CORONATION COPY

GRAFFHAM

through a thousand years

(Millennium Reprint)

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GRAFFHAM

through a thousand years

(WITH NOTES ON WOOLAVINGTON AND SELHAM)

by

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Printed by

Trendells (Print) Ltd

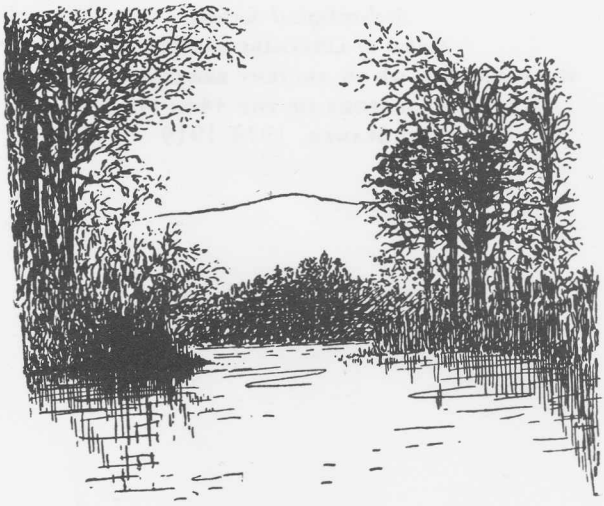
Haslemere, Surrey

PROLOGUE

So all along the road we went ; along a way that is much older than anything in the world . . . . along and along all under the Downs, by . . . . Sutton and Duncton, GRAFFHAM and Cocking and Didling and Harting—all Sussex names and all places where the pure water gushes out to feed that line of steadings and of human homes.

It was in the grove above Lavington, near the mounds where they say old kings are buried, that I . . . . saw and apprehended, as a man sees or touches a physical thing, that nothing of our sort remains, and that even before my county should cease to be itself I should have left it.

THE FOUR MEN (Hilaire Belloc)



The Sussex scene above is reproduced by permission of Mr. Hilaire Belloc, who has kindly sent " all good wishes " for this venture.

FOREWORD.

A good deal of general history will be found embodied in these pages. This has been done in the hope of making the local history more intelligible. May the reader find this to be the case.

A separate history of Graffham does not seem to have been produced, and this book may, therefore, be welcome. There is quite a wealth of information scattered about in Sussex records, both lay and ecclesiastical. I must pay special tribute to the 90 volumes of the **Sussex Archaeological Collections** (SAC) and to the splendid issues of the Sussex Record Society (S.R.S.). Dallaway's **West Sussex**, Stenton's **Anglo-Saxon England,** and Cox's **The Parish Registers of England** have been consulted. The general records at County Hall, and the diocesan records, with the Bishop's Muniments, now all under the charge of the County Archivist, Mr. Campbell Cooke, have all helped. Of Graffham people who have helped I should like to thank especially the Rector, the Rev. Michael D. Townroe, for the assistance and encouragement he has given throughout, and Miss Sutherland for her generosity in providing the blocks for the illustrations.

Unfortunately, the volume of the **Victoria County History** dealing with the ancient Rape of Chichester, in which Graffham lies, has not yet been issued, though it is in the press.

It has given me great pleasure to seek out and assemble all the material relating to this attractive village. I was born in the county among the bare Downs of East Sussex. I have the feeling that, before I die, I shall come to love the wooded Downs as much as I do those round Lewes.

F.T.B.

Sunnyside,
Graffham Common.
March, 1953.

This book is a reprint of the 1st edition, Coronation Copy and does not contain the text revisions of the third edition, with the exception of the paragraph concerning All Saints Chapel.

GRAFFHAM

GRAFFHAM derives much of its charm from the magnificent background of the wooded Downs. It is hard to think of it as lying at the foot of downland such as the bare whaleback formations of East Sussex. Yet thus it must have stood for a thousand years, until in the period towards the end of the 18th century landowners like the third Duke of Richmond (1734-1806) planted large areas of downland with fir and beech. Scrub was probably always present in places.

STONE AGE

It was bare downland which saw the arrival from, probably, north Spain of the Stone Age men who founded their settlements along the heights from Goodwood to Beachey Head. They stuck tight to the heights to be free from the dangers of the dense forests of the Weald (= wood). Although no stone implements have been unearthed immediately above Graffham, one has only to cast an eye towards Bow Hill or Cissbury where were two of the principal flint mines in Sussex, to realise that the little men were all around. The later Stone Age people (3,000 to 2,000 B.C.) domesticated the ox, pig, sheep and goat, reared cows, learned to weave and make pottery and grew corn. Their greatest enemies may have been the wolves, which feared their flint arrows and knives very little, and came up from the forest for prey. Kipling in "The Knife and Naked Chalk" (*Rewards and Fairies*) paints a graphic picture of the chieftain who dared to descend into the forest to obtain a metal sword from the iron smelters.

See you the marks that show and fade
  Like shadows on the Downs ?
They are the lines the Flint Men made
  To guard their wondrous towns.

FROM THE TIME OF MOSES

It is with the Bronze Age man (1,900 to 800 B.C.) that history begins for Graffham. There are five Bronze Age barrows on Graffham Down, one "bell" barrow and four "bowl" barrows. (Heyshott has nine bowl). None appears to have been excavated. If they had been, a cinerary urn or two, an incense cup and bronze knives and beads would probably have been found. The bell type of barrow (rare in Sussex) is the more impressive, having a defined platform between the mound and ditch. 90 per cent of the thousand or so mounds and barrows in Sussex are of the bowl shape. There are no "long barrows" near Graffham, but Graffham and Heyshott

Downs have one other feature of archaeological interest, a system of multiple ditches and banks crossing the fairway from north to south. They formed covered or hidden ways, used for what ? There is divergence of opinion, for some suggest they were for look-out purposes, others for the transit of cattle, and others for concealing the movements of tribal forces. They are certainly an interesting relic from the past. On ordnance maps they are usually marked as Cross Dykes. These local ones are undoubtedly linked with the " Celtic Fields " to the south.

The late Bronze Age people cultivated small square plots called Celtic Fields, whose lynchets (tilled banks) can still be seen fairly frequently on the South Downs. This terraced system of cultivation is still in use in parts of Europe, particularly in the middle Rhine and the south of France. The system is in marked contrast to the English field system introduced by the Saxons. The plots were tilled by an instrument called the ard, which did not turn over the soil, but rooted up the ground in furrows. The grain was ground in querns, or hand mills, of stone. The Celtic people lived on the open down, either in pits dug in the chalk or in wattle and daub huts, with storage and refuse pits adjoining.

A convenient way of approach to our Celtic Fields and tumuli is from the south *via* East Dean and Stein Farm. The fields lie north-east on the slopes, and from them it is due north to the mounds.

So from the time of Moses to that of Isaiah in Biblical lands the Bronze Age people lived their simple lives on the plateau above Graffham. Iron was discovered, and a further advance made in the art of living. It was a life not so primitive as many people imagine, and the Britons at the time of the Roman invasion were not the savages Julius Caesar would have us believe in *De Bello Gallico*.

THE ROMANS ARRIVE

The Romans entered these parts by Chichester (Regnum). They did not liquidate the British, as the Saxons did later ; and the whole line of the Sussex Downs became well occupied by Romano-British family settlements. The pre-Roman Celt held his own well in the hills. The Roman occupation of Sussex was not deep—a belt about ten miles from the coast, except, in the case of West Sussex, for a narrow strip on either side of Stane Street and around Midhurst. Roman tiles and bricks have been unearthed on Mr. Maresco Pearce's Land, which point to there having been Roman dwellings by the brook.

The departure of the Romans in 410 A.D. left the southern shores of England exposed and unprotected, and it was not long before the pagan Saxons set out from their homes in Jutland and near the mouth of the Elbe and swooped down on these parts. They, like the Romans, entered *via* Chichester—in 477 A.D.—and were agriculturists at heart. No scratching of the downs for them ; and they wanted better land and water for the flocks and herds they brought with them. Besides, they did not favour as settlements the chalk downs, which savoured of the dead in their barrows.

THE SAXON FARMERS

Recent research shows that the Saxon settlement of Sussex must be regarded as limited at first to the levels between the sea and the Downs. The infiltration northwards came much later. It then followed the river valleys and perhaps up dry gaps such as Up Waltham. Once round, or through, the Downs, the damp oak woods and ill-drained clay tracts of the Weald * served to deflect the Saxon farmers along the Upper Greensand terrace at the foot of the chalk escarpment, where spring water was abundant. Here the spongy chalk met the impermeable clay or greensand. This water is really the father of all the little villages we know so well at the juncture of down and plain.

Movement was easy along these open terraces, and the Saxon wooden plough became busy. " Barlavington and Graffham are typical ' spring-line ' settlements. The Saxon strip farming thus began. It included downland pasture, a tract of arable and, later, strips of oak wood in the Weald, a valuable source of fuel, timber and pannage for swine. Frequent alignment of villages *north* to *south* i.e., along a local " borstal " e.g., Graffham and Duncton, rather than east to west occurs along the underhill road at the foot of the chalk. Graffham naturally spread along a winding road leading down from the chalk to the Rother crossing at Selham." (*S.A.C.*)

This recent research leads to the almost certain conclusion that Selham, being on the Rother and so open to the Saxon boats penetrating inland up the rivers, was one of the first settlements in this area. The " infiltration " did not come over the downs, through Graffham and so to the river, as a first glance at the map might suggest. It was Selham first, and then a joining up after a decade or two with the Saxon bands who found their way along the foot of the downs from the east. This would explain the stone church and the important mill mentioned in Domesday appropriate to a pioneer settlement such as Selham.

WHEN CHRISTIANITY CAME

Christianity probably followed the same route. " Pagan Sussex " was the last area in Britain to become Christian, mainly because of its inaccessibility. When Christianity did come, it came from the sea. Wilfrith, bishop of York, first faced the turbulent Saxons when he was shipwrecked on the coast as he was returning from his consecration at Compiègne. The party just escaped with their lives ; but it was to Sussex that Wilfrith returned

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* In an Anglo-Saxon Charter of 893 the Weald is referred to as " The Great Wood," 120 miles or more long and 30 miles broad. This forest background must always be borne in mind when considering the history and economy of West Sussex. " The marsh and woodland which lay between the South Saxons and the Jutes of Kent separated one of the most primitive from one of the most advanced of early English peoples." (*Stenton*).

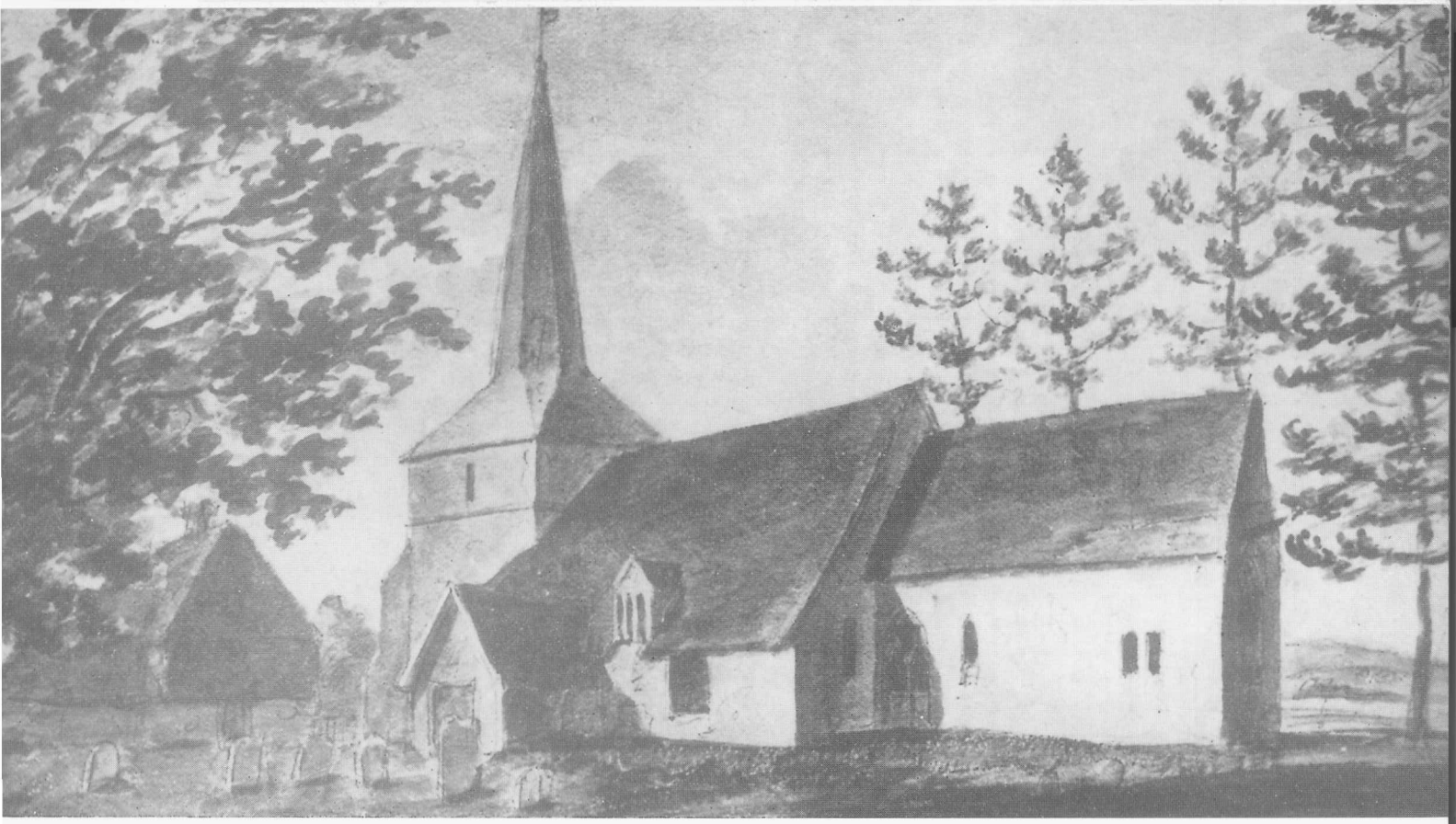
when he was driven from his northern diocese. This was in 681 A.D., when he settled in the peninsula of Selsey, and, with a few monks, founded a monastery (we must not forget Padda, the tame seal). From Selsey the missionaries went out to the Saxon settlements along the coast. It must have been many, many years before they worked round to the little settlements at the foot of the Downs. Indeed, it may not have been until the end of the eighth century that Graffham gave up Woden and Thor and accepted Christ.

Very little is left of Saxon work in this area. " The paucity of Saxon archaeological finds *west* of Worthing is remarkable." The Saxons generally left traces in terms of personal ornaments—hand mirrors, combs, brooches and beads—but where have they been found ? It looks as if the settlements in our area were very sparse. The Saxons built mostly in wood, and what houses there were have entirely, and their churches, largely, disappeared. Selham Church, being of stone, is happily with us with its beautiful Saxon work. (The Saxons got their good building stone from Roman villas and temples). Graffham did not presumably advance beyond the customary wooden building ; and the Domesday record would be that of a small structure to serve the 100 souls (But see p. 10). The church was almost certain to be on the site of the old temple or holy place of the ancient gods, because Christianity, the unifying dynamic, recognised the value which the old cults attached to a locality or individual site. It would, however, be a long time before any building appeared on such a site. Only by slow degrees did the religious life of the English village become centred upon a church. Even at the end of the eighth century many communities of long standing had no form of church building. Further, only a minority of the clergy ever rose to the priesthood. So Graffham probably followed countless other hamlets in having just a cross raised on high for prayer and the saying of Mass when bishop or priest came their way.

The written history of the area up to the Norman Conquest is just a blank. The standard authorities such as Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* contain practically nothing about Sussex. The Sussex Anglo-Saxon Charters, some 50 in number, come partly to the rescue. Graffham itself is not mentioned, but one charter comes very close home. In a charter of A.D. 689 Noohelm (Nunna) king of the South Saxons, says, in Old English and bad Latin, " Since the end of this present life approaches everyone willy nilly, I, Nunna, king of the South Saxons, for the love of God and of the heavenly kingdom . . . grant in writing in perpetuity to the venerable Bishop Eadberht certain pieces of land for the service of himself and of God . . . ." Eadberht was Wilfrith's successor in the see of Selsey. The lands comprised 20 hides, called Hugabeorgum and æt dene (East Dean). The former maybe High Down, north-east of East Dean church. The boundaries refer to " the east end of Lavingtunes dices," or Lavington dyke. This is presumably the earthwork close to Lavington Lane. Other references are to the tombs, the swordsmen's hill and so on. That is the nearest approach written documents refer to Graffham. The actual tides of history swept to the north and south of the village during the next four centuries, leaving the little place undisturbed, we hope.

G. G. GARLAND, PHOTOGRAPHER, PETWORTH

St. Giles Today



SHARPE COLLECTION

St. Giles in 1804

GRAFFHAM AND THE NORMANS

The Normans soon got to work. It was fewer than 20 years after the Battle of Hastings that a jury of Graffham men had to appear before the Conqueror's Commissioners to testify as to the village's land and all appertaining to it. This happened in 31 counties in England. The returns were finished before the end of 1086, and kept in the King's Treasury at Winchester. They were copied out and issued in two volumes not later than 1088 as the famous Domesday Book (Domesdei = Book of Judicial Verdict). These records were the basis of future taxation.

How did Graffham stand ? Here is the entry—

> Four Frenchmen [iiii francigene] held GRAFHA[M] of the Earl : ROBERT, Ralph 4 hides, Rolland 2½ hides, Ernald 2 hides. 6 thanes [teigni] held it at the time of King Edward for a manor in their allodium. Then as now it was assessed for 10 hides. There is land . . . [blank]. On the demesne are 2½ ploughs, and seven villeins and six bordars with two ploughs. There is a church. Wood for eight hogs. T. R. E. [in the time of King Edward] the whole manor was worth £8, afterwards £7 and now £8.

The Earl was the great Roger de Montgomeri, cousin of the Conqueror, and Earl of Arundel (1070), as well as being Earl of Shrewsbury and the lord of the Rape of Chichester.

What does the Domesday entry mean in terms of a living community ? Take areas first. The hide in Saxon times formed an estate sufficient to support a Saxon freeman and his family (Bede's *terra unius familiae*). In Domesday the hide is not a measure of land at all ; it is a unit of land taxation, an uncertain quantity varying with the poverty or fertility of the soil. The carucate was the measure of land. Without this discrimination, the pages of Domesday are unintelligible. For Sussex this taxable hide may have averaged 120 acres—always of arable land, be it noted. So Graffham in the 1080's comprised about 1,200 acres of arable land. There is no mention of pasture land (Selham had 17 acres). Downland was not worth recording.

Six thanes had held the manorial lands in Edward the Confessor's time. They were allodial tenants, that is, owing no service or suit to any superior. Their lands were presumably handed over to the four Frenchmen. The demesne represented the portion of the estate which the lord reserved for cultivation for himself. At Graffham 2½ ploughs did this arable work. The seven villeins were those who had acquired sufficient property to occupy a certain parcel of manorial land and to furnish all necessary implements. They were probably all born on the estate. Bordars held a somewhat lower place, with smaller holdings. No mention is made of serfs, or slaves, a very common entry in Domesday. The 13 tenants, therefore represented a solid little block of self-reliant cultivators. On the rough average used by historians, the total population of Graffham would not greatly exceed 100.

The existence of a water-mill is not recorded. This is strange, because there were plenty of streams. It cannot have been overlooked, because the Commissioners had as sharp noses for good taxable property as the present

Inland Revenue people. Woolavington had no mills either, though Cocking (Cochinges) had five ! Can it be that the biggish Selham mill did the corn grinding for both Graffham and Lavington ? Windmills do not occur in Domesday.

HAM BY THE GROVE ?

What is the derivation of the word Graffham ? West Sussex specializes in -hams and -tons. -ham is barely distinguishable from -ton in its meaning of farm or homestead. The spelling of Graffham, in common with all old place-names varied during the centuries—Grafham, Grefham, Grofam, Grofham, according as the particular scribe had heard the word pronounced. The meaning most generally favoured is " the ham by the grove." There are, however, two alternatives, grave and ditch. The author of the *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place Names* (Professor Ekwall, of Lund University, Sweden) writes to me as follows—" The modern form Graffham may be derived from Old Engliah Græf-ham, the ham by a ditch, grave or the like, or Grafham, ham by a grove, according as one or the other is preferable in the light of the situation of the place. The place is frequently called Grofham in sources of the late 13th and 14th centuries. Grofham must mean the ham by the grove. The o cannot go back to the O.E. æ ; it is developed from the O.E. a. It is, of course, possible that the people of the 13th century were wrong in the supposition that the meaning of the first element was " grove." If there is strong reason to prefer a meaning " home by a ditch," the spelling Grofham may be disregarded. Personally, I prefer the " grove " alternative." So you can take your choice. " In the light of the situation of the place," is it likely that a settlement standing above a vast forest stretching east and west would be linked with a grove ? The Downs were more or less bare, and the terrace at the foot of the downland was undoubtedly open arable land. It was below that the woods and forest lay. As to ditch or trench, watercourse would certainly be a correct appraisement, because there were plenty in the settlement.

I, personally, like to think of the Saxons as making their homes by the clear running streams away from woods.

WHO BUILT OUR CHURCH ?

Like so many old village churches, there exist no early records about Graffham Church. Who built it and when ? Was the building of wood or stone at the time of Domesday ? Who can say ? It can be said, however, that, if there had been a stone building it is difficult to understand why the Normans did not adapt some of it to their plans when they came to build. What is left of the Norman work, namely, the low arcades, are certainly not early Norman, but transitional 12th century work. There is in the church that attractive early stone font, but one cannot presuppose the existence of a stone church to match it. The dedication of these old churches is likewise rarely known. Ancient records found it sufficient to say " the church at or

of . . . ." Even so comparatively late a volume as the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (1534-5) hardly refers to the saints to whom the churches were dedicated. In Sussex the *Registers of the Bishops* (1369-1508) contain only about a dozen (S.A.C.). The existing dedication to St. Giles may not be of long standing. This is an extract from *Sussex Wills* (S.R.S.) :—" John Ede, 25th February, 1535, My bodye to be buried in christyan buriall where it shall please god to take my sprete, yf it be wt in my parishe of Graffham, then I will my bodye to be buried before Saynt Nicholas Alter, and for so lyinge I give to the reperacions of the saide churche vs." Some have deduced from this that St. Nicholas was Graffham's patron saint in Tudor times.

The building itself, as it appears to the viewer from outside, is entirely modern. On entering, the low pillars are arresting. These transitional Norman arcades are very interesting. They have " capitals showing closely packed scalloped ornament, simple griffes (foot ornaments) at bases and arches of hard chalk at the angles with rubble between." The other old parts are the 14th century doorway at the west end, of pleasing design, but much decayed ; in the vestry a piscina, which must have been removed from near the altar, and an old lock (? 14th century) happily inserted in the old vestry door. There are indications of old scratch (or mass) dials on some of the stones used in restoring the south windows of the nave. What about the rest ? All the old work is gone. There were restorations in Manning's time, but in 1874 it was decided to rebuild the church as a memorial to Bishop Wilberforce. £3,000 was available. The work was unhappily entrusted to G. E. Street, a well-known, but too drastic, restorer.

" Old St. Giles in a drawing in the Sharpe Collection (1804) depicts admirably its many typically Sussex features, e.g., nave and south aisle under the same sloping roof, with dormer. . . . The new building restored by Street, emerged in 1874 a very different building from the mediaeval structure. Funds were not lacking and Street went to work drastically. . . . The chancel arch is modern. The old east window gave way to a novel composition of five lancets under triple rear arches. . . . Street's worst offence was the remodelling of the chancel and addition of a south chapel, with the erection of a sham traditional Norman arcade copied from those of the nave. This meant the obliteration of the south side of the chancel." (S.A.C., 1948). That is the antiquary's moan. A justifiable one ; but, happily, churches are not mere museum pieces—they are for prayer and worship. Our little church is attractive and serves its purpose well. It is a pity, though, that a few more visible signs of the past could not have been vouchsafed us.

ST. GILES TODAY

What church could have a more noble site ? It nestles close under the wooded slopes of the Downs, and the ever-changing colours of the trees provide a background of great beauty on its south side. Then, stretching away to the north, lies a magnificent panorama towards Blackdown and the line of hills beyond Petworth.

The external flintwork of the building is beautiful ; and the tall spire, soaring heavenwards in its shingle covering, is typically Sussex. Despite the antiquaries, the *form* of the building has not been much altered by the centuries. Graffham Church takes a worthy place in the forty-mile long line of Sussex Down Churches, which includes such wee ones as Up Waltham at one end of the scale and the " Cathedral of the South Downs " at Alfriston at the other.

The FONT surely attracts the attention of all visitors. Its history : " There is a large group of early fonts (tub, pudding basin or cup shape) nearly all of freshwater limestone, probably brought from the Isle of Wight or Purbeck by sea, and always found in *West* Sussex churches of pre-Conquest date." They are, for instance, at Cocking, Didling, Lodwsorth, Graffham, Selham and Up Waltham. It looks as if the early Normans in these parts ordered a cargo of fonts, and distributed them to the churches round about.

The CHURCH PLATE is all modern—1842-5. The REGISTERS date from 1655. The baptisms and burials are fairly complete, but there are considerable gaps in the marriage records (A copy of the 1754-1812-3 marriage entries has been obtained from diocesan records). The founder of parish registers was the famous Thomas Cromwell, Henry the Eighth's Vicar-General. In 1538 Cromwell issued injunctions to every parish in England and Wales to keep a record of marriages, baptisms and burials. The penalty for each default was 3s. 4d. to be applied to the repair of the church. There was considerable opposition to the scheme, as people feared that the system was to be a vehicle for taxation. There still exist about 650 registers dating from 1538, but in the majority of parishes the early records have been lost, mislaid or destroyed.

The first entry in the Graffham registers reads :—" Thomas sonne of William Edwards, was born May the 3, 1655." The names of Philp, Carver, Baker, Bignold and Ewon (later Ewen) appear fairly regularly. Here is an entry of death :—" Thomas Mounfield, snr., buried in woollen and testified on oath." The Burial in Woollen Act had been passed in 1678 to help the depressed woollen industry. The last entry on this practice is in 1758—" No affidavit brought of this person being buried in woolen according to statute, of which I have given notice in writing to William Tupper and William Stickle, churchwardens." This is a sad entry :—" Nov. 7. George son of John and Charlotte Sargent, unfortunately shot by Jas. Allen a Robber, Nov. 1, 1807, in Teglese, was buried, aged 25 years." The Heyshott register shows that there was buried there on 15th November James Allen, of Graffham, a deserter, who shot and killed Captain George Sargent.

THE BELLS OF ST. GILES

Now for the BELLS. The church tower and spire, which Street had not touched, became unsafe, and were taken down, in 1885. The tower was rebuilt in 1887, and the spire added in 1889. The three old bells were :—

No. 1—Sancta Katerina ora pro nobis.

By "The Woodman."

G. C. GARLAND, PHOTOGRAPHER, PETWORTH.

No. 2—IF IE Roger Tapsill Thomas Wakfeild 1621.

No. 3—Bryan Eldridge made mee 1642.

The inscription on No. 1 (the smallest) was the same as that on one of the Cocking bells. It had an octagonal medallion bearing "ihu merci ladi help," together with a shield bearing the Royal arms of the period from Henry the Fifth to Elizabeth.

The Whitechapel Bell Foundry, who go back to A.D. 1570, state (1-12-52) "In 1897 there were apparently only two bells, the first and second, and we have no knowledge of what became of the Eldridge bell. The smallest was cracked and recast, but unfortunately the inscription was not reproduced. The bell was cast in the middle of the 15th century by John Danyell, a London founder. Roger Tapsil or Tapsell and Thomas Wakefield were founding at West Tarring. ... In addition to recasting the smaller of the two bells in 1897, we added a smaller one still to make three ; and in 1900 we added a larger one to make four." It is sad to have lost the 500-year old bell, but the old metal is there in the recast bell.

As to the Eldridge bell, it sat with the other two in the churchyard after the tower was taken down in Parson Lascelles time. It vanished one day and some of the villagers say they know who disposed of it in return for much needed money. No inquiry seems to have been held. Who knows but that a bell, with "Bryan Eldridge made mee 1642" on it, may now be gracing a church elsewhere ? What a crime to have sold it.

The living was valued at £10 in Pope Nicholas' Valor (1291), at 7 marcs in the Nonae Roll (1341) and at £5 6s. 8d. in the Valor Ecclesiasticus. The last-named was a valuation of all ecclesiastical benefices, on the temporal as well as the spiritual side. There had been no such valuation since the 1291 Valor, and its object was to give to the King the firstfruits, or tenths, hitherto paid to the Pope. The Graffham entry read :—

Graffam Grosse Summes of all v*li* vj*s* viii*d*

The details of the yearly rents were :—

"Yearly rent going forth from two acres of arable land lying in the field called "Estfelde" in Groffam, in the tenure of John Colbey for the obit of Richard Hastyngs—6d. The like rent going out of a certain acre of land called "Croune acre" lying in Hillfield in the tenure of William Denys, for an obit—3d. In all 9d."

The glebe land (10 acres in 1724) has now been all sold.

A COW FOR THE RECTOR !

These few cullings from old papers about the Church are of interest. From a Sussex will :—"10th October, 1527—To the parish church of Grafam, a cowe which my wife will deliver. Wm. Upperton." The witness was Sir Thomas Griffithe, brothered priest of Grafam. The present Rector would doubtless welcome any cow brought to the Rectory ! In 1342 "The rector has the easement to the value of xiid. from men who make earthen vessels." In 1621 the Rector apparently fell out with his churchwardens,

for this is what he brought to the notice of the diocesan authorities. "I present two churchwardens John Ewen and John Philpe for that upon Sunday the second day of September last, 1621, the said churchwardens in the afternoone, in tyme of divine service and the sermon, tooke away the keyes of our churchdores; and after evening prayers were ended, being demanded the keyes by the minister and parson of the church, they would not restore them, but they took away the keyes with them and the bookes out of the vestry and left them at a lawless alehouse over against the church; and they lefte the church dore open from Sunday at night." The rector was William Stepney. We should dearly like to know what happened to the wardens. And where was that "lawless alehouse"?

BACK TO DOMESDAY

Back to Domesday, where one Ralph is mentioned. This was Ralph de Caisneto (or Caisned). Roger of that family gave the tithes of his land at Graffham to Lewes Priory; and in one of the Lewes Charters (1150 A.D.) William de Caisneto confirms the gift. The more interesting record, however, is in 1294. A dispute came before an ecclesiastical court at Lewes on 20th May in which the plaintiffs were the Prior and Convent of Lewes, and the defendant was "Master Robert de Petteworthe, rector of the church of Grafham." The Prior complained that the Rector had for some time detained the tithes. The Rector appeared in person, and the record adds "not wishing to risk an oath in the matter, wishing for himself and his successors to know the exact facts of the matter." After the evidence had been given, the Rector acknowledged that he had unjustly deprived the monastery and monks of their possession for three years. The Sacristan (acting on behalf of the Dean of Suthmalling) ruled that "20 shillings taxed and sworn should be paid. Promulgated at Suthmalling on the feast of St. Dunstan, 1294." That is the monastery's account but we have no record of what the Rector thought. The extracts are from *The Lewes Chartulary* (S.R.S.).

THE TALE OF THE MANOR

The history of Domesday manors is generally complicated and often turbulent. The Manor of Graffham has an unusually quiet and simple tale to tell. After the Earl Roger of Domesday the estate devolved to the d'Albinis and Fitzalans. The mesne lordship was still held under Arundel Castle. In the early thirteenth century we learn that Agatha de St. George "could not resist the offer made by John de Gatesden of buying up lands in Sussex. (Was this John an early speculator?) He bought of Agatha Trotton, with appendant manors of Didling and Dunsford. Of the Waunceys he bought Woolavington with Graffham and Aloredsham." The Nevilles held it later, and again in 1337. It finally passed from the Arundels in 1578, when the manor was sold outright to Giles and Francis Garton. A few years later Giles—he was a citizen of London and an ironmonger—purchased of John,

Lord Lumley the advowsons of Graffham and Woolavington *. In 1592 Graffham Manor descended to the son Peter. It passed to the Orme family in 1675—to Robert Orme, as heir to William Garton by reason of marriage to Orme's daughter. The last male Orme died in 1758. This was Garton, who got into financial difficulties, which necessitated a private Act of Parliament in 1750. It is a long, but interesting Act, because of the many local references. The recital says the object was " for Raising Money by Sale or Mortgage of the Estate of Garton Orme, Esquire, in the County of Sussex, for the payment of his Debts, and the portion of Charlotte Orme, his daughter . . ." This Charlotte married Richard Bettesworth, of Petworth, and they had a daughter Charlotte. Thomas Hayley, the poet, introduced this Charlotte to his friend John Sargent, and they were married at Lavington on 21st December, 1778. John Sargent became M.P. successively for Seaford, Queensborough and Bodmin. The eldest son, the Rev. John Sargent, who died in 1833, never succeeded to the property, as his mother lived until 1841. It then passed, through his elder daughter, to Samuel Wilberforce, who reached the episcopal bench in 1845. For 28 years Graffham had a Bishop as Lord of the Manor.

A careful reader will have seen from the foregoing that four times the manorial lands left a family through the daughter being the heiress. If there had been a Women's Property Act in those days, a different tale would have been told.

Reginald, the son of Bishop Wilberforce, was the last Wilberforce to hold the estate, as in 1903 the property was acquired by James Buchanan, of " Black and White " whisky fame, afterwards Lord Woolavington. Lord Woolavington died in 1937, and his daughter (once again there was no son) decided to break up the manorial estates. So ended, alas ! a 900-year old institution.

What about the Manor House ? There appear to be no records of any. May this little extract from a 1282 document give the reason—" Grefham . . . This holding did suit at the court of Suth Stok." South Stoke was intimately connected with Graffham in the early days, and tenants probably had to go to Stoke for the manorial courts and so forth.

MEDIAEVAL TIMES

In addition to the church and manor records, there are other interesting references to Graffham in returns and deeds of the 13th and 14th centuries.

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* A good example of buying up livings in these parts was that of Lord Egremont, of Petworth House, in the early 1800's. He had a passion for it, acquiring a solid block of fifteen benefices round Petworth at a cost of £45,000. The 15 did not include Graffham, but there were Barlavington, Duncton, Sutton, Burton-cum-Coates, Lurgashall and Pulborough, in addition to Petworth and Tillington. There was much manipulation to fit in the noble Lord's nominees. (*A Family history—the Wyndhams* (*Vol.* 2) by H. A. Wyndham.

The Close Rolls of 1242 to 1247 include information as to the vast estate of Hugh, Earl of Arundel, who died on 7th May, 1243. The Earl's South Stoke holding was allotted to Roger de Sumery and his wife Nicholaa. This included "Waltham et Graffham." The inquest after the death of John de Nevill in 1282 states that he held (1) Suth Stok . . . and (3) Grefham as half a knight's fee. As already stated, this holding did suit at the court of South Stoke, and is undoubtedly the two hides of Ernaldus mentioned in Domesday.

"The Calendar of Feet of Fines" has a reference to the village. A fine of those days had nothing to do with a penalty. A fine (*finis* or *finalis concordia*) put an end to all suits and contentions about freehold property, and the agreement was enrolled in the records of the Court and governed the transfer of the land thereafter. In 1249 William de Wancy agreed with William de Sunting and his wife about eleven acres of arable land and one acre of meadowland at Graffham. De Wancy handed over 15 marcs for this settlement.

The next interesting documents are the Sussex Subsidy Rolls. They are in exceptionally good condition for this area. They record the names of contributors to the Tax on Moveables, which was the earliest form of general taxation. They are for 1296, 1327 and 1332. Here are a few of the unlucky people to be mulcted by the 1327 levy :—Willo le Deyne 2s. 6d. ; John Belesone 1s. 4d. ; Willo atte Heghe 2s. ; Willo de Estdene 3s. 8d. ; and Willmo Mabely 1s. 6d. The village was dubbed "Villata de Grofham." After 1332 a fixed sum was assigned to each township, Graffham being assessed as a whole in 1334 at 40s. Compare Selham at 26s. 8d., Lodsworth at 46s. 8d. and Heyshott at 53s. 8d.

The Nonae Roll of 1341 (so called from the ninth lamb, the ninth fleece and the ninth sheaf having to go to the King) has some interesting items in the Graffham Rector's assessment. There must have been a large orchard, for it was valued at 26s. 8d. Then there were the pigs at 6s. 8d., the hay at 10s., and such small items as bees (2s.), chicken (6d.), and pigeons (6d.).

FROM TUDOR AND STUART DAYS

Tudor days witnessed much building activity throughout England. Graffham had no Cloth Hall or Market Hall, but quite good specimens of smaller Tudor domestic buildings have survived to this day. We will take three—The Rectory cottages (now Thraves), Ladywell Cottage and Stuart Cottage. They exemplify the good old timber-framed residences, with the roof timber being often just trunks of trees. The panels between the vertical posts were filled in with wattle hurdles, daubed on each side with clayey material (wattle and daub).

The two Rectory Cottages—Thraves—have been combined, adapted and carefully modernised. Much fine timber has been exposed, and the broken external panels filled in with an attractive brickwork pattern. There used to be a pond in front, at which the Rectory cows were watered. Ladywell Cottage, lower down, is a smaller home. Stuart Cottage is another example

of skilful adaptation of a very old dwelling, perhaps the oldest now in the village.

Some of the other older cottages have interesting histories. Just one example. That occupied by Mr. Worsdell was in the early days of the poor law the Poor House of the village. Three other larger cottages at Norwood were similarly used. Unfortunately they have gone. The builder who demolished them about forty years ago had a tough task because they were so well built. But down they had to come, for they were too near to Lord Woolavington's pheasants !

"A GADDER UP AND DOWNE"

From Stuart days come two very interesting series—Churchwarden's Presentments, 1621-26, and the Protestation Returns of 1641. The former were returns which churchwardens were under obligation to "exhibit" to the diocesan authorities at certain times. We have seen on page 14 the Rector indicting his churchwardens in 1621. In the following year the churchwardens reported "wee present John Stepney, sonne of William Stepney, parson, for abusing of his father in the chancell." Also, "we present Joane Harman for being, as it is suspected, an incontinent person, a gadder up and downe, a common carry-tale, a maker of lyes, one that hath contracted herself to 2 or 3 knaves and is marryed to none, but still continueth her bad courses."

The Vicar in 1626 reported two incidents. "I present William Munnery, a potter, for that he upon Sunday, 21st November, 1624, was so exceeding drunke that he spued in our church most beastly, in the tyme of divine service, at evening prayer, before all the congregacion." "I present Richard Wood, Roger Philps junior, John Bignor, Edward Payne and Thomas Munsell, servants, for that they upon Christ's birthday last past, all the night following rung the bells in our church very disorderly so that we could not sleep quietly in our beds and the parishioners found great fault with it. *Per magistrum Stepney, rectorem.*"

This is a gentle touch from a parish not five miles from Graffham—"Our minister is not so carefull as he ought to be in executing of his office in his charge."

The Protestation Returns are preserved in the House of Lords. The Graffham document was sworn on 20th February, 1641. Protestations were declarations required of all males aged 18 years and upwards, whether householders or not. Their principal object was in support of the Protestant religion, but they were also a means of ascertaining who were Roman Catholics. This was the form—"I, A.B., do, in the presence of Almighty God, Promise, Vow and Protest to maintain and defend . . . . the true Reformed Protestant Religion . . . ." In the case of Graffham, it was sworn before Oliver Penicorde, Rector, John Martyn and Rogger Philp, churchwardens, and John Wisedome and Robert Vaughan, overseers. Fifty-five signatures followed (Selham had seventeen). Here are some of the names :

Robert Clare George Hills John Morris

John Todman	John Ewen	Thomas Fry
Thomas Wisedome	Robert Valour	John Bicknoll
Richard Wakeford	Emry Aylen	Nicholas Williams

Richard Philp (? the same as Phillips).

The Carver family, whose descendants live in Graffham, signed the Woolavington declaration—Robert, Thomas and Henry.

THE ENCLOSURES

The Georgian period brought the Enclosures. Many Acts were passed for enclosing common land between 1760 and 1820. Their object, as stated in the preambles, was to ensure a better use of land than was possible under a moribund manorial system of land cultivation. The cultivated fields had, in process of time, been divided, sub-divided and dispersed into minute areas. A glance at many of the old enclosure maps shows this. A re-allotment (a better word than enclosure) of land was necessary. In the process there was much injustice, the small commoners so often not receiving very much for loss of their common rights, as compared with what the lord of the manor and his friends got out of the deal. It was the time " when rank and privilege ruled society."

Graffham and Woolavington had their own special Act in the year of the Battle of Waterloo. John Sargent was Lord of the two manors. The land concerned was " open and uninclosed commons and waste grounds, called Woolavington Common, Graffham Common, Graffham Down and Graffham Marsh." The total area was 1200 acres, of which about one-half were in Graffham. One peculiar reference in the Act relates to the manor of "Wanworth in Graffham." (origin lost).

As enclosures went, the number of persons included in the Award, which was made in 1820, is not large. The Lord of the Manor, naturally, had the lion's share, some 441 acres. The next largest allotment went to Charles Mitford with 106 acres, while Edmund Sadler had 19 acres and Lord Carrington 21 acres. John Sargent's wife was niece of Lord Carrington. The Rector of Graffham had 10 acres. The rest of the commoners had small plots of half an acre or a quarter of an acre.

There was a 4-acre gravel pit specified in the Award which " shall for ever hereafter be used for the purpose of repairing the public roads and highways made over the said commons, down and waste grounds within the parish of Graffham." The Map accompanying the Award shows a number of new roads to be made, one being the road from Wibling's Farm westwards towards Heyshott. The Act, Award and Map are now in the archives at County Hall, Chichester.

THE COMMON

As to the common land, the Award of 1820 gave 88 acres of " Graffham Heath," up to the Selham boundary on the west of the main road (in old documents " Woolavington Waie ") and 106 acres on the east, to the Lord

of the Manor, John Sargent. 194 acres in all. In the Tithe Award of 1842 this land is still described as The Heath. There were 1260 acres subject to tithe, and 380 acres of " woodland and uncultivated common land or heath " tithe free. This land has never been enclosed in the literal sense, or cultivated to any extent, and the public have free access to it. In the old days parishioners had access to gravel and used rights of pasturage. The last of the commoners was bought out early in this century.

The Commons, Open Spaces and Footpaths Preservation Society have expressed the opinion that much of what is still called Graffham Common is not a common in the legal sense, in view of the provision of the Enclosure Award. Under the County Plan much of this land is placed in the natural landscape category, and the land around Gallows Hill as a public open space. This ensures a considerable measure of control.

The public footpaths across the large area of open land in Graffham are many, and the Parish had a great champion in the late Fred Nudd. He was zealous in upholding the rights of the parishioners to use the paths, and the detailed description of them which he left is now being used in connection with the County compilation. One of the objects of the Guillod Trust (p. 22) is the upkeep of footpaths.

THE BISHOP AND THE CARDINAL

The John Sargent who died in 1831 had ten children, the eldest of whom, John, took holy orders, and duly came into the " family livings "(they were combined in 1851)—Graffham in 1805 and Lavington in 1813. He had seven children, two boys who died at twenty and twenty-one and five girls, four of whom married clergymen. Emily was married in June, 1828, to Samuel Wilberforce, one of the four sons of the great William Wilberforce. She had five children, and died when she was thirty-four. Mary married Samuel's brother, Henry William. Caroline married her father's curate in 1833 when she was twenty one. She died four years later. The curate was Henry E. Manning, who was connected by marriage with the Wilberforce and Sargent families. Robert Isaac, the Bishop's brother, was Manning's special confidant and went over to Rome with him. Sophia Lucy, the youngest, married a son of Henry Ryder, Bishop of Lichfield.

Bishop Wilberforce took a keen interest in his Graffham and Lavington estates. Although he became Bishop of Oxford in 1845 and Bishop of Winchester in 1869, he found time to keep an eye on the four farms—The Home Farm (now The Stud), Old Park, Lower Barn and Westerlands. He made a good old-fashioned Squire. He was the most eloquent of the many eloquent preachers who graced the mid-nineteenth century. Wilberforce was a brilliant all-rounder, whether as a diocesan organiser, as a reformer of the episcopate, or as " the Bishop of Society." He died from a fall from his horse in 1873 at the age of 67. He lies buried in Lavington churchyard by the side of the wife of his youth. The Wilberforce family are remembered ; and there is still a Wilberforce living in Graffham—Miss Susan.

Manning was three years younger than Wilberforce. He succeeded his

father-in-law in both the livings in 1833, the year he married, and was Rector for 17 years. He restored both churches, and became Archdeacon of Chichester in 1840. It was about this time that he prepared a compilation of all the families in the parish, including a complete record of those persons who had attended Communion in the years 1840 to 1843 inclusive, with summaries thus :—Communicants 127 (At Easter 69, not at Easter 58). Three times and at Easter, 57. Three times but not at Easter, 27. Twice only, 15. Once only, 29. Non-communicants, 106. The family records were all carefully tabulated, with many illuminating "General Remarks."

"ADDICTUS INEBRIETATE."

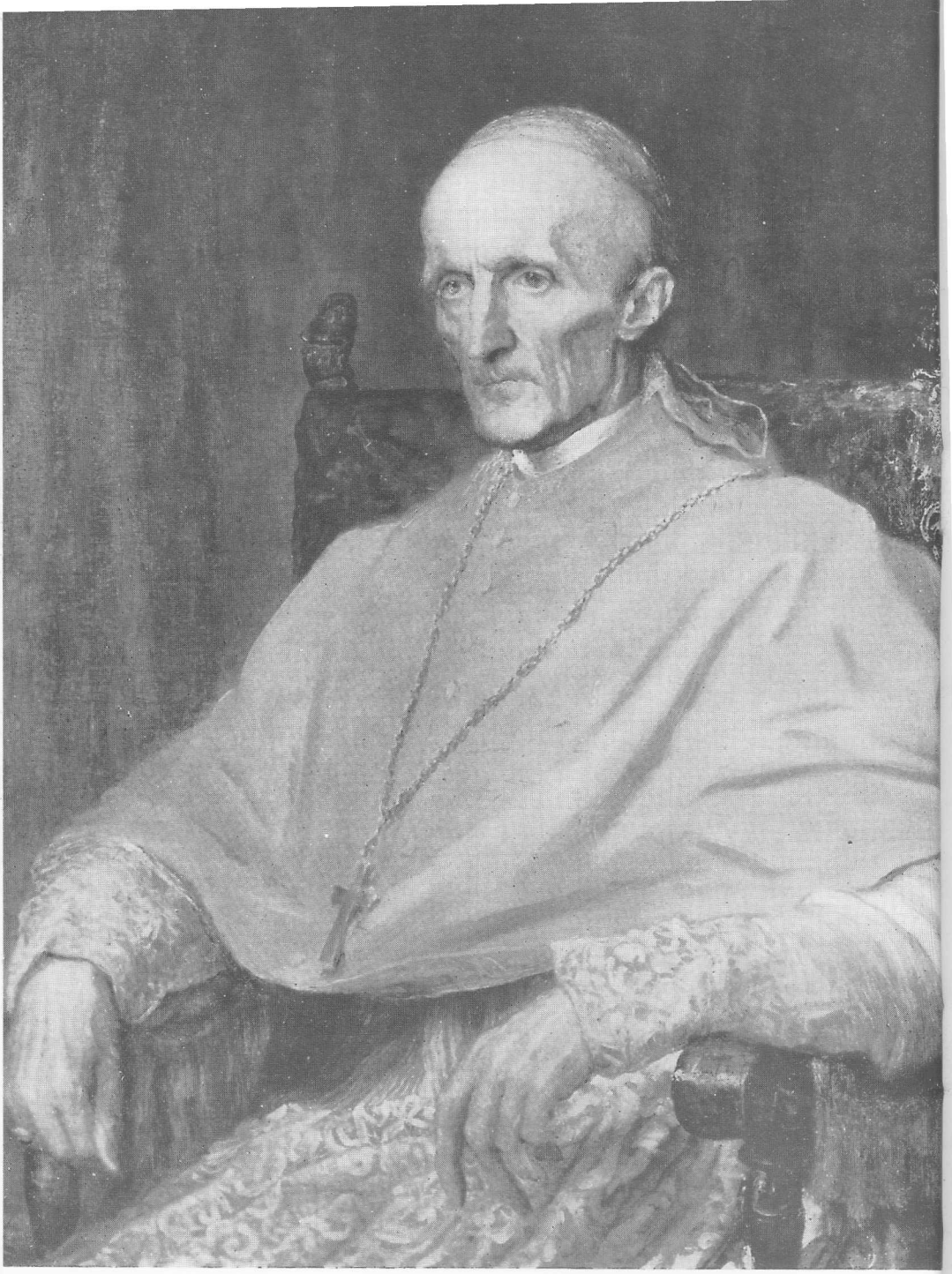
From this book, happily preserved with the church records, let us take a few names, with occupations and observations, to remind us of those villagers born from 150 to 190 years ago. "William Ayling (born 1775) copse cutter, has worked for the Duke of Richmond 50 years ; Rebecca Holden (1801) makes straw baskets and hats ; Harriet West (1787) widow goes out as nurse ; James Sturt carrier ; James Prior (1787) horsebreaker ; Joseph Vowles beer shop keeper ; John Boxall (1774) blacksmith ; Joseph Todman (1797) widower, a potter ; Mary Howick (1769) shopkeeper and has a blacksmith's forge managed by her nephew, John Pescod, a churchwarden in 1839 ; Edward Hills (1803) bricklayer ; Edmund Albery bricklayer ; Bookham (1751) molecatcher ; widow Marshall has had 15 children, all scattered." The alehouse unduly attracted some, as against five names is "addictus inebrietate." In one case the kindly Rector later added "paulo" ! One whole family of husband, wife and ten children are dubbed "familia malo et ignavia addicta," one daughter being in addition "mendax." In seven cases the rector resorts to Greek—skhismaticos, presumably meaning nonconformists. A farmer is "hostis ecclesia et religioni," and the local carrier is "artibus pessimis deditus." All told, an illuminating and unusual compilation.

"MY DEAREST WIFE"

Manning left the Church of England in 1851. Within fourteen years he was Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, and became a Cardinal in 1875. It is intriguing to think what might have happened if Manning had been Squire of Graffham and Lavington by marrying Emily, instead of Caroline, Sargent. The strong feelings aroused by Manning, Newman and other prominent churchmen joining the Church of Rome can hardly be appreciated in these days. There are three standard lives of the Cardinal, those by Purcell, Strachey and Shane Leslie ; no appraisement of character or work is possible here. There is, however, a most revealing letter in the *Times Literary Supplement* of 24th March, 1921, from Friedrich von Hügel. In it he refers to Manning as "a man of action and of leadership, a man alarmingly certain and absolute on every point on which he cared at all, and

NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY

Bishop Samuel Wilberforece, Lord of the Manor for thirty-two years



NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY

Cardinal Manning, Rector for seventeen years

a prophet of spiritual autocracy" (in modern parlance, totalitarianism). The real object of the writer was to recall one aspect of Manning's married life; and, as it affects one who was born, brought up in, married from, and who died in, the old Rectory, the account is worth repeating in full. There was an opinion prevalent amongst the Cardinal's friends and clergy that Manning's feelings towards his wife were not cordial. Henry Vaughan, Bishop of Salford, was with Manning during his last illness in January, 1892, and this is what he said afterwards to von Hügel :—

> You know what we all thought about the Cardinal and Mrs. Manning. Well, this is what happened shortly before his death. I was by his bedside; he looked around to see that we were alone; he fumbled under his pillow for something; he drew out a battered little pocket-book full of a woman's fine handwriting. He said "For years you have been a son to me, Henry: I know not to whom else to leave this—I leave it to you. Into this little book my dearest wife wrote her prayers and meditations. Not a day has passed since her death, on which I have not prayed and meditated from this book. All the good I may have done, all the good I may have been, I owe to her. Take precious care of it." He ceased speaking and soon afterwards unconsciousness came on.

Fifty-five years had passed. What a magnificent tribute.

The portraits of Wilberforce and Manning which you will find in this book, show what markedly different types these two men were.

OLD NAMES IN GRAFFHAM

There was not much change in the way of life during the first half of the century. Manning's Record of Families shows that the villagers tended to stay in their secluded area. This man might go to be a London policeman and that to work on the railway or at Woolwich, but the majority settled down and married local people. The result was a multiplication of families of the same name. In the '40s there were 5 separate families of Howicks and 3 of Challens, to mention two whose descendants are with us today. James Howick, who was a small farmer, was twice married and had 10 children. The eldest son James, a shoemaker, had 3 children, William (born 1801) had six, Nathaniel (1805) had three and Henry (1809) five. John Challen (born 1776) had nine children. Of these Charles (1809), who married Mary Long, had six children; James (1816) married Eliza Hedger and had three children; and Thomas (1821) had two. Elizabeth (1803) married James Howick, she herself becoming a strawhat maker; while Mary (1817) married James Randall, woodman.

There is space only to note other families. There were 4 separate Cooper families, 4 Hills, 3 Alberrys (two 'r's), 3 Todmans, 3 Pratts, 3 Randalls, 3 Moneys, 3 Aylings, 2 Pescods (John was churchwarden in 1839) and 2 Boxalls. The "Boxals" seemed to have come into the parish in 1751—an entry in the marriage registers reads "Sep. 8th 1751 Morice Boxal and Jane Bennet, both of Upwaltham, by licence." John Boxall (1774) had six children.

The population, which at the beginning of the century was 260, had risen by 1851 to 426, but to no more than 461 in 1931.

THE VILLAGE CHANGES.

The second half of the century saw a change from a purely agricultural community. Graffham's attraction as a residential area was becoming apparent. Brick villas began to spring up in " The Street," our curly-wurly highway, and many of the old cottages disappeared. There were still only a few houses near Stuart Cottages and Glasshouse Farm. The Church School was built in 1854. A Congregational Chapel also appeared—it required courage on the part of some stalwarts to do this in a squire-parson village. It did not have a long life, and it is now used as a pumping station.

By the turn of the century Graffham was pushing along the Selham road, by Brook House and the Carpenters Town area, which was the old home of the Challens. " Shrublands " had gone up to overlook Wibling's Farm (in old documents Webben's), and now " Woodside " and the house " Carpenters Town " were built. Then Nonnington Hall and " Pennygate " followed by Heath Ridge and Brackwood towards Gallows, or Gallie, Hill. This hill " was the site of the gallows of the old Liberty of Lodsworth belonging to the Bishop of London." (*Place Names of Sussex*). The lower part of the old gibbet remained until 1900, when on Mafeking Day a widespread heath fire swept through and burnt it. The stump is marked (March, 1953) by an iron rod.

There was some expansion round Woodcote Farm (mentioned in a 1331 document as the home of Henry atte Woodcote). Along the Petworth Road there was not much development within the parish.

Lord Woolavington certainly fostered the social life of Graffham. He built the Empire Hall in 1907, gave the land for the Recreation Ground and put up the Homes of Rest. He built a water reservoir on the side of the Downs. It is fed by springs, which local tradition says have failed only twice in history, namely, after the Lisbon earthquake in 1755 and the Krakatoa eruption in 1883.

VILLAGE ENDOWMENTS

There are no ancient endowments which have come down to us. The modern Guillod Trust is by far the most important. Under the will (1922) of David Guillod a Trust, to be known as the Katherine Maude Guillod Trust, was established, with the Parish Council as trustees. The yearly income was to be divided as to one half to the Nursing Association, as to one quarter to the Women's Institute and as to the remaining quarter to such charitable objects as the Parish Council might determine. As to the last, the testator stated that the objects which he had principally in mind were the preservation and upkeep of footpaths and the assistance of pupils attending Graffham School to further their education. The income at present is about £160 a year.

The Woolavington Homes of Rest are vested in the Macdonald-Buchanan Trust, who manage them and settle who shall inhabit the three cottages. Rent is free.

A similar Trust has just been established in respect of three homes suitable for old people now being built near the Empire Hall. It will be administered by three trustees appointed by the Parish Council. The Founder's scheme also provides a Chapel to St. Giles Church, to be used for the celebration of Holy Communion.

Dyson's Charity is a small church trust (income about £8 a year) to be applied for the benefit of poor widows, or poor persons of either sex.

The Nursing Association, which benefits under the Guillod Trust, does most valuable work in providing those services not normally available under the National Health scheme, such as comforts for the sick, chiropody, etc.

LOCAL TRADES AND INDUSTRIES

Through the ages Graffham has been essentially an agricultural area. Its industries have been confined almost entirely to those incidental to farming operations—the making of hurdles, fencing and hoops, and the work of the blacksmith, wheelwright and sawyer. Walter Howick made hurdles and old Challen wattles for cattle pens, while Jesse Cooper turned out beautiful trugs made from ash (none of your chestnut for him). Lime burning and charcoal burning were done. The chalkpit at the back of the Rectory still shows signs of old workings, Peter Cooper being the last to operate there. There were plenty of sheep on the Downs. The slope and hilltop grazing have been good within living memory, with no bush or scrub from Bishop's Clump to Charlton Forest.

The oldest industry is that of ceramics. The making of pottery is referred to as far back as 1341 in the famous Nonae Roll. There it says of the Graffham church benefice—" the rector has the easement to the value of xiid. from men who make there earthen vessels." Midhurst had a considerable pottery industry in 1283. A rent of 36s. 8d. (a large sum) called " pottersgavel " was charged by one landowner for licences to dig clay. In 1639 Henry Ewen is styled a potter at Graffham in an inventory of possessions, which included an acre of land. The inventory is rather tattered, but most of the items are decipherable. Joseph Todman is in Manning's Record as a potter. In 1848 the Sussex Archaeological Society says " a pottery in good repute exists there [Graffham] at the present day." So, although the work turned out in this village did not have the standing of other Sussex potteries such as The Dicker (still flourishing), it had a reputation. One cannot say whether the old ware was made at the present " Potteries " at Norwood, but the fact that in 1947 there was picked up behind the cottage at the bottom of Popple Hill, a mould for a head of the type stamped on earthen jars of the 16th and 17th centuries, looks as if the mediaeval works may have been near there. It was at " Potteries " that Mankin Todman made brown jugs, pans for home-made wine or for salting pork, and flower pots. Some village homes still have examples of Graffham red or brown ware.

Brickmaking was carried on for many years. That Record of Manning's has four brickmakers noted. They seemed to have been hard drinkers—a thirsty job is brickmaking. One set of kilns was operated in the Wilberforce's time near the Recreation Ground. Old James Nudd worked here, making land drainage pipes. Mr. S. Weller's premises " Brick Place " shows where the clay was baked. Another brickfield was on Perrot's Farm.

There is one other industry, though of short duration, that of glassmaking. The small Wealden glass industry was centred in the parishes of Chiddingfold and Kirdford for about four hundred years ending about 1615 A.D. Ten of the twelve known pre-Elizabethan furnace sites are in these two parishes and the other two in Wisborough Green. During Elizabeth's reign something of a boom in the industry seems to have occurred, and eleven further furnaces dating from this time have been found, four of them outside the three parishes mentioned, namely in Ewhurst, Alford and Petworth. The prefix " Glasses," which is probably a corruption of glassus, or glasshouse, led to the finding of eight of the Elizabethan furnace sites. The industry was introduced, and carried on, by Frenchmen, though not exclusively, because at least two yeoman Sussex families were making glass in Kirdford in the sixteenth century. At the Haslemere Museum one can see many specimens of Sussex glass, and the methods of manufacture.

The industry declined, and in 1615 the use of wood fuel for glass making was prohibited. That does not mean that some glass was not made after that date. The oft-repeated statement that the industry consumed too much wood is a myth. The official prohibition was probably an attempt to create a nice little monopoly for the new coal-fired furnaces.

The existence of glass furnaces as far west as Graffham has not yet been substantiated. In 1931 S. E. Winbolt (author of *Wealden Glass*) made excavations in Petworth Park, and found in Glasshouse Pond Plantation the remains of a furnace. About that time parts of characteristic Wealden crucibles, with glass adhering, were unearthed near the house " Glasses," where also recently Mr. Claud Mullins' son has found further pieces. From the nature of the finds, it is reasonable to assume that glass was made here in Queen Elizabeth's time. History and tradition both help. There was a farm called Glasshouse Farm on both sides of the Selham Road from its junction with the Petworth Road. The farmhouse itself is still standing—Mr. P. Boxall lives there. The Rev. Rowley Lascelles, Rector from 1873 to 1913, towards the end of his incumbency built a house at the northern end of the farm, then in the occupation of Mr. Goble, and called it " Glasses." He probably chose the name from Glasses Field, a four-acre field lower down the road, which is shown on maps of the 1800-1850 period. Incidentally, Miss Lascelles grew flowers and bulbs for the London market. As to tradition, two old inhabitants have testified that in their young days it was said that " Frenchmen " used to make glass in Graffham, and that this was the reason for some families having foreign names such as Goble (formerly spelt Gobbell) and Valour, or Gronnow and Vatter, in the Church Registers (1657-1682). Drawing deductions from family surnames can, however, be unprofitable.

The most striking confirmation, however, comes from a map of 1629

An Older Generation

The Rising Generation

G. G. GARLAND, PHOTOGRAPHER, PETWORTH

entitled "The Survey of the Landes and Common of John Mills, beinge freeholde lands called by the names of Fitzlee and Fizlee Common." This shows "peate pitts," "sande pitts," "turfe here cut" and such like round Gallie Hill (Gallows Hill). A recital sets out to prove that there had been continual "takinge the heath, ferne, turfe, diginge peate, diginge of sand and the sellinge thereof to ye glassmakers." The selling to the glassmakers is indeed interesting. It is possible that this sand pit supplied not only Graffham but Petworth and beyond. I am indebted to Mr. G. H. Kenyon, of Kirdford, for his expert advice, and for calling attention to this map, which belongs to Captain Mitford, Dean Manor, Petworth.

Smuggling hardly comes within the definition of "occupation," but it certainly occupied the minds of Graffham at one time! A good trade seems to have been done in the contraband which was landed along the Sussex coast 150 to 200 years ago and came by devious ways over the Downs. "The Woodman" could probably tell some tales; but the village blacksmith seems to have been most active in brandy and silks. "Five-and-twenty ponies Trotting through the dark—Brandy for the Parson; 'Baccy for the Clerk." Appropriately enough, "The Lass Who Loved a Smuggler" is being staged in the village hall this Coronation year. It is a three-act operette, a local product by Mrs. Edith Loring; the players, too, are all local people.

That completes the tale of Graffham's occupations, except to mention that hops used to be grown here. In that 1750 Act (p. 15), there is a reference to "6 acres of hop field" and from there came the hops for the strong home-brewed ale of yore.

Much information of the last seventy years comes from Mr. Ted Hills, of South Heath Farm, Selham, still active at eighty-six, and from Mr. Edwin Money and Mr. Percy Boxall, who used to walk to Chichester to do his courting, and then walk back!

AND NOW TODAY

Graffham fulfills all the requirements which our modern planners consider necessary in a village. To be "a reasonable social unit," a village should have a church with a resident parson, a school, a recreation ground, a community centre, a women's institute and some organisation to foster village arts and crafts. Graffham passes this test with distinction. The Church at Graffham is alive and real. The School, whose future was in the balance not long ago, can now look with renewed hope to a more settled and possibly a permanent future, especially as the transfer of the Heyshott children has proved to be a workable and successful scheme. The School is fortunate in having Miss A. Beevor as Headteacher.

The spacious, beautiful and well-kept Recreation Ground has fostered cricket and produced a football team which in 1951-2 did great things. There is a bowls club, and the latest product is a stoolball team to carry on that fine old Sussex game. The Empire Hall is, for a village of the size of Graffham (about 500 people), an exceptionally fine building, and serves as a flourishing

community centre. It has two libraries—the County and the Woolavington. Within it a flourishing Women's Institute undertakes all kinds of activities. The Social Club maintains a full programme of social evenings, dances, whist drives and table tennis. There are ambitious dramatic presentations. The British Legion runs an annual Sports Meeting and Flower Show. 1952 saw the birth of an Arts and Crafts Centre which has already turned out much good work.

It will be seen that the facilities for a full social life are well utilised. A newcomer is bound to be struck by the manner in which all work together for the benefit of the life of the village. As an old inhabitant was heard to say " I don't know what it is, but something in Graffham gets you and you never want to leave the place."

Here is the list of Graffham's organisations and clubs :—

Club, etc.	*Secretary or organiser*
Cricket Club	Mr. F. L. Small
Football Club	Mr. F. L. Small
Bowls Club	Mr. F. Diggens
Stoolball Club	Mrs. Simmons
Women's Institute	Miss Wright
Social Club	Mrs. Puttick
Nursing Association	Mrs. Nudd
Crafts Centre	Mrs. Claud Mullins
British Legion	Mr. F. T. Barrett
Parish Council	Chairman—Mr. W. Carver Parish Clerk—Mr. S. A. Blakesley

WHAT OF THE FUTURE ?

What of the future ? Graffham has experienced upheavals since the beginning of the century. Almost up to the end of the nineteenth century the semi-feudal relations between lords of manors and tenants persisted in this quiet corner of Sussex. Then in 1903 Lord Woolavington changed the character of the area by his racehorse breeding at Lavington, much open country being enclosed. After thirty-four years the estate was broken up and much of Graffham passed into private hands. Because of the War, not much change has taken place since 1937 ; but, with the passing of the system under which one landowner largely shaped developments, the future is obscure. The old isolationism is gone ; the new immigrants are many and diverse.

What kind of changes will there be ? Change there must be, as there has been in the past, because a state of no change means death. There are pointers to where dangers may lie. Unsuitable building and commercialised sport are two. The village may well survive in its natural setting and charm, but it might be a wise precaution to form a Friends of Graffham organisation, working in co-operation with the county planning authorities and the Society

of Sussex Downsmen. We all know how motor racing can spoil a noble part of the Downs. The quiet of the countryside can be marred by other organised sport, with their loud speakers, motor coach traffic and other noises. This can be particularly distressing on a Sunday. What will be the next intrusion into our countryside ? A helicopter site at the foot of the Downs ? Week-end pleasure flights by jet planes from the top ? If so, good-bye to the peculiar charm of Graffham. And in the background there are always those dreadful Service Departments, with a deplorable record of destruction of beauty and quietude.

It is, however, not good to end on a doleful note. The changes which must come can be fitted into the past, *if* sympathy is shown to what has come down to the present generation from its forebears. Centuries of thought and toil have gone to the making of the English countryside. The line of continuity is a valuable link because, especially in these troublous times, the past can so greatly sustain and illumine. The past has shaped us into what we are today. Let us go forward with courage and determination to make the present a proud and glorious inheritance for the future.

EPILOGUE.

The Downs are sheep, the Weald is corn ;
You be glad you are Sussex born !

Kipling.

TWO ANCIENT SETTLEMENTS

Graffham, Woolavington and Selham have been greatly mixed up in their history through the ages. The preceding pages show this ; and here are a few other details.

Woolavington

Lavington was originally Lafingatun, or the tun of Lafa's people. In the Anglo-Saxon Charter of 689 it was Lavingtun. It is indeed noteworthy for a small village to point back more than 1,250 years. At an early date two prefixes appear—(1) Wella or wylla, a stream ; thus Wellaventon in 1208 and Wullavinton in 1230 (Wool from the Down sheep does not seem to be a sound derivation) ; (2) Beorg, a hill, or alternatively bere, barley, was the prefix attached to what is now Barlavington.

The Manor and Lavington House

Domesday tells us that " Godwin held Leventone of the Earl Godwin, and also Ivo of Earl Roger de Montgomeri." There were 10 villeins and 10 bordars on the manorial lands, or 50 per cent more than at Graffham. There were no serfs. For taxation purposes the value of 9 hides is put at £8. There is no mention of a church, or of a watermill.

Mediaeval records are obscure as to the manor's history, but Earl Roger's portion went to the D'Albinis and Fitzalans until the reign of Henry the Eighth, when it passed to the Crown. In Queen Mary's reign, however, Henry, Earl of Arundel regained the manor, and it was sold in 1578 for £4,000 to the Gartons. Its history then followed that of Graffham.

Giles Garton built himself a Manor House about the year 1588. An old drawing shows a building of grey flint, with turret towers. In an article " An Elizabethan Builder's Contract " Mr. Walter H. Godfrey has analysed minutely the specification. (S.A.C. 1924). John Sargent, two hundred years later, pulled down the old building in the hope, it is said, of finding hidden treasure, and built a new one lower down the slope. This formed the basis of the present Lavington House, which was enlarged by Lord Woolavington and improved by Captain Euan Wallace, M.P., the next owner.

After the Second World War Seaford College exchanged the rather bleak position overlooking Seaford Bay for the gentler West Sussex landscape and occupied Lavington House. It, together with the two other College Halls " Adair " and " Millburgh " accommodates rather more than 200 boys. " Adair " Hall has been built in the Park near to the classroom block, and " Millburgh " Hall now occupies the building on the northern boundary of Graffham, formerly misnamed Selham Place. The present Headmaster is the Rev. C. E. Johnson, an old Athletics and Hockey Blue. The College staff form a small Lavington colony and are accommodated in various houses and cottages on the estate of which the College owns some twenty-five.

Lavington Park is an ancient ome. It had " a *staurum* of cattle and sheep," and its importance in the days of Queen Mary is shown by the Crown appoint-

ing Sir William Goring as its keeper. In this ancient park, with its magnificent views, are the College playing fields.

The Old Rectory is now Beechwood. Manning here spent the happiest days of his varied life. Here, as he wrote, " the morning and evening prayers and the music of the English Bible for seventeen years became a part of my soul. If there were no eternal world, I could have made it my home." The Rectory ceased to be Church property when in 1848 Manning exchanged it, with 14 acres of adjoining land, for 62 acres in Graffham belonging to Bishop Wilberforce. Beechwood is now a beautiful home, in the occupation of Mr. & Mrs. Herbert Agar.

In the little churchyard lies Manning's young wife. He refused to put up a memorial stone, and the present one was erected in 1903 by Mrs. Reginald Wilberforce. Manning's difficulty may have been in deciding what inscription should go on the stone. To refer to the wife of a pillar of the Church which insists on the celibacy of the clergy presented a pretty dilemma. So the great Cardinal lies in the dark crypt under the marbled Westminster Cathedral, the Red Hat of his office hanging over him, and never a reference to his dearly-loved wife buried in Sussex under the wholesome turf of the everlasting hills.

The churchyard bears witness to the awful havoc wrought by war, for four of Captain and Mrs. Wallace's five sons who died in the last war are there commemorated.

The Church is dedicated to St. Peter. There appears to be no justification for assigning to it a Saxon origin. Domesday makes no mention of a church at Woolavington. Not that that fact is complete proof of there being none in 1085, for many churches went into the Book for a special reason. " Old English society held firmly to the idea that a manorial church was the property of the manorial lord. . . . there are innumerable entries in which Domesday Book includes a church among the profit-yielding appurtenances of an estate." (Stenton). There is no archaeological evidence of Saxon or Norman work, and the style is entirely Early English, thirteenth century, say. The small building, of pleasing aspect, has been much restored. One of the uses to which, by permission of the Rector, the Church is at present being put is that of School Chapel for the College.

The Curse on The Heir

Garton Orme, the black sheep of the family, was buried here in 1758. Tradition says that he pushed his wife down a well ; certainly, within a few weeks of her death in 1727 Orme married the Rector's daughter Anne ! In 1845, during the restoration of the Church under Manning, coffins had to be moved and one, being unusually heavy, was opened and found to be full of stones. Orme's misdeeds were said to have brought on himself and descendants a curse that no son would ever succeed to the estate. It was uttered under a willow tree on the road to Graffham by the father of a girl whom Orme had wronged. Reginald Wilberforce burnt the tree. The curse, if there were one, had, however, started long before Garton Orme

(see p. 15). The absence of surviving sons among the various owners of Lavington House is certainly strange. The present owners are a body corporate and, as a body corporate is well known to have no body to kick or soul to be saved, it can regard curses of any kind, however malevolent, with indifference. Posterity will see whether by this means the spell has been broken.

The shape of things to come for Lavington lies in the hands of three owners —of the Stud Farm, of Westerlands and of Seaford College. A responsibility indeed.

Selham

Selham was in early days Seleham, or the home by a sallow copse. An alternative might be Syla-ham, the homestead by the wallowing places, presumably down by the river. Domesday says "Codulf held Seleham of Earl Godwin." Fulk was sub-tenant. In 1200 the hamlet was spelt Selham, as now, but a variant, Sealeham, occurs in a 1209 document. The important mill has been mentioned under Graffham. It was assessed at 10 shillings a year, as much as for 80 acres of arable land, at the time of Domesday. The owner of the mill had to supply to the Lord of the Manor's table 100 eels yearly.

By the thirteenth century the greater part of the parish had been transferred to the Priory of Calceto. This was a small alien priory of Augustine canons. It was founded by Queen Adeliza, wife of Henry the First, in the parish of Lyminster, near Arundel. It provided an asylum for two, later increased to six, canons who were to officiate in the chapel of St. George. The last Prior was Robert Ayling in 1521. The Priory was suppressed in 1524, and the Priory lands devolved to the Crown. In 1530 the Selham lands were settled on Lucy, fourth daughter of the Marquis of Montacute, and thence to the Poyntz family, later to the Earl of Egremont. In a 1629 map there is represented near the crossroads east of the church "Lord Montague's House."

The beautiful Saxon church is the village treasure. There is much original work left in the building, which was rather mutilated in the complete "restoration" of 1861. An account of its many interesting features would take up too much space.

The oldest building in Selham, after the church, is probably part of what is now known as The Priory. There never was a religious priory at Selham. A hundred years ago there was Malthouse Farm in the occupation of Mortimer Ewen, described as maltster and farmer. The malthouse was an old building and about 1910 was incorporated into a modern building and the whole christened The Priory. Appearances on the south side seem to indicate a resemblance to a monastic building. Perhaps a canon from Warningcamp Priory had a cell here, considering what a good income the Priory drew from its Selham lands. On the other hand, the 1629 map shows only one building to the west of the church on the south side of the road and that is "Feilder's House and Lande." The church is shown flying bravely a flag from a west tower, but this may be the artist's imagery.

One must not forget the Manor House Farm down by the river, which probably has in it relics of the original Manor House. And there is also the site of the Domesday mill, with the ancient mound of Norman (?) origin overlooking it.

ALL SAINTS CHAPEL

All Saints Chapel, opposite the Empire Hall, the gift of Col. and Mrs. Loring, was erected in 1953. The feature which attracts visitors is the apsidal form of the sanctuary with no window openings. Early churches did not favour the streaming in or light from an east window. Modern building technique allows light to be thrown on the altar from panels of glass prisms. Another unusual feature is the *glass* cross on the altar. The effect of the light shining through the glass prisms on to the cross is striking. There is some beautiful oak carving taken from a disused churched in mid-Sussex.

END