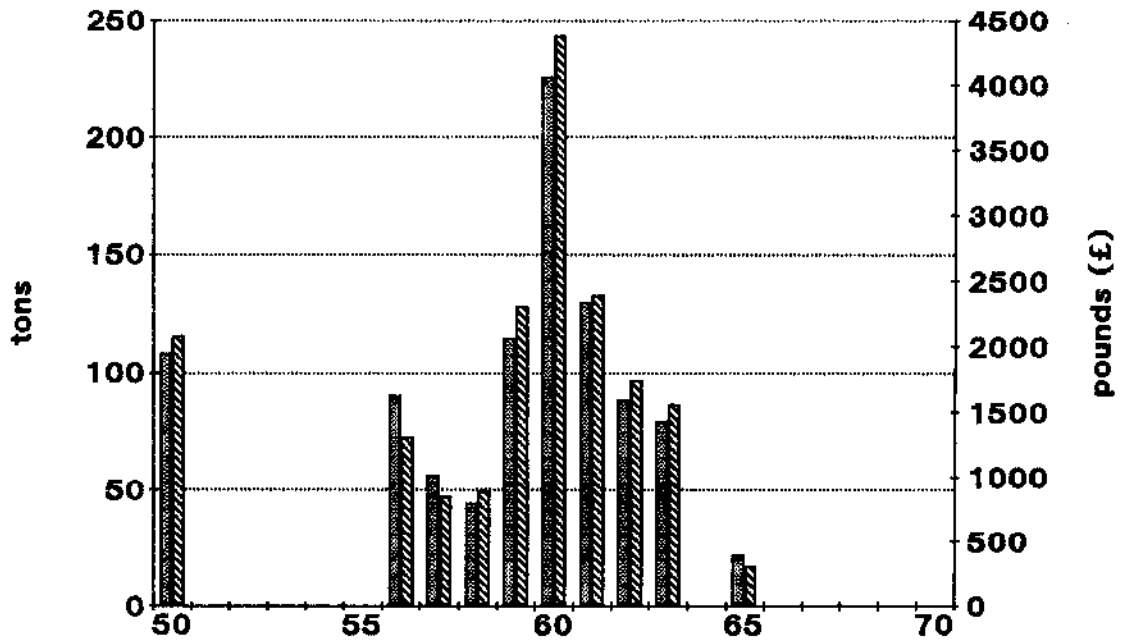


Fig.14

(PRO W051 174-230)

pig continued to be produced intermittently until 1813 (Beswick *et al* 1984: 226). The forge worked until c.1827.

Trunnion Mark: A ?D⁶

SAMUEL BAKER

Leased Hawksden Forge from the Trevors of Glynde in 1766 after a year's correspondence.⁷ He purchased pig iron from the Fullers, and sold iron ore to them.⁸

DANIEL BEARD

Occupied Maresfield Forge from 1751-61.⁹ Purchased pig iron and forge tackle from the Fullers.¹⁰ Probably had an ironmonger's shop in Lewes.

JAMES BOURNE & CO.

Bourne, of Salehurst, leased Robertsbridge furnace and forge from 1768-79, in partnership with William Polhill, of Hastings, and David Guy, of Rye (Whittick 1992: 48-9). He also ran Darwell Furnace (Straker 1931: p.309). He supplied the Board in 1773-4, and took a lease of Glaziers Forge, Brightling, in 1785,¹¹ on condition that he worked sows from Ashburnham, but does not appear to have operated at the works. His son, Henry, gave evidence of the work he did for his father in working teams bringing ore from Silverhill to Robertsbridge.¹² Bourne acted as clerk at Robertsbridge to John Churchill sen., to whom he was kinsman, and later executor.¹³ In 1748 a James Bourne had been lessee of Rushall Furnace in Staffordshire, which John Churchill was later to lease (Riden 1987: 19).

Trunnion Mark: ?IB

WILLIAM BOWEN

Bowen supplied the Board until 1770. He purchased the freehold of Cowden furnace in 1741, and was casting at Barden furnace (Bidborough) c.1761.¹⁴ Reference to his furnaces in 1757 suggests that both were in blast by then, but it is likely that only Cowden was still working in 1768.¹⁵ From 1729, Bowen, at Barden, was one of those to whose forge the Fullers were selling pig iron, gunheads and failed guns.¹⁶ The forge also appears in the list of those working in 1736, but it is not known whether it was still in operation after 1750.¹⁷ Fuller reckoned Bowen the best moulder in the business. He sub-

contracted to the Fullers in 1748 and bought refused 18 pounders from them in 1751 (Crossley & Saville 1991: p.194, 246, 265). He took old iron guns in part payment for guns and shot he supplied to the Board of

WILLIAM BOWEN 1750-70
Guns for the Board of Ordnance

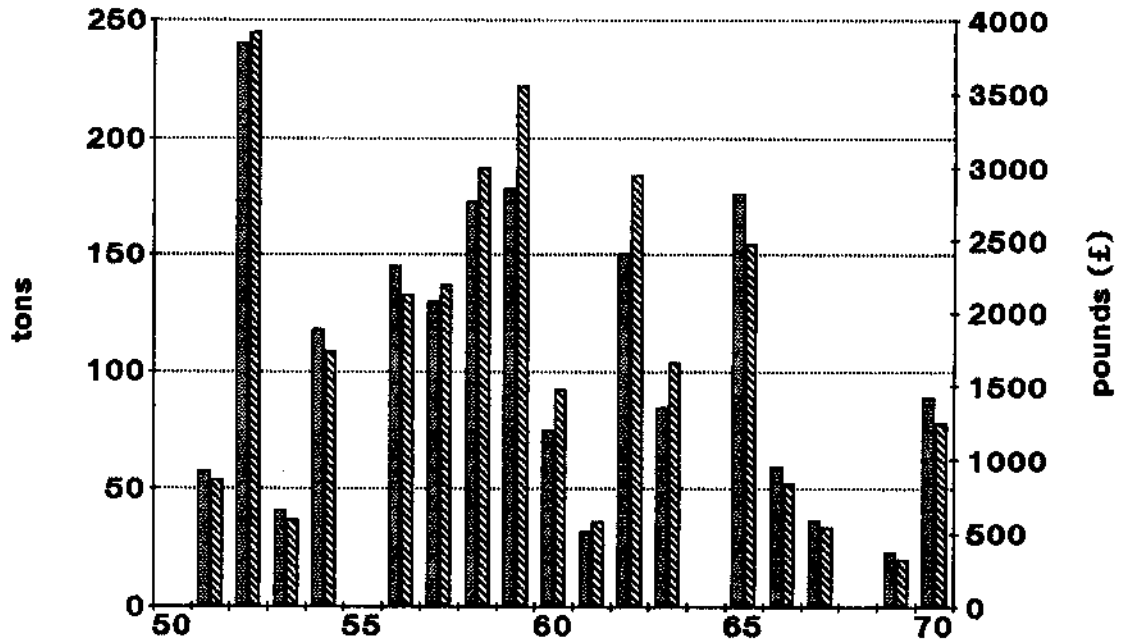


Fig.15

(PRO W051 176-246)

Ordnance, confirming that he had an air furnace, probably at his foundry at Marigold Stairs, Upper Ground, in Christchurch parish, Southwark, which he leased from the Edward Edwardes Charity in 1722, renewing the lease for 31 years in 1748.¹⁸ Bowen continued to contract for orders after the general lowering of prices to £14 per ton, instigated by the Carron Co. in late 1764. He also cast in bronze, probably at Southwark. Bowen was a friend of Samuel Remnant and was mentioned as such in the latter's will.¹⁹ Bowen, who was described as of Tonbridge, died in 1771.²⁰

Trunnion Mark: WB

FAWLKNER BRISTOW

Occupied Howbourne Forge (Buxted) in 1765, following the bankruptcy of William Clutton.²¹ He purchased iron from the Fullers' iron house at Brightling.²²

JOHN BUTLER

Butler, of Bramshott, sought to have guns made for him by the Fullers in 1738, and ran Northpark furnace (Linchmere), in partnership with Eade, probably of Eade & Wilton (though possibly Jas. Eade, later of Abinger Ham.), prior to Wright & Prickett taking over the furnace in 1769 (Butler & Butler 1845: 10-1).²³ The furnace was probably that hinted at as working in the west of Sussex in 1752 (Crossley & Saville 1991: p.273). In the copy of the 1788 list of furnaces closed since 1750, in the Boulton & Watt papers, Butler is given as the occupier of "Burhamfold." This is presumably a mis-spelling of Burningfold, although no corroborative evidence has been found.²⁴ Butler died in 1775.²⁵

JOHN CHURCHILL & SON

Churchill, of Hints, Staffordshire, had leases of Rushall Furnace, Hints Forge and Bromwich Forge, in the same county; an earlier lessee at Rushall was a James Bourne (Riden 1987: 19). After initial correspondence with Sir Whistler Webster, he took a lease of Robertsbridge Furnace and Forge (Salehurst) in 1754 (Whittick 1992: 56-62), where he reinstated the second finery hearth at the forge, and

in 1755, together with his son, John, he offered to cast guns for the Board from 1756. Initially offering to cast 200 tons, he increased to 400 tons the following year, suggesting he had greater furnace capacity, perhaps through operating Darwell Furnace (Mountfield).²⁶ He also cast for the merchant trade,²⁷ but was bankrupt in August 1767.²⁸ He sub-contracted for Robert Morgan, gunfounder at Carmarthen, in 1761, having lost the Board's contracts himself that year (Williams 1959: 42).²⁹ In early 1764 he reported to the Board that his works had blown up.³⁰ Although he had accepted £14 per ton for guns delivered late, Churchill did not continue to offer to cast for the Board after the general lowering of prices to that level, instigated by the Carron Co. in late 1764. He died between August and October of 1767 and his business, both in Staffordshire and Sussex, was inherited by his son, who sold, or did not renew their respective leases in 1768.³¹

Trunnion Mark: IC, IC/R, IC/D

**JOHN CHURCHILL & SON 1750-70
Guns for the Board of Ordnance**

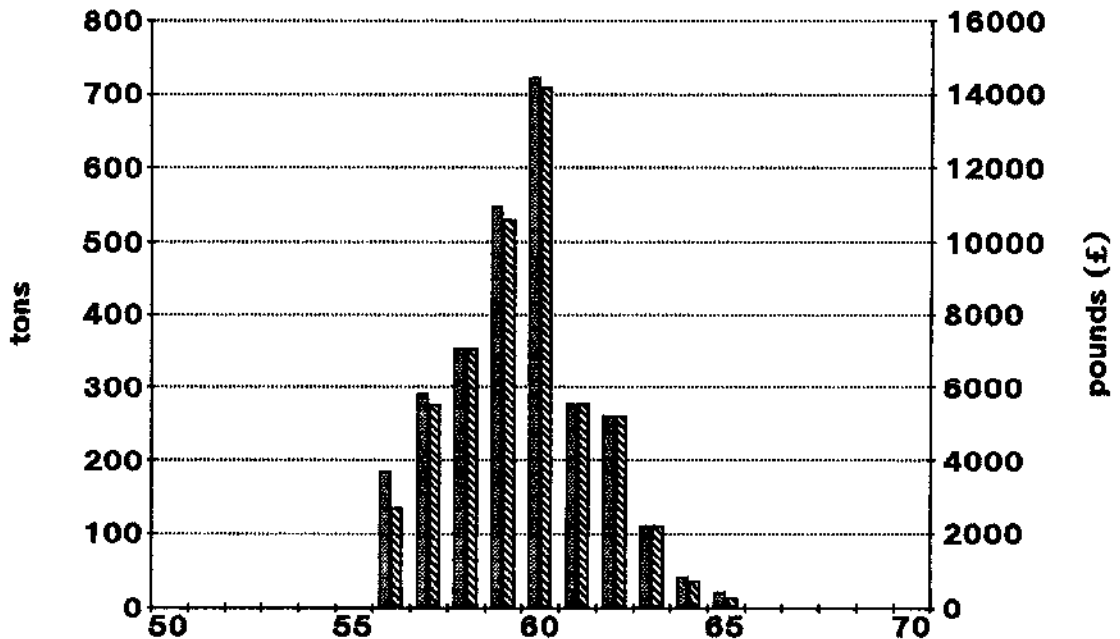


Fig.16

CLUTTON & CO.

William Clutton, of Horsted Keynes, cast guns at Gravetye (West Hoathly) from 1761 until bankruptcy in August 1762. He also had Howbourne Forge (Buxted) and Maresfield Forge. He did not sell directly to the Board but seems to have sub-contracted for Eade & Wilton, who had guns, presumably cast for them, carried to Woolwich by Robert Knight, after the bankruptcy. Thereafter, Clutton's assignees, his brother Ralph Clutton and Samuel Durrant, took possession of the furnace to clear the stock. Clutton's partner was John Norden, who may have worked for Harrison and Legas as a draughtsman for cannon moulds (Hodgkinson 1989).

DAVID COLLINS

Took over Bivelham Forge c.1766, following the bankruptcy of Richard Tapsell.³² A William Collins later rented Gloucester Furnace (Lamberhurst).³³

CHRISTOPHER CRIPPS

Occupied Howbourne Forge (Buxted) from 1756-60.³⁴ He bought forge tackle from the Fullers in 1758.³⁵

EADE & WILTON

Jonathan Eade supplied guns for East India Co. ships from 1753 and, with William Wilton, supplied the Board with guns and shot from 1756-68. Though it is not known if they operated any works themselves, they must have had a firm arrangement with at least one gunfounder to ensure that orders and prices could be met. They also dealt in guns for the merchant trade.³⁶ Described as ships' chandlers, their office and warehouses were near to King Edward's Stairs, in Wapping.³⁷ In late 1762 they paid Robert Knight to carry guns from Gravetye when

EADE & WILTON 1750-70
Guns for the Board of Ordnance

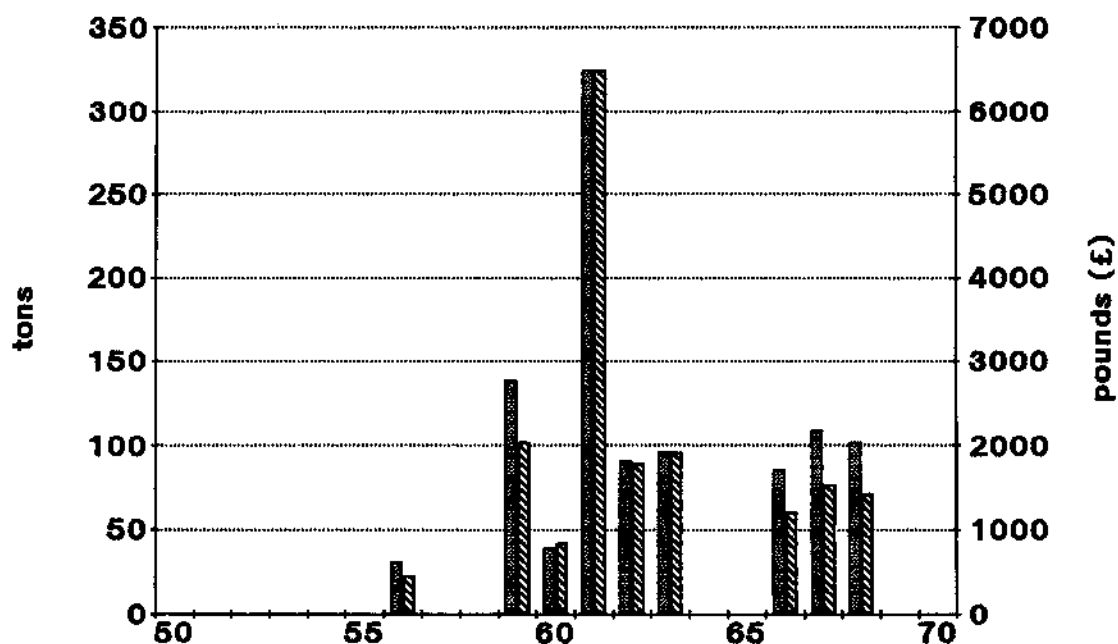


Fig.17

(PRO W051 199-240)

Clutton went bankrupt, presumably to fulfil orders (Hodgkinson 1978: 18). In 1753, they purchased over 200 small calibre pieces from Fuller, as well as sub-standard guns for the merchant trade.³⁸ Eade may have worked with John Butler, suggesting that, after Clutton's bankruptcy, Northpark Furnace was Eade & Wilton's chief source of ordnance.³⁹ In

one source Eade is described as a founder (Coote 1763). Eade also manufactured gunpowder, traded with Africa, and was a director of an insurance firm (West 1991: 144).

JAMES EADE

Had Abinger Hammer 1781-2.⁴⁰ Possibly the Mr Eade who partnered John Butler.

FULLER FAMILY

John Fuller began casting at Heathfield furnace in 1693, and it was continued, during this period, by his grandsons, John (1745-55),

THE FULLER FAMILY 1750-70 Guns for the Board of Ordnance

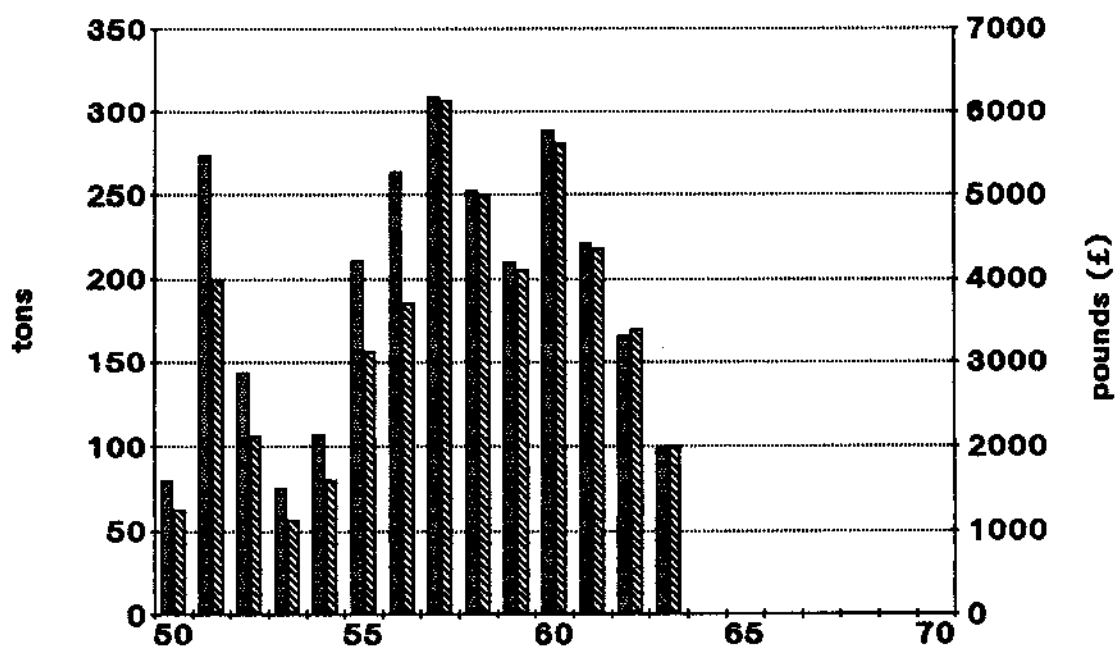


Fig.18

(PRO W051 175-232)

Stephen (1755-57) and Rose (1757-77), although Stephen retained overall control of the ironworks after Rose's return from Jamaica in 1757. They sub-contracted work to Harrison's and the Jukes brothers on occasions, offered to assist Rev Sone & son (Sowley Furnace, Hants.) with contracts, were invited to cast guns for John Butler in 1738, and sold rejected ones to William Bowen in 1751 and to Eade & Wilton in 1754. They also ran Burwash Forge until 1803, and it is reported that there was an air furnace at Goodsoal Farm, Burwash Weald, though the Fuller papers make no mention of one (Lower 1849: 207). They supplied the Board with guns until 1765, also the Kingdom of Sardinia in 1753, and the Kingdom of Naples and the Two Sicilies in 1755 (the latter order containing guns of French bore, and thus harder to dispose of, or replace, if they failed the proof). Another contract, with Austria in 1752, was not completed. They continued to cast intermittently until 1793 or 4. The forge ceased to work in 1803 (Crossley & Saville 1991).

Trunnion Mark: JF, IF, RF

JAMES GOODYER

A Guildford ironmonger, he occupied Abinger Hammer from 1756 (possibly from 1751).⁴¹ In 1774 he took a lease of Northpark Furnace and Pophole Hammer, until bankruptcy in 1777.⁴²

HARRISON & CO.

William Harrison, of New Broad Street, and of Stone Wharf (Gun Wharf), Morgan Lane, Southwark, entered into the Country Partnership with John Legas in 1741, formalised in 1743, for a term of sixteen years.⁴³ Harrison died in 1745 and the business descended to Legas (d.1752)

and, in trust, to Harrison's sons, Andrews and John. Robert Bagshaw, Harrison's clerk, joined the partnership, on his former employer's advice, after 1750. The trustees were Legas and Samuel Remnant. Richard Tapsell, Legas's successor, operated with them from time to time. The partnership jointly leased Gloucester (Lamberhurst), Conster (Beckley) and Waldron furnaces, as well as a boring house at Horsmonden, and forges at Westfield and Hawksden (Mayfield). They rented Glaziers forge (Brightling) and Bivelham forge (Mayfield). In addition, Harrison separately had the lease of Brede furnace, and the freehold of Hamsell furnace, which he left to his son, John.⁴⁴ They cast guns for the Board, for the East India Co., and for other purchasers (e.g. Sardinia and Ireland). Brede furnace ceased working in 1766 (Lower 1849: 207). An air furnace had been built at Hamsell in 1745, and their offer to cast shot out of "melting iron" as well as ore in 1758 suggests a working life at least until then; land tax was paid until 1764.⁴⁵ In 1755, Harrison & Bagshaw offered to cast bronze guns for the Board, though there is no record of any orders being placed, nor of where such castings were to be made.⁴⁶ Waldron, although used primarily for shot casting in the late 1740s, seems to have been casting cannon as late as 1758, for Harrisons' were shipping guns out of Newhaven in 1756, a gun marked 'W' was proved for them in October 1757, and Tapsell was buying loam for the furnace from the Fullers in 1758.⁴⁷ A plan of Gloucester furnace in 1795 shows the site of a boring mill despite the partnership's use of Horsmonden for gun boring, although this may relate to later use.⁴⁸ From 1734-45, Harrison had a joint lease of Robertsbridge furnace with William and George Jukes. Harrisons' were the only Wealden founders to cast 42 pounder guns for the Board (the Carron Co. were later able to, and Wilkinson also offered). The partnership had warehouses at Tonbridge and Maidstone.⁴⁹ Robert Bagshaw also appears to have been in business as

a merchant on his own account, at an address in New Broad Street, London (Kent 1754; Rivington 1765).

Trunion Mark: B, C, W, H

HARRISON & CO. 1750-70 Guns for the Board of Ordnance

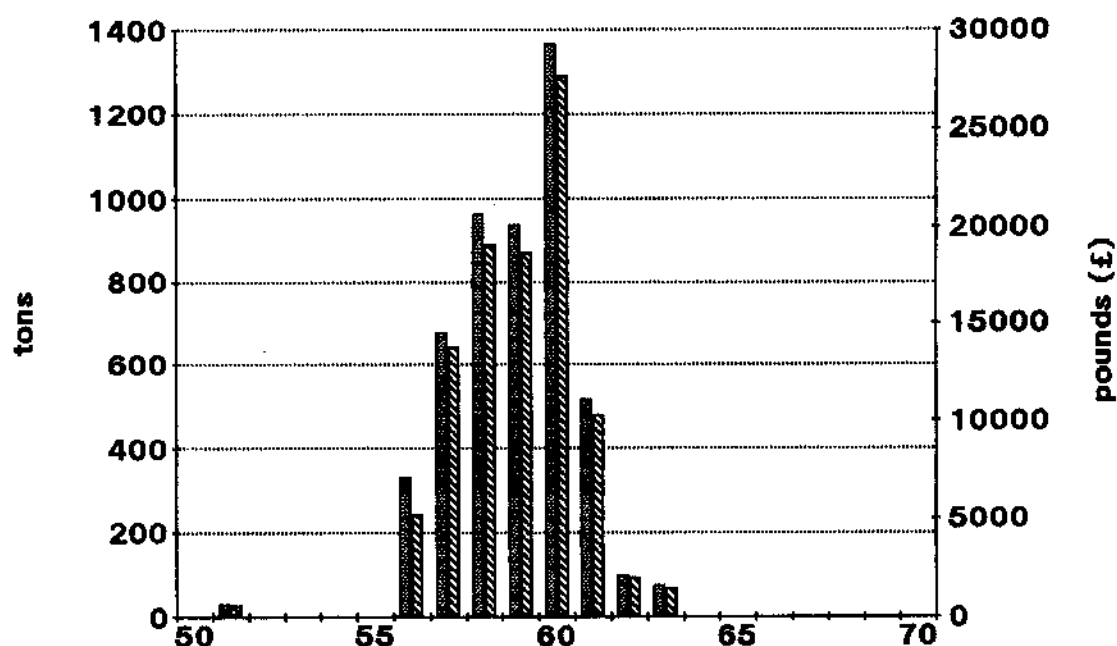


Fig.19

(PRO W051 196-229)

JUKES BROTHERS

William and George Jukes (or Jewkes) had Robertsbridge Furnace, firstly in partnership with William Harrison (from 1734), and then separately (from 1747). From 1737, they were sole lessees of the forge, where they constructed an air furnace. Both leases terminated in 1754 (Whittick 1992: 45-7, 52-5). They cast for the Board and as sub-contractors for John Fuller. The latter arrangement broke down in acrimony in 1749 (Crossley & Saville 1991: 250-1). They ceased to cast guns for the Board in 1748, although they continued to supply shot

until 1750, by which time William Jukes was dead. They were also tenants of Burningfold Furnace and Forge (Dunsfold) for which there is evidence of gun and shot casting. Burningfold had been sold by the executors of John Tanner, who d.1751, to Viscount Montague c.1756 (Kenyon 1952, p.239 n.7). In the Militia returns for Dunsfold in 1758, William Gardiner is referred to as a "furnaceman".⁵⁰ Burningfold Furnace is not shown on Rocque's map of Surrey (1762) so probably had ceased working by then. George, Thomas and James Jukes, who were based at 10, Alhallows Lane, close to the Steelyard, off Thames Street in London, shipped ordnance out of Sowley Furnace, Hants, in 1756, and out of Rye in 1757, as agents or merchants rather than as founders.⁵¹ They bought refused guns from the Fullers the same year.⁵² In the 1720s William Jukes & Co. of London had purchased pots and kettles from Coalbrookdale (Raistrick 1953: 55). In 1754-5 Jukes and Co. of Southwark sold pig iron to south Yorkshire furnaces, and a year earlier had purchased iron from Carburton Forge, Notts. (Hopkinson 1961: 145-6).

Trunnion Mark: (?) R

OWEN KNIGHT & CO.

Paid Land Tax for Thursley Hammer and Ponds in 1769.⁵³ The Thursley forge is marked on Rocque's map of Surrey (1762), and was noted as working in 1767 during the campaign for the repositioning of the tollgate on the Guildford-Liphook Turnpike, when the iron used was brought by water to Godalming and from thence by road.⁵⁴

JOHN LEGAS & RICHARD TAPSELL (see Fig.19)

Legas, together with Thomas Hussey, leased Gloucester furnace (Lamberhurst) in the early 1720s, from Maximilian Gott (Melling 1961: 95), leasing Hawksden forge in 1727 and Chingley a year earlier (Crossley 1975: 5).⁵⁵ Legas ran the first two, together with Beckley Furnace and Westfield Forge (both of which the Gott family also owned), and five other ironworks in partnership with William Harrison, from 1741 until Harrison's death in 1745 (see above). Legas's correspondence with Samuel Remnant indicates that he concentrated production at Waldron on shot until 1747.⁵⁶ Legas died on 22nd May 1752, aged 62, after handing over his business to Richard Tapsell, his nephew-in-law, who had worked with him since c.1737. According to Rev. Samuel Bush, Vicar of Wadhurst (1743-83), with whom both Legas and Tapsell had an acrimonious acquaintance, Legas was fined £2000 for illegally exporting guns, thus ending his contracts with the government.⁵⁷ Tapsell continued the partnership with the Harrisons, and with Robert Bagshaw, until his bankruptcy in 1765, for which the petitioner was Bagshaw.⁵⁸ Tapsell's bankruptcy caused the temporary closure of all the works tenanted by the Harrison-Legas partnership. Tapsell continued to be rated for stock at Waldron Furnace until 1768. The body of Judith, wife of John Legas, who died in 1747, lies buried beneath an iron memorial plate in Wadhurst Church. Tapsell died c.1777.

Trunnion Mark: G, W

BENJAMIN MOLINEUX

Occupied Maresfield Forge from 1767. He purchased gunheads, sows and forge tackle from the Fullers.⁵⁹ He sold bar iron from the forge, and

from an ironmongers' shop in Lewes run by Joseph, and later, Ann Molineux.⁶⁰

RABY & CO.

Edward Raby and his brother-in-law, Alexander Master, had an ironmongery business at Smithfield before 1750, and were already supplying the Board with forgings before 1759 when they first cast ordnance at the Warren Furnace, Worth. Masters, or his father, may

RABY & CO. 1750-70 Guns for the Board of Ordnance

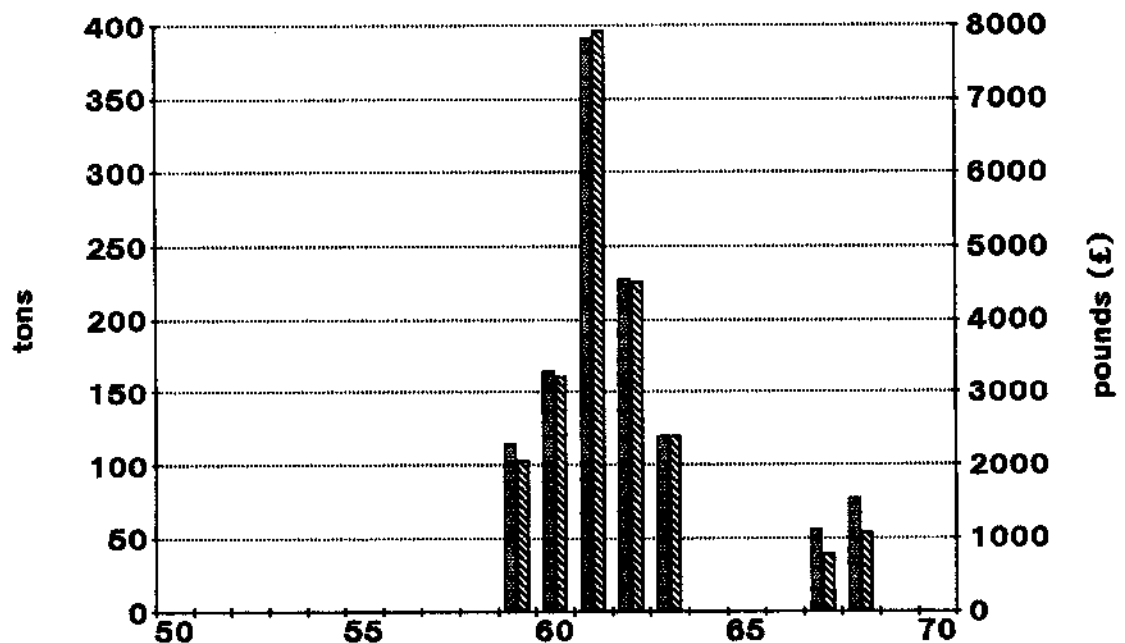


Fig.20

(PRO WO51 195-240)

also have run Maresfield Forge in the 1740s, with Tidy (see below) (Straker 1931: 402). The Raby-Master partnership was bankrupt in November 1764 but had been granted a Certificate of Conformity by May 1766, by which time Raby alone, by then of Southwark, had presumably purchased the lease of Gravetye Furnace, West Hoathly, for

he contracted for orders of 4-500 tons from the Board in 1766.⁶¹ He cast guns at both places, for the Board and for the East India Company, boring only at the Warren, until his death in 1771. He was associated with a Mr Rogers. In 1770 he also ventured, somewhat unsuccessfully, into bronze casting. He was succeeded briefly by his son, Alexander (Hodgkinson 1978: 11-2). Edward Raby also ran Woodcock Hammer, Godstone, and, in 1767, Howbourne Forge, Buxted; two forges to cope, presumably, with the surplus from two furnaces. He was a member of the Drapers' Company.⁶²

Trunnion Mark: MR, ER

SAMUEL REMNANT

Until 1750, Samuel was agent for John Fuller, father and son, having also been agent for William Harrison. In the early 1750s he operated a furnace in Sussex, possibly Beckley.⁶³ This was almost certainly in connection with his role as co-executor, with John Legas, of William Harrison's estate. After Samuel's death in 1752, his son, Stephen, with whom he had been in partnership, supplied shot and shells to the East India Company (1757->1772) and, in large quantities, to the Board of Ordnance, from works at Woolwich. Samuel and Stephen Remnant were friends of William Bowen and Stephen was a beneficiary of Bowen's will.⁶⁴ Samuel Remnant, a member of the Glovers' Company, died a very wealthy man.⁶⁵

GEORGE RUMENS

Occupied Gloucester Furnace (Lamberhurst) after Tapsell's bankruptcy, and before Wright & Prickett.⁶⁶ An Edward Rumens was founder at

Heathfield in 1787, and a William Rummens was founder at Ashburnham in the 1810s.⁶⁷

ROBERT SAXBY

Owned Howbourn Forge (Buxted) from c.1767. He was jointly rated for the property with Edward Raby in 1767 and with a Mr Pengree in 1768, though from 1769 on his own, which may indicate that the forge was no longer working.⁶⁸

MR TIDY

Occupied Maresfield Forge in 1750. He probably had an ironmonger's shop in Lewes. The Fullers had sold iron to Masters & Tidy in the 1740s. Masters may have been the Alexander Master who later partnered Edward Raby, or more likely Master's father, also Alexander.

THOMAS WILLIS

Occupied Glazier's Forge (Brightling) from 1768, following the bankruptcy of Richard Tapsell.⁶⁹ He purchased pig iron and forge tackle from the Fullers.⁷⁰

MR WHITE

Occupied Maresfield Forge from 1764-66, following the bankruptcy of William Clutton.

WRIGHT & PRICKETT

Joseph Wright and Thomas Prickett, of Southwark, already occupied Pophole Hammer when they leased it and Northpark Furnace, Linchmere, for 21 years, in 1769.⁷¹ Pophole Hammer was noted as working in 1767 during the campaign for the repositioning of the tollgate on the Guildford-Liphook Turnpike, when the iron used was brought by water to Godalming and from thence by road.⁷² Wright cast shot for the Board, from 1760, firstly at Wapping, and later, with Prickett, at Falcon Stairs, Southwark, and guns from 1771-5.⁷³ Later he also cast in bronze, though probably not at Northpark, and was involved in supplying ironwork for the Faversham Powder Mills.⁷⁴ Wright & Prickett had Gloucester Furnace (Lamberhurst) for a period from about 1769, and Prickett subsequently occupied Hoadly Farm, nearby.⁷⁵ In the early 1770s, Wright & Prickett occupied one of Raby's furnaces, perhaps to utilise the bronze foundry there.⁷⁶ Thomas Prickett's brother, Richard, may have been he who occupied Maresfield forge later in that decade.⁷⁷

Notes and References

¹ SKRO HAI/GD/2/3.

- 2 ESRO ASH 1815.
- 3 ESRO RAF uncatalogued ledger 1758-60.
- 4 PRO PC2, 105-108.
- 5 *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* July 11th 1774.
- 6 See Brown 1989.
- 7 ESRO GLY 2770 & 2771.
- 8 ESRO RAF uncatalogued ledgers 1765-71 & 1758-60.
- 9 ESRO ELT Maresfield.
- 10 ESRO SAS RF/15/31.
- 11 ESRO ASH A.192.
- 12 ESRO ALF 9/9.
- 13 KAO U1776 E19A. PRO PROB 11 231 302.
- 14 KAO U1280 T2. *Sussex Weekly Advertiser*, March 9 1761 & September 10 1764.
- 15 PRO W047 49 f.577; 72 f.235.
- 16 ESRO SAS RF/15/26.
- 17 Birmingham Central Library Boulton & Watt Muirhead II/5/10.
- 18 SLSL 8287.
- 19 PRO PROB 11 794 f.104.
- 20 PRO PROB 11 973 f.469.
- 21 ESRO ELT Buxted.
- 22 ESRO RAF uncatalogued ledger 1758-60.
- 23 A copy of this rare volume is in the possession of the Bramshott & Liphook Preservation Society; I am most grateful to Mr Laurence Giles for making available to me copies of the relevant pages. WSRO Cowdray 1443 & 1444.
- 24 Birmingham City Library, Boulton & Watt Muirhead II. In the copy of this list in the Weale Mss., in the Science Museum Library, the furnace is written as "Burnham" (Hodgkinson 1979: 13-4).
- 25 Hants RO 10M50/195. WSRO Cowdray Mss 297.

- 26 PRO W047 46 f.6; 49 f.314.
- 27 PRO PC2 106-109.
- 28 PRO B4 18.
- 29 ESRO SAS RF/16/V/47.
- 30 PRO W047 63 f.112.
- 31 PRO PROB 11 231 f.302.
- 32 ESRO ELT Mayfield.
- 33 KAO U120 C67.
- 34 ESRO ELT Buxted.
- 35 ESRO RAF uncatalogued ledger 1758-60.
- 36 PRO PC2 105-109.
- 37 See Longman 1752; Kent 1754; Hitch 1760; Rivington 1765; Baldwin 1768; 1770.
- 38 ESRO SAS RF/15/31.
- 39 see Butler & Butler 1845: 10.
- 40 SyRO Abinger Land Tax.
- 41 SyRO PI/6/1-.
- 42 WSRO Cowdray 1445. PRO B4 21 1st October 1777.
- 43 Sotheby & Co. Sale Catalogue, 6th June 1966. I am grateful to Mr Leslie Weller for providing me with a note of this.
- 44 PRO PROB11 737 f.15.
- 45 PRO W047 46 f.285; W047 51 f.405; ESRO ELT Rotherfield.
- 46 PRO W047 46 f.197.
- 47 PRO W047 47 f.652; ESRO SAS RE 16/V/19; ESRO uncatalogued ledger 1758-60.
- 48 KAO U120 P15.
- 49 Guildhall Library 3736/2.
- 50 *Victoria County History of Surrey* Vol. 3 (1911), p.92 citing a Loseley ms.
- 51 *Op. cit.* note 31 above. PRO PC2 105-106.

- 52 ESRO SAS RF 16/V/10 & 11.
- 53 SyRO P46/1/1.
- 54 GMR LM1064.
- 55 ESRO GLY 1234.
- 56 Guildhall Library Ms 6482.
- 57 ESRO PAR498/7/10. I am grateful to Mr Brian Harwood for informing me of this reference.
- 58 PRO B4 17 f.185.
- 59 ESRO AMS 5622/5.
- 60 BRL *Sussex Weekly Advertiser*, June 21st 1762, January 6th 1772 & April 26th 1773.
- 61 PRO B4 17 f.166; B6 3 f.137; W047 68 f.196.
- 62 ex.inf. Mr G.E.Buttriss.
- 63 PRO W047 35 f.310.
- 64 PRO PROB 11 973 f.469
- 65 PRO PROB 11 794 f.104; 973 f.469.
- 66 KAO U274 T54.
- 67 ESRO RAF uncatalogued ledger 1771-91; *Sussex Archaeological Collections* XXXVI (1893).
- 68 ESRO SAS/E 51a; ELT Buxted.
- 69 ESRO ELT Brightling.
- 70 ESRO AMS 5622/5.
- 71 WSRO Cowdray 1443, 1444.
- 72 GMR LM1064.
- 73 See Coote 1763; Rivington 1765; Baldwin 1768; 1770. SLSL Southwark Poor Rate book 1766-8.
- 74 PRO W047 67 f.343.
- 75 KAO U274 T54. Phillips 1896: 214-5.
- 76 PRO W047 81 f.99.
- 77 ESRO ELT Maresfield.

